

*Migration Patterns in Dublin County Borough**

N. JOHNSON

IN the last 15 years Dublin has undergone a dramatic change, from the fairly sleepy introverted capital of the 26 counties, it has been transformed into a relatively sophisticated and increasingly cosmopolitan financial and commercial centre. The large demand for office space has led to a change in function of an ever-growing number of buildings in the central city area, while the steadily increasing population is being housed and rehoused in new suburban estates around and beyond the city perimeter.

Change has been rapid and this study, limited to that area included in the County Borough due to lack of adequate data, concentrates on certain facets of the city in explanation of the continuous movements of its population. It will show how, as in the majority of cities in the Western Hemisphere, the ecological process of invasion and succession determined the present composition of Dublin and it will outline along what path, without official intervention, its future pattern of growth may proceed.

The Growth of Modern Dublin

Urban ecologists¹ describe the usual process of a city's growth in terms of a centrifugal process. The continuous pressure of migrant population on central city accommodation causes the residents to move to the periphery of the city in order to escape the encroaching slums. This process of invasion and succession continues with the areas of over-

*I wish to thank Professor B. Hutchinson, Dr R. C. Geary and Dr Brendan M. Walsh for their valuable criticisms and Peter Neary for conducting the statistical analysis in this paper. I am also indebted to a number of officers in the Dublin Corporation for their generous assistance. This article is taken from a fuller account of the study which is in the Memorandum Series of The Economic and Social Research Institute.

1. E. W. Burgess, "The Growth of the City", and H. Hoyt, "The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighbourhoods in American Cities", D. W. G. Timms: *The Urban Mosaic*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1971.

crowding becoming more widespread and the built-up area more extensive as more residents have to move further out for privacy and a salubrious environment.

The spatial expansion of Dublin began in the middle of the nineteenth century. "Nearly all the expansion was upper to middle-class residential: as the slum families, housed in Georgian times in mud-huts and 'weavers' houses', slowly moved into the grand streets of the north side, the professional classes moved out to Ballsbridge, Ranelagh and Rathmines."² However, the decrease in tram and rail fares at the turn of the century opened up the townlands and suburbs to the lower middle classes and since 1900 the city boundaries have been extended four times to take account of the large increases in this urban population. In the last fifteen years, since the introduction of the First Economic Programme with its increased investment and employment for the city, and concomitant surge in public and private house building, the surrounding countryside has been transformed "by 'estates' of middle class villas".³ In the north this is located within the boundary of the County Borough and in the south, in the County, where the population has increased at substantial rates. However, in the last couple of decades the population of the County Borough has fallen, except in 1961-66 (Table 1), due to the continuous decrease in inhabitants of the central city wards. With negligible exceptions

TABLE 1: *Percentage Change in Population*

	1951-1956	1956-1961	1961-1966	1966-1971
Dublin County	+26.5	+12.8	+31.1	+24.8
Dublin County Borough	-2.2	-0.4	+5.8	-0.3
26 Counties	-2.1	-2.8	+2.3	+3.0

Source: Census of Population.

the population of this area has declined throughout the century, as the process of slum clearance continues and the overcrowded tenements are replaced by office blocks, so reducing available dwellings.

For this reason, in spite of large inflows of population into the city, the net in-migration figures for the intercensal period 1961-1966 were small at 4.6 per 100 for males and 3.0 per 100 for females. Apart from age groups 5-9 and 25-34, which possibly reflects the movement of families expecting their second or third child to the suburbs, all age groups experienced some net in-migration though the rate was only significant among females aged 15-19 and those aged 65 years and over.

The County Borough is composed of an assortment of districts differing in date of development, type of dwelling, population structure, and conjugal status to name a few facets. These diverse characteristics give rise to a variety of population movements into and within the County Borough depending on the attractions of the individual districts.

2. M. Craig: *Dublin 1660-1860*. London: The Cresset Press, 1952, p. 302.

3. J. Meenan: "The City of Dublin: A View of Ireland". British Association for Advancement of Science, 1957, p. 235.

In order to analyse these movements more fully and ascertain any patterns of migration within the County Borough, net migration rates were estimated for the forty-two wards of the County Borough⁴ (the smallest territorial division for which statistics are published) for the period 1961-1966, which were the latest figures available. An attempt was made to devise a grouping of the wards based on objective statistical criteria, but the results were not satisfactory. Instead for the purpose of analysis the wards were divided into the following zones, on the basis primarily of the age distribution of their housing and type of tenancy.

Zone I includes the eight wards of Ballyfermot, Finglas West and East, Artane, Rathfarnham South, Santry, Coolock and Raheny, all areas of post-war housing estates.

Zone II includes 14 central city wards: Arran Quay, Inns Quay, North City, Rotunda, Mountjoy, Ballybough, North Dock, Usher's Quay, Merchant's Quay, Wood Quay, St Kevin's, Royal Exchange, Mansion House, South Dock, (Phoenix Park is not included).

Zone III, loosely associates eight wards: Crumlin, Kimmage, Kilmainham, Cabra East and West, Drumcondra North, Crumlin West, Baldyle.

Zone IV, includes eleven wards: Pembroke East and West, Rathmines East and West, Glasnevin, Drumcondra South, Clontarf East and West, Rathfarnham, Terenure.

The divisions are fairly arbitrary but do help to give a more concise picture of the population with its ebbs and flows within the County Borough. The large movement into the central city of young single people in the 15-24 age group. The considerable movement of the young married couples to the new housing estates on the city periphery. The high incidence of old and widowed people in the central city wards and their absence in areas of new housing. The vast numbers of children in these latter areas. The high percentage of unmarried males and females in certain areas and the predominantly married population of others.

The future development of Dublin according to the official plan lies westwards around the towns of Clondalkin, Tallaght and Blanchardstown, while recently a plan for a new self-contained town north of Dublin Airport was submitted by a group of private developers to the Corporation. However, the decay of central city areas with its piecemeal office development is now causing concern to a growing vocal body who fear that Dublin, like so many metropolises, may become a "ghost" city with little or no resident population. However, in November 1972 the Corporation announced plans for the redevelopment of a 5-acre central city site with shopping, office and other

4. Migration figures were arrived at by estimating the number of survivors in 1966 from the 1961 population—"the survival ratio method". Survival rates by age group for the five year interval 1961-1966, based on 1961 urban life table values were used. This expected 1966 population was then compared with the actual 1966 population aged 5 years and over as shown in the Census of Population, Volume II, and the residential taken as migrants. These migrants are expressed as a rate per 100 of the mean 1961-1966 population.

amenities to be undertaken by a private concern. Though this particular scheme, located in Moore Street, does not include any residential accommodation, yet 200 flats were recently completed by the Corporation in nearby Dominick Street and its spokesman announced that there were plans for about 800 new flats in the vicinity of the city centre area. In March details of the country's biggest commercial and residential development located beside the Grand Canal were released. These schemes and others are indicators, possibly, that urban renewal on a large scale has commenced in Dublin.

Zone I

Introduction

This zone includes eight wards of Dublin County Borough in which at least 75 per cent of the dwellings were constructed after 1945,⁵ namely: Ballyfermot, Finglas West, Coolock and Rathfarnham South, (in 1961 predominantly Corporation housing areas)⁶ and Santry, Artane, Raheny and Finglas East, (largely privately developed housing areas, the majority of which in 1961 were in owner occupations).⁶ House sizes were about average for the County Borough with at least 97 per cent of the dwellings consisting of 4 or 5 "habitable" rooms,⁷ apart from Raheny, Santry and Artane where over two-thirds of the dwellings had 6 or 7 "habitable" rooms.⁷ Households were large, the average number of persons per household was above the County Borough average of 4.01 persons while population densities were low (Table 3), Ballyfermot experiencing the highest number of persons per acre at 28.8. This development was commenced in 1948 and completed eleven years later with a total of 3,192 cottages. Further house building may still be undertaken in the other seven wards, and as the majority of their populations is still at the first stage of the family cycle, additional children may be expected to increase their densities. The average size of the Corporation cottage has also been increasing, as the immediate problem of rehousing slum dwellers has eased and the knowledge and experience gained from the first housing developments has been implemented in later schemes. In the Crumlin development, completed in 1945, 35 per cent of the cottages had three rooms and 65 per cent had four rooms.⁸ In Ballyfermot about 80 per cent had four rooms⁸ while in the Kilbarrack scheme, completed in 1971, 52 per cent of houses have five rooms.⁸ Apart from Ballyfermot and Rathfarnham South which lie to the South West of the City, all wards are on the northern periphery of the County Borough. Since 1961 there have been extensive housing developments in those wards bordering the northern County Borough boundary, in particular Artane, Coolock and Raheny, where large Corporation and private estates have been completed.

Population Characteristics

This Zone covers an area of increasing population, well above the County Borough average rate of increase as is shown in Table 2(a). However, there are very large differences in the rates of increase between the various wards, giving an indication of

5. Census of Population 1961—Volume VI, Table 24.

6. Census of Population 1961—Volume VI, Table 18.

7. Census of Population 1966—Volume VI, Table 11.

8. Dublin Corporation Housing Department.

TABLE 2: *Population Changes 1961-1966 and Femininity Ratio in 1966*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Percentage change in Population</i>	<i>Number of females per 1,000 Males</i>
	<i>(a)</i>	<i>(b)</i>
<i>Dublin County Borough</i>	+5.8	1,130
<i>Zone I</i>		
Artane	+77.5	950
Coolock	+91.8	1,030
Finglas East	+22.5	1,010
Finglas West	+59.4	990
Raheny	+90.3	1,050
Santry	+70.2	1,020
Ballyfermot	+ 6.3	990
Rathfarnham South	+ 5.7	1,060
<i>Zone II</i>		
Arran Quay	- 5.7	1,140
Ballybough	+ 4.5	1,150
Inns Quay	-14.2	1,200
Mountjoy	-13.1	1,170
North City	-29.3	1,160
North Dock	- 3.1	1,020
Rotunda	-18.0	1,320
Mansion House	-10.5	1,200
Merchant's Quay	- 0.9	1,180
Royal Exchange	-14.1	1,100
St Kevin's	- 9.4	1,450
South Dock	-15.9	1,360
Usher's Quay	+ 2.9	1,160
Wood Quay	- 2.1	1,130
<i>Zone III</i>		
Crumlin	- 2.2	1,070
Kimmage	- 0.2	1,070
Kilmainham	+ 2.9	1,060
Cabra East	- 0.7	1,220
Cabra West	+ 1.0	1,020
Drumcondra North	+ 2.7	1,130
Crumlin West	+16.4	1,170
Baldoyle	+27.7	990
<i>Zone IV</i>		
Pembroke East	+ 1.9	1,260
Pembroke West	- 2.1	1,330
Rathmines East	+ 2.9	1,450
Rathmines West	+ 5.0	1,320
Glasnevin	- 1.3	1,430
Drumcondra South	+ 0.3	1,230
Clontarf East	+ 5.5	1,130
Clontarf West	+ 3.2	1,110
Terenure	+ 2.3	1,170
Howth	+21.4	1,111
Rathfarnham	+13.5	850

Source: Census of Population, 1966—Vol. I. Table 11.

