Astrid Wonneberger
Living in a Village within the City: Social Networks in the Dublin Docklands

Introducing the Dublin Docklands: Localized Communities

"[This] is a little small village. Everybody knows everybody. If you walk down the road and you'd be on your own, you'd be hours at the shops, you always meet somebody. You'd never be lonely. It's so small."

"They are all in-breds down here. And that's because every second person is related to each other down here."

"We have a small community here and we are happy to live here. […] I remember reading a survey. It was 2,000 families here. 2,000 households. Everybody knows everybody else. You don't try doing anything outside the ordinary, because somebody will see you or hear about it."

Comments like these conjure images of a small rural village, inhabited by a relatively small number of people, all of whom know each other at least by name and are often interrelated after generations of intermarriage. News travels fast and a relatively high degree of mutual social control determines everyday life.

Rural communities like this have long been a focus of anthropological interest. From the 1930s on, dozens of anthropological researchers have studied small rural units, one of their motives being the smallness of scale which made this part of a complex society easier to study with the ethnographic approach of participant observation. These "community studies" mostly came up with results that represented the areas studied as small communities whose social organizations were based on face-to-face relationships, a relatively high degree of intermarriage and a close relation between place of living, socializing and work (Bell, Newby 1971)—just like the image reflected in the comments above.

However, the scene above does not depict rural village life. The context these quotes are taken from is an urban environment, a thriving metropolis and the capital city of a nation state: these comments were recorded in the dockland communities in the heart of the city of Dublin.

Of course, the study of communities in urban contexts is not new. Parallel to the study of rural areas anthropology also focused for a long time on enclosed urban neighborhoods, often ethnic quarters or other localized groups. The city was seen as the mere setting of groups to be studied, not the centre of attention *per se*. When the attention shifted from city quarters to urbanity in general, this localized approach had to change too, as typical city life was now regarded as non-localized, a place where social networks are typically not centred in one place but rather stretch throughout the city and even beyond, due to long distances between place of work and living, a relatively high degree of mobility (Welz 1991).

In the context of transnationalism, migration and diaspora studies, the shift away from studying localized groups grew even stronger and culminated in the suggestion to study social networks rather than geographically localized entities. In the past, anthropological notions of "community" had typically included a relatively small group of people "with close social ties, enduring over several generations," cultural homogeneity, common interests and institutions, such as festivals, a certain self-sufficiency and—most importantly—an element of localization with distinct boundaries (Winthrop 1991:41). Whereas then a certain sense of territory had been taken for granted, the new approaches questioned the extent and importance of this spatial element. The improvement of network analysis as a method to study structures of social relationships facilitated this development, as it became easier to research non-localized ties and forms of interaction (Wellman 1999: 17; see also Avenarius 2002: 19).

Despite these new approaches in social network analysis, in this contribution I will combine this method with a "traditional" field of research, namely localized communities. Unlike many other studies of urban neighborhoods, these communities are not defined on an ethnic basis, but through their historical economic dependence on the docks, their parish boundaries, a strong sense of place and last but not least a close social structure.

The relevant history of this dockland area in Dublin dates from the late 18th century, when the area along the north and south shores of the Liffey, east of the city centre, developed into a thriving port industry. Following abundant employment opportunities on the docks, an increasing number of workers moved into this area (Gilligan 1989[2]). Churches were built and became the
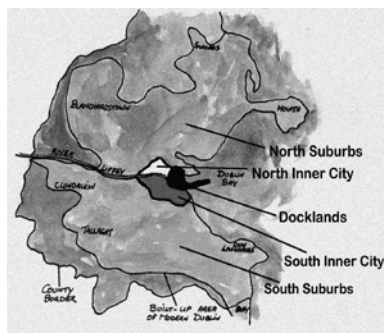
Map 1:   The Dublin Docklands and the boundaries of the dockland communities (North Wall, East Wall, Pearse Street, Ringsend, South Lotts: boundaries marked in grey; dockland area as defined by the DDDA: marked in black)

focal point of each neighborhood. The parish boundaries became, not in every case, but mostly, the defining community boundaries. Today, as the influence of the church is in general decline, the sense of community is no longer exclusively connected to the parish, but it is nevertheless very strong. As the quote at the beginning of this article indicates, the self-image and identity of the residents are strongly connected to notions of an "urban village," including close social networks based on three main strings: Kinship, friendship and neighborhood, or sense of "neighborliness," as it is often referred to by residents.

Identities are always constructed in relation to others; without opposition there can be no common identification with a group or area. This is also the case with the dockland communities, who see commonly defined boundaries, both territorial and social, between themselves and their neighbors. In order to understand the following analysis, Map 1 will introduce the dockland communities and show their location in Dublin and their boundaries.[1]

On the south side, the docklands are divided by two communities: Ringsend/Irishtown and Pearse Street.[2] Between the two, separated by the Grand Canal and the river Dodder, are the South Lotts. Although belonging to the parish of Ringsend, this area is widely perceived by Ringsenders and Pearse Street residents as an "in-between area" or "no man's land," as it is situated outside the core community boundaries. For this reason, I will maintain this distinction for this analysis bearing in mind that it is not an individual community with the same infrastructure (church, community centres etc.) as the other communities.

1   Though originally based on the parish boundaries, the perceived community boundaries vary slightly. This map shows these community boundaries as perceived by their members. The map is the result of interviews and mental maps on this subject. The variation between individuals is minimal.
2   Irishtown and Ringsend used to be two different villages and have maintained this internal division. Westland Row and City Quay are two separate parishes and this internal division is still perceived by residents. However, both areas are–by outsiders and residents alike–perceived as one community each, usually called Ringsend/Irishtown and Pearse Street area. Both have their own community centres and other institutions which serve all residents. For this reason, I will use these categories here as well.

On the north side of the river Liffey, the former port area is home to the communities of East Wall, North Wall and some North Eastern Inner City communities. While the two former neighborhoods are fully included in the area defined as "docklands," the latter are partially outside, which triggered some conflicts with the Dublin Dockland Development Authority (see in detail Wonneberger 2008). Only becoming aware of their port-related history in the course of the fieldwork,[3] I originally paid less attention to that area. Furthermore, after an initial overview of all communities, I decided to focus on only two communities for intensive research. For this reason, the numbers of interviewees is not equally distributed, as will be discussed later.

As has been indicated before, the residents of each area have a strong sense of community, which is based on what they call "a close social structure" and whose features will be the focus of this article. This close communal structure forms a very important aspect in the residents' self-image. It is in fact one of the key elements in the ongoing debate with city planners and investors in the current transformation of the old docklands.

