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Regenerating out crime

The impact of an urban regeneration programme on safety and security in a Dublin suburb

A thesis submitted to the Dublin Institute of Technology in part fulfilment of the requirements for award of Masters (M.A.) in Criminology

By

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28th September, 2012

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Declaration of ownership

I hereby certify that the material which is submitted in this thesis towards the award of Master (M.A.) in Criminology is entirely my own work and has not been submitted for any academic assessment other than part-fulfilment of the aware named above.

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ABSTRACT

The regeneration of Turristown was a programme for the economic, social and physical renewal of a suburban town in the north-west of Dublin, which began in 1997 and which remains on-going to this date. The area of Turristown is one which has been blighted by socioeconomic and physical deprivation since its establishment in the late 1960s, and the regeneration programme was therefore formulated to provide much needed housing, social services and economic investment to the area. This study sought to assess the impact of this urban regeneration on security and safety as perceived by the suppliers and consumers of security and safety in Turristown. The research was of a qualitative nature; semi-structured interviews were conducted with those involved in the planning and implementation of the redevelopment, with the suppliers of security and safety in the town, namely An Garda Síochána and Dublin City Council, and with the consumers of public safety made up of business owners, the local authority and local agencies. Furthermore, the study sought to examine the nature of partnership in respect of urban regeneration programmes to establish whether the inter-agency approach to crime prevention and social development was a worthwhile endeavour.

The research established that there were definite safety and security benefits to regenerating a deprived urban area, and this was confirmed from the perspective of both the suppliers and consumers of public safety. An Garda Síochána and Dublin City Council are better able to provide clean, safe and secure environments for those working and living in Turristown as a result of specific physical and social changes made to the area. Furthermore, consumers of public safety also feel more secure and are less affected by crime. However, the study shows that harder situational crime prevention measures such as CCTV proliferation and newer, more secure buildings are not the only explanations for this phenomenon; increased footfall, natural surveillance, and improved community spirit all contribute to a feeling of safety and have an effect on the level of criminal opportunity in an area.

The regeneration project did cause some unforeseen issues, particularly in respect of empty tower blocks which became crime attractors, and from the increased availability of alcohol which occurred as a result of the establishment of a number of premises with off-sales

facilities. Design issues also led to problems in maintaining the new housing developments and public areas from the perspective of Dublin City Council.

The partnership approach to urban regeneration appears to have been a success and has enriched inter-agency relations in the town, thus improving the ability of agencies to provide safety and security to local residents and to those working in the town. However, a number of concerns were raised in respect of the partnership process, particularly around the representation afforded to local residents and on some of the non-housing decisions made by the Turristown Regeneration Company which affected local residents acutely.

It is anticipated that this study will add depth to both situational crime prevention and community safety research already carried out in this jurisdiction. Furthermore, the research may inform policy relating to subsequent proposed regeneration programmes to be undertaken in this country and to the nature of inter-agency partnership schemes.

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Introduction

1.1   Introduction and context

The regeneration of Turristown was a programme for the economic, social and physical renewal of a suburb in the north-west of Dublin, which began in 1997 and which remains on-going to this date. The area of Turristown is one which has been blighted by socioeconomic and physical deprivation since its establishment in the late 1960s, and the regeneration programme was therefore implemented to provide much needed housing, social services and economic investment to the area.

For the purposes of preserving respondent anonymity, the identity of the study area has been changed to Turristown. This is discussed further in chapter three.

The research was carried out through the analysis of qualitative data gleaned from semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Turristown. This research method was chosen in order to obtain an understanding of participants' interpretation of the regeneration of Turristown and to examine the rationale behind decisions made in the planning and implementation processes.

1.2   Aims, objectives and rationale for the study

The aim of this study is to determine the extent to which certain elements of the regeneration of Turristown have impacted on safety and security in the town as perceived by specific sectors of the community, namely the suppliers and consumers of public safety and security.

The main objectives of this research, therefore, are to analyse the changes made to Turristown as a result of the regeneration programme, and to examine the extent to which some of these changes have impacted on security and safety in the Turristown area.

Through accomplishing these, the researcher also endeavours to examine the benefits and disadvantages of the regeneration of Turristown as an 'urban regeneration partnership' in order to offer a critique of the increasingly important role played by partnerships in Irish crime prevention policy.

Furthermore, this study aims to provide a qualitative assessment of the impact of some of the situational crime prevention techniques which were employed in Turristown during the regeneration. Situational crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design are areas which are currently underdeveloped within the Irish criminological arena.

1.3   Research questions

The research question guiding this study is the following:

- What are the identifiable qualitative shifts in terms of safety and security which have come about as a result of the regeneration of Turristown, as perceived by the suppliers and consumers of crime prevention?

In addition to this, the study also seeks to ascertain:

- To what extent does the partnership approach to crime prevention succeed in fulfilling the safety and security needs of the parties within such a partnership?

CHAPTER 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this study is to determine the extent to which the regeneration of Turristown has impacted on safety and security in the town as perceived by the suppliers and consumers of safety and security. In order to understand the rationale behind urban regeneration as a crime prevention tool, one must first examine the theoretical basis for situational crime prevention including an overview of some key studies carried out in other jurisdictions.

The researcher will then examine the concept of urban regeneration, and its use as a method of crime prevention in deprived areas. The study will evaluate the benefits and disadvantages of urban regeneration schemes as crime prevention partnerships in urban areas.

Finally, this chapter will look at the area of Turristown and examine some of the socio-economic context and crime issues which led to the conception of the Turristown regeneration programme. The researcher will review the regeneration itself and its progress to date.

2.2 Introduction to situational crime prevention

There has been a dearth of research conducted in this country to evaluate the impact of crime prevention programmes which focus on augmenting crime targets and places. This contrasts with other jurisdictions, particularly the UK and USA where many examples of situational crime prevention research have been carried out. The following section gives an overview of the development of situational crime prevention in other jurisdictions, the empirical evidence supporting the concept, and a critique of the theory.

2.2.1 *Theoretical development*

Crime prevention re-emerged across Europe in the latter decades of the twentieth century. Its re-introduction to the political discourse was a result of changes in social conditions, such as high crime rates, mass consumerism, and growing individualism, but also an acknowledgement that the apparatus of the traditional criminal justice system were ill-equipped to reduce crime and change human behaviour (Crawford, 2009). The latter forms part of a broader ideological shift from social welfarism to a neo-liberal model of social policy whereby the state, adjudged to be providing costly, paternalistic, and overly interventionist social assistance, would be rolled back and the size and function of the central government would be reduced.

Garland (2001) suggests that the changed landscape of crime prevention is part of a "responsibilisation strategy" whereby "instead of addressing crime in a direct fashion by means of the police, the courts and the prisons, this approach promotes a new kind of indirect action, in which state agencies activate actions by non-state organisations and actors" (p.124). Through such 'preventive partnerships' the state allows private actors and citizens to participate in their own governance more actively, and to draw on a wider pool of expertise than would be available through state intervention alone. In this way, a government can achieve its aim of 'governing at a distance'.

Newburn (2007) describes situational crime prevention not as a theoretical criminological perspective in its own right, but as a body of work which builds on rational choice and routine activity theories. Rational choice theory posits that individuals make choices based on expected outcomes, and offenders will commit a crime if the perceived advantages of doing so outweigh the potential negatives associated with the act (ibid.). Routine activities theory states that for a crime to take place there must be a motivated offender, a suitable target and the absence of capable guardians (Cohen & Felson, 1979). The unavailability of either a suitable place to commit crime or a crime target itself will be enough to deter the rational criminal from offending. Situational crime prevention, therefore, involves manipulating the immediate environment in order to reduce the opportunity for crime and to increase the risk of offender detection (Clarke, 2007).

The concept of situational crime prevention has significant implications for urban design in high crime areas. Schneider and Kitchen state that layout of the built environment has a direct impact on the opportunity to commit crime (2007). They state that physical characteristics of an urban area can impact considerably on the crimes that can and cannot be committed there. Oscar Newman found that differences in crime rates for two public housing complexes could be attributed to differences in design. He established that opportunities for crime could be reduced by creating defensible space. This involved manipulating the built environment and bringing it under the control of its residents by improving an area's territoriality, surveillance and image (Newman, 1972). By delineating between private and public space, and by increasing the natural surveillance over an area, potential criminals faced decreased opportunities to commit crime and an increased risk of being caught. This is the basis of the concept we now understand to be crime prevention through environmental design (CPTED). Newman's work was subsequently developed beyond the scope of residential areas. Poyner (1983) suggested that Newman's concepts of increasing territoriality and improving surveillance could also be applied to city centres and other urban spaces.

2.2.2   Empirical evidence

Many contemporary situational crime prevention studies point to success and the implementation of such techniques has therefore been widespread in other jurisdictions. A Home Office meta-study carried out by Farrington & Welsh (2002), for example, found that improved street lighting led to significant reductions in crime; the authors concluded that this measure should be an integral element in any situational crime reduction programme. Similarly, studies examining the effect of CCTV in public areas (Painter & Tilley, 1999; Welsh & Farrington, 2007) point to significant decreases in crime and anti-social behaviour where the strategies have been implemented.

A review of a CPTED scheme in Portland, Oregon found that through enacting techniques of CPTED, commercial burglaries were significantly decreased in the area (US Department of Justice, 1981). The US Department of Justice (1979) also found that while a combination of changes in physical design, police operations and community responses to crime were

essential to produce positive criminogenic results in an area under renewal, it was the physical element that was the catalyst for making the other crime prevention strategies work.

Schneider and Kitchen (2002) suggest that towns "laid out by planners with a special concern for crime prevention" (p. 147) are likely to have lower crime rates than comparable towns where similar concepts have not been considered. Casteel and Peek-Asa's meta-study (2000) of sixteen CPTED evaluations over thirty years found that groups applying the CPTED techniques experienced fewer robberies than those who did not. Crowe (2000) also points to a number of case studies where the application of CPTED has reduced crime in areas such as residential spaces, commercial zones, transit stations and car parks.

