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Dublin's Spatial Narrative: The Transition from Essentially Mono-Cultural Places to Poly-Cultural Spaces

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at St Patrick's College, Dublin City University

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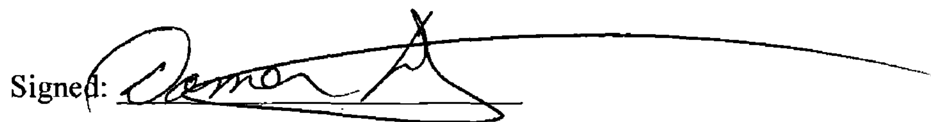
I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of PhD is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: 

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Abstract

Vital data accessed from the ERHA pertaining to asylum seekers living in Dublin in 2002 was analysed and formatted for use with GIS. The result was the production of a micro-spatial map showing the distribution of asylum seekers by Electoral Division [ED]. A series of maps was produced at different scales showing various demographic, ethnic and racial variables. Locating the EDs for use with GIS required the researcher to walk throughout the dataset areas whilst observing, reading and photographing these evolving textual landscapes and also interviewing different individuals and community groups. The theoretical lens for this research examined the cultural geography and sociology of space in Dublin using an interdisciplinary approach. It considered in-depth the theories regarding the politics of scale and power associated with space and place. Based on this quantitative analysis and field observation, two central hypotheses were posited and examined: firstly, that ethnic and racial clustering is occurring within clearly identifiable EDs and secondly, that three sub-cultural groups or populations, namely asylum seeking, indigenous and gentrified, whilst inhabiting the same geographical places arguably live in different mental spaces. This social and cultural morphology has resulted in the transition of what were once essentially mono-cultural places into poly-cultural spaces. Two possible models of future spatial development in Dublin were examined. The research explored existing models of community development in Dublin, arguing that the inclusion of asylum seekers and other immigrant groupings into such potential models could aid social integration and spatial planning.

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INTRODUCTION

By the mid 1990s, Ireland had begun to experience economic growth that was unprecedented in its previous history. The economy which resulted has been commonly referred to as the 'Celtic Tiger'. The economic growth brought about a new confidence and changes in the cultural life-style of many elements of Irish society. Previously, many people in rural and suburban areas considered city living in somewhat of an ambivalent, perhaps even a negative light. With the growth of the 'Celtic Tiger' economy, apartment living within Irish cities became a popular choice of a growing cadre of young professionals. This choice to live within city space gave rise to a rapid gentrification process and, in turn, changed the demography of many inner city spaces.

Another result of Ireland's economic growth was that the country became a favourable destination for migrants. A pull factor in the form of available employment attracted inward migration, which was needed to service sectors of the growing economy.

Inevitably, gentrification and immigration began to change the physical and cultural landscape of some inner city spaces. Among the people most affected by these changes were the indigenous residents of inner city neighbourhoods. Within these neighbourhoods and throughout the country, debates ensued about the merits of, and fears about immigration. Some sections of the media and a number of politicians fuelled a broad public debate that had an underlying element of 'fear' about the possibility of immigrant ghettos emerging in Dublin.

Side-by-side with the arrival of the various immigrant sub-groups in Ireland, the growing gentrification of some city spaces and the displacement of numbers of the indigenous population, co-existed with the advent into Ireland of some tens of thousands of asylum seekers. Two thousand and two was the peak year in Ireland's recent migratory history of this category of immigration - with a figure of 11,634 applications for refugee status, a sharp contrast from the 39 who applied in 1992. This 2002 peak had declined to 4,314 applications in 2006.

Evidence suggests that Dublin was the primary destination for asylum seekers upon arrival in Dublin. This research, "Dublin's Spatial Narrative: The Transition from

Essentially Mono-Cultural Places to Poly-Cultural Spaces", analysed the spatial distribution of 9,195 asylum seekers residing in County Dublin in June 2002 based on a dataset received from the Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA).

It was proposed, in consultation with the ERHA, that a detailed mapping and accompanying social analysis of the dataset by this researcher would reveal the actual and relative numbers of asylum seekers residing in particular areas in Dublin and contribute to a needs analysis of social provision at both macro and micro scales. It was also postulated that the emplacement of asylum seekers within existing places demanded their wider social and cultural interpretation, side-by-side with the other groups of inhabitants already identified above.

The creation of over 80 maps clearly demonstrated an unequal spatial distribution of asylum seekers residing in Dublin in 2002 and identified particular areas as being ethnically clustered. According to Marinus Deurloo and Sako Musterd (1998: 385-397) an Ethnic Concentration Area or Ethnic Cluster is: "An area where a certain population group is more strongly represented than in the population as a whole, although in that area it is only a numerical minority". The maps illustrating the spatial distribution of the dataset show that asylum seekers were, to varying extents, clustered in small spatial units across Dublin. Despite this clustering, the research shows that asylum seekers remained a numerical minority of the 2002 Census population of these spatial units.

It is common in geographic research to use a single numerical or percentage definition of a cluster when mapping data, which allows for a statistical and visual comparison of the data. A single percentage or numerical definition of clusters was not used in this research for specific reasons which are explained in the methodology section.

The research explored the social and cultural morphology of these ethnically clustered areas arising from the arrival of asylum seekers and where appropriate, other immigrants. It explored the physical and socio-cultural effects of this clustering as well as examining the effects of the newly arrived gentrified population on the indigenous residents of such spaces. The research argues that many of the areas discussed were previously mono-cultural places and have recently been undergoing a transition towards becoming poly-cultural spaces. This cultural transition is a cameo of the processes being played out in cities, towns and villages across Ireland.

Having clearly demonstrated an unequal spatial distribution of asylum seekers residing in Dublin in 2002, the fundamental question of why asylum seekers were clustered in particular inner city and suburban areas was posed. Was it a freely taken personal decision or a forced decision on the part of asylum seekers to live in certain spatial units? The inquiry of where asylum seekers resided was broadened out to a more fundamental exploration of the processes which dictate the residential location of different sub-groups in Irish society, in this case Dublin. According to Tim Creswell (1996: 27):

> Class, gender, and race have so often been treated as if they happened on the head of a pin. Well they don't they happen in space and place. By taking space and place seriously...we can provide another tool to demystify and understand the forces that effect and manipulate our everyday lives.

Notwithstanding the potential of asylum seekers to influence where they reside, it is argued that space is manipulated primarily by political and economic forces that are very much related to the creation of capital through cultural production. Michel Foucault (1972: 171) claimed that:

> It seems to me that the real political task in a society such as ours is to criticise the working of institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them.

To fully cover the broad level of enquiry into Dublin's changing physical and socio-cultural landscape, it was decided by this researcher that an interdisciplinary approach was required. The research analysis therefore incorporated elements from a range of disciplines including urban, cultural, economic and human geography, urban

anthropology and sociology, literature, philosophy and various aspects of cultural studies with an emphasis on postcolonialism and postmodernism. An interdisciplinary study by its very nature can be somewhat porous. One PhD thesis could not possibly present a complete analysis of the topic under investigation according to each academic discipline identified in the research process. The result of this would be a series of PhDs on the same topic. This researcher believes that the strength of rigorous interdisciplinary research is its ability to combine various theoretical lenses and methodologies to best fit the specificities of the subject matter. It is believed that this interdisciplinary approach can engender interesting and important questions that might otherwise elude a single disciplinary approach.

Employing aspects of the above mentioned disciplines, this researcher developed a broad conceptual framework within which to analyse the geography and sociology of space. It was hoped that this framework and its methodological and philosophical approach would be useful to other researchers in different disciplines and field studies, exploring the many areas that could not be included within the confines of this thesis. The Census of Population in 2006 posed some basic questions on racial origin for the first time, but was unavailable for consideration in this research.

Influenced by the work of geographers such as David Harvey and Edward Soja, the researcher not only used an interdisciplinary approach, but also combined quantitative and qualitative approaches. It was believed that this praxis would form a holistic analysis of space in Dublin. The quantitative analysis provided a lasting spatial and demographic indicator of the asylum seeker population residing in County Dublin in June 2002. This analysis stands on its own as an important snapshot in time, but can also can be used for future comparative analysis of asylum seekers residing in Dublin.

This researcher was cognisant that the ethnic, cultural, socio-economic and political landscape is in constant motion. Once the data sample was accessed in June 2002, there was no doubt that over time some people represented in the data sample would move from the abodes or spaces analysed. However, as asylum seekers move on, they are often replaced in the same abodes by other asylum seekers; particularly in the case of Direct Provision Centres. Thus, the analysis of the areas containing the 2002 asylum seeker dataset is representative of the ongoing spatial and social dynamics in

ethnically clustered areas in Dublin. The quantitative analysis provided a template upon which this researcher could engage in a focused qualitative analysis of the nature of Dublin's evolving cultural landscape. The analysis of the dataset and the city in transition became an act of interpreting Dublin's spatial narrative. Dublin was treated as a spatial text that needed to be read; its spatial syntax was explored as a postmodern text. The city's deconstruction into its component parts i.e. ethnic and economic clusters, revealed the processes which gave rise to the spatial formation of the city.

Although outside of the formal bureaucratic radar, undocumented migrants also live in ethnically clustered areas alongside other sub-immigrant groups, such as refugees and those asylum seekers who gained Irish citizenship or Leave to Remain on the basis of having an Irish-born child. Since the research began, arriving immigrants such as nationals of the EU accession states impacted on the ethnic clusters being examined and reference is made to them where appropriate.

The research reveals that the majority of asylum seekers were residing in areas characterised by very high levels of socio-economic disadvantage, particularly in the inner city. These areas are identified as being once essentially mono-cultural places, and thus labelled urban villages, rich in tradition and having a very strong sense of identity and place. Ethnically clustered urban villages were read as physical and cultural palimpsests whereby physical structures and culture are in the process of being partially erased or replaced. This reading was a means of understanding an important part of the poly-cultural transition. While areas that were home to asylum seekers were primarily disadvantaged, they were becoming consumed into Dublin's citywide gentrification process. In essence, the analysis of where asylum seekers were clustered did not confine itself to asylum seekers only, but to all of the social actors who resided there, namely indigenous, immigrant and gentrified. All contribute to its evolving sense of place and space.

Due to the interdisciplinary nature of the research and the methodologies employed, the thesis breaks to some extent with existing conventions. Rather than begin with a Literature Review, Chapter One situates the relationship between space, identity and time into an Irish context and a conceptual framework through which the

interconnected layers of discourse in the Literature Review and the Data Analysis can be referenced. The contextual discourse in Chapter One used the model of the Irish Cultural Revival in considering the challenges to the indigenous residents' sense of place and Irishness. Perceptions of Irish identity were linked to the fears and, in some cases, the racist response to the new Irish immigration.

Chapter Two, the Literature Review, covers a broad range of disciplines divided into two sections of analysis. The first sub-section "Macro View" concerns literature pertaining to the evolution of city mapping, ranging from the static maps of physical space to more postmodern city maps that attempt to include psychological and social spaces. It focuses on Marxist geographic discourse on the production of space and explores recent discourse on immigrant and segregated city spaces that are aided by postcolonial theory. The second sub-section "Micro View" analyses the literature concerning theories and methodologies employed by anthropologists, cultural theorists, geographers, philosophers and sociologists to examine the lived spaces of cities. This researcher combined the activities associated with the *flâneur* with theories and methodologies concerning best practice in field research to explore how sections of the city are changing socially and culturally, and how the dominant mainstream population in society has the ability to segregate sub-groups deemed to be out of place within the context of mainstream cultural norms. This "Micro" sub-section of the Literature Review is explicitly linked with the qualitative sub-section of the Third Chapter, Methodology. Therefore, because the available conceptual framework and theories employed by this research were outlined in the Literature Review, the qualitative section of the Methodology additionally nuances the use of photography as a research tool and the methodologies concerned with reading the city narrative. The researcher took almost all of the photographs in the research.

The qualitative methodology was influenced by a stipulation made by the ERHA that this researcher could not directly contact asylum seekers within the dataset. Therefore, in order to gain an insight into the dynamics of everyday life in ethnically clustered spaces from the point of view of asylum seekers and other immigrant groups, this researcher engaged in a number of informal and semi-structured interviews with individuals who worked and used immigrant shops and services. More structured

interviews took place with community organisations that work directly with asylum seekers and other immigrants.

Chapter Four, the Data Analysis, examined the dataset as one group in County Dublin. Ethnic clusters emerged and, as a result, the data was analysed at County Council and individual Electoral Division level where appropriate. Due to the extent of clustering in the city, greater attention is given to Dublin City Council. Some of the themes that emerged were place-specific and other themes were common to all councils. To avoid too much duplication of analysis, specific themes are highlighted in one council section. For example, the theme of the social and psychological effects of non-entitlement to work is common to all asylum seekers in all council areas, but is focussed on in the South Dublin County Council section. Another example is a discussion of the important role that indigenous grass-roots organisations have played in community development in Dublin. This is primarily discussed in the South East Inner City section of the Data Analysis and is related to the need for broadly-based community integration strategies to be designed and implemented using a sustainable development approach.

It is hoped that the analysis of the data by county council will benefit local community organisations in terms of their understanding of the demography and experiences of asylum seekers and immigrants who have been residing within their area of remit. It is an aim of the research that such data and place-specific analysis will help groups target social provision for asylum seekers and contribute to local integration strategies. At a statutory body level, it is also hoped that this data analysis will facilitate their service provision for asylum seekers and advise policies regarding the integration of non-Irish nationals into the broader political, economic and social community in County Dublin.

CHAPTER ONE

Providing a Context

plate 1: Patrick Collins (1957) *Liffey Quaysides.*42.1 x 51ins / 107 x 129.5cm National Gallery of Ireland

1.1 Introduction

The title of this research, *Dublin's Spatial Narrative: The Transition from Essentially Mono-cultural Places to Poly-cultural Spaces* poses interesting semantic problems. Firstly, it links culture with the separate but associated concept of society into a single identity or semiotic. Secondly, it implies that Dublin (Ireland) was mono-cultural and is now in a transitional phase towards having multiple cultures (poly-culturalism). It is vital to discuss these somewhat ambiguous terms before there can be further discussion as to what the transition is, and of the processes and effects such a transition might have on contemporary Ireland.

The following discussion of the semantics of mono-culture pertaining to Ireland, argues that this concept denotes a white Irish ethnicity with the accompanying social and religious mores and values sometimes associated with nationalist impulses of the Irish Cultural Revival at the turn of the 20th century, and the subsequent creation of the new state defining itself in mainly Catholic and Gaelic terms. Based on a Gramscian-like (1971) discussion of hegemony, it is argued that the diverse activities associated with the Irish Revival created a universal narrative of Irish society. According to Colin Graham (2001: 82) in *Deconstructing Ireland: Identity, Theory Culture*: "In the Irish context, postcolonial criticism appears to be tied to a narrative which celebrates the entity of the nation as the logical and correct outcome of the process of anti-colonial struggle". Graham (2001: 83-84) describes the progression of the postcolonial narrative as:

> ...colonisation —> resurgence —> nationalism —> liberation —> the nation. This narrative has continued to underpin much postcolonial critical thinking from Fanon onward, being continually drawn into defending the anti- and postcolonial nation as an ethically and politically readjustment of the wrong of colonisation...the security of origin, identity and affiliation it offers, have meant that the postcolonial nation remains an entity continually reverted to.

The relative rise in recent immigration to Ireland has resulted in a revisiting of questions of Irish identity and at times a return to an ideological nationalist rhetoric. This rhetoric has the potential to create a backlash against immigrants. The bombings in London, July 2005, and the rhetoric used in their aftermath by the British media, created a backlash against Asian and North African minorities resulting in a rapid

increase in race crimes. Some people may romanticise, wish for, or even proselytise for a return to a mono-ethnic and mono-cultural society in Ireland. However, Irish culture and society, even prior to the arrival of immigrants, had changed rapidly towards the late 20th century. Andrew Finlay (2004: 235) writes that: "The emerging story of Ireland is no longer monocultural or even bicultural; it is as Francis Mulhern argues (1998: 157), 'an unprogrammed hybrid'". A discussion of the effects that Ireland's rapid economic development in parallel with its rapid urbanisation has had on Irish identity will be discussed in the section titled, 'The Demographic, Technological and Cultural Transition Model: A Framework'.

John Urry (2000) argues that an identifiable group of people, seemingly homogenous in place with, for example, the same class and ethnicity, will still have different social dynamics. Some dynamics might include a hierarchical community structure based on social-signifiers such as education, career, family name or sporting ability. When other groups or individuals begin to share this seemingly homogenous space, different dynamics emerge such as fear of the new arrival. This fear may result in a form of solidarity against the 'other' with former internal differences disappearing, and / or a renewed support of the spatial unit's hierarchy in their voiced opposition to the newcomers. One example of oscillating competition and unity in Ireland is its inter-parish GAA rivalry. In many respects, the closer the proximity between two competing parish teams, the greater the rivalry between them. However, the inter-parish rivalry ends when their county team plays in the championship and the rivalry is most probably transferred to a neighbouring county. The Guinness-sponsored advertisement campaign for the 2006 GAA season uses inter-county "rivalry" as its central focus. This sporting rivalry is most apparent when Ireland's national football (soccer) and rugby teams play against 'the old enemy' England.

Ireland's island population has in many respects been living as a single group with a particular dynamic, part of which is related to its relationship with its close but geographically-separated neighbour, England. Some people in Ireland fear the arrival of immigrants as they feel they will threaten their 'natural way of life'. In this regard Finlay (2004: 2) writes: "Slowly and inevitably, Ireland will...begin to develop as a...multi-cultural society. Yet already there are ominous signs of xenophobia and intolerance...".

Sinead Casey and Michael O'Connell (2000: 23), in a General Health Questionnaire (GHQ), of 146 immigrants from various ethnic groups found that they had experienced high levels of racism in Ireland. The study found that this ethnic group had higher anxiety scores and levels of depression, particularly when compared to the average Irish population's GHQ scores. The researchers, as well as Malcolm MacLachlan and Michael O'Connell (2000), posited that the reason for Irish racism in Ireland is partly fear and resentment of immigrants, fueled by media rhetoric. Casey and O'Connell (2000: 21) point to the experiences of an immigrant woman living in Tallaght in west Dublin when quoting from Robbie McVeigh and Alice Binchy (1998: 21): "When I first came here it was what you might call innocent....It all changed with the [General] election (Summer, 1997). Some politicians said some things about refugees and after that there was a difference – there was a lot more racism".

In "Racism and the Media in Ireland: Setting the anti-immigrant agenda", Pat Guerin (2002: 91-102) outlines in detail a direct connection between 'sensationalist' media reporting and levels of racist attitudes by some people in Ireland. Guerin cites many examples of un-balanced media representation of immigration including a poll by *Ireland on Sunday* (8/3/1998) which asked: "Do you think Ireland should have an open door policy for all refugees and people seeking asylum?". The result reported that the: "Majority says no...". The question was, in one sense a 'set up' with obvious anti-immigration responses a probability. Guerin, points to the rapid and sustained reporting of an asylum seeker "influx" into Ireland and asylum seekers being labelled 'spongers', 'bogus' and 'black mafia'. Guerin (2002: 91-102) also points to the negative reactions to the language used by Government in 1999 and 2000 with regard to asylum seeker and refugee policy:

> In one fell swoop a hardening of public attitudes is solely attributed to the 'sudden influx of asylum seekers', the Minister for Justice is vindicated in his hard-line stance on asylum-seekers, and an open-door policy is dismissed without debate.

Guerin (2002: 92) argues that there have been other racisms in Irish society prior to the arrival of asylum seekers in Ireland, such as anti-Traveller, anti-Jewish and anti-Black racism. One could also include homosexuals and women in the above set of sub-groups discriminated against in Irish society. Guerin explores the roots of Irish

racism, suggesting that part of the source stems from Ireland's narrow definition of identity and community. Cormac Ó Grádá's *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce* (2007) however, cites positive Jewish/Catholic 'multicultural' interaction in the Dublin of 1870-1920. With reference to McVeigh's "The Specificity of Irish Racism", Guerin writes: "McVeigh (1992) has argued that the roots of antagonism towards perceived out-groups in Ireland can be located, at least partially, in a strong sense of community in mainstream Irish society". This, Guerin adds, is combined with a narrow definition of what constitutes 'community' in Ireland and, with specific reference to the work of Gerard Boucher, (1998) writes:

> ...despite the probable linkages across different forms of racism in a single society, recent developments suggest that anti-immigrant racism is a new and virulent strain of racism in Irish society. Whether this represents an increase in racism or a new focus for old antagonisms remains unclear. This new strain of racism in Ireland, while primarily directed at newly arrived refugee and asylum-seeker communities, also appears to have spilled over into a more generalised anti-black racism in society.

The ESRI's (1996) report on Irish people's perceptions of immigrants found that asylum seekers experience the highest level of racism in Irish society. Furthermore, the report claims that Black people suffer more racism than other racial groups. Such fear of asylum seekers, this writer will argue, is partly a throw back to preserving national stereotypes re-invented during the Revival, when Ireland saw itself in relation to 'not being English'. Joe Cleary (2003: 91-104) argues that the academic debate and theorisation of Ireland's rapid transformation, a debate that began in the 1980s, is in essence an 'Irish revisionist historiography' and variant of modernisation theory:

> Most modernization theories rest on a crude dichotomy between 'traditional' and 'modern' societies, and are designed to conceptualize the process whereby 'traditional' societies can acquire the attributes of 'modernity'.

Cleary (2003) argues that there is a danger in over simplifying this discourse and detaching the economic rationalism of development or change from that of social and cultural agency and vice versa. For Cleary, both the political left and right have used such revisionism to purport a number of issues ranging from a call for separation of church and state to a liberalising of state controls over business. Cleary maintains that Irish revisionist historiography can be too bogged down in the binary opposition between Ireland and England. He writes that the changes in contemporary Ireland

have been discussed in relation to broader economic global restructuring of capital and products through forms of postcolonial and Marxist analysis.

This researcher argues, as stated above, that an historical account and interpretation of the Revival may enrich an exploration of the fear factor in Irish society with regard to immigration. However, it is not simply a discourse on Irish identity politics in relation to England, but an example of how the conceptual framework as employed by this researcher, uses the context of Irish history to aid a discourse on postcoloniality, identity politics and third space as related to contemporary Ireland and, in particular, Dublin as a case study. Furthermore, this discussion is crucial if one is to explore the transition phase in Irish society from mono-culture to poly-culture, and from mono-ethnic to multi-ethnic. Patrick O'Mahony and Gerard Delanty (2001: 188) in *Rethinking Irish History: Nationalism, Identity and Ideology* referring to the work of Delanty 1996, write:

> A crucial question for the future will be whether Irish society is capable of generating a 'post-national – identity', a collective identity that is no longer focused on the fiction of an 'homogenous people' and their alleged common, cultural attributes but on the constitutional norms and cultural identifications that emphasise the right, but associated responsibilities, of being different. Quite how the link between nation-state, rights, responsibilities, and cultural identification, is going to evolve is hard to assess.

Part of this researcher's discourse on Irish identity politics, is an analysis of how a nation can be authored as in the imaginings of the Revivalist writers and the myths they created. Part of the methodology will show how geographers, poets, philosophers, literary and cultural theorists for example, might use tools such as deconstruction to read landscapes as texts. Jackson (1989: xx) writes:

> Several authors, including Geertz, likened the understanding of society to the interpretation of a written text: 'Arguments, melodies, formulas, maps, and pictures are not idealities to be stared at but texts to be read; so are rituals, palaces, technologies, and social formations' (Geertz 1980: 135-172).

1.2 The semantics of mono-culture as pertaining to Ireland: the revival revived

> *Our civilization is an immense woven fabric in which very different elements are mixed...In such a fabric, it is pointless searching for a thread that has remained pure, virgin and uninfluenced by other threads nearby. What race or language...can nowadays claim to be pure? No race has less right to make such a boast than the one presently inhabiting Ireland. Nationality...must find its basic reason for being in something that surpasses, that transcends and that informs changeable entities such as blood or human speech.* Joyce lecture, Trieste, 1907 quoted in Barry (2000: 118)

Semantically, mono-culture signifies a single ethnic group living in a denoted geographical locale known as a 'culture area'. The population is governed by a unified and codified social structure which relies upon a set of cultural values that create a closed society which can impose sanctions on those who oppose this order (Stephen Greenblatt, 1995; R.J. Johnston et al, 1998).

Such a narrow definition of a mono-culture might be akin to an anthropological description of an isolated, pre-modern, mono-ethnic indigenous tribe in the Amazon region rather than a description of a modern nation. Ireland has never been mono-ethnic. Its history is one of invasion and immigration from Viking times and English colonial rule into its current interconnectedness in the globalised world matrix. The mixing of ethnicities is also a mixing of cultures – a hybridity, and therefore one can argue that Ireland has never been exclusively mono-cultural. In contemporary Ireland, one can argue that English and American culture has further challenged and invaded the notion of a mono-cultural Ireland. Victor Burgin (1996) in *In/Different Spaces: Place and Memory in Visual Culture* articulates the changing nature of physical borders and 'border mentalities':

> The generation of Europeans to which I belong grew up in a world of fixed borders, of glacial boundaries: frozen, it seemed for eternity, by the cold war. Now, in the time of thaw, borders everywhere are melting, sliding, submerging, re-emerging. Identities – national, cultural, individual – are experiencing the exultant anxieties that accompany the threat of dissolution....Today's national borders are largely inconvenient to world capitalism...

Ronit Lentin and Robbie McVeigh (2002: 24) describe as 'cultural osmosis' the cultural dependency of Ireland on American and British 'popular culture'. As an example of this osmosis they write, "two-thirds of the content of Irish television is either British or American, the majority of the papers read by Irish people are British". This cultural dependency is on another predominantly Western, white-dominant culture and therefore the hegemony is largely invisible.

As outlined by Lentin and McVeigh, many of the English papers read by Irish people are tabloids that often include sensationalist reporting of race issues (Harris 2002:135). John Pilger (1999) calls such tabloid reporting 'infotainment'. One can illustrate the extent of the Irish cultural osmosis from England by using Declan Kiberd's (1996) argument about an earlier time in Ireland's history, that it was much

easier to de-colonise Ireland's land than to decolonise the Irish mind. In this sense it is difficult to determine what is 'inherently' Irish in Irish people as opposed to what is English or American. One might use W.B. Yeats's ([1928] 1989: 323) telling question in "Among School Children" as an analogy for such cultural osmosis: 'How can we know the dancer from the dance?'

Many nations have been influenced culturally, economically and politically by their colonial and imperial masters, as well as being influenced by larger neighbours. Burgin (1996: 155-156) describes the rapid industrialisation process of East Berlin following the fall of the Berlin Wall as osmosis from East into West:

> The boundaries of today's Europe are increasingly porous. The recent history of Germany is an example. A space in transition, it represents the economic and political equivalent of "osmosis" – the movement of a fluid through a semipermeable membrane, from the weaker to the stronger solution. However, as "The Wall" crumbled inside Germany, osmosis at Germany's borders – fluid transmissions from the weaker to the stronger economy – revived a pathological horror of mixing, the modern history of which has been so effectively catalogued by Klaus Theweleit. The rhetoric of neofacism, by no means unique to Germany, sounds familiar – but it now resounds in a different space.

Burgin is making explicit reference to the racism of West Germans towards East Germans. Germany has also experienced an increase in levels of racism against its Turkish community in recent years. It is of note that the Turkish immigrants in Germany were initially invited "guest workers" known as *Gastarbeiten* in the 1950s and 1960s. However, particularly in times of economic downturn, this group has been one of the first to be blamed for siphoning resources from the government. Ireland needs economic migrants to support its growing economy yet there has been substantial resistance to immigrants. What therefore might the potential risk of racism be in Irish society during times of future economic downturn in Ireland?

One of the ironies of West / East racism in Germany is the massive increase in East Berlin's culture industry as people from the West arrive in search of their past, of authenticity, of eating 'old foods' in old-style restaurants on winding cobbled streets. They are enjoying an 'authentic' present pastiche of their past, just as an Irish American or returning Irish migrant might desire traditional Irish pubs and their traditional bill of fare such as Irish Stew. The situation prior to the end of the 'iron

curtain' is an example of two different political entities sharing a geographical space but living with different temporal and cultural registers.

Although one may suggest from the above line of argument that Ireland has technically been multi-cultural, it is also true that statistically it has remained a white, ethnic, Catholic and agrarian nation throughout most of the 20th century with accompanying nationalist and Catholic cultural values and anti urban bias. What Burgin described of Europe's melting borders can be related to an Irish context. With the speed of change that accompanied its passage through the late 20th century, from the joining of the EEC in 1973 through to the Celtic Tiger years of globalisation and concomitant immigration, one might ask is contemporary Irish culture really different today to the Ireland of the past? Finlay (2004: 2) quotes Fintan O'Toole:

> O'Toole avoids suggesting that the arrival of immigrants has disturbed a static and monolithic cultural identity: that cultural identity, 'based on Catholicism, nationalism and rural values', was already falling apart, and the problem is that [t]he sense of loss, the feeling of insecurity, the uncertainty about what it means to be Irish...may be blamed on outsiders'.

Many people in Ireland will agree that traditional Irish society, as outlined above, has changed - particularly in relation to ethnicity and the availability of globalised consumer products. One might suspect therefore that they would also agree that Irish 'culture' has changed. However, some people would disagree with this latter statement and might balk at the suggestion that culture is being morphologised, that they are, by definition, somehow less Irish. By this rationale, people differentiate between 'culture' and 'society'. The term culture includes 'the modes and rituals of behaviour as governed and signified in everyday life' i.e. that culture is fluid. This raises a debate that deserves much further analysis and research that can be centred on two broad questions. Firstly, if people understand culture as being in 'the blood and land' i.e. that if it is seen as 'fixed' and by definition 'owned', might they then physically and mentally defend any attempt by 'others' to 'take it away'? Secondly, is Ireland as a young nation insecure because its culture is based on a binary opposition to England thus resulting in a fear of, or caution about, accepting other cultures and ethnicities. If we are secure in our 'heritage' and culture, might we be happy to accept others and furthermore evolve as a poly-cultural society?

This researcher posed questions of Irish identity and culture to more than 650 students studying to be teachers. Interestingly, the questionnaire revealed their perception that society had changed but Irish identity had not. In line with this argument of the connections between Irish ethnicity and culture, Lentin and McVeigh (2002:37) write:

> Ireland has been a multi-ethnic country for centuries. In the last decade of the twentieth century, however, there has been a marked – and self conscious – *new ethnicisation of Irishness*. This has been accompanied by new formations of Irish Racisms. New migrants and refugees mean that Ireland is now definitely multi-ethnic, multi-faith and multi-cultural. It is also, sadly, multi-racist It is also, more promisingly, increasingly intercultural and anti-racist". (my italics)

This thesis questions whether this poly-cultural or 'hyphenated-Ireland' as outlined by Lentin and McVeigh (2002) will be expressed spatially as multi-segregated residential zones? In this case, will immigrants zone themselves into ethnically specific locales? Likewise, will sections of the Irish population segregate themselves into white Irish only residential zones? Alternatively, might people from these different ethnicities and cultures accept difference and integrate into increasingly pluralised spaces?

Lentin and McVeigh's (2003) remarks suggest a divide in Irish society, indicating two different co-terminous mindsets in Ireland, one mono-cultural and one inter- or multi-cultural. This 'new-ethnicisation' of Irishness is as argued here: a return to some earlier views of a single identifiable white Irishness. It might result in class differences and gender differences evaporating so that a clearly defined societal or ethnic group emerges, that being white Irish. This growing white pride or ethnicisation can have latent xenophobic origins, but can grow or be manipulated to active racism. As Seamus Deane observes, quoted in Graham (2001: 88):

> Almost all nationalist movements have been derided as provincial, actually of being potentially racist, given to exclusivist and doctrinaire positions and rhetoric.

The pride in one's Irishness can then be used as a defensive weapon against immigration or anyone who is racially different e.g. 'black people'. This fear of different ethnicities returns to the opening statement that the term mono-culture is interpreted as meaning mono-ethnic, which could result in phobias or moral panics against others driven by cultural values that are based on perceived differences. In this sense, there is a dual temporal logic, that of living in the present with a mindset based

on a past, centred on ideals formed during the Irish Revival's search for identity and the birth of the Irish state. Homi Bhabha (1994: 4) states that:

> ...the very concepts of homogenous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities – as the grounds of cultural comparativism – are in a profound process of redefinition. The hideous extremity of Serbian nationalism proves that the very idea of a pure 'ethnically cleansed' national identity can only be achieved through the death, literal and figurative, of the complex interweavings of history, and the culturally contingent borderlines of modern nationhood.

Following on from Bhabha's statement, this research is postulated on an argument that the Irish Revival led to the creation of a specific Irish identity or psyche. P.J. Mathews (2003:14) writes:

> In this great moment of national 'imagining', various different notions of Irish cultural identity began to crystallize and compete to become *the* emblem of Irish national identity. Yeats encouraged the Irish 'to look on Ireland rather than England as the epicentre of cultural value'.

This concept of a homogenous organic mono-culture was authored by the grand narratives of the Revival based upon a binary opposition to England, thus contributing to moral panics in Irish society between concepts such as urban and rural, nation and cosmopolitan. For example, Daniel Corkery's ([1931) 1991: 1,011) famous definition of an Irish identity in 1931 was deafening in his silence with regard to the urban:

> The three great forces which, working for long in the Irish national being, have made it so different from the English national being, are (1) The Religious Consciousness of the people; (2) Irish Nationalism; and (3) The Land.

Negative cultural comparativism as discussed by Bhabha (1994), or social distancing as propagated by the popular media and politicians, can lead to moral panics in response to immigration and the arrival of those that do not fit the accepted Nationalist identikit.

Two intertwined issues need to be separated and further discussed. The first issue concerns identity politics as established during and after the Revival which created a rural idyll with an accompanying Catholic mindset or set of cultural and social values. Yeats, although admittedly no apologist for Catholicism, is one of the most influential sponsors of such politics: "Have not all Nations had their first unity from a mythology that marries them to rock and hill?" (Mary Robinson, 1991: 4). Broadly speaking, this mindset is close to the initial anthropological description of a mono-culture – that of a

closed society governed by strict behavioural codes. The second issue concerns the speed of change in the Irish economy that has catapulted Ireland from being a production-based agrarian society into an information and consumer-based urban society, what might be termed 'cultural-urbanism'. The link between both issues raised is that the globalisation of Ireland has included and been supported by an accompanying immigration that has morphologised physical and social space in Dublin. Some people fear such change. Former Irish President Mary Robinson, (1991: 4) speaking to a conference organised by the Culture of Ireland Group, said:

> One notices throughout Ireland a keen preoccupation with the Irish identity, with what it means to be Irish. This has its roots in our turbulent past and in the continuing divisions of the present day. It also stems, however, from the rapid social and economic changes experienced by most Western countries in recent times and from the readjustments dictated by our deepening involvement with our European neighbours. There is a growing recognition that we are living in a world whose contours are changing with breath-taking speed and in which the safe certainties of the past are constantly being challenged....Our identity must be constantly rediscovered, or re-created, if we are to come to terms with these changing circumstances. We must keep open that swinging door, that concept of the fifth province....we have long left behind what Tim Pat Coogan calls "the great simplicities of the turn-of-the-century Gaelic Renaissance".

Robinson's speech illustrates how far some people have travelled from one of the dominant mindsets with regard to Irish identity during the early decades of the last Century, not least in her citing of Tim Pat Coogan. That mindset, associated with the extreme and exclusive nationalism of D.P. Moran and the Irish Ireland Movement has been aptly summarised by Terence Brown (1981: 52):

> D.P. Moran in his editorials in the *Leader* issued a repetitive barrage of dogmatic statement, which was echoed in periodicals such as *Fáinne an Lae* (The Dawning of the Day), and intensified...in the zealous pages of the *Catholic Bulletin*...dedicated to waging cultural and psychological war against the malign influence of Protestant Anglo-Ireland.

Brown (1981: 52) links D.P.Moran's editorials with the views of Professor T. Corcoran in the *Catholic Bulletin*. For example, he quotes Corcoran in an editorial of *Bulletin*:

> The Irish nation is the Gaelic nation; its language and literature is the Gaelic language; its history is the history of the Gael. All other elements have no place in Irish national life, literature and tradition, save as they are assimilated into the very substance of Gaelic speech, life and thought. The Irish nation is not a racial synthesis at all; synthesis is not a vital process, and only what is vital is admissible in analogies bearing on the nature of the living Irish nation, speech, literature and tradition. We are not a national conglomerate, not a national patchwork specimen.

1.3 The Demographic, Technological and Cultural Transition Model: a framework

The development of the Demographic Transition Model was premised on a continued decrease in aggregate family size over time. It is not recognised as a model with universal applications, but one that quite accurately described the continued decrease in family size in Western society during its transition from pre-modern times to modern times or from mainly agrarian economies to urban economies. The model therefore charts parallel developments in technology and associated layers of 'culture', which over time became very much associated with and central to city living. This merging of demography with technology and culture creates what this researcher labels a Demographic Technological and Cultural Transition Model (DTCTM).

To this end, the development of people and culture in the western consciousness is perceived as a linear progression i.e. "going forward". By association, anything in the past is oft times understood to be culturally inferior and thus pejoratively labelled as "backward". A simple example of such cultural "inferiority" is how people dress, whereby a child might claim that the clothes his or her parents wear are "behind the times". Likewise, some Western holiday makers might describe a country they had visited in the 'Less Developed' or 'Developing World' as "backward", based solely on that country's lack of physical infrastructure, regardless of its artistic / literary / musical 'culture' and heritage. John Gray (2003) argues:

> There are many ways of being modern, some of them monstrous. Yet the belief that there is only one way and that it is always good has deep roots. From the Eighteenth Century onwards, it came to be believed that the growth of scientific knowledge and the emancipation of mankind marched hand in hand.

Much contemporary Marxist discussion of the linkage between societies' technological advancement and its links with culture began with Raymond Williams' 1958 publication *Culture and Society: 1780 – 1950*. According to Williams ([1958] 1971:16), culture becomes of 'significance' during the last decades of the eighteenth century. For Williams, the major historical event that pushed this investigation of people and their environment was the Industrial Revolution and before that the French Revolution.

The first phase of the Demographic Transition Model is characterised by high birth rates and death rates due to famine, disease and war. The second phase sees an increase in the birth rate and a decline in the death rate due to an increase in sanitation and nutrition. The third stage is associated with urbanisation and the Industrial Revolution (medical, educational and social developments) where birth rates decrease resulting in a relatively stabilised population level. The fourth and fifth stages are associated with a post-Fordist or post-industrial age where birth and death rates are stationary, or where some nation's populations are threatened by a negative birth rate, for example in stage five the rate of deaths exceeds the rate of births (Pacione, 2001). The result of the latter is the need for migrant workers particularly in the service sector to support the social benefits of the post-industrial nations' retired populations (Nigel Harris, 2002).

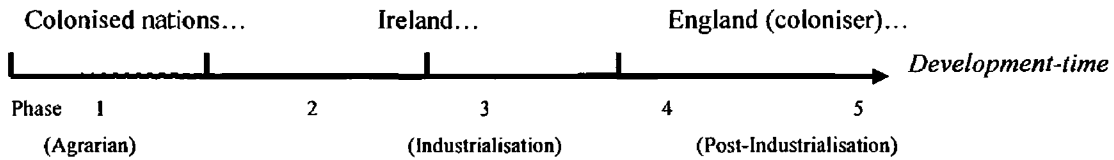
By the temporal logic of the Demographic Transition Model and its links with technology and culture, pre-industrial nations or regions, from sub-Saharan Africa to post-communist East Europe and 'modernising' China, will be at different points of development along this temporal road to modernity at the same moment in time. In this case they are sharing global, sometimes continental space but not time. It could be argued that until the middle of the 20th century Ireland's population, whilst geographically close to England, lived with different temporal registers, Ireland mainly agrarian and rural and England increasingly industrial and urban / cosmopolitan. Finlay (2004: 16) writes:

> ...particularly in the work of Boas, the idea that 'each of the "peoples" of Africa, South Asia, and the Pacific have a distinct, rational and legitimate way of life which should be valued' was used to question the Enlightenment idea that 'each of these cultures was at a different stage in the evolution of civilization or in a progression towards European rationality' (Wright, 1998: 8).

Figure 1 on the next page shows this researcher's conceptual model (in the mode of the DTM) of Ireland in the mid-20th century in relation to England. It is positioned behind England in development and ahead of the remaining colonised world – a curious position in the techno-cultural cleavage between the developed and lesser-developed nations.

Mid-20th Century Ireland in Relation to England on the DTCTM

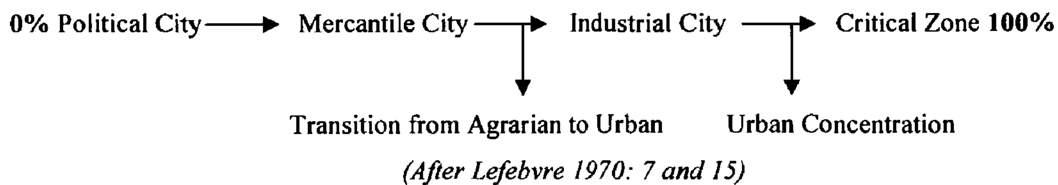
Fig. 1



Henri Lefebvre (1970: 1-22) in his *Urban Revolution* argues that French society had travelled from agrarian to a virtual urban 'society'. Lefebvre differentiates between the terms urban / city and urban society. He argues that urban society exists in rural areas as well as cities due to the latter's dependency upon the city and urban ways of living, particularly through modes of production and consumption. Lefebvre (1970: 15) illustrated this transformation in society as a linear development between 0% urbanism to 100% total urbanism i.e. a 'critical zone', with "extension of the urban fabric, complete subordination of the agrarian to the urban".

Henri Lefebvre's Time Line to 'Total Urbanism'

Fig. 2



(After Lefebvre 1970: 7 and 15)

Lefebvre's analysis, written in the aftermath of the Parisian riots of 1968, was purely economic and city-based and premised on French society's 'virtual' urbanism. He was, however, foreseeing the postmodern age where, through telecommunications, the virtual urbanism has become a virtual reality. Whilst Lefebvre did argue that this development of urbanism created a 'periodization' of history, he did not discuss the

possibility of different geographical units existing at different periods along this rural-urban continuum simultaneously or discuss the cultural dimension of this transition.

Marc Augé (1995) *Non-Places: Introduction to an Anthropology of Supermodernity* furthers Lefebvre's postulations in describing the end of modernity in France. Augé describes the end of rurality and the beginning of supermodernity as characterised by information flows that by-pass human agency and motorways that by-pass rural villages and towns. He describes how a person hermetically sealed within a car can drive throughout France without the necessity of meeting other humans as most of his/her contact is with machines e.g. toll booths, automatic telling machines (ATMs), pay-machines at fuel filling pumps and drive-thru restaurants. All that is needed for such ease of movement is an identity represented by credit cards and, in the case of international travel, passports. Without such identity, one can be stuck in place as a nobody – like illegal or undocumented immigrants.

Central to the philosophy and methodology underpinning this research thesis is the postulation that nations who rapidly travel through these development phases in the Demographic Technological Cultural Transition Model can experience a cultural schism. Nations associated with such rapid development are those with 'tiger economies' often within the Pacific Rim and, in a European context, Ireland. Furthermore, this research argues that migration from different places along the development model results in different ethnic and sub-cultural groups living co-terminously in postmodern cities, but doing so in different temporal modes. Yi-Fu Tuan (1977: 248) writes: "People live in the same city, even in the same part of the city, and yet perceive different worlds".

Living with different temporal modes refers to different ethnic and sub-cultural groups' norms being perceived as out-dated or old fashioned by other groups. In this case, the cultural norms of certain immigrant groups might be perceived as out-dated by members of the Irish host society. Such cultural norms can range from clothes styles to social practices such as family size. The immigrant group's norms might well have been the host society's norms at 'one stage' in its 'past' but they ended or were modified during its transition through the Demographic Technological and Cultural Transition Model. Furthermore, because these social practices are no longer

in use in the host society, arriving immigrants who live according to these 'old' ways can be deemed 'inferior' or 'backward'. The result in a city is the multiple readings of activities and space. For example, a McDonald's sign can be read in multiple ways as it has different connotations for different sub-groups in society ranging from 'Capitalist globalised exploitation' to 'freedom and democracy'.

It has been argued that the speed of change in Irish society has created a cultural schism whereby people are living in the present and looking at a mirror of temporal references from the recent past. Kiberd expresses a similar sentiment (2005: 280):

> The country has gone through in the past century and a half the sort and scale of changes which took four or five hundred years in other parts of Europe. No wonder that people have looked in the rear-view mirror and felt a kind of motion-sickness....

This researcher argues that for some Irish people the past may be viewed with a lament for its loss. The past may also be viewed with fear, whereby the past is a dead skeleton that should remain in the subconscious closet. Foucault (1986: 24) articulates this re-viewing of the past using the analogy of the mirror when he writes:

> In the mirror, I see myself there where I am not, in an unreal, virtual space that opens up behind the surface; I am over there, there where I am not, a sort of shadow that gives my own visibility to myself, that enables me to see myself there where I am absent: such is the utopia of the mirror....From the standpoint of the mirror I discover my absence from the place where I am since I see myself over there. Starting from this gaze that is, as it were, directed toward me, from the ground of this virtual space that is on the other side of the glass, I come back toward myself; I begin again to direct my eyes toward myself and to reconstitute myself there where I am.

In terms of the duality of temporal references, the observer in the Irish context, through a form of historical-cultural osmosis, is transformed into an image of himself, a parody or what Bhabha (1994) might call mimicry. Another description of this condition is implicit in what Stan Smith (2005: 203) refers to as "ambilocation" in the poetry of Ciaran Carson:

> Ambilocation is a different condition from mere 'bilocation', the mysterious capacity to be in two places at once. Rather it is a matter of being always in neither place, or of being between places, or of being always in one place...but also at the same time in many other places, dis-located, relocated, mis-placed, displaced, everywhere and nowhere, evincing what 'All the Better to See You With' calls "just that air / Of neither here-nor-thereness, Coming in the act of going".

In discussing the dislocated nature of society due to the emergence of Modernity, Marshal Berman titles his work *All That is solid Melts into Air.* Foucault believed that (1967):

> ...this new reality 'absolutely real, connected with all the space that surrounds it, and absolutely unreal, since in order to be perceived it has to pass through this virtual point which is over there...As a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live, this description could be called heterotopology.

Using Bachelard's term, this becomes a 'topo-analysis' of the Irish house of mirrors – a postmodern Ireland that is marketed for the tourist in terms of an anachronistic past or a reversion to the rhetoric of the Revival resurrected for political gains. Such a distortion of reality can be dangerous if it leads to racist reactions against immigrants who are perceived to be taking away this identity. According to Brendan Kennelly (1991:27):

> We can discover the truly hidden Ireland – not Corkery's romantic hidden one, but the island that has survived all kinds of violence, including violent parodies of itself. Not a sentimental Ireland, not a place to sing happy ballads or tell raucous yarns about, not a cynical, derisive and divisive island, but a keenly intelligent humorous country, with people, knowing each other's creeds, beliefs and politics, who are prepared in the decency of their hearts to tolerate each other, and above all enjoy each other.

The arrival of immigrants in Ireland can however engender a form of negative projection from members of the host society onto the immigrant. In this case the arrival of the immigrant is the arrival of a hidden or suppressed memory of exile and oppression. The two photographs below (plate 2) show an Irish emigrant from the late 19th century and a member of the Roma community living in Dublin in 2004. There are obvious physical and clothing similarities which some Irish people might not wish to accept. Jonathan Raban (1974: 46) writes the immigrant "is the past we have somehow survived: and he may tell us, in innocence or naïve imitation, who we are now, because our present is his future...its most vulnerable victim". Kiberd (2005: 310) quotes critic Julia Kristeva who writes:

> If you are cruel to another, it must be because you are taking revenge on some hated aspect of yourself. The fear of hybridisation is really a terror in the face of potent but repressed forces within one's own culture.

19th Century Irish Emigrant and 20th Century Roma in Ireland

plate 2

Source: *Asyland* (summer 2004: 12-13)

Such symbols as a headscarf, for example, act as a temporal reference of the past for many people in Irish society. What was once a norm in Ireland through the 1970s has by and large disappeared. The beginning of the end for this practice was the abolition by John XXIII's Vatican II of the rule that women had to have their heads covered inside a church.

Raban (1974: 51) writes that an immigrant is a walking 'legible code', a 'coat stand' of symbols instantly recognisable to members of the host society. The city, Stefan Hertmans (2001: 11) argues, is the place where people are most scrutinised by onlookers; to this end he labels the city "a contemporary catwalk". Herta Műller's

(1993) novel *The Land of Green Plums*, exploring the horrors of the Ceausescu regime in Romania, emphasises this point. When the main protagonist's mother is preparing to flee to Germany, she narrates:

> Mother came into town on the early train....She was having her braid cut off before emigrating. But why, your braid is a part of you, I said. That may be, but it's no part of Germany. Who says? You have a hard time if you arrive in Germany with a braid, she said...

Victor Burgin (1996: 180) describes the acceptance of an award for outstanding achievement in film by Ousmane Sembene of Senegal wherein Sembene remarked "that although the cinema was now a hundred years old, for Africa it was newly born". This illustrates how, particularly prior to the globalised world of the internet, different nations inhabited different technological and cultural eras. Burgin argues that Sembene's apparently paradoxical image of a cinema that is both "newly born," and "a hundred years old," "exemplifies not only what W.E.B. Du Bois identified as "double consciousness" but what Homi Bhabha has called a "repetition that is initiatory." Burgin (1996: 180) quotes from Bhabha's discourse on Fanon regarding the 'historical placement' of the black man in the Western conscience: (my embolding)

> It is Fanon's temporality of emergence – his sense of the *belatedness of the Black man* – that does not simply make the question of "ontology" inappropriate for Black identity, but somehow impossible for the very understanding of humanity in the world of modernity: ***You come too late, much too late, there will always be a world – a white world between you and us.*** It is the opposition to the ontology of that white world – to its assumed hierarchical forms of rationality and universality – that Fanon turns in a *performance* that is iterative and interrogative – a repetition that is *initiatory*, instating a different history that will not return to the power of the Same. *Between you and us* Fanon opens up an enunciative space.

