

**An Examination of Gentrification in areas of North Dublin close to  
Fairview Park**

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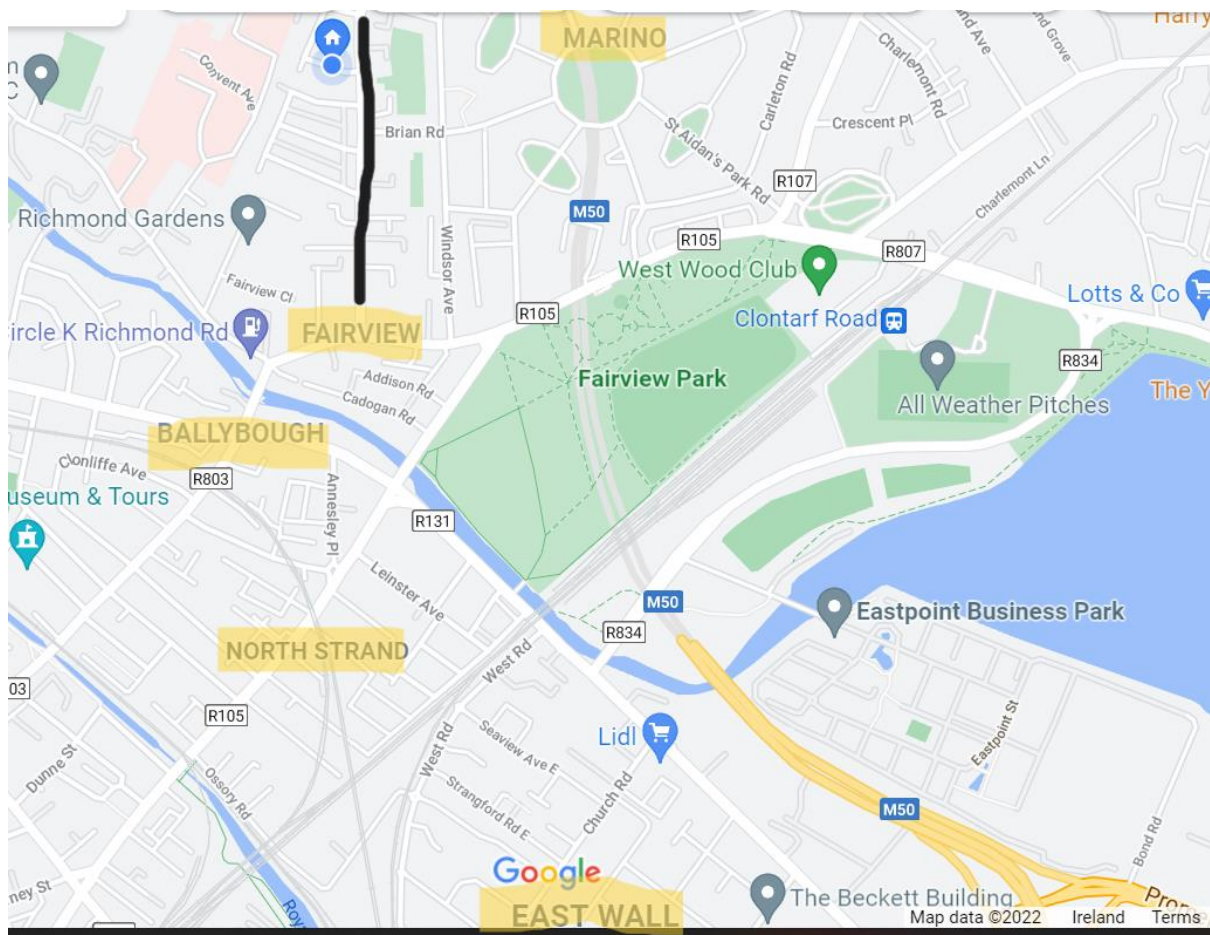
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# An Examination of Gentrification in areas of North Dublin close to Fairview Park

*“Each society inhabits much of its landscape or built environment from its predecessors and in turn each society leaves its mark on the landscape, creating forms that reflect the aspirations and problems of its day”*

*McManus R. citing Jeremy Whitehead*

**Fig. 1 Fairview Park**



## Introduction

There has long been a social divide in Dublin between the northside and the southside, almost since the city began to expand. Apart from coastal areas like Clontarf, Sutton and Howth and suburbs like Glasnevin and Drumcondra, the northside has been associated with lower cost

housing, council housing schemes, crime, and disadvantage. I have lived for most of my life on the northside close to Fairview Park.

Fairview Park, developed in the 1920s on reclaimed land, is a well-known landmark on the northside. It extends from Annesley Bridge alongside the Tolka river as far as the railway bridge over East Wall Road, then it follows the railway line to the Clontarf Dart station on one side and along the main road as far as Howth Road on the other (See map Fig 1). The Dublin Port Tunnel goes under the park and under Marino.

The areas surrounding the park include East Wall, North Strand, Ballybough, Fairview, Marino (outlined by me in yellow on the above map. I inserted a black line along Philipsburg Avenue to separate Fairview from Marino). The Tolka river divides Fairview from Ballybough and North Strand.

The term gentrification has been used to describe changes that have occurred in these neighbourhoods and more often recently. This essay reviews what has been written about gentrification, signs, phases, consequences and conditions necessary for it to occur, to find out if the term can be applied to what is happening in those areas surrounding the park. The essay focuses mainly on Fairview and Marino with some references to the other areas.

As gentrification mainly impacts the socio-economic demographics, house prices, the built environment, retail outlets and the arrival of high-end coffee shops in an area, the essay includes map indices of disadvantage from the census and photographic illustrations of recent changes. It also gives a brief history and overview of both areas to provide context for the changes.

An important aspect to gentrification is that it can only happen under certain conditions that depend on housing policy and regulations in a country. For this reason, a brief history of

housing policy in Ireland is outlined with particular reference to Dublin and the areas in question.

A small sample of residents were surveyed in the Fairview/Marino areas to assess the impact, if any, of recent changes. The survey used open questions to allow for issues to emerge freely and gave respondents the option to say whether the perceived changes were a positive or a negative development for the area. The answers were collated using a colour code to highlight the identified changes which were then discussed in the context of the term gentrification.

## **Chapter 1 Understanding Gentrification**

### **Defining Gentrification**

While the term gentrification has been around since the sixties it is difficult to find a common understanding of what it means or even agreement on whether it is a positive or a negative development for a neighbourhood. It is acknowledged by many authors, writing about gentrification, that Ruth Glass, a British Sociologist, was the first to use the term in her book “London: Aspects of Change (1964).” Florida (2018:91) explains that Glass coined the term in the early 1960s to describe the transformation of the working-class neighbourhoods of Islington and Notting Hill, in London, by the middle- and upper-class gentry.

Lees et al (2007:222) see the Glass definition as classical gentrification and go on to explain recent mutations to the term which include rural, new-build and super gentrification.

Palmer (2019 page 18) citing Clarke uses the following definition:

*‘Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land users such that the new users are of a higher socioeconomic status than the previous users together with an associated change in the built environment through reinvestment and in fixed capital.’*

Moskowitz (2018:22) sees it as a purposeful act and not just a trend, needing a definition that recognises all those involved. He sees it as the inevitable result of a political system focused more on the creation and expansion of business opportunity than on the well-being of its citizens which he refers to as neoliberalism. Lees et al (2007:18) maintain that gentrification is the leading edge of neoliberal urbanism.