After the port activities had retreated from the inner city in the 1960s and 1970s, due to new technologies, mechanization and containerization in the shipping industries, the areas along the river Liffey fell derelict. Manual forms of labor became obsolete. The residents of the communities who had been dependent on this labor intensive work on the docks experienced high rates of unemployment and became increasingly dependent on social welfare. Drugs and high crime rates further fed the area's reputation as one of Dublin's no-go areas in the 1970s and 1980s. At the same time, beginning in the late 1960s, Dublin Corporation started to demolish the old inner-city tenements and re-house former residents in public housing schemes in the suburbs. The dockland communities, where tenement living had been a dominant feature for over a century, were heavily affected by these schemes. Young people found it increasingly difficult to find housing in the communities in which they were raised, and this era is still remembered by many of today's residents as a "traumatic break-up" of the communal structure which was "tighter knit" then than it is today. In order to prevent further disruptions of the communal networks, social and affordable housing within the community for local

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3   This network analysis of the Dublin dockland communities is part of a larger research project which I have been involved in since 2002. The research focuses on the current waterfront development processes in the Dublin docklands and investigates how the dockland regeneration affects the old-established communities, how they are involved in the planning process, what their aims are and what they criticise. One fundamental aspect in this context is the social structure of these communities, which their members see increasingly threatened by the transformations. In order to understand their arguments, I had to study the nature of this social structure. This article presents parts of the result.

residents is one of the issues debated in the current transformation processes within the docklands. Facing the decline of the dockland area, derelict industrial sites, unemployment, deprivation and instability, the regeneration of the dockland area began in 1987 with the development of one small site, and was then extended to the entire area in 1997. The Dublin Dockland Development Authority (DDDA) set up to secure "the social and economic regeneration of the Dublin Docklands Area on a sustainable basis" (DDDA 1997: 2), is now in charge of a 526 ha site that covers almost the entire former port area including five port-related communities. This urban transformation, which includes the erection of new offices, apartment blocks, hotels, amenities, new transport and many other changes, has had a substantial impact on the established communities, some welcome, some heavily debated and criticized.

However, this debate has been the subject of other publications (e.g. Wonneberger 2005, 2008) and will only be slightly touched in this article. The focus here will be the quality of the social structure within these port-related communities.

Methodology
Relying on grounded theory or interpretive approaches of data analysis alone, I could leave it at that and take the numerous descriptive accounts as enough data to describe the social structure in the docklands. However, I chose a more scientific approach, where the qualitative data based on field work between 2002 and 2008[4] first led to an overall picture, and later to more detailed questions and hypotheses. These again were followed up by more structured interview techniques and finally structured network data collection which enabled me to analyze the underlying social structure more thoroughly. Based on network analysis,[5] I will now investigate how much the residents' self-image depicts social reality or whether it is just based on notions of an ideal neighborhood structure, which is used as a political argument in the struggle with developers and city planners to achieve certain aims for the established communities.

In the interviews and statements, the most frequently named elements which constitute this perceived close social structure are a sense of "neighborliness," basically meaning that neighbors know and assist each other, a high

4   During this time, I spent about 15 months in total in the various communities in the Dublin Docklands. My focuses, as mentioned earlier, were the two communities of North Wall and Pearse Street, but I also spent some time in the other communities. Altogether I interviewed more than 100 residents, mostly residents of the established communities, but also ten "new dwellers," i.e. people who only recently moved into the area. This will be dealt with again later in this article.
5   I would like to thank Hartmut Lang for encouraging me to undergo this endeavour and for teaching and helping me with my field data. On the methodology see in detail Schnegg and Lang (2001).

level of kinship and friendship, i.e. many residents are related to each other and have friends who live in the same area. This is reflected by the roles of the alters that are mentioned most frequently in the network interviews (n=30) and which included 632 alters. "Relative" (i.e. kindred)[6] was the most frequently mentioned role (203), followed by the category "friend," often in combination with other roles such as "friend from church," "colleague and friend" or "next-door neighbor and friend" (196), "neighbor" and "next-door neighbor" (again, often in combination with other roles) (88), "colleague and business partner" (55), advisor/helper (home helper for instance) (51).[7] Another frequently used term was "mate" (39), which is more than an acquaintance but less close than a friend. Usually mates share a common hobby, such as the local pub ("pub mate") or a club. For this analysis, however, they are classed in the category "acquaintances and mates," which also include people egos knew indirectly, for instance "mother's friend" or "friend of a friend."

During the exploratory phase of the research, based on qualitative data, I formulated the following hypotheses in order to answer the overall questions.

1. If these communities are characterized by a close social structure, this feature should be reflected by a specific geographical layout of the ego-centred networks. Therefore I expect a high number of alters who live within the same community as the interviewees. Since my qualitative data also suggest a certain closeness of neighboring communities, the second highest number of alters should be living in the neighboring community (Pearse Street and Ringsend/Irishtown, North Wall and East Wall respectively). Furthermore, the river Liffey as a strong boundary within the entire city of Dublin is expected to serve as a border within the docklands too, so ties crossing the river should be rare. This also includes people who have moved out of the area but still maintain ties to its residents.

2. Each community should consist of a high number of relatives. If kinship is such an important factor as stated, each ego will name a high number of relatives, and these relatives will also live in the same community. If kinship ties are so important I will further expect relationships to relatives who have moved out of the area.

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6   Here already summarised under the label "relatives." In the interviews, the partners mentioned the actual term, such as "brother," "cousin," my mother's sister" etc.

7   In 53 cases, at least two roles were given to alter, which reflected ego's and alter's multiplex relationship. In many other cases only one role was explicitly mentioned, but I knew that the interviewee had other relationships to alter as well, because I had known ego and alter for some time before the interview. For this reason, there the category "role" is not an exclusive category, as a colleague could be a friend of relative at the same time. Therefore I used different recoding systems, depending on the variables. E.g. if the category "next door neighbour" was analyzed, alters were recoded "next door neighbours," if they were at the same time sister or friend, etc.

3. On the other hand, as the self-image of the community members suggests, friendship ties outside the area should be seldom, as social life mostly takes part within each community. Therefore I also expect a high number of friends who live in the same community as ego.

4. The sense of "neighborliness" is based on the notion of mutual help and support. Therefore I would expect that a high percentage of egos know their next door neighbors, whom they rely on if they need some form of support.

As with any statistical analysis, the results of network analysis depend on the sample. The four major docklands communities as introduced above consist of between 3,000 and 6,400 residents each; the total population of the area was about 20,000 people in 2002.[8] An analysis of the entire network was therefore not an option and, furthermore, it would not have included alters outside the community and therefore distorted the result. For this reason, I chose the personal actors approach to study individual social networks, even if this approach might not provide me with information on the relationships between all actors.[9] However, personal networks will provide me with information on single actors' embeddedness within the community, based on the numbers of alters living in the same area. Furthermore, in a community where "everybody knows everybody else" I would expect overlapping of egos and alters in many interviews, which would finally allow generalized statements of the entire social organization.

A probability sample of the entire dockland area would have been the best option, but as often in ethnographic fieldwork was not possible, for various reasons. The most important was that after an overview of all dockland communities I had decided to focus on only two communities (Pearse Street and North Wall) in order to get in-depth data, because it seemed impossible to me to get involved in all communities to the same degree. For this reason, egos from Pearse Street and the North Wall are overrepresented in this network sample. Apart from that I used a sample that would as much as possible reflect the basic demographic features of the dockland area as described by the DDDA, the CSO and experts interviews. According to those demographic

8   Central Statistical Office (CSO) Census 2002. See also DDDA (2003: 14). However, these figures are based on wards, which do not fully correspond with the community boundaries, and they provide information on the entire population of the area, including the new residents, who are not part of the established communities. For these reasons, I can only guess the numbers of the community members. Helpful are the population figures of 1996, because at that time only few of the new apartment blocks had been built, as the DDDA scheme had not started yet. According to those statistics, the Pearse Street area had about 6,400 residents, Ringsend/Irishtown (including the South Lotts) about 6,000, North Wall ca. 3,000 and East Wall about 3,600 (CSO 2002).