Burgin (1996,) refers to Bhabha's call for 'a differential history' that "cannot originate in a punctual origin – to which the Black Theseus, lost in the maze of Western history, is connected with an Ariadne's thread". Bhabha's discourse can be labelled postcolonialist which can, and does, refer to Ireland's relationship with its past and current identity. This researcher, whilst teaching Irish American undergraduate students for several years, has heard them express their shock at contemporary Ireland. They have been nurtured on stories of the past, and that past is often no longer here when they arrive. These students' forebears left Ireland at a certain point along the Demographic, Technological and Cultural Transition Model.

Once they arrived in America they transplanted that present to memory, and once planted in the exiled consciousness it remained untainted by time.

Fintan O'Toole (1994:27) contributes to the debate on identity politics in his discussion of an Irish external reality. In *Black Hole, Green Card: The Disappearance of Ireland*, O'Toole writes: "Ireland is something that often happens elsewhere". He is referring to the Irish Diaspora and its re-enacting of times past in times present from Boston to Sydney. The very title of Gerry Smyth's (2001) *Space and the Irish Cultural Imagination* shows a relationship between Irish culture and imagination, thus asserting a link between something fixed or real and something created and unreal. Irish culture is, therefore, something perceived or cognitively mapped, hence linking cerebral thinking with physical places and spaces within historical-emotional frameworks; as Smyth (2001) writes, 'space determines identity'.

In the case of the American students and visitors to Ireland, as well as returning emigrants, their family memory is of phase two in Ireland's Demographic, Technological and Cultural Transition Model, but the emigrant's family 'returns home' to experience Ireland in phases four and five which must create a sense of culture shock. It is suggested here that the diasporic Ireland became a part of how people in Ireland imagined themselves. Ireland of old was as much an idea as a place and, in this sense, it was a soft space. Graham (2001: 132) in a chapter titled, '...Maybe that's just Blarney': Authenticity in Irish Culture' writes that the role of authenticity "alters from being a signifier of the colonised's cultural incapacities to being a marketable sign of value". To support his argument he refers to an article in the *Irish Times* (December, 27th, 1992: 2) in response to the increasing popularity of a designer "authentic reproduction" of the Galway shawl which used the tag line, "Blame it on Maureen O'Hara". Graham (2001: 132) claims that this tag line was "one suggestive way in which to understand the recurrence of authenticity in the construction of material Irelands".

The arrival of immigrants to Ireland has rendered it hard. It means that Ireland is now face to face with difference, with both its positive and negative offerings. Certain societal issues, racism for example, were not overtly part of an everyday Irish reality, as there were comparatively very few immigrants in Ireland, "because she never let

them in" (Deasy in Joyce's *Ulysses* ([1922] 1986: 30). Ireland is known for its generous history of contributing to charities abroad and many in Ireland will remember their giving 'a penny to the black babies' of Africa. Kiberd (2005: 305) echoes the ability of the Irish population to contribute greatly to charity when writing that:

> Bob Geldof invoked a communal memory of famine in helping to make his own people the largest per capita contributors to Third World relief in Live-Aid. In the arts an emerging talent like Roddy Doyle could build an entire comic novel around the contention that the Irish were the blacks of Europe.

One question that arises from such generosity is why the Irish population is curiously not so openly generous when issues of disadvantage are closer to home in what can be categorised as NIMBYism (Not in My Back Yard). Two such issues are people's fears and loathing of travellers and ethnic minorities. Furthermore, despite this generosity of spirit, social problems closer to home were often exported 'out of sight'. Homeless, orphaned or unwanted children were sent to industrial schools, pregnant, unmarried women to carceral-like establishments to work in laundries and unemployment / migration to England. As far as abortion is concerned, Kennelly (1991: 20) comments:

> I suggest Joyce's idea [in *A Portrait...*] is that the Irish Catholicism was without a conscience. It still is...we dump our women and 4,000 foetuses on the English. That is what the English are for us. A dump. ...We are great for shedding responsibility, and then dressing it up as something else. And that's what I mean by the Irish Catholic culture being still without a conscience [or consciousness] in many respects...there is a necessity of a feminisation of Irish life.

Jimmy Rabbit in the film of Roddy Doyle's (1987) *The Commitments*, refers to the Irish being the 'Blacks of Europe', then goes further by saying that Dubliners are 'the Blacks of Ireland', and that furthermore, Northsiders are the 'Blacks of Dublin'. Thus returning to the argument above concerning the existence of demarcations and hierarchies in a seemingly homogenous geographical unit, Roddy Doyle is ironically suggesting the social status of Northside Dubliners is that of a lower social caste.

As a result of this duality in time-space registers in contemporary cities, there exists, in this writer's view, the need to explore what Edward Soja calls for in *Postmodern Geographies* (1989: 2) " [to] create more critically revealing ways of looking at the combination of time and space, history and geography, period and region, sequence

and simultaneity". Soja is questioning the effectiveness of straight historical narratives that do not take into account a spatial analysis:

> For the past century, time and history have occupied a privileged position in the practical and theoretical consciousness of Western Marxism and critical social science.... The discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative predisposes the reader to think historically making it difficult to see the text as a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings that are tied together by a spatial rather than a temporal logic.

1.4 Postcolonial and economic migration, and the postmodern city

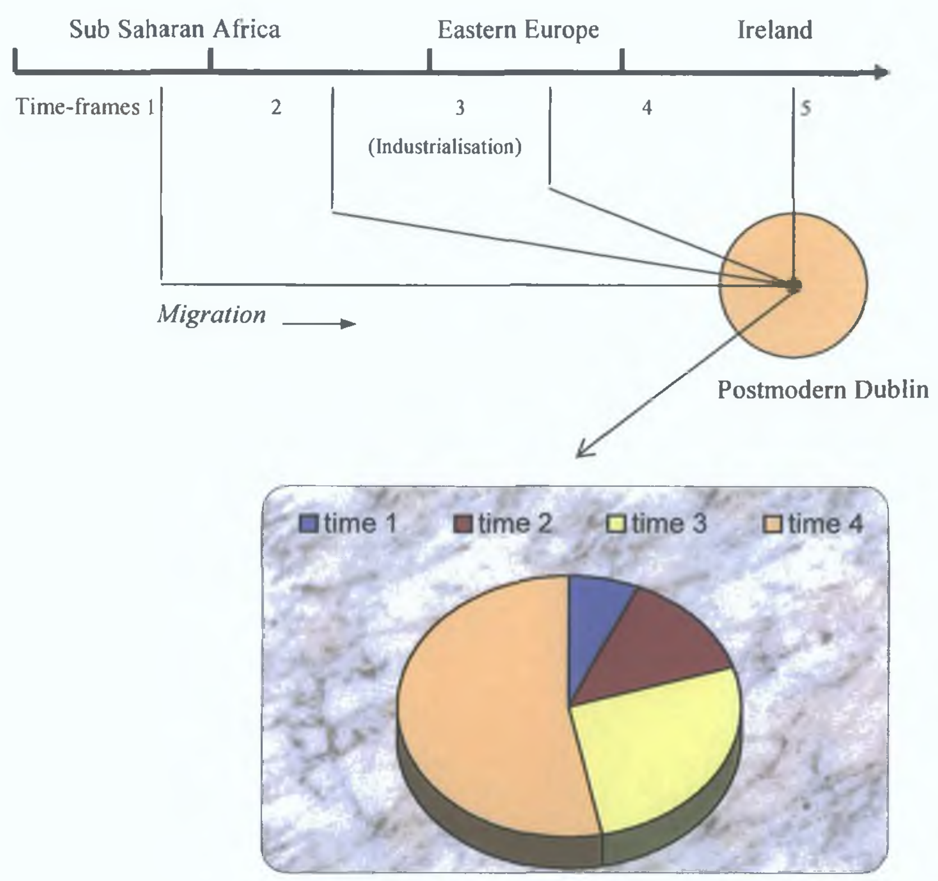
The upsurge of migration from Europe to America in the 1800s dramatically changed the geography of some American cities such as Chicago. In the mid 1900s, in a time of postcolonialism and increasing economic imperialism, people for many diverse reasons had chosen or been forced to migrate from their colonised homes to the land of their colonisers. For example, Surinamese migrated to the Netherlands, West Indians to England and Algerians to France or, in terms of economic imperialism, Latin Americans to North America (USA). Such migration to Europe by postcolonial nationals from the mid 1900s increasingly created a temporal layering of populations, particularly in industrial cities. Immigration to western cities, such as Los Angeles, in the 20th Century has resulted in the 'third-worlding' of sections of these cities. Such radical juxtapositions of different lived realities in contemporary cities has contributed to such cities being labelled Postmodern by many theorists.

Figure 3 below illustrates a hypothetical migration pattern to postmodern Dublin from different nations along the Demographic Technological and Cultural Transition Model (DTCTM). In this case, phase 5 is 'Celtic Tiger' Ireland and lagging behind in infrastructural development is Eastern Europe and geographical regions such as sub-Saharan Africa. Each phase is numbered and, according to their temporal locations along the DTCTM, has been hypothetically proportioned a different size on the pie chart in the model i.e. a percentage of immigrant numbers in the city. The phases furthest along the temporal development line, such as East Europe, have a greater proportion of immigrants in Dublin. The reason for this is that such groups have a greater financial means to travel. Furthermore, since the accession into the EU some East European nations have the right to travel freely throughout the EU, and, as is the case in Ireland, to work. Ireland has experienced a rapid growth in its work force from

Eastern Europe, particularly Latvia, Lithuania and Poland. It must also be noted that such Eastern European nations are closer in proximity to Dublin and therefore it is physically easier and less expensive for their populations to migrate. This compares with poorer nations from South East Asia or Central and Southern Africa that have much reduced financial capacity and further distance to travel to Ireland.

Immigration to Ireland from Temporal Zones along the DTCTM

Fig. 3



Different groups can inhabit separate spatial units resulting in the potentiality for city space to be mapped at a particular moment in time in a pie chart-like fashion. Another analogy that has been used to describe the non-mixing of ethnic groups in city space is that of a 'tossed salad'. Park ([1915] 1996: 26) writes that "the processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds

which touch but do not penetrate". Another view, might suggest that over time, due to various factors, different groups and spaces might merge into what is commonly termed a 'melting pot'. The difference between the latter two labels is, for example in the case of America, the melting pot theory equating to different ethnic groups becoming / transforming into a single American identity. The tossed salad would equate to different ethnic groups sharing a space, for example, a city, but maintaining their own individuality. With the more recent arrival of relatively large numbers of immigrants into Ireland, particularly Dublin, this research questions:

1. Has the recent arrival of immigrants in Dublin created segregated sub-cultural and ethnic residential zones i.e. ethnic clusters and to what extent will such spaces morphologise on a socio-cultural basis?

2. To what extent will different immigrant groups merge in space and will this merging include segments of the indigenous Irish population?

3. Thirdly, how will the indigenous Irish population signal their reactions to a growing multi-ethnic population and to poly-culturalism?

1.5 Ethnic segregation or hybridity?

This research indicates that the merging of immigrant groups into one geographic locale is partly related to individual decision making i.e. personal choice, but more so, due to economic determination (Harvey 1973). In this case, areas with the cheapest rent attract more migrants. One contributing factor to this economic corralling of people in the Irish context is the power of an unregulated, private-rented housing sector. Based on a study of Sparkbrook in Birmingham in the 1960s, John Rex and Robert Moore (1974) called landlords the net under the social welfare system. Through the mapping of asylum seekers in Dublin, this researcher has illustrated how areas of inner city Dublin, particularly those areas with high levels of economic deprivation, have become catchment areas for those immigrants at the lowest point in the economic and political chain. It will be argued that particular economic forces have the ability to force people into such areas - what this researcher calls spatial funnelling.

This mixing of different ethnicities and cultures creates particular dynamics at a micro-spatial scale. This research questions the effects such clustering has on the homogenous, indigenous, mainly socially disadvantaged groups who have inhabited these inner city spaces in what could be termed a monocultural tradition.

At a macro or national scale, has Irish society culturally or spatially merged? It might be suggested that members of Irish society wish to have an *a la carte* globalisation i.e. consume its global foreign products, travel increasingly to different places but are cautious about the prospect of foreigners i.e. immigrants residing in Ireland. Recent reports indicate that both globalisation and economic improvement in Ireland are explicitly linked with immigration. Contrary to speculation that immigrants are a drain on the Irish population's 'well and hard won' success and resources, reports indicate that immigrants do not nibble at the economic pie but that they make the economic pie larger.

Bank of Ireland's chief economist Dr Dan McLaughlin forecast Ireland's growth of 5 per cent for 2005 in GDP terms, but he reported that the supply of labour from abroad would be crucial to this: "Our growth rate without immigration wouldn't be 5 per cent; it would probably only be 3.5%." (*Irish Times*, August 24 2005), and the *Evening Herald* reports: "The steady influx of foreigners into the Irish workforce is helping us all to put more money in our pockets." (24 August 2005). The *Wall Street Journal* pointed out that 'the idea of a life without illegal immigrants is as alarming as the ideas of life without the rays of the sun' (Harris, 2002). Mary Robinson, former President of Ireland, strikes a hopeful note about the acceptance of immigration in Ireland when she writes:

> It is, I believe, correct to recognise the variety of cultural traditions and experience which exists in Ireland. It is also profoundly important that we should confront these individual traditions and study the relationship in which they stand to each other and the meaning which each has for the other. The ideal should be a synthesis between our various traditions, reconciliation between different heritages and values. It is, I think, possible to conceive of a single Irish cultural identity which would embrace a diversity of influences. As Hubert Butler has himself said 'It is as neighbours, full of ineradicible prejudices, that we must love each other; not as fortuitously 'separated brethren' (1991: 4).

1.5 Ireland and the Demographic, Technological and Cultural Transition Model and Irish responses to immigration

There have been varied responses to immigration in Ireland, from engagement with immigrants which create vibrant, poly-cultural spaces, to Irish people segregating themselves away from 'others' in what are termed carceral cityscapes i.e. fortified 'segre-gated' living quarters, such as gentrified apartment blocks. It has been suggested earlier in this section that Ireland's rapid transition through the Demographic Technological and Cultural Transition Model has created a cultural schism. In this sense, Irish people fear and feel insecure or what might be termed 'out of place', 'out of synch' or, in the mode of a Lefebvrean analysis, 'out of rhythm' with current societal modes of urban-based living. This researcher argues that one of the most visible symbols of this rapid change in Dublin is the immigrant.

It has been outlined above how for many generations Ireland lagged behind as the developed world travelled through industrialisation and its cultural-urbanism on into its current moment in late-capitalism. A process that took industrial nations circa 150 years, Ireland traversed in a matter of decades. What kind of psychological trauma would affect a 15-year-old boy waking up to discover that he is 35? To follow this analogy, it is argued that there needs to be a consideration of the collective consciousness of this post-colonial teenage state when placing Ireland into the broader framework of global migration patterns and when comparing Ireland's reaction to immigration with other countries' experiences.

Issues concerning immigration however are not the only effects that globalisation has had on Ireland. From the mid-twentieth century onwards, Ireland has been continually reshaping its identity. At the onset of the century, Ireland's cultural identity echoed its land – isolated and cut off from Europe. Part of this reshaping has been based on a process of socio-cultural debates concerning a wide range of issues from equal status for women in employment, the role of religion in society, to the fiery and broadly-aired debate in Spring of 2005 as to whether or not the GAA would change its rule 42 so that Croke Park could be used to house International football (soccer) and rugby games. When the English rugby team played Ireland in the Six Nations Championship on February 25th, 2007 a debate ensued whether or not the English National Anthem

should be played prior to the game. The anthem was played and applauded by the home supporters. It is an irony that the demonstrator pictured in plate 3 is wearing a soccer jersey, once regarded by the GAA as a foreign sport. Furthermore, the Glasgow Celtic jersey worn by the demonstrator is synonymous with the club's Catholic support-base and affiliations with Ireland and its fierce rivalry with Glasgow Rangers, which is associated with its Protestant support-base and affiliations with England.

Demonstrator Outside Croke Park, prior to Ireland Versus England Rugby Match, February 25th, 2007

plate 3

Photo Source: http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/main.jhtml?xml=/sport/2007/02/25/srfron25.xml

There have been divisive referenda in Ireland on divorce, abortion, European Union and the status of children born in Ireland to non-Irish national parents. For some people, many of the issues listed challenge their perceptions of what it means to be Irish. In this sense, such people fear, or believe, that their identity is being eroded. The understanding of Ireland's response to immigration must include an exploration of

Ireland being a postcolonial nation. Such a response might be different to the pattern of responses to immigration in other European countries that were at one stage global colonisers. Furthermore, the analysis of our response to immigration, as outlined earlier, must consider the effects of Ireland's colonial almost matrimonial relationship with Britain, or what Graham (2001: 93) refers to as "the claustrophobic intensity of the relationship".

Due to its unhappy forced "marriage" with England and the subsequent long-drawn out "separation", a psychoanalytic analysis could be demanded for Ireland's postcolonial reaction. Using a Freirean ([1970] 1996) analysis, the Irish State can be argued to have internalised the oppression of the English establishment and projected that oppressive behaviour upon its population. Thus, the minds of the post-1922/1937 new generation were also arguably colonised.

Graham (2001) in a chapter titled 'Liminal Spaces: Postcolonialism and Post-nationalism' argues that Irish postcolonial theorists' engagement with Ireland are quite different to the subaltern theorists' engagement with issues of postcoloniality in India. The subaltern discourse is most characterised by the work of Gayatri Spivak (1998), Homi Bhabha (1994) and Ranajit Guha (1982). Subaltern studies might be termed a self-reflexive or revisionist approach to the experiences of India following the end of English colonisation. Its discourse is not bounded by nationalism, to the extent that Guha, as quoted by Graham (2001: 83), claimed postcolonial India as a "historic failure of the nation to come into its own". The subaltern discourse in India is strongly associated with radical feminism and argues that the blinkered concern for a national consciousness ignored issues of everyday life such as the treatment of women and the continued practice of a caste system. In an ironical twist, the subaltern discourse argues that the new postcolonial State mirrors in methodology the imperialist practices once administered by its former masters. Graham (2001: 85) writes that: "The result is a postcolonial world of nation states which structurally and practically imitate western states" adding that:

> The postcolonial critique of nationalism, which sees the nation as an entity derived from and imitative of the imperial centre, leads to another aspect of current postcolonial theorising which has liberated the discipline from a moribund reliance on what Said refers to as 'the binary oppositions dear to the imperialist and nationalist enterprise'.

Irish psychologist Anthony Clare (1991: 31) argues that: "Each of us is a patient of being Irish". One aspect of being in therapy is the re-looking at one's past. It has been argued here that immigration has brought Ireland face to face with its past (see plate 2). The family therapy metaphor, as well as that of Ireland standing in front of a mirror of its recent past, can be useful in viewing the effects on the new postcolonial generation. The separation between what De Valera would call 'mother Ireland' living in her 'four green fields' and the vicious father, England, created a cultural and psychological schism amongst the new generation, the children of Ireland. Confused, and stuck between their parents' opposing views, the children either chose or were forced to stick by the mother's views of the world, particularly when living under her roof. As a result, many of the children fled the claustrophobic nest to America and Europe, whilst others, in a snake-like procession across the midlands, reached Dublin. The subsequent generations of Irish children have lived in a time of prosperity and fostered individuation. Kiberd (1995: 7;380) has written:

> Nietzsche had said that those who haven't had a good father are compelled to go out and invent one: taking him at his word, this generation of Irishmen and Irishwomen fathered and mothered themselves, reinventing parents in much the same way as they were reinventing the Irish past. Throughout that process, as Synge saw more clearly than most, there were major reversals in the relations between mothers and daughters, fathers and sons: families split into their constituent parts and the free person was born....(7) In societies on the brink of revolution, the relation between fathers and sons is reversed. The Irish *risorgimento* was, among other things, a revolt by angry sons against discredited fathers....The Irish father was often a defeated man, whose wife frequently won the bread and usurped his domestic power, while the priest usurped his spiritual authority. (380)

The feel-good factor in Irish society brought on by a newly found economic, political and religious freedom has been challenged by continuing European integration, a process of multi-culturalism and people's negative perception of immigration. Suddenly, this generation has been faced with difference in the guise of the 'other', which is how its forebears were perceived by the dominant colony, and as such are becoming protective of their freedom and identity, whatever they might be.

Part of this process of collective and personal identification is to 'other' the newcomer, creating a dichotomy, or a demarcation between them and us; in essence, another line is being drawn in the sand. In a somewhat cyclical fashion, the parochialism of their forefathers is being repeated, this time in the form of a spatial hierarchy, afforded to those who can buy their four-bedroom semi amongst manicured

green fields or behind the iron curtain gateways protecting the gentrified apartment dwellers of Dublin's inner city. Kennelly (1991: 21) writes:

> The effects of colonialism are still deeply buried and operative in the Irish psyche... Attitudes of many people are characteristic of the closed mind, which is marked by a fierce and automatic resistance to alternatives, and by an equally fierce assertion of its own limited but ferociously held viewpoints or beliefs...The closed mind leads to fanaticism. A fanatic is a terrorist who is himself terrified of alternatives. A fanatic is a person who can see only one point of view, and who sincerely believes that most other points of view are not merely wrong but have to be exterminated...a closed mind is a truly terrifying weapon.

One of the central questions in the discourse on identity is that of ownership. It could be argued that one of the most natural instincts in the animal and human world is that of protection of one's young and place. Tied to this package of identity is the tradition of place, the fixed notion that as soon as one marries or settles down with a partner, a mortgage will be bought and soon the Irish dream will be articulated – a fixed place, a home, with a fixed identity. This is the modern, suburban equivalent of the centrality of "the land" in Corkery's definition of a distinctive, homogenous Irish identity. Will having an immigrant neighbour challenge this dream? Cresswell (1996: 11-12) writes that: "Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power" and argues that this power, of those 'in place', can exclude those 'out of place' i.e. immigrants, "...seeing the world through the lens of place leads to reactionary and exclusionary xenophobia, racism and bigotry. 'Our place' is threatened and others have to be excluded".

Much Irish writing and debate on Irish identity politics and the Revival discusses a process of cultural relativism that influenced the creation of postcolonial Ireland, or 'De Valera's Ireland'. In a process of binary opposition the parody / irony / tragedy for Ireland's ego is that it was governed by a superego that was based on an 'othering' of England. In this sense, Ireland writes itself, amongst other things, as being parochial, rural and nationalist, which facilitates a strong sense of ownership - of place and identity. Bhabha (1994:43) quotes Fanon's views of colonialism, that "the Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation". In this vein Tuan ([1974] 1990: 30-31) writes:

> ...ethnocentricism (collective egocentricism) can be fully realised. Unlike the individual, a group can be self-sufficient; at least delusions of self-sufficiency are easier to

sustain. Individuals are members of groups, and all have learned though in varying degrees, to differentiate between "we" and "they" between real people and people less real, between home ground and alien territory. "We" are at the centre. Human beings lose attributes in proportion as they are removed from the centre.

Tuan ([1974] 1990: 15) writes that "... man has the tendency to differentiate his space ethnocentrically, distinguishing between the sacred and the profane, centre and periphery". In contrast to the core-periphery dialectic, where the city is the core and the rural is the periphery, Ireland's peripheral vision saw the hearth centrally focussed in rural Ireland, in its Catholic parishes. The parish priest and organisations such as the GAA became forceful agents in the cultivation of Irish societal mores, norms and traditions. That Corkery's exclusivist argument about Irish identity in the opening chapter of *Synge and Anglo-Irish Literature* turns on his memory of attending a Munster hurling final in Thurles in the late 1920s is no accident. Patrick Duffy in Hourihane's (2003:19) *Engaging Spaces: People, Place and Space from an Irish Perspective* writes that there are:

> ...more than 60,000 townlands in Ireland...the Church operates through the townland-parish framework. In the 1930s the Catholic Church played a fundamental role in cementing the local community together, with a multiplicity of well-attended services throughout the year – benedictions, holy hours, novenas, devotions, stations of the cross.... One reflection of the continuing importance of the local has been the enduring popularity of the GAA. Indeed the GAA from its beginnings attached its organizational structures to the architecture of parishes, townlands and counties, and probably helped to preserve and promote a local sense of place over decades.

In terms of the Irish parish, the church's religious teachings, alongside its societal codified order, were sacred and anything outside this strict order was profane. The church had an all-encompassing power of veto in local politics and social life. One method of control was through the national school system, which the church authored and controlled. Societal or governmental (law) issues from child adoption to the banning of literature such as that of John McGahern became de-facto the remit of the Church. McGahern says that 'national schoolteachers were the foot soldiers of the Catholic Church, a cadre of trainee NCOs whose primary duty was to police the children of the local population on behalf of the priestly officer class' (personal communication, September, 2004).

The problem with the Revival's binary opposition is that whilst rural Ireland was written and celebrated, even fetishised, the urban or urbane was either marginalised or

demonised. Kiberd (1996:7) writes that the debate about Irish national identity "initiated by Douglas Hyde and The Gaelic League in 1893...registered the choice as one between nationality or cosmopolitanism". He adds (1996: 292):

> 'Rural Ireland' as an idea would be largely an invention of the revivalist generation at the turn of the century, a concept made possible only when a sufficiently large number of Irish people began to live in cities and major towns....Like all such images of pastoral, the very naming of rural Ireland as a concept was a sure sign that the culture it reflected was already doomed to disappear.

One of the ironies of the Revival was that in choosing the idea of a single nation over that of a cosmopolitan nation, it risked taking the form of what Bhabha (1994) calls mimicry, in that it sometimes reinforced the 'orientalist' stereotype created by the English colonisers.

James Joyce's *Dubliners* (1992: 221-222) explicates the tensions between the rural versus urban or cosmopolitan in Ireland's identity politics, no more so than in "The Dead". As Gabriel Conroy is dancing with Molly Ivors she accuses him of being a West Briton because he was writing an article for an English newspaper. She then asks if he will "come for an excursion to the Aran Isles this summer?". Conroy replies that he will be going cycling with some fellows to "France or Belgium or perhaps Germany". Chagrined, Miss Ivors asks: "And why do you go to France and Belgium instead of visiting your own land?" Gabriel replies that he partly goes to "keep in touch with the languages and partly for a change", to which Miss Ivors asks: "And haven't you your own language to keep in touch with – Irish?". Losing his temper Gabriel replies that Irish is not his language and that he is sick of his own country: "Sick of it!". To this Miss Ivors whispers in his ear: "West Briton!". The cultural centre for Miss Ivors is the West and for Gabriel clearly it is the East. Their debate is one of nationalism versus cosmopolitanism. Gabriel is ridiculed as being English or West Brit for his views. Her use of the term 'West Briton', popularised by D.P. Moran, identifies her as belonging to the Irish Ireland movement, as does her fanatical attachment to the Irish language.

The belief in the cultural hearth, surrounded by family and neighbours by the rural cottage fireside, De Valera's vision of a nation "whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads" does not pertain to Ireland alone. The Literature Review will

discuss how the industrial age and the rise of cities brought about sociological discourse on the negative effects that city living placed on its inhabitants. Ferdinand Tönnies' 1887 *Gemmeinschaft und Gessellschaft* was one of the seminal texts on rural / urban dichotomies and the effects of urbanity on city dwellers. Broadly translated, for Tonnies the gemeinschaft characterised the rural life that takes place within a defined community. Tönnies believed that familial and community ties bound blood with place and mind. The mind refers to a local mindset that is similar to this introduction's description of a mono-culture and to some of the aspirations of the Revival. Tonnies' views can be put in context with De Valera's St. Patrick's Day speech in 1943 where he outlined his Ireland, the 'motherland':

> The Ireland [which] we dreamed of would be the home of a people who valued material wealth only as a basis of right living, of a people who were satisfied with frugal comfort and devoted their leisure to the things of the spirit; a land whose countryside would be bright with cosy homesteads, whose fields and villages would be joyous with the sounds of industry, the romping of sturdy children, the contests of athletic youths, the laughter of comely maidens; whose firesides would be the forums of the wisdom of serene old age. It would, in a word, be the home of a people living the life that God desires men should live.' (Quoted in Terence Brown 1981: 146, *Ireland, A Social and Cultural History.*)

An irony of De Valera's speech is that it was spoken from the very centre of Dublin city which had so graphically been painted in words by James Joyce in the opening decades of the twentieth Century. The city in all its hustle and bustle is witnessed through the eyes of Joyce's *flâneur*-like protagonist, the son of a Hungarian Jewish immigrant, Leopold Bloom. De Valera's speech was also spoken only some hundreds of yards away from the Abbey Theatre, where the city was brought to life by the work Sean O'Casey. It would seem that De Valera was blind to what was in front of his nose, the city, for it would seem that his eyes were fully focussed to the west.

1.7 The Dublin Context

The Irish identity discourse explored in this chapter, whilst premised largely on 'rurality', can also be related to Dublin City, particularly when Dublin is analysed as a series of villages or neighbourhoods with monocultural modes of living. In his walking guide to Dublin, Pat Liddy (1998: 7) writes: "While Ireland's capital is a comparatively large city, with a population of over one million, it has never lost its sense of individuality. In fact, it has been said that Dublin is really only a series of interconnecting villages". Kiberd (2005: 293) agrees that:

Dublin...apart from those Georgian squares at its very centre, is more an agglomeration of villages like Ranelagh, Rathmines, Rathgar, Clontarf, Killester, Marino, all of which eventually got 'joined up'. When James Joyce called it 'the last of the intimate cities', he was in all likelihood recalling fondly this very villagey feel.

Examples of extant but endangered urban villages in Dublin are: Inchicore, Kilmainham and the Liberties in Dublin's South Inner City and Stoneybatter, Phibsboro and East Wall in the North Inner City. Unfortunately, many of these tightly- knit communities were decimated in the mid 20th century as a result of redundancies and job losses on a large scale from the docks and railway yards as well as the Guinness Brewery and Jameson Distillery. At the same time, businesses and the middle classes were escaping from the city to the suburbs, so too were some of the working and unemployed class through slum clearance projects. Many inner city areas became forgotten villages, lost in the fringes of inner city space. It would be wrong, however, to say that the downward economic spiral was followed by a loss of community. Mike Savage and Alan Warde (1993: 106) quote Gans:

...urban ceases to be a first-order cause of particular social practices, and is replaced by central sociological variables (demographic and socio-economic) as the way to explain differential experience within the city.

Many of these communities remained tightly knit matriarchal structures. Kevin Kearn's (1994) *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral Testimony* narrates stories of Dublin's inner city residents. These stories are replete with local folklore, 'urban' myths and tradition specific to these areas. Savage and Warde (1993: 106) write:

...what might seem disorder to the outsider is understood as structure and regulation to the involved ethnographer...Case studies, those with a historical component as well as ethnographies, which often take a territorial area as a convenient unit for studying social relations in context, are essential to understanding the diversity of urban living.

Due to their isolation, these inner city villages continued to function unhindered in the mould of rural villages rather than the negative stereotype of urban living. Generations of families and neighbours lived contiguously in the same space over time with little change to daily rituals and cultural codes of practice. Such a culture was by and large a street culture and, therefore, a public culture. Kearns (1989) called such places, 'secret areas' and 'cultural enclaves' and Corcoran (2000) called their inhabitants an 'invisible minority'.

Kearns (1989: 250) quotes Gerry Cahill's (1980) description of Dublin in the 1970s: "Dublin's city communities are disappearing, producing a soulless environment. Without an inner-city population the urban life blood is draining, resulting in a place without identity or meaning". Much of this decline was due to the growth of suburbs, which are, according to Tuan (1974:235), "economically and culturally parasitic on the city". The city's population was leached as a result of inner city slum clearance operations in the 1930s. The trickle of population from the inner city in the early century grew to a population haemorrhaging from the mid-century on.

In the opening chapter of Frank McDonald's (1985) *The Destruction of Dublin*, former Lord Mayor of Dublin, Jim Mitchell, is quoted as saying that Dublin of the 1980s had "about as much character as a second-rate knacker's yard". According to McDonald (2000:12) Dublin in this period was "littered with derelict sights and dilapidated buildings", most apparent along its central quays. Matching the physical degradation was economic depression, as industry tended to locate itself away from the city in the ever-growing, bulging suburbs. However, some inner city residential cells did survive. Areas such as the Liberties and Stoneybatter became lost islands of deprivation within a vacuumous sea of structural and economic depression in Dublin's inner city. Kearns (1989: 15-16) however, highlights the positive village nature of Stoneybatter in Dublin's North West Inner City:

> Stoneybatter is a splendid anachronism, a tranquil village community surviving in the heart of frenetic, modern Dublin. The serendipity of stumbling upon the scene is like entering some historical time warp....Stoneybatter has survived rather miraculously into the 1980's physically and socially intact. Despite its inner-urban setting, it retains the basic character of a village as defined by urban geographers and sociologists. The traditional working-class population shares common geographical, historical, and social roots. Family, friends and religion form the basis of daily life and old customs and traditions remain highly cherished.

Dublin's inner city as a series of economically disadvantaged, urban-monocultural communities is the basis upon which this researcher places Dublin at the beginning of its transition phase from monocultural to poly-cultural living. The growth of the Irish Celtic Tiger economy can be witnessed by Dublin's morphologising skyline, particularly the construction of gentrified apartment enclaves. McDonald (2000: 12) writes:

> Incredibly, there was not one flat available for purchase anywhere in the city centre until 1990, because it simply did not rate as a residential location. Since then, at least 13,000

apartments have been provided in new or refurbished buildings dotted around the inner city, injecting new life into previously run down areas and reversing decades of relentless population decline.

The arrival of immigrants into the city from different countries to support the growing economy has also contributed to Dublin's increasing social and cultural morphology. This 'ethnification' has increased the human (visual) presence of immigrants on the public / street level of such areas, to the extent that they have become a recognisable sub-group. In particular spatial units, the 'indigenous' inner city residents are increasingly becoming a sub-group within what was once their explicitly-defined physical, cognitive and emotional borders. Will they feel increasingly alienated in what they perceive to be their space and, if so, what kinds of response might this alienation engender? McDonald writes (2000:33):

> ...plans for higher density housing, large elements of infrastructure, and the various other facilities required by an exploding city-region will not be achieved painlessly. We will also have to adjust to living in an increasingly multi-cultural metropolis, quite unlike Dublin in the Rare Oul Times, as refugees and economic migrants continue to be attracted to Ireland in search of a better life.

Although Dublin has undergone this dramatic facelift and makeover, the 'new life' has had varying impacts on the 'old life'. Those lost cultural enclaves or urban villages that had remained socially intact and forgotten for generations, have become spatially in vogue and thus contested spaces. According to McDonald (2000: 13):

> After years of neglect, the inner city suddenly has a real value. It may be measured, however crudely, by the staggering prices paid for parcels of property with development potential. A quarter-acre site at the corner of Harcourt Street, for example, was sold for £8.8 million in December 1999 – equivalent to an all time record of £32.5 million per acre.... The International Financial Services Centre...generates $430 million-plus per annum for the exchequer, even at a 10% corporation tax rate.

Kearns (1989:18) writes: "Old Dublin communities...around Sean McDermott Street, Gardiner Street, Sheriff Street, and Summerhill have been stricken from the cityscape, all in the name of progressive urban development". Such economic growth has also affected the periphery or regional space surrounding Irish cities. Concerning Ballymore Eustace, in County Kildare, McDonald (2000: 27) quotes Kevin Myers in the *Irish Times*, "[they] are gone by 6.30 in the morning, are not back until 8 o'clock in the evening...[they] know as much about the community they have landed in as they do about Pluto's outer moons".

It is important to have an insight into the operational structures and modalities of inner city villages, such as their street culture, in order to assess the potential morphologies and effects gentrification and ethnification will have on them. An understanding of Dublin's 'old' street communities will hopefully facilitate an understanding of the on-going establishment of, and the operational structures and modalities within, Dublin's ethnically-clustered, village communities. Such emerging ethnic communities in many ways echo the street culture of times past and of places, until recently, hidden in the present.

Much of the oral and local history of Dublin focuses on the Liberties area. Kearns's (1989) work brought the urban village of Stoneybatter to prominence. It is easy to fit an area such as Stoneybatter into a rural mould and to romanticise it due to the village look of its cottages and local shops (illustrated in the North West Inner City section of the data analysis pp 475-506). In addition to areas such as the Liberties, Stoneybatter and Smithfield, this thesis includes those other forgotten / hidden communities lost in inner city space. These 'other' lost communities are those socially-exclude, physical and socio-economic deprived and encased 'flat' blocks, such as Fatima Mansions, Oliver Bond and those around Sheriff Street, Sean McDermott Street and Ballybough. Raban (1974:27) writes that "the stay-at-home mother in a tower block flat can be as alone as an astronaut marooned in space; indeed, the sociological space in which she moves is almost as uncharted".

These flat complexes might be viewed as eyesores by passing motorists leaving the city. Despite having experienced drug and other related social problems, particularly in the 1980s, they are no doubt isolated but are vibrant communities with specific social mores and social structures. They are particularly communal and matriarchal in nature, much like the tenements of a previous era. They too have community pride. The anti-drug protests by community residents in the 1980s and 1990s is testimony to this point, as is the reaction by south inner city dock land communities against the construction of high rise buildings, as discussed by McDonald (2000: 54). The RTE television documentary *Docklands*, aired on April 20th 2005, paid testimony to the strength of communal identity and political will of Dublin's northside dock land's

communities when faced by powerful developers' plans for the construction of high rise towers within their communities. Tuan writes (1974: 216):

> For the working class, dissatisfaction with dwelling does not necessarily mean dissatisfaction with neighborhood....This attitude is compatible with an oft-observed tendency among working-class people: that they do not restrict their social lives to their immediate dwellings as middle-class people tend to do, nor to differentiate private from public space quite so sharply.

These flat complexes are, like inner city villages, also positively and negatively affected by gentrification and ethnification. This sub-group must be included in the analysis of inner city community and village living, as this research data analysis shows that it is the group with the most ethnic interfacing. It is, therefore, targeted by the media as being in competition for city resources against immigrants. They are also one of the societal groups most likely to be labelled as racist.

An understanding of the socio-political and economic processes that transformed grand Georgian houses into tenement slums as outlined by, for example, Joe Brady and Anngret Simms (2002), might lead to questions concerning the potential for gentrified flats to morphologise into immigrant slums. The creation of tenements was partly a result of outrageous land lorded rack-renting and lack of government responsibility for upkeep of tenements. According to Professor Alan Titley, one critique of Dublin-born Bram Stoker's *Dracula* (1897) was to understand the book as an analogy of the vampirism of landlords in 19th century Dublin. (Personal communication) This researcher has witnessed evidence of this kind of rack-renting landlordism in some inner city apartment complexes. Such overcrowding places extra pressure on both the physical and social structures of apartments; having four or five immigrants sharing an apartment built for one person increases the use of amenities, and social consequences such as noise can reach pollution levels. If some of this group include asylum seekers or economic migrants outside of the system, they will not be entitled to work. If they do not work in the underground economy their weight of numbers will be visible in the limited (privatised) 'public' space of an enclosed apartment complex throughout the day.

This tightly-packed living of immigrants in apartment complexes might well engender a feeling of community, where central courtyards will be filled with parents and their

children in the summer, whilst the men and 'courting' couples engage in the South European-like 'La Passiagata' promenading, cigarette-smoking stroll. It remains to be seen whether the remaining gentrified owner occupier, single-young professionals in these complexes will embrace such communal behaviour or, as a result of a moral panic, sub-let their apartments and return to the suburbs or move to another complex free of difference.

As well as physical maintenance, social infrastructure must also be in place for indigenous urban regeneration, ethnification and integration to occur successfully. City manager John Fitzgerald is quoted by McDonald (2000: 278-279): "For all of its physical evidence of urban renewal...[Dublin] would be building castles on quicksand if we don't address the social problems, with 'nice new developments' rapidly degenerating into slums". Furthermore, McDonald outlines, in a review of Dublin's Integrated Area Plan, the indigenous, local, inner city communities' belief that "urban renewal had not addressed issues which are central to the regeneration and sustainable development of these areas, such as unemployment, lack of public amenities, education, training and youth development".

Will there be the political will to counteract such degradation of private-rented housing stock occupied by immigrants as has occurred in other European capitals such as Paris? 2005 witnessed two inner city building fires in Paris which resulted in the deaths of mainly young African immigrants and their children who were inhabiting these dilapidated buildings. Increasingly, the indigenous inhabitants of Dublin's inner city villages are experiencing a sense of loss of ownership and control of their physical space, which is accompanied by a mental claustrophobia. People in Dublin's villages are lamenting the turning of their collective 'town' into a homogenous 'city'; this is both a physical and mental morphology. As expressed earlier, the physical morphology is predominantly through the construction of new apartment blocks. This construction is atop older territory so that although the central city is not necessarily expanding outwards, it is growing vertically and temporally. Italo Calvino (1997: 30) in his *Invisible Cities* writes: "Sometimes different cities follow one another on the same site under the same name, born and dying without knowing themselves".

The building of apartment blocks in the interstice between inner city villages such as Kilmainham and Inchicore or between clusters of streets that acted as the lived space for family based communities, has blurred such communities' once definitive boundaries. Inner city residents have used particular buildings, street corners, street signs and, for example, recreation spaces as physical and symbolic points of identification and navigation. The construction of one layer of the city above another has taken from some of the older generation their navigational semiotics, rendering them blind. If unable to adapt to the new, the city becomes a shifting palimpsest which this generation must decipher if they are to reanimate their sense of place and space. In his *Invisible Cities*, Calvino (1997: 10-11) describes the fictional city of Zaira, a Roman-a-Clef for Venice. He describes the hidden history or archaeology of cities:

> The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of its past....As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand...every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

One might argue that once read in a form of palimpsestry, like seeing the lines of a tree, an understanding of the relationship between the city of the past and the cities of the present and future will be unearthed and revealed. For the younger generation, their new Dublin has covered over their parents' and grandparents' Dublin. This risks a physical masking and a social and cultural schism occurring between the once contiguous generations in place and space. This is analogous for both generations to the motif in John Montague's (1995: 33) poem "*A Lost Tradition*", which focuses on the identity politics of Northern Irish-English speakers:

All around, shards of a lost tradition:

...The whole landscape a manuscript
We had lost the skill to read,
A part of our past disinherited;
But fumbled, like a blind man,
Along the fingertips of instinct.

CHAPTER TWO

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This literature review is sub-divided into two interconnected sections. The first section primarily critiques the literature that is concerned with the production of the modern industrial city - the Chicago School and postmodernity - the L.A. School. The second section analyses the literature concerned with the geography and philosophy of everyday life, which focus on the particular effects cities have on the individual's cognition and how individuals represent this new lived reality.

These two sections are labelled 'macro' and 'micro' views and also views from 'above' and 'below'. The latter can also be understood as the view from 'within'. Edward Soja (1989) was critical of what he termed the 'psycho-geographies of intimacy' i.e. micro-geographies in his work *Postmodern Geographies*. In his later work however, Soja (1996) engaged in an increasingly interdisciplinary discourse on the city's 'third space'. He placed particular emphasis on postcolonial and feminist perspectives on the urban, as well as forging a deep engagement with the work of Henri Lefebvre. With this new invigoration of the subaltern perspective of the city, Soja writes (1996: 310) that:

> ...do we learn more about...cityspace by engaging in microgeographies of everyday life and pursuing the local view from the city streets; or by seeing the city as a whole, conceptualizing the urban condition on a more comprehensive regional or macrospatial scale? Understanding the city must involve both views, the micro and the macro, with neither inherently privileged, but only with the accompanying recognition that no city – indeed, no lived space – is ever completely knowable no matter what perspective we take...The appropriate response to the micro vs. macro choice is thus an assertive and creative rejection of the either / or for the more open-ended both / and also...

Spatial Discourse: A Context

This Literature Review is very much a spatial discourse. This small introductory section aims to provide a context for the evolution of such spatial / multidisciplinary discourse on urbanity as it applies to this research. "From Modern Industrial Chicago to Postmodern L.A. and Thirdspace" is the subtitle to the first section of the Literature Review. This subtitle combines two separate book titles, firstly, Michael, J. Dear's (2002) *From Chicago to L.A.: Making Sense of Urban Theory* and secondly, Edward Soja's (1996) *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real-And-Imagined Places*. What seems like a cumbersome subtitle can be understood as a description of,

or a chronological account of the reading or mapping of spatial discourse and theory about cities in the late 19th and 20th centuries as well as the writings emerging in the early 21st century.

The title represents the literature and theory that describes the Chicago School's zonal mapping of the early 20th century modern industrial city of Chicago i.e. the mapping of its Central Business District (CBD) with its attendant ethnic, class, immigrant and residential locales spread across "contiguous" space (Earnest Burgess [1925] 1996: 158). In a Marxist sense, theorists such as Hall (1998: 6) argue that the production of capital based within centrally-located industrial city cores, created the form that the city took. He writes that urban discourse "reflected the structure of the city and the forces that created it". Lefebvre ([1974] 1991) argued that the workers (proletariat) lived in accordance with the 'rhythm of [this] capital'.

Geographers and sociologists such as Amin and Thrift (2002), Davis (1990, 2000, 2001); Dear (2002); Hall (1998); Harvey (1974, 1990); Lash and Urry (1994); Savage and Warde (1993) and Soja (1989; 1996) describe the everyday sociological / human effects of the modern industrial city and its transition into post-industrial, postmodern cityscapes most typified by Los Angeles. Hall (1998: 9) wrote that: "Los Angeles in the late twentieth century has assumed a position with regard to urban theory to that of Chicago in the early twentieth century" and according to Dear and Flusty (2002: 230):

> ...the most influential of existing urban models is no longer tenable as a guide to contemporary urbanism...our investigation has uncovered an epistemological radical break with past practices, which in itself is sufficient justification for something called a Los Angeles School. The concentric ring structure of the Chicago School was essentially a concept of the city as an organic accretion around a central, organizing core. Instead, we have identified a postmodern urban process in which the urban periphery organizes the centre within the context of a globalizing capitalism.

L.A. is also an exemplar of 'third space' where areas on the margins, through cultural and identity politics (comparative literature, feminism, postcolonialism, postmodernism), are remapping the cognitive landscape of Southern California (Soja 1996; Jameson 1998). This third space includes a 'transnational urbanism' with border, in-between, liminal and hybrid spaces or territories (Michael Smith, 2001).

Spatial theory is, therefore, an interdisciplinary discourse located quite often within a discussion of urbanity using geographic lenses and tools. Likewise, geographers contribute to and borrow from social and critical theory in their spatial discourse. For example, although the Chicago School has been central to geographical discourse on urbanism, it was a school of Sociology which borrowed heavily from anthropology (Savage and Warde 1993: 9-18; Jencks 2005: 51-73). Furthermore, while much geographic discourse on urban processes is informed by the Chicago School, radical geographers such as David Harvey (1973, 1990, 2000) and Edward Soja (1989, 1996), derive much of their neo-Marxist influence from French philosophers such as Michel de Certeau , Michel Foucault and particularly Henri Lefebvre's (1974) *The Production of Space*. In addition, insights from postcolonial theorists such as Homi Bhabha (1994), Edward Said (1978) and Gyatri Spivak (1998) have added to contemporary spatial discourse. Soja (1989) writes that his work is "an appropriation of" other theories and theorists. In this sense, the theories become transformed and reinvigorated through other academic lenses. Soja's sentiments echo Lefebvre's discussion of Marxist theory ([1974] 1991: 321):

> The best way to get Marx's thinking into perspective is to reconstitute it, to restore it in its entirety, and to look upon it not as an end point or conclusion but rather as a point of departure. In other words, Marxism should be treated as one *Moment* in the development of theory, and not, dogmatically, as a definitive theory...

The macro-scale view of the production of space in cities is influenced by Marxism and is primarily concerned with determining the factors of spatial production which by and large are political and economic. Harvey (1973, 1990, 2000) for example, discusses time-space compression and a bid-rent function which determines the hierarchy of residential patterns and the accompanying uneven distribution of wealth, ownership and opportunities in society. This represents an appropriation of Marxism and places it within a spatial framework.

There has been an ever-increasing interest in the spatial within discourse in different academic fields, to the extent that such discourse on space has been labelled the 'spatial turn'. Geographers Michael Crang and Nigel Thrift's (2000) anthology *Thinking Space* is an example of emerging interdisciplinary anthologies that 'use geographical concepts' in the renewed investigation and appropriation of the spatial aspect of different social theories and theorists' work. The anthology investigates the

spatial element in the work of some of the 20th century's most noted theorists including writers and filmmakers: Benjamin, Simmell, Bakhtin, Deluze, Wittgenstein, Cixous, Lacan, Bourdieu, Fanon, Latour, Serres, Minh-ha, Said and Virilio, as well as the more noted spatial writing of De Certeau, Foucault and Lefebvre. Hourihane (2003: xi) writes that Lefebvre's work was a "trigger for much post-modernist thinking on spatial practice".

Section One: Macro or View from Above:

From Modern Chicago to Postmodern L.A. and Thirdspace

2.2 Industrial cities and the growth of urban planning

According to Hall (1998: 5), contemporary urban systems are related to the formation of the 'great' western cities at the time of the industrial revolution. Lefebvre (1996: 65) notes in his *Writings on Cities* that "the city existed prior to industrialisation. A remark banal in itself....[but] Industrialisation provides the point of departure for reflection upon our time".