Florida (2018:93) would agree that gentrification happens due to interests that go far beyond those of the young, educated, and affluent who are moving into cities today. He maintains that it is shaped by much bigger forces like large scale public and private investments that influence the choices that individuals make.

Sharma (2020:14) sees gentrification as a complex subject and does not accept, like some, that it is a natural step in the development of all cities and neighbourhoods but sees it as a *“combination of decades-long economic segregation and divestment, displacement of long-time residents and a shift in community dynamic and character”*.

Stacey Sutton (2015) cites Tom Slater, an urban geographer, who defines gentrification as the *“Spatial expression of inequality.”*

### **Gentrification, a problem, or a symptom?**

Most authors agree then that gentrification involves a change in the population of an area whereby people of a higher socio-economic status occupy places previously occupied by those of a lower socio-economic status. The manifestations of which generally include higher rents and escalation in house prices, restoration of old buildings, adaptive use of dilapidated structures, proliferation of high-end coffee shops, restaurants and retail units, and the development of high-rise luxury apartments.

Some see it as a problem, others see it as a good thing for an area and yet others see it as a symptom of an even greater problem. Sharma (2020:15), for example, maintains that

America does not have a gentrification problem but a poverty problem and that focussing on gentrification is just choosing one aspect of a greater problem which includes economic segregation, neglect, resource scarcity, disenfranchisement, and systemic barriers to social mobility.

Florida (2018:113) agrees that chronic urban poverty is a far bigger problem than gentrification. While gentrification gets a lot of attention, it bypasses a lot of neighbourhoods which remain poor. He believes that instead of opposing gentrification and stopping market forces that lead to revitalisation of certain areas that we need to improve housing options, economic opportunities, and conditions for those left behind in the disadvantaged neighbourhoods. This would indicate to me that Florida equates gentrification with revitalisation or regeneration. Moskowitz (2018:65) says that gentrification keeps happening because it is seen as the inevitable consequence of progress and that many including developers, planners and policy makers see gentrification and revitalisation or regeneration as nearly the same.

Stacey Sutton (2015) clarifies the difference between revitalisation and gentrification. Gentrification is a top-down process while revitalisation is a bottom-up process whereby the required changes and improvements are done in consultation with the residents and the neighbourhood remains affordable to low-income families.

Palmer (2019:16) sees gentrification as a problem that has been around for too long without recognition of it being something that requires fixing. He points to the flaws in the argument of those who say that increased investment and reduction in crime are overall good things for an area and make it a nicer place to live. He asks for whom it is “nicer” if the locals are being displaced.

Lees et al (2007:384) having considered arguments for and against acknowledge that both sides have validity but that the negative impacts have largely been ignored by policy makers.

There is general agreement that displacement is the outcome most often associated with gentrification. What is disputed is the extent of displacement.

### **Displacement and Gentrification**

According to Moskowitz (2018:142) gentrification is displacing tens of thousands in nearly every industrialised nation, happening more in countries without sufficient housing regulation. He makes a comparison between countries, that shows that the amount of displacement is proportional to the strength of housing regulation policies such as rent and land price control. The US has the highest rate of displacement and the least progressive housing policies.

Displacement can be direct or indirect and these aspects are referred to by most authors writing about gentrification. Sutton (2015) confirms that it is only the magnitude of displacement that is disputed and goes on to point out how it occurs. Firstly, there is direct displacement of those renting when the rent becomes unaffordable, they have no choice but to leave. Then for those who can stay due to being in protected rent areas, public housing or who own their homes there maybe indirect displacement or what Sutton refers to as exclusionary displacement. Exclusionary displacement is more insidious and occurs over time. Those who remain feel a sense of isolation, with friends gone, unable to afford the high-end restaurants and retail units. The neighbourhood begins to feel unfamiliar having a culture and character change.

Palmer (2019:27) maintains that the number of individuals displaced in an area, because of gentrification, is very difficult to measure “given that they are, by definition, gone.” He says

we can come up with some answers by using statistics, common sense, word of mouth and personal stories. He gives the examples of American cities where the ratio of black and white populations can be tracked. Lees et al (2007:359) citing Newman and Wyly 2006 agree that measuring displacement is difficult because people have disappeared from the very places where researchers and census takers go to look for them.

Palmer (2019:43,59,79) referring to the process of gentrification in his hometown of Bristol says that homelessness is an obvious by-product of gentrification, that moving people on doesn't make them disappear and that homelessness has more than doubled in Bristol in the previous three years. He believes that with gentrification nobody is safe, where even those who have moved in and gentrified an area, may see their own children displaced or priced out. He recommends that when speaking about gentrified neighbourhoods not to refer to them as "up and coming" or "getting better" since that doing so brushes over the problems of displacement.

Florida (2018:108-110) taking examples from the US and using research says that displacement of people by gentrification is not as big an issue as it is made out to be and that it is the "wrong lens" through which to view the effects of gentrification as it deflects attention from the real problems. Florida's belief that gentrification is not the real problem of the urban poor has already been referred to above. He does, however, concede that the threat of displacement may be growing in rapidly gentrifying cities.

### **The Phases or Stages of Gentrification**

Efforts have been made to represent gentrification as an orderly process with defined stages. However, the processes of gentrification are complicated and relate to the specific contexts of various neighbourhoods and cities (Lees et al 2007:39).

The following four stages were outlined in 1979 by MIT urban studies professor Philip Clay cited by Moskowitz (2018: 32-35). Moskowitz reminds us that the identification of stages helps us understand, to some extent, what is predictable and to bear in mind that they will not always come in the right order but always in the same direction. Lees et al (2007:82) point out that Clay's is an early-stage model and based on observations in the U.S., also that it may be much less useful for what they refer to as recent mutations but given that Moskowitz has clarified and added to the stages, we can take them into consideration.

**The first phase** is when individuals decide to move into a poor neighbourhood and begin renovating houses. There is some evidence that many of the original gentrifiers were women including lesbians, gay men and other marginal groups, choosing to live in the inner city to avoid the heterosexual nuclear families of the suburbs (Lees et al 2007 page 384). **The second phase**, according to Clay, is when the media begin paying attention. Others become attracted to the neighbourhood because of the change and begin buying real estate, small time speculators wanting to cash in, buy cheap property and maybe sell sometime later. Rents go up and displacement begins. **The third phase** is when the middle-class gentrifiers take on more prominent roles in the neighbourhood promoting it as a desirable place to live. Developers instead of individuals become the more frequent renovators and builders. **The Fourth phase** is when the already gentrified neighbourhood becomes wealthier. Managerial class and professionals replace the marginal groups such as artists etc. Displacement is rampant and gentrification begins spilling over into adjacent neighbourhoods.

Moskowitz (2018 :34) goes on to add two more phases, a **fifth phase** to explain what is happening in New York and San Francisco, which he refers to as globalised cities, that are no longer about individuals and local developers but only affordable to the global elite. For phases one to five to happen there must be one more phase, which Moskowitz refers to as

**phase zero**, the preparatory phase, in which local and governmental policies must allow for them to happen.

The next chapter will investigate if local and governmental policies in Ireland allow for gentrification to happen.

## **Chapter 2 The Impact of Housing Policy**

The aim of this chapter is to show how government policies influence people's ability to find secure accommodation and to see if policy and regulations provide an environment for gentrification to occur. Reference will be made to Fairview and Marino and their evolution in this context.

