

Social Areas in Dublin

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I INTRODUCTION

Three recent studies in this journal have examined aspects of residential differentiation in Dublin. Johnson (1974) analysed migration patterns in the city and the resulting differences between areas in terms of life cycle and demographic structure. Brady and Parker (1975) identified five dimensions through a factorial ecology of fifty-six variables. These were identified as housing conditions, socio-economic status, family status, residual communities and professionalism. Although these were statistically independent, they were conceptually related; the 'status' and 'professionalism' factors are essentially similar, while the 'twilightism' identified by the first dimension is related to the 'residual communities' of the fourth. This lack of identity may be due to several decisions in the course of that analysis.¹ The third study was an attempt to identify areas in the city where educational priority programmes should be established (Breathnach, 1976). Because of the theory and choice of indices, these corresponded closely to areas of socio-economic disadvantage.

1. For example, the decision to use Spearman correlations for the raw scores involved discarding the interval qualities of the data, since the Spearman and Pearson correlations are otherwise formally equivalent. The similarity in the pattern of factor loadings suggests the suitability of an oblique rotation or the extraction of a smaller number of factors.

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All such studies are at least partly subjective. No matter how sophisticated the analysis, subjective decisions must be made about the variables used, the factoring model, the rotation criterion, and often even the interpretation and weighting of results. This is equally true of the present paper, which uses information from a factorial ecology study like that of Brady and Parker. However, since different variables and models have been used, the results are substantially different to their study and give additional insight into the city. Also, the primary purpose of the paper is not to examine Dublin's factorial ecology (even with different variables and methods), but rather to identify social areas in the city and examine their interrelationships and implications. Analysis at the ward level does not allow investigation of small scale, local variations, and the use of census data is inevitably limited, so the areas identified are very much aggregate statistical regions of broad social homogeneity. On the other hand, it can be argued that such areas are the smallest feasible zones for which different plans might be formulated. Smaller areas invariably introduce elements of culture and locality, and complicate such issues as class, housing conditions and demographic structure on which regional policies within a city might be based.

II RESIDENTIAL DIFFERENTIATION

For this study, a total of forty-six variables was derived from the unpublished small area data of the 1971 Census of Population. Scores were calculated for 192 wards and district electoral divisions of the contiguous metropolitan area of Dublin.² The variables index twelve aspects of social differentiation (listed at the bottom of Table 1), and although their choice was influenced by previous studies and data availability, an attempt was made to identify indices which were meaningful sociologically and which had practical implications. The first concept, crowding and density, is related to deprivation and is allegedly related to pathology and crime (for a review, see Fischer *et al.* 1975). They are certainly influences on life styles, including interaction patterns (Michelson, 1970). Housing occupancy has class implications through tenure and public housing, and, together with housing type, is a strong influence on life styles (Michelson, 1973). The housing size concept was designed to indicate flat areas and relatively affluent housing, since these often indicate varying commitment to, and involvement in, the local area.

2. The 1971 census identified 196 wards and DED's (in whole or part) which comprised the contiguous built-up area of the two boroughs and their suburbs. Four of these (Tallaght Nos. 1 and 2, Blanchardstown and Finglas) had very small populations in the contiguous area (194, 141, 32 and 199 respectively). These were excluded from the analysis. All variables are in the form of percentages or ratios.

