

PROSPERITY AND CHANGE -THE IRISH MANIFESTATION OF AN URBANISING WATERFRONT CITY QUARTER

P. Fallon & C. Wang***

*School of Spatial Planning, Dublin Institute of Technology, Dublin, Email: paraic.fallon@gmail.com

**3F, Murray O' Laoire Architects, Fumbally Lane, Dublin, Email: chong.wang@murrayolaoire.com

ABSTRACT: The Dublin Docklands project has proven to be an innovative and flexible model for the delivery of urban renewal, social regeneration and cultural transformation. In the current economic climate however, an entirely new approach is required otherwise Dublin could be planning for a future that is already past. The finding of the paper serves to provide options for the future direction for Irish docklands regeneration and elaborate upon the core issues and guiding principles needed to adapt the regeneration model to new realities.

KEYWORDS: Docklands urban regeneration, social regeneration, community gain, economic regeneration

1 INTRODUCTION

During the second half of the 20th century many western cities used large-scale urban (re)development projects as a strategy to tackle widespread de-industrialisation and looked towards liberal approach of regeneration and growth. The evolution of the Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan over the past 20 years has arguably followed this global trend of brownfield regeneration through market-led growth strategies. The mechanism of this Irish waterfront regeneration project (attracting investment through tax incentives etc) differs little with other international experiences. However, the 'Dublin Docklands regeneration model' has charted its own course of development responding to a unique set of circumstances in local context and national urban development culture in Ireland¹ [1].

The Docklands regeneration model, initially established to create the (Irish) International Financial Service Centre (IFSC), was later transformed to focus on the promotion of social regeneration and the creation of a 'community gain' scheme (public funds through private development). The shift in focus clearly reflects changing social-economic context and a maturing urban development philosophy. Notwithstanding considerable achievements in economic and physical regeneration, social tensions remain in the Docklands area and many civic and infrastructural projects have yet to be delivered. Furthermore, as the Irish economy faces up to a period of major readjustment, the momentum for new development in the Docklands will diminish from that achieved in the 'boom' period and with it the availability of significant funding for community gain.

The paper maps out the evolution of the Docklands regeneration approach from its earlier, more limited scope of delivering a base for international financial services to a much more ambitious and complex aim of establishing an entirely new and sustainable urban quarter for Dublin City. The paper critically evaluates some key issues including the focus on a single driver over the course of the development, the dependency of social regeneration on private sector development, and the implications of the limited range of industries, housing

¹ (Urban (re)development in Ireland has been pursued in a somewhat unique "adaptive entrepreneurial" approach, namely a hybrid of "American style economic policies – promoting competition through the availability of a cheap and flexible labour force" and an "EU emphasis on social partnership and social policy initiatives designed to secure social inclusion and common basic welfare standards [1].

typologies etc. developed so far. The findings of the paper serve to examine the options for the future direction for Irish docklands regeneration and elaborate upon the core issues and guiding principles needed to adapt the regeneration model to new realities.

2 DUBLIN DOCKLANDS- A NEW IRISH WATERFRONT URBAN QUARTER and A NEW URBAN REGENERATION MODEL

Dublin Docklands is the largest waterfront regeneration project ever undertaken in Ireland. Originally an 11-hectare plan area (the Custom House Dock Development Area) the current size of the master plan area now stretches to over 500 hectares (under the Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan, 1997 to date), covering 10% of the entire inner city. Formerly characterised by an ailing port industry and far removed from the commercial heart of the city, the present-day Docklands district is as what Moore describes as a new district in inner city Dublin:

“New private sector apartment schemes incorporating 20% social and affordable housing have promoted a high density living experience; the roll-out of integrated public infrastructure and a high quality public realm strategy have been put in place to allow better connection and accessibility to the Docklands. Moreover, there is a clear emphasis on establishing new urban living cultures in association with water rejuvenation and social and cultural programmes to reinforce local identity” [2]

Of all the approaches and models introduced for entrepreneurial urban renewal in Ireland, it is only in Dublin Docklands that a ‘fast-track’, plan-led planning process [3] was established by the Irish Government. This ‘fast-track’ planning process completely bypasses the normal statutory planning process, including the third-party appeal, as provided in the ‘Planning and Development’ legislation. Such a ‘fast-track’ process, provides for both development certainty incumbent in a ‘plan-led’ system and, in particular, investment certainty for indigenous and foreign investors and firms seeking to locate in the IFSC. Moreover, the ‘fast-track’ process has allowed the transformation from the promotion and location of primarily financial services in Docklands to the co-location of a range of complementary advanced producer services (APS).