O'Broin (2019 :11-12) argues that our housing system is dysfunctional because it relies heavily on the private sector to meet housing needs. This involves massive subsidies to landowners, developers, landlords and investment funds. It provides very little social housing and the whole system is based on the concept that housing is a commodity rather than a social necessity.

While Fairview and Marino are often referred to as one area because the boundaries are blurred in some parts, they have very different histories.

The Marino housing scheme, which was developed in 1924, was the first public housing scheme built by the new government, after the war of independence, in response to a dire housing crisis. Brady and McManus (2021:240-279) provide a detailed account of the development of Marino from its inception to completion. It was to be a model for future public and private housing schemes and based on an interpretation of the garden city suburb movement in the UK, which required good quality mass housing in spacious surroundings.



**Fig 2 &3 Old Photos of Marino**

Marino was built in three phases and provided 1,500 working class homes. The scheme was notable for the different house types on single streets, making it appear as if it evolved gradually. The houses were paid for through a tenant purchase scheme which meant that they were affordable only to the better off working class.

McCord (2011) argues that the 1913 strike and lockout were directly linked to the living conditions of Dublin's working class which were the worst slums in the UK. McCord maintains that, by supporting a policy of home ownership, the government was giving to a higher layer of the working class a vested interest in the state and a reason to support the status quo. It divided the working class both physically and in terms of who could afford to avail of tenant purchase and who could not. It also helped alleviate the threat of civil unrest in the tenements. For this reason and that high-quality housing was provided, Marino was deemed a success, intended to be a model for the future but subsequent governments decided that it was too expensive to replicate. Smaller homes of a lower quality that fell short of the standards set by the Marino development were built. McDonald (1989:77-79) outlines the shortcomings in relation to the planning and development of estates by Dublin Corporation for their own tenants, accusing them of having the attitude that "anything is good enough for the working classes."

O’Broin (2019) takes us through the history of state involvement in the provision of housing in Ireland, through the decades from 1879 to the current crisis, through the numerous reports and recommendations, many of which were ignored. 1975 marked a turning point, in that it was the year that the state provided its highest number of social houses, slums had been cleared and the waiting lists for social housing were short. The emphasis was still on home ownership and at that point social housing was mainly for workers on low incomes. (O’Broin 2019:51 citing Norris) notes that it was at a later stage, during the mid-eighties that the association of social housing with poverty and long-term welfare dependant households became more direct. The government provided financial incentives to social tenants to either buy their homes or move out and buy from a private developer. This reduced the income mix in some estates and reduced the rent available to local authorities. The advent of neoliberalism in the 1980s also had a major impact on the perception and provision of social housing.

Hearne (2020 :119) outlines this impact. Housing was promoted and valued as a financial asset. The provision of finance for housing was almost completely given over to banks and financial institutions. Government spending on social housing was reduced considerably and support for those wanting to purchase from private developers was also reduced. With the reduction in the availability of social housing, an over-reliance on the private rental sector developed. With this, the number of people applying for rent subsidies increased considerably due to the ever-increasing cost of renting. Kennedy (2002) obtained figures from the Dept of Housing that stated that €900 million was spent on rent subsidies in the private sector in 2021, a rise of more than 80% since 2018. The numbers becoming homeless and living in emergency accommodation increased too because of the uncertain nature of renting from the private sector.

It is important to understand why the provision of social housing affects the entire system and why it should be available to all income levels. In a recent Irish Times article O’Leary (2021) highlights a report led by a Dutch green MEP, Kim Van Sparentak, called “access to decent and affordable housing for all.” The report calls for more investment in social housing, a change in mindset at EU level that sees social housing as affecting competition in the housing market. It calls for such housing to no longer be targeted solely at the socially disadvantaged. It goes on to explain that making social housing available to all including high earners would bid down rents for everyone while allowing public authorities to set high standards in housing. According to Van Sparentax the experiment whereby the Vulture funds and the big investors were given free reign to fix the housing market has failed, homelessness has doubled, and more and more people are unable to afford homes.

Derek Scally (2021) in an addendum to the O’Leary article asks if we can learn anything from continental Europe. For me the most interesting example was Vienna because it demonstrates the possibilities when things are thought through. Vienna did not sell off its social housing either to tenants or private investors. The steady rental income allows public housing companies to keep adding new blocks. Qualification for social housing depends largely on a means test (3300 euros a month for a single person). There is also a needs-based criteria. Growing families can apply for a move to larger accommodation and older tenants can apply to downsize or to somewhere more suitable. About two thirds of Viennese residents live in publicly owned apartments based on a system that links rent with income.

To return to Marino, it eventually moved out of council control as the tenancies matured and people came to own their houses.

Fairview is older than Marino and evolved in a more piecemeal fashion. Many of the houses were built during the Victorian era and vary greatly in size. Daly (1998: 19) explains that

although some of these houses were small, they would probably have marked a rise in living standards for lower-middle-class families who had previously lived in the tenements.

**Appendix 3 provides information from the 1901 and 1911 census on early residents of Fairview.**



**Fig 4 Large Victorian House Fairview    Fig 5 Small Terraced Victorian House Fairview**

**Fig 6 Three Story Victorian Houses Fairview – Fig 7 Two Story Houses Fairview**



A notable difference between Marino and Fairview is the size of the gardens. According to Daly (1998:53) gardens were not of great importance in the early Victorian houses. The back gardens in Marino tend to be much larger than those in Fairview, as another principle of the garden city movement was self-sufficiency.

It is interesting to note too that many of the original inhabitants of both areas were escaping the inner city and its problems. The spread to the suburbs which began in the late Victorian era continued for decades. The reverse is happening now and for some time, people want to live in or near the city close to where they work (McDonald 2021:129).

Daly (1998:56) explains the decline and rise again of Victorian houses. As we have already seen the new Irish state encouraged home ownership so that over time the population of Dublin and Ireland in general went mainly from being tenants to owner occupiers. Loans from local authorities were only available for new homes. For a time then Victorian houses were neglected and became associated with bed sits and flat-land. Eventually with the aid of modern technology, central heating, remedies for dry rot and leaking roofs, the houses became more habitable.

Another plus for Fairview and the old houses was the enactment of legislation which came into force in 2013 that essentially outlawed bedsits. Landlords were required to upgrade properties to meet higher standards. Another piece of legislation to note is the designation of Rent Pressure Zones (RPZs), which included all of Dublin, intended to moderate rent rises. There is suspicion however that this is driving rent inflation as landlords bringing newly rented properties to the market are exempt and can charge what they like (Burke-Kennedy 2021).

Since the 1980s vacant land in Fairview has been built on, mostly for apartments and small private housing estates. There are three derelict sites, one of which is an apartment block abandoned after the crash of 2008 (see Fig 8).



**Fig 8 Derelict Apartment Site abandoned after 2008 crash Fairview**



**Fig 9 - A Victorian terrace in Fairview beside 1980s Apartments.**



**Fig 10 - A large Georgian House (Offices) with small housing Estate - Fairview**

**Fig 11 Apartments in what used to be a Fairview.**



back garden in



**Fig 12 New Houses built on what used to be a derelict site in Fairview. The houses range in price from €750,000 to €825,000**

**Fig 13 Large Old Houses divided into Apartments in Fairview**



From this brief look at the history of housing policy in Ireland, we can ascertain that there is a high reliance on the private sector to provide accommodation either to rent or buy. Rents are high and houses for sale are expensive even for moderately high earners especially in Dublin. Renting does not provide security or the promise of a home for life. There is also a marked shortage of social housing. It follows then from this that the conditions are and have been for some time in place for gentrification to take place.