TABLE 3: *Population Densities 1951-1966*

Wards	Numbers of Persons per acre			
	1951	1956*	1961	1966
Artane	1.7†	4.5	6.9	12.3
Coolock	—	2.5	9.7	18.7
Finglas East	6.0†	13.4	17.8	21.8
Finglas West	10.6†	4.7	11.4	18.2
Raheny	3.0	5.6	9.5	18.0
Santry	0.4†	5.9	10.2	17.4
Ballyfermot	11.2†	24.9	27.0	28.8
Rathfarnham South	4.4†	18.6	23.2	24.5
Dublin County Borough	23.8	18.9	18.8	19.9

*In 1956 nine new wards were created and three altered, hence the large decrease in number of persons per acre in the County Borough.

†1951 figures are for comparable areas that were created wards in 1956.

Source: Census of Population 1956, Table 6. 1966 Vol. I, Table 11.

the areas in the process of development during the intercensal period under study. Coolock and Raheny nearly doubled their 1961 populations; in Artane and Santry the populations were up by about three-quarters: in the remaining wards of Ballyfermot, Rathfarnham South, Finglas East and West, the major developments occurred at earlier periods as the figures for population densities indicate (Table 3) though even here the rates of population increase were at least up to the average for the County Borough.

The migration estimates for the wards show us something of the sources of these population changes. It is evident from Table 4 that the highest rates of overall in-migration, male and female, occurred in Coolock and Raheny. In Artane and Santry, a third and a quarter, respectively, of the total population were in-migrants in 1966. The two remaining wards, Ballyfermot and Rathfarnham South were by contrast areas in which net out-migration occurred.

A study of the in-migration rates of the individual age groups shows that the highest rates occurred among those aged 20-24 and 25-29 years. Higher rates occurred in the later groups 25-29, but it is interesting to note that in the age group 20-24, in most wards the female net in-migration rate was notably higher than the male (though not in the County Borough as a whole). There is some evidence of this in the younger, 15-19, age-groups, but by 25-29 the tendency disappears, to give way to a slight dominance of male in-migration, though the similarity between the male and female rates in this group is remarkable. The inflow of population aged 15-19, in 1966 which reflects the movement of adolescents with their families to those new housing estates would indicate that Dublin girls remain longer with their families than those from the remaining 26 counties.⁹

9. R. C. Geary and J. G. Hughes found that females born outside Dublin County and Borough enter the city at an earlier age than males, but as regards Dublin born, women seem to emigrate at later ages than men. *Internal Migration in Ireland*, Economic and Social Research Institute Paper No. 54, Dublin: 1970, p. 14.

TABLE 4: Net In-Migration Rate per 100 Mean Population 1961-1966

Wards	Total Population		Age Group* 15-19		Age Group* 20-24		Age Group* 25-29		Age Group* 30-34	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Dublin County Borough	4.6	3.1	3.5	13.7	8.8	7.2	-2.0	-15.1	-0.6	-6.5
<i>Zone I</i>										
Artane	32.8	33.0	-35.4	28.0	21.9	60.2	114.6	109.2	81.9	57.0
Coolock	42.1	41.4	31.4	30.8	42.0	61.1	135.5	124.0	118.1	80.4
Finglas East	8.3	6.9	-0.6	-0.9	5.8	-3.0	46.7	41.5	25.6	15.0
Finglas West	28.1	25.8	10.8	19.0	10.9	-2.2	83.3	85.7	79.7	52.9
Raheny	39.4	38.5	27.4	52.9	34.4	60.3	115.4	101.7	78.1	59.9
Santry	28.4	28.2	36.3	29.6	65.7	90.7	101.8	111.5	58.8	40.5
Ballyfermot	-2.3	-4.6	-10.2	-11.3	-14.0	-26.1	24.7	14.0	16.8	3.0
Rathfarnham South	0.4	—	-9.4	-4.0	-18.4	-28.4	5.1	-29.8	16.8	10.6
<i>Zone II</i>										
Arran Quay	0.3	-2.2	6.0	15.1	8.6	4.9	-4.2	-35.7	-19.4	-24.8
Ballybough	5.7	4.7	9.8	12.3	17.6	19.3	-1.1	-19.5	-3.4	-1.0
Inns Quay	0.5	-2.1	40.3	44.9	10.3	3.7	-15.8	-42.0	-20.5	-31.3
Mountjoy	-15.2	-14.1	-11.3	-8.9	10.9	-15.5	-9.8	-34.8	-32.3	-29.9
North City	-27.3	-27.7	-35.6	30.3	0.7	-8.1	-4.4	-64.7	-55.4	-43.9
North Dock	-2.1	-5.5	2.9	-5.6	-10.5	-12.3	-13.8	-26.0	-9.5	-17.6
Rotunda	-21.6	-18.2	-27.7	41.7	3.6	9.5	-21.1	-51.2	-41.0	-45.5
Mansion House	-1.7	-7.6	11.0	53.4	69.8	22.6	-40.9	-58.0	-34.4	-55.5
Merchant's Quay	—	-0.6	-2.2	6.5	-0.3	-0.5	-6.3	-19.5	0.5	-10.9
Royal Exchange	-6.2	-11.7	1.4	25.7	-4.7	7.0	4.1	-60.4	-32.2	-43.0
St Kevin's	-5.2	-4.1	39.5	83.8	67.1	30.9	-22.6	-32.8	-47.1	-40.9
South Dock	-13.0	-13.4	-17.6	54.6	18.8	16.9	-10.2	-54.6	-47.8	-43.7
Usher's Quay	5.4	5.4	2.3	7.5	-2.4	1.7	-3.2	-13.6	-12.0	-9.7
Wood Quay	6.0	1.7	13.4	21.1	45.0	41.0	-1.7	-31.9	-17.3	-16.3
<i>Zone III</i>										
Crumlin	-3.1	-4.3	-6.6	3.9	-17.9	-29.3	-29.1	-40.5	-13.5	-15.6
Kimmage	-0.2	-2.5	-9.5	-2.3	-19.3	-31.7	-25.0	-40.4	-9.2	-9.3
Kilmainham	1.0	-1.2	-6.8	-10.3	-5.9	-2.0	-1.0	-14.1	4.4	-5.2
Cabra East	2.5	2.7	2.1	27.6	18.9	23.8	-19.6	-27.4	-14.7	-17.4
Cabra West	-0.1	-4.6	-3.6	-1.7	-9.4	-31.4	-19.3	-43.1	-9.4	-9.9
Drumcondra North	2.0	2.0	0.3	-0.8	-6.8	-9.1	-17.0	-27.8	-4.2	-9.5
Crumlin West	5.0	10.2	3.1	-4.0	-36.0	-21.0	-24.6	23.1	18.2	10.3
Baldoyle	17.8	16.1	30.6	—	-47.8	18.6	93.5	67.1	59.3	47.9

continued

TABLE 4:—continued.

	Total Population		Age Group* 15-19		Age Group* 20-24		Age Group* 25-29		Age Group* 30-34	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Zone IV</i>										
Pembroke East	6.0	4.5	8.4	18.0	17.5	10.3	12.8	27.2	14.4	7.5
Pembroke West	4.6	2.7	21.4	26.7	38.1	40.1	11.4	27.8	32.3	22.9
Rathmines East	9.1	10.4	38.1	66.0	50.4	64.3	19.3	23.3	22.0	27.6
Rathmines West	6.8	10.1	37.3	41.7	41.8	77.7	4.9	7.4	29.1	28.6
Glasnevin	6.5	6.1	11.9	36.2	32.4	47.9	6.1	32.5	39.3	28.0
Drumcondra South	5.7	4.4	20.9	30.0	20.6	22.3	19.7	36.3	22.7	29.2
Clontarf East	3.7	3.0	4.5	9.3	-6.2	-12.3	6.3	8.0	0.2	2.9
Clontarf West	5.3	2.1	3.9	5.5	2.0	-0.3	5.0	22.0	0.4	7.8
Terenure	5.4	5.4	10.6	14.0	15.9	4.8	16.0	28.2	20.6	13.9
Howth	18.3	14.4	10.4	21.1	13.0	-3.7	21.7	16.5	40.2	32.9
Rathfarnham	12.5	8.8	17.3	38.4	18.3	-4.9	15.7	10.0	27.5	1.4

Basic Source: Census of Population 1961, Vol. II, Table 14, and 1966 Vol. II, Table 14.

*Age in 1966.

- = Out-migration.

In fact the high rates of female in-migration of those aged 15-19 probably is explained by the feasibility and convenience of working in the central city areas as shop assistants, clerks etc. where jobs are numerous, and continuing to live at home, which a country girl is unable to do. The inflow in the older ages more likely represents the movement of young married couples into their new homes. The dominance of females in the younger 20-24 groups and males in the older 25-29 groups results from their different ages at marriage. In 1969 the median age at first marriage of brides was 23.8 years and of grooms 26.0 years.¹⁰

Rates of in-migration are exceptionally high in the 20-24 and 25-29 age groups, in parts of the wards of Coolock, Artane, Raheny and Santry, largely accounted for by building development. In the first, 896 dwellings were completed by the Corporation in the Coolock-Raheny estate during the 'fifties; the Edenmore estate of 654 dwellings was constructed during the 'sixties. Large scale private developments have also occurred since 1963, including the extensive Kilbarrack scheme now being completed by private contractors for Corporation tenants. In Artane, the enormous Coolock-Kilmore development, under construction during the 'sixties, when completed in 1968 comprised 2,707 dwellings. In the remaining wards of Santry and Raheny, large amounts of private housing development have occurred since 1959, the latter ward also including part of the Kilbarrack scheme. Thus, these building activities explain the large inflow of population, into these wards and in particular of those aged 20-29, the ages in which the majority of persons marry and start families.¹⁰ In contrast, net out-migration occurring

10. Brendan M. Walsh, "Trends in Age at Marriage in post-war Ireland", *Demography*, Vol. 9, No. 2, May, 1972.

in Ballyfermot and Rathfarnham South (in the age group 20-24) resulted in more than a quarter of the female population of that group leaving, together with a substantial proportion of males. Slight out-migration of females aged 20-24 also occurred in Finglas East and West. In the older group 25-29, well over a quarter of the female population left Rathfarnham South. These movements of young people out of these four wards reflect the stage in the family cycle arrived at in the various housing estates. Corporation housing allocations commenced in the Ballyfermot area in 1948, in Finglas West in 1951, Finglas East in 1952 and in Rathfarnham South in 1954. Thus, these areas have been well settled for over a decade; and, apart from vacancies on the estates, an inflow or large changes of population size would not be expected. Also in 1966 the children of the original estate dwellers would be in their teens or older and hence would have left home on marriage or in search of jobs, or to emigrate, as the migration estimates reflect. In age group 15-19 there are small rates of out-migration in Ballyfermot, Rathfarnham South, and Finglas East, (Table 4). However, in Finglas West where house allocations were still being made in 1965, 19 per cent of females and 11 per cent of males, accompanied their families into their new Corporation homes.

