

Third Year Sociology Special Topic Research Project

“I’ll have a P Please Bob! What P is a statement or proposition which, despite sound (or apparently sound) reasoning from acceptable premises, leads to a conclusion that seems logically unacceptable or self-contradictory?”



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Module Code: SO303

Third Year Sociology 2015

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Submission Date: 5/5/2015

Your True self... lies immeasurably above that which you usually take to be yourself (Nietzsche)

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Abstract

This research explores the lived experience of the residents of the docklands area Sheriff St/Eastwall. It reveals the relationship between those members of the community and the different phases of capitalism experienced from containerisation right up to modernisation. The findings suggest that through Neoliberal policies a community was both spatially and socially segregated from the population. As a result; with the introduction of Austerity we find a fragmented community hanging on through the will of its people and a romantic idea of what was and will be again. Hidden beneath the literature is the true nature of capitalism, through the four corner stones of life chances; Education, Employment, Housing and Wellbeing we see the true ambivalent nature of modernisation and the coexistence of dialectical opposites. Which highlights a true poverty paradox.

List of Abbreviations

AIB	Allied Irish Bank
BSB	British Satellite Broadcasting
CIE	Córas Iompair Éireann
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CIF	Construction Industry Federation
DDDA	Dublin Docklands Development Authority
DCC	Dublin City Council
ECB	European Central Bank
EEC	European Economic Community
ESRI	Environmental Research Systems Institute
EU	European Union
EURO 88	UEFA European Football Championships
FAS	Foras Áiseanna Saothair
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IBEC	Irish Business and Employers Confederation
ICTU	Irish Congress of Trade Unions
IDA	Industrial Development Authority

IFSC	Irish Financial Services Centre
IMF	International Monetary Fund
LA	Local Authority
NCCCAP	North Centre City Community Action Programme
NWCA	North Wall Community Action
OCED	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
UK	United Kingdom
U.S.	United States

Chapter 1- Introduction Research Question

(1.1) Introduction

Over the past fifty years Ireland and its economic, cultural, religious and political developments have in one way or another affected its population directly or indirectly in shaping the country into a present day postmodern society. A lot has changed in Ireland since the post war period. Back then Ireland's economy underperformed in comparison to its European counterparts. Neo liberal policies could be said to be thread bare in Ireland by the time deregulation and privatisation began to take hold in global regions such as Latin America, the United States and the UK by the 1970s. Ireland in the previous decade had begun to sell its natural resources; and by the time of joining the EEC in 1973 the indigenous industry around the country started to collapse by 44% over the next thirteen years. What began to take hold was a rise in direct foreign investment in manufacturing with most new jobs in Transnational Corporations; this process was seeded early in the 1960s. Thereafter according to Power et al, development strategy became a matter of shaping regulations, tax structure, and the workforce in a particular way, as to attract as much foreign industry as possible. Ireland had become a pioneer in Neoliberalism in which the local capitalists (elites) had to play middlemen for international capital (Power et al, 2013: 2-3).

The following research topic relates to this development strategy and the effects of the IFSC on the surrounding area of Sheriff St/Eastwall. It will also endeavour to illuminate a poverty paradox by which one institution became inherently wealthy while another, the institution of community and all that encompasses that said institution (housing, employment, education, wellbeing) began to show signs of decay. Furthermore; the physical space in which both institutions share has recently experienced a new phenomenon of modernity known as Gentrification. A process which takes ex industrial landscapes and morphs the land into

business, retail and apartment properties easily marketed for a more affluent population, which has caused in the instance of the Sheriff St/Eastwall area both a physical and social divide (MacLaran & Kelly, 2014:184).

This spatial enterprise revamped a derelict landscape and brought about a much needed facelift to the docklands area. However; the means behind the ends reveals an all too familiar trait of Irish politics, a boom to bust tale in which there are reflexive winners and reflexive losers. Historically labour by the 1960's began to change in the docklands area of Dublin with the introduction of containerisation. No longer would the stevedores relish in the security of full time labour. The nature of employment, the physical landscape as well as the social setting was to embark on a radical upheaval for both the workers and their community. With the implementation of containerisation and the almost inevitable extinct practice of unloading and piece by piece handballing, the final nail in the coffin materialised with the decay of the manufacturing industry in the area by the 1970's, which found a new location in the industrial estates on the outskirts of Dublin. Inevitably employment and the financial security of many docklands residents went with it; and as a result the landscape of Dublin's inner city by the 1980's was littered with derelict and dilapidated buildings (DDDA, 2008).

However; by 1986 with the introduction of the Urban Renewal Act (Williams, 2006), a number of locations were designated for development. This included the docklands area as one of those locations. A transformation was about to take place not physically or socially but more importantly economically. The seeds were to be sown in regards to what would become coined as the 'Celtic Tiger'. Ireland was to be typified as the poster child for Neoliberal capitalism with its gentrified location the IFSC to become its beacon. The preceding development of the IFSC between 1987 and 2007 revealed the nature and strength of cooperation between business interests and the state apparatus, which is such a strong characteristic of Ireland's political paradigm.

The divide which ensued between the institution known as the IFSC and the surrounding community is not only a divide of wealth, or economics per se, but is experienced through the cornerstones of life chances; housing, employment, education and wellbeing which this paper endeavours to illuminate. In these fundamental areas where human rights should flourish and prosper, what impact has the residents experienced since the ‘Celtic Tiger’, moreover with the introduction of Austerity measures, how are these transformations remembered now that discursively ‘Austerity is over’. The divide between the institutions seems to be socially as well as spatially apparent, which the stories of the resident’s which kindly took part in this project help to exhibit. The lived experience by the resident’s through containerisation, marginalisation as well as an alleged ‘Celtic Tiger’, a boom for all reveals the true nature of Irish Neoliberal capitalism illuminating a true poverty paradox.

Chapter 2- Review of Literature

(2.1) Setting The scene

In 1987 a nation held its breath as it waited anxiously for our fortune to change in regards to Irish football. Long had we waited for a team capable enough to get us to a major tournament, furthermore the nature of Irish football itself had changed, an English manager, the granny rule, and a German sponsor ascertained one thing, that the world stage of sport was becoming more flexible as was the economies of Europe at the time. Barriers which were rigid and firm began to change; outlooks which once determined structure, as well as supports for nation states gave way to a new kind of flexibility, a laissez faire approach to doing business known as Neoliberalism. Amongst this new ideology stood an unknown Scott called Gary Mackay and in the 87th minute he blew out Bulgaria's hopes and dreams of qualification for a European tournament that cold November night in Sofia, when he scored the only goal to guarantee Ireland's participation in Euro 88. Scotland had beaten Bulgaria one nil (Soccer-Ireland.com, 2015). Ireland as a nation was now partaking emphatically as one of the EU's better footballing sides in West Germany and it only took this new ideology of external forces to get us there. Capitalism is now more fluid than previously imagined; it is more technological; it is no longer industrial per se but instrumental, personal, rational, all-encompassing of our daily lives. Unnoticeable some would say, but is definitely the thread which holds the fabric of social life together. By June 1989 the Berlin wall will come down; boundaries are no longer physical or spatial but psychological, ideological and on this front is where the battle for mind takes place.

Television the ideological distributor becomes the epicentre and spectacle only one could dream off; BSB merged with Sky television in 1991 to give us the foundations of pay per view football. The premier league will now be televised, commodified and ready for

subscription (Reference for Business, 2015). Inevitably Capitalism now had its platform for advertisements; player's wages would reach ridiculous heights as a result. Their status could be determined by means of what major brand had invested in them, and agents were to make a fortune from last minute transfer deals and fees. Club loyalty and the honesty in the game which has not been seen since the 1980's would slowly disappear with the steady influx of foreign players, and the well documented and controversial dive, which has reared its ugly head like a cold sore on the face of the beautiful game unfortunately was here to stay.

Music also changed as did capitalism; as the 80's came to an end so did some of the working class prophets, bands like the Smiths, the Jam, the Clash and their influence dwindled with a new movement known as Acid House Dance which replaced and took hold of the landscape and drug culture for the next ten to fifteen years. Indie bands like the Charlatans, Happy Mondays, Inspiral Carpets and the Stone Roses were to give us the lyrical introduction to the change of society and capitalism. In their famous song 'she bangs the drum' The Stone Roses illuminate that change which could be felt through the working class, boundaries were now blurred a new movement was beginning, as Brown elaborates 'I can feel the earth begin to move, I hear my needle hit the groove, and spiral through another day' I hear my song begin to say'. Brown enlightens us to end of the Thatcher regime and the Tories; and the introduction of a new era, a rebirth of the unknown, a new beginning. 'Kiss me where the sun don't shine, the past was yours but the futures mine, your all out of time' (Stone Roses, 1989).

(2.2) IFSC-The new ideology

A new attitude, a new ideal, another influential man is where the Irish story of the Neoliberal agenda begins, with economics at the fore.

“Ladies and gentlemen, I’ve called you here together not to ask you if we are going to have an international financial centre – but to tell you we are going to have one. I expect to have your co-operation in making it a success”... (Reddan, 2008:34).

Taoiseach Charles Haughey speaking at the first meeting of the IFSC committee, 9 April 1987, not only did Gerry Mackay change the outlook of the Irish perspective in 1987 in regards to the unknown, but a Taoiseach and a business man known as Dermot Desmond was about to lay the foundations of an uncharted chapter of Irish economic history. The same chuckle could be heard when Ireland qualified for the European cup as when rumour spread that the Irish government had planned to mount a global drive to make Dublin an international financial services centre.

There is no doubt that Ireland achieved this vision of Dublin as a services centre, but at what cost. The IFSC was seen as a symbol of the Celtic Tiger, it was launched at a time of economic destitution amongst a discourse of scepticism, cynicism and negativity. Regardless of this discourse it emerged. Haughey was quoted as saying it was the most important step for the country in returning us back into the black from the red, a dramatically ‘favourable’ impact on public finances. In 2006, 510 IFSC firms paid €1.1 billion in corporation tax indicating profits of €8.8 billion or €172,549,019 per firm (Reddan, 2008:7). These figures are alarming considering the Irish people had to bail out the Banks when the crisis hit to tune of €64 billion by 2011, with senior bondholders from AIB and Bank of Ireland excluded from repayment (McArdle, 2012:7).

The attitude at the time of inception toward doing business with Dublin had changed also. Low taxes, good regulatory and a legal regime, not to mention above all, the warm embracing approach from government and tax authorities made Dublin a haven for Transnational Corporations. High employment figures created in the IFSC may have gone to London if it

wasn't for this prime Neoliberal location (Reddan, 2008:7-8). Opinion began to sway and those who laughed up their sleeve at the idea now had a look on their face which was not seen since Ray Houghton in the sixth minute put the ball in the English net in Stuttgart at Euro 88; utter disbelief.