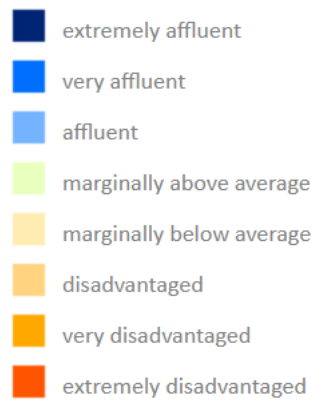
### **Chapter 3 Fairview/Marino and the Signs of Gentrification**

#### **Change in Socio-economic Demographic**

One of the most obvious signs of **gentrification** is a change over time in the socio-economic demographic of a neighbourhood. Pobal, an organisation which works on behalf of government towards achieving social inclusion and development, provides maps on various aspects of their service. I use their map of deprivation indices to track changes in the neighbourhoods referred to above. Illustration 2 is the key to the map. It uses a colour code to indicate areas of affluence and disadvantage, which can be seen easily. It also makes it

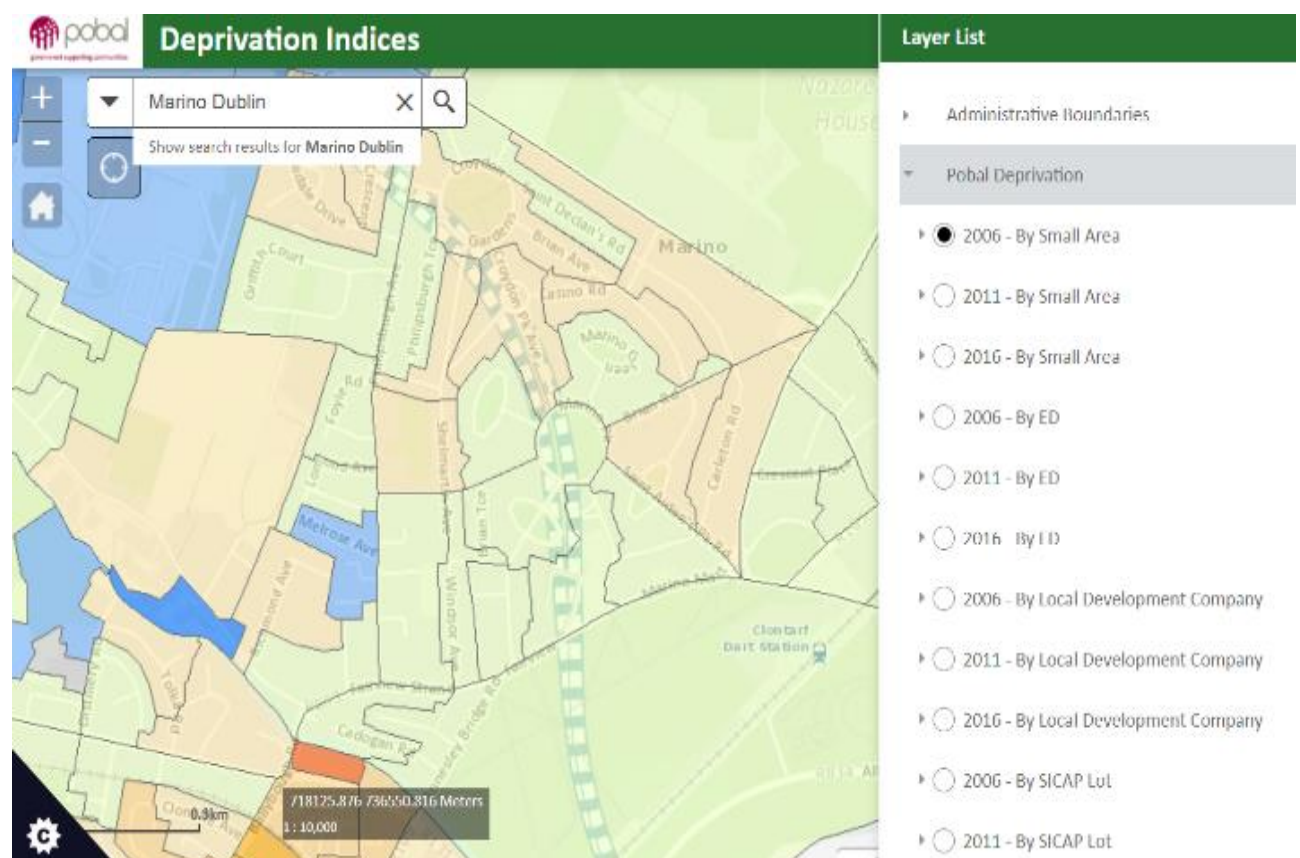
possible to use the maps along with the census data from 2006, 2011 and 2016 to make comparisons. Please note that blue indicates degrees of affluence.

The following is the key or legend to the deprivation indices.

