

Agenda For Integration ?



The National Development Plan and Tallaght

July 1990.

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We are indebted to Carmel Duggan and Tom Ronayne of the Work Research Centre for their work in introducing the main section of this report. It would not have been possible without the financial support we received from the Combat Poverty Agency. We wish to thank Mary ^{S CHA} _{ARR} and Jim Walsh of the Combat Poverty Agency for their comments and suggestions. Joan Hart and Dr. Bridget Laffan for their information and advice; and Margaret O'Shea of the Tallaght Centre for the Unemployed for her hard work and patience in typing the many drafts of Part I.

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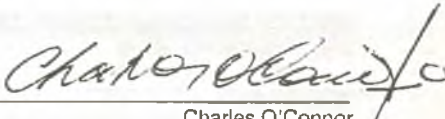
The involvement of the five main Tallaght community groups in monitoring EC funding started when a Tallaght submission was made in December 1988 to the then National Programme of Community Interest. Since then the groups have endeavoured to monitor developments and in particular to assess the extent to which the National Development Plan and the actions being taken with the financial support of the Community Support Framework for Ireland address Tallaght's needs. This research project is a further part of this local monitoring and specifically aims to:

- (a) analyse the content of the National Development Plan and its relevance to the development needs of Tallaght as outlined previously;
- (b) identify how far the reformed structural Funds may have the potential to meet the development needs of Tallaght;
- (c) identify other priority actions for the integrated development of Tallaght that are not dealt with under the National Development Plan or do not have the potential to be dealt with under the reformed structural Funds; and,
- (d) devise an action strategy outlining how the Tallaght community can influence the delivery of the National Development Plan and/or the reformed structural Funds.


While this research is mainly concerned with Tallaght and its needs it is also hoped that the findings will be a resource to other communities monitoring the NDP.

The partners to this research project believe that this document represents a firm agenda for further action in order to address Tallaght's needs. In this regard therefore the partners are committed to actively follow up this research project.

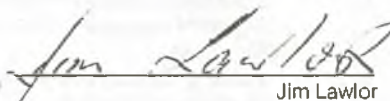
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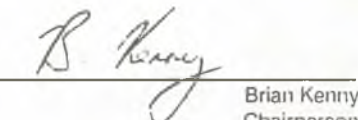

Brian Kenny
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SUMMARY OF MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS

1. General

The Tallaght organisations who commissioned this report believed that the National Development Plan offered the possibility of major investment in Tallaght. They also believed that the achievement of maximum benefit from the structural Funds was dependent upon a truly integrated set of actions being undertaken. The measures proposed in the NDP did not meet our expectations. Tallaght-based groups are not convinced that a national job creation strategy will benefit special need areas such as Tallaght and may instead increase their problems by broadening existing social and economic inequities.

There is an urgent need to locate large scale industry in the Greater Dublin area which can be accessed by people living in Tallaght. The Community Support Framework as currently proposed would appear to have a limited potential in achieving such industrial development.

2. Tallaght Economic Development Authority

It is proposed that a Tallaght Economic Development Authority (TEDA) be set up to implement a programme of integrated actions to enable the economic development of the Tallaght area. The TEDA will present a plan for the economic development of Tallaght which will take account of the following:

- o pre-requisite action for economic development
- o agreement on sequential actions
- o environmental investment
- o potential of tourism and leisure
- o transport.

The main parties in the TEDA will include the IDA, FAS, County Dublin VEC, Dublin County Council, local community representatives and representatives of local business interests. The TEDA will be established by Government, initially until 1993, and will fulfil a range of initiating, monitoring and research functions.

3. Training

There is a need to assess how effectively specific training and educational opportunities are geared to likely patterns of local employment creation and to general job creation trends. The age barrier in relation to qualification for various training or work experience

initiatives is an unnecessary restriction. There is a need to create and facilitate access to training and work experience schemes for women seeking re-entry into the labour market. Additionally, special consideration and support needs to be given to women heads of single-parent families in this regard.

A particular effort should be made to ensure that travellers are in a position to access training and work experience opportunities that are relevant to their needs.

4. Long-Term Unemployment / Social Employment Scheme

If combating unemployment is a serious objective of the NDP then the Social Employment Scheme with its average post-scheme employment rate of 16 per cent after 6 months is not an adequate initiative. It is proposed that a serious commitment be given to the long-term unemployed. This commitment should be provided on an individual basis and incorporate the opportunity for personal development, second-chance education, work experience, career counselling, flexible training and special skills training.

5. Regional Technical College

The decision to build an RTC in Tallaght has been enthusiastically received. It is hoped that the RTC will provide the basis for an industrial research and development unit that will act very directly as a development catalyst for attracting new industry to the region.

The Financial disincentives to participation in 3rd level education need to be examined as a matter of urgency if young people in Tallaght are to have access to the RTC.

6. Education

Urgent action needs to be taken both in school and post school to assist early school leavers to compete equally in the labour market. A much closer integration is required of adult education provision, training, work experience programmes and third-level education. An adult education policy, involving the Departments of Social Welfare, Education and Labour, is needed.

7. Transport

Investment in the roads system is welcomed as improving potential access to Tallaght to facilitate industrial development. The proposal to give financial support to a Tallaght / Clondalkin rail link under the Community Support Framework is also welcomed. An efficient, low-cost public transport system linking Tallaght to the wider labour market, giving access to the resources in the immediate area such as the lakes and mountains, improving social contacts and access to special services, is urgently required. Special

consideration should be given to developing public transport systems in relation to the Western Parkway. An extensive road system without a parallel public transport development will create further access problems for Tallaght residents.

PART I

**An Agenda for Integrated Action: The NDP and the Integrated
Development of Tallaght**

AN AGENDA FOR INTEGRATED ACTION: THE NDP AND THE INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT OF TALLAGHT

1. Introduction

This report, in common with other reports and studies, documents the particular social and economic difficulties of Tallaght. These difficulties have arisen in part because of the failure to develop the new town of Tallaght in an integrated way. There is now a clear recognition that the traditional sectoral approach to development and provision of services has failed Tallaght.

Five organisations commissioned this report: Tallaght Community Council, Tallaght Welfare Society, Get Tallaght Working Co-Operative Society Ltd., West Tallaght Resource Centre and the Tallaght Centre for the Unemployed. These same organisations, with the exception of the Centre for the Unemployed, made a submission in December 1988 to the Consultants who prepared the Dublin plan for the National Programme of Community Interest (NPCI).

The Tallaght Groups believed that the NPCI offered the possibility of major investment in Tallaght. They believed, and continue to believe, that the achievement of maximum benefit from the structural Funds is dependent upon a truly integrated set of actions being agreed and undertaken. The Tallaght Groups believe that the most effective mechanism to facilitate the development of such a set of actions is a central authority for Tallaght with the power to co-ordinate existing services and investment and to implement special actions for the area.

The five groups that commissioned this report emphasise the need for, and potential benefits of, integrated development in the Tallaght area. We are firmly committed to a model of integrated development which is multi-sectoral and multi-faceted. Section 1.1 below outlines a model for such integrated development. We believe that a reformed local government system offers the obvious and most effective structure to facilitate integrated development for Tallaght. Fully integrated development has yet to be tried in Ireland. Its implementation requires major reforms and a radical shift in our current approach to development. This is a long-term objective for the Tallaght groups.

As this report was commissioned in response to the publication of the National Development Plan (NDP) and the subsequent Community Support Framework (CSF) it was decided to focus on the economic development of Tallaght. While we realise the limitations of such a focus we believe that the acceptance and successful implementation of a model for economic development would provide an important first step in achieving fully integrated development. Accordingly Section 1.4 proposes an integrated model for the economic development of Tallaght with particular emphasis on actions relevant to the structural Funds. Some points in relation to action in the area of human resources are made in Section 1.5 followed by an outline of a strategy to achieve the implementation of our proposals in Section 1.6.

1.1 A Model for Integrated Development

"Integration" and "Integrated development" are increasingly seen as an effective way to respond to the current and future needs of communities. It is important that we make explicit what we mean

by integrated development. The model outlined below is based upon a model for integrated development proposed by Hugh Frazer in a recent paper (1989). Its main features are:

- (i) *area based*: The focus of development is on a defined geographical area and in particular on an area that is disadvantaged.
- (ii) *multi-faceted and multi-sectoral*: There is a concentration on a number of aspects of development - social, economic, cultural, environmental, rather than on any one aspect in isolation.
- (iii) *planned approach*: Multi-faceted actions require a planned and co-ordinated approach to development. This involves identifying the problems of the area, the resources available, and drawing-up an agreed programme of action with clear objectives.
- (iv) *sequential implementation*: Inherent in the agreement of a programme of action with clear objectives is a commitment to a sequential method of implementation. It is not sufficient for agencies involved in planned integrated development to agree their joint and individual work objectives. They are also required to agree the sequence of "follow up" actions to achieve those objectives.
- (v) *natural resource development*: Integrated development pays particular attention to utilising the natural resources of an area, ensuring that developments are in keeping with the local environment.
- (vi) *bottom-up, participative development*: The starting point for integrated development is the people who live in an area. Their active participation in all aspects of development is essential to its success. The development of people's skills, the encouragement of self-help and the creation of structures that enable participation are key elements in the process.

By co-ordinating, planning and integrating the actions of relevant agencies and groups across a wide range of activities it is expected that the benefits will be reinforcing and the result much greater than the sum of the parts. The implementation of this model in Tallaght would require radical reform and refocusing of existing resources. Its potential is totally untried.

1.2 Discussion of Actions Relevant to Tallaght Proposed in the NDP

Section 2.2.3 of Part II - "Measures in the National Development Plan being Supported by the Community Support Framework: Some Implications for Tallaght" - provides information on the scale and nature of measures that are to be supported by the European Commission in Ireland. The implications of the planned expenditure outlined in the Community Support Framework (CSF) are discussed under the four agreed priority headings. Our comments on this planned expenditure are outlined below.

(i) *Agriculture, Fisheries, Tourism and Rural Development*

Approximately 1 per cent of the requested expenditure earmarked for agricultural and related development was allocated to the Dublin City and County sub region. Horticulture and forestry are likely targets for development.

In their submission to the NDP the Tallaght organisations placed considerable emphasis on the need for environmental developments in Tallaght. A positive physical and social environment which incorporated leisure facilities (e.g. a major leisure centre, parks and open spaces; libraries and arts facilities; the development of the Dodder Valley and the Tallaght hinterland) along with

Improved access to these amenities was seen as central to Tallaght's development. Such physical and social developments would also play a major role in creating a positive environment for economic investment. Investment in these developments would have particular beneficial effects in the long-term as part of an overall strategy for the development of Tallaght and merits serious consideration.

(ii) Industry and Services

It is estimated that the Dublin City and County sub-region will receive about 28 per cent of expenditure under this heading. Two thirds of the funding sought from the structural Funds related to capital expenditure. A number of commentators have expressed reservations about dependence on the private sector in relation to industry and services. Considerable doubt also exists about the possibility of achieving the job creation targets outlined in the NDP. Tallaght based groups are not convinced that a national job creation strategy will benefit special need areas such as Tallaght and may instead increase their problems by broadening existing social and economic inequities.

Between 1985 and 1988 IDA assisted Companies in Tallaght experienced a net increase in employment of 150 jobs or a 3 per cent increase. It is likely that 2,000 jobs will become available to Tallaght workers as a result of current developments. There are, however, approximately 5,800 people signing on in Tallaght currently. In 1990, 1,000 young people will enter the labour force, with a higher increase in subsequent years.

The IDA development in Whitestown is welcomed as a small but important initiative in this area. It is clearly recognised that the Tallaght area, even taking the most optimistic view, is not capable of meeting its employment needs. There is an urgent need to locate large scale industry in the Greater Dublin area which can be accessed by residents from Tallaght. The CSF as currently proposed would appear to have a limited potential in achieving such industrial development.

(iii) Measures to Offset the Effects of Peripherality

The measures supported under this heading concern all those aspects of infrastructure which facilitate communication and transport between Ireland and other member states. Measures include the development of road networks, further development of ports and airports, the development of rail services, and improvements in telecommunications and postal services. Investment in the roads system is welcomed as improving potential access to Tallaght to facilitate industrial development. The proposed financial support to a Tallaght / Clondalkin rail-link under the terms of the CSF is also welcomed.

The importance of improved access by road is highlighted in relation to a recent proposal to develop the area of West Tallaght formerly owned by Gallaghers. The present owners may use the land for private housing, industrial and leisure development. They have indicated that such development is dependent on improved access and have proposed the construction of a link road to the Naas Road.

Improved road access will be of limited use to Tallaght unless there is substantial investment in an adequate public transport system. An efficient low cost public transport system linking Tallaght to the wider labour market, giving access to the resources in the immediate area such as the lakes and mountain areas, and improving social contacts and access to special services, is urgently

required. Special consideration should be given to developing public transport systems in relation to the Western Park Way. An extensive road system without a parallel public transport development will create further access problems for Tallaght residents.

(iv) Human Resources

The NDP and the CSF emphasise the role of the level and nature of investment in human resources in deciding the NDP job creation targets. In broad terms, the educational training and employment measures being pursued are targeted on at least four areas: projected growth sectors and key skill areas; those currently unemployed; those entering the labour market; specific measures related to supporting agricultural and rural development, tourism and industry.

The breakdown of expenditure heads for the Dublin City and County sub region on human resources is not currently available. From the data which is currently available - requested expenditure in the NDP - it appears that 66 per cent of total expenditure in this area will be on young people. Fifteen per cent of the total is earmarked for the continuation and expansion of the Social Employment Scheme. Less than 11 per cent of the total is allocated to training for the over 25's.

Human resource spending is of particular interest and relevance for local communities. It is of considerable direct importance to both individuals and community groups. Three issues arise in relation to human resource spending in the Tallaght area.

1. There is a need to assess how effectively specific training and educational opportunities are geared to likely patterns of local employment creation and to general job creation trends. Such an assessment would require a review of the skills training currently available in main stream FAS training courses. Doubts have been expressed about the relevance of main stream courses in relation to current patterns of projected employment growth. Concern also exists about the ability of the long-term unemployed to access main stream training and about disincentives to take up training irrespective of its relevance or accessibility. There is an increased awareness of the need to develop a close inter-relationship between education and training if a coherent response to long-term unemployment is to become a reality.

The RTC has been enthusiastically welcomed and generally regarded as being a most important initiative for Tallaght. However, concern has been expressed in relation to some aspects of its development, particularly in relation to the proposed vocational training courses for second-level students. It would appear that such provision is not required in Tallaght and may have the effect of "down grading" the RTC. It had been hoped that the RTC would provide the basis for an industrial research and development unit that would act very directly as a development catalyst for attracting new industries to the region and so create employment opportunities.

2. The second issue relates to the reliance on the Social Employment Scheme (SES) as the main initiative targeting the long-term unemployed. If combating unemployment is a serious objective of the NDP then the SES with its average post scheme employment rate of 16 per cent after six months is not an adequate initiative as presently constituted. Programmes are required which provide realistic opportunities for those who are unemployed to compete on favourable terms in the employment market. The pilot initiative proposed for the Tallaght

Centre for the Unemployed is a significant, though small, development in relation to SES workers.

3. The age barrier in relation to qualification for, or participation in, various training or work experience initiatives is an unnecessary restriction. Its partial removal is most welcome. If ESF initiatives are to have an effective impact on long-term unemployment they need to be person centred and the restrictions on participation reduced to the minimum.

1.2.1 Monitoring

The NDP proposes that responsibility for the detailed implementation of its programmes will rest with the seven sub-regional bodies that were involved in preparing the Plan. More recent information indicates that monitoring of the NDP will take place on three levels:

- o a central monitoring committee at national level including EC Commission members
- o a monitoring committee for each operational programme made up of the Government Department concerned with the sectoral programme and of relevant State Agencies
- o re-convened sub-regional working groups.

The NDP acknowledges the particular development needs of the suburban areas to the West of Dublin City (including Tallaght) where major population growth has not been matched by the supply of high order facilities and services. It identifies them as areas with *"serious multiple economic and social problems and a low level of participation in post-compulsory education, with participation in 3rd level education and training, in particular, far below the national average"* and specifically targets them for development (NDP. p.91).

This targeting would be greatly assisted by the monitoring and evaluation of NDP actions at a level below that of the Dublin City and County sub-regions, allowing for a detailed assessment of their impact at a local level to be made.

1.3 The NDP as an Integrated Response to Tallaght's Development Needs

The regulations covering application for funding from the reformed structural Funds required member states to prepare multi-annual plans outlining how much money was required from the structural Funds between 1989 and 1993, and how this money would be spent. The Irish Government prepared and submitted the National Development Plan. The regulations also required that the Plan be produced *"through close consultation between the Commission, the Member State concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other level, with each party acting as a partner in pursuit of a common goal."*

Community organisations in Tallaght believed that the reformed structural Funds should be area-based and particularly focused on disadvantaged areas such as Tallaght. They welcomed the requirement for planning and the indications of a cross-sectoral approach to this. They particularly noted the requirement to develop partnership with local bodies in relation to the drafting and implementation of Ireland's plan. The structural Funds seemed to have the potential to become the mechanism by which some of Tallaght's development needs could be met in a planned and integrated way. Accordingly, four Tallaght based groups made a submission to the consultants who were drafting the Dublin City and County sub-regional plan. The submission

focused on areas that could be dealt with by the structural Funds - employment, environmental development and transport. It was based on the beliefs that:

- o the needs of Tallaght are pressing and Tallaght should therefore be recognised as a "priority area"
- o there is immense potential for future co-ordinated action in Tallaght
- o the involvement of local communities in the planning and implementation of projects supported by the structural Funds is vital to the success of these projects.

The National Development Plan did not adopt a regional, let alone sub-regional approach to development. It failed to create an expectation of the co-ordination of its various actions. Local communities were not included as partners in the planning of Ireland's proposals to the Commission. It does not appear they will have a role in the implementation of the proposals.

Tallaght will undoubtedly gain both directly and indirectly from the increased resources available to Ireland from the reformed structural Funds (see Part II especially Chapter 4). However, the Tallaght organisations that commissioned this report believe that the failure to implement the measures supported by the Funds in a co-ordinated and integrated way reduces and seriously undermines the potential effectiveness of expenditure from the Funds.

1.4 An Integrated Model for the Economic Development of Tallaght

An integrated approach has considerable potential in relation to the development of Tallaght, not least because a number of commentators have identified the failure to promote integration in the past as a major contributing factor to Tallaght's present state: *"The problem issues in Tallaght today start from the rapid development of the area coupled with a lack of a satisfactory organisational structure with the necessary financial backing to produce an integrated development plan for Tallaght"* (Tallaght Tomorrow, S. Ward & J. Bannon)

While there is significant agreement as to the benefit of an integrated approach to Tallaght's development, there is less agreement as to an appropriate model or structure to facilitate this approach. Among the models suggested are:

- (i) *a development authority*: Stephen Ward and Michael J. Bannon proposed a "Tallaght Development Authority" in their report to the Tallaght Region of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce. The Authority *"should have responsibility for the promotion of Tallaght and the delivery of all public service functions in the area as well as the promotion of private sector investment in the area"*.
- (ii) *a Tallaght Local Authority*: The establishment of a local authority for Tallaght, with increased powers and responsibility to enable integrated development to take place within a local government structure.

Both these courses of action would require considerable political will to achieve their implementation. A reformed system of local government - with expanded functions and adequate funding - that enabled participation by community groups would clearly facilitate the setting-up of an integrated model of local development.

Such a system would provide the most effective mechanism to foster integrated development. A local government structure that is locally driven and locally focused, with the power to initiate and direct infrastructural developments alongside its other functions would greatly assist the integrated development of Tallaght.

While the current review of local government has been warmly welcomed in Tallaght it is not clear whether the review will, or can, propose such a radical reform of our present system. It is impossible however to envisage fully integrated local development taking place without radical change of our local government system.

While the groups responsible for this report believe that Tallaght urgently requires an initiative to facilitate full integrated development we decided to narrow our focus for the purposes of this report. We are therefore proposing a model for the integrated *economic* development of Tallaght. This focus on economic development is of particular relevance in the context of the discussion of the NDP and the CSF, it has some important precedents in Tallaght, and offers some possibility of attainment in the short to medium term.

1.4.1 Tallaght Economic Development Authority

It is proposed that a Tallaght Economic Development Authority (TEDA) be set up to implement a programme of *integrated actions* to enable the *economic development* of the Tallaght area. The establishment of the TEDA would be the first stage action in the achievement of the long-term objective of full integrated development through a reformed local government structure. While recognising its limited focus the TEDA will be a model for integrated development with the features outlined in section 1.1 above.

More specifically:

- o Responsibility for initiating the TEDA will rest with the Government as an indicator of the Government's commitment to an integrated approach to development. The TEDA will become a "designated competent authority" (Council Regulation (EEC) No. 2052/88).
- o The TEDA will initially be set up for the duration of the NDP - that is up to 1993.
- o The main partners in the TEDA will be the IDA, FAS, VEC, DCC and local community representatives.
- o A co-ordinating forum of community organisations will nominate representatives to the TEDA. The forum will provide support and direction to its representatives and be a mechanism for the exchange of information and ideas and the determination of policy.
- o Local business interests and relevant private investors will also be involved in the partnership along with representatives of local and central government.
- o The TEDA will have the authority and power to direct the planning and sequential implementation of actions being taken with the support of the CSF in the Tallaght area.

It is important to acknowledge that there are currently two economic initiatives in Tallaght: the FAS Integrated Area Development Programme and the IDA Economic Development Committee. While these initiatives are important in the progress towards an integrated approach to economic development they are nevertheless limited in their scope (e.g. the FAS initiative does not have a separate budget within FAS and cannot ensure that related actions or spending will be undertaken by other groups or organisations participating in the initiative).

The involvement of a coalition of community based groups in the TEDA is crucial to its success. Community organisations have a great deal to offer the statutory and business sectors by way of on the ground experience, the evaluation of relevant actions and the feeding back of their impact at local level. More importantly however the community is entitled to an equal voice in planning, implementing and evaluating actions which impinge in a most direct way upon it.

1.4.1.1 Functions of TEDA

The first task of the TEDA will be to present a plan for the integrated economic development of Tallaght. The plan will detail the agreed sequential actions of the relevant parties for the period 1990 - 1993. The Authority will monitor and evaluate these actions and reschedule the plan accordingly. Along with the specific economic objectives the plan will take account of the following:

- (i) *pre-requisite action for economic development:* Certain areas and groupings of people within Tallaght are particularly disadvantaged (e.g. West Tallaght, early school-leavers). These areas and groupings must be specially targeted so that they are able to benefit equally in any economic improvements in the area as a whole.
- (ii) *agreement on sequential actions:* The interrelationship of jobs, job creation, training and access to training is a crucial issue. Significant numbers of people are restricted in their access to present Government initiatives that may assist their early re-entry into the work force. This issue will be more fully dealt with in the following section.
- (iii) *environmental investment:* A good quality attractive environment is important in both assisting the building of local pride in and commitment to Tallaght and in creating a positive environment for industrial development. Investment is therefore required in tree planting, improvement of green spaces and pollution control. It is envisaged that the TEDA will not have a direct investment function in the environment but will act as a catalyst for environmental investment from its constituent members.
- (iv) *tourism and leisure facilities:* The considerable potential of tourism and leisure based economic development in the Tallaght hinterland will be addressed.
- (v) *transport:* Considerable investment is required to improve public transport systems in the Tallaght area and the links between Tallaght and surrounding areas.

The TEDA will have both monitoring and research functions. It is also important that the Authority has the potential to carry out or commission research relevant to the integrated economic development of Tallaght. Such research should be creative and investigative as well as reactive.

The TEDA will require financial support to enable it to carry out its functions over the planned period. This support should be made available from both the National Exchequer and the EC. The operational structure, staffing requirements, budget etc. of the TEDA will be agreed by the partners.

1.5 Human Resources

Above, the relevance of human resource spending on education training and employment measures for local communities was emphasised. The major problem facing Tallaght now is unemployment. Concern is expressed in Part II, and it has been echoed in many other contexts, that an economic upturn in the Tallaght area may serve to further exacerbate existing social and

economic differences, for example: "If the Tallaght work force is to benefit by the provision of jobs, both within Tallaght itself and in the Greater Dublin area, it is important that the skill requirement of such jobs is reflected among the work force. This has obvious implications for educational provision generally and for the vocational training of school leavers, the registered unemployed and those, mainly women, who are excluded from the live register" (Section 4.1.4). A planned, integrated, and creative use of human resource spending may assist in reducing these differences. The actions required are wider than those which can be funded through the NDP / CSF. They require the refocusing and integration of the resources of the Departments of Education, Social Welfare and Labour. This is crucial to the economic development of Tallaght.

1.5.1. Early School Leavers

While education facilities and provision are adequate at both first and second level in Tallaght there is clearly a small but significant number of young people leaving school with no or only minimal educational qualifications. These young people find it extremely difficult to secure employment and are likely to be among the future long-term unemployed. Urgent action needs to be taken both in-school and post-school to assist them to compete equally in the labour market.

- (i) *in-school response*: Hannon (1988) has made a number of proposals in relation to educational policy changes to meet the needs of young people "failed" by the educational system. These include: the implementation of specific intervention programmes for the 10 to 15 per cent of pupils at the bottom of the educational ladder; a shift in national educational policy away from the narrow preoccupation with curriculum and syllabus; and, the acceptance of a policy to concentrate efforts on improving the effectiveness of structural and instructional arrangements for the bottom 10 to 15 per cent of achievers in post-primary schools, currently receiving 6 per cent of expenditure. The Vocational Preparation Training Programme has been operational in Tallaght for some time. A local assessment of its impact is not easily available.
- (ii) *post-school response*: The Youthreach programme is now the main post-school response to early school leavers. The Tallaght Youth Service has also developed programmes directed towards disadvantaged young people. The two year social guarantee provision has not been running long enough for a full assessment of its effectiveness.

If the educational attainment of young people leaving school is to be enhanced a number of actions are required:

- o the educational, training and support services need to co-ordinate their provisions and resources more effectively in order to provide a continuum of supported experience, education and training to young people leaving school early
- o there must be special investment in the lowest 10-15 per cent of achievers in second-level schools
- o an assessment should be made of the relevance of the curriculum to the bottom 10 to 15 per cent of achievers at second level.

1.5.2 Adult Education

Participation in adult education is often an important encouragement to those outside of the labour market to seek their re-integration into the labour market. The under resourcing of current provision clearly reflects a failure to recognise the contribution of adult education to this process.

Recently, however, there have been important initiatives in improving access to adult education. The Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme (VTOS), though limited, has considerable potential to assist the long-term unemployed to significantly improve their educational qualifications. The lifting of age limit restrictions on ESF supported education provision is also welcome. However, much closer integration is required in adult education provision, training, work experience programmes and third level education. Adult education must be recognised as part of a continuum enabling the long-term unemployed to re-enter the work force. In practice this requires an urgent reappraisal of the supports available for mature students who wish to further their education and of the resources to enable the provision of that education. It requires the development of an adult education policy involving the Departments of Social Welfare, Education and Labour.

1.5.3. Regional Technical College

The decision to build a Regional Technical College (RTC) in Tallaght has been enthusiastically received. The RTC will be an important element in the development of the Tallaght community. However, a number of questions remain about the specific proposal for the Tallaght RTC and about the wider issue of access to third level education.

Earlier (Section 1.2 (iv)) we detailed the concerns that have been expressed about provision of second level courses within the RTC. It will be difficult to achieve the recognition of the RTC as a third level facility if it has a second-level emphasis. The RTC was particularly sought and welcomed because of its third level status. A possible reduction in the provision of third level courses is a matter of considerable concern.

The RTC will undoubtedly make a contribution to addressing the under representation of young people from Dublin in third level education (Clancy 1988). However, in itself, there is no reason to believe that the RTC will adequately address the current difficulties that children from low income and working class families experience in accessing third level education. Many potential students will continue to be deterred by cost factors. The financial disincentives to participation in third level education need to be examined as a matter of urgency if young people in Tallaght are to have equal access to third level facilities such as the RTC.

1.5.4 The Recently Unemployed

While the importance of targeting resources on the most disadvantaged is acknowledged there is growing concern about the failure to provide resources to support the recently unemployed. It is recognised that people who have been unemployed for a short period stand a better chance of re-entering employment. Access to a number of initiatives for the unemployed is restricted to those who are long-term unemployed. A reappraisal of this policy would be welcome.

1.5.5 Long-term Unemployed

Earlier in this section we expressed reservations about the emphasis on the SES as the main CSF supported initiative for the long-term unemployed. The re-entry of the long-term unemployed into employment will reflect the fit between their individual skills and the requirements of the labour market. Many of the long-term unemployed in Tallaght have skills that are redundant. Two further points are relevant here:

- (i) *Social Employment Scheme (SES)*: The disincentives to participation in temporary

employment provided by the SES have been widely documented. These include financial disincentives, conditions of employment and the quality of the work experience provided. SES as presently constituted is not an adequate response to long-term unemployment because there is no guarantee of further training, no opportunity to access new work and no person centred guidance or assistance.

- (ii) *Main stream training:* Concern also exists about the effectiveness of main stream skills training as a response to long-term unemployment. There appears to be under-participation of Tallaght residents in the local FAS Training Centre. This may arise from three factors: an extensive catchment area requiring resources to be spread too thinly; the training available being of limited relevance to the local unemployed; and, the inability of the long-term unemployed to get sufficient qualifications or skills to access the training available.

There are clearly financial disincentives to participation in training. The provision of equivalent income as training allowance is not sufficient to motivate many people who are experiencing extended unemployment. Training has become devalued in the perception of the unemployed because it has not enabled them to secure jobs. The inter-relationship of training with specific projected employment opportunities and to the wider labour market is not perceived to be operating effectively.

If the long-term unemployed in Tallaght are to have the opportunity to compete on an equal basis for any increased employment that may arise through action support by the CSF, a series of more focused actions are required. It is proposed that a commitment similar to the social guarantee, be given to the long-term unemployed. The opportunity for personal development, second chance education, work experience, career counselling, flexible training and special skills training related to likely employment should be provided. The guarantee should be person-centred and perceived as positive (i.e. able to enhance employment possibilities and personally relevant). The current financial disincentives to participation in education, training and work experience should be addressed as a matter of urgency.

1.5.6. Women

It would appear from the analysis of job opportunities in the post construction phase of developments currently underway in Tallaght that a significant amount of work available will be that traditionally regarded as "women's work". There is a need therefore to create earlier access to training and work experience schemes for women seeking re-entry into the labour market if they are to gain the necessary experience to enable them to compete for available jobs. Special consideration and support needs to be made available to women heads of single parent families, who are re-entering the work force.

Concern has been expressed about the effect of the income disregard arising from the EC social welfare equality directive on wage levels and on women's wages in particular. Together, with the recognised association of low pay with part-time work, these are matters that require further consideration.

1.5.7 Travellers

The travelling community in Tallaght, as in many other areas, is particularly disadvantaged. A particular effort should be made to ensure that travellers are in a position to access training and work experience opportunities that are relevant to their needs.

1.6 Implementing the Integrated Strategy: Establishing the TEDA

There have been a number of initiatives in the last four years in Tallaght which have had some of the features of an integrated model for economic development. The Tallaght COMTEC (a Youth Employment Agency initiative) brought together representatives of the statutory bodies concerned with manpower services and education and the local community to consider and develop plans to meet the education and training needs of young people in the area. Arising out of the COMTEC the FAS Integrated Area Development Plan was set up in 1988. The objective of this plan is *"to add to the level of jobs, income, business skills, group organisational skills and facilities in the Tallaght area in a cost effective manner"*. A group including community representatives, the IDA, Tallaght Chamber of Commerce along with FAS, advises the latter on the delivery of the Plan. Within the last two years the IDA has set up its Economic Development Committee comprising a number of different interest groups which advises the IDA on business development in Tallaght. The Tallaght proposal for the EC 3rd Poverty Programme involved eleven different organisations from the community, voluntary and statutory sectors.

There is a growing concern about the proliferation of co-ordinated / co-ordinating groups and there is a clear recognition of the importance of considering carefully whether rationalisation would be possible or useful. We believe that the proposed Tallaght Economic Development Authority will provide the impetus for fully integrated development. The establishment of the TEDA is dependent on:

- o political support for the proposal, particularly at Government level
- o the securing of agreements to participate from the partners, including the business community
- o the acceptance of and support for the TEDA proposal within the Tallaght Community.

1.6.1 Interim Activities of TEDA

It is clearly recognised that the establishment of the TEDA may take some time. Meanwhile, the NDP and the measures agreed with the Commission in the CSF are being implemented. It is important that these actions are evaluated and monitored to the greatest degree. To begin this process the work programme drafted for the Department of Social Welfare's community development fund allocation to Tallaght, proposes a sub-programme which focuses on the needs of the long-term unemployed and the role of the local community in economic regeneration. This sub-programme will have a particular role in monitoring and evaluating the human resources spending arising from the NDP in the Tallaght area.

The Government's proposals for the monitoring of the CSF are not fully clear. We would strongly recommend that an area such as Tallaght provides the ideal location for the establishment of an ad-hoc locally based monitoring committee which would be a sub-group of the regional monitoring group of Dublin City and County. As has been indicated above, there are precedents for the successful establishment of such a sub-group in Tallaght. The monitoring and evaluation of CSF supported actions at local community level would greatly enhance the delivery of the NDP and CSF. We therefore strongly recommend the establishment of such a monitoring sub-group in Tallaght.



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PART II

**Developing Tallaght: The Potential of Current Measures
and the Development Priorities**

Tom Ronayne & Carmel Duggan

CHAPTER 1

Overview of Report: Toward an Assessment of the Actions Being Taken Under the Community Support Framework to Address the Development Needs of Tallaght

1.0 Introduction

Following an overview of the background and objectives of the current research this chapter summarises some of the main points and conclusions emerging from the following three chapters of this report.

1.1 Background and Objectives of the Research

In March 1989 the National Development Plan (NDP) was published. It identified a range of development objectives at both national and sectoral levels, outlined the development measures to be adopted to achieve these objectives, indicated proposed spending under several sectoral headings, and presented outline budgets for the sub-regions, including the sub-region of Dublin City and County, under the same headings.