Moore argues that redevelopment projects have been characterised by lack of consultation and little community gain, with privatisation of the waterfront and significant displacement of local residents and small scale industries as major features internationally [4]. Notwithstanding this, the key to adoption and implementation of the Docklands development guidance - Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 1997, and the subsequent 2003 and 2008 Master Plans, was a reconstituted Community Liaison Committee (CLC), comprising representatives of local communities within the enlarged area. Swynegedouw et al. [5] have further commented that while there were no local social returns in the initial stage” but local social programs now well developed and other initiatives coming on stream (including social housing)”. Indeed, they submit that the Dublin Docklands is “Now the most democratic model in the URSPIC sample” [6].

Given the significant number of Master Plan reviews and the fluctuation of Irish Economy, as well as the internal reform that took place within the development agency itself (from the Custom House Dock Development Agency (CHDDA) to Dublin Docklands Development Agency (DDDA)), the evolution of the Docklands regeneration model has followed a trajectory with several strands and phases of distinctly different characteristics. It can be seen as an iterative process whereby many of the mistakes from each stage have been acknowledged and some improvements made. In order to point towards a future direction for the Docklands model in a radically changing economic and social reality, one might look at the evolution of the quarter in terms of a number of distinct markers within the phases of this regeneration model. Issues such as landownership and the use of special planning tools (in an Irish context) such as the ‘planning scheme’ are highlighted to illustrate how the model has been adapted.