9   See Schnegg and Lang (2001:12).

features, the data set of the 30 interviews conducted[10] should have an even sex ratio, all age groups (except children) should be represented and the economic profile should generally reflect what is typical in the area today, e.g. only a small proportion of academics and professionals (8%), about 6% of unemployed people, 20% managerial professions and salaried employees, 30% manual professions and a high number in lower or semi-skilled professions that do not require third-level education.[11] All interviewees should be permanent residents within the dockland area and consider themselves as a member of one of the communities described above.[12]

The following table (table 1) gives an overview of the attributes of the 30 people interviewed (egos) in the sample.

As the table shows and as has been explained before, all four communities in the dockland area as defined by the DDDA are represented. However, Pearse Street and Ringsend/Irishtown are overrepresented due to the fieldwork's focus. As I expect high consensus concerning the questions investigated here, this should not distort the results. The age groups are all represented, but the age group of the under 30s are clearly underrepresented in comparison to the general demographic feature. The sex ratio is almost even. Compared with the economic statistical profile of the area, the sample is quite typical in its unemployment rate, where the figure correlates with the statistical figures. Manual laborers are slightly underrepresented, professionals reflect the statistical data quite well, salaried employees are a little overrepresented. The fact that almost one third of the interviewees work in low-skilled professions which require little education is also typical for the area.

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10   The minimum sample of 30 is based on the central limit theorem which allows one to apply approximative statistics (see for example Bortz 20046).

11   The unemployment rate of the dockland residents for 1996 was 26.1%. This number dropped down to 10% in 2000 (DDDA 2003: 15) and 5.9% in 2002 (DDDA 2005: 17). The statistics only provide general categories of employment and it does not always become clear, which job was counted to which category. According to the DDDA (2005), 28.1% were employed in manual professions, 20% in managerial and technical professions and 8.2% as professional workers (Dublin: 26.3%) in 2002. 12.2% are "other non-manual workers," whatever that means in detail and a high rate of 30.4% remains unknown. Unfortunately, low-skilled non-manual types of work are not classed separately. However, these data underline the focus on manual and low-skilled type of employment in the dockland area, which is still prominent, even though the various community-, state- and DDDA-based programs have helped to increase the number of professional workers and decrease the numbers in the unskilled categories (DDDA 2005: 14).

12   This last aspect is important in the context of new dwellers who move into the area as a result of the current dockland regeneration. As my data show, these new residents have no affiliation with the established communities and show a very different demographic profile in terms of education, economic status, age distribution, social organisation and sense of place. These newcomers do not see themselves as part of the communities and are also perceived as strangers by the established residents. The relationship between these two groups is a topic in itself, which cannot be dealt with any further here. However, since this article wants to explore the community structures, it is important to mention these criteria, as it does not make sense to analyze a community structure if the interviewees do not consider themselves to be part of this community. The place of residence alone is not sufficient as a criterion for the sample.

Community membership	
North Wall	10
East Wall	2
Pearse Street	14
Ringsend / Irishtown	2
South Lotts	2
Age	
Average	51.6
Median	51
Minimum age	30
Maximum age	84
Age groups	
21 – 30	1
31 – 40	8
41 – 50	6
51 – 60	8
61 – 70	3
71 – 80	2
81 – 90	2
Sex ratio	
Male	14
Female	16
Economic Profile	
Manual	5 (16.7%)
Low- and non-skilled non-manual (often part-time)	8 (26.7%)
Professional	3 (10.0%)
Salaried employees, managers	9 (30.0%)
Unemployed	2 (6.7%)
Other	2 (6.7%)
N/a	1 (3.3%)

Table 1: General demographic features of egos in the sample

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The 632 alters[13] show the following features:

Age	
Average	50,65
Median	50
Age min	6
Age max	90
Age Groups	
1 – 10	4
11 – 20	7
21 – 30	34
31 – 40	118
41 – 50	177
51 – 60	125
61 – 70	96
71 – 80	34
81 – 90	18
Sex ratio	
Male	300
Female	332
Sex ratio	
Male	14
Female	16
Economic Profile	
Manual	102 (16.1%)
Low- and non-skilled non-manual (often part-time)	203 (32.1%)
Professional, salaried employees, managers	157 (24.9%)
Unemployed	20 (3.2%)
Other	35 (5.5%)
N/a	115 (18.2%)

Table 2: General demographic features of alters in the sample

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13   The 632 alters only represent 475 individuals, as many of them were named by more than one ego. See also the next section.

Again, the sex ratio is quite balanced. All age groups are represented, but—as would have been expected from the profiles of the egos—the age groups of the 31 to 60 year-olds form the majority of the alters. The economic profile also reflects the general economic status of the community members as depicted by the CSO (see above).

In order to get information on the social personal networks of the interviewees, I formulated 20 questions which cover most fields of social interaction in the Dublin Inner City context, as I had learnt in 18 years as a regular visitor to Ireland, and specifically during my field research in the docklands. While not every individual tie might be covered, the general cultural context is certainly covered, as I was assured also by the informants themselves when I prepared and conducted the interviews.

Looking for information on people who would be asked for help I distinguished between minor instrumental help, i.e. little favors that do not involve any major amounts of money, divided again in short-term (e.g. borrowing sugar or a film on DVD for one night) and long-term favors (i.e. borrowing tools for a long-term project, a tent for a couple of weeks' holiday etc.). Major economic help in the form of borrowing a larger amount of money was the third category. Time-consuming services, such as babysitting, repairs, helping to move etc., which involved no or only very little monetary payment, are another area of support personal networks are needed for. I covered the category of emotional help with the questions "who do you talk to when you need somebody to talk to about personal questions?" The category "advice" covers alters who offer help writing job applications, making difficult decisions or giving advice during pregnancy—some professional (but on a personal basis), some by alters who have themselves experiences in that field and are therefore regarded as suitable for that kind of support.

Another indicator for close social interactions are mutual visits at home, be it for a chat, a party or other event. To assure that the people mentioned were long-term relationships, I asked specifically for visits that occur on a regular basis, at least a few times a year.

In the Irish context, social interaction cannot be thoroughly investigated without including one particular place of interaction: the pub. Often nicknamed "the living room of the Irish," this is also true for the dockland communities. So called "local bars" are pubs in the area that are frequented mainly by locally living people, in some cases to the extent that regular customers literally have their own seat in a bar and spend at least five nights a week in it. Consequently, the customers all know each other, not just from the bar, but by living locally too. What is important in this context is that during the pub visit news

are exchanged, favors asked and given. Without analyzing the Irish pubs in detail, they clearly form a forum for social interaction, where Irish people in general and the docklanders in particular spend a large proportion of their leisure time and form and strengthen social ties. For this reason, I had to include this aspect in my questionnaires. Other leisure activities include clubs, church activities, voluntary involvement in community activities and trips away, be it longer holidays or a weekend away organized by a local organization.