As reflected in its title, the thrust of the Plan was national in orientation. Considerable emphasis was placed on macroeconomic policy and directions in this area reflected the free market orientation of government policy: *the strategy is to foster efficient working of markets, within accepted social conditions, in order that resources may be used to best effect and impediments to economic growth and job creation minimised* (NDP 1989, p. 26). The Plan was also explicitly situated with reference to the Programme for National Recovery. In its own words it *"complements and builds on"* this Programme.¹

Drawn up on this national and sectoral basis, the Plan provided limited information on the precise nature of proposed actions, particularly regarding how these would be distributed across the sub-regions, indicated the time frame for any such actions mainly in terms of planned expenditure over time under broad headings, and provided only general information regarding the bodies and agencies which would be involved in implementing the overall provisions of the Plan on a national and sub-regional basis (see Figure 2.2A for summary).

The general uncertainty regarding the overall nature of the proposed measures in the Plan, the scant coverage given to sub-regional issues, the lack of consultation with community based groups during the preparation of the Plan itself, the absence of any specific consideration of the development needs of localities experiencing significant social and economic problems, and difficulties in relating the proposed measures in the Plan to the needs of such localities, all indicated the relevance of making an analysis of the Plan itself

¹ It is useful to note here that the content and objectives of the Programme for National Recovery (PNR) spanned a much wider area of economic and social objectives than the NDP itself. These included not only macroeconomic objectives but also objectives in the area of tax reform, greater social equity, employment, labour legislation and state-sponsored bodies.

and of attempting to assess the potential of the measures proposed in the Plan for such localities.

The present research is one attempt at such an assessment. The objective was to analyse the potential of the NDP to address the social and economic development of Tallaght and in particular its potential to address the specific disadvantages experienced by sections of the local population. Within this broad objective, four elements were targeted for attention:

- (i) to identify the current and projected needs of the Tallaght area;
- (ii) to analyse the potential of the NDP for meeting these needs;
- (iii) to highlight areas of need and potential within Tallaght which are not provided for under the terms of the NDP or within the context of the reformed structural Funds; and,
- (iv) to document relevant background information regarding the regulations concerning the reform of the structural Funds, the time scale for finalising and implementing national proposals, and the time scale for the spending of funds sought for the implementation of the measures identified in the NDP.

A further aim of the research was that the above analysis should facilitate local groups to devise an action strategy in order to maximise their input into the implementation and delivery of the provisions of the Plan and/or measures being taken with structural Funds assistance in Tallaght.

1.1.1 Note on Documentation and Terms

As the NDP together with the specific proposals regarding measures to combat long-term unemployment and provisions for the occupational integration of young people were essentially part of a process of seeking financial assistance from the reformed structural Funds, it was necessary not only to examine the measures presented in the NDP itself in the context of the above objectives, but also, in so far as the relevant information was available, the operational programmes being supported in the Community Support Framework (CSF) for Ireland. The latter is the agreed outcome of the negotiations between the Irish government and the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) which took place subsequent to the submission of the Plan itself and the associated documents relating to long-term unemployment and provisions for the occupational integration of young people. In the event, the main documentation available was the outline CSF which was released on the 27th November 1989. Thus, throughout the report reference is made to both the NDP and the CSF and the distinction between the two should be noted in this context.

In addition to these main sources, the other documentation identified as relevant to the research and which was accessible included both drafts of the "Preparation Study" for the Greater Dublin Area.²

² Both of these were prepared by a consortia of consultants: Davy Kalleher McCarthy; Reid McHugh & Partners; and, Stokes Kennedy Crowley.

1.2 The National Development Plan and the Community Support Framework: The Potential for Tallaght Examined

Chapter 2 indicates the need to recognise the context within which both the National Development Plan (NDP) and the Community Support Framework (CSF) arise: the former in essence was a technical requirement to apply for financial assistance from the reformed structural Funds with the latter being the agreed financing plan for those measures accepted by both the Irish Government and the CEC. The role to be played by the reformed structural Funds in the context of the anticipated adverse consequences of the completion of the internal market on the less developed economies of peripheral areas is examined here and a variety of reservations regarding the potential of the Funds in general are noted. It is emphasised that most analyses of the structural Funds are in agreement regarding the overall inadequacy of the Funds to achieve their stated objective of assisting the process of convergence between the more developed and core economies of the EC and the less developed peripheral economies: for example, *"even after their recently agreed doubling, the Structural Funds will still represent less than half of one per cent of the Community GDP ... (this)...will not be sufficient to create convergence, let alone establish equality in regional economic structures"* (NESC, 1989, p. 257).

Turning to the NDP itself we note that despite the establishment of sub-regional committees - a measure now widely acknowledged as being little more than tokenism and window dressing - and the drawing up of plans by these - plans which were largely ignored in the NDP itself - the submission of the NDP to the CEC emphasised macroeconomic measures, sectoral objectives, and measures to promote economic growth within a primarily national perspective. Two features central to the overall thrust of the Plan itself and its objective of stimulating economic growth are the reliance on private sector investment and increased productivity and competitiveness: *"A principal purpose of the Plan, which will be central in the broad strategy the Government intend to pursue over the coming years, is to accelerate the rate of private investment. A primary thrust of this Plan is to strengthen the competitiveness of the economy. The Plan, moreover, includes programmes to increase productivity by developing the skills of the workforce"* (NDP, 1989, pp. 33 & 34).

Limited clarity is to be found within the Plan itself regarding how the achievement of the various development measures and programmes will actually translate into either employment or how the resultant growth will translate into another stated objective of the Plan, that is, to *"accompany economic growth by a greater social dimension"* (p. 25). In fact, we note that even in its own assessment of the potential benefits of the programmes outlined, it acknowledges the considerable uncertainty which exists regarding the specifics of these: *(these)... cannot be specified a priori, except on a general and unquantified level* (p. 33). Moreover, in so far as consideration was given to how such measures, if successful, would benefit either disadvantaged sections of the population or localities experiencing a concentration of social and economic problems, such consideration seems to have extended no farther than that long standing assumption of Irish economic policy that *"a rising tide will lift all boats"*.

This assumption in the NDP becomes particularly evident when one contrasts the pattern of social and economic disadvantage experienced in Tallaght with the broad lines of planned expenditure and associated measures to be taken as outlined in the documentation available regarding the CSF. Here we would emphasise that with regard to the more specific areas of industry and services and human resources, the available information gives little *specific* indication of how the projected employment growth will be distributed across particular

occupational categories or how it will be distributed spatially. In this regard, we point to the recent pattern of employment growth both nationally and in Dublin where the evidence suggests that this has been mainly in the technical and professional areas of the service sector. We argue that given existing levels of unemployment combined with the occupational and educational composition of the unemployed, it is difficult to see how the measures being supported in the CSF, on their own, will address either the needs of the unemployed in general for employment or address the particular problem of the concentration of unemployment in specifically disadvantaged localities. The limitations of reliance on temporary employment measures is also noted in this regard.

Both in the terms of reference of the reformed structural Funds and in terms of the measures indicated as receiving support under the CSF there is an absence of any consideration of distributional issues at national and sub-regional levels (in this regard it must be noted that Ireland is classified as a single region for the purposes of the CSF). Such matters remain firmly within the ambit of national policy. In consequence there is no guarantee that improved economic circumstances will either directly or disproportionately benefit those already experiencing disadvantage in Ireland. Regarding this, we point to the recognised limitations of Irish social and economic policy to actually address aspects of structural inequality.³ This point is of particular importance given that the measures required to address many aspects of existing disadvantage in Tallaght fall within the ambit of national policy regarding distributional issues. More specifically, we would emphasise that many of the disadvantages experienced by sections of the local population in Tallaght - particularly the high levels of poverty arising from dependence on state transfer payments - arise not alone from the absence of sustained and coordinated development at a local level but also from the lack of effective national policy and action.

1.2.1 Looking Forward: Intervening in the Monitoring of the CSF

From the outset it was recognised that the "transparency" of the Plan could well reflect a lack of detail with regard to the precise measures to be implemented and the method of delivery of these measures. It was recognised that this was particularly likely to be the case when attempting an assessment of its implications either for a particular locality or for the role of local groups and organisations in influencing or participating in the actual delivery of any measures and expenditure at a local level. Subsequent efforts to elicit more exact information on measures related to specific actions and relevant to specific localities confirmed that this was indeed the case. The publication in late November (1989) of the outline Community Support Framework (CSF) for Ireland, which it was expected would indicate how aspects of the Plan were to be delivered and operationalised, in fact provided little additional information on the methods, time scale or specific actions for the implementation of the Plan. The additional information provided in this document was mainly confined to setting out the agreed levels of expenditure and support from the structural Funds under the Priority Objectives of the Funds and a timescale for this expenditure (see Tables 2.1A and 2.2A for summary). In essence while the accountancy

³ The extent to which the successive Irish governments have relied on economic growth as a means of dealing with distributional issues, particularly those arising in relation to income redistribution through taxation and welfare provision, and the competing interests of different classes in Ireland regarding this, is extensively addressed in Breen et al., (1990). In the context of the growth oriented strategy of the NDP it is of importance to note that there is little evidence that the Irish state made progress toward achieving a more equitable distribution of the benefits achieved during previous periods of economic growth.

aspects of the CSF were clarified, little further detail was provided.⁴

This situation has several consequences relevant to the research brief as set out above. First, given the lack of clarity with regard to the allocation of resources under the terms of the Community Support Framework, it is neither possible nor necessarily desirable to distinguish between measures and provisions funded through allocations from the CSF and those funded through allocations from the national exchequer. As we note in later sections of this report, particularly in Chapter 4, certain proposed measures within Tallaght will benefit from support from the CSF. Certain other measures, however, fall outside the scope of the CSF, and in some instances the capacity of proposed measures to access funds from the CSF is as yet unclear. Given this lack of detail in regard to sources of funding on the one hand and the importance of considering all aspects of proposed provisioning for Tallaght on the other, priority has been given to the latter with sources of funding indicated when clear links between the proposed measures and the CSF can be established.

A second consequence of the way in which both the Plan and the CSF have been drawn up concerns the difficulty of identifying provision with regard to specific localities.⁵ The Plan and the resultant CSF provide for action on a sectoral and operational programme basis rather than on a locality basis. Given the vagueness with regard to the specifics of provision at the operational level, its relevance to specific localities is not easily drawn out. This has obvious implications for local groups seeking to devise an action strategy to influence the delivery of measures supported in the CSF. A clearly defined, detailed and locality specific framework of provisioning, were such available, would allow local groups identify the most strategically relevant point, or points, at which to engage with the process of delivering aspects of the measures taken in their localities.

We would suggest, however, that the absence of a detailed programme of spending and the associated general difficulty of identifying specific measures to be taken in socially and economically disadvantaged localities points to the importance of local groups and organisations clearly identifying patterns of local need, local priorities and strategies of action to address these. There are two reasons for emphasising the importance of this. Both of these relate to the provisions regarding the monitoring of the effects of operational programmes supported under the CSF.

First, the availability of such information to community based groups and organisations will enable them to be better placed to monitor and assess *for themselves* the benefits, or lack of benefits, arising in their localities as a result of the general provisions of increased structural Fund assistance and measures taken under the operational programmes in the CSF. Second, and related to the previous point, is that through consciously engaging in such assessment they will increase their capacity to intervene more effectively in the proposed monitoring of the CSF (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 2 for overview of the procedures for

⁴ As we note in Chapter 2, to have expected such clear possibilities for the analysis of these types of issues was unrealistic given the general terms of reference of the reformed structural Funds and the role of the NDP as a document seeking financial assistance from the structural Funds under the latter terms of reference. As we also note in Chapter 2, while it is possible to identify a number of measures to be taken in the human resources area, specifically measures addressing long-term unemployment, and to make some assessment of the general potential of these, assessment of the actual potential of these relative to needs arising in a given locality is problematic.

⁵ In practical terms the major issue here is the lack of information regarding the specifics of the operational programmes which will directly or indirectly impact on conditions in specific localities. As we attempt to indicate in Figure 1.1A, from a more technical point of view it is due to the difficulty of identifying the actual content of the operational programmes being resourced with support from the structural Funds as agreed in the CSF, that assessments of the specific potential for any given locality are problematic.

monitoring the CSF). At a more strategic level, we would argue that the possibility of effectively intervening in monitoring the actions taken with support of the CSF will be increased if this process is not confined to one locality alone. This requires a greater degree of coordination between the actions of community based groups and organisations operating in areas experiencing concentrations of social and economic disadvantage.

The discussion in Chapter 3 of present and projected social and economic conditions in Tallaght is intended to provide a basis for undertaking such local monitoring as well as providing a framework for drawing up priorities for action and identifying targets for intervention. In this regard, the objective of the discussion in Chapter 3 is to identify the needs both of the area as a whole and of specific categories within the local population. The discussion, therefore, is predominantly an account of the social and economic conditions which currently exist in Tallaght, the current and projected deprivation which arises from this, and the consequent experience of disadvantage within the locality.

1.3 The Development of Tallaght and the Need for Integrated Development

Commentaries on the contemporary social and economic situation within Tallaght invariably and correctly point to the fact that the new town was planned and implemented without the benefit of a single Authority capable of over-seeing and co-ordinating its development in an integrated way. Aspects of the social and economic development of the area fall within the remit of various statutory bodies. In consequence of this fragmentation of responsibility, the development of Tallaght, it has been pointed out, has been largely dependent on "*market forces, goodwill and persuasion*". Measures to rectify this situation, even at this late stage, have been called for (see for example, Ward and Bannon, 1988) and the current phase of development in the area highlights the need for greater co-ordination if measures intended to address certain problematic aspects of contemporary conditions in Tallaght do not generate new or additional problems. If, in the future, the development of Tallaght is to occur in a more sustained, directed and productive manner the following three points are important.

1. There is already, on the part of certain statutory bodies, (e.g., FAS and the IDA) a recognition of the need for greater co-ordination among the various agencies involved in the economic development of Tallaght. This has in some instances been translated into action. The Integrated Area Development Programme, sponsored by FAS with input from a range of statutory and voluntary agencies, represents one experiment in greater consultation, co-operation, and integration within the development process, in this case with regard to job creation. Given the scale of the demand for employment in the Tallaght area, the projected increases in the size of the youth labour force, and the very high proportion of long-term unemployed among older age groups, there is a clear need for initiatives promoting a more integrated approach to economic development generally and job creation specifically to be established on a larger scale and on a more permanent basis.
2. The division of responsibility for the development of Tallaght between various statutory bodies has also adversely affected the development of social provision in the area. Current levels of provision in recreational, health, welfare, educational and commercial

facilities are substantially below those required to accommodate a population of the size and composition of that of Tallaght. If the well-being and quality of life of the residents of Tallaght is to be secured for the future, it is essential that sustained and directed measures are implemented which will provide socially necessary and desirable facilities for all those living in the area and which will recognise and accommodate the varying needs of different sections of the local population.

3. The contemporary social and economic conditions which exist in Tallaght and the scale of deprivation to which they give rise requires that measures designed to remedy or otherwise deal with problems in the area should not be regarded merely as social spending but should be viewed as a social investment in the people and in the area. If, as increasingly appears to be the case, local voluntary action is recognised as having a role in promoting integrated development, identifying priorities for action and delivering services to the community, then within a social investment perspective, local action must be resourced to a level sufficient to enable it to effectively fulfil that role. Adequate resourcing of the voluntary sector as partners in integrated development applies not just to Tallaght, but also to other areas which are experiencing high levels of disadvantage and which are attempting, through local and voluntary effort, to deal with this. The present inadequate level of resourcing of local action is unsatisfactory in that it inhibits the capacity of public participation in the ongoing development of communities and engenders competition for scarce resources between local groups both within and between disadvantaged areas.

The more general point here - which encompasses but extends beyond the issue of financial resources - relates to the importance of developing structures which will both support and facilitate the process of integrated development. The range of factors inhibiting the development of such structures and the difficulties experienced by those which have been established, in most cases on a pilot basis, have been documented elsewhere.⁶ If the recognised role and potential of integrated development, incorporating local participation, is to be realised it will be necessary both to overcome the structural barriers to such development and to strengthen concurrently the organisational capacities of local groups and organisations to play an effective role in this process.

It is of significance in this regard that there is no provision for action to support the role of community based groups and organisations in the provisions of the CSF. Indeed, as we note in Chapter 2, there is in fact a case to be made that the reform of the structural Funds, in particular the European Social Fund, has reduced the access of community based groups and organisations to funding from this source. Moreover, it is clear from the patterns of expenditure across different programmes sponsored by the CEC that direct support for local action is minimal and confined to more marginal programmes.

1.4 Social and Economic Conditions within Tallaght

The account in Chapter 3 of social and economic conditions which currently exist in Tallaght points to a number of problematic aspects of the contemporary situation.

⁶ These include, for example: Lee (1985) and Lee (1989) on the nature and general effects of centralised decision making in Ireland; O'Connell and Keane (1987) on the consequences of lack of power and responsibility at community level; and, Joyce and Daly (1987) on the lessons of the pilot COMTECs.

1. The disadvantaged position of Tallaght, both absolutely and vis a vis the rest of Dublin and the State as a whole, is highlighted in this discussion. There are several indicators of this disadvantage: the high level of dependency on state transfer payments; the high rate of unemployment which includes a greater than average proportion of long-term unemployed; and, the generally low level of educational and occupational resources of the labour force which adversely affects its capacity to benefit from employment growth in the Greater Dublin area. In view of this last point, measures to promote economic growth and employment within Tallaght itself and within the greater Dublin area will need to be complemented by measures to ensure the capacity of Tallaght workers to access any new employment opportunities.
2. Comparative disadvantage in social provision is more difficult to determine. Relative to the level of actual and potential demand within Tallaght itself, however, there is clearly substantial under-provision in this regard. Over and above the necessity to remedy this situation is the need, given the demographic structure of the area, the income resources of the local population and the position which the local labour force occupies within the labour market, to ensure provision of and access to commercial, health, recreational, transport and educational facilities relevant to current need.
3. Those aspects of economic and social disadvantage referred to in 1 and 2 above refer to existing levels of deprivation. An analysis of projected future conditions - based on population trends and likely patterns of participation in education and the labour force - indicates clearly that provision for young people, and particularly in the areas of education, recreation and employment, will persist and intensify as a priority for action. The future requirements of Tallaght's uniquely young population will present a major challenge in terms of economic and social provisioning for several decades. If those requirements are not met, and measures required to tackle economic and social disadvantage are not taken, then the level of deprivation outlined in Chapter 3 will very rapidly be intensified and compounded as large numbers of educationally and economically disadvantaged young people move up through the population age structure. Already Tallaght experiences a higher than average proportion of long term unemployed among those aged over 25 years. Given the present demographic structure and the disadvantaged position of young people in the labour market, the natural ageing of the population will, in the absence of countering measures, result in substantial numbers of marginalised people in the older age cohorts. In this regard, the increasingly structural nature of long-term unemployment is particularly pertinent. The large scale concentration of marginalised labour in particular localities which structural long-term unemployment gives rise to, raises questions regarding both the adequacy of welfare payments generally and the efficacy of mainstream training provision as a means of re-inserting the long-term unemployed in the labour force.

1.5 Planned Developments in Tallaght: An Overview and Assessment

The delay in implementing proposed and approved measures to address the level of deprivation within Tallaght and the fact that developments currently taking place remain

largely uncoordinated are further consequences of the absence of a single development authority. Despite the delay and lack of co-ordination, these developments are eagerly anticipated. Chapter 4 presents an account of measures currently being planned or implemented in Tallaght. It also assesses the adequacy of these measures relative to the present and projected scale of deprivation identified in Chapter 3. Three points in particular are emphasised here.

1. The size of the present and projected labour force in Tallaght will continue to generate a demand for employment that cannot be met from the present phase of development within the area. The combined potential for employment creation of the construction programme, the higher order facilities when they are in place, and the proposed industrial developments, is not of an order to satisfy the demand arising from the large pool of unemployed labour and the projected increase in the youth labour force.
2. The inadequacy of the local labour market to provide jobs, together with the competition faced by Tallaght workers for employment locally, highlights the need to ensure the capacity of the Tallaght labour force to compete effectively in both the local and the wider labour markets. Education and training are key elements here and in this regard full consideration should be given to the long-term unemployed, early school leavers and others who are educationally disadvantaged and those, mainly women, who fall outside the bureaucratic definition of unemployed. The proposed development of a Third Level Institution in Tallaght, while essential in meeting the requirements of a section of the population, should not distract attention, or intervention, from the on-going reproduction of educational disadvantage.
3. The provision of social goods *per se*, such as for example the RTC and the Town Centre, will not, given the unequal distribution of social, economic and educational resources *within* Tallaght, be sufficient to improve the material conditions of a broad spectrum of the people living there. In the absence of measures to ensure that cost is not a barrier to participation in the benefits of the new facilities, it is likely that the concentration of disadvantage, of low levels of income, of dependency on social welfare, of poor educational attainment and related problems among certain sections of the population, will effectively prohibit their involvement in these facilities and will in consequence increase social divisions within the locality.

Several of the measures currently being implemented within the area, for example the Tallaght-Clondalkin railway link and the Regional Technical College are being resourced with assistance from the reformed structural Funds. Other measures, such as the Regional Hospital are funded exclusively from the national exchequer. In the future any measures to address the identified shortfalls in provision within the area will have to be provided for from the national budget. As the possibility exists for greater partnership between the public and private sectors it is likely that private "partners" may be sought to invest in certain forms of development in the future. The limited capacity of the private sector to respond to the needs of a population, large sections of which are socially and economically disadvantaged, should be complimented by adequate public provision in the relevant areas.

CHAPTER 2

From the National Development Plan to the Community Support Framework: Context and Content

2.0 Introduction

In order to situate the National Development Plan (NDP) submitted by the Irish Government to the European Commission on 22nd March 1989 it is useful to take a brief look at a number of issues at the European level. These include the economic, social and political factors which have provided the impetus for the move toward greater integration of the European Community (EC) and the legislative changes which have taken place to give effect to this, in particular the Single European Act (SEA). In looking at these factors, however, we do not intend to engage in the more general discussion of the costs and benefits arising from the range of measures related to the elimination of non-tariff barriers which will be introduced to achieve greater economic integration. These have been the subject of a number of recent publications (e.g. Bradley et al., 1989; O'Dowd, 1989; O'Sullivan, 1989)

Two aspects of this discussion do deserve attention here. These concern the likely effects of the Single Market on poorer regions of the European Community such as Ireland and, given the focus of this research, the related issue of the extent to which the financial assistance being received by Ireland from the reformed structural Funds will improve the social and economic position of disadvantaged people and localities. Addressing these issues requires some coverage of the extent of regional disparities in the European Community, the evolution and effects of regional policy measures designed to address these, and the rationale underlying the reform of the structural Funds. A particular issue here concerns the presence of significant variation in social and economic conditions within regions. As Ireland is classified as a single region for the purposes of receiving funds from the Commission of the European Communities, the presence of variation in social and economic conditions at a sub-regional level also features as an important issue.

More generally, the persistence of regional disparities in both economic and social terms and the recognised inadequacies of the operation of the structural Funds to date in addressing these are of particular importance in providing a context for the NDP.

To avail of these Funds, regions whose per capita Gross Domestic Product was less than 75 per cent of the Community average over the past 3 years were required to submit a plan to the Commission of the European Communities (CEC) outlining how the support requested from the structural Funds would be used. The preparation and subsequent submission of the NDP was the Irish Government's response to this requirement.

The process of preparing the NDP and the content of the NDP have both become the subject of considerable controversy and public debate. With regard to the process followed in the preparation of the NDP, the issues which have been raised are many and extend in their significance beyond the NDP itself. They include the tokenism and limited nature of participation and consultation, the level of access to information by the general public, and

the ever present issue of local democracy. More specifically in this context, the absence of any forum or structures where the energy, initiative, and views of local groups and organisations - many of whom are operating in the most socially and economically disadvantaged localities in Ireland - could be meaningfully incorporated into the development of plans addressing the needs of their localities was highlighted. The absence of meaningful opportunities for the participation of local groups and organisations in the development of plans affecting the social and economic infrastructure of their communities can be contrasted with the increasing role they are being called on to play in dealing with locally experienced issues such as health care, unemployment, and crime prevention (Ronayne, 1988; Chanon and Vos, 1989).

With regard to content a range of separate, but in many cases related, issues have been raised. These include the general development strategy embodied in the NDP, the balance, or more precisely the imbalance, between economic and social objectives in the Plan, and given these, its potential to meet the development needs of localities and, more generally, people experiencing high levels of social and economic disadvantage.

This chapter addresses the issues raised above. It will be presented in three main sections. As in the following chapters additional materials are presented in a corresponding Appendix.

2.1 Overview

In this section attention is focused on the limited achievements of regional policy - the structural Funds - in addressing the social and economic needs of disadvantaged regions in the EC. The absence of action at a sub-regional level and on distributional issues is considered. This is followed by an overview of the rationale underlying the reform of the structural Funds and the priorities, objectives, and procedures relating to the operation of the reformed structural Funds. This is done in order to provide basic information on this issue as well as to provide a basis for discussing the issue of the extent to which the increased allocations available under the reformed structural Funds will actually improve social and economic conditions in localities such as Tallaght. Here it will be clear that one of the primary purposes of the Funds concerns off setting the likely adverse impact of the Single Market at a regional level and that the distributional consequences of development are not specifically addressed. As in the past, much of the emphasis is on infrastructural measures. The content of the NDP needs to be seen in this light. Furthermore, in comparison to the structural Funds, those sources of Community support which are more locally focussed and more concerned with social and economic disadvantages are, in budgetary terms, far smaller (e.g. Third Poverty Programme).

2.1.1 Aspects of the Economic, Social and Political Context at the European Level

During the early 1980s the European Community was faced with a range of problems. At a very general level these related to the severe effects of the economic recessions of 1973 and 1979. In comparison to the USA, Japan, and some other non-EC countries, the EC fared considerably worse. In his preface to "Europe Without Frontiers - Completing the Internal Market", the vice President of the Commission of the European Communities summarised the situation as follows: *"In contrast with our competitors our record on productivity, on*

Appendices

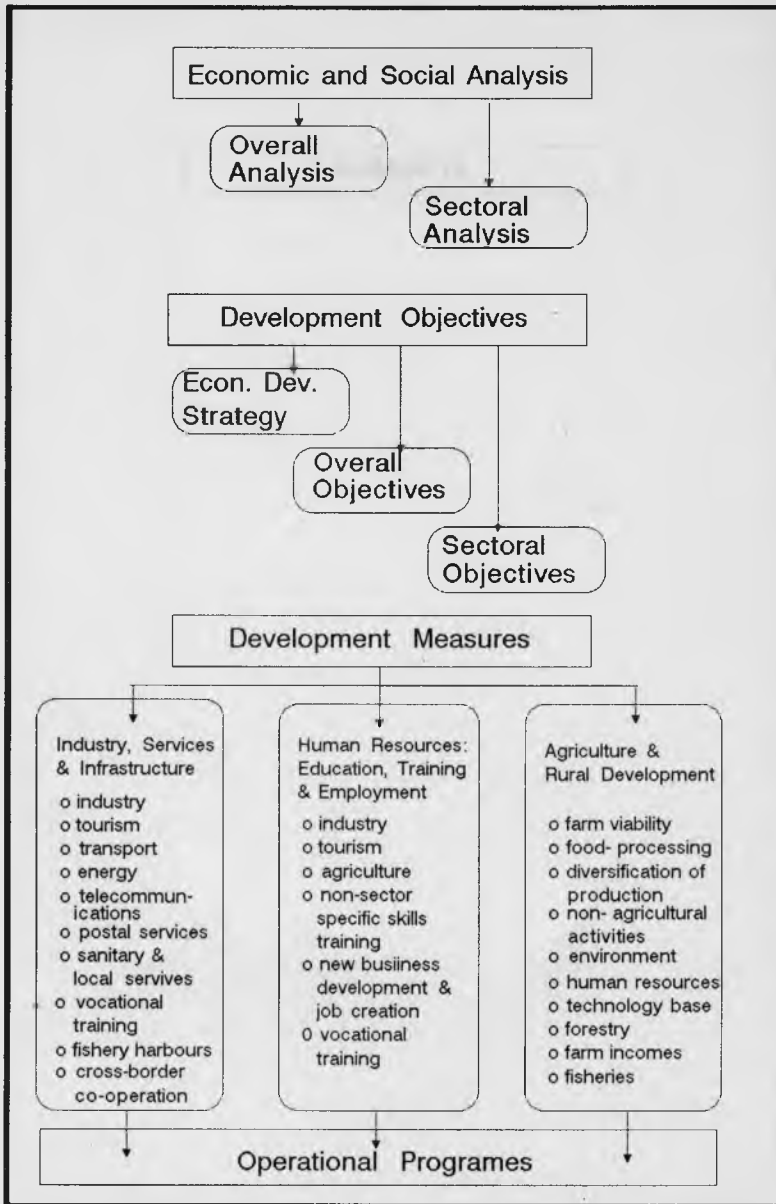


Figure 1.1A Overview of Structure of National Development Plan

APPENDIX 2

Economic and Social Cohesion

Article 130 A

In order to promote its overall harmonious development, the Community shall develop and pursue its actions leading to the strengthening of its economic and social cohesion.

In particular the Community shall aim at reducing disparities between the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions.

Article 130 B

Member States shall conduct their economic policies, and shall co-ordinate them, in such a way as, in addition, to attain the objectives set out in Article 130 A. The implementation of the common policies and of the internal market shall take into account the objectives set out in Article 130 A and in Article 130 C and shall contribute to their achievement. The Community shall support the achievement of these objectives by the action it takes through the structural Funds (European Agricultural Guidance and the Guarantee Fund, Guidance Section, European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund), the European Investment Bank and the other existing financial instruments.

Article 130 C

The European Regional Development Fund is intended to help redress the principal regional imbalances in the Community through participating in the development and structural adjustment of regions whose development is lagging behind and in the conversion of declining industrial regions.

Article 130 D

Once the Single European Act enters into force the Commission shall submit a comprehensive proposal to the Council, the purpose of which will be to make such amendments to the structure and operational rules of the existing structural Funds (European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund, Guidance Section, European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund) as are necessary to clarify and rationalize their tasks in order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives set out in Article 130 A and Article 130 C, to increase their efficiency and to co-ordinate their activities between themselves and with the operations of the existing financial instruments. The Council shall act unanimously on this proposal within a period of one year, after consulting the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee.

Article 130 E

After adoption of the decision referred to in Article 130 D, implementing decisions relating to the European Regional Development Fund shall be taken by the Council, acting by a qualified majority on a proposal from the Commission and in co-operation with the European Parliament.

With regard to the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund, Guidance Section and the European Social Fund, Articles 43, 126 and 127 remain applicable respectively.

Objectives	Commission Members	Main Directorates General (DGs)	Other DGs
Objective 1: development & adjustment priority 1 regions	Mr. Bruce Millan	DG XVI - Regional Policy (ERDF)	DGVI - Agriculture (EAGGF) / DGV - Social Affairs (ESF)
Objective 2: industrial conversion	Mr. Bruce Millan	DG XVI - Regional Policy (ERDF)	DGVI - Agriculture (EAGGF) / DGV - Social Affairs (ESF)
Objective 3: long-term unemployment	Ms. Vasso Papandreou	DG V - Social Affairs	DG VI - Agriculture (EAGGF) / DGVI - Regional Policy (ERDF)
Objective 4: occupational integration of young people	Ms. Vasso Papandreou	DG V - Social Affairs	DG VI - Agriculture (EAGGF) / DGVI - Regional Policy (ERDF)
Objective 5 a & b rural development & agricultural production fishery and aquaculture	Mr. Ray MacSharry Mr. Manuel Marin	DG VI - Agriculture (EAGGF) Dg XIV - Fisheries	DG V (ESF) DG XVI (ERDF)

Figure 2.1A Summary of European Commission Directorates Involved in Administration of Structural Funds

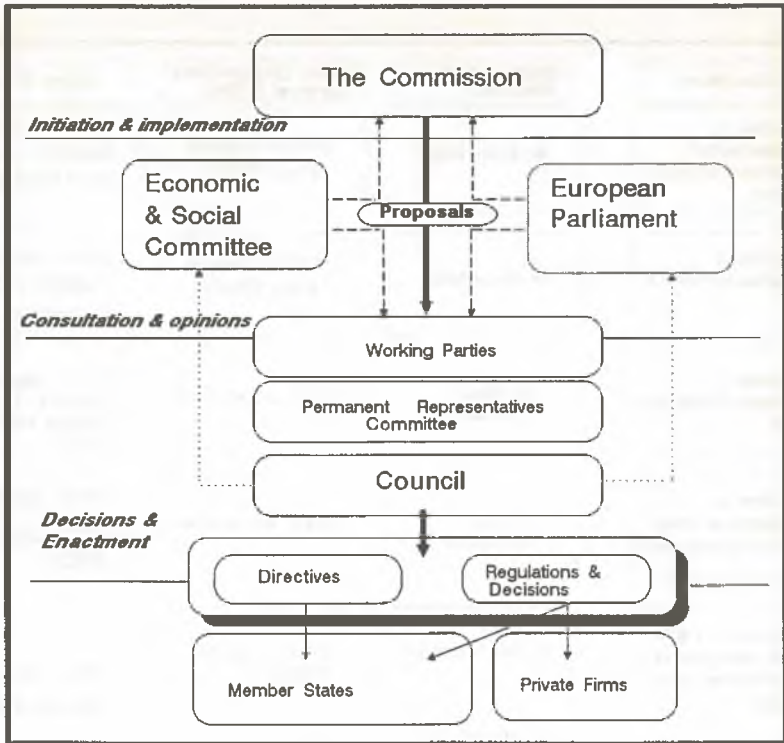


Figure 2.1B Outline of EC Legislative Structure and Process

Area of NDP	Department(s)	Other Public Bodies
Overall aspects	<i>Finance</i>	County Development Teams
Industrial Development	<i>Industry & Commerce, Gaeltacht, Education</i>	IDA, SFEADCo, CTT, Udaras na Gaeltachta, Eolas NADCorp, IGC
Tourism	<i>Tourism & Transport, Office of Public Works</i>	Bord Fáilte, SFEADCo, Fisheries Boards, National Heritage Arts Council
Agriculture & Rural Development	<i>Agriculture & Food</i>	Teagasc
Fisheries, Aquaculture	<i>Marine</i>	BIM
Telecommunications & Postal Services	<i>Communications</i>	Telecom Eireann, An Post
Transport	<i>Environment, Tourism and Transport, Marine</i>	Local Authorities, National Roads Authority, CIE, Aer Rianta, Harbour authorities
Energy and Natural Resources	<i>Energy</i>	ESB, Bord Gais, Coillte Teo., Bord na Mona
Sanitary / Local Services	<i>Environment</i>	Local Authorities
Education Training Employment	<i>Labour, Education</i>	FAS, CERT, Second & Third Level Educational Institutions

Figure 2.2A Summary of Government Departments and Public Bodies Involved in Delivery of Measures Outlined in NDP / CSF

Summary Financial Plan, breakdown by specific priority (at 1989 prices)
Elements directly co-financed

SPECIFIC PRIORITY	TOTAL COST	TOTAL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE	TOTAL COMMUNITY AID	TOTAL NATIONAL PUBLIC FINANCING	PRIVATE	COMMUNITY LOANS (B)
	1 (2 + 5)	2 (3 + 4)	3	4	5	6
PRIORITY 1: AGRICULTURE, FISHERIES, FORESTRY, TOURISM AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT						
- Environmentally friendly farming	252.4	126.2	88.4	37.8	126.2	
- Forestry	93.5	67.0	46.7	20.3	26.5	"
- Rural Development including alternatives to agriculture, infrastructure and human resources (3)	125.4 (3)	99.5	58.7	40.9	25.9	"
- Continuation of programme for Western development	102.8	65.9	46.2	19.8	36.9	
- Objective 5a (adjustment of agricultural structures) measures including headage payments	721.0	496.8	308.7	188.1	224.1	
- Tourism (3)	302.9 (3)	179.9	146.9	33.0	123.0 (2)	"
- Sanitary Services	178.4	178.4	89.2	89.2		"
- Borders and textile areas programmes (1)	20.1	18.6	8.6	10.0	1.5	
PRIORITY 2: INDUSTRY, SERVICES AND SUPPORTING INFRASTRUCTURE						
- Industry (including aid schemes) (3)	2523.3 (3)	1316.6	794.2	522.4	1206.7	
- VALOREN programme (energy projects) (1)	18.9	18.9	18.1	0.8		
PRIORITY 3: MEASURES TO OFFSET THE EFFECTS OF PERIPHERALITY						
- Peripherality, roads, rail, access transport	772.2	772.2	502.5	269.8		"
- UPCI: Roads programme	54.1	54.1	38.2	16.0		"
- STAR programme (telecommunications projects) (1)	35.6	35.6	19.5	16.1		
PRIORITY 4: HUMAN RESOURCES						
- Agriculture & Rural Development	36.8	36.8	24.0 (3)	12.8		
- Tourism	44.1	44.1	28.5 (3)	15.6		
- Industry and Services	654.2	654.2	378.2 (3)	276.0		
- SMEs and local employment dev. (sub-programme of Industry)						
Apprenticeships, Secondary Education, Social Employment Scheme (for long-term unemployed)	417.5	417.5	193.3	224.4		
- Training infrastructure and training of trainees	111.4	111.4	57.3	54.1		
- 1989 commitment (4)	303.2	303.2	119.2	184.0		
INDIVIDUAL PROJECTS (1988)						
(these are mainly sanitary services and transport projects)	16.0	15.7	6.6	9.1	0.3	
Technical Assistance	5.2	5.2	3.9	1.3		
Technical Assistance (innovatory measures related to Objective 1 (development of less-developed regions) human resources measures	8.1	8.1	8.1	(5)		
OBJECTIVE 3 (combating long-term unemployment)	133.7	133.7	88.9	44.8		
OBJECTIVE 4 (facilitating occupational integration of young people)	343.5	343.5	221.1	121.4		
Technical Assistance/Innovatory measures related to Objectives 3 & 4	3.4	3.4	3.4	(5)		
TOTAL (rounded)	6,544	4,772	2,860	1,912	1,772	390

(1) The sums envisaged for these programmes have already been defined by Commission decisions in current prices.