To say that the implementation of CPTED has been an unequivocal success would be to ignore those areas where it has not achieved its goals and has even had a negative effect on communities. Early examples of planned urban environments were often haphazard and unplanned. Shaftoe & Read (2005) state that hard lessons have been learned through misjudged urban redesign schemes which were ineffective in reducing existing crime and even produced unforeseen crime-generating side-effects. Cozens (2008) suggests that governments appeared to lose interest in the concept in the late 1980s due to practical problems in implementing CPTED techniques and also because of high-profile criticisms of early schemes which did not produce immediate results.

However, a resurgence of CPTED has occurred internationally in recent years, a revival which has been referred to as 'second generation CPTED'. This more inclusive model brings CPTED together with the idea of context – where culture, cohesion and connectivity must also be considered when making decisions about urban design (Saville and Cleveland, 2008).

2.2.3   Critique

There are a number of limitations to situational crime prevention and crime prevention through environmental design, none greater than the fact that they take offender motivation for granted and ignore the wider socio-economic causes of crime (Newburn, 2007). However, right-realist criminologists such as James Q. Wilson argue that even if socio-economic

deprivation *is* partly responsible for crime, it is less easily manipulated than the crime opportunity itself (Wilson, 1975).

Others have claimed that crime prevention through environmental design can promote a fortress mentality (Geason & Wilson, 1989) which may be unsightly in an aesthetic sense and which may encourage a "selfish exclusionary society" (Clarke, 2008, p. 190). Schneider and Kitchen (2007) claim that such measures may even increase fear and unease amongst users of an area rather than removing them.

Finally, a successful situational crime prevention programme may cause geographic displacement of the crime, most likely to an underdeveloped area which lacks the necessary social and economic resources for urban redevelopment (Newburn, 2007). A number of authors have downplayed the issue of displacement and have argued that situational crime prevention measures can actually cause a dispersion of benefits to adjacent areas outside the schemes' remit (Clarke, 2007). Schneider and Kitchen (2007) also claim that there is no evidence to suggest that offenders switch from one target to another when thwarted.

The successes of CPTED schemes tend to reflect upon the concept favourably, and at the very least it appears to serve as a short-term, economic and uncomplicated solution to specific crime problems. However, it is when facets of CPTED are combined with other sustainable social development measures that longer-term crime prevention success is achieved in high-crime urban areas (Cozens, 2002).

2.3   Urban regeneration partnerships

Urban regeneration partnerships encompassing physical *and* social improvements have become an increasingly prevalent feature of the general crime prevention landscape in the past two decades and in this jurisdiction in more recent years. This sections looks at the theoretical basis underpinning urban regeneration partnerships, their emergence in other jurisdictions (particularly the United Kingdom), and the criticism which they face in relation to their effectiveness and the motivations behind their implementation.

2.3.1 Background and theoretical development

Shaftoe and Read (2005) state that good design can reduce *some* of the opportunities for committing *some* categories of offence, but that crime cannot be entirely designed out of areas. For this reason, it is essential that crime prevention through environmental design be considered as *part* of a wider process that includes social planning elements, and that it is wholly mindful of the unique context in which it is applied.

Couch has described urban regeneration as a process where "the state or local community is seeking to bring back investment, employment and consumption and enhance the quality of life within an urban area" (1990, p. 2). It is carried out when there is an absence of spontaneous growth and regeneration, and goes beyond the limited approach of physical redevelopment to one which addresses wider social and economic issues (Couch et al., 2011).

Urban regeneration programmes in high crime areas have increasingly taken the form of partnerships between local authorities, police, community and resident groups, and others with vested interests in the community as a whole (Hughes, 2007). In this way, the regeneration process involves consultation with those who use and intend to use the identified environment (Shaftoe & Read, 2005).

Gilling describes the partnership approach as "a part of the reflexive governmental response to the changed conditions of late modernity" (2005, p. 741) which has come about as a result of the altered relationship between state and society. It forms part of a wider shift from welfare liberalism to neo-liberalism, and is typified by the move away from hierarchical command towards networks as the increasingly prevalent method of co-ordination.

2.3.2 Implementation and critique

The partnership approach to crime prevention has featured prominently in the UK since the enactment of the Crime and Disorder Act 1998. This legislation placed a duty on local authorities and senior police officers to develop and coordinate local plans for crime prevention and community safety in their areas. These plans were to be context-specific and

would involve engagement with members of the community. In a review of the legislation, Phillips (2002) found that although there were issues surrounding leadership, accountability and resources, the majority of the 376 working partnerships showed a number of very positive signs that they were operating successfully.

However, a number of authors have criticised urban regeneration partnerships, not necessarily in terms of their theoretical manifestation, but in how they are executed in actuality. Gilling (2005) points out that there will always be an element of tension between the demands of democracy and efficiency. He states:

> While governments may have one thing in their mind in their promotion of the partnership approach…those who are voluntarily or involuntarily drawn into local partnerships, whether they be local governmental agencies, private businesses or members of the local community…may have in mind a quite different goal or purpose (2005, p. 738).

Van Dijk and De Waard (2009) are less diplomatic. They offer that funds allocated to 'crime prevention in disguise' are often spent on activities with little potential to reduce crime because bureaucratic and commercial agencies tend to prefer focusing on activities that present immediate rewards. Investing in families and young people, they claim, offers no prospects for easy gains.

Some studies of recent urban regeneration projects in the UK produce similarly bleak viewpoints. Raco (2003) examined an urban regeneration partnership in Reading Borough Council which took place in the late 1990s/early 2000s and found that the desire to see Reading promoted as a place that was safe for business meant that consumption spaces tended to be geared to the needs of investors and visitors, and not towards residents and community groups. Locals found themselves marginalised from the decision-making process.

Hancock's (2001) review of the Safer Merseyside Programme highlights similar issues with urban regeneration partnerships. The author suggests that such vehicles are overwhelmingly short-term in their scope and lack focus on the underlying causes of crime and disorder. Money is often spent on cosmetic changes without consultation between local authorities and community groups and there is rarely an appreciation of the issues particular to each

community. The author found that residents and community groups did not believe senior police and local authorities to be acting in the areas' best interests.

Coleman, Sim and Whyte (2002) also found that that non-local people were often the primary beneficiaries of financial investment in the Liverpool City Centre Partnership, where funding was taken away from "traditional and well proven measures of crime prevention and redirected towards those that fit with the partnership ethos" (p. 94). They state that partnerships simply serve to formalise the strategic alliances between key local elites in the community while leaving the relatively powerless on the margins of the crime prevention debate.

The findings from these studies serve to reinforce the challenges for those involved in urban regeneration partnerships, namely that the problems facing high-crime urban neighbourhoods are complex, they are rarely influenced by single factors and they cannot be solved through simple solutions. It would appear that the best way to approach these issues is through cohesive, targeted and flexible strategies which take into account the sensitivities and intricacies of each particular neighbourhood, and which benefit those actually living in and working in the community.

However, it would be folly to simply dismiss the involvement of the private sector in urban regeneration partnerships. The UK Government has spoken of the absolute need for business sector input into crime prevention strategies. Aside from financial support, this sector can bring expertise and other such skills to regeneration partnerships (Home Office, 1999). Furthermore, the introduction of private sector capital investment can offer the wide-scale improvements to housing standards and community infrastructure which may not be economically feasible for a government to provide.

2.4 Turristown regeneration programme

The Turristown regeneration programme is a good example of such a partnership where private sector involvement and capital investment provide a platform for the implementation of both crime prevention through environmental design and crime prevention through social development. This section aims to give an overview of the rationale behind the decision to

regenerate Turristown, an outline of the programme's progress to date, and a measured critique of the programme's impact on the Turristown area.

2.4.1   Background

Turristown is an area of North Dublin which has been synonymous with disadvantage, social decay and crime throughout its relatively short existence. The area was developed between 1966 and 1974 in response to the housing crisis in the old tenement buildings of inner city Dublin (Power, 2000). 4,800 dwellings were constructed during this time, including six fifteen-storey blocks of flats, a mix of eight- and four-storey blocks, and 2,400 houses (Norris & Murray, 2004). The entire housing development was contained within a 1.5 square mile area. It was, and still remains, the only high-rise public housing complex ever built in the Republic of Ireland (Community Action Programme Turristown, 2000).

Campbell (2008) states that social cohesion in both urban and rural communities is considered to have been weakened by growing social polarisation and increased relative poverty. The population dispersal in Dublin has led to a reordering of the capital city and a rapid outward expansion to suburban areas resulting in the Dublin area acquiring an "extended periphery and a relatively contracted core" (Bowden, 2006, p. 8). These new suburban areas, often lacking in amenities and access to resources, created a new "urban context in which a young population was decanted from the inner city to 'the middle of nowhere'" (ibid., p. 12).

In this way, conditions in Turristown deteriorated during the 1970s and 1980s (Kintrea & Muir, 2009) and the lack of inward investment and subsequent scarcity of sufficient amenities and facilities resulted in a complex array of socio-economic problems in the area (Krawczyk, 2002). Many of the planned components from the 1960s incarnation of Turristown, including shopping facilities, health services, entertainment and leisure facilities, were actually never built.

A review carried out by the Community Action Programme Turristown states that:

> Gaps in planning, deficiency in basic services, lack of the sense of ownership and also a combination of policies and practices adopted by Dublin Corporation and central government reduced perspectives for healthy and viable growth of the area and led to degeneration (2000, p. 2).