Conjugal Status

The percentage single of the population, for the individual wards of Zone I was expressed as a proportion of the mean Dublin County Borough percentage single (Table 5).

This shows that as a whole Zone I has a single population well below the average for Dublin County Borough; and in particular the wards of Artane, Santry and Raheny have single populations markedly below average. This is not unexpected since as already described, Zone I is an area of recent large-scale house building. In general, single people do not purchase houses for their own occupation—particularly on the periphery of the city and the Corporation does not usually allocate houses to unmarried tenants, hence a sizeable single population would not be anticipated.

TABLE 5: *Percentage of Population 15 years and over Single in 1966 as a Proportion of Mean Dublin Percentage Single, by Ward*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Total Population</i>		<i>Age Group 25-29</i>		<i>Age Group 30-34</i>	
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
<i>Zone I</i>						
Artane	0.53	0.45	0.32	0.18	0.23	0.18
Coolock	0.64	0.60	0.28	0.26	0.17	0.19
Finglas East	0.76	0.66	0.65	0.44	0.38	0.29
Finglas West	0.71	0.66	0.43	0.23	0.17	0.12
Raheny	0.49	0.56	0.46	0.36	0.22	0.24
Santry	0.46	0.46	0.31	0.19	0.20	0.20
Ballyfermot	0.93	0.82	0.65	0.45	0.36	0.34
Rathfarnham South	0.88	0.82	1.22	0.93	0.39	0.33

continued

TABLE 5:—continued.

Wards	Total Population		Age Group 25-29		Age Group 30-34	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Zone II</i>						
Arran Quay	1·19	1·13	1·20	1·28	1·62	1·59
Ballybough	0·99	0·94	0·94	0·76	1·19	0·10
Inns Quay	1·16	1·16	1·05	1·05	1·26	1·51
Mountjoy	1·00	0·95	0·77	0·65	0·92	0·73
North City	1·06	1·10	1·13	0·93	1·01	0·87
North Dock	0·97	0·87	0·87	0·77	1·15	1·07
Rotunda	1·11	1·18	0·97	1·09	1·18	1·04
Mansion House	1·31	1·33	1·32	1·48	1·69	1·68
Merchant's Quay	1·02	0·96	0·90	0·84	1·02	0·83
Royal Exchange	1·07	1·05	1·05	1·00	1·37	1·19
St Kevin's	1·32	1·45	1·22	1·56	1·43	1·96
South Dock	1·10	1·24	1·13	1·15	1·36	1·22
Usher's Quay	0·98	0·96	0·95	1·03	1·08	0·97
Wood Quay	1·19	1·10	1·14	1·12	1·25	1·34
<i>Zone III</i>						
Crumlin	1·05	0·95	1·14	1·20	1·26	1·07
Kimmage	1·03	0·93	1·15	1·10	1·34	1·03
Kilmainham	1·00	0·87	0·98	1·10	1·10	0·86
Cabra East	1·08	1·11	1·34	1·33	1·46	1·74
Cabra West	1·09	0·94	1·23	1·15	1·26	0·75
Drumcondra North	1·02	0·97	1·07	1·05	1·26	1·35
Crumlin West	1·00	0·96	1·14	1·07	0·70	0·73
Baldoyle	0·99	0·94	0·35	0·51	0·71	0·68
<i>Zone IV</i>						
Pembroke East	1·06	1·12	1·29	1·44	1·41	1·44
Pembroke West	1·10	1·23	1·23	1·42	1·20	1·94
Rathmines East	1·22	1·41	1·35	1·74	1·82	2·15
Rathmines West	1·15	1·25	1·16	1·44	1·33	1·59
Glasnevin	1·18	1·36	1·55	1·70	1·86	2·21
Drumcondra South	1·12	1·14	1·34	1·41	1·59	1·45
Clontarf East	0·86	0·90	1·04	1·04	0·92	0·85
Clontarf West	0·96	0·94	1·11	1·12	1·19	1·15
Terenure	0·98	1·00	1·26	1·28	1·35	1·38
Howth	0·87	0·86	0·81	0·81	0·88	0·69
Rathfarnham	0·87	0·99	1·23	1·19	0·94	1·08

Basic Source: Census of Population 1966, Vol. II, Table 14.

The three wards with particularly small single populations, Artane, Raheny and Santry, are areas of more recent housing developments than those in the remaining wards. (See figures for ward densities Table 3).

These three wards also contain fairly large private residential areas and have larger houses and smaller households than the others (Table 6). In this first stage of the family

cycle, as the majority of families must be, the number of children in the households is as yet relatively small in Raheny and Santry and very young. In the three wards few families would include 15-year-olds and over. For in spite of large inflows of these young people aged 15-19, no doubt accompanying their parents to these new housing areas, (Table 4) the percentage of population in that age group in these three wards is the smallest for the Zone (Table 7). This explains their small single populations in comparison to the remaining more settled wards, whose single populations are inflated by the much larger percentage aged 15-19. Finglas East, due to its large number of 1 or 2 person households also has a large percentage of small households.

TABLE 6: Household sizes and size distribution of dwellings*.

	Percentage of total dwellings with 1-4 persons	Percentage of total dwellings with 6 and over rooms
Artane	44.4	66.7
Coolock	39.8	40.0
Finglas East	45.6	47.4
Finglas West	26.7	5.1
Raheny	56.4	86.6
Santry	55.9	75.6
Ballyfermot	30.5	8.0
Rathfarnham South	40.3	37.5
Dublin County Borough	30.4	22.9

Source : Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

*The room or set of rooms occupied by a private household are defined as a private dwelling.

However, as the migration figures would suggest, this Zone has a percentage of population married in age group 25-34 well above the County Borough average. In particular Coolock, Artane, Santry, Finglas West and Raheny (for men) have a proportion married markedly above the average. The explanation is, of course, inherent in the nature of the areas contained within the wards. All were developed for the express purpose of relieving the acute post-war housing shortage. The Corporation developments were principally aimed at rehousing the tenement dwellers of the central city wards, while the privately-developed housing estates catered for the large increase of population in Dublin and its environs since 1958. This growth in population is due partly to a fall in emigration from the city and, partly to the huge inflow of migrants into the city as the employment and investment situation improved with the introduction of the first programme for economic development in that year.

Age Distribution

Figures for age-structure of the population, clarifying the picture still further, show the large imbalance of the population structure of the wards of Zone I. (Table 7).

As a whole the Zone has a proportion of population in age group 0-14 markedly above the expected proportion. In particular, Finglas West and Artane have well above

TABLE 7: *Percentage of Population in Age Groups in 1966 as a Proportion of the Mean Dublin Percentage of these Groups*

Wards	Age 0-14		Age 15-24		Age 65 and over	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
<i>Zone I</i>						
Artane	1.51	1.64	0.46	0.54	0.29	0.27
Coolock	1.49	1.69	0.68	0.77	0.20	0.19
Finglas East	1.30	1.47	0.81	0.75	0.36	0.39
Finglas West	1.63	1.81	0.74	0.73	0.14	0.16
Raheny	1.33	1.49	0.46	0.67	0.32	0.40
Santry	1.33	1.53	0.47	0.58	0.22	0.15
Ballyfermot	1.41	1.57	1.03	1.02	0.25	0.21
Rathfarnham South	1.32	1.50	0.95	0.94	0.35	0.36
<i>Zone II</i>						
Arran Quay	0.71	0.74	0.99	0.95	1.41	1.43
Ballybough	0.86	0.84	0.92	0.89	1.38	1.41
Inns Quay	0.71	0.66	1.15	1.11	1.38	1.39
Mountjoy	1.02	1.01	0.98	0.87	0.90	1.32
North City	0.72	0.65	0.92	1.14	1.39	1.47
North Dock	0.91	1.00	1.00	0.95	1.06	1.15
Rotunda	1.02	0.89	0.92	1.29	0.98	1.04
Mansion House	0.58	0.54	1.43	1.40	1.25	1.28
Merchant's Quay	0.92	0.94	0.89	0.87	1.33	1.34
Royal Exchange	0.67	0.69	0.83	1.00	1.68	1.53
St Kevin's	0.65	0.49	1.37	1.44	1.32	1.48
South Dock	0.76	0.58	0.99	1.35	1.25	1.26
Usher's Quay	0.93	0.89	0.87	0.88	1.70	1.66
Wood Quay	0.69	0.55	0.99	1.08	1.65	1.56
<i>Zone III</i>						
Crumlin	0.94	0.95	1.22	1.23	0.81	0.69
Kimmage	1.03	1.08	1.12	1.10	0.91	0.86
Kilmainham	1.09	1.19	1.00	0.91	0.84	0.83
Cabra East	0.79	0.69	1.00	1.01	1.54	1.44
Cabra West	1.00	1.11	1.26	1.22	0.58	0.48
Drumcondra North	0.84	0.87	1.13	1.05	1.09	1.06
Crumlin West	0.96	1.09	1.12	1.02	0.81	0.80
Baldoyle	1.14	1.28	0.97	0.95	0.94	0.72
<i>Zone IV</i>						
Pembroke East	0.83	0.80	1.10	0.97	1.30	1.34
Pembroke West	0.68	0.58	1.13	0.96	1.45	1.52
Rathmines East	0.63	0.50	1.29	1.31	1.64	1.57
Rathmines West	0.72	0.62	1.29	1.27	1.32	1.44
Glasnevin	0.63	0.55	1.16	1.13	1.78	1.55
Drumcondra South	0.74	0.69	1.15	1.08	1.61	1.61
Clontarf East	1.05	1.05	0.92	0.88	0.80	0.93
Clontarf West	0.93	0.93	1.02	1.04	1.08	1.03
Terenure	0.89	0.86	1.03	0.98	0.92	1.03
Howth	0.98	1.02	0.86	0.84	0.89	0.94
Rathfarnham	1.01	0.99	0.89	0.91	0.92	0.90

Basic Source: Census of Population 1966, Vol. II, Table 14.

the County Borough average proportions of males and females of this age; while in Coolock, Ballyfermot, Santry and Rathfarnham South the percentage of females (although not of males) of this age was also much higher than the average. As the housing areas in these wards are catering for young married couples, as indicated by the migration estimates and figures for conjugal status, a large population of children is to be expected. In the allocation of houses, the Corporation tends to give priority to large families. While the privately developed housing estates as in Santry are taking up the overspill of young parents and their families who have migrated from the remaining 26 counties to the city, as well as the young married Dubliners. In Coolock and Artane, apart from the Corporation developments of the 'sixties, large private estates were completed between 1959-1969, as was the case in Santry, which explains the very large populations of children in 1966. Finglas West and Ballyfermot are characterised by very large families: in 1966, nearly 40 per cent of households contained over six persons, and in Rathfarnham South nearly a third.¹¹

These three wards were predominantly areas of local authority housing in 1961, and as was mentioned earlier, priority is given to large families by the Corporation, also the lower the social grouping of parents the larger the size of family is likely to be.¹² Hence, the large populations of children in these wards.