(2) Some of this expenditure may eventually come within Column 4.

(3) The European Social Fund figures related to agriculture and rural development, tourism and industry and services are also included under the specific priorities to which they are linked. There is no double counting in the total figures.

(4) European Social Fund commitments for 1989 were made earlier this year so the expenditure figures relating to these are shown separately. 1989 commitments relating to Objectives 3 and 4 are included under those headings.

(5) Central Government equivalent included under other headings.

(B) European Investment Bank.

Summary Financial Plan, breakdown by year and source of finance (at 1989 prices)
 Elements directly co-financed

PUBLIC EXPENDITURE

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

2-6

	TOTAL COST	TOTAL PUBLIC EXPENDITURE	TOTAL COMMUNITY	ERDF	ESF	EAGGF	TOTAL NATIONAL PUBLIC FINANCING	PRIVATE	EIB LOANS
	Amount	Amount	Amount				Amount	Amount	
TOTAL 1989	1223.8	879.5	479.9	212.7	183.1	84.1	399.6	344.3	x
TOTAL 1990	1107.7	861.5	518.0	218.1	206.4	93.5	343.5	246.2	x
TOTAL 1991	1229.3	930.9	563.2	244.6	220.5	98.1	367.7	298.4	x
TOTAL 1992	1390.5	1001.0	610.7	275.8	225.9	109.0	390.3	389.5	x
TOTAL 1993	1592.3	1099.2	688.7	331.1	232.9	124.7	410.5	493.1	x
TOTAL 1989-1993	6544	4772	2860	1282	1069	509	1912	1772	390

Table 2.3A

Percentage contribution by EC, State and Private to Total Expenditure by Area of Expenditure

	EC Contribution	State Contribution	Private Sector Contribution
Transport			
Roads	51.0	49.0	-
Rail and Access	24.1	75.9	-
Sanitary and other local services	32.5	67.5	-
Telecommunications and postal services	-	100.0	-
Energy	-	100.0	-
Industry and Services	17.0	17.6	65.4
Tourism	45.6	7.1	47.3
Agriculture and Rural Development	39.4	26.3	34.3
Human Resources: Education, Training and Employment	50.8	49.2	-
STAR, VALOREN	51.1	46.8	2.0
Technical Assistance	75.0	25.0	-
Total Expenditure	32.9	42.0	25.1

Table 2.4A

Comparison between National Development Plan 1989-1993 projections and EC support granted (1988 prices)

	ND Plan planned Total Expenditure £m	Support sought from EC £m	EC support granted £m
Transport			
(i) Roads	985.20	551.50	447.1
(ii) Rail and Bus and Access Transport	442.00	183.5	94.3
Sanitary and other local services	316.00	126.80	95.0
Telecommunications (including STAR) and Postal Services	389.21	19.64	
Energy (gas, electricity, peat including VALOREN)	478.30	10.10	
Industry	2,741.29	510.09	416.00
Tourism	300.90	160.40	118.40
Agriculture and Rural Development (including forestry and fishery harbours)	1,446.52	678.09	524.6
Human Resources: Education, Training and Employment (including vocational training infrastructure)	2,568.00	1,477.05	1,122.9
Total	9,667.42	3,717.17	2,860.4

Table 2.4A

Comparison between National Development Plan 1989-1993 projections and EC support granted (1988 prices)

	ND Plan planned Total Expenditure £m	Support sought from EC £m	EC support granted £m
Transport			
(i) Roads	985.20	551.50	447.1
(ii) Rail and Bus and Access Transport	442.00	183.5	94.3
Sanitary and other local services	316.00	126.80	95.0
Telecommunications (including STAR) and Postal Services	389.21	19.64	
Energy (gas, electricity, peat including VALOREN)	478.30	10.10	
Industry	2,741.29	510.09	416.00
Tourism	300.90	160.40	118.40
Agriculture and Rural Development (including forestry and fishery harbours)	1,446.52	678.09	524.6
Human Resources: Education, Training and Employment (including vocational training infrastructure)	2,568.00	1,477.05	1,122.9
Total	9,667.42	3,717.17	2,860.4

Table 2.5A

Expenditure on structural development included in the Development Plan for Dublin City and County and all Sub-Regions

	Dublin City and County		All Sub-Regions		DCC/ASR % Share
	Total Exp.	Sought from EC	Total Exp.	Sought From EC	
Transport					
(i) Roads: National	190.00	121.40	755.20	506.50	25.1
Non-National	22.00	4.20	230.00	45.00	9.6
(ii) Rail and Bus	36.00	16.00	45.00	20.00	80.0
(iii) Access Transport (Sea and air freight, sea ports and airports)	182.75	67.38	397.00	163.50	46.0
Sanitary and other local services	53.64	21.59	316.00	126.80	17.0
Telecommunications (including STAR) and Postal Services	169.33	0.77	389.21	19.64	43.5
Energy (gas, electricity, peat including VALOREN)	133.60	-	478.30	10.10	27.9
Industry	763.01	146.38	2,741.29	510.09	27.8
Tourism	60.20	32.30	300.90	160.40	20.0
Agriculture and Rural Development (including forestry and fishery harbours)	16.25	7.25	1,446.52	678.09	1.1
Human Resources: Education, Training and Employment (including vocational training infrastructure)	601.80	329.65	2,011.00	1,111.05	29.9
Total	2,228.58	746.92	9,110.42	3,351.17	24.5

Source: NDP. P. 93 - P. 123

Manufacturing Employment in IDA Assisted Companies in Tallaght, 1985 - 1988

	1985	1986	1987	1988
Irish				
Non-metallic Minerals	49	49	46	55
Chemicals	140	138	135	156
Metals & Engineering	317	343	405	504
Food	1,078	1,098	1,120	1,061
Drink & Tobacco	0	0	0	0
Textiles	158	175	240	221
Clothing, Footware & Leather	12	12	20	54
Timber & Furniture	65	74	106	98
Paper & Printing	196	212	241	265
Miscellaneous	34	25	25	25
<i>Total Employed</i>	2,049	2,126	2,338	2,439
<i>Number of Companies</i>	44	48	52	58
Foreign				
Non-metallic Minerals	32	33	33	32
Chemicals	325	305	319	294
Metals & Engineering	1337	1446	1137	1245
Food	215	219	216	214
Drink and Tobacco	577	541	504	483
Textiles	134	135	101	102
Clothing, Footware & Leather	0	0	0	0
Timber & Furniture	0	0	0	0
Paper & Printing	74	80	82	84
Miscellaneous	0	0	0	0
<i>Total Employed</i>	2,694	2,759	2,392	2,454
<i>Number of Companies</i>	16	16	16	16
Total Employed	4,743	4,885	4,730	4,893
Total Number of Companies	60	64	68	74

Complementarity, partnership, technical assistance

1. Community operations shall be such as to complement or contribute to corresponding national operations. They shall be established through close consultations between the Commission, the Member State concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other level, with each party acting as a partner in pursuit of a common goal. These consultations are hereinafter referred to as the 'partnership'. The partnership shall cover the preparation, financing, monitoring and assessment of operations.
2. Acting in accordance with the provision of this Regulation and with the provision referred to in Article 3 (4) and (5), the Commission shall take the steps and measures necessary to ensure that Community operations are in support of the objectives set out in Article 1 and impart to national initiatives an added value.
3. Within the framework of the partnership, the Commission may, in accordance with procedures laid down in the provisions referred to in Article 3 (4), contribute to the preparation, implementation and adjustment of operations by financing preparatory studies and technical assistance operations locally, in agreement with the Member State concerned and, where appropriate, with the authorities referred to in paragraph 1.
4. For each objective, tasks shall be shared between the Commission and the Member State during the preparation of operations in accordance with Articles 8 to 11.

2. Partnership

Partnership is the key principle underlying the reform of the Funds in that it determines the implementation of the other principles. The framework Regulation defines it as 'close consultation between the Commission, the Member States concerned and the competent authorities designated by the latter at national, regional, local or other level, with each party acting as a partner in pursuit of a common goal'. According to the same Regulation, partnership also covers 'the preparation, financing, monitoring and assessment of operations'.

Partnership reflects the principle of subsidiarity. In accordance with that principle, the Commission believes that its structural action should seek to complement measures in the field. There needs to be permanent dialogue between the Commission and the Member State concerned to increase efficiency through the sharing of tasks and a pooling of the human resources involved in the Community's structural action (official partnership). But Community structural action depends, for its implementation, not only on the national and regional authorities but also on the various economic and social partners (chambers of commerce, industry and agriculture, trade unions, employers, etc.). This is a further aspect of partnership which can be fruitful and which should not be neglected. Thus, mobilization of the lending instruments is generally prompted by investors and financial intermediaries, whether public or private. The advantage of broadly based partnership is that it will enable these economic operators to have their operations fitted into the strategies and programmes formulated by the competent authorities.

Practical applications of partnership are:

- (i) preparation of the plans for which maximum consultation is required;
- (ii) negotiation of the Community support frameworks;
- (iii) implementation of the operational programmes at a highly decentralized level and the award of global grants;
- (iv) monitoring and assessment of measures taken.

The nature of partnership will depend on the institutional structures and traditions of each Member State. It will therefore necessarily take many forms.

Its quality, however, will be crucial to the success or failure of the reform, since, without a dialogue with the institutional authorities and the economic operators concerned, it would seem to be impossible to achieve the ambitious objectives the Community has set for itself.

The partnership arrangements should also lead to some decentralization of the Community's structural action, enabling it to be geared more closely to realities in the field, both in assessing needs and in implementing measures.

Principles & Applications of Monitoring of CSF

A. Principles

Monitoring and assessment are particularly important because of:

- (i) the sums involved (doubling of the resources of the Funds);
- (ii) the need to verify additionality and the development priorities with a view to 1993;
- (iii) the development of certain forms of assistance (operational programmes and global grants) which give more of the responsibility to Member States;
- (iv) the need to measure the economic effectiveness of assistance.

Monitoring and assessment are closely linked since there can be no ex post assessment without monitoring arrangements that operate satisfactorily. Monitoring produces the information necessary to assess the socioeconomic impact of Community assistance. It must allow Community assistance to be adapted to actual economic and administrative circumstances in the course of project implementation.

Monitoring and assessment are based on two principles of the reform:

- (i) **partnership:** the Commission, together with the Member States, ensures effective monitoring both of CSFs and of specific operations (programmes, etc.); reports will be drawn up and monitoring committees established to enable the Commission to make any necessary adjustments to the volume, conditions of assistance and schedule of payments at the request of a Member State;
- (ii) **transparency in the administration of the Funds:** this is the key to their effectiveness.

B. Application

- (i) Monitoring is carried out by reference to physical and financial indicators specified in the Commission decision approving the operation concerned.
- (ii) Assessment is, according to the circumstances, carried out by reference to regional or national statistics, to information yielded by descriptive and analytical studies, and to qualitative analyses.

The monitoring indicators must be specified in the decisions relating to measures and operations undertaken while the assessment indicators must be specified in the CSFs. The indicator exercises are carried out ex ante, ex post and, of course, during implementation.

Three levels of assessment are envisaged:

- (i) the macroeconomic level, to measure progress in strengthening the Community's economic and social cohesion;
- (ii) the level of the CSFs;
- (iii) the microeconomic level, focusing on operational measures (programmes, large-scale projects, etc).

Any monitoring system is based essentially on the gathering of:

- (i) **financial information:** this means monitoring drawings on the financial commitments made under the reformed structural Funds by identifying delayed or premature utilization of appropriations at each level of analysis and, where necessary, to identify which source of financing can remedy shortcomings in another; in addition, national, regional and/or other financial contributions must be monitored in order to verify additionality;
- (ii) **physical information,** i.e. information relating to the material implementation of measures and operations;
- (iii) **information permitting identification of each operation** applying the classifications introduced by the reform: it must be possible to link each operation to a particular objective, form of assistance, type of action and CSF and even to a particular development priority as well as to a particular Member State and one or more regions and/or areas benefiting from the reform.

The information collected must be sufficiently detailed, and must be available in good time, to allow the entire monitoring and assessment exercise to give an accurate picture of the actual situation at a particular moment, at intervals still to be determined.

Responsibility for the monitoring and assessment procedures must be shared between the Commission, the Member State and the regional and local authorities concerned.

APPENDIX 3

APPENDIX 3

Summaries of Key Recommendations of Previous Reports

REPORT TITLE: ECONOMIC PROFILE OF TALLAGHT

AUTHOR: Foley, Anthony

Year: 1984

Brief: To develop a profile of the economic environment of Tallaght with the aims of identifying the need for industrial development

Commissioned By: Dublin Chamber of Commerce and Industrial Development Authority

Main Recommendations:

Development Framework for Tallaght

- the establishment of a Western County Development Team a comprehensive plan for Tallaght be drawn up which would include agreed inputs from all relevant development agencies.

Comprehensive Approach to Planning

- developing a Government approved plan which incorporates agreed inputs from the relevant development agencies

The Concept of Tallaght

- clarification by the County Council of the status of Tallaght as a self-sufficient entity or a suburb within the Dublin region

IDA Involvement in Tallaght

- The establishment of a separate IDA unit dealing either with the Dublin sub-region or the County Council area itself.
- This unit should document its strategy in terms of development of existing enterprises, new small industries and overseas projects.

Community Involvement in Business Development.

- An Enterprise Development Group or Forum involving community groups and the Chamber of Commerce should be established to promote indigenous commercial projects

Requirement for Industrial Land

- The amount, distribution and size of sites should be reviewed in the context of an overall strategy for the economic and physical development of Tallaght, and the other Western Towns.
- This review should not only be concerned with the distribution of land between manufacturing and warehousing but with the overall needs of industrially defined activities.

Local Government for Tallaght

- Tallaght should be accorded its own local Government structure

Transport

- A decision should be made on the extension of the Rapid Rail Service to Tallaght

Education

- Pending a decision on the proposed Regional Technical College, it is recommended that this should incorporate a significant enterprise development and business support role.

Service Employment

- It is recommended that factors influencing the potential of Tallaght to provide service employment for local people be examined.

REPORT TITLE: Report of the Tallaght COMTEC

AUTHOR: Tallaght COMTEC

Year: 1987

Brief: "... to prepare for the Council's approval a comprehensive, co-ordinated two year plan for the provision monitoring and evaluation of local manpower services for young people, including linkages with the educational sector, counselling services and youth services... which can be implemented locally with minimum reference to national bodies, as well as those that require the approval of a higher authority".

Commissioned by: Youth Employment Agency

Main Recommendations:

Recommendations for Government Action

Operational Structures and Funding

- Establishment of Job Task Force for Tallaght COMTEC area.
- Direct funding over and above monies from the ESF
- Uniform registration for all welfare services - establishment of "single point of access"
- Requirement that agencies should be able to provide statistics at the level of the new Belgard County
- Provision of additional staff to deal with all major developments with employment potential in Tallaght.

Recommendations for Local Action

- Establishment of co-ordination sub-committee of representatives of education systems to examine ways of keeping as many students as possible at school and to co-ordinate and increase participation in VTPT in schools in Tallaght.

Education

- Action to be taken by Department of Education to address problems of literacy and numeracy affecting early school leavers
- Appointment of School Attendance Officer
- Establishment of Youth Encounter Project
- Increased emphasis in VPTP on leisure time activities, co-op development, Start Your Own Business physical exercise
- adequate funding for VPTP
- develop and implement procedures to improve links between schools and employment and training agencies to more effectively address the education and training needs of early school leavers
- Schools should play a role in the provision of information regarding training and employment

opportunities

Training/Guidance

Increased provision of training and other courses in Tallaght, increased efforts by the relevant Training and Employment Agencies to both ensure and increase local recruitment to these and ensure that information regarding these and jobs is easily accessible to specific targeted categories (e.g. early school leavers) in Tallaght

- establishment of CTWs, fostering of WEP places, improving employment opportunities for those covered by the Social Guarantee.

Employment

Acceleration of building programme, specifically on RTC and Regional Hospital, to provide employment for high number of unemployed building workers

- Provision of cases with an enterprise orientated and the grant-aiding of an Enterprise Development Officer for Tallaght

REPORT TITLE: TALLAGHT: A PROGRAMME FOR DEVELOPMENT
AUTHOR: S. Ward & M.J. Bannon
Year: 1988
Brief: "To undertake a study of the needs of the "new town" of Tallaght ... having regard to the likely changes in the nature and structure of the region over the next decade."
Commissioned by: Tallaght Region of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce

Investment Programme

- It is essential that a five to ten year financial programme for Tallaght be established. This programme should:
 - (a) be sufficient to ensure that all major outstanding works are undertaken and existing commitments fully and properly fulfilled.
 - (b) define clearly the role which the different sources of funding can play in realising this investment programme.
- **Public Investment**
Public Funding should ensure the accelerated development of Tallaght Regional Hospital, the RTC, the provision of public transport infrastructure, the funding of the non-commercial aspects of the Town Centre and the provision of leisure facilities and the adequate development of amenities. "The finalised Budget for the Development of Tallaght should be published and available for consultation in an effort to stimulate the confidence of both residents and investors.

▪ **Private Investment**

It is recommended that Tallaght be designated under the 1986 Urban Renewal and Finance legislation.

▪ **Voluntary and Social Investment**

It is recommended that a Tallaght Development Association be established which would "harness the efforts and resources of all voluntary groups in building up a Tallaght Development Fund for the purposes of job creation"

Job Creation

- establishment of "city farm" projects on a pilot basis
- that the commercially and industrially zoned lands in the development area of Tallaght be designated under the Industrial Development Acts
- establishment of local skills register
- support for local enterprise development
- further zoning and Designation of land for industry within Tallaght
- acceleration of building programmes in Tallaght
- the proposed Tallaght Development Association and the Chamber of Commerce should lobby for a Service Industries Park to be located in Tallaght in association with the Enterprise Centre
- provision of office space in the town centre which would cater for the needs of local administration and those firms which see Tallaght as a prime location from which to service their regional and national organisation
- local industry should mount a strategic campaign to ensure that the RTC is regarded as a top priority and that it is developed with adequate local consultation as to the content of its syllabus
- a speedy resolution of whether a bus or rail solution is required to meet transport requirements in Tallaght

Quality of Life

- establishment of a housing policy to achieve a "reasonable" social mix
- priority to be given to the development of a leisure centre in the town centre
- provision of further neighbourhood level community and sports centre
- promotion of the arts, culture and local heritage
- the development of outdoor recreational facilities
- Tallaght should have its own Health Centre area, administration staff and Directors
- provision of health centres in more neighbourhoods
- provision of Regional Hospital
- the range of health services available locally should be extended
- a detailed landscape plan for the next five years should be developed.

Organisation for Development

It is recommended that a Tallaght Development Authority be established with responsibility for the promotion and development of the Tallaght area. This Authority should have a ten year remit at the end of which period the development area of Tallaght should be established as a main line local authority with all the powers of a normal County Council.

Table 3.1A

AGE STRUCTURE OF POPULATION

% Of Population in each age group

	0-14	15-24	25-44	45-64	65 +	Total
DED 1	32.5	29.7	22.3	14.2	1.2	2563
DED 2	37.1	15.2	36.6	9.2	1.8	2110
DED 3	51.9	11.5	32.2	3.6	0.06	4471
DED 4	40.3	12.8	33.9	9.5	3.3	1530
DED 5	52.8	10.6	32.9	2.9	0.07	6071
DED 6	51.86	11.2	32.3	3.9	0.7	5389
DED 7	41.7	8.7	43.5	4.8	1.3	5325
DED 8	46.9	8.0	41.5	2.9	0.6	4939
DED 9	42.9	9.7	40.7	4.2	1.5	4097
DED 10	35.3	21.3	30.3	11.2	2.0	5520
DED 11	40.5	12.8	34.3	9.7	2.7	5308
DED 12	46.3	9.2	39.0	4.5	1.06	7864
DED 13	44.0	13.5	31.0	8.6	2.9	6797
DED 14	35.9	17.5	28.1	13.4	5.1	1996
DED 15	39.8	7.5	44.0	5.8	2.9	5115
Total Tallaght	43.9	12.3	35.5	6.5	1.7	69095
Dublin Belgard	36.2	16.4	311.8	11.8	3.8	199546
Dublin Fingal	35.0	15.2	32.4	12.1	5.3	138479
Dun Laoghaire	25.1	20.4	25.9	18.7	9.9	180675
Total County Borough	32.0	17.4	29.9	14.3	6.3	518700
	21.9	22.5	24.8	19.3	11.6	502749

Source: Census of Population 1986

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercalrn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
DED 15	Firhouse		

Table 3.2A

Proportion of Household Heads aged less than 40 years

	Number of Households	% heads < 40 years	Average Number of people per household
DED 1	535	35.3	4.81
DED 2	529	61.6	3.99
DED 3	961	79.3	4.65
DED 4	368	54.1	4.16
DED 5	1375	83.6	4.42
DED 6	1106	76.2	4.87
DED 7	1431	77.5	3.72
DED 8	1275	84.5	3.87
DED 9	1079	74.0	3.75
DED 10	1236	42.9	4.47
DED 11	1271	53.6	4.18
DED 12	1751	77.9	4.24
DED 13	1552	55.5	4.37
DED 14	498	46.4	3.98
DED 15	1440	71.9	3.53
Total Tallaght	16407	68.0	
Belgard	49906	53.7	3.94
Fingal	35496	50.1	3.81
Dun Laoghaire/ Rathdrum	50825	31.7	3.46
Total County Borough	136227	45.3	3.73
	151168	35.4	3.19

Source: Census of Population

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
		DED 15	Firhouse

Table 3.3A

Household Composition of Family Units

	Number of Family Units	% all children < 15	% all children > 15	% no children
DED 1	498	29.1	18.5	7.4
DED 2	477	57.7	11.7	13.8
DED 3	945	76.3	5.3	4.5
DED 4	332	57.8	12.3	10.5
DED 5	1331	81.5	4.1	5.6
DED 6	1091	71.0	6.6	3.9
DED 7	1287	69.3	4.7	16.1
DED 8	1162	77.6	2.8	12.9
DED 9	952	71.2	4.4	14.8
DED 10	1175	41.8	14.8	9.6
DED 11	1188	56.9	12.6	12.6
DED 12	1771	69.1	5.0	11.3
DED 13	1434	60.1	12.1	7.0
DED 14	442	52.0	18.6	17.9
DED 15	1192	18.1	68.5	5.7
Total Tallaght	15277	65.3	8.1	10.7
Belgard	43961	52.7	16.5	13.0
Fingal	30673	50.7	15.5	7.5
Dun Laoghaire/ Rathdrum	39027	33.8	28.2	18.5
Total County Borough	113661	46.7	20.3	15.9
	100190	30.5	32.1	18.4

Source: Census of population

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
DED 15	Firhouse		

Table 3.4A

Social Class

	1 - 2	3	4	5 & 6
DED 1	3.5	16.5	35.9	38.7
DED 2	37.3	18.2	43.6	9.6
DED 3	3.0	9.3	33.3	41.1
DED 4	10.9	23.0	34.4	26.1
DED 5	2.7	13.1	29.9	39.3
DED 6	2.9	10.4	32.4	42.5
DED 7	22.9	20.1	34.9	18.7
DED 8	16.0	17.6	29.1	29.3
DED 9	21.9	18.8	33.8	20.1
DED 10	14.5	18.9	37.2	25.7
DED 11	22.8	22.1	33.2	18.2
DED 12	13.5	17.7	38.7	23.8
DED 13	12.7	16.6	37.1	26.2
DED 14	20.3	13.7	27.0	30.3
DED 15	45.8	22.7	23.4	11.1
Total Tallaght	16.1	17.2	33.2	26.9
Dublin Belgard	25.7	19.2	26.5	21.5
Dublin Fingal	36.1	18.8	19.6	18.4
Dun Laoghaire/ Rathdrum	45.8	18.2	13.3	13.8
Total County Borough	35.5 19.5	18.8 19.7	20.1 21.95	17.9 27.2

Source: Census of Population 1986

Notes: Class 1 & 2 = Professional
 Class 3 = Other Non-Manual
 Class 4 = Skilled Manual
 Class 5 & 6 = Semi & Unskilled Manual

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oidbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
DED 15	Firhouse		

Table 3.5A

Socio-Economic-Status of Heads of Family Units

	Professional	Skilled Manual	Unskilled and Semi-Skilled
DED 1	1.8	33.1	20.9
DED 2	10.3	33.1	4.2
DED 3	0.3	27.3	25.8
DED 4	0.9	36.7	12.3
DED 5	0.7	25.1	23.7
DED 6	0.7	24.8	29.0
DED 7	6.7	33.2	7.8
DED 8	5.8	26.4	16.0
DED 9	6.9	32.1	10.9
DED 10	3.2	33.7	12.9
DED 11	6.1	32.3	9.3
DED 12	2.7	35.0	10.8
DED 13	3.0	30.5	15.8
DED 14	7.0	24.4	21.3
DED 15	16.3	24.6	3.9
Total %	3.7	30.0	14.7

Total Family Units: 13640

Source: Census of Population, 1986

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
DED 15	Firhouse		

Table 3.6A

Total Unemployment Rate

	Total Unemployment Rate
DED 1	32.6
DED 2	12.4
DED 3	56.4
DED 4	18.1
DED 5	47.0
DED 6	50.1
DED 7	12.2
DED 8	24.6
DED 9	16.0
DED 10	17.6
DED 11	14.6
DED 12	17.0
DED 13	25.7
DED 14	27.5
DED 15	7.9
Total	23.0
Belgard	17.9
Fingal	14.1
Dun Laoghaire	12.8
Total County Borough	15.0
	21.7

Source: Census of Population, 1986

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
		DED 15	Firhouse

Table 3.7A

Incidence of Lone Parent Families as % of all Family Units

	N	%
DED 1	75	15.1
DED 2	29	6.1
DED 3	159	16.8
DED 4	21	6.3
DED 5	244	18.3
DED 6	141	12.9
DED 7	67	5.2
DED 8	113	10.0
DED 9	68	7.1
DED 10	79	8.5
DED 11	89	7.5
DED 12	91	5.3
DED 13	184	12.8
DED 14	63	14.3
DED 15	86	7.2
Total	1530	10.0

Source: Census of Population 1986

DED 1	Avonbeg	DED 8	Kiltipper
DED 2	Belgard	DED 9	Kingswood
DED 3	Fettercairn	DED 10	Millbrook
DED 4	Glenview	DED 11	Oldbawn
DED 5	Jobstown	DED 12	Springfield
DED 6	Killinarden	DED 13	Tymon
DED 7	Kilnamanagh	DED 14	Bohernabreena
		DED 15	Firhouse

innovation and on employment has not been good. We have at the latest count 16.8 million of our people unemployed. We cannot continue that way." Despite the recognised difficulties of comparing unemployment rates, in 1987 the unemployment rate in the EC at just over 11 per cent was almost double that of the US and nearly four times that of Japan and other non-EC countries.

A range of other more specific factors of both a political and economic nature were also evident. These included persistent difficulties relating to the formulation of the EC budget, the growing demands on EC budgetary resources arising from the entry of Spain and Portugal to the Community, the need to reform the structural Funds, difficulties related to the operation of the Common Agricultural Policy, the growing gap in technological innovation between the EC and the US and Japan, the cumbersome nature of EC decision-making procedures, and the need for greater public accountability at the level of EC institutions.

Related to the more specific issues above there was also a growing disillusionment with progress toward achieving the ideals and specific objectives of European integration as expressed in Article 2 of the Treaty of Rome: *The Community shall have as its task, by establishing a common market and progressively approximating the economic policies of Member States, to promote throughout the Community a harmonious development of economic activities, a continuous and balanced expansion, an increase in stability, and accelerated raising of the standard of living and closer relations between the States belonging to it."*

At the social level it was evident that the benefits of the common market to date and the effects of the recession had neither been evenly spread among countries and regions in the Community nor among its people as a whole. On a variety of indicators (e.g. GDP per capita, participation in education, labour force participation rates among women, unemployment rates) considerable regional variation is evident.

Three further features of the social situation concern the persistence and growth of poverty within the Community, the considerable variation both in coverage and level of provision existing in social security schemes across the member States and the general weakness of social policy at the EC level.

2.1.2 Moves Toward the Single Market and the Reform of the Structural Funds

Moves toward what was to become known as the Single Market began in the early 1980s. Faced with the range of problems outlined earlier, the prospect of resolving these through further integration was discussed at various meetings of the European Council. Concrete steps toward achieving this were not taken until 1985. Following the European Council meeting in Brussels during March 1985 the CEC was asked to prepare a detailed set of proposals for the achievement of the Single Market by 1992. This it did and its proposals were presented in a White Paper titled *"Completing the Internal Market"*. This document provided an extensive review of the economic situation and outlined legislative proposals for overcoming the barriers to economic integration which it had identified.

At their subsequent meeting in Milan during June of the same year the European Council resolved to hold an inter-governmental conference to examine the possibility of amending the Treaty of Rome. The specific issue for consideration was a proposal to introduce qualified majority voting in relation to the decisions required to implement the proposals for the completion of the Single Market by 1992. It was this that eventually led to

the Single European Act. This was approved at the Luxembourg meeting of the European Council in December 1985 and came into effect, following referenda in both Denmark and Ireland, on the 1st July 1987.

The passing of the SEA provided a legislative basis for the development of regional policy in the Community. This was formally incorporated in the SEA under a separate subsection with the title Economic and Social Cohesion. Under this section a series of specific articles spelt out the actions to be taken at community and member state level which would have as their objective the reduction of "*disparities between the various regions and the backwardness of the least-favoured regions*" (Article 130 A, SEA). The SEA also required the Commission to "*submit a comprehensive proposal to the Council, the purpose of which will be to make such amendments to the structure and operational rules of the structural Funds (European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund, Guidance Section, European Social Fund, European Regional Development Fund) as are necessary to clarify and rationalize their tasks and in order to contribute to the achievement of the objectives set out in Article 130 A and Article 130 C* (see Appendix 2 for full text).

The Commission's proposals for the reform of the structural Funds were formally adopted by the Council on the 24th June 1988. The details were set out in Council Regulation No. 2052/88. It was in response to this and a number of further Council Regulations setting out in more detail the requirements of member state actions that the Irish Government prepared and submitted the National Development Plan to the Commission on 22nd March 1989. Upon acceptance of the Plan by the Commission a Community Support Framework indicating the agreed measures and forms of support would be adopted by the Commission.

2.1.3 Aspects of the Regional Issue in the EC

The extent of regional disparities in the EC provides a backdrop for considering the role which the structural Funds have played to date in addressing these and for assessing the potential of the reformed Funds to achieve their objective of reducing regional disparities. During the 1960s there was evidence of a reduction in regional disparities in the EC comprised of 6 countries. Much of this was attributable not to any specific regional policy measures, but rather to the economic conditions prevailing at the time. Since the 1970s, however, this situation has reversed and in the Commission's "Third Periodic Report on the Social and Economic Situation and Development of the Regions of the Community" the Commission concludes that in the years following 1975 disparities between the regions have remained largely unchanged and on some indices have tended to widen (CEC, 1987). Such widening was particularly evident in relation to unemployment. Following the 1973 recession significantly above average increases in unemployment rates occurred in many of the less developed regions in the southern and western parts of the Community. In a number of the more developed regions also, particularly those dependent on traditional forms of manufacture, there were significant increases in unemployment. These changes resulted in regional disparities in total unemployment being 2.5 times greater in 1985 compared to 1975.