The criminogenic effects of this degeneration are still apparent today. A survey commissioned before the development commenced found that Turristown residents were far more likely to be a victim of burglary or assault than their national counterparts. Similarly, over half of respondents stated that they lived in areas where 'graffiti', 'vandalism' and 'youths congregating in public areas' were 'very common' occurrences. Over 40% of respondents stated that they felt 'unsafe' when 'walking in their neighbourhood after dark'. Other socio-economic indicators pointed to overall dissatisfaction with the housing situation in the area, with employment opportunities, with recreation and shopping facilities, and with public services in the town (Turristown Partnership, 2003). In this regard, a regeneration 'Masterplan' for Turristown was approved in 1997 and launched in 1998.

2.4.2   Implementation of the regeneration programme

The Turristown regeneration project was a physical, economic and social renewal programme to address the high levels of economic and social deprivation in Turristown and its adjoining areas (Turristown Regeneration Company, 1997). In addition to the redevelopment of residential areas for both private and social housing, it was established that economic development and urban design would be two key elements of the regeneration. These would be assisted by the creation of a 'main street' which would comprise mixed land use, and also through the focused management of public spaces in the area. Furthermore, elements such as improved natural surveillance and better quality street lighting would become cornerstones of a safer and more accessible Turristown with fewer opportunities for anti-social behaviour and crime (ibid.).

This 'Masterplan' for Turristown was developed and managed by the special purpose vehicle Turristown Regeneration Company. Other state agencies, voluntary organisations, community groups and private sector companies have also been involved in the regeneration process to date. The Masterplan was reported to have been developed in close consultation and in partnership with Turristown residents whose interests in the regeneration programme were represented on the Turristown Neighbourhood Council and five other local neighbourhood forums, as well as by two representatives on the board of Turristown Regeneration Company (Kintrea & Muir, 2009).

A partnership-type approach has also been taken with respect to community crime prevention. The Safer Turristown Community-Safety Forum, a collaboration between Turristown Regeneration Company, Dublin City Council, An Garda Síochána and the Turristown community, meet at six-weekly intervals to discuss matters of crime and safety in the community (Turristown Regeneration Company, n.d.). This forum was established to act in concert with the physical redevelopment of Turristown, and in order to give residents and other vested interests an active voice in crime prevention initiatives.

2.4.3   Impact and critique

The housing element of the regeneration appears to be a success for those who have attained access to the newer homes. The Turristown Partnership (2003) reported that just 5% of occupants of post-regeneration units were dissatisfied with their accommodation. This compares to 23.5% of respondents from the existing housing developments. Two thirds of occupants of the new units were satisfied with the immediate areas outside their accommodation such as green spaces and common areas, compared to less than 20% of those in the old housing. Those living in new units were significantly more likely to be satisfied with the regeneration programme to date than those in the older units. The development of the Main Street has also been successful to an extent. Private apartment complexes, hotels, an arts centre, a civic centre, a leisure centre and a number of retail units form the "very twenty-first-century mix of large and self-consciously modern buildings" (Kintrea & Muir, 2009, p. 93).

However, there has been a lack of progress in replacing the run-down shopping centre adjacent to the Main Street, a development which would have been an impressive facility for the local community and a potential provider of accessible, local jobs. Furthermore, a review carried out by the Comptroller and Auditor General (2007) indicates that only 315 private sector jobs unrelated to construction were created in the immediate Turristown area between 1998 and 2006. This figure is, however, calculated prior to the opening of a large retail outlet in the nearby area in 2009.

Turristown Regeneration Company has been criticised for abandoning the partnership process to which it initially appeared to be committed. It is reported to have changed its method of consultation within the partnership due to "instances of prolonged and sometimes acrimonious debate in the forums about particular development schemes" which contributed to programme delays (Kintrea & Muir, 2009, p. 100). The whole enterprise has even been accused of being a means of preparing the ground for further exploitation by capital and it has been argued that the Turristown Regeneration Company has assumed a 'profit before people' approach with regards to economic regeneration (ibid.).

The programme's housing policy has also come in for criticism. While the majority of regeneration programme money was spent on new social housing, the continued segregation of private and public accommodation means that Turristown will still remain an area of concentrated social housing and Kintrea and Muir claim that this creates an "unattractive environment for commercial development due to a weak economic base" (2009, p. 101).

2.4.4   Current situation

Twenty-nine blocks of flats have now been demolished as part of the regeneration scheme and the remaining seven will follow in late 2012 and early 2013. The 250 families who remain in the tower blocks will be housed in the coming year. The housing element of the regeneration programme is due to be completed in 2014 and the entire project is expected to cost in the region of €2bn (Irish Times, 2012). However, financial cutbacks at the national level mean that certain elements of the regeneration have been deferred or cancelled, including some social housing provisions and public parks (RTÉ, 2012).

The social housing element is not the only part of the regeneration which has yet to be completed. The development of a privately-funded 255,000 square-meter shopping complex, leisure centre and cinema, to be located just off the main street, has not progressed. This project was due to be completed by 2013 (Politico, 2011).

Despite the enormous capital outlay on the project and the undoubted physical improvements to the built environment, Kintrea and Muir (2009) suggest that "only uneven and flawed progress has been made towards real economic and social integration" in Turristown (p. 105).

However, the project has been a success in terms of its delivery of safe, sustainable housing, the provision of managed public areas, and the development of essential public and private services in the town's new commercial hub. With these social, economic and environmental improvements in mind, it would appear appropriate that research be carried out to determine what impact these changes have had on the suppliers and consumers of safety and security in the Turristown area.

CHAPTER 3

Research methodology

3.1   Introduction

This section outlines the methodology used to answer the research questions. A qualitative, semi-structured interview was chosen as the most appropriate method of achieving the objectives of the study and the rationale for this is outlined below. The process of sampling and the practical elements of data collection for this research project are also discussed. Particular consideration was paid to the process of gaining access to research data and the ethical concerns in relation to this. A measured acknowledgement of the limitations of the research is also presented in order to give an element of balance to the study.

3.2   Research approach

This study was carried out through analysis of qualitative data gleaned from semi-structured interviews with stakeholders in Turristown. Qualitative research is concerned with words rather than numbers; it is the inductive process of developing a theory from the research. By completing research in this way, the researcher can establish an understanding of the social world and examine the participants' interpretation of that world (Bryman, 2012). In this study, the participants offered their assessment regarding the shifts in the production and consumption of security and public safety in the town.

The research approach involves aspects of both the biographic method and the phenomenological approach. The former involves the analysis of individual life stories in order to understand the particular issues which affect peoples' lives. Through this, one may gain insight into everyday experiences and reflect on how wider cultural and social changes affect these experiences (Roberts, 2002). The phenomenological approach is one which involves assessing human experience and identifying phenomena "through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation" (Lester, 1999, p.4).

There are a number of reasons for choosing this research approach. Tackling the research questions for this study requires an examination of the experiences of those involved in and affected by the redevelopment of Turristown. Therefore, a qualitative research design appeared to be most appropriate for achieving the aims of the study. Certain participants were asked about their experiences of pre and post-renewal Turristown. Other participants were asked about the process of regenerating the town and decisions which were made prior to and during the implementation of the Turristown regeneration. In both cases, the ability to obtain rich, descriptive narratives and to establish context helped provide explanations as to why decisions were made and what effect they have had.

Consideration was given to utilising quantitative research methods in this study. However, these would not offer the necessary flexibility to comprehensively examine multiple perspectives. Nor would they allow for the establishment of meaning or context behind the decisions made prior to and during the regeneration. Similarly, the experiences of those affected by the redevelopment would not be best represented by the more 'scientific' measurement methods such as surveys, as their interests in the town may not be comparable.

Bryman (2012) lists a number of limitations to the use of qualitative research. It can be described as subjective, and reliant on values and emphasis which are deemed appropriate by the researcher. It can also be described as a process lacking in transparency. In order to minimize the effects of these limitations, the researcher has included the question guides utilised in each interview (see Appendix C). Furthermore, the study has incorporated reflective analysis in order to determine any possible effects which the researcher may have on data collection or analysis (see section 5.6).

3.3   Sampling

The type of sampling used in this research was non-probability purposive sampling. This method was chosen due to the small population of possible respondents on this topic and also to reflect the purposes and questions guiding the study (Punch, 2005). This sampling method therefore facilitated the targeting of those key individuals who possessed the most knowledge about the decisions made prior to and during the redevelopment of Turristown, and those who were closely affected by the changes made during the town's regeneration.

The sample size for the research was nine respondents. Punch (2005) states that qualitative sample sizes are usually small and are guided by the purpose of the study. In this case, the purpose of the study necessitated that data be gathered from the following populations:

- An Garda Síochána
- Dublin City Council
- The business community
- Turristown Regeneration Company

Interviews were conducted with two members of An Garda Síochána, one community Garda and one senior Garda manager. Both Garda members brought a unique insight from their experience in Turristown and the divergence in terms of their time working in the area allowed for the analysis of different perspectives on the Turristown regeneration. The inclusion of a senior Garda manager, in particular, offered the perspective from a member of the organisation who is involved in policy decisions relating to the safety and security of the town.

Dublin City Council holds a dual role in terms of this study; they are responsible for the maintenance and management of public areas in the town and they are also the most significant landlord in the Turristown area (under the guise of the local authority). Hence, they are both producers *and* consumers of public safety and security. The decision was therefore taken to interview two members of Dublin City Council, one involved in the maintenance of local housing and public areas, and another who was involved in a senior management role. In this way, the dual role performed by Dublin City Council would be reflected in this research. Two representatives from Turristown Regeneration Company, the special purpose vehicle which developed and managed the 'Masterplan' for Turristown, were also interviewed in order to examine the rationale behind decisions taken in the planning and implementation of the regeneration.

Finally, it was decided to ascertain a perspective on the Turristown regeneration from the viewpoint of consumers of public safety and security. The business sector was chosen to represent this perspective given the emphasis which has been placed on promoting

Turristown as a commercial hub and an attractive place for inward commercial investment. Interviews were therefore conducted with two business owners who have operated in the area since before the regeneration programme began. Both individuals are members of the Turristown for Business interest group. A coordinator from the Turristown Drugs Task Force was also interviewed. All three individuals are originally from the Turristown area.