Table 1: *Dublin metropolitan area: rotated component structure matrix^a*

No.	Concept ^b	Variable Short title	Components					Communality h^2
			I <i>S.E.S.</i>	II	III	IV	V	
1.	I	Persons per room	-0.922					0.935
45.	XII	Semi-skilled manual workers	-0.915					0.857
46.	XII	Unskilled manual	-0.904					0.877
41.	XII	Salaried employees	0.897					0.861
39.	XII	Lower professional	0.861					0.797
40.	XII	Employers and managers	0.859					0.894
4.	II	Houses rented from Local Authority	-0.846					0.837
8.	II	Owner-occupied houses	0.845					0.841
43.	XII	Other non-manual workers	-0.835					0.801
13.	IV	Large households	0.833					0.884
33.	X	Persons per car	-0.774					0.793
38.	XII	Higher professional	0.760					0.765
42.	XII	Intermediate non-manual workers	0.745					0.642
34.	X	Over 14 at school	0.646				-0.495	0.804
44.	XII	Skilled manual workers	-0.611					0.740
28.	VIII	Young married females		0.943	-0.546			0.906
27.	VIII	Young married males		0.916				0.875
19.	V	Houses built 1961-71		0.877				0.881
31.	IX	Fertility ratio		0.864				0.948

Table 1: *Dublin metropolitan area: rotated component structure matrix^a (continued)*

No.	Concept ^b	Variable		Components					Communality h^2
		Short title		I	II	III	IV	V	
37.	XI	Housewife ratio			0.810				0.827
36.	XI	Employed females			-0.641		0.607		0.907
20.	VI	Children			0.604	Hos. dmo.	-0.542	-0.524	0.947
9.	III	Conventional houses				-0.830			0.824
11.	III	Multi-dwellings				0.801			0.733
12.	IV	Small households				0.712			0.855
10.	III	Partly non-residential				0.624			0.483
14.	V	Houses built before 1860				0.617			0.507
5.	II	Houses rented otherwise unfurnished				0.517		0.471	0.614
7.	II	Houses being acquired from the Local Authority				-0.488			0.271
22.	VI	Young females					0.890		0.827
21.	VI	Young males					0.777		0.759
3.	I	Household density				0.469	0.686		0.752
6.	II	Houses rented otherwise furnished					0.648		0.773
15.	V	Houses built 1860-99					0.569	0.459	0.705
23.	VI	Middle-aged					-0.565		0.613
25.	VII	Sex-ratio					0.493		0.720
18.	V	Houses built 1941-60						-0.752	0.803
24.	VI	Elderly						0.748	0.908

Table 1: *Dublin metropolitan area: rotated component structure matrix^a (continued)*

No.	Concept ^b	Variable		Components					Communality h^2
		Short title		I	II	III	IV	V	
2.	I	Persons per household				-0.453		-0.653	0.919
29.	VIII	Widowed males						0.587	0.514
16.	V	Houses built 1900-18						0.586	0.481
35.	X	Unemployed						0.570	0.437
32.	X	Houses with bath						-0.550	0.578
30.	VIII	Widowed females						0.491	0.537
17.	V	Houses built 1919-40						0.454	0.501
		Variance		11.548	6.301	5.717	5.364	5.224	34.155
		Per cent common variance		33.81	18.45	16.74	15.71	15.29	
		Per cent total variance		25.10	13.70	12.43	11.66	11.36	
		Cumulative per cent total variance		25.10	38.80	51.23	62.89	74.25	

^aOnly loadings greater than .45 and less than -.45 are shown in this table.

^bThe concepts are as follows:

I Crowding and density
 II Housing occupancy
 III Housing type
 IV Housing size

V Age of housing
 VI Population age structure
 VII Sex structure
 VIII Conjugal status

IX Fertility
 X Deprivation
 XI Female occupations
 XII Socio-economic status

Age of housing distinguishes between old and new areas in the city, with the implications of locality descent groups and recent suburban developments. The age cohorts used are those with life cycle implications, and indirectly are related to migration and mobility (Johnson, 1974). Sex ratios are related to Shevky and Bell's (1955) 'urbanization' construct, and the youth ratio has stronger behavioural implications than the overall one. The conjugal status indices involve life cycle effects, and, through widowhood, isolation. Fertility also has life cycle and class implications (Walsh, 1968, p. 8). The measures of social deprivation are related to class and isolation and should be related to the need for social services. Female occupations reflect different life styles (including Shevky's urbanization). Finally, the socioeconomic groupings should reflect variations in class and life styles, and should also be important through the relative homo- or hetero-geneity of sub areas in the city (Gans, 1961).