Another aspect which used to be more typical for the dockland communities in the past, but still has a certain importance in the present is the work place. In the days of the working docks, the vast majority of local residents also earned their money in port-related activities. After all, plentiful job opportunities were the reason people moved into the area in the first place. However, with global modernization of the port technologies many local industries also disappeared. Today, many new firms in the docklands require new forms of qualifications, which is another aspect in the social regeneration program of the DDDA, as only very few local residents so far are suitable for the new jobs. In order to combat this educational problem in the docklands since the 1980s, the communities have set up their own initiatives, some of them so successful that they are today major employers in the area, who, due to their policy, have a preference to employ community members. For this reason, I also included work relations in the questionnaires.

Finally, a special case are people who are trusted with a house key, either on a regular basis in case one's own key gets lost or during holidays, when somebody has to mind the house or flat. Since this involves a high level of trust, I left this as its own category for the analysis.

Based on the data collected during the network interviews, I will now analyze the social organization structure of the dockland communities, structured by the three pillars mentioned above: kinship, neighborliness and friendship. At first, however, I will start with a general overview of the personal networks collected.

General Features
"Everybody knows everybody by name."
This short statement indicates a strongly connected network. If this was the case in the communities, the data should reflect this feature by showing a certain number of overlapping alters. And in fact, many persons are mentioned by at least two interviewees:

The number of alters mentioned is 632, but this number consists only of 475 individual persons. 390 people are named once, 85 alters are mentioned
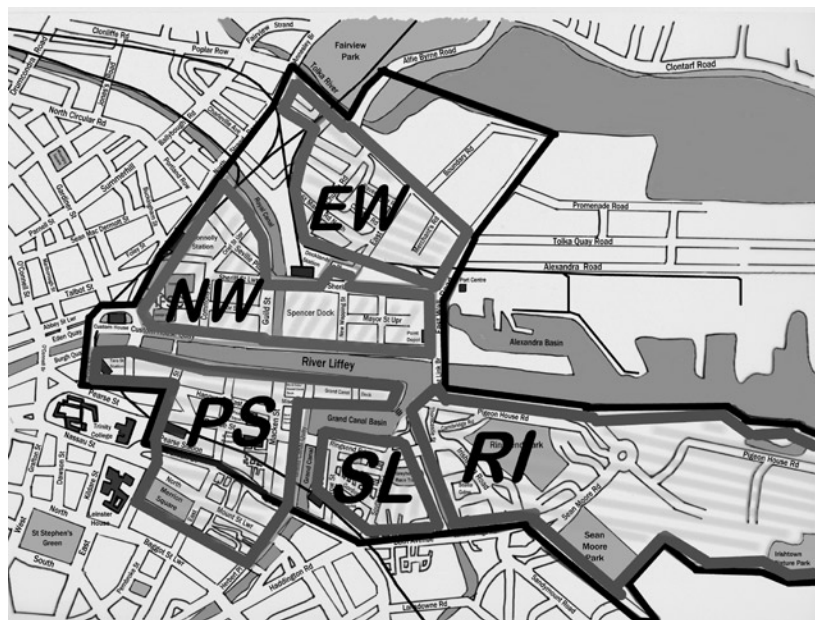
Map 2: Areas in Dublin as used for the analysis

by at least two egos. Of these 85 49 are mentioned twice, 19 three times and 17 more than three times. One person was even mentioned by 14 egos! 22 of the 30 egos reappear as alters in the data set.

Some of this overlapping can be explained with the fact that some egos are related and have been interviewed in the same location (e.g. a specific pub, community centres etc.). However, originally I have contacted the majority of egos independently from each other and only discovered later that they knew each other. This is exactly what I would expect in communities where "everybody knows everybody." During my fieldwork I was repeatedly surprised by how well individual community members know each other. According to my observations, some individuals can name easily several hundred members in their own community. Therefore, the high number of overlapping alters underline this characteristic, even if "everybody" might be a slight exaggeration considering the size of the communities.

Hypothesis number 1 is asking for the place of residence of the alters. If I assume that strong social networks exist within each community, I would expect a high number of alters who live in the same community as ego. In

Address	East Wall	North Wall	Pearse Street	Ringsend	South Lotts	All
East Wall	20	3	2	0	0	25
	50.0 %	1.5%	0.7%	0.0%	0.0%	4.0%
North Wall	4	116	2	0	1	123
	10.0%	57.1%	0.7%	0.0%	1.7%	19.5%
Pearse St	0	5	136	16	21	178
	0.0%	2.5%	47.2%	37.2%	36.2%	28.2%
Ringsend	0	0	16	13	3	32
	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	30.2%	5.2%	5.1%
South Lotts	1	2	17	3	11	34
	2.5%	1.0%	5.9%	7.0%	19.0%	5.4%
North Inner City (except north dockland communities)	4	11	3	0	0	18
	10.0%	5.4%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.9%
South Inner City (except south dockland communities	0	0	16	1	3	20
	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	2.33	5.2%	3.2%
Dublin north suburbs	4	48	28	3	10	93
	10.0%	23.7%	9.7%	7.0%	17.2%	14.7%
Dublin south suburbs	0	10	39	6	7	62
	0.0%	5.0%	13.6%	14.0%	12.1%	9.8%
Dublin suburbs (not specified)	3	4	0	0	0	7
	7.5%	2.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.1%
Rest of Ireland	4	3	20	0	1	28
	10.0%	1.5%	6.9%	0.0%	1.7%	4.4%
Europe and Oversea	0	1	5	1	1	8
	0.0%	0.5%	1.7%	2.3%	1.7%	1.3%
n/a	0	0	4	0	0	4
	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%
All	40	203	288	43	58	632
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 3: Residence of egos and alters

other words: People who live in North Wall will mostly mention other people living in North Wall. The quality of the relationships is not taken into consideration here, as it will be dealt with later.

I summarized the areas mentioned in 13 categories: The five dockland communities, the two neighboring areas of the north and south inner city (but without the dockland areas, as they form individual categories), the north and south suburbs, the rest of Ireland and Europe and Overseas. In seven cases, the suburbs were not further specified. Therefore I included a separate category. No place of residence was given in four cases. The following map shows the geographic area of each category in the Dublin context:

The following table gives a first overview of the geographic correlation between egos and alters in general, summarized by their residence. The first column, for instance, summarizes all egos from East Wall, the lines list their alters, equally sorted by their place of residence. The percentage relates to egos and therefore gives an overview of how many alters live in the same area as the egos. 20 % of all egos mentioned by the residents of East Wall, for instance, live also in East Wall; that is 50 % of all alters mentioned by residents of East Wall. 4 % live in North Wall (10 %) etc.

As predicted and highlighted in Table 3, the correlation between ego's and alter's residence is particularly high in the sample from East Wall, North Wall and Pearse Street, where between 47 % and 57 % of all alters mentioned live in the same area as ego. In Ringsend and South Lotts, the correlation seems lower (30 % and 19 %), with a very strong connection with Pearse Street, where another 37 % resp. 36 % of alters reside. One conclusion might be that the networks between the southern dockland communities are much stronger than anticipated, as the qualitative data suggest a higher correlation within one community than between two of them (cf. hypothesis 1). However, I would rather point to the biased data: Only two egos from Ringsend and two from the South Lotts were interviewed, and all of them worked or were involved in activities in St Andrew's Resource Centre in Pearse Street. This explains the high number of alters in that area. In one case, the resident is originally from the Pearse Street area and moved to the South Lotts only recently. The high number of alters in Pearse Street is therefore not surprising.

