SECTION IV

THE SUBURBAN LOCAL AUTHORITY HOUSING AREAS

"You're mad, Bridie, you should get out of this hole
and get yourself a decent house in the suburbs".
Hatchet, by H. Magee.

4.1 Introduction

In Section I it was shown that many of Dublin's early Local Authority estates\(^1\) were created primarily to rehouse families from overcrowded conditions in the older tenemented parts of the city. More recently, new estates have been developed to continue the process of rehousing and decentralisation from the centre and also to cater for 'second generation' families coming from older suburban estates. The city-wide analysis of physical, social and economic conditions prevailing in 1971 and as discussed in Section II demonstrated that many of these suburban estates had a prevalence of social and economic conditions which were reminiscent of those constituting the inner city 'problem', e.g. high unemployment rates, low levels of skill attainment, large families, overcrowded dwellings. Indeed the social area analysis identified 37 wards, characterised by these conditions, and constituting a separate Social Area with distinct socio-economic conditions and policy implications. In turn this Social Area was seen to be composed of four Sub-Areas, three of which displayed evidence of considerable deprivation in 1971.\(^2\) This Section goes on to briefly outline the 1971 conditions in the three Sub-Areas; in addition, a profile of conditions in these same areas, and also in more recent estates, as derived from a survey carried out in February 1979, is presented.

\(^1\)Throughout the remainder of this section, the term 'estate' will refer to Local Authority housing estates unless otherwise stated.

\(^2\)It should also be remembered that small pockets of similar developments having similar characteristics and problems may also occur in otherwise quite different wards and areas, e.g. Howth, Churchtown.
4.2 The Disadvantaged Estates Survey in the 1970s

4.2 (1) The 'Disadvantaged' Estates in 1971

As indicated in 4.1 Social Area 5 consisted of four Sub-Areas, three of which were relatively disadvantaged according to 1971 data. These three Sub Areas contained 29 wards in 1971 and contained 129,382 persons or 74.7% of the population in Social Areas and 16.7% of the population of the Dublin Metropolitan area (Fig. 11). Table 4.1 sets out some general indicators for each ward in relation to housing, occupation, employment, family size, etc. Relative to the city as a whole, relative to most of the other Social Areas and even relative to the local authority housing areas, the wards in the three Sub-Areas shown in Table 4.1 score badly and appear relatively deprived. In most of the 29 wards more than two-thirds of the housing was rented from the local authority with owner occupation being only of limited importance. Virtually all of the wards were characterised by a serious mismatch between dwelling and household size, e.g. Ballyfermot D where 52.0% of the population was in families of 6 or more persons but only 0.3% of the dwellings had six or more rooms. In many of the wards over half the population was under 15 years of age while teenage participation

3The fourth Sub Area, not discussed further in this section, was characterised by older pre World War II housing and had a range of socio-economic conditions which broadly mirrored those of some 'middle class' areas.

4Along with the Inner City these three Sub Areas contained the most seriously deprived wards of the Dublin area in 1971 as measured by overcrowding, unemployment and dependence on low income economic sectors. The analysis of the 1971 Census Results for this study concurs with the analysis by B. Menton of Poverty Indicators conducted for Combat Poverty. It is important to bear in mind that these wards contain most of the disadvantaged Local Authority estates.

5These findings bear out the broad conclusions of several previous investigations of Dublin's public housing areas, e.g. C. Ward, New Houses for Old, An Foras Forbartha, Dublin 1968. Also, a number of reports on housing areas, facilities and residential satisfaction have been published by An Foras Forbartha since 1973. See for example R. Mulvihill, The influence of the type of area previously lived in on residents evaluation of some suburban housing estates, An Foras Forbartha Dublin 1978. 18 pages. See also R. Mulvihill, The Relative Importance of Low Rise Housing Environments, Planning Division: Working Paper No. 1. An Foras Forbartha, 1977. 23 pages. The various studies cited, compared and cross referenced in this chapter are based on evidence of sample surveys and their sampling errors render close comparison hazardous. Cross tabulations may involve small numbers in some cases and are presented for illustrative purposes; results in these cases could have been aggregated into larger groups for statistical purposes.

6This mismatch is documented in detail in Table 4.1 and 4.7 (below) and is serious relative to either the Sub Regional or National norms.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>housing type</th>
<th>rent type</th>
<th>occupation</th>
<th>family size</th>
<th>teenage participation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sub Area 1</td>
<td>50% Owner</td>
<td>40% Rent</td>
<td>10% Other</td>
<td>60% 2-3</td>
<td>40% under 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Area 2</td>
<td>60% Owner</td>
<td>30% Rent</td>
<td>10% Other</td>
<td>50% 2-3</td>
<td>30% under 15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub Area 3</td>
<td>70% Owner</td>
<td>20% Rent</td>
<td>10% Other</td>
<td>60% 2-3</td>
<td>20% under 15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
in education was well below the city average. A high proportion of the male labour force was unskilled, few were in the professions and overall unemployment rates were high. Car ownership rates, often seen as an indicator of affluence, were substantially below the city average—see Table 4.1.

4.2 (2) The Suburban Estates Household Survey, 1979

The 1971 Census data indicated that many of the wards in the three Sub-Areas were seriously disadvantaged. This conclusion was further supported by a study of Poverty Indicators in which Menton showed that, after the inner city, many local authority estates exhibited serious indications of poverty according to 1971 data. Various local surveys and specific investigations had indicated these areas, and indeed the newer post 1971 estates, had been particularly badly hit by the mid-1970s recession and the impact of technological change.

Consequently, it proved necessary to undertake a systematic survey of these areas in order to obtain an up-to-date and comprehensive picture of the circumstances of families, housing conditions and environmental satisfaction therein. It was hoped that these survey results could be compared with both the 1971 Census data for similar areas and the inner city survey reported upon in Section III. It was also hoped that this survey would offer a context within which to evaluate the miscellaneous local surveys which have been carried out in recent years.

From the three Sub-Areas those wards scoring highly on Menton's index of poverty were selected for survey investigation, to these were added new estates in Darndale, Coolock and Tallaght. For these areas the December 1978 Draft Register of Electors provided a sample frame of approximately 22,000 households from which each 100th household was selected for interview. Interviews were conducted during February 1979 yielding 162 responses—a positive response rate of 72.3 per cent. The total population represented by these households was 853 of which the demographic structure is set out in Table 4.2. Interviews were held with the "head of household" or by someone acting in the name of head of household. As can be seen from Table 4.2, the population of these areas is dominated by the very young, few old people and it contrasts sharply with the demographic structure of the Inner City.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age Cohort</th>
<th>Suburban Survey area 1979</th>
<th>Inner city 1979</th>
<th>Sub-region 1977</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0-14</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>31.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-64</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>63.5</td>
<td>61.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>7.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


4.3 Housing Considerations

4.3(1) Length of Residence in this House

Respondents were invited to indicate how long they had resided in their present dwelling. The results are shown in Table 4.3. As can be seen from this table 60.8% of all respondents had lived for at least ten years at the place of interview. The longer lengths of residence were recorded in Artane, Cabra, Finglas, Ballyfermot, Crumlin, Kimmage and Sallinsogin.

This provided a systematic sample with a randomly generated starter. Almost inevitably, however, the Draft Register will itself contain some errors.

The assistance of students of the Department of Town Planning, UCD in carrying out the interviews is gratefully acknowledged.
TABLE 4.3
Length of Residence in Present Dwelling (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Length of time</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Less than one year</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One to two years</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Three to five years</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Five to ten years</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ten to fifteen years</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifteen to twenty five years</td>
<td>21.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over twenty five years</td>
<td>19.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

By contrast only a small proportion of respondents had recently taken up residence in contrast to the newer estates such as Ballymun and Darndale. Particularly in the case of Ballymun, erected in the 1960s, further analysis of data suggests a high degree of social instability and household turnover.

4.3(2) Previous Place of Residence
Those who were less than ten years in their present address were asked to state their previous place of residence. Thirty nine per cent had moved within ten years (66 responses) and of these 16.7% had come from the inner city as defined in this study. A total of 24.2% had moved from within the canal ring, Table 4.4. A further 24.2% had moved within their own area and 27.3% from the inner suburbs. Most of the moves from inside the canal ring went to Ballymun and Darndale.12 Of the 16 moves within the same area most were confined to Ballyfermot or Ballymun. Persons moving from the inner suburbs came predominantly to Darndale, Ballymun and Finglas West. The results suggest that whereas the older estates were occupied by persons from the inner city, the newer estates are being occupied by persons having lived in the older estates in the inner suburbs. Thus, the new estates are at least in part meeting a second generation demand. Thus, most of the people moving into local authority houses in Corduff or Cherry Orchard came from other local authority estates developed since World War II. The results also indicate some cross city readjustment of residence, possibly to better relate to work place.

TABLE 4.4
Previous Place of Residence (%)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Residence</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same area</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inside canal ring</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner suburbs</td>
<td>27.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other local authority estates</td>
<td>21.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

4.3(3) Reasons for Moving to Present Address
All respondents were requested to state the reasons for moving to present address. As can be seen from Table 4.5 the reasons for moving were complex, some positive and some negative. A total of 89.5% stated why they moved and of these 68.4% moved either to get a house or more room. Other reasons including "proximity to job" were not mentioned often by respondents, although Finglas and Tallaght do seem to have attracted households for job reasons. These predominant reasons were common to respondents in almost all areas under survey. Persons indicating that they moved to their present address because they "liked the area" were mostly interviewed at their homes in the older suburbs of Ballyfermot, Finglas and Crumlin. Of those who stated they had no choice in selecting their residential location, some 54.6% were living in Ballymun.13

12To a great extent the pattern of moves is controlled by the stock of Local Authority dwellings available at a given time.

13As Browne argues an element of involuntary resettlement is almost inevitable when large numbers are involved. L. Browne, Aspects of Deprivation on New Corporation Housing Estates, Seminar Paper E.S.R.I. 1979, page 9. It is the location of resettlement, rather than the process, that is involuntary.
TABLE 4.5
Reasons for Moving to Present Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Getting married</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proximity to job</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To be near family</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get away from family</td>
<td>4.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To obtain a house</td>
<td>38.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To get more room</td>
<td>29.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Because they liked the area</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For health reasons</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No choice</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

4.3(4) Type of Dwelling
Respondents were asked to group their classification of dwelling type into one of three groups—Table 4.6.

TABLE 4.6
Type of Tenure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rented flat</td>
<td>14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rented house (from local authority)</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purchase house</td>
<td>39.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

Over 4 of respondents had purchased or were purchasing their house from the local authority; these were widely distributed throughout the survey area in Artane, Finglas, Ballyfermot, Crumlin, Kimmage and Tallaght. Some 46.3% of the respondents lived in houses rented from the local authority and were even more widely distributed than purchase houses. Both Darndale and Ballymun had a high incidence of rented housing and virtually all of the rented flats in the survey were in the latter area. These figures suggest some expansion of the scale of “purchase” housing since 1971 and a lesser emphasis on rented housing (cf. Table 4.1).

4.3(5) Size of Dwelling
As an indicator of the size and adequacy of their dwelling, respondents were asked to state the number of bedrooms in their dwelling. The results show that 34.0% had two bedrooms while a further 59.3% had three bedrooms. Thus, 93.3% of surveyed dwellings had less than four bedrooms and 80.7% of households were living at a density of more than 1 person per bedroom. Of equal importance is the very small proportion of larger dwelling (2.5%) or even of very small dwelling units (4.2%).

Table 4.7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dwelling Size</th>
<th>Less than or equal to 2 persons</th>
<th>3 to 5 persons</th>
<th>6 to 8 persons</th>
<th>Over 8 persons</th>
<th>Percentage dwellings by size</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>59.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Percentages expressed as households per number of bedrooms.

These findings bear out again the evidence in Table 4.1 which showed that in 1971 few dwellings had six or more rooms giving rise to a serious mismatch between dwelling and household size, Table 4.7. Average household size in the survey area in 1979 was 5.3 as

*By contrast almost 9% of the 1971 national dwelling stock had more than six rooms.
compared to 3.9 in the Dublin sub-region and 3.3 in the inner city in 1979. A comparison of household and dwelling size in Ireland and three Nordic countries shows that "dwelling sizes in Ireland do not match household needs as well as in the three Nordic countries", the Scandinavian countries having both a higher proportion of large dwellings and a greater percentage of small households. Kent went on to document the implications of the mismatch in the case of housing areas in Blanchardstown. An earlier study by McCabe had emphasised the need to "build a range of houses similar to the anticipated population structure". The mismatch between dwelling size and household size noted in an earlier NESC Report is at its most intense in the case of public housing areas.

4.3(6) Scale and Nature of House Improvements

In preparing the survey, it was felt that substantive physical improvements to the structure would provide a good indicator of commitment to the house and the area, as well as an indication of how households adjusted to inadequacies in the physical dwelling.

A total of 41 householders (25.3%) indicated that they had undertaken substantial improvements to their present dwelling. Over half of these concerned improvements by way of kitchen enlargement. Less than 10% had engaged in bedroom, bathroom or multiple extensions to the building. Table 4.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Improvement</th>
<th>Rented Flat</th>
<th>Rented House</th>
<th>Purchase House</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bathroom</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitchen</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bedroom</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porch</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple improvement</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

No clear spatial pattern of improvements was evident except that improvements were absent in the newer housing developments and in the case of the Ballymun flats. Fifty eight per cent of extensions were in buildings now having three bedrooms and virtually all were confined to Corporation purchase houses. Only 4 households had undertaken multiple improvements.

Even though rented housing predominated, improvements were principally to the 'purchase' house group. While there has been a large number of improvements, it is surprising to find so few bedroom extensions, given the mismatch of household and dwelling size. The absence of such improvements in larger numbers may reflect the difficulty of extending terraced housing as well as the limited finances for improvement in the past. The pattern of dwelling improvements did not correlate with dwelling age except in Crumlin.

*O’Beirne suggests that “family needs alter as a family develops resulting very often in alterations being made to the dwelling and as these needs are predictable they could be taken into account in the initial design stage”. T. O’Beirne, “Rationalisation in House Design”; Building Contract Journal, Vol. 4, No. 31/32, 1968, page 68. Unfortunately, tenant regulations strictly limit what alterations a tenant may make to a dwelling and so inhibit adaptation even if it were feasible.

210
command resources to more comfortably use the dwelling. As an index of personal affluence and individual comfort respondents were requested to state if they possessed any or all of a range of household items, including a washing machine, fridge, and television. (It was not considered opportune to inquire if these things were owned or rented.) Only two respondents did not indicate possession of a television and only 5.6% possessed a television without the other items—Table 4.10. Most of the households had all three items and households lacking these were widely distributed. The lack of these amenities was not confined to any one estate new or old and appears a function of personal circumstances rather than of spatial, area factors.

4.4 Social Ties and Area Satisfaction

4.4(1) Kinship Ties
Almost half of respondents had either parents (71) or spouse's parents (80) living and, of these, over 1/2 were residing within the area bounded by the canal ring. Table 4.11. The inner suburbs also had a high representation. Many of the respondents (about one-fifth) had parents and/or parents-in-law living in the same area—this phenomenon of parents living close by was characteristic of the older suburbs, e.g., Artane, Finglas, Ballyfermot, Crumlin. Although 2 respondents from Ballymun had parents living locally and another had parents-in-law living in Ballymun.

Fifty six per cent of respondents stated that they or their spouse had some relatives "living in this area". Of the 90 respondents with relatives (in-law) living locally some 73.3% had less than five in the area. 20.9% had between 5 and 10 local relatives and 5.8% had more than 10 living locally. The incidence of local relatives and, consequently, of kinship ties, was widespread even in newer areas, regardless of dwelling type. The findings point towards the emergence of area based community groups developing within narrow territorial limits. Writing of one such area (Bethnal Green), Wilmott and Young identified the natural strength of kinship ties which "connect the people of one household to the people of another... (and where) community spirit does not have to be fostered, it is already there".

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4.3 (B) Household Facilities

In addition to the provision of a dwelling and the user’s satisfaction with same, it is also important to look at the ability of the user to...
TABLE 4.9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of Stated Complaint with House</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Households in Each Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>67.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>68.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>50.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>63.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arana (Craobh)</td>
<td>71.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

TABLE 4.10

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Cumulative Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Possessing television only</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing television and fridge</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing television and washing machine</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing fridge and washing machine</td>
<td>1.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessing all three items</td>
<td>72.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

TABLE 4.11

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Respondents Parents</th>
<th>Respondents Parents-in-law</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same area as respondent</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner city</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere inside canal ring</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner suburbs</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northern Local Authority estates</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South side Local Authority estates</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other new Local Authority estates</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere (outside city)</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

Boal contrasted the tightly knit kinship ties of working class areas in Belfast with the more dispersed community of interest as seen in the Malone Road area.\(^\text{28}\) Little or no work into community has been carried

out in Irish urban areas to date. The results point towards a strong kinship network in the suburban estates with the number of relatives living locally being greater than in the Inner City (see Section 3.6[31]).

4.4.2) Area Dissatisfaction

Of the 162 respondents only 25 had ever applied to get a housing transfer out of the house at which the interview took place. A total 17 of these applications were made by householders presently in Ballymun or Darndale; in fact 54.3% of respondents in these two areas wish for a housing transfer, of which at least 35.3% do not wish to remain in the same area. Most of the transfer applications were for alternative accommodation in the same area and seemed to express dissatisfaction with the particular dwelling rather than with the area. Indeed the combined results of the two Dublin surveys point to a very low level of movement between residential areas.

The reasons for dissatisfaction with the individual dwelling were elucidated in reply to question 34. Almost 64% of households expressed dissatisfaction with their house—of these complaints, the vast majority were concerned about the design of the house or its inadequate size for their needs. These statements of dissatisfaction were not confined to specific areas but were widely distributed through the survey area.

Not surprisingly, the highest incidence of complaints about structural faults was recorded in the Finglas area. Half of the complaints about heating were from Ballymun as was the only case of stated dissatisfaction on height of buildings. In all, 75% of structural complaints in the Crumlin area were about dwelling size.

A number of questions related to the respondents' attitude of the area and the desire to move elsewhere. Of the 24 who stated a wish to leave the present area, many wished to do so for the reasons outlined above (more room/obtain a house). Relatively few wished to move because of social dissatisfaction or dissatisfaction with family, neighbours, etc. The results showed a strong desire by people in the Ballymun flats to obtain a house—a feature further emphasised by their desire for more room in their dwelling. Two respondents in Darndale also stated that they desired more room. Over 60% of respondents in Darndale expressed a wish to leave the area, and almost 50% of those in Ballymun also wished to move; by contrast, respondents in other new developments, e.g., Tallaght and Coolock expressed little desire to move.

Question 36 asked respondents to state what things they disliked about their area. Only 26.0% did not express some degree of dissatisfaction. Of those who stated that they were satisfied with the area Table 4.12 states the primary cause of area dissatisfaction and shows a general concern with vandalism, lack of amenities, traffic and untidiness. Perception of vandalism, as a complaint, was widespread and was most often mentioned in older estates where there were teenage populations, e.g., Finglas, Artane, Kimmage and Crumlin. Facilities were seen to be lacking in many areas including Ballymun and Tallaght. Traffic complaints were mostly from Ballyfermot and older more central housing areas. Perception of untidy and despoiled environment came mostly from Ballymun and Darndale. Five of the

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27Existing work in this area has largely concentrated upon the provision or adequacy of facilities in selected residential areas. See for example, M. Whelan, "Reflections on a Community Survey", Social Studies, Vol. III, 1974, pages 1-11. Also P Cronin, Legal and Administrative Frameworks in the Development of Tallaght, unpublished dissertation, Department of Town Planning, University College, Dublin, 1975, Chapter IV.

28In the Ballymun study by the Ballymun Resource Group (1974) the housing was viewed as essentially "transit housing" while a thesis by J. Muldowney and A. Mulhall documented the wide range of problems being experienced by the residents of the Ballymun complex. See J. Muldowney and A. Mulhall, The Ballymun Project: An Objective Analysis, Department of Environmental Economics, Bolton Street, 1975, 115 pages. While O'Connor found that "people tend to move largely within the zone known to them" the major exception was the evidence of a desire for mass out movement from North city estates, particularly Ballymun. See Marie O'Connor, Local Authority Housing Residential Mobility and Preferences, Unpublished dissertation, Department of Town Planning, U.C.D., 1976, 178 pages.

29Structural faults in some Local Authority housing in Finglas were prominent news feature for much of 1978.


31The expressed dissatisfaction with Darndale is borne out by the results of interviews with the Social Workers from Dublin Corporation.

32Other studies of Ballymun have also alluded to this fact—see footnote 28, page 214.

seven complaints of overcrowding came from Ballymun and Darndale. These results are broadly similar to the complaints about environment in the Inner City — see Table 3.19.

### TABLE 4.12
Factors which respondents dislike of Area*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cause of Dissatisfaction</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vandalism</td>
<td>28.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of amenities</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Traffic hazards</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graffiti — untidy area</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overcrowded</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inconvenient location</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other factors</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

*A comparative $k^2$ test of the neighbourhood dislikes of residents in the Inner City and suburban estates proved significant at the .05 level. (see Table 3.19).

#### 4.4(3) Area Satisfaction

As indicated in Section 4.4(2) most people wished to remain in their area and were generally satisfied, despite specified irritations. While 74.0% did express some form of dissatisfaction with this area, all but 14.8% had positive likes for their area. Table 4.13 shows what respondents most liked about this area. Overwhelmingly, respondents expressed satisfaction with the type of neighbour they had.

### TABLE 4.13
What respondents like most about their Area*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Factor of Satisfaction</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant neighbours</td>
<td>39.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pleasant environment</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Convenient location</td>
<td>20.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good amenities</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other factors</td>
<td>10.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey.

*A comparative $k^2$ test of Inner City and Suburban Area likes proved significant at the .001 level.

Tallaght was one of the few areas where neighbourly satisfaction was not recorded as high. Satisfaction with both the quality of environment and the level of amenities came from respondents in older estates, e.g., Finglas and Kilmainham; Tallaght was one of the few newer areas to score on these two factors. While complaints of inconvenience had been expressed by those in peripheral estates, mentions of convenience came from the older and more central developments like Crumlin and Cabra. By contrast, Inner City respondents had rated "convenience" more highly, Table 3.18.

In a study of Tallaght, Cronin documented the lack of facilities and the inadequate development of open spaces and amenities and she went on to suggest major administrative reforms to facilitate the co-ordinated development of the area. See P. Cronin, *Administrative Frameworks and the Development of Tallaght*, unpublished dissertation, Department of Town Planning, University College, Dublin, 1975, 125 pages.
TABLE 4.14
Percentage who stated that facilities were within easy walking distance*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service/Facility</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary schools</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technical schools</td>
<td>89.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary schools</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health clinic</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community hall</td>
<td>84.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community information centre</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social welfare centre</td>
<td>67.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grocery shop</td>
<td>93.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pub</td>
<td>96.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A group of shops</td>
<td>88.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>95.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telephone kiosk</td>
<td>79.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police station</td>
<td>80.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus service</td>
<td>92.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safe place for children to play</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*The question was deliberately worded to allow for peoples' perception of distance.

In response to Question 33 which asked respondents if they perceived facilities and services to be within 'easy walking distance', the vast majority gave a positive reply in almost all cases — Table 4.14. Facilities and services were perceived as being satisfactorily close by in a very high percentage of cases, with the exception of safe play areas. Where dissatisfaction occurred, cross tabulation showed that Ballymun and Darndale had a high concentration of negative responses in relation to the availability of a number of facilities. Respondents in Ballymun mentioned the absence of adjacent community hall or community information centre, while people in Darndale were dissatisfied with the almost complete absence of shopping. However, the overall results do point towards a high level of availability of local services, regardless of the adequacy of provision, Table 4.14.

The only serious area of complaint was with the lack of perceived "safe play areas". Ninety one of the 162 respondents gave a negative response on this factor. These negative responses came predominantly from respondents in Coolock, Finglas, Darndale and those parts of Ballyfermot near Kylemore and Ballyfermot Road. The areas of complaint correspond to localities adjacent to industrial developments and are characterised by a high degree of through traffic. In the case of Ballymun 15 out of 23 respondents complained about problems with children's play areas, though this may reflect the problems of access from high rise dwellings rather than problems at ground level. An earlier study of Ballymun suggested that 78.0% of those interviewed from the Tower Blocks were fearful "of children getting hurt by cars" while 61.0% were generally fearful of children being hurt outside the tower blocks—indeed this level of apprehension was even greater in the case of spine blocks. The negative response to the

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*The failure to observe the traffic segregation aspect of neighbourhood planning in residential areas of Dublin can be argued to have contributed to the level of accidents, especially those involving children. A report by An Foras Forbartha concludes that it "is clear that the provision of attractive play areas would reduce these accidents". See E. Brangan, Accidents to Child Pedestrians in Residential Areas, An Foras Forbartha, Planning Division discussion Paper No. 2, 1973, p. 6; also R. Mulhull, "Some Social/Psychological Aspects of Housing Estate Design" in Streets for Living, An Foras Forbartha, pages 27-42.

M. Muldowney and A. Mulhall, op. cit., 1975, pages 71-72. The findings may reflect the problem that mothers can't easily watch their children at play.
availability of safe play areas in Darndale is a reflection of the lack of attention to environment on that development to date.

The general tenor of these results mirrors earlier surveys of Local Authority estates and reflects the high priority given to providing or improving child play facilities over everything else. In many respects these results raise questions about planning as distinct from housing policy and the need to incorporate housing programmes in a more positive planning framework.

4.5 Occupation and Employment

4.5(1) Occupation of Head of Household

Respondents were requested to state their normal or principal occupation, trade or profession and some 85% of respondents gave an answer to this question. The results are shown in Table 4.15 which compares them with the proportions in similar occupations for the Dublin sub-region and the State. These results show a predominance of occupations in the four groups of building and construction, transportation and labourers/unskilled and general service occupations, including commerce. Few respondents professed a white-collar occupation or were engaged in information handling or exchange.

There is a high dependence on a narrow band of occupations, especially the less skilled, amongst heads of households in the survey. When the results are compared with the total occupation structure for the Dublin sub-region and the State, it can be seen that, like the inner city, the occupations of heads of household are skewed in favour of less skilled work. Few have access to or work in the employment intensive white collar sector where jobs are secure and incomes relatively high.

Table 4.15. Transportation related occupations account for a very high percentage of occupations in the suburban survey; the high level of unskilled and semi-skilled occupations is even exceeded in the case of the inner city. Professed occupations did not show any significant correlation with type of tenure or geographic location within the survey area.

4.5(2) Employment Status

Question 19 asked if respondents were employed. Of the 155 answering this question, some 70.3% stated that they were in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>1979 survey responses</th>
<th>Occupations within Dublin sub-region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Suburban Estates</td>
<td>Inner City</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Producers, makers, etc.</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical industries</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood, paper, printing</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles, clothing</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and construction</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourers and unskilled</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers in Transportation</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical occupations</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative and professional occupations</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service occupations</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey Results, Census of Population 1971, Vol IV.

employment, of these a negligible proportion were self employed. The industrial structure of employment of the 106 persons working, but not self employed, is shown in Table 4.16 where the results are compared with those for the Dublin sub-region 1971 (1977 data not being available at this level). The results of this survey, which also shows that
TABLE 4.16
Comparative Employment Shares in Industrial Groups

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suburban areas of Dublin 1979</th>
<th>Dublin sub-region 1971</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textile industry</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food, brewing</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electrical/engineering</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building and construction</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Banking and insurance</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration and defence</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other industries</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


industrial structure of employment is not closely tied to type of tenure, show a heavy dependence upon the transportation and building industries and also the electrical and engineering industries. Few were employed in those service activities having an emphasis on the growth sector of information.

In contrast to the Dublin sub-region or the State the predominant employment industries were transportation and the electrical and related industries.

These results are broadly similar to the survey findings in the inner city, where the majority were employed in low skilled and production related employment.

4.5.(3) Place of Work
A total of 109 respondents gave general information as to place of work. The results are shown in Table 4.17. Over one third worked in the area of the city centre and competed there for less skilled jobs in most cases; here they competed with residents of the inner city for available work places (Table 3.34). Unlike residents of the inner city, only 18.3% of suburban respondents worked in the 'same area'. Table 4.16—principally, Finglas East, Ballyfermot and Tallaght. Almost one fifth of all respondents had been over 20 years in the same place of work and only 10 persons had been working less than two years in situ. For those in employment, the picture presented is one of stability and permanency, uninterrupted in most cases by the recession of the mid 1970s.

TABLE 4.17
Place of work of Suburban Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of work</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Same area</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>18.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City centre</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>33.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The port</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inner suburbs</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North industrial estates</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>11.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South industrial estates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New industrial estates</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other area</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Survey Results.