The rise of the industrial city created a spatial structure to accommodate manufacturing and the creation of wealth. Unprecedented population growth put tremendous strain on the cities' infrastructure leading to zones of acute poverty and social degradation. Kunster (2003: 235) writes:

> The industrial city of machines, factories, steel, and slums produced overwhelmingly worse living conditions for far greater numbers of people than any kind of city ever seen before....Living conditions that would have seemed less than human two hundred years earlier became absolutely normative in the new industrial London, as did stench, and dirt of the factory.

Furthermore, the new fast pace of modernity marked a radical change in one's time and space perceptions as captured in modernist literature such as Woolf ([1925] 1992) and Joyce ([1922] 1986). Kunster describes this radical break in urban living (2003: 234):

> The pace of change and growth must have been frightening for many (and exhilarating, too, for others). A journey in one of the first railroad cars at fifteen miles per hour was like riding a lightning bolt for people used to seeing the world go by no faster than a trotting horse...the world had never experienced anything like the industrial city before.

Park ([1915] 1996), Hall (1998) and Savage and Warde (1993) argue that whilst improvement in the modern industrialising city can be rightly associated with 'philanthropic' movements, such improvements were also associated with the spatial restructuring of city cores to facilitate the growing economy (and the interests of some of the same philanthropists). The central core of Chicago became the Central Business District (CBD) because of competitive bidding which the mercantile princes won (Pacione 2001). What differentiates such modernist development of cities from post-industrial cities is that Transnational Corporations (TNCs) no longer needed to secure complete urban cores for their work. This work predominantly takes place across space in polyneucleated hubs which can be located on the fringes of cities, thus reducing the pressure on government to intervene in the social and spatial arrangement of the postmodern inner city (Hall, 1998; Mollenfopf, 1992).

Victorian philanthropy and industrialised Utopianism tried to address problems associated with Victorian cities, such as chronic overcrowding and ill health. Planning movements emerged at this time, most notably Ebenezer Howard's Garden City movement in England and the work of Scotland's Patrick Geddes. The Garden City Association led to the creation of the Town and Planning Institute in 1914 (Pacione, 2001: 160).

In the 1920s, the decenterists in America, namely Mumford, Stein, Wright and Bauer, believed in moving the residential sites of the cities to natural sites and sights of the rural suburban periphery and region. It is important to note that it was envisaged that simply moving people to a different landscape would alter their sociology, psychology and philosophy and, furthermore, that much of this work was premised on an anti-urbanism (Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, 2003).

Whilst the Garden City movement depicted the development of small, self-contained large towns away from overcrowded cities, Le Corbusier, following from Baron Haussmann's projects of the mid 1800s, planned to demolish several hundred acres of

the city itself and replace them with a geometric 'vertical' city of skyscrapers to accommodate three million people (Le Corbusier [1929] 1987). Although Le Corbusier's utopian plans were unfulfilled, they were influential in mid 20th Century planning with the development of high-rise towers and high-density living. Many of these developments were subsequently demolished, most notably the failed Pruitt-Igoe housing project in St. Louis, which was spectacularly dynamited in 1972 having become "little more than a sink estate for the poor" (Gary Bridge and Sophie Watson, 2002: 6). Kunster (2003: 45) links the planning failures of high rise in Atlanta with the failed utopian vision failures of Le Corbusier, "because that's the way it worked out in the pathetically innocent, idealistic American experiments of the 1950s and 1960s that inevitably took the form of high-rise subsidized housing, instant vertical slums, the Projects". Dear (2002) points to Jane Jacobs as the classic critical counterpoint to such 'development'.

Jane Jacobs ([1961] 1992: 4) begins her seminal *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*: "This book is an attack on current city planning and rebuilding". This attack is not on building design or fashions but rather an attack "on the principles and aims that have shaped modern, orthodox city planning and rebuilding". Jacobs outlines this orthodoxy as spanning from Howard's Garden City movement through to Le Corbusier's 'vertical' garden city and his 'machines for living'.

Jacobs proposed a sustainable model of urban development. She believed that the human population is a city's lifeblood and life force, which is carried along by its streets. According to Jacobs, the 'Utopias' of Howard and Le Corbusier could not work because they were top-down in design. Furthermore, they threatened cities by literally sucking this life force from them. Likewise, Boyer (2002) paraphrases Krier (1977), who argued Le Corbusier was an "unwitting culprit, who designed in elegantly artistic forms the contradictions of an industrial society intent on destroying the city", adding that:

> ...zoning, which destroyed the complex urban codes of the nineteenth century, must be the root cause for the broken dialogue between the architect and urban form. In segregated functional cells industry was divorced from cultural centres, offices from residential zones, public from private spaces...(Boyer, 2002: 42).

Henri Lefebvre (1996: 65-86) in his chapter titled "Industrialisation and Urbanisation" discusses the effect of Haussmann's restructuring of Paris in the 1800s and more broadly the effects of restructuring cityspace and suburbanisation with regard to the individual's 'habitat' and identification with place. Lefebvre (1996: 83) argues that the "planning of men of good will (architects and planners)" contains or 'implies' a certain philosophy associated with "an old classical and liberal humanism", adding that it was complimented by a "good dose of nostalgia". He does add that this 'scientism' which "accompanies the deliberate forms of operational rationalism, tends to ignore the human factor".

Peter Hall (2003: 342-353) writes in "The City of Theory" that from the 1960s, planning and planners increasingly divorced from the academy, relied more heavily on statistics and technology than on human behaviour. He also points out that highly regarded literature on urban planning emanating from the academy, was sometimes "simply irrelevant, even completely incomprehensible, to the average practitioner".

2.3 Ferdinand Tönnies and the sociology of modernity

Urban, or arguably anti-urban, planning movements such as the Garden City movement tried to counteract the poor living conditions in inner cities. Lefebvre (1996) believed such planning aligned itself with a certain philosophy. This philosophy was related to a rise in sociological discourse on modernity and in particular city living. According to Andrew Edgar and Peter Sedgwick (1999: 245):

> In sociological thinking, modernity is typically placed in contrast to traditional, and therefore pre-industrial, societies. Sociology, as a discipline, emerges in the theorisation of modernism in this sense.

Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) characterised two modes of living at the end of the 19th century, firstly gemeinschaft and secondly, gesellschaft. These broad labels have been routinely translated in urban and sociological academic literature as rural 'community' and urban 'society'. Pacione (2001: 348) summarises the essence of Tönnies' arguments regarding gemeinschaft and gesellschaft:

> For Tönnies (1887), urbanisation undermined a traditional rural way of life based on family, kinship and community (gemeinschaft) that was replaced by an impersonal,

contractual, self-centered lifestyle (gesellschaft) characteristic of towns and cities. Individuality not community, is the hallmark of urban life.

Savage and Warde (1993: 99) write that arising out of Tönnies' work was "a whole genre of work" that discussed the differences between urban and rural living. Much of this work used emotive labels, or 'binary oppositions' to describe the differences between these two modes of living. Examples are 'warm, friendly and peaceful' for rural environments and 'cold, dangerous and hectic' for urban environments

Savage and Warde (1993) argue that ideas regarding city living such as those developed by Tönnies underpinned much of the Chicago school's philosophy, in particular that of Louis Wirth (1938) in his *Urbanism as a Way of Life*. Wirth postulated that living in cities resulted in a form of alienation and anomie. In the case of Wirth (1938) the 'norms' are culturally driven and controlled within the rural community and the lack of this mode of support (control) for the city dweller results in negative effects such as deviance.

According to Chris Jencks (2005: 20) it is "virtually impossible to achieve the pure status of a Gemeinschaft community", adding that: "In a nation or state, almost demographic in character, certain mechanisms can induce the Gemeinschaft sentiment of, say, national consciousness". Jencks' views are similar to those of Urry (2000: 134):

> ...community is also a matter of powerful discourses and metaphors. Certain ideals of a supposed *Gemeinschaft* are vigorously attached to particular social groupings, especially in recent years in western societies with the supposed general loss of community and its communion-like features. But many places that deploy the notion of community are often of course characterised by highly unequal internal social relations and by exceptional hostility to those who are on the outside. To speak of community is to speak metaphorically or ideologically.

2.4 *The Chicago School*

Based in the University of Chicago (1892) the Department of Sociology became the guiding influence in urban sociology during the early and mid 20th century, particularly in the inter-war years. Although its research was confined to the city of Chicago, Soja (2000: 85,89) writes that at its peak it "defined urban sociology in America":

> Chicago was in the second half of the nineteenth century what Manchester was to the first: a relatively uncluttered urban laboratory for examining the formation of an industrial capitalist city and its reflexive cityspace....Despite its weakness, it represented the most serious attempt to make the spatial specificity of urbanism both a focus for theory-building and a rich domain for empirical and practically applicable research in the social sciences.

Members of the Chicago School were different in their approach to urbanism and cities compared with urban planners and sociologists / philanthropists discussed heretofore. Broadly speaking, Jencks (2005) labels the Chicago School researchers as being 'on the side of (and perspective of) the underdog' and furthermore as illustrating the 'nature' or ability for diverse populations to develop over time i.e. economically and spatially. In this case, the city is understood to be organic and to morphologise over time. The school attempted to map Chicago's physical morphology and also to map its human ecology.

Robert Park's (1915) seminal work titled *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour* "laid down an exhaustive research agenda for urban sociology" (Savage and Warde 1993). According to Thornton (1997: 12) Park's work:

> ...outlines a project to map the social groups of the city in a way which includes their modes of conflict and control, network and segregation, vocation and life style. One of his many influential suggestions is that participant observation might be the most valuable method for exploring 'the customs, beliefs, social practices and general conceptions of life manners' of urban inhabitants.

Savage and Warde (1993: 9) write that the Chicago School "had two distinctive bodies of work: one is associated with the ecological mapping of the so-called 'natural areas' of Chicago, the other a series of ethnographies of diverse social groups in the city". The school has become predominantly associated with the 'ecological' mapping aspect of its work, primarily through the recognition of the zonal models of

residential segregation in Chicago by Burgess and Hoyt. Hannerz (1980), Le Gates and Stout (1996), Gelder and Thornton (1997) and Jencks (2005) argue that the ethnographic work of the school has had a lasting effect on social studies particularly with the increasing rise in cultural anthropology and cultural studies. Le Gates and Stout (2003: 156) write:

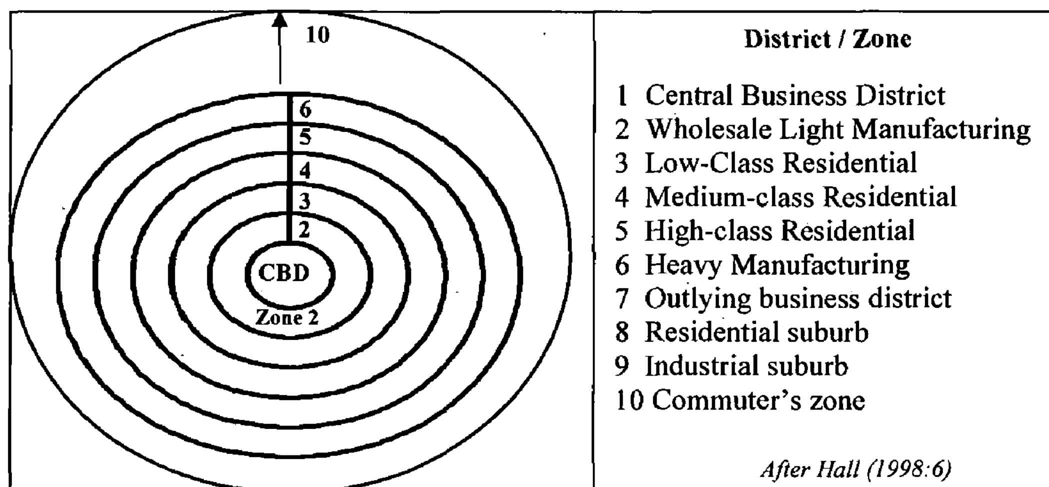
> Together these scholars set out to virtually reinvent modern sociology by taking academic research to the streets and by using the streets as a "living laboratory" for the study of urban problems and social dynamics.

2.4.1 Mapping the city, from the Chicago School to GIS

The literature concerning the Chicago School primarily references Burgess' concentric zone model. The model whilst portrayed as universal by some critics was primarily used by other members of the Chicago school as a metaphor for differentiated living patterns, as opposed to a static, universal model of behaviour (Savage and Warde 1993, Le Gates and Stout 1996).

Burgess' Concentric Zone Model of Chicago

Fig. 4



Burgess ([1925] 1996: 159) wrote that: "It hardly needs to be added that neither Chicago nor any other city fits perfectly into this ideal scheme". Burgess' actual model as represented on page 62, shows the vagaries of living patterns within and between zones as opposed to the simplified representations in some of the literature as represented in figure 4.

Burgess ([1925] 1996: 1957-163) believed that historically most of the occupiers of the different zones shared the central city core, but expansion of industry and the city's 'heterogeneous' (immigrant and class) population created an 'overflow' outwards. Thus, he believed that "the city can be best illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles". Based on his model, Burgess describes a process of 'invasion and succession' outwards from the city core:

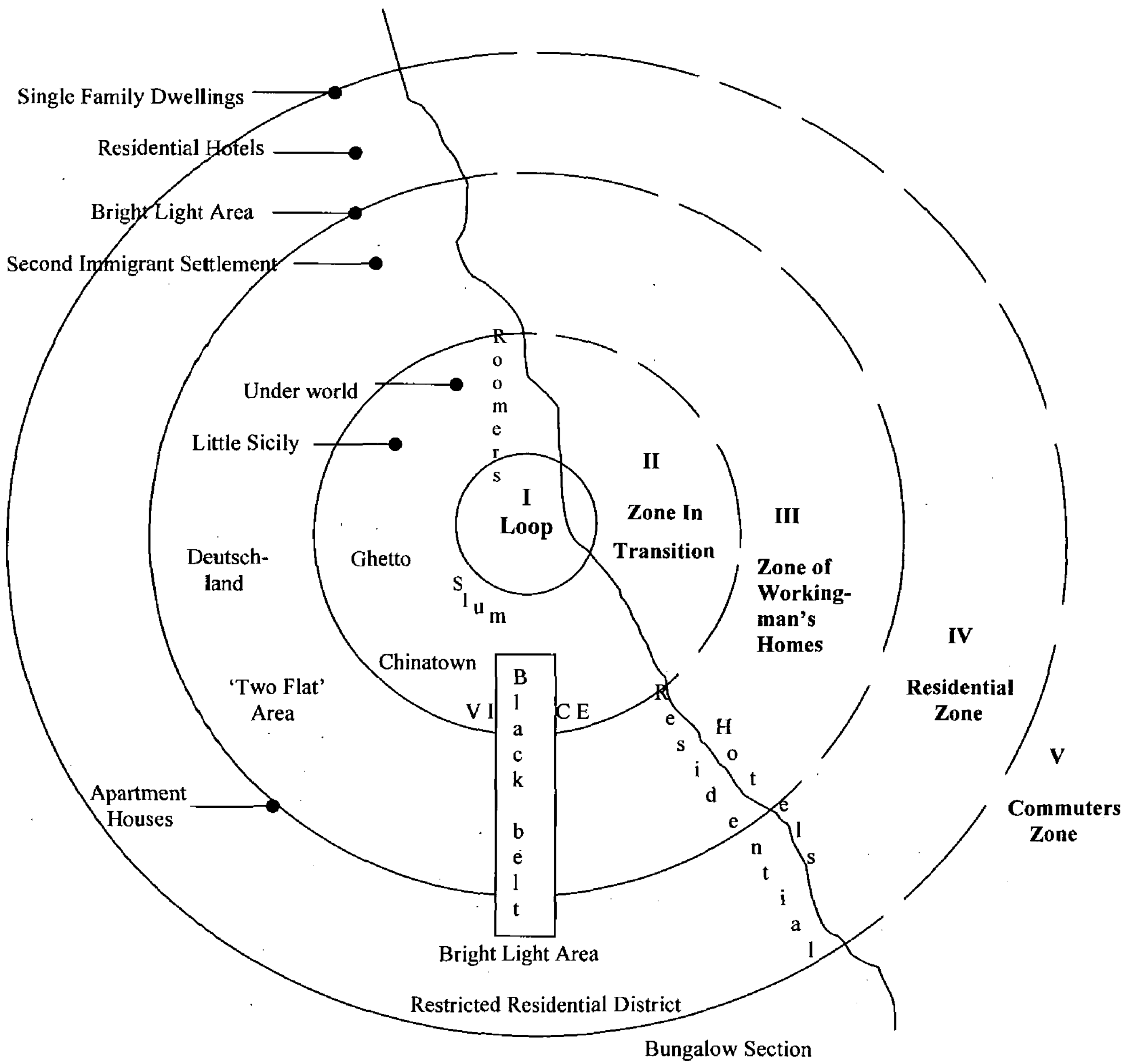
> Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture (II). A third area (III) is inhabited by the workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration (II) but who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the "residential area" (IV) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive "restricted" districts of single family dwellings. Still farther, out beyond the city limits, is the commuters' zone: suburban areas, or satellite cities, within a thirty- to sixty-minute ride of the central business district.
> (Burgess [1925] 1996: 1957-163)

Burgess, and more broadly the Chicago School to varying degrees, described a form of urban ecology in the mode of a social Darwinism that saw different groups invade each other's territories until it succeeded the territory. Using immigrants as an example of this ecology, as the immigrant group increase their economic and social standing they move away from their initial residential area, most likely in the inner city, to an area with improved housing and social conditions on the city's periphery. The inhabitants of the area into which the immigrants are migrating, for example a growing white middle class, move to another area, which they believe to have better housing and social conditions (Dear, 2000; Johnston et al, 1994; Savage and Warde, 1993). This movement of white middle classes away from American inner cities has been commonly referred to as 'white flight'. Soja (2000: 88) argued that:

> What was amazing about these modelings was that they succeeded in describing, with some accuracy, many characteristic features of the macrospatial organisation of cityspace. There was (and probably still is) some degree to which almost every cityspace is organised around a dominant centre in a series of concentric zones, radial sectors, and specialized enclaves.

Ernest W. Burgess' Model of Chicago's Zones and Neighbourhoods

Fig. 5

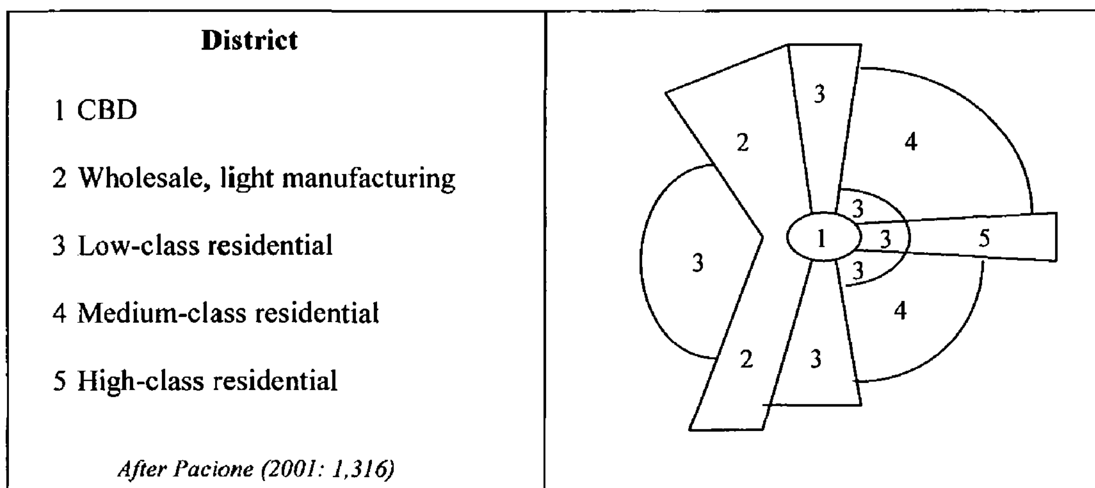


After Burgess' (1925) "The Growth of the City: An introduction to a Research Project" in The City Reader (2003) LeGates and Stout (eds.)

While figure 5 is more detailed than Figure 4, it remains in the concentric pattern indicative of the socio-spatial process of invasion and succession. A development of Burgess' concentric ring model was Homer Hoyt's sectoral model of land use patterns in Chicago in the 1930s. Hoyt "observed that once variations arose in land uses near the city centre, they tended to persist as the city expanded" (Dear 2000: 18). Hoyt was an economist and thus highlights the interdisciplinary nature of the Chicago School.

Hoyt's Sectoral Model

Fig. 6



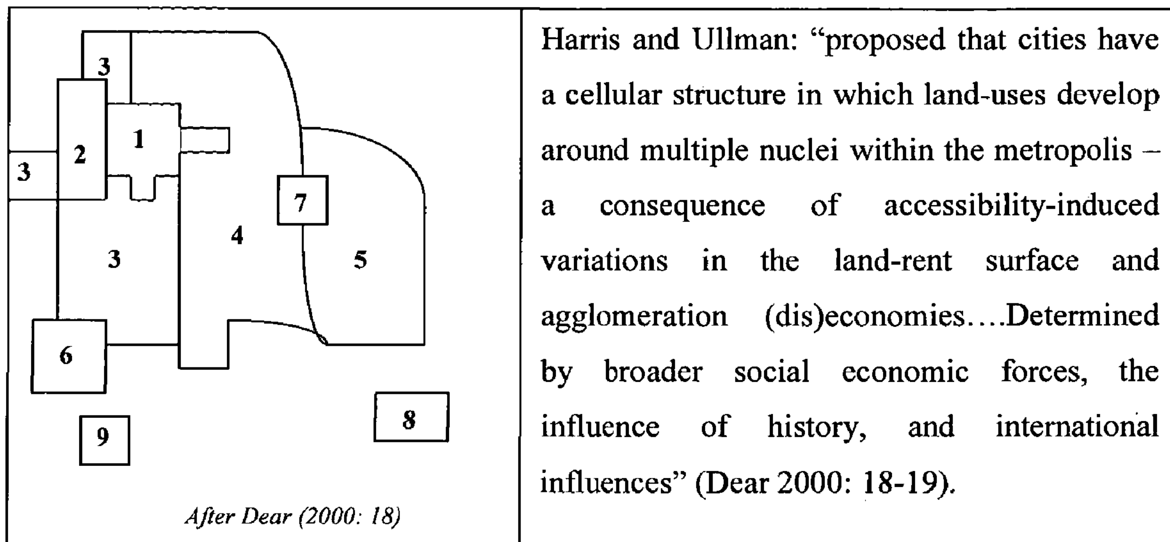
Although Soja (2000) discussed the relative universality of Burgess and the Chicago School's 'macrospatial representations' of city space, he also maintained:

> The most glaring absence in this modelling of city space was the industrialisation process and its formative impact on urban geography. By not directly addressing the factory system and the capital-labor relation as underlying forces in the organization of cityspace, the dynamic interplay between urbanization and industrialization that defined the industrial capitalist city was essentially ignored. The deep structural dualism of capital versus labor, the (urban) bourgeoisie versus the (urban) proletariat, that energized the urban observations of Engels and others seemed to melt away in the new American metroplolis.

Harris and Ullman's model (figure 7) on the following page represents the increasing internationalisation of capital flow in Chicago and is remarkably postmodern in its essences due its juxtaposition of spatial cells of differentiated activity in the city.

Harris and Ullman's Multiple Nuclei Model

Fig. 7



After Dear (2000: 18)

Harris and Ullman: "proposed that cities have a cellular structure in which land-uses develop around multiple nuclei within the metropolis – a consequence of accessibility-induced variations in the land-rent surface and agglomeration (dis)economies....Determined by broader social economic forces, the influence of history, and international influences" (Dear 2000: 18-19).

Walter Firey (1947) in *Land Use in Central Boston*, illustrated how the city of Boston did not fit into the Burgess and Hoyt models. Pacione argues that the most important component of Firey's argument was that he showed how 'culture' and 'history' ('sentiment and symbolism') could determine spatial patterns as much as economics. In the case of Boston, people remained living in fashionable Beacon Hill whilst juxtaposed against it was an area with low-income residents. Firey (1947) thus referred to a process of 'cultural ecology' as opposed to 'urban ecology', which according to Pacione (2001: 237) "anticipated many of the arguments of postmodernism" and the development of contemporary American city models such as those of Vance (1964) and White (1987). Pacione (2001: 137-142) also discusses subsequent city development models by Mann (1965) and Kearsley (1983) which were adapted from the Chicago School's work to suit the British city:

> Kearsley's model was an attempt to extend Mann's model of urban structure to take into account contemporary dimensions of urbanisation such as the level of governmental involvement in urban development in Britain, slum clearance, suburbanisation, decentralisation of economic acclivities, gentrification and ghettoisation. (Paccione, 2001: 139)

Pacione argues that increasingly the Chicago-based models were critiqued as too "mechanistic, ideological and devoid of ethical content" and adds that a political economic perspective gained popularity from the 1970s on:

> Energised by the development of a policy-oriented and relevance perspective in human geography, urban geographers sought interpretations of urban change that revealed the structural forces underlying observed land-use patterns. This led researchers such as Harvey (1975) and Castells (1977) to focus explicitly on the place of the city in the capitalist mode of production.

Whilst geographers, particularly neo-Marxists, further critiqued the production of cityspace, for example Harvey's development of circulation of capital model (1978), the creation of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) transformed the mapping of urban geography from the 1980s (Johnston et al 1994: 219). GIS has many uses, from the development of transportation systems to mapping census data. Johnston et al (1994: 219) write that the development of GIS has reinvigorated "interest in many of the more fundamental issues of geography and cartography", however, they point out that GIS "cannot yet deal effectively with the temporal changes and interactions that drive or result from many social processes" in essence, the fluidity and contemporaneous nature of urban living.

It was the static macro-scale mapping and models of city growth by Burgess and Hoyt that became the lasting legacy of the Chicago School. However, the School did have an understanding of the fluidity of cityscapes and whilst generally contested by social scientists, the School's concept of 'invasion and succession' illustrated the human impact on residential space and city growth. Much of this human impact derived from immigration and population growth, as well as the effects of the increasing mechanisation and increasing speed of city living on the human condition. According to Savage and Warde (1993) the Chicago School:

> ...addressed issues of potential social disorganisation that arose from handling a rapid influx of people, strangers of many kinds, into a swiftly expanding city. The contemporary problem was how individuals could deal with the disorienting, exciting, unstable, insecure, disembedded, polyvalent and anomic conditions that an industrial city like Chicago posed. These scholars confronted the intellectual and practical problems associated with what we would now describe as the experience of modernity.

Furthermore, a model such as that of Burgess was based on anthropological methodologies, such as participant observation and the research questions posed by Park ([1915] 1996).

2.4.2 The Chicago School's anthropology

As outlined in the introduction to the Chicago School above, Robert Park's ([1915] 1996) *The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behaviour* provided many of the questions which the heterogeneous group of researchers within the Chicago School tried to tackle. Park ([1915] 1996: 16-17) pointed out that cities were not 'merely a physical mechanism and an artificial construction' with for example 'electric lights, hospitals and schools', adding:

> The city is, rather, a state of mind, a body of customs and traditions, and of the organized attitudes and sentiments that inhere in these customs and are transmitted with this tradition....In the course of time every section and quarter of the city takes on something of the character and qualities of its inhabitants. Each separate part of the city is inevitably stained with the peculiar sentiments of its population. The effect of this is to convert what was at first a mere geographical expression into a neighbourhood, that is to say, a locality with sentiments, traditions, and a history of its own.

Park and the Chicago School, as illustrated in Burgess' model (figure 2), identified and explored different Chicago neighbourhoods such as 'Little Sicily' and 'Chinatown' and, in the case of Louis Wirth (1928), *The Ghetto* with the tools of anthropologists. Park ([1915] 1996:16) emphasised the point that: "Anthropology, the science of man, has been mainly concerned up to the present with the study of 'primitive' peoples. But 'civilized' man is quite as interesting". According to Jencks (2005) much of the School's work was influenced by Georg Simmel's sociology of fragmentation. Savage and Warde (1993: 11) in paraphrasing Hannerz (1980) write that the Chicago Schools "were the first attempts to carry out micro-research using anthropological techniques in modern societies". Prior to Park joining the University of Chicago, Jencks (2005: 63) notes that his three years working as a 'successful and committed journalist' showed him to be a "natural-born *flâneur*" and equipped his investigations into the sociation of space in Chicago.

One of the most noted micro-anthropological researches by the Chicago School is Frederick Trasher's (1927) *The Gang* which studied 1313 gangs in Chicago. His research showed the concept of place, identity and ownership amongst gang members. He also illustrated how gangs were highly organised and how much of the violence took place in the interstices between 'turfs'. Trasher believed that some gangs established turfs within the spatial vacuum created after the movement of upwardly

mobile residential residents away from an area due to the encroachment of industry. In a similar fashion to Trasher's research, Mike Davis' (2002) *Dead Cities* explores gang violence in contemporary L.A.. Davis (2002) also explored the reaction by the middle and upper classes to gang violence, which manifested itself in the creation of privately guarded residential spaces. Harvey Zorbaugh's (1929) *The Gold Coast and the Slum* explored the curious spatial juxtaposition of rich and poor in two adjacent areas of North Chicago. Zorbaugh's work echoes contemporary research on the effects of gentrification and spatial competition in Chicago, such as that of John Betancur (2002) and Neil Smith's work on New York (1996). Jencks (2005: 64) argues that unlike postmodern and cultural geography of today "where space can be the conceptual loci of identity", the Chicago School saw place as static. Jencks uses the analogy of theatre, arguing that place is a set and actors behave according to this set, adding that:

> Pieces of geography became meaningful variables and, as such, context took on ontological status – place has being. This gives a new reality to 'manors', 'turfs', 'districts', 'islands in the streets', 'ghettos' and 'slums'.

Whilst Trasher and Zorbaugh's work explored particular zones or spatial units in Chicago, other influential work explored the fluidity of particular (sub)populations (Jencks, 2005). Nels Andersen's (1923) *The Hobo* produced important and illuminating insights into Chicago's homeless populations. Paul Cressey's ([1932] 1997: 28) *The Taxi-Hall Dancers* was a label for women who were paid per dance in dancehalls as "she is for public hire and is paid in proportion to the time spent and the services rendered". Cressey identified a 'retrogressive life-cycle' of the women's careers, starting out as highly paid fresh novices and descending down through a racial hierarchy from white men to the world of Orientals (Filipinos and Chinese) and then to Blacks. Furthermore, he argues that this was the first step for many into lives of prostitution.

Cressey ([1932] 1997: 29) describes most of the young women as rural migrants and states that this activity "exists because, as never before in our mobile cities, it is possible for young people to lead dual lives, with little probability of detection". Cressey's sentiments on the ease with which one can be lured into such activity and the ease with which men can avail of such services is a germination of the views

planted by Tönnies in 1887. Cressey's work has particular relevance in contemporary Ireland and Europe with the increase in sex-slave trafficking following the fall of the 'iron-curtain'.

Louis Wirth ([1938] 1996) was the most noted member of the Chicago School to draw upon the work of Tonnies in describing the psychological effects of urbanism on individuals in his *Urbanism as a Way of Life*. Wirth ([1938] 1996: 98) saw the city as a 'social entity' which could be "defined as a relatively large, dense, and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals". Wirth ([1938] 1996: 99) argued that contacts in the city were "impersonal, superficial, transitory and segmental" which was an explanation for the "schizoid character of urban personality". The result of this Wirth ([1938] 1996: 99) argued was that: "The reserve, the indifference, and the blasé outlook which urbanites manifest in their relationships may thus be regarded as devices for immunizing themselves against the personal claims and expectations of others".

According to Wirth, moving from the 'natural' rural environment to the 'un-natural' urban environment had negative consequences. Upon arrival in a city, the individual is bombarded with constantly varying stimuli such as noise, traffic and construction. To survive, the individual must, according to Wirth, adapt, but in adapting he or she suffers a number of consequences. These inter-related consequences were: 'anomie', where normal behaviour is atrophied or mummified, 'alienation', as associated with teenagers, and finally 'deviance', the cause of anti-social behaviour. Wirth's sentiments echo those of Burgess ([1927] 1996: 160-161):

> Disorganization as preliminary to organization of attitudes and conduct is almost invariably the lot of the newcomer to the city, and the discarding of the habitual, and often of what has been to him the moral, is not infrequently accompanied by sharp mental conflict and sense of personal loss. Oftener, perhaps, the change gives sooner or later a feeling of emancipation and an urge towards new goals.

Central to Louis Wirth's argument is that city dwelling is transitory and, therefore, this "habitat does not generate binding traditions and sentiments, only rarely is he truly a neighbour" ([1938] 1996: 101). This urban-rural dichotomy and anti-urbanism of Wirth echoes Park who wrote that ([1915] 1996: 21):

> It is probably the breaking down of local attachments and the weakening of the restraints and inhibitions of the primary group, under the influence of the urban environment, which are largely responsible for the increase of vice and crime in great cities...It is from this point of view that we should seek to interpret all those statistics which register the *disintegration* of the moral order...

Park ([1915] 1996: 24) develops his somewhat anti-urban stance by a description of the creation of the 'individual' in city life. Echoing much contemporary thinking, Park argues that the rise of advertising created a hierarchy of images upon which individuals wear their social status:

> It is one of the characteristic phenomena of city life and of society founded on secondary relationships that advertising should have come to occupy so important a place in its economy....the city fashion tends to take the place of custom, and public opinion.

Savage and Warde (1993) argue, however, that Park and the Chicago School's (paternalistic) anti-urbanism was not simply a sole belief in there being natural, negative consequences of urban living. They posit that the school was highlighting a need for better governance, premised on the school's belief in the ability for a liberal democracy to engender the 'American dream'. The Chicago School did, for example, concern itself with residential segregation and its effects on individual groups, particularly those in the 'Black Belt'. Park ([1915] 1996: 26) writes that "the processes of segregation establish moral distances which make the city a mosaic of little worlds which touch but do not penetrate".

Two main proponents of living in cities are Herbert Gans and Jane Jacobs who has been quoted above in her arguments against the views of the early, anti-urban planning sentiments of the Garden City and City Beautiful movements. Jacobs ([1961] 1992) celebrated the strength and stability of urban communities such as Greenwich Village and Hudson Street in New York City. Herbert Gans, like Jacobs, highlights the success of tight-knit, inner city community living in his (1962) *The Urban Villagers* and (1968) *The Levtittowners*. Savage and Warde (1993:100) refer back to Gans (1968: 99):

> [Wirth] ignores the fact that this [inner city] population consists of relatively homogenous groups, with social and cultural moorings that shield it fairly effectively from the suggested consequences of number, density and heterogeneity. This applies even more to the residents of the outer city population.

Jacobs' and Gans' views are important for consideration, particularly due to the renewed interest in and redevelopment of many western city cores, Dublin being a prime example with its rapid physical transformation since the 1980s. The positives associated with urban living identified by Jacobs and Gans can be useful platforms upon which to plan the contemporary city. For example, Jacobs felt that a community would thrive if it could develop a stable but mixed land use pattern of small businesses, which would cater for residents that consisted of different age ranges and ethnicities.

The Chicago School began its demise in popularity with the rise of "structural functionalism as the basic paradigm for American sociology" (Johnston et al 1994). Soja (1989: 153) called the anthropological work of the Chicago School "descriptive generalities". Soja (1989:153) adds that: "They conceal the more fundamental specificity of the urban that arises from the conjunction of nodality, space, and power". Soja is thus highlighting those arguments made by the neo-Marxists in the 1970s which expressed a need to see the bigger picture or macro-scale view of the production of city space through political and economic factors. Jencks (2005), whilst noting the problems with the Chicago School's micro view, writes that:

> The tradition of sub-cultures stems from Chicago...[it] is unashamedly micro in its approach, never looks to the bigger picture and is unfortunately ill equipped to level a critique of the social structure or the going order much beyond its own parish boundaries.

The mid 20th century saw the micro geographies of the street buried under rational and quantitative-based sociology within the academy. Richard Basham (1978: 13) in *Urban Anthropology* argued that:

> What began as an attempt to ground urban theory in actual research, in time took its own refuge from the uncertainties of field work through minute reworking of census statistics. Such studies, no matter how carefully conducted, seem sterile to those who seek an understanding of the lives of the city's inhabitants.

Savage and Warde (1993) and Jencks (2005) argue that it was not until the riots in American and other Western Cities in the mid-to-late 1960s, that qualitative research was sought to explain the underlying causes of the urban crisis. Thereafter, a resurgence occured in the micro geography or qualitative methodologies in exploring city life, one example being the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) created in 1964. According to Soja (1989: 43) "only in France did a

vibrant spatial discourse survive the mid-century despatialization, keeping alive a debate that seemed to have disappeared entirely in other, non-Latinate Western Marxisms."

2.5 From radical French philosophy (1960s) to radical geography (1970s)

The opening pages of this literature review outlined the current resurgence of spatial discourse within different academic disciplines. This current centrality of space in discourse can be traced back to the emergence of space as a mode of critiquing everyday life in French philosophy in the 1960s. Such philosophy became a platform upon which geographers such as David Harvey (1973) could base their neo-Marxist critiques of the production of city spaces. Such philosophic and geographic trends have been labelled, particularly in geographic discourse as 'radical' (Hourihane, 2003; Johnston et al 1998). This section will develop some of these themes, firstly through a description of some of the spatial analysis within philosophical discourse, particularly that of Henri Lefebvre and Michel Foucault, and secondly, through an exploration of current geographical discourse on the production and perception of space.

The philosophy of spatial relationships, both uses of space and perceptions of space are not mutually exclusive. Lefebvre (1991: 6) discusses his concerns with theory taking precedence over real experience: "The philosophico-epistemological notion of space is fetishized and the mental realm comes to envelop the social and physical one". Johnston et al (1998: 439) warn of the misappropriation of links between 'descriptive phenomenology' and the "a priori framework of meaning adopted by a particular empirical science". In essence, they point to a concern by some that 'spatial science' uses phenomenology to 'underwrite' its aims. Edward Relph (1970, 1976) particularly explored 'the phenomenological basis of geography'.

In terms of philosophy, geographic explorations of the philosophy of space can bring philosophy from the classroom onto the street (what Lefebvre called 'the external world' and Foucault 'external space') and provide concrete examples of philosophy in everyday life, as well as the political (Foucault) and economic (Lefebvre) implications on social and spatial practice. One can see both the academic and functional relationship between the philosophy and geography of space through, for example, an

exploration of the connectedness of philosopher Gaston Bachelard's work and urban planner Kevin Lynch. Bachelard philosophically explored the intimate relationship between people and their environments, most notably the home. Kevin Lynch (1960), through a similar exploration of people's relationship with space at a functional level, explored people's cognitive mapping of space i.e. their perceptions of space articulated through vectors, duration and function. Through an exploration of, and codification of peoples' perceptions of space, Lynch constructed a mental picture of city space as used at an everyday level. Lynch's results contributed to what is now commonplace in city planning.

2.5.1 Space in French philosophy

The French philosophical engagement with concepts of space is primarily and most notably related to the life's work of Henri Lefebvre (1901 – 1991) particularly his seminal *The Production of Space* (1974). In it he discusses in depth the social production of mental and material space in everyday life. Translation into English has greatly increased the awareness and appreciation of Lefebvre's work. Examples are, Nicholson-Smith's (1991) translation of *The Production of Space*, Kofman and Lebas' (1996) translations resulting in *Writing on Cities* and Elden's (2004) *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life*. Likewise, the work of Michel Foucault has been reinvigorated through publication in English. An analysis of spatial themes within Foucault's discourse are slowly beginning to emerge in geographic discourse, most notably Crampton and Elden and Crampton's (2007) *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*.

Much of the French philosophers' engagement with space arose in the 1960s, Dear (2000: 32) writes that the Parisian riots of May 1968, taught, "many (including Michel Foucault) about the intimate connection between power and knowledge, and that power saturates all aspects of social and personal life".

Both Lefebvre and Foucault's work will be outlined in this section. However, it is recognised that other major contributors to the development of thinking about people's relationships with space were Martin Heidegger (1956), one of the first existential thinkers, Michel de Certeau and Gaston Bachelard (1958). The latter's

1958 *The Poetics of Space* offers a 'phenomenology of the soul' through a form of 'topo-analysis'. As expressed in the opening of this section, Bachelard's analysis was an engagement with the intimate spaces of human experience. It was within the home that he believed humans would learn to 'abide' within themselves. Foucault (1986, 23) writes that Bachelard's work and the descriptions of phenomenologists:

> ...have taught us that we do not live in a homogeneous and empty space, but on the contrary in a space thoroughly imbued with quantities and perhaps thoroughly fantasmatic as well. The space of our primary perception, the space of our dreams and that of our passions hold within themselves qualities that seem intrinsic...Yet these analyses, while fundamental for reflection in our time, primarily concern internal space. I should like to speak now of external space.

For Bachelard, this analysis is best understood not by "historians, planners or political scientists....but poets" (Smyth 2001). Likewise, Lefebvre (1996) referred to his analysis as praxis between science and art, or a form of poetic observation and reasoning in the external world and the rhythms of everyday life.

De Certeau (1984) uses the analogy between planners and formalists in a canonical literary sense, but also outlines the ability of the Wandersmänner to re-appropriate space, what is termed by this researcher a 'spatial patois'. This patois represents the pathways and zones occupied and developed by ethnic groups not ordinarily used by the indigenous population. It also represents the different rhythms with which new communities / ethnic groups use places and space, from walking pace to working practices and business hours.

Lefebvre ([1974] 1991: 4) criticises the abstract nature of literary and cultural theorists discourse on place, space and identity. He argues that the ability to interpret the real world into an abstract space i.e. the mental realm, can ironically result in the real world being left behind and lost in the discourse. Lefebvre borrows from Marx's views on abstract production using, for example, the power of money, just as Foucault relates knowledge as power. Don Mitchell (2005: 191) similarly warns against the distance between theory and reality. In this case, Mitchell accuses the hybrid subaltern theory of theorists such as Bhabha (1994) and Spivak (1998) as being somewhat removed from the everyday life and practice (people) they claim to represent.

2.5.2 *Michel Foucault: heterotopias, knowledge and power*

Michel Foucault was a historian and philosopher whose work was influenced by his experience of working in an asylum. His work related histories within the context of space. For example, in *Madness and Civilization (1967)*, he challenged Victorian or hegemonic Government's power over place and social practice in everyday life. Using postcolonial discourse, Foucault's work can be understood as an illustration of the power to label individuals and groups and thus give the state an 'accepted' authority to physically move them to the margins, such as prisons and asylums. Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* (1991) has been noted by geographers, particularly Soja (1989) for its spatial analysis of Bentham's architectural panopticon and the contemporary relationship between space and power. In essence, Foucault (1991) juxtaposes iconic and functional places, such as the graveyard, prison, and hospital, within the functionality of lived space. In a conversation with Jean-Pierre Barou and Michelle Perrot, Foucault claims that (1972: 149):

> A whole history remains to be written of *spaces* – which would at the same time be the history of powers (both these terms in the plural) – from the great strategies of the geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat, institutional architecture from the classroom to the design of hospitals, passing via economic and political installations.

Foucault's range and scale of work is vast and whilst very much discussed in geographic and spatial discourse, most references by geographers are made to a small selection of Foucault's overt discussions on space. His adage that "we are now entering the epoch of space" is repeatedly referenced in all the major writing on space:

> The present epoch will perhaps be above all the epoch of space. We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment. I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skein. (Foucault, 1986: 22)

This description fits well with the development of the Demographic Technological and Cultural Transition Model as outlined in Chapter One of this thesis, in which different groups inhabiting city space do so with different historic-spatial references. Chris Philo's (2000) chapter on "Foucault's Geography" in *Thinking Space* argues that whilst Foucault inhabits geographic discourse on human geography, particularly

in relation to space, territoriality, and social reproduction, "...what is surprising is the absence to date of any sustained theoretical engagement with Foucault on the part of theoretically minded geographers" adding:

> I am claiming that a close reading of Foucault's arguments about history suggests a vision of how social life 'works' – a vision in which certain vocabularies (often spatialised ones) are employed to capture a certain ontology (an equally spatialised one) – which very definitely insists upon researchers of the past taking seriously the importance of space, place, and geography to the stories that they are endeavouring to tell. In part this is because Foucault recognises the simple but telling 'fact' that the phenomena, events, processes, and structures of history (however we may define them) are always fragmented by geography, by the complicating reality of things always turning out more or less differently in different places. (Philo, 2000: 209)

Much reference to Foucault's 'geography' is related to his interview in 1976, 'Questions à Michel Foucault sur la géographie' ('Questions On Geography') by the editors of the journal *Hérodote 1*. Most of the geographers' appropriation of Foucault's ideas, however, is taken from a journal article published in 1986 based on his 1967 lecture, "Des Espace Autres" ("Of Other Spaces") which outlines his discourse on Heterotopias. This is similar in nature to contemporary discourse on third space. Soja (1996) explicitly makes in-depth links between Foucault's hetrotopologies and third space, which is infused with discourse on the 'Other' and the marginalisation of sub groups in society. In his *Postmodern Geographies* (1989: 16), Soja articulates the need to archaeologically draw out the spatial within Foucault's historicism:

> The contributions of Foucault to the development of critical human geography must be drawn out archaeologically, for he buried his precursory spatial turn in brilliant wheels of historical insight. He would no doubt have resisted being called a postmodern geographer, but he was one, magré lui, from *Madness and Civilization* [1967] to his last works on *The History of Sexuality* [1979].

Third space cannot be plotted on a linear scale because third space is a spatial matrix of parallel, co-terminus realities, or what Foucault called 'heterochronies'. Space for Foucault (1986: 23) was an analysis "in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites" as opposed to an analysis of time, which "probably appears to us only as one of the various distributive operations that are possible for the elements that are spread out in space". Philo (2000: 230) relates Foucault to postmodernism and Jean Baudrillard's (1987) postmodern "geography of things", whose "view arises from a deep scepticism about the ability of theoretical endeavour adequately to represent the

'goings on' of the thing-realm". The thing-realm is the polycultural, polysemious, fractured postmodern world or as Philo (2000: 125-126) calls it, using the language of Baudrillard, "the disordered geography of 'plates', 'continents', or 'fractal zones' slipping, sliding, and skidding into, under, and over one another".

These heterotopias are, according to Foucault (1986), "capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites that are in themselves incompatible". Such dislocation includes a temporal dissonance between groups in the heterotopia. Foucault, in a postmodern fashion, did not believe in the grand narrative i.e. history of life. He asserts (1986, 24):

> As for the heterotopias as such, how can they be described? What meaning do they have? We might imagine a sort of systematic description - I do not say a science because the term is too galvanized now - that would, in a given society, take as its object the study, analysis, description, and 'reading' (as some like to say nowadays) of these different spaces, of these other places. As a sort of simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live, this description could be called heterotopology....Heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time - which is to say that they open onto what might be termed, for the sake of symmetry, heterochronies. The heterotopia begins to function at full capacity when men arrive at a sort of absolute break with their traditional time.

Edward Relph (2001: 151) in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies* writes that for Foucault, the heterotopia was the opposite of the utopia, adding:

> If utopias are untroubled regions where values are shared, then heterotopias are their opposite – the expression of multiple visions and plural rationalities, filled with visual non sequiturs and "fragments of a large number of possible orders that glitter separately without law or geometry".

Relph (2001: 151) argues that the heterotopia seems to be "an accurate word to describe the arbitrary geography" of postmodern space. He cites Las Vegas as a prime example, based on the city's penchant for pastiche. He also considers the widening gap between rich and poor and developed and less developed nations as examples of heterotopias. According to Peter Brooker (2003: 123) in *The Glossary of Cultural Theory* the term "derived from Foucault" is now synonymous (generalised) into "a term meaning many places" sharing the same space. He adds that, "the term has been actively taken up within Cultural Geography to describe the discontinuities and decentred heterogeneity of postmodern urban places". The distanced or decentred geography is indicative of residential patterns (life worlds) in postmodern L.A. However, in New York, multiple ethnicities and sub-groups live juxtaposed lives

within 'liminal space', where according to postcolonial discourse an interface does occur resulting in hybrid cultural spaces.

Linked to the idea of the heterotopia as juxtaposed segregation in the postmodern city, is that of Foucault's (1977) discussion of panoptic arrangements in space as indicators of power. Soja (1989: 63) links Foucault's carceral-scapes with the work of Mike Davis and Frederic Jameson on LA's carceral cityscapes: "[He] provided an important passageway to the postmodern cultural critique of spatiality and the cartography of power".

2.5.3 Henri Lefebvre: The production of space, time and rhythmanalysis

Born in 1901, Henri Lefebvre practically lived throughout the entire 20th Century and his work shows influences from the century's most prolific thinkers. His outpouring of articles and lectures shows an increasingly complex, confusing, contradictory and dialectical critique of everyday life in the 20th century. Stuart Elden (2004) explores the influences on Lefebvre's work, listing, amongst others Hegel, Nietzsche, Proust, Marx, Deluze, Baudrillard, Breton, Heidegger and Bachelard.

Lefebvre credits Bachelard for his use of the term rhythmanalysis whilst also noting that the Portuguese writer Lucio Alberto Pinhiero dos Santos coined the term. In *The Production of Space* (1991) Lefebvre refers to Gaston Bachelard's (1969) *Dialectic of Duration* where according to Elden (2004: xiii) Bachelard discusses rhythm most explicitly:

> Here Bachelard suggests that the notion of duration, made famous by Bergson, is never as unitary and cohesive as Bergson suggested, but fragmentary and made up of disparate elements... Lefebvre took much from this critique.