The hypothesis tested also included the assumption that the south dockland and north dockland communities are also highly interconnected. As the table shows, this is particularly the case on the south side. On the north side, the connection between East Wall, North Wall and the North East Inner City also becomes obvious, even more so if the two dockland shores are summarized. On both sides of the river the majority of alters live in the same dockland area as ego.
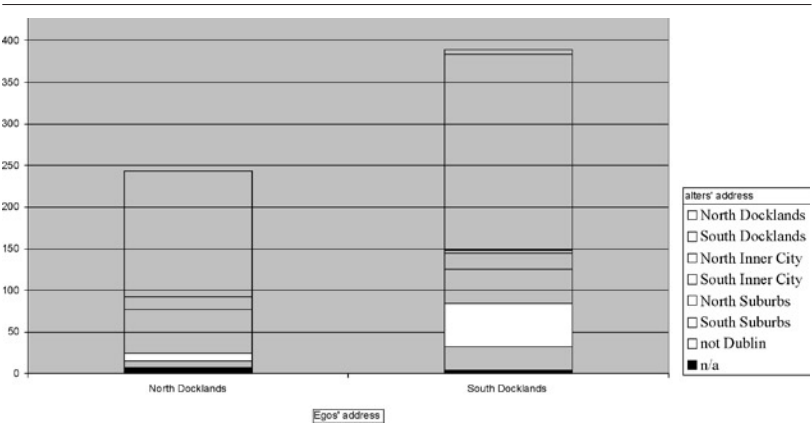
Table 4: Residence of egos and alters in the south and north docklands

The importance of spatially close networks becomes even more obvious if the absolute distances are taken into consideration. The entire dockland area, as stated above, only consists of an area of about 526 ha (5.26 km^2), only half of which (about 2.7 km^2) are inhabited or accessed by the communities (DDDA 1997: 26). Each community has the size of between 0.5 km^2 (East Wall), 0.7 km^2 (North Wall and Pearse Street) and 1.3 km^2 (Ringsend/Irishtown) only.[14] Therefore, living in Pearse Street, even Ringsend is walking distance away; the same is true for East Wall and North Wall.

From these tables we get some further information on the first hypothesis. The figures indicate that the connection between the dockland communities and the suburbs correlate with the equivalent side of the river Liffey. The south dockland communities have more ties with people living in the southern suburbs than the northern suburbs and vice versa. Possible explanations are a general preference for the riverside somebody was born in. Though done mostly in a joking way, the river is still an important border in the perception of the city dwellers, not just on physical terms but also in terms of mutual ascribed stereotypes. At least the data of dockland communities' networks suggest that this border is not just a cognitive pattern, but also has a social component. Social networks also seem to stay within one side of the river Liffey.

14   These sizes are my own calculations. They include some of the water areas and are based on the community boundaries which slightly exceed the DDDA boundaries (see in detail Wonneberger 2008). This explains the discrepancy of the DDDA's community sizes and my calculations.

The first overview suggests that there is a general strong linkage between one's residence and the residence of people that are important in one's social life. The hypotheses, however, go further and also ask for the components of these networks. According to the interview quotes at the beginning the social networks within the community do have a strong component of kinship. Whether this is backed up by my network data will be analyzed in the next section.

Kinship

"Every second person is related to each other down here."
Traditionally, kinship has for a long time played an important role in social anthropological research, particularly in studies of pre-industrial societies, where social relationships based on descent and marriage form the central aspects of social organization. When many anthropologists shifted their attention towards complex and urban societies, their interest in kinship faded, as other forms of social ties seemed to be more dominant in the urban context (Schweizer 1996: 15 – 16). Today, this dichotomy has lost its dominance, as it became obvious that both traditional and modern societies consist of strong institutionalized networks (e.g. through kinship) as well as weaker and short-lived ties (e.g. friendship) (Schweizer 1996: 18).

This section will now investigate how important kinship and kin ties are for the dockland communities. Again I will use the qualitative data as a starting point.

According to qualitative interviews, the degree of kinship was much higher in the past than today. One interview partner recalled that in 1954 "there was 165 of us [our family] related in the one street only." Nevertheless, notions on community today still include the factor kinship, as the statement above indicates.

Based on these observations I expect each community to consist of a high number of relatives. If kinship is such an important factor as stated, each ego will name a high number of relatives, and these relatives will also live in the same community. If kinship ties are so important, I will further expect relationships to relatives who have moved out of the area.

A first look at the data reveals that 203 alters (32.12 %) named are relatives, i.e. are connected to ego by consanguine or affinal ties. In average, each ego mentioned almost seven relatives. This clearly points to a high significance that kinship plays for ego's networks in general; however, it does not provide any information on the importance for the community structure. To gain information on the role kinship plays on the neighborhood level, the residence of these relatives has to be taken into consideration, as well. The following table gives an overview of the residence of egos and alters:

Address	East Wall	North Wall	Pearse Street	Ringsend	South Lotts	All
East Wall	5 41.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 2.5%
North Wall	0 0.0%	29 39.2%	2 2.2%	0 0.0%	1 8.3%	32 15.8%
Pearse St	0 0.0%	4 5.4%	37 39.8%	0 0.0%	3 25.0%	44 21.7%
Ringsend	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	6 6.5%	4 33.3%	0 0.0%	10 4.9%
South Lotts	0 0.0%	2 2.7%	4 4.3%	0 0.0%	2 16.7%	8 3.9%
North Inner City (except north dockland communities)	2 16.7%	2 2.7%	1 1,08%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	5 2.5%
South Inner City (except south dockland communities)	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 9.7%	0 0.0%	0 0.0%	9 4.4%
Dublin north suburbs	2 16.7%	28 37.8%	7 7.5%	3 25.0%	2 16.7%	42 20.7%
Dublin south suburbs	0 0.0%	8 10.8%	21 22.6%	4 33.3%	3 25.0%	36 17.7%
Outside Dublin	3 25.0%	1 1.4%	6 6.5%	1 8.3%	1 8.3%	12 5.9%
Total	12 100.0%	74 100.0%	93 100.0%	12 100.0%	12 100.0%	203 100.0%

Table 5: Residency of egos and kin-related alters

Again, there is a high correlation between ego's residence and alter's residence. In all communities, with the exception of the in-between area South Lotts (for the same reasons as mentioned earlier), ego's neighborhood is also the residence of almost half of his or her relatives mentioned in the interviews. Between 33 % and 42 % of all the relatives mentioned live in the same area as ego. In average, each individual named more than three people who are both

related and neighbors. This clearly indicates a high number of kinship relations which characterizes the social structure of the dockland communities.

A high percentage of alters live in the north and south Dublin suburbs. What is striking here is the correlation of the river sides, just like the alters mentioned in general. The kin relations of the residents of the south side of the river Liffey mostly live in the southern suburbs (23 % – 33 %), the kin relations of residents in the northern dockland communities mostly in the northern suburbs (8 % – 38 % or 25 % – 40 % if the North Inner City is included). If the place of residence is compared with alter's role, the importance of kin ties become particularly obvious: 166 alters mentioned in the sample live in the Dublin suburbs, 78 of which (47 %) are relatives. Again, this underlines the general importance of kin networks and shows that kin relations are dominant in relations that bridge longer geographic distances. These relationships seem to be so important that they endure even without the proximity of the neighborhood, after family members have moved out.