Today the original site has stimulated commercial development from the Custom House down as far as the 3 Arena, across the Liffey and back up the opposing side, a truly remarkable development. Hotels; a convention centre and the Bord Gais theatre are but a few to mention, which have their beginnings with a man with a vision. Ireland since the late 70's through the IDA had begun to promote financial services on a pilot basis through its Service Industry Programme. This was met with official caution, by the Irish Central Bank who described it as 'smacking of a banana republic', the same institution, strangely enough by August 2011 had given in total liquidity funding for the six banks in debt €150 billion along with the ECB (RTE News, 2011). However; Irish politicians by the 1980's were well aware of the potential for financial services and off shore banking. For Fianna Fail's Michael O'Kennedy it was an area of immense potential, where employment in this sector would increase our economy (Reddan, 2008:13).

The man responsible for bringing to reality the beacon of Irish Neoliberalist capitalism was Dermot Desmond. Former Taoiseach Charles Haughey described Desmond's role in the IFSC as being the real father of the idea. Desmond found a benefactor in Haughey who in turn used Desmond's proposal for his 1987 election campaign. Without Haughey Desmond's idea was still born, although having support from then Minister for Labour Ruairí Quinn, it had been rejected by the Minister for industry and commerce John Bruton in 1986 as an unrealistic concept (*ibid*:44). Ever the entrepreneur in the early 80's Desmond being a broker set up his own firm National City Brokers; from there he began to change the landscape of Irish stock broking for the first time in more than 200 years. Having developed the concept and having

bought the south block of the IFSC Desmond has had many returns on his idea which came to fruition with the passing of the Financing Act of (1987). Now financial service firms could operate and pay corporation tax as those in the manufacturing sectors since 1981 (*ibid*:45).

What is also relevant is how those in positions of power or wealth at the time truly believed their own ideology, especially Desmond when asked about his motivation for pushing his financial services idea remarked, “*It was for Ireland, we believed in Ireland. If it was good for Ireland it was good for us, it would be good for our children. Otherwise we were in an environment where the IMF was knocking at the door*” (*ibid*:16). Those words were to haunt Desmond in 2010.

(2.3) Discourse and its rebuttal

The discourse mantra in the forthcoming years in regards to written literature on the topic of the Celtic Tiger, comes from think tanks such as the ESRI and supporters of right wing Neoliberal policies in regards to how well Ireland had progressed form the early days of the financial services fruition. One such article was written by former Minister for Finance Ray MacSharry and former IDA CEO Padriac White (2000). Their standpoint was very clear in so far as Ireland was a financial mess since the post war era. History proves this in the attempts of past leaders who tried in vain to resurrect an exhausted economy. Vulnerability and fear of the IMF seems to be the first cause of liberal welfare cuts, as well as the ‘underpinning of the national recovery programme, an agreement between the government and the social partners,’ where moderate pay increases were swapped for future promised tax cuts (MacSharry & White, 2000:359).

Granted the economy did improve; being a member of the European Union had its positive influence on the economy with its EU transfers received through Structural Funds (£7.5 billion between 1989-2000), helping with much needed infrastructural investment allowing for capital spending. Employment figures rose and a housing boom set the tone for outside opinion to hold Ireland and its phenomenal turn around as an economic miracle (*ibid*, 362). An OECD report at the time was a glowing affirmation of prosperity. Signifying Irelands stunning economic performance, its growth of GDP per capita was higher than the European Union average at the time (*ibid*, 360). American economist Paul Krugman puts it that Ireland, “*through a combination of good luck, good timing and good policies has caught the crest of a geographical and technological wave*” (*ibid*, 361).

Also mentioned are the factors of how politicians have sought with foresight and rigour, embracing the nation’s best interests in policy changes of corporate tax and education which has benefited us all. Highlighted are all kinds of stats and reviews to positive change, education being the fundamental foundation by which all was achieved, 80% of the population had a Leaving cert standard; 40-50% had experienced third level education, but which sub set of the population did this include. Human capital is critical to prosperity, women began to return to the workforce, with the skills base of labour increased, Ireland with an English speaking workforce and low taxation made it an attractive option for FDI (*ibid*, 363-69). Granted a work force was created, a Neo Fordist workforce. However; how did this affect the population? The two pillars which were placed on the foundation of education were fiscal stability and Social Partnership, financial shock therapy was the economic cure prescribed. The Celtic Tiger was built on a consensus established between the social partners.

As a result Ireland through Social Partnerships which was introduced during the 80s; at a time of high unemployment, weak economic growth and high inflation, also when the country was experiencing mass emigration, huge national debt as well as unsustainable

government borrowing. Had become a platform for negotiating Corporatist agreements between the government, employers group IBEC, CIF, and the ICTU with the amalgamation of the voluntary/community organisations coming on board later in 1997. However; the non-profit sector had no influence in regard to the wage bargaining element but played a role in policy discussions. Social partnership contributed to economic success by producing a stable context for economic growth; it built consensus for difficult policy decisions avoiding social and industrial strife; and it provided a predictable policy environment for business and FDI. This allowed Ireland to maximise on the other factors that supported growth including the availability of EU funds; increasing levels of foreign investment; investment in education; and a political culture which was open to internationalisation (Connolly, 2007:3).

Ireland now by its very nature had become a Neoliberal paradigm driven by corporatism and the individualistic nature of capitalism. This type of outlook would leave the Irish citizen soulless, driven by materialistic pleasures, individualism and hedonism, but more devastating minimalistic; which creates a conservative approach to community and society in general. By 2007 the discourse was still ever in favour of this ideology. Ireland in some circles was seen as a template for a social model which the EU could major in. Irelands two fundamental corner stone's being a higher than average level of stability in family life (measured by low divorce rate) and stronger community participation (measured by church attendance and union participation). These factors accounted for three quarters of Ireland's superiority on the quality of life index compared to the EU average (Fahey et al, 2007:1).

In Fahey et al 'Best of times, Social impact of the Celtic Tiger'; there doesn't seem to be any accountability for the change in liberal attitude toward the vices which are attributed to capitalism. This seems to be the individual's philosophical standpoint on which he/she stands. The Apples and oranges problem would highlight the laissez faire approach to society, yes crime has gone up but so has education. So how can anyone measure these two developments

to determine that social conditions have improved? Obviously there is a reflexive winner and a reflexive loser. However; this train of thought only further deteriorated by the ambivalent good problem highlights that, ‘yes to make an omelette one must break a few eggs’ (*ibid*, 4). To move away from the ‘Pareto Principle’ would be better for all. “*If we adhered strictly to this principle, we would never be able to observe improvement since there will always be someone who will be exposed to change for the worse*” (*ibid*, 265).

This kind of narrative is not only disheartening but is a form of class racism, mental health and wellbeing is fundamental to society and it’s collective, as are its families and its members. This type of reasoning is instrumental, cold, sterile and calculated. The human being is seen as a means to an end, we are as Theodore Adorno would term ‘unhuman’ the other does not exist for us we are corrupted by the system, and we are capable of anything (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1977:121-123).

Both Colin Coulter (2003) and Ciaran Keohane (2008) stress the need for a dialectics of social change. Their approach to the discourse of the time illuminates serious attempts to gloss over the paradox and ambivalent character of the social impact of modernisation and what is experienced by modernity. Coulter’s focal point as is Keohane’s reveals the’ readings of contemporary Irish society only serve the particular ideological interests they are intended to serve’, that outlook and its particular version of modernity does not represent the dialectics of social change (Coulter, 2003:17). Morality has been replaced by cotemporary taboos; introspection is a thing of the past, self-regulation and traditional values are exchanged for a new psyche with a cost to the moral fabric of society (*ibid*, 14-15). This liberal approach and its market should bestow advantages for all. However; it only seems to bequeath a particular set of interests which serve the few. Liberal capitalism as Coulter explains “*is after all a social form that in its marrow seeks to elevate the concerns of the few over the many in Irish society*’ (*ibid*, 18).

Keohane also highlights that in globalised contemporary Ireland the experiences of accelerated modernisation are defined by the coexistence of dialectical opposites, by paradox and ambivalence. Granted modernity delivers spectacular goods and beneficial attributes, ‘health, political liberty and freedom of choice’. However it also produces new obstacles, a replication of perennial problems in the form of new guises: “*secularisation is accompanied by existential anxiety, inner loneliness and boundless egoism; democracy is accompanied by bureaucracy and new forms of power, de-centred and dispersed*” (Keohane, 2008:119).

Keohane as well as Coulter share the same insight that booming liberal economies lead to severe diseconomies. Rationalised organisation as well as global labour markets, creates exploitation and new forms of division of labour, which are driven by insecurities, inequalities and alienation. Moreover; questions of what the good life is or ones idea of what constitutes quality of life, are not merely calculated questions, technical by nature, but are cultural, philosophical in a sense and predominantly moral questions (*ibid*, 120). Thus; if the subjective experience becomes corrupted so it infers the ideal of democracy must be too; and this ideal had a starting point in Social Partnership.

Murphy and Kirby (2007) outlined that Contemporary Ireland became an exemplar of the competition state. Social policy became subordinate to the needs of the economy. The Irish state became an exemplar state through globalisation and re-situated the state so it prioritised the needs of capitalism over those of its people. This process evolving through Neoliberalism and elitist influence; bureaucracy through organisation and social policy determine the outcome for civil society and how it deals with the strain of globalisation. What can be determined is Neoliberalism and globalisation was shaping the Irish state along with state and society relationships. There was a restructuring in response to globalisation, although the welfare model had not collapsed as did the Neoliberal model during the international debt crisis of the 1980s. It was however under pressure to reduce costs and the level of protection

and extent previously provided, switching power and social security from those living in an alleged democratic society to the hands of the few, a liberal democracy (Kirby & Murphy, 2007:121-124).

The true nature of Social Partnership and the political and business influence it had on co-opting dissent within the community and voluntary sector was evident. Partnership controlled business and community separately under a veil of concern. It was a poisoned chalice, neocorporatist by nature, favoured tripartism and led to co-optation of Irish civil society and allowed the state to extend control over society as well as silencing much needed political alternative discourse (Barry Jones, 2001:243). This agenda suited elites and their cronies such as business organisations, trade unions and farmer organisations, which always entered the partnerships with power resources using it as a form of corporatism for their own economic planning, rather than as an exercise in deliberative democracy (Kirby & Murphy, 2011:36).

Both Popplewell (2013) and Kirby & Murphy (2011) confirm the Celtic Tiger as well as Social Partnership was a period of increased control and dominance by the state. The state was a restrictive regime which sought to limit its service provision role to civil society while disabling it from criticising government policy and the platform for advocating change. It basically reinvented community development as a “consumerist welfare provision rather than developmental active citizenship”, active citizenship was directed away from political activism to a more social conservative interpretations of activism, with the emphasis on ‘self-reliance’ imposing the states superiority within social partnership alongside a dominant Neoliberal paradigm (Popplewell, 2013:4, Kirby & Murphy, 2011:37).