The principal components of these data were obtained and a number of analytic rotations by the normal Varimax criterion suggested the suitability of a five-component model. This decision was based on the variance and interpretability of the various solutions and changes in the communalities of the individual variables. The structure matrix of this model is shown in Table 1. Together the five components account for almost 75 per cent of the original total variance and only four variables have communalities less than 0.5.

Together, these five components describe the main features of residential differentiation in the data set at the ecological level in Dublin. The first is clearly a measure of socioeconomic status, as shown by the variables which load highly on it (Table 1). The lower status areas are concentrated in the city centre and in the corporation estates of Finglas, Ballyfermot and Crumlin, with the more prestigious areas located along the coast and in the privately developed suburbs.³ This dimension has emerged in every study of Western industrial cities (Berry, 1971). It reflects the class and status differentiation of society and the economic aspects of housing supply and demand. This large-scale class segregation is, of course, reinforced by the development and allocation policies of the local statutory bodies.

The second component is a life-cycle dimension identifying the young married family stage. The areas which score highly on this characteristic are the fringe areas on the northern and southern edges of the city where extensive estate development has recently occurred. Conversely, low-scoring areas are those which have already passed through this stage of the family life-cycle. They include both older neighbourhoods like Drumcondra and

3. Maps showing the distribution of scores on the five components will be provided on request to the author.

municipal estates like Ballyfermot which were built soon after the war. This dimension identifies a finer life-cycle distinction than was proposed by Shevky and Bell or is usually found in the United States. However, analogous factors have been found in Wales (Evans, 1973), New Zealand (Johnston, 1973), and in Swedish and Finnish cities three independent components have been found (Janson, 1971; Sweetser, 1965). These identify young familism or suburbanism, established familism, and post-familism. This is due to the tendency for entire neighbourhoods to pass through the family life-cycle in European cities, whereas the high rates of residential mobility in the United States prevent this kind of cyclic change. This pattern is probably reinforced in Dublin by the age-related migration patterns uncovered by Johnson (1974).

The third component is a housing dimension (Table 1). Two types of area score highly on this: the multi-dwelling flat developments such as Ballymun, and the office areas of the central business district. Conventional suburban areas have low scores on this component. Similar dimensions relating to housing style, conditions or amenities have repeatedly emerged in British studies, so again this is not unique to Dublin (Herbert, 1972).

The two remaining components are also related to the life-cycle concept. The fourth identifies the young unmarried stage of life-cycle, although it embraces more than chronological age. There are concentrations of these people to the south and north of the CBD, in the older city areas which have been converted into flats. The older municipal estates also score highly on this component. This is due to the large numbers of unmarried youths still living with their parents. The newer suburban areas have the lowest scores on this dimension. Overall, this is analogous to the Shevky-Bell 'urbanization' construct, since it involves women who are economically active or 'urbanized', as opposed to being family-oriented. The fifth component is related especially to elderly people who are living in old rented houses under deprived circumstances. The heaviest concentration of these people is around the central business district, in areas to which Johnson (1974) has shown there is considerable elderly in-migration.