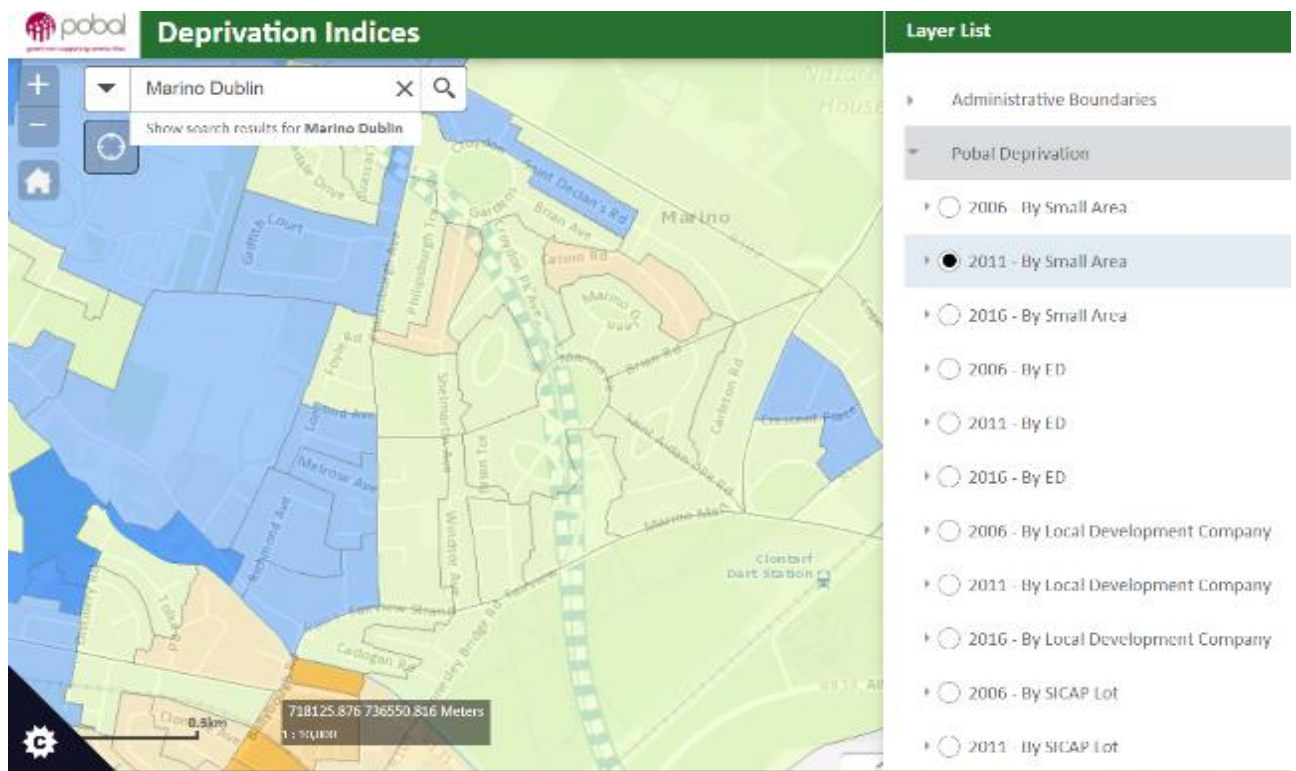


**Fig 14 (Key to Pobal Deprivation Maps)**

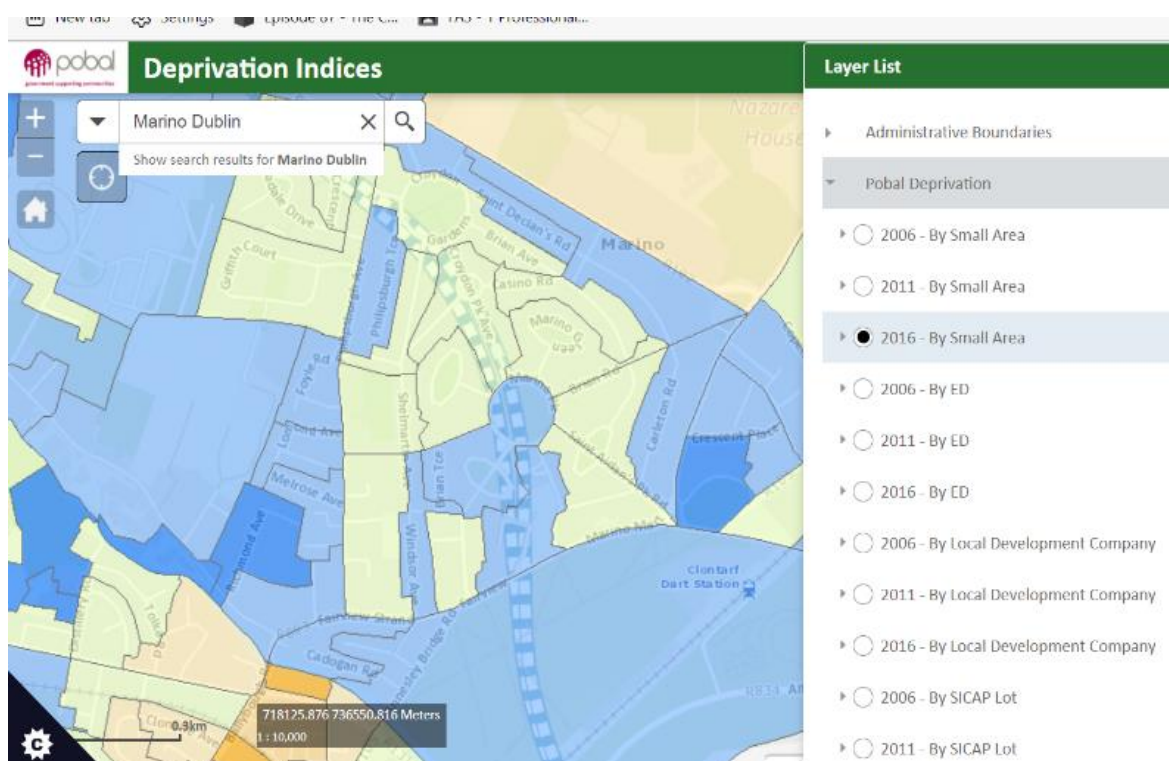
The following three maps illustrate changes from the 2006 census to 2016. The maps are of Fairview/Marino.



**Fig 15 - Pobal Map Census 2006**



**Fig 16- Pobal Map Census 2011**



**Fig 17- Pobal Map Census 2016**

It is very clear that the “marginally below average” sections have disappeared in both areas and have become either “marginally above average” or “affluent”. Fairview appears to have become “affluent” between 2006 and 2011 and large parts of Marino between 2011 and 2016.

### **The Spill over effect**

The literature points out that gentrification can spill into adjacent neighbourhoods. For this reason, the maps of deprivation indices for East Wall, North Strand and Ballybough, using the census of the same years are included in **Appendix 2**. It can be seen from the maps that while there are still areas of disadvantage, the number of “affluent” parts are increasing.

East Wall in the northeast docklands has a large well-established residential community. Moore (2008:155) says that the area is becoming increasingly gentrified as the community association with Dublin port changes and the area becomes a desirable residential location for workers in the East Point Business Park and other nearby business hubs.

Gentrification of Fairview/Marino may be due to the proximity to Clontarf. A 2018 Irish times article has the headline “Priced out of Clontarf? Consider Marino.” Houses in Clontarf are very expensive or according to the article “soaring in value”. The article quotes a local estate agent who says that the leading number of buyers for Marino would be from Clontarf. It appears then that those buyers who would like to live in Clontarf, but who cannot afford to, are being encouraged to consider Marino.

### **Changes to the built environment**

Along with a change to a higher socioeconomic status in the process of gentrification, there is also an associated change in the built environment. Many of the houses are being renovated with very large extensions and the large gardens in Marino being used, in some cases, to build another house.

Currently the larger houses in Fairview have been renovated to accommodate families or converted to apartments and many of the smaller houses have been extended, often sold as “fixer uppers.” The following illustrations show some large extensions to houses in Marino.



**Fig 18- Large Extension Marino      Fig 19 – Large Extension Marino**

**Fig 20 (Below) Large Extension Marino. Fig 21- House built on to an existing house Marino**





**Fig 22 & 23 Houses built on to existing Houses Marino**

Another feature of gentrification is the building of high-rise luxury apartments. This is happening on Griffith Avenue on the periphery of Marino. Quinlan (2021) says that the scheme accommodates 385 units, 377 apartments and 8 houses with the apartments distributed over 7 blocks. 35 of the apartments and the eight houses will be acquired by Dublin City Council for social and affordable housing under the terms of Part V of the Planning and development Act.

Since that article was written, Greystar, a U.S. property giant has purchased the remaining 342 apartments from Cairn Homes, and plans to put them, upon completion, on the market for rent only. One bedroomed apartments are advertised from €1,900 a month, two bed from €2250 and a three from €3045 with extra for car parking and pets.

O'Toole (2021) provides the history of the land on which these apartments are built from when it was owned by Lord Charlemont to how it came to be owned by the Christian Brothers to how it finally ended up in “the control of distant super-wealthy property funds” with “public interest and the welfare of citizens being shoved aside.” He sees this

development in marked contrast to the adjacent Marino scheme, which was “well-designed, properly planned and funded by a state that was young and poor.”



**Fig 24** - The “built to rent” apartments on the periphery of Marino

**Fig 25** - (below) The apartments behind Marino Houses



## Changes to the Retail Environment

Proliferation of high-end coffee shops and retail units is another sign that gentrification is taking place.