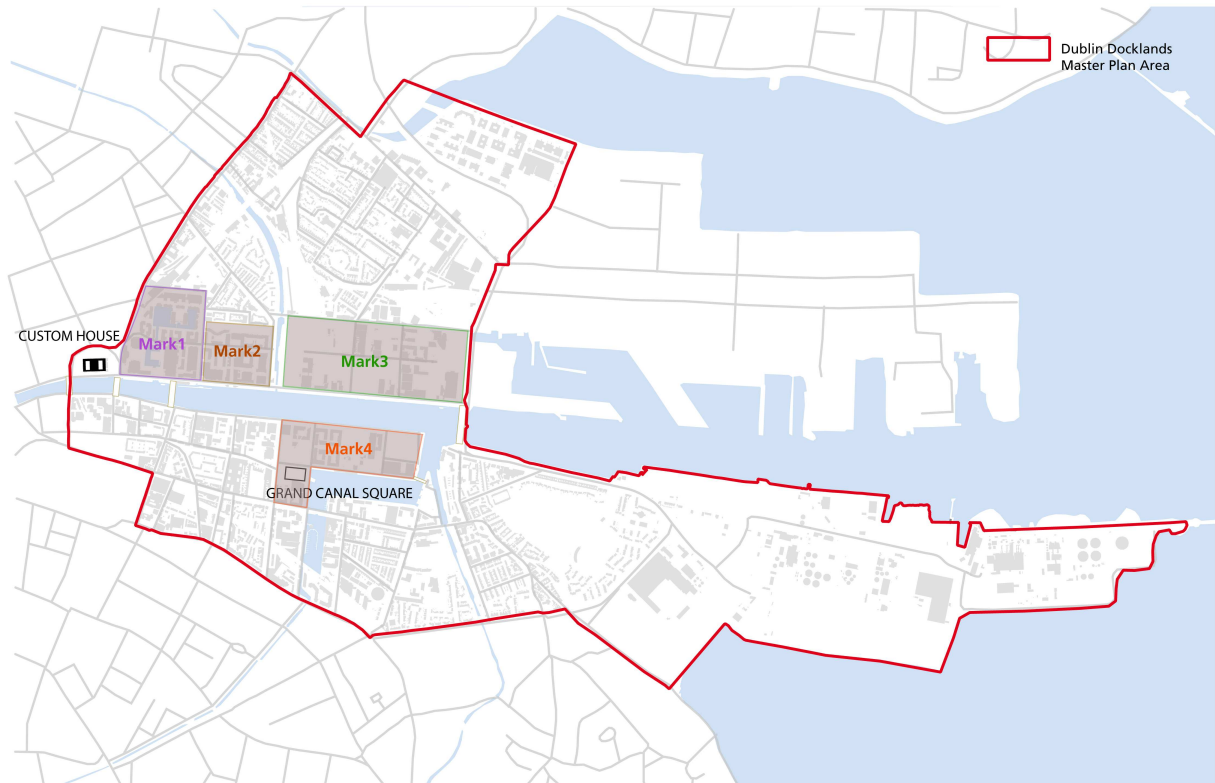


Figure 1 Dublin Docklands Area and Regeneration Typologies

The first phase of the Docklands project was what as Bannon [7] has referred as the proto-typical first model of urban regeneration for Dublin. The national political needs provided the first impetus for a radical change in approach to inner city renewal. Under the Urban Renewal Act 1986, a development agency CHDDA was established with independent power. It could enter into partnership with private companies to secure its objectives. Later on in 1987, the area was boosted the decision of the Department of the Taoiseach (Irish Prime Minister) to designate the Custom House Docks Area (CHDA) as the site of an International Financial Services Centre (IFSC).

Table 1 Dublin Docklands and Regeneration Typology Comparison

	Mark I: Custom House Docks/ IFSC I (1987-1997)	Mark II: IFSC II (1997-2005)	Mark III : North Lotts (2000-present)	Mark IV: Grand Canal Docks (2002-present)
Major aim	To deliver a world class financial	1997 Docklands Master Plan with specific targets;	2003 Docklands Master Plan with specific targets;	2003 Docklands Master Plan with specific targets;
Land ownership	Public (Dublin Port and Docks Board)	Public (DDDA) & Private	Primarily private	Public (DDDA) & Private
Partnership	CHDDA with private consortium	DDDA led	DDDA led	DDDA led
Inclusion of Neighbour	No	DDDA with local community representatives on	As per Mark II	As per Mark II; and Killarney social regeneration conference with wider public audiences

hood of decision making		board; communities are included in the decision making is reinforced by the legislation;		
Integration with wider city	Limited	Limited	Planned public infrastructure including tramline extension, planned underground rail to link the area with wider city, however, is still not delivered.	Improved, cultural uses including the performance art centre, large water front square.
Social return	limited	20% social and affordable housing scheme; 20% new full-time jobs and apprenticeship for local residents	As per Mark II	Mark II + Various community programs and employment schemes, establishing “Community gain” to fund community development
Main planning tools for development	CHDDA with independent power Section 25 planning scheme; 10% corporation tax	DDDA with local representatives; Section 25 Planning scheme; Social regeneration programme; 10 % Corporation tax + tax incentives	As per Mark II	As per Mark II

Despite the original intention of “building a mixed use area of Dublin” outlined in the CHDDA Planning scheme 1987, a clear contrast had been seen between the development priorities of those with direct control and the 1987 planning scheme. By the mid 1990s, the CHDDA had realized much of the physical and economic renewal goal it had set out to achieve. Many of the world’s top financial institutions established commercial activity in the Custom House Docks during the early 1990s; however with its emphasis on entrepreneurial approaches, very little ancillary development was completed to complement the extensive office-based function [8].

The second phase of the IFSC (Mark II) was developed under the 1997 Dublin Docklands Master Plan “and a more mixed use approach to urban form was adopted than on the initial phase of the IFSC, with residential development over ground-floor commercial uses mixed in with financial services offices.”[9]. A new style of inner-city living began to emerge in the docklands area as a result of this phase of regeneration. The new IFSC attract young professionals from Ireland and abroad who have the mainland European preferences for living accommodation. The IFSC II was stimulated by an increasing demand for high quality private residential units along the waterfront close to the city centre [10]. As a result, new facilities including new bars, restaurants, and cultural facilities were developed, signifying the diversification of the Docklands. Notably, the ownership of the land by the DDDA was an important element of the delivery of the mixed-use and mixed housing tenure project at Clarion Quay in the IFSC II and likewise in the construction of the National College of Ireland building nearby.