The matrix below (see Table 1) gives an understanding of the rationale behind the sample chosen where the shaded boxes represent themes on which the researcher believed interviewees would be most informed.

Prospective interviewee →	Turristown Regeneration		An Garda Síochána		Dublin City Council		Business owners
Theme to be discussed ↓	Planner	Manager	Manager	Community garda	Manager	Maintenance	
Planning process	▓	▓	▓		▓		
Decisions taken around designing out crime	▓	▓	▓		▓		
Effects of regeneration on the town			▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Impact of specific measures				▓		▓	▓
Impact on ability to police			▓	▓			
Impact on ability maintain public areas					▓	▓	
Impact on provision of public housing					▓	▓	
Impact on crimes against business				▓			▓
Partnership process	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓		▓
Drawbacks to partnership process	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓		▓

Table 1: Sampling and theme matrix

The sampling method chosen allowed for a targeted focus on those groups fulfilling the criteria for the research purpose. However, there are limitations to non-probability 'convenience' sampling. The ready access to data comes at a cost to a study's generalisability and possibly its credibility (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this case, the exclusion of participants from the residential and voluntary sectors precluded the researcher from examining the effect of Turristown's regeneration on those segments of the population. However, while the research findings in this study may lack generalisability to the entire population of Turristown, it endeavours to give a good assessment of the impact of urban regenerations schemes on certain sectors involved in the production and consumption of public safety.

3.4   Research design

The research was carried out using semi-structured interviews; respondents were asked a number of pre-prepared questions based on their specific association to the area. This design was chosen in order to achieve a fluid and dynamic interview (Biggam, 2008) thus allowing the researcher to develop a true construct of the participant's social world (Bryman, 2012).

Bryman (2012) identifies a number of benefits to semi-structured interviews. Their flexibility means that probing questions can be asked as the interviewer picks up on comments made by the interviewee and therefore immediate elaboration and clarification can be achieved. There is, however, a certain level of structure in place so that the researcher retains an element of control of the topics under discussion. This structure also allows for comparability to be established across interviews and for themes to be developed within the response data. Pepper and Wildy state that the semi-structured interview facilitates "a less formal conversation where both parties may interact as relative equals" (2009, p. 1) thereby allowing for the development of rapport between the researcher and the respondent.

In spite of its merits, there are a number of drawbacks to the semi-structured interview approach. Pepper and Wildy (2009) suggest that the skill of the interviewer will shape the quality of the information obtained from respondents, thus bringing a degree of subjectivity to the process. May (2001) states that this also has ramifications for the comparability of

responses where each respondent may have been treated differently depending on the context of their particular interview.

In order to ensure some degree of structure across the interviews, an interview guide was utilised which served as a framework with some key pointer questions (see Appendix C). Due to the varying nature of sample respondents, the interview guide was not homogenous for all interviews. However, the questions for all participants were phrased in clear, easy to understand and non-technical language, and avoided leading the participant towards any predetermined response. The guide was used for reference only and no interview stuck rigidly to its format.

3.5   Data collection process

A consent form was sent to each prospective participant and when this was returned, arrangements were made to conduct interviews (see Appendix B for sample consent form). Given that all interviewees were employed on a full-time basis, interviews were conducted with the participants at times and locations that were convenient to each individual. Where possible, interviews were conducted away from participants' places of work. However, this was not always convenient and alternative arrangements were made when necessary.

For reasons of practicality, interviews were conducted using recording equipment and informed consent relating to same was sought prior to the interview. The length of the interview process differed across all respondents and ranged from 25 minutes to 45 minutes depending on the articulacy and responsiveness of the participant.

3.6   Data analysis

Qualitative data has been described as an attractive nuisance because of its rich detail but also the time required to analyse it (Miles, 1979). In this instance, the recorded interviews were transcribed to Microsoft Word. A coding system was then utilised in order to make analytical sense of the data. Similar responses were grouped together in order to identify issues, patterns

and themes across the narratives. May (2001) states that the process of categorising data into themes depends on the aims of the research.

Similarities and differences across groups of data were identified and grouped together. In this instance, responses were grouped into categories around the themes of the physical regeneration of Turristown, the criminogenic effect of elements of the regeneration, the benefits of partnerships in urban regeneration schemes, and participants' experiences of working in a regenerated town. The themes considered predominant to this study were identified thus enabling the researcher to commence documenting the 'findings' of the research.

3.7   Access

In order to identify respondents for this research project, contact was made with a number of gatekeepers within the Turristown community including a senior Garda manager and a senior manager at Turristown Regeneration Company. All contact was initiated via personal non-work email (see Appendix A for sample introductory email).

Jupp (1989) states that the relationship between the researcher, gatekeepers and subjects of the study can affect the outcome of requests for interview. Gatekeepers may not share the same viewpoint as the researcher and it was therefore essential to display full and frank disclosure of the aims of the study in order to preserve a transparent process of participant selection. The benefits of completing a study in this area were explained to the relevant gatekeepers in order to gain access to willing participants, and all have since requested that a copy of the study be provided to them upon its completion.

It was established that sanction would be required from the An Garda Síochána in order to conduct interviews with Garda members. A research proposal was submitted to the Garda Research Unit in Templemore stating the aims of this study and the requirement to interview Garda members (see Appendix D). Upon the granting of this request, contact was made with a senior Garda manager in Turristown Garda Station who agreed to be interviewed. The Garda manager also identified a community-based Garda who would also be suitable for

interview. Contact was made with this individual who indicated that they would be willing to participate in the study.

Email correspondence was also exchanged between the researcher and Dublin City Council, Turristown Regeneration Company, and two members of the business community. A family connection provided a link to the Turristown Drugs Task Force and contact was made with a coordinator within that agency.

3.8   Ethical considerations

There were a number of key ethical issues to be considered prior to and during the execution of this research. The Dublin Institute of Technology and British Society of Criminology ethics codes were followed throughout the study. The researcher sought to protect the rights of participants, particularly their privacy, through the procedures followed during the data collection and analysis stages. The name of the area subject to this research has been changed to Turristown in order to preserve the identity of participants to the study. All references to the area and website links which would identify it have also been removed from the bibliography.

Informed consent was sought from all proposed participants in advance of interviews taking place. Prospective participants received a consent form (see Appendix B) explaining the scope and purpose of the study, informing them that participation was voluntary, and letting them know that they could withdraw from the process at any time. Confidentiality and anonymity was assured to respondents. Interviews were recorded for convenience and this was also disclosed to participants in advance. My employment as a civilan analyst with An Garda Síochána was disclosed in all introductory emails, and respondents were assured that the research was a private endeavour and was in no way connected to my work.

In terms of data storage, interview recordings were destroyed after their transcription to Microsoft Word. Once transcribed to a computer, the data was kept on an encrypted laptop for the duration of the project. All data pertaining to interview responses will be destroyed upon completion of the course.

3.9   Limitations of the research process

There are a number of limitations to the proposed study, some of which have been discussed in this chapter. The use of semi-structured interviews involves self-reporting on behalf of respondents. This leaves the research data open to under or over-reporting, bias, and even falsification of responses. It was hoped that through comprehensively explaining the processes of the study and its benefits to all concerned, this particular limitation would be minimised.

Another limitation is the ability of the study to account for the criminogenic effects of situational crime prevention in Turristown, and to separate this from other factors which may have contributed to decreases in crime in the area, such as increased community policing, improved facilities for at-risk youths, or simply a general increase in the socio-economic circumstances of those living in the area. It was for this reason that qualitative rather than quantitative data collection methods were employed, thus facilitating the separation of the perceived effects of situational crime prevention from that of other possible contributory factors.

Finally, it was accepted that there would be difficulties in locating participants who worked in Turristown prior to *and* during the regeneration, and who were still employed in the area the time of data collection. It is for this reason that purposive sampling was carried out, thus expediting the process of identifying suitable interviewees for the research.

3.10   Conclusion

This study aims to identify the extent to which the regeneration of Turristown has impacted on safety and security as perceived by specific sectors of the community in Turristown, namely An Garda Síochána, Dublin City Council and the business community. A semi-structured qualitative interview was chosen as the most appropriate research method for this purpose as it gave a large degree of flexibility to the researcher whilst providing a necessary level of structure to the process.

Themes were identified from the research data and this enabled the author to develop findings based on similarities and differences within responses, thus offering a sense of balance to the study. Procedures pertaining to access and ethics were both identified and adhered to in order to strengthen the integrity and validity of this research.

CHAPTER 4

Findings

4.1   Introduction

In order to examine the decisions underlying the regeneration of Turristown and the effect of the regeneration project on the suppliers and consumers of security and safety in the town, interviews were carried out with individuals who were involved in the regeneration project and with people who have worked in the town since the regeneration commenced.

This chapter presents the research findings from nine interviews carried out as part of this study. A number of major themes have been identified from interviewee responses and sample quotes are presented, where applicable, to illustrate these themes.

Table 2 gives an overview of the respondents to the study and their respective areas of responsibility in Turristown.

Interview 1	Senior Manager, Turristown Regeneration Programme
Interview 2	Planner, Turristown Regeneration Programme
Interview 3	Garda Manager, Turristown Garda Station
Interview 4	Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station
Interview 5	Maintenance Worker, Dublin City Council, Turristown
Interview 6	Senior Manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown
Interview 7	Drugs task force coordinator, Turristown Drugs Task Force
Interview 8	Business Owner #1, Turristown
Interview 9	Business Owner #2, Turristown

Table 2: List of interviewees

4.2   Themes

Given the diverse range of respondents to this study, some quite varied themes have emerged from the research process. It may therefore be worthwhile to split these into three overarching themes, namely:

1. The decisions which influenced the regeneration of Turristown
2. How the regeneration of Turristown has impacted on safety and security
3. The partnership process

4.3   The decisions which influenced the regeneration of Turristown

A number of sub-themes emerged within this area. Interviewees from Turristown Regeneration Company were asked two main questions in relation to the decisions which influenced Turristown's regeneration programme.