The next question is what type of help and support one's kindred is used for. The following table provides an overview:

Type of help / questions	Frequency of mentioning	Percentage in relation to all 203 kin alters
Mutual visits	137	67.5%
Services	94	46.3%
Joint leisure activities	79	38.9%
Minor instrumental help (long-term)	60	29.6%
Major economic help	57	28.1%
Advice	50	24.6%
Emotional help	46	22.7%
Trust (keys)	44	21.7%
Minor instrumental help (short-term)	10	4.9%
Work	7	3.4%

Table 6: Type of support by kindred

The table shows that the majority of relatives (67.5 %) are visited quite regularly. This does not say anything about the type of support but surely indicates close interaction within families in general. This is further supported by the high level of joint leisure activities, which include holiday trips (38.9 %).

Relatives are mentioned in every category investigated, including work, even though to a small degree. The most important type of help according to this sample is services provided. About one quarter of the relatives mentioned are used for minor, but long-term instrumental help, major economic help, advice, emotional help and trusted with a key to mind the flat or house. This shows that the types of support within kin circles are quite diverse. However, based on qualitative data, I would also expect that kin relations are mostly contacted in situations that require a high level of trust, be it emotional support or major economic help. To test this hypothesis, the data were sorted according to the type of support. The following table presents the result:

Role	Major econ. help	Minor instrum. help	Services	Emotional help	Trust	Advice	Leisure Activities	Visits	Work
Acquaintance, mate	2	6	14	0	2	2	81	8	2
	2.7%	3.8%	9.2%	0.0%	3.3%	1.9%	22.3%	3.7%	1.7%
advisor, helper	2	0	2	6	5	13	29	9	16
	2.7%	0.0%	1.3%	5.9%	8.2%	12.2%	8.0%	4.2%	13.8%
colleague, business partner	1	7	3	2	0	5	29	3	53
	1.3%	4.4%	2.0%	2.0%	0.0%	4.7%	8.0%	1.4%	45.7%
friend	12	46	34	47	7	37	144	55	38
	16.0%	29.1%	22.4%	46.5%	11.5%	34.6%	39.7%	25.7%	32.8%
next door neighbor	1	36	5	0	3	0	1	2	0
	1.3%	22.8%	3.3%	0.0%	4.9%	0.0%	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%
relative	57	63	94	46	44	50	79	137	7
	76.0%	39.9%	61.8%	45.5%	72.1%	46.7%	21.8%	64.0%	6.0%
Total	75	158	152	101	61	107	363	214	116
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 7: Types of help sorted by roles

As this table shows, relatives are the most important type of people in personal networks who are approached for any type of support. Particularly high is the percentage of people asked for major economic help, namely if one needs a larger amount of money, where 76 % are relatives, and matters of trust, name-

ly giving one's house key away (72 %). Relatives are also the most important supporters for minor instrumental help, services, such as repairs, babysitting etc., as well as advice, and they are—as we have already seen before—the most frequent visitors. They are equally approached for emotional help and also play an important role for joint leisure activities and even work to a small extent. The latter can be explained by the fact that community centres who, due to their policy, employ a large number of local community members are important employers in the area today. Due to the high level of kinship in the area, some of these employees are related.

Without any further analysis of kin types, which would lead too far in this context, it becomes clear how important kinship networks are for the current community structure. Relatives are the most frequently approached people for any type of support. More than one third of the relatives mentioned live in the same community as ego. Therefore, kinship is certainly a dominant social column of the communal social structure.

Neighborhood and "Neighborliness"
"The neighborliness was fantastic. You looked after one another."
There seem to be two major assumptions in literature about the importance of neighbors in urban social networks. While some research supports the thesis that urban residents usually support personal networks outside the boundary of their own residential area, other studies find that ties between neighbors remain important in urban environment today (Avenarius 2002: 290). The Dublin dockland communities are a strong example for the latter.

Although there is a common notion among the dockland communities, which is explicitly expressed in most narrative interviews with older members, that the "sense of neighborhood" or "neighborliness," as it is also referred to, used to be a lot better in the past than today—which is also indicated by the past tense in the quotation above—there is also general agreement that such a characteristic still exists today and is a special feature of the area. However, in order to analyze this element any further, this cultural category has to be more clearly defined first.

Neighborhood is often used synonymously for community, and consequently the label neighbor for any member of the community, i.e. living in the immediate area within the community boundaries. If neighbors are so important for personal networks, it is to be expected that they are not just labeled "neighbors" in the interviews, but rather according to other roles they play, such as "friends," "mates," "I know him from church" etc. Neighbors can—and often are, as the last section showed—also be relatives, and since kinship was always the most important type of role, alters were always labeled

as such. In 88 cases, however, the social role was defined as "neighbor,"[15] in other words: Ego knew him or her basically from living in the area and being part of the community. However, as most other "neighbors" are classed as "friends," "mates" etc., it does not make much sense to further use that category, as all alters residing in the same area would also be neighbors. Nevertheless, there is one particular type of neighbor that is worth a closer look: The so-called next-door neighbors, i.e. people literally living next door or at least in the same block of flats and therefore only one minute away.

These next-door neighbors are very often mentioned in the context of "neighborliness." As many interviewees described it, a sense of community can only arise if people know who is living beside them. In the past it was common to leave one's front door open so neighbors could walk in any time for a chat. In more recent times, due to rising crime and more material wealth, this has changed of course, but particularly the social housing complexes still offer a relatively high degree of social control in that a large proportion of the residents know each other and spot a stranger walking in quickly.[16]

It is also a wide-spread fear that the new apartments which are currently built will make life more anonymous in the sense that people will not know who is living next to them. This also has to do with the different life style of the "new residents," who are much more mobile and usually do not know their next-door neighbors.[17]

Without going into more details, the point becomes clear. The notion of neighborhood and neighborliness means not only that the community members know each other, are related to each other and share a sense of connectedness, but on an operational level it also means that community members know their next-door neighbors. If this was the case, it should clearly be reflected in the network data, in the sense that next-door neighbors are mentioned as alters. And, in fact, they are mentioned frequently.

Altogether, 58 next-door neighbors were listed, which means that 9.2 % of all alters in this sample live literally next door. Of the 30 interviewees, 25 do mention at least one next-door neighbor and in many cases—just like the

15   Sometimes in combination with "also friend" or "I also work with him/her" or "we are on the residents' committee of the apartment block together," which further underlines the closeness of the networks.
16   A good example is an experience I had during my fieldwork. When I rang the doorbell of one interview partner and he did not open the door I was immediately spotted by his neighbor. She told me that he was not home right now, and when I saw him again he was already informed that I had tried to contact him. Similar occurrences happened frequently during my research.
17   New residents are people who move into the dockland area in the course of the redevelopment. They are clearly distinguished from the established communities in that they do not take part in their activities, have a different socio-economic profile, are very mobile and have scattered social networks. The implications will be further looked at later in this article.

category "neighbor"—also as friends and relatives, which is another indicator for close networks. Of the remaining five cases, two had just moved to a new apartment, which was the reason that they did not know their neighbors too well yet. The other three all know their neighbors by sight.