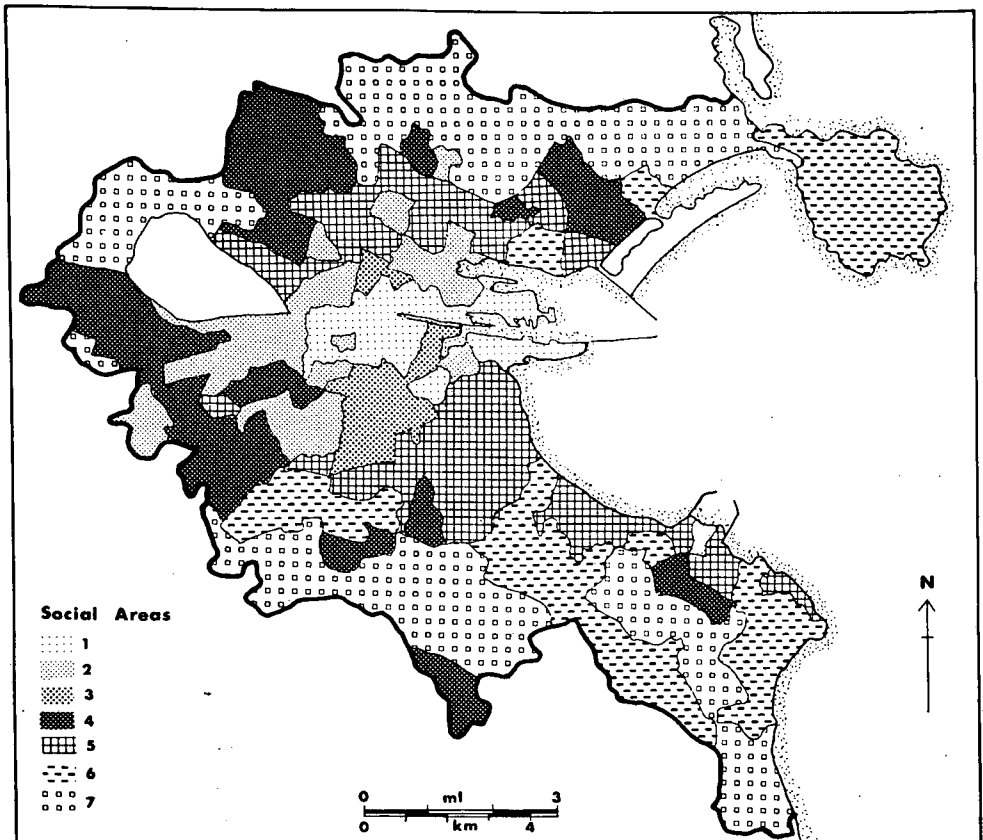
III SOCIAL AREAS IN THE CITY

These five independent axis were integrated by identifying modal types or social areas in the city. This was done by a cluster analysis of the 192 wards and electoral divisions on the basis of their scores on each of the five dimensions. Ward's (1963) hierarchical algorithm was used to minimise the within-

Table 2: Social area clusters: centroids on the rotated ecological components

Cluster	N	I SES	II Young married	III Housing type	IV Young unmarried	V Elderly
1.	18	-1.16	-0.18	2.04	-0.39	0.28
2.	33	-0.48	-0.22	-0.46	-0.15	1.33
3.	15	0.14	-0.07	0.52	2.18	0.38
4.	39	-0.85	-0.50	-0.67	0.03	-1.09
5.	35	0.83	-0.55	-0.02	0.19	0.23
6.	20	1.40	-0.44	0.35	-1.08	-0.46
7.	32	0.34	1.84	-0.29	-0.22	-0.34

Figure 1.