A profile of employment locations over the past 25 years confirms the above observation and identifies some interesting changes in the spatial pattern of work places. Of those who had worked in 1950 almost half worked in the city centre or the port. Although more were recorded as working in 1960, the centre was still important despite the growth of industrial estates in the suburbs. Even in 1970 half of those who said they had a job worked in the city centre or the port but the remainder had a growing choice of peripheral work locations. While allowing for the increasing numbers at work in the more recent years, the share of the workforce working in the city centre or the port shows a remarkable constancy, especially when it is remembered that these results also include the previous work addresses of persons now.

Despite the proliferation of suburban industrial estates, many may be unable to afford the cost of inter-suburb commuting.
unemployed. In this survey as in the survey of inner city households (Chapter III) the importance of city centre or part work places is strongly emphasised.

Of those travelling to work, 32.0% went by car or van while 35.1% used the bus and 22.7% either walked or cycled.

4.5(4) Unemployment: Heads of Households
In Section 4.5(2) it was shown that 106 respondents (70.3%) were in employment at the time of interview. A further 7.4% stated that they had retired. Thus, the unemployment rate amongst surveyed heads of households was 22.3%, of which only 8.7% were stated to be short term unemployed (less than 1 year). Where a female was the head of household (18 cases) only 22.0% of these were employed. Amongst male heads of households, there was a 20.9% rate of unemployment.39

The reasons why heads of household experienced unemployment, though not necessarily at the time of survey, are complex and varied. The results are set out in Table 4.18.

\[ \text{Table 4.18} \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons for being unemployed (at any time since 1974)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal health(^{40})</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>29.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Closure of firm(^{40})</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Made redundant</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seasonal unemployment(^{40})</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No job available</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retired(^{40})</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>58</td>
<td><strong>100.0</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{39}\)The unemployment range for the whole population would lie between approximately 15 and 25% at the 95% confidence limits.

\(^{40}\)Both those retired or unemployed due to ill health may be counted as 'unemployed'. However, at any point in time some 130,000 people are out of work in Ireland due to illness of which only 30,000 are short term unemployed. In addition some 350,000 persons are aged 65 years or over. See D. J. Gregg, "The Disabled Person and The Built Environment", Conference paper, November 1979, 5 pages.

Seventeen of the fifty eight respondents in this table were unemployed through health reasons, while the three causes ‘closure of firm’, ‘redundancy’ and ‘no job’ together accounted for only marginally more unemployed. Despite being in new or relatively newly developed areas, twelve respondents were stated to be retired. Whether all of these respondents would be available for work if it were provided is not clear; what is clear is that a high percentage of households have heads of households with low incomes.

The high rate of unemployment is not entirely surprising given the occupational structure of the areas in the survey.41 Forty four per cent of those in ‘building and construction’ occupations were out of work while the rate amongst labourers and unskilled was 33.3%. By contrast, there was no unemployment amongst ‘white collar’ heads of household.

The spatial pattern of unemployment varied considerably from Ballymun, where 39.0% of respondents were out of work, to Finglas (25.0%), Coolock (10.0%) and Ballyfermot (20.0%). In the case of Crumlin the level of unemployment reached 50.0% amongst heads of households.42

4.6 Education and Training

4.6(1) Utilisation of Training Services
The results show that 84.6% of heads of households stated that they had not taken part in training courses. Of the remainder most had availed of courses run by their employers; only 14.5% had participated in formal and externally run training courses, though a number of youths were employed as apprentices (Table 4.20).

Having regard to the small numbers who undertook training, it is not surprising that the results of this training are less than spectacular—half of the respondents stated that they either remained unemployed or else continued in the same job while in less than one

\(^{41}\)Geary and Hughes have demonstrated that even in periods of low overall unemployment, the level of unemployment remained high amongst the less skilled occupations: R. Geary and J. Hughes, Certain Aspects of Non-Agricultural Unemployment in Ireland. E.S.R.I. Paper No. 52, Dublin. 1970, page 10. In many cases ‘Building and Construction’ may be synonymous with ‘unskilled labour’

\(^{42}\)These findings are generally supported by a range of local surveys carried out in Coolock, Crumlin, Ballyfermot and elsewhere in late 1978 or early 1979
third of cases did their training lead to promotion. However, of the six respondents who participated in an AnCo training programme only one was unemployed at the date of survey. Others participated in courses organised by their employers or the Dublin Institute of Adult Education. The need for training and retraining must be seen within the context of overall educational levels amongst respondents which will be dealt with in Section 4.6(2).

4.6(2) Levels of Educational Attainment
Of the 162 respondents in the sub-urban household survey, 96.0% stated their personal level of educational attainment as well as that of other members of their household. Table 4.19 shows the educational attainment of respondents. Less than one fifth of all heads of household had post primary education and none had attained university or professional qualifications.

When educational attainment of householders was compared with educational achievement of their children, some interesting findings were highlighted (Table 4.20). The results should be regarded as tentative, as the different age groupings of families make direct comparisons impossible; the results do not preclude some or many of those now in primary level advancing to higher levels.

When the number of children in a family were analysed by educational status, two contrasting family types were highlighted.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Level</th>
<th>Maximum Education level attained</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>83.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocational</td>
<td>8.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Level</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: 1979 Results

(i) Where apprenticeship training was prevalent among offspring, this was the only type of second level education undertaken by the family irrespective of size.

(ii) Where secondary school education was the family norm, a much greater divergence occurred, smaller families engaging in the full secondary education cycle, while larger families tended to have children in both secondary school and apprenticeship programmes.

Attainment of Leaving Certificate by children was normally confined to a small number of children per household. Third level education had only been completed by 4 children, each from a different family, and the educational status of parents is not significant.\footnote{The results do not confirm a close correlation between educational attainment levels of parents and offspring. However, studies by both MacGreil and Breathnach demonstrate that these same areas are in need of educational priority treatment—see M. MacGreil, Educational Opportunity in Dublin, Dublin, 1974, 57 pages and A. Breathnach. Towards the Identification of Educational Priority Areas in Dublin, Economic and Social Review, Vol. 7, 1976, pp. 367-383. However, Hutchison has demonstrated a close correlation continuing between the socio-economic status of parents and children. See B. Hutchison, First Employment, Social Status and Mobility in Dublin, Economic and Social Review, Vol. 2, 1971, pages 337 348}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
\textbf{CHILDREN'S EDUCATION} & \textbf{Educational of household} & \textbf{Apprentice} & \textbf{Intermediate} & \textbf{Leaving} & \textbf{Diploma or university} & \textbf{Total} \\
& & \textbf{ship} & \textbf{Certificate} & \textbf{Certificate} & & \\
\hline
Secondary & 41.7 & 66.6 & 31.7 & 8.3 & 7.7 \\
Vocational & 23.1 & 38.5 & 23.1 & & 8.4 & \\
\hline
TOTAL & 31.5 & 39.5 & 16.0 & 2.5 & & N 154 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{TABLE 4.20 Educational level of offspring*}
\end{table}

(*This Table shows the proportion of householders with offspring in different types of education, e.g. 33.1% of respondents with only primary education have children in apprenticeship—figures consequently do not add up to 100%)

\footnote{The results do not confirm a close correlation between educational attainment levels of parents and offspring. However, studies by both MacGreil and Breathnach demonstrate that these same areas are in need of educational priority treatment—see M. MacGreil, Educational Opportunity in Dublin, Dublin, 1974, 57 pages and A. Breathnach. Towards the Identification of Educational Priority Areas in Dublin, Economic and Social Review, Vol. 7, 1976, pp. 367-383. However, Hutchison has demonstrated a close correlation continuing between the socio-economic status of parents and children. See B. Hutchison, First Employment, Social Status and Mobility in Dublin, Economic and Social Review, Vol. 2, 1971, pages 337 348}
While participation rates in post primary education exceeded those of their parents, there was evidence of a rapid fall off after the intermediate and participation rates still lag considerably behind the national average.\footnote{In a recent study, Joy Rudd highlighted this fall off, where only 55% of children in Fairfield were in second level education, Joy Rudd, Out in the Cold, Hope Ltd., Dublin, 1979, 54 pages.}

Other factors important in determining the level of education acquired by offspring were: occupation, tenancy and area of residence. This was not surprising in that many children in the new Local Authority areas have yet to complete their primary education, while those in the older areas had neither the income nor the incentive to commit themselves to, in what was up to recent times, an expensive educational programme for their children.

4.7 Summary and Conclusions

The suburban household survey carried out in February 1979 revealed that households in the survey area were considerably disadvantaged relative to the “middle class” areas or the Dublin sub-region generally. Generally, the characteristics of these areas as revealed by the 1971 Census of Population still maintain. In many ways the household deprivation revealed in this survey bears a close resemblance to that of households in the inner city, despite the structural contrasts in their populations.

The 162 respondents in this survey of Local Authority estates, with an average household size of 5.3, represented a total population of 853, of whom 34.7% were under 14 years of age. These areas had more young people and fewer old people than either the inner city or the sub-region. By and large the results indicate a high level of residential stability with 60.8% of respondents having lived in the dwelling for at least ten years. In the case of older estates, people had come largely from within the canal ring, while the newer estates were also being populated by “second generation” families moving from their parents’ homes in the older estates in search of their own home.

Almost half of the Local Authority houses were still rented, though “purchase houses” were widely distributed and accounted for 39.3% of the dwelling stock. While family size was large (relative to either the inner city or the Dublin sub-region) few dwellings had more than three bedrooms, giving rise to a serious mismatch between dwelling and household size.\footnote{Baker and O’Brien describe the Irish housing market as efficient but inequitable. “Nevertheless efficiency could be improved considerably; mainly through extending the range of choice open to households within the constraints of the present allocation of resources to the system,” (p.251) T. J. Baker and L. M. O’Brien, The Irish Housing System: A Critical Overview, Broadsheet No. 17, Economic and Social Research Institute, Dublin, April, 1979, 272 pages.}

Despite this mismatch and many complaints about their actual dwelling, most people wished to remain in their area, their choice having been influenced by “good neighbours”, “pleasant environment” and “convenience”. While kinship ties are not shown to be as strong as in the inner city (Section III), respondents did have substantial numbers of family and relatives living nearby and older areas appear to have “settled” though it is not possible to count the social cost of this protracted settling process.

Though most areas appear lay areas for children, 74.0% expressed some degree of area dissatisfaction, principally related to problems of vandalism, lack of amenities, undotiness and traffic problems. Of those wishing to move either from their present dwelling or their area of residence, the motive was usually related to their housing improvement.

As in the case of the inner city, the respondents recorded a predominance of less skilled occupations, with emphasis upon the transportation activities and a very high level of unemployment—the unemployment rate amongst male heads of household being 20.9%. Reasons for either permanent or temporary unemployment since 1974 were various, though dominated by health reasons (29.3%). Training or retraining was mostly “on the job” and those who attended AnCo courses had found suitable employment as a rule. While few of the respondents had had post primary education, their offspring have a wider choice available, though participation seems to fall off dramatically after the Intermediate examination stage.\footnote{The estimated percentage of young age cohorts entering Higher Education in 1979 was as follows: males aged 18 years, 11.5%; females aged 18 years, 8.1%. By contrast, middle-class area had estimated participation rates of 24% in Sutton Horwich and 44% in Blackrock. See P. Clancy and C. Benson, Higher Education in Dublin, H. E. A. Dublin, 1979, 46 pages.}

The Local Authority estates covered by this survey reveal a serious concentration of social and economic problems in many ways reminiscent of the problems of inner city households. In contrast to the...
inner city, these estates do not have a complex land use structure, nor do they experience the type of land use conflicts so evident in the inner city. However, in common with many other rapidly developing suburbs, local authority estates are often characterised by monotonous housing developments, inadequate vegetation and an unattractive visual environment with consequent social and psychological implications which will be looked at in Section V.

SECTION V

THE PROCESSES OF CHANGE AT THE URBAN PERIPHERY

5.1 Introduction

In an analysis of urban growth processes and the spatial patterns of change, Sinclair suggests that the forces of change are largely concentrated in two areas—around the city centre and also along the urban edge.1 These processes of change have serious social consequences for those in the path of change and also for those coming in the wake of change. In the case of Dublin, Section III has looked at households conditions and other factors in the changing Inner City. Section IV was devoted to an analysis of the characteristics and conditions of households in those modern suburbs developed by the Local Authorities themselves. The results of that survey indicate that, while people wish to remain in the same area, there was a high degree of dissatisfaction with individual dwellings and also with environmental quality and the availability, adequacy or location of amenities. These problems were seen to be most acute in the newer areas and, while they may be transitory in nature, they often co-exist with families' greatest need for these same services and facilities. Many of these problems are common to most new housing estates and may be even more acute in private estates where the Local Authority has less control over the provision or phasing of developments. The need for adequate and convenient facilities and a well planned environment is most important in the newer areas where families are usually just settling in to family life, coping with the problems of young children and many adapting to life away from their families or their friends and contacts in other parts of the city. Indeed this process may entail a dilution of the role of established social and contact networks.

While the resources were not available to undertake any detailed examination of these problems in terms of original research, sufficient disparate sources of material now exist to provide an over picture of the problems encountered by residents in this outer area of transition and the approaches being made to cater for people's needs.

5.2 Suburban Development and Planning

5.2(1) Dublin’s Suburban Developments

The development and planning of suburban areas is particularly important in Dublin for several reasons. The rapid growth of the Dublin population, coupled with the decline and thinning out of centre city population, has created a massive demand for suburban land. The land area of Dublin increased from 9,000 hectares to 16,000 between 1946 and 1972. Agricultural land is being consumed by Dublin expansion at a rate of some 1,000 acres per annum—a rate that is likely to continue if the area grows by the expected 300,000 between 1971 and 1991. The problems of coping with such a rapid rate of expansion pose particular problems having regard to the traditional planning in Dublin, the limited number of staff and the general inadequacy of existing resources allocated for social developments.

While urban populations throughout the Western world have shown preference for suburban living, sociologists and planners have reacted negatively to suburbs which were seen as nebulous, unstructured, amorphous accretions on to the urban core—a strong anti-urban theme runs through much of the writing about suburbia. As in other countries, the Dublin suburbs were also found wanting. While they provided space for sanitary accommodation and a contrast with the overcrowded tenements they were often seen by sociologists and planners as ‘wildernesses’ or a source of ‘fear and apprehension’ to all lovers of the beauty of both city and country. Dublin suburbs continue to suffer criticism on three major grounds. In terms of their architecture and design many would agree with MacDonnell that we have created “a predominance of ribbon developed, semi-detached houses of dreadful design” —“if Architecture is an expression of the culture of an age . . . . we are indeed now in a rather poor state.”


Though based on different calculations, these estimates are similar to the land estimates in Myles Wright, The Dublin Region, Stationery Office, Dublin, 1967, 64 pages.

This is the expected natural increase figure for the 1971 population of the Dublin sub-region, 850,000 in 1971 and 1,150,000 in 1991.


Fehily argues that much of our new building displays “insensitivity to context” but he also suggests that ultimately “the quality of the neighbourhood will depend largely on the residents”. In visual terms the suburbs are often criticised for their monotony, lack of landscaping and lack of imaginative design. Secondly, they may be criticised for their lack of basic facilities or services or for a time-lag in that provision. The lack of facilities may have a direct impact on the quality of life especially of the lower income and less mobile groups. Thirdly, the poor planning and design of suburban areas may have psychological as well as social consequences for the inhabitants.

5.2(2) Issues in Suburban Development

Suburban developments have been found wanting by their critics in a number of important respects. Firstly, serious problems may arise from the lack of timing in the provision of basic facilities such as shops, schools, recreation facilities. The absence of such amenities affects the way people live, the way an area develops and the degree of contentment and satisfaction people have with their area. The absence of essential facilities will generally impose a greater burden upon the old, the less mobile and those with young families. More recent literature places particular attention on the importance of good design in residential areas. While appreciation of design quality is a very personal matter there is a growing belief that good design is important “not only to the subculture of architects and planners but also to the general public.” Many are concerned about the quality of suburbia and the effect of this on residents. The suburbs are seen to lack legibility and clarity, nor do they offer a sense of emotional security or heighten the intensity of human experience. Rather all too often the suburbs offer muddle, uniformity and lack of identity or “inscape”. Apart from the visual distaste of much new development there is growing concern about the psychological impact of environment upon residents and others including Parr go so far as to suggest that a monotonous environment may contribute to social problems of alienation, delinquency and vandalism.


The effects of this time-lag have been recently documented by L. Browne “Aspects of Depriation on New Dublin Corporation Housing Estates” Mimeo, 1979, 10 pages.


While much more research is required into the impact of the built environment upon residents, evidence to date is sufficient to make it apparent that the psychological consequences of environmental design must be a major concern of those who plan cities. Irish research into this facet of planning has been singularly neglected and the following sections are intended to highlight disparate aspects of the suburban environment of social consequence but requiring much further research.

5.2(3) The Planning Approach to Dublin Suburbs
Given the rate of growth and expansion of Dublin, as outlined in Section 5.2, it is hardly surprising to find that the transition from green field to suburb is not uniform and often creates serious problems for people moving into the areas. Many of the problems may be temporary in nature and arise, at least in part, from the limited function of the Planning Authorities and their lack of control over the delivery of services and facilities, particularly those provided by the private sector. The limited functions of the Planning Authorities will be further discussed in Section 6.1.

The organisational framework for the long term expansion of Dublin derives broadly from the Wright report on The Dublin Region as implemented through the Dublin County Development Plan, 1971. The County Development Plan promotes the expansion and development of western “new towns” at Tallaght, Lucan/Clondalkin and Blanchardstown, as well as facilitating some further expansion in the Northern and Southern suburbs. Within these growth areas the Planning Authorities seek to promote a cellular structure of development based upon neighbourhood units of about 5,000 persons within easy reach of schools, shops and a hierarchy of amenities: traffic is segregated upon through traffic, thereby enhancing safety and possibly helping to integrate the residents socially. Within this spatial framework increasing attention is paid to design details such as street layout, house design, preservation of amenities and landscape features. As well as adjacent industrial estates, it is the long term objective of the planning authority to attract major shopping and non-industrial employment to these “new towns”.

In seeking to develop this cellular structure the planning authorities face innumerable problems; they may face opposition from developers who do not wish to harmonise their designs or adhere to the basic layout, developers may be reluctant to offer a satisfactory diversity of house types or may fail to deliver on the provision of amenities. The overall unity of the development may be frustrated through innumerable re-applications and appeals. Meanwhile the Roads department may not have the resources to follow up the roads proposals. Further complications may arise as the provision of neighbourhood shopping is seen to be an unattractive commercial proposition while the planning authority depends on a host of agencies to provide schools, community centres, social facilities, churches, telephone, recreation facilities and employment.

While the land use functions of the planning authorities have been followed satisfactorily, the complex problems of implementation all too often present an image of the new suburbia as disorganised, chaotic and in the popular mind “unplanned”.

The following parts of this section present a generalised overview of the transition to suburbia and seeks to assess conditions in a number of emerging or rapidly developing suburban areas. The sources of material for this overview are threefold:

(a) Corporation reports and studies.
(b) Detailed local surveys.
(c) Results of observation surveys of 8 new suburban parishes.

18All these problems may be even more intractable in the Northern and Southern “formless” fringes and in those areas and circumstances where permission for development has been granted on appeal, even contrary to the wishes of the planning authority.
19The parishes concerned were Rivermount, Cuduff, Casteknock, Leixlip, Cherry Orchard, Kilmacanagh, Springfield and Ballinteer. The authors acknowledge the assistance of the First Year Town Planning students in undertaking the surveys as well as the assistance of clergy, social workers and planners concerned with those areas. For operational reasons the Roman Catholic Parish was used in this analysis since it represents the framework within which schools, religious and social activities are organised locally. While these areas are representative of most newer areas around Dublin, generalisation would be dangerous.
5.3 Phasing and Housing Development

5.3(1) Phasing and Development
The speed of operation and general phasing of development is likely to be affected by a variety of factors including the difficulties of site assemblage, acquiring title, planning requirements, financing, land servicing and development complications. The phasing will also be affected by the type and scale of operation of the developing agency. Thus, most Local Authority estates on the North side involve several hundred dwellings and were erected over a short period of time, e.g. Kilbarrack, Popintree and Cherry Orchard. Similarly a large private developer may develop and own all the land as in the case of Kilnamanagh. However, it is more usual in the case of the private sector for a number, often many small, developers to carry out the development. Thus in the case of Bayside upwards of ten developers have been in operation over a period of almost twenty years while Castleknock similarly has a fragmented and protracted development record as do most parts of the Southern suburbs, e.g. Ballinteer-Dundrum.

The protracted and fragmented process of much of the private development, often leading to re-application, delays and changes, makes it difficult to achieve a rational overall pattern, often results in a suboptimal pattern and level of provision of facilities and services and may give rise to additional difficulties and anxieties for residents.

5.3(2) Residential Area Structuring
As indicated earlier suburbs have long been subjected to criticism for the formlessness and lack of cohesive structure. In an attempt to overcome this lack of form and structure, sociologists and planners have often relied on the neighbourhood concept to provide a better form of layout and a more satisfactory framework for the provision of facilities and daily activities.\(^1\) The typical Dublin suburb of the 1950s or 1960s was laid out with a seemingly endless series of interlinking roads, usually of standard width and design, facilitating through movement of traffic and lacking any apparent logic or coherence.

\(^1\)Though often attributed to Clarence Stein (1929) many elements of the neighbourhood concept were evident in Abercrombie’s Dublin of the Future, 1916. The first clear statement of the social concept of neighbourhood may be attributed to Jacob Rits in St. Louis in 1902.

Shops were provided randomly, if at all, as were churches and other facilities. Particularly in the case of private development, open space, if provided at all, was not provided with regard to centrality or user needs. Maywood (Raheny) and Churchtown are illustrative of such underprovision.

Since the late 1960s a more integrated approach has emerged based broadly on a variation of the neighbourhood idea and consisting of a number of elements.

a. Residential unit size of around 5,000 population.
b. Segregation of through and local traffic.
c. Diversity of housing types increasingly grouped around short cul-de-sacs.
d. Adequate open space—arranged hierarchically and including at least 10% of area or 4.13 acres per 1,000 population.
e. A major park of at least 33 acres to serve two adjoining neighbourhoods.
f. A commercial focus consisting of a church, community service building, pub, 10,000 sq. ft. shopping and ideally an adjoining school allowing for dual use of its facilities and in turn availing of common parking facilities. Normally, such a centre would not be more than 15 minutes walking distance from the peripheral parts of the neighbourhood.
g. A greater degree of attention than in the past to existing amenities and landscape features and greater attention to tree planting and landscaping.
h. Nearby provision of work opportunities (industry).

This approach is being followed closely in the Blanchardstown area. The Corduff neighbourhood had a population of 5,300 in early 1979 and will have a 1991 population of 7,000.\(^2\) Springfield in Tallaght provides an interesting use of this form of residential development where the work of a number of builders has been combined to produce a reasonably logical spatial arrangement. Similar approaches have

\(^2\)The situation in Corduff represents reasonable land-use planning but inadequate follow up. Thus, shops have not been provided in the neighbourhood nor has the Community Building as yet been adapted. Similarly a health centre and nearby work opportunities are planned but lagging behind population expansion. While there is a logical spatial arrangement, the social infrastructure to develop a community is not provided.
been followed in the action plans for Local Authority areas, e.g. Rivermount.

5.3(3) **Diversity of Housing Design**
The overall design of housing in the suburbs has been criticised frequently, and the case for a design guide implicitly argued. Inflexible road standards coupled with bye-law controls gives little flexibility to either architects or planners. Both the Essex and Cheshire design guides portray a more intricate and personal living environment with more attention to the needs of people than cars. There is growing acceptance in Ireland of the need to place the aesthetic objective and the quality of the living environment as a top priority.

An examination of Dublin suburbs shows a great deal of uniformity still persisting in housing design. For example 77.0% of housing in Tallaght is private, largely three bedrooms or less and much in the form of terraces. In the case of Rivermount only 1% of the housing has more than three bedrooms and almost all are terraced. Kilnamangan represents a major private estate of almost uniform house design—95% semi-detached and three bedroomed. Corduff, an area of both public and private housing, has 94% of all housing in the 3 bedroom size group but only half in terraces. By contrast the more prestige residential area of Castleknock had almost all housing as "detached" layout and 95% of all houses had more than 3 bedrooms. The diversity of design both within and between housing developments in Castleknock is seldom replicated in the less expensive private developments and never in the public estates. Within private estates a variety of builders, each with their own standard design, may offer some diversity overall but little mix in any given area. Ballinteer offers a prime example in this regard. On the other hand Local Authority estates conform to an almost uniform and standard design of house for each estate, e.g. Kilbarrack and Finglas.

This Monotony of design may be offset by landscaping, local topographical features or individual initiative—though the latter may be carried to excess. A visual survey of estates in Churchtown, Artane, Ballinteer or Leixlip does suggest that they do mature well as vegetation and detail alterations enhance the character of the area.

5.4 **Population and Employment**

5.4(1) **Rate of Population Growth**
The population of these suburban areas has mushroomed almost overnight, areas have been transformed from greenfield sites in 1970 into large urban estates by 1979. This is particularly the case of Local Authority estates where large scale construction methods and the method of allocation allow for a large scale, almost simultaneous influx of people, e.g. Dardanelle, where about 500 houses were occupied within a space of a few days in summer 1974.

The scale of population change is most dramatically seen in the case of Tallaght, a small village as recently as 1966. By 1971 Tallaght had a population of 6,174; by 1976 its population was 32,000 and is forecast to have 136,000 in just over eleven years time. At the smaller scale growth can be even more dramatic, depending on the type of developer and the size and phasing of the operation. Thus, the public housing development of Rivermount grew from almost zero in 1971 to 8,750 in 1979; Corduff grew from 140 in 1971 to 5,300 in 1979 while Cherry Orchard, part of Lucan/Clondalkin, is also growing rapidly. Generally, growth rates in private developments, though less spectacular, are also great e.g., Leixlip which increased from 2,621 in 1971 to 7,500 in 1979; Ballinteer grew from around 4,000 in 1971 to 12,000 in 1979.

Thus, many of Dublin's suburbs are characterised by a very rapid transition to suburbia which imposes strains on the residents and creates problems for the development agencies.

5.4(2) **Population Structure**
Suburbs are often criticised in the literature because of the seemingly excessive homogeneity of the areas in terms of age, family structure or class. New suburbs can generally be expected to be populated by...

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25This viewpoint was advanced strongly at the Conference on Streets for Living, organised by An Foras Forbartha. See also L. Johnson, "Guest Article": Plan, Vol. 10, No. 4/5, 1979, page 7.
26While the An Foras Forbartha survey of Housing Size (Dublin 1979) indicates that house size has increased in the 1976-78 period, the survey was confined to private house building. Even in this sector, restrictions on finance are encouraging greater emphasis upon smaller, less expensive housing.
27This is not to say that suburbs are the domain of any one class; rather that different social classes have virtually exclusive domination of different parts of the suburbs, e.g. Dalkey versus Dardanelle.
people in the early stages of the life cycle and to have a virtual absence of old people.

While over 30% of the national and sub-regional population was aged 0-14 years in 1975, many of the newer areas had between 40% and 50% of all population in these age groups, with inevitable demands for the provision and phasing of facilities. Many of these services are financed by Central Government and in the context of limited resources often lag seriously behind demand. Are there alternative ways of providing these services?

Both the statistics and the related material cited in Section IV testify to the large family size and the high number of dependent youth in these areas, e.g. Ballybrack No. 1 with 42.0% 0-14 in 1971, Beann Eadair B (Sutton) 38.5% and Artane G with 59.6% under 14 years of age. By contrast the percentage of population over 65 years in these wards in 1979 was 3.4%, 3.9% and 0.4% respectively, as compared to 8.4% for the Dublin sub-region and 11.1% nationally. The very high proportion of very young people places enormous pressures on facilities such as local open spaces, schools and community centres. These pressures and needs are all the greater because of the absence of old people who might, in other circumstances, be available to care for children. The absence of essential facilities may create long term problems for the population which manifest themselves in both the very young and the teenage population. As Rudd states in relation to providing facilities, the "long-term benefit would far outweigh the immediate financial burden of helping these communities to be self-sufficient and self-supportive". 28

5.4(3) Occupation and Place of Employment
Because of the nature of the housing market and the close association between class, occupation, income and housing, occupations and travel to work patterns tend to differ significantly between different social areas. Thus, in 1972, a survey of journey-to-work amongst 3,869 office workers in Central Dublin showed that only negligible proportions come from those postal areas with a high level of public housing, e.g. Dublin 11 and Dublin 10. 29 The majority of families in private housing areas depend on income from white-collar jobs—jobs which are highly centralised within central Dublin and necessitate suburb to centre commuting to work. By contrast, industry, with its extensive land requirements inevitably is less centralised, in addition the Local Authorities have successfully fostered a policy of diversifying industrial location throughout the built-up area. 30 In consequence it is not surprising that workers in industry often have work opportunities available locally, but of course they may not avail of these local opportunities.