As the majority of the families in these wards are still in the first stage of the family cycle, the proportion of population in age group 15-24 was well below the County Borough average (Table 7), Artane, Raheny and Santry being the more recently developed, again show the largest deviations from the mean. However, in Ballyfermot and Rathfarnham South the proportion in the age group 15-24 is above average. Ballyfermot is the oldest Corporation housing estate in the Zone. Housing allocations commenced in 1948, and between 1951-56 the population increased by 122.3 per cent. Children of the original families are now adolescent, or older, and a large proportion of population in age group 15-24 would therefore be expected. However out-migration, as previously mentioned, was high. Twenty-five per cent of males and nearly 40 per cent of females from this age group departed during the intercensal period 1961-1966. Likewise in Rathfarnham South, where housing allocations commenced in 1955 and a certain amount of private housing was completed between 1962-1969, 30 per cent of this age group migrated in the same period. So Ballyfermot and Rathfarnham South are left with an average proportion of population aged 15-24.

These new housing estates, both Corporation and private, have been criticised for the monotony of their design and the social problems of isolation and boredom to which they give rise. However, to the inhabitants they are their first healthy compact homes and the majority appear to be well satisfied with them.¹³

As a whole Zone I is outstanding in its dearth of an elderly population. All wards

11. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

12. Brendan M. Walsh, *Some Irish Population Problems Reconsidered*, Dublin: The Economic and Social Research Institute, Paper No. 42, 1968. pp. 7-9.

13. A survey undertaken in a Dublin Corporation housing estate on the north side of the city in 1966 showed: "the picture which appeared to emerge from the overall pattern of replies of 75 per cent (of 249 respondents) was one of general contentment and happiness. These housewives, too, had their difficulties and crises to face, but they appeared to be meeting them through personal sacrifice and family solidarity, with help from neighbours in approximately one third of the families". Conor K. Ward "Living in a New Community; A Summary of Results of a Social Survey", Dublin. *Journal of the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland*, 1968-1969. pp 30-37.

have proportions of population in age group 65 and over that are exceptionally below the expected percentage, giving rise to imbalance in population structure (Table 7). Likewise there is a very small widowed population.

Femininity Ratio

Although there are more males in Ireland than females, (in 1966 the ratio was 990 per 1,000 males) yet Leinster and in particular Dublin County Borough has traditionally a very large female population, 1,130 females per 1,000 males, the result of large-scale in-migration of young females, looking for work and an active social life.

The wards of Zone I prove the exception. As we have seen these are composed predominantly of new residential areas catering for a young married population with their families. Their age-sex pyramids show very broad bases which taper narrowly in the higher groups. However, this imbalance has meant a greater equality in the male and female populations as is shown in (Table 2 (b)).

Zone II

Introduction

This zone comprises the fifteen central city wards, which include the oldest parts of Dublin, namely Arran Quay, Inns Quay, North City, Rotunda, Mountjoy, Ballybough, North Dock, Usher's Quay, Merchant's Quay, Wood Quay, St Kevin's, Royal Exchange, Mansion House, South Dock and Phoenix Park on the north-west periphery. Phoenix Park ward, an area of 1,895 acres with a total population in 1966 of 1,907 is an anomaly. It includes a handful of large official residences: the President's Residence, the Apostolic Nunciature, the USA Ambassador's Residence as well as St Mary's Hospital, mainly geriatric. The Garda Síochána Headquarters are located in the Park and the transfer of their Training Depot to Templemore in 1964 caused an out-migration rate of 92.9 per cent of males aged 25-29. Though a certain amount of residential area at Chapelizod and Islandbridge is included in the ward, yet the very large elderly and widowed population is probably accounted for by the hospital and official residences. Hence, a discussion of population movements would not be very meaningful, so the ward is excluded from further analysis.

The outstanding characteristic of these wards, (Usher's Quay being the exception), is the large number of old and dilapidated houses which still exist, in spite of over 30 years of intensive rehousing and slum clearance by the Local Authority. The 1961 Census showed that the majority of dwellings were built either prior to 1860 or in the period 1860-1918. Apart from Usher's Quay to the south-west of the city, which was developed later, not more than 15.4 per cent of total dwellings in these central city wards were constructed after 1945.¹⁴

The area is one of high density, with a large number of single-roomed dwellings. Households are small, at least a third of all dwellings in the various wards being 1 or 2 person households, (Table 8 (a)). Dwellings are mostly rented unfurnished from private landlords, (Table 9 (b)).

Population Characteristics

In the period under study, this zone was an area of population decrease, (Table 2 (a)). Usher's Quay and Ballybough alone registered increases in population. Both wards are

14. Census of Population, 1961 Vol. VI, Table 24.

located on the outskirts of the city, and a number of Corporation flats were completed there in the early 'sixties.

The estimates for migration illustrate more concisely the different movements of population within the various wards. (Table 4). Apart from small flows into Ballybough, Usher's Quay and Wood Quay, no overall net in-migration occurred into the central city area. However, a glance at population movements for the individual ages 15-24 reveals a different picture. This shows large movements of young people into this zone. In particular, for ages 15-19 there was a high female rate of in-migration into certain wards, namely Inns Quay, Rotunda, Mansion House, St Kevin's, South Dock. For the following ages 20-24, the male rate of in-migration was slightly higher, with very large inflows into Mansion House, St Kevin's and Wood Quay. As was apparent for the wards of Zone I, the female rate of in-migration was dominant in the younger age group, as was the case for the County Borough as a whole.

Certain central city wards do not attract young migrants. Apart from a small inflow of males aged 15-19, probably to work on the docks, North Dock had no net in-migration. Likewise, Mountjoy experienced no in-migration of 15-19-year-olds. South of the river, Usher's Quay and Merchant's Quay did not appeal to the younger age groups. All these wards are relatively distant from the centre of the city, and with the exception of North Dock, (which is virtually a separate community centred on the docks), all have fairly large amounts of Corporation dwellings, and are thus more residential and less attractive for young independent men and women.

The large movements of young people into the central city is balanced by a corresponding movement out from central areas among those aged 25-34. Though the County Borough is an area of net in-migration, net out-migration occurs in these age groups. Likewise the central city area, apart from Ballybough, Usher's Quay and Wood Quay, experienced overall net out-migration. (Table 4). In North City ward over a quarter of the total population male and female, and in Rotunda ward 21.6 per cent of males and 18.2 per cent of females, left during the intercensal period, 1961-1966. The acquisition of adequate sites for redevelopment by the Corporation in central city areas necessarily takes time, while leases expire or buildings are condemned as dangerous or unhealthy. The larger the site to be redeveloped the longer will these adjoining houses remain closed and empty. In the Rotunda and North City wards, large amounts of property have been compulsorily acquired by the Corporation during the 'sixties thus accounting for the significant drop in population density between 1961-1966. In the Rotunda, large blocks of flats have replaced the former tenements. In 1965, 20 flats were allocated in Grenville Street. In 1969, 60 flats in George's Place and in 1970, 90 flats were allocated in Dominick Street Lower. In this case, densities remained lower than previously, but in some urban renewal schemes, the new densities can be higher than those of the former tenements, due to the building of high rise blocks of flats to replace them. In North City, the Corporation has not undertaken as yet residential buildings, but recently as mentioned in the Introduction a plan to redevelop five acres of the eight acre site between Parnell Street and Henry Street were announced. The scheme will provide shops, two office blocks, a hotel and other facilities and the work will be undertaken by a private concern.

A study of population movements by age shows that once again the female rate of out-migration in the County Borough is markedly higher than the male rate, particularly for ages 25-29, this is the situation in every ward in the older group 30-34, the male rate of out-migration is higher in the six wards Mountjoy, North City, St Kevin's

and South Dock, Usher's Quay and Wood Quay. This pattern of population movement is common in large urban areas: "The stream of migrants arriving in a great metropolis tends to be highly concentrated in the ages 20-29, whereas the movement from the central city to the more distant suburbs tends to be a phenomenon that has a very high incidence among parents just getting their second or third child, aged 25-35."¹⁵ These migrants are composed partly of those in-migrants described in Zone I, who having qualified for a Corporation house, move to the city's northern periphery with their young families, or of those, who have saved sufficient amount to put down on a new house in a private estate on the outskirts of the built-up area. However, the migrants are also persons, students or young employees who having used the capital city as the first step in their careers move to the UK¹⁶ or USA¹⁷ to obtain further experience or avail of greater opportunities. The higher female rates of out-migration are probably due to their marrying at younger ages than young men and moving to their husband's abode.¹⁸

It is interesting to observe that whereas only certain wards attracted the young in-migrants in large numbers, all the central city wards excepting Ballybough, Usher's Quay, Wood Quay and possibly Merchant's Quay experienced substantial rates of out-migration, male and female. The central city is an area of out-migration. However, due to certain facts, its accessibility, and cheap rentable accommodation it is: "an attractive location for all those who welcome the anonymity and freedom from traditional social controls"¹⁹ particularly among those aged 15-24. A decade later, their circumstances and priorities altered, this group joins the general exodus out of central city areas.

Conjugal Status

The percentage single of the population 15 years and over of Zone II, expressed as a proportion of the mean Dublin County Borough percentage single (Table 5) shows that, as a whole, Zone II has a single population well above the County Borough average; and that in particular, Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock (for women) have single populations markedly above average. In contrast Ballybough, Mountjoy, North Dock, Merchant's Quay (for women) and Usher's Quay all have below average proportions single. As in most large cities, one finds at the "core" of Dublin, the oldest houses originally built to house a wealthy nobility, now no longer suited to modern-day residential use. Increasingly these buildings are being converted into flats, bedsitters, hotels, guesthouses, or into commercial use as offices. This is the "rooming" or "night" area of the city, inhabited by a transient population with very few normal households. Those families which remain are probably awaiting rehousing in the suburbs, due to the insanitary, dangerous, or overcrowded conditions of their dwellings; while those large houses when demolished are being increasingly replaced by office blocks, furthering

15. Donald I. Bogue, "Internal Migration", *The Study of Population*, P. M. Hauser and O. D. Duncan (eds.) The University of Chicago Press, 1959. p. 504.