1. Were safety and security primary factors which influenced the decisions made in relation to the physical regeneration of Turristown?
2. To what extent did the notion of crime prevention through environmental design influence the physical regeneration programme?

Other interviewees were asked whether they were involved in the consultation process for the regeneration project and, if so, to what extent they made suggestions based on issues of safety and security.

Both interviewees from Turristown Regeneration Company confirmed that crime prevention was at the forefront of the objectives for the regeneration project, particularly in relation to the residential areas. Most importantly was the idea that the regeneration would give residents and 'users' of Turristown a sense of ownership over their town and particularly over common areas/open spaces:

We tended to cluster apartment units on corners…while keeping front facades of buildings overlooking both sides of the corner. This ensures constant 'eyes on the street' supervision. Where possible, these small apartment schemes have own door access with limited or no shared common areas. This increases peoples' perception of safety and ownership over their residential unit (Interview 2; Planner, Turristown Regeneration Company).

Particularly prevalent was the notion of taking control over public parks and recreation areas which had become unpoliceable:

Turristown had loads of open space before. But it was just like prairies. It was decided that there would be an overlooking of the new open spaces so that there was interaction between people and space (Interview 1; Senior manager, Turristown Regeneration Company).

All new parks were, and continue to be, designed to be overlooked. With larger district parks, new units are designed to be three or four stories overlooking the park, giving a greater sense of enclosure and again a greater sense of supervision. Elements such as planting also take account of pedestrian safety within the parks (Interview 2; Planner, Turristown Regeneration Company).

The interviewees from Turristown Regeneration Company were asked about the commercial district/main street of Turristown and the decisions made in relation to crime prevention in that area. It was suggested that the concepts of mixed land use and overlooking were central to the planning of the town centre:

The town centre was to be the focus of activity within the area…primarily involving active uses on the ground floor overlooking the street. The overlooking was a major point. Less successful I suppose was the ability to get a good mix of uses at ground floor level so that you would have activity on the streets day and night. We also wanted buildings that turn corners so that you don't have blank walls…blank walls

make people feel more insecure (Interview 1; Senior manager, Turristown Regeneration Company).

The old roads in Turristown were wide and encouraged speeding. In designing the new roads, junction tables are used to promote lower speeds. The underpasses were removed to improve safety for those walking in the town. Lighting improvements and CCTV were fundamental to promoting safety for people within the main street area (Interview 2; Planner, Turristown Regeneration Company).

Other respondents from outside Turristown Regeneration Company spoke of their involvement in the process and their influence on planning decisions. In addition to the notion of situational crime prevention, their concerns were based around resources, resident welfare and the improvement of shared services in Turristown:

We wanted to ensure that employment levels benefitted from the process - that jobs were kept within the town where possible. We also wanted to ensure that resources would be improved, I'm talking about community centres, welfare centres, health, education...we placed a huge emphasis on getting these sort of things into the regeneration programme from the outset and making them more accessible to the people here (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

The idea of mixed tenure was crucial in terms of determining the shape of the area. We wanted to normalise the area a lot more than it was (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).

Great planning decisions and great planning foresight went into trying to get a mixed economy in the Turristown area (Interview 9; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

This idea of normalisation was perhaps one of the most prevalent themes that emerged when respondents were asked about the vision for Turristown or the purpose of the regeneration programme. When asked what the regeneration programme signified to them, most

respondents identified the vision to have Turristown viewed as a normal place to live, work and socialise:

I suppose it means trying to undo the mistakes and the problems that were caused initially when Turristown was set up back in the 60s – to turn Turristown into a more "normal" place [inverted commas gesticulated by interviewee] (Interview 9; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

The towers being removed meant that people could be given a fresh start (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).

It means an attempt to turn a shamed area into an integrated area of the city…to make it a normal and nice part of Dublin rather than a drain on resources (Interview 1; Senior manager, Turristown Regeneration Company).

Maybe to encourage inward investment we needed to make the town a place that was similar to other areas in Dublin. And make it a place that people didn't just drive through as a quick route to the airport (Interview 8; Business owner and local resident #1, Turristown).

4.4   The effect of the regeneration on safety and security

The second overarching theme was that of the effect of the regeneration of Turristown on safety and security from the point of view of those working in the town. A number of sub-themes emerged in this area as a result of the broad range of interviewees and the necessity for a diverse array of interview questions.

When asked whether they believed the regeneration programme to have been a general success, interviewees were mostly positive in their responses:

I feel it has been very positive and has had a very positive effect on people working and living in the area (Interview 9; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

The whole regeneration allowed new buildings, new services, provisions for the HSE, education, drug treatment centres…I come into work every day and I say "thank God for regeneration" (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).

I think it is. Obviously there are issues and that is to be expected. But by and large, the town is better for the changes that were made over the past decade or so (Interview 5; Maintenance worker, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

When respondents were then asked whether or not the regeneration project had facilitated changes to the levels of safety and security in the town, most were again keen to stress their overall satisfaction with the physical developments. Garda members were, in particular, overwhelmingly supportive of the decision to remove the tower-blocks which had been unpoliceable:

The tower blocks weren't conducive to efficient policing. What one saw as a policeman was a myriad of policing problems and policing challenges which hindered our ability to do our job, and therefore presented a challenge for the people living in these areas. Because of the housing and social housing and the way it's been moved around, it's much easier for community Gardaí to get to know the people that are there (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).

Green areas in front of the tower blocks became magnets for anti-social behaviour. The buildings themselves were ideal for public order. People loitered on the stairwells, they dealt drugs in the common areas. It was very difficult for a Garda to walk up and down towers and try to identify people in an enclosed area like that (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).

Responses are similarly positive in terms of the ability to police the main street and commercial centre of Turristown, including the decision to locate the Garda station at the centre of town:

One very important thing they did in terms of crime prevention through design was removing the roundabout and the series of undergrounds and steps which reached out into the different quarters of Turristown. Its removal was a huge help to us from the point of view of policing the area (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).

I feel that having a focal point, a town centre, and placing of all the modernised services in the main street, where they can be policed as a unit, is of benefit. We faced some major discussion at the time about where the Garda station was going to be placed. An Garda Síochána, in consultation with members on the ground and with the local people, decided that the station should remain one of the key focal points in the town. And I believe that displayed a use of crime prevention through design (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).

Respondents from Dublin City Council also indicated their general satisfaction with the programme in respect of improving safety and security. While it is not possible to quantify this improvement, or even to pinpoint the main factors underpinning it, a number of elements were identified as being somewhat responsible:

The CCTV systems throughout the area have contributed somewhat to a feeling of safety and to a number of prosecutions (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

You had huge areas of open space which were underused and wouldn't have been particularly desirable locations. I would say that the new parks in particular have made a huge difference. And the residences are easier to manage…it's easier to manage a more traditional style of housing as opposed to the flat complexes where there was a need for light and heat and a caretaker on each block. From our point of view, it's easier to provide people with clean and safe places to live in the new residential complexes (Interview 5; Maintenance worker, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

Two business owners and the coordinator for the local area drugs task force (all of whom were also local residents) were interviewed from the perspective of consumers of public safety and security. All were somewhat positive about the effects of the regeneration of Turristown from their point of view:

The social regeneration has been well done to a certain extent and the level of transience in the area has settled down. And I think people are taking a bit more pride in their area; they used to go in, put their three locks on their door and not come out until the next morning. I think there's a bit more of people doing their gardens and that sort of stuff. So that has helped. Getting rid of the blocks has made a huge difference in that sort of feeling of "this place is unpoliceable". That feeling of "this place is someone else's turf" and "you shouldn't walk down there"…that's sort of gone out of the area (Interview 7; Drugs task force coordinator and local resident, Turristown Drugs Task Force).

I feel that crime has decreased, especially in the last couple of years. The Garda station moving onto the main street has helped us. There are less gangs hanging around and the influx of people coming in from outside the area for no good has dropped off. I own a shop on another road which is much more off the main street. It's quite dark and quiet there in the evenings. It's much more prone to vandalism. Whereas on the main street, you have the good lighting, the CCTV, the good planning, the good visibility, the broad main street, the Garda station…these are all huge deterrents (Interview 9; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

There is a bit of a night-time economy here now, the good kind of night-time economy, with the theatre and the restaurants. The footfall around the town helps keep my place safe. Ten years ago the place was a ghost-town after 7pm. Except for gangs and young lads. Now there's a much nicer feel to the place. The CCTV and lighting have helped too, but most importantly it's the eyes on the street (Interview 8; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

All respondents were asked about features to the regeneration which have failed to improve safety and security, or which may have even contributed to increased criminal opportunity. The questions in this regard were framed as "Are there any elements which have failed to improve safety and security?" or "Is there anything that could have been done differently/better?"

Many respondents spoke of issues with the process of moving residents from the tower blocks to the new housing. This process was fraught with difficulty and was not helped by financial difficulties and by policies enacted by Turristown Regeneration Company. Where buildings remained with few or no tenants, this posed significant problems in terms of policing and providing safety to residents.

> *Effectively what was happening was you had a 15-story block with only a handful of people living in it and then in terms of policing them, this had to be done on foot which was challenging because you had to visit all these 15-story floors to make sure they weren't being used by people to sell drugs and for criminal activity (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).*

> *As the flats were being emptied, the material being used to board up the vacant flats was wasn't strong enough to keep them out. The flats were being used to hoard and store stolen property and other items connected to crime (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).*

> *A lot of money was spent on a particular one [playground] that was built right in front of the tower block before it was demolished. It was a considerable challenge to us because it meant that it was exposed to criminality and criminal damage (Interview 5; Maintenance worker, Dublin City Council, Turristown).*

One respondent spoke at length about the process of removing tenants from blocks and the consequence this has for drug dealing and crime generally.