Within suburban parishes it is normal to find a mix of public and private housing and so different patterns of commuting tend to develop: white-collar commuting is predominantly focussed upon the city centre while blue-collar workers commute to the city centre, the port and across suburbs. Because of the radial nature of routes in Dublin cross suburb travel may pose problems, especially since many blue-collar workers do not own cars. In studies in Britain access to work was rated important by about half of the respondents in the low cost areas. 31 In a study of transfers from Local Authority estates within Dublin, O'Connor found that overall job location was not the most important factor but in Kilbarrack almost a quarter of respondents wished to move to the South side to be nearer to work. 32

Within Dublin the diversification of industrial locations around the perimeter of the built up area, coupled with a public housing allocation system that has regard to 'place of work', should lessen the necessity for long term commuting to manufacturing work: by contrast the prospects of locational diversification of office work are extremely limited at present.

5.5 Facilities and Open Spaces
5.5(1) Provision and Phasing of Facilities
While the Planning Authority has responsibility for land use zoning, the act of zoning itself does little to provide the use or service and may not

28HOPE Ltd. (U. Rudd) Out in the Cold, Dublin 1979, page 25.
30In 1977 the Corporation estimated that half of the industrial jobs in the County Borough were inside the canal ring. This estimate does not take into account the major estates on the periphery. Since 1977 decline in the centre and growth on the edge will have lessened the relative importance of the centre.
even control or influence the price being sought. The problems of providing facilities will be influenced by the availability of land and finances and whether the developer is the Local Authority or a private developer. Comprehensive planning requires that a range of facilities, both public and private, be provided in residential areas, simultaneously with the housing development. These facilities include schools, community/health centres, post office/telephone, bus service, church, shops, public house and employment centres, if possible.

The survey results reported on in Section IV showed that there was a considerable degree of dissatisfaction with the provision and standard of available facilities. The level of dissatisfaction increased sharply in some of the newer areas where housing provision had not been matched by either the public sector or the private, e.g., Darndale with its lack of adequate shopping.

In the case of national schools, the necessary land (circa 4 acres) is zoned for education in the Development Plan but even though it is zoned for education, it is still likely to command residential land prices. Since the community is required to provide the school site and a portion of the cost of development, these requirements pose a heavy burden on a new area. This burden may be relieved—at least temporarily—through the activities of SHARE in the Roman Catholic diocese of Dublin. In new areas the acquisition and development of a site may create a time lag while in expanding areas old schools may be unable to cope with the influx.

Post primary education facilities, though not so urgently required, pose serious difficulties in newly developed areas. Such secondary or vocational schools as may predate the growth of the suburbs are likely to be unable to cater for expected demand—e.g. Tallaght, Malahide, Leixlip or Sutton. From the parish surveys, it is evident that community schools were proposed to meet future needs but were not operational at the time of the surveys. In the case of both national and community schools there is increasing attention being paid to the possible dual use of their facilities and their integration into community activities. Thus, schools may utilise some adjacent public open space and vice versa. While the school hall and other facilities may serve as a community hall and function rooms; indeed under such dual use arrangements the school hall may qualify for a grant from the Community and Environment Department of Dublin Corporation. Such an arrangement with the school authorities may meet the communities needs for indoor sport and large meetings but an analysis of the community needs of Bayside Parish suggests that further “community” accommodation is needed to cater for the multiplicity of demand in the area. This additional need derives from the diverse requirements of small and specialised sporting, cultural, educational and social groups. Because of the conflicting nature of many of these uses, special care has to be taken in the design of such buildings. In addition, the location of such buildings should be related to available public open space to ensure the integration of both indoor and outdoor activities.

Needless to say such public facilities should be central to the area and should have regard to the other elements of a neighbourhood centre such as the church, shopping, etc. As in the case of dual use of school hall, there is a case of dual use of church facilities. Thus in Darndale a small oratory, which functions as a permanent church, is coupled to a large community facility which can be used as church extension, school hall and community centre. Such multiplicity of use offers an economical way of providing essential facilities, at least in the early stages, and this approach is supported by the Local Authority and the R.C. church Boundary Committee.

In the case of facilities provided by the private sector, questions of scale and phasing offer particular problems. The provision of convenient neighbourhood shopping is an essential element in any residential development; such provision is particularly important in the less accessible new areas where mothers are less mobile and have to cope with young families, often depending on infrequent bus services. Neighbourhood level shopping is an essential ingredient in the cellular approach presently being adopted by Dublin County Council in the development of the Western areas. However, many private commercial developers look unfavourably upon shopping developments of only

33Where the Local Authority is active in the local land market it is possible for the Local Authority to purchase land for educational needs as part of its wider land acquisition programme. In such cases the Local Authority normally provides the site for the schools at or near “cost” price at a considerable saving to the Local Community.

34SHARE is an organisation established by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin to financially assist the provision of facilities (churches and schools etc.) in new suburban parishes—particularly in the poorer ones.

35Since completion of the surveys a number of new Community Schools have commenced operation, e.g. Tallaght and more are planned e.g. Baldvalle.

about 10,000 sq. ft. as do some of the potential tenants. Rather, they favour a larger more centralised provision serving several neighbourhoods, but in the process such an approach pays little attention to convenience or the neighbourhood centre concept. The Dublin Local Authorities have had considerable success in providing individual "corner" shops in public housing estates but in general the market is more interested in district than neighbourhood shopping centres. In consequence residents of some developments such as Darndale have to depend upon inadequate mobile shopping. The survey of suburban estates shows that Springfield, Corduff and Leixlip are areas with inadequate shopping where the take up of zoned land has been slow. While the neighbourhood centre approach seeks to incorporate a public house in each centre, licensing laws in the County area limit the number of pubs by requiring a one mile minimum distance between outlets, thus leading to a small number of overly large establishments. This militates against good planning and turns a community social facility into a 'drinking factory'.

The major problem of suburban estates relates to the phasing of investment and the co-ordination of delivery. Generally, those services provided by the Local Authorities, especially in Local Authority estates are well co-ordinated. The major problem appears to be the difficulty of attracting private investment in the area of shopping as well as mobilising community resources. Discussions with the Planning Authorities and surveys of the areas do however point to serious difficulties in the provision of bus and telephone services by the statutory authorities.37

5.5(2) Open Space Provision and Development
Within the Dublin sub-region, the Planning Authorities seek to provide a hierarchy of open spaces ranging from small local parks and playlots to major community parks such as Marley and Malahide Castle. Within residential neighbourhoods the developer is required to provide 4.13 acres per 1,000 population with a minimum of 10% of the land area of the development as open space. The open space standards laid down by Dublin County Council are set out in Table 5.1. In this way it is hoped to provide a hierarchy of space at convenient locations, meeting the complex recreational needs of people. In the case of Local Authority estates the Public Authority is responsible for all aspects of open space provision, development and maintenance. While private developers are required to provide open space (See Table 5.1) it has been all too common for developers to seek to reduce the area left as open space through subsequent reapplications and appeals. In addition, the open space is often the last part of the area to be developed; where the development has been protracted, the derelict nature of the 'open space' places a serious burden on residents, having regard to the population composition as discussed above. Section 25 of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1976 strengthens the powers of Planning Authorities in enforcing open space development.38 Even where the private developer hands over a properly seeded and landscaped open space, as per the planning permission requirements, further work will usually be required by the Parks Department of the Planning Authority to convert it into a recreational area and amenity.39

The survey results show that Local Authority estates were better planned in this respect than private developments. The results show that the hierarchy of provision is emerging. Thus, open space in Springfield, Tallaght is broken up into playlots, local parks, playing fields and in total providing 31.6 hectares to cater for a 1979 population of 6,500 and an ultimate population of 11,000. In Rivermount, Finglas, a hierarchy excluding playlots has been provided. In Corduff and Kilnamanagh open space standards are being achieved. On the other hand housing areas near to some special feature appear to have a lower level of provision internally. Thus, Ballinter (near Marley), Castleknock (near Phoenix Park) and Leixlip (near Liffey Valley) have low levels of provision and lower overall standards. In general the Local Authority estates are seen as better planned in this regard and better landscaped.

37The transport problems of residents in new areas are compounded by a number of factors including the division of responsibility between the Local Authority and C.I.E., the general inadequacy of the bus fleet at present and C.I.E.'s major preoccupation with city centre service rapid transit services.

38Dublin Corporation has recently announced new and stronger measures to "encourage" developers to comply with the amenity aspects of their development permissions.

39Under Section 26 (2) of the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963, the local authority may recoup its outlay from the developer.
<table>
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<td>Local amenity parks</td>
<td>2.5 acres</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>For two to five year old children</td>
<td>Playlots</td>
<td>800 sq. yds.</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>(220 yds.)</td>
<td>413 acres</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unfortunately, too often open space still appears to be unused or left over space, lacking integration into the overall plan. The general adherence to a minimum standard does not ensure that the quality of the open space is adequate. Too often open space is more of a buffer zone between houses and incompatible uses than a useable amenity.

The surveys of housing environments highlight the need to distinguish between open space provision and its development. An examination of open space in Cherry Orchard, Rivermount, Finglas West, Ballymun and Darndale gives the general impression that these areas are more aptly described as derelict sites, often characterised by inadequate levelling and seeding, little or no surviving evidence of landscaping and no recreational facilities. While many of the parish surveys indicated that development of the open spaces was incomplete there is evidence of increased attention to landscaping and tree planting, e.g. Corduff where £90,000 is being spent on landscaping.

The general impression from the surveys is that the Northern and parts of the Western edge of the built up area need much more careful treatment and attention to landscaping. At present, too many of the ‘open spaces’ are apparently derelict and given over to temporary encampments of itinerants and their scrap yards.

5.6 Itinerant Location Around Dublin

In Dublin there are approximately 12,500 itinerants. Dempsey is convinced that itinerancy is a problem and an aspect of poverty, that educational deprivation is acute and that movement into settled society is what the majority of itinerants themselves want. The problem of integrating itinerants into the settled community is great, and there is a need to ascertain whether it is a feasible or indeed a desirable policy. Three main categories can be distinguished.

1. Those who wish to settle and to lose their identity as travellers and become completely integrated into the settled community.
2. Those who wish to settle, but would like to keep their identity as travellers.
3. Those who wish to remain on the road.

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*47 Ibid, p.39
The programme for settlement of the travelling people in 1975 stated that “settlement on its own is not sufficient and must be supported by a suitable programme of education, social work and community development”. The establishment of sites is a necessary step towards solving a social problem. On the periphery of the city itinerants have strived to exist in terrible conditions. The policy of the Dublin Authorities is to provide planned halting and settlement sites for itinerants. Halting sites (e.g. Popintree) offer hardstanding surface, public lighting and facilities for at least 20 families. Five major settlement sites, accommodating 30 to 40 families each, have been provided with a variety of facilities, e.g. hardstanding surfaces, concrete annexe, outdoor stove and basic facilities, e.g. Lamberry Park, Ballyfermot and Avilla Park, Finglas. More recent sites pay greater attention to education, training and kinship ties, e.g. Cara Park and St. Olives, Clondalkin. Despite the work of public authorities itinerant sites are often seen as an eyesore by adjoining residents and has led to different approaches to the problem.

Increasingly itinerant families appear to realise the benefits of keeping children in primary school. The impact of itinerant settlements on nearby residential schemes can be great, particularly in relation to wayward children. The main aspect of the problem, however, is poverty and deprivation of most itinerants. Constitutionally, the State has a duty to educate the children, irrespective of the parents wishes. This will have to be done using unrelenting persuasion. The provision of more serviced halting sites for those who do not wish to live in houses or who choose the itinerant way of life would vastly improve the living conditions of those now on the roadside and could lead to less frequent movement and permit children to obtain some uninterrupted education. The development of an adequate programme to help and accommodate itinerants should both help the development of the families and also in the process improve the physical aspect of the environment for the itinerants, local residents and the city in general.

5.7 Land Availability and Land Policy

Many of the problems dealt with in this as well as the preceding sections are strongly influenced by the location, availability and price of land. An examination of urban development in the Netherlands, West Germany or the Scandinavian countries suggests that effective and orderly urban development depends upon public ownership and control of development land. In most of these countries land development by municipalities has ensured the achievement of planning objectives; here the municipalities were able to obtain land without development rights, buy it in sufficient quantity to set the market price and dispose of it in such a way as to recoup development costs. Over the past forty years British planning policy has generally favoured some form of community ownership of land or public recoupment of the betterment accruing from servicing, zoning and development.

Planning exists to help control and guide the urban land market towards orderly and efficient development. The OECD report points out that this task is most difficult in the case of the fringe development of large rapidly growing cities and that all too often land owners are generally successful in opposing land use controls; indeed the report points out that better informed planning offices can help reduce the role of speculators.

In Ireland public authorities requiring land for urban expansion or desirous of building up a land bank have either to buy land on the open market or compulsorily acquire it at market prices. With land demands

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42For example, Darnadale residents have threatened action unless the contiguous site is cleared.

43Dublin County Council advocate small sites accommodating about four families each while the Corporation favour large sites where a range of social services can be concentrated. However, the Secretary of the Dublin Committee for Travelling People has been extremely critical of the lack of a serviced site or halt in the southern part of County Dublin, Irish Times, 12 February 1980.

44Itinerant children constitute about 25% of Dublin's wayward children who are to be found sleeping rough in the Inner City, Dun Laoghaire, Clondalkin, Finglas and elsewhere. These children will be helped by the work of the new Assessment Centre in Ballymun. Wayward children generally, many having left home because of overcrowding or lack of local amenities, are benefitting from the two successful Youth Encounter Programmes operating in Dublin under the auspices of the Department of Education. The decision to appoint Development Officers to help train voluntary workers should also help. See also J. Rudd, Out in The Cold, Hope, 1979.


47The case for public recoupment of a major portion of betterment value was the subject of the Ulthwatt Report, HMSO, 1942. Many of the objectives of this early report lay behind the introduction of the UK Community Land Act, 1975.

48G. M. Neutze, op cit.
for urban expansion running at about 1,000 acres per annum and with high rates of inflation, it is probably inevitable that land costs would escalate. In the early 1970s public concern with increasing house prices—in which land costs were a definite factor—led to the establishment of the Committee on the Prices of Building Land (Kenny). The terms of reference of the Committee included an examination of measures to control the price of land for housing and other forms of development and ensure that benefits arising from the actions of Public Authorities accrue to the community.

In a submission to the Kenny Committee it was pointed out that advance purchase of land in the right place at the right time would ensure orderly development. The level of land value (and hence land cost) was the result of the interaction of many factors but appeared to be primarily the outcome of a supply-demand relationship. The supply would be both ensured and regulated through public acquisition of sufficient land to meet both public and private demands; land would then be serviced by the Local Authority and released on the market as swiftly as possible to prevent a backlog of demand. The submission argued that the public acquisition of land, matched by investment in infrastructure, would help control land values and foster orderly planning.

Though the Committee on the price of Building Land had great difficulty in getting reliable data, it went on to examine the causes of the increase in land prices and the various types of legislation and methods to control excessive land prices. The Committee recommended a system of Designated Areas in which land likely to be required for urban expansion could be acquired at existing use value plus, one quarter. Though the recommendations remain "under review" it has not been possible to proceed with their implementation to date.

In the absence of the "Kenny" Scheme or some alternative, land acquisition for urban expansion can prove costly and protracted and give rise to disorderly development. Land holding in expectation of profit from future development may be considered as short, medium or long term while the land may be viewed as of prime, good or poor development potential. At present large developers have acquired substantial land holdings in prime locations (i.e. zoned and easily serviced) which they service and wholesale to smaller developers at high costs. In consequence small builders must pay highly for serviced sites or seek unserviced land in less prime locations often farther from the city, e.g. Celbridge, Dunboyne.

In an effort to guide the land market and hold the price of sites at a somewhat reasonable price, the Local Authorities engage in extensive land purchasing on the open market. This land is that made available for community uses or for housing at little over cost price; some may be used for Local Authority housing and more sold off to small builders. The Local Authorities may also purchase lands for commercial or industrial uses which are then serviced and sold at market value—the profit being used to finance the development of community facilities.

This procedure by the Public Authorities does provide land for social needs; it does help in the orderly development of the suburbs and it also provides low cost housing sites under the small builders scheme. However, land acquisition can be costly and may be protracted if Compulsory Purchase procedures are involved.

5.8 Conclusions

This section briefly looked at the outer suburbs and attempted to highlight the problems associated with rapid growth. A process oriented approach identified the main problem areas, while attempts to isolate both planning and social problems were undertaken. It is obvious from this resume that co-ordination at the highest degree is essential to ensure a rational outcome to a most obtuse problem. There is a real need to ensure that Central Government and Local Authority offices, Semi-State and other commercial interests pool their resources to ensure proper phasing of all facilities. Too often the absence or scarcity of one or other facility leads to bad neighbourhood feeling, family
inconvenience and social disharmony. This, in turn, can lead to many of the ills associated with modern suburbia, e.g. vandalism, graffiti, etc. Planning at the fringe requires a comprehensive approach, where both physical and social planning goals are augmented. Such an approach may require a much greater degree of public ownership of urban land and may involve a transference of power, financial control and policy implementation between different agencies and to different levels of operation.

In addition, there is a need to improve our knowledge of the socio-psychological implications of poor environment and to design and plan new areas to offset any such social or psychological consequences. Above all, there is an urgent need for a comprehensive programme of research to isolate and determine the impact of poor environmental quality upon people's social performance and to understand the link between poor environment and varying degrees of "anti-social" behaviour. There is a necessity to have a more effective ecological approach to the development of new settlements and new suburbs. In the case of Dublin, with its beautiful physical setting, such an approach offers an opportunity to build a beautiful city that also fosters the social development of the resident a pleasant environment for living is fundamental to the overall quality of life. While there have been considerable improvements in the procedures for and approaches to land use planning in Dublin a great deal remains to be accomplished.

SECTION VI

POLICIES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Background to Policies

6.1.1 Introduction

This report has examined the historical growth of Dublin and the spatial distribution of social problems as evidenced by the 1971 Census of Population (Section II). Sections III and IV documented the extent of relative deprivation in both the Inner City wards and the poorer Local Authority estates in 1971. The residents of both these areas were seen to be deprived in a number of respects. Section V dealt with problems and deficiencies in the approach to planning and community development in suburban areas generally. Section VI proceeds to look at the problem of deprivation under a number of inter-related headings before developing policies aimed at improving the physical and social development of urban areas, particularly Dublin.

6.1.2 The Dimensions of Deprivation

The analysis has shown that 33.0% of the Metropolitan population were deprived in a number of respects relative to the Dublin population as a whole. There is no unique or universal definition of deprivation

These conditions are not confined to Dublin if one is to judge by the scathing appraisal of Limerick suburbs as given by T. Forester: "Limerick Gets up off its Knees", New Society, Vol. 48, No. 876, 1979, pages 126-130.

See S. Boyd, An Integrative Ecological Approach to The Study of Human Settlement, op. cit.

since the standards used in its measurement are constantly subject to change in response to changing levels of acceptance over time and in different locations, as influenced by cultural, technological and economic considerations. Deprivation has many inter-related facets and is not solely a question of income though lack of disposable income is a major factor. It is perhaps best defined as a relative lack of command over resources and access to opportunity. The deprived range from the homeless to the large family; they include the old, the young, the employed and the unemployed—the pre-dominant characteristic is their low income which precludes their command over resources. Within the urban area the deprived are ubiquitous but they tend to concentrate in clearly defined spatial pockets.

For the purposes of this study deprivation may be defined in terms of physical, social and economic parameters. This taxonomy is chosen to facilitate the examination of the interactive elements of a complex and multifaceted problem: it is a simple procedure to enable the subdivision and study of what is essentially indivisible. The three-fold categorisation is based on the distinction between the "hard" or physical aspects of the urban environment (roads, housing, open spaces, obsolescence) and of the "soft" or socio-economic problems of residents (education, income, employment).

6.13 The Physical Dimensions of Deprivation: Housing
The physical dimensions of deprivation occur at two levels—the particular and the general. The particular relates mainly to the shelter resources of the residents, i.e., the housing problem. The general problem is related to the quality of the environment measured in terms of the pleasantness of life, i.e., the planning problem. Policies to eliminate the particular problem cannot succeed independently of the general context within which they are placed, however.

Indeed "health" may be defined as "a persons' capacity to cope and adapt to their physical, mental or social environment and to keep functioning satisfactorily in that environment good, bad or indifferent". D. Nowlan, Defining Health, Irish Times, 18/8/79.


The surveys as outlined demonstrate that overcrowding remains a serious problem in both the Inner City and the Local Authority estates; in these estates housing density may be relatively low but population density tends to be very high and overcrowding as recorded in terms of households is high. Overcrowding in terms of family units and their need for privacy constitutes an even greater problem. Within the Inner City this problem is aggravated since older accommodation particularly in the private rented sector, is not presently suited to multi-family occupancy entailing as it often does the sharing of basic amenities. Joint access to buildings is a major problem in the case of Corporation flats and to a lesser extent in the case of dwellings in the private rented sector.

The provision of shelter has been a priority in Dublin since the late 19th century. Generally this involved building new houses on greenfield sites except in the 1950s when there was an emphasis on Inner City flats and in the 1970s with an upsurge of interest in Inner City housing. Since World War II, the largest Authority, Dublin Corporation, has provided 43,658 dwellings, comprising 31,748 houses and 12,183 flats. A total of only 188 dwellings were reconditioned between 1945 and June 1979. It is now Corporation policy to erect flats for old people only. Through these policies Dublin Corporation has largely eliminated an enormous slum problem. Nevertheless, in terms of the waiting list a serious problem still remains.

Nevertheless, the housing policy was partial, neglecting the possibilities of rehabilitation, failing to match accommodation to

Households as defined in the Census of Population may include more than one nuclear family since the definition of household is based on household budgeting practice.

In common with Irish housing policy in general, the emphasis in Dublin has tended to be on the number of new houses built. While there is an important measure of success it may have little correlation with the income distribution consequences of housing provision.

Indeed there is growing concern that clearance programmes may keep others on the waiting list since the occupants of buildings to be cleared get priority. At the end of 1979 there were approximately 6,000 families on the Corporations housing list.

The only exception has been the rehabilitation of Summerhill and York Street in the 1940s and 1950s respectively. These undertakings were unsuccessful due to the mismatch of families to the available accommodation and the high levels of overcrowding which occurred therein. Only 188 dwellings have been reconditioned since 1945 by Dublin Corporation.
families' needs and because concern with inequality of housing was not matched by a parallel concern for the inequalities of income.9

6.1(4) Physical Aspects of Deprivation: The Planning Process
By and large the scale and urgency of the Dublin housing problem has absorbed most of the attention of Dublin Corporation over the years. In consequence the search for housing land coupled with ease of servicing has largely determined the form and pattern of the built up area. More recently physical planning has offered a more comprehensive framework for guiding Dublin's growth in a meaningful way. While Dublin has had a full-time Planning Officer for over 40 years comprehensive land use planning is relatively new and takes its powers from the Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963. While the aims of physical planning are aesthetic, economic, social and public, the success of planning depends upon the scope of its operation as determined by society. The scope of planning is influenced by the type of Government and Constitution, by the adequacy of the Planning and related legislation, by the amount of money to implement plans and by the extent of public support for proposals. In Ireland urban land management policies are of only limited effect due to the ease with which land may be re-zoned and the lack of servicing. The cost and difficulty of obtaining public ownership of development land can also be an obstacle to orderly planning and land management (vide Kenny Report), while the specific planning legislation relies on the "development plan" blue print approach which, because of its rigidity and lack of corporate approach, has been largely abandoned in Britain.10 Resources to implement planning proposals are limited and over the past fifteen years there has been little support by the public for planning proposals and too little attention given to either structuring mechanisms for meaningful participation or stimulating public involvement. The failure to implement various transportation and redevelopment schemes is evidence of the lack of resources and the inability of the planners to generate public support for proposals.

Within Local Government organisations the Planning Department—often an element within Engineering Services—is not a "spending Department" and advises on rather than co-ordinates the actions of other Local Authority Departments. Thus, the Roads Department produces road plans and has overall responsibility for road standards. Likewise, while the Planning Department may zone land for schools, hospitals, open spaces, industry or commerce, development will be the responsibility of a variety of other agencies as well as the private sector.

With regard to operations by the private sector, the planning process is regarded as essentially regulatory, facilitating the private sector to proceed with development. Indeed, with regard to the private sector, the process has been subject to criticism because of its lack of finality, its indecisiveness and its inadequate enforcement.11 Further, to have any sense of direction or purpose, local plans and related development control activities need to be set within a regional context which derives its logic from long-term national policies. In Ireland regional policy has little statutory support and national economic policies are short term and medium term.12 Consequently much of Irish planning is taken up with development control within an inadequate context.

6.1(5) Physical Aspects of Deprivation and Planning in Dublin
The operation of "partial" regional policies with attention only upon industrial location has had two adverse effects upon Dublin. Firstly, up to 1976 Dublin was not actively promoted as a location for new manufacturing industry and this may have limited the number of additional "blue collar" jobs in the area.13 The absence of any effective

9Donnison identifies this failure as the fundamental dilemma underlying housing problems and comments that "a determination to provide decent housing for people now deprived of it cannot bear fruit unless they are enabled to pay for what they need". D. Donnison. The Government of Housing, Pelican, 1967. 397 pages.

10The Local Government (Planning and Development) Act, 1963 draws considerably upon the British 1947 and 1962 Town and Country Planning Acts which have been revised on a number of occasions since then and whose operation has been affected by other legislation, such as local government reform and housing legislation. Indeed, in the first instance, a good deal of advice to the Irish Government encouraged limited adherence at most to the British planning model.


12While the Government is currently reviewing its regional policy, the last official statement on regional policy dates from May 1972.

13The increased attention of the IDA to Dublin and its Inner City in the late 1970s does not imply an increased regional share of new manufacturing jobs going to the East region. Rather, the East and all other regions are expected to benefit from the accelerated pace of net new manufacturing job creations, though of course there is no way in which the IDA can presently ensure that new job vacancies in Dublin, or a part of the area, are filled by people from that area. Neither set of survey results in this study would point to much change in unemployment rates amongst the less skilled as a consequence of new manufacturing policies.
or realistic urban-regional policy with regard to white-collar jobs and information activities in this small, centralised and open economy has left such activities no viable alternative to a Dublin location.\textsuperscript{14} Within Dublin, traffic congestion, bad telecommunications and the absence of planned suburban office centres in sensible locations have led to redevelopment both within the CBD and the Zone of Active Assimilation (Figure 5), with consequent pressures for space and resultant high land values. While Dublin city centre is the commercial, financial, government and social focus of the region and the nation and must be planned to foster the efficient operation of the national economy, it is clear that the city centre is now over extended and the proposed business area too large in terms of likely future office needs.\textsuperscript{15} There are numerous arguments in favour of a compact city centre and while it may have been a mistake in the past to allow the CBD to expand towards Ballsbridge and to redevelop the northern edge of the CBD for public housing, it would compound the error—with little social gain—to now attempt to displace population and attract major commercial developments into these predominantly residential areas. Commercial speculation and "expected" values contribute to the blighting of areas peripheral to the CBD, where redevelopment is unlikely in the short term at least.\textsuperscript{16}

The rapid growth of information related jobs in Central Dublin

\textsuperscript{14}No policy instruments were advanced to implement the urban policy set out in the 1972 Review of Regional Policy. Dealing with a relevant urban policy for service type employment an earlier NESC report proposed relocation to a limited number of centres accompanied by a decentralisation of power. Service Type Employment and Regional Development, NESC No. 28, Chapter 5. The case for decentralisation of power and decision-making and case against the relocation of routine government work on its own is developed in M. J. Bannon, Service Employment, Occupational Change and Regional Development. Administration Vol 26, 1978, pages 180-196. A study by Bannon for the SERDO of the role of Waterford as a centre for office and white-collar activities sets out the costs and benefits of thus promoting Waterford.

\textsuperscript{15}E. McCarron has recently stated that outstanding planning commitments for office and other commercial development amounted to over 1,080,000 square metres as of May 1978. See E. G. McCarron, "A Year in the Life of a Planning Official", Build, December 1978, pages 13-15. For a reasonable estimate of Dublin's future office space needs see M. J. Bannon, Office Location in Ireland: The Role of Central Dublin, An Foras Forbartha, 1973, 144 pages. Most estimates, including those of Dublin Corporation appear to seriously over estimate the likely demand for office space, especially in the Central Area.