16. The net outward balance by air and sea to the UK for 1961-1966 was 138,739 persons. CSO

17. The number of emigrants to the USA has fallen dramatically. Between 1961-1965 the average number of immigrants' visas issued in Dublin was 4,411 annually. Between July 1970 and June 1971, only 740 visas were issued.

18. See Footnote 10, p. 234.

19. D. W. G. Timms, *The Urban Mosaic*, London: Cambridge University Press, 1971, p. 252.

the trend away from residential use. Between 1961-1966, the number of private households in these central wards dropped by 9 per cent.²⁰

Into this environment is drawn the young, unmarried, working population, attracted by the cheap accommodation, accessibility of living in a central area, and anonymity of city life. Though as we have seen, large numbers leave at ages 25-34, no doubt on marriage or change of employment, a very large single population continues to live and work in these areas (Table 5). Mountjoy alone has a proportion of population aged 30-34 single, male and female, below the County Borough average. The large numbers unmarried is a reflection of traditionally late marriages and low marriage rates. Both of these patterns are improving but the latter, at 58 per 1,000 in 1966 was still the lowest rate in Europe by far.²¹ Also, as we shall see, the presence of a large population of females in certain central areas is associated with the large numbers of unmarried, males and females.

Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock include areas of the oldest and most derelict buildings in the city with a sizeable percentage of dwellings rented unfurnished and probably rent-controlled, hence they would not experience a quick turnover of tenants. However, a large percentage are rented furnished, twice and three times the city average, and though a certain amount of Corporation housing exists in Mansion House, there are negligible amounts in South Dock and St Kevin's. Here we find the "rooming" areas of the city. Households are small: (Table 8 (a)) the highest percentage of one-and-two person households occur in these wards. Overcrowding is extensive and the percentage of one-room dwellings is twice and three times the city average, (Table 8 (b)).

TABLE 8: *Size of Households and Dwellings in Central City*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Percentage of total households containing 1-2 persons</i>	<i>Percentage of total dwellings containing 1 room</i>
	(a)	(b)
Arran Quay	42.8	11.7
Ballybough	44.0	13.8
Inns Quay	48.6	23.4
Mountjoy	44.6	32.3
North City	51.3	22.8
North Dock	32.2	4.2
Rotunda	50.4	36.0
Mansion House	53.6	14.9
Merchant's Quay	36.9	9.4
Royal Exchange	53.4	21.4
St Kevin's	62.9	30.2
South Dock	56.9	23.9
Usher's Quay	35.8	7.3
Wood Quay	52.7	18.0
County Borough	33.1	7.8

Source: Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

20. Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 14. Census 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

21. UN Demographic Yearbook 1966, Table 24.

As we have seen large inflows of young people aged 15-24 (apart from males in South Dock) have distorted the age distribution of these wards so that a quarter of the total population both male and female are included in these groups. The presence of two university colleges and teaching hospitals must have some influence here. These migrants are the single transient working force which are to be expected at the core of the city, yet in the following age groups 25-34, where large out-migration occurs, there still remains in these wards a predominantly single population. A further indication of the areas "rooming" character.

In Mountjoy, Rotunda and Merchant's Quay the housing is similar to that of Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock, old dilapidated buildings, the majority of which, according to a recent census, are rented unfurnished and so subject to the Rent Restrictions Act. In Usher's Quay and North Dock large numbers of new dwellings have been constructed since 1945 by the Corporation and in all five wards a large percentage of dwellings are rented from the Corporation. Since the Corporation does not supply dwellings for single people, and rent restricted dwellings do not encourage mobility, one would expect in these wards a predominantly married and elderly population. All these wards, fairly distant from the central area, do not, as the migration estimates showed, (Table 4), attract the young in-migrant. These are then areas of normal households with below average single population. Families living in dilapidated houses while awaiting rehousing or families which have already been rehoused in the Corporation flats, as well as older households living in their rent controlled dwellings.

Age Distribution

The different character of the individual central city wards are well illustrated by figures for population structure. Table 7 shows that as a whole Zone II had a proportion of population aged 0-14 well below the County Borough average. In particular St Kevin's, Mansion House, South Dock (for women) and Wood Quay have proportions of population aged 0-14 markedly below the expected proportion, while in contrast, the first three wards Mansion House, St Kevin's, South Dock (for women) together with the Rotunda (for women) have proportions of population aged 15-24 notably above the expected County Borough average.

All these five wards exhibit characteristics of "rooming" areas or zones of transition. Over 60 per cent of all dwellings in 1961 were rented from private landlords (Table 9 (b)). Corporation involvement in 1961 was negligible in Wood Quay, South Dock and St Kevin's (Table 9 (a)).

Over 50 per cent of households in all five wards contained only 1 or 2 persons which thus would exclude young families and account for the comparatively low child population (Table 8 (a)).

As was previously mentioned a large percentage of private dwellings were rented furnished in Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock and overcrowding, that is persons living two or more per room, was widespread. This would, therefore, be an area attractive for young people where tenancy turnover would be rapid and where several could share dwellings, so spreading the cost.

All five wards had above average single population (Table 5) and, apart from Wood Quay, all had very high femininity ratios (Table 1 (b)).

As we have seen these wards attract large numbers of the young and single as a first stage in their possibly long and mobile careers, drawn by an accessibility of the area and the plentiful supply of rentable furnished dwellings. A type of area as described in

TABLE 9: *Nature of Occupancy of Private Dwellings*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Rented from Local Authority</i>	<i>Rented from Private Landlord</i>	<i>Owner Occupied</i>
	(a)	(b)	(c)
Arran Quay	14.3	65.6	15.0
Ballybough	4.0	4.8	86.7
Inns Quay	15.3	60.1	21.2
Mountjoy	35.8	56.3	6.5
North City	18.2	67.1	7.4
North Dock	36.3	36.6	25.5
Rotunda	27.0	65.6	4.8
Mansion House	26.3	59.9	5.6
Merchant's Quay	22.2	55.2	17.7
Royal Exchange	20.3	67.6	5.5
St Kevin's	5.1	77.9	13.6
South Dock	3.2	85.6	6.7
Usher's Quay	41.5	33.7	21.8
Wood Quay	7.8	69.0	21.9
County Borough	28.8	33.9	32.4

Source: Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

*The Urban Mosaic*²²: "This is the area of first-generation immigrant colonies and of the local isolates, its population is heterogeneous . . . the property owners are interested only in the long-term capital profit they can expect with the expansion of the central business district and with the short-term profits which may be produced by packing in as many tenants as possible. As long as the tenants pay their rent no questions are asked."

The Rotunda is the exception in this group. Like South Dock, the average proportion of population aged 15-24 refers to females only, and probably reflects the presence of two maternity hospitals in these wards, with their large female population of incumbents and nursing staff. However, like its two adjacent wards Mountjoy, Rotunda still has pockets of residential population. These three wards Mountjoy, Rotunda (for men), North Dock (for women) have proportions of population 0-14 above the County Borough average (Table 7). Mountjoy and Rotunda covered areas of appalling slums with the highest numbers of persons per acre in Dublin in 1946, at 149 and 130 respectively. Though densities have decreased drastically due to the extensive and successful programme of rehousing carried out by the Corporation particularly since the 'thirties, and as offices and commercial buildings replace the former tenements, yet the number of persons per acre (88 and 60 respectively) is still amongst the highest in the city and the two wards manifesting the most severe overcrowding in the County Borough. In the immediate post-war period large-scale reconditioning of mostly former

22. *op. cit.*, p. 214.

Georgian town houses was undertaken by the Corporation as a temporary economy measure. These houses are still in use in Mountjoy, Rotunda and North Dock, apart from which there has been very extensive flat building in all three wards by the Corporation. In Mountjoy and Rotunda between 1957-1966, about 460 new dwellings had been completed which, since priority is given to large families, explains the above average child population.

Statistics for type of dwellings indicate the large amounts of Corporation activity, and reveal the large percentage of private dwellings in North Dock. This ward to the north east of the city is different from the rest. Life centres upon the dock and to a large extent it is a separate stable community with a balanced population structure and sex ratio and the highest percentage of very large households in the central city area. The small inflow of males aged 15-19, and the fairly large outflow of young women aged 25-29, probably on marriage, do not upset its well balanced age distribution.

The proportion of population 65 years and over is markedly above the average for the County Borough in all but two wards—Mountjoy and Rotunda (for men). That area of Dublin now bounded by the two canals roughly falls into the first two zones as described by Burgess in his model of urban structure:²³ namely, the central business district, and the zone of transition. The former contains the: "large department stores and smart shops . . . main offices of financial institutions, the headquarters of various civic and political organisations, the main theatres and cinemas, and the most expensive hotels",²³ some aspect of which is found on the inner side of all central wards. Areas where: "only scattered pockets of residences remain, inhabited by the hoboos of the city and by caretakers."²³ While at the outer edge of these wards we find the transition zone—the rooming areas of the city, in which: "The once-fashionable town houses have been converted into furnished rooms and have been surrounded by cheap bars, pawnshops and small industries."²³ In these areas are found "the elderly, the isolated, the defeated, leaderless and helpless",²³ left behind while the younger more able members of the population prosper and move out to more pleasant surroundings.

This situation of a large elderly community in central city areas is fairly common, however these are not just the remnants of a former working class, but are composed also of old people moving into central city areas. Rates of in-migration for ages 65 and over are high in several city wards. Cheaper dwellings, proximity to hospitals or to families who have moved to Dublin account mainly for this aged in-flow into the city.

Usher's Quay, Wood Quay and Royal Exchange have an elderly population markedly above the County Borough average (Table 7) and the highest percentage of population widowed in the County Borough. (Table 10).

As has been mentioned previously, many old people are still living at very low rents in rent restricted dwellings. In both Royal Exchange and Wood Quay at least 60 per cent of private dwellings are rented unfurnished from private landlords.²⁴ In these two wards as well, over 80 per cent of dwellings were built before 1919.²⁵ While in Usher's Quay, over 40 per cent of dwellings are rented from the Corporation and more than one-fifth of dwellings are owner occupied.²⁵

All three wards include the oldest areas of Dublin. In Wood Quay and Royal Exchange

23. E. W. Burgess. "The Growth of the City" D. W. G. Timms: *The Urban Mosaic* London: Cambridge University Press 1971, pp. 212-214.

24. Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

25. Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 24.