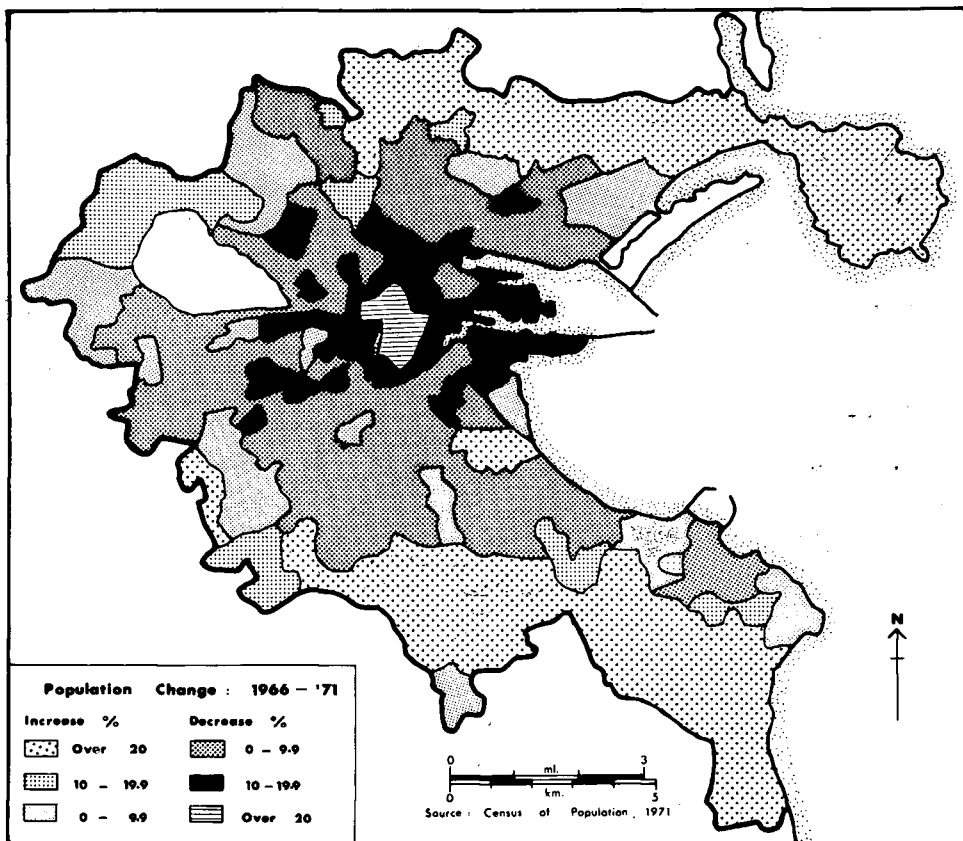


group sum-of-squares.⁴ Through this, seven clusters of wards were identified. The mean scores of each cluster on the five dimensions are shown in Table 2 and the seven types are shown in Figure 1. Although no contiguity constraint was used, it is clear that the clusters of wards are relatively contiguous, and so they may be regarded as social areas. The remainder of the paper is concerned with interpreting these and considering their implications.

THE INNER CITY

The first cluster comprises eighteen wards in the central area of the city. With the exception of one outlier, they form a contiguous social area. Statistically, the distinctive characteristics of these wards are the very low

Figure 2.



4. The procedure was terminated when no single observation remained unallocated and the within-group variation amounted to 38.8 per cent of the total. To counteract misallocation through "chaining" (to which hierarchical clustering procedures are prone), the groups were reclassified in discriminant space until membership stabilised.

socio-economic status of the inhabitants and the concentration of multiple-use housing (Table 2). There is also a higher percentage of elderly persons in this area than the city average, living in the worst slums and tenements in Dublin. The population loss in the city centre is serious. In 1966-71 all but one of these wards experienced a population decline, with the aggregate loss amounting to 15 per cent of the 1966 total (Figure 2).

The second social area identified statistically shares some of the characteristics of the central area (Table 2). It is of relatively low status but is distinguished by a heavier concentration of elderly persons. A total of thirty-three wards are of this type and they are largely clustered in a zone encircling the central area (Figure 1). Like the first area, this is also experiencing population decline (Figure 2). All but one of the wards recorded a decrease in the period 1966-71, but the loss was not as severe as in the central area — it amounted to 8.1 per cent of the total. Overall, this area seems analogous to the North American zone-in-transition first identified by Burgess (1925). Many of the structural characteristics are similar: many old, dilapidated buildings, a high proportion of flat-dwellers and a population with a high concentration of elderly people. Zones-in-transition are usually under threat because of their relatively high land values and the expansion of city centre activities. Consequently, these areas are ideal for land speculation and slum development.

Together, these two areas show most of the problems of inner cities. These are most acute and most highly publicised in US cities, but they exist in most Western industrial countries (Blair, 1974). Inner cities have always had problems, but they have been exacerbated by recent trends, and in this, Dublin is no exception.