The Mark III development of the Docklands incorporates more citywide iconic attractions including the recently completed “O2” concert hall, the National Conference Centre and the 32-storey Point Village tower. Such developments may help establish the North Lotts as a distinct quarter in the Dubliners’ mental map. With a new tramline under construction and under ground ‘Dart Interconnector’ proposed, public accessibility in this area will be largely enhanced. At the same time, the approach of “development first, infrastructure after” would suggest that this phase of implementing the master plan is still very much developer-led. Equally, the weight of land ownership towards the private sector in North Lotts offers the DDDA less flexibility and control in ensuring the delivery of social infrastructure and more sustainable built forms.

The latest phase of Docklands development at Grand Canal Docks area is considered a more successful development model to establish a mixed use city quarter, providing a greater variety of uses than in the IFSC area; children's play space, and higher quality design of buildings and spaces, all created on formerly contaminated land. It is said to illustrate that "where there is a will and central government support to achieve a goal, it is possible to balance environmental and development objectives and can in fact result in economic and social returns far beyond the initial investment." [11]. A broader range of cultural and amenity facilities are provided, among which the Performance Art Centre, subsidized by a development levy scheme, is expected to attract a wide range of visitors from the Dublin City. Again, the large proportion of land owned by DDDA in that area is key to the delivery to this Performance Art Centre as well as the main public square - Grand Canal Square.

There have been considerable achievements in economic, social and physical regeneration. Firstly, Dublin Docklands has a number of generic 'flagship' projects recently completed or under construction, including a convention centre, a large concert venue, and the performing arts centre. Secondly, at a more local level, community centres have been completed in established communities, and the National College of Ireland (NCI) opened in 2002, providing citywide community education and development programmes. However, the construction of two new primary schools has yet to commence. Thirdly, there has been notable demand of 'softer' social regeneration programmes in the Docklands area, including education and training, in which community gain "finds expression in a pride-of-place, a sense of belonging, and ... the "capacity for self-actualisation"." [12]. There has been little analysis or discussion of these Authority's 'softer' programmes, and the lack of data in the public domain makes evaluation difficult, though one result is a very significant increase in pupils completing second level education [13]. On the other hand, many civic and infrastructural projects have yet to be delivered, including the Royal Canal Linear Park, while infrastructure lags behind development, for example, the local drainage network remains inadequate in many areas [14].

In essence, the Dublin Docklands project is growth centered and follows key concepts of growth machine theory (GMT; as developed by Logan and Molotch in the 1970s) according to Hogan [15] in his research on the politics of urban regeneration in the Docklands. Hogan illustrates how elements of growth machine theory apply to Docklands, particularly the undertaking of urban renewal in the CHDA, as well as some of the exclusionary features of development in later phases, and the minimal effect on job creation for the indigenous community, while the overall rate of employment in the Docklands increased substantially.

Like many of its kind, this "growth machine" is equipped with social elements to sustain its operation. Moore points out that over the last 10 years there a "newfound emphasis on social need" [16], resulting in less apparent social polarization and considers that this could be as a result of the power exercised by the community representatives on the DDDA Council². Furthermore, she states, "Social infrastructure has been increasingly prioritized, which can perhaps be explained with reference to the opportunities provided by the economic boom." [17].

Criticism by Hogan (above) and Moore (above), among others, of social segregation, new 'yuppie' residents and the lack of family living in Docklands is understandable given that more than half of what has been built comprises a downtown corporate environment, with a functionally rigid, coarse urban grain and similarly large footprint, four to eight storey buildings of apartments over ground floor retail and service units. These new apartment building blocks and precincts have introduced new mixed tenure typologies and new forms of urban living to Dubliners and others. Nevertheless, while community facilities have been provided in the areas of established communities that enable integration, there is no amenity facilities like neighbourhood meeting place, public pocket park, library or new school within new community areas that provide these residents with a sense of place and allow them to have community activities. This is typical of the challenge facing many waterfront projects and the difficulty in reconciling the requirements of an over-determined, downtown corporate centre, characteristic of a 'Brittle City' [18], with those of a living city quarter amenable to a wide range of residential and other users.