TABLE 10: *Percentage of Population Widowed-15 Years and Over*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
Usher's Quay	6·8	17·3
Royal Exchange	5·6	15·4
Wood Quay	4·1	15·2
Dublin County Borough	3·6	11·7

Source: Census of Population 1966, Vol. II, Table 14.

are located the two Cathedrals, Christ Church and St. Patrick's. The Castle, City Hall, Trinity College and many old financial and commercial buildings are found in Royal Exchange, surrounded by a maze of small streets and old houses. Though much of Usher's Quay has been reconstructed yet here is the busy trading street of St. Thomas, a continuation of High Street, fronting the huge Guinness Brewery which gave employment to so many of the local inhabitants, and further north, Kingsbridge Station and the CIE works, another big employer. These apart, there are also three hospitals in the wards including St James's—the Health Board Hospital. There is also a very large old people's home—St Patrick's, run by the Little Sisters of the Poor. Among all these reasons, or a combination of them lies the answer to the very large elderly and widowed population of these wards.

Finally, there is a very high femininity ratio in all the central city wards, (Table 2 (b)). In particular, St Kevin's, South Dock and North City have exceptionally high ratios.

Traditionally, females have been attracted at younger ages and in larger number than males²⁶ to large cities and, in particular, to Dublin. There is little employment opportunity for young girls living in the country. Formerly they would stay at home and help on the farm, but with increased mechanisation, the amalgamation of small holdings and the decrease in the agricultural population, the number of "relatives assisting" is falling rapidly. Also, the education received by the girls does not prepare them for life on the farm, so that the majority prefer to escape from this potential drudgery and find employment in an office or shop in a large town, where the social life will also be more active. The Civil Service, the gateway to success and opportunity for many young people from the country, recruits girls from the age of 16½ years, hence a steady stream of these successful candidates arrive in Dublin. Though one of the city's attractions would be improved marriage prospects, yet due to their large number only a fraction of them marry and the remainder stay on in their employment, as permanent additions to the large flat dwelling single female population.²⁷

26. Geary & Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

27. In 1966 in Dublin County Borough 58 per cent of females aged 25-29 were married and 72 per cent of these aged 30-34. In 1961 the respective percentages were 54 per cent and 67 per cent, Census of Population, 1961, Vol. II, Table 14; 1966, Vol. II, Table 14.

*Zone III**Introduction*

The remaining County Borough wards do not fall into distinct groupings, but due to the periods and nature of their development can be associated loosely. The following eight wards, namely Crumlin, Kimmage, Kilmainham, Cabra East, Cabra West, Drumcondra North, Crumlin West and Baldoyle, share the characteristic that their main development occurred as part of the Corporation's housing schemes from the 1930s to the 1950s. In the South West, the area included in Crumlin and Kimmage wards formed the largest Corporation scheme ever completed; of over 5,000 cottages. Begun in 1934 to rehouse families from the slum clearance areas of the central city, it was finally completed in 1961. To the North West, in Cabra East, Cabra West and Drumcondra North, lay other Corporation developments of that period. 641 cottages in Cabra East in 1931, 2,254 cottages in Cabra West in 1943, 421 cottages in Donny-carney, Drumcondra North in 1930. Baldoyle, though included in this group is an exception as it is still on the verge of large-scale development.²⁸ Crumlin West, too, is more recent, and includes part of the Captain's Lane development of 1957; 59.5 per cent of all dwellings there were built after 1945.²⁹ Kilmainham ward includes the earliest housing schemes of the group with 31 per cent of dwellings built between 1869-1918.²⁹ As early as 1912, 333 cottages were erected by the Corporation in Inchicore and in 1927-1929 a further 102 cottages were completed in Emmet Road. In these wards, apart from Crumlin West, Cabra East and Baldoyle between a third and 80 per cent of dwellings were rented from Corporation in 1961.³⁰ Dwellings are small, mainly 4-or 5-room cottages, though in Baldoyle and Drumcondra North, 43 per cent of dwellings have 6 or 7 rooms, while in Crumlin West 21 per cent were one-room dwellings.³¹ Though dwellings are small to average, households, due to the working class heritage of the inhabitants, are large and so overcrowding is widespread particularly in the areas of older Corporation schemes namely, Crumlin, Kimmage and Kilmainham.³²

Population Characteristics

Apart from Baldoyle and Crumlin West—areas in which extensive house building, both private and Corporation has recently been carried out—Table 2 (a) shows that in all other wards the population is virtually static with only very slight changes occurring. The overall migration figures for total population reflects this situation (Table 4). Apart from Crumlin West and in particular Baldoyle, where substantial rates of in-migration occur, there are negligible population movements into the remaining wards. These six

28. Figures for ward densities illustrate this; in Baldoyle in 1966 there were 4.4 persons per acre; in Crumlin West, 15.0 persons per acre; while in Crumlin there were 45.3 persons per acre. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. I, Table 11.

29. Census of Population, 1961, Vol. IV, Table 24.

30. Census of Population, 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

31. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

32. "Catholic marriages are most fertile among farmers, farm labourers, and the "lower" socio-economic groups in the non-farm population. The differentials are considerable: for women aged 20-24 at marriage, for example, who have been married for at least 20 years, the average family size of the unskilled Manual Workers group was at least one-and-a-half times that of the Higher Professional group". Brendan M. Walsh: *Some Irish Population Problems Reconsidered*. Dublin: The Economic and Social Research Institute, Paper No. 42, 1968.

wards, as mentioned above, owe their development mainly to Corporation housing schemes. Allocations, commenced in all of them in the 'thirties and 'forties therefore these areas are well settled, with the original families in their second and third cycle, that is with grown up, more independent children. Apart from movement on the fringes as people leave the area due to changed family or financial circumstances, i.e. not being able to keep up their payments, there is no reason for any large population flows to or from these wards.

Figures for the individual age groups (Table 4) still demonstrate a mixed picture, though there is a definite movement of population into Cabra East, particularly of young people aged 20-24. In many respects Cabra East is similar to those central city wards, Mansion House, St Kevin's, South Dock which were so attractive to the young migrants; being the flat dweller's land of the north side. A quarter of private dwellings were in flats in 1961,³³ 21 per cent were rented from private landlords³⁴ while 40 per cent of households contained 1 or 2 persons in 1966.³⁵ The exceptionally high rate of in-migration of females aged 15-19 into Cabra East, with no similar movement of males is of significance. As mentioned, the civil service recruits only girls from 16½ years into its clerical grade. Since a majority of these girls come from outside the Dublin area and are relatively well paid, it is quite likely that they tend to find accommodation in this area. The "north side" traditionally attracted civil servants probably due to its proximity to their work place: Glasnevin and Drumcondra North were first developed to house the lower-middle class, in particular civil servants. So possibly the tradition still holds, though there is no factual evidence to support this theory.

Though on a much smaller scale there is a definite movement of population out of Kilmainham in the younger age groups, which may be caused by the relative distance and lack of accessibility of this ward to the central city.

While there is no overall pattern for age group 15-19, there is a definite movement out of all wards, apart from Cabra East and Baldoyle (for women) of those aged 20-24. This exodus of young people, reflects the movement of the adult children of the original families, rehoused by the Corporation on the new estates during the 'thirties to the 'fifties. These young people leave home for reasons of employment, and, on marriage, particularly the females in the older group. They may be bound for flats or rooms in the city, a new life elsewhere in the 26 counties or they may leave to form part of the annual body of emigrants overseas.

The outward movement of population continues in the older age group 25-34 (Table 4) apart from Crumlin West and Baldoyle. In the latter ward markedly high rates of in-migration occurred, reflecting a movement of married couples into the new private housing estates, large numbers of which were completed in the period under study. Part of the huge Kilbarrack scheme falls within Baldoyle, but allocations only commencing there in 1969, are not reflected in the figures.

Again the female rate of out-migration from the County Borough was far higher than the male rate of both age groups, and this situation was reflected within the individual wards. Very high rates of out-migration occurred among those aged 25-29, particularly in Crumlin, Kimmage and Cabra West, the three wards, with the largest percentages of Corporation dwellings.

Though the outflow was less in the older age group it was still substantial. These

33. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. VI, Table 14.

34. Census of Population, 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

35. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

migrants, like those of the younger age groups, are probably the adult children of the original settlers on the Corporation estates, leaving home on marriage or possibly leaving the "in-laws" to be rehoused with their young families on a new estate.

In Cabra East the pattern of migration for this group is completely the reverse of that in the younger age groups, and again follows the pattern of the three central city wards. Table 4 shows that the highest rates of out-migration in age group 30-34 occurred in Cabra East as, presumably, the single flat dwellers of the north side changed their status and habitat.

Conjugal Status

The percentage of population single 15 years and over was expressed as a proportion of the mean Dublin percentage single (Table 5). This showed that the single population of Zone III was about average for the County Borough, with only slight fluctuations around the mean. This situation would follow from the nature of individual wards which cater exclusively for married couples and their families. They are all, Cabra East apart, decidedly residential. The latter ward has a proportion of female population single well above the County Borough average, which situation, its housing and migration statistics would indicate. A study of the single populations of the individual age groups 25-29; 30-34 (Table 5) illustrates more clearly the different character of Cabra East, where the percentage of single population is markedly above the expected percentage, particularly for females aged 30-34. This supports the theory of Cabra East as the dormitory of the single working girl. Apart from Baldoyle, and Crumlin West in the older groups, the remaining wards have percentages of single populations aged 25-34 above the County Borough average. All these wards, excepting Kilmainham, are located close to the central city and have good bus services. This enables adult children to work in the city and yet remain living at home until they marry. It is interesting to note that apart from Drumcondra North and of course Cabra East there is a drop in the proportion single aged 30-34, indicating later marriages. In Cabra West the proportion of females single aged 30-34 is well below the expected proportion of the Zone. Cabra West includes the most recently completed large-scale Corporation housing schemes in the Zone. Traditionally the working classes marry at a younger age than do the middle class.³⁶ Thus the figures suggest that young girls still marry early in Cabra West, while in the remaining wards nearly forty years of residential living may have altered attitudes to marriage in favour of the middle class mores.

Baldoyle and Crumlin West to a large extent are in a similar position to the wards of Zone I. The large movements of population into the new housing estates would be composed of young married couples and their families, hence a large single population would neither be expected nor catered for.