Elden (2004: xiv) writes that while some Anglophone geographers have been influenced by Lefebvre's rhythmanalysis, "the work on temporality more generally and on music have had little attention paid to them".

Lefebvre's interest in time is discussed with regard to life's repetitions, cycles and its fragmentary nature. For Lefebvre, time is cyclical, rather than strictly linear as with Bergson's discourse on *durée*. Soja (1989) refers to the work of Lefebvre, as being similar to postmodern. However, as Highmore (2002) suggests, Lefebvre's work might be termed what Pred (1995) calls 'hypermodern', a speeding up of modernity in contemporary times. Jameson (1991) uses 'late capitalism' as a way of describing the 'cultural logic' of late modern / postmodern times.

Lefebvre's primary interest in rhythms occurred in the inter-war period, with particular influence garnered from the modernists (Ben Highmore, 2002). Lefebvre's work can be summarised as an interest in the polyrhythmia or dislocation of the natural order of life (eurhythmic) due to growing industrialisation. Lefebvre discussed the transition in people's lives from being governed by natural lived time to clock bureaucratic time, echoing the sentiments of Ferdinand Tönnies and Louis Wirth. His analysis of the break-up of the natural order of the rhythms of everyday life is discussed unequivocally through a Marxist lens (Soja, 1989). Lefebvre returns explicitly to his work on rhythmanalysis in the 1980s which, one might argue, was a result of the further or increased dislocation or polyrhythmia of everyday life in contemporary society i.e. globalisation.

It is in this latter discourse or critique that Lefebvre can be understood to be postmodern or hypermodern. Lefebvre's work remained closely aligned with Marxism, but in latter times he adapted his Marxist lens to the increasing speed and geographic scale of production whilst also bringing into his analysis the effects of postcolonial immigration on French cities and what he calls the 'Americanisation' of French cities. Highmore (2002) discusses Lefebvre's intrigue with the effects of marketing on social life, seeing Americanisation, or the imperialism of culture, as present-day colonialism. Furthermore, the transition in Lefebvre's discourse from modernity to hypermodernity is a reflection of the effects of the production of capital from a dependency on the rural (natural production) to an invasion of the rural by products (cultural materialism). This for Lefebvre (1970; 2000) was the transition from rurality to total urbanity i.e. to a 'critical phase' of total urbanism. For Lefebvre, this critical phase was manifest not only in cities but throughout all French society in the late 20th century, thus amounting to an urban revolution. Soja (1989: 49) termed

Lefebvre's arguments as 'the urbanisation of consciousness', adding that for Lefebvre:

> Urbanization was a summative metaphor for the spatialisation of modernity and the strategic 'planning' of everyday life that has allowed capitalism to survive, to reproduce successfully its essential relations of production....Built upon the creation of an increasingly embracing, instrumental, and socially mystified spatiality, hidden from critical view under thick veils of illusion and ideology.

There is a similarity between Lefebvre and Foucault's discourse on powers that have the ability to transform space. Foucault as discussed in the Introduction, writes that (1972: 171):

> The real political task in society such as ours is to criticise the working institutions which appear to be both neutral and independent; to criticise them in such a manner that the political violence which has always exercised itself obscurely through them will be unmasked, so that one can fight them.

The unveiling of capitalism was one of the central concerns in Lefebvre's work. In *The Production of Space* (1991) and *Rhythmanalysis: Space, Time and Everyday Life* (2004), Lefebvre expressed a growing concern with Marxism and critical thinking i.e. its incarceration within the academy. He also expresses a concern that the veiling of capitalist processes can result in the loss of awareness of the political ramifications of capitalism. Lefebvre believed that if capitalism is understood as a person or thing rather than a system of power, the politics of capital creation and consumption will be lost to the consumer i.e. the proletariat. Thus, an entrenchment of the status quo, "the personalisation of capital, a theoretical error, can lead to practical (political) errors....we risk passing over the essential and leaving the functioning of the *thing* to persist" adding:

> Capital has something more than maliciousness, malignance and malevolence about it. The wills, the wishes, of the property owners are not there for nothing: they execute. Through them, the death-dealing character of capital is accomplished, without there being either full consciousness or a clear intuition of it. It kills nature. It kills the town...artistic creation...it delocalises humans...Capital kills social richness....It increases political struggle to the extent that states and state-apparatuses bow down to it. (Lefebvre, 2004: 52-56)

One of the claims Lefebvre draws in his later work is the increasing destructiveness of capitalism (2004: 55). He argues that capitalism 'did destroy in the old days' but however, that its destructive powers have grown in 'scale' over time. Lefebvre is thus

critiquing globalisation and its effects; for example 'world hunger', and the increasing unequal distribution of wealth at local and global scales:

> The rhythm that is proper to capital is the rhythm of producing (everything: things, men, people, etc.) and destroying (through wars, through progress, through inventions and brutal interventions, through speculation etc.) [over time]....Capital...with increasing priority for the destructive capacity that comes at its peak and is raised to a world scale. Which, on the negative side, therefore plays the determining role in the conception of the world and worldly. [my bracket] (Lefebvre, 2004: 55)

It is on the production of capital and its manipulation of the rhythms of spatial practice that geographers have focussed, particularly Soja (1989). Lefebvre has been an unprecedented influence on the spatial turn in neo-Marxist Geography. Soja (1989: 48) writes that:

> Over the past thirty years, Lefebvre has drawn selectively from these movements [existential phenomenology and Althusserian structuralism] in an insistent attempt to recontextualise Marxism in theory and praxis; and it is within this recontextualization that we may discover many of the immediate sources of a materialist interpretation of spatiality and hence of the development of Marxist geography and historical-geographical materialism.

There are different elements to Lefebvre's discourse on space, most explicitly outlined in his work *The Production of Space.* For geographers, one of the most critical is Lefebvre's discussion of the social production of the mental and material spaces within which social life takes place.

Lefebvre wanted to reveal the production of space to show how the city, or any space, is constructed. In essence, he wished to deconstruct city space like a text, but, as expressed by Andy Merrifield (2002: 171), Lefebvre wished to show all of the drafts that went into the making of the urban script so that he could rewrite it as a "socialist utopia"; Merrifield (2000: 171) writes:

> In Lefebvre's hands, space becomes redescribed not as a dead, inert thing or object, but as organic and fluid and alive; it has a pulse, it palpitates, it flows and collides with other spaces. And these interpenetrations – many with different temporalities – get superimposed upon one another to create a present space.

Central to Lefebvre's (1991) discourse is his conceptual triad of 'spatial practices', 'representations of space' and 'spaces of representation'. He also called them, the experienced, the perceived, and the imagined space as well as physical space (nature), mental space (formal abstractions about space), and social space (the space of human

action and conflict and 'sensory phenomena') i.e. "'conceived-perceived-lived' spaces":

> 1. *Spatial Practice*, which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of competence and a specific level of performance.
> 2. *Representations of space,* which are tied to the relations of production and to the 'order' which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes, and to 'frontal' relations.
> 3. *Representational Spaces*, embodying complex symbolisms, sometimes coded, sometimes not, linked to the clandestine or underground side of social life, as also to art (which may come eventually to be defined less as a code of space than a code of representational spaces).

Spatial practice is, as described by Lefebvre (1991), 'culture specific' in terms of its continuity of practice and cohesion, and its governance by a set of socio-cultural, physical and bureaucratic structures (representations of space – 'spatial codes' and 'facades'). Lefebvre, like Foucault, argues that these 'facades' such as factories, monuments and towers and other masculinist architecture are put in place to ensure, through 'symbolic mediation', the controlled and efficient functioning of the market and its population. Natural space is claimed through symbolic representation by those in power, such as the state and more recently, the market. Such 'symbolic' space is (accepted) understood representationaly by the proletariat through invisible subversion or hegemonic practices. However, this power can be subverted or (re)represented by the public. This subversion, as attempted by the Paris riots of 1968, is particularly discussed in-depth by Lefebvre with relation to the Fete, what today can be related to anti-globalisation protests; Lefebvre (1991:51) asks:

> Why do they allow themselves to be manipulated in ways so damaging to their spaces and their daily life without embarking on massive revolts? Why is protest left to 'enlightened', and hence elite, groups who are in any case largely exempt from these manipulations? Such elite circles, at the margins of political life, are highly vocal, but being mere wordmills, they have little to show for it... Has bureaucracy already achieved such power that no political force can successfully resist it?

In the *Production of Space* (1991: 26-27) Lefebvre asks some pertinent questions that are at the core of this thesis. He writes, "(social) space is a (social) product" and "if

space embodies social relationships, how and why does it do so? And what relationships are they?".

2.5.4 David Harvey: Social justice and the city

David Harvey's (1973) *Social Justice and the City* analysed spatial division and its articulation of the inequitable distribution of wealth in society. It signals the beginning of what has been commonly termed the Radical, neo-Marxist turn in Geographic discourse. It has been at the forefront of what is today a widespread discourse on gentrification and ghettoisation. It has also been a springboard for postmodern geographies. Much of Harvey's philosophy underpins this research. Harvey's work correlates very much in time and philosophy with the work of Henri Lefebvre. Harvey (1973: 303) uses his "conclusions and reflections" to link his work with that of Lefebvre:

> There are parallels between his concerns and mine and there are similarities in content (which is reassuring) and some differences in interpretation and emphasis (which is challenging). Lefebvre's work is more general than my own but it is also incomplete in certain important respects. Nevertheless, I feel more confident in appealing to both Lefebvre's work and the material collected in this volume, in attempting to fashion some general conclusions concerning the nature of urbanism.

Harvey (1973) more than Lefebvre and Foucault, explored the transformative rules in society through concrete examples and specific themes, most notably Baltimore and gentrification. In an interview in 2004, Harvey outlined the influences of the 1968 city riots upon his radical Marxist approach to Geography:

> I went to Baltimore in the wake of the '68 uprising, riots...around the death of Martin Luther King, and I was shocked at the conditions I found there. I was really, really shocked that in the wealthiest country in the world, people live in chronic impoverishment. I was really upset. So I started to participate much more in the political activism around that. Of course, the anti-war movement was in full swing, so I participated in that. At that time, I felt that the theoretical framework I had been using for my own work wasn't adequate for that political situation. I thought, "Well, we should read Marx, just for interest." Some of us sat down and read Marx, and I found it a very compelling framework within which I could formulate problems, think through things in terms of my intellectual work. It was also increasingly helpful politically. (http://globetrotter.berkeley.edu/people4/Harvey/harvey-con2.html)

Like Lefebvre, Harvey used a Marxist lens to explore how space was produced. Harvey expressed, more than Lefebvre, how "within the mode of production states of consciousness are produced". According to Harvey (1973: 295) the mode of

production is not arbitrary and has the ability to reconstitute society and thus can be seen as expressing "the social relationships existing in a particular historical period". For Harvey, this ability for fixed capital investment to reshape space and society, necessitates further state intervention in the public space of the market. In the Bush and Thatcher eras, the opposite occurred, where free-market economies resulted in simultaneous inner city restructuring and degradation in the late 1970s and 1980s.

Harvey's discourse is an in-depth discussion of Marxist political theory as a method of explicating the results of market forces on city restructuring. His discussion of this restructuring on a micro-scale has particular relevance for this thesis. For example, Harvey (1973: 81) describes the potential difficulties inherent in gentrification:

> Each group has its own perceived acting space, and conflict may arise...that heterogeneity in social and cultural values may make it impossible to get into a "valid" negotiating position. From this it follows that an urban system will be unable to function smoothly...if there is widespread heterogeneity in the social and cultural values of the population. To avoid quarrels over negative externalities...territoriality and "neighbourhood" organization on ethnic, class, social status, religious and other lines thus has an important role to play in minimizing conflict.

Harvey (1973: 91) discusses the necessity of strong community bonds to alleviate the 'deepening tensions' within cities but ethnic and kinship groupings are breaking down and traditional notions of "community" and "neighbourhood" are replaced by something rather different – a neighbourhood concept which is implicit rather than explicit with respect to social organization. The result of this breakdown in community results in heterotopia-like liminal zone creation i.e. juxtaposed but differentiated residential spaces, with possible adverse tensions between the groups. Harvey (1973: 84) argues:

> Low-income groups, for example, often identify very closely with their housing environment and the psychological cost of moving is to them far greater than it is to the mobile upper middle-class....By the constant rearrangement of stimuli in the urban system we are provoking a gradual process of cultural evolution – a-la Wirth – If we do this, we may see the emergence of new sets of cultural values...may lead to violent conflict....

One of the reasons expressed by Harvey (1973: 34) for the tension in heterogeneous space is the loss of one's etched out 'perceptual space', adding that: "Social space, is made up of a complex of individual feelings and images about and reactions towards the spatial symbolism which surrounds that individual". This supports Harvey's argument (and that of Tuan, 1974 and Kearns, 1994) that for the working class, space

matters and that there is less differentiation between the private public world, between front hall and street. Importantly, Harvey (1973: 32) writes that: "If (symbolic) space reflects existing social norms then we must seek to understand the message which people receive from their constructed environment.".

Harvey (1973: 84) describes the potential for this tension within heterogeneous cityspace to create geographies of exclusion: "Once cultural heterogeneity develops and social barriers to movement are imposed, cultural divergence may proceed apace within the city system" and furthermore, that isolation and ghettoisation might occur:

> We must relate social behaviour to the way in which a city assumes a certain geography, a certain spatial form. We must recognise that once a particular spatial form is created it tends to institutionalise and, in some respects, to determine the future development of social process". (Harvey, 1973: 27)

To counteract such ghetto formation, Harvey (1973: 136) believed that: "We may thus attribute the seriousness of the ghetto problem in modern society to a function of those institutions which prevent the achievement of equilibrium". Ultimately for Harvey, having experienced the nightmare that was parts of Baltimore post 1968:

> Our objective is to eliminate ghettos. Therefore, the only valid policy with respect to this objective is to eliminate the conditions which give rise to the truth of the theory....The simplest approach here is to eliminate those mechanisms which serve to generate the theory. The mechanism in this case is very simple – competitive bidding for the use of the land.... This is immediately suggestive of a policy for eliminating ghettos, which would presumably supplant competitive bidding with a socially controlled urban land market and socialized control of the housing sector.

For Harvey (1973: 143), ghetto formation or the placement of capital, industry and housing is dictated by the continuous need for capital accumulation. Such accumulation is cyclical in space i.e. suburbs are built to create wealth and when saturated, the marketing forces create a demand for inner city living which it will supply. His arguments can be directly related to the economic factors that have morphologised city space in Western cities such as the rejuvenation of dockland areas in Dublin and London. Much of these changes are glorified as great forms of 'renewal', 'development' and 'rejuvenation'. However, it would be wise to heed what Harvey expressed in 1973, "if we 'urban renew', we merely move the poverty around".

David Harvey (1973) challenges the borders between disciplines and the status quo of what is 'accepted' knowledge in his *Social Justice and the City*. He questions: "How and why should we bring about a revolution in geographic thought?". According to Harvey (1973: 128), one of the reasons knowledge was being challenged within the academy was because: "The quantitative revolution has run its course, and diminishing marginal returns are apparently setting in" adding (1973: 149):

> We have to think in non-or meta-disciplinary terms if we are to think academically about our problems at all. Genuine revolutionary formulations cannot have a specific disciplinary basis - they must be located with respect to all relevant aspects of material reality.

Harvey (1973: 149-150) does however illustrate the strength of the geographer and as such the strength of interdisciplinary studies when he continues:

> Geography has less of a problem than most in this regards since most geographers fortunately have little idea as to what geography is and are forced to make heavy use of other disciplines in the course of their work. However, all academics have to "untrain" themselves in some sense before they are really in a position to confront the realities around them in any direct way....My appeal for a revolution in geographic thought must therefore be interpreted as an appeal for a reformulation of geographic theory designed to "bring us up to date" with the realities we seek to understand.

2.6 The new postmodern geographies and third space

Steven Flusty (2005: 169), one of the most prominent postmodern geographers, writes that geographers have, at the heart of their work since the enlightenment, been engaged in the task of mapping the world, which by its very nature is giving a 'view point' based on certain values. Flusty (2005: 170) argues that the pre-eminence of such (moral / colonial) mapping and quantitative analysis', "presumptive facts and truths" silenced those on the margins, adding:

> Against this injustice, alternative geographical approaches were advanced that entailed shifts in the field's standpoints, foci, methods and even epistemologies, giving rise to Marxist critical geography, feminist geography, postcolonial geography and others. In the process, the status quo consensus over what geography was underwent deligimisation, and geography was pluralized: it had become geographies...Into this opening stepped postmodernism.

Postmodern urban spaces, such as Los Angeles, are characterised by residential and cultural dislocation, a multiplicity of life worlds juxtaposed in time and space. Researchers are faced with different challenges when analysing postmodern urban

spaces. Firstly, mapping this space is made difficult due to the fluidity of contemporary cityscapes. For example, land use patterns and residential demography can radically shift in a short time-span. Exploring the multiple forces which give rise to the postmodern urban condition is another challenge faced by researchers. Soja (1989: 234) writes that political and economic measures hold such polyneucleated cities together, while keeping people apart:

> Yet the centre holds. Even as some things fall apart, dissipate, new nodalities form and old ones are reinforced. The specifying centrifuge is always spinning but the centripetal force of nodality never disappears. And it is the persistent residual of political power which continues to precipitate, specify, and contextualise the urban...

Soja (1989: 234) partly bases his discourse on the control of space in L.A. on Foucault's discussion of space and power as related to Bentham's panoptical architecture:

> Simultaneously, this patterned differentiation, this immediate superstructure of the urban spatial division of labor, becomes a critical arena in which the human geography of the city is shaped, in which spatialization takes place. It maps out an urban cartography of power and political praxis that is often hidden in idiographic histories and geographies. (Soja, 1989: 239)

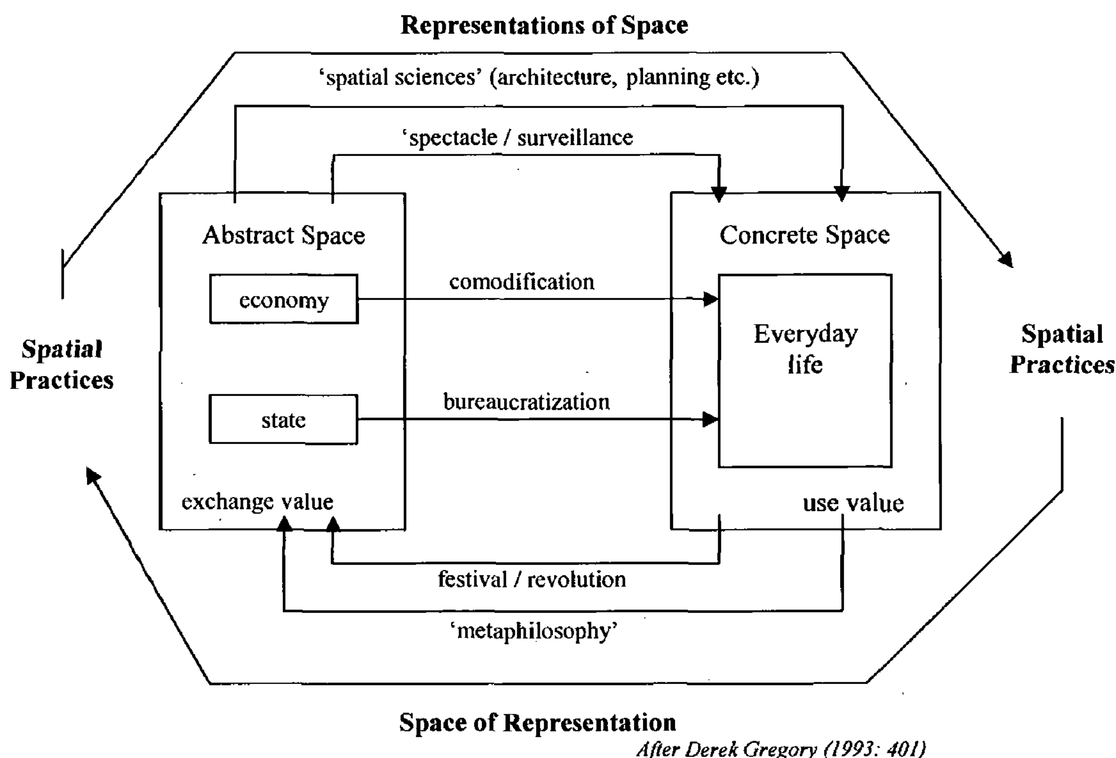
Using the language of Foucault, Soja (1989: 240) describes L.A. as: "A constellation of Foucauldian heterotopias 'capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces, several sites, that are in themselves incompatible' but 'function in relation to all the space that remains". It is this constellation of worlds that, according to Jameson (1998: 15) affects our cognition and makes it difficult to map:

> And I come to my principal point here, this latest mutation of space – postmodern hyperspace – has finally succeeded in transcending the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its position in a mappable external world. And I have already suggested that this alarming disjunction between the body and the built environment - which is to the initial bewilderment of the older modernism as the velocities of spacecraft are to those of the automobile – can itself stand as a symbol and analogue of that even sharper dilemma, which is the incapacity of our minds, at least at present, to map the greater global, multinational and decentred communicational network in which we find ourselves caught as individual subjects.

The California school's analysis of city space has attempted to include the mental or abstract space of lived or and functional spatial realities in their 'maps' of postmodern spaces.

Derek Gregory's Model of Spatial Practices and Representations of Space: "The Eye of Power"

Fig. 8



After Derek Gregory (1993: 401)

Derek Gregory (1993) in *Geographical Imaginations* describes and illustrates the new geographic models showing the relationship between abstract and concrete space: 'the colonization of concrete space'. His model shows the encroachment of physical and bureaucratic measures upon the mental and physical realm of everyday lived space. Furthermore, the model illustrates how the 'use value' of everyday life is commodified and re-enters everyday life with an exchange value. This is particularly the case regarding the comodification of sub-cultures, whereby underground movements in music from punk to rap or activities such as skateboarding or rollerblading are sanitised and standardised, and then 'placed' in dedicated city areas or zones for mainstream consumption under the 'safety' of surveillance cameras. Gregory named his model after Foucault's book title *The Eye of Power* (1972) Soja (1989: 63) maintains that the work of Gregory "and his students" 'recapture' the 'spatial analytics' of Michel Foucault with 'particular 'élan'.

The increasing popularity of the *City Reader* series (2002) and the recent publication of *Cultural Geography: A Critical Dictionary of Key Concepts* by David Atkinson et

al (2005) is testament to the strength and interest in the amalgamation of different conceptual and critical thinking that manifests itself around space. The editors write "we would rather think of the essays that make up this creative and fuzzily bounded collection of cultural geographies as open-ended and post-disciplinary" (Atkinson et al 2005: viii). Rather than being a dilution of ideas, such discourse has reinvigorated French philosophy and is a breeding ground for further theorising and practice in thinking about spatial production (Soja 1989, Harvey 1990). Simultaneously, it can narrow the boundaries between theory and reality and stretch the possibilities of discourse. Atkinson et al's (2000: viii) claim that post-disciplinarity is a strength rather than a weakness: "Given the ways that power is embedded throughout society, we suggest that, in their theoretical articulation and in their engagement with social relations and questions of human well-being, cultural geographies – above all else – must be critical". According to Homi Bhabha (1994: 1):

> What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the need to think beyond narratives of originary and initial subjectivities and to focus on those moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of cultural differences. These 'in-between' spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood – singular or communal – that initiate new signs of identity, and innovative sites of collaboration, and contestation, in the act of defining the idea of society itself.

2.6.1 Mapping difference & ethnicity in the city

What is of critical value from reading the work of Davis (2001) and Soja (1989) is seeing how their in-depth, painstaking, quantitative research is directly related (translated) to the realities of everyday life. Both, through comparative data analysis, illustrate how space is transformed by its uses over time. For example, Davis (2000: 49-59) compares residential and ethnic data on one neighbourhood and shows how, due to labour changes over time, the white population who worked in neighbourhoods where light industry was located, skilled-up and moved to areas where information technology jobs were located. The areas they vacated were then inhabited by the Asian, Black and Latino communities, sometimes in that hierarchal order, in what he terms 'ethnic succession':

> The spatial logic of this vast city-within-a-city, so mysterious on first examination, is easily revealed by overlaying a map of industrial land-use zoning. Latinos occupy almost all of Los Angeles and Orange County's traditional blue-collar housing tracts and suburbs.

Davis (2000: 115) illustrates how the median wage income in California in March 1998 was indicative of the working and educational divide in California: White: $27,000; Asian: $24,000; Black: $23,000 and Latino: $14,560. Latinos, he points out "are 28 percent of the labor force, but account for only 19 percent of the aggregate wage, and African-Americans, by contrast, were near parity for their share of the labor-force".

Davis (2001: 112) discusses the sociological effect of such statistics. For example, though the white population feel the increasing Latino population are 'taking their jobs': "Academic research, however, has found surprisingly little documentary evidence that immigrants are supplanting native-born workers". His work also indicates an ethnic hierarchy, spatially, academic achievement and in the work force. Accordingly, Davis (2001: 56) summarises: "Latino ethnic succession in Los Angeles is taking place primarily at the base on the post-Fordist occupational pyramid". In this case, the White middle classes reside in the globalised, post Fordist, postmodern world with its attendant work and life styles. The 'other' ethnic and racial groups who work in the service economy live according to different work and life styles. The end result is a postmodern heterotopic cityscape with different life worlds living co-terminously in segregated space. One interesting effect of the residential shifting that Davis describes is that it has effected electoral demographics, for example, red Republican zones in Southern California have changed into Asian/Latino majorities in the 1990s (Davis 2001: 54). According to Davis, the enforced codes of neighbourhood building and structure adversely affects inner city neighbourhoods:

> Their [Latinos] worst enemies include conventional zoning and building codes (abetted by mortgage lending practices) that afford every loophole to developers who air-drop over-sized, "instant slum" apartment complexes into formerly single-family neighbourhoods.

One factor that was introduced earlier in this discussion of Davis' work is the correlation between educational achievement and spatial, economic and political mobility. In a chapter titled "Education Ground Zero" Davis (2001: 131 –138) highlights the gross inequality in American education. He attributes the different drop out rates (Latino 30% versus 13% African-American and White 8%) to various factors both sociological and political:

> …nowhere has white disinvestment in urban schools produced more calamitous results. Between 1970 and 1997, as the school population shifted from an Anglo majority to a

Latino plurality, spending per pupil in California fell more than 15 percent relative to spending in the rest of the country. As long as the majority of the baby boom were still of school age, California's public schools were the gold standard for the rest of the country.
One of the challenges for schools is language.

A lack of bi-lingual education is, writes Davis (2001: 137), a major contributing factor for school drop out as well as the need for young teenagers to supplement their parents income to maintain the household. Another cause for under achievement, apart from gross under funding, is the difficulty of attracting qualified teachers:

> Students who score in the bottom quartile of reading achievement in third grade are five times as likely as students scoring in the top quartile to have underqualified teachers. These are the students who, if they don't learn to read soon, will be unable to perform well in any subject area.

Davis (2001: 137), pointing out the difference in teaching standards between urban and rural and between white and Latino schools, states that the "principle of a common education has become a bad joke". He also notes that Latinos with high educational achievement are discriminated against in the market place (2001: 131). Davis illustrates multiple positive features of Latino immigration. He writes that Latino immigration "is now a dynamo turning the lights back on in the dead spaces of North America cities" and in the process increasing capital into once run-down economies. One of the important aspects of Davis' work (2001: 49-59) is a description of the cultural capital that immigrants bring to their host environments, something that is not easily measured in a census. He cites the development of areas in New York and also examines Pilsen, Chicago.

Pilsen is a predominantly Mexican neighbourhood in Chicago and the location of the significant Mexican Fine Art Museum. Pilsen has maintained its existence 'within' Chicago, separate but a part of it. The strength of its communal identity and well being increasingly draws members from different communities in Chicago to its restaurants and lively community-neighbourhood atmosphere. Importantly, it has also created political awareness, particularly of encroaching gentrification, in the community.

Political Mural in Pilsen, Chicago

plate 4

Jose Clemente Orozco School Mosaic, Pilsen, Chicago

plate 5

Plate 4 is a montage of photographs taken by this researcher in 2004 of a mural centrally located in Pilsen. The mural shows important messages that can be 'read' by the local residents such as the importance of heritage, family and education. It is also political, highlighting the residents' objection to tax incentives, which attract gentrifiers towards Pilsen.

The area does not isolate itself from Chicago or American culture, but embraces Mexican heritage as well as some things American. This is exemplified in the mosaic on the Jose Clemente Orozco Middle School in Pilsen, which has both the American and Mexican flags flying outside. The mosaic highlighted on the left of the montage, plate 5 and below in plate 6 is an adaptation from Diego Rivera's *Dream of a Sunday Afternoon in the Almaeda*. In Rivera's mural, his wife, the celebrated Mexican painter Frida Kahlo is standing beside a young boy and a dressed skeletal figure representative of the 'day of the dead'. In the adapted mosaic, instead of Kahlo, the boy and the skeleton standing in the 'Alameda' in Mexico they are standing at the 18th Street 'El' train stop in Pilsen. Furthermore, the boy in the adapted mural is wearing a baseball uniform. His clothes and physical geography have changed, signifying a cultural adaptation or hybridity. This illustrates to the children and local population that their Mexican past need not be neglected or forgotten. The photograph of the school was taken in March 2004; plate 5 shows a window with what appear to be Irish shamrocks, most likely in celebration of St. Patrick's Day.

Chicago School Mosaic Adapted from a Diego Rivera Mural

plate 6

Bhabha (1994: 7), in writing about the past-present continuum argues that art occupies an interstitial cultural space between old and new:

> The borderline work of culture demands an encounter with 'newness' that is not part of the continuum of past and present. It creates a sense of the new as an insurgent act of cultural translation. Such art does not merely recall the past as social cause or aesthetic

precedent; it renews the past, refiguring it as a contingent 'in-between' space, that innovates and interrupts the performance of the present. The past-present becomes part of the necessity, not the nostalgia, of living.

Importantly, Davis (2001: 50) makes clear distinctions between immigration patterns and their effects in different US cities, contrasting Chicago and particularly New York's interculturalism and integration with L.A.'s multi ethnic / cultural segregation. Davis proposes a "typology of Latino urban areas":

1	Primate barrio with small satellites	Los Angeles 1960
2	Polycentric barrios	Chicago 1990
3	Multicultural mosaic	New York 1990
4	City-within-a city	Los Angeles 1990

According to Davis, the residential pattern of L.A. is vastly different in scope and scale to that in other US cities, primarily with its high degree of segregated spaces. Whereas New York is an amalgam of multi-ethnic "neighbourhoods", the hope of any informal contact between ethnic and class groups in public space in L.A. is severely limited. He argues that public space has become militarised and privatised leading to the creation of what he calls the 'third border' (2001: 69-76).

Davis explores the increasing popularity of Latin American culture amongst the white middle class. However, while this is a positive embracing of Latino culture, it does not translate into a spatial mixing of ethnic or social classes. This lack of mixing is indicative of the tension and fear and resulting racism. Davis (2001: 83) writes that whites fear the "brown peril" or the "invasion of California", exacerbated by "sleaze talk-shows". Davis also describes the tensions between different ethnic groups and how they can manifest themselves in gang violence. He particularly outlines these ethnic / social and spatial divisions in his (2002) *Dead Cities*. He writes (2002) in a sub-section titled "Ultimate Urban Hell", how 22 year old Latino Oscar Treviso travelled back to a black neighbourhood in which his family had once lived, before it became a predominantly black neighbourhood. He was meeting an old friend:

> According to an eye-witness, he smiled as two young African-American men (later identified by police as members of Avenue 20s Bloods) approached the bus bench. One of them quietly ordered Oscar's companion to move aside. Then, without further warning, the other emptied a .22 automatic into Oscar's chest and abdomen. (Davis, 2002: 285-286)

Many people from different communities and ethnicities attended the funeral, Davis points out that that they were not only paying their last respects to Oscar, but to the old sense of inter-ethnic community. Davis (2002: 286) writes that inner-city graveyards are full of such innocent slaughter due to gang violence adding, "nearly 10,000 infants, kids, teenagers, and young adults have been slaughtered in Los Angeles County since Oscar entered Kindergarten in 1976".

2.6.2 Hybrid space / hybrid culture

Multi-ethnic residential spaces create hybrid cultural spaces, in what postcolonial, cultural geographers and philosophers have increasingly labelled third space (Bhabha 1994; Soja 1996). Third space becomes more than spaces that create melting pots but spaces that engender cultural hybridity. Bhabha (1996: 218) writes that "the non-synchronous temporality of global and national cultures opens up a cultural space - a third space - where the negotiation of incommensurable differences creates a tension peculiar to borderline existences...". Said (2000: xiv) in *Reflections on Exile*, claims that immigration not only creates cultural diversity, but changes the very nature or 'topography' of cities:

> The single fact of the past three decades has been, I believe, the vast human migration attendant upon war, colonialism and decolonisation, economic and political revolution, and such devastating occurrences as famine, ethnic cleansing, and great power machinations"... in a place like New York, but surely in other Western metropoles like London, Paris, Stockholm, and Berlin, all these things are reflected immediately in the changes that transform neighbourhoods, professions, cultural production, and topography on an almost hour-by-hour basis. Exiles, émigrés, refugees, and expatriates uprooted from their lands must make do in new surroundings.

In a similar vein to the postmodern discourse above, bell hooks' discourse on identity and positionality is based on an aim of re-centering the periphery or margins. Similar to the philosophy underpinning Freire's work ([1970] 1996) and the feminist and black power movements, hooks believes that this repositioning can occur through self-awareness of those on the periphery. This results in the periphery being a centre of strength, not a periphery in opposition to a supposed centre. The centre of political power and cultural identity cannot hold against the realities of a growing peripheral force. Bhabha (1990: 209) writes:

> ...we really do need the notion of a politics which is based on unequal, uneven, multiple and potentially antagonist, political identities....what is at issue is a historical

moment in which these multiple identities do actually articulate in challenging ways, either positively or negatively, either in progressive or regressive ways, often conflictually, sometimes even incommensurably.

Acording to Bhabha (1994: 4), "the interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibility of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy". Like Boal (1993) and Freire ([1970] 1996) as well as the politics of the Birmingham School and its focus on 'resistance through rituals', Bhabha writes that (1994: 20-21):

> Forms of popular rebellion and mobilization are often more subversive and transgressive when they are created through oppositional cultural practices...I want to take my stand on the shifting margins of cultural displacement – that confounds any profound or 'authentic' sense of a 'national' culture or an 'organic' intellectual – and ask what the function of a committed theoretical perspective might be, once the cultural and historical hybridity of the postcolonial world is taken as the paradigmatic place of departure.

As discussed by hooks and Bhabha, sub-cultures on the margins influence and can radically alter the centre stage. What was once marginal can become the middle ground of cultural norms.

2.7 Gentrification

An exploration of the effects of migrations on Western metropoles has progressed some of the geographic thinking on the nature of urban living. An investigation into the effects of the post-colonialisation of cities in England i.e. the arrival of nationals from colonised countries to England furthered the work established within the Birmingham school and increased discourse on identity politics in British society. Much of this transformation process of London was discussed in Jonathan Raban's (1974) *Soft City*; which Harvey (1990) cites as being one of the first postmodern texts.

Raban's (1974) work articulates the ability of a city to morphologise both physically and socio-culturally. He describes the process whereby middle class professionals began to relocate themselves from the suburbs into the city's squares. This relocation was, by and large, into houses that had already been sub-divided and let to immigrants, artists, students and poorer working class populations. In this case, the relocation of one sub-population led to the dislocation of several sub-populations due to what Harvey (1973) calls 'competitive bidding'. In essence, Raban was outlining

what in 1965 Ruth Glass had labelled 'Gentrification'. Raban (1974: 86-90) describes the gentrification process and its effects thus:

> The burrowing out of new postal districts inside the city is like a drive into a new frontier. Like a frontier, it produces edgy and painful encounters with the indigenous population (the sitting tenants, some of whom are immigrants, some cockneys), who are alternately harassed with eviction notices and raised rents, and romanticised, like Fennimore Cooper Indians, as real people....Significantly, London is unique amongst capital cities in that its middleclass regard it as a right to live in a whole house and not in an apartment....Their crescents and squares are turning into one-class communities of neighbours....There is always the opportunity given money and property, to create your own society, to choose a locality and turn it into a village of friends...community is becoming an increasingly expensive commodity.

He adds that much of this transformation of mindset about city living by the middle classes was due to the advertising of urban space as a form of cultural capital, thus showing the strength of property-led investment and advertising.

2.7.1 Gentrification and 'culturfication': a case study

Neil Smith's (1996) *The New Urban Frontier: Gentrification and the Revanchist City* pays particular attention to the interplay between cultural production and gentrification. His work develops many of the themes in Harvey's work, but has a particularly sharp focus on gentrification and the reconfiguration and meaning of inner city spaces. The range of Smith's analysis is of particular benefit because it primarily coalesces different geographical scales and theoretical lenses upon one spatial unit, Tompkins Square in New York's Lower East Side.

Matching Smith's insight into the role that the global economy plays on the changing geographies of inner cities is his insight into the drastic effects gentrification has on small, inner city communities. It is at this cross roads of analysis that Smith's academic and social praxis bears most weight with regard to the creation of social policy in the city. Smith (1996: 199) describes the Lower East Side of New York in the 1980s as:

> ...socially even more than physically crazy quilt of yuppies and punk culture, Polish and Puerto Rican resident, Ukrainian and African-American working class, quiche and fern restaurants and homeless shelters, surviving ethnic churches and burned-out buildings...it was once the pre-eminent reception community for European immigrants.

In 1988, the ten acre Tompkins Park had many uses: a play area for local families and a setting for many chess games played by local Ukrainian men during the day and at night a place for drug addicts, a teenage hang out, and 'home' to fifty 'homeless' people. After protests over enforced evictions in 1988, the Park by 1991 had become a politicised 'shanty' of 300 homeless people. It was, according to Smith (1996: 223), "workplace and playspace, living room and bathroom for hundreds of people daily".

During this period, investors and 'art world gentrifiers' re-labelled the area the 'East Village'. The reason for this re-labelling of the area was, according to Smith (1996: 8), to "distance themselves from the historical association with the poor immigrants who dominated this community at the turn of the century". Smith (1996: 198) quotes one art critic who expressed the opinion that, "the East Village or the Lower East Side is more than a geographical location – it is a state of mind". Smith (1996: 9) also quotes Carr who claimed that this battle was, "the place for one last metaphorical stand" against gentrification.

Smith argues that the business community hold all of the power over the production of space in New York City to the extent that politicians serve the business interest rather than that of the public. To this end, Smith (1996: 3) argues that the city on behalf of big business was "seeking to tame and domesticate the park to facilitate the already rampant gentrification on the Lower East Side". Smith (1996: 6) summarises the history and symbolism of Tompkins Square:

> ...a symbol of a new urbanism being etched on the urban "frontier." Largely abandoned to the working class amid postwar suburban expansion, relinquished to the poor and unemployed as reservations for racial and ethnic minorities, the terrain of the inner city is suddenly valuable again, perversely profitable. This new urbanism embodies a widespread and drastic repolarization of the city along political, economic, cultural and geographical lines since the 1970s, and is integral with larger global shifts.

Tompkins Square, having undergone a period of active disinvestment, became a prime location for reinvestment, or 'flipping' in the 1980s. Smith describes the arrival of art galleries and the culture industry in the Lower East Side or East Village as the vanguard to gentrification, "art tamed the neighbourhood...rising from low brow to high brow" (Smith, 1996: 19). The arrival of an urban avante garde turned Tompkins Square from urban decay to urban chic, or from fashionably 'out' to fashionably 'in'. According to Smith (1996: 229) the area's new "estheticization" was labelled by some

as the "shining emerald", its makeover or "fashion rehab", aided by the opening of twenty-five new shops the year after the park was reopened. As a result of this renewal, Smith (1996: 23) describes how rents increased and social polarisation ensued:

> Whatever else is revitalized, the profit rate in gentrifying neighbourhoods is revitalized; indeed many working class neighbourhoods experience a dramatic "devitalization" as incoming yuppies erect metal bars on their doors and windows, disavow the streets for parlour living, fence off their stoops, and evict undesirables from "their" parks.

What is paradoxical in the transformation process of Tompkins Square is that gentrifiers were buying into the cosmopolitanism of the Lower East Side of Manhattan. Smith quotes from Moufarrege (1982, 1984) who believed that the gentrifiers were, "captivated by the liveliness of ghetto culture". Gallery art itself was tapping into and using what McCormack (1984) called the area's "savage energy". Smith refers to Deutsche and Ryan's 1984 'classic article', "The Fine art of Gentrification" which argued:

> The unprecedented comodification of art in the 1980s engendered an equally ubiquitous aestheticisation of culture and politics: graffiti came off the trains and into the galleries, while the most outrageous punk and new-wave styles moved rapidly from the streets to full-page advertisements in the *New York Times* (19).

Smith (1996: 19) outlines the artistic counter-political or anti gentrification movement that established itself in opposition to Gentrification:

> Following the Tompkins Square riot...there was a flourishing of political art aimed squarely at gentrification....Some artists were also squatters and housing activists, and a lot of subversive art was displayed as posters, sculpture and graffiti in the streets or in more marginal gallery spaces.

The social and cultural morphology of the Lower East Side was not an ad hoc arrangement. Smith illustrates how gentrification does not happen organically (by accident) but by design. In terms of the East Village, he reports: "It is widely speculated that landlords...offered artificially low rents in the early 1980s in order to attract galleries and artists whose presence would hype the area and hike rents" (Smith, 1996: 19), thus signalling what he called the 'marriage of convenience between art and real estate' i.e. 'culturification' is a tool used by property developers to engender gentrification.

Section Two: Micro or View from Below

2.8 *Introduction*

Michel de Certeau begins his chapter "Walking in the City" (1984: 91) in his *The Practice of Everyday Life* from atop the Twin Towers of lower Manhattan. He describes: "A wave of verticals...[where] the gigantic mass is immobilized before the eyes". This view, he claims, is the privileged view of the urban planner and bureaucrat. Ben Highmore (2005: 3) writes:

> The view from above (from the top of a Ferris wheel or tower) has been associated with the planner's perspective, privileging the demands of a generalised urbanism over the lives and needs of the city's inhabitants. This is the perspective of military geographers, city surveyors, planners; those social philosopher Henri Lefebvre called, 'technocratic subdividers and social engineers'. From here it easy to turn people into numbers, to imagine decisive solutions for complexly experienced problems.

According to de Certeau (1984: 96), there is a different method to viewing everyday life, other than that of the view from above. One can "try another path: one can analyse the microbe-like, singular and plural practices" of the everyday "which an urbanistic system was supposed to administer or suppress". Simmel ([1903] 1950) argued that social science tended to view social life macroscopically and called his scientific views of everyday life a 'microscopy', which consisted of 'fragments', 'elements' and 'cells'.

Harvey (1990) fears dislocated postmodern critiques of society, through their singular focus, might lose sight of overarching societal power imbalances and their causes. This criticism of what might be called a fetishisation of sub-cultures has been aimed at the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS). However, theorists of everyday life and, in particular the CCCS, argue that the aim of their methodologies is based on identifying and observing 'resistance through ritual' by sub groups which do, in fact, highlight the imbalance of power and unequal distribution of wealth in society (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Cohen 1980, Hall, 1996). By following de Certeau's advice and threading everyday paths and spatial repertoires, cultural practices become visible. Such spatial repertoires were labelled 'maps of meaning' by the CCCS, which they argued could be seen in a neo-Gramscian mode as being counter-hegemonic processes (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). Sibley (1995: x) writes:

> The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion...Because power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the relation of weaker groups in society to less desirable environments, any text on the social geography of advanced capitalism should be concerned with the question of exclusion...Human geography, in particular, should be concerned with raising consciousness of the domination of space in its critique of hegemonic culture.

It is not an aim of this literature review to posit a dichotomy between the macro and micro investigations into the production of space. They can provide distinctly different methodologies of viewing or reading space, but they can also be interconnected, as in Smith's (1996) discussion of gentrification. The view from below can be partly understood to be an assessment of the consequences of the dictats from above, those macro political, socioeconomic and spatial (urban planning) policies. In the case of this thesis, the benefits of mapping the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin from above is greatly enhanced by an observation from below, that being an investigation into the qualitative reasons for and effects of asylum seeker clustering in identified locales. Lefebvre (1996) argues that theories of the everyday need a kind of praxis between theory and every day practice. The literature reviewed in this section represents this praxis; i.e. different methodologies or ways of understanding (seeing and reading) everyday life, of making sense out of a seemingly unregulated city life.

2.9 Modernity and everyday life: puzzling the city montage

The Modern city was labelled a machine or labyrinth and increasingly different methodologies were called for to understand and order the disorder. Artists and intellectuals, from Picasso to Joyce tried to create new modes of seeing and representing urban living. They attempted to make sense out of what Raban (1974) called the city's 'honeycombed networks'; Jencks (1995) labelled the modernist and *flâneur*-like reading of the city as 'minotaurial geography'.

Modern art could also be labelled cognitive and conceptual art in terms of its radical juxtapositions of time and objects in space. In terms of literature, authors 'cut and paste' the protagonist's personalised places into a spatial narrative or 'maps of meaning'. They were representative of how the individual constructed his or her

mental representations of space, time and narrative. They were dream-like phantasmagoria juxtaposed with fact resulting in a form of surrealist-like montage. These emerging art forms demanded new analytical and theoretical lenses to critique them. This analysis did not simply represent a search for metaphors to describe emerging genres of work, but ways of understanding ever-changing societies (Crang, 1988; Highmore, 2005). Highmore (2002: 120) paraphrasing from Lefebvre's *Critique of Everyday Life* claimed that for Lefebvre:

> ...the study of everyday life is a study of alienation under conditions of modernity, but that the transformation of everyday life will be brought about by de-alienation of human beings and the creation of the total person, and that can be seen as an 'end of history'.

Modernist art was heavily influenced by the work of Freud. Highmore writes (2002: 5-12): "It is the ability of 'making strange' within a culture of rationalism and of finding the strange within everyday life" that became central to a psychoanalytical approach to analysing the everyday. The psychoanalytic approach is connected with a Marxist critique of the commodification of product "which disguises human social relationships in the fantastic form of a relationship between things". Many theorists, dating back to Tönnies, argued that peoples' relationships with commodities overwhelmed their relationship with people, leading to the cold, contractual nature of cities.

Highmore in *Everyday Life and Culture Theory* (2002) argues modernity led to the synchronising of watches in industrial countries (also discussed by Lash and Urry 1994: 224-251). Highmore argues from a Marxist perspective, referring to the work of Biernacki (1994: 62) that 'this was to ensure the efficiency of the production and transport of goods'. Lefebvre (1974) saw modernity as orchestrating the rhythm of people's daily lives through modes of production and commodity consumption and Foucault (1991) and de Certeau (1984) equated cities to 'functional' machines. Thus, Highmore in a Foucauldian fashion is illustrating how the institutionalisation of time and its administration filters into the everyday, from the regimentation of church, school, hospitals and finally the home. Lefebvre (1985) and Foucault (1991) believed that such administration of daily life illustrated the connectedness between rules of daily life and rituals of daily life, or the connectedness between viewing from above and below.

2.10 Semiotics and the city: city as iconographic text

Literature is increasingly being used as a starting point in the discussion of the break from historical-based cultural and societal analysis to that of an analysis which values the spatial in the contemporary geographic and 'cultural turn'. Hall (1998) as outlined above as well as Highmore (2005) and Jencks (1995) argue that the turning by cultural geographers and cultural theorists, particularly the Birmingham School, towards the humanities rather than the sciences increased the pace at which landscape was interpreted as text. Crang (1998: 57) in *Cultural Geography* writes:

> Literary landscapes are best thought of as a combination of literature and landscape, not with literature as a separate lens or mirror reflecting or distorting an outside world...to say it is subjective is to miss a key point. It is a social product...the ideologies and beliefs of peoples and epochs both shape and are shaped by these texts....Here we may ask whether geographical accounts are so different from literature. We should not see geography and literature as two different orders of knowledge (one imaginative and one factual) but rather as a field of textual genres, in order to highlight both the 'worldliness of literary texts and the imaginativeness of geographical texts' (Daniels and Rycoft 1993: 461).

Inter-disciplinary and postmodern anthologies focusing on cities from geographical, anthropological and cultural studies perspectives increasingly include essays on literature and particularly literary theory (e.g. Barthes, Eco), which use semiology as a tool for reading and interpreting cities (Docherty 1993; Bridge and Watson 2000, 2002; Dear, 2000; Dear and Flusty 2002). Sibley (1995: xv) in *Geographies of Exclusion* writes that the "oddness of the ordinary which is examined microscopically by authors and playwrights from Jane Austen to Mike Leigh, has been neglected in social geography, and one of the purposes of this book is to rectify this omission".

This legibility of the city concerns the work of semiology in the humanities and social sciences whereby cities are understood as existing within conurbations of vast and varied symbols (text and visual images) and iconography (architecture, statues and monuments), what Flusty (2005: 172) called the postmodern 'flotilla of signs'. Tim Hall (1998: 28) in *Urban Geography* writes that since the 1980s, the 'new cultural Geography' has (quoting from Dennis Cosgrove, 1999) "derived as much, if not more from humanities as social sciences". Hall adds (1998: 28):

> This is apparent in the metaphors that describe their endeavour, referring, as they do, to the city as 'text' and of their approach as 'reading' the landscape. There have been various frameworks put forward to deconstruct or 'unpack' the meanings inscribed in or attached to

urban spaces. Despite their differences these frameworks are all described as being broadly 'semiotic'.