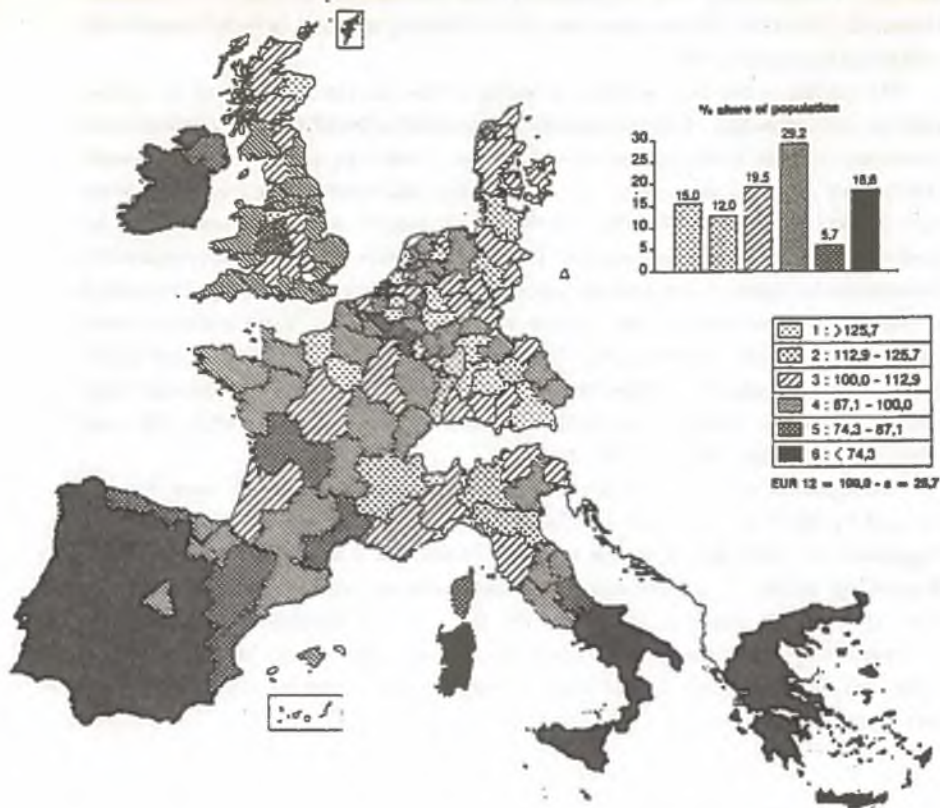


Figure 2.1 Distribution of GDP per head in the European Community

Currently, on a variety of social and economic indicators there is evidence of significant regional variation in the EC. Figure 2.1 gives an indication of these disparities based on Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Using an index combining a number of key socio-economic indicators including income, unemployment and productivity levels (Kowalski, 1989) concluded that: *"the regions in the outer peripheral areas in the south and west of the Community are clearly the worst affected. Particularly low income and productivity levels, which in most although not all cases, are accompanied by particularly high unemployment, structural unemployment and a persistently above-average expansion of the labour force are significant factors here"* (p.94).

2.1.4 Ireland as a Region of the EC

Taking GDP as an indicator of Ireland's performance since membership of the Community, it can be seen from Figure 2.2 that during the early years of membership there was an increase in income per head relative to the EC average. This is most evident in the figures presenting GDP in current exchange rates. This gain, however, has not been sustained and a reversal of the earlier trend can be seen during the 1980s.

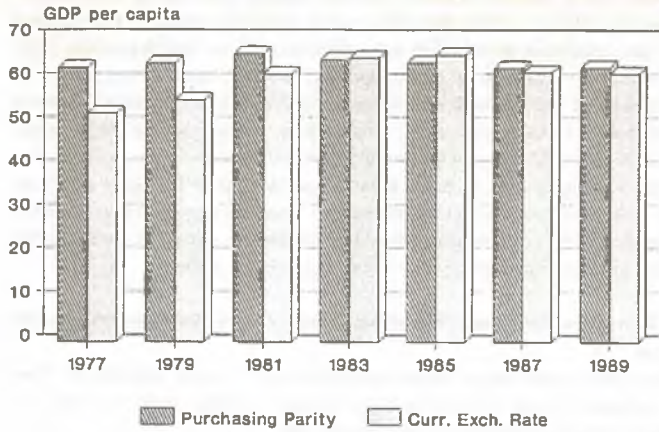


Figure 2.2 Change in GDP per head of Population in Ireland as Percentage of EC Average 1977 - 1989

Table 2.1 Summary of National Level Comparisons

	Maximum	Minimum	Ireland's Indicator	Ireland's Ranking
1. Population growth % (1979-86)	5.1	-0.4	5.1	1
2. Birth Rate (1986)	17.2	9.8	17.2	1
3. Migration rate (1979-86)	-3.4	0.05	-3.4	1
4. Age dependency (1986)	0.66	0.43	0.66	1
5. Labour force dependency (1986)	1.73	0.82	1.71	2
6. Agricultural share of total employment (1986)	28.5	2.5	15.7	4
7. Service sector share of total employment (1986)	69.6	42.2	55.5	8
8. Unemployment rate	21.5	2.5	18.7	2
9. GDP per head (1986)	127.5	53.2	62.3	10
10. Cars per 100 inhabitants	41.2	11.6	20.8	10
11. Telephones per 100 inhabitants	71.9	16.9	23.5	11
12. T.V.'s per 100 inhabitants	37.5	15.1	20.5	11

Source: NES 1989

Ireland's current position relative to the other member states of the Community is summarised in Table 2.1. From this table it can be seen that on four of the indicators selected (i.e., population growth, birth rate, migration rate and age dependency ratio) Ireland's position is the highest relative to other member states. With respect to unemployment and labour force dependency rates, Ireland's rates are the second highest in the Community. In terms of structure of employment, Ireland has the fourth largest proportion of persons employed in agriculture and while the majority of the labour force in Ireland are now employed in the service sector (56 per cent), there is a higher proportion engaged in the service sector in seven other member states. In terms of income per head, Ireland ranks tenth in the Community, followed by Portugal and Greece. A similar position is occupied by Ireland with respect to the number of cars per 100 persons.

2.1.4.1 Regional and Social Disparities Within Ireland: Focus on Dublin and the Position of Tallaght

The above figures clearly indicate the disadvantaged position of Ireland within the EC. They give no indication, however, of the extent of regional disparity within Ireland as a whole, nor of the nature of the distribution of income within Ireland.

Taking the issue of regional disparities within Ireland first, there is substantial evidence of considerable variation in social and economic conditions within Ireland. The broad outline of these is presented in Table 2.2 which shows the relatively advantaged position of the East region in terms of household incomes compared to other regions. A range of factors underlie patterns of regional difference within Ireland. Important among these is source of income, particularly the nature of employment: regions with high levels of people dependent on small agricultural holdings having lower incomes. A significant contributor to the higher incomes in the East region is the high proportion in service employment (see NESC, 1980a; Brunt, 1988). The higher than average incomes in the East region, however, conceal substantial variation in incomes within the region. As we indicate below the economic changes which have occurred in the East region during the 1980s have contributed to a consolidation of the income and class positions of those from professional and white collar occupations and worsened those of persons from semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations.

Table 2.2 *Regional Variation in Household Incomes*

Planning Region	Average Weekly Income (IR£)	Percentage of household incomes	
		< IR£ 104	> IR£ 336
North-West Donegal	194	34	15
West	224	27	20
Mid-West	248	23	25
South-West	246	23	24
South-East	227	28	21
East	281	21	32
North-East	215	34	26
Midlands	200	36	15

Source: Household Budget Survey, 1987.

Examination of a range of other social and economic indicators would further highlight the pattern of regional differences within Ireland. On some of these the East region *on aggregate* shows the most favourable profile (see, for example, Sterne, 1989 in relation to employment in electronics and software). More generally, however, it must be noted that the pattern of change in the economic structure of the East region and Dublin in particular has diverged from the national situation during the 1980s. This is principally evident in the higher rate of decline in industrial employment in Dublin compared to the State as a whole (27 per cent compared to 14 per cent respectively over the period 1979 to 1986). Over the longer term these changes in the structure of economic activity in Dublin have also been reflected in the above national average increases in professional and technical workers and decreases in the numbers of producers, makers and repairers (see DBIC, 1989).

On a number of other indicators and using more recent data, the East region and Dublin in particular compares unfavourably with the other planning regions. Taking long-term unemployment as an example, while the unemployment rate for the East region was lower than a number of other regions, in 1988 it had the highest proportion of long-term unemployed among its unemployed labour force compared to the other regions (55.5 per cent). Given the pattern of economic change in Dublin and the strong association between risk of unemployment and skills / qualifications much of the unemployment and particularly long-term unemployment has become concentrated among those from predominantly semi-skilled and unskilled manual backgrounds.

This change in the structure of economic activity and associated changes in the occupational structure have produced substantial changes in the labour market situation of different occupational groups in the Dublin area: the economic prospects of more highly qualified persons in the labour market have been consolidated and those of the less qualified have been substantially reduced. In more general terms the process of economic restructuring in Dublin can be seen to have produced a more polarised class structure in the Greater Dublin area. This, as we note below, has taken on a distinctively spatial aspect arising from the relationship between the labour market and the housing market, a relationship that has been reinforced by housing policy. This has contributed to both the concentration and composition of unemployment and long-term unemployment in Tallaght as we outline in Chapter 3.

While there was some limited recognition of the issue of regional disparities within Ireland as a whole in preparing the NDP, as reflected in the establishment of regional Working Parties and Advisory Groups and the preparation of expenditures, this was of a limited nature and the specific plans at sub-regional level were not incorporated into the NDP. More significant in the present context, however, was the lack of consideration given to the presence of substantial concentrations of social and economic disadvantages within the sub-regions identified in the NDP. Within the Dublin City and County sub-region considerable evidence now exists of the spatial concentration of poverty and unemployment (see Bannon et al., 1981; Brady and Parker, 1986; Dublin County Council, 1987). These analyses point in particular to the high rates of unemployment and poverty among residents of the inner city areas and the newer public housing developments on the west of Dublin. This situation is highlighted with respect to Tallaght in Table 2.3.

Table 2.3 *Aspects of Social and Economic Conditions in Tallaght Compared with Dublin County Borough, Dublin County and Ireland*

	Ireland	Dublin County Borough	Dublin County	Tallaght
Proportion of population < 15	29	32	22	44
Proportion completed education at < 15	39	29	43	48
Unemployment Rate	18	15	22	23
Youth Unemployment	25	24	28	33
Proportion of Youth Labour Force never having had a job	11	10	11	13
Proportion of Households with no employed person	11	10	13	19
Proportion of Labour Force classified as labourers and unskilled	4	4	6	7
Labour Force Dependency Ratio	1.7	1.6	1.3	2.02

This table clearly illustrates that in comparison with Dublin City and County and with Ireland as a whole, Tallaght has: the highest proportion of population under the age of 15 years; the highest proportion of persons who completed their education aged 15 years or under; the highest rates of overall and youth unemployment; the highest proportion of the youth labour force never having had a job; the highest proportion of households with no person in employment; the highest proportion of persons classified as unskilled and labourers and the highest labour force dependency ratio. When this profile of Tallaght is considered in the context of the comparatively favourable profile of the East region in terms of aggregate income it points to the underlying processes of social polarisation and the need for specific consideration of this in any development plan if development is to benefit those currently disadvantaged.

The relevance of making the above comparisons in the context of a discussion of the potential of the NDP needs some elaboration here. First, it must be recognised that it would be possible with regard to a number of other localities to construct similar profiles of comparative disadvantage. However, with respect to Tallaght, the absolute numbers included in the proportions are large and some aspects of the disadvantages experienced there, notably the lack of employment opportunities for the growing numbers of young people, are likely to increase significantly in the absence of effective policies. Second, as will be seen in more detail later, neither at the level of the procedures governing the operation of the reformed structural Funds, nor at the level of the measures proposed in the NDP, is any explicit consideration given to the reduction of disparities arising within regions. In this regard, it should be noted that the presence of such intra-regional disparities are not the explicit concern of the structural Funds whose fundamental objective is to assist in the achievement of convergence in the rates of development between regions in the Community. In practice, the logic at the Community level is derived from a recognition that social and

economic disparities between regions arise from a dynamic at a Community wide level and are, as such, to be addressed by structural Fund measures, while the distributional consequences of development or lack of development within regions are to be mainly addressed within the context of national policies. It is important to emphasise here, however, the large disparity in resources available from the EC for assistance to achieve objectives of regional convergence compared to those available to support the type of measures required to address the causes and consequences of social and economic disadvantage in particular localities such as Tallaght.

2.1.5 The Reform of the Structural Funds

In the European Community what are commonly called the structural Funds include the European Social Fund, the European Regional Development Fund and the Guidance Section of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund. They have formed the main instruments of Community regional and social policy. These are briefly described below together with an overview of the issues which led to the reform of the Funds.

(i) *The European Social Fund (ESF)*

The ESF was established under article 123 of the Treaty of Rome and has been the main basis of the EC's social policy. The purpose of the fund as defined by the Treaty was: *"to improve employment opportunities for workers in the common market and to contribute thereby to raising the standard of living it shall have the task of rendering the employment of workers easier and of increasing their geographical and occupational mobility within the community."*

Up to the late 1970s the ESF was mainly used to assist in the retraining and redeployment of workers displaced through economic restructuring. With the rapid growth of unemployment, particularly youth unemployment, the ESF increasingly supported the provision of vocational training for young people. In 1983 the ESF was reformed and 75 per cent of its resources were allocated to providing training and employment for young people. In addition to this over 44 per cent of the ESF was to be spent in the Community's most disadvantaged regions. The whole of Ireland was classified as an "absolute priority" for the purposes of the ESF.

In Ireland the funds received from the ESF have been primarily used to provide training for young people. As in many other member states the provision of this training mainly takes the form of programmes delivered on a national basis. In terms of the distribution of ESF financial support, the major proportion of the funds are channelled through FAS. The Department of Education, the IDA, CERT, the NRB and the IMI also receive support from the ESF.

An important aspect of the operation of the ESF at the Community level up to recently was its support for small scale and locally based projects. For example, in 1986 over 6,000 project proposals were received by the Commission and just under 50 per cent of these were funded. In Ireland, however, access to ESF support has been firmly controlled by applications at a national level. Examining the lack of access by community groups to ESF and other sources of EC funding, Rosengrave (1985) identified the centralised control of decision - making, the absence of local structures, and the failure to provide information to community groups regarding funding opportunities as major barriers.

(ii) *The European Regional Development Fund (ERDF)*

Established in 1975 following the first enlargement of the Community the purpose of the ERDF was to reduce regional differences in the EC. Ireland was classified as a single region for the purposes of receiving assistance. In practice this meant the funds from the ERDF were applied for and controlled at central government level. In terms of the operation of the Fund, it was used mainly to provide grant aid toward the establishment of new manufacturing projects and to support infrastructural development. The latter absorbed over two thirds of the funds received by Ireland during the 1980s

(iii) *The Guidance Section of the European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund*

The objective of this Fund is to assist farm modernisation and improvement. While considerably smaller than the Guarantee Fund (i.e., the price support mechanism of the Common Agricultural Policy) it has formed a relatively large source of funds for Ireland, though the benefits have been mainly gained by those with large holdings.

(iv) *Reform of Structural Funds:*

A number of factors are generally identified as providing the impetus for the reform of the structural Funds. First, for some time there had been a recognition of the limited effectiveness of the structural Funds in achieving a reduction of regional disparities and improving economic and social conditions in what were termed the Community's less favoured regions. In the case of some policies, for example the Common Agricultural Policy, the net effects have been to further reinforce regional differences.

Second, the effects of the recessions beginning in 1973 and 1979 were unevenly spread across the countries and regions of the Community. Earlier we noted in relation to unemployment that substantial above average increases occurred in the less-developed regions in the southern and western periphery of the Community as well as within those more developed regions where certain industries experienced severe structural problems.

Third, and related to the above, was evidence that the development of the Single Market pursued solely in terms of a free market orientation would further increase regional differences in general economic and social conditions. We return to this below.

Fourth, it is important to note that the main impetus for the development of regional policy within the Community had come from the initial enlargement of the Community from 6 countries to 9 in 1973. In addition the membership of Greece in 1981 and of Spain and Portugal in 1986 posed new problems in terms of the scale of the actions required and the resources needed.

In addition to the above, concern had been expressed for some time about weaknesses in the administrative operation of the structural Funds.

The combination of the above factors meant that conditions facing the expanded Community of twelve in the mid 1980s were substantially different from those prevailing during the mid-1960s for the Community of six. At the same time, the challenges facing the Community and its regional policy were substantially increased.

2.1.6 Assessment of the Operation of the Structural Funds and the Potential of the Reformed Funds

Before looking at the actual procedures and mechanisms through which the reformed structural Funds are to operate it is useful to examine in a critical manner the operation of

the Funds to date and to make some general assessment of the potential of the reformed Funds.

Assessment of the potential of the structural Funds to bring about convergence between the regions in Europe necessitates consideration of a number of related issues. These include:

- (i) assessing the benefits or otherwise arising from the operation of the Funds to date;
- (ii) estimating the likely effects of completion of the internal market on the more underdeveloped regions of the Community such as Ireland; and,
- (iii) in the light of the above and taking into account the measures proposed, assessing the contribution of structural Funds to achieving a greater degree of equality between the regions than currently exists.

These are issues which have been the subject of a large number of investigations at European and national level recently. We will focus on some of the main conclusions regarding each of these issues below.

(i) *The Structural Funds to Date:* The overview of regional disparities presented in section 2.1.3 above indicates that in the EC as a whole the operation of the structural Funds to date has failed to bring about any significant degree of change in the position of the less developed regions. A variety of factors have been identified as contributing to the less than successful role which the Funds have played in this regard. Analysing the pattern of economic development since the formation of the Community Cutler et al. (1989) have shown that it was to the stronger economies that the main benefits of Community membership accrued. These reinforced existing disparities in economic performance and potential and worked counter to any effect of regional policy. A similar conclusion was reached by the NESC in their analysis of the performance of Ireland in the Community where not alone was Community membership found to have been associated with job losses but with significant changes in the structure of Irish indigenous industry resulting in a structural weakening of the Irish economy (NESC, 1989). A major point arising here is that the operation of any regional policy measures - such as the reformed structural Funds - cannot be realistically assessed independently of more general aspects of economic conditions and policy. This consideration is especially applicable to considering the potential of the reformed structural Funds in the context of the Single Market.

A number of factors related to the lack of success which the structural Funds have had to date can be traced more directly to aspects of the structural Funds themselves. The first of these relates to the level of finance available to the structural Funds. There is considerable consensus among the various analyses of the operation of the structural Funds to date that they have been grossly under funded. For example, in 1988 the Community Budget represented just over 1 per cent of Community GDP. The structural Funds, however, accounted for less than one fifth of this Budget. This level of funding was substantially below that identified as required to achieve convergence in the economic performance of the regions. The conclusions of the Marjolin Group (CEC, 1975) and the MacDougall Group (1977) indicate that between 2.5 and 5 per cent of the Community's GDP would need to be allocated to regional policy in order to effect significant reductions of regional disparities in the Community. Past and proposed allocations are considerably less than this.

Apart from the issue of the adequacy of resources, the past operation of the Funds has been limited by their failure to concentrate available resources on the most disadvantaged

regions, lack of co-ordination of the Funds activities with regard to specific objectives, and the limited extent to which national governments have actually pursued measures using the Funds which generate any level of additionality.

At a more fundamental level, two other factors can be identified. The first concerns the lack of commitment to providing significant transfers of income from the richer to the poorer countries of the Community. This point is well illustrated by Sutherland as follows: "*the European Communities cannot be said to possess the political will that allows for a significant income distribution which extends beyond national boundaries*" (Sutherland, 1986, cited in Cuddy, 1987, p.17).

Second, Cutler et al. (1989) identify the focus of structural Fund activity on infrastructural and training measures as being an indirect and ineffective way of addressing regional disparities. In practice this has meant that the EC avoids more direct measures of dealing with regional disadvantage such as providing financial incentives to industry to locate in peripheral or disadvantaged regions or measures blocking the expansion of industry in central and wealthier regions. Cutler et al note that policies based on infrastructural and training measures are: *acceptable in a liberal market framework because they can be represented as enabling the market to work more effectively; improving physical communications integrates the market, while training enables adaptation to market-induced changes... (and that) . . . Policies of this kind have dominated EC regional policy with no obvious effects on regional equalities.*" pp. 82 - 83). Here it can be noted that the explicit orientation of the NDP is consistent with this policy framework in that it primarily focuses on the provision of infrastructural supports to facilitate market led development: "*A specific element of the strategy is to foster efficient working markets, within accepted social conditions, in order that resources may be used to best effect and impediments to economic growth and job creation minimised*" (NDP, p. 26).

(ii) *Effects of the Single Market:* Above we noted the importance of not considering the effects of regional policy measures in isolation from more general economic policies. In this regard, the impact of the Single Market on the peripheral and less developed regions of the Community is clearly a factor to be considered in assessing the potential contribution of the reformed structural Funds to their development over the coming years. Little attention is paid to this issue in the major analysis of the benefits of the Single Market provided by Cecchini (1988).

Two other reports prepared for the Commission, however, caution against assuming any direct economic benefits from the Single Market for the less developed regions of the Community (PA Cambridge Economic Consultants, 1987; Padoa-Schioppa, 1987). Padoa-Schioppa (1987) notes: "*there are serious risks of aggravated regional imbalance in the course of market liberalisation*" .. (and that) .. "*current trends in industrial structure in favour of high technology industries point on the whole to an aggravation of the problems of backward and peripheral regions..*" (p. 5 & p. 10). In recognition of the potential adverse effects, both these reports argue for significant increases in the resources available to the structural Funds but are pessimistic as to the political will to achieve such increases in funding: for example, "*It is politically unrealistic to suppose EC funds will be available on the scale sufficient to offset the harmful effects to certain regions (and nations) of market liberalisation.*" (PA Cambridge Economic Consultants, p.4)

Following a detailed analysis of potential effects of the Single Market for Ireland the

NESC conclude: "... the long-run benefits of market completion are likely to be unevenly distributed - with the greatest benefits accruing to regions in which industries with economies of scale and highly innovative sectors are most prevalent. Ireland is not such a region. Consequently, completion of the internal market should not be expected to narrow the income disparities between regions in the EC, let alone bring about convergence" (NESC, p. 526).

(iii) *Potential of Reformed Structural Funds:* Given the conclusions cited above regarding the potentially negative economic effects of the Single Market for Ireland, the question arises as to the potential of the reformed structural Funds to address or offset these negative consequences and provide a basis for the development of the peripheral and underdeveloped regions of the Community, particularly Ireland. At the outset it should be noted that many of the reforms relating to the structural Funds concern the mechanisms of their operation. These will be outlined more specifically in section 2.1.7 below.

Many of the points regarding the operation of the structural Funds made above are applicable to the operation of the reformed funds and hence are relevant to an assessment of their potential. The area on which most of the commentaries and analyses of the reformed Funds are in total agreement concerns the inadequate level of financial resources being made available to them. Thus, the NESC reports notes that "even after their recently agreed doubling, the Structural Funds will still represent less than half of one per cent of Community GDP ... (this) ... will not be sufficient to create convergence, let alone establish equality in regional economic structures and incomes" (NESC, p. 257).

2.1.7 Procedures To Apply for Support under the Reformed Structural Funds: The National Development Plan and Community Support Frameworks

The legal framework for the reform of the structural Funds was established by the Single European Act. This Act added a new title to the Treaty establishing the Community. This title was called "Economic and Social Cohesion" and it required the Commission to put forward proposals for the reform of the structural Funds for approval by the European Council and for legislation to give effect to this decision to be adopted (see Appendix 2 for the complete text of this).

The legislative basis for the reform of the structural Funds was provided by a series of five Council Regulations. The first of these - Council Regulation No. 2052/88 - was adopted on the 24 June 1988 and outlined the tasks of the structural Funds, the arrangements for their operation, provisions relating to specific objectives and the financing provisions for their operation. Included in this was the identification of the five priority objectives for the reformed Funds, the specific Funds which would be used to support the achievement of these objectives, and the identification of the regions eligible for support under Objective 1 (see Box 2.1 for summary). The latter are those regions whose per capita income is less than 75 per cent of the Community average calculated on the basis of figures for the last three years. On the basis of this Ireland was included in regions covered by Objective 1.

Priority Objectives	Main instruments which may be used:
<p><i>Objective 1:</i></p> <p>Promoting the development and adjustment of the regions whose development is lagging behind (i.e. where per capita GDP is less than, or close to, 75% of the Community average) (list revised every five years - see annexed map)</p>	<p>ERDF, ESF, EAGGF Guidance Section, and EIB principally, ECSC (80% of ERDF resources are devoted to these regions)</p>
<p><i>Objective 2:</i></p> <p>Converting the regions, frontier regions or parts of regions (including employment areas and urban communities) seriously affected by industrial decline (criteria: average unemployment rate above Community average, industrial employment rate above the Community average, decline in industrial employment) (list revised every three years - see annexed map)</p>	<p>ERDF, ESF, EIB, ECSC</p>
<p><i>Objective 3:</i></p> <p>Combating long-term unemployment (above the age of 25, unemployment for more than 12 months)</p>	<p>ESF, EIB, ECSC</p>
<p><i>Objective 4:</i></p> <p>Facilitating the occupational integration of young people (job-seekers below the age of 25)</p>	<p>ESF, EIB, ECSC</p>
<p><i>Objective 5:</i></p> <p>With a view to the reform of the common agricultural policy:</p>	
<p>5 (a): adapting production, processing and marketing structures in agriculture and forestry</p>	<p>EAGGF, Guidance Section, only</p>
<p>5 (b): promoting the development of rural areas. Criteria: agricultural employment accounting for a high proportion of total employment; low level of agricultural income; low level of socio-economic development in terms of per capita GDP</p>	<p>EAGGF, Guidance Section, ERDF, ESF, EIB</p>

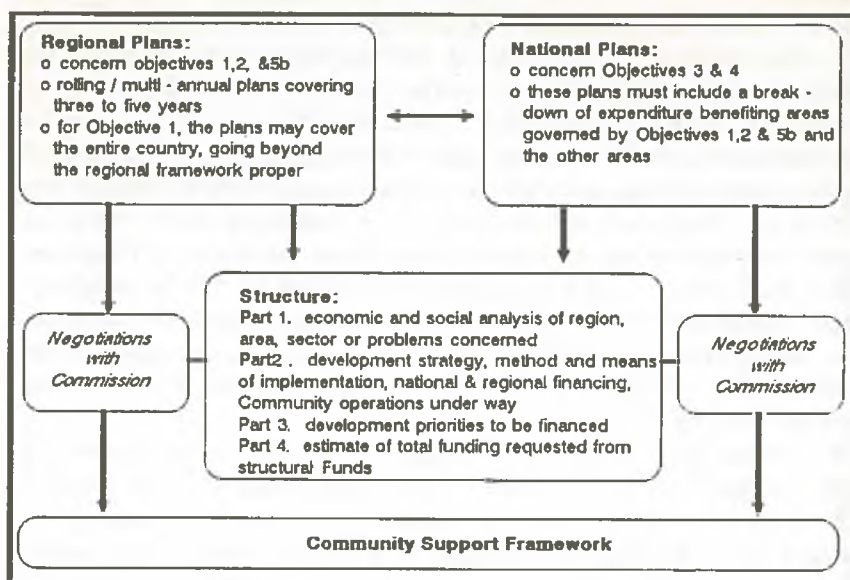


Figure 2.3 Schematic Overview of Content and Process of Plans Seeking Structural Fund Assistance

A series of four regulations implementing this framework Regulation were adopted in December 1988. These covered: the co-ordination of the activities of the structural Funds between themselves and the European Investment Bank (No. 4253/88); the specification of the kinds of measures eligible for assistance from the ERDF and the information to be included in member states' plans regarding priority objectives of ERDF assistance (No. 4254/88); the definition of the conditions governing assistance from the ESF (No. 4255/88); and, identification of the particular forms of assistance to be provided by the Guidance Section of the EAGGF (No. 4256/88). All of the foregoing legislation came into effect on 1 January 1989. (For information the various Directorates in the Commission with responsibilities for different aspects of the administration and monitoring of the reformed structural Funds are provided in Figure 2.1A).

The operational arrangements regarding member state applications from the structural Funds are outlined in Figure 2.3 In practice applications for assistance from the structural Funds followed a sequence of four inter-related stages. The first involved the preparation of plans by member states or competent national, regional or other authorities designated by the member state. The second stage involved negotiations with the Commission to determine priorities in the Community Support Framework (CSF). The third stage involves the implementation of the CSF through operational programmes and the use of the appropriate forms of assistance from the structural Funds. The fourth stage involves the monitoring and assessment of the operations being undertaken in the CSF and making adjustments on the basis of the results of the monitoring.

2.2 Overview

This section provides an overview of the content the National Development Plan (NDP) and of the outline Community Support Framework (CSF) for Ireland which resulted from the negotiations between the Irish Government and the Commission. Given the limitations of the information available in both of these - particularly limitations with respect to the operational aspects of the CSF - the assessment of the likely impact of the programme of structural development being supported by the reformed structural Funds for Tallaght is of a general nature. This general assessment, however, is supplemented in Chapter 4 where an overview of ongoing and proposed measures relating to the development of Tallaght are outlined. Some of these are directly supported with Funds from the CSF, for example the Tallaght - Clondalkin rail link. A range of other measures, particularly those relating to human resource provisions and industry and services, are also likely to benefit from the increased availability of EC funding. In terms of administration, FAS and the IDA are likely to have major roles here.

At a national level, one of the central objectives of the NDP is the generation of sufficient employment growth to significantly reduce unemployment. The achievement of this if shared by those living in localities with high concentrations of unemployment would certainly result in beneficial effects for localities such as Tallaght. However, major question marks exist as to the likelihood of this occurring, including: the reliance on market forces to become more effective in generating employment arising from the infrastructural support measures being pursued; the limited scale of the investment programme in comparison to the scale of the problems; and, the lack of clearly defined interventions whereby those currently long-term unemployed will be brought into stable employment. More generally, the lack of explicit consideration of the social and economic needs of disadvantaged localities within the various sub-regions and the consequent absence of any detailed plans regarding how the needs of people in such localities are being addressed further reinforces a cautious interpretation of the potential of the NDP and the CSF to benefit these localities.

2.2.1 The NDP and the Community Support Framework for Ireland

As outlined above, the first stage of the process of applying for structural Fund assistance required the preparation of multi-annual plans by the member states. The response of the Irish Government was the preparation of the National Development Plan. Separate plans regarding Objective 3 (Measures to Combat Long-Term Unemployment) and Objective 4 (The Occupational Integration of Young People) were also prepared and submitted to the Commission.

Since the submission of the NDP in March 1989 considerable discussion of its failings and merits has taken place. In general the state and the private sector have emphasised the benefits and opportunities arising from the NDP and increased structural Funds assistance for Ireland. This is illustrated, for example, in the comments of the Minister for Finance made shortly after the submission of the NDP: *"The National Plan is the most important financial submission Ireland has ever made to the European Community. It is nothing less than our blueprint for economic and social progress over the next five years. It will lift the country on to a new phase of development and enable us to reap the benefits of 1992"* (Address by Minister for Finance at "Beyond the Plan - the Communities Structural Policies and Regional Development in Ireland, 19-5-89). Similarly, the President of the Chamber of Commerce of Ireland notes: *"Ireland will have the greatest investment programme in its*

history. *Properly implemented, the Structural Funds can revolutionise Ireland and give it the physical and intellectual infrastructure to create a first-class society*" (Community Report, p. 39, December, 1989).

Not all responses to the NDP were as optimistic. Various reactions to the NDP from opposition parties, trade unions and community groups pointed to a range of inadequacies. Some of these focussed on the procedures adopted in the preparation of the NDP, particularly the lack of public participation. Others focussed on more specific aspects, such as the substantial reliance on private sector investment. At a technical level the failure to clearly relate the measures proposed to the achievement of employment objectives was highlighted in a number of commentaries. For example, commenting on the projections in the NDP relating increased output to employment generation the Economist Intelligence Unit (1989a) noted: "*The plan anticipates that the structural funds will directly add 1 per cent to the output potential of the economy by the mid-1990s, and help in the creation of some 35,000 new jobs per annum. The formal basis for these predictions is not made explicit*" (p. 12). In fact, it can be noted here that the actual relationship between industrial output and employment in Ireland, particularly in the modern sector which is the main sector targeted in the NDP, has been negative over the most of the 1980s: substantial increases in output being accompanied by decreases in employment (see Table 14, p. 26, EIU, 1989b). At a more fundamental level there is no analysis or consideration of the distributional implications of the measures proposed in the NDP. Here the Plan rests on a relationship between growth and aggregate income increases. Similarly, as we noted in section 2.1.4.1 above, despite widespread recognition of the concentration of social and economic disadvantages in particular localities, measures to address these are not specifically considered.

2.2.2 The National Development Plan, the Community Support Framework, and the Development Needs of Socially and Economically Disadvantaged Localities

Many of the general points made above can be illustrated through a more specific consideration of the NDP and the outline of the Community Support Framework (CSF) agreed between the Commission and the Irish government in November, 1989. In presenting this overview of the NDP and the CSF our primary focus will be to consider the extent to which the proposed actions in the NDP and the supported measures in the CSF are likely to meet the development needs of localities experiencing high levels of social and economic disadvantage such as Tallaght.

Before looking at the NDP and the CSF a number of issues regarding the feasibility of such an exercise need to be noted here. First, at a practical level, the scale of resources requested in the NDP under specific headings were all subject to negotiations with the Commission. As noted above, the first firm indications of the actual resources to be received by Ireland were provided in a government press release on the 27th November, 1989. These showed that in comparison to the actual level of financial support requested over the duration of the NDP (i.e., £3,717 million), the level of support being provided under the agreed Community Support Framework was £2,860 million, that is, 23 per cent less than requested. Unlike the NDP which provides a breakdown of expenditure at sub-regional level, this is not yet available in relation to the CSF.