Two features are interesting in this context: Firstly, the type of ties connecting them to ego. The following table shows in which questions next door neighbors were named.

Type of help/questions	Frequency of mentioning	Percentage in relation to all 58 next door neighbors
Minor instrumental help (short-term)	45	77.6%
Minor instrumental help (long-term)	15	25.9%
Joint leisure activities	13	22.4%
Mutual visits	12	20.7%
Services	10	17.2%
Trust (keys)	9	15.5%
Emotional help	4	6.7%
Advice	2	3.4%
Major economic help	1	1.7%
Work	1	1.7%

Table 8: Type of help provided by next door neighbors

It is very obvious from this table as well as Table 7 that next-door neighbors are mainly approached in situations where minor instrumental help is needed, e.g. to borrow sugar or a DVD for an evening. In those cases it would not be practical to contact other people within the network who live further away. The physical closeness is the argument here to ring next door's bell. However, even minor favors are only asked from people someone knows. So this element of "knowing one's next door neighbor" is certainly present here. The other categories also hint at the important roles next-door neighbors play in the communities. Though mentioned less frequently, next-door neighbors are mentioned in every other context. 22.4% take regularly part in joint leisure activities, 20.7% are visited (or come to visit) on a regular basis, 15.5% are trusted with house keys. All this indicates how important neighbors are in social networks.

The second interesting feature is the sex ratio: 42 (72.4%) of the next door alters are women, only 16 (27.6%) men. This can be explained with the type

of ties next door neighbors are connected with. As shown before, next door neighbors are mostly asked for minor instrumental and household-related help, such as lending sugar. As this is a realm usually attributed to women, it is not surprising that the female members of a neighboring household are mentioned, when it comes to this type of help.[18]

In conclusion, the quantitative data strongly support the qualitative descriptions of the importance of neighbors and "neighborliness" of the community. People know each other by name and the role "neighbor" is an important role in the social organization. Specifically important are next-door neighbors. Even if they are mainly approached for minor instrumental help, they play an important role for a sense of safety and integration, as everybody is surrounded by people who know them. Nobody lives anonymously. This last aspect certainly includes a certain element of social control, which—although criticized in some situations—is generally appreciated, as it creates a sense of community and "home."

Friendship

"[People here] they don't want to move out [...], their families are here, their friends are here, that is important."
After kinship and neighborliness, the third category defining a close dockland community is a high level of friendship.

One of the principal problems with the category "friendship" is its fuzzy boundaries. People define very differently whom they regard as their friend and they class as acquaintance, mate etc. For this reason, I asked specifically for my interviewees' definition of the term. Without going into too many details, the elements mentioned were very repetitive, the consensus generally quite high. According to their view, friends are people you trust, you have known for a long time, you see regularly, you share common interests and you feel generally comfortable with. Except for two interview partners, all agreed that friends are non-relatives.

Of all alters mentioned, 196 (of 632) were classed as "friends," many of them in combination with other roles, such as "friend from church," "colleague and friend" etc. If the hypothesis stated at the beginning is right, a high proportion of these friends should live locally, i.e. in the same community as ego or at least in the neighboring area. The following table gives an overview:

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18   This is further supported by the observation that in the interviews where both men and women were given as alters for this specific question, the women were always mentioned first.

Address	East Wall	North Wall	Pearse St	Ringsend	South Lotts	Total
East Wall	3	2	0	0	0	5
	20.0%	4.8%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	2.6%
North Wall	4	22	0	0	0	26
	26.7%	52.4%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	13.3%
Pearse St	0	0	51	1	8	60
	0.0%	0.0%	47.2%	12.5%	34.8%	30.6%
Ringsend	0	0	3	5	1	9
	0.0%	0.0%	2.8%	62.5%	4.4%	4.6%
South Lotts	0	0	9	1	3	13
	0.0%	0.0%	8.3%	12.5%	13.0%	6.6%
North Inner City (except north dockland communities)	2	6	0	0	0	8
	13.3%	14.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	4.1%
South Inner City (except south dockland communities)	0	0	6	1	2	9
	0.0%	0.0%	5.6%	12.5%	8.7%	6.6%
Dublin north suburbs	3	9	14	0	6	32
	20.0%	21.4%	13.0%	0.0%	26.1%	16.3%
Dublin south suburbs	0	2	14	0	3	19
	0.0%	4.8%	13.0%	0.0%	13.0%	9.7%
Dublin suburbs	2	0	0	0	0	2
	13.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.0%
Ireland and Oversea	1	1	11	0	0	13
	6.7%	2.4%	10.2%	0.0%	0.0%	6.6%
Total	15	42	108	8	23	196
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Table 9: Residence of friends

As expected, a great proportion of egos' friends live in the same community or the neighboring area. Particularly striking is the coherence in Ringsend, North Wall and Pearse Street, where 62% (52% and 47% respectively) live locally, i.e. only minutes away. People from the South Lotts have particularly close ties to the Pearse Street area, which has been explained before; the same for the interviewees from East Wall, who have many friends in the neighboring community of North Wall. If all neighboring communities are counted in,

more than 50 % of each ego's friends live in the same north or south dockland area; in the case of the Ringsenders, it is even 87 % of all "friends" mentioned. So, like the category "relatives," friends are also very much localized and therefore form an integral part of the community structure.

Next I will take a closer look at the context in which friends are mentioned. As table 7 shows, friends are approached in all situations and after relatives the most important source of major economic and instrumental help and support. Particularly important are friends for emotional support, where they are mentioned even more often than relatives (46.53 %). They also form the group of people egos spend most of their leisure activities with (almost 40 %). And even at work almost one third of the people mentioned in this context are also considered friends.

Due to the fuzzy character of the term, however, I also took a closer look on a category that is more narrowly defined: One's "best friends." The category of the best friend includes only a small circle of people, who can be trusted to keep a secret, so you can share problems and have a personal conversation with. They help out not just with minor issues but also in more serious situations, such as borrowing money or granting time-consuming favors.

In one question I asked specifically for "best friends." One of my intentions was to make sure that the interviewees had not forgotten to mention any important person that I had not covered by the previous questions. As it turned out, however, the "best friends" had always been mentioned before.

92 best friends were named altogether. With only one exception, they were named at least twice during the interview, one was even mentioned in 15 questions. In average, best friends are mentioned 5.7 times (median 5.5) during an interview.

As could be expected, best friends are mentioned in all categories of questions, particularly for joint leisure activities (66 mentioned), emotional help (57), mutual visits (47) and advice (41). Friends are among work colleagues and also provide major economic support, but at a lower level than relatives.

Also important is their spatial distribution, which is very similar to the distribution of friends in general. Again, particularly strong is the cohesion in Ringsend, where 67 % of the best friends reside in the same community as ego. In North Wall the figure is 53 % (combined with East Wall 60 %), in Pearse Street 32 % (combined with South Lotts and Ringsend 46 %) and in the South Lotts 20 %, but again with strong links to Ringsend and Pearse Street (combined 40 %).