Age Distribution

The figures for population structure, in contrast to those of the two preceding zones, offer a very well balanced picture (Table 7). In these relatively mature Corporation

36. "In Ireland in 1969 the median age at marriage of grooms in the semi-skilled and unskilled social group was 24.5. For the "salaried employees" "clerks" and "other non-manual", the age was 26.4 while for "lower professional" it was 27.0. Brendan M. Walsh. "Trends in Age At Marriage in Post-war Ireland." *Demography*, Vol. 9, No. 2, May, 1972, p. 187.

housing estates the various "bulges" have had time to spread themselves. Though the child population for the various wards fluctuates around the mean, since the majority of the population would be beyond child-bearing age, yet in the following groups 15-24, Crumlin and Cabra West, both have proportions well above that expected. Since both wards also experience substantial outflows of population in these groups, these figures give an indication of the enormous size of their original populations. Apart from Cabra East and Drumcondra North, the percentage of population aged 65 and over is well below the County Borough average, particularly in Cabra West. Again this situation stems from the rehousing policy of the Corporation which tended inevitably to place families of similar ages and sizes on the same estates. Thus, even in Crumlin where housing allocations commenced nearly forty years ago, the bulk of population still had not reached 65 years. Cabra West as the most recent scheme has the smallest elderly population. Though as we have seen the situation in the wards of Zone I was even more extreme, the new policy of including special accommodation for old people within the new Corporation estates should do something to rectify this imbalance.

Femininity Ratio

Finally, all wards in this group, apart from Baldoyle have large populations of females (Table 2 (b)). Baldoyle as the location of extensive new housing estates, which cater for young married couples has, like the wards of Zone I, a fairly balanced population. In particular Cabra East has the largest female population, which given the migration figures, data on conjugal status, age distribution and housing is what would be anticipated. It is interesting to note that where a large population of females occurs, as in Cabra East, so also occurs a large single population male and female. (These variables were highly correlated at significance level 0.1 per cent.) In contrast Cabra West has the smallest female population which again is a result of its more recent development.

Zone IV

Introduction

This final zone groups together eleven wards which between them include the older suburbs and former townlands around the city's perimeter. To the south of the city, Pembroke East and West, Rathmines East and West and to the north, Glasnevin and Drumcondra South were developed from the middle of the nineteenth century as the population started to expand outwards from the central city areas. The Pembroke area was a continuation of the Georgian Squares of Merrion and Fitzwilliam, with its large houses in wide elegant tree lined roads, built to house the professional and middle classes: "The Pembroke district in particular on the Fitzwilliam estate, lying between the Grand Canal and Donnybrook, is a suburb of enviable beauty. Such a street as Wellington Road, with its immense scale of layout, its well-mannered architecture and the granite stable-walls in the lanes behind, well planted and dominated at one end by the Dublin Mountains, is by no means exceptional."³⁷ The Rathmines area was a more commercial undertaking, planned and executed by the town commissioners, a motley body comprising merchants, building contractors and businessmen. While the development of Glasnevin and Drumcondra South commenced towards the end of the century and the houses were built to cater primarily for the lower middle class.

37. M. Craig, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

To the north of the city, Clontarf East and West began as seaside villages and with the development of the railways grew into dormitory suburbs around local stations. The introduction of the horse-drawn, and later the electric, tram led to the infilling of the land between the tram termini and the city centre, which accounted for the growth of Terenure.

The two exceptions in this group are Howth to the north-east of the city which has a separate development around its harbour and was incorporated within the city boundary in 1930 and Rathfarnham in the south where major developments around the former village began after 1954.

The present character of the wards is well illustrated by the latest housing figures. As the city has expanded many changes have occurred in these former suburbs. The large houses, no longer suited to modern day living, are increasingly being converted into multiple occupation, to serve as dwellings or offices. In Rathmines West, 63 per cent of private dwellings are in flats³⁸ and nearly 40 per cent of dwellings have only 2 or 3 rooms.³⁹ In contrast 90 per cent of private dwellings are in houses³⁸ in Clontarf East and over 70 per cent of dwellings have 6 or more rooms.³⁹ Apart from Pembroke West and Rathmines West, where about 60 per cent of private dwellings were rented from private landlords,⁴⁰ the majority of dwellings in the remaining wards were in owner occupation. Households were small in all wards and overcrowding not a problem, though in Rathmines West nearly 19 per cent of the population lived two or more in one room³⁹ (the County Borough average was 21.4 per cent).

Excepting Howth and Rathfarnham, which are still predominantly "residential" due to the lack of accessibility of the former and more recent development of the latter, the remaining wards are catering increasingly for the single working force or a young student body and offering better standards of habitation than areas in the central city wards, with regard to overcrowding, sanitation and other amenities.

Population Characteristics

With the exception of Pembroke West and Glasnevin, where a slight fall in population occurred, Table 2 (a) shows that all remaining wards experienced some population growth between 1961-1966. The growth was substantial in Howth and Rathfarnham and slight in the remaining wards. This situation is to be expected, since these older suburban areas underwent their major development in earlier times and hence only marginal changes occur now, due to house conversion or functional changes. In contrast Howth and Rathfarnham are still in the process of development. Large-scale private housing schemes have been carried out particularly in Rathfarnham since 1962 and a small number of Corporation cottages have also been completed in this period.⁴¹

Figures for population movements particularly for individual age groups by showing the type of person attracted to the various wards throw some light on their separate environments (Table 4). All wards experienced net in-migration during 1961-1966. but the largest population flows occurred in Howth, Rathfarnham and Rathmines East.

38. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. IV, Table 14.

39. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

40. Census of Population, 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

41. Between 1961 and 1966 the density of population has increased in Rathfarnham from 11.5 to 13.1 persons per acre, and in Howth from 2.0 to 2.5 persons per acre. Census of Population, 1966, Vol. I, Table 11.

Figures for the individual age groups indicate the exceptionally high rates of in-migration of young people into Rathmines East, Rathmines West, Glasnevin and Pembroke West, far exceeding any similar movements into the central city "rooming" areas, apart from that into St Kevin's ward. It is interesting to observe that whereas the female rate of in-migration was notably higher for all wards in group 15-19, in the older age group, four wards experienced net out-migration of females, Clontarf West, Howth, Rathfarnham and Clontarf East male and female. Possibly this reflects the earlier age of marriage of females, from these areas, or their greater desire for independence at younger ages and is similar to the exodus of females of this age group from the predominantly Corporation wards of Crumlin, Kimmage, etc. No doubt many girls do accompany their parents with their brothers to these better class residential areas,⁴² but the large movement out offsets this.

As occurred in the central city "rooming" areas, so the migration pattern here too is reversed in the older age groups, large outflows of population took place, in the first six wards, (Table 4) and in particular in Pembroke West, Rathmines East, Rathmines West and Glasnevin, the wards which experienced the highest rates of in-migration in the younger groups. In the County Borough as a whole the higher rate of out-migration occurred among those aged 25-29, in which group the female rate of out-migration for the individual wards was notably higher than the male. Among those aged 30-34 this situation changed in the majority of wards to a dominance of the male rate of out-migration.

This pattern of migration reflects the movement of young school leavers from the country, moving for study, training or work to the city, where they live in flats, or bedsitters in certain specific dormitory areas. A decade later they leave, on marriage, for employment reasons, or to set up home elsewhere; a new housing estate, another city or town or to another country. Since the girls are the first to arrive and as girls tend to marry at younger ages it is natural that larger numbers of them should move out first.⁴³ Apart from Howth and Rathfarnham for those aged 30-34 where no out-migration occurred, since the population flow would be into these areas of new housing, all remaining wards experienced net out-migration, substantial in Terenure and slight in the rest. The higher rates tended to occur among those aged 25-29 and again the female rate of out-migration was higher here, possibly reflecting their early marriages.

Conjugal Status

The percentage of population 15 years and over single was expressed as a proportion of the mean Dublin percentage single. Table 5 shows that Pembroke East, Pembroke West, Glasnevin, Drumcondra South and in particular Rathmines East have single populations well above average.

These six wards include the older suburban areas which were developed before the remaining five, and which have undergone greater changes both physical and functional. A study of the single population of the individual age groups 25-29 and 30-34 illustrates dramatically the metamorphosis that has occurred in these old residential areas. The very large female population and in particular the markedly above average single female

42. In Clontarf East and Rathfarnham over 70 per cent and in Howth well over half the private dwellings are owner-occupied. *Census of Population, 1961*, Vol. VI, Table 18.

43. Brendan M. Walsh. "Trends in Age at Marriage in Post-war Ireland." *Demography*, Vol. 9, No. 2, May, 1972, Table I, p. 188.

population aged 30-34 in Rathmines East and Glasnevin, in spite of the very high rates of out-migration, suggests a neighbourhood of flats and bedsitters and above all a dearth of "normal" households. In the remaining wards, only Terenure stands out with a single population aged 30-34, well above average. Terenure was a decidedly middle-class residential area and possibly this older female population, again after substantial out-migration, stems from the later marriage age of middle-class families or else in a reflection of traditionally low marriage rates.⁴⁴

Age Distribution

Table 7 shows that the six wards Pembroke East, Pembroke West, Rathmines East, Rathmines West, Glasnevin and Drumcondra South have child populations well below the average, markedly so in Pembroke West, Rathmines East and Glasnevin. In contrast, apart from females in Pembroke East and West, they all have proportions of population aged 15-24 well above the County Borough average. It has already been shown that these six wards experienced large inflows of population in these age groups and have large single populations, particularly among those aged 25-34 in spite of high rates of out-migration. A situation very similar to that of central city "rooming" areas of Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock. Thus these wards could be described as "dormitory" areas for the single worker, albeit better class areas than those of the central city, since the buildings are not so old and would be in better repair both structurally and decoratively. Housing figures support this proposition. Table II shows that in all wards at least a quarter of private dwellings are rented privately and in Pembroke

TABLE II: *Private Dwellings in Each Ward by Nature of Occupancy*
(Percentage of Total)*

Wards	Rented from Local Authority	Rented from Other		Owner Occupied
		Unfurnished	Furnished	
Pembroke East	18.8	21.9	8.6	47.8
Pembroke West	7.8	38.6	22.3	28.0
Rathmines East	1.1	28.4	20.0	48.8
Rathmines West	9.5	35.4	22.0	30.3
Glasnevin	0.1	20.6	14.1	63.3
Drumcondra South	5.5	16.4	7.8	54.2
Dublin County Borough	28.8	27.1	6.8	32.4

*Totals do not add up to 100 per cent.

Source: Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

44. See Footnote 21.

West and Rathmines West, nearly 60 per cent, and in Rathmines East nearly a half of private dwellings are rented from other than the Local Authority. On the other hand well over a quarter of all private dwellings are owner occupied. The highest percentage occurs in Glasnevin and Drumcondra South, while in Pembroke East and Rathmines East, nearly half of all private dwellings are in owner occupation. Thus the picture emerges of a mixed area of rented and residential dwellings. Very little Corporation housing exists apart from that in Pembroke East and in particular Rathmines East and Glasnevin have negligible amounts. The Corporation provides predominantly for married couples and their families and does not normally cater for single people. Since like attracts like, the dearth of Corporation building may explain the exceptionally large single population, particularly of females aged 30-34, that was found in Rathmines East and Glasnevin (Table 5). In Pembroke East, the Corporation built several blocks of flats at Irishtown and Ringsend. This area has always been associated with industry due to its proximity to the port of Dublin and it continues to be the only location of both heavy and light industries in this predominantly residential and still fashionable ward. These Corporation dwellings probably also account for the larger child population of Pembroke East.