\textsuperscript{16}The expectation of the outward spread of commercial development from Dublin's CBD is reminiscent of the belief in the 1920s that American Business Areas would grow laterally rather than vertically.

creates an anomalous situation of high levels of journey-to-work commuting while the long term residents of the Inner City are virtually closed out of the white-collar labour market.\textsuperscript{17} In the absence of agreement on or the implementation of a transport plan for Dublin much of the commuting to centre city offices has been by private car, thereby turning residential streets into arterial routes, using side streets as "rat runs" and as long-term parking areas. The indecision about traffic plans has contributed to the blighting of extensive parts of the Inner City and remains a major cause of anxiety to households within the area.

On the other hand, in areas of rapid suburbanisation, the Planning Departments have to depend upon a wide range of public and private agencies to implement their plans. In many instances planning is an exercise devoid of control over implementation with the result that some things desired by the Planning Authorities may not be realised or not realised in the optimum manner while in other instances developments may proceed which are out of line with the proposals of the Planning Authorities.

It is the operation of this planning process in conjunction with a diversity of agencies, public and private, that has given Dublin its present form and has sought to guide its growth areas or decelerate the rate of decline elsewhere. The result has been an urban complex that is a carbon copy of the British-American urban model rather than the European model with its cosmopolitan, fashionable and prestigious city centres for both commerce and residence.\textsuperscript{18} The deteriorating physical environment of both the Central Area and the Inner City renders the whole population of Dublin deprived in this regard. At the periphery the implementation process can give rise to disorderly and uncoordinated development in which residents are deprived of basic necessities for long periods at incalculable social and psychological costs.

6.16 The Institutional Framework

The city and built up area of Dublin has been shaped into its present form through the operation of a limited planning process working in co-

\textsuperscript{17}M. J. Bannon "The White Collar Revolution, Office Expansion and Local Planning", Dublin of the Future, 1975, (Minnoe).

operation with a host of statutory and voluntary bodies organised at national, regional and local level. Virtually every Government Department, local councils, political parties and many of the State-sponsored Bodies are involved in either the development of Dublin or in improving the quality of life of its citizens. While the Eastern Regional Development Organisation has a co-ordinating remit, another regional agency has statutory responsibility for health while Eastern Tourism and Dublin Tourism promote Dublin as a tourist centre. Much of the development of Dublin is carried out by the various Departments of the three local authorities in the sub-region, together with neighbouring local authorities and the Port and Docks Board. Acting at city, community or local level, a host of agencies operate in a generally supportive role to assist in the development and improvement of Dublin.18

To the ordinary citizen, especially the deprived, the array of organisations must seem enormous and confusing. Looked at from the standpoint of a deprived person, it is possible to identify a hierarchy of concerns ranging from a Department of State to local groups involved in each facet of welfare activities—often with overlapping remits and little co-ordination.

It cannot be doubted that although the quality of life of the poor may be inadequate it would be much worse but for the work of the array of statutory and voluntary organisations at central city and community level. Though the answer is outside the scope of this study, it is important to ask if effort is being dissipated through the fragmentation of agencies or might better results derive from an integrated approach?

6.1.7 Economic Aspects of Deprivation

The extent of deprivation is largely a function of income which is principally dependent upon earnings and from social assistance, which in turn may be related to level of earnings in previous employment. Thus, under the present societal organisation, employment or its absence is central to deprivation. While overall numbers at work has remained relatively static, the labour-force as a whole is rapidly becoming more skilled. Thus over the 1976-77 period, numbers in unskilled occupations declined by 41.5%; those in service occupations by 11.6% and employment in transport-communications-warehousing by 9.8%. Paralleling this decline, professional/technical workers increased by 24.6% and administrative, etc. by 52.4%. The increasing levels of skill affects all industries throughout the economy.

A major consequence of these structural changes is that the labour resource of the study areas, as set out in Sections III and IV, is increasingly unable to compete for the skilled, specialised jobs in the formal economy. The population of both the Inner City and the surveyed Local Authority estates has been shown to have a high dependence upon less skilled and semi-skilled occupations and to rely upon industries with contracting labour demands and an uncertain long-term future. Inevitably, unemployment rates are high as is the incidence of early retirement. The chronic unemployment that prevails does not just temporarily depress living standards but also impoversishes households and breeds a psychological indifference and apathy which destroys homes51 and blights the environment. The processes of structural and technological change are likely to continue, and may accelerate.22 the surveys reveal no evidence of adequate adjustment by the labour-force in the study areas, nor do the people in the areas have the levels of educational attainment necessary to do so. Public policy is committed to the solution or elimination of the

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18 Though most of the statutory and voluntary agencies are national in scope and remit, it is probably true to say that no small area involves as many of those agencies as Central Dublin.

22 Figures are based on a comparison of the 1971 Census results and the results of the 1977 EEC Labour Force Survey. They are intended only to illustrate occupation-manpower trends.


24 The socio-economic changes which have favoured the rapid introduction of new technologies, like the micro-chip, have given rise to two very different schools of thought about future unemployment consequences. On the pessimistic side many have argued that the changes facilitated by new technologies will lead to unprecedented and permanently high levels of unemployment. One of the few attempts to analyse the impact of these changes on the Irish employment scene accepts that the consequences will be dire: See Micro-Electronic Technology: Consultation or Chaos, A.S.T.M.S., Dublin, 1979, 34 pages. Other commentators adopt a more optimistic view as, for example, J. Haslem, "An Appraisal of Micro-electronic Technology" National Westminster Bank Review 1979, pages 55-64. Studies of the impact of the introduction of some new technologies in Canada suggests little impact on aggregate employment levels. What is more likely is that the type of employee, their education, conditions of work, place of employment and even their technical back up may change even more rapidly to the detriment of the less educated and of those in deprived areas. For Ireland, at least in the short term, these changes have led to an expansion of both highly skilled and more routine jobs in the electronics industry.
unemployment problem through the provision of jobs. Programmes to this end are recent and apply to both the supply and demand sides of the labour market. Supply side policies, operated mainly by AnCo, have as their objective the changing of the skill capacities of the labour-force through education programmes for the young and retraining programmes for the redundant. Training courses are geared towards projected labour demand while the demand side is characterised by a variety of programmes, ranging from the I.D.A. job creation programme (in the context of national and local job creation targets) to a variety of small scale, fragmented schemes designed to both change the characteristics of the labour force—principally the youth—and provide employment. Most of the small scale projects are short term and their benefits mainly social in character; while these programmes are national in character, they permit a local focus unlike the Employment Incentive Schemes which are general in application.

The evidence suggests that the take up of AnCo training schemes in the Inner City is low, reflecting in part the lack of information about courses and a generally low level of education which hinders enrolment; even in cases where the opportunity is availed of, there are indications of a low level of course completions. Likewise the survey of suburban areas revealed a very low level of participation in training programmes by respondents. While the IDA have had a high level of success in recent years in attracting jobs to Dublin, these jobs are generally in high technology sectors; inevitably their Inner City industrial programme must depend on high value products since high land values appear to require high value uses, generally incompatible with the level of skills available locally. While these programmes are

23 - Some 16,268 persons were trained by AnCo in over 70 different courses and virtually all were placed in jobs. Under the 1967 Industrial Training Act, AnCo operates courses in a large number of industries and in the service areas of construction and some other services. The organisation operates a Youth Training Programme and is also expanding its training facilities for females. AnCo expected to help train 20,000 in 1979. See AnCo 1978 Annual Report.

24 - Based upon the survey findings and on information supplied by AnCo

25 - The high level of in-migration to Ireland suggested by the 1979 Census over the 1971-79 period could point to the entry of a large number of skilled immigrants into the labour-force, while the less skilled in Dublin have not been able to participate adequately in the expansion of manufacturing industry around Dublin. In this regard expanded IDA operations in the Dublin area need to be closely and independently monitored to ensure that they do not accelerate migration to Dublin at the expense of other centres and other parts of the country.

valuable to the national economy, the manifest employment needs of the areas covered in this report would point more towards the need to emphasise Encounter Programme Projects, the promotion of local trades and crafts, the fostering of the "back lane" activities and the development of community and co-operative activities. Overall, the net impact of the programmes is likely to be limited as a result of their capital intensive nature and the impact of new technology upon jobs in existing industries especially in the Inner City. In any attempt to promote industrial development in or near the Inner City, the IDA face particular problems relating to land availability, site acquisition, high land costs and problems of access to sites. At the periphery, the take up of new IDA jobs by members of households from Local Authority estates may also be restricted due to the high levels of skills required. It appears that "the first and greatest indication of general deprivation is social class and specifically, in any particular area, the proportion of unskilled and semi-skilled workers".

6.1.8) The Social Aspects of Deprivation

The surveys reveal the overwhelming concentration of the unskilled and the less skilled in limited areas of the city. This high degree of concentration, coupled with the occupational demands of changing technology, suggests that these areas may continue to have a high proportion of deprived people. The downward spiral of the poor tends to be perpetuated by the record of low participation and under-achievement in education and training programmes. A close association has been shown to exist between educational under-achievement, overcrowding, lack of public amenities and financial hardship in the family. Levels of education generally perpetuate the

26 - It must be noted that while many of the new jobs are routine they do require a considerable level of training, implying aptitude in skills. It may also be that problems of cross subrub commuting inhibit the take up of jobs.


cycle as educational attainment tends to be duplicated between generations. It has been estimated in the UK that, other things being equal, an extra year's education can add between 5 and 10% to a person's hourly earnings. Earnings were also affected by father's occupation, but the effect of this was small in comparison with education. The evidence presented in Sections III and IV of this report confirms the close association between environment, class, occupation, income and education in Dublin. It would appear that, while all children are entitled to “free education”, the benefits associated with the scheme are dependent upon ability to use the system; in consequence the scheme may lead to a widening rather than a narrowing of the educational gap. The evaluation of the Rutland Street Project (See Section III, sub-section 3.9(1) points to a complex of issues surrounding the success of a programme of education for socially disadvantaged children.

Education needs in deprived areas seem to be greater than in the society generally. Again educational standards in the provision of facilities and staffing tend to be universal and are therefore inadequate to cater for the greater needs of deprived areas. However, educational priority schemes or educational priority areas are unlikely on their own to relieve the wider problems associated with the home environment, parental attitudes and local mores. The improvement of educational inputs alone is not likely to improve rates of participation or educational achievement: this demands wide ranging policies covering the pupil's environment, within and outside the school, ranging from matters of home facilities and nutrition to the development of parental commitment.

Morbidity also appears to be associated with social status. Ward points out that for every potentially fatal disorder, the mortality is higher in the lower social groups than in the upper social groups, with “a three-fold increase in deaths from pneumonia and a four-fold increase in deaths from meningococcal infections”. Thus, the lower income groups are likely to be deprived through lower incomes and to have poorer standards of health. Their deprivation is all the more serious since it is passed from generation to generation through their inability to make the fullest use of educational services.

A previous NESC report documents the need for family income support and outlines the effects of low income on families, especially those on welfare and one-parent families.


The approach to the regeneration of the urban economy as a whole and the revitalisation and improvement of deprived areas is determined to a large degree by the performance of the national economy. Growth engenders confidence, encourages job creating, private and public investment and within the framework of policies for social development can permit an equitable distribution of its benefits between individuals and areas. Conversely, a low or negative rate of growth affords little scope for worthwhile measures to assist those most in need. In its broadest context therefore urban poverty is a national problem affected by national policies and requiring national solutions and, as MacNamara argues, the solution of deprivation requires complementary social and economic policies.

With regard to the social, economic and physical problems of the Dublin area it is possible to sketch two somewhat alternative scenarios based on differing views about Irish economic performance and social development in the years ahead. The first may be described as a growth scenario based on the fulfilment of political objectives of eliminating unemployment—full employment could in turn generate affluence and allow mobility for workers to travel to work in the

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29The study used a multiple regression equation which correlated early leavers from education, family background, work experience and trade union membership—see R. Layard, D. Piachaud and M. Steward, The Causes of Poverty, Royal Comm on Distribution of Income and Wealth. Background Paper No. 5. HMSO, 1978.

30The Rutland Street Scheme, begun in 1969, is the only exception to this rule. The Department of Education does offer aid to poor families to buy school books, it does provide school meals in some cases and, of course, it provides special classes for needy children.


32See C. Ward, “Poor Children Have Highest Death Rate”, Irish Times, 10/7/79.


34Growth and economic expansion on its own may do little to aid the poor especially in the short term—and in their case long term improvement is of little relevance. In general growth without changes in the means of redistributing wealth may serve to reinforce the status quo. See: R. S. MacNamara, “Social Equality and Economic Growth”, One Hundred Countries, One Billion People, The Dimensions of Development, Braeger: 1973, pages 102-116.
suburbs in new or expanding industries. In time, suburbanisation of work could encourage those still in the Inner City to move out to the suburbs allowing the possibility for greater redevelopment. Commercial expansion, house development and the completion of road programmes to facilitate the growing and increasingly affluent society.

The second scenario may be developed with closer regard to the projections of scientists about the potential for job expansion in Ireland, the UK or even the EEC. This scenario presumes a continuation and intensification of the well established trends towards the "tarianisation" of employment, the growth of information-related jobs and the possible automation of routine and semi-skilled white-collar and blue-collar work leading to long run high levels of unemployment, especially for those in more routine work. This may be seen as a Leisure or Self Sufficient scenario in which it is necessary to plan for people having greatly extended leisure time, whether by choice or not, and where the major social task is to develop means of redistributing wealth through mechanisms other than employment. Such a scenario would imply a major redirection in the nature of urban development and planning with an emphasis upon:

(a) rehabilitation, conservation and improvement of older urban areas.
(b) strengthening the residential function of city core areas.
(c) priority attaching to the needs of existing residents and their involvement in planning and its implementation.
(d) promoting and preserving social infrastructure at the neighbourhood level.

The Council of Ministers of the Council of Europe, meeting at Bari in 1976 argued in favour of a similar "alternative option" for urban development on the basis of the need for "territorial distributive justice." For a discussion of these points in a European context see P. Drew, "The Effect of Changing Demographic Patterns and Structures on Urban and Regional Planning: Council of Europe, Regional Planning Study Series, Report No. 12, 1978. 59 pages.

Most analyses of the problems of deprived areas now accept that solution of the problems of such areas depends only in part on formal employment programmes and that the "informal sector" will play an increasing role in the development of such areas. The informal sector is largely a non-monetary and barter culture ranging from the small back lane inner city business through a range of mobile skills and crafts to blend almost imperceptibly with extensions of household operations in the form of part-time work, voluntary work and incorporating both housewives and the unemployed. In emphasising the role of the informal sector, economists predict that deprived areas of Western cities will become more like cities in the developing world where the informal economy accounts for about half of the urban jobs. Without these informal sector jobs those urban societies would collapse into total deprivation and anarchy, because of the importance of this sector and because of its capacity for growth and productive expansion it is now the policy of the World Bank to support and develop this sector - see R. MacNamara, 'Address to the Annual General Meeting of the World Bank, 1975. Amongst those who see a parallel between Third World cities and the deprived parts of Western cities see P. Hall, 'Green Fields and Grey Areas. Where shall the Money Go?', Geographical Journal, Vol. 132, 1976. 4-2. For discussion of the role of the informal sector in helping deprived parts of European cities see: G. Shankland, "Accessing Europe's Inner Cities", Council of Europe, Report No. 9, 1978. 37-30. For literature on changes towards an informal economy within Western Countries see: Hazel Henderson, Creating Alternative Futures: The End of Economics, Berkeley Publishing Company, New York, 1978, pages 381-398. Also The 1976 Report of The Standford Research Institute Business Intelligence Programme, Guidelines No. 100, which estimates that some 5 million Americans have opted for reduced incomes and a flexible, less formal life style. See also Scott Burns, The Household Economy, Beacon Press, Boston, 1975. For one opinion on how physical planners should react to the expansion of the informal sector see: R. Pahl, 'Will the Inner City Problem Ever Go Away? Proceedings of The Town and Country Planning School, 1978, pages 8-12. These ideas are further explored and the "informal economy" distinguished in J. Gerhuny and R. Pahl, 'Britain in the Decade of the Three Economies', New Society, Vol. 31, No. 900, January, 1980, pages 7-9. In the Irish context see proceedings of conference on The Challenge of Leisure, An Foras Forbartha, 1979, especially paper by S. Parker, 'Work and Leisure in the Last Quarter of 20th Century'.

268
discourage mobility and place increasing importance on community and kinship ties and supports. On social and economic grounds, major development could prove unwarranted and be replaced by an increasing emphasis on physical rehabilitation and social conservation. In turn major road proposals might prove unrealistic on community, social, economic and energy grounds.

While future development of Ireland's resources and the Irish economy may generate support for a growth and expansionist programme of development, signs of recurring recession and sluggish economic growth point to the need to examine alternative futures. In the context of this study, it is probable that the expansion of highly skilled, capital intensive developments will be paralleled by ever increasing numbers dependent upon the informal and household economies.

In developing recommendations in the following sections attention is paid to the planning requirements of both scenarios as their requirements need not be mutually exclusive.

The interactive nature of the variables in multiple deprivation, as discussed above, might at first sight, seem to recommend themselves to a holistic systems approach to policy. But while conceptually attractive such a holistic approach has, as yet, proved impossible in practice since the link between variables such as housing, health, education, delinquency, income and employment are still quantitatively undefined. A holistic approach to problems so widely spread throughout the urban area would be difficult. In addition, the spatial distribution of deprivation throughout Dublin results from the operation of a wide range of agencies with their individual approaches to the problems of the city as a whole. It was therefore decided that a disparate approach to policy was preferable allowing each agency and arm of Government to carry on its particular operations independently; while this approach could give rise to policy specialisation relating only to a single dimension of any given problem, such an approach could generate competition and effort between agencies and, in the longer term, the solution of one element of the problem could help break the cycle of deprivation. Thus, for example, a better house might enable children to do their lessons better and advance at school.

However, it is clear that a disparate approach to policy does call for careful monitoring and co-ordination and requires a major revamping of Local Government machinery and physical planning procedures. Indeed special procedures and co-ordinating mechanisms may be called for in areas of special need.*

Adopting a disparate approach by existing agencies within a strong planning framework, the remaining sections of this report make recommendations for policy advances in respect of physical, economic and social aspects of Dublin's deprivation.

6.2 The Administrative and Planning Framework
6.2(1) Introduction
This report has shown that throughout this country there has been a growing tendency in Irish administration to deal with problems and issues at an increasingly central level, to the detriment of both local participation and the role of Local Authorities. The analysis in this study does not point towards the success of a centralised approach; rather it calls for the involvement of people in solving their own problems through the creation of local planning procedures supported by a strong system of strategy planning and effective Local Government for the entire Dublin area.

6.2(2) The Need for Local Government Reform
As in other countries, physical planning should take its rationale from national economic policies, disaggregated to regional and local levels (e.g., Netherlands, Poland, UK). Section 6.1(4) showed that in Ireland there have been severe societal constraints upon the scope of planning; since planning is to date largely confined to land zoning and development control operations, there has been little room for public "participation." In practice, the process has been highly centralised.

*The Inter-Departmental Committee on Dublin's Inner City represented one ad hoc group to help co-ordinate effort in one area of need and an Inner City Group was set up in May 1979. The chief disadvantage of such groups is to focus attention upon one deprived area to the exclusion of others and to see local problems devoid of their wider urban context. More seriously such approaches move even further away from local involvement and the creation of self-help approaches.
within the Local Authority with little delegation to local or action areas. As in many other countries, planning has been largely focused upon growth situations in greenfield sites with little emphasis on the problems of existing areas other than “tidying-up” operations or comprehensive renewal when the area has passed a perceived point of no return.

In subsection 6.1(9) it was proposed that greater attention might be paid to housing rehabilitation within the context of general environmental improvement and gradual renewal. The European experience cited in Section III suggests that a gradual renewal approach inevitably involves a high degree of commitment and involvement by local groups; this approach is perhaps most keenly developed in the Dutch cities with their urban renewal groups exercising a high degree of control over all aspects and stages of the renewal operation.

Meanwhile the 1960s have witnessed a growth of “community” associations throughout the Dublin area for the purposes of identifying, articulating and remedying area needs and deficiencies. Though the 1941 Local Government Act allows the delegation of certain functions to an Approved Local Council, Local Authorities have been slow to act on this. While the 1971 White Paper on Local Government Reorganisation welcomed the establishment of Community Councils it did not specify their future statutory role. In the specific field of planning, the operation has remained highly centralised and there has been little attempt to positively utilise the resources of communities. All too often Community Councils are in a conflict situation with the Planning Department. Such conflicts may result from the inflexible or inappropriate nature of proposals as seen from the local perspective. Local uncertainty and conflict may also arise from the formulation of major, long-term proposals for which the Authority may never have the finances or the means of implementation. Existing frameworks suffer the double disadvantage of being too large to be sensitive to people’s needs and yet too small to counter the centralising tendencies which increasingly see decisions taken at central rather than Local Government level. The division of responsibility for the development of Dublin between a number of Local Authorities can be seen as an impediment to the city’s orderly development and a cause of confusion.

While both the Irish Local Government system in general and the planning system in particular, have been the subject of debate and discussion, little change has in fact taken place. Regional Development Organisations have not evolved a significant role for themselves and the Local Planning Authorities vary greatly in size and often bear little relation to the geographic patterns of urban development. This is particularly the case in Dublin where Drogheda is excluded from the East Region but the remote rural areas of Oldcastle, Athy and Tiahealy are included. Nevertheless, the Eastern Regional Development Organisation has performed a useful co-ordinating role and has helped monitor the changes in and needs of the region during the 1970s. It has also presented a unified view of the region’s long-term needs and planning requirements.

The proposal by the E.R.D.O. to have a comprehensive examination of the long term development problems of the East region is most welcome, provided that there is an adequate input from the social sciences in identifying and solving the problems of the area.

However, in the light of this study, it would be necessary for the team to have a much stronger input from the social sciences if the problems of the region are to be properly identified or meaningful proposals developed.

Ideally, the Regional Development Organisations might be seen as the major element in a revised Local Government planning system having statutory powers to promote and co-ordinate development, propose regional planning strategies within the context of national policies and guide the activities of Local Councils. In the case of the

*Indeed it is now being suggested that these existing operations may have accelerated the decline of manufacturing and physical service jobs within Inner Cities. P. Grapiao, "The Closure of Firms in the Inner City: The South London Case" Regional Studies, Vol. II, 1977, pages 1-6.


For a discussion of the conflicts between local groups and City Hall in the context of Boston see: R. Goodman, After the Planners, Pelican 1972, 270 pages.
East Region the emergence of a strong sub-regional rather than regional body seems more likely with considerable agreement on the need for a Greater Dublin Council. As early as 1913 it was argued that "it is impossible to formulate a useful town planning scheme which does not embrace the entire natural community of Dublin". The 1938 Greater Dublin Tribunal favoured a more rational Dublin boundary and the 1971 Local Government White Paper commented that "the most effective arrangement for the provision of local Government services in the entire Dublin area would be the establishment of a single authority with jurisdiction throughout the area". More recently the Dublin city manager spoke in favour of a sub-regional authority. Such reorganisation is crucial in the planning field dealing as it is with long-term policies for the urban complex as a whole.

Having regard to the needs of the Greater Dublin Area, this report recommends that:

A Greater Dublin Council be established with control over all development within the Dublin sub-region and adjacent urbanising areas in north Wicklow, east Kildare, south Meath and, perhaps, south Louth.

The precise extent of the Greater Dublin Council Area could be defined to include all contiguous DEDs sending 15% or more of their labour force to work in Dublin (i.e. Dublin's Standard Metropolitan Area) or it could encompass all contiguous DEDs sending at least 1% of their labour force to work in Dublin (i.e. Dublin's Metropolitan Economic Labour Area). In any case the boundary should be defined scientifically, should be subject to regular review and revision as development expands or contracts.

6.2(3) Strategic Planning for Dublin

The Greater Dublin Council could be expected to carry out the normal range of Local Authority functions for its area and to delegate functions to District or Local Councils as desired. (Ideally the GDC would be complemented by a Dublin Transport Authority having responsibility for all aspects of transportation, planning, implementation, maintenance and financing in the Dublin Area).

However, the Greater Dublin Area thus defined contains over one third of the country's total population and jobs. In many respects Dublin is too large and important an issue to be left to a Local Authority. Dublin is now a major national issue and it is doubtful if a uniform system of Development Plans is capable of directing the likely future growth of the capital city. The precise role of a Planning Department was discussed in sub-sections 6.1.4 and 6.1.5, where it was shown that the Planning Department has not been a spending department and was not responsible for the implementation of its proposals. In consequence the plan makers have had little control over resources and depended upon those with economic power to achieve results. But control over implementation is essential if the objectives of planning are to be achieved.

Within the Greater Dublin Area a large number of agencies will continue to have responsibility for investment in the area. Since these agencies are expected to implement the plan it is only fitting that they should have a formal say in its preparation. Such an approach would entail a view of planning as less a matter of "Local Government" and more a matter of resource development. Strategic Resource Allocation should complement statutory land use planning. The present system of five year "development plans" may be seen to have too little impact upon resource utilisation and, at the same time, to be too distant and removed from the public for whom the plans are being made. To help cope with Dublin's future growth and effectively guide investment and development while fully involving the public in the process it is proposed that:

A two-tier planning system of Strategic and Local Plans be instituted in the Greater Dublin Council Area.
The Strategic Plan would lay down broad guidelines for the overall development of the Dublin area; the strategic planning process would follow a corporate planning approach and operate through annual budgets and five year rolling programmes. In order to ensure that the Strategic Plan is both comprehensive and realistic it is proposed:

That the Strategic Plan be prepared by the Greater Dublin Council Planning Office under the direction of a Planning Committee representative of all major public investors in the area, including the Departments of Finance, Posts and Telegraphs and the Environment, CIE, the IDA, the ESB, the Dublin Port and Docks Board, the Greater Dublin Authority itself as well as other agencies deemed relevant.

It is envisaged that the Greater Dublin Council would initiate steps to ensure the fullest involvement of the public in the preparation of the plan and the choice of alternatives. Participation and public involvement would be intensified by the role of both elected representatives and citizens in making the Authority's part of the plan and also at the subsequent inquiry and through the Local Plan inputs.

Since the Strategic Plan would be concerned with the investment policies of a wide range of agencies it would be inappropriate to leave approval of the plan to the Local Authority. It is therefore proposed that the Strategic Plan should be approved by the Minister for the Environment following an inquiry in Public at which all the participants to the plan-making process, including the public, would have an opportunity to express their views on details of the Plan.

It is further proposed that the Strategic Plan be subject to continuous review and monitoring.

6.2(4) Local Plans and Public Participation
One of the most interesting changes in Irish social organisation in the past decade has been the growth of Community Organisations and Associations, founded to define, analyse, articulate and help solve the problems of their areas within a general framework of community development. The growth of Community Associations and their search for a meaningful role inevitably points to their involvement in plan making and in the planning process. In turn this raises the question of 'public participation' in planning.

In Ireland, as in other countries, there has been controversy over the role and contribution of the public in the planning process, the nature of public involvement, the identification of the 'public', the importance of 'clients' as well as 'non-joiners' and the conflict between citizen participation and the system of representative democracy. Arnstein has classified citizen participation into an eight-fold hierarchy depending on the power given to citizens. At the lowest level, 'manipulation' and 'therapies' are offered, not to involve the public but to 'educate' or 'cure' the participants; at a higher level participation may be token and involve processes of 'informing', 'consultation' or 'placation'. But it is only in circumstances where there is 'partnership', 'delegation of power' or 'citizen control' that there can really be said to be participation. Goodman argues that participation without power over resources is pointless and states that if planning is not about the redistribution of resources . . . . . it can be only an instrument of bureaucratic conservatism through which planning becomes a weapon of capitalist control rather than an agent of social change.

It is increasingly obvious that the public can make a major positive contribution to planning and it is neither socially desirable nor even practical not to utilise the resources of the public to the full. A strong system of Local Planning can both encourage and facilitate meaningful public involvement.

Thus, at the local level, both in areas of growth and decline, this report recommends the development of a planning procedure which is both flexible and allows communities much greater say in how their area should be planned and managed. Thus, it is proposed that:

within the context of the approved Strategic Plan for the Greater Dublin Area, Local Plans be prepared for community and neigh-

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*Goodman, After the Planners, Pelican Books, 1972, page 11. See also pages 212-214. Indeed the current Ministerial view of physical planning in the UK would confine planning to three roles: conserve land and buildings; safeguard special kinds of land for the wrong kinds of development; and to "guide development". See speech by Minister for Environment to RTPI, Summer School, York, 1979.
bourhood areas. Such plans should be prepared within the area concerned by the residents, their planning advisors (paid for by public funds) and with the help of Local Authority staff.