In conclusion, even though the category "friendship" is a fuzzy term, it cannot be left out in the analysis of social networks in the Dublin docklands, as it is a term frequently used. The emic markers given, which include a high

level of trust, common interests and regular visits, are all supported by the data in this sample, where friends are not only people one spends a lot of leisure time with, but also approached for different types of help and support. The fact that, on average, more than half of the interviewees' friends live locally, i.e. in the same or the adjacent area and therefore only a short walk away, makes it easy to contact them and see them regularly in different contexts. All this is another factor in the close social networks of the area.

Conclusion

These sets of data, both qualitative and quantitative, suggest a very strong social cohesion within each community and—to a lesser degree—with the adjacent neighborhoods. Each actor is strongly embedded within his or her community by multiple ties. This social embeddedness is based on three basic pillars: kinship, friendship and neighborliness. About half of each person's relatives and friends live in the same community or the adjacent neighborhood, and everybody knows their next door neighbor. All of these people are approached for various forms of support; they play a large role in one's daily life in one's spare time and an involvement in local social activities, such as clubs, pubs, the church, community events and even work to a certain degree. The notion of "close communities" is a social reality and not just an image of a perfect urban neighborhood, often advertised by investors and planners of the new residential areas.[19]

Apart from the structure of personal networks, the community structure is further intensified by other typical characteristics, such as community centres, community papers which are distributed to every household or festivals, which many families regularly take part in, as I observed during my fieldwork.

The data also showed that although the communities have a high density of inner-communal networks, their members' personal networks do go beyond the community boundaries. They are no longer self-contained units and social networks as envisioned in images of the past conjured by some interviewees. This might be due to changes in the housing situation during the 1960s and 1970s, when many inner city families were offered housing in the suburbs and moved out, while continuing relationships in their original communities. It could also be due to an increasing level of mobility facilitated by better transport which enables people to establish and maintain relationships that go beyond the community boundaries. The changing work situation, where

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19   The DDDA, investors and other planners often use phrases such as "Spencer Dock [one of the newly developed sites] will become a vibrant and dynamic community where business will flourish" (advertisement slogan at Spencer Dock hording 2008) in order to advertise the new developments in the docklands.

the majority of dockland residents do no longer work nearby on the docks or related industries, is another factor which creates new network ties. Finally, the level of self-containment in the past may have simply been exaggerated in retrospect in the qualitative interviews.

It also became obvious that the close social structures within the communities are not just structures that can be analyzed from an etic perspective, but have a very strong impact on community members' every day lives and actions. As the interviews revealed, the social ties are not just used for minor and major instrumental help, joint leisure activities etc., but also for economic purposes, such as help in looking for a new job. This set of data can easily be combined and specified with other qualitative data. In the past, when the economic life depended on the dock economy, social networks had always been crucial to survive, as I have demonstrated before.[20] Today, these ties might be less important for economic survival, but they are still common in the area as local job centres demonstrate, which are specifically run by community-based organizations and aimed at community members.[21]

This close social structure can therefore be seen as a form of social capital which each member profits from. This also explains the wish to maintain this close communal structure. As it is strongly based on kinship and long-term acquaintances, all localized in a small neighborhood, the prospect of being forced to move out is also seen as a threat against this social capital. For this reason it is understandable when community members are very concerned about the housing issue, rising housing prices and the numbers of social housing in the area. With this in mind, the protests against some of the plans of the developers and city planners take on a new dimension. Particularly the struggle for new and affordable housing, which enables the children of old-established families to stay in the area, is also a fight for an old-established social capital, which is used on a daily basis, and therefore part of the traditional culture of the area.

Based on this network analysis it becomes obvious that this argument is more than just a theoretical argument, but does reflect everyday life and is

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20 In the past, the dock-related economy could be referred to as a kind of "urban subsistence" which was characterized by casual, informal and badly-paid types of work combined with a high level of flexibility and dependence on personal social networks. Relationships with stevedores and employers were as important to find work and survive as extended networks based on friendship and kinship that could be relied upon in times of economic hardship (see in detail Wonneberger 2006).

21   Due to the high numbers of unemployed in the dockland neighborhoods in the 1970s and 1980s, each area set up their own initiatives to combat this issue. One strategy was to train and employ local residents, as they would be approached by unemployed people with more trust than "strange" FÁS employees (Irish National Training Agency), as I was told by community representatives who had been involved in establishing these local employment centres.

the social reality. When in the 1960s and 70s, after the demolition of the old inner-city tenements, many inner city families were forced to move out to the newly established suburbs, the even closer community structure was already de-localized to a certain extent. This is still remembered by many community members as very "traumatic" and should never happen again, particularly not in the context of the current dockland regeneration.

The high level of social cohesion within the community also explains the high level of community action in the current transformation process. The strong protests against high-rise, for instance, were backed up by hundreds if not thousands of individuals.[22] These common events, in turn, are another indicator for the close community structure. Even if each community has their own organizations, the new common "others," the developers and city planners, are a reason to form new alliances to gain more political power. I would argue that this quickly formed cooperation could not have been possible without the strong cohesion within each community.

The specific social organization outlined in this article is certainly a cultural factor for these communities. Cultural in that it is shared, transmitted over generations and clearly distinguishes its members from other city dwellers, particularly the so-called "new residents" in the dockland area. Part of the redevelopment consists of the erection of new apartment blocks, most of which are inhabited by people who moved in from other parts of Dublin, Ireland and foreign countries. Without going into detail here, a comparison between the social organization of the old-established communities and the new dwellers reveals many differences: The social networks of the new residents are scattered all over Dublin, Ireland and abroad. Life in the apartment complexes is very anonymous in the sense that there is a high level of mobility and consequently neighbors typically do not know each other. Of the eight apartment dwellers I interviewed, only one knew his next door neighbor and one other person from the same block to see. Nobody had relatives in the immediate area, only one person had friends in the next block. Consequently, their social life was not centred in the residential neighborhood, but took place all over Dublin and beyond. These people then represent the more typical urban culture; they are also parts of groups and networks of course, but these networks are a-spatial, non-localized.

22 A general debate about high rise in Dublin has been ongoing since the 1970s. However, it was massively intensified in the 1990s, particularly when the new plans for various sites in the docklands area, such as the George's Quay scheme on the south side and the National Conference Centre and the Spencer Dock development on the north side were announced in the late 1990s. The prospect of being overshadowed by the planned towers triggered wide-spread protest among the local communities with the result that some of the plans had to be changed and revised (see in detail McDonald 2000).

This article is not an argument against qualitative research. Quite the contrary is true. Without in-depth ethnographic fieldwork based on participation, observation, informal, un- and semi-structured interviews, grand-tour and ethnographic interviews, a formal network analysis would not have been possible. Firstly, conducting the often long and boring networks interviews would not have been possible without the close relationships I had built up during the previous years. Whereas some interviewees enjoyed these form of interviews, some only completed them because they could do me a favor. Pints I had promised them in return also helped of course. Secondly, only the numerous qualitative data provided me with an overall picture of the social organization within the communities. Without these qualitative data, I would never have found hypotheses to prove. I only noticed the importance of social organization for my subject in the course of analyzing qualitative data. For this reason it becomes obvious that both methodologies do not contradict but rather complement each other. To take this method further, it would be interesting to include genealogical data in order to show how long families have been living in the dockland area, to what extent this is reflected in personal networks and what effect this temporal dimension adds to the current social structure. That, however, will be the subject of another article.

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