**Figs 26 & 27 Coffee Shops Fairview**





**Fig 28 Coffee shop Fairview**



**Fig 29 Craft Beer Pub Fairview**



**Fig 30- Pottery and Jewellery Shop Marino**



**Fig 31- Fresh Market Marino**

**Rising Rents and House Prices** are another indication of gentrification.



**Fig (32) The asking price for this terraced house in Fairview was €675,000.**

I checked the Daft website to find out the asking price of houses in Marino. Prices range from €400,000 to €500,000, depending on how much work needs to be done and depending on location.

The advertised rent for **one bed or studio** apartments, situated in old houses in Fairview, ranges from €1000 to €1500 a month depending on size.

### **Survey of Residents Fairview/Marino**

A survey was carried out to ascertain the awareness and attitudes of residents to changes in the area. Paper questionnaires were used at first, but as the response rate was low, it was decided to use a digital format. The survey was anonymous. The questions asked were as follows:

- 1. Are you from Fairview or Marino?*
- 2. How long have you lived there?*
- 3. What changes, if any, have you noticed?*
- 4. Are the changes a positive or a negative for the area?*

Rational for question 1 and 2 - to ascertain if there was any difference in perceptions related to area and length of time living there.

Rational for questions 3 and 4: to find out what changes if any were identified by respondents and if those changes related to signs of gentrification, also to find out too how the changes were perceived. According to the literature changes linked to gentrification were initially thought of as positive by most residents.

### **Method**

There was no reference to the term gentrification as it might influence the answers. The survey was introduced as part of an academic essay on changes in the area. The answers would be collated, and the results of the survey provided to those who were interested. It was

carried out mostly through the residents' associations, and groups connected to both areas.

Due to Covid restrictions, face to face interviews were not carried out with respondents. The paper questionnaires first used were included in the findings.

The questions were left open which made it more difficult to collate but gave respondents the freedom to point to changes of interest to them.

To collate the answers, the replies were colour coded for examples changes to retail were highlighted in pink, changes to demographics in yellow and so on. This was to facilitate counting.

**Appendix 1 provides a link to the digital questionnaire and a paper sample.**

## **Limitations**

A much larger sample would be required for the results to be a representation of opinions in the area. Having said that, there are recurring themes, and the small survey gives a good idea of the changes in the area and the issues that are of importance to the residents. That it was done through the residents' associations and associated groups, may give it a bias in that members of residents' associations often join for a specific purpose or are more vigilant in observing and assessing the impact of changes to an area. They are also more likely to own their houses rather than rent.

## **Results**

Thirty-six replies were received, seventeen from Marino and nineteen from Fairview.

Twenty-eight replies were received digitally and eight through the paper format. The number of years living in the area ranged from six years to seventy with the majority being there over

twenty years. One reply from a resident of Marino said that very little had changed in the last fifteen years. Most respondents listed several changes.

**Thirteen** replies referred to the **changing demographics**, younger families, older residents dying off, more cultural diversity, more professionals, more middle-class people, all of which were seen as a positive apart from one reply which saw the change to more middle-class as a negative, referring to “yuppies” with young children taking over.

**Three** referred to the **rising house prices**, two as a positive and one as a negative as it was “no longer a working-class neighbourhood”. One respondent said that they felt lucky to live in Fairview as they could not afford to buy in the vicinity now.

**Seventeen** referred to increased traffic either due to increased car ownership or increased traffic congestion and parking problems generally as a negative.

**Thirteen** referred to changes to the **built environment** with the new apartments built to rent on Griffith Avenue as a negative along with all new builds in the area as they put pressure on existing services and increased traffic problems. Extensions to houses were mainly seen as a positive except for cobble locked driveways to accommodate parking which were seen as a negative.

Two listed “less bedsits” as a positive.

**Nine** referred to the **change in quality of local shops and cafes** seven as a positive with one referring to them as “trendier” and two as a negative.

Five referred to the sense of community in the area as a positive and listed several activities.

Dog fouling on the footpaths and the local pub in Fairview being left to go derelict as a negative and two more to “less gangs of youths hanging around” as a positive. Three referred

to the development of Fairview Park as a positive with one respondent saying they did not feel safe there and another saying that it still had a long way to go.

## **Discussion**

The survey was answered mainly by residents who had lived in the area for more than twenty years. Increased traffic congestion and parking problems were top of the list of changes. After that then the changing socio-economic demographic and changes to the built environment were identified, then changes to the quality of the shops and cafes.

There is a sense that residents are feeling overcrowded by the increase in traffic and the new builds which dwarf the old estate. The traffic congestion and parking problems may be linked to the change to a higher socio-economic demographic. The changes to the built environment are a definite link.

It is no surprise that rising house prices were hardly mentioned as the respondents are already established in the area.

None of the respondents raised the issue of gentrification and apart from the traffic problems and the new builds, the majority saw the changes as a positive.

It is important to note that none of the respondents referred to displacement.

## **Conclusion**

This essay set out to understand gentrification, how to recognise if it is happening in an area and specifically to find out if it is happening in Fairview/Marino and areas surrounding Fairview Park in north Dublin. The literature review revealed that gentrification takes place more readily in countries where housing policy and regulations facilitate the process, where there is a neoliberal ethos with an over reliance on the private sector and little or no

restrictions on rents or land prices. Conditions are in place for gentrification to take place in Ireland and especially in Dublin and all the signs are that it is happening in the areas referred to above.

It is acknowledged in the literature that displacement is an unwelcome consequence of gentrification but also something that is difficult to prove. Areas with many properties for rent will have a more transient population anyway but if rents begin to escalate then lower income earners will not be able to afford to live there. The same logic applies to escalating house prices. If lower income earners can no longer afford to buy houses in areas that were traditionally working class, then they will be replaced by higher income earners. When the higher income earners make substantial improvements to the properties and when new properties are built that are bigger and more luxurious than the original, the area continues to become more and more out of reach for the original socio-economic group. That the economic socio-economic demographic is changing to a higher one in the areas under discussion is borne out by the census returns from 2006 to 2016.

Identifying the conditions in which gentrification takes place helps to clarify the solutions, two of which stand out and they are one to build more social housing and two to bring in legislation. that applies to all landlords, to cap rents in line with inflation. It would help too if homes were valued as a social necessity and a human right instead of a financial asset. Building more social houses or apartments, as we have seen above, bids down rents and allows local authorities to set high standards in home building. Social housing should be available to higher income levels and that would end its association with poverty and disadvantage. These solutions will only happen when those in power stop pandering to the private sector and implement the required changes. In the meantime, the gentrification process will continue.

If we go by the phases of gentrification outlined above, Fairview/Marino is in the second phase. The media have started paying attention, rents and house prices are beginning to escalate. Developers too are taking a greater interest.

The results of the survey would indicate that the residents are aware of the changes but have not identified them as gentrification. While there is a general air of positivity there is some disquiet especially regarding the new builds and the traffic congestion. This feeling of positivity is referred to in the literature where residents in the early stages of gentrification feel that their neighbourhood is on the up and coming or getting better. It is in the later stages that feelings of not belonging begin to take hold. It remains to be seen what way things will go in the future but from what we know once started it generally goes in the same direction.

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## Appendix 1: Survey Link with pages [Fairview Marino Changes \(opinionstage.com\)](https://www.opinionstage.com)

### Fairview Marino Changes


This survey is being carried out as part of an academic study on changes in the Fairview & Marino neighbourhoods in Dublin 3, Ireland.