"Whatever levels of leadership, skill and initiative that resides in these areas must be tapped" and frameworks established to help this process.

While these plans would have to be set in the context of a wider structure plan, it is envisaged that they would entail full participation at every level. In turn representatives from the Local Planning Group would, of course, have an input in the preparation of the Strategic Plan and would also have an opportunity to comment on the Strategic Plan at the Inquiry. The extent of local areas could relate to the existing subdivisions of the Metropolitan Area as used for the operation of Development Control or they might more logically relate to the area served by a Community Council—or a number of Councils depending on the extent of change and need within the area.

While new structures will not of themselves solve social or economic problems, the implementation of these proposals on Strategic and Local Plans should go a long way towards stimulating commitment to the solution of Dublin's problems. Above all they seek to streamline the process and utilise resources to the full—especially the involvement of the public in general. Local areas should be planned to provide an attractive and stimulating environment especially for those who may have lengthy leisure needs, such as the old, the retired, the unemployed, housewives and the young.

While it is not generally within the scope of this report to deal with the internal staffing and resource utilisation within the Planning Department of the Local Authority, the evidence ascertained from both surveys, suggests that there is an urgent need for better standards of urban design in both the city centre and the new estates. Good planning can play a major role in the social development of the population, helping each person to develop to the full. Good design is an integral element in good planning and is called for on aesthetic, physical, social, cultural and economic grounds. Dublin developments require a major commitment to good design and high architectural standards within the context of environmental planning. This requires a fully staffed, well trained design section operating within the planning department charged with the preparation of Design Briefs and ensuring the highest standards in all developments.

6.3 Housing Policies for Dublin in the 1980's

6.3.1 Introduction

While the White Paper Housing in the Seventies set a national objective that every family should obtain a dwelling of good standard, at a price or rent they could afford (subject to available resources) it is clear that this objective has still not been achieved in Dublin. Whether it is reasonable to expect the achievement of the objective is debatable given the continuing obsolence of existing stock together with rising standards and expectations. A proportion of the housing stock will always fall below the acceptable norms and the housing debate will continue.

In the wider context of deprivation this involves the basic assumption that adequate and appropriate housing policies are integral to the non-housing aspects of the problem. Research has shown a relationship between overcrowding, substandard dwellings, health, marital stability and educational achievement. Housing is an important and conspicuous element in the household standard of living and the physical fabric and poor environment of substandard dwellings provides a visible index of the relative levels of poverty in an urban area. The house remains "the central and fundamental fact of real wages".

The unpublished report of the 1973 survey of Housing conditions documents this problem at the national level.

See reference to Wilson and Ornati above, Ch. V, Ref. 28.
This does not imply that refurbishing or redevelopment will eliminate the problems of deprivation but such work can reduce the feelings of inadequacy or of rejection by society that may stem from the visible disparities in housing provision throughout the urban area.**

6.3(2) Dublin Housing: Number of Houses and Overcrowding
Anticipated resource constraints suggest that little changes can be expected in levels of housing expenditure but this does not preclude the possibility of changes in direction in housing policies. In the main, policies for Local Authority housing have been dwelling and individual oriented. Government subsidies for dwellings built for letting purposes meet, in full, loan charges on total capital costs while accommodation is allocated on a points system which takes account of the adequacy of present accommodation, family size, time on the waiting list and other factors. The efficiency of these foci can be assessed in terms of the success of the Local Authority housing programme in meeting needs and requirements.

A study of the housing needs of the Dublin Sub Region, carried out for Dublin Corporation on the basis of 1971 Census data, concluded that the 1975 levels of output in housing provision were sufficient to meet the region’s needs.** though any such conclusions will have to be revised upwards in the light of Dublin’s population expansion since 1971.

The surveys for this study showed that, in addition to obsolescence and overcrowding in the Inner City, there was a prevalence of overcrowding throughout the Local Authority housing estates. Thus, overcrowding was endemic to the system, arising from the fact that, as a rule, the Local Authority erects a standard dwelling—usually three bedrooms which is related only to the needs of the family at the date they are housed. Size of family can result in overcrowding for a considerable period depending upon the composition of the family and the size of the dwelling**. In a two bedrooomed dwelling a family of four with one boy and one girl will suffer statutory overcrowding from the time the eldest is ten years of age until he or she leaves the home. The larger the family the more severe the overcrowding and the longer its duration. While construction of a few standardised house types permits economies of scale, it can hardly be argued that a static model size house is suited to the more dynamic growing family over the entire period of the tenancy. In consequence inequality in the distribution of room space may be as serious as inequality in other factors such as income.

The unexpectedly large increase in Dublin’s population coupled with a slight decline in the number of new Local Authority dwellings being erected since 1975 has led to increased pressure for public housing provision.** While the Corporation did succeed in housing over 12,000 families between 1973 and 1978, the present problems have been deemed to constitute a housing emergency** by Dublin Corporation and there is a clear need for an accelerated pace of housing provision by the Local Authorities in the Dublin Area.

Coupled with the need for more public housing is the manifest need for more large dwellings to meet user needs. Even if the Local Authority were to erect more large dwellings, the present operation of the system could be expected to entail moving to a new suburb to obtain a more adequate house and many appear to tolerate overcrowding than move out of their area**. Thus, even if the Dublin Local Authorities were building enough houses, these dwellings might not adequately accommodate tenants’ needs even in the short term. In addition, it appears that existing housing policies are neither adequate nor appropriate in respect of the distribution of dwellings and give rise to both a reduction in the choice of housing location and tenure.

**Such conditions can find expression in “vandalism and a fastening sense of deprivation”. Fr. P. Lemass speaking on World Peace Day, 1, 1979.

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280

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281
Therefore, to overcome the mismatch in the location of housing and the location of housing demand, it is recommended that the individual and dwelling focus of housing policy be complemented by a spatial focus that has greater regard for where people wish to reside and provide them with a range of house size related to people's needs.

The social cost of not providing adequate housing is difficult to quantify but it is likely to exceed any short term cost savings derived from continuing to provide people with house units incompatible with long term needs.

6.3.(3) Tenant Purchase Policy

Many households may be prepared to endure temporary dissatisfaction with the space available because of neighbourhood preferences and attachment to the dwelling itself. Others who might consider moving would be deterred by the costs of moving and disruption or where tenancy benefits for future purchase might be jeopardised. This report recommends:

That policies be reshaped to foster housing mobility, especially in respect of Local Authority tenants. This could be achieved through:

(a) The provision of a wider variety of dwelling sizes.
(b) The development of adaptable housing design.
(c) Local focus to housing problems.
(d) Ease of transfer.
(e) Assistance in moving costs.

Mobility in housing is not simply a matter of provision of dwellings more in line with the size and distribution of households and their locational preferences, but it may also be determined by preference and other factors such as tenant benefits.

Tenant purchase schemes are justified on the rather subjective grounds that ownership is superior to leasing and that owners have a greater interest in the proper upkeep of buildings. From the view point of the Local Authority, tenant purchase reduces their outlay on housing repairs and maintenance. However, tenant purchase tends both to immobilise tenants and reduce the stock of houses for letting—both in terms of the number of houses available, and the choice of locations. Sales tend to reduce the number of houses available for tenants in older areas where new tenants could be better absorbed. Present policies reduce the choice available to those most in need.

Well intentioned though it was, the operation of this scheme can be seen to have contributed to the number on the waiting list. Those who require a specific location for whatever reasons, are faced with a declining number of available units and a limited choice of location as well. Public housing availability is confined almost entirely to the very edge of the urban area and the sales policy means that the Local Authority is left with the poorest element of its dwelling stock—those it cannot sell. The scheme partly stifles the concept of a dynamic housing market and the scheme runs counter to the whole social justification for Local Authority involvement in the housing market.

Since the purchase price is based on historic costs adjusted for price changes and length of tenancies, housing situated between the canals and the periphery proves attractive to sitting tenants. Since many of these are elderly the benefit of the purchase will accrue to inheriting relations through sale with a consequent loss to the public exchequer.

In the process a dwelling has been lost to the deprived while the recipient could usefully have been induced into owner occupation by other means.

The effect of these purchases are firstly to encourage a process of gentrification within Local Authority areas and secondly to reduce the availability of intra urban ‘couple’ dwellings to low income families, except where the Local Authority dwellings are unattractive to prospective purchasers. While differentiation of the older Local Authority estates by a process of income gentrification may be

66Dublin City Council Housing Committee set up a sub-committee (on 27/7/79) to examine how the distribution and availability of Corporation houses could be made more equitable.

67Gentrification refers to the process whereby increased investment in the rehabilitation of a property induces higher socio-economic groups to replace the original occupants. See: Housing Improvement Policies in England and Wales, Research Memorandum No. 24, C.J.R.S. Birmingham, 1974.
desirable in terms of the social mix in such areas, it must be weighed against the reduction in housing choice available to the less fortunate. It could be argued that the older system of Local Authority tenant purchase schemes was more appropriate in maintaining the level of choice available to Local Authority tenants while catering for those who wished to own their own homes.

Even if tenant purchase of existing stock is accepted as a principle, it would involve discrimination against tenants of the new Inner City housing developments, who because of the high costs of such houses would be unlikely to be able to afford to purchase an Inner City home for many years if at all. In order to provide housing for the most needy in all parts of the city this report recommends:—

That the Public Authorities cease sale of rented houses and reinstate the former tenant purchase schemes coupled with incentives facilitating local authority tenants to enter the private sector housing market.

In this respect it might be as effective and more socially equitable to provide grants to help sitting tenants to put together a deposit for a non-Local Authority house and abolish the income limits for SDA loans, thus encouraging purchasers who fear the impact of fluctuating interest rates. Above all the Local Authority should ensure the preservation of its dwelling stock for the poorer members of society. The policy of "purchase" is in fact frustrating the basic objective of Local Authorities' involvement in the housing market and the disadvantages of the scheme outweigh the benefits.

The objective of housing policy should be to provide adequate housing in sufficient numbers to meet existing and future demand. To date urban housing is increasingly confined to the owner occupied or Local Authority sectors. Recent years have witnessed, a small but important expansion of co-operative housing provision. The Department of the Environment offers some encouragement to Co-operative housing through advisory services and by paying part of the salary of an official of the National Association of Building Co-operatives. Examples of the Co-operative housing schemes in Dublin are those at Ballybrack and Crumlin.

The cessation of an 'open areas' policy and the encouragement of policies that rehabilitate the family and dwellings rather than policies that downgrade whole areas and their resident populations.

In as much as "open areas" exist they result in part from the poor image of a given area and the unwillingness of tenants with choice to settle there. In turn tenants with few options can be found...
accommodation in such an area, thus further disadvantaging the area. The image of an area and the additional problems for residents arising from the perpetuation of that image are likely to be intensified by the larger scale developments of one class housing. While neither physical planning nor the mere juxtaposition of the dwellings of different classes can create social cohesion it should be the objective of the housing authority to:

- provide Local Authority housing in smaller estates and to ensure that all development areas contain a mix of housing types and social groups.

Such an approach could help prevent the stigmatisation of selected areas and reduce the social barriers to residents. In any case, since public housing areas are likely to contain an undue proportion of the deprived, a policy favouring smaller estates in mixed neighbourhoods would help reduce the spatial concentration of problems. Such an approach to mixed housing development is feasible given that the Local Authority is a major land purchaser on the urban periphery; this proposal is also in line with the idea of retaining the existing stock of Local Authority dwellings.

6.3(5) The Private Rented Housing Sector
The Dublin housing market is unusual by European standards inasmuch as there is both a small and a declining share of housing provided by the private rented sector. Within the inner city and adjoining family areas this sector has been affected by rent control policies and governmental regulations. In general, the implementation of new standards will be a slower process in this sector as landlords minimise outgoings in the face of government restrictions. On the other hand, there is a concentration of poor quality dwellings in this sector in the inner city and there is an urgent need for house improvement if buildings are not to be demolished, dwellings lost and familiar environments destroyed.

The dramatic decline of the private rented unfurnished sector is the outcome of a number of factors; firstly, slum clearance legislation, resulting in the demolition of unfit dwellings, many of which were privately rented; secondly, housing policy leading to development and redevelopment and the growth of public authority tenancies and thirdly, growing affluence and the growth of home ownership, as well as the attractiveness of competing investment in terms of relative returns, liquidity and rent control policies.

Of these factors rent control is the most controversial and politically sensitive. Controversy is inherent in legislation which attempts to determine the balance of rights between groups and is politically sensitive because of the difference in socio-economic status and numbers in the landlord and tenant groups. Rent control was introduced by the Rent and Mortgage Interest Act 1915 in the UK as a temporary war-time measure to prevent profiteering. Because of the political and social impact of rent increases, the legislation has been successively refined in terms of decontrol but never repealed. The outcome, in essence, is that the rights of landlords in relation to affected property are significantly restrained, while the rights of tenants are significantly secured.

Landlords of rent controlled dwellings are restrained from changing the use of a dwelling (e.g. unfurnished to furnished accommodation) unless vacant possession is obtained and they are precluded from altering the basic rents; in the event of sale they are, unlike owner-occupiers, subject to Capital Gains Tax and do not enjoy the benefits of tax depreciation as do investors in industrial property. In addition, the relatively low rates of return to investment render it difficult to maintain and repair the premises, let alone improve them.

Tenants enjoy regulated rents and security of tenure for themselves and their legal successors regardless of income. These rights, it has been argued, have reduced the mobility of labour and prevent the vacation of large houses, where family size has declined, by creating a vested interest in the sitting tenancy. On the other hand, tenants may reside in rapidly deteriorating premises which lack the basic amenities

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78Cullingworth in his Lancaster survey has shown that the popular image of the landlord as an 'economic man' owning many houses regarded purely as investment was false, as was the image of the landlord as a 'bloated capitalist' intent on extorting rents. He found that 60% of landlords owned one house and a further 20% owned two or three. Only 1% had more than twenty houses. Over 70% had acquired their property by inheritance. Cullingworth, J. B. Housing in Transition, Heineman, 1963, p. 105. Similarly, not all tenants of rented unfurnished are elderly and widowed and on low income, although the Lancaster survey did show a predominance of elderly and low income.

and which are, under present circumstances, unlikely to be improved by the landlord. Where repairs are undertaken the landlord may only recover the actual expenditure by an addition to rent over a long period; the return to investment is not increased. The overall effect on investment in this sector is that new investment is discouraged and previously owner occupied dwellings are more likely to be put to alternative uses than letting. In contrast to the fall in numbers in the unfurnished sector, the less protected furnished rented sector has grown rapidly.

If the rented unfurnished sector is to make its contribution towards the alleviation of the housing problem and the improvement of the environment, policy changes are required. Basically there are two options, public ownership of private unfurnished stock or the provision of incentives for new investment, improvement and modernisation.

The argument for social ownership is founded on the premise that housing should be provided on the basis of need rather than on ability to pay. The advantages of such a transfer are that it could provide a more equitable system of allocation and rent would be assessed on ability to pay as in the Differential Rent Scheme. It also offers the prospect of systematic improvement of these houses by the Local Authority, together with an upgrading of the local environment. In terms of the housing stock it helps maintain or increase the proportion available for renting and the area of choice.

The major disadvantage of such a scheme is the amount of financing required to effect the transfer whether by agreement or compulsory purchase. Nor are the Local Authorities likely to welcome the takeover and management of predominantly poor housing, given existing financial commitments and their reliance on central funds. While the takeover would maintain the proportion of rented dwellings, it would reduce the choice of tenures as not all households might not be willing to become Local Authority tenants. A further disadvantage is that many ineligible for housing by a Local Authority, such as many single people, could find themselves totally excluded from the rented unfurnished sector.

If the objective is to halt decay, improve existing stock and stimulate new investment in the sector then returns must be made attractive. An obvious form of incentive is the abolition of rent control. It is simplistic to assume that freedom of rent would result in massive improvements or new investments. There is no guarantee that, given such freedom, landlords would undertake repairs or improve stock to modern standards. In many cases because of the age of the dwelling modernisation might not be feasible. At the same time if redevelopment were permitted it is likely to be aimed at the more profitable ends of the market. Security of tenure would itself prove a strong disincentive to investment in the sector. Any incentive scheme must aim to directly encourage repair and modernisation while at the same time protecting existing tenants both with regard to rents and fixity of tenure.

Rents should be fair having regard to the age and state of the dwelling and the character of the locality in which it is situated. A fair rent is one based on the "likely market rent a dwelling could demand if supply and demand were broadly in balance". This requires essentially that the scarcity value of housing be disregarded. Where a fair rent is established by agreement, arbitration or assessment, this would be subject to indexation with periodic revaluations possibly every five years. Where investment takes place and premises are improved, this could be reflected in the reviewed rent. As a preliminary step decontrol as related to a given year, 1941 in the present Acts, should be related to the standard of the facilities in a

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Provisions of the Rent Restrictions Act 1960, as subsequently amended.

Rented furnished accommodation increased by 6.6% per annum in the Dublin sub-region between 1961 and 1971 compared with a decline of 5.4% per annum in the private rented unfurnished accommodation. A recent High Court case.

Some 33,000 tenancies are covered by the Differential Rents Scheme and about 23,000 are paying "maximum rents" a weekly average maximum rent of about £3.90 (Data supplied by Department of Finance). For a discussion of the scheme and its operational inadequacies see T. J. Baker and L. M. O'Brien op. cit., pages 82-97. Part of the problem with the scheme relates to the definition of assessable income but operational problems do not invalidate the social merits of the scheme. See also NESC 25, op. cit., Table 6.17.

Repairs grants were available amounting to two thirds of approved costs to a maximum of £600 per dwelling unit, providing no grant was received within the previous ten years. In view of the age of the dwellings concerned and the costs of labour and materials, this can hardly be viewed as an incentive to improvement and modernisation. There is a need for a review of grant levels particularly in areas of housing stress. Grants of up to £600 were available up to 1979 in respect of heating improvements. See Memoranda HA2 and HA2A, DOE: 1978-1979.

Fair Deal for Housing, report 4728, HMSO 1975, para. 23.

Where the tenant undertakes or has undertaken improvements this must also be taken into account in determining rents.
dwelling rather than the period of construction. In addition to rent increases for improvements, landlords should be eligible for depreciation allowances as happens with buildings in the commercial sector.

To deal with the problem of immobility between tenures minimum period leases could be granted to tenants not only with the option to renew at the prevailing rent but also with a right of sale of the unexpired portion of the lease. Further protection could be assured by providing that a sitting tenant has first option where sale is proposed and the selling price is subject to arbitration. Linked with the decontrol of rents, a rent allowance scheme for tenants of private rented accommodation should be introduced. This would take account of income and family size and provide for the needs of poorer tenants in much the same way as the differential rent scheme assesses the ability of Local Authority tenants to pay.

This overview of the private rented sector suggests that if the decline in the number and quality of private rented housing is to be arrested then the whole question of rent control must be reviewed with the objective of securing investment in the sector and maintaining equity as between landlord and tenant.

6.3(6) Housing Rehabilitation

Other aspects of housing deprivation include substandard structures, inadequate basic facilities, poor services and an unsatisfactory neighbourhood environment. To incorporate higher standards in structures, improve facilities and reduce overall densities, current policies favour green field building sites and, more recently, some comprehensive housing redevelopment in the inner areas of the city. The emphasis in public pronouncements upon the number of dwellings erected or in process of construction is in sharp contrast to the continuing silence in respect of obsolete and dilapidated dwellings and the inadequacy of assistance to bring them up to standards comparable to those in new houses. Considering both the high costs and the socially disruptive nature of Inner City re-development, it is surprising that policies relating to improvement have not been enlarged to encourage gradual renewal, particularly in the case of the Inner City and adjacent areas.

Present policies and legislation are also inadequate in as much as they fail to initiate adequate rehabilitation and improvement in the private sector. Since private sector improvement relies on voluntary decision it is often fragmented and independent of the general environment of the dwelling. The level of assistance available ensures that only the most urgent tasks are undertaken and they are unlikely to act as a catalyst to area improvement. The objective of rehabilitation is to assist individuals to bring sub-standard housing up to an acceptable standard and to prolong the useful life of older dwellings. Rehabilitation is deemed to be economic in cost terms where the extended life of a building at a given level of amenity for a specified period is less than the cost of redevelopment. The decision on whether or not to rehabilitate is a function of interest rates, the period of useful life and the difference in operation and maintenance costs of the refurbished and redeveloped dwellings. In general, improvement often consists of the provision of bathroom or kitchen space by adaptation of the existing dwelling or by extensions. A study of single family dwellings off South Circular Road has demonstrated the approach to and relatively low cost nature of such rehabilitation while a more recent study by the Housing Research Unit suggests that rehabilitation of both small single family dwelling units and the larger multi-family tenement buildings is both economically feasible and socially desirable.

It was shown in Section III that a gradual renewal approach incorporating the maximum possible degree of housing rehabilitation, coupled with complementary infill, is now commonplace in European...
cities; such policies are geared to minimum social disruption or displacement of existing inhabitants. The approach extends beyond the house to rehabilitation of small businesses and industries and the general management of the surrounding areas. Having regard to the sedentary characteristics of Dublin’s population and the large proportion who had not attempted to leave the Inner City, it is socially desirable that they be enabled to remain there if they desire to do so.

Given the very high land costs in the older areas of the city and the need to conserve the heritage of the city and its people, greater attention should be devoted to the question of housing rehabilitation in preference to redevelopment. To be effective, housing rehabilitation should be seen within the framework of Local Plans and in the context of Housing Associations consisting of local groups promoting and assisting in the rehabilitation process. Housing and area rehabilitation implies attention to the general environment as well as the dwelling and presumes the implementation of general improvements to eliminate through traffic, extraneous parking, the removal of nuisances and environmental disfigurement, the provision of local play spaces, programmes of tree planting and encouragement to individuals to similarly up-grade their dwelling and its adjacent space.

Grants for rehabilitation should be indexed to labour and materials costs and also relate to the extent of need and the income of the occupiers. Many aspects of the rehabilitation approach are applicable to the proper maintenance of newer housing and, in all cases, housing rehabilitation must be seen as part of a wider approach to the improvement and management of the housing stock and residential areas generally. It is socially desirable that as much as possible of rehabilitated stock be retained in public ownership.

The survey results have demonstrated that, as a rule, the blocks of

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Local Authority flats are least well suited to the needs of many Local Authority tenants. Where tenants wish to or need to be moved from such buildings every effort should be made to find alternative uses for the buildings. In many instances the buildings are structurally sound and capable of physical rehabilitation. In the Dublin area with its rapid growth of population and a corresponding growth in demand for space for institutions and for private sector apartments, whether rented or purchased, it seems difficult to justify the demolition of buildings, except in exceptional cases. Within the context of Local Planning and Area Improvements the Greater Dublin Council should explore the possibility of rehabilitating vacant flat blocks which could be sold to the private sector or to institutions for residential use and as a means of encouraging the social mix of population. Where demolition is deemed necessary, it should only be as a last resort.

6.4 Economic and Social Development

6.4(1) Introduction

The administrative, planning and housing proposals outlined in the preceding sections have to be complemented by a programme of economic and social action if the problems identified in the surveys—many of these being occupationally related—are to be solved. The following sections proceed to deal with a variety of economic and social policies realistically tailored and aimed at countering the identified problems.

6.4(2) Employment and the Urban Economy

Study of the growth of the urban economy cannot be divorced from study of the national industrial economy, for the economic condition of the nation is most sharply reflected in the city. Within the national

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*The UK approach was set out in DOE Circular 13/75, Renewal Strategies.

**In practice the decision to rehabilitate or redevelop must be assessed in the light of conditions in each individual building and in the surrounding areas.

***For discussion of the scale of rehabilitation grants in the UK see D. O’Connor, Housing in Dublin’s Inner City, op. cit., pages 90. Up to January 1980 limited grants had been available for housing improvements: see Department of Environment Memorandum, HA, 1978. Home improvement loans are still available but subject to a means test.


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*Not all occupiers of blocks of flats find the flats unsuitable nor can it be suggested that all blocks have proved unsatisfactory.

**In Dublin in the 1970s investment in “Luxury Flats” was allowed to proceed widely throughout the older suburbs. As with office development in the 1960s there is a strong case for restricting such investment much more closely to the Inner City and other areas in need of renewal.

***A recent survey by the College Accommodation Office of Trinity College, Dublin, points to the potential demand for student flats, Irish Times, 7 February 1980.
context unemployment has been one of the most persistent and
intractable problems over the years and, as shown in the surveys, is at
its highest in the Inner City and Local Authority peripheral areas.
Proposals aimed at dealing with this problem represent an indirect
attack on the broader problem of poverty. While employment
opportunity (or more correctly its absence) is related to deprivation,
poverty is not simply a matter of whether an individual has a job or not.
Many who are working are poor in the sense that the income from their
employment does not provide adequate support; they are also deprived
in the broader sense that job mobility or advancement is impossible.
While the general meaning of poverty is apparent, there is a statistical
problem in defining it in terms of income levels as individual and family
needs differ with age, size of family and factors such as poor health and
disability. In the absence of a definition of where the income
"poverty line" lies, unemployment, like housing conditions, has been
and remains an important and politically sensitive indicator of
depression. In the main, policy instruments for the reduction of
unemployment, including the IDA job creation programme and the
schemes operated by the National Manpower Service for employment of
redundant workers and assistance for resettlement, all focus on the
demand side of the labour market. Training scheme programmes such
as those operated by AnCO are dictated, to a large extent, by the
requirements of potential employers. Apart from training programmes
for the upgrading of labour-force skills, there are no policies on the
supply side aimed at reducing the numbers or changing the
composition of those seeking work.

6.4(3) The Possibility of Continuing Unemployment
Despite the scale of job creation schemes, there are several factors
which point in the medium- and long-term to increasing rather than
decreasing levels of unemployment. Apart from the new industries
programme of the IDA, the modernisation and re-equipment scheme
has not always led to more employment but, since capital
intensification leads to labour shedding, it may result in less jobs and
these often for more skilled personnel, some of them possibly for returning emigrants.

Secondly, the traditional safety valve of emigration to Britain may not
prove attractive in the future. Given the inter-relationship of the
British and Irish economies in respect to the labour market, it is
possible to regard unemployment levels in Ireland as a reflection of
British conditions. Given an association, however indirect, between the
two labour-markets and the high unemployment levels in both
countries, it is hard to envisage "full employment" in Ireland having
good regard to forecasts for Britain. Any rise in the British unemployment
rate is likely to result in an inflow of people to Ireland, thus aggravating
the problem within Ireland. In any case the proportion of unskilled
emigrants seems to be in decline and the emigration process tends
to favour the older and better educated worker rather than the
inhabitants of the areas covered in these surveys.

Thirdly, in addition to existing high unemployment rates, Ireland has relatively low participation rates of married women,
and it may be that a share of the jobs created by new

103This scheme also indirectly encourages relocation to the urban periphery, as firms
evaluate location and site constraints and also desire to realise the high site value of
the old location. The scheme is currently under review by the IDA. While it is clear
that new technology both replaces existing jobs and removes the need for additional
jobs, it should be emphasised that the new technology also gives rise to additional
employment and its introduction may be central to the survival of established firms.
See Technological Change: Threats and Opportunities For the UK, report by the

104The result of the 1979 Census of Population (Preliminary) suggests a net average
immigration to Ireland of 13,350 per year between 1971 and 1979. In this context it is
possible that many of the new grant-aided jobs are being taken up by immigrants while
the employment growth of 1977-79 has by-passed the less skilled in Dublin. Again it is
arguable that employment of the less skilled depends upon the prior expansion of
skilled jobs.

105The official reservation accompanying the publication of the White Paper on
Investment and National Development, 1979-83 states to the difficulties facing the
economy in 1980-81.

106Most forecasts accept the British level of unemployment will increase in the
1980s. See C. Leicester, "Future Employment Trends: A cause for Concern in Local
Planning", The Planner, July 1978, pp. 103-105. See also July 1979 issue of
Economic Outlook and OECD Economic Survey, July 79.

107In spite of estimates to the contrary, the Census shows an average annual
immigration of 13,350 over the 1971-79 period.