Second, while sub-regional breakdowns of expenditure by areas of structural development are presented in the NDP, they do not give sufficient detail to enable a "technical" assessment of the likely levels of investment or effects in terms of employment to

be made with reference to specific localities such as Tallaght. This is due to the absence of specific objectives regarding employment objectives at sub-regional level and the lack of information regarding the operational programmes. The promised publication of the operational programmes may provide some additional material relevant to this, however.

Third, for the greater part, much of the actual detail regarding the specific overall objectives of the NDP and also the objectives at sectoral level are presented in a national context, though some specifics are indicated at a sub-regional level. Of the latter, two are relevant to note in the present context: first, the commitment that "*The Western suburbs will be specially targeted for development (of industry and services)*" (NDP, p. 91); and second, with regard to provisions regarding education and training "*Areas of deprivation will be specially targeted and unsatisfactory facilities will be upgraded and rationalised*" (NDP, p. 93).

Given the above, we have found it necessary to follow a two tiered approach to assessing the likely contribution of the measures proposed under the NDP and supported in the CSF to meeting the development needs of a locality such as Tallaght. In general terms, the first aspect of this approach involves considering the potential of the measures supported in the CSF to generate economic and social benefits for the country as a whole.

The second aspect of the approach, which is pursued in more detail in Chapter 4, involves identifying, on the basis of the information available, measures which are being, or are likely to be, undertaken which more directly address development needs in Tallaght. Together with the analysis of the development issues arising in Tallaght presented in Chapter 3 this provides a basis for making a general assessment of the potential of the NDP and measures agreed in the CSF to meet the needs of Tallaght.

2.2.3 Measures in the National Development Plan being Supported by the Community Support Framework: Some Implications for Tallaght

The most recent indications of the outcome of the negotiations between the Irish Government and the Commission was an agreed outline of the Community Support Framework for Ireland in November 1989. This provides the most detailed indication of the scale and nature of the measures to be supported by the Commission in Ireland. Tables 2.1A and 2.2A provide the details of expenditure outlined in this. These are organised by four specific priorities agreed with the Commission: 1. agriculture, fisheries, forestry, tourism and rural development; 2. industry and services; 3. measures to offset the effects of peripherality; and, 4. human resources measures. Table 2.4 provides a summary of the main areas of expenditure by each of the priorities identified. In the government press release announcing details of the CSF, commitment was given to provide a breakdown of planned expenditure over the period 1989 - 1993 in each of the sub-regions once discussions with the Commission regarding all the operational programmes concerned have been concluded.

The levels of expenditure agreed with the Commission and presented in the outline CSF for Ireland are also shown in Table 2.5. This table shows the distribution of expenditure by area of expenditure in the case of total expenditure and the contribution coming from the EC, the state and the private sector. Table 2.3A shows the percentage contribution to total expenditure by heading of expenditure coming from the EC, the state and the private sector. Some small differences in the total figures arise between the figures reported in Tables 2.4 and 2.5 because of the exclusion of measures which are not directly co-financed by the EC in Table 2.4.

Before outlining the type of actions being supported under each of the specific priorities

Table 2.4/2.5 Amount and Distribution of Overall Expenditure of Structural Nature by Area of Expenditure, CSF

	Total		EC Support Contribution		Percentage EC
Priority 1					
Agriculture, Rural Development & Fisheries	1,237		478		38.6
Forestry	93		47		50.5
Tourism	260		118		45.4
Sanitary Services	292		95		32.5
Total Priority 1	1,882	(23.0)	738	(26.0)	39.2
Priority 2					
Industry and services	2,447	(29.8)	416	(14.7)	17.0
Priority 3					
Measures to offset peripherality					
Access and Roads	1,268		541		42.7
Telecommunications & Postal Services	389		19.5		5.0
Total Priority 3	1,657	(20.2)	560.5	(19.8)	33.8
Priority 4					
Human Resources Measures	2,209	(27.0)	1,123	(39.5)	50.8
Total	8,195		2,837.5		34.6

	Total		EC Contribution		State Contribution		Private Sector Contribution
Roads	875.9	(10.1)	447.1	(15.6)	428.8	(11.7)	-
Rail and Access	391.4	(4.5)	94.3	(3.3)	297.1	(8.1)	-
Sanitary and other local Services	292.0	(3.3)	95.0	(3.3)	197.0	(5.4)	
Telecommunications and Postal Services	353.4	(4.1)	-		353.4	(9.7)	-
Energy	459.3	(5.3)	-		459.3	(12.6)	
Industry and Services	2,447.2	(28.1)	416.0	(14.5)	431.2	(11.8)	1,600.0 (73.4)
Tourism	259.8	(3.0)	118.4	(4.1)	18.4	(0.5)	123.0 (5.6)
Agriculture and Rural Development	1,330.1	(15.3)	524.6	(18.3)	349.8	(9.6)	455.7 (20.9)
Human Resources: Education Training and Employment	2,209.1	(25.4)	1,122.9	(39.3)	1,086.2	(29.7)	-
STAR, VALOREN & non-quota programmes	74.7	(0.8)	38.2	(1.3)	35.0	(1.0)	1.5
Technical Assistance	5.2	(0.1)	3.9	(0.1)	1.3	-	
	8,698.1	(100.0)	2860.4	(100.0)	3,657.5	(100.0)	2,180.2 (100.0)

in the CSF, it should again be noted that overall the level of support being received from the EC was 23 per cent less than that requested in the NDP (see Table 2.4A for details). A summary of how this shortfall was distributed across various areas of planned expenditure is shown in Figure 2.4. This shows that in terms of percentage shortfall, it was in planned expenditure on rail, bus and access transport that the largest proportional reduction is found. In absolute figures, however, it was in the area of human resources that the level of EC support was considerably below that requested in the NDP.

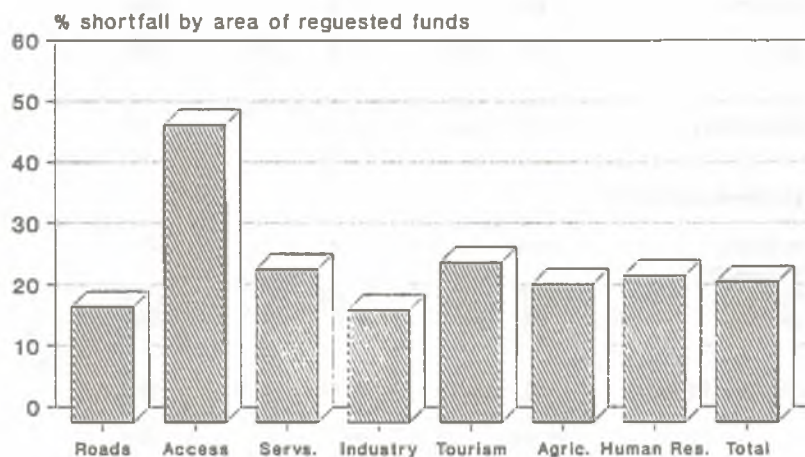


Figure 2.4 Percentage Shortfalls in Support from the Structural Funds by Area of Expenditure

Turning now to the actual levels of planned expenditure, Table 2.4 shows that of the four specific priority areas agreed with the Commission, total expenditure is highest in relation to industry and services (2,447m / 29.8%). This is followed by human resources (2,209m / 27%). Expenditure in relation to agriculture, fisheries, tourism and local services follows at 1,882m (23%) with expenditure on measures to offset peripherality receiving 1,657m (20.2%). In terms of assistance from the EC, the area receiving the highest level of support is human resources. Of total planned EC assistance, this is to receive 39.5 per cent over the 1989 - 1993 period. The area where the EC contributions is lowest is in relation to industry and services. From Table 2.5 it can be seen that this is the area where private sector contributions are expected to make up the vast majority of the difference (73.4%). Overall, of the planned total investment in structural development over the 1989 - 1993 period, approximately 33 per cent is coming from the EC, 42 per cent from state expenditure and 25 per cent from the private sector.

Table 2.2A shows the distribution of expenditure over this period. The amount of assistance being received from the EC is planned to increase over the duration of the CSF corresponding to planned increases in levels of national expenditure. To place the EC contribution for 1989 in context, this was approximately 33 per cent higher than in 1988. To

date no breakdowns of the distribution of expenditure, either by year or by sub-region are available in relation to different areas of expenditure.

The measures being taken with support from the EC are briefly described below. Figure 2.2A shows the government departments and other agencies identified as having roles in the implementation of the CSF.

(i) *Agriculture, Fisheries, Forestry, Tourism and Rural Development:* With regard to agriculture and rural development, the measures being taken are aimed at: improving the quality and marketing of agricultural produce; re-orienting and improving the efficiency of agricultural structures; assisting improved pollution control in agriculture; supporting farm incomes through headage payments; and, broad measures to support rural development, including, agri-tourism, alternative land uses, and non-traditional enterprises for farmers. Measures in the fisheries area focus on improving conditions for marketing and processing of fish and aquaculture products. Increased production of wood orientated to the Community market is planned with regard to forestry. The focus in relation to tourism is the provision of aid for private sector projects in this area in addition to infrastructure development financed by local authorities.

As the outline CSF gives no details of either measures or expenditure by sub-region it is necessary to take the figures in the NDP as an indication of the sub-regional distribution of these (see Table 2.5A). From this it can be seen that only about 1 per cent of total expenditure earmarked for agricultural and related development was allocated to the Dublin City and County sub-region. Given the profile of economic activity in this sub-region this is not surprising. The type of development indicated in this sub-region under this heading will be targeted mainly on horticulture and forestry. In this regard, attention can be drawn to the favourable appraisal of the existing "city farm" project in Tallaght and the suggestion that "*arrangements should be made between interested bodies or individuals in Tallaght with a view to developing these lands (i.e. the green wedge between Tallaght and Clondalkin) for intensive agricultural production such as market gardening*" (Ward and Bannon, p.55, 1988). One must caution, however, that the relevance of this to dealing with unemployment in Tallaght, and its likely success as a venture would need to be considered in the context of a range of other factors including the development of appropriate skills and knowledge and the capitalisation of the ventures.

(ii) *Industry and Services*

The focus of development measures here is on the development of the internationally traded goods and service sectors. While the government statement providing details of the measures for industry supported in the CSF indicates that there will be a shift in the forms of support to industry towards non-capital expenditure (i.e. marketing, technology development / support, training), in the NDP the bulk of support sought from the ERDF was included under capital expenditure, including equity, grants and buildings (66%), rather than technology support (17%) and marketing (14%) (see NDP p. 46).

With regard to industrial policy, measures to "improve the climate" for existing and indigenous firms are to be improved: "*Attracting firms from outside Ireland will continue to be a major element in the development of the economy as a means of both direct and indirect job creation in Ireland and the transfer of new skill, technology, market and management knowledge and expertise*" (Department of Finance, 27-11-89, p.4).

Assuming some degree of correspondence between the NDP and the measures

supported in the CSF, in terms of percentage share of expenditure on industry and services, the NDP indicates that approximately 28 per cent of this will be spent in the Dublin City and County sub-region (Table 2.5A). This is broadly in line with its national share of population. As indicated in Table 2.5 above, however, it is in the area of industry and services that the greatest dependence on the private sector exists in the NDP and outline CSF, and hence this is a source of considerable uncertainty.

Current estimates of private sector investment by Irish companies indicate some level of increase in recent years (IDA, 1990). In relative terms, this increased by 3.5 per cent in 1988 over 1987. This, however, must be seen in context: in absolute terms, this is a return to the 1986 level. Focusing on IDA assisted firms, there are also some indications of increases in the numbers of jobs actually created during 1989 (13,000 compared to 12,000 in 1988), with 60 per cent of these occurring in Irish owned firms. While job losses through notified redundancies (13,395) were at their lowest since 1979, and represented a substantial reduction on the figure for 1988 (23,037) in absolute terms they still counterbalance the effects of IDA assisted job creation.

More generally, it must be noted that figures regarding overall job creation in recent years have been the subject of some controversy. What is clear, however, is that using labour force survey figures as an indicator of employment growth, the net increase in employment which occurred to April 1988, was not continued through to April 1989 when a drop of 1,000 was recorded. ESRI projections covering the period to the end of 1989 suggest that employment did in fact continue to increase by 9000. The inadequacy of this and the target of 35,000 gross new jobs per annum in the NDP in relation to the scale of unemployment nationally has been recently shown in the INOU's (1989) analysis of job requirements.

An additional important point here concerns the skill and more general educational requirements associated with any new jobs created and the implications of this for the unemployed. Figures related to projected employment growth rarely give explicit consideration either to the type of employment or to a lesser extent its location. More importantly and reflecting the thrust of the NDP there is little consideration given to how the pattern of employment growth projected, even if realised, relates to the structure of unemployment and particularly long-term unemployment. Both of these are of significance in the context of developing effective policies to address the needs of localities experiencing both high levels of unemployment and concentrations of predominantly manual and mainly unskilled labour among the unemployed. It is in this regard that national strategies clearly need to be augmented by more localised strategies if any significant gains are to be made. This point can be illustrated by noting that approximately 9,000 of the 11,000 jobs accounting for the growth in employment in 1988 were in the areas of commerce, finance and insurance. Moreover, there is also evidence of an increase in part-time employment mainly among women. This has substantial implications for how the planned expenditure on human resources in the CSF is to be used, particularly given the low level of basic educational qualifications and predominance of manual skills among those currently unemployed. Moreover, as we noted earlier the process of economic restructuring in Dublin has been associated with a decline in sources of employment for semi-skilled / unskilled manual and mainly male labour. In this regard it must be emphasised that the underlying strategy and employment targets of the NDP, even if successful, are unlikely to affect significant changes in their own right in areas experiencing a concentration of unemployment.

Turning more directly to the implications for Tallaght, Table 2.6A shows the trends in employment in IDA assisted companies in the Tallaght area between 1985 and 1988. Overall

these indicate some marginal improvement: a gain of 150 jobs or in percentage terms a 3 per cent increase in employment over the years considered. This net gain is composed of a loss of employment in foreign companies (240) and a gain of 390 in Irish companies. The comparatively small size of Irish companies and the contribution of the establishment of new Irish companies in Tallaght to the employment gain is also evident from the figures presented in this table.

The establishment of an IDA office with specific responsibility for the development of Tallaght, is likely to receive continued support, part of which will come via CSF funding. As is evident from the figures presented in Chapter 3 regarding both current levels of unemployment and labour force growth in Tallaght, the rate of new (net) employment creation would need to be considerably higher over the coming decade if it is to contribute significantly to absorbing those currently unemployed and providing for those entering the labour force. The issues raised here, however, concern not only the level of unemployment but the skills and qualifications of those currently unemployed and of those entering the labour force. As education and training opportunities tend to be provided on a localised basis, this points to the importance of both the level and quality of provision required in areas where both the scale of unemployment and the skills of the unemployed pose significant problems with regard to the unemployed accessing potential sources of local employment or employment in the wider labour market.

Equally important in this context, however, is the extent to which one can reasonably expect a significant improvement in the employment prospects of those resident in Tallaght to result from a strategy focused on the development of employment opportunities in Tallaght alone. As is indicated in Chapter 3, only a minority of employment located within Tallaght is taken up by workers resident in Tallaght and, more significantly, a majority of those in employment in Tallaght actually work outside the locality itself. This highlights the importance not alone of the level of employment opportunities created in Tallaght itself but also in the Greater Dublin area.

In summary, while it is difficult to predict the extent to which increases in employment in the Dublin area in general will be taken up by those currently unemployed in Tallaght, on the basis of current trends one must conclude that the benefits of such employment are unlikely to be significant. One can suggest, however, that the extent to which this occurs is dependent on a number of factors: the fit between the skills of the unemployed and those required in any new jobs; issues related to the adequacy and cost of transport depending on where jobs are located; and, the wage levels relative to welfare payments. These points apply equally to new entrants to the labour market. Additionally, as we outline in greater detail in Chapter 4, projections regarding job creation in the Tallaght area arising from a range of planned and ongoing developments (e.g. the Town Centre, the RTC and the Regional Hospital) are relatively modest compared to the scale of current unemployment.

(iii) Measures to Offset the Effects of Peripherality

The measures supported under this heading concern all aspects of infrastructure which facilitate communication and transport between Ireland the other member states of the EC. Specific measures here include development of national primary routes in Ireland, further development of exit and access points including ports and airports, and the development of rail services. The latter includes £6m support for the Tallaght - Clondalkin rail link. Measures to improve telecommunications and postal services are also included here.

(iv) *Human Resources*

In the NDP and in various statements outlining the measures supported in the CSF particular emphasis is placed on the role of the level and nature of investment in human resources being undertaken over the coming years in aiding the job creation targets of the NDP. In broad terms, the educational, training and employment measures being pursued over the duration of the CSF are targetted on at least four areas: projected growth sectors and key skill areas; those currently unemployed; those entering the labour market; and, specific measures related to supporting agricultural and rural development, tourism and industry. Expenditure requested under this heading in the Dublin City and County sub-region is broadly in line with population using the figures provided in the NDP.

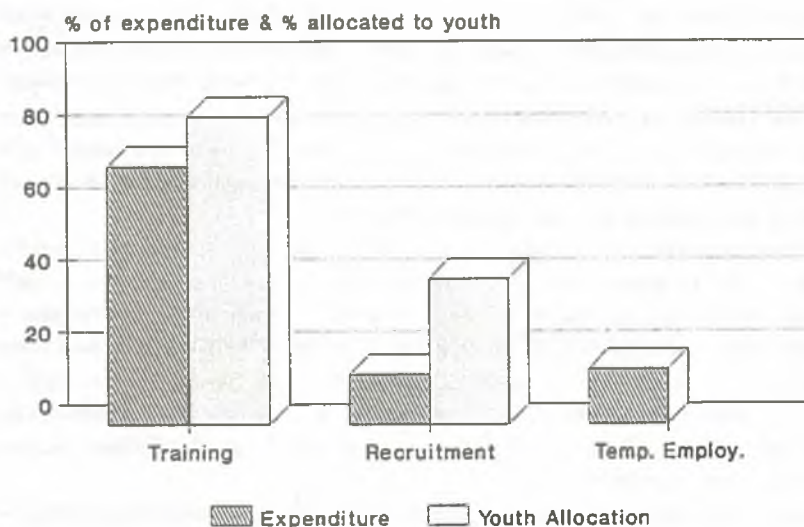


Figure 2.5 *Percentage Breakdown of Expenditure under the Human Resources Heading and Proportion Allocated to Youth*

With regard to those currently unemployed specific measures are to be supported which will focus on the long-term unemployed and the occupational integration of young people. Details regarding the specifics of these measures and their distribution across sub-regions are currently not available. A general idea of the types of measures which will be taken regarding these is provided in the government's two applications for assistance from the ESF under Objectives 3 and 4. Figure 2.5 summarises some key aspects of this. Seventy one per cent of resources will be spent on training of which 85 per cent will involve young people. Measures related to recruitment and industrial promotion will account for a further 14 per cent of expenditure of which 40 per cent will involve young people. Under the heading of temporary employment, the main form of planned provision is the continuation of the Social Employment Scheme (SES) and this will account for the final 15 per cent of expenditure. This, as announced more recently in the Budget, will involve an expansion of the numbers on the SES from approximately 10,000 to 15,000 per year.

Following from the issues raised under industry and services above, there is a clear need for the programmes supported in the human resources area to provide realistic opportunities for those who are unemployed to compete on favourable terms for any potential employment gains. This applies in general regardless of where the unemployed are living. Specific considerations do arise in relation to the development of specific labour markets. Over and above the need for substantial investment in programmes to overcome the existing educational disadvantages of many of the unemployed, training opportunities should be geared to likely local patterns of employment. In this general regard, the one measure specifically targeted on the long-term unemployed - the Social Employment Scheme - has recognised short-comings with respect to its educational and skill training components.

In making a more general assessment of the provisions for the long-term unemployed planned under the CSF it is necessary to emphasise that there seems to be a discrepancy between the thrust of the provisions being expanded in Ireland, namely the SES, and the guidelines concerning what actions should be supported under Priority Objective 3. Specifically, the guidelines governing the operation of the ESF indicate that priority should be given to measures which "*enable unemployed workers to move from their present situation to a high level of qualifications appropriate to the labour-market*" (quoted in CEC Staff Working Paper, Action to Combat Long-Term Unemployment, 1990, p.7).

In the past and as we now see, given the nature of planned provision in the area of human resources expenditure, limited attention has been given in Ireland to ensuring access by the long-term unemployed to high quality educational, training and re-training opportunities. In fact it is widely recognised that the long-term unemployed are under-represented in mainstream training provision (see Sexton, 1988). Given the structural nature of long-term unemployment, the failure to address this area will result in both the continued marginal labour market position of the long-term unemployed and their continued inability to compete on any equitable basis for new sources of employment arising in the context of improved economic circumstances (see Rajan and Walsh, 1988).

Given our analysis of the composition of unemployment in Tallaght in Chapter 3 and the likely pattern of future employment growth in the Dublin area indicated earlier, we would argue that urgent consideration needs to be given to the level and nature of education and training provision for the long-term unemployed. With the exception of the recently introduced Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme (VTOS) there is little indication of such provision within current plans.

2.2.4 Some More General Comments on The Potential of Measures Supported by Community Support Framework to Address Social and Economic Disadvantage

Despite some attempts to quantify the potential effects of the Single Market and the potential of increased structural Fund assistance for the country as a whole, the conclusions of the more technical economic efforts in this direction indicate considerable uncertainty. For example, O'Sullivan (1989) concludes his analysis of the likely macroeconomic effects as follows: "*The need for further research on the precise nature of the effects of 1992 is highlighted by the absence of specific knowledge of the timing and magnitude of the changes involved in the completion of the internal market. Consequently, the results presented in this section are subject to considerable uncertainty. It is clear that there will be a boost to external demand over the medium term as the internal market is completed. The extent to which the Irish economy will be able to avail of this will be better understood when we have more detailed knowledge of how*

1992 will actually come to pass" (p. 62). In this respect, we would all acknowledge that hindsight is considerably more accurate than foresight. However, as we noted earlier when discussing the potential of the reformed structural Funds (Section 2.1.6) there is a considerable body of opinion which indicates that given the limited scale of the resources being made available to assist the underdeveloped regions of the EC and the increasing emphasis on free market approaches to dealing with the problems of growth and employment in the EC, the effects on the peripheral and underdeveloped economies could be negative. This conclusion was echoed by the NESC on the basis of their analysis of the potential of the reformed structural Funds for Ireland: *"the Structural Funds, as currently constituted, will not be sufficient to create convergence, let alone establish equality in regional economic structures and incomes"* (p. 527, NESC, 1989).

What has this got to do with addressing the issue of the potential of the measures being supported under the CSF for Ireland to meet the development needs of Tallaght one might ask? At a practical level it points to the difficulties of providing straightforward answers to such a question. It also points to the need to adopt a slightly broader perspective which involves addressing how national policy in Ireland deals with the development needs of localities such as Tallaght. In this regard it must be noted that the social and economic conditions experienced by many of those living in Tallaght which are documented in the following chapter raise issues which are as much about the nature and effects of distributional policies in Ireland as they are about the potential of the structural Funds to assist convergence of growth rates in Ireland with those in the more developed regions of the EC. These issues which include income redistribution policies such as welfare and taxation policy, educational policy - particularly regarding the reduction of persisting inequalities - and housing policy, have been examined in a range of previous reports and papers and will not be addressed here (e.g., Rottman and O'Connell, 1982; Rottman et al., 1982; Breen, 1984; NESC, 1988; CMRS, 1988; CPA, 1988; Callan et al., 1989).

Moreover, as distributional issues at an intra - regional level are outside the scope of the objectives of the reformed structural Funds, one must note that regardless of whether the combined effects of the Single Market and the increased structural Funds are positive or negative for Ireland there still remains the issue of how such positive or negative effects will be distributed on a social basis within the country. Here it is important to note how the benefits of economic growth were socially distributed during the 1960s and how the costs of the recession were distributed during the 1980s (see Joyce and McCashin, 1982; CPA, 1988). In this regard, another of the conclusions reach by the NESC should be emphasised: *"Membership of the Community does not reduce the need for clear Irish policy aims and methods. In particular, membership of the Community does not diminish the need for a national ability to identify solutions to national problems - even where those solutions require Community action"*.

2.3 Preparing the NDP: Appraisal and Issues for the Future

The "history" of the procedures followed by the Irish government in the preparation of the NDP have been covered in a general way in a number of press reports. Many of the more general issues arising from this and their implications for both the role of community groups and the relevance and implications of the NDP and the CSF for their communities have been outlined in the recent publication "Whose Plan" (Community Workers Co-Operative, 1989)

and in a number of other commentaries on the process (e.g., Rosengrave, 1989). Issues which they have raised include: the continuing and possibly increasing trend toward centralised decision-making in matters of public policy in Ireland; the absence of local planning structures and the weakness of local authority structures as currently constituted; the implications of the spatial scales over which planning is typically undertaken in Ireland and the absence of an orientation toward and particularly support for local development approaches, including community development as a strategy; the lack of consultation and subsequent lack of consideration of input from community groups that made submissions during the time the NDP was being prepared; the absence of a tradition of "public participation"; and, the lack of provision of information regarding the process.

There is, however, a need to see the way the NDP was developed in the context of the guidelines for the preparation of such plans prepared by the Commission of the European Commission and the thrust and thinking behind the reform of the structural Funds. While there were a number of articles noting the Commission's dissatisfaction with the extent of local consultation in the case of the preparation of the NDP, much of this had to do with the absence of any structures at sub-regional level in Ireland. Moreover, it is arguable that there was any strong commitment to local participation particularly by community and voluntary groups, on the part of the Commission in the first instance. Support for this interpretation can be indicated in three ways:

- (i) the reform of the structural Funds in itself reduced opportunities for access to funds by local groups and organisations, particularly from the ESF;
- (ii) the Commissions own interpretation of "partnership", particularly the indications of whom it considers "partners" for the purposes of measures supporting structural actions (see Appendix 2 for details); and,
- (iii) some comments indicating the role of national governments: *"it is not for me or the Commission to tell the Irish Government how to organise its affairs, or its structure of government. It is a democratically elected Government. I do not approach this as if I am going to dictate to the Government how to organise itself in this particular matter"* (Bruce Millan, May, 1989, in Community Report, p.4).

The thrust of the argument here indicates that action both at the Community level and the national level is required if meaningful opportunities for partnership in relation to the structural Funds are to be achieved. Part of the bottom line here, however, is the absence of intermediary structures with the powers and resources to act in "partnership" with the government in Ireland. Another aspect relates to the role of community based groups in such partnerships.

The issues surrounding the above now need to be seen in the context of the provisions in the legislative basis governing the operation of the reformed structural Funds regarding:

- (i) revisions and adjustments to CSFs: *"The Community support framework may, if necessary, be revised and adjusted on the initiative of the Member State or of the Commission in agreement with the Member State, in light of relevant new information and of results obtained during implementation of the operations concerned"* (Article 8 Council Regulation, No. 2052/88); and,
- (ii) the procedures for monitoring CSFs (see Appendix 2).

Looking forward, the role and composition of the Regional Review Committees which are to be established as part of the required procedures to monitor the progress of actions supported by the structural Funds is particularly important. While commitments have been given regarding greater consultation with community based groups (e.g. Minister for Social Welfare, in Irish Times, 12-10-89), the nature, role and structures for such consultation have not been indicated. To date the most formal indication of the composition and role of these Review Committees is that they will be based on the previously established Working and Advisory Groups. The only significant change indicated is that each committee will designate its own Chairperson and Secretariat. The operation of these Committees will be funded from the EC allocation covering technical assistance.

Here one can only emphasise, in conclusion, that community based groups, operating as many of them do in localities experiencing a range of economic disadvantages, are well placed to monitor the achievements or otherwise of the actions being taken under the CSF in their own localities. In the absence of any formal commitment to their having a meaningful role in the monitoring of the CSF, it will undoubtedly be necessary to harness in an effective manner their own evaluations of actions in their own localities.

CHAPTER 3

Tallaght: The Social and Economic Situation and The Development Issues Arising

3.0 Introduction

The New Town of Tallaght was constructed at a time of increasing urbanisation and unprecedented population growth in the East region, particularly in the Greater Dublin area. The development of Tallaght was part of the response to these trends and it was intended that the New Town would contribute substantially toward meeting the social and economic needs of the large and predominantly young population which located there.

In this chapter we argue that the capacity of Tallaght to meet this objective was severely constrained by the failure to establish a single Planning or Development Authority to oversee the development of the New Town. In the absence of such an Authority, and the resultant division of responsibility between a range of statutory bodies, there was insufficient co-ordination within the development process to ensure the provision of the economic and social infrastructure necessary to sustain the well-being and identity of the New Town.

This inherent limitation in the development process was subsequently underscored by the economic downturn in the early years of Tallaght's growth. The sharp decline in employment and the restructuring of the labour market in the Greater Dublin area in combination with the demographic expansion within Tallaght led to high levels of unemployment being concentrated within the area. This process was also reinforced by aspects of housing policy. At present, one finds a high local unemployment rate existing side by side with a rapidly expanding youth labour force. In this regard, Tallaght today is a reflection of the national situation in the early 1980s.

Insufficient provision of economic and social infrastructure persists in Tallaght, as the discussion below indicates. In conjunction with the dramatic projected population growth over the coming years, these inadequacies will ensure, in the absence of effective and co-ordinated intervention, the on-going reproduction of disadvantage for the foreseeable future.

3.1 The Development of Tallaght

The development of Tallaght and the other Western New Towns of Blanchardstown and Clondalkin was based largely on a report (Wright, 1966) commissioned by the then Minister for Local Government. The 1972 Dublin County Development Plan adopted a slightly modified version of Wright's strategy and designed the three Western New Towns to cater for a projected total population of approximately 300,000, roughly 100,000 to each new town. These numbers would provide the "critical mass" level of population needed to sustain the type of social and economic infrastructure which would facilitate an adequate level of self-sufficiency and self-identity within the new areas. It was not anticipated however that the

new towns should become completely autonomous. They would rely at least in part on the social, cultural and economic infrastructure of the Greater Dublin area.

Within Tallaght a total of 4,500 acres of land was zoned for development of which 3,200 was for residential use. Between 1971 and 1988 over 16,000 new houses were constructed and, accordingly, the population increased from just over 6,000 to 70,000. The development of Tallaght New Town was one of the first undertakings of its kind in this country but in both Britain and Europe the concept of new towns had been implemented for several decades. Unlike the British and European experience however, where the development of the new towns was overseen by a single authority, Tallaght was designed and implemented without the benefit of a local development agency. Instead there was a division of responsibility between existing state agencies and statutory bodies whose administrative boundaries did not always coincide. (For Dublin County Council for example, Tallaght is part of the newly constituted Belgard County Area, for the Eastern Health Board it is included within Care Area 4, for the Department of Social Welfare it is administered as part of the postal district Dublin 24)⁷. In the absence of a central authority which could oversee its development in an integrated way, the development of Tallaght has been largely dependent on "*market forces, goodwill and persuasion*" (Redmond, 1985). Whatever about goodwill and persuasion, market forces proved insufficient for the task and currently social and commercial services and facilities are inadequate to meet the needs of the population. Tallaght is the country's fourth largest urban centre and has a population on a par with that of Limerick, yet it remains without a town centre, a third level institution or a hospital. Its retail sector is underdeveloped as are its leisure and recreational facilities. The deficiencies in these provisions have had sustained social and economic repercussions and in particular they have undermined the capacity of the new town to provide employment for its population.

The lack of a social and economic infrastructure has also undermined the areas capacity to alleviate the negative consequences of the post 1979 economic recession and restrictive public expenditure policies which have been pursued for most of the 1980s. Tallaght was initially planned during a period of comparative economic growth and the construction of housing within the area was paralleled by industrial policies which sought to introduce new industry to Tallaght and to attract established relocating industries. (The latter coming mainly from the inner city which was then experiencing a period of accelerated decline). The initial success of this industrial policy was not maintained and currently Tallaght's unemployment rate is higher than that of either Dublin city or county and the level of youth unemployment is a particular cause of concern. At present, these and related problems are being acutely experienced within Tallaght, particularly in certain parishes and estates notably, though not exclusively, those in West Tallaght.

We would note, however, that issues such as unemployment arise in a national and increasingly an international context and consequently it is inappropriate to consider the contemporary problems within Tallaght as belonging to or arising solely from the locality. Instead these issues must be recognised as the localised manifestation of processes occurring at a much wider level: their concentration in Tallaght reflects the presence there of large numbers of people from the social categories most acutely and negatively affected by economic change.

⁷In this report a Census based definition of Tallaght is used. This comprises the 13 Tallaght DEDs and two Firhouse DEDs in Dublin-Belgard. The boundaries of the Census DEDs were altered between the 1981 and 1986 Censii.

3.1.1 Previous Reports

The social and economic problems being experienced in Tallaght have been documented by previous reports and studies of the area. The main conclusions and recommendations of these reports are summarised and presented in Appendix 3. These studies have acknowledged the broad context in which problematic issues arise but have argued that their severity within such a relatively small area requires specific remedial measures targeted at the locality itself. The establishment - even at this late stage - of a central authority for Tallaght, which would facilitate the implementation and success of such measures is recommended by several of these reports.

In 1984 an investigation of the need for industrial employment in Tallaght and the potential of the area to stimulate and support such development was undertaken (Foley, 1984). Using the 1979 Census of Population, Foley estimated that 5,000 new jobs would be needed between 1983 and 1990 to cater for the projected increase in the numbers of school leavers alone. If unemployment were to be reduced, or job losses during the period to be countered, the figure would need to be much higher. Having regard to trends in public sector and services employment, this report argued that manufacturing industry would need to provide at least 2,000 of these jobs.

An analysis of the Tallaght Live Register indicated a large proportion of construction workers among the male unemployed, it was suggested that the provision of modern high technology industries would need to *"be backed up by an extensive training and retraining programme if a major impact is to be made on the level of unemployment"*. Given the young age profile of the Live Register identified by Foley (81 per cent were less than 40 years) this was felt to be a feasible objective. Recognising the lack of integration between the different development agencies dealing with the Dublin sub-region of which Tallaght is part, the report recommended greater co-operation, a comprehensive approach to planning and a separate IDA unit dealing with the Dublin sub-region or the County Council administrative area. While acknowledging that the problem of a growing labour force was not unique to Tallaght the report recommended that priority be given to the area.