All answers are anonymous. Your name will not be recorded.






### How long have you lived there?



### What changes, if any, have you noticed in that time?



How long have you lived in (please tick) Fairview Marino

Number of years: 35

What changes, if any, have you noticed in that time?

Seems to be more young families moving in the area. Development is more visible in the area. Development of area in relation to housing/ apartments has increased (conveniently). Area redevelopment of existing housing stock into modern is continuing. Increase of front gardens. Increase in population? Increase in traffic. Increase in traffic + no. of cars in area.

Do you feel that the changes, if any, are a positive for the area or a negative? Please explain.


Both positive + negative. Positive: inc. diversity, variety of trees in area, mixed area in terms of class + socioeconomic. Negative: Pressure on existing amenity spaces, more middle-class areas in the area. Council is one of the original (working) estates in Dublin, around 100 years old. Green spaces, gardens, which are beautiful and should be maintained + protected for children to play in safely.

Thank you

Your name is not relevant to this survey therefore will not be recorded.

## Paper Sample

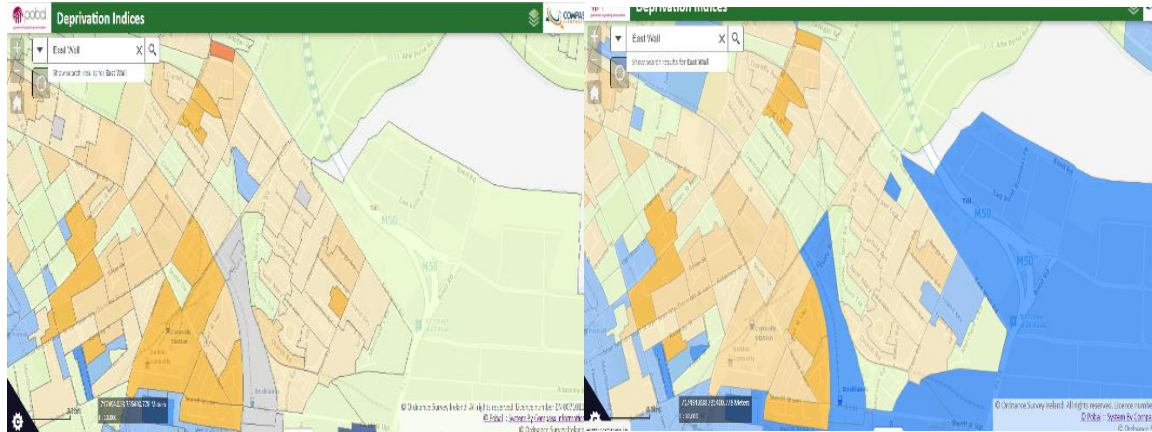
## Sample Digital answers next page below.

1/25/22, 3:13 PM									
Responses Report 									
Submission Time	Do you live in ...	How long have you lived there?	What changes, if any, have you noticed in that time?	On the whole, do you think these changes are positive or negative?	Which are the positive changes? Which are negative? Please explain your answers if you can.	Closing Time to complete	Host URL	on_stm_source	Survey Stats
2022-01-24 00:49:00	Fairview	6 years	More variety of shops, more rubbish on the streets	Positive	Wider variety means I can shop for more things locally. The rubbish is a big negative. There are positive changes with more young families moving to the area and new businesses opening. The planned cycle path and terraces will also bring huge benefits.	3:17	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		on footpaths; litter terrible by fast food outlets; mews development on Windsor Lane and multiple SFD applications; Players Lounge remains an eyesore.
2022-01-23 23:40:18	Fairview	2007	More cars, more dangerous illegal footpath parking. Can't even walk along Fairview strand anymore.	Negative	Go rubbish mile math agat - Thank you!	2:30	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		Anti social behaviour too many housing been built, gascock Road, griffith ave, Richmond Road to name a few. Local shops closed, post office moved, credit union in Marino taken over without members notification, list is endless.
2022-01-23 16:36:20	Marino	40 years	Demographic of home owners	Positive	More community awareness	2:11	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		Too many houses been built, puts more traffic in area, especially on Griffith Ave where there is 3 schools post office moved to where there is a little or no parking credit mile Union take over math meant the closure agat - which left out a Thank generation of people who don't do online banking or can access it her area branches, car on maliside Road closed - Negative, no willingness from the council to repair the roads and no proper dialogue on disc parking for residents
2022-01-23 16:18:33	Marino	40	no	Positive	m	0:49	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		
2022-01-23 16:15:17	Since 2019		Some good - park revitalising works, regular litterpicking by residents, some new shops such as new craft shop and restaurant; work on Jewish Cemetery, solar powered bins at litter black spots, start of Marino Sustainable Energy Community; nice new signage for Fairview and Marino. The move of the post office benefits as but it should of course be called Fairview Post Office now. Some bad - parking	Positive	All explained in full on previous answer	9:24	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		When I was younger, the residents were predominantly older. There weren't masses of young people in fact my friends from other areas used to comment on how many pensioners there were and how few young people there were to socialise with. The last 15 years has seen a huge increase in new young families who aren't originally from Marino buying here and in turn, lots of young children arriving.
<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/dashboard/surveys/95495/1/report">https://www.opinionstage.com/dashboard/surveys/95495/1/report</a>									
2/12									

1/25/22, 3:13 PM									
Survey Stats									
2022-01-20 01:33:46	Marino	51 yrs	Litter damaged footpaths, no children playing outdoors.	Negative	Marino is not the close friendly place it used to be	2:32	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		been built on and while they have provided housing it is still a loss of lungs. Massive buy to rent apartment development on Griffith Ave already had detrimental effect visually, and the impact on traffic and use of small local shops is going to be crazy. Further developments planned for Bishop Palace will completely clog roads and services around Fairview.
2022-01-19 11:02:49	Marino	30 years	Griffith ave much busier. Still good community	Negative	Negative with build of major apartment complex on Griffith ave which are not family homes but agat - high rent only. Other than that, love living Marino	1:59	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		Is my youth the grass was cut once a year, now it's every few weeks.
2022-01-19 10:56:30	Marino	61 years	Increased traffic	Negative	Positive - commuter services are more regular. Negative is the traffic volumes.	1:46	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		The 123 bus route from city centre to Marino. New apartments on Griffith Ave. New owners/changin of shops i.e. Dollars to C&T.
2022-01-19 10:53:38	Fairview	1965	More cars broken into, morehouse break ins, less garadi around, if ever any (except when there were big matches or concert at Croker)	Negative	By and large still a good place to live, plenty of decent people still around, and good shops too.	3:34	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		House prices gone through the roof lots of building Much more traffic
2022-01-19 10:10:56	Fairview	28 years	More cars and parking challenges. More cyclists. More coffee shops and new independent shops to complement the older independent shops. Infill developments. Younger family demographic.	Positive	Positive shops like Fresh Market, Sweetneys, Brady's, Quack and Dick. Kennedy's add to you! Older ones like Deagans, Edgars, Donnelly's C and T and Wrights. I enjoy using these shops very regularly. Upkeep of Marino greens is good, Fairview park much improved in past couple of years. Negative is the abandoned developments (Gerry Boudes in Richmond is an absolute disgrace). Players lounge, exposed terrace. Loss of gardens to car spaces in Marino is a shame. A lot of green spaces belonging formerly to All Hallows' child vision / Marino institute have	21:43	<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/p...">https://www.opinionstage.com/p...</a>		Fairview has gone downhill, rubbish, graffiti especially on shop fronts, ugly shop fronts, dog fouling, landlords not taking care of the appearance of rented houses, too much traffic on Fairview strand and Philipburgh Avenue, and criminal activity of different sorts. Fairview Park used to be a place I felt safe. Now it's dangerous with no security or wardens and poor lighting and drinking
<a href="https://www.opinionstage.com/dashboard/surveys/95495/1/report">https://www.opinionstage.com/dashboard/surveys/95495/1/report</a>									
4/12									