Yvonne Whelan (2003) describes the important historical and everyday symbolic meaning or 'complex iconography' of place names and monuments throughout Dublin's history. Just as de Certeau (1984: 93) writes of the "clear text of the planned and readable city", Whelan discusses Dublin's "symbolic text scripted" prior and post 1922. Whelan (2003: 94-107 and 218-225) extensively lists Dublin's street name changes, the removal of statues and monuments following post independence and the statues erected between 1922 and 1966. Whilst Tuan (1974: 688) writes that: "Naming is power", Cresswell's (2004: 85) *Place: a short introduction* discusses the importance of 'inscribing memory in place':

> Monuments, museums, the preservation of particular buildings (and not others), plaques, inscriptions and the promotion of whole neighbourhoods as 'heritage zones' are all examples of placing of memory....The connection between place and memory and the contested nature of this connection has been the object of considerable enquiry by geographers recently and promises to be a major component of geographical research in the future (Johnson 1994, 1996; Till 1999; Hoskins forthcoming; Desforges and Maddern forthcoming).

Fredric Jameson (1998: 13) used a reading of architecture ('archi-semiotics') to develop his analysis turn of postmodernism or the period of 'Late Capitalism':

> We know that in any case recent architectural theory has begun to borrow from narrative analysis in other fields, and to attempt to see our physical trajectories through such buildings [like the Bonaventure hotel] as virtual narratives or stories, as dynamic paths and narrative paradigms which we as visitors are asked to fulfil and to complete with our own bodies and movement.

According to de Certeau (1984: 93) there is an illegible city and a legible city, a "clear text of the planned and readable city". The legible city, with its 'geometric space', can be read and mapped due to its construction by urbanists and architects. For de Certeau , this city is a 'Construct-city', a panoptic machine assigned an official or 'proper meaning' in line with literary formalism. The style of this formalism is strictly governed, its paragraphs are Bentham-like grids on a map. Its spatial syntax creates particular meanings, dictating a linear and controlled flow of reading and interpretation. Its words are its controlled population. Paradoxically, the illegible city is populated by the same words or people, but their movement around the page creates a form of urban dyslexia or a form of geographic poetry:

> The long poem of walking manipulates spatial organizations, no matter how panoptic they may be....The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story...shaped out of fragments of trajectories and alterations of spaces (de Certeau 1984: 93-101).

This notion is similar to the modernist writers changing of syntax and the collaged artwork of the cubists and other movements in art. De Certeau (1984: 101) refers to the fluid city as a "modern-art of every day expression".

While buildings can be read as iconographic texts, one's journeys or spatial repertoires can also be mapped as a form of text. In this sense, Raban (1974: 13,94) writes: "The city...decide what it is, and your own identity will be revealed, like a position on a map fixed by triangulation....One man's city is the sum of all the routes he takes through it, a spoor as unique as a fingerprint". Linked to a Freudian or personalised view of, and relationship with space, is the role of memory in cognitive mapping. Time is bent by use of semiotic juxtapositions of buildings and places with memory. Highmore (2005) in his *Cityscapes: Cultural Readings in the Material and Symbolic City* discusses the relationship between the appearances of the old city within the new city with reference to the work of Freud:

> A city (usually Rome), built on the ruins of its past, with history accumulating but not quite adding up, is a constant analogy for the unconscious in Freud. (For Freud, it also continually falls short of fully articulating the conception of psychic space that he is trying to describe.) Ruins, monuments and urban architecture point to an environment where the past remains in the present as a reminder of violence and destruction. Ruins, because they are fragments of the past, physical debris cluttering up the present, make the actuality of urban culture vividly evident; here the past haunts the present. And just as psychoanalysis is dedicated to uncovering the power of the past as it acts on the lives of the present, so a study of urban culture must look to history to understand the power of an urban imagery. Cities as bodies, the disembodied perspective, and the metaphorics of underground spaces exist like debris in the present. In this sense all cities are haunted; they are the ghostly accumulations of past lives, past cities.

The different meanings humans attribute to certain places and spaces over time results in the ability to read a city as a palimpsest. According to Crang (1998: 25) in *Cultural Geography*, "we might see an analogy with a culture inscribing itself on an area to suggest the landscape as the sum of erasures, accretions, anomalies and redundancies over time". Calvino (1997:30) in his *Invisible Cities* writes: "Sometimes different cities follow one another on the same site under the same name, born and dying without knowing themselves". Amin and Thrift (2002: 22) call this 'method' of

reading the city "Urban Footprints" in the mould of the 'urban signature' tradition. They argue that "the temporal and porosity of the city also opens it to footprints from the past and contemporary links elsewhere". They refer to Doreen Massey's (1999: 100) description of "how in Mexico City the Square of the Three Cultures juxtaposes the ruins of an Aztec pyramid a baroque Roman Catholic Church, and contemporary buildings in the International style". In this sense cities can be physically layered on top of each other and also culturally layered so that the influence of past cultures upon the present is revealed. In his *Invisible Cities*, Calvino (1997: 10-11) describes the fictional city of Zaira, a Roman-a-Clef for Venice. He describes the hidden history or archaeology of cities:

> The city does not consist of this, but of relationships between the measurements of its space and the events of it's past...As this wave from memories flows in, the city soaks it up like a sponge and expands. A description of Zaira as it is today should contain all Zaira's past. The city, however, does not tell its past, but contains it like the lines of a hand...every segment marked in turn with scratches, indentations, scrolls.

Michael Cronin's (2003: 15) *Time Tracks* outlines the temporal references and meanings attached to everyday practice: "Tea and biscuits, this indeed is where the Remembrance of Things Past might begin, in the pockets of detail, the crumbs from our tables, the touchstones of memory". Cronin's (2003: 34) use of the semiotics of a bus number illustrates how a sign can send one back in time to re-live in the present that past memory:

> From 49A to 15B. From 15B to 16. From 16 to 7 and 8. From 7 and 8 to 3. From 3 to 7 and 8 again. And then on to 11 and 13 and 19A. This is the life the numbers came up with – the map of a life lived above ground in the city. The timetable, a curriculum vitae.

This Proustian CV forms a spatio-temporal cognitive narrative, visual codes based on present structures and past events. As such, it is dual-locational in time and space, a palimpsest upon which one accumulates experience. Amin and Thrift (2002: 25) write, "people and places script each other". Cresswell (2004: 98) writes: "Naming in particular can draw attention to places and locate them in wider cultural narratives". Whilst this takes place at a macro level, it can also take place at the micro level i.e. by sub-groups 'naming and claiming' turf (Jacobs [1961] 1992). Plate 5, 6, 7 in the first section of this chapter illustrated the positive and educational value street art (murals) plays in ethnic communities.

According to theorists such as Jackson (1989); Shields (1991); Cresswell (1996); Jenkins (1997) and Jenks (2005) culture is expressed spatially in cities and, as a result, cities become intricate hierarchies of space: where to eat, sleep and play and, by definition, where not to eat, sleep, and play. Other theorists such as Geertz (1973); Goffman (1971 b); argue that the city is also a hierarchy of style: how to dress, walk and look. Many of these theorists, in particular Sennett (1974), relate much of this everyday movement in the city to an individual's ability to 'act'; to assume a role that signifies a particular status. In his chapter "Moving/Performing" Edensor (2000:121) in *City Visions* writes, "body posture and physical movement through space can be considered a choreographed form of performance whereby bodies communicate meaning through stylized movements and stances". In paraphrasing Desmond, Edensor (2000:121) writes:

> Thus, social identities are 'signalled, formed and negotiated through bodily movement', through rhythms and gestures act as markers for gender, racial, ethnic, class, and subcultural allegiances. These culturally coded patterns of behaviour, grounded in habitus and the dispositions that evolve around class, gender and ethnicity produce distinctive gaits, ways of speaking, dress and demeanour which articulate shared forms of understanding.

For an immigrant new to a city, some cultural codes or places where cultural activities 'take place' are not as clearly signposted as the streets that comprise the host culture (Shields, 1991). In this sense, for example, an immigrant's reading of Dublin city will be different to Cronin's. Regarding immigrants arriving in a city, Raban (1974: 47 - 51) writes, "you become a walking legible code, to be read, and as often misinterpreted, by strangers...a coat stand of symbols". In a similar fashion, Hertmans (2001: 11) writes, "the city is a contemporary catwalk". Depending on one's temporal references, signposts signify different realities as does the language used – the words, syntax, and inflection. Raban (1974: 47) writes, the 'greenhorn' "finds himself in a world of symbols and signals, every one arcane". In a link to Freud, he also observes: "We [the host society] relish his loss, his poignant sense of displacement. For he is the past we have somehow survived: and he may tell us, in innocence or naïve imitation, who we are now, because our present is his future". The result for the immigrant, writes Raban (1974: 56-57), is to try and 'fit in', to 'people his own tribe' i.e. to create a community or to remain isolated, cut off from society:

> In institutions and other small closed societies, such rites are organised by the elders, who then confer badges of identity on the successful entrant....Society at large leaves him in no doubt that he is an initiate; he is deluged with jokes, stories, and warnings that perpetually

remind him of his un-blooded status....Like so many things in the cities, the test, and the subsequent granting of honours, happens inside the head. Some urban immigrants, with the mentality of the ghetto ingrained into them, never take it, never pass; they live in the city, decade after decade, nourishing the culture of the home-country in the unlikely soil of a cold-water float in a tenement block....Like Yeats creating the Isle of Innisfree out of the autochthonous rumble of Charing Cross, they press the soft city into the rural mould of nostalgic dream life.

2.11 Invisible and private communities and the death of public domain?

Raban (1974) suggests, it is easy for individuals such as an immigrant to be cast adrift without coordinates in the city. However, as Stanley Lieberson (1980); Rex and Moore (1974), Smith (1996), Davis (2001) and Betancur (2002) argue, immigrants create a home away from home by clustering in residential locales, resulting in the creation of sub-communities or micro-societies. Some communities, however, as discussed by Raban (1974), Mitchell (2005) and Amin and Thrift (2002) are invisible, for they take place in certain venues at particular times, ranging for example from cooking classes and AA meetings to folk music evenings. For the newcomer to the city, such invisible communities can be difficult to locate and to join. For example, they could be exclusive and or have expensive fees and costs. Raban (1974: 120) writes: "I live in a community whose members are scattered and the telephone is the link" and describes the temporariness and invisibility of city communities:

> The possessive hunch over the table of people making a close, improvised temporary community in the middle of a city of strangers. Communities like this, which come to life around an idea, are constantly dissolving; they are not fixed in place or time, although membership of them is a permanently defining feature of one's identity. A large city is a honeycomb of such groups.

Theorists such as Jameson (1998) and Dear (2000) argue that such invisibility of place (communities) and city living constitute the postmodern city, a result being the creation of carceral cityscapes (Davis 1998, 2000) and to some extent the death of the public realm and role in city living (Sennett 1974; Virilio 1991).

According to Sennett (1974: xx) the impact of industrial capitalism in the nineteenth century made public life "more intense and less sociable...[and] marks the disastrous triumph of individual personality over class in the political realm". He then argues that cosmopolitanism has been replaced by what Marx called 'comodification

fetishism'. Sennett (1974: 14) claims that the skyscraper rendered 'street level as dead space'; so too, the speed of movement and reliance on private transport: "The public space has become a derivative of movement". He therefore posits (260-263):

> ...as a result of the immense fear of public life which gripped the last century, there results today a weakened sense of human will....The very fear of impersonality which governs modern society prompts people to envision community on an ever more restricted scale. If the self is narrowed to intentions, the sharing of this self is now narrowed to exclude those who are much different in terms of class, politics, or style.

The argument that consumer society has negatively affected public responsibility is indicative of postmodern cities, particularly L.A. as discussed by Soja (1989) and Davis (1998). Smithsimon (2000: 1-13) writes that this loss of public and democratic space was seen to be a particularly American phenomenon and characterises it thus:

> Not long ago, a European visiting the US could reliably offer the truism that the country's distinguishing feature was a constitutional aversion to cafés. Americans, it seemed, were always moving, consuming, competing, and didn't understand the refined pleasure of sipping, watching, talking and thinking at a table with a view to the world.

Smithsimon (2000: 1-13) counters this view by stating: "Starbucks, with 2,500 stores in North America and 101 in New York City alone put an end to that complaint. Such places are blossoming all over, from coffee shops to Barnes and Nobles that are packed and hopping on Friday nights". However, in terms of the location of coffee houses, he writes that the European café culture model is based in public squares or the piazza and the American café culture is more regulated and private, often within 'protected' shopping malls. The increased number of coffee houses in gentrified spaces has become known as 'cappuccino (yuppie) culture'. Smithsimon quotes from William H. White's *Rediscovering the Centre* (1988: 8):

> The presumption that people don't like public spaces is as pervasive in planning as it is among the public at large...What attracts other people most is other people. Many urban spaces are being designed as though the opposite is true and what people like best are places they stay away from.

In line with Sennett's arguments (1974), Smithsimon (2000: 1-13) writes, "we are too easily frightened of spaces that are not hermetically sealed by franchise retailers". What is therefore central to Smithsimon's discussion, and that of Davis (1998, 2002), Smith (1996), Jameson (1998) and Cresswell (2004), is that space is structured according to capital needs i.e. consumption and speed, one result being the cold architecture of fast-food outlets. Davis (1984) and Jameson (1998) discuss the use of

cold or hard architecture as a tactic employed by planners as a means of preventing the corralling of individuals. Davis (1998) uses the example of bus shelter seats which are hard and narrow. Such developments are part of the tactics used in zero tolerance programmes, the most famous example being that of Mayor Guilliani's policy in New York and Britain's anti social behaviour orders (ASBO's).

Jacobs (1992: 142) in her seminal *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* argued that space needs multiple uses throughout the day for it to be economically and culturally sustainable and furthermore safe:

> City districts will be economically and socially congenial places for diversity to generate itself and reach its best potential if the districts possess good mixtures of primary uses, frequent streets, a close-grained mingling of different ages in their buildings, and a high concentration of people.

In a portent to current street decay in some cities, Jacobs claimed that when streets became single use zones, whilst initially popular, they soon lost their vitality, particularly after six pm. In essence, Jacobs was arguing that the segregation of economic space within the city becomes the cutting of economic potential from different parts of the city and pasting them together into economic collages, characterised by the suburban mall. The result of this is the cutting away from the city street a middle class consumer society. Sennett (1974) claimed that suburbanisation and city living based on economic exchange leads to the creation of individuals in society who are unaware of civil needs, such as tolerance and participation; Virilio (1991) argued that "the loss of the local in informated cities...convey a profound threat to what it is to be human". Whilst professional privileged sub-groups begin to gate themselves or imprison themselves from the street and navigate space by car (Davis, 1998; Jacobs, 1992; Jackson, 1989; Sibley, 1995) Smithsimon (2000: 1-13) argues that street life still thrives:

> For other groups, like immigrants and migrants, street life has remained much more constant. The experiences of late nineteenth-century Jewish and late twentieth-century Puerto Rican communities in East Harlem and the Lower East Side show remarkable continuity: socializing on the block, sidewalk pushcart vending...

In their analysis of community types, Amin and Thrift (2002) claim that current discourse regarding the death of cities and particularly that of the death of urban neighbourhoods, referencing the work of Jane Jacobs, is overly romanticising the city.

The death of the 'locale' in the city does not mean an end to community as they argue various forms of community exist 'which do not need to be fixed in space'. Amin and Thrift (2002) characterise five different kinds of contemporary urban communities that are unlike the localised, familial neighbourhood i.e. a community within defined fixed borders. They argue that whilst continuing to be the "heirs of gemeinschaft and gesellschaft, we are moving towards a different, more restless and more dispersed, vocabulary through a constant struggle over the three Rs of urban life: new social relationships, new means of representation and new means of resistance".

The first they posit is the *planned community*. The city has become increasingly sub divided and managed through census and other databases (mappable through GIS). Amin and Thrift (2002: 43) call this the 'tyranny of the address'. The second community is the "post-social and post-human one" (45). They write, "non-human objects now act with humans in ways which are not subordinate and which challenge accepted notions of reciprocity and solidarity" (45). Navigation in the city becomes coded through technology, virtually traversed through electronic cable. The third form of community is the growth of new forms of human sociality, "groups that come together briefly around a particular purpose and then disperse again...the families we choose" (46). Amin and Thrift (2002: 150) do warn: "Our belief is that in order to encourage citizenship as an everyday practice, people need to experience negotiating diversity and difference. Yet this is exactly what has been put to the test in our times of associating with only those like you or whom you like". The fourth community is "*diasporic communities*, where belonging and identity are anything but local" (46). 'Circuits of mobility' tie such communities together through for example the internet - non-place communities. They refer to the work of bell hooks (1991: 48) who believed that "home is no longer one place, it is locations". The fifth form Amin and Thrift (2002: 47) posit is *everyday life*, which is the community "of improvisation, intuition, play". Such a common community must therefore be a public community and as such 'take place' in openly democratic spaces:

> ...is profoundly related to all activities, and encompasses them with all their differences and their conflicts...And it is in everyday life that the sum total of relations which make the human – and every human being – a whole takes its shape and form. It is the community of that 'cannot be classified' yet the one that 'we all have in common' (Amin and Thrift, 2002: 47).

2.12 Geography and cultural studies: segregation, liminality and moral panics

Through a building up or mapping of layers of the uses of city space, coded spatial repertoires emerge which can be analysed (Hall and Jefferson 1976). One form of analysis is to consider who is using and who is excluded from space (Hebdige, 1979; Shields, 1991; Cresswell, 1996). Sibley (1995: ix) writes:

> The human landscape can be read as a landscape of exclusion....Because power is expressed in the monopolization of space and the relegation of weaker groups in society to less desirable environments, any text on the social geography of advanced capitalism should be concerned with the question of exclusion.

This sub-section explores residential segregation and liminality. An emphasis is given to theories concerned with social and cultural distancing that can be a result of and further increase levels of segregation i.e. how different groups who do not have daily contact with each other create myths about each other, sometimes leading to moral panics (Sibley, 1995; Cohen, 1980).

2.12 a Linking Geography and Cultural Studies

Jackson (1989: xiii) writes that particularly since the 1980s there has been a cross fertilisation between cultural geography, cultural studies and cultural theory. He punctuates this view by arguing that: "If social processes do not take place on the head of a pin then we need to take spatial structure seriously, not least in the production and communication of meaning that we call culture". Much of the work on social identity, exclusion and resistance through rituals has been influenced by the work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) which has been central to the rise of cultural studies since the 1960s.

Cognitive mapping as a methodology precedes the work of the CCCS. Mind mapping was particularly popularised by urban planner Kevin Lynch (1960) who used the term to illustrate how people mentally construct a series of reference points by which they both navigate and imagine their cities; Lynch categorised these as paths, edges, districts, nodes, and landmarks. City planning based on Lynch's work has tried to increase cities' legibility through increasing their imageability. Building upon the

process of mental mapping, the geographers and cultural theorists approach to mind and cognitive mapping was to analyse groups of individuals' mind maps and use them as signifiers of spatial hegemonic power and resistance. Furthermore, the CCCS work which included an analysis of the uses of space through a Marxist lens, called these 'maps of meaning'. In a similar fashion, Jackson (1989) writes: "If people do not participate in the 'major institutions' of society, it may be because they are excluded rather than because they refuse to be integrated".

A key component of the work of the CCCS is their understanding and recognition of a plurality of cultures. Hebdige (1979) in line with the CCCS posited that culture is both the force of hegemonic control (high culture) and a method of resistance (sub-culture). Jackson (1989: 3) writes that culture is socially constructed, geographically expressed and spatially constituted. Based on the work of Soja (1989), Jackson (1989: 3) argues the increasing reassertion of space in critical social theory has resulted in a directional change for cultural geography, and that "this involves a shift in emphasis from culture itself to the domain of cultural politics where meanings are negotiated and relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested...the cultural is political". In a similar fashion Sibley (1995: x) in *Geographies of Exclusion* writes that, "Human geography, in particular, should be concerned with raising consciousness of the domination of space in its critique of the hegemonic culture" and adds:

> To uncover these diverse geographies, reflecting varied experiences and interpretations of space and place, involves drawing on a wide range of ideas located elsewhere in the social sciences and the humanities. A post-disciplinary perspective on social and spatial problems is preferable to viewing the world from within conventional subject boundaries (Sibley, 1995: xv).

Furthermore, Sibley (1995: 184-185) calls for "making human geography radical and emancipatory", but argues however that, "the methods of enquiry which this demands – participant observation, group work, grass-roots activism or learning through advocacy – are not practiced by most geographers". Sibley thus feels that geographers should increasingly "come much closer to the people whose problems provide the primary justification for the existence of the subject". He thus advocates, "geographers go out into the world... in order to experience the life-worlds of other people". As a counterpoint to his calls for an increasingly interdisciplinary approach

within human and cultural geography Jackson (1989: 7), with particular reference to the work of David Harvey and the micro-macro-scale analysis debate, writes: "For some Marxist writers...the current revival of interest in cultural studies is interpreted as a diversion of intellectual energy away from the more pressing questions of political economy".

2.12 b The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS)

The Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), also known as the 'Birmingham school' was created in 1964 under the leadership of Richard Hoggart but is most notably associated with the long-term leadership of Stuart Hall. According to Jencks (2005: 109) the CCCS followed a culturalist approach to their work which was based primarily on the work and seminal texts of Richard Hoggart (*Uses of Literacy,* [1957] 1985), Raymond Williams (*Culture and Society,* [1963] 1971) and E.P. Thompson (*The Making of the English Working Class,* [1963] 1968), and that "in this sense the CCCS were turning to the humanities and literary studies, rather then the social sciences". Another highly influential theorist on the work of the CCCS was Antonio Gramsci (*The Prison Notebooks* 1971) and his concept of Hegemony. In line with Gramsci, the CCCS argued that class and race differences or the 'hierarchy of society' were portrayed as natural and thus the social elite through popular consensus gained legitimacy and control (Hall 1993, 1996). Also traditionally portrayed as natural were the bureaucratic mechanisms that controlled society (Cohen, 1980; Hall and Jefferson 1976; Hebdige 1979).

One of the foregrounding texts of the CCCS was Hall and Jefferson (1976) *Resistance through Rituals* which uses Gramsci's concept of Hegemony with a Marxist lens. Hall and Jefferson argued that there is an unequal scale of cultural power in society and furthermore, youths who were increasingly becoming consumers from the post-war era on, were the pawns in cultural production. According to the CCCS, sub-culture is not classless but a sub-set of the parent culture and therefore placed within the social hierarchy. Youth culture did however 'place' itself through style, and was read as a resistance through rituals (Hall and Jefferson, 1976, Hebdige 1979).

Sub-culture, particularly as expressed in the mid-to-late 1970s with the rise of Rastafarian and Punk music and style, was aligned with the language of 'territory' and 'borders'. Such geographical metaphors partly arose from the analysis of East London gangs, particularly literature on the famous Kray brothers i.e. patches and turf (Cohen 1980; Ley, 1974; Sibley 1995). The Birmingham school's (CCCS) discourse lacked an explicit geographical analysis of patches and turfs and might have benefited by an increased spatial analysis in the mode of Trasher's work in Chicago discussed earlier.

The Birmingham school held a different view to that of Ferdinand Tonnies regarding city living. The school claimed that inner city communities were, by and large, 'matrilocal', bound by common cultural codes and ethics. The extended family and communal nature of these spaces acted as a controlling force over young adults' lives. Cohen (1980) argued that suburbanisation dislocated inner city residents and hastened overall disenfranchisement of the working classes and the disaffection of the growing youth population of the 1960s.

Feminist readings of the naturalising of gender stereotypes were explored by McRobbie and Garber (1975), McRobbie (1978) Winship (1987) and Brunsdon (1996) who also argued that the Birmingham school was too masculinist in its approach to cultural studies. Some of the criticism of the CCCS' masculinist approach also included a critique of its being overly white youth centred (Jencks 2005). However, in the work of Hebdige (1979: 39), music culture was very much related to an empowered immigrant (Caribbean) culture:

> It was through music more than any other medium, that the communication with the past, with Jamaica, and hence Africa, considered vital for the maintenance of black identity, was possible. The 'system' turned on sound; the sound was intimately bound up with the notion of 'culture'; and if the system was attacked then the community itself was symbolically attacked....The Notting Hill Riot of 1976...can be interpreted in this way, as symbolic defences of communal space.

2.12 c Geographies of fear: liminal zones, segregation and moral panics

Box 1

Ten Songs

Say this city has ten million souls,
Some are living in mansions, some are living in holes:
Yet there's no place for us my dear; yet there's no place for us.

Once we had a country and we thought it fair,
Look in the atlas and you'll find it there:
We cannot go there now, my dear, old passports can't do that.

The consul banged the table and said,
'If you've got no passport you're officially 'dead':
But we are still alive, my dear, where shall we live.

Went to a committee; they offered me a chair;
Asked me politely to return next year:
But where shall we go to-day, my dear, where shall we go today?

Came to a public meeting; the speaker got up and said:
'if we let them in, they will steal our daily bread';
He was talking of you and me, my dear, he was talking of you and me...

W.H. Auden. *March ([1939] 1976: 210)*

Stanley Cohen ([1972] 2002) in *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* uses the images and reporting of the fighting between Mods and Rockers to describe 'moral panics' – a term used by Marshall Mcluhan (1964) and Jock Young (1971). He claims that the panic partly emerged from media reporting about this youth and working class culture(s). Sibley (1995: 42) describes the power of similar emotive language used to label the working class 'race riots' in England in the 1970s and 1980s, Brixton being an example. Furthermore, he shows how such 'reporting' engendered negative stereotypes about inner cities (whereby perception became popular):

> Two things came together in the reporting of street crime in the 1970's. The first was the notion of the British inner city as a *black* inner city, characterized by lawlessness and vice, so that inner city became a coded term for black deviance. The idea of a black inner city bore little relation to demographic or geographical reality, but he myth is more important than reality.

More contemporaneously, the emotive language used in the 'war on terror' is based on a repertoire of 'good versus evil' imagery and an oft times coded anti-Muslim sentiment (Gray, 2003). Such language as 'spun' by the media is indicative of Cohen's ([1972] 2002: 12) argument that "it is the perception of threat and not its actual existence that is important" and adds, for example, that Mods and Rockers tended to appear "as disembodied objects, Rorshach blots on to which reactions are projected". In essence, stereotypes of people and (their) places create mental markers and physical borders across which some people are afraid to cross. Sibley (1995: 14) writes:

> Stereotypes play an important part in the configuration of social space because of the importance of distanciation in the behaviour of social groups, that is distancing from others who are represented negatively and because of the way in which group images and place images combine to create landscapes of exclusion.

An extension of such 'landscapes of exclusion' is the oft times connected prejudice about and treatment of marginalised groups by members of larger societal groups. Said (1978) called spatial exclusion 'positional superiority'. Based on such prejudice and misunderstanding Sibley (1995) describes different sub-groups in society who fear or avoid each other at various spatial and social scales from young and old to suburbia and inner city. He also describes the social and spatial exclusion of 'gypsies' in Europe as well as asylum seekers, one of the most marginalised and unprotected groups in western society. In a reprint of Cohen's (1972) work in 2002, an additional chapter described how the process of labelling youth sub-groups that caused a moral panic about youth culture in the 1960s was used to create moral panics about asylum seekers in the 1990s. Cohen ([1972] 2002) quotes from various inflammatory British media reports on asylum seekers and the pejorative labelling associated with this group of people; such labels are: welfare cheats, liars, bogus and fakes, spongers and beggars, a soft touch and tricksters. He also describes media accounts which represent asylum seekers as 'violent crooks' arriving in 'tidal waves'. Cohen (2002: xxi) writes:

> The immediate effects of such venom are easy to imagine, but harder to prove. In three days in August 2001 a Kurdish asylum seeker was stabbed to death...and two others attacked. The UNHCR issued a statement saying that this was predictable given the 'climate of vilification of asylum seekers that has taken hold in the UK in recent years'. The branding has become so successful that the words 'asylum seeker' and 'refugee' have become terms of abuse in school playgrounds.

Pat Guerin (2002) outlines the pejorative labelling and criminalising of asylum seekers and refugees in a large section of the Irish media. In contrast to the Irish as perpetrators of myths based on the 'defilement' of asylum seekers and refugees, Sibley (1995: 28) describes the process within which the Irish were defiled and 'othered':

> To dehumanise through claiming animal attributes for others is one way of legitimating exploitation and exclusion from civilized society....The Irish were seen as uncivil, belonging outside English civil society because of their association with dirt, like rats, both through their work on canals, sewers and railways and through their rural Irish background, 'where the imagined connection between peasants and dung was very close'. This dehuminization was, of course, a necessary part of the colonial relationship between Britain and Ireland.

Sibley (1995: 5-9) develops upon the work of Melanie Klein (1960), Julia Kristeva (1971) and Constance Perin (1977) whose work was aptly titled *Everything in its place*. Using Freud's object relations theory as a base, the theorists above extended the idea of a baby's formative relations with objects to that of relations with other people. In this sense the development of the social self begins to categorise people, some of whom are understood as 'defiled' and subsequently 'othered', what Klein calls the 'paranoid-schizoid position'. Sibley (1995: 7) adds, "the sense of border which emerges in infancy is not an inane sense but a consequence of relating to others and becoming part of a culture" or, in connection with Durkheim, becoming part of a "conscience collective" (Sibley, 1995: 36).

According to Foucault (1967) in *Madness and Civilisation*, those defiled members of society were judged as abnormal and excluded from society in, for example, asylums. In this sense, people are 'othered' and the result is a social hierarchy that is expressed spatially through modes of segregation. Smith (1996), Jackson (1989) and Shields (1991) describe how power holders use language to relate social problems in disadvantaged neighbourhoods as 'natural' i.e. "it is their nature to live like that". Shields (1991: 7) writes that the discourse on space and 'imaginary geographies' are translated into empirically-specific everyday actions on micro and macro-scales. Shields (1991) writes that his *Places on the Margin: Alternative Geographies of Modernity* is a reappraisal of "the [spatial] taken-for-granted...and to produce a workable mapping of the cultural importance of the spatial". Daly (1984), Prunty (1998) and Brady and Simms (2002) describe the movement by the middle and ruling

classes away from the centre of Dublin as being partly due to their perceived notions of the tenement dwellers as dirty and somehow less than human.

Sibley (1995) argues that borders are enforced, as described in relation to the work of Davis (1998) in the section on gentrification and carceral cityscapes above. Whilst visible borders in shopping malls i.e. entrances are 'policed', other borders are invisible, for example between different neighbourhoods through what Shields (1991) calls 'social spatialisation'.

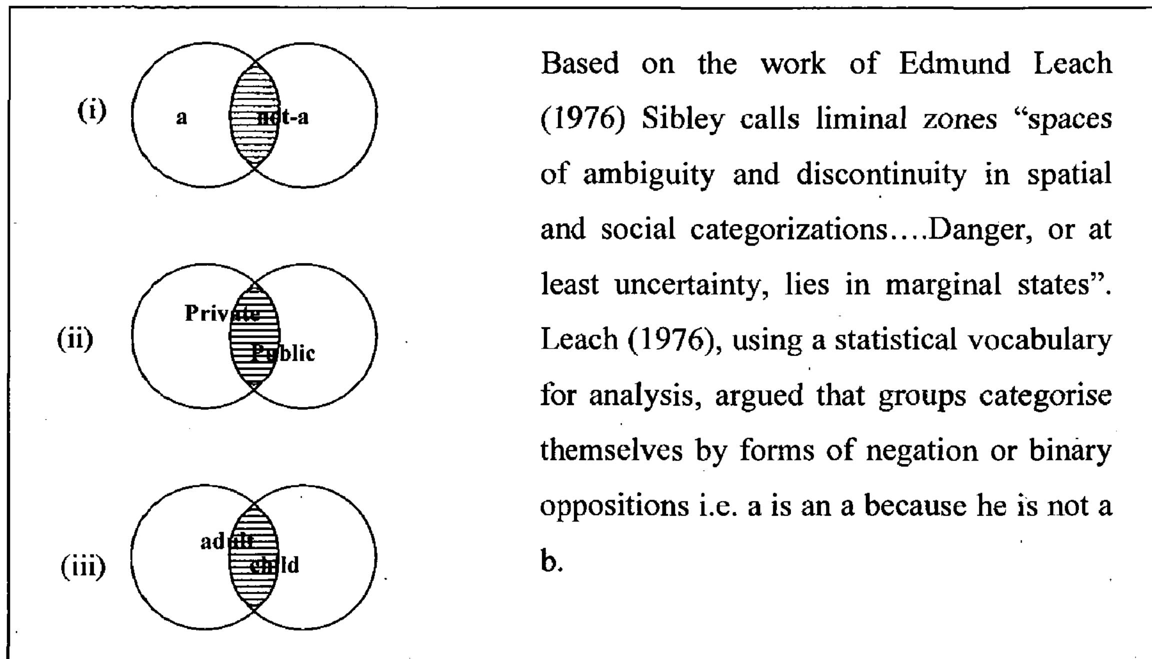
Such invisible borders are however policed by a 'cop in the head' (Boal, 1993). According to Sibley (1995), restriction of movement can be regulated by moral panics. Raban (1974: 70) writes that "the city as a form is uniquely prone to erode that boundary between the province of the imagination and the province of fact" and adds (146,153):

> The city encourages discontinuity, fragmentation...Cordon Sanitaire....It is the generation of this rhetoric which gives it away; the most basic power possessed by the working class – the power to menace – grew in direct proportion to its isolation from the rest of city society...people who live in city ghettoes are liable to have hostile and paranoid myths built up around them; some make their own ghettoes, some find themselves ghetto-dwellers perforce. Once the blacks, the Jews, the poor have been isolated, they turn into the bogeymen of society's most disturbed dreams.

Where two sub groups intersect in space is a liminal zone. Sibley (1995) uses Venn diagrams to illustrate liminal zones. The first model (i), illustrated in figure 9 on the following page, shows the transgression of the not-a's into a's space. The result of such transgression according to Sibley, particularly if for example the not-a's are gypsies or asylum seekers, is anxiety amongst the a community. This anxiety is heightened if the media encourage a moral panic based on a defilement of the not-a's. Diagram (ii) illustrates anxiety can be the result of the mixing of private and public space, which can also be understood with reference to the study of proxemics. Diagram (iii) illustrates the tension that can be caused when young people enter into the adult domain. This can for example include teenagers 'loitering', or simply being in public space. This is enhanced if the teenagers are wearing specific clothes that signify them as being 'dangerous', a hooded top (hoody) or gang coloured bandana are examples (Davis, 1998).

Venn Diagram Illustrations of Binary Oppositions within Liminal Zones.

Fig 9



Based on the work of Edmund Leach (1976) Sibley calls liminal zones "spaces of ambiguity and discontinuity in spatial and social categorizations....Danger, or at least uncertainty, lies in marginal states". Leach (1976), using a statistical vocabulary for analysis, argued that groups categorise themselves by forms of negation or binary oppositions i.e. a is an a because he is not a b.

Such liminal zones can include the margins or spaces between groups. Ley (1974, 1983) and Ley and Cybriwski (1974) illustrate that in Philadelphia, whilst gang graffiti occurs predominantly in the centre of the 'turf', most gang violence occurs in the interstice between gang territories. Violence can occur when one gang attempts to name and therefore claim another's space (described in Jackson 2001: 71). Cohen (1972) did similar research based on London's East End and employed the use of mind mapping and spatial narrative as a methodology in examining the lifestyles of its youth population. Other research such as Cohen (1980) and Hebdige, (1979) shows that territory is 'marked' by dress code, for example mods inhabiting one space and rockers another. When two codes combine in space violence can arise as in Brighton in 1964.

With an increasing regeneration of urban centres in many western cities, coupled with increased levels of globalisation and associated human migration, the issue of multiculturalism and integration increases, particularly with regard to cities. Such movement to the city creates liminal zones, which are highly contested both economically and culturally.

An analysis of economic data illustrates particular socio-economic variables attached to residential segregation. An understanding of sub-cultures, from dress code to musical style, can aid the researcher as he or she walks the city as these social and cultural variables both determine and signify spatial division and its processes (rhythms) in everyday life. The following sub-section analyses theories of reading everyday life, which in effect are also methodologies for undertaking qualitative research in cities.

2.13 *Flânerie* and rhythmanalysis: *walking, observing and representing the city*

Soja (1989) and Harvey (1990) highlight the difficulty of archiving and structuring the everyday montage into coherent practices and critiques. A critique that only values the specific will become too big, a taxonomy of things which fails to recognise the significance of the 'exponential' socio-economic, cultural and political relationship between these things – people, places and events. Highmore (2002) warns that to "promote and practice montage…[must not] simply register the cacophony of the everyday, it has to find some way of ordering, of organizing the everyday".

Theorists and practitioners of everyday observation and research such as Jacobs, de Certeau and Lefebvre as well as the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) claim that the everyday cacophony does 'make sense' when its spatial repertoires are coded. Jacobs used the term 'ballet' and Lefebvre 'music' to describe the daily rhythms of everyday life. Crucial to both is observation followed by analysis. Both Jacobs and Lefebvre wrote some of their major works based on the views from their upstairs windows and balconies; Jacobs ([1961] 1992) wrote about New York City and Lefebvre, Paris. Lefebvre (1996: 220) wrote that "from the window noises are distinguishable, fluxes separate themselves, rhythms answer each other". Harvey (1991: 426), in his Afterword to the translation of Lefebvre's (1974) *The Production of Space*, explains that the eighteen months Lefebvre worked as a taxi driver in Paris was, "an experience which deeply affected his thinking on the nature of space and urban living".

2.13 a Flânerie (i): exploring and observing the city

The role of the *flâneur* is most commonly associated with the 19th century Parisian decadent who voyeuristically navigated the city by foot and often 'inhabited' cafés to observe the constant ebb and flow or the "pageant of fashionable life" (Baudelaire 1965). Benjamin (1973: 36) with reference to the French poet-*flâneur* Baudelaire, referred to this activity as 'botanising the asphalt'. The walking of the *flâneur* was a slowing down of 'time' in opposition to the increasing pace of modern living; so that the *flâneur* could observe from a distance whilst maintaining contact with the crowd (Benjamin, 1973).

The discussion of the role of the *flâneur* was developed as an analytical tool and lifestyle by the work of Walter Benjamin's (1999) *The Arcades Project* and his extensive travel, particularly his reports on Napoli, 1924; Moscow, 1927 and Marseille, 1928. The *flâneur* is also associated with the work of Georg Simmel whose *The Metropolis and Mental Life* ([1903] 1997) discussed the importance and preponderance of 'the visual' in urban living. Manheim (1990: 32) described Simmel the "impressionist in sociology". He argues that Simmel's "was not an ability to take a constructive view of the whole of society but to analyse the significance of minor social forces that were previously unobserved". Frisby (1981) titled his work on Simmel, *Sociological Impressionism: A Reassessment of Georg Simmel's Social Theory.* In a similar fashion, Baudelaire (1863) was to title one of his works *The Painter of Modern Life*. Sennett (1974: 213), wrote that to understand the *flâneur* "you must learn the art of seeing". Amin and Thrift (2002: 10-16) reference the role of the *flâneur* with Breton and the surrealists who actively juxtaposed different realities to formulate new realities - or surrealism. It is such juxtapositions that they describe in Benjamin's view of Moscow in 1924, "a new monumental architecture against the mats and boxes...[of] the city's thousands of hawkers". Benjamin they argue "was not a naive dilettante":

> He was armed with a transcendental speculative philosophy that allowed him to select, order and interpret his sensory experiences of the city. These were reflexive wanderings underpinned by a particular theorization of urban life, with the demand from theory to reveal the process at work through the eye of a needle.

Susan Sontag (1979: 9) argued that Benjamin was imbued with the essence of the *flâneur* and likened his "phantasmagoric" relationship with the city to that of the surrealists: "The mind that was to attach much of the nineteenth century's sensibility to the figure of the *flâneur*, personified by that superbly self-aware melancholic Baudelaire, spun much of his own sensibility out of his phantasmagorical, shrewd, subtle relation to cities". Benjamin's view of the street was an ekphrastic assemblage of the individual pieces of everyday life. Sontag (1979: 19-20) writes:

> Much of the originality of Benjamin's arguments owes to his microscopic gaze (as his friend Theodor Adorno called it) combined with his indefatigable command over theoretical perspectives. It was the small things that attracted him most, writes Scholem....The process which extracts meaning from the petrified and insignificant, allegory, is the characteristic method of the German baroque drama and of Baudelaire, Benjamin's major subjects; and, transmuted into philosophical argument and the micrological analysis of things, the method Benjamin practiced himself.

Both Frisby (1981) and Jencks (1995) maintain that a *flâneur*-like role has relevance in contemporary social sciences through the *flâneur* or *flâneuse* ability to walk through the labyrinthine city and observe its rhythms and read its visual clues, to be an insider and outsider simultaneously. They can reveal, according to Jencks (1995: 145), "alternative cartographies" of the city, because "observation has come to be recognised as an artful and interested encounter with the play of signifiers that make up the various semantic outcomes of epistemological engagement". Sontag (1979: 13) argues that: "Benjamin's themes are, characteristically, means of spatializing the world....To understand something is to understand its topography, to know how to chart it".

The politics behind the spatialization of everyday life was not lost on Benjamin, a Marxist who was infinitely aware of the birth of comodification. In this case, the *flâneur* is the stroller in the Parisian arcades, not too distant from today's Mall strollers and tourists.

Phil Cohen (1980) organised an in-depth, participant observation-based research of the spatial and cultural competition in the Isle of Dogs in London through the use of alternative cartographies and narratives. Using photographs, he asked the participants to identify safe and profane locations and, with this, to build up a series of places used within each individual's daily repertoire. His aim was to construct different sub-

communities' narratives of place. Jencks (1995: 154-155) makes the case for the *flâneur* as psycho-geographer and cartographer with the eye of a photo-journalist:

> A psycho-geography, then, derives, from the subsequent 'mapping' of an unrouted route which, like primitive cartography, reveals not so much randomness and chance as spatial intentionality. It uncovers compulsive currents within the city along with unprescribed boundaries of exclusion and unconstructed gateways of opportunity. The city begins, without fantasy or exaggeration, to take on the characteristics of a map of the mind. The legend of such a mental map highlights projections and repressions in the form of 'go' and 'no-go' space. These positive and negative locational responses claim, in their turn, as deep a symbolic significance in the orientation of space as do the binary moral arbiters of 'purity' and 'danger' or the 'sacred' or the 'profane' in relation to the organisation of conduct. Such an understanding propels the *flâneur* towards an investigation of the exclusions and invitations that the city (as indeed the state of [post]modernity) seems to present....The walker in dérive, who is therefore not orientated by convention, can playfully and artfully 'see' the juxtaposition of the elements that make up the city in new and revealing relationships....All this conceptual re-ordering is open to the imaginative theorising of the wandering cultural critic and yet mostly such techniques have come to be the province of the photo-journalist.

Benjamin's essay ([1931] 1979) "A Small History of Photography" celebrates the pre-commercialised art form of photography, particularly in relation to Atget's photographs of Paris and the work of Sander. The latter, Benjamin wrote, ([1931] 1979: 252), "did not approach this enormous undertaking as a scholar, or with the advice of ethnographers and sociologists, but, as the publisher says, 'from direct observation'". However, Benjamin does point to the academic value of Sanders photographic enquiries to everyday life: "Just as there is comparative anatomy, which helps us to understand the nature and history of organs, so this photographer is doing comparative photography, adopting a scientific standpoint". The *flâneur* writes Benjamin, are "illuminati" who bring to life the reality of the everyday adding that "it is through photography that we first discover the existence of this optical unconscious, just as we discover the instinctual unconscious through psychoanalysis". Benjamin ([1929] 1979: 237), in an essay on surrealism writes "that we penetrate the mystery only to the degree that we recognize it in the everyday world, by virtue of a dialectical optic that perceives the everyday as impenetrable, the impenetrable as the everyday".

Creswell (1996), Edensor (2000) and Jencks (1995) argue that the postmodern *flâneur* needs to be aware of the different zones in which he or she is operating and the sub-cultural codes that are in existence. To this end, gatekeepers become important figures

in the exploration of particular locales. As described by Cohen (1972), the researcher must also be aware of ethical issues and his/her own subjective prejudices regarding the spaces and groups he/she is 'exploring'. Jackson writes (1989: 73):

> While geographers have been slow to abandon their self-appointed role as the 'translators' of working-class and ethnic sub-cultures, they have scarcely begun to consider the ethical problems that this kind of research involves...As academics, social scientists have all too often assumed the guise of visitors to the human zoo, going slumming for a while in order to report back to their peers and paymasters about conditions in some exotic corner of the 'real world'. In relinquishing the apparently impartial role of 'ombudsman', the alternative danger is of becoming an uncritical cheerleader, romanticizing subcultural forms however earnest...

This section has discussed the historical role of the *flâneur* but also contemporised the role of *flânerie* in understanding everyday life in cities today. As Jenks (1995) outlined, photography and film are particularly useful tools for *flânerie*. Chapter Three discusses photography as an effective tool in image-based research and visual ethnography.

2.13 b Flânerie (ii): de Certeau, walkers and the power of subversion

Michel de Certeau (1984) partly plays the role of *flâneur* and rhythmanalysist to develop his 'walking in the city'. Brooker (2003: 102-103) argues that de Certeau's work has been appropriated and linked to the role of the *flâneur* with regard to issues in postmodernism and in nomadism, migrancy and border crossings (also Chambers 1993; Braidotti 1994; Edensor 2000). For de Certeau (1984), the controlled city is authored by functionalist rationality for the creation of capital and the controlled flow of the population. It is designed to create, through a "scientific and political technology" or "univocal strategy" a profit for the privileged. It does this through the differentiation and redistribution of space for "functional" use and in the process displaces waste grounds. However, de Certeau maintains that the walker can interject or disrupt this functionalist space through subverting pathways and flow. He is not claiming that the Wandersmänner is a spatial proletariat. He argues that the flow is unconscious of its acts, and in the very nature of the hive of activity subversion occurs:

> The networks of these moving, intersecting writings compose a manifold story that has neither author nor spectator....Their swarming mass is an innumerable collection of singularities. Their intertwined paths give their shape to space...an anthropological, poetic

and mythic experience of space...a migrational, or metaphorical, city thus slips into the clear text of the planned and readable city. (de Certeau, 1984: 93)

In relating walking to language, de Certeau (1984: 100) writes that "the geometrical space of urbanists and architects seems to have the status of the "proper meaning" constructed by grammarians and linguists". The ability for groups to alter language, for example the turning of a phrase or *tourner un parcours* is linked to the ability of the Wandersmänner to create what this researcher calls a 'spatial patois', "they turn against the planned city; through a form of 'rhetoric' they alter spatial signifiers". The ability for individuals to create unofficial pathways or shortcuts through green spaces in cities is described by de Certeau as an example of the altering of signification in the city plan. De Certeau (1984: 98) calls these unofficial spatial repertoires a kind of "style" or "mobile organicity – *topoi*".

Cresswell's (1996) *In Place Out of Place: Geography, Ideology, and Transgression*, in a development of de Certeau and the work of the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS), describes the ability of groups to transgress space. The difference for Cresswell (1996: 165) however, is that transgression is seen as politically motivated, pre-determined acts. He writes that transgressing is literally, "crossing boundaries" i.e. crossing geographical boundaries as well as cultural boundaries, "transgression...depends on the pre-existence of some spatial ordering" (Cresswell, 1996: 166).

Cresswell (1996) maintains that by critiquing the discordant nature of geographical transgression, the normative and hegemonic forces that govern these spaces, heretofore invisible through their normalcy, can be understood (made visible). To this end Creswell is positing an important role for:

> ...radical cultural geography that begins to explain how and why place is a powerful force in the ongoing hegemonic and counterhegemonic struggles....indeed, a sustained investigation of the "out of place" metaphor points to the fact that social power and social resistance are already spatial (Cresswell, 1996: 11-13).

In order to understand the harmonious and discordant nature of the everyday, the *flâneur* walked the city to see, hear and feel such (dis)orchestrations. Frisby (1994: 93) wrote that the *flâneur*'s "approach is not merely concerned with employing a

detached mental procedure to gather fragments of conversation and other impressions, but also in developing a 'tactile ability'. He or she must walk both with the crowd but also explore the 'unseen' spaces of the contemporary city, alleyways, courtyards and green spaces".

2.13 c Rhythmanalysis

Rhythmanalysis is primarily associated with the work of Henri Lefebvre (2004). Highmore (2005: 145) posits that rhythmanalysis for Lefebvre was a form of "social and cultural phenomenology". Like *flânerie,* rhythmanalysis is a method of analysing and measuring the everyday life of the city; central to both is the movement of people i.e. the 'experiential' aspect of city living, "to capture a rhythm one needs to have been *captured* by it. One has to *let* go, give and abandon oneself to its duration. Just as in music..." (Lefebvre 1996: 219). According to Highmore (2005: 145) for Lefebvre, "a committed Marxist philosopher it was unusually experimental and aesthetic in range". However, an understanding of the circuits of mobility and constraint of the individual, including its uses, can be understood within a Foucauldian and Marxist framework of the production of space. Lefebvre (1996: 228) writes: "This analysis of rhythms...has a transdisciplinary character. Moreover, it gives itself as aim the least possible separation of the scientific from the poetic". Elden (2004: viii) writes that *Éleménts de Rythmanalyse* is recognised as Lefebvre's fourth volume of critique of everyday life.