Notably, DDDA has moved to address some of these issues by incorporating a 'new' community gain scheme in the 2008 Master Plan. In consultation with members of the community and public representatives,

² The Council of the DDDA is made up of community and other representatives, elected members and officials of Dublin City Council, and representatives of national and regional agencies, semi-state bodies, unions and local businesses.

DDDA is to identify priority community gain needs for future planned areas and “developers will be required to deliver from a list of priority community gain projects in the area at each phase of development.”[19]. The details of the community gain scheme applicable to developers are to be contained in each planning scheme as it comes forward. Accordingly, the recent Draft Poolbeg Planning Scheme commissioned by DDDA incorporates a wider variety of housing types in part of Zone 3 and identifies a number of community gain facilities within the new development area “to support the new community and existing communities nearby.”[20].

With the support of the CLC and the DDDA Council, DDDA has introduced a sustainable Community Trust in the 2008 Master Plan, as “an independent source of finance to support innovative and creative projects in the community sector”[21] overseen trustees from the community and DDDA. A Housing Trust has also been established to administer all social and affordable housing in the Docklands area, managed by directors comprising representatives from the community, Dublin City Council and DDDA [22].

As a driver of the Dublin Docklands regeneration, commercial regeneration in the Docklands has two distinct profiles “high quality office space accommodating major financial operations at the core of the IFSC with less expensive and more extensive space available within the East Point Enterprise Zone.”[23]. It is the opinion of the authors that one of the principal challenges facing the Dublin Docklands waterfront regeneration project is identified by Moore in her comment (above) that the increasing prioritization of social infrastructure can be explained by the opportunities provided by the economic boom. The provision of ‘community gain’ is leveraged through the completion of physical development, which in turn is spearheaded by the key economic driver of the IFSC and associated advanced producer services, with further provision through other commercial and residential developments.

The international financial services sector in Ireland is concentrated in Dublin, largely in the IFSC [24]. Its importance to the national and city economies is highlighted by the recent City of London’s Global Financial Services Index (GFCI), which ranked Dublin 13th overall in financial services in 2008, 7th in insurance and 10th in asset management [25]. The Greater Dublin region is also highly monocentric, with about 90 percent of all multi-location APS offices located in Dublin, often in the city centre [26], with Docklands providing for the clustering of national and international APS firms in the financial, legal, accounting and management sectors, with software and internet service firms situated nearby.

While the reasons for concentration of APS firms in the city centre can be seen as a process of ‘cumulative causation’, government policy in the creation of the IFSC is also seen as a significant factor, as is its accessibility [27]. The combination of road and rail / tram infrastructure currently in place make the core of Docklands, and the IFSC and Grand Canal Docks areas in particular, highly accessible relative to other parts of the city. However, the provision of new public transportation infrastructure to further improve accessibility to the ‘core area’ is unlikely before 2016.

International financial services are affected by a series of inter-related international economic, regulatory, technological; and customer / product trends identified in the Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 2008. In order to compete with other cities internationally, the 2008 Master Plan identifies a need to develop premium office accommodation in areas of high quality urban design, served by cultural attractions and complementary uses, whilst shifting from ‘high-volume jobs’ to ‘high-value jobs’, to focus on specialist skills and to promote the ‘competitive advantages’ of locating in Docklands [28]. However, the performance of financial services and insurance services was “particularly weak” in Ireland in 2008 [29] and the indications are that there will be further contraction in financial services in 2010, while employment in financial services in Europe are not expected to reach 2007 levels until 2013 at the earliest [30]. Furthermore, the IMF indicates, “increased global competition for FDI implies that the task for Ireland is increasingly harder.”[31].