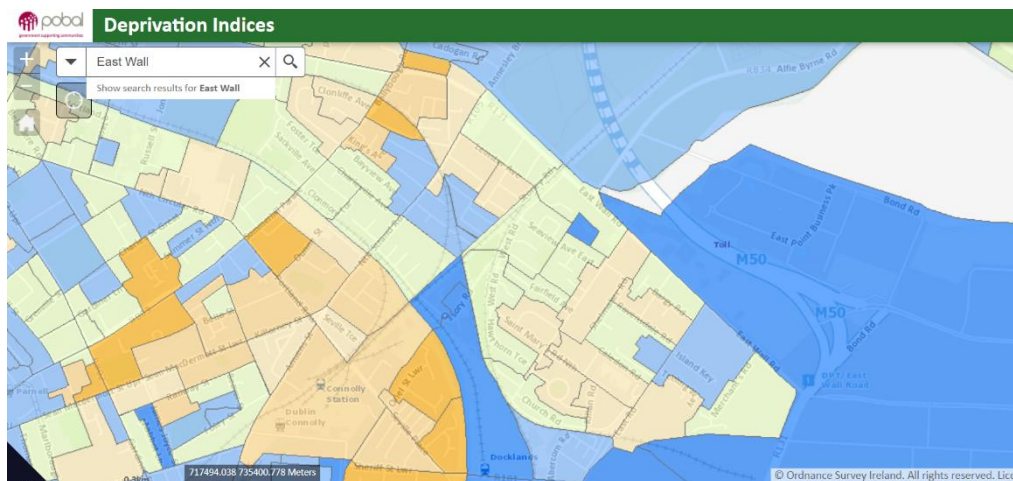
## Appendix 2

The following are Pobal maps of Deprivation Indices for East Wall and Ballybough

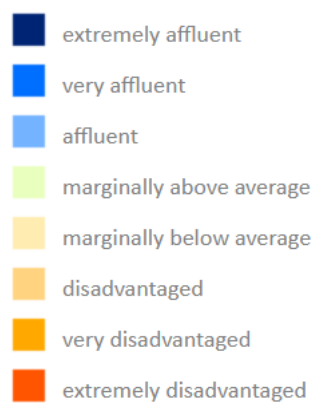


2006

2011



2016



## Appendix 3

The 1901 and 1911 census include Fairview under “Clontarf West” and “Clontarf West Part of” respectively. The larger Victorian houses were occupied by the upper middle class and many of them had at least one servant. I have included some examples of how information was recorded and obtained from the census in Appendix 2. The smaller houses were occupied by “heads of households” who classified their occupations as “clerks,” “warehousemen,” “drapers assistants,” “printers,” “postmen” etc.

## Samples from the 1901 and 1911 Census

Townlands/Streets in Clontarf West (Dublin)		Houses in Annadale Avenue (Clontarf West, Part of, Dublin)		
		House Number	Surnames in House	Details
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Albany Terrace</li> <li>Annadale Avenue</li> <li>Annadale Park</li> <li>Charlemont Road</li> <li>Clontarf West</li> <li>Crescent Place</li> <li>Croydon Cottages</li> <li>Donnycarney</li> <li>Ekone Terrace</li> <li>Fairview</li> <li>Fairview Avenue</li> <li>Fairview Strand</li> <li>Foyle Terrace</li> <li>Hollybrook Road</li> <li>Howth Road</li> <li>Killester South</li> <li>Malahide Road</li> <li>Marino</li> <li>Marino Crescent</li> <li>Melrose Avenue</li> <li>Merville Avenue</li> <li>Philipsburgh Avenue</li> <li>Richmond Road and Richmond Avenue East</li> <li>Royal Terrace</li> <li>St. Joseph's Terrace</li> <li>St. Lawrence Road</li> <li>Strand Road</li> <li>Stranville Avenue</li> <li>Thorlough Terrace</li> </ul>		1	Murphy	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		1	O Murchadha	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		3	Kerr	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		4	Mitchell	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		5	Andrews	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		5	Deane	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		6	O Callaghan	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		7	Dowall	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		7	Polley	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		8	Saurin	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		9	Byrne	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		10	Rae	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	Farrell	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	Kane	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	Maguire	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	O'Brien	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	Saunders	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		11	Welch	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		12	Hopley	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		13	Jamieson	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		13	Moore	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		14	Casey	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		15	Gasteen	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)
		16	Dundon	View <a href="#">occupants</a> or <a href="#">original census form</a> (as a PDF)

Home

Search Census

Early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland

Browse Census

How to Search

Census Years / 1901 / Dublin / Clontarf West / Foyle Terrace / Residents of a house

Residents of a house 1 in Foyle Terrace (Clontarf West, Dublin)

Show all information

Surname	Forename	Age	Sex	Relation to head	Religion	Birthplace	Occupation	Literacy	Irish Language	Marital Status	Spec
Ferguson	Rose F	21	Female	Daughter	Church of Ireland	Dublin City	Scholar	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Ferguson	Clara T F	28	Female	Daughter	Church of Ireland	City of Londonderry	Professor of Music	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Ferguson	Dorothea A	29	Female	Daughter	Church of Ireland	City of Londonderry	B.A., R.U.I. Cataloguer Nat. Library, Ireland	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Ferguson	Robert Alexander	64	Male	Head of Family	Church of Ireland	City of Londonderry	Architect	Read and write	-	Married	-
Core	Margaret	18	Female	Servant	Roman Catholic	Dublin City	Servant	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Ferguson	Clara	56	Female	Wife	Church of Ireland	Co Tyrone	-	Read and write	-	Married	-

Report any error in transcription

Home

Search Census

Early 20<sup>th</sup> century Ireland

Browse Census

How to Search

Census Years

/ 1901

/ Dublin

/ Clontarf West

/ Philipsburgh Avenue

/ Residents of a house

Residents of a house 9 in Philipsburgh Avenue (Clontarf West, Dublin)

☒ Show all information

Surname	Forename	Age	Sex	Relation to head	Religion	Birthplace	Occupation	Literacy	Irish Language	Marital Status	Spec
Kelly	Patrick	19	Male	Boarder	Roman Catholic	Cork Co	Second Division Clerk H M C S Registry of Deeds Dublin	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Trotter	James	24	Male	Boarder	Presbyterian	Scotland	Civil Service Clerk of the Second Division Registry of Deeds Dublin	Read and write	-	Not Married	-
Mc Allister	Patrick	32	Male	Head of Family	Roman Catholic	Co Dublin	Shop Assistant Tea Merchant	Read and write	-	Married	-
Mc Allister	John	1	Male	Son	Roman Catholic	Dublin City	-	-	-	-	-
Mc Allister	Catherine	24	Female	Wife	Roman Catholic	Co Louth	-	Read and write	-	Married	-

Report any error in transcription