In 1987 the report of the Tallaght COMTEC identified the educational, training and employment needs of young people (i.e. those aged 15 - 24) in the Tallaght area. The entire area covered by Tallaght COMTEC extended from Dundrum to Kimmage, but much of the material presented in the report differentiates between the Census definition of Tallaght and the rest of the COMTEC area. Using 1981 Census data, COMTEC had projected an increase of 213 per cent in the cohort aged 15 - 24 by 1996. A comparison with national figures reveals how unique the Tallaght population trends are: between 1986 and 1991 for example, the youth population of Tallaght was forecast to grow by 23 per cent, the national figure for the same period was just 4 per cent.

Counteracting the potential of such a young population were the high levels of youth unemployment (31 per cent of persons on the Live Register were under the age of 25), the low level of qualification of many school leavers (53 per cent with less than Leaving Cert. in 1985), the low uptake of post-school training schemes and the inequitable allocation of the Youth Levy funds to the Tallaght area. In regard to these and related issues, West Tallaght was found to be particularly hard hit. COMTEC proposed a range of recommendations to improve the educational, training and labour force position of young people. These included the immediate implementation of a major construction programme which would both provide social and economic infrastructure on completion and absorb the local (male) unemployed during construction, an active role for the State in the local economy to secure

the "radical new economic and industrial policies" needed for adequate levels of job creation, increased provision for youth training in the area including the appointment of additional personnel in agencies dealing with education, training and employment as well as specific measures to address the problem of young people leaving the school system, greater access to information for young people and direct exchequer funding to the local training and manpower agencies.

One year after COMTEC Ward and Bannon (1988) produced their Programme for Development of Tallaght. This report indicated that some aspects of the development process such as the provision of water and sewerage systems, road construction and housing had been satisfactory. Parks and recreational open spaces were in the process of being developed, and landscaping and tree planting programmes had been introduced. However, the provision of social, cultural and commercial facilities, it was argued, had not kept pace with the population growth and consequently transport, retail and recreational facilities were inadequate. Much basic commercial infrastructure was also missing. As with earlier reports, the authors noted the high level of unemployment generally and the concentration of social and economic disadvantages in West Tallaght. The authors also drew attention to the implications of local authority housing policy for certain areas within Tallaght and again particularly West Tallaght. Ward and Bannon recommended the drawing up of an investment plan for Tallaght, the designation of the area under the 1986 Urban Renewal Act and the establishment of a Tallaght Development Authority which would have comprehensive development powers and the backing of a public capital investment programme and which would be charged with completing Tallaght New Town by 1996.

Subsequent to the publication of the reports summarised above several of the main recommendations were acted upon. Most notably a separate IDA unit for Tallaght was established, a major construction programme is currently being implemented, additional personnel have been appointed to agencies dealing with education, training and youth employment and parts of Tallaght are now designated as tax incentive zones. These and other measures have been welcomed both as an indication that the problems of the area are being treated seriously and as important elements in counteracting those problems. Question marks remain however as to the capacity of these measures, on their own, to fully address the problems that currently exist and more importantly to intervene in the processes reproducing them. These and related issues are examined in more detail in Chapter 4, but here some points of a more general nature can be made.

First, the terms of reference of the reports outlined above specified a focus on Tallaght and its environs as a distinct locality and consequently the recommendations, for the most part, were targeted at the local level. But while geographically and to some extent socially, Tallaght can be marked off as a distinct entity, economically and politically this is not possible. Tallaght is not a closed labour market, nor a bounded community and neither does it exist in a policy vacuum. These points have implications regarding the most appropriate level or combination of levels at which to address the difficulties being experienced in Tallaght. The solution to problems experienced within Tallaght for example, may not lie solely in localised provision, but in securing changes in national policy (for example with regard to Social Welfare payments) and in measures to ensure access to opportunities (such as educational and employment) outside the area. Conversely the full benefit of measures implemented within the area may not accrue to local people, or to those currently most disadvantaged in Tallaght (see the discussion in Chapter 4 of local employment opportunities resulting from the construction programme).

Second, it is worth noting that research invariably indicates that while the scale of intervention in disadvantaged areas is important, sensitive targeting of resources is vital to ensuring maximum effectiveness. The fact that Tallaght is not socially homogeneous is a further issue here. The above reports indicate considerable internal variation in this regard including a marked concentration of disadvantage in certain neighbourhoods. Equality of access to new opportunities within Tallaght therefore is an important issue and the extent to which that equality is achieved will contribute greatly to the social consequences of any measures implemented in Tallaght.

3.1.2 Community Action in Tallaght

The negative consequences of social and economic change which are currently being experienced in Tallaght exist also in other localities including the other New Towns of Clondalkin and Blanchardstown as well as in older parts of the city. The coincidence of the development of Tallaght with the demographic and economic decline of the inner city has already been noted. Because the consequences of economic change impact dynamically with specifically local features, the experience of change and consequent disadvantage varies between different localities

One common response of disadvantaged localities has been the emergence of local groups and organisations seeking to play a role in tackling the problems of their communities. Self help and support groups, campaigning groups, local resource centres, and information and advice centres are among the forms of action that have emerged in disadvantaged localities and many individuals, families and communities have derived benefit from them. More recently, local groups and organisations have begun to work in partnership with government departments and state agencies in identifying areas of local need and delivering services and providing facilities. Official awareness of the potential of local action, however, is not always reflected in the willingness of state agencies and departments to respond with flexibility to the requirements of local groups or to provide them with a level of resources sufficient to effectively achieve their objectives. In consequence of the general underfunding of local initiatives and efforts, many local groups, while officially acknowledged as important elements in mediating social problems within their communities find themselves consistently overburdened as they struggle to spread their inadequate resources across the range of demands being placed on their services. Limited resourcing and the method of delivery of resources also inhibits the formation of cohesion and co-operation between local groups and organisations from different areas which would facilitate their addressing, in a concerted way, issues which require intervention at a national level.

Tallaght has experienced the emergence of a wide range of local groups and organisations involved in different forms of local action. A good number of these groups, such as those providing opportunities in the areas of sport, culture and the arts, are primarily concerned with improving the quality of life generally. The large number of youth groups in the area enjoy a higher than average level of support among young people there. In addition there are local groups and organisations which more specifically address the economic and social circumstances of the local population and either solely or more usually in conjunction with one or more statutory agencies provide services in the area of education, health advice and support, welfare information, and personal development.

Many of these local groups cater for specific estates or neighbourhoods, others provide services to the entire Tallaght area or to large parts of it. Tallaght Welfare Society (TWS),

for example, was established in 1969 in response to the needs of the growing population. It provides and facilitates a range of services to individuals, families and communities within the area. These include day care facilities, home help programmes and an advice and information centre. TWS also acts as a resource to other local groups and organisations. In 1986, with funding from the second European Poverty Programme it was instrumental in establishing the West Tallaght Resource Centre (WTRC).

Tallaght's high unemployment rate has also been the focus of local action (e.g. the Tallaght Centre for the Unemployed) and the use of community development models to create new forms of economic opportunity has been underway since the mid 1980s. In partnership with both the public and private sectors local action in Tallaght has been instrumental in establishing several innovative programmes and initiatives. The Tallaght Trust Fund for example has been established by the Get Tallaght Working Co-operative to improve the financial environment in which community enterprises operate. In 1988 over three and half thousand square feet of work space was developed - again by Get Tallaght Working - as a facility to support emerging projects in their early stages of development. There is also a high level of input from local groups in the Tallaght Integrated Area Development Programme, which had its origins in the Tallaght COMTEC. This programme aims to assist the development of new and existing businesses in Tallaght. It also seeks to play a role in assisting local jobseekers and facilitating community development.

Local action in Tallaght has made a considerable contribution to the well-being of the local population. Tallaght Welfare Society for example receives 35,000 requests for information each year and provides over 200 individuals and families with a Home Help service. Since 1985 the WTRC has been involved in the development of several local groups and has acted as a resource to many others. Local enterprise initiatives have also produced results and since the mid 1980s several co-operative enterprises have been established. In February 1988 there were eight local enterprise initiatives represented among the participants of a training programme run by the Irish Productivity Centre and funded by FAS. (Faughnan, 1989). As in other areas, such developments in Tallaght are seriously affected by the economic context in which they operate. Nevertheless local development continues to be an important element within general strategies to increase economic opportunities at a local level.

3.2 The Demographic Profile

As a result of the rapid expansion of Tallaght since 1971 and the predominance of young families among the population there are now quite distinct and unique population trends and patterns within the area. Between 1971 and 1981 the population of Tallaght (as it was then defined) increased by over 800 per cent from 6,174 to 56,608. By 1981, also, 45 per cent of the population was under the age of 15. The comparable figure for the state as a whole was 30 per cent. During the early 1980s the population continued to grow, though at a slower rate. By 1986 it totalled 69,095 persons. The unique demographic profile persists: 45 per cent of the population are under the age of 15, 70 per cent of heads of households are less than 40 years and in 65 per cent of family units all children are under the age of 15.

Within Tallaght itself, however, the patterns of population growth and structure have not been uniform. As development has occurred at different rates over a fifteen to twenty year period, there are differences in the age structure and household composition within the

different neighbourhoods. In some of the newer areas, particularly in West Tallaght, more than half the population is under the age of 15, over 80 per cent of household heads are under 40 years and in 80 per cent of family units all children are under 15 years. In contrast, in the more established neighbourhoods the figures are 32 per cent, 35 per cent and 18 per cent respectively (see figure 3.1 for summary and Tables 3.1A, 3.2A and 3.3A for details).

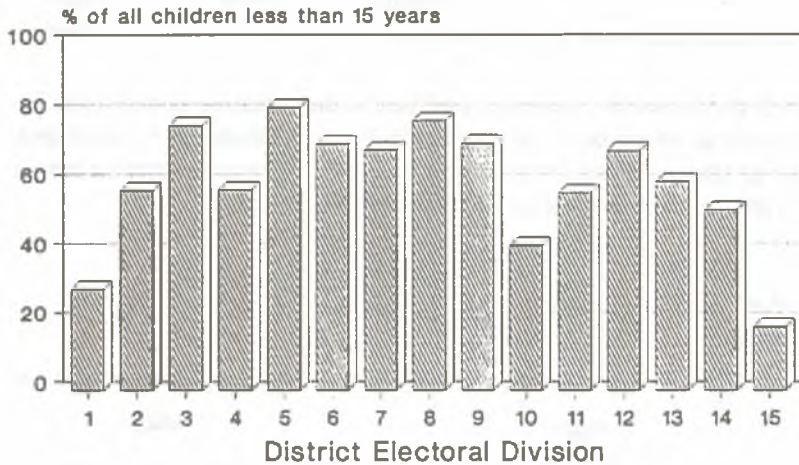


Figure 3.1 Proportion of Family Units where all Children are less than 15 Years by DED

Notwithstanding the degree of differentiation that exists within Tallaght, the overall figures - particularly in comparison with those for the city and county areas - highlight the predominance of young people and young families in the local population and indicates the continuing need for the development of the services and facilities which these will require.

3.2.1 Projected Population Growth

By 1996 the COMTEC report estimated that Tallaght would have a youth population of 19,600 and concluded that "Tallaght is facing a unique growth in its youth population which must be catered for now". Because of changes in the boundaries of certain district electoral divisions (DEDs) in Tallaght subsequent to the 1981 Census, direct comparisons between the 1986 and previous figures are difficult. On the basis of the 1986 data and assuming medium range migration (CSO, 1988) an increase in certain age cohorts on a par with that predicted by COMTEC is likely. The population cohort aged 15 - 24 years is set to increase by almost 55 per cent between 1986 and 1991. By 1996 it will have increased by over 130 per cent (i.e. from 8530 to 18952). Amongst younger cohorts the increase will be less dramatic and shorter lived, though nonetheless substantial. The cohort aged 10 - 14 will increase by 38 per cent by 1991 but will subsequently level off. The core school-going population (i.e. those aged 5 - 14 years), will increase by 11 per cent by 1991.

Table 3.1 Cohort Changes, 1986 - 1996

	0 - 4	5 - 9	10 - 14	15 - 19	20 - 24
1986	10602	11448	8284	4884	3647
1991		10602	11448	8284	4884
1996			10602	11448	8284

When this projected increase in the youth population within Tallaght is contrasted with the national pattern the full import of the demographic trends in Tallaght can be appreciated. Nationally, the cohorts aged 15 - 19 and 20 - 24 are set to decrease steadily over the coming years. In Tallaght, in contrast, they will increase sharply (see Table 3.2)

Table 3.2 Percentage Change in Youth Population Ireland and Tallaght, 1986 - 2001

	Ireland		Tallaght	
	15-19	20-24	15-19	20-24
1991	-1.8	-9.2	68.6	24.3
1996	-2.3	-11.3	131.6	109.6
2001	-9.9	-9.1	113.3	187.9

In contrast to the national situation where demand for second level educational provision will decrease in the future (Barber, 1989) the provision of educational and training facilities as well as employment opportunities will be key issues in Tallaght for some considerable time to come. In the case of education and particularly post-primary education, the implications of the increasing demand in Tallaght coinciding with a decrease in demand in the state generally will need careful consideration, particularly as decision-making in educational policy and provision is centralised and does not, in general, take account of local or regional variation (see section 3.5 below for fuller discussion). Moreover, the social context within which this demographic growth is taking place, and in particular the reproduction of disadvantage in certain parts of Tallaght as outlined below, suggests that intervention over and above the provision of educational facilities or employment opportunities will be needed if the full extent of contemporary disadvantage and its repercussions over the coming years are to be alleviated.

limited facilities

3.3 Housing, Class and the Localisation of Social Issues

The development of Tallaght coincided with rapid urban growth in the Greater Dublin area during the 1970s. Accompanying this growth was a greater coincidence of social class with place of residence. As different social classes concentrated in different areas, and major tracts of one class housing emerged, the social dichotomy became spatially evident (see Bannon, 1981). Inevitably within this process was the concentration, within certain localities, of the most disadvantaged classes with serious repercussions: *"one of the consequences of the spatial grouping of social characteristics is that areas become identified with problems and the mere presentation of a persons address maybe sufficient to categorise that person within a particular stratum of the urban milieu"* (ibid). While Tallaght contains a fair degree of social diversity, the results of the trends noted by Bannon are evident: sharp and spatially evident social divisions exist and there is large scale concentration of disadvantage in certain neighbourhoods.

3.3.1 Provision of Housing

The County of Dublin Draft Development Plan 1967 (drawn up in anticipation of the Wright Report) allocated 150 acres of land in Tallaght to residential development. Subsequently, the amount of land allocated to housing was increased to over 3,000 acres and currently of the eighteen neighbourhoods in the Tallaght area (excluding the village) all but four are residential (Beaumont, 1986).

Between 1971 and 1988 the number of houses in the area increased from 1,352 to just under 18,000. During the early and mid seventies both the public and private sectors were active in housing construction in the area. Private sector development provided opportunities for first time buyers to invest in relatively low cost homes. Public sector development was largely in response to the housing crisis in Dublin during the 1970s. In addition to those on the housing list (mainly young families), the population of some older, declining inner city communities were re-located to Tallaght. Following the decline in the property market private housing developers withdrew from the area but the construction of local authority housing, by Dublin Corporation and Dublin County Council, continued up until the late 1980s. (It is indicative of the lack of administrative integration within Tallaght that two Local Authorities are involved in housing construction.) Early housing development, largely by the private sector, was concentrated in the areas to the south and east of the old village. More recent development, which is predominantly in the public sector, has occurred in the more outlying and more physically and socially isolated areas to the West.

The pattern of development has for the most part followed a "neighbourhood" model based on the ideal of distinct, relatively self-contained neighbourhoods each of which would have its own commercial provision. The reality falls somewhat short of this. Several estates are severely underprovisioned in terms of the services and amenities required by the residents. This has forced a reliance on centralised provision - which itself is not great - and has led to problems of physical and cost access, particularly in the more out-lying estates. The development of the road system within Tallaght has, ironically, heightened the physical isolation of some of these estates.

3.3.1.1 Housing Quality

Because of the recent vintage of most housing the quality and condition of houses is generally not a problem. Typically, housing construction has been to a high standard and such research as has been done indicates satisfaction with housing on the part of residents (Beaumont, 1986). However in some local authority estates serious vandalism to vacant houses has become an issue (CODANS, 1987) and inadequate budgeting for housing maintenance has been criticised (Ward and Bannon, 1988). Other aspects of the built environment including planning and maintenance of grass verges, community facilities and public buildings, vary considerably in quality and finish between private and public developments.

3.3.2 Social Mix

The Local Authorities have been very active in housing development in Tallaght. Ten years ago 1000 new houses were being completed in the Tallaght area each year by Dublin County Council alone and Dublin Corporation had built close to 5,000 houses by 1986. In consequence of the very active involvement of the Local Authorities in housing construction there now exists what is considered to be a very unfavourable Local Authority / Private Sector mix. At present between 35 and 40 per cent of all housing in Tallaght is in the public sector. Such a high proportion of Local Authority housing in any area is considered socially disadvantageous and as it also acts as a disincentive to private developers this social mix is likely to persist. Within Tallaght the situation is confounded further by the fact that housing estates themselves tend to be either exclusively private or exclusively public. Estates with a mix of tenure type are the exception and as a result a very clear coincidence of social class and neighbourhood exists. Private estates are older, more established, more attractive environmentally and in general enjoy better facilities than public estates. The large scale concentration of local authority housing in West Tallaght in recent years has rendered even more visible this public/private dichotomy and contributed to the emergence of an east/west distinction within the area.

The uneven distribution of social classes within the area is indicated in Tables 3.4A and 3.5A. While overall Tallaght has fewer professional workers and more manual workers than either the city or county, within the area there is wide variation. The proportion of the workforce engaged in professional occupations ranges from over 30 per cent in the Belgard and Firhouse areas to less than 5 per cent in West Tallaght. Variation in the proportions of semi- and unskilled manual workers is just as great: ranging from less than 10 to over 40 per cent. The socio-economic status of heads of family units indicates an even starker profile of household variation (see Table 3.5A). In parts of West Tallaght close to 30 per cent of heads of family units are classified as either unskilled or semi-skilled compared with less than 5 per cent in other localities. (see Figure 3.2)

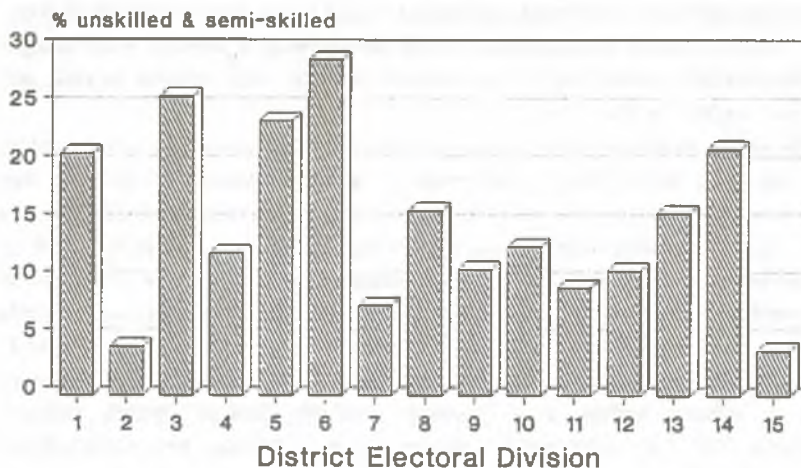


Figure 3.2 Proportions of Heads of Households who are Unskilled and Semi-Skilled by DED

3.3.3 The Concentration of Disadvantage

The high level of Local Authority involvement in housing construction in Tallaght and the resulting social mix is just one aspect of the contemporary trend toward a greater coincidence of social class and place of residence. As noted above, an increasingly visible process within the overall trends is the physical concentration and segregation of social classes. This is clearly evident in Tallaght. In certain neighbourhoods, as Tables 3.4A and 3.5A show, there is a predominance of working class, including unskilled, families. Certain other neighbourhoods, particularly though not exclusively in West Tallaght, are characterised by a high concentration of families experiencing multiple disadvantage, including families headed by unemployed, single or separated parents. The process whereby the most economically and socially marginal become concentrated in areas unattractive to those with access to alternatives - sometimes called "social drift" - is largely attributable to the interaction of aspects of housing policy, including allocation processes, and more general economic processes which create marginality in the labour market.

3.3.3.1 The Impact of Recent Housing Policy

A criticism often levelled at Irish public housing policy is the lack of a comprehensive framework within which specific measures can be devised. As a result the implementation of ad hoc measures and short term "solutions" can have unforeseen and negative repercussions (Threshold, 1987). For example the Surrender Grant scheme which was operated between 1984 and 1987 has had serious consequences in several local authority estates. (WTRC, 1986; CODANS, 1987; Threshold, 1987; Ward and Bannon, 1988; TTOS, 1989). This scheme encouraged those who were economically active to leave the local authority estates, thus

turning some of these into virtual ghettos of unemployment. In 1985 over 17 per cent of the families in certain West Tallaght estates had surrendered houses under the terms of the Grant scheme. All of these were families with at least one member working (WTRC, 1986). Subsequently, Dublin County Council (Community Department) identified neighbourhoods in which over one fifth of households had applied to avail of the Grant (CODANS Reports, 1987). These CODANS neighbourhoods, which include many of those in West Tallaght were characterised by high rates of unemployment, low pay, a high dependency ratio, and dependency on State welfare payments.

The current situation in regard to the concentration of unemployment is evidenced by 1986 census data. In the West Tallaght estates, in which the demand for the Grant was known to be high, unemployment now stands at well over 50 per cent. (see Table 3.6A and Figure 3.3.) Youth unemployment is also high in West Tallaght and over thirty percent of the youth labour force has never held a job. In addition over 60 per cent of all households are affected by unemployment. The impact of such high levels of unemployment extends beyond the individuals or families effected. Neighbourhoods in which unemployment is concentrated will have restricted local resource bases and consequently their capacity to provide or enhance facilities at a community level (for example through voluntary contributions to local schools etc) will be severely restricted. Likewise households with few resources will be limited in their ability to provide informal support for actions or initiatives within their communities. As a result of both these factors it is difficult for disadvantaged communities to generate the type of local response which could counterbalance the level of concentrated need which they experience.

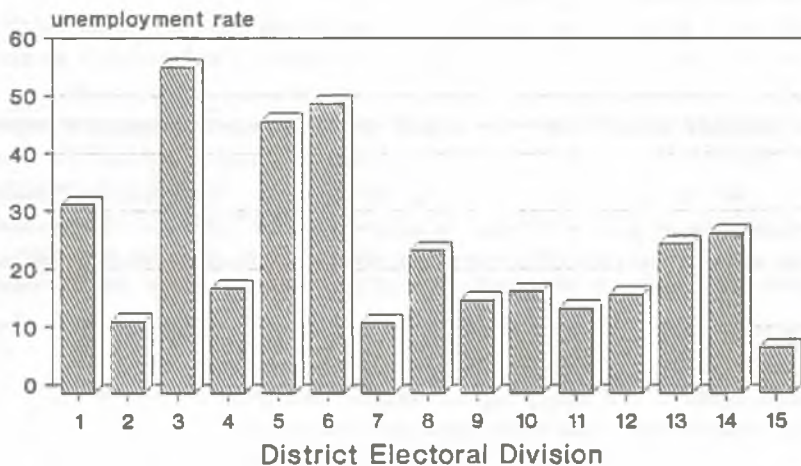


Figure 3.3. *Unemployment Rates by DED.*

3.3.3.2 Housing Allocation Processes

In consequence of the departure of the more financially secure families from certain public

estates, following the introduction of the Surrender Grant scheme, housing in these areas became available at a time when demand for Local Authority housing was low. As a result houses in these areas were allocated to certain extremely disadvantaged categories, such as one parent families (see CODANS, 1987; Threshold, 1987). Current Census data reveals the concentration of one parent families, most of which are headed by women, in these areas. (see Tables 3.7A and Figure 3.4).

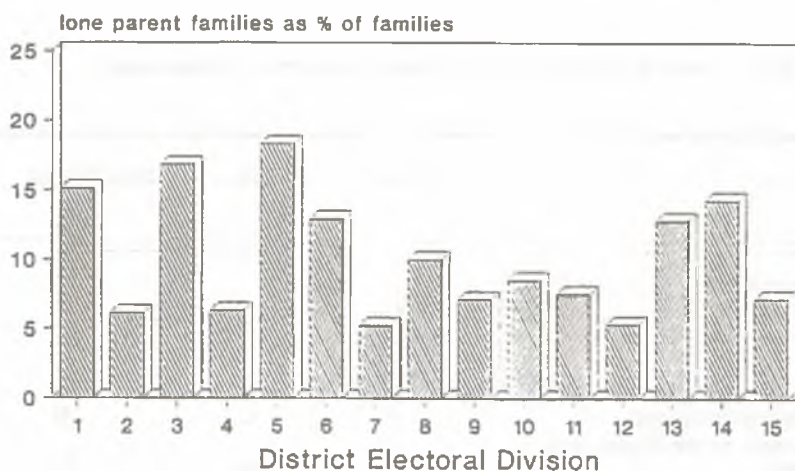


Figure 3.4 Distribution of Lone Parent Families by DED

High levels of single and separated parents within an area does not necessarily mean high levels of disadvantage. But given other factors - notably inadequate levels of income support, the relative absence of child care provision permitting access to training / employment, and the limited nature of employment opportunities per se - this is likely to be the case. In parts of West Tallaght the percentage of household heads returned as "separated" is at, or close to, 10 per cent. The incidence of lone parenthood including single, separated and widowed, is even higher, again particularly in West Tallaght, where one neighbourhood has almost one fifth of families headed by a lone parent.

3.3.3.3 Some Consequences of the Concentration of Disadvantage

This concentration of social and economic problems leads to a perceived 'ghettoization' of the neighbourhood which has the effect of reducing the demand for housing in these estates by those who can exercise choice and consequently the problems become ingrained. Localised concentration of unemployment and other forms of social and economic disadvantage very quickly produces its own dynamic, in many instances compounding that of the "originating" factors. The links between unemployment and mental and physical ill-health, on the part of both the unemployed and their families have been well documented (see WHO, 1985; Cullen et al, 1987). Those involved in the provision of psychiatric services

to the people of Tallaght are aware of higher than average morbidity rates in certain areas. The physical and social isolation of women rearing young children - often on their own - is a particular problem in some neighbourhoods. The relationships between high levels of social and economic disadvantage and young people at risk has also been clearly documented (e.g. Burke et al., 1981). The incidence of youth homelessness is greater in certain parts of Tallaght than in most other parts of the city (Social Work Group for the Homeless, 1988) and the incidence of juvenile involvement in crime is also high. Tallaght Juvenile Liaison Service deals with well over 100 new cases each year, and the numbers are steadily increasing. Table 3.3 below summaries some of these indicators.

Table 3.3 *Summary of some Indicators of the Concentration of Disadvantage*

	County	Tallaght	West Tallaght
% of families all kids < 15	47	65	77
% of seperated heads of household	*	5	10
% of households affected by unemployment	37	35	61
Labour Force Dependency Ratio	1.6	2.02	2.9
% of Labour Force classed as unskilled	4	7	15

* Data not available from published Census material.

At a more general level there is the risk of poverty within the area arising from the concentration of categories most vulnerable to poverty: the unemployed, families with several children and female single parents. (Callan et al 1989). It is worth noting also that employment per se is no guarantee of economic well-being. The concentration of low paid jobs among workers in parts of Tallaght (CODANS, 1988) and the links between low-pay and poverty (Blackwell et al., 1989) are specific aspects of disadvantage within the area.

3.3.4 The Travelling Community

While housing policy and housing allocation processes have been problematic for certain areas within Tallaght, one group remains marginal to mainstream housing developments. According to the 1986 Census of Population Tallaght has a traveller population of 208 individuals in 27 households. Because of the migrant nature of the travelling community, those figures can fluctuate considerably from time to time and at present it is estimated that there are closer to 50 travelling families living in Tallaght. About 20 of these families are living on three serviced halting sites in the area, the remaining thirty families are living in extreme conditions on the site of the proposed Regional Hospital. Despite some efforts to

provide houses for travellers in the area, a very small number of families have actually settled.

The travelling community present a very specific range of health, educational and social needs. The mortality rate among travelling children is three times that of the settled population. The needs of Tallaght's travellers, however, have not always been addressed by the wider development of the area. The programme of building construction, presently underway, has highlighted this, with the travellers being moved from site to site as the work progresses. Their previous uneasy relationship with the settled population has attenuated somewhat, but they remain very marginalised within the area. At present, there are in place, special classes for travelling children and self development courses for travelling women as well as health care and social work provision. Professionals providing educational, social work and health services to the travellers have recently formed a Community Care Group to co-ordinate their services and to identify the requirements of their clients. The severity of the travellers situation, their high mobility and their different traditions militate against the easy achievement of these objectives.

3.3.5 Future Housing Development

At present the population of Tallaght is approximately 75 per cent of the planned total population. Most neighbourhoods have reached their planned capacity but shortfalls exist in Fortunestown, Ballycragh and Brookfield and to a lesser extent in Jobstown. Several hundreds of acres of land are available for housing in Tallaght. A substantial proportion of this - close to Fortunestown - is in private hands. Dublin Corporation holds lands in Ballycragh and Brookfield and Dublin County Council also retains housing lands in the area. Currently, however, there is no Local Authority housing construction taking place.

In recent years the demand for public sector housing had fallen sharply. This is in contrast to the situation that existed previously. Given the age structure of Tallaght's population however, an increase in demand for housing is likely to re-emerge in the near future and already there is evidence of the re-emergence of housing lists. Additional local authority housing could also facilitate the establishment of family networks, especially in those neighbourhoods where social isolation is a recognised problem. Further housing development by the private sector could address aspects of the question of social mix in Tallaght overall. Given the contemporary trends in private housing development, including the favouring of the inner suburbs for infill development, incentives may be needed to attract private sector housing. Any further housing development, in either sector, would need to carefully consider the capacity of the area to sustain additional population. This was highlighted at a seminar on community development and related issues in Tallaght in September 1989, where local participants indicated their reluctance to see additional housing being constructed until that already in place was provided with adequate services and amenities. The problem of neighbourhoods experiencing multiple disadvantage needs particular attention in this regard. As we indicate below these require carefully targeted integrated development programmes encompassing employment provision, education and training, family support and provision for youth. Housing policy alone, while relevant, cannot address the level of need in these neighbourhoods.

3.4 Employment and Unemployment

At the time of its initial development it was envisaged that the new town of Tallaght, while continuing to depend on the economic infrastructure of the Greater Dublin Area would nevertheless enjoy a degree of self-sufficiency in terms of employment opportunities. Industry was to have figured prominently here and the policy of attracting new and relocating industry to the area was actively pursued with some success in the early years. With the subsequent decline in manufacturing employment in the city generally and in Tallaght, the capacity of industry to provide employment for the new town was severely curtailed. Between 1971 and 1985, despite the expansion of IDA investment in the Dublin area, 28,600 industrial jobs were lost in the Greater Dublin Area and the city's share of manufacturing industry fell from 42 per cent to under 30 per cent. During the 1970s this decline in industry was offset by employment growth in the public and private services sector, but since 1981 job losses in industry have been matched by losses in these other sectors. (DBIC, 1987).

Up until the mid 1970s Tallaght was a net beneficiary of the changing geographical base of manufacturing employment. Subsequently this gave way to an overall decline: between 1974 and 1983, 1,328 new industrial jobs were introduced to the area but there was an net loss of 245 jobs in manufacturing industry (see Foley, 1984). Industrial employment among women was particularly effected by this decline. Between 1976 and 1980 the share of manufacturing jobs in Tallaght held by women decreased from 51 per cent to 39 per cent (ibid). In consequence of the general decline in manufacturing industry and the failure of other sectors to offset this, neither the local nor the wider labour market have been able to cater for the employment needs of Tallaght and currently the unemployment rate is higher than that of the rest of Dublin county.

3.4.1 Present Employment Structure

The expansion in the size of Tallaght's population since the early seventies has been reflected in substantial increases in the size of its local labour force. Between 1971 and 1981 the Tallaght labour force increased from 3,048 to 17,391 (Ward and Bannon, 1988) and by 1986 there had been a further increase to 22,806. Of these 17,375 (77%) are in employment. Commercial and service employment is the largest single category among workers resident in Tallaght accounting for 36 per cent. Thirty one per cent are producers and makers with just 4 per cent classified as labourers and unskilled.

Not all of the jobs held by Tallaght residents are located in Tallaght though the exact pattern of movement into and out of the area for reasons of work is difficult to determine. An analysis of the 1981 census revealed 80 per cent of workers resident in Tallaght commuted to work. Preliminary analysis of the 1986 Census suggests that over 60 per cent of Tallaght workers are employed outside the area. Conversely, the 1981 analysis found only 31 per cent of jobs in Tallaght were held by local workers, and Foley's (1984) survey found less than 50 per cent of manufacturing jobs in the area were held by locals. It is not possible here to establish exactly what the position of Tallaght is vis a vis the wider labour market - though these figures clearly indicate the latter's significance - but it is important to note that both for understanding the context within which unemployment arises and for identifying an appropriate arena within which remedial measures can be implemented, the wider labour market is of particular relevance. Given the continuing growth in the Tallaght labour force over the coming years employment opportunities outside the area will continue to be important (See section 3.4.3 below). Access to these opportunities however will be heavily

dependent on access to the means to avail of them - principally education and training, with adequate and low cost transport also being of importance.

3.4.2 Current Unemployment

The rapid increase in the Tallaght labour force coinciding with the decline in employment both locally and in the east region generally have combined to produce levels of unemployment in Tallaght in excess of the national average and with a higher than average proportion of long-term unemployed. High rates of unemployment among young people are a particular cause of concern, and evidence suggests that within Tallaght youth unemployment is increasing at a faster rate than youth unemployment nationally and again the proportion of long-term unemployed among the young unemployed is in excess of the national figure (ibid) (see COMTEC, 1987)

Data from the 1986 census indicates continuing high levels of unemployment among the Tallaght labour force, particularly within certain areas and amongst certain occupational categories. Overall, unemployment in Tallaght is 23 per cent, 8 percentage points above the figure for Dublin County. In West Tallaght it exceeds 50 per cent. Live register data from Tallaght Employment exchange, which relates only to the Dublin 24 Postal district and therefore excludes parts of Tallaght suggests that unemployment has continued to increase since 1986. In January 1990 there were 5,828 people signing on in Tallaght Employment Exchange as against a figure of 5249, for the entire area, returned as unemployed in the Census.