With the introduction of multinational capital since the 1960’s the trade union movement began to be weakened also. Its base was more and more restricted to public sector workers all the while increasing the power of the international capitalist class (Kirby & Murphy,

2011:35). During the Tiger the suppression of popular forms of organisation and mobilisation which are necessary to win back the fruits of growth was not there. The perquisites of growth had undermined popular organisation, the more successful the economy became the weaker the trade unions became, moreover they had become unwelcome at the height of the boom in policy decisions (O’Hearn, 1998:169-70). According to Hardiman (2005) *the conflictual stance proper to the role of trade unions has been undermined by their incorporation into a process which, in this view, subordinates their concerns to those of employers, which the state then endorses* (Hardiman, 2005:2). What can be said is there is no will on behalf of the unions in Ireland during Partnership; it is as if it became embodied with corporatism and lost all resistance and essence in purpose and meaning. They were made passive by the illusion of Neoliberal policy and the discourse of a never ending economy.

By the end of the Tiger and with the introduction of Austerity unemployment rose and emigration was a reality again. Ireland Despite newly found and lost economic prosperity, during and after the boom, became a liberal welfare state. Ireland had a total tax revenue of 30% of its GDP in 2010 second to the U.S., out of 21 OCED countries its public expenditure was the lowest, just lower than the U.S. and its expenditure on education was second lowest to Slovenia. Overall the level of government spending was the lowest of its GDP, slightly less than the U.S. The statistics only highlight negative social outcomes alongside a glowing perceived success of the Celtic Tiger. This belief prior to the recession in 2009 was a mirage that Ireland was an economic model for other countries; and that it had been almost positive for Irish society was inaccurate. Ireland was a competition state rather than a developmental state. Many of the social negative outcomes are attendant on the liberal pursuit of public policy. Income inequalities had not changed in over 20 years, wealth was created but relative poverty at the height of the boom was 20% of the population, homelessness grew and became endemic, numbers on the housing list reached 53,000, while hundreds of people waited

anxiously for hospital beds, and with state cutbacks pupil teacher ratio in primary schools was on the rise (O'Connor, 2010).

With this in mind one could only imagine the impact that was felt with the introduction of Austerity and the Bank bailout. Bad debt never went away but was very astutely shifted on to governments. This became the Irish reality. That; which was originally a private debt now morphed into a public debt, a sovereign debt. It mutated, it changed form, a move away from focus on the ruling classes onto a war on public services, ‘Austerity’ (McNally, 2011:4). The working class and poor would now pay the bill for the bailout; it will be generational with higher rates of poverty, ill health (wellbeing), bad education and poor employment (0 contracts, no union representation etc...) this situation having been experienced recently in 2015 in regards to the Dunnes Workers strike.

As McNally (2011) describes, Neoliberalism and its ideology is changing from free markets to “*emphasizing the harsh necessity of slashing government spending as essential to long-term economic survival*” (*ibid*:5). It can be described as a statistical recovery and a human recession (McNally, 2011:5). This climate is creating in the labour market a precarious workforce which is recruited from the working class, migrants, ethnic minorities and the new youthful or mature educated who can’t find employment. The term itself means vulnerable or insecure when traced from its adjective meaning precarious. According to Standing (2014) this category of work is becoming more characteristic of 21st century capitalism based on flexible, periodic and insecure employment. The characteristic class structure of post war capitalism and its compromise between capital and labour, creating a welfare state, is decaying. Which in turn is being replaced by a new class through globalisation, “*It comprises a tiny plutocratic global elite rooted in finance capital, a salariat serving them, a proficiens consisting of young mobile entrepreneurs... the old core working class (proletariat), the precariat, the unemployed and a lumpen-precariat or underclass*” (Gillespie, 2014).

What can be determined; is the relationship between the state, its apparatuses and the individual is one of power. Neoliberalism makes use of power over life. Michel Foucault describes this as bio power, an indispensable element in the progression of capitalism, an insertion of bodies into the machinery of production along “*with the adjustment of phenomena of population to economic processes*” (Rainbow, 1984:263). Therefore; power comes from everywhere not the state per se, a top down power rather a bottom up, through its apparatuses as what was visible through Social Partnership and Austerity measures, a chain of different organisations/institutions that spread through the social, fostering life or disallowing it to the point of death, this achieved through bio-politics of the population an aim which is the calculated management of life (ibid:265). The state in the Neoliberal model not only continues with its traditional functions, but takes a new course of tasks and functions. Through its institutions it directly intervenes by empowerment and through its new character develops and directs individuals without at the same time being responsible for them. This strategy of rendering subjects responsible i.e. communities, families etc. incurs shifting responsibility for social risks such as ill health, unemployment, poverty etc. as well as social life into the domain where the individual is responsible, transforming it into a problem of “self-care”, a Neo Liberal rationale (Lemke, 2001:11-12)

(2.3) Gentrification, the Community and opinion

Andrew Kincaid (2006) sums up what previous commentary has highlighted, there has been a loss of dialectics from modernity to modernisation. While the notion of being modern an idea that society through the individual can radically change their inherited histories. Modernisation a term handed down by Max Weber is more secularised and rational, a bearer of bureaucracies, reinforcing processes which have their end point in the state, formulating

centralised political power, increasing productivity in labour and the proliferation of urban forms of life, values and norms; modernisation is largely a state administered project (Kincaid, 2006:129-130).

The reality of a state administered project is what emerged in regards to the docklands regeneration and the IFSC. Popular opinion in the literature regarding the docklands area and gentrification highlight this brownfield site, a former industrial area of the city, which was the economic and employment base of Dublin's maritime district, began to decline from the 1960's. With rationalisation and the advances in technology; the economic, the physical and the social decayed. This was further exacerbated by industry leaving the inner city for an outer suburb location; as a result the docklands became the most deprived district within the urban core (Moore, 2002:327). With the process of gentrification beginning with the urban renewal act (1986) opinion began to lean toward the process in a very favourable light. Urban planners welcomed it as a method for redirecting badly needed private investment from the suburbs back to the inner city, establishing a middle class presence in the heart of the docklands (Dempsey, 1992:73).

With this improvement and the development of the Dublin Custom House Docks the service economy prospered. However; in regards to employment it generated a two tier system, with lucrative paying jobs in finance and less heralded positions in the service sector for restaurant workers, cleaners and security personnel, which is still experienced today (ibid:72). The high paying positions attracted professionals to the development with the state deciding to privatise the Sheriff St site behind the IFSC for redevelopment as high class apartments in place of local authority flats (Punch, 2010:195). In turn this created a displacement of the community, which was noted many years previous by the NCCCAP representative Mick Rafferty who foretold private investment means moving out the surrounding problem communities (Dempsey, 1992:75). This move created a platform of local resistance; NWCA

(1990) circulated bulletins which described the plans as a death sentence on the community as well as the eventual takeover of all the community. Mass public meetings as well as street level protests ensued. Locals eventually were rehoused in 113 local authority housing units. However; the rest of the site was redeveloped as Custom House Square, a gated and fenced off (including razor wire at one stage) urban residential space. Furthermore in the 90's a coalition of docklands groups, Communities Against High Rise, resisted a fifty one acre proposed development of Spencer Dock as well as other speculative developments which arose (Punch, 2010:195). What is evident is resistance was the only method in order to be heard in a Neoliberal central state. This type of urban renewal was not only cataclysmic for communities, but also removes the notion of identity, culture and history attached to the area, an attribute of modernisation. According to Punch (2010) those who resisted had laboured wearily through exploitation to build the docks, but now were viewed as 'persona grata when coming to examine the impact of urban renewal policies' (ibid:195). By 1999 full page adds taken out in newspapers to boost proposed schemes without planning permission, only highlighted the ideology in regards to the residents, the full page add announcing 'the new heart of Dublin's financial business life', a 'home to a thriving and vibrant new community', this type of discourse typified the attitude that the old community was not in the new plans, a very raw vision of regeneration (ibid:195).

Evidently this barrier and attitude toward space has its implications for the residents; it is not only physical but social. Community and housing must be considered from a spatial justice perspective, considering inequalities and disparities between places. Where social justice seeks redistribution of rights and resources across people, spatial justice seeks redistribution between locales. Both forms of justice are strongly aligned, however similar people living in different places can have adverse experiences in terms of quality of housing and basic

utilities. Therefore; where one lives or works will affect access to social goods and life chances (Kearns et al, 2014:57).

This production of unequal space as a consequence of capitalism is class apartheid according to Kearns et al (2014). Furthermore Neoliberal strategies for managing the recent economic recession disqualify democratic forms of urban life, only serving instead to place public resources at the disposal of private enterprise. This is evident in the geographics of the docklands, which has helped in the Irish context to preserve property values as well as preference for spatially segregating social classes, this is the outcome of Neoliberal restructuring of space (Kearns et al, 2014:4) An obvious purpose for this exclusion in relation to the IFSC and the surrounding area, is during the boom as well as today it continues to generate untold amounts of money for the exchequer. It is a ‘tax dumping’ service to foreign firms that are domiciled in Ireland, but whose physical existence in the state sometimes amounts to little more than a brass plate on a building somewhere in the IFSC. Having a 12.5% corporation tax and a reputation as Europe’s back office for pushing around bits of paperwork which would cost twice as much in London or Frankfort; this tax haven must be protected as well as those who choose to live within its confines, Dublin’s new professional, entrepreneurial class (Kincaid, 2006:183, Power et al, 2013:4).

As the literature suggests the community within the docklands area was not considered at all before or during the regeneration and only found a voice through a platform of resistance. As with O’Connor (2010), Hasse (2009) also discovered discrepancies within the alleged boom for all Celtic Tiger. His paper discloses two very different realities living side by side, one the IFSC and its new professional, middle income population with all its attributes and two; the surrounding docklands with its high deprivation scores and ‘acute’ poverty. Although Ireland had experienced unprecedented growth over the last fifteen years, which has led to massively improved living conditions in almost every part of the country. Hasse finds error with this

assumption, comparing deprivation data over four census waves, the relative positions of areas within the overall affluent to disadvantage spectrum has changed only a little, seemingly the worst affected areas in 1991 are still the same in 2006. The illusion that a rising tide lifts all boats together has lifted most boats, “*but this ‘lift’ has tended to conserve the relatively stable differentials that already existed between affluent and poorer areas. The most remarkable exception to this general observation is Dublin’s inner city*” (Hasse, 2009:39).

Although Dublin’s inner city can no longer be attributed in its entirety as a deprived area this has led to the conclusion deprivation is non-existent. However; this fallacy has taken place very astutely over a fifteen year period masking the true makeup of the inner city population and its present day paradox. The area itself and its population had an above average decline prior to 1991 which ties in with previous literature discussed. However; between 1996 and 2002 growth was (48.0%), again in 2002-06 a further (17.1%) which coincides with the knocking of Sheriff St flats and other areas in docklands and the building of affluent apartments (Hasse, 2009:20). This area has seen the most concentrated redevelopment throughout Dublin’s inner city. “*The developments are highly segregated and comprise gated communities with highly developed security systems and extremely divisive boundary walls and fencing to the surrounding areas*” (*ibid*:20).