Ireland has lost cost competitiveness relative to EU and other competitor countries over the last 10 years [32]. In a recent report, the National Competitiveness Council has highlighted a need to prioritize investments that develop the competitiveness of Dublin (as well as other cities), the need for improved city governance and the delivery of key urban infrastructure priorities. However, the report is more vague about the detail of these proposals, particularly in relation to metropolitan governance, where it recommends, “Innovative means of encouraging cooperation between local authorities should be explored.”[33].

The Economic Development Action Plan for the Dublin City Region, published in July 2009, is aimed at developing the capital city as an internationally competitive region, proposes to develop three ‘key economic corridors’ [34]. While welcome in terms of regional cooperation, these proposals do not appear to be

supported by an analytical framework, particularly in relation to the type of economic investment expected in these corridors and the prioritization of investment locations. Furthermore, there are at least a dozen major development projects (of 10,000 to 35,000 population and with significant levels of commercial floorspace) currently under construction or in very advanced planning stages in the Dublin City Region alone, including the development of the Poolbeg peninsula within the Docklands area. So far, there has been no attempt to prioritize which development area should be continued or which new area should proceed first, given the limited resources for infrastructure and a lower demand for housing and commercial spaces in the short to medium-term. Likewise, there has been little attempt to address institutional deficits to provide for greater coordination and development prioritization at the regional level.

The combined effects of the end of the Irish property boom and the global financial crises provide the imperative for a new approach to the regeneration of Dublin Docklands from a primary focus on the promotion of the IFSC and its high quality, 'big boxes' as the key economic driver, with less expensive 'big boxes' for back-up service companies in East Point, to developing a richer mix of uses, and a broader range of enterprise in small and even micro boxes within more multi-functional, adaptable and livable places.

3 EXPLORING THE DOCKLANDS' FUTURE

Diversity and innovation are considered two of the key requirements of 'creative' and 'successful' cities, according to many authors on the subject, who tend to focus on the economic benefits of multicultural diversity and its potential for innovation, for example [35]. However, the need for diverse and innovative places and spaces of all kinds, as described by Jacobs [36] and Sennett's [37] are equally important. There is a need for a planning approach based on 'place-making' (rather than 'place marketing'), aimed at sustaining the everyday lives of residents, in which "emphasis is given to public participation, the transfer of skills and knowledge and social justice issues of belonging, including sense of community and sense of place." [38]. Furthermore, the 'typology for developing creative quarters' described by Montgomery identifies, among other things, the need for spaces for artistic production, creative business incubators, public art, café culture, street life and community development [39]. This planning approach should promote 'glocal spaces', "transcultural hybridity and cultural syncretism" [40], the unexpected, uses of public spaces that do not fit neatly together and the concept of complexity, diversity and dissonance as advocated by Jacobs [41].

It is considered likely that financial and other APS will contract further in the short-term, with some moderate growth in the medium-term, and that the core area of Docklands will maintain its dominant role in the expansion of these services. However, it is likely that even within the medium-term there will not be a full build-out of the 'core lands' in the North Lotts (Mark III) and Grand Canal Docks Planning Scheme areas (Mark IV). It is likely that most development land within the Docklands area will be taken over by the National Asset Management Agency (Nama³), with a minimum duration of 5 years and a more likely one of 15 years [42].

Against this background, Dublin Docklands will move from a fast-growth and growth-centered model to, at most, a slow-growth model in the medium-term, and with obvious implications for the provision of community gain. This scenario was considered likely among the experts and guests at a workshop on the 27 August. The question that needs to be raised in this context is does such a scenario require a change of model? This in turn raises further questions in relation to what kinds of Docklands do we want?

As a pathfinder for a way forward, it was generally agreed there is a need for a greater diversity of:

- Places and spaces,
- Uses,
- Enterprise (wider than the IFSC),
- Building typologies (allowing adaptability / flexibility), and
- Community participation.

While accepting the form and function of the already built-out IFSC and adjacent built-up areas, which may be called the 'core area', there is a need in the remaining undeveloped areas to create a suitable planning methodology to incorporate this greater diversity and to facilitate the evolution of Docklands as an 'open

³ The National Asset Management Agency (Nama), a so-called 'bad bank' to take over and manage what is believed to be up to 90 billion Euro of bank loans related to development land and property developments across the state. A minimum duration of 5 years is considered likely, with a possible winding-up in 15 years.

city' "which becomes democratic, not in a legal sense, but as physical experience." [43].