The older traditional industries of the area have been particularly affected by EEC membership and the recession, so unemployment is very heavy. Newer industries generally demand more open locations, in industrial estates of country towns. Central city shops face increasing competition from suburban supermarkets and it would seem that the possibilities of increased employment of the traditional type are limited. These problems are exacerbated by traffic congestion and pollution as the suburbs spread further from the CBD and commuting distances increase. There is certainly a massive increase in office employment in the city centre, but this is of little benefit to the inhabitants. On the contrary, it makes residential redevelopment more difficult through competition for space and increased commuting, congestion and parking requirements in the area.

Socially, inner city inhabitants are often viewed as disorganised and anomic, and many slum and tenement dwellers probably are. However, there are also the highly organised traditional working-class neighbourhoods —

the 'urban villages' of Gans (1962), Suttles (1968), and Young and Willmott (1957). Overall, though, Rex (1968) has shown that these areas are conflict situations, with a high potential for physical violence (O'Neill, 1971), since there is competition within the area for scarce resources (housing, jobs) and between the inner city and outsiders for the distribution of power and the allocation of facilities. It is generally recognised that these areas cannot be revitalised from within, but that special programmes must be adopted to provide the necessary resources. Unfortunately, many of these are excessively narrow.

In the United States, inner city renewal was attempted under the Housing Act of 1949. Sixteen years later, Herbert Gans (1965) bitterly assessed the programme:

Suppose that the government decided that jalopies were a menace to public safety and a blight on the beauty of our highways, and therefore took them away from their drivers. Suppose, then, that to replenish the supply of automobiles it gave these drivers a hundred dollars each to buy a good used car and also made special grants to General Motors, Ford and Chrysler to lower the cost — although not necessarily the price — of Cadillacs, Lincolns, and Imperials by a few hundred dollars. Absurd as this may sound, change the jalopies to slum housing, and I have described, with only slight poetic license, the first fifteen years of a federal program called urban renewal.

There is a danger that Irish cities will experience a similar policy. Most redevelopment of inner Dublin is coming from private developments, like the Irish Life centre, and the recent Corporation policy of small-scale housing developments. Both are welcome, but they will not renew the inner city area or solve its problems. These are largely the result of city-wide processes (like the congestion generated by suburban growth in the absence of a comprehensive transport policy), and must be tackled in an overall city framework.

THE AREA OF YOUNG UNMARRIED

The characteristics and problems of the third type of social area are different to the above. This is the primary concentration of young unmarried people in the city, living in conventional housing which has been subdivided into flats (Table 2). These people came from two sources: in-migration of country people to the metropolitan area and internal migration of teenagers and young adults within the city (Johnson, 1974). The reasons for their concentration in this area is due to the housing market (with the large old buildings ideal for conversion to flats); the accessibility of the universities and government and office areas which are the main sources of employment; and the tendency of young persons to congregate in areas conducive to their

life styles (Michelson, 1970). There are also high rates of out-migration as people marry and set up home elsewhere (Johnson, 1974), and in 1966-71 the area had a population decline of 7.8 per cent.

Thus, this is an area with a dominantly transient population, with satisfactory socio-economic resources, but probably with little or no attachment to the local area and with very low levels of community organisation. Moreover, these people are exposed to a variety of pressures — separation from family and home, conformity to urban styles of living, and personal and occupational pressures associated with their stage in the life cycle. This is the part of Dublin which most closely resembles Wirth's (1938) ideal type of size, density and heterogeneity and the social *malaise* associated with 'urbanism as a way of life'. Consequently, although no data are available, this area would be expected to have high rates of psychiatric disorders, and social policy for the area might be oriented towards supplementing the efforts of such city-wide voluntary organisations as the Samaritans, while recognising that the internal resources in the area are probably poor.

As with the central area, this district is not independent of other parts of the city. It should be most affected by the housing market and by building cycles, since it is primarily a temporary area for single people before marriage. In this way, plans for the future location of housing should have a strong effect on the area of flats, and it may happen, if the location of new housing is too inaccessible or if house prices become too expensive, that this area will expand and become a zone of more permanent residents.