Also at this intersection; age dependency witnessed a rapid decline, (43.0%) in 1991 to (16.1%) in 2006, an indication of working age cohorts with no dependants. Lone parents rose also from (32.7%) to (60.2%), revealing nearly two-thirds of all families with dependent children are now headed by a single parent. Both low and high education attainment experienced massive changes as a direct correlation of displacement and in-movement of well educated and affluent population. Low education declined from (74.2%) to (19.9%) with high education rising from (1.0%) in 1991 to (45.6%) in 2006, a truly astonishing figure (*ibid*:20).

Male and female unemployment spectacularly decreased; Male from (62.8%) to (14.0%). While female decreased (48.3%) to (13.5%). All as Hasse from a centrist position highlights; as certainly a result of displacement of existing population and the subsequent in-movement of highly skilled professionals into IFSC apartments (*ibid*:20). However; for Hasse there is anecdotal evidence that employment prospects for disadvantaged local population has also improved significantly, which has been discussed previously as in menial work, cleaning, security and service industry etc...

Housing; the one fundamental concept driven since the creation of the nation state; property being viewed not only as a class status but as a symbol of wealth during the Celtic Tiger, witnessed a boom to bust in failed property developments as well as obscene Banklending procedures. However; in regards to the North East Inner City with Local Authority Housing and Private Housing this concept was far from a reality. LA housing witnessed dramatic drop in tenants from 508 to 301 with many of the residents of the flats moving out to the suburbs during the clearing of the properties to Finglas Coolock/Darndale, Ballymun and other areas. Those who choose to remain were moved to new and refurbished ‘own-door’ housing in Lower Oriel Street and surrounding areas. These now constitute the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the area (*ibid*:20). According to Moore (2002), LA tenants were forced to burden an unfair share of costs in redevelopment while new private sector tenants benefited from fiscal initiatives and high grade facilities (Moore, 2002:330). Private housing resulted in very low owner occupancy (16.1%) in 1991 and (19.3%) in 2006, this exceptional growth in private rented accommodation, increased from (8.3 %) in 1991 to (52.2%) in 2006 and was amongst the highest anywhere in the country. The developments in the IFSC and surrounding area have an exceptionally low level of owner occupancy and are almost in their entirety designed for the rental market Those 1000 units shadow their 240 LA housing neighbours in comparison, who live in highly deprived areas in extreme disadvantage (Hasse, 2009:20).

What becomes apparent from the literature and its analysis is that the position of Dublin's inner city in the middle field of the overall affluence-to disadvantage spectrum is a fallacy or statistical artefact according to Hasse. Rather than a rising tide lifting all boats i.e. having benefited all communities in equal proportions, the urban renewal of Dublin's inner city has resulted in the creation of a finely-knit patchwork of highly affluent and disadvantaged neighbourhoods at the micro level, which have little in common and are unrelated to one another, as is apparent in the social and spatial relationship between the IFSC and the docklands communities. With this fundamental hypothesis discovered; how were the different phases of capitalism experienced through modernisation in the docklands area with the advent of the IFSC along with the emerging Celtic Tiger and the subsequent recession, which in turn lead us into Austerity as a nation, arriving at the present day lived experience.

Chapter 3- Methodology, Research Question and Methods

(3.1) Aim

“A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (Yin 2009: 18).

The focus of this topic is to establish the views and opinions as to what type of impact has been experienced by the residents of the Sheriff St/Eastwall area since the introduction of containerisation/de-industrialisation, unemployment/marginalisation. With the lead up to the eventual regeneration of the Dublin Docklands area and through the Celtic Tiger; how did the individuals of that community experience the fallout from the recession and Austerity measures through the lived experience; in relation to modernisation and the change in Irish capitalism representing a new Neoliberal outlook?

(3.2) The Qualitative Approach

In order to better understand these experiences semi structured/unstructured interviews with 10 long-term residents of the Sheriff St/Eastwall area in Dublin’s inner city was conducted (O’Leary, 2004:173). The 10 long term residents that were sought consisted of both 5 female and 5 male over the ages of 50. This helped give an overall gendered experience as well as encompassing all the significant changes which developed over the period outlined. Each of the cohorts has also lived in the Sheriff St/Eastwall area for more than 50 years. This length of tenure was imperative in order to locate residents who have experienced the entire process of change.

After carrying out preliminary secondary research on the topic by reviewing the existing literature, a qualitative approach was necessary in order to gain an insight into the perspectives of those affected by the transformation of late modern capitalism in the docklands area. Intensive depth interviews, a qualitative method that involved open ended relatively semi to unstructured questioning is what took place (Chambliss & Schultz, 2013:195). The interviews lasted between 40- 50 minutes. The questions focused on the main topic of life chances; employment, housing, wellbeing and education, pertaining to their opinions on how the changes of Irish capitalism have impacted their community and their personal experiences. This helped to arrive at the description of the interviewee's feelings, experiences and perceptions both before and after late modernity and Austerity as they arose.

Initial contact was made with interviewee 5 through a relative. From this point of departure, other interviewees were made available to take part in this project. The interviews took place in homes, a café, place of employment and a motor car. However the in depth interview had taken place, they proved indispensable in attaining the truth in regards to the question asked, awareness of the subjective role as a researcher was vital also (ibid:179). Having known some of the interviewees, an awareness that this may influence the research process had to be acknowledged also. Therefore; remaining as unbiased as possible was of the upmost importance (O'Leary, 2004:171). With this in mind the interviews took place from February 2015 and April 2015 which have since been transcribed and coded on different themes. Interviews were obtained by use of a smart phone device which was imperative and allowed for the interviews to be transcribed in full.

(3.3) Sources of Data

The residents interviewed for the thesis all came from a working class background, all born in the docklands area bar 3 whom had moved into the district at infant age as a result of male parent working on Docks. All currently reside either in Sheriff St or the Eastwall district; with their ages ranging from 50-70. Their occupations varied also, but included Taxi Drivers, Home Help Nurses, Kitchen staff, Housewives, Cleaners and a lollipop Man. Also mentioned are those not currently in employment for differing reasons (*Shown in Table 3.4*).

(3.3.1) Semi-Structured-Unstructured interviews

The process in which the interviews were carried out was semi-structured or unstructured; meaning they were never fully fixed nor fully free. The majority of the questions were open-ended making the answers flexible. Allowing for the interviewee and the interviewer to answer and ask questions when relevant (O'Leary, 2004:164, Chambliss & Schutt, 2013:2013). This approach was imperative to how the interviews were conducted. It allowed for the explanation of questions and the understanding of terms which was necessary; and created a climate of understanding and trust which is imperative for research. However; unstructured questions were relevant when at times the interviewees were going off the subject. When a certain attitude or belief about a topic or idea arose, this method worked quite well. Questions were predetermined more on the spot which guided, prompted or probed the necessary end result which was good data (O'Leary, 2009:164).

(3.3.2) Ethical Considerations

As a research student working on a case study of this sensitivity, proper ethical consideration had to be adhered too. Certain criteria was followed and met:

- Integrity – that the research has been carried out in a rigorous and professional manner.
- Plagiarism – that proper acknowledgement has been given regarding the origin of data and ideas.
- Conflicts of interest – that any personal or professional conflicts of interest have been properly declared.
- Data handling – that there has been effective record keeping, proper storage with regards to confidentiality and data protection.
- Ethical procedures – that proper consideration has been given to these and appropriate approval sought; should conform to professional codes of conduct where appropriate.
- Effective management and supervision by staff for whom they are responsible.

As the above criteria was followed to ensure no harm was caused, either to the researcher or the participant, no tension or awkwardness was experience in the process of arriving at the issues at hand (Farquhar, 2012:11-12). Moreover this research was permeated by ethical considerations; consent was approved, and the research topic was discussed at length with participants (O’Leary, 2004:52). More importantly confidentiality and anonymity (**as seen in table (3.4)**) was strictly adhered too, no names were used and no recordings were saved. Also all transcripts were destroyed, except one, which was used for this thesis (**See appendix B**)

and a signed consent form which very thankfully was granted by that same participant (See appendix A) (ibid:53-54).

(3.4) Table of Interviewees

Interviewee	Gender	Age	Occupation	Age Finished School
1	Female	70	Retired (Kitchen Staff/Carer)	12
2	Female	57	Home help/Nurse	14
3	Female	63	Housewife/Community Worker	14
4	Male	61	Sailor/coal Man/lollipop Man	14
5	Male	57	Redundancy (Docker)	14
6	Male	60	Unemployed (Docker)	14
7	Female	59	Cleaner	13
8	Male	53	Taxi Driver	15
9	Male	62	Retired (Bricklayer)	14
10	Female	58	Housewife	13

(3.5) Case Study Approach

As Stake (1995) observes case study research is concerned with the complexity and particular nature of the case in question. Although the results and recommendations from the present research will be specific to Sheriff St/Eastwall and the Dublin Docklands, they will also facilitate general observations and conclusions, applicable to other areas when the situation arises. A case study such as this allows the researcher to look at the phenomena in a particular light, while gaining particular understanding or insight into the chosen research of contemporary phenomena from a number of cases (Farquhar, 2012:6). A case study can provide insights that survey techniques ignore. A case study such as this is imperative to discover the When, How and Why of the phenomenon. By using different methods of data collection such as primary (interviews) and secondary (literature) the research findings are

strengthened as the evidence is triangulated; which was important for the contribution to the knowledge of this topic. The different perspectives of the phenomenon provided strong foundations for the findings; all the while supporting the argument and contributing to the knowledge of the subject (*ibid*:7). This philosophy not only encompassed the truth and accuracy of the data collected, but the trustworthiness of the conclusions drawn from the data leading to validity. Showing a clear relationship between the reality studied and the reality reported, “*with cohesion between the ‘conceptual’ frameworks, questions asked, and the findings evident*” (O’Leary, 2004:61).

(3.6) Negative experience of research methods

In gathering interviewees for the thesis project a number of emails were sent out after the initial topic was chosen. Luckily enough through a relative further contacts materialised. However; when time began to start the process of interviewing, those who were initially contacted begun one by one by email to decline the request to be interviewed, some with reason some without. This created a very short space in time to find new interviewees, as Easter week was set aside for most of the interviews, this brought into question whether this topic would be completed.