Again according to the 1986 figures, in Tallaght as a whole close to one fifth of all households have no member in employment. In West Tallaght this rises to 40 per cent, with 61 per cent of households in this area having at least one member unemployed.

Nationally, the level of unemployment among the youth labour force at approximately 25 per cent is higher than that among the overall labour force. In Tallaght, the disparity is greater still: the overall youth unemployment rate is nearly 34 per cent. In West Tallaght the number of young people out of work is almost 60 per cent of the total youth labour force. In addition, within Tallaght, the proportion of the youth labour force who have never had a job is higher than the national figure and in West Tallaght 30 per cent of the youth labour force fall into this category.

This stark reality of large scale youth unemployment, comprising as it does large numbers who have never worked, and a higher than average proportion of long-term unemployed, presents a major challenge to efforts at job creation and training for employment. This is all the more so given the demographic context within which this situation arises. While in-migration has ceased over the last several years, the influx of young families prior to that will ensure that the youth labour force will continue to increase dramatically over the coming decades (see section 3.4.3).

3.4.2.1 Occupational Breakdown of the Unemployed

When the occupations of those currently out of work are examined the largest single category among unemployed men is "producers and makers". Almost 45 per cent are in this category, with an additional 18 per cent classified as labourers or unskilled. Among unemployed women, the largest single category is also "producers and makers" (30%) and an additional one quarter are clerical workers. The level of skill among the unemployed indicates on the one hand the type of job provision appropriate to those currently out of

work and on the other the type of training necessary to enable the unemployed to avail of job opportunities for which their present level of skill is insufficient or inappropriate. The large proportion of producers and makers among the unemployed suggests a workforce compatible with at least certain forms of manufacturing industry although new industrial processes may well be outside the scope of their experience and skills. The extent of clerical skills among unemployed women would seem to indicate a compatibility with office development although here too the introduction of new workplace technology has resulted in changing skill requirements in this sector.

In general, caution needs to be exercised in attempting to identify the type of employment creation needed on the basis of the skills of the unemployed. Previous reports have focussed on the high level of construction and related building skills, including labouring, among unemployed men and it has been suggested that a programme of construction for Tallaght would "*immediately diminish unemployment*" (COMTEC, 1987). The submission of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions to the Tallaght COMTEC however noted the traditional high level of worker mobility within the construction industry and the negative implications of this for the local labour force. The practice of sub-contracting aspects of building work also tends to decrease the extent of "new starts" which become available to local labour. Moreover, the requirements of the modern construction industry particularly in the area of non-residential pre-fabricated development are not always compatible with the work experience of unemployed labourers or other unskilled construction workers (see Chapter 4).

It should be noted, moreover, that the coincidence of skills held by the labour force with the requirements of newly created work opportunities does not guarantee employment. Other characteristics of the labour force including age, duration of unemployment, gender and address also operate as restrictive mechanisms within the labour market.

3.4.3 Projected Labour Force Growth

The substantial increase in Tallaght's labour force between 1971 and 1981 was due primarily to an influx of workers corresponding with the peak period of housing construction. As housing construction has now virtually ceased and, assuming no significant increase in labour force participation rates, a net increase in the adult labour force (over and above that which occurs through the natural ageing of the present labour force) is unlikely. Over the coming years therefore growth in the labour force will derive from school leavers coming onto the job market. Because of the demographic profile of the area and the projected increase in the cohorts from which the youth labour force is drawn, this growth will be substantial. Table 3.2 above has presented figures for the relevant cohort increases up to the year 2001. The cohort aged 15 - 24, from which the youth labour force is drawn is set to increase from a 1986 figure of 8530 to 20,909 by the year 2001. On the basis of labour force participation rates of 55.8 per cent for males and 46.3 per cent for females (Labour Force Survey, 1988), the following Table gives the estimated growth in the youth labour force up till 2001.

Table 3.4. *Projected Growth in Youth Labour Force 1986 - 2001*

1986	1991	1996	2001
5052	6539	9705	10726

By 1996 the youth labour force will have increased by over 90 per cent. By 2001, there will be over ten and a half thousand young people in the labour force in Tallaght. Growth of this magnitude calls for the implementation of special measures if the current high levels of unemployment are not to persist and become even more entrenched in future years. At present almost one third of the youth labour force is unemployed and 40 per cent (641) of these are young people who have never worked. If these trends were to be repeated over the coming years, by 2001 there would be over 3,500 unemployed young people in Tallaght, of whom over 1,400 would be first time job seekers. A rate of emigration higher than allowed for in these calculations would have a dampening down effect on these figures. Nevertheless it is clear that very substantial employment needs will be experienced in Tallaght. It is extremely unlikely that the sort of job provision needed to cater for these needs could be met solely within the area. Clearly the wider Dublin labour market will have a role to play. Given the location of Tallaght and the comparatively low rate of car ownership among the population an efficient and cheap public transport system has key relevance. Regardless of location however new job opportunities will be of little benefit to Tallaght workers, if because of the lack of educational and training qualifications, they are denied access to them. This is examined in the following section.

3.5 Education

The allocation of occupational positions and individual access to employment opportunities in Ireland has become increasingly structured by the formal educational system and the possession of educational credentials (see Breen et al., 1990). The most important factors which have contributed to this situation are the persistence of educational inequalities despite increased participation in post-primary education and the structural changes in the Irish economy which occurred in the late sixties and seventies which have resulted in a sharp contraction in the number of unskilled and low skilled jobs available. The relationship between educational achievement and employment opportunity is not simply a pairing off of levels of attainment with job requirements. An additional consequence of the factors noted above has been the "credential effect" - or qualification inflation - whereby certified academic achievement operates as a selective mechanism within the labour market, effectively marginalising those with limited qualifications. The fact that the level of educational attainment necessary to successfully enter the job market reflects such selection processes rather than the actual skill content of the jobs themselves, does not alter the significance of this process for those who, because of limited qualifications or certifiable skills, are negatively affected by it.

Neither has the increased participation in education which followed the introduction of

free post-primary provision led to a more meritocratic system. In place of a leveling out of social differences through greater equality of access to and experience of the formal educational system, the system itself has now come to function as the main mechanism through which the class structure is reproduced. (Whelan and Whelan, 1984). Social class background mediates access to and participation in education in terms of duration, (Whelan and Whelan, 1984; Breen, 1983), sector attended (Whelan and Whelan, 1983, Clancy, 1982) curriculum provided (Breen, 1986) and transfer rates to third level (Clancy, 1982, 1988). Overall, studies show that children from manual backgrounds and particularly those from unskilled and semi-skilled backgrounds are less likely than their counterparts from other social backgrounds to complete the post-primary junior cycle, to make the transition from junior to senior cycle or to transfer to higher or third level education.

When these structural inequalities in the educational system are mapped onto the contemporary socio-economic situation in Tallaght, the processes at work in reproducing educational disadvantage can be explored. Within Tallaght at present one can identify three contextual factors, which in conjunction with the structuration within the education - labour market relationship, will, if left unaddressed, contribute to the on-going reproduction of educational inequality and disadvantage.

First there is the social class composition of the population and the demographic correlates of this: of the 30,404 children under the age of 15 recorded in the 1986 Census, almost 19,000 are from manual backgrounds and of these almost 8,000 are from semi and unskilled backgrounds. Given the relationship between social class and education, large numbers of children will be coming on stream, whose experience of and access to formal education will be insufficient to ensure their favourable entry into the labour market.

Second, the social context in which these cohorts are growing up is not conducive to counteracting the inequalities inherent in the formal system of education. Among the adult population of Tallaght, there is evidence of considerably lower rates of participation in education, and earlier school leaving than is the case nationally (see section 3.5.7.1 below). When the young age profile of the adult population is taken into account, this is a very significant feature. The concentration of low educational attainment in areas of compound disadvantage if unaddressed tends to reproduce itself via unsupportive attitudes towards education and a low evaluation of participation in education.

Third, high rates of unemployment, both within Tallaght and in the wider area, while tending to deflate in absolute terms, the value of educational credentials will nonetheless ensure that selective labour market mechanisms based on educational attainment will persist, thus ensuring that those with poor educational qualifications will continue to be marginalised.

Against this background, the provision of educational facilities within the formal school system, while necessary, will not be sufficient to meet the full range of educational needs within the area. A broad range of interventionary measures at both the local (in terms of provision, special programmes, target categories etc) and national (to address structural inequality) levels is needed to redress the educational disadvantage being experienced in areas such as Tallaght. However, given the demographic projections already examined educational provision will be critical over the coming years. The implications of this in a context where the demand for educational provision nationally is falling and where decisions regarding education are made centrally will need to be carefully considered. Again in this regard the need arises for effective local measures to complement more broadly based national provision.

3.5.1 Pre-School Education

In 1986 there were 9,500 children under the age of four living in Tallaght. At least one quarter of these would be eligible for pre-school enrollment. Currently there are approximately 63 playgroups in the area and these experience serious problems of funding. Only a very small proportion of children therefore have access to pre-school facilities. Some improvement in this situation should occur with the introduction by Barnados of an innovative pre-school programme particularly designed to cater for disadvantaged children. Educational provision for pre-school children is often regarded more as a facility for parents, particularly mothers, than a service to children. While there is some debate as to whether the beneficial effects of early education derive from its compensating for negative factors operating in the home and/or community or from its ability to actually develop a child's capacity for learning, there is a general acceptance that pre-school education can be a positive experience for young children.

3.5.2 Primary Provision

There are 32 primary schools in the Tallaght area with a total enrollment of 15272 (Department of Education, 1989). There are over 23,000 children between 5 and 14 years of age living in Tallaght. Assuming these are equally distributed across the age range there are in excess of 18,000 5 to 12 year olds in the area. This suggests that there is under-provision in primary education. It is reasonable that some children living in the area would travel to schools elsewhere, and in some of the older estates, the numbers attending primary schools are already declining as the age structure of the neighbourhood population increases. In the newer areas however the numbers of primary school going children are set to rise for the foreseeable future. For example in West Tallaght there were 5173 children between 5 and 14 in 1986. By 1991 this will have increased to 6320. Similar increases in the school going cohort and discrepancies between the size of the school going population and educational provision will arise also in other areas.

This raises the issue of primary educational provision generally as well as in relation to the areas of projected growth. Enrolment at schools within Tallaght but outside the neighbourhood of residence may be an option as demand falls in some neighbourhoods and rises in others. Given that a large proportion of the children growing up in Tallaght are from very disadvantaged neighbourhoods, their enrollment in schools in other parts of the area may be hampered by the physical practicalities, transport difficulties and financial costs involved. In this regard also the capacity of parents in such disadvantaged areas to offset the cut backs in education through financial contributions to primary schools is a relevant issue.

3.5.3 Post Primary Provision

Present post-primary provision in Tallaght consists of 7 Community schools and two Vocational Schools - one located in Firhouse and one in temporary accommodation in Brookfield pending the construction of its own premises in Jobstown. Schools in adjoining areas such as Templeogue and Greenhills, are also used by Tallaght residents. During the early 1980s, the numbers entering second level schools serving the Tallaght area increased, as did the numbers sitting for State examinations in these schools. Between 1982 and 1985 there was an increase of 55 per cent in the numbers entering second level education. Increases in the numbers taking the Group, Intermediate and Leaving Certificates were 47

per cent, 26 per cent and 18 per cent respectively. (COMTEC, 1987). The demographic projections already examined will ensure that this increase in demand for places in second-level schools within Tallaght will continue. Whereas nationally, the school going population between the ages 10 - 14 is set to decrease between 1986 and 1996, in Tallaght it will increase by 36 per cent. This rapid growth in the Tallaght school population, counter to the national trend, calls for special consideration for the area within educational policy and provision.

While provision of second level places will be essential in meeting the demands of the population over the coming years, provision alone cannot address all the educational issues currently pertaining to Tallaght. Coinciding with the increase in entry to second level and participation in state examinations identified by COMTEC is a significant pattern of early school leaving. In 1985 over half of all school leavers in the schools looked at by COMTEC had less than Leaving Certificate qualification and 13 per cent (300) had left the school system with no formal qualification. This is approximately double the national figure of 7 per cent and represents a significant problem within Tallaght.

3.5.4 The Problem of Early School-Leaving

Given the contraction in the availability of low and unskilled jobs and the credentialism in relation to educational qualifications which currently exists, the likelihood of early school leavers securing employment is severely restricted. Consequently early school leavers and those who leave with minimum qualifications are at a greater risk of experiencing unemployment and unemployment of long duration. It is not possible on the basis of the Census material currently available to determine the educational achievement of the 2644 young people in Tallaght who were unemployed in 1986. However, COMTEC's survey of those signing on at Tallaght Labour Exchange found 79 per cent of those under 25 had less than Leaving Certificate qualifications, and 40 per cent had no formal educational qualification. For those aged between 15 and 17 who were not included on the Live Register but were registered with the National Manpower Service, the respective figures were 93 and 37 per cent.

3.5.5 Youth Training Programmes

Post-school training provision has come to play an increasingly significant, though sometimes questionable role (e.g., Fiddy, 1983) in redressing the educational and labour market disadvantages of early school leavers. The major responsibility for providing post-school training lies with FAS. This responsibility is discharged through a range of schemes and programmes including the recently introduced Youthreach programme, which is jointly operated with the Department of Education and delivered by the Vocational Education Committee (VEC). The Department of Education is also responsible for running in-school vocational preparation programmes.

3.5.5.1 In-School Vocational Training

The Vocational Preparation Training Programme (VPTP) was introduced by the Department of Education to cater for young people between the ages of 15-18 who, having completed their compulsory education, wish to equip themselves for employment. The programme was designed as a one-year full-time preparation for work, but in 1985 was extended to two years. In that year it was noted that just over half the second level schools in

and around Tallaght were participating in the VPTP. Between them these schools offered close to 300 places, of which 80 per cent were taken up by trainees. There was a course completion rate of 74 per cent. (COMTEC, 1987).

3.5.5.2 Post-School Provision

Currently, post-school training in Tallaght is provided by FAS at its training centre in Cookstown, or through its external training units. In the current year approximately 940 training course and 140 apprenticeship places will be available at the Cookstown Centre. Externally there will be provision for close to 500 places on a range of schemes and programmes, of which 140 are Social Employment Scheme places. This includes 120 places in training programmes, 60 places in Community Training Workshops (including one with a capacity for 20 travellers), 48 under the Tallaght Integrated Area Development Programme and 61 Teamwork places. Of the above, provision under the Teamwork programme is specifically aimed at young people. In addition, FAS in conjunction with the VEC and the Department of Education is responsible for delivering the Youthreach programme in Tallaght. Provision in Tallaght under this programme, which aims to retain vulnerable young people within the formal educational system, comprises 50 places.

It is not possible to indicate the proportion of those receiving training who actually live in Tallaght. Estimates from FAS personnel indicate that the proportions of local involvement are close to 100 per cent on some courses. COMTEC, however, found that just 38 per cent of young people trained internally in Tallaght were from the Tallaght COMTEC area. That same report suggested that in the region of 800 training places were needed annually to cater for early school leavers alone. While current provision falls far short of that figure it must be pointed out that in regard to certain courses and programmes the availability of places exceeds demand. The demographic, employment and educational situation in Tallaght suggests that there are factors other than the absence of need, at work in deterring those eligible for training places from availing of provision.

3.5.6 Young People at Risk

The disadvantaged position in which young people with low levels of educational attainment and little prospect of securing employment find themselves is well recognised. The links between early school leaving and/or alienation from the formal educational system and involvement in activities which are personally and socially damaging have also been established (Burke et al. 1981, Murphy-Lawless, 1985). Within Tallaght the Juvenile Liaison Service, engages in preventative work with young people at risk, through befriending them and encouraging them to avoid criminal activity. Although the brief of the JLS incorporates both potential and first time offenders, the work load necessitates priority being given to actual offenders. Even at that, well over one hundred new cases are handled each year. In 1988 close to 130 new cases were dealt with.

Table 3.5 *Characteristics of the Youth Population.*

	County	Tallaght	West Tallaght
% of Population < 15	32	44	52
% of those < 18 Completed Education	15	26	36
Youth Unemployment Rate & of Youth Labour Force	24	33	59
Seeking First Job	10	13	30

A closer look at the concentration of youth unemployment and low participation rates in education will allow the spatial distribution of severe youth disadvantage (and therefore risk) to become clearer. Because Census data is largely available only by DED (which in Tallaght roughly corresponds to a Parish) it is not possible to map out the concentration of youth disadvantage on a neighbourhood or estate basis, which given the peer-group dynamic among youth at risk, would be the most meaningful level on which to focus. However even at the more aggregate level the extent and spatial distribution of disadvantaged youth is clear. Seven of the 15 Tallaght DEDs included here rated higher than average on a range of indices related to youth disadvantage. These were (a) the proportion of young people within the DED coming from semi and unskilled backgrounds, (and therefore at risk of early school leaving) (b) the level of marital breakdown and lone parenthood, (c) the level of unemployment and youth unemployment and (d) the proportion of young people aged 16 and under whose full-time education had ceased. (See Table 3.6).

Crude figures such as these can do no more than indicate that there exists within certain areas of Tallaght the type of social conditions associated with young peoples vulnerability to socially and personally destructive behaviour. The prevalence of such social conditions does not determine young peoples involvement in these forms of behaviour. Nevertheless the concentration of problems highlights areas of immense need in terms of provision for youth.

It was in recognition of this that in 1988 the brief of the Tallaght Youth Service was broadened to include young people at risk. The TYS subsequently organised professionally run programmes for such young people.. These are short term programmes, based on activities geared towards developing the self-confidence of the young people and "pulling them back from the margins". The Youthreach programme, as noted overleaf, is also aimed at young people in danger of being marginalised. Clearly, given the scale of the problem of disadvantaged youth within the area, considerably more resources will be needed to tackle the problem. At the very least there is a need to establish the type of programmes already in place in a limited way, on a permanent basis and to extend them to all of the disadvantaged areas of Tallaght where elements of the youth population are at risk.

Table 3.6 Spatial Concentration of Indicators Associated with Disadvantaged Young People

DED Number	% of Pop < 15	% of Labour Force, Semi Unskilled	% Separated Parents	% Lone Parents	% Overall Unemployment ³	% Youth Unemployment	% 16 & < not in formal education
1	32.5	20.9	6.7	15.1	32.6	32.9	21.5
3	51.9	25.8	10.5	16.8	56.4	61.6	28.5
5	52.8	23.7	10.6	18.3	47.0	48.5	22.8
6	51.9	29.0	8.0	12.9	50.1	57.8	23.8
8	46.9	16.0	6.4	10.0	24.6	40.9	26.3

3.5.7. Adult Education

In recent years there has been an increase in awareness of the value of adult education. Such education can counter the personally damaging effects of unemployment and deprivation generally as well as increasing the chances, particularly among women of re-entry to the labour force. Over and above its relevance for employment, adult education can contribute positively to the quality of life at both individual and community levels. In addition, adult education and particularly community based provision can enhance the overall educational climate of a locality with obvious benefits to the young. Unfortunately awareness of the value of adult education is not matched by effective resourcing and currently adult education operates on the margins of the educational system. Just .16 per cent of the total Education Budget is allocated to adult education and throughout the country there are just 43 Adult Education Organisers employed. Because adult education operates with minimal subsidies most courses are provided on a fee-paying basis and consequently provision is mainly availed of by those who have the resources to pay.

3.5.7.1 Adult Education Provision

The bulk of adult education provision in Tallaght is delivered by the VEC and one of the 43 Adult Education Officers is based in Tallaght with a brief to organise and promote adult education in the Western suburbs. VEC involvement in adult education in Tallaght falls broadly into five categories; the mainstream evening courses run in the community schools providing leisure / hobby type courses with some Leaving Certificate subjects and word-processing; day-time courses, providing English and Maths within community venues with teaching and other support provided by the VEC; courses in a range of subjects, run by Tallaght Adult and Community Training with support from the VEC; day and evening classes and personal tuition in literacy. Despite the non-availability of creches on some of these courses, women make up the greater proportion of those availing of them.

The VEC is also involved in implementing the Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme (VTOS) previously the Educational Opportunity Services (EOS). This programme was piloted in Tallaght and has now been extended to other centres throughout the country. The programme is aimed at the long term unemployed who are over 21 years of age. The objective is to improve overall educational achievement and increase the likelihood of re-

employment. Participants sign off the live register and an equivalent rate plus a food and travel allowance is paid to them via the VEC. At present, there are 13 VTOS places in Tallaght, each course runs for one year and participants have the option of a second year. In contrast to other forms of adult education provision, and reflecting, largely the Live Register eligibility criterion, the majority of participants on VTOS are men.

3.5.7.2 Adult education and Employment

At present in Tallaght unemployment rates are highest among the youth labour force, but it is those aged 25 to 44 who form the bulk of the unemployed. In 1986 3118 people in this age group were unemployed, or 61.3 per cent of all unemployed in the area. Census data on the educational attainment of the unemployed is not available, but some indication of the situation is revealed by the fact that over 50 per cent of all those in Tallaght who have completed their education did so before 16 years of age. The comparable figure for the total county area is 30 per cent. Likewise the COMTEC survey of the unemployed found 87 per cent of those over the age of 25 had less than Leaving Certificate qualifications and 65 per cent had no formal educational qualification. The need for a broad range of adult education provision to cater for the educational and potential employment requirements of the Tallaght population is clear. Adequate subsidisation of such provision is necessary if it is to be accessed by those whose needs are greatest. The establishment of the RTC in Tallaght provides an opportunity to carefully assess its potential contribution to meeting the adult educational needs of the local community.

3.6 Social Provision within Tallaght

The discussion so far has attempted to highlight the main parameters of the on-going development of Tallaght. Features of the contemporary situation and their implications for the future well-being of the area have been discussed. These include: the lack of planning for Tallaght, the absence of an independent authority or agency to oversee the administration and development of the area, the unbalanced population structure with its large proportion of young families and young people, segregated housing development with large tracts of one-class housing and concentrations of disadvantage, high rates of unemployment, youth unemployment, long term unemployment and dependency on state transfer payments and the various aspects of youth educational disadvantage which are not being offset by post-school training or adult education provision. These issues represent the existence of large scale, entrenched and *immediate* need within the area, which, given the demographic profile will become even more entrenched over the coming years if effective interventions are not implemented. Alongside these aspects of disadvantage there exists also a range of social needs which affect the overall well-being of the population of Tallaght and the quality of life of people there. Below we examine some aspects of life in Tallaght which affect the overall level of social cohesion, both internally and relative to the wider environs. The objective here is to identify, under a range of headings, the level of social need which currently exists in the area.

3.6.1 Provision of Health Facilities and Services

The age structure of a population is a major determinant of the level and type of health

services and provision it will require. Tallaght has over 13,500 family units 65 per cent of which all children are under the age of 15 years. The predominance of young families indicates a need for health service provision geared towards the requirements of young children and young adults. Ideally such a service would be preventive in orientation and given the combination of low incomes and low educational attainment among many parents, would be directed towards informing and supporting parents in both preventing and dealing with health problems. Health provision in an area such as Tallaght should also reflect the requirements which the type of social problems being experienced there give rise to.

The Eastern Health Board is responsible for the provision of Health care facilities in the area. In the absence of hospital facilities, health services are provided mainly through Health Centres at three locations within Tallaght. The services provided at these centres include children's health clinics, speech therapy, psychiatric clinics, public health nursing, drugs counselling and advice directed towards deprived families. There are also services provided by the Eastern Health Board in conjunction with voluntary agencies including special classes for travelling children, community nursing services, day centres for the elderly and child guidance centres. There remains, however, a shortfall between the services that are provided and the requirements of the local population.

Location of general health services, cost access and the hours during which health services are provided have all been identified as problematic (see Beaumont 1986). Dental health provision was also identified as inadequate (ibid). Provision in the area of mental health also falls short of what is required. Despite high morbidity rates, Tallaght has a lower than average rate of admission to psychiatric in-patient care, due in part to a commitment to community care on the part of psychiatric personnel operating in the area (Good Practices in Mental Health In Tallaght, 1986). There is however little provision for those whose needs are best met by care outside the hospital setting or who require residential after care (ibid).

Cut backs in the overall Health budget have worsened the overall health care situation in Tallaght, particularly in the area of community care and there has been a deterioration of this service. The consequences of this, plus the under-funding of back-up services, have been serious for sections of the Tallaght population (TTOS, 1989). As in many other areas of life within Tallaght, the gap in state provision has been partially bridged by the voluntary sector and, as already noted, several local groups provide information and advice on health matters and/or services and support.

3.6.2 Social Welfare

At the end of January 1990 there were a total of 5,828 people signing on at Tallaght Labour Exchange. (In some parts of Tallaght, the unemployed must sign on at centres outside the area). In 1986, over one third of all households in the area were affected by unemployment and almost one fifth were totally dependent on social welfare payments. In West Tallaght over 40 per cent of families were dependent on social welfare (Census of Population, 1986) and over 70 per cent of principle earners were dependent on some form of state transfer payment. (CODANS, 1987).

Despite the large number of people dependent on social welfare payments, the services to facilitate access to information and to centres of payment remain inadequate. Lack of information regarding welfare and other state entitlements has been identified as an issue for many people. Again here local groups have responded and among other forms of local initiatives community based advice centres, staffed voluntarily by local people, provide

information on health and social welfare benefits (TTOS, 1989). Because of the administrative arrangements for the Tallaght area, people seeking information on social welfare issues must, if their query cannot be dealt with locally, make several trips to a range of departments and authorities. Currently plans are in hand for a social welfare office on the town centre site which would act as a labour exchange, information centre and job agency. To date work has not begun on this.

Access to information regarding entitlements and facilities to allow payments to be made locally can reduce the hardship experienced by people dependent on state benefits. Such measures are but a small element in addressing the problem of social welfare dependency within the area. The basic inadequacy of social welfare payments (Commission on Social Welfare, 1986) and the high risk of poverty which results from that is the major factor here (Callan et al, 1989).

3.6.3 Information

Access to information of a more general nature and from accessible sources is a vital resource both for people and for community based groups seeking a role in the development of their communities. For example, the COMTEC Report (1987) had identified lack of access to information as a factor in the low take up rate of places on youth training schemes and recommended that all such places be advertised in the local as well as the national media. At the moment local commercial media in Tallaght is limited to a monthly newspaper and a daily page in a national evening paper. Many local groups however publish their own newsletters as does the local Community Department of Dublin County Council. Other centralised sources of information, for example public libraries, form a very important part of local infrastructure. Tallaght, at present, is served by a district library at Castletymon, a small library in the village and a mobile library service in West Tallaght. The success of the Castletymon district library has led to calls for a similar facility to be provided for West Tallaght. It had been intended that the Town Centre would include a modern, fully equipped library, capable of fulfilling a variety of functions for the people of Tallaght. The incorporation of the library would have combined the public and private sectors in provisioning facilities within the Town Centre and would have enhanced greatly the non-commercial aspect of the Centre. The first phase of building now under construction has no provision for such a facility.

3.6.4 Social and Commercial Facilities

The Wright Report (1967) advocated a large degree of self-sufficiency in terms of both employment and social provision for the Western New Towns. The 1983 Development Plan subsequently explicitly specified the service provision required by the "neighbourhood communities" within the new towns. Each neighbourhood (with an ideal maximum population of 5,000) should include "a primary school, church, local shopping and commercial facilities, sites for a community centre and youth club and a local park" (Development Plan, 1983). These services were to complement the centralised provision of a town centre, sports facilities and libraries.

All neighbourhoods now have primary schools and several have second level provision. Most neighbourhoods have churches and youth clubs and all but the very newest have community centres and sports facilities. The provision of shopping and commercial facilities

by private development has been uneven and inadequate, however. Centralised provision via the Town Centre, although proposed as far back as 1967, has only recently come under construction. The delay has deprived the area of a focal point and undermined its self-identity as well as minimising competition in the retail sector and reducing the opportunities for local employment.

3.6.4.1 Shopping

Delay in building the Town Centre has meant that centralised retail provision within the area is inadequate to meet the needs of the population. At present there are in the region of 35 retail outlets in Tallaght Village. The under provision which this represents is evidenced by the fact that the proposed Town Centre will add a further 60 small units as well as 8 major stores ranging in size from 30,000 to 80,000 sq. ft.

Localised shopping facilities consist mainly of "neighbourhood centres". These comprise for the most part clusters of small retail units and mini-market type stores. Some of these neighbourhood centres are characterised by poor design and inadequate maintenance and in general the centres have not been developed as planned (Ward and Bannon, 1988). Three of the newer local authority estates, two of them in West Tallaght, do not yet have this neighbourhood retail provision, although these are planned. One of these estates also lacks a community centre and sports facility. The residents of these neighbourhoods rely on small corner shops and in one case on travelling shops. Overall there is approximately 200,000 sq. ft. of shopping space in Tallaght. But almost 70 per cent of this is concentrated in three centres (Kilnamagh, Firhouse and Tallaght Village) and only 11.5 per cent is located in West Tallaght (Ward and Bannon, 1988).

Reflecting this pattern of provisioning, such information as is available suggests variation between local authority and private estates in regard to usage of and satisfaction with local shops. Both Beaumont (1987) and Ward and Bannon (1988) found that local authority residents were more dependent on Tallaght supermarkets than were private residents. Tallaght residents generally spend more on groceries on average than do residents of the total County area (IMS, 1989) and Beaumont found high prices in local shops a cause of complaint among local authority residents. The question of physical access to the supermarkets was also highlighted by Ward and Bannon. Almost two thirds of local authority residents either walked or travelled by bus, only 18 per cent of private residents did so. The potential for further retail development was also evident in these surveys: between two thirds and three quarters of respondents travelled outside of Tallaght to shop for durable items.

3.6.4.2 Sport and Recreation

Most of the neighbourhoods within Tallaght are serviced to some extent by sports facilities. The greater part of this provision is geared towards what traditionally have been boys sports - soccer and Gaelic football. Very few areas have tennis or basketball courts or running tracks. There is just one swimming pool in the area. The voluntary sector has been extremely active in sporting activities and a wide range of sports clubs and groups make use of the facilities which are in place. However these are in many cases severely constrained financially. In particular the high cost of insurance cover for groups, the cost of transport to various sporting venues and the lack of appropriate facilities present problems (Tallaght Takes Off, 1989). Some financial subvention is available via the VEC Youth and Sport Grant Scheme but this is inadequate to meet the needs of the range of sporting clubs and

organisations in the area.

Recreation in areas outside of sports is also under provisioned. There is no theatre, cinema or arts centre in Tallaght and the development of neighbourhood pubs is inhibited by current licensing laws. Recreational facilities for young people are also limited and there have been calls for the provision of relevant recreational and entertainment facilities for young people in an alcohol free environment (Tallaght Takes Off, 1989). Conversely, there are a wide variety of locally based youth groups and clubs active in the area. Throughout Tallaght there are 113 such groups with membership / participation of close to 5,000 young people or just under 30 per cent of the population aged 10 to 19 years. These youth clubs and groups are supported by Tallaght Youth Services who employ six youth officers within the area. Like the sports clubs however, the youth groups are constrained by high insurance costs, the limited availability of premises at a moderate rent and underfunding. At present their only sources of funding come from the VEC Youth and Sport grant - approximately £100 per annum for each group, and a training grant from Tallaght Youth Services. All additional funding must be met from fundraising.

3.6.5 The Environment

The transition from rural village to major urban settlement inevitably has had implications for the environment of Tallaght. Despite its location in an unspoilt upland area, and the environmental potential of the adjacent Dodder Valley, the scale of development in Tallaght, together with the lack of integration with which it was carried out was not conducive to maintaining or creating a coherent living environment. Thus although the 1967 Draft Development Plan indicated that the character of the villages *"which will be absorbed by Metropolitan growth"* would not be obliterated, a recent commentary notes: *"Regrettably, the Town Centre concept has been advanced without any apparent thought having been given to its physical or functional relationship with the historic village of Tallaght"* (Ward and Bannon, 1988).

While the housing stock itself is of quite a high quality and many of the newer housing estates reflect a progression to more innovative and flexible forms of layout and design (Beaumont, 1987), the lack of social and recreational infrastructure results in apparent uniformity or sameness throughout the area - Tallaght looks unfinished (Collins, 1989). In some areas too, the Surrender Grant scheme has resulted in vacant houses being vandalised on a large scale. Substantial investment in environmental management to improve the visual quality of housing estates has been called for (Ward and Bannon, 1988). The same source has noted the need for improvement of roadside verges and the open spaces in some industrial estates. The employment potential of developments related to environmental improvement should also be noted.

3.6.5.1 Parks and Open Spaces

The 1972 Development Plan had envisaged three classes of open space in the new towns - parks and playing fields, neighbourhood recreational parks and "playlots" located near homes to facilitate young children (due to vandalism this latter objective has been superseded by major play areas in the larger parks). While many of the neighbourhoods and estates in Tallaght do have access to open space, this often lacks recreational and other amenities. Recently, Dublin County Council has been instrumental in improving this situation and neighbourhood parks have been developed in Jobstown and Killinarden with further

developments including two regional parks totalling 560 acres being planned (Ward and Bannon, 1988). Additional work and investment is required to develop the existing open spaces in order to maximise their potential for local people. In particular, development of the long proposed Dodder Regional Park would contribute substantially to both the environmental and recreational quality of the area.

3.6.5.2 Roads and Safety

A hierarchical system of roads, including regional routes, primary distributor routes and local roads, was envisaged in the early planning documents. Such a system has been developed to a large extent and the completion of those new roads presently under construction will greatly improve accessibility to and within the area. Within the area however, the development of the road system has had repercussions for both the safety and the integration of some neighbourhoods. The construction of the Western Parkway for example, has cut off certain areas in East Tallaght and undermined efforts at greater integration of communities. Access to retail and recreational facilities from some estates necessitates the crossing of major roadways and this situation is not helped by the lack of attention which has been given to pedestrian routes or cycleways. Inadequate pedestrian access can have quite a considerable impact on quality of life. Apart from the important issues of safety, there are other factors, such as those noted by in the CODANS Report, whereby access to retail facilities for residents of Fettercairn became impassable during winter because the open space they had to cross had no footpath.