The drug dealing and lawlessness was associated with half-empty blocks and people having 'rat-holes' they can run in and out of and hide their stashes. They gave people up to five options for where they wanted to be rehoused. And none of the estates were built at that stage. So people would say "I like option C". That won't be built for another seven years though. So you're left with blocks with maybe one or two tenants in them. It becomes unpoliceable. They gave people choices and the people dug in and refused to be coerced out until the estate of their choice was built (Interview 7; Drugs councillor and local resident, Turristown Drugs Task Force).

A number of other issues arose as part of the regeneration process, some of which were unforeseen and which impacted on safety and security at the time of the development. Ready access to building materials and empty developments caused issues for Gardaí during the building stages:

During the regeneration there were many challenges presented; the delivery of building material, these being left at the side of the road, particularly around Halloween. So the regeneration brought problems that we didn't anticipate. The net effect was that we saw Gardaí being injured having been hit by missiles. (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).

Others spoke of problems associated with the proliferation of alcohol as a result of the commercial premises which had been built in the regenerated Turristown.

The proliferation of off-licenses has definitely caused increased problem drinking (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).

The drink thing is the biggest issue we have here. The Gardaí are doing things like stronger policing of local outlets, trying to take drink off people who are drinking publicly. But the increased availability of alcohol hasn't helped. And it's cheaper than ever now (Interview 7; Drugs task force coordinator and local resident, Turristown Drugs Task Force).

When asked whether there were specific design elements that may be criminogenic, or may have led to decreased security and safety in Turristown, a number of issues were raised, primarily by Dublin City Council who has responsibility for the maintenance of public areas:

In terms of street cleaning, the traditional street tends to be straight. The Turristown regeneration schemes tend to be indented parking so you can't put street cleaners into them. There are other design elements to the developments that prevent us from keeping them clean. (Interview 5; Maintenance worker, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

The physical layout was done to a very high standard, but not necessarily to an easily maintained standard. Turristown Regeneration Company went for a far higher spec than we would have used on our roads and houses and common areas. The challenge for us in the decreased funding environment is to maintain some of the elements that were put in so that areas and developments don't succumb to neglect and disrepair (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

We did have a situation where we had underground car parks with poor lighting and no cameras. We also had a situation where we had very narrow hallways. We had situations at times where we tried to get landlords to adhere by the broken window theory where we were trying to maintain property and they were challenging it. But Turristown Regeneration and Dublin City Council, they did a good bit of leg work to chase up landlords to keep their property up to scratch and had to enter the civil arena to do this, to get them to repair broken windows or properly secure buildings that might allow unlawful entry (Interview 4; Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station).

There are a number of issues which are difficult to explain. Turristown Regeneration was contracting the work out to other companies, private builders who came in. Whether or not they all complied with the suggestions that An Garda Síochána were making is debatable (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station)

4.5   The partnership process

The third overarching theme which emerged during the research was that of the partnership element to urban regeneration schemes. Respondents were asked to what extent they were involved in the process, whether they believe partnership was a worthwhile exercise in respect of urban regeneration, and whether they believe that they and the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented in partnership during the regeneration.

Most respondents indicated their satisfaction with their involvement in the partnership and suggested that it had facilitated a degree of networked governance in the community. The Gardaí and Dublin City Council appeared to be most satisfied with their involvement and with the establishment of the Safer Turristown Forum in particular:

> *It kept us totally up to date and abreast of the issues that the community were facing about life in Turristown. In relation to Turristown Regeneration Company and Dublin City Council, there was full engagement of our crime prevention services during the process. We're in on every agency. We couldn't manage without Dublin City Council or without the Drugs Task Force or the HSE. The result is that we can now lift the phone and phone someone in these agencies and we have an excellent working relationship that helps us to prevent crime and to assist those in the community (Interview 3; Garda manager, Turristown Garda Station).*

> *A lot of good relationships have been built up. The Gardaí and ourselves have a good relationship. We have a good relationship with the HSE which is unusual. I would say that there are good working relationships that have been facilitated by partnership (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).*

> *I think the amount of consultation and inter-agency discussion was amazing. Just because people protested or objected doesn't mean that we didn't consult properly. I think the development of the partnership and of Safer Turristown has been excellent (Interview 1; Senior manager, Turristown Regeneration Company).*

Safer Turristown is a fantastic vehicle. If only just for the feedback you get at the next meeting, at least you're being kept in the loop as to what's going on in the town. We can bring our safety and security issues as a business community to these forums and have them dealt with (Interview 9; Business owner and local resident #2, Turristown).

We've had great involvement through the years with the Gardaí, the health board, The Department of Education on things like the community alcohol strategy, drugs strategies. They've really stepped up to the mark and that's a credit to the idea of partnership (Interview 6; Drugs task force coordinator and local resident, Turristown Drugs Task Force).

There were a number of issues within the partnership process however, none greater than the fact that there were a myriad of small single-issue bodies established which resulted in agencies being spread thinly as they attempted to be represented on each board:

We probably need to join up some of the agency stuff. We've a Garda Youth Diversion Project. We've a local drugs task force project. We've the Safer Turristown Forum. We've "Business For Turristown". We have a load of other little projects that all work very well on their own, all focussing on one thing. I think we need to box a little bit cleverer. Why are we having four or five meetings a day? We need to collaborate a little bit more and be less siloed in our work (Interview 3; Garda manager; Turristown Garda Station).

Furthermore, those with single issues tended to hijack the partnership process for their own purposes and then withdrew from the public arena when their issue was resolved:

You'll always have the crowd that give out and bring their own issues to the forums but have no interest in engaging for the benefit of the town as a whole. That's one of the problems with these partnerships I think. They can be hijacked by whoever shouts loudest (Interview 8; Business owner and local resident #1, Turristown).

Our community safety meetings start off with the facilitator stating that these issues are 'joint problems' but invariably they descend into people asking "why haven't you done this or that". And when their issue is resolved, they go away and don't come back to contribute to the overall (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

The last area was around the suggestion that the Turristown Regeneration Company may not have had the interests of Turristown's residents in the forefront of their intentions during the planning, development or maintenance of the town, or that the partnership process was not inclusive enough of the people of Turristown. This question divided opinion greatly with some believing that Turristown Regeneration Company was more concerned with design elements and with commercial success:

I know local people won't have had a very good memory of the consultations. I'm not sure Turristown Regeneration listened to what the locals said. They had experts coming in from Britain telling them "this is the way things are supposed to be". They consulted in some ways like the drug response centre. But in terms of on-going negotiation, not really much at all. They seemed to be speaking to outside audiences rather than the people that live in the area. They didn't take account of what these differences would make on a micro level from a little local community's point of view (Interview 7; Drugs task force coordinator and local resident, Turristown Drugs Task Force).

One community representative for a community of this size…and think of how diverse that community is…it's not a lot (Interview 6; Senior manager, Dublin City Council, Turristown).

4.6   Conclusion

The broad range of respondents within the research and the nature of the questions posed have given some varied perspectives from the point of view of those involved in and affected by the regeneration of Turristown. The data collected gives an indication of the issues faced

prior to and during the regeneration process and how this has manifested itself during the later stages of development and throughout the maintenance phase. Further analysis of this data is now required in order to determine whether responses are in line with previous research in respect of urban regeneration programmes in the UK and other jurisdictions.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and recommendations

5.1   Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of the main findings of this study, and their relationship to the themes discussed in the literature review. Recommendations for future urban regeneration programmes are also discussed. Finally, a brief reflective analysis presents an appreciation for some preconceived bias which the researcher may have brought to the process in the initial stages.

5.2   Urban regeneration as a crime prevention tool

The majority of respondents within the study have spoken of their satisfaction with the regeneration of Turristown in terms of its effect on crime in the area. The residential tower blocks were seen as lawless and conducive to crime. Residents were unable to assert control over common areas and lived side by side with drug dealing, intimidation, graffiti and litter. The changes to residential areas have therefore been positively received and have given residents a renewed sense of pride in their area. This echoes the theory of Oscar Newman (1972) who stated that an area could be brought under the control of its residents by improving its territoriality, surveillance and image.

The commercial area of the town has also been reinvigorated. New commercial premises stand alongside community services and residential developments in creating a vibrant commercial hub for a long-maligned area with little organic economic growth. The two business owners and local area drugs task force coordinator who operate within this area have described the improvements to their everyday life and the crime-prevention benefits to urban regeneration. Aside from the harder crime prevention elements such as CCTV and increased target hardening, the softer deterrents such as improved lighting, increased footfall, mixed land use and increased community pride are all credited with making Turristown a safer place to work and live, and one which has become more attractive to inward investment. Indeed,

Saville and Cleveland (2008) have spoken of the need to combine crime prevention through environmental design with the elements of context and culture in order to maximise buy-in for these schemes at the local level.

Members of An Garda Síochána in particular have spoken of their improved ability to provide safety and security to members of the public as a result of the regeneration. Identifying criminal activity has been made easier as offending is moved from the tower blocks to open spaces. Increased CCTV proliferation has also improved the ability to identify trouble hotspots and to prosecute offenders. Representatives from Dublin City Council too spoke of their improved ability to provide safe and secure housing and public spaces to the people of Turristown which in turn has reduced problem behaviour. Situational theorists such as Kelling and Wilson (1982) have spoken of the connection between improved physical appearance of an area and its effect on community pride which leads to less criminal offending and undesirable behaviour.

5.3   Drawbacks to the regeneration of Turristown

There were a number of drawbacks to the regeneration project. Some of these were the emergence of unforeseen crime generators and others were as a result of poor planning and a lack of coordination between the agencies. This mirrors findings from Shaftoe and Read (2005) who found that urban regeneration programmes often produced unanticipated crime-generating side effects.