The Docklands project has already seen the greatest public benefit arising from lands owned by or transferred to the Development Authority. Therefore, a key to this new planning methodology would be the transfer of undeveloped land assets in the DDDA area (or at least in the non-core areas) from management by Nama to management and ownership by a remodeled DDDA, including the acquisition of such lands by the DDDA at current prices. In effect, this would be implementing Objectives 4 and 5 of the 1997 Master Plan, which provided for the acquisition of lands at Poolbeg and elsewhere [44]. This would require new public participation procedures and a review of the plan-making and certification process in Docklands. Nevertheless, it would enable the management of these lands by the DDDA for the public benefit, with the management and 'growth' of the assets (using sustainable urban planning to create real 'public value' for the lands) through a methodology based on the following key elements:

- I. A long-term, detailed land use strategy for all currently undeveloped lands, using a step-by-step approach based on:
 - place-making,
 - the generation of diversity (including new and more flexible building typologies) and
 - the identification of the key roles of 'core' and 'non-core' lands.
- II. A short- to medium-term, temporary land use strategy, also using a step-by-step approach based on place-making, the generation of diversity and the identification of key roles of lands. This strategy could provide a wide range of new temporary uses, facilities, amenities, places and spaces, using ideas competitions and other forms of public participation to generate possibilities.
- III. The 'up-front' provision of (a) hard infrastructure, such as public transport, cycling, drainage, broadband, etc., and (b) soft infrastructure, such as public parks, pocket parks, sports facilities, meeting spaces etc., as well as innovative temporary infrastructure(s) to facilitate the roll-out of the temporary land use strategy.
- IV. The exploration of new housing development models, typologies and tenures, including cooperative models, for example the Baugruppen model promoted under the ExWoSt programme in Germany [45].

Ultimately, sites with significant commercial development potential could be returned / sold back to private developers to undertake development in accordance with the long-term land use planning strategy and an associated Planning Scheme.

Finally, the aspiration should be to create a model for Dublin Docklands based on the challenge presented to us by Richard Sennett:

"Today's capitalism imposes on us a specific task: creating complexity and mutual attachment in a city which tends to difference rather than alterity, a city in which people withdraw behind the walls of difference. We need to discover the craft work which answers to this particular challenge." [46].

REFERENCES

1. Bartley, B. and Treadwell Shine, K., "Promoting Economic and Social Gains: The Emergence of Dublin as an Adaptive 'Entrepreneurial' City", Dublin, Insite Magazine, Royal Town Planning Institute, Autumn/Winter 1999, p. 20.
2. Moore, N., "Dublin Docklands Reinvented – The Post-Industrial Regeneration of a European City Quarter," Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2008, p.
3. McLaughlin, J., "Urbanism: high-density development, in The New Housing 2 – Building Better Communities," Dublin, The Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, 2009, p. 37.
4. Moore, N., 2008, op.cit., p. 212.
5. Swyngedouw, E. Moulaert, F. and Rodriguez, A., "Neoliberal Urbanization in Europe: Large-Scale Urban Development Projects and the New Urban Policy," Antipode, Volume 34, Number 3, July 2002, Table 4, p. 563.
6. Ibid.
7. Bannon, M.J, 1999, The Greater Dublin Region: Planning for its City: Governance and the Changing Dynamics of Urban Regeneration in Dublin
8. Moore, N., 2008. op.cit. p. 129.
9. McLaughlin, J., 2009, op.cit. p. 37.