3.7 Transport Systems

The on-going development and well-being of Tallaght will depend in large part on the relationship between the Town and its social and economic environs. An adequate transport system is of crucial importance here. Attracting industrialists and other developers to Tallaght, harnessing the benefits of the wider labour market for Tallaght workers, extending the catchment area for planned local commercial and recreational provision, and allowing access for Tallaght residents to the social and recreational facilities of the city and adjoining areas all require an efficient and adequate road and transport system. The development of the road system in an around Tallaght is already well advanced and recent developments in road construction have further improved access to the area. The completion of roads presently under construction will facilitate this even further. The full impact of the new road system on the area will not be known for some time and whether local people will be enticed to travel out of the area, or non-locals enticed in remains to be seen. Once the higher order facilities - the Town centre, the RTC and the Hospital - are in place, the likelihood is that movement into Tallaght from adjacent areas will increase quite considerably. Increased traffic volume invariably results from road development, and while increasing access to Tallaght is in itself a good thing, in the absence of effective planning to deal with an increase in traffic coming into the area, there is a risk of traffic congestion becoming a problem.

The possibility of a substantial increase in the volume of traffic using the Tallaght road system highlights the desirability of providing an efficient and low cost system of public transport. There are other reasons for doing so. The relevance of the wider labour market in affording employment opportunities and the low rate of car ownership, especially in those neighbourhoods hardest hit by unemployment, point to the need for cheap and efficient

public transport. Similarly high cost public transport can effectively prohibit access to necessary facilities or services - such as for example child guidance or other family support services - to people without alternative means of transport. Transport costs also curtail the amount of visiting and other socialising people can do and therefore heighten the isolation experienced by some people. Recently, there has been an improvement in the situation in Tallaght and the introduction of the inter-estate bus network in particular has facilitated travel within the area and helped to combat the isolation of the more outlying estates. The proposal to establish a bus terminal within the area should improve the transport situation further. A decision has also been taken to provide a road link to the planned rail-line at Clondalkin, which if it proves economically viable will eventually be replaced with a full rail connection.

3.8 Summary: The Development Issues Arising

The above discussion has attempted to identify the major issues and areas of need which currently exist in Tallaght. As noted earlier, some of these issues such as employment and training fall directly within the ambit of the NDP. Others such as social provisioning are not directly addressed by the NDP but are relevant to meeting the aspiration to greater social cohesion articulated within the Plan. For ease of presentation the issues addressed in this Chapter have been categorised and discussed under various headings. Here the priority issues arising can be usefully summarised as follows:

1. Absence of co-ordinated approach to planning.
2. An overall high unemployment rate.
3. A high percentage of the labour force classified as unskilled.
4. Skills mismatch with contemporary employment opportunities.
5. High levels of dependency on Social Welfare with consequent high levels of poverty.
6. High levels of unemployment among the youth labour force.
7. Very limited opportunities for school leavers.
8. High drop out rate from second level education.
9. Low level of educational attainment among young people.
10. Low uptake of places on post-school training courses.
11. Low placement rate from such courses.
12. Substantial category of "youth at risk" within the population.
13. Limited access to pre-school facilities.
14. General low level of education among the population.
15. Inadequate provision of Health and Welfare infrastructure.
16. Inadequate public transport system.
17. Limited social and recreational facilities.
18. The marginalisation of the travelling community.
19. Overall a disadvantageous social mix.
20. The concentration of disadvantage in certain neighbourhoods.

Categorising priorities in this way is useful in terms of setting out the full spectrum of

disadvantage which needs to be addressed. Such a listing also highlights the range of public issues which underscore the problems now being experienced in Tallaght. This type of classification however is less than adequate in revealing both the dynamic inter-relationships which exist between various aspects of disadvantage, and the linkages between the experience of disadvantage within a given locality and the wider social and economic context. It is important, for example, to situate the experience of unemployment and the limited opportunities for employment in Tallaght within the context of changes in national and international economic trends. Likewise, the interaction of various forms of disadvantage and the implications of this must be acknowledged; for example, where educational inequalities and limited job opportunities combine to produce categories of acutely disadvantaged youth. In essence it is the interaction of labour market factors and state policies in the areas of social welfare, housing and education which effects who lives where, in what circumstances and with what possibilities. An awareness of the context within which locally experienced problems arise is important both for enabling an accurate analysis of such problems to be carried out and also for facilitating effective targeting of measures and actions to address these problems.

The importance of local groups and organisations identifying what the priorities for action are within their areas has already been noted, particularly in the context of the lack of attention paid to the needs of disadvantaged localities within the NDP. For both policy makers and those active in local groups and organisations there is a necessary demarcation to be made between those issues amenable to intervention at a local level alone, those which require policy changes or other measures at a national level, and those which necessitate a combination of action at both local and national levels. Having prioritised those aspects of disadvantage requiring intervention, local groups and organisations must then identify the most appropriate level at which that intervention should take place and consequently the most appropriate level at which they should direct their attention and energies. (For local groups and organisations, the level at which action is targeted may be influenced as much by pragmatic and political constraints as by a more impartial assessment of the situation.) With regard to strategies of local action which focus on the national level and which are aimed at addressing major development priorities such as economic development, educational provision, and welfare issues, it is worth noting the importance of co-operative action by community based groups and organisations in different localities. Three points can be made here. First, despite local variation, the effects of the general processes creating disadvantage and concentrations of problems in specific localities are common to all such localities. Second, in the context of the recognised scarcity of resources to support local development generally, and community development more specifically, it is important to avoid competition for such resources between different groups and organisations. Third, given the scale and nature of the development needs of disadvantaged localities, the probability of successful action at the local level will be enhanced considerably if it is occurring in the context of broader based actions at national and EC level.

In relation to this last point we would emphasise that the procedures and measures adopted in drawing up and delivering the NDP rely substantially on the capacity of measures taken primarily at the national level to address local development priorities. In this regard, the general objectives of achieving complementarity and partnership between actions at the national and local level have been very narrowly interpreted in the Irish context. Locally specific measures or interventions at the local level, should be reinforced by complimentary and facilitatory measures at the national level and local groups and organisations should be

enabled to participate in the formulation and implementation of policy at both levels. This requires both an adequate level of resourcing and the establishment of appropriate structures if the potential of such groups as partners in development is to be maximised.

In conclusion, we note that it is the growing recognition of the linkages between specific problems and the development actions required to address these at local level which has formed one side of the impetus toward emphasising integrated development measures. The second and complementary side of this impetus is the recognition that developing integrated actions requires action across different levels, for example, local and national, and involving agents and organisations with different roles, responsibilities, capacities and resources. In the case of Tallaght the necessity to pursue both aspects, sometimes referred to as the horizontal and vertical dimensions of integrated action, is particularly evident.

CHAPTER 4

Planned Developments and Their Implications: An Overview and Assessment

4.0 Introduction

The failure of both the NDP and the CSF to specifically consider the needs of disadvantaged localities and the overall lack of attention in these with regard to implementing measures addressing the development priorities of localities such as Tallaght has been noted earlier. The discussion of present and projected needs within Tallaght in the previous chapter is intended to provide a basis for identifying aspects of disadvantage and prioritising areas of need. In concluding, one task remains. This is to assess the current round of provisions planned for Tallaght. The objective here is to establish the potential of these measures to meet present and projected needs within the area and to identify the factors, over and above the scale of provision, which effect this potential. This discussion is not intended to be a fully comprehensive account of all actual or planned provision within Tallaght. Neither does it include details of those provisions at a national level which will have an impact on the area. These are obviously important elements of overall provision for Tallaght, and are relevant to the targeting of actions on the part of local groups and organisations. The focus of this Chapter is on provision within the current phase of development in Tallaght which will benefit from assistance from the reformed structural Funds. Thus measures to promote job creation and provision in the area of education are discussed in some detail.

As we noted in Chapter 2 many of the needs and disadvantages arising in Tallaght, and particularly the more social aspects, fall outside the specific measures to be taken in the context of the CSF. However, as Chapter 1 points out, the NDP explicitly refers to the social dimension of economic growth (while also acknowledging the lack of certainty in this regard) and several of the proposed measures for Tallaght are in the social rather than economic arena. We therefore conclude this chapter with a brief discussion of these provisions.

One of the more immediate consequences of the current round of development measures has been a heightening of morale within Tallaght. In the context of the lack of planning and under-provision which has characterised the development of Tallaght to date, any efforts to redress the situation there are to be welcomed but as the discussion below suggests, relative to the scale of need in the area these measures, on their own, are insufficient to address either the full range of disadvantage presently being experienced or to intervene effectively in the processes through which this disadvantage is reproduced.

4.1 Employment

Chapter 3 has documented the substantial need for the development of employment opportunities, both locally and in the Greater Dublin area, if the needs arising from both the current unemployment rate and the projected labour force growth are to be effectively

addressed. The issue of educational attainment generally, the skill levels of the local labour force and the "fit" between these and such job creation that occurs either locally or in the wider employment arena are of importance in this context. It is against this background that measures to encourage employment creation must be assessed.

4.1.2 The Building Programme and the Higher Order Facilities

The desirability of implementing a major building programme in Tallaght was indicated by several earlier reports. Such a programme, it was understood, would reduce male unemployment and provide much needed higher order facilities, which as well as enhancing the social provision of the town, would also, when operational, create employment. In the event however, the commencement of this programme has revealed the mismatch between the skills of the local labour force and the requirements of the modern construction industry. The following sections examine the employment creating capacity of the construction and operational aspects of the three major components of this phase of development.

4.1.2.1 Development of the Town Centre

The 1983 County Development Plan zoned approximately 51ha (126 acres) for the provision of "major Town Centre activities". Seven years later the first phase of construction on the Town Centre site is underway. The immediate impact on local employment has been less than anticipated. At the initial stage of construction there were some 300 workers involved in the building work. At periods of peak activity and including sub-contracted employment it is expected the number of workers will increase to over 1,800. Direct employment for Tallaght workers, however, will be considerably less than the total overall figure. There are two reasons for this.

First, there is a high degree of worker mobility within the construction industry and construction companies tend to have a core workforce which moves from one development site to another. Consequently, the number of "new starts", if any, on a particular project will be less than the total labour requirement. Recent figures suggest that in the region of 40 per cent of jobs (750 out of the total of 1,800) on the construction of the Town Centre will be new starts and therefore potentially available to Tallaght workers (IMS, 1989).

Second, the capacity of the local work force to avail of this employment is restricted. Many unemployed workers with building and related skills do not have the type of experience appropriate to modern construction methods. Consequently although 1,900 of those on the Tallaght FAS register are listed as having construction type skills, (IMS, 1989) and substantial numbers of local people applied for work on the construction of the Town Centre, the proportion of "new starts" filled by local labour was about 40 per cent. If this pattern continues the total number of Tallaght workers who will find employment on the construction of the Town Centre is estimated at approximately 300. The majority of these jobs will be generated during the labour intensive fitting out stage. As this stage is also of quite short duration the full employment implications of the construction phase will be modified accordingly.

The full extent of employment in the operational Town Centre will be known only when the retail and commercial tenants have completed recruitment. On the basis of employment in Town Centres in other areas it has been estimated that approximately 1,300 jobs will become available in the new Centre (IMS, 1989). Again, following the experience in other areas, it is suggested by the same source that at least two thirds of these will be filled by local

people. On that basis the opening of the Centre in Autumn 1990 should mean an additional 860 jobs for workers resident in Tallaght. This represents a considerable increase in employment provision but the full economic benefits of these additional jobs to the Tallaght area will be dependent on several factors. These are discussed below.

1. The income generated by the 1300 new jobs generated by the operational phase of the Town Centre will have a multiplier effect within the area. The shopping and recreational needs of commuting workers, in itself, will generate additional income and employment. Moreover the availability of the social and recreational facilities in the Town Centre should enhance the attractiveness of the area as a location for industrial and other developers.
2. It is expected that the majority of new jobs in the Town Centre will be in the area of retailing assistance. An increasing trend in the retail sector in recent years has been towards the employment of younger workers. The projected increase in the Tallaght youth labour force has already been discussed in Chapter 2. The opening of the Town Centre, and the potential availability of 860 new jobs for Tallaght workers, should be of considerable significance in increasing the employment opportunities of school leavers coming onto the labour market in 1990. Factors such as the skill, educational and experience requirements of employers in the Town Centre however could have considerable effect on the actual number of young Tallaght workers recruited. Regardless of the ultimate pattern of initial recruitment in the Centre however, its impact on net local employment in subsequent years is not likely to be significant.
3. The economic and broader social impact of jobs taken by Tallaght workers will be determined to a large extent by the conditions and rates of pay attached. A second feature of the retail sector, and particularly food retail, in recent years has been a move to part-time rather than full-time work and on the basis of experience in other Dublin shopping centres, it is estimated that close to one third of the employment in the operational Town Centre will be part-time. Part-time work in the main is characterised by low rates of pay, limited prospects for advancement, poor job security and disadvantageous social security provision. The provision of low-paid part-time work affects the economic well-being of the community and the worker and her or his family. The concentration of women in low paid part-time work and the associated risk of poverty (Blackwell et al, 1989) has serious implications for areas such as Tallaght where, given high rates of male unemployment and lone parenthood, a large proportion of households are likely to be either partially or totally dependent on womens' earnings.
4. The relevance of skills held by the workforce to the types of work which become available will be a factor in determining the share of new work opportunities which go to Tallaght workers. In general, retail employment is classed as unskilled but as both service and retail provision in the Town Centre will include a range of specialist shops (for example, hairdressers, butchers, pharmacies etc.) the extent to which these skills are available in the area will become an issue. FAS have already given an undertaking to transmit the skills which are identified as relevant to the Town Centre and retail sales modules are being made available on several courses and programmes. In general, though, trainees and participants on FAS courses will have no guarantee of finding work

in the new development as recruitment practices will depend on individual tenants.

4.1.2.2 The Development of the RTC and the Regional Hospital

The construction of the Regional Technical College is expected to start early in 1990 and is scheduled to be completed by 1992. This phase will generate 445 jobs and on the basis of the pattern already established in the Town Centre, at least 75 of these should go to Tallaght workers. Of the estimated 833 construction jobs to be created by the commencement of the Regional Hospital in November 1990, approximately 130 are expected to go to Tallaght workers. As with the Town Centre, the duration of these jobs will depend on the phase of development during which they arise. Estimates of projected labour months (excluding the fit-out phase) indicate an average duration of less than three and a quarter months per job on the construction of the RTC and just over seven and a half months on the hospital (IMS, 1989).

When operational the RTC will provide over 180 jobs directly and approximately 40 indirectly. The regional hospital is expected to have a staffing level of over 1330. However, because of the nature of the employment in both instances, together with the fact that staff already employed in those hospitals which the Tallaght regional hospital will replace will simply change location, the impact on the local labour market is not expected to be great. (IMS, 1989).

4.1.3 Industrial Development

Although it is desirable that economic growth and employment creation in Tallaght should encompass all sectors, industrial development continues to be an important element in job creation. The potential of the area to stimulate industrial development received a major boost in March 1989 when a special budgetary allocation of £3.5 million was made available to promote Tallaght as a development location and thereby increase local employment opportunities. This money is provided to the IDA by the Minister of Industry and Commerce and is separate from all other IDA budgets. It is proposed to allocate this funding in three ways:

- (i) to develop the Whitestown Business Park formerly, the Whitestown industrial estate;
- (ii) to co-ordinate a drive by the IDA, the local community and estate agents to attract new industry; and,
- (iii) to highlight Tallaght as a prime location for private developers and overseas investors.

The development of the Business Park is currently underway. When completed it will include 30,000 sq. ft. of business accommodation incorporating 28 units ranging from 500 - 2,000 sq. ft. each and is targeted to be filled by September 1990. In addition, in a new departure for the IDA, high quality advance factories of 30,000 - 40,000 sq. ft. are being developed to be occupied by March 1990. A further development on the site will be two advance factories (one 10,000 sq. ft. and one 20,000 sq. ft.) to be completed by January 1990. In all the Whitestown site contains 38.6 acres of which seven are held by Dublin Corporation, 4.6 by the IDA and 27 which are privately owned. All of these lands are zoned for industry.

The exact impact on employment of such a development is difficult to assess. Foley (1984) has suggested a ratio of 18 jobs to one industrial acre. On that basis and assuming all available land was occupied by manufacturing industry just under 700 jobs would be created

of which, according to estimates based on Foley's survey, approximately 50 per cent, or 350, could be expected to go to Tallaght workers. In the more likely event of a proportion of available floor space being occupied by warehousing or other economic activities with a lower level of job density the number of jobs created would be reduced accordingly. Land use surveys suggest that as little as one third to 42 per cent of "industrial" land is actually occupied by manufacturing industry. (Foley, 1984, Dublin County Council, 1987). On this basis the full extent of manufacturing employment created at the Business Park would be less than 300 jobs of which Tallaght workers could expect only 150. To this of course would be added the number of jobs provided by the other economic activities within the Business Park.

A further factor to be considered here is the *net* employment generated by the development of the Business Park. Again, with reference to Foley's report, a gross increase of 702 industrial jobs between 1981 and 1982 resulted in a net gain of just 381 jobs. The same pattern of losses and gains over the coming years would reduce considerably the total impact of new industrial development.

4.1.3.1 Further Potential for Industrial Development

According to the Planning Department of Dublin County Council (Dublin County Council, 1987) a total of 486 acres are zoned for industry in the Tallaght area. Of this, 138.5 acres or 28 per cent, (including the Whitestown Site), remained undeveloped in 1987. This figure excludes undeveloped areas within existing site curtilages which would allow the possibility of on-site expansion by already-existing firms. Surveys of industrial lands carried out by the IDA consistently indicate much lower availability: in 1981 the IDA estimate was just half that of the County Council - a discrepancy which is due to different definitions of availability used. On the basis of the IDA figure for 1981, Foley (1984) estimated an additional 140 to 170 acres of industrial land was needed to cater for labour force growth (i.e. school leavers entering the labour force) up till 1990 and to secure some reduction in unemployment among the existing labour force. On the basis of the County Council figure used the amount of additional land needed was between 74 and 102 acres. Current IDA estimates indicate that with the exception of the Whitestown Business Park there is, at present, no land available for industrial development in Tallaght. A further difficulty with regard to the availability of land for industrial development is the absence, even in the Business Park, of large, single unit sites capable of accommodating very large scale industry.

Set against the limited availability of industrial lands within Tallaght itself, however, is the potential relevance to Tallaght workers of industrial development in adjoining areas. One of the major sites zoned for future industrial development in the Western suburbs generally is located at Kilmahuddrick near Clondalkin. Here there are 100 acres of industrial lands, owned by Dublin County Council. While this site is well outside Tallaght's development area, it is within travelling distance of what is a mobile workforce anyway, and when the Tallaght-Clondalkin rail link comes on stream it will become even more accessible. The point already made regarding levels of pay in newly created job opportunities is worth reiterating here. The provision of low paid jobs, and particularly if access to these involve high transport costs, could not be expected to be attractive to potential workers.

4.1.4 Office Development

The under-development of the business services sector in Tallaght has been attributed to the failure of the town to develop along the lines envisaged in the early plans (Foley, 1984; Ward and Bannon, 1988). In particular, the absence of a Town Centre has been cited as a factor in undermining the attractiveness of the area for office development. At present, the Department of Social Welfare is finalising plans for the construction of offices on a retained site adjoining the Town Centre. Total employment in this development is not known, but as many of the jobs will be filled by relocating workers, the impact on the local labour force is unlikely to be great. However, the services required by an influx of additional workers to the area will have beneficial spin-off effects.

Outside of the proposed Social Welfare office, there is limited scope for office development in Tallaght. The Town Centre building presently under construction includes the potential to develop an additional 20,000 sq. ft. of office space as a third level. At the moment, it is not considered viable to develop this office space until such time as tenants are available. The contemporary trend in private office development is towards concentration in the South city area and the South-Eastern suburbs. The most likely prospect for Tallaght based offices therefore would be to attract a civic tenant.

Ward and Bannon had noted the importance of the service and business sector in creating jobs and suggested that this will be the sector of greatest employment growth during the 1990s. Set against this, however, is the extent of low skilled, low paid jobs within the service sector and the increasing impact of new technologies on employment particularly in banking and the financial services sector generally.

4.1.5 Overview and Assessment of Issues Related to Employment

Developments presently underway in Tallaght will result in additional jobs in the area. The extent to which the local workforce will benefit from this will depend on the degree of coincidence between the skill level of the workforce and the requirements of new jobs as well as on competition from non-local workers. The IMS survey referred to earlier estimates that if the pattern of local employment is the same in Tallaght as in other shopping centres, and if the RTC and the Regional hospital can generate between them 140 full time jobs for Tallaght workers, then the total job gain to the area from these three developments would be 1000 jobs. In addition the construction phase should generate over 500 jobs for local workers. The development of the Business Park will also increase local employment by up to 400 jobs. In all that gives a total of just under 2000 jobs likely to become available to Tallaght workers as a result of the current phase of development in the area. A sizeable proportion of these jobs will either be part-time or temporary and their impact on the local economy will be effected accordingly. Nonetheless, this is a considerable increase in employment in any one locality particularly in the context of the contemporary employment situation nationally. However, when set against the scale of current unemployment in Tallaght, (currently in the region of 5,800) and the large numbers of young people coming into the labour force each year (over 1,000 will do so in 1990, with substantially higher numbers in subsequent years) the discrepancy between these measures and the employment needs of the area are apparent. In addition there is the pattern of losses and gains already identified as underlying employment growth in Tallaght (Foley, 1984). If already-existing jobs in the area are lost in the near future, the net gain from the developments presently underway will be reduced.

There is a need therefore for continued employment creation to meet the demand of

the Tallaght labour force. Leaving aside the question of the future security of existing jobs, gross employment opportunities of the Tallaght workforce can be enhanced through a) attracting new industry and other developments to the area; b) maximising the proportion of local jobs which go to local workers; c) ensuring the Tallaght workforce can compete equally on the open labour market; and, d) further development of existing models of co-operative and community based local enterprise development.

As a location, Tallaght has probably now more to offer potential developers than at any time previously. The designation of certain parts of the area as tax incentive zones, the establishment of the IDA Tallaght regional office, the special budgetary allocation to the IDA and the promotional initiative which this will fund, the regionalisation of FAS, the improvement of road access to the city centre business area and to air and sea routes, and the construction of the Town Centre all serve to increase the desirability of Tallaght as a development location. Against this however, must be set the anticipated impact on the location of industry and other economic activity of the completion of the internal market. This is expected to have certain negative repercussions for this country, particularly in regard to foreign investment. In this context it is important to maximise the attractiveness of Tallaght as a location, and minimise any negative aspects of this.

Alongside the need to ensure that various forms of economic development continue to be attracted to Tallaght, a number of issues must be considered in assessing the full economic and social impact of employment growth in such areas. These issues have been discussed elsewhere in this report, but nonetheless merit repetition here.

First, as was noted in the CODAN report, involvement in low paid employment is a feature of workers and families living in the most disadvantaged parts of Tallaght. Poorly paid, irregular or part-time work, research has shown, is insufficient to keep families out of poverty and the implications of this, particularly for women, have already been noted.

Second, the capacity of existing and new development to meet the employment needs of Tallaght depends on its ability to absorb those currently unemployed and concomitantly cater for the large numbers of school leavers entering the labour force each year. While this ultimately comes down to providing jobs on the ground, it will also be influenced by the proportion of local employment actually going to local labour. There is a need therefore to ensure that Tallaght workers are not disadvantaged in regard to competition for local employment and here consideration has to be given to both those already on the Live Register in Tallaght, and the large numbers of school leavers who will enter the workforce each year. With regard to the former, special measures will be needed if this category is not to be completely marginalised within the labour market. At the moment there are over 5,000 people over the age of twenty five unemployed in Tallaght, and the proportion of long-term unemployed among these is higher than that among the unemployed nationally. The projected increase in the Tallaght labour force over the next decade or so will, initially, impact on the youth labour force but if the youth unemployment rate remains at its present level, then relatively quickly the numbers of people over the age of twenty five who have been out of work for long periods will begin to rise sharply. Provision for this category should include skills training and more general adult education but would also need to move beyond this to deal with the full range of impediments to re-employment which the long-term unemployed experience, including negative attitudes on the part of employers, the loss of personal confidence, and limited access to informal sources of information regarding possible jobs. The latter is of particular importance given evidence of internal recruitment on the part of some employers.

Third, the numbers of women who, while not actually registered as unemployed, may be seeking work needs consideration. The problems of social isolation, lone child-rearing and poverty on the part of women exists in many parts of Tallaght, particularly in West Tallaght. For these women the problems of poverty and related deprivations could be eased through employment, but the barriers to their entry to the job market are extensive, and include low self-esteem, lack of formal education, little relevant employment experience, limited mobility and the absence of child-care facilities.

Strategies to increase the proportion of local employment going to Tallaght workers which focus on the supply of labour could be complemented by efforts to increase the demand for specifically local labour. This could be achieved, for example, by ensuring that employers in the area are aware of the level of need that exists locally, compiling skills registers and ensuring full circulation of these to all actual and potential employers, networking with local employers in order to increase their awareness of the availability of local labour and to identify the skill requirements of various employments. Currently, both statutory agencies and voluntary organisations are involved in implementing strategies such as these.

In conclusion, it has to be noted that improving the level of skill of the local workforce and maximising the demand for specifically local labour are not, on their own, sufficient measures to tackle unemployment in Tallaght. The basic and essential provision in this regard is the creation of a sufficient number of jobs to absorb the unemployed in the area and to provide opportunities for the large numbers of young people who will come onto the labour market over the coming years. The provision of jobs within Tallaght, regardless of the success of measures to increase the proportion of local employment going to Tallaght workers, is unlikely to meet the full range of local employment needs. The question of access to the Greater Dublin labour market therefore will remain important. The level of skills among the Tallaght workforce then, should be made commensurate with both the requirements of employment available locally and that which is or becomes available in this wider labour market. Overall, given the present structuration of the labour market whereby such characteristics of the labour force as age, gender, level of education, duration of unemployment and address act as access curbing mechanisms, special measures will be needed if Tallaght is not to become, in the main, a supplier of cheap, low skilled and disposable labour.

4.2 Education and Training

Among the disadvantageous processes occurring within Tallaght, which are amenable to educational and training intervention, are: the problem of early school leaving; the low level of certified educational attainment; the poor rate of uptake of post-school training places; the poor placement rates from such training; the mismatch between the skills of those on the Live Register and potential new sources of employment; and, the effective exclusion of the long-term unemployed and women who may not be registered as unemployed from the labour market.

Some efforts have been made to address these and related issues. In 1988, following its regionalisation, FAS increased its staffing level in Tallaght. Currently this agency is working closely with other groups to identify employment needs coming on stream and to transmit the relevant skills to the workforce. Likewise several of COMTEC's recommendations were

acted upon with the result that resources, including personnel, in the area of youth training have been increased and better targeted, although one post created in response to COMTECS recommendations has not been retained. In the coming year however, it is intended to maintain rather than increase the present level of provision in this area.

4.2.1 Third Level Provision

The major proposal for educational development in Tallaght is the construction of the Regional Technical College, proposed in 1983, and to be developed by the Department of Education. In October 1989 the contract went to tender and it is expected the first phase (costing £9 million) will be ready for the enrolment of the first students in 1991. Phase two which will cost £6 million is due to commence in 1994 and is scheduled to be completed the following year. It is proposed that on completion the RTC will have capacity for 1,200 students with an overall staff-student ratio of about 1:12. The objectives of the RTC include facilitating greater equality of access to third level education, providing a relevant educational facility for the growing youth population of the area, enhancing the skill base of the local workforce and acting as a development catalyst in attracting new industries to the region.

Ward and Bannon (1988) have suggested that the contribution of the RTC to Tallaght would *"depend on the level of integration achieved between the College and the surrounding environment"*. They noted that this integration had not been evident in devising proposed courses and argued that it should be developed through the provision of computing, business and secretarial studies together with a range of technical, traineeship and apprenticeship courses. In 1985 the proposed scheduled provision of the RTC comprised Engineering, Science and Business courses. These courses would be of three years duration with a total student intake in year one of 468. Subsequently, the total capacity of these courses will be 900. In addition traineeship/apprenticeship courses, organised on an off-the-job, day or block release basis for apprentices and trainees in electronics, woodworking, metal trades, food and catering and clothing are proposed. There will be 300 places available for these students. Course provision and implementation within the RTC is very much geared towards meeting the needs of industry. A recent Department of Education memorandum to Tallaght VEC made special reference to manufacturing, production, commerce and tourism. The same memo noted *"the needs of industry and the type of course which will meet such needs will be the main criterion on which course types and through-put of students will be formulated"*.

The potential contribution of the RTC to Tallaght extends beyond the training and education of close to 500 young people each year. While the operational workforce is likely to be drawn from the national rather than the local labour force the multiplier effect of a facility such as this is considerable. Moreover, the development of a third level College for Tallaght could have a considerable impact on morale in the area and enhance the self-identity of the new town. However, recent proposals regarding the full range of courses to be provided have caused some concern. There had earlier been speculation that up to 200 Leaving Certificate places would be provided in the RTC. The Department have confirmed that these places will not be provided but the memo mentioned above indicates the intention to include post compulsory vocational courses for *"students who wish to pursue new technology programmes immediately after post compulsory school with a view to gaining early employment"*. This provision, for which post-Intermediate and Group Certificate students can apply, would be mainly in the area of technical and commercial skills.

This decision to include what are effectively second level courses within the RTC has led to concern on two fronts. First, there are fears that this provision could adversely affect the vocational-type courses already being run in the community schools and colleges. Second, there is concern that such provision, particularly given that unlike most of the existing RTCs throughout the country Tallaght will not be providing degree courses, will downgrade the status of the Tallaght college. The possible contribution of the RTC, however, to providing resources to those presently disadvantaged within the education system (including those whose participation in education does not extend beyond the compulsory period) merits careful assessment.

4.2.2 Some Action Required in Relation to Educational Provision

While not discussed above, we noted in Chapter 3 that the inadequate level of pre-school provision, the educational difficulties many children experience in primary school, the alienation of large numbers of young people from the formal educational system and the generally low level of educational attainment are issues arising within the educational system which need to be addressed when future educational provision is planned. A serious effort to address participation in education generally, however, requires more than the provision of facilities. Measures would also need to be taken to counter inhibiting factors operating in the home and community such as inadequate supportive frameworks, poor parental awareness, and a low evaluation of education within the community. With regard to the planned provision of third level places in Tallaght discussed above, it should be noted that take up of places at this level is likely to be significantly effected by cost factors. In addition, the relationship between class background and access to higher education and educational processes generally (as was discussed in Chapter 3) indicates that without measures to address the structural inequality operating within the educational system, the provision of a third level resource will be irrelevant to a large section of the Tallaght population.

4.3 Planned Social and Recreational Provision

That Tallaght has been deprived of much of the social, cultural and recreational facilities normally associated with a large urban centre is widely acknowledged. Certain of the provisions currently being implemented or planned are designed in part to remedy this deficiency. The Town Centre, the first phase of which is currently under construction will on completion include 5 major stores and up to 100 smaller retail outlets, a cinema complex, a variety of restaurants and cafes and parking for up to 2,000 cars. It is expected that this increased provision will improve the situation in regard to social and commercial facilities in Tallaght and will service a catchment area beyond Tallaght itself.

The absence of a municipal building within the Town Centre, it has been suggested, reduces it to the status of a giant shopping centre rather than a social focal point for an urbanised population. Moreover, the provision of purely commercial facilities, however beneficial at an aggregate level, cannot be assumed to have evenly beneficial effects. In an area where at least one fifth of all households are dependent on state transfer payments, and where in certain parts, 6 out of every 10 households are effected by unemployment, the question of cost access to social and recreational facilities is particularly relevant. If, for financial or related reasons, substantial proportions of the population cannot participate in

the benefits of the new development, the level of relative disadvantage experienced by those excluded will be compounded and the prospects of greater community integration will be seriously undermined.

4.3.1 Leisure Facilities

Given the age distribution of the Tallaght population the shortage of leisure and recreational facilities is particularly problematic. The presence, on some estates and neighbourhoods, of large numbers of teenagers with "nothing to do" is a cause of concern. While involvement in voluntary youth clubs and groups in Tallaght is high, there is a growing need for more varied provision of recreational and leisure facilities.

The development of the cinema and other recreational elements within the Town Centre will meet some needs in this area, although as noted above cost access will determine how evenly distributed the benefits of these developments are. In this regard the relative input of the public and private sectors to developing leisure facilities is important. A proposal by Dublin County Council, for example, to develop a high quality leisure centre which would both "*strengthen social infrastructure*" and provide "*employment initiatives*" included forms of subsidised provision aimed at the unemployed. Dublin County Council proposed to seek funding for the development of the leisure centre from private investment and from programmes operated under the CSF. To date, however, a development partner in the private sector has not emerged. Monarch properties, the developers of the Town Centre, have sought planning permission for a private leisure development covering eight acres, adjacent to the Town Centre site. The County Council retains its objective to develop a community leisure facility, but it is unlikely that two multi-facility complexes would be viable. In the event of the Local Authority development not going ahead, it is not at all clear that a fully private commercial development could implement measures which would facilitate full community usage. As is the case with other forms of social provision which cannot address distributional issues, the establishment of high quality leisure facilities, which cannot be availed of across the broad spectrum of the population will exacerbate internal divisions within Tallaght.

4.4 Transport

Under the terms of the NDP and the CSF, '*measures to offset the effects of peripherality*' include provision in the area of transport systems including road construction and development. Much of the planned road development effecting the Tallaght area is already completed or well under way, and both this and the planned Tallaght-Clondalkin rail link will draw assistance from the reformed structural Funds. Given the low rate of private car ownership in Tallaght and the dependency of many people living there on public transport, it is worth noting once again the importance of ensuring that an adequate public transport system is in place.

4.5 Concluding Comments

In the context of the general under-provisioning which Tallaght has experienced, any developments which rectify this situation are to be welcomed. It is apparent, however, from the discussion above that the proposed provisions of themselves and without additional measures will be inadequate to deal with the scale of disadvantage within the area and the scale on which it is being reproduced. The specific factors contributing to this inadequacy vary, but they can be summarised under three headings. First, the scale of development and provision per se is insufficient to tackle the level of need. This is particularly the case in relation to job creation. To make the point concretely, the equivalent in employment terms of a Town Centre would need to be developed in Tallaght each year just to cater for the numbers of school leavers entering the labour market. Second, is the probable inability of proposed measures of themselves to overcome the disadvantageous effects of structural inequalities. The provision of the Regional Technical College for example cannot address the situation that for many young people in Tallaght, their experience of and attainments in formal education means that for them third level is not an option. Third, is the inability to ensure that the benefits of development are distributed equally across the population. In consequence, and somewhat paradoxically, the provision of certain higher order facilities may exacerbate existing social divisions within the area.

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