(3.7) Positive experience of research methods

Stake’s (1995:1) vision of case study research is that: “*we enter the scene with a sincere interest in learning how [actors] function in ordinary pursuits and milieus and with a willingness to put aside many presumptions while we learn*”. Initially when researching this topic my own opinion was subjective and could be called into question as leaning toward

being prejudice. Criticism can be placed at the feet of the researcher who in his/her research lacks objectivity and rigour, excluding the true essence of the research at hand. Therefore; an objective outlook had to be taken in regards to the literature, the interviews and the findings. This refers to the idea that reality is singular, separate or apart from the researcher (Farquhar, 2012:10). Staying away from a polemic attitude can be challenging when certain evidence stairs you in the face. However; being fair and impartial demands rigour which entails a “*consistent and coherent research design, where the philosophical approach is stated at the beginning, an appropriate research strategy is adopted, data collection and analysis follow research methods, and protocols and justification for each phase of the research are provided*” (*ibid:10*).

(3.8) Data Analysis

What is evident throughout the data is a number of themes emerged both from the literature and the interviews. A lot of commentary has been penned on the subject, both positive and negative. However; both the interviews and the literature contributed to the production of some interesting findings. Moving from raw data to a meaningful understanding of the data evolved through the coding of relevant material. This achieved by thematic analysis; “*while many themes are likely to be discovered through inductive analysis, themes can also be identified through engagement with the literature, prior experiences of the researcher and the nature of the research question... through the process of data collection... and a need for rich engagement with documents, transcripts and texts that make up a researchers raw data*” (*O’Leary, 200:196*).

With this criterion in mind a constant trawling of the data and literature took place which was challenging at times. What made the process manageable was the transcribing of the

interviews, which has been previously discussed. With a toing and froing of the literature and transcripts, a clear relationship began to emerge and was identified between both variables, which allowed for a narrowing down to the findings and subsequent interpretation.

Chapter 4- Discussion of findings

(4.1) Introduction

The aim of the study was to answer the question how was the many phases of Irish capitalism experienced through a Neoliberal paradigm and modernisation; in relation to the residents of the docklands area through the lived experience, both then and now discursively Austerity is over. The data unearthed many different findings. However; certain themes became evident. The four cornerstones of life chances have been directly affected by the transformation which has taken place in the docklands area over the past 50-60 years. Although the literature highlights the truly remarkable transformation which has taken place in the Irish context, there is also the downside to this economic achievement which was held in such high regard. The downside involves a community, the families within that community and the individuals who make up those families. What materialised were the themes of employment/education, community/displacement and wellbeing, which will be discussed using the narrative of the locals through the lived experience and relative literature.

(4.2) Employment/Education

With the progression of capitalism and the advances in technology as well as rationalisation, local industry and employment dwindled (Moore, 2002:327). This change had serious ramifications for the social spectrum. Slowly with the advantages of modernisation; the old which was the modern was no longer the new, the post-modern. Industry and warehousing disappeared as did the type of work associated with it. The following quotes and commentary are employment themes which arose in the data and are suffice in explaining the many different lived experiences during the modernisation of the docklands.

“there was a place down there called CIE they had horses and carts, and then the lorries came in and then after that they closed. An that’s actually where the point village is. That’s where CIE was. So... and then eventually they all closed and there was no work a tall for the area, people. And dey had to go out and try make a few schillins elsewhere”. (**Interview 5**)

The female perspective was imperative in describing this change also. Being a woman at the time (1960-90) and trying to feed clothe and care for a family highlights the true nature of the struggle of what was the lived experience.

“work got slacker and slacker, according to my children getting older. When mine was getting older others were having young children and you could feel and see the poverty coming in”. (**Interview 1**)

“When he wasn’t workin I had to cut a long pan in half and make a stew last, I had eight kids... ” (**Interview 2**)

“When we see the containers comin down with the big lorries and no men in it, ya knew... then the coal went, with the turf ya used to get dockets ya were never cold in the winter...that all went”. (**Interview 3**)

“When ya had food ya got on with it, but when theres no money you say to yourself I cant cope with this .I looked for a job I couldn’t get one, this was the 80’s. I got one then I lost it...I was let go”. (**Interview 10**)

A further topic which arose in relation to employment was the ‘button man’. Some of the interviewees disclosed this term in their interview. On further investigation the term was used on the docks; it described the position of a man with power. Dockers were hired on a daily basis as shipping traffic in the port required and the ‘button man’ hired the men that were required each day. This was the system used before containers began to replace human labour

(Gilligan, 2011:40). This term and the position affiliated with it, historically was significant in guarantying employment lineage for the family.

“Now I worked in cross channel an you had to be a cross channel docker to work down there. A Button man, me father was a button man and we were working down there I was workin there for nineteen year”. (**Interview 5**)

“He was going to get our sons in he had a button, years ago that got all your family in that’s all gone”. (**Interview 7**)

Interestingly which also came to the fore was the subject of the union. As stated by Connolly (2007) Social partnership contributed to economic success by creating a platform of negotiation between corporations the government and the unions, all the while helping with industrial strife and providing a predictable policy environment for business and FDI (Connolly, 2007:3). During the Celtic Tiger the strength needed to win back the fruits of growth were not visible in the unions, they were unwelcomed at the height of the boom at policy decisions. They had been undermined by their incorporation into the process which is subordinate to the employer (O’Hearn, 1989:169-70, Hardiman, 2005:2). During the Boom labour was frequent, many of the interviewees held positions in the market and experienced wages never observed before. However; work was not fully protected and deficiencies began to appear in workers’ rights as well as access to permanent labour.

“Ahh union, well union at the start... I was Transport General Workers Union, now its SIPTU. I don’t know, at the time I was there they weren’t really doin to much for us, as far as I know it was only company, company, company dey were listinin ta. And this is what happened to some of the jobs down there. That unions wornt listinin to the men, which dey should have been that’s what der paid for. So... Now cross channel wasn’t too bad now compared to deep sea an all. But when we went out on strike the work would go to them, or

the office crowd in Irish Ferries dey were doin the work. An we be outside the gate, why didn't the unions stop them. Some of them were in the union why didn't they back us an all that. But in anyway that's what happened".

"it seems that when we have ar meeting with the union, the company all seems to already know what we were talking about, at the meeting. They were already f###in informed. So we'd go back the company or the union would, an dey say to us, we know we already know"

"the company was comin down hard on us sayin, takin our bonus of them. What was the union doin I don't know, the company was removin wages, takin hours and you had to work extra hours, an we worked a split shift an we worked the hours dey told us to work".

(Interview 5)

"Then when I did work in a community project for 8 year, I loved it, I worked in the Matter as well during the boom, I loved it, couldn't believe I was working at my age"

"200 euros and me pension was more than I ever seen. It wasn't a lot... not now... years ago you were a millionaire, I'm back to the start now, up down up down". (Interview 1)

Education was affectionately mentioned in the MacSharry and White (2000) article. It was highlighted that the nation's best interests in regards to education had been addressed which had benefited us all, education being the fundamental foundation by which all is achieved, 80% of the population finishing with a leaving cert (MacSharry & White, 2000:363-69). What is evident in speaking to the interviewees; education was not a fundamental with them, as leaving school as early as possible meant labour and a wage. There was a compulsory attendance enforced along with a blanket prohibition of paid child labour up until the age of 14 (Fahey, 1992:376). This attitude at the time reflects the common approach to education; it

reflects the lower priority it was traditionally accorded in working class Dublin, or on the evidence locally that education increased life chances (Gilligan, 2011:16)

“Then I went the Christian Brother’s school and I done what ever time I had to do in there, then I got a little job”. (**Interview 5**)

“I left school at 14 and went workin with me da on the coal”. (**Interview 4**)

“I had to leave school early to help me ma at home” (**Interview 1**)

The average age of leaving school was 14 (**see table 3.4**). However; in relation to the interviewees own children with events taking place economically; what transpired was a lack of good education was not made available before or during the boom. Either was a basic employment course for earlier school leavers. Furthermore; with the influx of their affluent neighbours into the IFSC the alleged Boom for all according to Hasse (2009:20) created discrepancies in education attainment levels. Moreover; social reproduction in relation to education transpired; early school leaving became generational in conjunction with those interviewed.

“All mine left early stayed home helped me or tried to get a job this was the 90’s”. (**Interview 7**)

“Gregory was great learning people to write... there was a Boscos down here, two of mine was in it, that helped the kids”. (**Interview 1**)

“Fas did help but they only took 2 Or 3 of the Street... 2 out of Summerhill which was right, but they should have had a load of Fas courses for the kids... they had no money for the equipment and what not”. (**Interview 6**)

“There were Fas courses but they were handpicked for them... I can’t be sure of that but that’s what I Think” (**Interview 8**)

“When there was no work the likes of me son would hang around corners, you could see the trouble starting, he wouldn’t go to school he would be on the mitch” (**Interview 2**)

According to Duignan (2011) in 1986 a lot of residents were early school leavers, 1000 before the age of 15. By 1996 it was 745; and by 2006 this decreased to 248. This shows the DDDA was promoting the importance of education in the area by keeping kids in school while at the same time providing funds for third level education (Duignan, 2011:58). However; since Austerity the cuts have been felt again in the area of education, housing and wellbeing and the evidence Hasse (2009) highlights in regards to education leads to a sceptical outlook.

“Five of mine aren’t working, where’s the promises now, the houses the education, ok there’s little projects coming out of there (IFSC), but mine all had to go back to school” (**Interview 6**)

“I got a cleaning job out of it, not many did... but the foreigners are now working for less. So god knows where ill be in a couple of months” (**Interview 7**)

Most of those interviewed expressed the opinion that with the right training and education afforded, anything was possible now since the end of Austerity, going back into education was so important. The IFSC at the time of the boom, as well as now, offers menial labour and low paying positions to those with low education, as they have no cultural capital for the labour market as the literature highlights.

“Education is important now, if ya do good in school theres work in there (IFSC) in the finance end of it, that’s what I do be tellin me son” (**Interview 8**)

(4.3) Community/Displacement

The historical and identity are entangled in the context of regeneration. Although the final phase of this narrative is Austerity, what has been discussed highlights the historical, social and cultural tensions inherent in the process of globalisation and postmodern Dublin. What is evident about the docklands site is it became the key point in Ireland's engagement with global capitalism and the reimaging of Dublin as a global city. This adversely leaves a community segregated which has strong historical ties to space and the economy (Punch, 2010). This form of 'postmodernism' is also visible in the architecture of the docklands (IFSC), and signifies the move from the modern to postmodern in relation to space, memory and the economic. However; 'Postmodernity' is not a style but a structure a moment of capitalism, its third moment or phase (Late Capitalism). This emergence of postmodernity was the triumph of the free market people (economists) and emerged as we became more conscious in the 1980's, according to Fredrick Jameson (2013). This is a new relationship to Global connections, finance capital, multinational corporations and the informational, such as computers and technology; it's a move from production to a service economy (Jameson, 1998:170-71). Moreover; this idea becomes the cultural dominant; and within this state the subjective has changed in how it is expressed, from 'alienation' in the modern to 'death of the subject' in the postmodern. This is a 'waning of effect' where by the subject is unable to create a sense of continuity between past and future and is unable to organize his/her temporal existence into one coherent experience; it is a weakening of historicity. This reduces his/her cultural production abilities to nothing but random and wide ranging piles of fragments, all that's solid melts into air (Jameson, 1991:6-14).