108J. G. Hughes and B. Walsh, "Migration Flows Between Ireland, the United
Kingdom and the Rest of the World 1966-71", European Demographic Information
technology will suit this largely untapped labour pool rather than provide adequate less skilled male jobs. Fourthly, occupational trends, significant in terms of manpower and education policies, point inexorably towards a continuing contraction in demand for the unskilled or less skilled—whether young or old. Nor indeed is the future without shadow for the employment prospects of the better educated, where many jobs, particularly the routine, may be automated. While the IDA have set a target of creating an additional 19,000 net manufacturing jobs in the East region between 1978 and 1982, the task will be difficult allowing for world trading conditions, technical changes, new competitive rules for regional aid in the EEC as well as the danger of redundancies in existing firms.107

6.4(4) Employment Proposals
Deprived of the alternative of emigration and inadequately equipped for the changing job market, what prospect faces the unskilled or the less skilled now in work or out of it? The low levels of educational attainment recorded in the surveys coupled with the high participation of the 14-19 age groups in the labour-market increases the probability of unemployment in an increasingly competitive and skilled, educated situation. To meet this highly competitive situation it is essential to continue efforts to expand the number of jobs in Ireland and Dublin in particular and to invest heavily in retraining programmes designed to help both young and middle-aged meet the challenge of technological change. Within this general objective, the increasing emphasis upon small industries108 and the use of Irish raw materials is to be welcomed. As pointed out in NESC Report No. 28 most of the jobs required to move towards full employment will have to come from service-type activities which remain inadequately promoted at regional level and understimated as a catalyst towards regional growth and self sustaining regional progress.109 These are the jobs with the highest level of skills and least relevance to the deprived with the exception of ancillary blue collar, lowly paid cleaning and caretaking jobs. Given the skills and traditions of the population covered by this report it is not so much industrial employment as the expansion of employment in transport and the construction sectors—particularly house building, rehabilitation and environmental improvement—that offers the best and quickest means of reducing the unemployment levels. But despite the best efforts of the IDA and other promotional agencies, as well as work in education and retraining, it has to be accepted that demand for labour may fall short of supply—at least as judged by all available indicators at present. In consequence, policy makers must also have regard to other policies as well as policies of employment expansion. In the long term, consideration may have to be given to reducing the numbers in the labour-force, particularly those under 19 or over 65 years.

Policy to reduce labour supply requires, firstly, a delay in the entry of the young to the labour market and, secondly, an acceleration in the outflow of the elderly. The former could be achieved through extension of compulsory education and military or community service. Early retirement could be achieved through granting persons sufficient income to maintain a given standard of living. Both these policies would be expensive in resources.110 Such policies raise questions about society’s ability to redistribute wealth by means other than wages for a job; they also raise questions about changes in the psychological attitude of society to work. Given the relatively low levels of skills in the population covered by both surveys, it is probable that it is this sector of the population and labour-force which would be most affected by any attempt to reduce the numbers in the labour-force. In this context the NESC Report on Alternative Strategies for Family Income Support deals with a central issue.

107See IDA Industrial Plans, 1978-82, Dublin, 1979, page 46. In this context 1979 was, however, one of the IDA’s most successful years in operation. The active promotion of Dublin as a centre for manufacturing industry in the absence of a comprehensive programme of regional development may generate further migration to Dublin from rural areas and other urban centres.

108To date little attention has been devoted to the role of small firms in the Irish economy, though the CII has argued the importance of one group of small firms—those in manufacturing. See: The Small Firm in Ireland, CII, Dublin, 1978. 24 pages. To date discussion of the Small Economy has been confined to the manufacturing sector where both the IDA and Shannon Development place increasing importance upon the indigenous industry and the small firm.


110The resource constraint is severe as evidenced by the emerging trend towards later retirement in an effort to reduce pressures on pension funds and social security in the United States. Improvements in the distribution of wealth will be called for as productivity increases and jobs contract.
6.4(5) A More Efficient Labour Market

More immediate and less expensive policies would be required to increase the efficiency of the labour market. Analysing job search patterns of young people in the North Inner City, Murphy and Morrissey demonstrated the low degree of utilisation of the services of agencies such as AnCo and the National Manpower Services—a pattern shown by the surveys to be duplicated by their elders in both the Inner City and the suburban estates.

Lack of information and the low level of career guidance generally found in the areas was the main reason for this. If unemployment is to be kept to its lowest level, information on job opportunities should be widely disseminated. To this end more use should be made of media, such as radio and television. A more direct and attractive policy of job information is required for the less skilled and less literate and popular radio offers a relatively inexpensive medium.

Job counselling services should be widely expanded and counselling should also be deemed necessary after a specified period of unemployment. Counselling could be aided by distinguishing between different categories of unemployed—those needing retraining or initial training, those requiring basic education before training and those with placement problems or physical handicaps. The benefit of this taxonomy is that it requires the structuring of counselling and training programmes as much towards the needs of the individual as of the potential employer.

To date Dublin Labour Exchanges have been depressing places seen as the 'place where the poor get done'. At least some aspects of the work of the Labour Exchanges could usefully be combined with that of other agencies in Employment Offices. Thus, Employment Offices could be seen as real Labour Markets, advising on placements and training possibilities and matching labour to available vacancies. In

112In respect of the provision of basic and elementary education, the consultants welcome the expansion and further development of the range of services offered by the Dublin Institute of Adult Education.
113On the basis of an advisory report by the I.P.A. in the 1960s Labour Exchanges were separated out from the National Manpower Service but under the terms of an act of 1908 had to be designated 'Labour Exchanges'. It may be that they might be more aptly described as welfare offices but in either case they need to be drastically improved in appearance and approach.

these new Employment Offices the services of AnCo and the National Manpower Service should be available to help job seekers and to advise on alternatives. The service should be backed up by centralised information systems which could quickly match supply and demand in any part of the city. Sub-offices could be situated at points of need throughout Dublin with access to the central data system and offering an efficient, pleasant and useful service to users whether or not they can find work. To be effective an Employment Office would need to be supported by much more up to date and detailed data on changes in the structure of employment. While the Industrial Statistics offer some indication of the employment changes between sectors of the economy, such statistics tell little of occupational changes within sectors—the very focus for manpower planning. If there is to be meaningful manpower planning then occupational structure data should be collected as part of the Industrial Returns and similar data compiled for other sectors. At the research level much more needs to be known of the occupational structure of the unemployed and the possibilities for retraining between occupations. Occupational analysis and forecasting remains quite inadequate for the changing needs of the Irish economy.

6.4(6) Countering Job Discrimination

Difficulties in securing employment due to age or lack of education may be compounded by a less serious but psychologically more damaging process of discrimination based on address. Elimination of discrimination is a long term process dependent on changes in the community which gave rise to it in the first place. In the short term such discrimination could be counterbalanced by positive measures in favour of an area. Drawing on the example of regional industrial incentives, an additional employment premium could be paid where jobs are provided for workers from "designated areas" as measured by persistently high rates of unemployment. This presents its own

114The report of the Interdepartmental Study Group on Unemployment Statistics (Dublin, 1979, 98 pages) deals with ways of improving information on the extent of unemployment including the use of occupational classifications comparable with the International Standard Classification of Occupations.
115The Government are currently considering a recommendation by the Inter Department Committee on Dublin’s Inner City to allow more generous assistance to firms employing Inner City workers under a special incentive employment scheme. Such a proposal could usefully be applied to all areas with high levels of unemployment and deprivation.
difficulties in that it focuses attention on specific areas and in fact appears to reinforce original bias. However, it can be justified in much the same way as the designation of areas in the Underdeveloped Areas Act of 1952. Problems of a real definition might arise but these could be dealt with on the basis of a social area analysis and the definition of Cluster areas as was done here for the urban area as a whole for 1971.

Discrimination could be carried further by sequestering some jobs in the public services (e.g. railways, bus services) to be reserved for residents of the areas. This form of discrimination would be essentially a short term remedy, since if prolonged for extended periods it can be considered as inequitable as negative discrimination. As a short term expedient it is unlikely to result in "islands of privilege" since the objective is convergence to sub-regional or some other norm.

Because of the spatial shift of employment in industry to the periphery and because of the high concentration of unskilled and semi-skilled workers in particular areas is unlikely that job location strategies, however successful, would absorb more than a fraction of the number of unemployed in the immediate neighbourhood of the Inner City. Jobs might be available in other areas but the combination of low pay and travel costs might make it uneconomic for the workers in terms of take home pay. To offset this to some extent a system of special fares based on wage and work journey would increase both job choice and worker mobility and encourage greater two way use of public transport in rush hour. The recent efforts to expand the job supply in the short term as well as the retraining programme, must be expanded still further if the problem of urban unemployment is not to intensify. However, it may be that such an expansion of the job supply may stimulate migration to Dublin or immigration and fail to resolve the Dublin unemployment issue as the capital continues to expand.

6.4(7) The Role of The Small Firm

The increased attention to indigenous industry in IDA job creation programmes is a most welcome development. By and large native firms will be small; small independent firms are the most intensive users of local raw materials and services, and so create further jobs locally. In addition, small firms are most adaptable in terms of location and in contrast to foreign subsidiaries, may find the Inner City a suitable location. Inevitably small and local firms will rely on small and transitory local services or induce these into operation. Many would see the small firm as the best hope for the urban economy and in turn programmes and policies to promote the use of Irish supplies and materials (e.g., The Promotion Campaign by the National Development Association) could create more jobs through import substitution and the generation of wealth within Ireland. Again many of these supply firms are small and flexible in terms of location and other needs and are precisely the type of operation most adaptable to the resources, skills and opportunities available within deprived areas. In this respect physical planning activities have been criticised for too much attention to tidying-up operations at the expense of firm survival and job protection (See Section III above). Whatever the merits of this assertion it is important that within the context of Local Plans the creation and provision of local sources of employment should be seen as an integral element in these plans.

6.4(8) The Possibility of Continuing Unemployment

The preceding sections have discussed the national objectives of providing full employment and the means which are available to do this in the case of Dublin. However, the job of creating and maintaining full employment in a society with a rapidly growing labour-force and against a background of technological change and world recession is far from easy.

14 In the filling of vacancies for subordinate staff in Government Departments (e.g. messengers, cleaners, porters etc.) preference is normally given to unemployed persons based on their need, as measured by the Social Welfare system, and subject to their suitability for the posts in question. This system also applies in the case of special schemes operated by Local Authorities where the schemes are financed from Central Funds. It does not apply to posts in State-sponsored bodies.

15 Though such a proposal might be more economical than using public money to buy centre city land for manufacturing industry, it has been suggested that such a scheme would be difficult to administer and liable to spread to workers from other areas. However, the social need would appear to outweigh such objections to the proposal.

16 In its Industrial Plans 1976-82 the IDA estimate that over half of the expected new jobs will be provided by Irish firms with small plants playing a major role (Chart 3.3) while in the Mid West Region the Shannon Development Co. has had up to 300 inquiries from Small Firms.

17 This assertion has been tested in numerous foreign studies and was seen to hold good in respect of manufacturing firms in Waterford. See M. J. Bannon, Office and White-Collar Activities: The Role of Waterford, op. cit., 1978.

18 The success of the small but significant IDA efforts in Central Dublin is a case in point.
It is therefore, imperative that society creates a physical and social environment capable of sustaining and stimulating those members of the population for whom work may no longer be a reality. In addition it is necessary to investigate more thoroughly the way urban societies operate and the role of different elements within that society. The importance of the informal economy has already been cited in relation to Third World cities but as yet we know little about the structure or operation of this predominantly non-monetary economy. Its contribution to societal survival or its role in supporting the small firm particularly in urban ghettos. All too often the informal economy is confused with the illegal, underground black economy which may flourish in many parts of the urban economy as well as deprived areas. For the future, despite the best efforts of expansion programmes, the world of the informal economy may be increasingly important and deserving of further study. It can be argued that greater attention to the informal sector offers “real possibilities for a more constructive dialogue which will take account of the general demand for greater public participation in decision-making, and for public accountability to be combined with imaginative sponsorship and enterprise traditionally associated with entrepreneurship”.

6.4(9) Income

In tackling unemployment the basic assumption is that people are willing to take up available employment. This assumption does not hold if a situation is created, the poverty trap, where the head of the household is no better or is even worse off as a result of taking a job. Because of the structure of the income tax and social welfare codes, the effective tax rate that is the rate ensuing as a consequence of liability to income tax and withdrawal of benefits can be relatively high especially for those with large families. Evidence suggests that the level of unemployment is directly affected by changes in the level of social welfare payments. Writing on approaches to taxation, Dowling points out that “the smaller the gap between...guaranteed income level and the post-tax income from work, the greater the likelihood that unemployment will be chosen.” Economic theory would favour the maintenance of a substantial differential between minimum wages and welfare rates.

Dowling argues that to eliminate the poverty trap effect the income tax and social welfare codes must be redesigned to stimulate full use of all income earning opportunities by the unemployed. Under the individual transfer and single tax rate scheme proposed in NESC Report No. 37, employment at “even £1 per week” will lead to increases in disposable income.

With regard to mortgage interest the report points out that the income effect of the proposal could help offset the loss of tax advantage. The construction industry, because of trends in population and household formation, was unlikely to be adversely affected and importantly in the context of the housing recommendations the reduction in tax rates for higher tax payers could encourage investment in new construction for renting purposes.

The combination of low average pay, large family size, high unemployment and early retirement rates found in the surveys strongly suggest the operation of the poverty trap within the lower socio-economic groups covered by this study and point to a large segment of the population depending heavily upon various forms of welfare. The recently published Household Budget survey for 1977 outlined both...
the intensity and scale of urban poverty with 8.0% households having a disposable income of less than £20 per week and with lower income groups spending almost all of their disposable income on food and clothing.

Many of the problems documented in this report are closely associated with both an inadequate income and the insecurity of that source of income, however inadequate. It is clear that any resolution of the problems documented in this report depends to a large extent upon substantial improvements in the levels of disposable income amongst the poor and may reiterate the issues raised in an earlier NESC report. The move in 1979 from the largely flat-rate social insurance contribution system to a fully pay-related scheme should relieve the burden on lower paid, at least to some extent.

6.4(10) Health Policies for the Deprived
Earlier parts of this report have alluded to the very high rates of certain illnesses recurring amongst the urban poor and the deprived. Lack of employment, or adequate alternative income sources, results in inadequate incomes in turn giving rise to inadequate diets and poor shelter leaving the individual or family exposed to a host of illnesses.

The findings of this study point to the need for continued high priority for the lower income groups in the health service and also for much greater attention to "out patient" services and the creation of circumstances where more people can receive attention and care in and from the community; in the areas of non-surgical medicine particularly in the geriatric and child health fields, the need, as identified in this report, points to localised and decentralised systems based upon the home and the community.

There is also a need to continuously update the definitions of health; thus, the new researches into environmental psychology are opening up a whole new perspective on mental health. On the other hand, the shift from an industrial to an information economy has led to the hardships and muscular exertions of the old style factory being replaced by the cold sweat of nervous tension and mental fatigue associated with decision making. As society evolves and changes new health problems emerge. Similarly, new technology points to the need to concentrate major investment in a few hospitals. But especially in the deprived areas there is an urgent need to continue to expand community care services and where possible to treat patients from their home rather than depending upon centralised institutions. This increased emphasis upon community care will intensify if the residents of deprived areas continue to have high rates of unemployment, low incomes and a dependence on the informal rather than the formal economic sectors.

6.4(11) Education and Deprivation
Sub-section 6.1(8) outlined the importance of the education factor in any attempts to break the cycle of deprivation. The analysis of education problems in Dublin as shown by the Dublin School Attendance Officer’s Reports, by Breathnach and McGréil all point to the need for positive discrimination in favour of the children of the deprived. The findings of this study also show that heads of households had low levels of educational attainment and that their children opted out of formal schooling at the earliest possible date.

But most observers also believe that positive discrimination within education on its own is not going to solve the problem. McGréil saw the need to improve education within the context of better facilities for the deprived in the general fields of housing, city planning, health and welfare. He concluded that the inequalities in education in Dublin required a concentration of investment on these areas and a move towards “community co-ordinated schools, teaching an education based on social and cultural theory” having due regard to psychological needs and aspects.

110Household Budget Survey, Annual Urban Inquiry for 1977 Dublin 1979. In the case of households with £20 or less some 47.4% was spent on food and clothing.
114For example, the 1971 Annual Report of the Dublin School Attendance Dept. shows that non-attendance at school is not in itself a tremendous social problem but the symptom of greater malaise.
116M. McGréil, Educational Opportunities in Dublin, Catholic Communications Institute of Ireland, Dublin 1974, 57 pages.
117Ibid, page 56
The experience gained from the Rutland Street project demonstrates that education has to be set in the wider cultural and social context. To be successful, educational programmes have to ensure that the parents are able to understand, help and generally interact with what the children are being taught. Again the teachers and parents must be able to interact easily. The school should not stand in "splendid isolation" looking down on the way of life of the disadvantaged; rather teachers need to experience the lifestyle of the poor and to totally accept the disadvantaged child and his social and cultural milieu.  

All the available evidence points to low levels of educational attainment by both young and old together with little participation in training or retraining programmes. As part of a comprehensive programme to help alleviate the problems of deprivation, this report encourages the establishment of educational Priority Areas, designed to discriminate in favour of the disadvantaged areas, and offering an intensive programme of community-based education involving more pre-school programmes drawing upon the Rutland Street experience, vastly improved levels of teaching and pupil/teacher ratios in primary schools, the continued expansion of the Dublin Institute of Adult Education literacy and other basic courses together with a much greater priority to deprived urban areas in the establishment of AnCo Workshops and Training Centres.  

The creation of the conditions in which children can get an adequate education is basic to the long term solution of urban deprivation.  

However, nowhere is more research needed than in the area of education for the deprived. It is recommended that the appropriate agencies initiate a range of research projects into the nature and constituent causes of educational deprivation as well as a programme of research into the accelerating impact of technology upon employment prospects and educational requirements of the deprived.


129As pointed out earlier the Vocational Education Committee initiated steps in this direction in November 1979. The need for a "learning provision for adults which is accepted as an integral part of the total educational system" has been emphasised by the Director of the Dublin Institute of Adult Education, Irish Times, 5 February 1980.

6.4(12) A Community Development Approach
Throughout this report it has been shown that many urban households are deprived and reside in areas which are deprived in certain general respects. The problems of individual families and households are often compounded by the multiple nature and temporal persistence of their disadvantaged circumstances; in turn these problems are exacerbated by deprivation in respect of community facilities and broader societal needs, such as a good environment or equal opportunity in the labour-market regardless of place of residence. Health and welfare policies aimed at the individual or household can help alleviate those aspects of deprivation which are personal. When the individual or household can be described as multi-deprived, then policies need to be multi-dimensional and properly co-ordinated; where the deprivation relates to factors outside the domain of the home, health and welfare policies need to be set in a broad Community Development framework uniting the efforts of local people and public agencies, in a participatory framework of local remedial action.

Many of the recommendations of this report seek to offset some of the more serious general aspects of deprivation, especially in the fields of planning, employment and housing. The general evidence from this study would also support the view that deprived families have a particular need to become more self-confident and self-supporting. The principal aim of community development should be to help people "to draw out the hidden potential in the community by motivating people to become involved".  

The aim must be to encourage people to maximise their potential and to develop institutions, facilities and procedures through which to help themselves and channel assistance from outside agencies. In deprived areas person-related policies should be supported by a societal community approach to the wider problems of the area.  

In the context of community development, the social area technique adopted in this report, supported by more detailed, smaller area and
up-to-date data, could provide a useful method of defining areas with near homogeneous characteristics.

6.5 The Future Development of The Inner City and The Central Area

6.5(1) Introduction

Earlier parts of this report examined the decline of the socio-economic structure of the Inner City within the context of both city development generally and the multifunctional role of the Central Area.\(^{42}\) The dynamics of this relationship were sketched in Figure 5 above. While the city centre is the area of a town or region everybody knows and has an opinion about, more or less clear, more or less prejudiced... It is also the only area in the region that is a part of the existence of nearly all the inhabitants.\(^{43}\) Because of its multiplicity of roles, complexity of functions and its historical investments in buildings and structures, the Central Area and the adjacent parts of the Inner City represent the most complex and intractable planning problems, requiring a comprehensive and balanced approach. Within this area there is a need to allow for the accommodation of those functions serving the region and the nation as well as providing for local community needs; there is a necessity to strike a balance between old and new, between redevelopment and rehabilitation; conservation, social requirements and economic functions must be catered for alongside the needs of business and residential development has its place as well as administration; in short the Inner City must be a home for rich and poor, a place of business and pleasure for the inhabitants of the city and the region, and also accommodate the efficient administration of the nation’s business, government and industry. Within a context of Metropolitan expansion, the decline in the number and social structure of the Inner City population has been rapid. This demographic decline, coupled with physical obsolescence and the rise of vandalism, increasingly threatens the successful survival of both communities and business in parts of the area. Indeed the decline of Dublin’s Inner City may now be said to be a cause of deprivation both to the citizens who live therein and also to many of the population of the region who perceive the urban core to be unattractive, polluted or unsafe.\(^{44}\) The scale and intensity of problems in the Inner City call for special policy measures, additional to but within the context of the general urban policies documented above.\(^{45}\) The aim of these proposals is to present a package of policy directions aimed at facilitating the operation of a more pleasant and efficient business centre in harmony with the development of community life for the residents of the area. In short, the aim is to promote a group of policies designed to counter the demographic, social and economic decline characteristic of much of the area. The proposals for Inner City regeneration set out in the following subsections require an abrupt about turn on a complex network of development and investment policies; such regeneration, if at all

\(^{42}\) The wider impact of Inner City dereliction on those neither unemployed nor living in overcrowded conditions has been emphasised by D. Allnutt and A. Gripari, ‘Inner Cities in Ireland’. Social Trends, Vol. 10, H.M.S.O. 1980. p. 47

\(^{43}\) In 1978 the Government established an Interdepartmental Committee to examine the problems of Dublin Inner City. The Committee placed the大的 Charnish of the then Department of Economic Planning and Development reported in early 1979 and the Government published a summary of its recommendations in May 1979. Upon consideration of the Interdepartmental Committee’s report, the Government established an Inner City Group which now reports to the Minister for the Environment. The Group’s main functions are to co-ordinate the work of the Interdepartmental committee, to develop a programme of action by the various Departments and public agencies operating in the Inner City, and to co-ordinate the activities and policies of these bodies. One million pounds has been made available to underpin this programme. The Committee’s recommendations can be grouped as proposals dealing with Economic Development, Environmental Improvement, General Proposals relating to monitoring and finances. In the absence of the evidence upon which these proposals were made, it is difficult to either evaluate them or to relate the various proposals to one another. The area covered by the Inter Departmental proposals differs from that used in this study and the proposals in this study area developed more in the context of metropolitan change and development in general. The proposals outlined here are based upon hard evidence which was not available while the Interdepartmental Report was in preparation and it is hoped that the proposals developed here will help solve the identified problems of the Inner City. The authors wish to acknowledge the help and assistance of Seán MacLionaigh, and Ian D’Alton (formerly of the Department of Economic Planning and Development) who were associated with the Interdepartmental Report and kept us informed of its approach and progress.

\(^{44}\) Other work by one of the authors has dealt in detail with aspects of the functional role of Dublin’s Central Area. See: M. J. Bannon, ‘Office Concentration in Dublin and its Consequences For Regional Development in Ireland’, in P. W. Daniels, Spatial Patterns of Office Growth and Location, John Wiley, 1979, pages 95-126.

possible, is also likely to require a new approach to urban living and to the use and maintenance of the urban environment as well as the improved integration of commercial and residential investment.

6.5(2) The Need for a Compact City Centre
The needs of both business and residential areas in the Inner City would be enhanced by an active policy leading to the compact development of the city centre. From a business point of view a compact city centre is more economical inasmuch as it more readily facilitates essential business contact and meetings, reduces the cost of servicing and concentrates investment—thus providing the basis for a high quality attractive centre. A compact city centre reduces the need for within-centre business car trips, facilitates the development of public transport services and leaves the centre walkable. The promotion of a compact city centre could release adjoining areas from the threat of commercial invasion, social disruption or population displacement arising from conflicts of uses, high land values and property speculation.

In Dublin’s case the plot ratios allowed in the city centre are generally low when compared with those in other European capital cities. In a growth context, low plot ratios for office and commercial uses inevitably force the outward spread of the business area, thereby generating a “hope” value for land well outside the commercial areas. Higher plot ratios, especially in those areas requiring an investment catalyst, could entice new investment to areas in need but suitable for business uses. This policy could make extra space available and together with an accompanying policy to zone and utilise areas peripheral to the centre for residential and associated uses, the

pressure for Central Area expansion could be reduced and the speculative holding of sites discouraged. However, it is imperative that all adjacent areas and vacant sites be utilised fully since it is hard to prohibit speculation when the space remains idle.

Thus, policies to achieve a more compact city centre and allow greater development densities within the area, could be to the advantage of business and also of adjacent residential districts.

6.5(3) Strict Land Zoning
The composition of Dublin’s Inner City may be aptly compared to that of Western American cities earlier in this century with large tracts of speculatively held and transitionally used land around the Central Business District. Many of these transitional areas of Dublin are zoned for non-business uses—but in practice it is all too easy to have zoning changed with unsettling effects upon the populations of large areas. A rigid zoning policy irrevocably prohibiting the prospect of commercial invasion would lay the basis for the development of settled residential areas.

This is particularly important on the Northern edge of the business area where some streets have changed from commercial to residential uses and in areas where slum clearance generates uncertainty as to future use. The successful juxtaposition of a high value commercial centre and housing development, even public housing, is seen in many European cities.

145In any case Dublin needs an effective policy for office development including the possibility of suburban office centres on public transport routes—especially rail—nearer to the homes of office workers. The development pressures upon Dublin’s Inner City could be reduced by the implementation of a regional-urban policy governing white-collar activities. See: M. J. Bannon, J. G. Eustace and M. Power, Service-Type Activities and Regional Development, NESC Report No. 28, 1977, Chapter 5.

150While zoning should be rigid along the Commercial-Residential interface it should be considerably relaxed within residential areas to allow for a wide range of ancillary uses and so as to foster activities relevant to the needs of residents.

151The objective here is to prevent socially undesirable high value uses from dislocating residential and community functions. There is a different problem if land is zoned exclusively for high value uses for which it is no longer suitable e.g., the port. In this latter case the proposal of the RTP in Britain “8th schedule rules” should be abolished after non-use for five years and where they call for a re-examination of the Land holding policies of State agencies might have a relevance to Dublin. See: Land Values and Planning in Inner Areas, RTPI, 1979, p. 15.
6.5(4) Public Land Ownership and Arrangement

As pointed out earlier, orderly planning greatly depends upon public ownership of land—though public ownership alone does not guarantee good development. The containment of the business area at a given location and the development of self contained and settled adjacent residential areas would be greatly facilitated through public ownership of land along the commercial-residential interface. Ideally, public ownership of much of the land within the Inner City is desirable but cost prohibitive. Thus, the orderly and rational development of uses within the Inner City is closely bound up with the implementation of some scheme to control land prices, and enable the Local Authority to acquire land at about existing use value from both the private and public sector land holders, especially where the land has been derelict for more than one year. Failing the implementation of the proposals of the Kenny Report, the Greater Dublin Authority could take a much more active role in helping to assemble sites for private sector clients. Recently, this has been done for the IDA in the Coombe and similar arrangements are possible in respect of land for private residential use. The Greater Dublin Authority might usefully explore the implications of acquiring derelict sites at existing use value, especially if they have land vacant for over one to two years.

6.5(5) Transport in the Centre

Perhaps the most contentious issue in Dublin is the question of an urban transport policy. The Dublin Transportation Study recommended...

190The RTPI favour abolition of “8th schedule rights” when existing use has been discontinued for more than 5 years, ibid., page 8.
191The report of the Committee on The Price of Building Land (Kenny), recommended the “Designated Areas Scheme” in relation to public acquisition of green field sites for development (i.e. development land to be acquired at existing use value + twenty-five per cent). The Minister for the Environment is said to be “actively considering” the recommendations of the report and the problems of price control of development land in general.
192Many of the derelict sites in the Dublin City area are located in the Inner City and for the most part they are small and appear to be speculatively held in anticipation of development often in less than ideal locations from the point of view of commercial development. These sites were catalogued and described in a report to the City Council in October 1978. Dublin Corporation has established a special unit to deal with “the increasing number of derelict sites in the city” under the direction of a special Assistant Principal Officer, subject to Ministerial approval. Irish Times, 29 February 1980.
193Transportation in Dublin. An Foras Forbartha, 1971, 47 pages. A Transport Consultative Commission is currently examining transportation problems in Dublin, but despite the social consequences of urban transportation there is no social scientist among the members of the Commission.
194Ibid., page 20. The recommendations of the DTS team were seen to be still relevant in 1977 according to the City Engineer’s report to the City Manager. Meanwhile, the Dublin Rail Rapid Transit Study (CIE 1975) argues the feasibility of serving the city centre by mostly underground rapid rail system.
195The DTS stated that the uncontrolled use of the car in the city centre would require 130 acres of additional car parking space (about £13 million in 1979) and conflicting with acute need for Inner City Open spaces. The most notable of these in Dublin are The Schaeferette Report, (1985) and Travers Morgan’s Central Dublin Traffic Plan (1973). Both these studies approached the problem as one of civil and traffic engineering.
196Mitchell Gordon, Sick Cities: psychology and Pathology of American Urban Life, Penguin, 1963, page 32. Gordon argues that increased motorisation leads to lost revenues for the city and a fall-off in retail sales in central businesses. Based on experience in Copenhagen and other European cities, Alpern and Aggergaard state that “an improvement in the environment in the city centre will involve a decrease in the number of parking places within the area”. op cit., page 264.
all combine to reduce the quality of life for Inner City residents. A major shift of present and future city centre commuter traffic in favour of public transport modes seems essential for the survival of the Central Business District and the orderly social and physical development of adjacent residential districts. The shift in favour of public transport assumes a radical improvement of both bus and rail services with attractive fare rates. It also assumes the rigorous enforcement of policies to restrict the use of the private car. In addition the staggering of working hours and improved circulation systems within the city centre (e.g., pedestrian underpasses at major crossings) would all contribute to an improvement of the quality of life.