THE CORPORATION ESTATES

The fourth social area contains a total of thirty-nine wards (Table 2). These are concentrated in wedges to the north and south-west of the city centre and comprise the post-war municipal housing estates. Many of the wards experienced population loss in 1966-71 but the overall decline for the area was only three per cent. Statistically, the families are of low socio-economic status and have reached the post-geniture stage of life-cycle. There are very few elderly persons living here.

The existence of these areas is, of course, due to the decision by the local authorities to build massive estates on the outskirts of the city to house people from inner city areas. This large-scale development was the most economic and efficient means of providing housing, but there are strong arguments against it, with problems of transport, local services and facilities, and especially, the social problems of large-scale residential segregation on the basis of class. At the least, this accentuates stratification, and Suttles (1972) has even argued that residential segregation is an important element of stratification rather than merely reflecting it. In its most extreme form,

local authority housing can become what Damer (1974) called 'a dreadful enclosure' where the inequalities and disadvantages of its inhabitants became institutionalised through negative sanctions. The supply of housing alone can have many unintended effects. On the other hand, there is evidence that the mixing of different classes and status groups in close proximity can create tension between neighbours (Gans, 1961). Maybe the most desirable policy is that currently being adopted by the corporation, i.e., the redevelopment of small areas in the inner city.

THE SUBURBS

Cluster five comprises thirty-five sub-areas to the north and south of the city centre. These are the older suburbs, once the most prestigious part of the city and still scoring high on the status component (Table 2). Demographically, the area is relatively well balanced, without any marked concentrations of elderly or young single people. The overall population decline in the period 1966-71 was 2.7 per cent. The twenty wards of the sixth cluster differ from these in several respects: they are the highest-status area in the city, their housing is newer, and they are at a dominantly middle-aged stage of life cycle with low proportions of young adults and elderly. They are also expanding with a population increase of 7.9 per cent during 1966-71.

Suburbs are normally viewed as long-term homes, since their inhabitants are usually motivated initially by family considerations (Bell, 1968). This must have been greatly complicated in recent years though by the economic aspects of owning a house as security against inflation. One result of this is the widespread practice of 'trading up' as house prices increase, and, almost certainly, high rates of mobility from estates in the suburban areas. Under these conditions, home-owners become especially conscious of developments which may affect the value of their houses — the 'externalities' which may be either positive (as, for example, nearby open space for amenity and recreation) or negative (e.g., poor quality housing in close proximity). Middle-class people are usually very effective in monitoring such developments and mobilising against them. In attempting to create an equitable distribution, it may be as important for planners to bear this in mind as it is for them to remember that the response of inner city inhabitants is usually disorganised and ineffective when their rights are threatened.

The seventh social area comprises thirty-two wards on the northern and southern fringes of the city. These are the most recently developed suburbs, occupied almost exclusively by young married couples with children (Table 2). The population almost doubled during 1966-71, and is still expanding rapidly. The area is made up largely of private estates with middle-class inhabitants.

The time-lag between the building of houses and the supply of services (schools, recreational open space, etc.) often creates unnecessary problems in these areas. This could be avoided by greater co-ordination between private and public agencies, but the interests of newly-developed areas should still be evaluated in a city-wide context. The development of playing fields, for example, in the suburbs, may be at the expense of inner city redevelopment, and the social costs and benefits of each should be carefully weighed.

IV DISCUSSION

The primary criteria of residential segregation shown in this study (and that of Brady and Parker) are socio-economic status, housing, and life cycle stages. This list may not be exhaustive, since other important indices may have been omitted (e.g., migration rates) but these three factors are certainly among the most crucial. The seven areas distinguished also may not be definitive, since the units used are administrative aggregates, but they are all interpretable in the context of current theories of the city and so have at least 'face' validity. Individually each of the areas has implications for policy but together they provide insight into the nature of the city's residential segregation with implications for the future.