*"When those big buildings came in you could feel the depression, we were promised this and that, are eldest daughters and sons they'll all have work, didn't happen. Buildings went up people went down". (**Interview 1**)*

“There was one building there in Eastwall, Sean O’Casey. I remember the first brick going in, its only a brand new building. An I was told to come back come back. Were takin on labourers, then hes turned around an said were not takin on labourers...But I was promised a job you will be startin in three weeks , went back down in three weeks, I was told no; there’s no labourers allowed in here only trades men.” (**Interview 5**)

“When the flats went the whole community got destroyed, the neighbours were gone the sup of milk, the love of the people was not there... ah the love years ago. If ya were sick...”
(Interview 3)

Ahhh the flats were great everything about them was great...everyone looked out for each other... ” (**Interview 5**)

“They offered me a house down there, I wouldn’t take it, it wasn’t the flats” (**Interview 4**)

“They took on 3 or 4 just to say they gave people a job... mixing cement and that”.
(Interview 9)

“dey took on three people out of the area and then said dey had no more work for them. For the building to go up, so no one would put a picket on them or stop them, that’s what dey done”. (**Interview 5**)

Kincaid (2006) highlights the dialectic of the memory and modernity; which he calls ‘the memory crisis of modernity’. When a major spatial reconfiguration takes place, there is also a struggle over memory and identity. The docklands is an example of the historical-material struggle over the built environment and the reconstruction of social space whereby cities are bought and sold in the midst of battles over memory, gentrification and speculative building (Kincaid, 2006:201-07). Previously discussed in regards to displacement was the mass resistance put on by the local residents in order to be heard in their pursuit of spatial justice

and equality (Punch 2010, Kearns et al, 2014). During the regeneration project and currently today, there has been a housing crisis also to contend with. Although some of the affluent residents in the docklands can gain from rising residential values others cannot because of their inability to access property capital. For this group escalating rent prices and gaining access to accommodation, as well as low levels of accessibility to social housing is a major concern. This created by a more Neoliberal market based urban agenda and recent policies adopted by the state, which hampered access to housing while giving priority not to the indigenous population but to the flagship itself (MacLaran & Kelly, 2014:182).

“just off Sheriff St, an dey were putting a big power station down there. An people in Sheriff St turned around and said , what are yas doing? And dey turned over and said, this is the workers now, we didn’t know who dey were, dey were foreigners. Dey turned around an said wer putting up a power station. So the people in Sheriff St got together, got placards and turned around and put a picket on them, we don’t want power stations, we want houses. So they turned around and said to them, all that area is going to be the first phase for the houses if you let us go ahead with the power station. So dey started the houses and dey let them finished the power station, and then all the rest of the houses followed”. (**Interview 5**)

“But I went up to the corporation to look for a loan because I was permanent down in Irish Ferries, and they told me the flats weren’t comin down. So I went back up an I said the flats are comin down, ans all im doin is betterin meself to look for a house in Eastwall or Sheriff St or anywhere... my brother was involved in politics an I asked him to come up with me...they told him, straight out to him, the flats are comin down... Why did they tell me dey weren’t...eventually I got the loan to buy the house here (Eastwall), when I was workin an that was in the 90’s”. (**Interview 5**)

In 1989 the Minister for the Environment ordered the evacuation of the Sheriff St tenants at which time the scheme was 85% full, with 1100 residents requiring rehousing. Finally a plan was implemented by which long stay tenants over 15 years would be rehoused in the area while short stay tenants would be treated differently and those who wished to be rehoused outside were accommodated. A proposal to refurbish the flats was put forward by the residents association. However; this was rejected and compulsory purchase orders by DCC acquired sites adjacent to the area for new dwellings (Moore, 2002:330). Those who have been rehoused in the vicinity argue that the demolition of the flats has resulted in the fragmentation of their community spirit.

“Now, now we had a great community everything about it , we had a great community. Dey... every year we had a community week we all stuck together it was a great two weeks, we had it one week an then we had to put another week on for it. It was that good... and everything about it everyone got together and had a good nite wir it. All got together, different flats got together and had a good drink that night.”.(**Interview 5**)

“we had a great community week id buy the meat she’d buy the bread, we’d have pram races there was the over 40’s football, ahhh great... then the sing song at night, no trouble, if there was your pals again in the morning” (**Interview 1**)

“We coped with each other you wouldn’t be without a cup of tea. Your neighbour would say you ok for sugar... especially if you were sick.” (**Interview 10**)

“We had the playground, we had everything no such thing as people shooting or stabbing back then everyone got on with one another”(**Interview 3**)

“When the flats went the area went and when that happened me heart went with it”.
(Interview 6)

“I didn’t know what to do with a house, where was I to get the stuff to fill it”. (Interview 1)

Recently with new policies and planning the state has introduced a new ideology called ‘social mixing’. This reflects unwillingness by DCC to provide and manage additional social housing units. This has resulted in an absolute reduction in social housing stock in inner Dublin over the past 20 years. Policies promoting ‘housing choice’ ‘social mix’ and ‘tenure mix’ have been employed as a tool for legitimising the privatisation of publicly owned land and housing (MacLaran & Kelly, 2014:183). Although the ideology behind those policies have a certain human rights element; whereby the introduction of private residential development and its middle income occupants will benefit the recipient working class community in regards to displacement and gentrification. It masks over the lived experience of one who is used to community life, family nearby, having neighbours and friends to call on, those inherent supports which go with this fundamental need of the individual and the concept of community.

This type of housing also highlights as MacLaran & Kelly (2014) and Murphy & Kirby (2011) discuss; the unwillingness by the state to provide additional social housing represents the withdrawal of a key element in welfare state support from areas where it is in most need of assistance, reinventing community development as a ‘consumerist welfare provision’. This transformation in turn started a reconfiguration of local authority operations obliging conformity to new codes of operation, reflecting a corporate ethos and vocabulary stemming from a business world, creating a more entrepreneurial ethos in the Irish housing authority sector affecting the docklands directly.

“There all nice people at the end of the day, its not their fault its just a different world over there (IFSC)”. (Interview 3)

“over there in Eastwall, island key, Them new development plans, they’re not getting on. Theres people from the area, Sheriff St Eastwall in there with the poshies and there not getting on. One girl had to leave with her kids over the noise. Their trying to mix us with them its not happening” (**Interview 1**)

“Theres people livin with their kids and their grandkids that’s wrong, wheres the houses for them”. (**Interview 6**)

“my youngest lives with me and her two boys, the eldest is 6 and the other is 4, it’s a disgrace”. (**Interview 2**)

(4.4) Wellbeing

“we have a great crèche and community centre all locals work it, great afterschool project as well. But it was left to us to run it... ” (**Interview 3**)

With the introduction of Austerity; cuts have been felt across the board. But no more has it been felt than in the area where it is most needed the area of community development and social security. The romantic idea of what community entails is an ideological construct. The true realities which has been discussed in the literature and exposed in the findings *“are the graphic visible manifestations of the inequalities which are a by-product of capitalist societies”... this construct freefloats as a signifier without any reference to the material realities of daily life... the distortion can conceal the underlying structural causes of poverty and inequality”* (Bissett, 2015:238). With the state becoming restrictive through Neoliberal policies and sanctions, the community sector felt the true nature of Austerity. The community has become a ‘prosumer’ at a cost of being at the table of Social partnership. There was a clear transfer or devolve of costs from the state to the community during Austerity, with the

emphasis on self-reliance. Michael Cronin (2015) reveals the true crux of this paradox; when economic hardship is transferred from the state and those it protects to the victims of recession it is the jobless and the impoverished who are hit by drastic benefit cuts. Self-infliction becomes the ultimate harm, the ultimate expression of transferred cost as the dispossessed and the disadvantaged become their own judge, jury and executioner (Cronin, 2015:188-193). This analogy is accurate when it comes to the wellbeing of those in the docklands area during the process of modernisation. The internalisation and the psychological effect of the different phases of capitalism have taken its toll on the community.

“I used to see people with lovely things and id say id love to get them for my kids. It was a jealousy, but a hurt why I couldn’t do that for my kids”. (**Interview 6**)

“I couldn’t get them clothes at times so what could ya do, I turned to robbing”(**Interview 7**)

“When poverty came in people had no choice, shoplifting im talking about...im not saying everyone did it” (**Interview 1**)

“People had to make ens meet and wen men down there all the fellas down there lost their jobs they had nothing else to do and dey had to make a few schillins. Now im not sayin dey were all out sellin drugs an all that... but there was drugs down der as well, a lot of stolen cars an the police barred off the road so the cars couldn’t go up an down.” (**Interview 5**)

Drug use can be in some circumstances according to Punch (2005) a destructive force associated with ill health and a subculture marked by violence, crime and desperation. A mutuality of the oppressed tangled up with broader issues of social inequality and its attributes of marginalisation, played out in the arena of Neoliberal policy agendas (Punch, 2005:756). What can be ascertained is the lived experience of some of the residents of the

docklands area and their families went hand in hand with substance abuse and the change through modernisation.

“When the buildings went up we were promised this and that and before ya knew it the whole place was covered in drugs” (**Interview 9**)

“I used to shoplift I did what I had to do, I used to rob messages. When I was doing this me two kids was on Heroin, I went through an awful lot, then me husband died” (**Interview 1**)

“ I had four heroin addicts” (**Interview 2**)

“Ye one no two, two of me daughters did (heroin). One is doing very well the other one is doing good as well” (**Interview 5**)

Conclusion

“The community died and the people with it, inwardly you lose self-respect and dignity. You say to yourself I can’t live like this”.(**Interview 10**)

Neoliberalism has eroded the human values the market was supposed to liberate. According to Verhaeghe (2014) identity is shaped by norms and values we absorb. Normality and abnormality is defined according to dominant narratives, which make people comply or exclude them if they don’t. Market fundamentalism is the dominant narrative in regards to the Irish context; the fundamental idea is the market can solve the social, economic and political problems we face. Privatisation; cuts to public spending and business interest free from social control has shaped the norms and values of the economy for the last 35 years. The notion of merit which is at the crux of this ideology, hard work, talent and innovation that breaks down hierarchies creating a world of opportunity and mobility is false. If anything the findings have shown quite the opposite revealing a true poverty paradox. Meritocracy creates a new elite which reproduces itself, creating reflex winners and reflex losers (Monbiot, 2014).