6.5(6) High Quality Design
Improved land and transport policies need to be accompanied by a general commitment to the highest standard of design of buildings in the city centre. Many of the new major buildings in Dublin's city centre are the subject of criticism because of their poor quality of design or the inappropriateness of the design of Dublin's urban fabric. Good planning requires a commitment not only to high quality design but also to good manners in architecture and the embellishment of the existing fabric of the urban core.

A design oriented unit within the Planning Department is urgently needed, especially to deal with major projects and schemes, prepare design briefs and prepare guidelines for developers. In turn, however, good design must be related to the use of good quality materials and a high standard of finish, having due regard for the immediate environment.

In addition good planning entails due respect for the existing morphology and street-scape of the city. While the 1969 Housing Act prohibits the demolition of residential accommodation and the Corporation Lists seek to preserve the more important buildings of architectural interest, great damage can be done to the street-scape of whole areas by the demolition of an otherwise insignificant building. Through Local Plans every effort should be made to ensure that buildings are only demolished within the context of active proposals for site redevelopment. In addition, substantial penalties for non-maintenance of private property in the city centre should be imposed and rigorously enforced.

6.5(7) Need for Attractive City Centre
The future of the Inner City and the success of building design policies for the area is dependent in no small way upon the creation of an attractive living, shopping and working environment. In this respect the work of Dublin Corporation's Community and Environment Department should be intensified especially in the centre and complemented by an environmental improvement programme run by the Dublin Chamber of Commerce and business associations. It is in the self-interest of business to provide attractive window displays, clean, tidy and agreeable precincts and to ensure that shopping streets are pleasant and inviting both during and after business hours. Such an approach almost inevitably entails the pedestrianisation of shopping streets and Dublin might well learn from the achievements of city centre planning in France, Belgium, the Netherlands and Germany. An inviting city centre is an integral part of a living city and both the Community and Environment Department of the Local Authority and Dublin Tourism have a major role to play in promoting the improvement of the area by the various business interests. These efforts could tie in closely with the

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169While some new roads or road improvements might be needed to accommodate service vehicles or increased port traffic, there has been little attempt to develop proposals which are less socially disruptive such as night time or early morning servicing for city centre shops or the trans shipment of much of the port's bulk cargo by rail or pipe to regionally and nationally more convenient sites on the city's periphery, thereby releasing valuable lands in the port for other uses.

170Recently it has been agreed that CIE would be allowed to operate priority bus lanes e.g., Parliament Street.

171Some of these transportation proposals concur with suggestions by the Inter-Departmental Committee as seen in its published summary of recommendations. However, the general tone of the Committee's recommendations could not be construed as adequately discouraging the commuter use of the private car, in fact the Committee actively supports the construction of an Eastern Bypass. Despite its potential environmental and social impact, the possibility that it may attract more traffic rather than less traffic to the centre; such a bypass was never adequately justified on the basis of analysis in the Dublin Transportation Study or elsewhere. For discussion of this last point see submission by the staff of Department of Town Planning UCD to Transport Consultative Commission on behalf of Irish Life—A Transportation Policy For The Dublin Area, 1979, page 9.

172See, for example, A Future for Dublin, Arch. Review, London, 1974, 63 pages.

173The City Centre Business Associations have consistently called for an improved physical environment, e.g., call by Dorset Street Traders for removal of derelict sites, 23/8/71.
work of voluntary heritage and environmental groups seeking to enhance the image of Dublin.166

6.5(8) Population in the Inner City
In the face of Inner City population loss over the 1926 to 1979 period the Local Authority has set itself an objective to “maintain and expand the population of the area. Since some of the population—mostly those with families—wish to leave the area and since many of the existing population are old, the corporation’s objective implies migration into the Inner City. The social composition of the population of Dublin’s Inner City is in stark contrast to the socially diverse and more cosmopolitan population structure of many European cities. This contrast is the consequence of Dublin’s social history and the Housing Authorities’ policy of using all available residential sites exclusively for public housing—thus giving over much of the Inner City as the domain of a single social group. In addition, housing policy in the past was not accompanied by either a social programme or a policy of environmental planning at local level.

While the needs of existing groups within the Inner City must be identified and developed, the expected growth of Dublin’s population and the survival of a strong city centre affords an opportunity to expand and diversify the population and social structure of Inner City areas. This could be done through policies designed to meet the needs and ensure the security of those of the existing population who wish to remain in the Inner City, enable some Local Authority tenants to transfer back into the Inner City, policies giving greater incentive to the private rented housing sector and making sites available for both low and high income private housing.167 Particular attention should be paid to the possibility of making Inner City sites available for lower income private housing as has recently been done successfully in Liverpool.167 Diversification of the social structure and range of tenures within the Inner City could be aided by the Local Authority making sites available at low cost for low income private housing, thereby offsetting the high land costs within all parts of the Inner City.168

6.5(9) Need for Wide Range of Housing
The surveys reported upon in this volume testify to a high degree of overcrowding among households in Local Authority rented accommodation. It is arguable that a root cause of many of the problems amongst the Inner City population derive from the mismatch between household needs and size of dwelling. Within the Inner City there is a particular problem with a large number of small dwellings having to house more than one household or family unit. As a priority, the Local Authority should provide houses tailored to families’ needs and enable those Inner City families wishing to remain in the area to have adequate accommodation in the area. Within the Inner City the Local Authority should seek to provide a range of accommodation suited to the needs of those households wishing to stay in the area. Provision of “newly wed” houses in the Inner City could be particularly important provided they are retained for newly weds. The removal of household overcrowding may be a key factor in breaking the cycle of deprivation. However, it is the general mix of housing policies already outlined, coupled with Local Plans and Housing Action plans which may provide the means of creating attractive environments and a more mobile population.

6.5(10) Towards Progressive Renewal
The present and proposed residential parts of the Inner City should be developed as a series of neighbourhoods or environmental areas with

165Many of those points concur with proposals made by the Inner Departmental Committee in paragraphs 37 to 39 of their published Summary. The Committee spoke of “improvement neighbourhoods” and stated that “in some cases it may be appropriate to consider traffic routing, closing off through traffic from residential streets or even pedestrianisation”. This report views these matters as being of immediate importance and essential.

166Much of the work available in the city centre is in the information industry and there are strong indications that many of these workers wish to live close to their work and reduce commuting, e.g., the development of mews housing, ‘town houses’, luxury flats and the general social transformation of areas like Ranelagh. As in the case of office investment, planning practice is allowing a wide spread of dispersal of investment in “town houses” and luxury flats—mostly into areas of high environmental quality and not in need of renewal.

167Within the context of Local Plans areas such as the port warehousing area offer potential for private residential development, preferably low income housing. The arguments in favour of attracting private housing finances into older urban areas were outlined in New Homes In the Cities (National Economic Development Council) H.M.S.O. London 1971. pages 6-12.

168Though the Inner Departmental Report on Dublin’s Inner City does not suggest an ultimate population for Dublin’s Inner City, it did favour an increased residential and social mix in the area. Section 44.47.
emphasis upon the elimination of through traffic, the conservation of the social fabric of the area, the provision of adequately equipped open spaces and recreational amenities, a high standard of landscaping and a good standard of building design, housing rehabilitation and environmental conservation.

While the exact form and content of any local scheme should rely heavily upon the needs of the resident population as expressed through participation procedures, wholesale clearance and redevelopment, with its consequent social disruption, should only take place as a last resort. Where the economic life of a building is worthy of rehabilitation, this should be done in preference to redevelopment, even if it entails a change in the family composition, social structure or age of the buildings population. Clearance policies should give way to progressive renewal and the creation of a stimulating environment for young and old, married and unmarried, employed and unemployed, rich and poor.

6.5(11) Rehabilitation of Flats
The preceding paragraph has argued against the wholesale clearance of areas in favour of gradual renewal where possible. Since many of the Inner City Local Authority flats are decidedly unsuited to the needs of many existing tenants, there is a strong argument that many flats be rehabilitated and sold by the Local Authority with special preference being given to sitting tenants or other Inner City tenants who wish to purchase. Others could be retained for older tenants or for sitting tenants who wish to remain and who can be satisfactorily accommodated therein. As a rule, flats of this type are unsuited to families with children and certainly not to large families. With the continued growth of the city there is a growing need for accommodation for small households, flats for singles and possibly also for student and other hostels. Leasing and purchase agreements could be modelled upon those presently available in the private sector.

While it is true that the Corporation were strongly advised not to embark on the building of flats—e.g., Foley Street—every effort should be made to find alternative use for those that remain structurally sound. As a poor country, Ireland can ill afford to demolish sound buildings. The population of the Inner City has fallen dramatically to around 70,000 by 1979 or a gross density of around 27 persons per acre. Indeed, allowing for age, population structure and current clearance programmes, the population may well fall still further. Consequently, it is necessary to think in terms of providing accommodation for people wishing to come to live in the area.

6.5(12) Provision of Employment for Inner City People
From the results of both surveys and from several other sources mentioned in Sections III and IV it is clear that the Inner City and Local Authority housing estates have very high rates of unemployment, especially amongst heads of households, and there is also considerable evidence of early retirements. For these people, the low level of skills and limited education has intensified the possibility of their being unemployed due to closure of traditional industries, contraction of routine work in others and the increasing levels of skill required from workers in many new industries. In consequence, the number of jobs for Inner City workers has contracted. International experience suggests that the provision of full employment, especially for youth, in the Inner City could be a major factor in breaking the cycle of...
deprivation but also recognises that the likelihood of achieving full employment in such areas is not great.

In Dublin the IDA have had modest successes with their attempts to bring small industry into the Coombe, Pearse Street and the East Wall area. Using reinforced powers of land acquisition or any suitable agreements, further land should be assembled and leased as sites for small industries and small firms generally. In many respects the firms desiring an Inner City location will often tend to be of the “seed bed” variety where a considerable rate of failure and transition is to be expected. In this respect such firms could fail to meet the operating criteria laid down by the IDA. Further, the emphasis should be upon less skilled labour-intensive firms—often the type of firm which the IDA may not wish to promote at national or city level. Many of these will be non-manufacturing concerns. The primary objective of the Inner City Industry programme would be to provide jobs for the local residents; such a scheme should be monitored very closely to ensure that incoming firms can and do recruit virtually all of their employees from the Inner City. If it transpires that firms cannot be attracted to the area or are largely providing jobs for people from the suburbs, or outside Dublin, the operation should be discontinued and the land made available for uses relevant to the local needs. While the IDA has recently set up an Inner City unit to deal with manufacturing provision for the area, there is a need to outline and establish an overall employment programme for the residents of the area. From the survey findings as well as other research material on the Inner City it is obvious that an expansion of unskilled jobs, for example, in the building industry or in environmental improvement programmes, would offer a quick and relevant means of creating employment in the area while addressing some of the serious environmental problems of the area.

Similarly with regard to the provision of employment for youth in the area, the expansion of Youth Employment Programmes, the existing Environmental Improvement Schemes and their co-ordination by the Department of Labour, as recommended in the Inter Departmental report, offer a relevant and immediate source of employment, not only in Dublin but also in deprived parts of other cities.

The introduction of the proposed special Incentive Scheme to encourage firms to engage Inner City labour is also to be welcomed.

On the other hand, policies should seek to encourage a more dynamic labour market; in this regard special incentives and fares designed to encourage Inner City workers, especially youth, to work in the suburban industrial estates should be considered.

Ultimately, however, it is likely that as long as unemployment remains a fact of life, it will be concentrated in the less skilled occupations and consequently over-represented in the labour force of deprived areas like the Inner City. Given this possibility it is essential that job creation programmes be paralleled by programmes of environmental and housing improvement designed to make residential areas interesting and stimulating especially to those who may have to spend most of their life without formal work.

6.5(13) Education and Training for Inner City Residents

Section 6.4(11) dealt with the general question of Education and Deprivation. However, both the educational and training needs of the Inner City are even more acute than those of the suburban estates and the results of this survey confirm the low levels of educational
attainment and participation by residents as well as the evidence of low take up of AnCO training places.178

The basic problem of the area is to provide a type of education which enables people to lead a more full and useful life, participate in the education of their children and family, adapt to societal and technical change more easily and also enable them to successfully enter the labour market. In regard to general and family education many of the conclusions stemming from the Rutland Street project need to be acted upon with urgency.179 These include:

- Greater appreciation of the pupils' environment and value by teachers.
- Greater involvement and interaction between teachers, parents and children.
- Enabling parents to assist in children's education.
- Designation of priority areas deserving of special considerations.

To meet the basic needs of education in the Inner City it is essential that the area receive positive discrimination in terms of finance for education equipment, teacher allocation and particularly in the area of pre-school education. These schemes based on the experience of the Rutland Street project should be encouraged. Arising out of the Rutland Street experience the appointment of School-parent liaison officers could prove beneficial to parents, children and teachers.180 The proposals of the Inter-Departmental Report in relation to further "teacher education" "Guidance Counselling" and steps to encourage parental involvement are to be welcomed.

With regard to the development of youth and adults in the area, the results of this (and indeed all other reports cited) point towards the need for the development and expansion of basic educational programmes similar to those offered by the Dublin Institute of Adult Education assisting people in the fundamentals of education. With regard to post primary education, the general concern of the Vocational

Education Committee was stated in section 6.4(11) above. The report welcomes the Vocational Education Committee's decision to appoint extra remedial teachers and the creation of a post of Community Liaison Officer. These proposals, which were supported by the Inter-Departmental Committee, together with the Vocational Education Committee's proposal for an education centre for disadvantaged children offering a practical education, are worthy of serious consideration and should be investigated fully. With regard to job-related training the report welcomes the expansion of the role of AnCO in the Inner City in terms of its Training Centre, the establishment of Workshops and the promotion of Community Youth Projects. It is to be hoped that every effort will be made to establish further Workshops and to encourage local support for them. In the area of Community Youth Projects run by AnCO, this report wishes to see an expansion of all youth experience operations but supports the recommendation of the Interdepartmental Committee that they be more closely coordinated under the Department of Labour.

In short, to enable residents of the Inner City to cope with the accelerating rates of change and to ensure the prospects of employment for the young, it is necessary to develop a programme of education involving the school, the home and the community as well as the Dublin Institute of Adult Education and increased efforts by AnCO in the area. But educational priority for the Inner City should be seen as a right in social justice rather than as a possible passport to a job.

6.5(14) The Inner City and Crime Prevention

There has been a good deal of anxiety about the scale of crime and level of violence in parts of the Inner City, particularly in areas with large concentrations of Local Authority flats.181 Crime and urban vandalism can be largely associated with the three factors of "social injustice", "breakdown of family and neighbourhood ties" and "the lack of moral leadership".182 The combating of these processes of social disintegration would be essential if the package of proposals in subsections 6.5(3) to 6.5(13) are to prove successful. The success of

178 Murphy and T. Morrissey, op. cit.
180 The interdepartmental report suggests the idea of liaison officers on a pilot basis (section 53). But while the report has many recommendations on Education Policy (Sections 48-64) the thrust of the report in favour of declaring the Inner City an educational priority area is offset by the Department of Finance's reluctance to see local variations in a national scheme such as the payment of capitation grants.

181 The Dublin Chamber of Commerce referred to the area as 'dangerous and demoralising', op. cit., 1978, page 2.
regenerative programmes for the Inner City requires a complementary programme of community management, community welfare and the necessary controls to realise the fruits of effort. In respect of policing, the thrust of this study would point to the need for involvement of the police in the day-to-day affairs of the community, for greater attention to foot patrols and possibly for local police resident in each area. The proposals to expand the Juvenile Liaison Officer Scheme from March 1980 is to be welcomed.

6.5(15) An Inner City Renewal Fund

The processes of physical and social decline of much of the Inner City have gone on for over a century while population loss has been uninterrupted over the past fifty years. Since about 1960, these forces have contributed to the geographic shift of the business area towards Ballsbridge and more recently its scatter towards Dún Laoghaire, Dundrum and Rathfarnham. It is difficult to see how such processes of dispersal and centralisation can be reversed without changes in a variety of interactive policies as outlined above. Assuming that society wishes to reverse the process of inner urban decay, then the expected growth of Dublin in the 1980s affords an excellent opportunity to do so.

Though the proposals listed above could prove inexpensive when compared to major redevelopment and roads programmes, an Inner City Renewal Fund should be set up, with funds from the EEC regional and social funds, the Chambers of Commerce and Business and Investment firms, and the Irish public sector. It is in the self-interest of private firms to invest heavily in the improvement of the city centre, since they have much to lose from the continued decay of the Inner City generally. As an incentive to city centre improvement a portion of VAT on city centre sales might be diverted to structural improvement of the area; this could ultimately be of benefit since a better centre is likely to generate more business and hence more VAT.

The primary task of this Fund should be for the public acquisition of land, housing developments and the provision of adequate amenities. The establishment and management of such a fund should be the priority task of the Inner City group under the direction of the Minister for the Environment. Just as the processes of decay have had their own momentum so too the regeneration of the area might prove self-fulfilling given a sufficient catalyst.

6.6 The Physical and Social Development of the Urban Periphery

6.6(1) Introduction

The survey and analysis material in the report looked at two aspects of suburban development. Section IV examined the problems of disadvantaged Local Authority estates while Section V looked at some of the more acute socio-psychological implications of suburban development in general. Many of the recommendations already developed broadly in relation to the urban area have a particular relevance e.g. planning, housing employment proposals, and the following sections re-emphasise their immediate relevance to the suburbs. In many respects the physical solutions encourage a continuation and expansion of current Local Authority policies but their ultimate success depends upon a parallel social policy and a fully integrated approach by the Local Authority. In the immediate future, whatever revitalisation of the Inner City takes place, most of Dublin’s expanding population will have to find a home in the outer suburbs or beyond. It is important that the suburbs be planned and developed so

training without environmental and social improvement is likely to be of little benefit on its own. Application of the Social Fund would require some revision of the priorities for use of its money and the methods of allocation.

The earmarking of taxes for special areas or special needs would deviate from the general practice of consolidating public revenue in a Central Fund.
that people can live a full life and, in the process, contribute to the full
to national economic and social development.

6.6(2) **Local Administration and Peripheral Expansion**
A recurring problem in Dublin, as in other Irish and foreign cities
undergoing rapid growth, is the inability of the municipal boundary to
expand beyond and in advance of physical development. Dublin, like
many other centres is very severely "under-bounded" with the result
that the city administration has been in charge of an area experiencing
intermittent population stability or decline. The "natural growth" of
Dublin has been taking place in the country areas of Dublin, Wicklow,
Kildare and Meath. With the exception of the Dublin Sub-Region,
where there is a single Planning Officer but three Planning Authorities,
the urban expansion of Dublin is administered by a large number of
single tier Local Authorities without the benefit of any current
regional strategy.187

It is hoped that the proposal to establish a Greater Dublin Council
will be acted upon urgently and that the implementation of this
proposal will introduce some more logic into a confused situation.
Above all a single authority, in addition to avoiding duplication of effort,
will be in a position to have an overall view and to see problems of both
decline and growth in their proper perspective. Within the framework of
an overall Greater Dublin Authority there is scope for the establishment
of Local or District Councils to deal with local areas and their problems,
particularly the suburban growth areas.188

6.6(3) **The Planning Framework for Suburban Development**
Section 6.2(3) outlined the general framework proposed for the
planning of Dublin—a two tier planning system offering possibilities for
greater order and rationale while also encouraging and utilising local
initiatives. Within the context of suburban developments it is envisaged
that the Structure Plan for the greater Dublin area would establish the

187 The Eastern Regional Development Organisation have been considering the
carrying out of such a regional study and have prepared a detailed "brief" for such a
regional study.

188 At present Dublin County Council has established committees to look after the
details of administration in different parts of the county e.g., South County.

broad guidelines of land policy, land use planning, transportation and
policies for the development of employment and social provision.
Within the framework of the Strategic Plan, Local Plans enable both
incoming and established residents to have a greater say and
involvement in the development and maintenance of their areas. This is
especially true in relation to matters of community development, social
development and social provision but could also apply to aspects of
design and layout as well as to the maintenance of open spaces and
the provision of recreation. Such local involvement and responsibilities
provide a reasonable approach to countering many of the recurring
problems outlined in this study including vandalism and area
despoliation, while offering a more economical means of looking after
open spaces and community facilities.

With regard to the form of suburban development, the expansion of
the neighbourhood approach, as is currently found in the land use
planning of Blanchardstown, is to be encouraged, implying as it does
the allocation of suitable sites for educational and social needs, the
provision of a hierarchy of roads, the elimination of through traffic, the
generous provision of open spaces, the retention, where feasible of the
dominant features of the pre-urban landscape and the provision of sites
for local employment. The socio-psychological problems identified in
existing suburbs call for much greater attention to good design in the
new suburbs and for the preparation of much tighter "design briefs" by
the planning authority for development in such areas to ensure an
interesting, stimulating and pleasant environment for residents.

6.6(4) **Towards Social Development in the New Suburbs**
The provision of a reasonable land use planning framework lays the
basis within which a social "community" could evolve. Such an
evolution is dependent upon the prompt delivery of many of the
facilities for which land has been allocated. These facilities may be
provided by:-

(i) the local authority itself

(ii) other public authorities

189 One of the major tasks of any Regional Report or Structure Plan must be a critical re-
examination of the Wright recommendations, above all the proposals for 'New towns'
which underlie the approach currently being pursued by Dublin County Council.
(iii) the private sector

(iv) some combination of the above agencies.

The introduction of a strategic plan approach as outlined in Section 6.2(3) should do a good deal to ensure that the various departments of the Local Authority are fully committed to the various implications of development proposals and that the provision of roads keeps pace of development, as does the provision of other services provided by the Local Authority, e.g. Fire Service, Community Centres etc.

Many of the more prominent complaints in the surveys related to the poor service offered by various public service agencies, notably the provision of telephones, an adequate bus service and even in some instances the provision of police services or post primary education. In many instances these problems arise from the wider problems and difficulties facing these branches of the public service; but the adverse impact of poor services upon new suburban areas is particularly acute given the isolation of the areas, and the unsettled nature of new areas. The Local Authority estates are especially dependent upon public transport and employment; income and social life is likely to suffer where services are inadequate. Participation of these various agencies in the preparation of the strategic plan is likely to make them more conscious of the priority needs of these areas.

The private sector is generally responsible for the provision and development of shopping facilities, as well as most open spaces in the case of private residential estates. Steps taken by the Local Authorities to facilitate the temporary shops have relieved some of the pressure as has the commitments to give such temporary traders priority in the permanent shopping centres. The potential of the mobile shop to meet the short term needs of new areas should not be discounted, though they are likely to represent the more costly type of provider. However, in the end of the day, if developers persist in their reluctance to erect neighbourhood shopping centres of up to 10,000 square feet, it may be necessary for the Local Authority itself to erect the units even in private estates or to introduce measures to “compel” developers to provide essential shopping either in small centres or corner shops on a phased basis similar to the approach desired in the case of open space provision.

Perhaps the most acute deficiency in new areas has been the absence of community buildings. The recent expansion of the work of the Community and Environment Department of Dublin Corporation has done much to find ways around these problems, particularly through agreements for the dual use of school facilities in return for Local Authority grants. This report recommends that the successes in this area be built upon (but with possible review of management agreements) and the Community and Environment Department should be facilitated in expanding its programmes of tree planting and area improvement. It is likely that this Department will have an increasingly broad role in most aspects of community development.

6.6(5) Education and Employment for the Suburbs

The findings of Section IV confirmed yet again that many families in the Local Authority estates are educationally deprived and that many of these estates constitute “deprived areas” worthy of priority treatment. The short and long term needs of these areas require positive discrimination in education focusing upon the child, the family and the community, together with an emphasis on personal fulfilment as well as equipping people with work permits. The needs of these areas reflect the needs identified in the Inner City and they require a similar approach in respect of pre-school, primary education and both post primary and community education.

The report of the survey showed a disappointing take-up of AncO or other training programmes in these areas and it is hoped that training can be expanded as and where the need arises. The surveys point to the need for more employment and also for its provision locally unless there are significant improvements in cross suburb public transport services.

The framework set out in this report seeks a greater mixture of social groups within residential areas and looks forward to plans for the location of employment provision which would realistically plan for a wider distribution of all types of work, thus reducing the commuting pressures on the City Centre and Inner City.

6.6(6) Suburban Housing Provision

The finding of this report and earlier recommendations have concentrated upon a number of aspects of housing, including the need

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"See Breathnach, op. cit.; McGreal, op. cit.; and Clancy and Benson, op. cit."
for more houses for the deprived, provision of large houses, a greater variety of housing, effective mix and the encouragement of mobility. The three greatest problems of the suburbs were the inadequate size of Local Authority houses, the isolation of public and private housing into large blocks and the monotony of both public and private developments.

With regard to the first it is questionable social policy for society to accept the need for "social housing" but then to persistently provide it in a manner that almost always guarantees overcrowding and social deprivation. This report has clearly recommended that Local Authority housing policy should pay greater attention to the locational needs of tenants and attempt to provide houses where people wish to live. Policies against sale of Local Authority dwellings and in favour of greater attention to rehabilitation help in this context leading to greater social and age mix in all areas of the city.

With regard to further suburban developments this report encourages a move away from the large "tract" approach in favour of land does not guarantee good planning. Many of the housing and local neighbourhoods, with due cognisance for the fostering of co-operative housing. The aim should be to offer choice in respect of house size, choice of location and to facilitate choice in house type and tenure within a framework of local plans incorporating the neighbourhood approach.

6.6(7) Land Policy
Parts of this report have emphasised that in many ways good planning depends upon public ownership of land, though public ownership of land does not guarantee good planning. Many of the housing and local planning proposals explicitly stated or implied in this report depend upon flexibility in approaches by the local authority—flexibility largely dependent upon public control over land and its allocation. Apart from the benefits of flexibility, the perceived social gains of public land ownership are considerable\(^{191}\). In the case of Ireland, and particularly Dublin, the Department of the Environment is reported to be considering the recommendations of the Kenny Report\(^{192}\). It is to be hoped that any constitutional difficulties surrounding these recommendations can be resolved quickly and that the Kenny recommendations, or a viable alternative scheme, can be implemented shortly.

Failing that, there are many reasons in favour of a much greater programme of land purchase by the Local Authority on the open market. The greater the land bank, the greater the possibilities for social development and, in the face of inflation, the greater the benefits from investing in land.

6.7 Conclusion
This study has examined the overall pattern of the growth of Dublin and the spatial distribution of deprivation throughout the urban area, principally in the Local Authority estates and the Inner City Social Areas. Sections III, IV and V have examined many of the attributes of urban deprivation in these areas including inadequate housing, poor environments, relatively low levels of skills and a lack of adequate access to employment. These aspects of deprivation were probably most intensely displayed in the Inner City but they were also severe in many of the Local Authority estates. Generally, a close correlation between level of education, skills, occupation, income and housing tenure has been indicated. The findings of this study do not lead to the conclusion that the conditions of the urban deprived are likely to improve unless there are substantial policy changes.

The report contains a package of policy recommendations offering a broad framework within which the city may develop in a more orderly fashion and with greater opportunities for social development and citizen fulfilment. The recommendations are addressed to the planning, housing, employment and social attributes of the problems outlined in the report and emphasise the need to maximise the degree of available choice with respect to employment, leisure, residence, social grouping, social structure and personal involvement. Inevitably, however, the scope of this report has been limited and many of the recommendations call for further detailed planning at the implementation stage.

This report is also limited in as much as it has dealt mainly with the symptoms and consequences rather than the causes of deprivation which arise from people's lack of control over the basic resources of

\(^{191}\)See Final Report of Expert Committee on Compensation and Betterment, HMSO, 1942, for some of the major arguments in relation to public ownership of land.