Lefebvre analysed the movement of different categories of people throughout the day ranging from school children and church 'goers' to tourists. Such people movement is regulated by timetables, just as traffic lights dictate the flow of traffic i.e. modernity's clock, what Lefebvre (1996: 135) called the "rituals that punctuate daily life". In relationship to Modernity, Highmore (2005: 148) quotes Lefebvre: "From that historic moment, it [modernity] became the time of the everyday, subordinating other aspects of daily life to the spatial organization of work: times for sleep and waking, times for meals and private life...". In their critique of rhythmanalysis, Amin and Thrift (2002) write: "The rhythms of the city are coordinates through which inhabitants and visitors frame and order the urban experience". They reference Goddard (1997) who maintained that the controlled flow of daily rituals has negative effects on people such

as a loss of control of one's life. They also quote Picon (1997) who discusses "the overlaying of daily rhythms" of which Amin and Thrift (2002: 17) write, "indeed, in the city of manifold practice across its hundreds of spaces, there is a surprising absence of chaos and misunderstanding, partly owing to the repetitions and regularities that become tracks to negotiate urban life".

Rhythmanalysis is the mapping and interpretation of daily and night rhythms, of sequence and ritual. Amin and Thrift quote Lefebvre (1996: 143), "what is required is a certain praxis that can take charge of...the gathering together of what gives itself as dispersed, dissociated, separated, and this in the form of simultaneity and encounters". Amin and Thrift (2002: 19), however, write that Lefebvre is "frustratingly elusive, about the tools of such a praxis...presumably [they] include powers of abstraction to name and order the immanent forces behind the instanciated rhythms of the city".

Highmore (2005: 146, 149) argues that Lefebvre is partly working out a form of ergonomics in which he is discussing the balance needed between an individual's mechanical rhythms i.e. work and his/her biological life, positing that without a balance between work and play there will be illness i.e. the system will collapse. As an example, Highmore points to the language used to describe unruly children as 'lazy' or 'hyperactive' i.e. they do not fit into society's 'normal' regulated rhythms. Lefebvre (2004: 39) discussed the 'training' of children to adhere to such accepted norms or rhythms as 'dressage', "humans break themselves in like animals. They learn to hold themselves...bases itself on repetition". They are not asserting a social constructivist approach to rhythmanalysis however, for it is the interplay or tension between modernity (time) and nature that concerns the work of Lefebvre (2004). Highmore (2005: 148) discusses Lefebvre's work on the plurality of daily rhythms and 'Polyrhythmia' arguing that this can take two forms, 'eurhythmic' (harmonic) and 'arrhythmic' (discordant). This is similar in nature to Creswell's (1996) argument in the section above, *Flânerie* (i) that through an illustration of the discordant nature of transgressions in space, the old order or 'world view' will be revealed. In a Marxist and Gramscian sense, the workers who comply with a particular rhythm understand it to be 'normal', but if pushed to work too hard or fast, the system as with biology will break down. Rhythmanalysis can also observe the rhythms of transport networks and

urban mobility and its effects on individuals from the speeding up of time to traffic gridlock.

Highmore (2005: 159) writes that: "Rhythmanalysis, however, is never limited to work that calls itself by that name". He points to different writings on cities that could be called rhythmanalytical such as Iain Sinclair's (2003) *London Orbital*. Sinclair, like a *flâneur*, walked around London's M25 125 mile-long ring road. Also in the mode of the *flâneur* he changed pace to that of the traffic, in order to view it from within, but also from an objective (speed) distance. In specific reference to the role of rhythmanalysis in understanding the issue of asylum seekers and other immigrant groups living in the city, Highmore (2005: 159) points to the work of John Berger and Jean Mohr (1975) as a model of best practice:

> John Berger and Jean Mohrs's account (written and photographic) of the migrant lives of Turkish workers in Germany and Switzerland, is, I think, inspirational in suggesting the possibilities of a very loose rhythmanalytic approach that contrasts the everyday practices of 'guest workers' as they move from rural Turkey to relentlessly industrial urban enclaves in Stuttgart and Geneva. Already I think we can see a future for a rhythmanalysis and what that future might look like. There is something distinctive about these projects, something that might well constitute a direction for further studies. What we are witnessing is the reanimation of a form of travel literature and travel film that weaves across many different registers that provide a montaged account of urban life. In Berger and Mohr's project, for instance, economic theory is accompanied by poetry, that is set alongside photographs of hostel accommodation and personal accounts of the 'guest workers'. This multilayered approach provides a form that can articulate the varied kinds of accounts of the different rhythms of migration: global economic networks; emotional dislocations; and the movements of train journeys, letters home and so on. There is blurring of genres in all this work that brings together history and ethnography, poetic description and brute facts. We can also see that rhythmanalysis undoes a common-sense geography of the city. Instead of concentrating on the symbolic centres of cities, there is a concerted effort to explore their peripheries or treat their peripheries as new centres of urban life....
>
> The challenge for rhythmanalysis at its most general is not to remain closeted as just another academic enthusiasm or fad. For it to succeed as a project, it will have to fire people's imagination at the level of the more general intellectual culture. Rhythmanalysis, if it is going to provide an *alternative metaphorics*, one that is sensitive to difference but doesn't surrender a sense of collective responsibility, will have to operate creatively and passionately. It will have to show that description can have the power to change perception – and to do this it will have to produce truly popular persuasive descriptions.

Section 2.12a outlined the 19th century *flâneur* poet-stroller, who observed the everyday city, particularly referencing the work of Baudelaire and Benjamin. It then discussed the call by Jencks (1995) for a form of postmodern *flânerie* which would benefit from the aid of photography and film. In this sense, the postmodern *flâneur* can map the strangeness of the ordinary in the everyday by juxtaposing through

photography old and new buildings and palimpsestual views and readings of particular buildings i.e. their different uses and historical references through time. Also, in the mode of Cohen (1980), Berger and Mohr (1975), photographing new ethnicities, such as stores in old neighbourhoods, certain relationships in this once homogenous space can be critiqued. In relation to the influence of Freud on modern art, it might be suggested that in juxtaposing such strangeness in the everyday a form of phantasmagoria will arise.

2.13 d Flânerie and rhythmanalysis as methodology: photographic essays and city writing

In contemporising *flânerie,* Amin and Thrift (2002: 11) refer to the work of Chambers (1994) who argued that the city as a "lived complexity" needed "alternative narratives and maps based on wandering". They write that, "Contemporary urbanism has renewed the tradition of *flânerie* to read the city from its street-level intimations" and example the work of Rachel Lichtenstein and Iain Sinclair (1999) which follows the "retraced life and walks of a Jewish scholar and hermit, David Rodinsky...This is a 'psychogeography' of strange spaces, selected monuments and boroughs and Jewish sites, a London signalled by biographical markings". According to Amin and Thrift (2002: 11), therefore:

> ...the 'theorist' is the gifted meditative walker, purposefully lost in the city's daily rhythms and material juxtapositions. The walker possesses both a poetic sensibility and a poetic science that is almost impossible to distil as a methodology for urban research.

'Topographics' is a book series published by Reaktion that is dedicated to "new writing about place", most notably cities. Cultural historians to filmmakers explored cities such as Bangkok, Cairo, Kuala Lumpur, Moscow and Tokyo. Stefan Hertman's (2001) *Intercities* is a personal exploration of several cities throughout the world and Joachim Schlör's (1998) important work *Nights in the Big City: Paris, Berlin, London 1840-1930* explored the transformation of reading and understanding cities with the advent of streetlights, which to an extent shed light upon the 'sinister' atmosphere and rhythms of city life at night. Stephen Barber's (2001) *Extreme Europe* is an exploration of Europe's periphery. Whilst it includes the changing landscapes of East European cities since 1989, it also includes the hidden life of immigrants in the Cité

of Parisian suburbs. The editors of the Topographics series, Koerner and Bann write that the series (http://www.reaktionbooks.co.uk/series.html?id=14):

> Embracing both the cultural and the natural, the city and the wilderness, it appraises the geographies people inhabit, visit, defend, destroy – and overlook. Distinct from travel literature, the books in this series do not depend on a journey to supply a plot. Instead, they mingle analysis with anecdote, criticism with original expressive writing, to explore the creative collision between physical space and the human mind.

Other examples from Topographics include different works on London and England. Photographer Marc Atkins and writer Iain Sinclair's (1999) *Liquid City* is an acclaimed exploration of London's hidden zones. Similarly, but at a larger scale, Patrick Keiller adapted his (1997) award winning film *Robinson in Space* into the same titled book (1999). The protagonist of the story Robinson decided to move to Reading, which:

> ...was reinforced by his hasty misreading of Michel de Certeau's *Practice of Everyday Life...",* "reading frees itself from the soil that determines it' and '...reading is...a place constituted by a system of signs' (pp.117,176). Indeed, his entire project was inspired by this book: 'Every story is a travel story – a spatial practice' (Keiller, 1999: 115)

Robinson in Space is a photo journal with over two hundred images of contemporary England's 'un-known space' with accompanying text. Keiller writes (1999: 223): "I'm interested in the link between subjectivities like that of Surrealism, which transform experience of what already exists, and the activities of designers, architects and manufacturers, who produce *new things".*

On the back cover of David Harvey's (2006) *Paris, Capital of Modernity* Neil Smith characterises Harvey's "most original work in a decade" as a "vivid social, literary, economic, and pictorial geography of the making of Paris during its nineteenth century transition to capitalist modernity". In the book, Harvey analyses the economic and spatial transition of Paris in the mid to late 1800s. In chapters such as "The State", "The Reproduction of Labor Power" and "Science and Sentiment, Modernity and Tradition", Harvey juxtaposes maps and tables of information with photographic plates and literary extracts. In total, Harvey uses 118 illustrations throughout the 340 pages of the book.

Michel de Certeau (1985: 122-146) relies heavily on photographic images of everyday life (12 plates) to support his theory on the practices of space, which include what de Certeau calls 'perambulatory rhetorics'. This photographic work (chapter) of de Certeau is one of a number of contributions to *On Signs* edited by Blonsky (1985). On Signs uses the work of theorists such as Barthes, de Certeau, Eco, Foucault and Jameson to discuss the importance of post-structuralist semiotics in contemporary cultural theory; "addressing the codes and systems which lie behind "innocent" cultural artefacts" (Blonsky, 1985, inside cover). A central component of this discussion is the use of photography and visual media. The following methodology section will explore the use of photography as a research tool.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The methodology in this research comprised quantitative and qualitative components. In line with the theories as outlined in the literature review, the quantitative component broadly equates to a set of statistical overviews in the form of a macro analysis. The qualitative component can be broadly equated with the micro spatial analysis of everyday life. These modes of analysis were complementary and not mutually exclusive.

The quantitative component of the research represented a data analysis of 9,195 asylum seekers residing in County Dublin, in June 2002, as one group. The data was then sub-divided and analysed by different variables such as age, gender and nationality. Maps of where this data sample and its sub-sets were residing were generated. It is a fundamental view of this researcher that a statistical analysis of asylum seekers that does not take into account a spatial component can be seriously flawed, particularly as it may lack a human dimension in the analysis of the data. As quoted in the introduction to the research, Cresswell (2004: 27) writes:

> Class, gender, and race have so often been treated as if they happened on the head of a pin. Well they don't - they happen in space and place. By taking space and place seriously, it was argued, we can provide another tool to demystify and understand the forces that effect and manipulate our everyday lives.

The research data sample of 9,195 asylum seekers was analysed using different spatial units, ranging from an analysis of the data by Dublin County Council region down to individual Electoral Division. Furthermore, the data was grouped and analysed by neighbourhood in suburbs such as Tallaght and Swords, and inner city areas such as Rialto and Stoneybatter. This Chapter outlines how the data was accessed and formatted. The validity of analysing sub-units of the data at various spatial scales is discussed.

The spatial analysis of the data included a substantial qualitative component. The effects that the asylum seekers and other immigrant groups were having on the physical and cultural geography of locales identified as being ethnically clustered were examined.

In line with the literature reviewed in Chapter Two, a theoretical engagement with the data and its spatial context allowed a questioning of the macro and micro reasons for such clustering of asylum seekers. The methodologies of reading and observing cityspace, discussed in Chapter Two, were employed as a working model for this researcher's spatial analysis of asylum seeker clusters in Dublin. Photography contributed to this methodology as did informal and semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Accessing the asylum seeker data sample

Asylum seekers are under the remit of the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform (DJELR). However, supervisory care of, and payments to asylum seekers are partly the responsibility of Health Boards. Prior to the Direct Provision Policy, asylum seekers registered with their local Health Board offices. Because they were not entitled to work, they received a Supplementary Welfare Allowance, the same entitlement as any Irish person who is not employed. Part of this payment included a housing / rent supplement. The advent of the Direct Provision Policy meant that asylum seekers would no longer receive a supplementary welfare allowance. Instead, each asylum seeker would be housed by the Government and paid an allowance of €19.10 per adult per week and €9.60 per child. However, the Health Board continued to make these payments and thus asylum seekers would continue to be registered as 'claimants' with their local Health Board office. It was access to these Health Board records that facilitated this research.

As with all Health Board claims, personal information such as address, age, gender, marital status, number of children and the initial date the claim was made was registered. The claimant's nationality was also recorded. A claimant receives payment for his/her children and dependant adult, usually a spouse and, in some cases, an aged relative such as a parent. These are not recorded as separate claims. Access to this data would, therefore, enable asylum seekers to be analysed spatially using all the sub-sets held within the Health Board records. In 2002, the special needs unit of the Northern Area Health Board (within the remit of the Eastern Regional Health Authority, now the Health Service Executive) was responsible for the care of asylum seekers in the Greater Dublin Area.

As part of an undergraduate thesis (Kelly, 2001), this researcher mapped the total number of asylum seekers in receipt of a supplementary welfare allowance in Dublin by postal code. This information was received from the Health Board and following the research, its findings were presented to the Health Board. The main finding illustrated that particular levels of spatial clustering of asylum seekers were occurring in Dublin and concluded that a micro-spatial analysis of asylum seekers would be beneficial. It was also argued that the mapping and analysis of asylum seekers by sub-sets such as age, gender and nationality, could identify specific asylum seeker needs in identified locales.

This researcher sought permission from the Special Needs Unit of the Health Board to map the spatial distribution of asylum seekers by Electoral Division (ED) as part of a PhD programme. The Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA) was aware that such research did not exist and also that the relevant information had never been collated by itself at this spatial level. Thus, they recognised the value of such maps and spatial data analysis. The ERHA do not gather their asylum seeker data at the micro spatial level of ED, but by postal code. The ERHA's data is not correlated centrally and so to facilitate the PhD proposal, all of the 'raw data' from each local Health Board office needed to be gathered and made available to this researcher. The ERHA argued that the Freedom of Information Act, under which the data was being sought, would contravene the Data Protection Act because the home address of each asylum seeker claimant was contained in the data.

It was argued to the ERHA that the address of each claimant was essential, so that this researcher could identify the Electoral Division of each address and thus create an ED database of all asylum seekers residing in Dublin. As the filtering of the data would be upwards from house level to ED level, the analysis of the data at ED level would not identify any individual and his / her specific address. Thus, this researcher ensured that each asylum seeker's identity would be protected. Following a period of negotiation that lasted several months, including a letter of support from St. Patrick's College, the ERHA agreed to furnish all their raw data concerning asylum seekers to this researcher.

There were a number of reasons why the Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA) granted access to the raw data. Firstly, the persistence and interest shown in gaining access to the data was recognised. Secondly, there appeared to be recognition of the desire by this researcher to contribute to social policy. Thirdly, the support of the Special Needs Unit of the Northern Area Health Board of the ERHA was crucial for the research. The Special Needs Unit had a broadened portfolio to that of social exclusion for all its clients, not only asylum seekers. Therefore, the Director of the unit expressed a very keen interest in the findings of this research as a means of aiding a needs analysis on a micro-spatial level in the NAHB region to inform issues such as health and housing provision. The Director of Social Inclusion, in a letter dated December 12th 2003, requested the use of the initial maps produced for a report submitted by the ERHA to the Minister for Health and Children. The unit believed that the research findings could help locate services, such as language support, and identify particular needs within certain areas when providing 'cultural training' for their employees. They requested advice from this researcher on how they might manage their statistical data in terms of how it could be input and collated. Once the information was initially mapped, preliminary findings were presented to the Health Board and implications of the findings were discussed.

3.3 Formatting the data sample

The original data received contained information concerning 10,265 asylum seekers residing in the ERHA region: 9,195 of these asylum seekers were residing in Dublin, while the remainder, who were not analysed within this research were residing in the adjoining counties of Kildare and Wicklow.

The information received from the ERHA was an amalgamation of all its individual local Health Board office records in Excel spreadsheet format. The spreadsheets comprised nineteen categories concerning each asylum seeker claim. As presented, the 9,195 asylum seekers constituted 4,371 asylum seeker claims. As outlined above, each claimant might be an individual or the head of a household to whom the relevant payments are made. Other people covered by a claim are children and qualified adults, which are mainly spouses and, in some cases, elderly parents. In order to

analyse the data through Excel and SPSS programmes and to map it with Arcview, the data needed to be made uniform. The data, therefore, needed to be collated into a standardised dataset.

Data Categories in ERHA Dataset

table 1a

A	Scheme
B	Registration Date
C	Location Number
D	Year of Arrival
E	Commencement date
F	Sex
G	Date of Birth
H	Marital Status
I	National Code
J	Street
K	Address 1
L	Address 2
M	Address 3
N	County (postal code)
O	Category (asylum seeker)
P	Claimant
Q	Qualified Adult
R	Qualified Children
S	Unaccompanied Minor

It is necessary to understand the meaning of some of the relevant codes and the fields added to this data to arrive at the final data set. To protect the data during analysis, each claim was given a reference number. The registration dates of each claim were inputted as a year for ease of computation. For example 04/04/2002 was changed to 2002. The same process was used regarding the claimant's age. Knowing the registration date facilitated an understanding of how long a claimant was living within the refugee application process.

The country of origin of each claim was received as a code with a separate code list. This researcher inputted the name of the country into the data set as a separate column. Having a 'country' field meant that the total number of asylum seekers could be analysed and mapped by country. This revealed, for example, that the largest asylum seeker countries were Nigeria and Romania. A correlate study of countries

and regions identified particular spatial areas as being regional cluster zones, for example, pockets of North Inner City space are identified as having clusters of African asylum seekers.

The researcher added the claimant and dependant adult 'fields' (categories) to create a Total Adults field (column T, see table 1b) and added this to the Qualified Child field (column R) to create a Total Household field (column U). Once this field was created, the total number of asylum seekers plus the children of asylum seekers could be calculated. Column 'S' represents those asylum seekers who were less than 18 years of age. These are labelled as "unaccompanied minors". This group are also categorised as claimants and, therefore, included in the total adult field. Their number was subtracted from the total adults column in order to calculate the total number of adults.

Health Board Claims with Fields added by Researcher

table 1b

P	Q	R	T*	U*	S
Claimant	**Qualified_A**	**Qualified_C**	**Total Adults**	**Total Household**	**Unaccomp_M**
1	0	0	1	1	0
1	1	0	2	2	0
1	1	1	2	3	0
1	1	3	2	5	0
1	1	0	2	2	0
1	0	0	0	1	1
Total 6	4	4	9	14	1

*added by researcher

A large problem when cleaning the data was that the inputs from individual Health Board employees were not uniform. There was no strict order on Microsoft Excel worksheets, particularly in relation to a claimant's address. Once the address of each claimant was made uniform and once their Electoral Division was identified, all of the information could then be mapped micro spatially.

Address Fields in the ERHA Dataset

table 2

A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*
Address 1	**Address 2**	**Street**	**Address 3**	**County**	**ED**
Drumcondra Rd	Flat 7		D 7		
St. PATRICK's COLLEGE	187 DRUMCONDRA ROAD	Drumcondra Rd 187	Co. Dublin	Dublin 9	
StPatrick's college	189 Drummcondra	Drumcondra Rd 189	Road	County Dublin.	
St Patricks Colege	Dublin 9.		Dublin		

It took several weeks to clean the data in order to analyse it. As illustrated in the fictional example above, the cells were not uniform. The spellings and spacing between letters and punctuation were different depending on who inputted the data. In some cases, the postal code for some addresses was incorrect. Each address had to be found and its postal code checked to ensure accuracy. By placing the house number at the end of the street address in a new field (see field c in table 2 above), this researcher could calculate the number of people residing on a single street. In some cases a small number of claims had the same postal address, thus indicating that the abode was sub-divided into several units (flats).

The Main Fields Within the Research Final Dataset

table 3

Ref*	Yr. of Arr	Sex	Age	Mar	Country	Address*	Post Code	Electoral Division*	Claim	Adult	Child	Total Adult*	Total Hse*	U_M
1	1998	M	36	M	Nigeria	St. Flat 1	1	Mountjoy B	1	1	1	2	3	0
1,234	2002	W	23	D	Moldova	St. Flat 10	1	Mountjoy B	1	1	3	2	5	0

*added by researcher

Only after the data was cleaned and formatted accurately in Excel could it be compatible with SPSS and Arcview programmes. In essence, each of the 4,371 rows with 25 columns had to be sorted individually to a standard setting.

Once the data was cleaned, each address had to be assigned to its Electoral Division and was then added as a field in the data. In order to create a digital map showing the spatial distribution of asylum seekers, the data set, created by this researcher, had to

match exactly with that of the Ordnance Survey (OS) digital map database. A map could not be created if there was a single mis-spelling or punctuation difference between the two data sets.

To create the maps, an Ordnance Survey (OS) digitised Street map was leased by the College for research purposes. The OS database of Dublin by Electoral Division compatible with the digital street map was also leased. This database includes X and Y coordinates and the area and perimeter size of each Electoral Division. Any database using the same Electoral Divisions, when added to the OS database, could then be mapped using Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software. Matching the data proved to be difficult. Some of the data in the OS map was not uniform, thus this researcher had to manually check how each Electoral Division (spelling and punctuation) was inputted by the OS staff, in order to match the datasets.

3.4 Creating the micro spatial dataset: locating Electoral Divisions

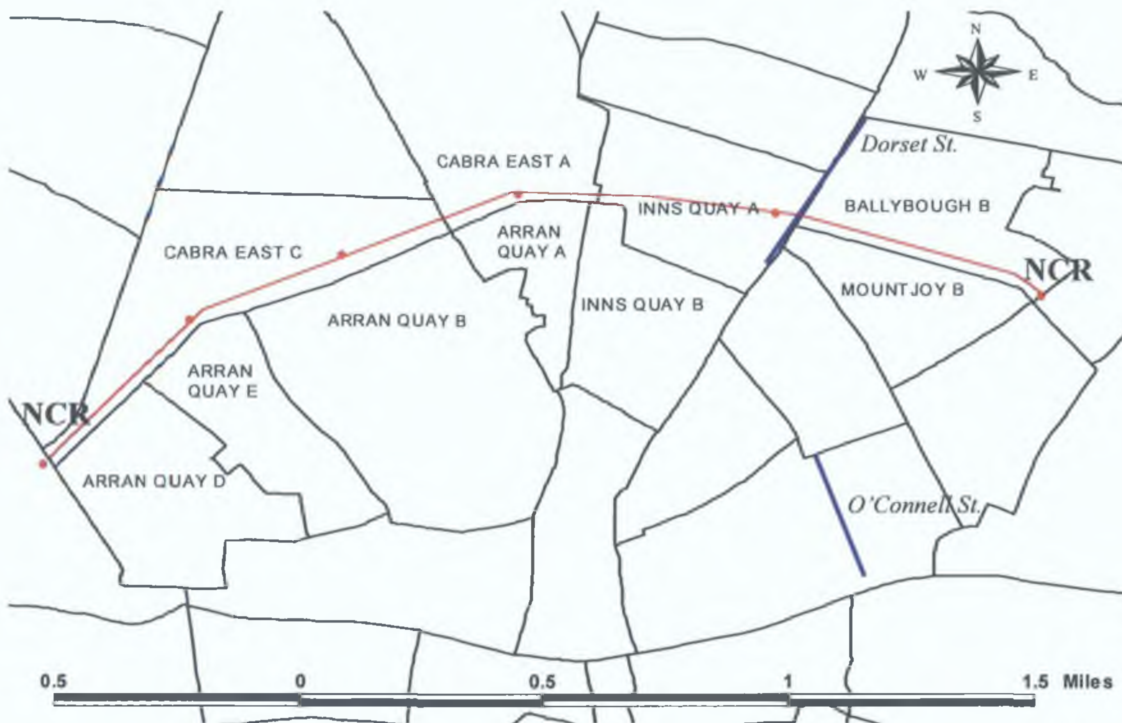
To map the spatial distribution of asylum seekers by Electoral Division, the addresses were located on an Ordnance Survey 1:20,000 Dublin City Ward Map (1994) which highlights the ED borders overlaying the street map. This was a very time consuming process for various reasons detailed below, but the process provided valuable insights which proved vital in the qualitative analysis.

To begin with, each address had to be located in the Ordnance Survey's *Dublin Street Guide* (2002). Finding some of the addresses in the guide was time consuming as the locations, being too small to print, were given a number index. In a number of cases, addresses sought could not be located in the street guide, as the aerial photographs used in the 2002 guide were taken in 1999 and thus any abodes used by asylum seekers built after late 1999 could not be identified. It was necessary therefore to drive and walk to the area and find the locations in order to mark them on the blank green field spaces in the Dublin *Street Guide* (2002). Once the location was found and marked on the Street Guide, it then had to be transferred onto the 1:20,000 Dublin City Ward Map 1994 in order to establish its Electoral Division. Once each claimant's ED was identified it was then added to the asylum seeker database.

All but 13 of the 4,371 addresses were located. Many of the immigrants, particularly in the city, live along main streets, the junctions of which are the borders between EDs. Dorset Street and both the North and South Circular Roads are examples whereby the thoroughfares constitute many different EDs. For example, the North Circular Road has 10 EDs along its route, outlined in red in map 1.

Electoral Divisions along Dublin's North Circular Road (NCR)

map 1



It was necessary to drive to streets and to walk the length of each to chart the numerical sequences of abodes. Once the numbers were located between the junctions of an Electoral Division (ED) on that street, any future address sought within this junction would be ED identifiable.

For example, if the beginning of the NCR was number 1 and its junction at Dorset St number 43, any house in between should, in theory, be in ED Mountjoy B. Similarly, if the street numbers on the opposite side of the street in ED Ballybough B began at 2

and ended at Dorset St at 48, any even number between 2 and 48 should be within ED Ballybough B.

Unfortunately, many streets do not conform to odd numbers on one side and even numbers on the other, nor do they go in order from lowest to highest in a given direction. Due to the gentrification process in recent times, a number of mews and townhouses have been built along established thoroughfares, thus breaking any semblance of numerical ordering that was in situ and making it difficult to locate asylum seeker dataset addresses. This researcher drove to and did extensive walking research on streets that housed asylum seekers in the dataset.

Observations were noted and photographs taken in each area, highlighting the different shops and services which provide for immigrants and the different kinds of housing tenure, from 'seemingly' plush apartments to flats in dilapidated sub-divided houses. Once the Electoral Division of each of the 4,371 claims (9,195 people) was assigned, the data was then synthesised into a manner compatible with Arcview and mapped. The maps constituted various demographic variables and were produced at different scales.

Map 2 on page 145 illustrates the Electoral Division map of County Dublin with Dublin County. County Dublin, including the city, is divided into four County Local Government areas, which are illustrated in map 3 below. Fingal constitutes 42 EDs, Dublin City 162 EDs, Dun Laoghaire / Rathdown 69 EDs and South Dublin 49 EDs. The data was analysed by each of the County Council regions and sub units within them, as outlined in maps 4, 5 and 6.

The researcher was faced with the dilemma of how to plot the data within the chosen administrative units. In general, geographic studies plot such data on a qualitative or percentage of population basis rather than a quantitative or numeric basis. This methodological premise has its genesis in the Modifiable Areal Unit Problem (MAUP) coined by Openshaw in 1984 as a concern that can affect spatial studies utilising aggregate data sources (Unwin, 1996).

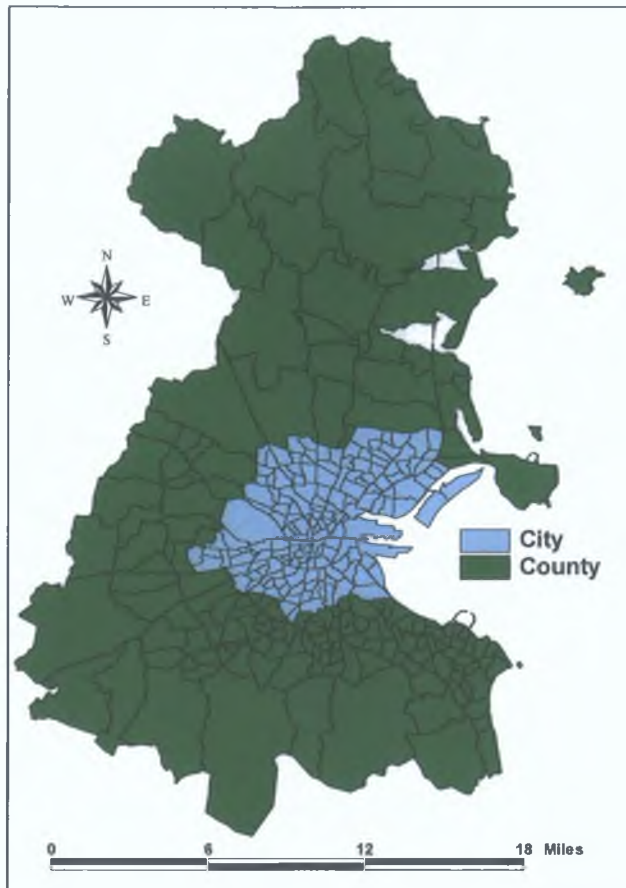
The aggregation issue was clear-cut: the data was plotted within appropriate administrative units, ranging from Council boundaries at a macro level and Electoral Division boundaries at a micro level.

It was decided to plot the absolute numbers of asylum seekers rather than the asylum-seeking population expressed as a percentage of total population within these administrative units. There were a number of reasons guiding this approach. Firstly, after extensive discussions with the Eastern Regional Health Authority (ERHA), the researcher determined that the presence of actual numbers of particular nationalities in specific administrative units and likely issues arising there from (e.g. educational or religious concerns) was critical to the study. Secondly, the emergence or coincidence of particular services involves a consideration of the threshold concept. It would be literally impossible to demarcate, with any degree of certainty, what the actual threshold levels were in any particular instance, but from the viewpoint of the emergence of associative developments (e.g. shops catering for the needs of national groupings) a numeric or absolute number basis would be a far better indicator than the percentage of population method in particular administrative units. Thirdly, the actual numbers of specific nationalities demanded consideration on a numeric basis since their relative sizes and distributions would be totally masked by the percentage representation where the numbers were small but clearly still of central relevance and interest to the study.

The researcher was aware of a number of associated issues in adopting this approach. Firstly, there is the issue of relative visibility or impact of asylum seekers where administrative units vary in size. This was addressed by also including the appropriate percentages of asylum-seeker and total populations within each administrative unit considered. Secondly, the legends attached to the maps varied. Each was a unique entity and the internal spacings and accompanying legends were generated by Arcview and not by the researcher. However, given the balance of concerns on the part of the researcher, driven above all by the three guiding principles already outlined, the maps that were constructed were on the basis of a choroplethic absolute figure basis.

Electoral Divisions in Dublin County and City

map 2

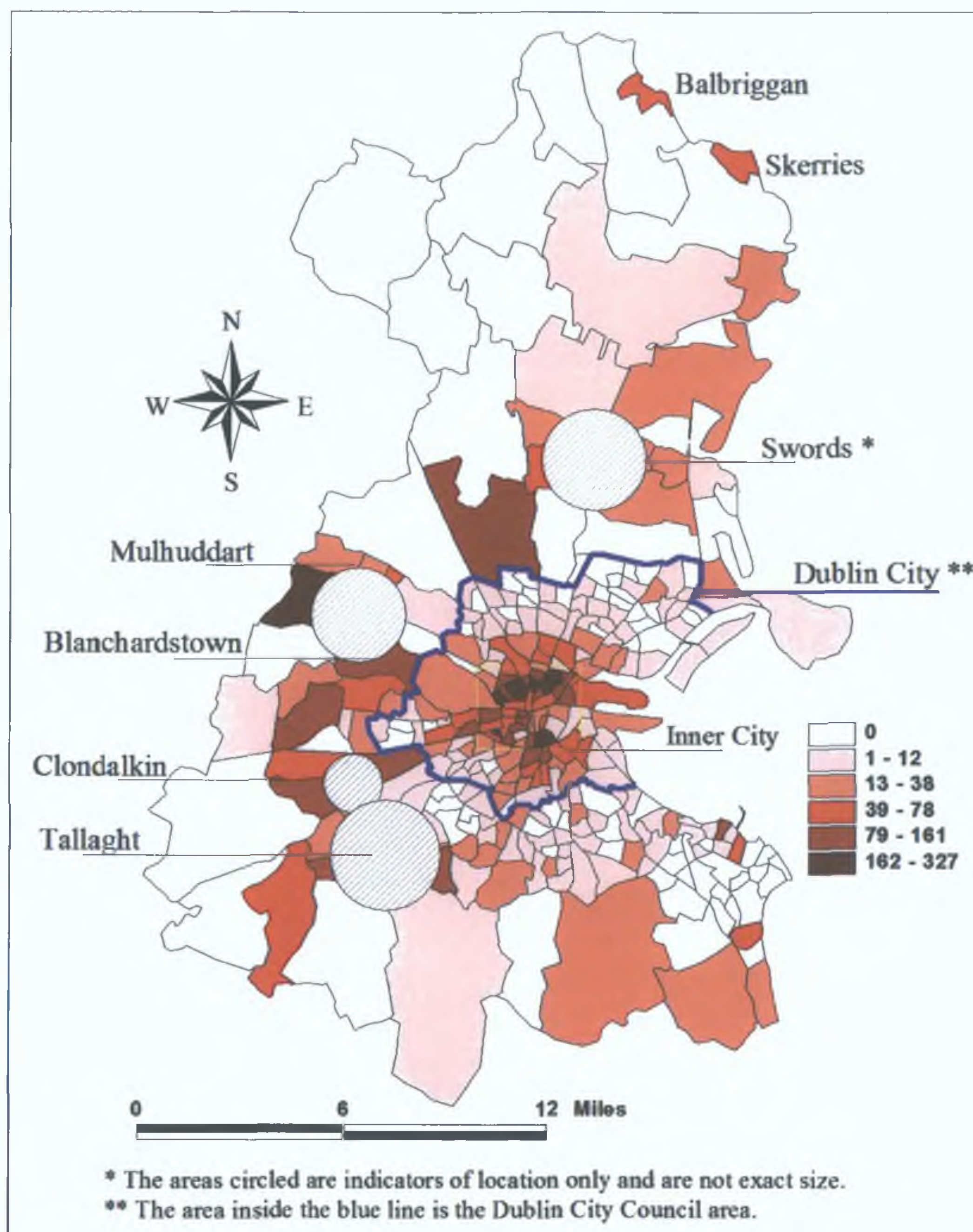


Dublin City and County Local Government Areas

map 3

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division 2002

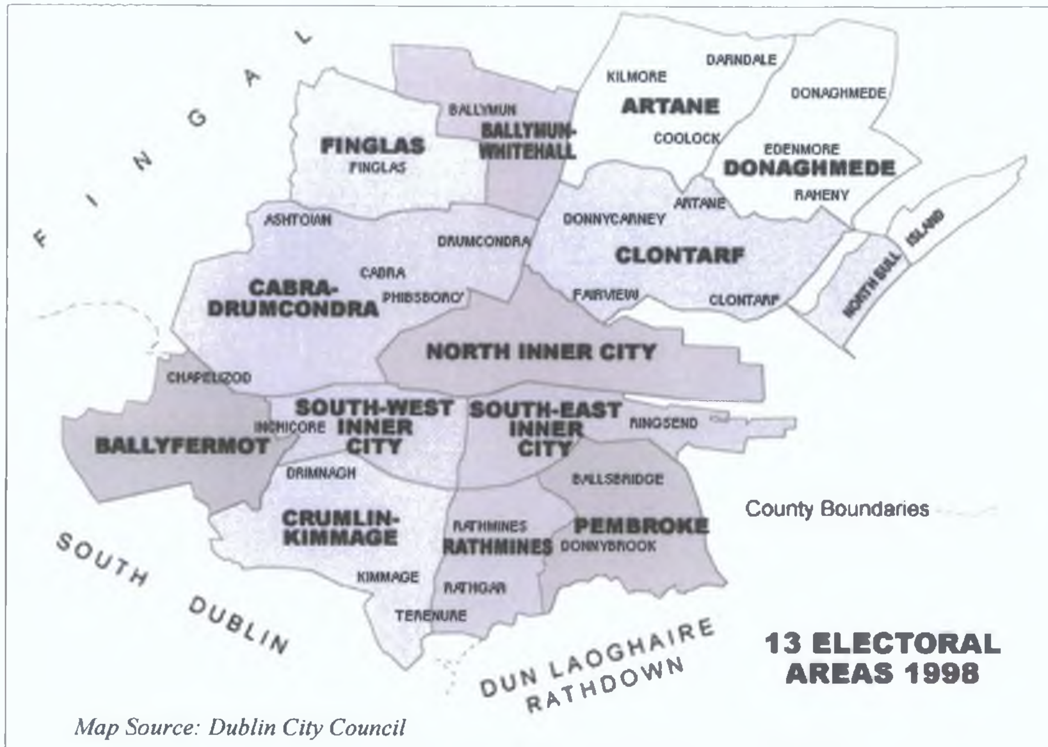
map 4



The map showing the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division illustrated the levels of asylum seeker clustering in Dublin. This map guided the various scales of analysis that ranged from County Council and identified clustered neighbourhood areas to individual Electoral Divisions.

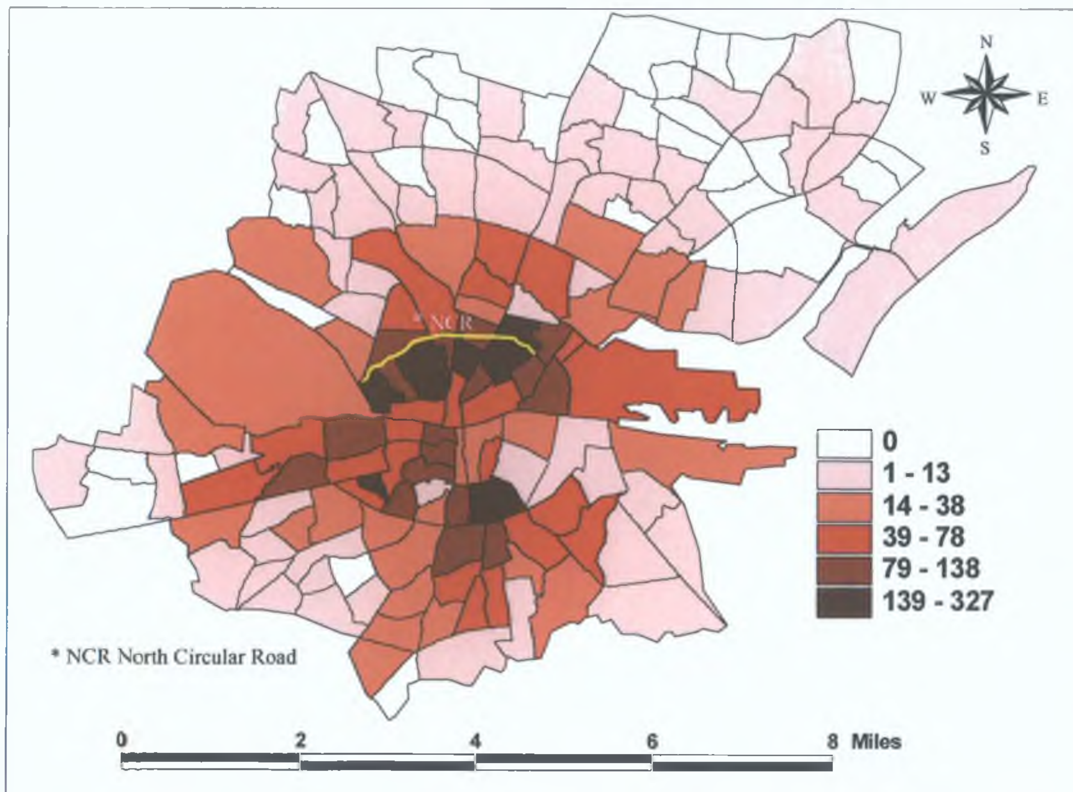
Electoral Areas in Dublin City

map 5



The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers by Electoral Division in Dublin City, 2002

map 6



3.5 Qualitative analysis: introduction

Maps 4 and 6 in section 3.4 shows that asylum seekers were not evenly dispersed across Dublin, but clustered in particular spatial units. Whilst the data can simply be analysed numerically, it became increasingly apparent that both the physical fabric and culture of areas where asylum seekers were residing would be crucial variables in the understanding of the data. Without this spatial component, the analysis ran the risk of remaining exclusively in the quantitative realm. To this end, the quantitative analysis of the data in Chapter Four is discussed simultaneously with the qualitative analysis of the data. Herbert writes (1990: 33):

> Parlett and Hamilton (1978) maintain that a concentration on seeking quantitative information by objective means can lead to one missing or neglecting other data...[and] tends to be 'insensitive to local perturbations and unusual effects'.

As discussed in the Literature Review (Chapter Two), Sibley (1995: 184-185) calls for making human geography 'radical and emancipatory', but argues that, "...the methods of enquiry which this demands – participant observation, group work, grass-roots activism or learning through advocacy – are not practiced by most geographers". Sibley thus feels that geographers should increasingly "come much closer to the people whose problems provide the primary justification for the existence of the subject". He advocates that "geographers go out into the world...in order to experience the life-worlds of other people".

3.6 Reading the city narrative

It was understood as part of the agreement with the ERHA on release of their data, that no asylum seeker would be contacted or identified within the research. The abodes in which asylum seekers were residing did, however, need to be viewed in order to determine their Electoral Divisions. Although no contact was made with the inhabitants of the address, the buildings and surrounding areas could be analysed and described. The abode might be a suburban house, a 'flat' in a sub-divided, inner city house facing a main bus corridor or, in some cases, an 'apartment' within an enclosed apartment complex. The words 'flat' and 'apartment' are highlighted here as the terms have different significance: a flat is seen by some as economically and socio-

culturally 'inferior' and an apartment as economically and socio-culturally 'superior'. According to employees of inner city community organisations interviewed by this researcher, some inner city residents seeing an immigrant entering an apartment have led to feelings of resentment. This resentment, according to these sources, is based on a 'perception', sometimes fuelled by media rhetoric, that asylum seekers are receiving preferential treatment from Government agencies by being placed in apartments.

Door Buzzers on a Sub-Divided House in Dublin's 'Flat-Land'

plate 6

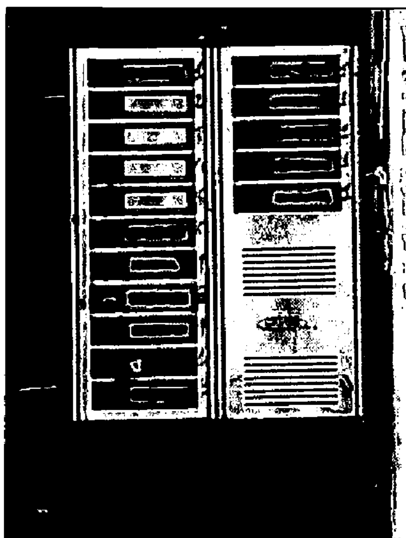


Plate 6 is representative of many of the abodes inhabited by asylum seekers. This abode is sub-divided into 16 different 'flats', some of which are occupied by large families. Some houses visited by this researcher were in a state of disrepair. These observations, illustrated by the use of photography, show how an understanding of housing tenure contributed to the analysis of the data in its spatial setting. The surrounding area of an identified abode may tell different stories, depending on the area's socio-economic and cultural history. Trying to deconstruct or identify this story or spatial narrative was one of the aims of this researcher when analysing the data in its spatial context. Factors that could contribute to the inclusion and exclusion of people inhabiting public space were a focus of the research.

Continued observations of asylum seeker abodes and cluster areas occurred on different days of the week and different times throughout the day in an attempt to

build up a picture of the rhythms of everyday life in ethnically clustered areas. As part of this process, the researcher tried to identify popular places used by immigrants and, by using anthropological field research methods, become aware of their functions. Many informal discussions and unstructured interviews took place with local shopkeepers, restaurateurs, hair salon stylists etc. By identifying places and spaces used by immigrants, the researcher built up 'maps' of immigrant social / sociological spaces in Dublin. This facilitated the comparison of the quantitative maps showing asylum seeker residential patterns with the more qualitative-based maps showing spaces used by asylum seekers and other immigrants.

James Spradley (1979: 12) in *The Ethnographic Interview* writes: "It has become increasingly clear that we do not have a homogenous culture; that people who live in modern, complex societies actually live by many different cultural codes". When mapping the sociological space used by immigrants in Dublin, social norms such as dress were observed. For the newcomer / immigrant to an area Raban in *Soft City* (1974: 49-51) writes that:

> To be initiated, the newcomer must first be stripped of his past; he has to become a child again, innocent of everything except a humbling consciousness of his own innocence and vulnerability....He finds himself in a world of symbols and signals, every one arcane.... You become a walking legible code, to be read, and as often misinterpreted, by strangers...a coat stand of symbols.

The norms of the sociological space and culture of immigrants in Dublin are different to the sociological space and culture of the mainstream Irish population. Therefore, the style of immigrant dress, the layout of an immigrant-based store and the customer-server interaction becomes significant. Raban (1974: 55-62) argues that: "To be part of the city, you needed a city style – an economic grammar of identity through which you could project yourself" adding that:

> All sets of clothes are geared to a known function, to one's place in a hierarchy which is thoroughly and instinctively understood...the hierarchy still holds good....The urban uniform, whose sole function is differentiation and arbitrary variety, is an important symptom of that condition of seemingly meaningless flux which Wordsworth diagnosed as the great disease of the city.

The methodology for reading such narratives derives from the activities of the *flâneur* as discussed in Chapter Two. Strolling along a street, sitting in a local coffee shop or

pub, chatting with people or overhearing conversations, can reveal a wealth of information.

The majority group in society can label and stereotype sub-groups by their dress and signifiers. Furthermore, the majority group can negatively label immigrant spaces as 'no-go' areas and thus have the power to create a geography of exclusion. Analysing the uses of space in Dublin made it possible to identify *de facto* socio-cultural borders which exist between immigrant and Irish spaces. For example, Moore Street and Henry Street are physically connected, but immigrants primarily use Moore Street and the mainstream Irish consumer primarily uses Henry Street. It would be impossible to make visible this invisible socio-cultural border between the two streets, without a continued observation of the spatial axis between Moore Street and Henry Street. Sibley (1995: 14) writes:

> Stereotypes play an important part in the configuration of social space because of the importance of distanciation in the behaviour of social groups, that is distancing from others who are represented negatively and because of the way in which group images and place images combine to create landscapes of exclusion.

Whilst particular immigrant spaces were identified and observed, the borders between the mainstream and indigenous spaces were identified as being porous, particularly with regard to Irish people using immigrant spaces. Watt and Stenson (1998: 249) in *Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures* write that:

> From our interviews with these young people suggest, certain people and places can gain local reputations based upon racialised perceptions of 'danger' and 'trouble', whilst on the other hand personal familiarity and 'knowing people' from a diverse range of backgrounds can facilitate feelings of safety and movement across the invisible borders of youth territory.

3.7 Photographing the juxtapositions of time and space in Dublin

The residential spaces of asylum seekers were co-terminus with indigenous residential spaces. It became apparent when walking throughout ethnic cluster zones that the two sub-groups, asylum seeker and indigenous, co-existed with a third sub-group, that of a gentrified population.

Reading everyday life is complicated when different sub groups inhabit and read space differently, as well as read each other differently. The analysis of multicultural spaces is an analysis of a multiplicity of lifeworlds in juxtaposition. The Data Analysis illustrates how the building of apartment blocks in Dublin has created radical architectural, as well as economic and socio-cultural juxtapositions with the former indigenous monocultural streetscape. Likewise, the Data Analysis illustrates how the opening of ethnic shops has created radical socio-cultural juxtapositions with former indigenous streetscapes.

The methodology used in this research combined the walking of the *flâneur* with the analytical perspectives of the cultural geographer, ethnographer and photographer. It is a combination of these roles with that of the *flâneur* that this researcher labels 'flânography'. Karen Nakamura (2006) calls the emerging use of photography by anthropologists 'photoethnography'. Sara Pink's (2001) *Doing Visual Ethnography* and Jon Prosser's (1998) *Image-based Research,* two influential works on the use of photography as methodology, discuss the lack of discourse on the photographic image despite its illustrative uses in research. Pink (2002: 7) writes that: "Ethnographic uses of the visual have usually been shrouded in some controversy" and Prosser (1998: 97) claims that the descriptive process takes precedence over the actual image. Both writers claim that photography has predominantly blossomed as a method in different disciplines, such as cultural studies and sociology, rather than ethnographic research.

Simon Watney (1999: 146-147) in a discussion of the sociology of photography and the 'discursive formations of photographic practice' writes that the "origins of photography coincide exactly with the origins of social sciences". He discusses the debate regarding the subjective role of the photographer and, in relation to the work of Gisele Freund, argues that:

> ...in a move familiar within the sociology of culture....The cultural artefact is cut off and abstracted as an object of consideration, and is then submitted to an *a priori* distinction between form and content, with social and economic relations understood as external determining forces on both.

Watney, in relation to the work of John Berger, brings the subjectivity of the photographer to the forefront of the photograph allowing the photographer to act as a

framing device for the story that the photograph tells. Watney (1999: 147) quotes from Berger's (1972) *Understanding a Photograph:*

> What eventually distinguishes 'very memorable photographs and the most banal snapshots' is 'the degree to which the photograph makes the photographer's decision transparent and comprehensible....[Photography] is the process of rendering observation self-conscious'.