The main issue tended to be around the decanting of individuals from the tower blocks to the new own-door residences. Economic difficulties surrounding the project meant that towers were not being demolished as quickly as had been planned and new housing developments were not being constructed within the scheduled timeframes. Tower blocks remained with few or no tenants and these became crime attractors as drug dealing engulfed the blocks. Policing these buildings became hazardous and the common areas around these deserted buildings also succumbed to criminal behaviour. Some respondents spoke of bad decision making on behalf of the Turristown Regeneration Company with regards to public housing, including one who suggested that there was an incentive for the company to keep tower blocks up in order to continue receiving state funding for the development.

Alcohol appears to have become easier to access in the area with the establishment of new supermarkets, an off licence and two hotels with bar facilities. According to the Turristown Drugs Task Force and An Gardaí Síochána this has led to increased alcohol dependency issues and problem drinking in public areas. A Community Alcohol Strategy was launched in 2010 to assist in dealing with the problems caused by alcohol addiction in Turristown.

There were also issues around design and layout of residential and commercial areas, some of which may have been unintentionally criminogenic in their implementation. Dublin City Council spoke of the difficulty with the upkeep of the housing stock and public areas that were finished to a high standard and which, in the current economic situation, have been difficult to maintain. Some residential areas have also been difficult to maintain by virtue of their design and layout which are inaccessible to motorised street cleaning vehicles.

The economic downturn is also blamed for the lack of progress in relation to the shopping centre. Most respondents spoke of the shopping centre's proposed place as the focus for the town and the gap which has been left in its absence. In a visual and symbolic sense, the existing dilapidated shopping centre looks out of place amongst the new buildings and still remains a problem area for drug dealing, substance abuse and criminal behaviour. However, some respondents have indicated their uncertainty as to whether the indigenous Turristown economy could sustain such a development even if it were to be built, especially given the close proximity to similar sized shopping centres in nearby areas. Two business owners have suggested that no research was carried out by Turristown Regeneration Company amongst small business owners in the area in order to determine the economic feasibility of such a development.

5.4   The partnership process

The partnership process has undoubtedly been a success in Turristown, and has led to the creation of agencies such as the Safer Turristown Forum. Respondents have spoken of improved inter-agency relationships as a result of the partnerships in the area, and this has had a positive impact on each agency's ability to provide safety and security for those living and working in Turristown. Crawford (1997) acknowledges that the proliferation of such

partnerships has "reconstituted relations" (p. 295) across the public and private sectors, and it appears that the regeneration of Turristown has impacted on the local governance of crime in the area.

However, there were a number of problems with the partnership process in respect of the Turristown regeneration, some of which mirror issues encountered in other jurisdictions. Research data suggests that the consultation process with residents of Turristown was piecemeal and tokenistic and that there was a lack of buy-in at local level as a result. Hancock (2001) has spoken of similar issues in the regeneration programmes in Liverpool suburbs in the late 1990's where a lack of consultation between local authorities and community groups resulted in little appreciation of issues particular to each community. One respondent from Turristown referred to small green spaces located around residential areas which had been pivotal to community life in the various areas of Turristown. These spaces were developed into housing and no equivalent managed green space was provided within the regenerated residential areas. A lack of consultation between Turristown Regeneration and local resident groups meant that developers failed to understand the role that these small green areas played in the community, particularly for small children and pre-teens.

Colman, Sim and White (2002) also indicated that non-local people were often the main beneficiaries of financial investment within urban regeneration partnerships and this has also been echoed within this research. Respondents spoke of a lack of emphasis on the creation of local jobs during the development of the area, and while some of the newly created local businesses such as hotels have attempted to employ from the immediate environment, this is not always possible.

Furthermore, respondents claimed that the regeneration company were eager to create buildings that were impressive in an architectural sense rather than in a functional sense. This mirrors findings from Gilling (2005) who found that issues will often occur in balancing the interests of individuals and large agencies and from Crawford (1997) who states that inter-agency conflict can undermine the shift towards the local governance of crime. Raco (2003), too, has also pointed to urban regeneration partnerships where the design of public spaces was geared towards impressing outside agencies and visitors rather than fulfilling the functional needs of local residents.

5.5 Recommendations

A number of recommendations can therefore be made as a result of these findings which could be used to inform future urban regeneration partnerships:

1. Development of residential areas and common areas should be undertaken keeping in mind that the physical materials will need to be maintained and replaced in order to prevent the area becoming dilapidated. Therefore building a high specification may cause later difficulties for local authorities, particularly in challenging economic times.

2. Timing issues need to be kept to a minimum, particularly in relation to the decanting of residents from one development to another. Leaving small amounts of residents in existing developments reduces natural surveillance and creates areas which may attract substance abuse, drug dealing and criminal activity.

3. Furthermore, common areas should be built in tandem with the developments they are intended to accompany. The building of playgrounds in front of existing sparsely-inhabited tower-blocks in Turristown resulted in a lack of natural surveillance of such amenities.

4. The partnership process should involve greater inclusivity for local residents, particularly in respect of issues which directly affect their livelihood, and not just on housing issues.

5. While situational crime prevention elements such as CCTV and target hardening undoubtedly contribute to lower levels of crime, the softer elements also play an important role. Passive supervision of residential and commercial areas in Turristown has been achieved with mixed-use buildings, natural surveillance, and footfall (particularly in evening times). Encouraging increased use of facilities by the general public should therefore be an important aspect to crime reduction in the regeneration of public areas.

5.6 Reflective comments

In initially proposing this study, the researcher sought to focus primarily on the physical elements of crime prevention. During early interviews, questions were asked of respondents regarding the physical changes which had been made to Turristown during the regeneration programme. It became immediately clear that the physical regeneration was not viewed as importantly by respondents as it was by the researcher. The researcher became aware that a bias was present in the interviews whereby the aims of the study were guiding the research process. A realignment of the research objectives was undertaken in order to remove the emphasis on determining the effects of physical changes to the Turristown area. This has resulted in a more holistic approach whereby there was a greater appreciation for other variables that may have resulted in identifiable shifts in security and safety in Turristown.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

6.1   Conclusion

This regeneration of Turristown appears to have been a largely successful endeavour. The physical element to the regeneration has almost been entirely completed at this stage, with a small number of tower blocks due for removal in the next eighteen months. The glaring omission from the town is the absence of the planned shopping complex which may not be completed as a result of the economic downturn.

The effects of social regeneration are less apparent and there may be a lag in determining the full effects of investment on the relevant socio-economic variables. Outcomes such as increased uptake of third-level education, lower long-term unemployment levels and lower rates of drug and alcohol dependency may take longer to materialise. Economic regeneration may also be less immediate in its emergence.

There are identifiable shifts in security and safety which have occurred as a result of the regeneration. This has been confirmed by the suppliers of public safety such as Gardaí and Dublin City Council, and also by the consumers of public safety including business owners, the local authority and the Drugs Task Force. Aspects of the regeneration have allowed individuals to better provide clean and safe public housing and public spaces to the people of Turristown. This has resulted in improved community spirit and an elevated sense of social cohesion. The criminogenic effect of this is that individuals have regained control over public spaces and residential areas which had been deemed lawless and 'out-of-bounds'. Increased use of the town centre means that there are more eyes on the street and therefore fewer opportunities for individuals to commit crime.

There have been issues with the regeneration programme, however. Poor decision making in respect of housing policy has meant that the mixed housing tenure has not materialised. Semi-vacant tower blocks became crime attractors as a result of delays in moving residents to new housing areas.

The partnership process has been a success to the extent that agencies in the town have good working relationships and have formulated shared approaches to problem solving in respect of social issues and crime. However, as with similar programmes in other jurisdictions, the consultation process may have excluded the residents of Turristown in respect of certain decisions, and there may have been a lack of appreciation for issues particular to the communities of Turristown.

The provision of quality housing and the improvement of social services within the area have undeniably improved the quality of life for the residents of Turristown and have brought a notable shift in safety and security for those working in the area. It is only through continued maintenance of the regenerated Turristown and through the sustained funding of social services essential to the area that we are less likely to repeat the mistakes of the past which, for so long, have undermined this strong and vibrant community.

6.2   Recommendations for further study

This study was completed with the aim of increasing the body of work in this jurisdiction around situational crime prevention. It was also hoped that the findings and recommendations could be used to inform regeneration programmes which might be initiated in the future.

There may also be a number of other ways in which this study could be developed. In order to determine the true extent to which the regeneration of Turristown has caused identifiable shifts in security and safety, it may be worthwhile carrying out a similar study which encapsulates data from other sectors including residents groups, the voluntary sector, consumers of social services such as those with alcohol and drug dependency issues, or the unemployed. An ethnographic survey of young people or at risk groups may also offer an insight into the effect of regeneration on marginalised groups.

A longitudinal study completed over a number of years may also be of worth, particularly as it would facilitate analysis of the delayed social and economic effects of the regeneration programme.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1   Sample introductory email to prospective participants

Appendix 2   Sample consent form sent to prospective participants

Appendix 3   Interview guides

Appendix 4   Research proposal to Garda Research Unit

APPENDIX A

Sample introductory email sent to prospective participants

Dear [name redacted],

My name is Jonathan Grant and I am currently doing a Masters in Criminology in DIT Mountjoy Square. I am required to complete a thesis as part of this course and I have chosen to look at the effect of urban regeneration on crime, using Turristown as a key example.

I would like to interview someone from the Turristown business community and discuss how the the regeneration has impacted upon those running businesses in the town.

I was therefore wondering if you would be interested in being interviewed as part of my research. Please let me know if this sounds like something that would appeal to you. I can send you a consent form and arrange a time and date (at your convenience) to carry out the interview.

For the purposes of disclosure, I would like to inform you that I am an employee of An Garda Síochána. I am not a Garda, I am a civilian analyst. My completion of this dissertation is in no way connected to my employer, it is solely a private endeavour. Any data collected will be used only for the purposes of the dissertation and will be destroyed after the course has been completed.