\(^{192}\)See 'Kenny' Report on The Price of Building Land, op.cit.
skill, capital or land. While there have been considerable improvements in housing, health, planning, employment and welfare policies, Dublin remains a "divided city" exhibiting severe socio-economic contrasts amongst its population. The social problems identified in this report in relation to Dublin, and also manifest in other Irish urban areas, point to the need for a more equitable distribution of resources in society.¹⁹²

In the end, the elimination of the causes of deprivation calls for political commitment to a more just society:

Many economic and social problems will yield to resolute political will, backed up by a morally enlightened public opinion. The nation needs a resolute political will for justice. This will must itself include the effort to educate and to challenge public social conscience. But it must in turn be itself supported and challenged by a sustained public moral commitment to justice for all and especially for the poor and the weak.


¹⁹²In his study of poverty in the UK Townsend states that the elimination of poverty there requires (i) redistribution of wealth, (ii) equitable sharing of income (iii) abolition of unemployment, (iv) reorganisation of employment and professional practice and (v) re-organisation of community service. Townsend sees such major changes as most unlikely, see P. Townsend, op.cit. page 926.

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This report has utilised a large number of books, articles and reports, many of which are unpublished. The Bibliography contains only selected references to published sources aimed at providing an introduction to the range of material covered by the study.


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APPENDIX ONE

METHODOLOGY OF SOCIAL AREA ANALYSIS

Introduction

The immediate aim of the team in undertaking the study was to identify and classify the different social environments in the Dublin Metropolitan area. There was an obvious need to map the extent and distribution of these types of areas and also to evaluate the performance of each type on a wide range of social indicators, thus isolating the strengths and weaknesses of each area.

The purpose of this analysis then was to describe the pattern of area differentiation within the city. Clearly the ability of any typology to contribute to the understanding of issues and underlying relationships within a city such as Dublin depends on the extent to which relevant problems can be represented by the data available; thus the scope and value of the classification is restricted by the range of questions included in the 1971 Census and subsequently processed.

The complexity of social patterns and the pending policy implications of the study required a more systematic analysis of the inter-relationships between subjects such as employment, housing conditions, and demographic structure. Any programme of positive discrimination towards an area of stress and deprivation should be preceded by the generation of “objective” indices as criteria for evaluating relative need. Here it was felt that some coarse analysis of key indicators taken from a variety of policy topics is a necessary precondition for detailed analysis of specific subjects or specific sub-areas within the wider whole. Conventional wisdom would have us believe that technical analysis is seen logically to depend upon problem definition and the statement of aims and objectives. As previously mentioned, (Chapter 2) our approach corresponds closely with the
mixed scanning strategy proposed by Etzioni, and it is thought that the analysis should primarily be a means of identifying problems and the extent of problem areas. It should also be possible to examine a limited number of key indicators over a previously defined problem area—the choice of areas and indicators reflecting the results of the earlier study. One final point—an operational one—is worth mentioning. The dearth of useful socio-economic data since 1971 necessitates a classificatory scheme for the city in order to engage in more in-depth survey work, i.e. social areas can be utilised to generate more up-to-date social data, thereby reducing the amount of work required at the next stage.

Methodology
Having decided that a multivariate approach was essential as a first step, the most suitable technique was determined by deduction. It was decided to use two techniques which met the criteria we formulated.

(a) Principal Components Analysis
(b) Cluster Analysis.

Principal Components Analysis (P.C.A.) has been used successfully by many urban geographers, but Berry, among others, has been critical of its use. More recently, Webber has questioned its usefulness where decision-making was necessary. The composite nature of the components extracted makes interpretation difficult. As each area's component score is derived using all the variables in the analysis, it would be dangerous to assume that areas with the same score possessed the same attributes, or more relevant, required the same treatment. It was for these reasons that this method was not used.

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### TABLE A1
Distribution and Concentration Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Social Area</th>
<th>Minimum Incidence of variable</th>
<th>Maximum Incidence of variable</th>
<th>Variable Name</th>
<th>Ward Name</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Children 0-4</td>
<td>Drummondie Rural 1</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Persons in 15-24</td>
<td>Birtile Village W. C.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Males 25-64</td>
<td>Ushers F.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Females 65+</td>
<td>Ballochek No. 2</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Sex ratio F/M</td>
<td>Rent L.A. Housing</td>
</tr>
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<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Married females</td>
<td>Rented L.A. Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Widowed females</td>
<td>Unfurnished flats</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Healthy ratio</td>
<td>Local Authority</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Healthy without water/</td>
<td>Conventional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>bath</td>
<td>Housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>Car Household</td>
<td>Housing A.90-99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>5%</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
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<td>---</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>North Dock C</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| The concentration measure used in Table A1 were compiled as follows: the standard deviation of each variable was divided by the mean score of same to yield an index of concentration.
solely. The P.C.A. approach has one unerring quality, however, and this is its ability to reduce large variable sets into a manageable size. In this way the main axes of differentiation of a variable set can be highlighted with little loss of variance. For the purpose of this study, forty-two variables were subjected to a P.C.A. as a check against the factors highlighted by Brady and Parker1. In all five components were extracted explaining 78% of the variance, and they closely corresponded to previous analyses of Dublin.2,9,10 This is not surprising when one considers that the variables inputted were purposely included to reflect these main dimensions11.

The next stage of the analysis, the areal classification, was implemented using one of the many cluster analysis techniques. This procedure has been used mainly by biologists12, though urban geographers have utilised the technique in the past13. Recent work has been undertaken by Webber14 who has promoted and adopted the clustering technique for British Local Authorities. Although the explanatory power of the technique was not high, its suitability and adaptability for decision-making and problem identification more than sufficed for its other shortfalls15. Some of the advantages of the technique over P.C.A. are as follows:

1. It is capable of indefinite spatial extension.

2. It can include a hierarchic structure for mixed scanning.

3. It is compatible with more detailed analysis of particular topics and geographic areas.

4. It can handle non-census data and disaggregated census data.

5. The original data and types can be reworked to meet further requirements as they arise.

6. It makes the political implications of choices explicit.

Data Inputs
Variables were selected from the ward data produced by the C.S.O. for the year 197116. This data was available for each of the 193 wards included in the analysis17. As already mentioned, variables were selected not only on the basis of work already undertaken in Dublin, but also having regard to possible policy implications. The full list of variables included are presented in Table 2.1. The raw input data was converted to a ratio format, for instance children under four years of age being expressed as a proportion of the total population. All ratios are presented as proportions of population at risk.

Analysis
The analysis can be divided into two distinct phases. The first is concerned with the interconnectedness of the variables included, while the second is intended to identify types of areas which recur in more than one place and which present similar types of attributes or share a common function in the social working of the city.

The first stage of the analysis was undertaken using a P.C.A. approach18. Here the interrelationships can be assessed and evaluated, but output tables would be physically too large for readers to assimilate at a single glance. For each variable included in the analysis, however, a standard sequence of analysis is performed. The results are presented in Table A.1. Variables are listed, and beside each variable is printed the name of the ward and the number of the enumeration district in which

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344

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345
the frequency of each variable is highest and lowest. Additional information on the dispersion of each variable is provided by the index of concentration. Presenting this table gives a rough guide to areas with acute social deprivation problems, but only by further analysis can any meaningful results be gauged.

**Analysis of Area Characteristics**

Forty two variables were selected as criteria for classifying wards into clusters, the choice of variables being influenced by previous multivariate analysis as well as diagnostic attributes of individual variables. This stage of the analysis was undertaken using the "Clustan Suite of Programs." Ward's hierarchical method was utilised to generate twenty clusters, which were further fused to form six families.

**Method**

Ward's hierarchical method is probably the best of the hierarchical options, the transformation only being consistent with distance coefficients. Once a similarity matrix has been computed, the fusion hierarchy is produced by means of a variable parametric transformation of the similarity co-efficients. This is expressed as follows:

Let clusters P and Q be fused, then the similarity S(R,P+Q) between any cluster R and the new cluster (P+Q) is obtained from the formula

\[ S(R,P+Q) = AP*S(R,P) + AQ*S(R,Q) + B*S(P,Q) + G*ABS(S(R,P) - S(R,Q)) \]

where AP, AQ, B and G are assigned the following values:

**TABLE A2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three ways of presenting Data</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Percentage diff. from Mean</th>
<th>Standardised Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Children 0–4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>79.0</td>
<td>-0.455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Children 5–14</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>82.0</td>
<td>-0.499</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Children 15–24</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>94.1</td>
<td>-0.213</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Age 25–54</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>98.5</td>
<td>-0.145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Males 65+</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>152.6</td>
<td>0.912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Females 65+</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>154.1</td>
<td>0.930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Sex ratio: Females/males</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>104.1</td>
<td>0.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Married females</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>98.0</td>
<td>-0.126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Widowed females</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>147.6</td>
<td>1.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Fertility ratio</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>-0.339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Housing Units without water/bath</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Cars per household</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>79.5</td>
<td>-0.383</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although this is the most reliable clustering method, it is not held that the hierarchical method is either the best or most suitable for this type of analysis. Time and resources did not permit further investigation.
TABLE A2—(continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Proportion</th>
<th>Percentage diff from Mean</th>
<th>Standardised Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13. Rented local authority Housing</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>90.1</td>
<td>-0.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Private rented unfurnished flats</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>109.2</td>
<td>0.086</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Private rented furnished flats</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>91.7</td>
<td>-0.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Housing acquired from Local Authority</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>127.2</td>
<td>0.153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Owner occupied housing</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>103.2</td>
<td>0.056</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18. Conventional housing</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>107.0</td>
<td>0.232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Housing built pre 1860</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>92.6</td>
<td>-0.041</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Housing built 1860–1899</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>121.8</td>
<td>0.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Housing built 1900–1940</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>196.7</td>
<td>1.152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Housing built 1941–1960</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>-0.605</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Housing built 1961–1971</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>-0.573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Multiple dwelling units</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>52.4</td>
<td>-0.332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Male commercial workers</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>96.1</td>
<td>-0.127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Male professional workers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>87.9</td>
<td>-0.387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Higher professional males</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>64.5</td>
<td>-0.324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Skilled male workers</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>113.3</td>
<td>0.414</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29. Unskilled male workers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>104.4</td>
<td>0.061</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Households living ≤ 2 rooms</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>73.7</td>
<td>-0.220</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Households living &gt; 6 rooms</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>66.2</td>
<td>-0.443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Persons 14–19 at school</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>84.2</td>
<td>-0.384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Persons living ≤ 2 rooms</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>66.3</td>
<td>-0.250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Persons living &gt; 6 rooms</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>87.0</td>
<td>-0.456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. &lt; 2 persons per household</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>118.1</td>
<td>0.361</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36. &gt; 6 person households</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>76.5</td>
<td>-0.438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Male production workers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>114.3</td>
<td>0.449</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Male transport workers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>119.9</td>
<td>0.433</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Aged living alone</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>117.7</td>
<td>0.178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Female Clerical workers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>103.6</td>
<td>0.094</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Unemployed</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>89.8</td>
<td>-0.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Semi-skilled</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>107.8</td>
<td>0.118</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[26] Percentage score (x) = % x Social Area A/ % x in city. x = Variable name.
[27] If it is felt, however, that analysis at the ward level disguises many problem areas, and more meaningful areas can only be acquired by aggregating the block enumeration areas. In many respects, the ward no longer meets any of the criteria necessary for objective statistical analysis.
APPENDIX TWO
QUESTIONNAIRES

APPENDIX TWO

Central Area Household Survey

Identifier

Name of Household: _______________________

Address of Household: _______________________

For All Households

Q1. Is this dwelling owned (1) or rented (2)?

Q2. If rented, is it from a private landlord (1) or from the Corporation (2)?

Q2A. If from a private landlord, is it Furnished (1) or Unfurnished (2)

Q3. How many separate self contained family units (i.e. Households) are living in this dwelling at present?

Q4. How many persons are living in this dwelling at present?

Q5. How many rooms (excluding bathroom, kitchenette, scullery, toilet) does the household occupy?

Q6. How many of these are bedrooms?

Q7. In relation to toilet facilities, could you tell me the following:

Toilet
Indoor 1 Exclusive use 1 If shared, no. of families sharing
Outdoor 2 Shared 2

Fixed
Yes 1 Exclusive use 1 If shared, no. of families sharing
Shower/Bath No 2 Shared 2

351
For Occupiers of Privately Rented Dwellings Only

Q8. What type is your lease? Weekly (1), Monthly (2), Yearly (3), More than Yearly (4), Do Not Know (5)  
(Q8) 21

Q9. How much is the weekly rent of your dwelling?  
(Q9) 25

Q10. Who is responsible for  
(a) internal repairs and maintenance  
Landlord (1)  
(b) external repairs and maintenance  
Tenant (2)  
(Q10) 26 27

Q11. Have you applied for a Corporation Dwelling (Yes 1, No 2)  
(Q11) 28

Q12. If yes, state (a) why?  
(Q12) 29

Q13. (b) Whether for a house (1) or a flat (2)  
(Q13) 30

Q14. (c) Area preferred: First Choice:  
(Q14) 32

Second Choice:  
(Q14) 34

Q15. How long have you been on the waiting list?  
(Q15) 35

Q16. How many offers of a dwelling (if any) have you turned down?  
(Q16) 36

Q17. Why did you turn them down?  
(Q17) 37

Q18. If you had the opportunity of buying this dwelling, would you? (Yes 1, No 2)  
(Q18) 38

Q19. If yes/no, why  
(Q19) 39

For Occupiers of Rented Corporation Dwellings Only

Q20. Have you applied for a transfer to another Corporation dwelling (Yes 1, No 2)  
(Q20) 40

Q21. If yes, state (a) why?  
(Q21) 41

Q22. (b) Whether to a house (1) or a flat (2)  
(Q22) 42

Q23. (c) Area preferred: First Choice:  
(Q23) 44

Second Choice:  
(Q23) 46

Q24. How long have you been on the transfer list?  
(Q24) 47

Q25. How many offers of a transfer (if any) have you turned down?  
(Q25) 48

Q26. Why did you turn them down?  
(Q26) 49

For Owner Occupied Dwellings Only

Q27. What would you estimate is the current market value of your dwelling?  
(Q27) 54

Q28. Have you seriously considered selling your dwelling? (Yes 1, No 2)  
(Q28) 55

Q29. If yes, why  
(Q29) 56

Q30. If yes, where would you prefer to move to?  
First Choice:  
(Q30) 58

Second Choice:  
(Q30) 60

For All Households

Q31. What are the things you like most about living in this house?  
(Q31) 61

(Q32) 62

(Q32) 63

(Q32) 64

(Q32) 65

Q32. What are the things you like most about living in this neighbourhood?  
Quietness  
(Q32) 66

Neighbourliness  
(Q32) 67

Convenience to work  
(Q32) 68

Convenience to shops  
(Q32) 69

Convenience to indoor recreational facilities  
(Q32) 70

Convenience to outdoor recreational facilities
71 Convenience to schools and churches □ 72 Others please list  

Identifier: □ □ □ □ 4

Q33. How long has the household lived (a) in this dwelling □ □ □ □ 6  
(b) in this neighbourhood □ □ □ □ 8

Q34. Where (a) do parents, brothers, sisters, children of the head of household live (if not living in your household)? (b) If living outside Dublin, how long have they lived there? (c) How often do you visit each other.

Relationship to Head of Household (1)/Spouse of Head of Household (2) □ □ 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q35. Apart from the immediate family relatives mentioned in the last question, how many other families in this neighbourhood are you related to? □ □ □ □ 75  
□ □ □ □ 2 □ □ □ □ 80
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship to Head of Household</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Educational Status:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Primary</td>
<td></td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Secondary</td>
<td></td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Vocational</td>
<td></td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Technological</td>
<td></td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. University</td>
<td></td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Private secretarial</td>
<td></td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of Serious Illness</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q37. Does the Household have (a) A TV set? (Yes 1 No 2)

- Is it Black/White (1) or Colour (2)
  - Yes
  - No

(b) A fridge? (Yes 1 No 2)

(c) A washing machine? (Yes 1 No 2)

(d) A car? (Yes 1 No 2)

- How many cars

(e) A telephone? (Yes 1 No 2)

Q38. What are the things you dislike most about living in this house?

- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]
- [ ]

Q39. What are the things you dislike most about living in this neighbourhood?

- Lack of amenities for children
- Lack of open spaces
- Traffic hazard
- Traffic noise
- Run down appearance of buildings
- Bad name
- Vandalism
- Graffiti, litter

- Others please list

Q40. Do you think that people in this neighbourhood get fair treatment from (1) unfair treatment from (2) are ignored by (3)

- Public Officials
- The Guards

Q41. Do you think that people in this neighbourhood get fair treatment from (1) unfair treatment from (2) are ignored by (3)
**CENTRAL AREA HOUSEHOLD SURVEY**

**ASSESSMENT OF BUILDING CONDITION BY INTERVIEWER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifier</th>
<th>33</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. **Dwelling Category:**
   - House (1)
   - Flat (2)

2. **Dwelling Type:**
   - Terraced (1)
   - Semi-Detached (2)
   - Detached (3)
   - Block (4)

3. **Building Condition:**
   - Good (1)
   - Fair (2)
   - Poor (3)
   - Bad (4)
   - Ruinous (5)

4. **Structural Detail:**
   - Instability: Walls visibly bulging and/or cracked
   - Wall Surface: Bricks or stonework broken, rendering spalling
   - Roof Structure: Sagging

5. **In respect of each detail (I to IX) rank condition as follows:**
   - Severe (1)
   - Moderate (2)
   - None (3)
   - Not Visible (4)

6. **Gutters**

7. **Downpipes**

8. **Chimney**

9. **Doors**

10. **Window Frames**

---

**CENTRAL AREA HOUSEHOLD SURVEY**

**ASSESSMENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONDITION BY INTERVIEWER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identifier</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

1. **Parking:**
   - Off-site parking lacking (Yes 1  No 2)
   - Front of dwelling subject to parking restriction (Yes 1  No 2)

2. **Traffic:**
   - Volume of Industrial/Through traffic (High 1  Moderate 2  Low 3)

3. **Land Use:**
   - Manufacturing of other Industrial use adjacent (Yes 1  No 2)

4. **Amenity:**
   - Private open space available (Yes 1  No 2)
   - Public open space adjacent (Yes 1  No 2)

5. **Dereliction:**
   - Derelict sites, disused and or ruined buildings adjacent (Yes 1  No 2)

6. **Litter:**
   - Refuse, dirt, graffiti, adjacent (Yes 1  No 2)

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*For details of the differences in each category see Specimen Development Plan Manual, An Foras Forbartha, 1976, page 44.*
SUBURBAN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

Department of Town Planning,
University College.

To be answered in the name of the head of household (i.e. breadwinner).

HOUSE AND HOUSEHOLD
Q1. What is the address of this household? ........................................ 4, 5
Q2. How long have you lived in this house? ........................................ 6
Q3. If less than 10 years in the house, please state your previous address ................................................................. 7
Q4. What was the main reason for moving to this area? ............. 8
Q5. Is this dwelling
(1) Rented flat ................................................................. 9
(2) Rented house ............................................................... 9
(3) Purchase house (corporation) ........................................ 9
(4) Owner occupied ........................................................... 9
Q6. How many bedrooms are in the dwelling? ......................... 10
Q7. State the nature of any extensions you have made to this house? ................................................................. 11
Q8. (If they are still alive) where do your parents live? ............ 12
Q9. (If still alive) where do your wife's parents live? ............... 13
Q10. Have you or your wife got close relations living in this area? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 14
If so, state approximately how many? ..................................... 15
Q11. Have you ever applied for a transfer from this house to another local authority dwelling? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 16
Q12. If yes to Q11, please state the area of your first choice second choice ................................................................. 17
Q13. If yes, why do you wish to leave this area? ......................... 18
Q14. If rented dwelling, have you attempted to purchase? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 19
Q15. Do you have
(a) a television? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 20
(b) a fridge? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 21
(c) a washing machine? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 21
EDUCATION – OCCUPATION – EMPLOYMENT
Q16. Have you attained (Tick highest level only)
(a) Primary school education? ................................................................. 22
(b) Secondary school education? ................................................................. 22
(c) Vocational or trade certificate? ................................................................. 22
(d) University or professional qualification? ................................................................. 22
Q17. If you have (or have had) children, please state how many have completed:
1. Apprenticeship training? ................................................................. 23
2. Intermediate/Group Certificate? ................................................................. 24
3. Leaving Certificate? ................................................................. 25
4. Post primary degree of diploma? ................................................................. 26
Q18. Please state your usual occupation/trade/profession ................................................................. 27
Q19. Are you currently employed? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 28
Q20. If yes, are you self employed? Yes (1) No (2) ................................................................. 29
If not, what is the nature of business of your employer? ................................................................. 30
Q21. Please state current work address ................................................................. 31
Q22. How long have you been in this place of employment? ................................................................. years 32

362
Q23. Please state the address at which you were working (if you were in fact working) in
(a) 1976
(b) 1973
(c) 1970
(d) 1965
(e) 1960
(f) 1950

Q24. For how long, if at all, have you been unemployed during the past five years (since 1974)

Q25. If you have experienced unemployment, please state the main reason for being out of work

Q26. Have you attended any training courses organised or run by (Tick relevant one)
(1) Your employer?
(2) AnCO?
(3) Dublin Institute of Adult Education?
(4) Technical School?
(5) Other?

Q27. As a result of the training course did you
(1) Remain unemployed?
(2) Remain in same job?
(3) Get promotion from your firm?
(4) Change employer for better job?
(5) Other, please specify

Q28. Do you usually travel to work by
(1) Walking?
(2) Bicycle (motor bike)?
(3) Own car/van/lorry?
(4) Other car/van/lorry?
(5) Bus?
(6) Train?

Q29. In the space below please state the occupation/trade and work address of other working members of your household.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trade/occupation</th>
<th>Address</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) ...</td>
<td>...</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q30. Excluding yourself, how many members of the household, having finished school, are currently unemployed

Q31. How many of these have never held permanent employment?

Q32. How many members from this household have emigrated since 1974?

ENVIRONMENT AND FACILITIES

Q33. Do you consider that the following services are within easy walking distance (10 to 15 mins.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Yes (1)</th>
<th>No (2)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Primary schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Technical schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Secondary schools</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Health clinic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e) Community hall or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f) Community information centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g) Social welfare centre</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h) Grocery shop</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Q34. What do you dislike most about this house? 

Q35. Having regard to the house, your family needs, your neighbours and friends, the area and local opportunities please state in order of preference the four things you most like about this area.

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  

Q36. Likewise please state the four things you most dislike about this area.

(a)  
(b)  
(c)  
(d)  

Q37. Please complete the following table in respect of every person presently living in the house.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
<th>Age</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>Head of household</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b)</td>
<td>Spouse of head of house</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(f)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(g)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(h)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(j)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Q38. If spouse of head of household does not reside with the household is he (she)

(1) Deceased       (4) Was never married       
(2) Separated      (5) Other                    
(3) Deserted       

THANK YOU.  MICHAEL J. BANNON, Department of Town Planning, University College.
APPENDIX III
INNER CITY TABLES
TABLE A3.3
Population Characteristics Cluster 3, 1971

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Percentage Distribution by age</th>
<th>Percent 65+ Living Alone</th>
<th>Dependency Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mountjoy B</td>
<td>2,902</td>
<td>23.7 62.6 13.7</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North City</td>
<td>2,311</td>
<td>18.0 69.3 12.7</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotunda A</td>
<td>4,178</td>
<td>27.2 61.2 11.6</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rotunda B</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>28.5 63.1 8.4</td>
<td>39.9</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion House A</td>
<td>4,058</td>
<td>20.3 68.2 11.5</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>47</td>
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<tr>
<td>Royal Exchange A</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>18.6 68.7 12.7</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>46</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,069</td>
<td>21.8 61.2 17.0</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>64</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Dock</td>
<td>5,122</td>
<td>18.5 68.8 12.7</td>
<td>32.5</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ushers A</td>
<td>1,746</td>
<td>16.9 69.8 13.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cluster 3</td>
<td>26,790</td>
<td>21.5 65.9 12.6</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>52</td>
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<tr>
<td>Inner City</td>
<td>85,638</td>
<td>26.7 61.7 11.6</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dublin sub-region</td>
<td>852,219</td>
<td>32.1 59.4 8.4</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>68</td>
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</table>


TABLE A3.4
Males by Occupational Status 1971

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<tr>
<th>Area</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
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<tr>
<td>Dublin Sub-region</td>
<td>219,758</td>
<td>100.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>Not Gainfully Occupied</td>
<td>30,118</td>
<td>14.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>School</td>
<td>4,494</td>
<td>0.2</td>
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<tr>
<td>Home duties</td>
<td>3,652</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others gainfully occupied</td>
<td>191,574</td>
<td>85.3</td>
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</table>

### TABLE A.3.6
Inner City Wards: Population Change 1971-79

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arran Quay C</td>
<td>2,777</td>
<td>1,856</td>
<td>-921, -33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arran Quay D</td>
<td>4,740</td>
<td>3,842</td>
<td>-898, -19.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballybough A</td>
<td>5,145</td>
<td>5,155</td>
<td>+10, +0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inns Quay C</td>
<td>3,420</td>
<td>2,579</td>
<td>-841, -24.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountjoy A</td>
<td>6,442</td>
<td>4,747</td>
<td>-1,695, -26.3</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mountjoy B</td>
<td>2,902</td>
<td>2,192</td>
<td>-710, -24.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>North City</td>
<td>2,311</td>
<td>1,588</td>
<td>-723, -31.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Dock C</td>
<td>4,366</td>
<td>2,937</td>
<td>-1,429, -32.7</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rotunda A</td>
<td>4,178</td>
<td>3,326</td>
<td>-852, -20.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rotunda B</td>
<td>1,886</td>
<td>1,355</td>
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<td>3,176</td>
<td>-882, -21.7</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,265</td>
<td>1,755</td>
<td>-510, -22.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merchants' Quay B</td>
<td>2,955</td>
<td>2,613</td>
<td>-342, -11.6</td>
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<tr>
<td>Merchants' Quay C</td>
<td>2,893</td>
<td>2,477</td>
<td>-416, -14.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchants' Quay F</td>
<td>3,931</td>
<td>3,597</td>
<td>-334, -8.5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pembroke East A</td>
<td>4,748</td>
<td>4,673</td>
<td>-75, -1.6</td>
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<td>Royal Exchange A</td>
<td>2,508</td>
<td>1,671</td>
<td>-837, -33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Exchange B</td>
<td>2,069</td>
<td>1,774</td>
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<td>South Dock</td>
<td>5,122</td>
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<td>Ushers A</td>
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<td>1,535</td>
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<td>Ushers B</td>
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<td>Ushers D</td>
<td>3,444</td>
<td>2,836</td>
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<td>Ushers E</td>
<td>3,268</td>
<td>2,534</td>
<td>-734, -22.5</td>
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<td>Wood Quay A</td>
<td>3,045</td>
<td>2,458</td>
<td>-587, -19.3</td>
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</table>

TABLE A.4.1
Population change in selected Local Authority Housing Areas, 1971-1978

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>Number</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artane A</td>
<td>5,706</td>
<td>5,768</td>
<td>+ 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Artane B</td>
<td>3,378</td>
<td>3,222</td>
<td>-151</td>
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<tr>
<td>Artane G</td>
<td>7,191</td>
<td>7,576</td>
<td>+385</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finglas West A</td>
<td>4,294</td>
<td>4,047</td>
<td>-247</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finglas West B</td>
<td>5,675</td>
<td>5,454</td>
<td>-221</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finglas West C</td>
<td>8,206</td>
<td>17,473</td>
<td>+9,267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballyfermot A</td>
<td>6,672</td>
<td>6,405</td>
<td>-267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ballyfermot C</td>
<td>5,571</td>
<td>6,729</td>
<td>+1,158</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ballyfermot D</td>
<td>5,938</td>
<td>4,965</td>
<td>-973</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ballyfermot E</td>
<td>5,939</td>
<td>5,052</td>
<td>-887</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kimmage A</td>
<td>4,203</td>
<td>3,323</td>
<td>-880</td>
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<tr>
<td>Finglas East C</td>
<td>1,133</td>
<td>1,293</td>
<td>+160</td>
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<td>Sentry A</td>
<td>4,840</td>
<td>4,514</td>
<td>-326</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drumcondra R1</td>
<td>6,112</td>
<td>5,904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Drumcondra R2</td>
<td>7,241</td>
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<td>Cabra West B</td>
<td>5,425</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cabra West C</td>
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<tr>
<td>Clontarf West B</td>
<td>4,580</td>
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<td>4,510</td>
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<td>Crumlin B</td>
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<td>Kilmincham A</td>
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<td>-363</td>
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<td>7. An Approach to Social Policy</td>
<td>June 1975</td>
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<td>18. The Future of Public Expenditure</td>
<td>July 1976</td>
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<td>22. New Farm Operators, 1971 to 1975</td>
<td>April 1977</td>
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