Leedy and Ormond (2005: 138) argue that the researcher engaged in qualitative field work should, in the words of Walcott (1994), strive for 'rigorous subjectivity'. To some degree, the use of photography as methodology is a phenomenological approach to understanding the lived environment, not only by the researcher / photographer but also by the reader / observer. Watney (1999: 149) in discussing the increasing popularity and power of the visual image in contemporary society (and cultural studies) writes that "photography is a decisive constitutive feature of the modern newspaper" and that "there would not be institutions of advertising and journalism as we know them without photography". Jencks (2005: 148) argues that the role of the *flâneur* has been replaced in contemporary times by the investigative photojournalist. He calls for a contemporary *flâneur*-like role within the social sciences. He writes that the postmodern *flâneur*:

> ...though grounded in everyday life, is an analytic form, a narrative device, an attitude towards knowledge and its social context. It is an image of movement through the social space of modernity....The *flâneur* is a multilayered palimpsest that enables us to move real products of modernity, like commodification and leisured patriarchy, through the practical organization of space and its negotiation by inhabitants of a city, to a critical appreciation of the state of modernity and its erosion into the post-, and onwards to a reflexive understanding of the function, and purpose, of realist as opposed to hermeneutic epistemologies in the appreciation of those previous formations....I have sought to establish that the *flâneur* is no absolute methodological stance but rather a creative attitude of urban inquisition and a 'relative' absence of variable constraints....The (post)modern *flâneur* can equally recognise the real, as well as the supposed...

This researcher on an almost daily basis in the summer of 2003 and 2004 walked throughout Dublin taking many hundreds of photographs, particularly in areas identified as being ethnically clustered. The photographs are, therefore, like 'a day in the life books' and as discussed by Benjamin (1979), 'snap shots' of time and space. Pink (2006: 57) writes that the "photographic survey has a long history in social science" and discusses Collier and Collier's (1986) use of the 'cultural inventory':

> ...whereby the production of a systematic photographic survey of visual aspects of the material content and organization of a home, one may answer questions relating to the

economic level of the household, its style, décor, activities, the character of its order and it signs of hospitality and relaxation" (Pink, 2006: 57)

In relation to the work of Collier and Collier (1986), Pink (2006: 57) adds that their approach provides a way "of visually comparing specific material aspects of different households or even cultures" and argues that this form of research has been primarily developed by 'visual sociologists'.

Photographs taken by this researcher of old and new buildings in ethnically clustered areas on a given day illustrate the radical juxtaposition of these buildings and their uses at a particular time. The photographs represent a pause in the city's transitional narrative, which facilitates a spatial analysis of such places and spaces. For example, a photograph was taken by this researcher on Moore Street showing an African store in the background and a street trader selling flowers and vegetables in the foreground(plate 136, page 526). Seen in the context of the decades that the trader has worked on the street and the rapidity in which such ethnic stores have appeared, the photograph begs interesting questions regarding the cultural dynamic on the street. In 2006, the main ethnically clustered sites were revisited to observe and photograph any changes that occurred. These photographs were juxtaposed with photographs taken by this researcher in 2002, to illustrate the extent of an area's physical and cultural transition in Dublin over a 4-year period. The result of these photographs is to illustrate how the city is a soft space, both physically and culturally. By illustrating the city's transition, the photographs facilitate an exploration of why the transition occurred and what future changes might occur.

Anthony Vidler (2003: 42) in *Photourbanism: Planning the City from Above and Below* discusses the International Situationists 'photographic revolution' inspired by Lefebvre's call for the citizen's "right to the City" in 1968. The Situationists called for a move away from the importance given to 'official' aerial photography, so championed by Le Corbusier, to the everyday photography that built on the popular street photography of the 1920s:

> ...the Situationist vision...espouses an urbanism which is like no other urbanism ever before conceived - a "unitary urbanism" of the streets and of the psychological and political desires and needs of the populace. Photos now celebrate the "unpaved street"...-and the graffiti revolution of 1968. (Vidler, 2003: 42)

Vidler argues that the Situationists attempted to create, as with the work of Ralph Rumney, "psychogeographic maps" that illustrated spatial and psychological borders by photographing places and objects used by individuals on a daily basis. As with the work of artists such as Delunay, and later photographers such as Diane Arbus and Sebastio Delgado, the photograph represents a 'window on the world'. Vidler (2003: 42) writes:

> ...photography, as the surrealists had demonstrated, was an equally powerful instrument of critique...relying specifically on the "real effect" of the camera, whose increasing portability (the Leica) allowed the fleeting moments of the everyday to be captured as veritè....Such photographs reveal the intimacy of the city – not its "official personality".

3.8 ***Interviews***

In order to accommodate the request by the ERHA not to contact individuals within the dataset, meetings were arranged with organisations that deal specifically with immigrants to gain a better understanding of asylum seekers' experiences. Groups working with immigrants, such as Tallaght Intercultural Action, acted as gatekeepers and intermediaries between this researcher and asylum seekers. Building up a relationship with grass roots organisations allowed this researcher some access to individuals living in the communities. Through these groups, the voices of asylum seekers could be analysed and incorporated into the research. Furthermore, their responses acted as an indicator of the intercultural dynamics in particular spatial areas.

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and community groups representing non-Irish nationals were contacted, including Sport Against Racism Ireland (SARI), North West Inner City Intercultural Working Group, Development and Intercultural Education in Ireland (DICE) and Church organisations. Members of the Irish Refugee Council, Irish Council for Civil Liberties and local Health Board employees were also interviewed. These organisations were contacted to ascertain the kinds of supports available to immigrants, the issues faced by service providers and to ascertain the extent to which the Government supported such organisations' activities.

To gauge the indigenous populations' views of and responses to gentrification and immigration, the researcher spoke with local community groups, schools and youth training centres, such as the Fatima Groups United, North Inner City Renewal Group, St. Mary's National school, Youthreach Pleasants Street, Youthreach Georges Street and Youthreach Dominic Street, St. Andrew's Resource Centre and Dublin County and City Youth Service Board.

Interviews and meetings with organisations revealed grounded currents of information regarding the cultural dynamics of specific sites. However, the researcher wished to speak with individuals to gauge the depth of emotion with regard to the cultural dynamics of the street. No contact was made with members of the dataset as per the strictures of the ERHA. However, while walking and observing ethnically-clustered spaces, this researcher spoke with individuals such as shopkeepers. These unstructured, conversational-style interviews allowed for a fluidity of conversation within which the dynamics were directed by both responses of the interviewee and the setting.

The introduction to this qualitative section quoted the work of Sibley (1995: 185) who argued that geographers should increasingly "come much closer to the people whose problems provide the primary justification for the existence of the subject". This researcher had informal, confidential discussions and unstructured interviews with different individuals in the course of walking and analysing everyday life in the city. A small number of people were asked if they would agree to be interviewed anonymously on a more formal basis by this researcher. The more formal, pre-arranged interviews were semi-structured. Using social science interview techniques, the questions were used primarily as starting points for discussion. Leedy and Ormond (2005:139) write that:

> The phenomenological interview is often a very unstructured one in which the researcher and participants work together to "arrive at the heart of the matter" (Tesch, 1994). The researcher listens closely as participants describe their everyday experiences related to the phenomenon and must be alert for subtle yet meaningful cues in participants' expressions, questions, and occasional sidetracks. A typical interview looks more like an informal conversation, with the participant doing most of the talking and the researcher doing most of the listening.

CHAPTER FOUR

Data Analysis

4.1 Introduction and overview

As outlined in Chapter Three, the asylum seeker data was analysed in its spatial context. In essence, the researcher calculated the spatial distribution of asylum seekers at various scales, each of which comprise a section within this chapter.

This first section provides an overview of the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in County Dublin. It discusses the distribution of asylum seekers, firstly by postal code and secondly, county council areas by Electoral Division. The percentage and density of asylum seekers to the 2002 Census population at these different scales was analysed. Ultimately, the unequal spatial distribution of asylum seekers across Dublin's four county councils is illustrated. This section provides an analysis of the distribution of asylum seekers across Dublin by their two main continents of origin, Africa and Europe and by adult and children categories.

The subsequent sections comprise an analysis of the data by county council beginning with Fingal, followed by South Dublin, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown and Dublin City. Dublin City is further sub-divided into two separate sections, Dublin City South and Dublin City North. Each section begins with a data analysis of all the asylum seekers in the Health Board dataset who were residing in that county council in June 2002. The density and percentage levels of the asylum seeker population to the 2002 Census of population for each County Council were calculated and compared.

A map showing the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in each county council was produced. This map illustrates where, and to what extent, ethnic clusters are emerging. Ethnically clustered spatial units are identified and analysed as sub-sections within each of the county council sections. For example, the Fingal County Council section begins with an overview of all asylum seekers residing in Fingal. This is followed by three sub-sections which analyse asylum seekers and the on-going cultural transition of Blanchardstown, Swords and North County Dublin. The latter spatial area comprises an analysis of Rush, Balbriggan and Skerries.

It was an aim of this thesis that an independent reading of the analysis of each council area be made possible and therefore some repetition occurs. For example, there are common themes and issues that emerged in an analysis of the data set at all scales, such as asylum seekers' experiences of racism and the difficulties they face by their non-entitlement to gain employment. However, particular themes emerged during the micro-spatial data analysis which were strongly related to the specific geographical areas in which asylum seekers were housed. The asylum seeker data for each spatial unit was broken down and analysed by different variables, such as gender and age. The analysis of the data depended on the abode and the locale in which asylum seekers were located. Some of the spatial analysis of the data was related to housing tenure and the socio-cultural landscape within which asylum seekers were housed. For example, the experiences of asylum seekers varied depending on whether they lived in a suburban house as opposed to a fourth-floor inner city 'flat'.

Each council section focuses upon a particular theme. The theme of living in isolation is particularly highlighted in the Fingal County Council section with regard to those asylum seekers residing in areas without shops and services that cater for their specific health and socio-cultural needs. The rise in the black-economy in North Dublin and its effects on workers and local communities is discussed, as well as the role sport plays in the integration of young immigrants into the broader community.

The South County Dublin Council section focuses its discussion on the challenges faced by asylum seeker families living in large suburban areas. One such challenge is related to finding one's sense of identity and belonging to a place when residing within a large set of different, yet interconnected suburbs, such as Tallaght. The challenges immigration bears upon family roles once played out in the asylum seekers' country of origin is highlighted. Discussion focuses on issues of integration and racism, the role asylum seeker women play in local community volunteer projects.

The Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council section primarily questions why so few asylum seekers reside in this area. It posits economic reasons such as housing costs. It highlights the difficulties for asylum seekers residing in Direct Provision Centres with a miniscule disposable income. It also shows the difficulty asylum seekers have trying to integrate into broader society when amenities are increasingly expensive and privatised.

The competition for space within what Sibley (1995) calls liminal zones is a central theme in the analysis of Dublin City County Council. This Council is sub-divided into two separate data analysis units. Firstly, there is an analysis of Dublin City South, which includes Dublin City South's suburban area and the South East and South West Inner City. Secondly, the Dublin City North section includes sub-sections on Dublin City North's suburban areas and the North Inner City.

The main focus of analysis in the Dublin City Council section is on the South and North Inner City. The analysis of the South East Inner City concentrates on the issue of bid-rent function and the ability of cultural producers to re-shape inner city space. It is argued that the effect of such processes is the creation of spatial funnels that can result in asylum seekers living in underprivileged spaces.

The analysis of the South West Inner City explores the vagaries of living in a single space that has distinct communities placed within it, i.e. Foucault-like heterotopias. As discussed in Chapter One and Three, the three main groups identified as inhabiting such spaces in Dublin are the indigenous population, the non-Irish national population and the gentrified population.

The North Inner City section highlights the extent of poly-culturalism in certain locales and emphasises some of the resulting tensions between members of the different ethnic and social groups inhabiting plural spaces. It calls attention to the loss of identity felt by some indigenous North Inner City residents, but also discuses the different possibilities for social integration and the development of vibrant cosmopolitan urban quarters in the inner city.

In general, each sub-section begins with a brief description of the geography and history of the spatial unit under analysis, followed by a detailed statistical analysis of the asylum seeker dataset residing in that area. The data is analysed from different theoretical lenses to facilitate a broader perspective of the geographic, socio-economic and cultural setting within which asylum seekers are located. The different theoretical perspectives discussed within Chapter One and Chapter Two are explicitly referred to and developed upon in context with the data and the spatial units being analysed.

4.2 Analysis of the spatial distribution of asylum seekers (dataset) as one group in County Dublin

A comparative analysis of asylum seekers by Dublin postal code, 2000-2002

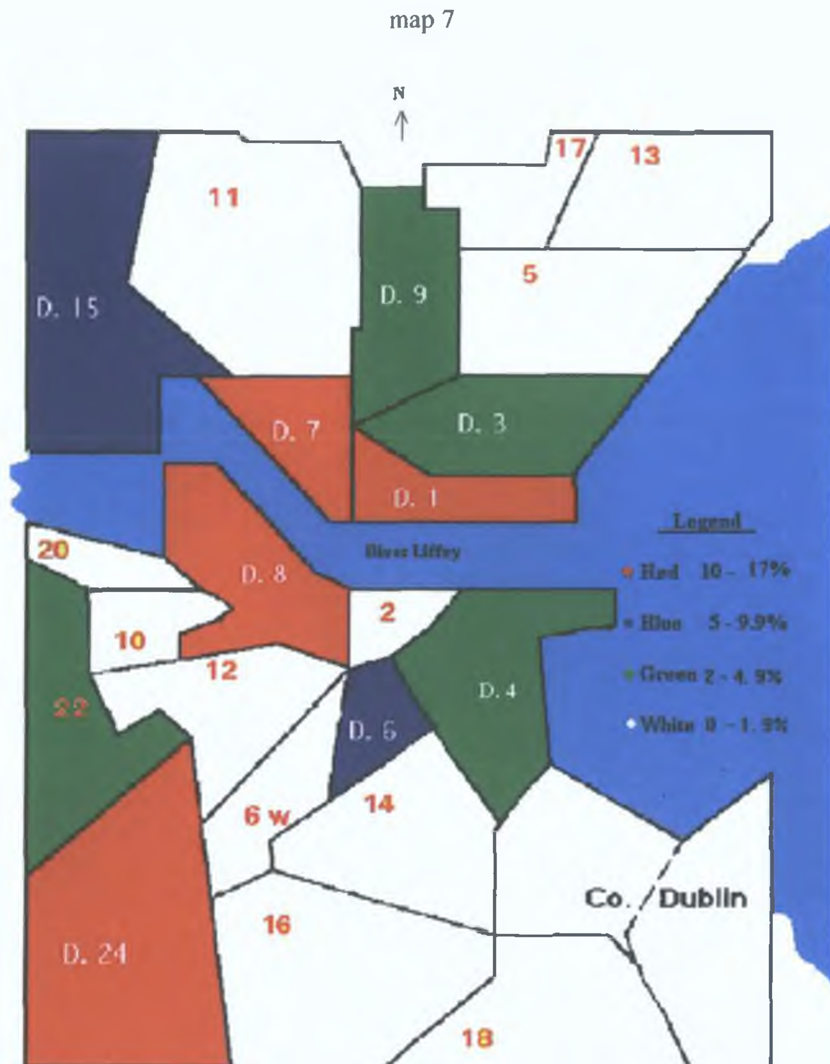
In Dublin, in June 2002, there were 9,195 asylum seekers in receipt of a Health Board Supplementary Welfare Allowance (SWA) and Direct Provision payments. This does not encapsulate all asylum seekers as those whom were granted 'Temporary Leave To Remain', for example, are not included in this dataset. According to the Health Board, the 9,195 do however, represent a large proportion of asylum seekers who were living in Dublin in June 2002.

Prior to assembling the data at the micro scale of Electoral Divisions, this researcher compared the spatial distribution of asylum seekers by postal code between 2000 and 2002. This analysis revealed particular macro-spatial trends in the residential patterns of asylum seekers at a postal code scale during this two-year period. This comparison facilitates an analysis of the success of the Government's Direct Provision policy which took effect in 2000. If this policy was operated as it claimed, there would most likely have been a reduction in the number of asylum seekers living in County Dublin in 2002 as compared with 2000.

The Direct Provision policy was designed to 'disperse' asylum seekers away from the city to prevent ethnic clusters emerging and to save costs by providing each adult asylum seekers with €19.50 per week and half that total per child dependant. Direct Provision Centres are mostly hostel-like dormitory accommodation where asylum seekers are provided with food. Asylum seekers within this research dataset living in private rented accommodation prior to the Direct Provision (DP) policy being operational were entitled to stay in their rented accommodation. Prior to DP, asylum seekers chose where they wanted to live, which was the case for many of the people in this dataset.

Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers in Dublin County Borough by Postal Code, 2000

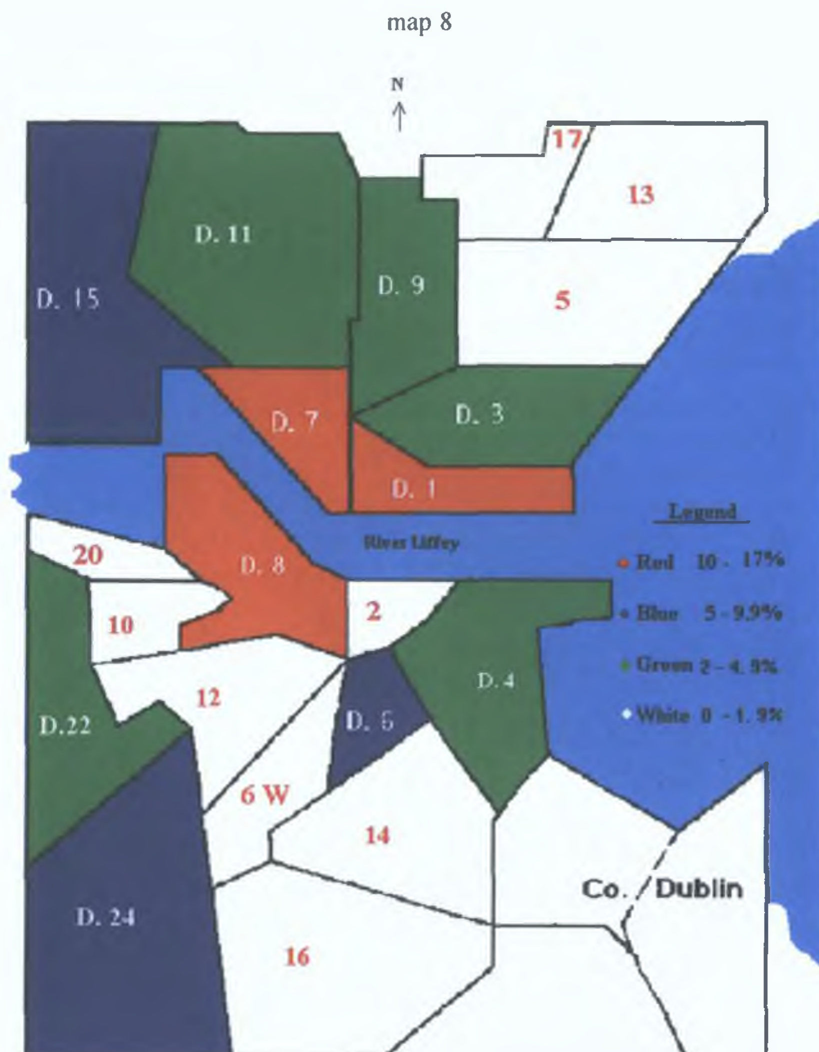
map 7



Map 8 shows the spatial distribution of those asylum seekers in receipt of a Health Board Supplementary Welfare Allowance residing in Dublin by Postal code in 2000 (Kelly, 2001). The map clearly illustrates postal code or macro clustering of asylum seekers particularly in Tallaght (postal code Dublin 24), Dublin's North Inner City (postal codes 1 and 7) and Dublin's South West Inner City (postal code Dublin 8).

Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers in Dublin County Borough by Postal Code, 2002

map 8



When compared with map 8, map 9 shows a shift northwards along the western suburbs away from Dublin 24 (primarily the Tallaght area) to Dublin 22 (the Clondalkin area) and Dublin 15 (primarily the Blanchardstown / Mulhuddart area) between 2000 and 2002. It is difficult to detect if there is a spatial correlation between the movements of asylum seekers away from Tallaght with the increase in the numbers of asylum seekers moving in to Blanchardstown. Postal codes 24, 22 and 15 encapsulate some of Dublin's most disadvantaged suburban housing estates. Dublin's North and South West Inner City are also home to some of Dublin's most disadvantaged housing enclaves, known as 'flat' complexes. It is apparent from map 8 that there is a spatial correlation between

spaces that house the disadvantaged, indigenous Dublin sub-population and the asylum seeker sub-population in Dublin.

One contributing factor to the location of asylum seekers is housing availability and the willingness, or lack thereof, for private landlords to rent their properties. It could be argued, based on the distribution maps, that landlords are more disposed to rent their properties to asylum seekers and other immigrant groups in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. One reason for residential clustering is the large number of private-rented, sub-divided houses in particular spatial units, particularly Dublin's inner city areas.

One other contributing factor to the spatial distribution of asylum seekers is the location of Government Direct Provision (DP) Centres. One could suggest that where the Government locate these centres is based on economic factors i.e. the availability of rented space. Residents of advantaged neighbourhoods have opposed the placement of DP centres in their communities, such as the opposition to Broc House by residents of affluent Donnybrook in Dublin 4 in 2001. The location of DP Centres in disadvantaged areas might have been an easier option for the Government when choosing where to locate these Centres. The indigenous residents might not have the political will or means to oppose them in the same manner as those in Donnybrook.

Both chart 1 and table 4 indicate that there were more asylum seekers residing in County Dublin in June 2002 compared with July 2000. Does this indicate that the dispersal policy did not work as planned? Despite the Direct Provision policy there were 1,191 more asylum seekers residing in Dublin in June 2002 compared with July 2000. Table 4 shows an increase in the number of asylum seekers in most postal codes with the exception of postal codes 24, 6 and 4. The reduction in asylum seeker numbers in Dublin 6 and 4 might relate to the increase in the asylum seeker population in Dublin 2. The increase in asylum seekers in Dublin 2, as well as other postal codes, is most likely due to the acquisition of Direct Provision Centres in these areas. This illustrates the ability of the placement of asylum seeker DP sites to reconfigure the asylum seeker map of Dublin.

Asylum Seekers by Postal Code as a Percentage of the Total Asylum Seeker Population July, 2000 and June 2002

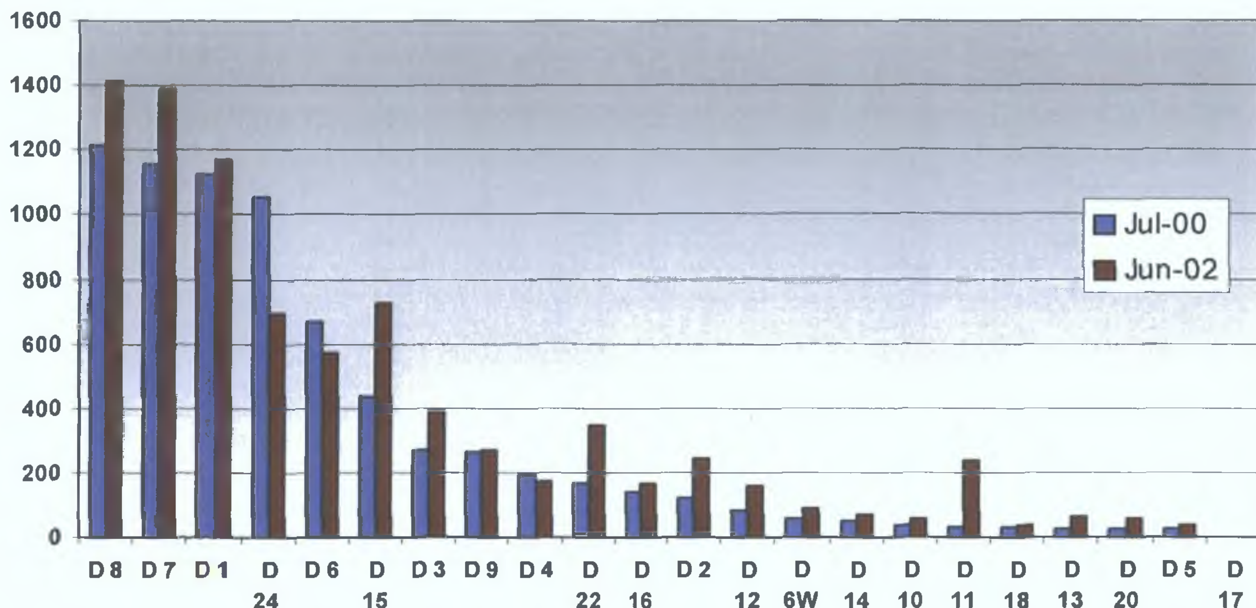
table 4

Postal Code	AS Pop. Jul-'00	% of Total AS*	AS Pop. Jun-'02	% of Total AS	Diff '00 - '02
D 8	1214	16.91	1415	16.90	201
D 7	1156	16.10	1386	16.56	230
D 1	1123	15.64	1170	13.98	47
D 24	1054	14.68	693	8.28	-361
D 6	670	9.33	575	6.87	-95
D 15	434	6.04	727	8.68	293
D 3	267	3.72	390	4.66	123
D 9	262	3.65	267	3.19	5
D 4	195	2.72	174	2.08	-21
D 22	166	2.31	344	4.11	178
D 16	142	1.98	165	1.97	23
D 2	124	1.73	246	2.94	122
D 12	85	1.18	162	1.94	77
D 6W	58	0.81	92	1.10	34
D 14	52	0.72	69	0.82	17
D 10	38	0.53	55	0.66	17
D 11	35	0.49	236	2.82	201
D 18	31	0.43	41	0.49	10
D 13	26	0.36	65	0.78	39
D 20	25	0.35	59	0.70	34
D 5	23	0.32	40	0.48	17
D 17	1	0.01	1	0.01	0
Total	7,181	100	8,372	100	+1,191

* *Asylum Seeker*

Asylum Seekers by Dublin Postal Code 2000 and 2002

chart 1



Following on from the work of the Chicago School, particular studies such as that of Karl Taeuber and Alma Taeuber (1965) used a segregation index to calculate the extent of ethnic segregation in US cities. According to Johnston et al (1998: 547):

> Social geographers and 'spatial sociologists' (Peach, 1975) argued that patterns of residential segregation could be taken as an index of that process...with the implication that segregation was inherently undesirable....Most recently, geographers have begun to acknowledge the political role of housing and residential segregation in the constitution of specific forms of racism.

As in 2000, the majority of asylum seekers in 2002 were located in Dublin's North Inner City and the South West Inner City. To analyse the extent of the unequal distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin, a Segregation Index of asylum seeker distribution was calculated as shown in Table 5 and questioned the possibility of racism occurring.

Segregation Index of Asylum Seekers by Postal Code to Total Number of Asylum Seekers 2000 and 2002

table 5

Postal Code (PC)	AS Total '02	AS % of AS Total	*PC Seg. Index '02	PC Seg. Index '00	Diff '00 - '02
D 8	1,415	16.9	3.7	3.7	0.0
D 7	1,386	16.6	3.6	3.5	0.1
D 1	1,170	14.0	3.1	3.4	-0.4
D 24	693	8.3	1.8	3.2	-1.4
D 6	575	6.9	1.5	2.1	-0.5
D 15	727	8.7	1.9	1.3	0.6
D 3	390	4.7	1.0	0.8	0.2
D 9	267	3.2	0.7	0.8	-0.1
D 4	174	2.1	0.5	0.6	-0.1
D 22	344	4.1	0.9	0.5	0.4
D 16	165	2.0	0.4	0.4	0.0
D 2	246	2.9	0.6	0.4	0.3
D 12	162	1.9	0.4	0.3	0.2
D 6W	92	1.1	0.2	0.2	0.1
D 14	69	0.8	0.2	0.2	0.0
D 10	55	0.7	0.1	0.1	0.0
D 11	236	2.8	0.6	0.1	0.5
D 18	41	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
D 13	65	0.8	0.2	0.1	0.1
D 20	59	0.7	0.2	0.1	0.1
D 5	40	0.5	0.1	0.1	0.0
D 17	1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Total	**8,372**	100			

** Postal Code Segregation Index*

This index (table 5) calculates the average number of asylum seekers in the 22 postal codes and also shows the relative percentage of asylum seekers to their total number by postal code as an index value in relation to the mean number (380). For example, there were more than 3 times the average of 380 asylum seekers residing in Dublin postal codes 1, 7 and 8. There were more than one and a half times the average number of asylum seekers residing in Dublin postal codes 24, 6 and 15. Apart from Dublin 3, which had 10 more asylum seekers than the average, the remaining 15 postal codes housed less than the average. Ten postal codes housed less than half the average number of asylum seekers residing in postal codes in June 2002.

The Literature Review discussed how classic urban theory, in particular the bid-rent function, economically corals those sub-groups with the least capital to live closer to the city centre. This applies to the asylum seeking population in Dublin. The closer Electoral Divisions are to the city centre the more densely populated with asylum seekers they become. This is notwithstanding the fact, as discussed by Harvey (1973), that some sections of the middle-upper classes have the choice to live in the city, as witnessed by Dublin's recent gentrification process. The result of this gentrification can be the rebounding of asylum seekers away from the city centre to find accommodation in outlying peripheral areas of the city because they have been out-bid for inner city space. This research has shown that in 2002, the overall percentage of asylum seekers to the census population of Dublin was only 0.82%, despite a common misconception of there being an 'influx' of asylum seekers into Dublin. This pejorative misconception, as discussed in Chapters One and Two, has been propagated at different times by sections of the media (Guerin, 2002). To try and understand this 'perception' of a flood of asylum seekers, this researcher analysed the data macro-spatially and micro-spatially. This revealed that the 0.82% of the Census population is not dispersed equally, as highlighted in the segregation index (table 5), which highlights that there were, for example, 3.7 times the number of asylum seekers in Dublin 8 compared with the average number.

The following section further analyses the distribution of asylum seekers at different scales illustrating how, for example, some Electoral Divisions have a far greater percentage of asylum seekers than others. This level of analysis poses the question of why asylum seekers reside in particular spatial units and, furthermore, highlights the

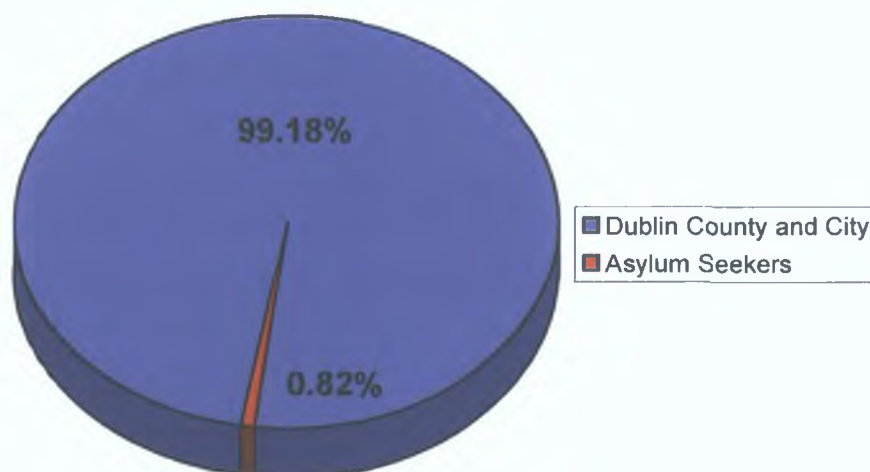
spatial units where potential tensions might exist if immigration patterns continue to rise without the development and proper funding of integration strategies.

An overview of the dataset by County Dublin and County Council

Charts 2 below, and charts 3 and 4 on the following pages, clearly indicated that asylum seekers were not evenly distributed across Dublin and illustrates the dramatic differences between asylum seekers as a percentage of the 2002 Census population at different scales.

2002 Census Population of County Dublin and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 2



Dublin County and City Population: 1,133,821 *Asylum Seekers: 9,195*

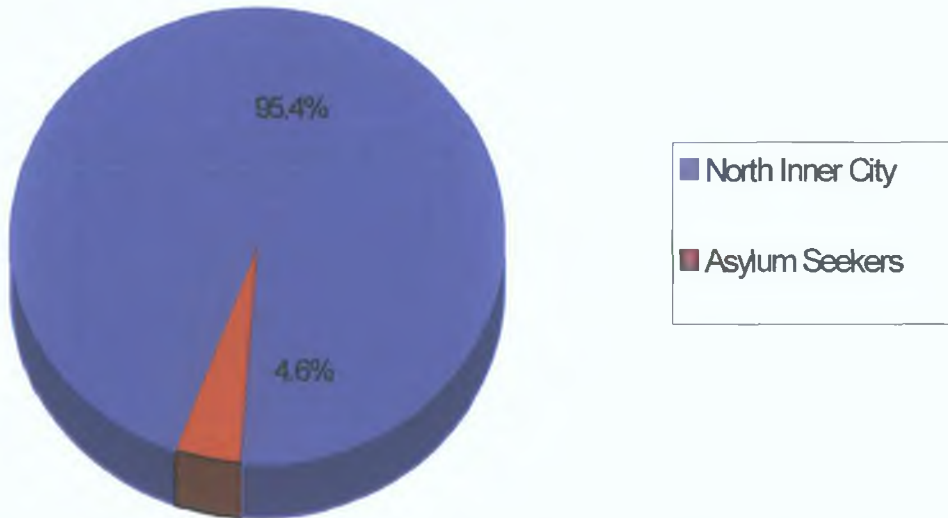
Table 6 illustrates the spatial distribution of asylum seekers by the four county councils: Dublin City, Fingal, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown and South Dublin. The table also illustrates the spatial analysis of asylum seekers in Dublin City at different scales: North and South City, as well as the North Inner City and the South East and West Inner City. Map 10 shows this tabular information in map form.

The sections within this chapter on the individual county councils, analysed in depth the council data contained within table 6. However, general themes emerged from a

reading of this data when grouped together at the County Dublin scale. This section analysed the asylum seeker dataset at a Co. Dublin scale and analysed the dataset using continent and adult/children as variables.

2002 Census Population of Dublin's North Inner City and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

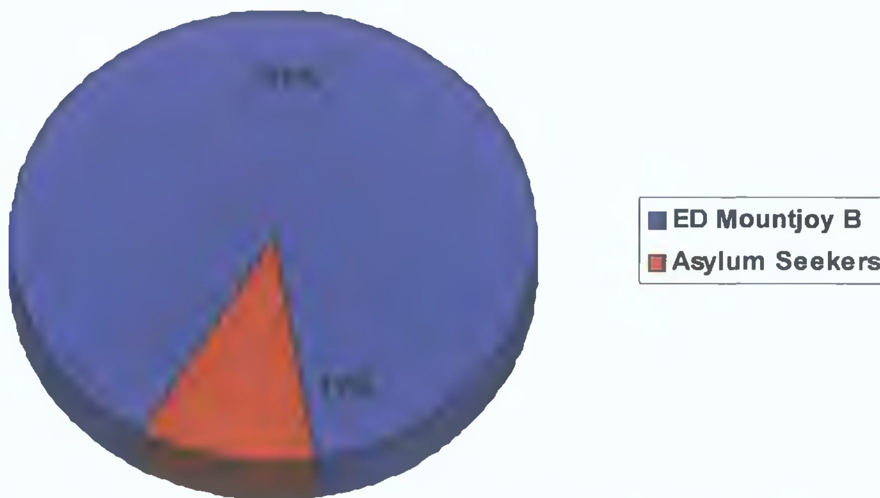
chart 3



North Inner City Population: 54,213 *Asylum Seeker Population: 2,506*

2002 Census Population of ED Mountjoy B and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 4



ED Mountjoy B Population: 2,725 *Asylum Seeker Population: 327*

Total Number of Asylum Seekers, Residing in County Dublin by County Council and Sub-Council Spatial Units, June 2002

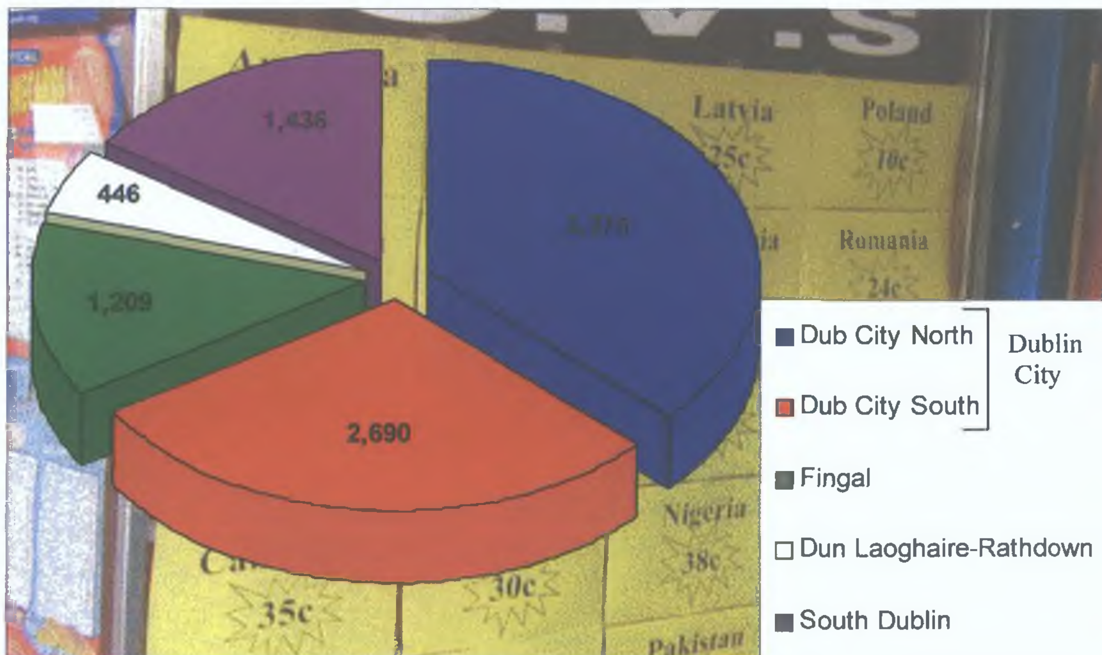
table 6 and chart 5

Column: A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Region	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96 – '02	Hectares	AS* 2002	AS % '02	AS per Hectare	**Cen. per Hectare
Dublin County and City	1,058,264	1,122,821	6.1	92,066	9,195	0.82	0.10	12.20
Dublin City	481,854	495,781	2.9	11,761	6,066	1.22	0.52	42.15
Dub City North	287,216	290,521	1.2	7,474	3,376	1.16	0.45	38.87
Dub City South	194,638	205,260	5.5	4,287	2,690	1.30	0.63	47.88
Fingal	167,683	196,413	17.1	45,309	1,210	0.62	0.03	4.33
Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown	189,999	191,792	0.9	12,695	446	0.23	0.04	15.11
South Dublin	218,728	238,835	9.2	22,301	1,436	0.60	0.06	10.71
North Inner City	44,911	54,213	21	944	2,506	4.62	2.65	57.43
South Inner City	52,754	62,722	18.9	1,160	1,525	2.43	1.31	54.07
SWIC	25,976	29,644	14.1	473	1,074	3.62	2.27	62.67
SEIC	26,778	33,078	23.5	687	451	1.36	0.66	48.15

x Asylum Seeker (AS) *xx Census (Cen)* ** This shows the figure for all asylum seekers (AS) located by ED.*

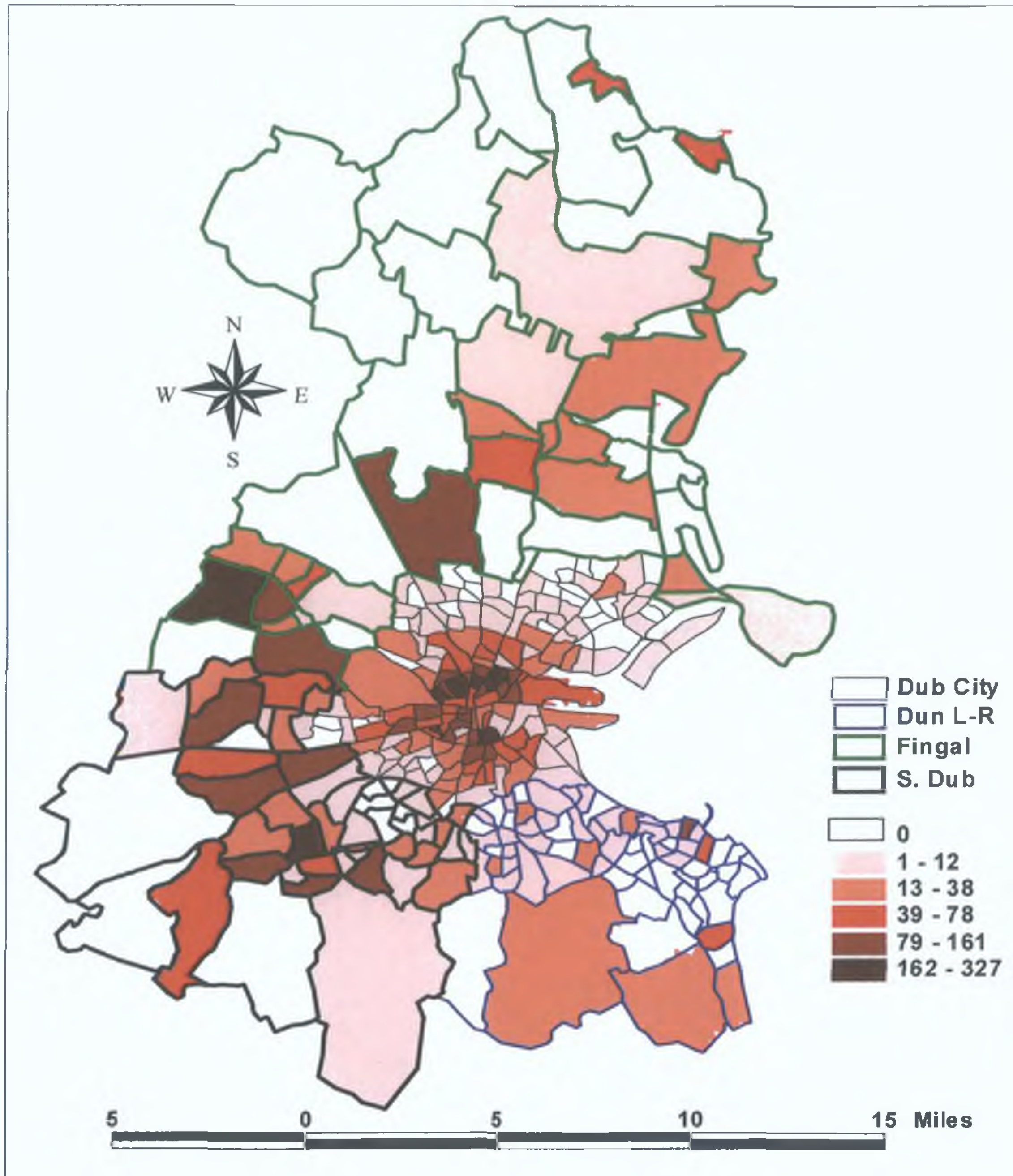
Dublin City Council with 6,066 asylum seekers was subdivided into four spatial units. The total for these four units as shown in Column H will not tally to 6,066 because the total for Dublin City North, (3,376) includes the North Inner City sub-total (2,506). Likewise, the total for Dublin City South (2,690) includes South Inner City sub-total (1,525).

chart 5



The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's Four County Councils by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 9

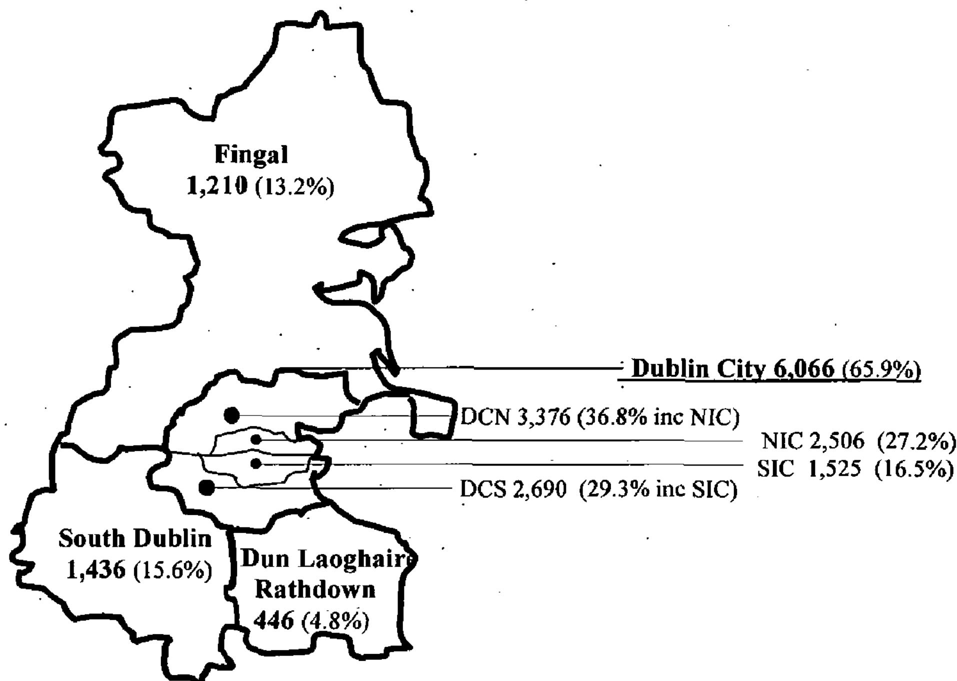


As indicated in table 6 above, maps 9 and 10 illustrate that asylum seekers were not dispersed equally across the four county councils both in terms of numbers and importantly density. The largest two distributions were within the South Dublin County Council, bordered by a thick black line in map 9 and within Dublin City County Council which is bordered by the three other council areas, black, green and blue.

Based on the 2002 Census, column E in table 6 shows the area size of each region in hectares. There is a large difference between the comparative size of County Councils Fingal, South Dublin and Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown to the area size of Dublin's inner city areas, yet these inner city areas housed the largest numbers of asylum seekers and, consequently and overwhelmingly, disproportionate density levels (see map 9 and 10). For example, Column H in table 6 shows that whilst there were 2.65 asylum seekers per hectare in the North Inner City there were 0.03 asylum seekers per hectare in Fingal County Council. A higher density level equals a higher visibility level of asylum seekers and, as this research argues, the larger this visibility level, the greater might be the 'mis-perception' of the actual number of asylum seekers by the indigenous population.

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers by Dublin County Council and Inner City Areas

map 10



Note: The total of the above distribution is 9,158, as 37 asylum seekers could not be assigned an ED due to incomplete or inaccurate addresses within the dataset.

Column D in table 6 illustrates a rapid population increase in the inner city between 1996 and 2002, which is particularly related to gentrification. The arrival of immigrant and gentrified sub-groups has increased the competition for space and resources in the inner city. The effects that this rapid demographic and cultural change in inner city

spaces has had on the city's indigenous population are analysed in the Inner City sections.

The spatial distribution of asylum seekers by continent of origin, residing in County Dublin in June 2002, by County Council

Out of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Dublin, 4,677 were registered by the Health Board as being from European countries and 3,563 asylum seekers were registered as being from African countries. The totals of both of these continents combined (8,240) represents the vast majority (89.6%) of the asylum seeker dataset residing in Dublin in June 2002. The small number of asylum seekers from Asia is not reflective of the total number of Asian people residing in Dublin as there are, for example, a large number of Filipino nationals employed in the medical profession and there are many thousands of Chinese students residing and working in Dublin. Such non-Irish national groups will be included, where appropriate, in an analysis of the locales in which asylum seekers are clustered.

Table 7 includes an 'unknown ED' column (H) as some addresses could not be identified by this researcher due to an address input error by Health Board staff, or wrong information submitted by the asylum seeker applicants at the time of their registration with their local Health Board. Furthermore, some nationalities were inputted by Health Board staff as 'Other'. Charts 6 to 10 on the following pages illustrate the spatial distribution in Dublin of asylum seekers by continent. The Dublin City Council area is sub-divided in the tabular information and is represented in the charts as Dublin City North (DCN) and Dublin City South (DCS).