-
10. Ibid., p. 38.
 11. Moore, N., 2008, op.cit., p. 275.
 12. Dublin Docklands Development Authority, "Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 2008," Dublin, DDDA, 2008, p. 45.
 13. Bunbury, T., "Dublin Docklands: An Urban Voyage," Dublin: Dublin Docklands Development Authority and Montague Publications, 2009, p. 20.
 14. Dublin Docklands Development Authority, 2008, op. cit. p. 133.
 15. Hogan, J. P., "The Politics of Urban Regeneration," *Progress in Irish Urban Studies*, Vol. 2, 2006, pp.27-37.
 16. Moore, N. (2008), op.cit., pp. 292-293.
 17. Ibid. p. 293.
 18. Sennett, R., "The Open City," Berlin, *Urban Age: Newspaper Essay*, November 2006.
 19. Dublin Docklands Development Authority, 2008, op.cit. p. v.
 20. Dublin Docklands Development Authority (2), "Draft Planning Scheme for Poolbeg 2008," Dublin, DDDA, 2008, p. 18.
 21. Dublin Docklands Development Authority (2008) op.cit.
 22. Bunbury, T., 2009, op.cit. p. 26.
 23. Moore, N., 2008, op. cit. p. 293.
 24. Breathnach, P., "The Services Sector," in Bartley, B. and Kitchin, R., "Understanding Contemporary Ireland," London, Pluto Press, 2007, p. 152.
 25. "The Global Financial Centres Index March 2009," London, City of London, 2009.
 26. van Egeraat, C. Sokol, M. and Stafford, P., "Greater Dublin in the Celtic Tiger Economy: Towards a Polycentric Mega-City Region?" in: "Hall P. and Pain, K. "The Polycentric Metropolis – Learning from Mega-City Regions in Europe," London, Earthscan, 2006, p. 189.
 27. Ibid.
 28. Dublin Docklands Development Authority, 2008, op.cit. p. 67.
 29. National Competitiveness Council, "Annual Competitiveness Report 2009," Dublin, NCC, 2009, p. 10.
 30. London Economics, "The Importance of Wholesale Financial Services to the EU Economy 2009," Fourth Edition, London, City of London Corporation, 2009.
 31. International Monetary Fund, "IMF Report 2009 on Ireland, IMF Country Report No. 09/195, June 2009," Washington D.C., IMF, 2009, p. 9.
 32. Ibid., and National Competitiveness Council, 2009, op. cit.
 33. National Competitiveness Council (2), "Our Cities: Drivers of National Competitiveness," Dublin, NCC and Forfas, 2009, p. 10.
 34. "Economic Development Action Plan for the Dublin City Region," Dublin, Dublin City Council, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council, Fingal County Council, South Dublin County Council and the Dublin Regional Authority, July 2009.
 35. Brooke, N., "Focus on Global Issues: What Makes for a Successful City," address Winter 2003-04 Counselors of Real Estate Conference 2004; Landry, C., "The Creative City: A Toolkit for Urban Innovators," Earthscan, 2000.
 36. Jacobs, J., *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, London, Pimlico, 2000.
 37. Sennett, R., 2006, op.cit.
 38. Waitt, G., *Creative small cities: Cityscapes, power and the arts*, in Bell, D., and Jayne, M., (eds.), "Small Cities: Urban experience beyond the metropolis," Oxon, Routledge, 2006, p. 181.
 39. Montgomery, J., "The New Wealth of Cities: City Dynamics and the Fifth Wave," Aldershot, Ashgate, 2008, pp. 346-358.
 40. Edensor, T., "Caudan: domesticating the global waterfront," in Bell, D., and Jayne, M., (eds.), "Small Cities: Urban experience beyond the metropolis," Oxon, Routledge, 2006, p. 215.
 41. Jacobs, J., op. cit.
 42. Carey, B., *Sunday Times Business*, 2 August 2009, p. 5. and *The Irish Times*, 31 July 2009, pp. 1, 8-9.
 43. Sennett, R., 2006, op. cit. p. 2.

-
44. Dublin Docklands Development Authority (3), "Dublin Docklands Area Master Plan 1997," Dublin, DDDA, 1997, p. 2.
 45. Bundesministerium fuer Verkehr, Bau und Stadenwicklung, "Stadt als Wohnort fuer Familien: Ergebnisse der ExWoSt-Studie "Strategien und Aktionsfelder fuer staedtisches Wohnen von Familien"", Berlin, BMVBS and ExWoSt., 2009.
 46. Sennett, R., (2), "Capitalism and the City," in Echinique, M. and Saint, A. (eds.), "Cities for a New Millennium," London, Spon, 2001, p. 21.