The poor become the deviant and are labelled as social parasites, the idea of autonomy and freedom is a mirage. Everyone must fit into the bell curve if they are to survive the infrastructure of bio politics, the measurement of the norm. Equality or inequality, everyone must live by the same rules, this creates an erosion of the identity of self. We become narcissistic and competitive; the sense of ‘we’ is lost. Our behaviour becomes erratic, social ties weaken as does emotional commitment to organisation. Displaced aggression becomes the norm; anyone can achieve becomes the discourse, while failure has the attributes of humiliation, guilt, shame and exclusion. “*You can feel the demonic when you walk into it, the kids turning on each other, rob cars, shootings. Your afraid... people have turned inwardly*”

(Interview 1)

For Verhaeghe we are forever told that we are freer to choose the course of our own lives than ever before, but the freedom to choose outside the success narrative is limited (Verhaeghe, 2014). “*During the boom I worked so I didn’t care about if the community got this or that, now there taking everything from us, I care now, I don’t owe the banks but im treated like I robbed one*”. (**Interview 9**) Those outside the narrative are discursively the lone parents, the unemployed and the marginalised, who allegedly take advantage of the social system. With the implementation of Austerity cuts a true paradox has taken place. Survival is questionable in a paradigm which rewards individualism and success if the basic necessities for success are constantly removed. Equal access to life chances is fundamental, yet at every turn we are met with bureaucracy, regulation, rationalisation, and modernisation. The ideology concerning the ‘Pareto principle’ comes to mind here; improvement can never be measured if we are to adhere to this principle, for there will always be someone exposed to change for the worse (Fahey et al, 2007:265). We; that famous pro noun must become successful at all cost; this is the price of our freedom. Our norms and values make up an essential and integral part of who we are. However; in amongst this new Neoliberal paradigm our identity has changed at the cost of the economy. “*The flats didn’t start falling down the people did everyone was on a downer*” (**Interview 3**).

Ireland and especially the docklands area have experienced the acceleration of modernisation and all its attributes through the coexistence of dialectical opposites, by paradox and ambivalence. At the price of freedom some are repressed; alleged democracy has become bureaucracy with new forms of power suppressing and constraining. The concept of democracy has become corrupt as is the subjective experience of this ideal. Alienation now becomes death of the subject; a fragmented life experienced through a romantic notion of what community entails, a construct which fails to divulge the true realities of daily life. This

is a human rights issue as human rights are not a policy issue dispensable during times of economic hardship (Kearns et al, 2014:1).

By 2008 the Irish government guaranteed all deposits in the six biggest banks in the country, morphing a private debt into a sovereign debt. We; had partied a little too hard and ‘we’ will have to pay for the clean-up. In 2007 Irish banks had lent out €342billion, twice the size of the economy and more than the €166 billion it held in deposits (Allen & O’Boyle, 2013:3). The bubble burst and the party was over; the banks were left holding property assets worth far less than their book value and most of the loans related to failed property development. Terms began to materialise to encapsulate what was about to develop. Recapitalisation; a strange business term meant money that was supposed to go to public spending now went to the banks (*ibid*:6). In November 2010 the Irish government borrowed €85 billion from the IMF and the ECB and began repaying by cutting public spending. By 2012 the government was paying €6.133 interest charges on public debt, with Ireland having the fifth highest public debt to GDP ratio in the world. The social implications still reverberate today, 22% of all households are still jobless, 38% of household expenditure exceeds disposable income and 24% of the population lack at least two basic necessities and are such termed deprived (Kearns et al, 2014:1).

Social justice is an obligation by the government when managing economic crisis. According to Kearns et al (2014), the Irish Constitution makes explicit reference to this (Articles 40.6.1 - 45.3.2). Social justice in regards to private property should be regulated in the interest of the common good. Social policy should include the welfare of the whole people; and ‘justice and charity shall inform all institutions of the national life’. This ensuring control and ownership of material resources may be distributed equally among the population to sub serve the common good. Free competition was to be regulated to halt any concentration of commodities in the hands of the few to the common detriment. Private credit and enterprise

was to be regulated to protect against unjust exploitation, as well as rights to form unions and organisations. However; these regulations were to contain no political, religious or class discriminations. Social justice is pertained to the common good; so why did the common people pick up the bill for the few; ‘the state is obliged with especial care to safeguard the economic interests of the weaker sections of the community’ (Article 45.4.1) (Kearns et al, 2014:2). However; state protection is only in the interest of the economic elite, the state is an apparatus for its own flux of transactions and those associated to it, therefore not having a true essence. Its character is flawed; the thread that runs through the transactions of the state in the age of Austerity is protection of the wealthy leaving the vulnerable exposed (Coulter, 2015:20-21). This creates a true poverty paradox by which those who are protected and have access to social goods will flourish and those who do not will feel the true ambivalent nature of modernisation and the coexistence of dialectical opposites.

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Appendix (A)

Interview Consent Form

Thank you for agreeing to take part in my assignment for my Thesis topic at Maynooth University NUIM entitled Austerity. My research is designed to explore: The different phases of Irish capitalism experienced through the docklands community from 1960-2015. In regards to modernisation how was boom, recession and Austerity as well as the present day experienced within the lived environment.

This interview may take up to one hour and with your permission I would like to tape record the conversation. A copy of the interview tape will be made available to you afterwards if you wish to hear it.

All of the interview information will be kept confidential. I will store the tapes/notes of our conversation safely. Your identity will be kept confidential and I will use a code number/pseudonym to identify your interview data. Neither your name nor your private information will appear in the final research project without your consent.

Your participation is voluntary. You are free to refuse to take part, and you may refuse to answer any questions or may stop at any time. You may also withdraw at any time up until the work is completed.

If you have any questions about the research, you may contact me at:

“I have read the description above and consent to participate.”

Signed:

Date: April 6th 2015

Appendix (B)

Interview Transcript

Thesis Transcript Interviewee (5) Male 57 years old left school at fourteen

Can you tell me what it was like to live in the docklands area during your life time and describe the environment in which you have grown up in, how was Housing, education, wellbeing and employment experienced?

“I was born in Ballyfermot, we moved from Ballyfermot to North wall Sheriff St when I was five years of age because me father wanted em; he was closer to he’s work. From there we were livin in the flats I grew up in the flats”.

“There wasn’t houses it was all flats and if there was houses there was very little, they were old type houses, an eventually; em flats were posed to come down, but they never came down at that stage and they were still livin in flats. There was a bit of work around some people got work some didn’t, because they came from Sheriff St. And they were told, Ahhh yea well call for ya! And they never called for them cause they thought it was a no go area, and that was Sheriff St.

When was this?

“This was going back; I don’t know what year going back, when I was fourteen years of age”.

What was the flats like back then?

“Ahhh the flats was great, everything about them was great, the people around there was great. Everyone looked after each other, everything was great about them. Then I went the

Christian Brother's school and I done what ever time I had to do in there, then I got a little job”.

What age did you leave school at?

“14... 16 well I was fourteen to 16... I went back, I got a job and ever since I was working. And me father eventually retired down the docks when work was still going, but eh, down in Sheriff St was called the coal yard called Donnelly’s there was a bit of work down there and they closed up they were the first to close up. Then work from the docks, worked all the way around all around the key, people started loosin their jobs. Or retiring or never replaced; and just got closed off”.

What about the warehouses and the industrial area?

“They went... there was a place down there called CIE they had horses and carts, and then the lorries came in and then after that they closed. An that’s actually where the point village is. That’s where CIE was. So... and then eventually they all closed and there was no work a tall for the area, people and dey had to go out and try make a few schillins elsewhere”.

What was the area like then the community itself?

“Now, now we had a great community everything about it we had a great community. Dey... every year we had a community week we all stuck together it was a great two weeks we had it one week an then we had to put another week on for it. It was that good... and everything about it everyone got together and had a good nite wir it. All got together, different flats got together and had a good drink that night. But I don’ that’s... then... met a girl the usual. What else happened in Sheriff St? Now there was drugs down there”.

Did that happen as a loss of jobs?

“Yea yea... People had to make ens meet and wen men down there all the fellas down there lost their jobs they had nothing else to do and dey had to make a few schillins. Now im not sayin dey were all out sellin drugs an all that... they had to make a few schillins but there was drugs down der as well, on every corner, a lot of stolen cars an the police barred off the road so the cars couldn't go up an down. Then, from der that was Sheriff St now”.

“From there we grew up got married had a girl called Denise an she was born there in Sheriff St. And then eventually after so many years I moved from Sheriff St over to Eastwall”.

What was the change like? Moving from the street to Eastwall?

“I couldn't handle it at the very start, I was so used to the flats from a house, going to the flats to a house, took me a while to get used ta. No I was so used to the flats... and the neighbours that I had. Unfortunately they are good neighbours down here but I just couldn't handle them, couldn't handle the Eastwall id rather have the flats. But then I got used to it and we settled in an we had another baby an a boy. I worked down the docks meself but Im no longer working now”.

What was the work like in the Docks?

“Ye the docks... yea the work was flyin everything was going. Eh... down. I worked in Irish em... Ferries which was B+I, an that's cross channel. Now there was another container place beside us or lorries or boats called deep sea. Now I worked in cross channel an you had to be a cross channel docker to work down there. A Button man, me father was a button man and we were working down there I was workin there for nineteen year. As I said earlier there was no gun to the head it was just that the way dey went about it, saying you have to do this

loose ur bonus loose this loose that. An dey just said anyone that wants to take the lump can take the lump go ahead. There was no sacking at that stage when I was down there, but now at the present moment I don't know im out of there nearly six year now. So I don't know what's going on”.

What was it like Union Wise?

“Ahh union, well union at the start...I was Transport General Workers Union, now its SIPTU. I don't know, at the time I was there they weren't really doin to much for us, as far as I know it was only company, company, company dey were listinin ta. And this is what happened to some of the jobs down there. That unions wornt listinin to the men, which dey should have been that's what der paid for. So... Now cross channel wasn't too bad now compared to deep sea an all. But when we went out on strike the work would go to them, or the office crowd in Irish Ferries dey were doin the work. An we be outside the gate, why didn't the unions stop them. Some of them were in the union why didn't they back us an all that. But in anyway that's what happened”.

Was it outside influences that affected the Union?

“Ye Yea... it could have been I can't prove it”.

What about social partnership?

“Ye it could have been, it could have been but I can't prove that now. But it seems that when we have ar meeting with the union, the company all seems to already know what we were talking about, at the meeting. They were already fuckin informed. So we'd go back the company or the union would an dey say to us we know we already know”.

So would you say the union was dissolved?

“Ya must join a union that’s what they say. Ya must, ya have to join a union and we joined it. Now im not saying all them are like that, but the one we had the delegate we had I don’t think was any good. An eventually ehh... we moved floor and we got another delegate, cause we didn’t think he was any good. Im not sayin all them ar like that but the delegate we had we didn’t get anywhere with him”.

Towards the end of your job, employment how was it?

“According as the years were going on they wanted this, you have to bend you have to do this but we done enough, we done more hours an weren’t getting paid. Then dey said you have to come in on your time off. If you want to do overtime that’s up to you, you don’t have to do overtime. So... That was the docks, that was Irish Ferries. Well B+I, Irish Ferries”.