TABLE 12: *Household Size and Type of Dwelling in 1966*

Wards	Percentage of private households containing 1-2 persons	Percentage of Total Private Dwellings	
		In Houses	In Flats
Pembroke East	39.0	70.1	29.9
Pembroke West	56.2	48.4	51.6
Rathmines East	51.7	48.2	51.8
Rathmines West	53.3	37.4	62.6
Glasnevin	43.7	73.2	26.7
Drumcondra South	37.3	82.7	17.3
Dublin County Borough	29.0	71.0	29.0

Source: Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Tables 11 and 14.

Table 12 shows that over half of private households in Pembroke West, Rathmines East and Rathmines West contain only one or two persons, and over half the private dwellings are in flats. Thus these three wards, due to their accessibility, their proximity to the central city, employment opportunities and amenities, together with their current type of dwellings attract large numbers of young and single workers. Though over 70 per cent of private dwellings in the remaining wards are in houses nearly 40 per cent of private households contain only one or two persons, hence they too cater for large numbers of abnormal households.

As was already mentioned, Glasnevin and Drumcondra South were developed

towards the end of the nineteenth century and catered for the lower middle classes—a thrifty class of house owners. While the houses are of medium size (in 1966 40 per cent of dwellings had 6 or more rooms in Glasnevin, 36.8 per cent in Drumcondra South)⁴⁵ the larger houses found in Pembroke and Rathmines which are so amenable to conversion are not so widespread, hence the comparatively small percentage of flats. Also as is shown in Table 7, these wards include a very large percentage of elderly persons notably above the County Borough average. This characteristic together with the large percentage of dwellings in owner occupation and the substantial percentage of one or two person households, suggests a quiet neighbourhood of small to medium brick houses inhabited by elderly couples or widowed persons, particularly widowers, whose families are reared and have left the area. Possibly these old people have to let rooms in their houses in order to afford their upkeep, which might account for the large single population there in spite of the high percentage of dwellings in owner occupation.

All the six wards have proportions of population 65 years and over well about the average and in particular Rathmines East has a proportion notably above the County Borough average. In this it resembles Glasnevin and Drumcondra South, but as its housing statistics indicate it is a more mixed area.

Apart from Pembroke East (males) and Rathmines West (males) all six wards have an above average widowed population, Glasnevin has a proportion of widowers notably above the County Borough average. In such mature suburban areas, as was noticed in central city areas, an elderly and widowed population must be expected, as these are the remnants of former residential populations. However, the living conditions of these elderly people is on the whole superior to those of the central city areas, with regard to the state of housing, sanitation and overcrowding.

Finally, all wards in this zone have a high femininity ratio thus indicating a dearth of "normal" households and possibly a large migrant population. Though there are more males than females in the total population of the 26 counties, as was mentioned previously (990 females per 1,000 males in 1966), the province of Leinster has more females than average, 1,040 per 1,000 males. This situation is caused by the exodus of females from county areas to the social and employment opportunities of Dublin, where as Table 2 (b) shows there is an even higher femininity ratio.

The remaining five wards do not present such a succinct analysis but the explanations for their population characteristics and migration pattern lie in their periods and nature of development. All these wards were developed more recently than the "dormitory" suburbs. Over 70 per cent of all private dwellings were built after 1919⁴⁶ (50.3 per cent in Howth) and dwellings are much larger. At least 83 per cent have four or more rooms.⁴⁷ Changes in population densities of an area give reasonably good guide to the developments taking place there. An increase in the number of persons per acre in a given period generally indicates, where few houses existed previously, that a certain amount of residential buildings has been completed. A decrease in the number is indicative, in this context, of slum clearance and possibly a change of function, i.e. to office or non-residential use.

Table 13 shows that Clontarf East experienced a 53 per cent increase in density between 1951–1961. This ward has a fair amount of Corporation building. In 1961, over a quarter

45. Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

46. Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 24.

47. Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

TABLE 13: *Population Densities*

<i>Wards</i>	<i>Number of Persons per Acre</i>			
	1946	1951	1961	1966
Clontarf East	5.3	6.9	9.7	10.3
Clontarf West	20.6	26.0	25.8	26.6
Terenure	25.3	28.8	27.8	28.5
Howth	1.8	1.9	2.0	2.5
Rathfarnham	7.3	7.4	11.5	13.1
Dublin County Borough	23.1	23.8	18.8*	19.9

*Decrease in density caused by addition of nine new wards to Dublin County Borough, in 1956.
Source: Census of Population 1951, Vol. 1, Table 11; 1966, Vol. 1, Table 11.

of private dwellings were rented from the Local Authority.⁴⁸ Between 1954–1956, 544 Corporation cottages at St. Anne's Estate were allocated to families. This offers an explanation for the fairly large child population of this ward a decade later, (Table 7) and also the below average population aged 15–24, since young people are not attracted to areas of local authority housing, as is evidenced by the fairly substantial net out-migration of those aged 20–24 from this ward. (Table 4).

Between 1946–1951 there were increases in density of 26 per cent in Clontarf West and 14 per cent in Terenure. Clontarf West includes larger areas of Corporation buildings; in 1961, 61 per cent of private dwellings were rented from the Corporation.⁴⁸ Between 1947–1951, 920 cottages were completed here by the Corporation. Thus the main body of children whose families were resettled at that time, would be well over 14 years by 1966. This offers some explanation for the below average child population as well as the slightly above average population aged 15–24. (Table 7). Terenure is in a similar position but in this case the children of the private housing schemes of this predominantly residential area are approaching their early twenties. Also the "invasion and succession" process has spread to Terenure from Rathmines West and in 1961 over a quarter of private dwellings in this ward were rented from those other than Local Authority.⁴⁹ The 1966 Census showed that 18 per cent of private dwellings were in flats.⁵⁰ This situation also offers an explanation for the substantial rates of in-migration experienced in Terenure among those aged 15–24 (Table 4) and may well explain this large proportion of single population aged 25–34 in Terenure (Table 5) apart from the hypothesis of postponed marriages in a middle class area.

As has already been mentioned, Howth and Rathfarnham have been areas of more recent housing. Table 13 shows that between 1961–1966 the number of persons per acre increased by a quarter in Howth and by 14 per cent in Rathfarnham. As with the wards of Zone 1 where huge housing schemes are currently in progress, so Howth and

48. Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

49. Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

50. Census of Population 1966, Vol. IV, Table 14.

Rathfarnham share certain of their population and migration characteristics, though in a more muted form. Increased population: substantial net in-migration, in particular in the older age groups 30-39 and above in Howth, possibly indicating the move of affluent families in their peak earning period to a large house in this fashionable residential area; substantial inflow of population aged 15-19 into these wards indicating the movement of older children accompanying their parents. It must be remembered that both Howth and Rathfarnham already had a substantial residential population which still determines their population structure. As would be expected both wards have below average single population except for those aged 25-29 in Rathfarnham. Net out-migration also occurred here in this age group. Possibly, as in Terenure this reflects adult children leaving on marriage or for employment reasons, but the large single population might reflect the encroachment of flat dweller land and a more mature tenant. In 1961, 18 per cent of private dwellings were rented from private landlords⁵¹ in Rathfarnham and in 1966, 30 per cent of households contained only one or two persons.⁵²

Apart from Clontarf West and Terenure for females, as Table 7 shows, the remaining wards have proportions of population aged 65 and over below average. Since their main development occurred during the last twenty years the bulk of population has not yet passed middle age. In Clontarf West, 1,362 cottages were allocated by the Corporation as far back as 1938, which possibly explains the above average elderly population, while in Terenure, an older residential area, old people still live on in their houses after their families are reared and gone. Both wards also have above average widowed population.

Finally, apart from Rathfarnham, all wards have high femininity ratios though not above the County Borough average, with the exception of Terenure. This factor again associates this older residential ward with the six former suburban areas.

CONCLUSION

The most striking phenomenon of the preceding study is the continuous movement of population away from central city areas, in the north to the boundaries of the County Borough and in other cases beyond it. This is the result of two main forces. The considerable demand for new housing, a result of increasing population and the continual programme of slum clearance, has led to cheaper land being developed on the outskirts of the city and beyond, while the area growing demand for office space in the central city has caused even further rises in valuations and decreases in rentable dwellings.

This population movement has also led to a splitting of generations, with a large body of elderly persons left behind in central areas while the new housing estates are peopled almost exclusively by young children and their parents.

In certain wards, Mountjoy, Rotunda, Ballybough and Merchant's Quay, normal households exist due to flat building by the Corporation on old tenement sites, but in general it is an area of abnormal households with a large single population and unbalanced age structure. Some wards, for historical reasons, have a markedly large

51. Census of Population 1961, Vol. VI, Table 18.

52. Census of Population 1966, Vol. VI, Table 11.

percentage of old people, Usher's Quay, Wood Quay and Royal Exchange, others, Mansion House, St Kevin's and South Dock, due to their accessibility and supply of rentable dwellings, attract a young, single transitory population aged 15-24 years, while all central city wards have an above average female population.

If the characteristics of Zone I with its considerable population increases, high immigration rates and very unbalanced population structure represents one extreme, with those of Zone II in complete contrast, then the remaining wards fit into the spectrum depending on their dates of development, nature of housing and location. Even within Zone I, there is a definite division between those wards, Ballyfermot, Finglas East and Rathfarnham South, where housing allocations commenced over twenty years ago, where population "bulges" have had time to work themselves out, and those more recently developed areas. In Zone III, Baldoyle, Cabra West and Crumlin West show some of the extreme characteristics of these new housing estates, while Rathfarnham and Howth for similar reasons share their large increases of population and high immigration rates. In contrast the marginal changes in population in the older Corporation housing estates of Crumlin, Kimmage and Kilmainham and the balanced age structure of their populations indicate the future pattern for the wards of Zone I, signs of which are already in evidence. In the older suburban wards of Pembroke and Rathmines, the characteristics of the central city rooming districts are becoming increasingly obvious as the business district expands due to population pressure and demand for office space. The conversion of the residential area of Ballsbridge into an office complex emphasises this trend. There is evidence that Terenure and Rathfarnham are becoming affected while in the north the expansion beyond Cabra East and Glasnevin is blocked by a green belt of Institutional land and Corporation estates.

Thus it can be seen that unless policies to reverse this trend are implemented, the central business district will continue to expand, leaving only pockets of residential housing within it, while the main body of the working population will live even further out from the centre in numerous dormitory suburbs.

*The Economic and Social Research Institute,
Dublin.*