Kind regards,

Jonathan Grant
[email]
[phone number]

APPENDIX B

Sample consent form sent to prospective participants

Interviewee 6,   Jonathan Grant,
Dublin City Council,   [Address 1],
Turristown,   [Address 2],
Dublin   [Address 3]

23rd July 2012

Dear Interviewee 6,

My name is Jonathan Grant and I am a final year Criminology master's student studying in DIT Mountjoy Square. I am conducting a research project which will look at the effects of the Turristown regeneration on crime and other issues in the area. As part of the study, I would like to hear about your experiences of working in Turristown.

If you decide to take part in the study, you will be asked some questions about your perception of crime and anti-social behaviour in the Turristown area prior to and since the regeneration. An interview would be conducted at a time and location convenient for you and would hopefully take approximately 30-40 minutes.

If you wish to partake in this study, please return a signed copy of this consent form. Participation is voluntary and you can withdraw from the study at any time. For convenience, I would prefer to tape the interview using an audio recorder if this is acceptable to you.

For your information:
- Your anonymity will be protected at all times
- All interview recordings will be destroyed once they have been transcribed
- All written transcriptions of the interview will be destroyed once the study has been completed.
- Interview data will be securely stored while the project is being carried out

If you have any questions in relation to the study, please do not hesitate to contact me at [phone number] or [email]

Sincerely,
Jonathan Grant
_____

Please tick the boxes below which apply to you

I wish to be interviewed for this study   ☐
I am happy for this interview to be recorded   ☐

Signed: _____

Date: _____

APPENDIX C

Interview guides

Interview Guide for Interview 1
Senior Manager, Turristown Regeneration Company
June 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your general role within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. I would like to understand about the decisions taken in respect of planning the commercial/town centre area of Turristown. Can you give me an insight into the general thinking behind the overall design of that part of the town?

4. Did the concept of "crime prevention through environmental design" inform the decisions within the planning process? Can you think of any aspects specifically?

5. In respect of the common areas/public areas, did CPTED influence the design of these areas and how?

6. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown town centre/common public areas have made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

7. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

8. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

9. Considering that the regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership, can you give some insights into the role you or your organisation played in this partnership process, particularly in the area of physical improvements to the built environment.

10. How well did the partnership concept work in terms of the Turristown regeneration? What elements were particularly successful? Were there elements of it that you feel could have been improved?

11. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 2
Planner, Turristown Regeneration Company
July 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your general role within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. I would like to understand about the decisions taken in respect of planning for the regeneration of Turristown. Can you give me an insight into the planning decisions made in respect of the residential areas and public spaces? And specifically in terms of the commercial area and main street?

4. Did the concept of "crime prevention through environmental design" inform the decisions within the planning process? Can you think of any aspects specifically?

5. In respect of the common areas/public areas, did CPTED influence the design of these areas and how?

6. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown town centre/common public areas have made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

7. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

8. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

9. Considering that the regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership, can you give some insights into the role you or your organisation played in this partnership process?

10. How well did the partnership concept work in terms of the Turristown regeneration? What elements were particularly successful? Were there elements of it that you feel could have been improved?

11. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 3
Garda Manager, Turristown Garda Station
June 2012

1. Can you explain your current role in Turristown, and give me a quick overview of your career to date within the town?

2. What do you understand by the term regeneration of Turristown?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown has made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

4. How has the regeneration of the area changed the role of An Garda Síochána in the town?

5. Thinking in terms of the physical aspects of the regeneration, which of these do you feel has improved safety and security in the town?

6. Which of these has changed the role of Garda members working in Turristown?

7. Are there elements to the regeneration which have hindered the role of An Garda Síochána, or have reduced safety and security?

8. The regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership. Do you believe that An Garda Síochána performs a suitable role in this partnership?

9. Can you give me some thoughts on your experience of partnership in the Turristown area?

10. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 4
Community Garda, Turristown Garda Station
August 2012

1. Can you give me a quick overview of your career to date within the town?

2. What do you understand by the term regeneration of Turristown?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown has made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

4. How has the regeneration of the area changed the role of An Garda Síochána in the town? What impact has it had on the ability to prevent or reduce crime?

5. What specific physical changes have improved safety and security in the town?

6. Are there changes which haven't worked, or which have hindered the work of An Garda Síochána? What would you have done differently?

7. The regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership. Do you believe that An Garda Síochána performs a suitable role in the decisions made?

8. Are they still suitably involved? What is the relationship like with the other vested interests?

9. Does the partnership model work? Are there elements of it that could have been improved?

10. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 5
Maintenance worker, Dublin City Council
July 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your general role within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown town centre/common public areas have made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

4. How has your role as a maintainer of the built environment been changed by the physical regeneration of the town?

5. Do you believe that the regeneration has had an effect on crime levels, or on the types of crime that are committed in open/common areas or in the town centre?

6. Has there been an effect on things like graffiti, nuisance behaviour, littering as a result of the regeneration?

7. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

8. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

Interview Guide for Interview 6
Senior manager, Dublin City Council
June 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your general role within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown town centre/common public areas have made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

4. How has Dublin City Council's role as landlords and maintainers of the built environment been changed by the physical regeneration of the town?

5. Do you believe that the regeneration has had an effect on crime levels, or on the types of crime that are committed in open/common areas or in the town centre?

6. Has there been an effect on things like graffiti, anti-social behaviour, littering as a result of the regeneration?

7. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

8. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

9. Considering that the Turristown regeneration is an urban regeneration partnership, Can you give some insights into the role you or your organisation plays in this partnership process, particularly in the area of maintaining common areas and the town centre?

10. Do you believe that Dublin City Council performs a suitable role in this partnership and are suitably represented in respect of their role in the maintenance of the town?

11. Does the partnership concept work in terms of Turristown's regeneration? Are there elements of it that you feel could be improved?

12. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 7
Coordinator, Turristown Drugs Task Force
August 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your general role within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "the regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of Turristown has made the area a safer place for those working in the town (providing safety and security)?

4. Are there any specific changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

5. Do you believe that the regeneration has had an effect on crime levels, or on the types of crime that are committed in open/common areas or in the town centre?

6. Do you believe there to be elements of the regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

7. Considering that the regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership, can you give some insights into the role you or your organisation played in this partnership process?

8. Do you believe that you and the Task Force perform an appropriate role in the partnerships at work in Turristown?

9. Are there elements of partnership that don't work, or that you'd like to see changed?

10. Do you think the interests of the citizens of Turristown were suitably represented throughout the consultation, decision-making and implementation processes?

Interview Guide for Interview 8
Business owner #1
July 2012

1. Can you give me a brief overview of your time within the Turristown area?

2. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

3. Do you believe that the regeneration of the Turristown main street and commercial areas has made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

4. Has the regeneration had an effect on crime levels, or the types of crime that are committed against business owners?

5. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

6. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

7. Considering that the regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership, Can you give some insights into the role you or the business community have played in this partnership process?

8. Do you believe that Turristown's business community played a suitable role in this partnership and were represented properly during the consultation, implementation and now in the maintenance elements of the regeneration?

9. Did the partnership concept work in terms of Turristown's regeneration? Are there elements of it that you feel could be improved?

Interview Guide for Interview 9
Business owner #2
July 2012

11. Can you give me a brief overview of your time within the Turristown area?

12. Can you briefly describe what the phrase "regeneration of Turristown" signifies to you?

13. Do you believe that the regeneration of the Turristown main street and commercial areas has made the area a safer place for those working in the town?

14. Has the regeneration had an effect on crime levels, or the types of crime that are committed against business owners?

15. Are there any specific physical changes that you feel have improved safety and security in the town?

16. Do you believe there to be elements of the physical regeneration which have had little or no effect on safety and security, or even had negative effects?

17. Considering that the regeneration of Turristown is an urban regeneration partnership, Can you give some insights into the role you or the business community have played in this partnership process?

18. Do you believe that Turristown's business community played a suitable role in this partnership and were represented properly during the consultation, implementation and now in the maintenance elements of the regeneration?

19. Did the partnership concept work in terms of Turristown's regeneration? Are there elements of it that you feel could be improved?

APPENDIX D

Research proposal to Garda Research Unit

Research proposal of Jonathan Grant for the purposes of completing field research.

Name: Jonathan Grant
Course: Masters in Criminology
College: Dublin Institute of Technology, Mountjoy Square
Dissertation topic: Regeneration of Turristown

1.   Proposed research

1.1.   As part of my Masters in Criminology, I am required to complete a dissertation. I have chosen to undertake research into the Regeneration of Turristown.

1.2.   I propose to examine the area of Turristown and identify if and how the physical regeneration of the town has improved the experiences of those who work in the area and those who are responsible for policing and maintaining the town.

1.3.   Through this, I would hope to examine whether improvements to the built environment can have positive criminogenic effects on a high crime urban area.

2.   Requirements

2.1.   In order to complete this research, I wish to carry out qualitative interviews with certain individuals working in Turristown. Amongst these would be members of An Garda Síochána.

2.2.   Interviewing Garda members would allow me to gather insights into the experience of working in a regenerated Turristown. If possible I would like to interview members

who have worked in the area throughout some or all of the regeneration project. I am not yet sure how feasible this would be.

2.3.   I would aim to interview three Garda members. These would ideally be of the following rank: 1x Garda, 1 x Sergeant, 1 x Superintendent. I have not yet identified specific members for interview.

2.4.   Should this request be granted by the Garda Research Unit, I propose to make contact with [name removed to protect participant anonymity] in Turristown Garda station in order to commence this research. I would ask that he might also identify community-based Garda members suitable for interview.

2.5.   I propose that all interviews take place at members' convenience and would be recorded on a tape recorder. These recordings would be destroyed once transcribed to a word processor. This electronic data will then be destroyed once the dissertation has been completed.

2.6.   This data will be kept in a secure location and will be destroyed once the dissertation has been completed.