So what was life like in Eastwall at this time?

“I eventually got used to it and settled in. The neighbours were good when you got to know them, and like Sheriff St after all, it’s just were not livin in flats were livin in a house”.

What was well Being like for the Family, Education, Employment growing up?

“My kids an grandkids were actually raised in Eastwall, so the education was good. One of them is going to Marino college and shes doin very well. And the neighbours are great, they were like Sheriff St but unfortunately its not flats it houses. We have neighbours who are very good. Its quite different to Sheriff St as it was a no go area drugs robbed cars everything. You don’t get that anymore not down here in anyway, Eastwall. It was at that stage with Sheriff St”.

Do you not get that here anymore? With the Drugs?

“Drugs you might do that’s everywhere. It dosent matter where ya live that’s on every corner”.

Did that affect you directly as a family?

“Well we got a committee going, we went on the marches, all the marches down here. An all the committees got together and I thought that was great as well. We got rid of them we got them out of it. But as I said dey crawled back in. So...”

Any of the family end up on Drugs?

“Ye one no two, two of me daughters did. One is doing very well the other one is doing good as well she will be goin into... where is it... cuan dara shortly for six weeks so... So she will be doing well”.

Do you think with the community being dissolved in Sheriff St that the spirit of the community was broke and as a result it had an effect on the area in regards to the drugs and the crime?

“Ye it did... well the committee did break up and they got a stronger committee back and that’s how dey got rid of all the drugs out of it, an the stolen cars. Dey actually had a meeting in the church, an the church was packed cause people were interested an listening, an to get all this out, all the robbed cars an drugs. An they got back together a stronger committee. Im not saying the other committee was no use but dey needed stronger backing. Dey needed more on the committee”.

What was it like employment wise before the IFSC was built?

“The ones that was working...? Anyone went for jobs were told whether...dey just throw it in the bin, it’s not a cv it wasn’t a cv at the time. You just go in for an interview an dey take your name an address, an whether dey throw it in the bin because of where you come from, I don’t know , a lot of people were sayin that’s what was happenin. That’s how people were unemployed, where ya came from. From the area...”

So they did not want to employ from the area?

“No”.

Was this in the 80’s?

“Yea.”

When this big plan came along to build the IFSC, was the hopes and dreams met directly for the community, was promises met in regards to employment?

“Ye the promises, ye were told u would hear from them and you don’t hear from them. Next you would see someone else get the job from outside the area. And youd love to know why, im educated like him, I have the same education. But is it cause where we came from?”

Did Eastwall get as much as Sheriff St?

“Eastwall and Sheriff St are much the same. People from Sheriff St and Eastwall worked down the docks as well. An dey knew each other. Now I didn’t know anyone over here until I moved over then I got to know them. But there’s people from Eastwall and Sheriff St knew each other because dey worked down the docks. And that’s how they all knew each other, and dey worked on the boats.”

Do you feel a part of the IFSC, what it stands for big business, economics, retail property, and affluent living quarters?

“Well then at the time, when them apartment blocks was goin up. Very little about three or four people out of the area got work on that. An there should have been more, cause dey were going up for people in the area, for our employment, an not all them got it , there was a few got it, and dey were told at least we tried ye.”

What about employment now? Where you ever offered a job?

“I couldn’t tell ya... I havnt a clue, I never seen them. There was one building there in Eastwall, Sean O’Casey. I remember the first brick going in, its only a brand new building. An I was told to come back come back. Were takin on labourers then hes turned around an said were not takin on labourers there someone else, just to get rid of me. Ill have your name but he never took me on. What contractor that was I don’t know. But I was promised a job you will be startin in three weeks , went back down in three weeks, I was told no; there’s no labourers allowed in here only trades men. An that’s on a building site.”

So there was no work for you?

“They said they there was going to be work but dey never gave us work.”

Was it the same all over the docklands?

“Ye all over. Well it doesn’t have to be Eastwall or Sheriff St. Eastwall was a community building going up, that was for the people of Eastwall, and I says I already worked at the game, as a labourer. Ehh ok we’ll take you on, dey never. Ya know dey didn’t even say... when I went back we have someone else or dey don’t they just tell you lies.”

Did you notice a pattern in employment in regards to the docklands during your life time?

“Ye... the work went down back up back down again and now; its starting to get goin again. I was talkin to two bricklayers and dey were sayin hes back in work.”

Why do you think that is the case?

“Because of the recession at those times.”

What do you think caused the recessions?

“Elsewhere got cheaper work, people coming in and outsiders, im talking about from different countries. There sayin their doin it cheaper, and the people the bosses who ever it is, the contractors are takin them on, on cheaper labour, cheaper work, cheaper money, less.”

Do you think politicians help around the area in anyway?

“Emmm... There all the same politicians are all the same, there all the one every one of them, don't care what dey say. Dosent matter who you go too, every one of them.”

What does it feel like living beside the IFSC after all the money that was made during the boom time went through there? We can only imagine the figures, billions?

“Well we can blame the banks on that. That's what happened the jobs just went down big time over that.”

Do you think that the urban renewal of the docklands landscape and the successive dissolvent of the Sheriff St community were deliberate in order to build the IFSC?

“Ye... That's what dey probably did do, the unions as well. There was a building down there, as I said dey took on three people out of the area and then said dey had no more work for

them. For the building to go up so no one would put a picket on them or stop them that's what dey done. Sure before the houses were built down there dey were putting a big power station up. Somewhere down just off Sheriff St, an dey were putting a big power station down there. An people in Sheriff St turned around and said, what are yas doing? And dey turned over and said, this is the workers now, we didn't know who dey were, dey were foreigners. Dey turned around an said wer putting up a power station. So the people in Sheriff St got together, got placards and turned around and put a picket on them, we don't want power stations, we want houses. So they turned around and said to them, all that area is going to be the first phase for the houses if you let us go ahead with the power station. So dey started the houses and dey let them finished the power station, and then all the rest of the houses followed."

Did anything more like what you have just described go on?

"I don't know... at that time I was leavin Sheriff St, 1990 early 90's."

What is it like now living beside that institution known what went on?

"Ahh yea well I could of... the way it is when I was workin down the docks when the second phase came up in the houses I probably would of gettin a house, cause the flats where comin down dey where only taking them down accordin to the houses goin up, but to put people into them. But I went up to the corporation to look for a loan because I was permanent down in Irish Ferries, and they told me the flats weren't comin down. So I went bak up an I said the flats are comin down, ans all im doin is betterin meself to look for a house in Eastwall or Sheriff St or anywhere, will I get a loan off them. Dey turned around an said the flats aren't coming down, an I said dey are. Now my brother was involved in politics an I asked him to come up with me, an he went up an found out himself, they told him straight out to him, the flats are comin down. Why did they tell me dey weren't. So I needed someone else with me

to find out... eventually I got the loan to buy the house here, when I was workin an that was in the 90's, an that's when I left the flats an the flats did come down. Now I could of getting a house hangin on an getting a house in Sheriff St, but unfortunately me wife wanted to look elsewhere an we got a house in Eastwall."

So the build itself did it benefit all in the docklands area?

"Like I said some did... only some people did an others didn't. d'ya mean work wise an all that... as I said some people was taking on for the work, buildings goin up then let go. Because dey came from the area and that's it, theres no more work for ya and there was. Just to get the buildins goin, the people were militant down there for anything like that, for puttin pickets an alls, as I was saying about the houses."

So there was resistance?

"Yea Yea, and livin around there we just got on as I was sayin. When the work did go people just had to survive. An dey unfortunately... An it wasn't a bad area it was just givin a bad name, I loved livin down there its just that when people ehhh... gave a name in the paper eh Sheriff St no go area, that was just one little area not the whole lot, the whole lot of the flats. I loved livin down there, as I said I moved over to Eastwall and I had to get used to it. I settled in got used to the neighbours an all the whole lot, like Sheriff St."

So is there community in both areas?

"There is community over there and here but there separate now. We have a community that used to go over to Sheriff St when there was on an dey come over to us. But now dey all just do their own."

Just to finish up did the union offer to help keep you on in your job?

“As I said, where we wore dey just ehh... the company was comin down hard on us sayin, takin our bonus of them. What was the union doin I don’t know, the company was removin wages, takin hours and you had to work extra hours, an we worked a split shift an we worked the hours dey told us to work. Dey said you should be workin extra hours you should be doin this, the boat has to be turned around an eh that means loading it an unloadin it, discharge it. An we were doin that in three hours, an dey turned around, an we were doin it for a bonus for the company, it was only an extra few bob it wasn’t much but we were doin it for the company, an then dey stopped that. So we went on a normal working hours not a go slow, doin the normal hours. An dey said What’s wrong why aren’t ya getting the boat turned around, because ya stopped ar bonus. Why should we go on, on em... like on the road ya can go to fast ya can go fast an ya can go slow. We went slow cause they took ar bonus. But that’s what companies can do, an the union dey done nothin about it. When we asked the union, dey said bonuses are different, that’s part.. that’s up to yas ar self what to do.”

So did the union influence the company?

“I don’t know; look anytime we had a meetin the company knew what we were talkin about in the union. Whether dey got on the phone an said listen their goin to go out an strike, or eh their goin to negotiate that’s ok, everything is back to normal. How did the company know that?”

Is the industry different now?

“Oh I don’t know I haven’t worked for six year now, I don’t know what the union is like.”

Has everything changed since you started working, industrialisation, capitalism, the nature of employment?

“Ye. There was a load of factories around here down the key, now there is none, not even a pub down there now. Eh all the factories is gone CIE is gone it’s the point village now. An all the work was comin down an only went from here to there off the ship cause all the factories was beside it. Put them in the loadin bays, an dey come an take them, Crosby’s yard ye Crosby’s yard. All the lorries an containers come off that ship dey go down to Crosby’s yard an someone else would come along an take them off, take them away, that’s all gone. That went slowly as well.”

What has replaced that?

“Nothing... There’s nothing along the key now there used to be pubs there used to be ehh... what else was there? An that CIE that’s gone as well an the point village that is up eh nothing there’s nothing at all. All waste land now all waste land.”

What happened to all that work?

“Ahhh Gone. Well people retired an never replaced, an then the jobs...”

So how is that work being done now?

“Its not there all moved gone elsewhere, that type of business is gone its gone. Its gone elsewhere, but its slowly coming back in actually, dey are ye cause there’s yard opened there a container yard only opened last year, so that’s packed full busy. That same thing all different cargo, comes off a ship lorries goes in takes them out brings them to the country bring them were dey have to go, bring them into shops wherever the containers have to go. All off the boat so, an one stage they all have to go elsewhere like all the industrial estates, after opening in Tallaght, Coolock an dey closed two of them in Coolock an opened them again. So I don’t know what else... I think its coming back slowly but you wont be workin for the same money, you be workin for the lowest wage.”