THE NATURE OF RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION

Rex and Moore (1967) have suggested that the social geography of British cities is best interpreted in terms of housing classes. In every city there are at least three groups, the owner-occupiers, the renters and local authority tenants. Membership in any group is not determined simply by social class or economic power, since the availability of a mortgage or of public housing involves several more criteria. Residential segregation in Dublin appears to conform to this model since there is a close interaction between housing, class and family cycle (see the loadings for each component in Table 1). Similarly, the seven social areas are a complex of these factors (Table 2).

There is certainly a possibility of movement between housing classes — much intra-urban migration involves a move from renting to owner-occupancy—but housing is a durable, high-value good, and this has important ramifications. Housing classes are *located* in different parts of the city, as in Dublin, and this adds an element of locality to normal class interests. Entire localities are usually affected by externalities (e.g., the location of itinerant camps), and since housing is a major capital investment, these developments usually have a potential for conflict. Secondly, localities are affected by the allocation of public services and facilities and access to

these varies by housing group. Third, housing classes are strongly related to political power and 'community' action and representation is increasingly concerned with class-based locality considerations (Bell and Newby, 1976). Finally, the housing class model is probably the most ecological of all current urban theories since it involves housing, urban expansion and problems of location and allocation within the city.

HOUSING CLASS IMPLICATIONS

Rex and Moore's perspective stems from a conflict interpretation of society.⁵ One need not endorse this viewpoint to recognise that intra-urban competition is increasing: the motorway controversy, Wood Quay and the current conservation-development problems all stem from the interests of different parties, and, while these are city-wide, there are many small-scale conflicts which are locality-based, and consequently, related to housing classes.⁶ Bell (1974) sees such problems as inevitably increasing, as market mechanisms are replaced by public authorities in the allocation of facilities and the number of groups making demands increases. Then, 'the greater the number of groups, each seeking diverse or competing ends, the more likelihood that these groups will veto one another's interests, with the consequent sense of frustration and powerlessness as such stalemates occur' (Bell, 1974, p. 159).

There are three major sources of actual or potential competition between the social areas in Dublin. First, the requirements of the various areas differ. Social and community workers would seem to be a priority need in the inner city, while the new suburbs probably most need physical facilities like recreational space, playgrounds and community centres. Different departments and statutory bodies may be involved in these, but ultimately the funding comes from the same source and this generates competition for funds. Secondly, there is competition for resources which are allocated to the city. Industry and housing, for example, are badly needed in the central area, but there are also demands from the corporation areas and the private suburbs. Thirdly, there are facilities which are beneficial to one area or group but directly detrimental to another. The motorway, for example, would have benefited suburbanites but seriously inconvenienced inner city neighbourhoods through congestion and pollution and through the

5. For a critique and extensions, see Pahl (1975).

6. In a study of the ecology of conflict in London, Ontario (a city of 230,000 population), Janelle and Millward (1976) found a distinct zoning pattern. Competition over preservation, transportation and housing was clustered in the zone in transition. Conflict over schools, retailing and redevelopment dominated the central city and periphery, and problems of recreation, public services and noxious-nuisance were scattered throughout the city.

destruction of houses for road-building and parking. Given the spatial segregation of groups by housing class, these kinds of conflicts seem inevitable.

MANAGING THE CITY

Some of the present trends in Dublin may seem outside the control of the responsible authorities. The national emphasis on house-building and the stimulation of the construction industry are expressed in the spread of suburban estates on the city's periphery and the growth of dormitory towns like Tallaght and Clondalkin. Yet, there are many empty spaces within the city and areas which should be renewed, and expansion on the periphery involves the diversion of scarce funds and services from areas which may need them more. In Lowry's (1965) phrase, 'in the city, everything affects everything else'.

Planning in Dublin should be based on the sub-areas of the city as defined in this paper (or ones delimited expressly for planning purposes). The characteristics, trends and requirements of each could be identified, together with the relationships and dependencies which exist among the areas. Only then should the allocation of funds and facilities be decided in order to ensure the best possible development.

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