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers by Continent, Residing in County Dublin, by County Council, June 2002

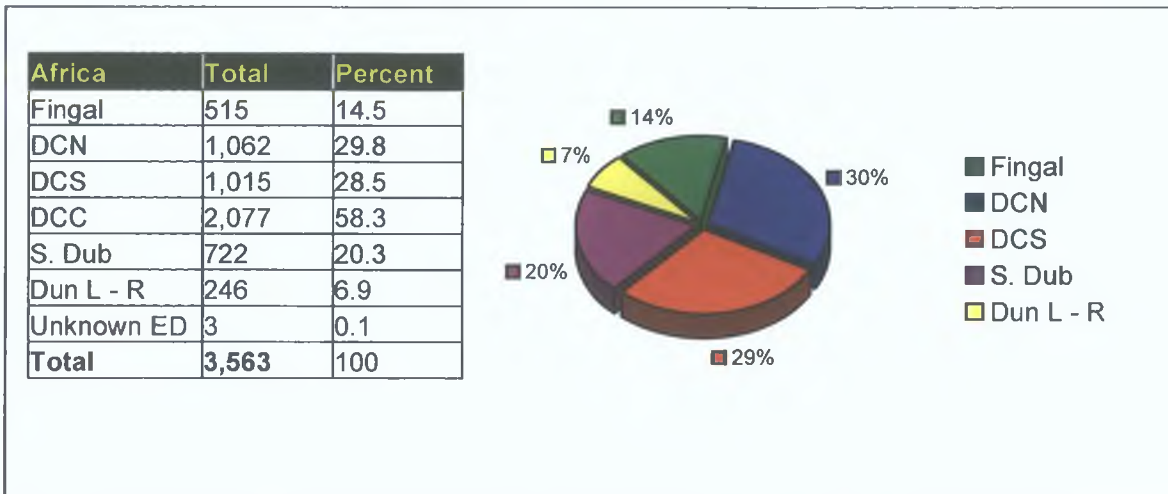
table 7

Column A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*	*I*
	Fingal	DCN	DCS	S. Dub	Dun L - R	ED Total	Unknown ED	Continent Total
Africa	515	1062	1015	722	246	3560	3	**3563**
Europe	531	2057	1382	535	147	4652	25	**4677**
Asia	34	24	47	28	8	141	0	**141**
Caribbean	0	3	4	0	0	7	0	**7**
Middle East	26	11	33	37	14	121	0	**121**
Other	104	219	209	114	31	677	9	**685**
Total	***1,210***	***3,376***	***2,690***	***1,436***	***446***	***9,158***	**37**	**9,195**

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown) S. Dub (South Dublin)

The Spatial Distribution of African Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin by County Council, June 2002

table 8 and *chart 6*

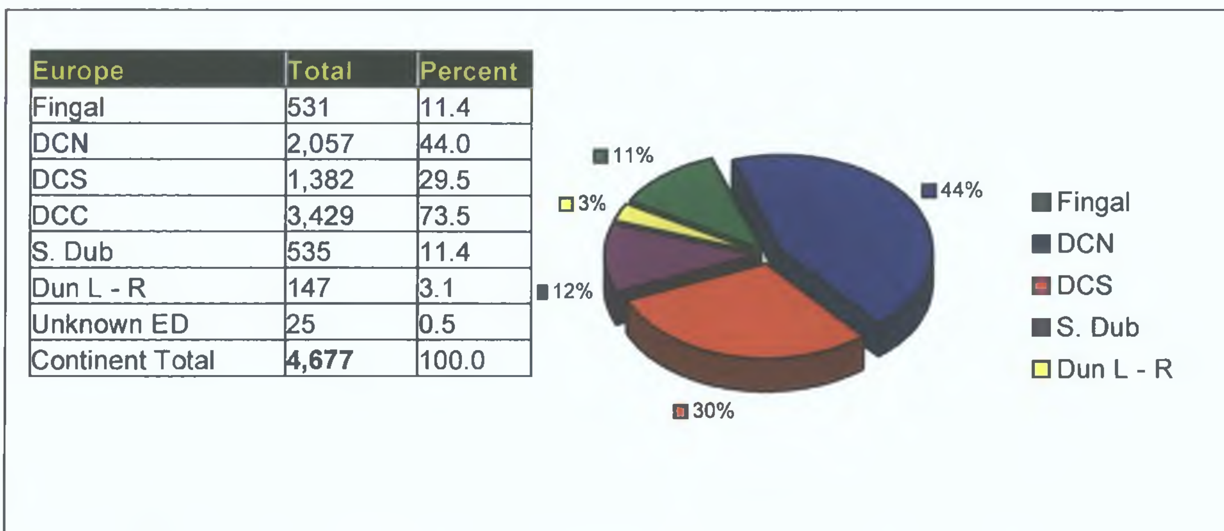


Africa	Total	Percent
Fingal	515	14.5
DCN	1,062	29.8
DCS	1,015	28.5
DCC	2,077	58.3
S. Dub	722	20.3
Dun L - R	246	6.9
Unknown ED	3	0.1
Total	**3,563**	100

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) DCC (Dublin City Council) S. Dub (South Dublin) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown)

The Spatial Distribution of European Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin by County Council, June 2002

Table 9 and chart 7

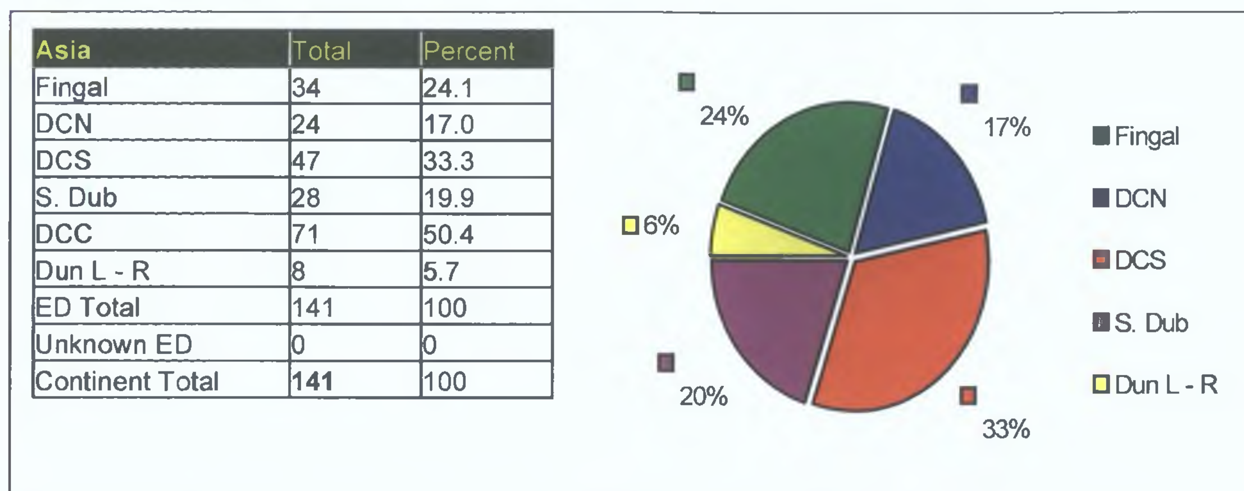


Europe	Total	Percent
Fingal	531	11.4
DCN	2,057	44.0
DCS	1,382	29.5
DCC	3,429	73.5
S. Dub	535	11.4
Dun L - R	147	3.1
Unknown ED	25	0.5
Continent Total	**4,677**	100.0

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) DCC (Dublin City Council) S. Dub (South Dublin) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown)

The Spatial Distribution of Asian Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin by County Council, June 2002

table 10 and chart 8

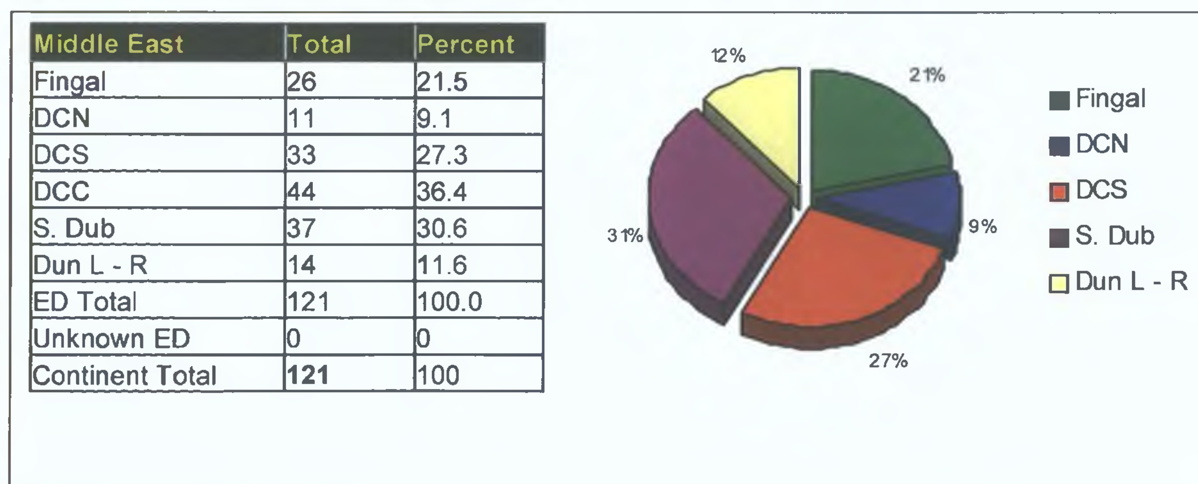


Asia	Total	Percent
Fingal	34	24.1
DCN	24	17.0
DCS	47	33.3
S. Dub	28	19.9
DCC	71	50.4
Dun L - R	8	5.7
ED Total	141	100
Unknown ED	0	0
Continent Total	**141**	100

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) DCC (Dublin City Council) S. Dub (South Dublin) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown)

The Spatial Distribution of Middle East Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin by County Council, June 2002

table 11 and chart 9

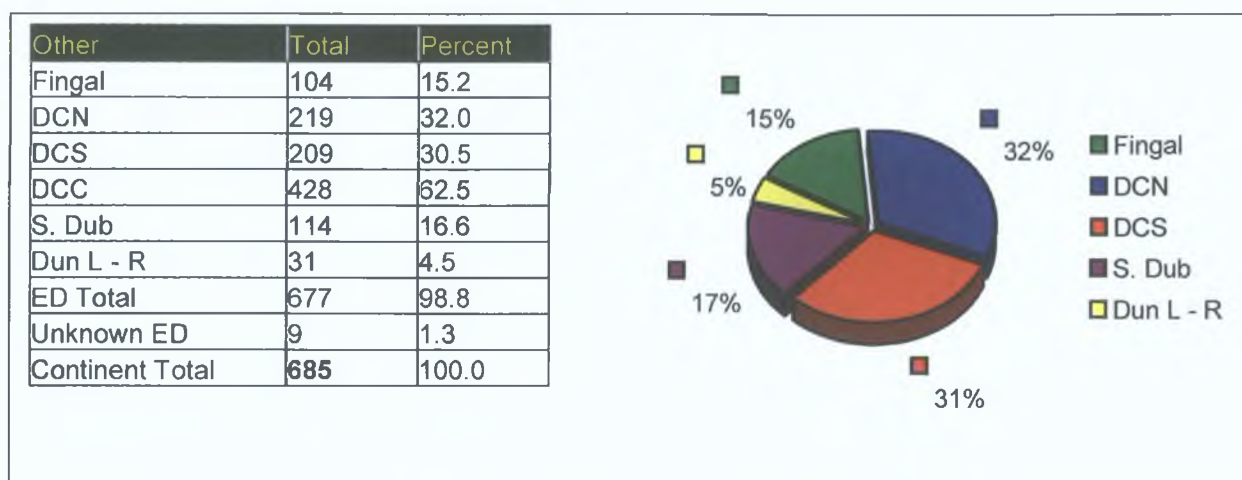


Middle East	Total	Percent
Fingal	26	21.5
DCN	11	9.1
DCS	33	27.3
DCC	44	36.4
S. Dub	37	30.6
Dun L - R	14	11.6
ED Total	121	100.0
Unknown ED	0	0
Continent Total	**121**	100

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) DCC (Dublin City Council) S. Dub (South Dublin) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown)

The Spatial Distribution of 'Other' Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin by County Council, June 2002

table 12 and chart 10



Other	Total	Percent
Fingal	104	15.2
DCN	219	32.0
DCS	209	30.5
DCC	428	62.5
S. Dub	114	16.6
Dun L - R	31	4.5
ED Total	677	98.8
Unknown ED	9	1.3
Continent Total	**685**	100.0

DCN (Dublin City North) DCS (Dublin City South) DCC (Dublin City Council) S. Dub (South Dublin) Dun L-R (Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown)

All of the above charts illustrating the spatial distribution of asylum seekers by continent follow a similar spatial pattern. The majority of asylum seekers from each continent were resident in the north and south city areas. There are, however, some individual national spatial differences. For example, the majority of Algerian asylum seekers reside in the South East Inner City. This is arguably due to the location of a mosque and other particular shops and services that cater for this ethnic group being located in the South East Inner City.

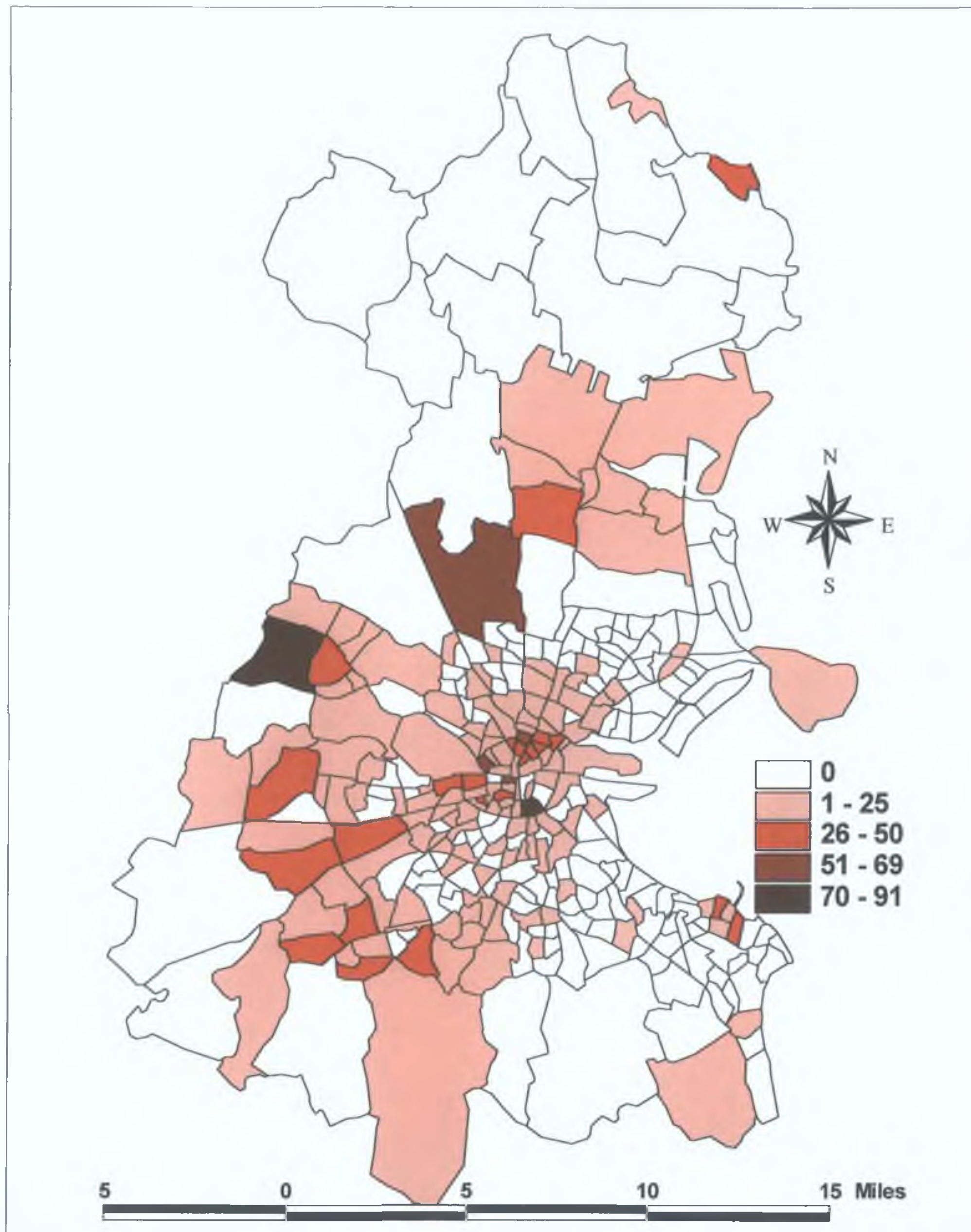
There are significant differences between the spatial distribution of the European and African groupings. Africans were less clustered in the city centre areas when compared with the European group. For example, 20% (722) of the African group resided in South Dublin County Council compared with 12% (535) of the European group. The African group were spread evenly across Dublin city with 29% (1,015) residing in the south of the city and 30% (1,062) in the north of the city. This compared with 30% (1,382) of European asylum seekers residing in the south city area and a much larger 44% (2,057) residing in the north city area. It is important to consider that the numbers of asylum seekers from both groups residing in South Dublin County Council and Fingal County Council would be less dense in terms of the space they inhabit compared with the smaller spatial areas of the north and south city areas.

The Spatial Distribution of African Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 11

The Spatial Distribution of Nigerian Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

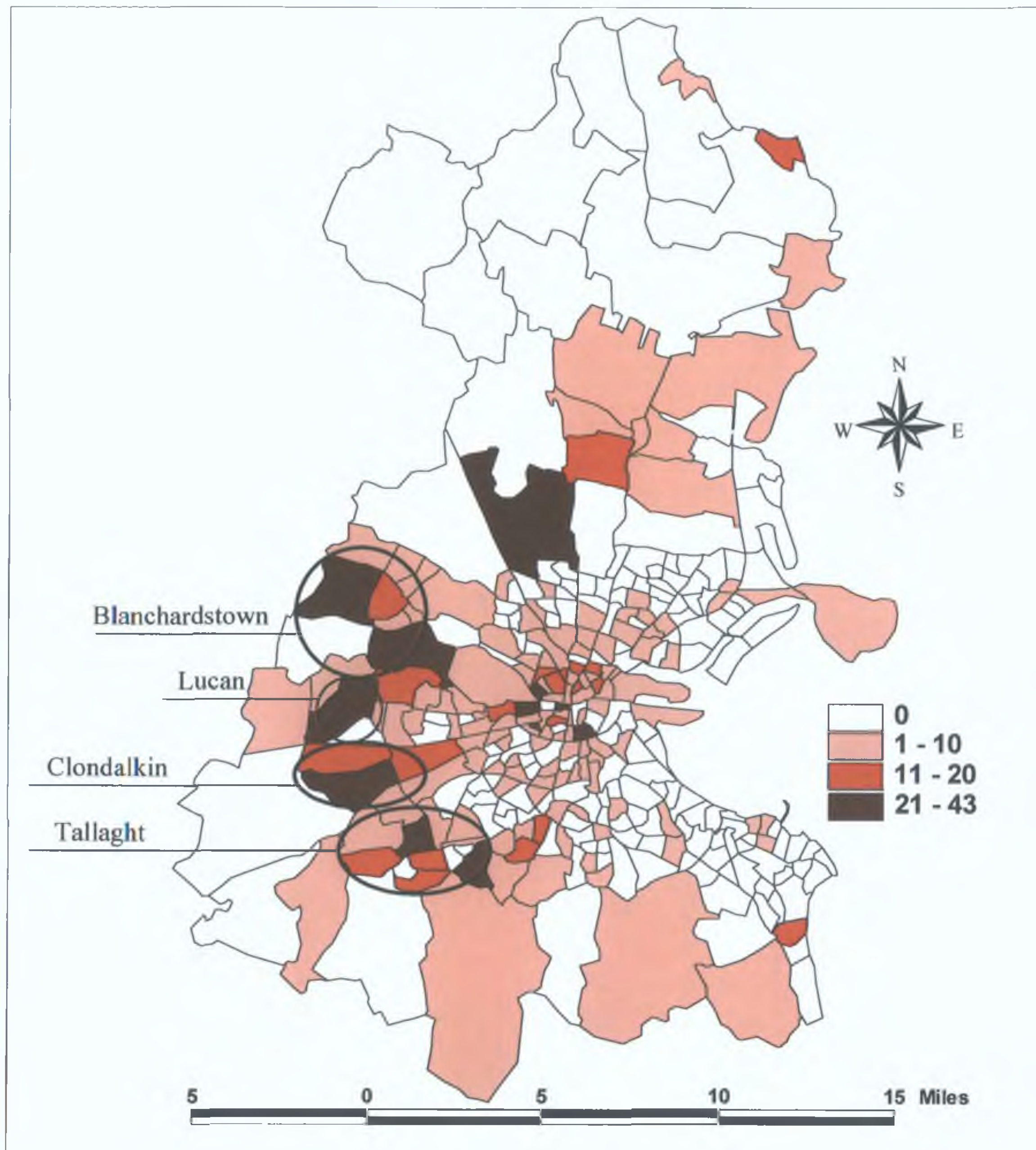
map 12



Maps 11 and 12 illustrate the correlation between where Nigerian and other African asylum seekers were living in 2002. Some African asylum seekers revealed to this researcher that they felt 'safe' living amongst the larger Nigerian community. In general, African asylum seekers were not clustered in one area, as some people seem to believe. However, the North Inner City is an identifiable cluster zone as are Blanchardstown and other western suburban areas.

The Spatial Distribution of Children of African Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

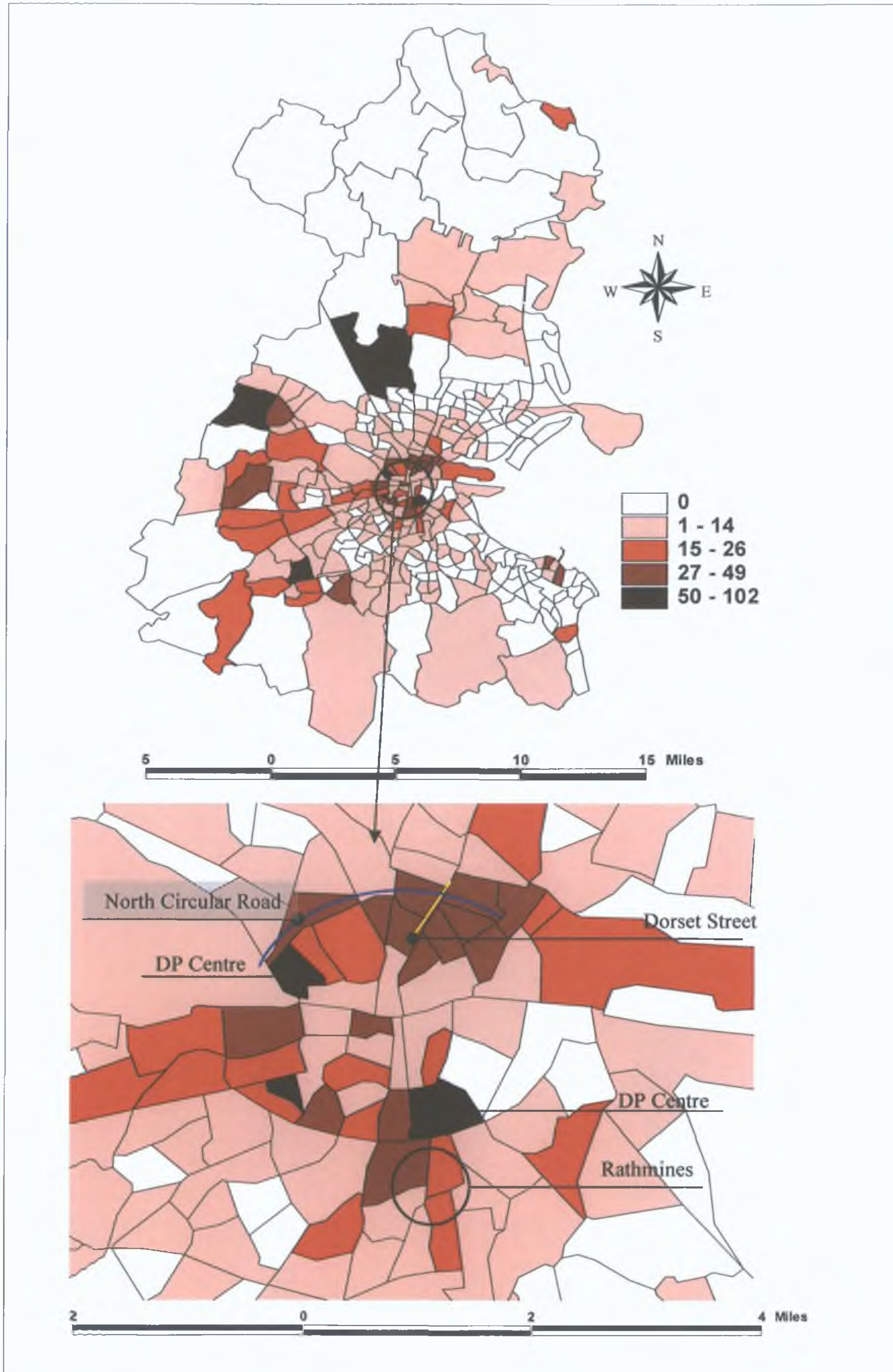
map 13



Maps 13 and 14 illustrate that many African asylum seeker families were located on the western fringes of Dublin in housing estates, whilst mostly single adults were living in inner city areas. This highlights the value of mapping the distribution of the dataset by different variables. The result, for example, of knowing that there are many Nigerian and African asylum seeker families located in South Dublin highlights the need for an increase in funding towards educational provision for children and their parents in areas such as Tallaght and Clondalkin.

The Spatial Distribution of Adult African Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 14



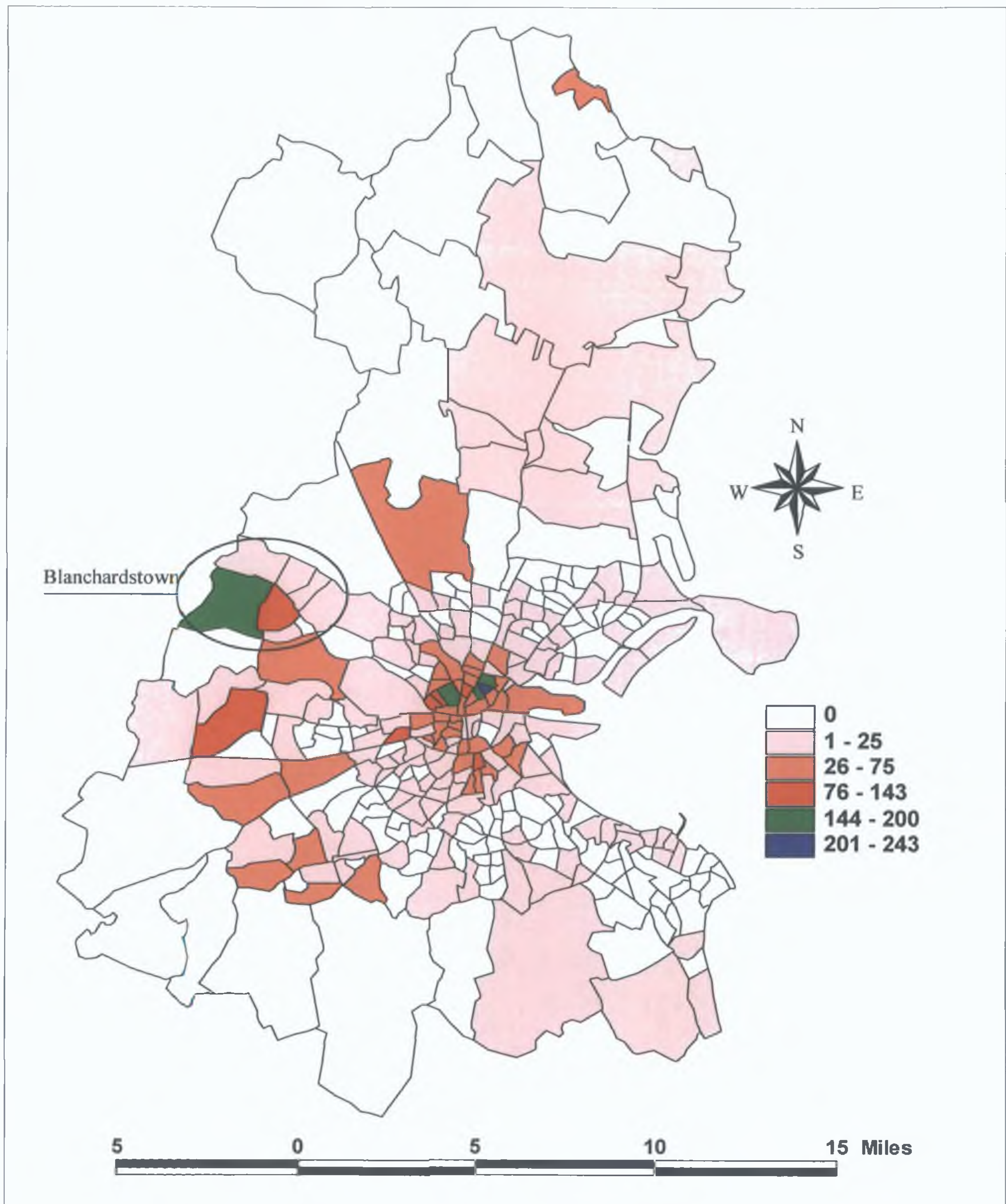
Some of the areas in map 14 which have the highest numbers of asylum seekers, particularly the inner city area, are the locations of some Direct Provision Centres. This highlights how the placement of these centres can contribute to the clustering of asylum seekers in particular locales. This is discussed in the Dublin City Council section of the data analysis.

Map 15a illustrates the spatial distribution of European asylum seekers. Whilst this group are living in various spaces in County Dublin, they are somewhat more clustered than the African asylum seeker group. This European group have a relatively large number living in the Blanchardstown area, which correlates with the African group. This poses the question of why so many asylum seekers are residing in Blanchardstown. It further indicates the support needed for education and youth service provision in this area, as well as in areas of Clondalkin, Lucan and Tallaght.

As highlighted in map 15a and 15b, the European group is particularly clustered in Dublin's North Inner City. One of the reasons for this clustering is due to the high clustering levels of Romanian asylum seekers in the North Inner City. The Romanian cohort of 2,712 represents 29.5% of all European asylum seekers. A majority of the Romanian group are of Roma ethnicity. This community tends to live closer to the inner city, which accounts for the large clustering indicated on map 15b. This clustering can also be seen in map 16, which illustrates the spatial distribution of the Romanian asylum seeker group. Although most of this group are located in the inner city, there is a small cluster residing in Blanchardstown. Service providers have reported that it is more difficult for the Roma community to integrate due to their having different social norms, and also due to a lack of English speaking among the group. This contrasts with the Nigerian cohort who speak English which aids their integration into the local community. The map of where all East European nationals reside in Dublin has been radically altered following the succession of East European States into the European Union. Since the accession, there has been a noticeable increase in the number of shops and services targeting Eastern European nationals. The Polish supplement to the *Evening Herald* newspaper is a case in point. This is discussed in the Fingal section of the data analysis.

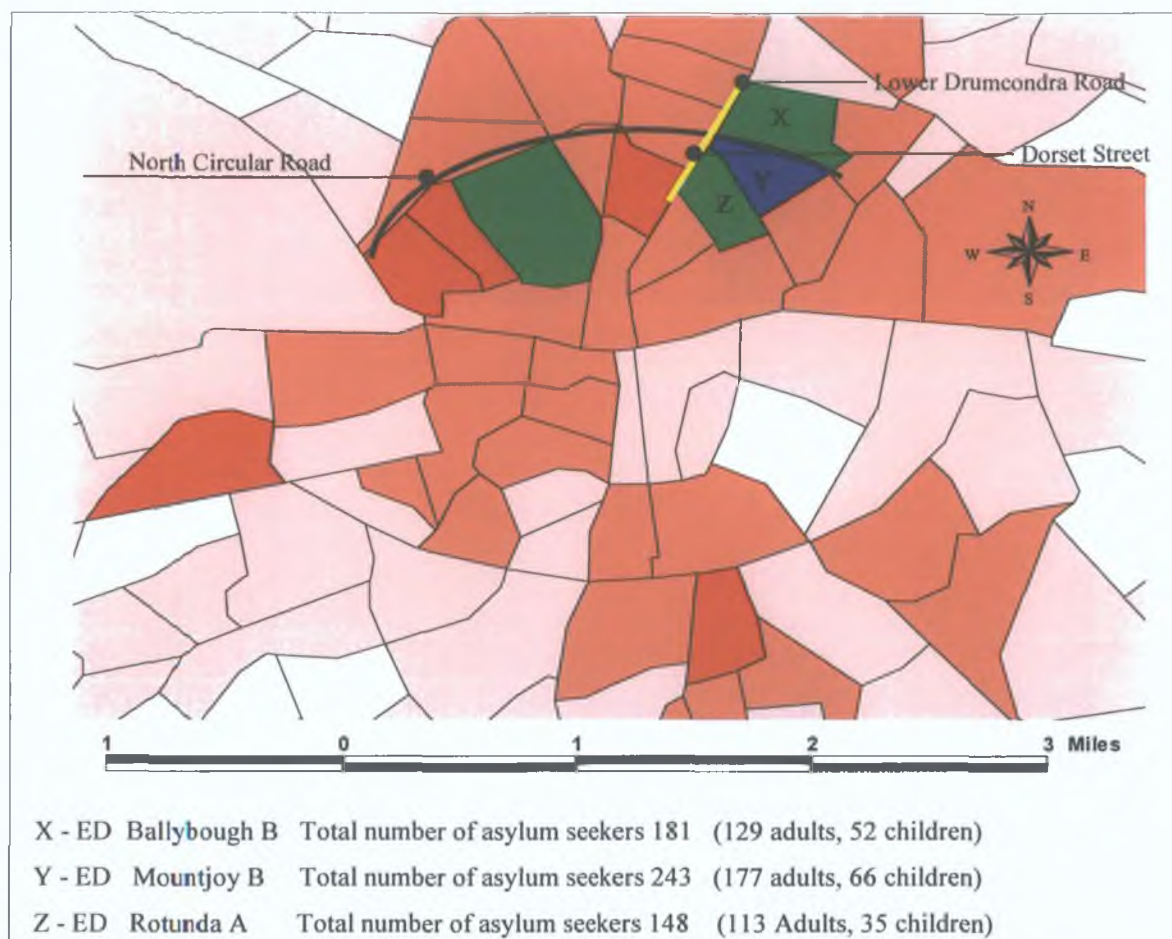
The Spatial Distribution of European Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 15a



The Spatial Distribution of European Asylum Seekers in Dublin's Inner City, by Electoral Division June 2002

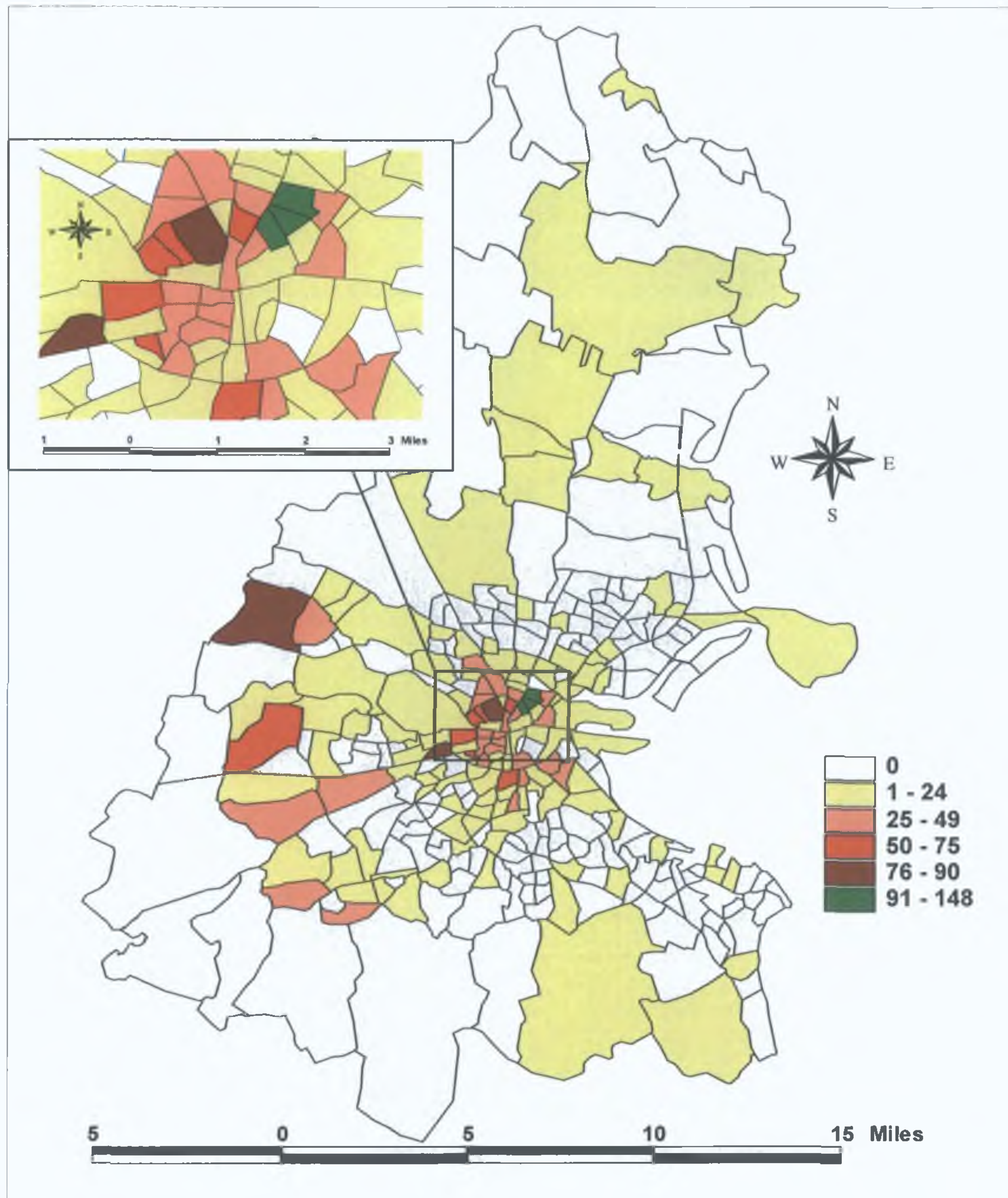
map 15b (close-up of City)



Map 15b of the spatial distribution of European asylum seekers clearly illustrates the extent of clustering in the North Inner City, particularly along the North Circular Road (circa 3,600 meters 3,937 yards), and Electoral Divisions coded, X, Y and Z that run along Dorset Street and a small adjoining section of Lower Drumcondra Road. The total number of asylum seekers and sub-totals for X, Y and Z are given above at the bottom of map 15b. These three EDs are circa 4,000 meters in circumference, and the length of Dorset Street and Lower Drumcondra Road bordering these EDs is circa 950 meters long. As seen in map 17 there was a large number of Romanians residing in this area. The large number of Romanian asylum seekers influences the analysis of this spatial area in the North Inner City sub-section in the data analysis.

The Spatial Distribution of Romanian Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

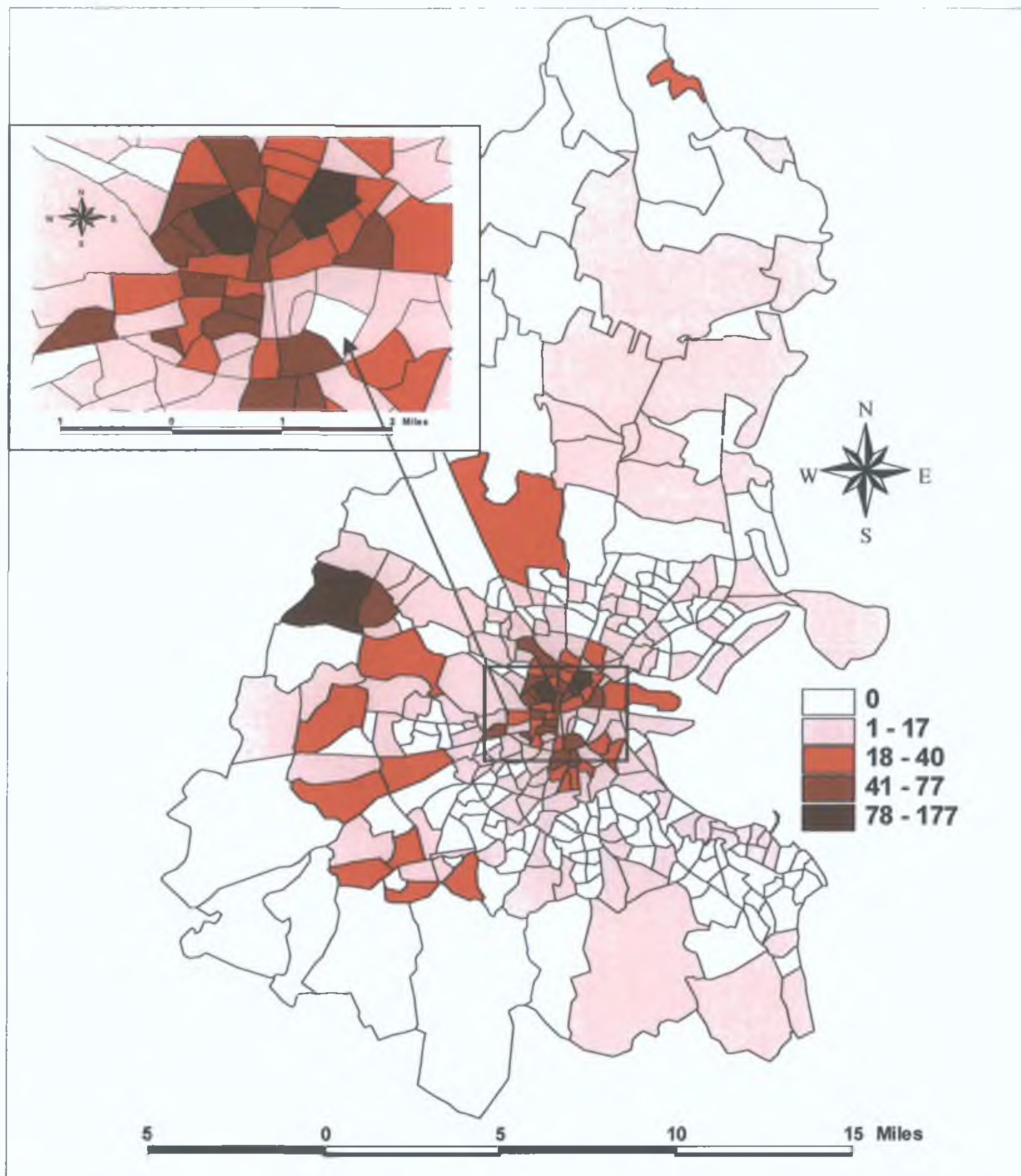
map 16



Map 16 illustrates the extent of Romanian asylum seeker clustering. The Roma community are posed with particular challenges living in Dublin. Such challenges have been acknowledged and reported by Pavee Point, the National Centre for Traveller Education and Support Services. Maps 17 and 18 show the breakdown of the European data by adult and children categories, a large percentage of which will be Romanian.

The Spatial Distribution of Adult European Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

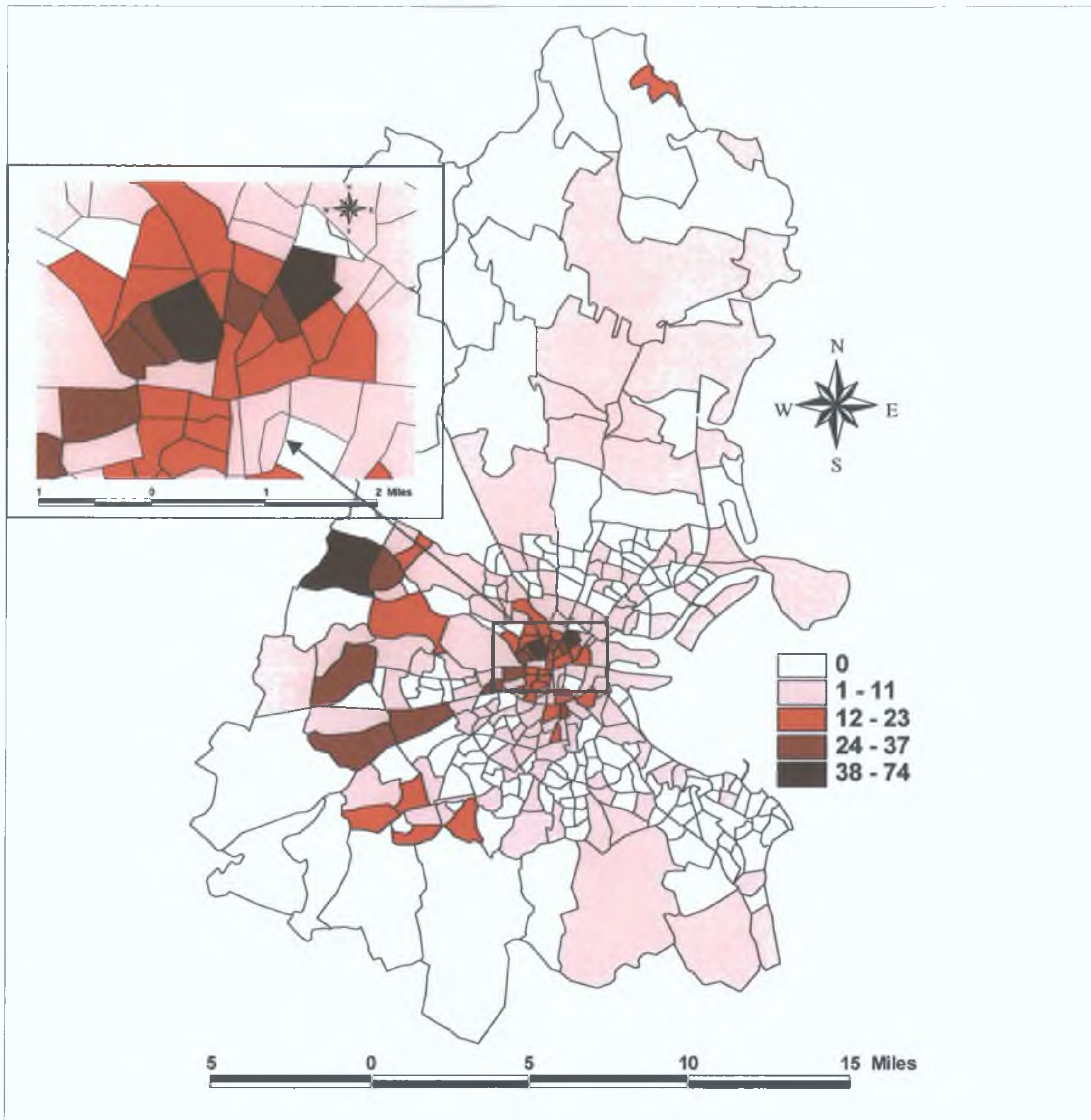
map 17



There are large numbers of young adults, particularly men, residing in the North Inner City. Such large numbers, with no legal right to work and living on very basic (Health Board / Direct Provision) benefits are very visible in this area. This contributes to peoples' perceptions of there being very large numbers of asylum seekers residing in Dublin. The North Inner City section will discusses the issue of asylum seeker visibility along the North Circular Road (NCR). Located on the NCR are the Spiritan Asylum Services (SPIRASI) and St. Vincent's asylum seeker and refugee service provision centres, which include social, educational and counselling services.

The Spatial Distribution of Children of European Asylum Seekers in Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 18



The North Inner City has a high density of children of European asylum seekers. A proportion of these children included in map 18 are unaccompanied minors living in residential care, some of whom are located in this area. It has been pointed out to this researcher by Health Board staff that young, non-Irish national children living in the inner city area are at risk of being forced into the sex trade by criminal gangs and into abusive situations by unscrupulous adults.

This introductory section of the data analysis has given an overview of the spatial distribution of the different sub-sets of the data at a macro scale. It has highlighted particular trends in the distribution of asylum seekers, such as the large number of children residing in Dublin's western suburbs and the large number of young, single asylum seekers residing in the inner city areas.

The mapping of the data at a macro scale posed interesting questions and topics for analysis that can be better explored at different levels of analysis ranging from county council scale to that of neighbourhood and individual Electoral Division. Such micro-spatial analysis further identified spatial patterns of asylum seeker residency. Furthermore, such analysis aided an exploration of the effects of immigration on individual areas.

The following sections of the data analysis are divided into an analysis of asylum seekers by county council and identified spatial units. The data has been analysed quantitatively and qualitatively. The qualitative analysis paid particular attention to the everyday lives of asylum seekers and tried to gauge the on-going physical, social and cultural morphology of particular locales due to the arrival of an immigrant sub-population and a gentrified sub-population. The reactions of the indigenous population to the changes brought about by the arrival of these two sub-populations were also investigated.

4.3.1 Fingal County Council

map 19

The Population and Size of Fingal and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 13

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	** Cen. Per Hect.
Fingal	167,683	196,413	17.1	1,210	0.6	45,309	0.03	4.33

* Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

Map 19 shows the area of Fingal County Council in relation to the rest of County Dublin. Based on the 2002 Census, Fingal is the largest council region spanning 45,309 hectares.

Until the 1980s, Fingal was more generally known as North County Dublin. The term 'county' was used pointedly, not only in terms of its physical geography but in its connotation i.e. the opposite to the psychologically distant 'city'. Fingal was characteristically rural. Its farm lands surrounded small village communities, such as Rush, Skerries, and Balbriggan. During the summer months, these places with a number of holiday home and caravan parks became sea-side holiday destinations for Dublin suburbanites. Mosney, just across the border in County Meath, was a very popular holiday camp for Irish tourists, particularly prior to the onset of Spanish holiday destinations. Mosney is now used to house asylum seekers. Fingal is also home to the affluent coastal area of Malahide and Portmarnock.

In the past 20 years, Fingal has been suburbanised to a such a great extent, that housing estates have now almost joined up to create one massive urban network stretching from Fingal's southern borders with Dublin City Council to Swords. The re-development of the M1 motorway, resulting in its by-passing the airport and Swords, has increased the accessibility of commuters from North Dublin villages such as Rush, Skerries and Balbriggan to the city. Although a small farming industry is present in North County Dublin, what were once rural and sea-side villages have been increasingly transformed into suburbs of Dublin City.

Large local authority housing projects are located on Fingal's western fringes, particularly in the Blanchardstown area. These are characteristic swathes of row housing of single class occupants. Particular neighbourhoods in this part of Fingal are unemployment hot spots, characterised by many of the social problems that can coincide with unemployment. Blanchardstown has become increasingly synonymous with 'gang land' murders associated with drug crime. In recent years, West Fingal has experienced a glut of private property developments which are shoehorned between and around established neighbourhoods. Fingal has also witnessed a boom in industrial and, in particular, retail development such as the Blanchardstown Shopping

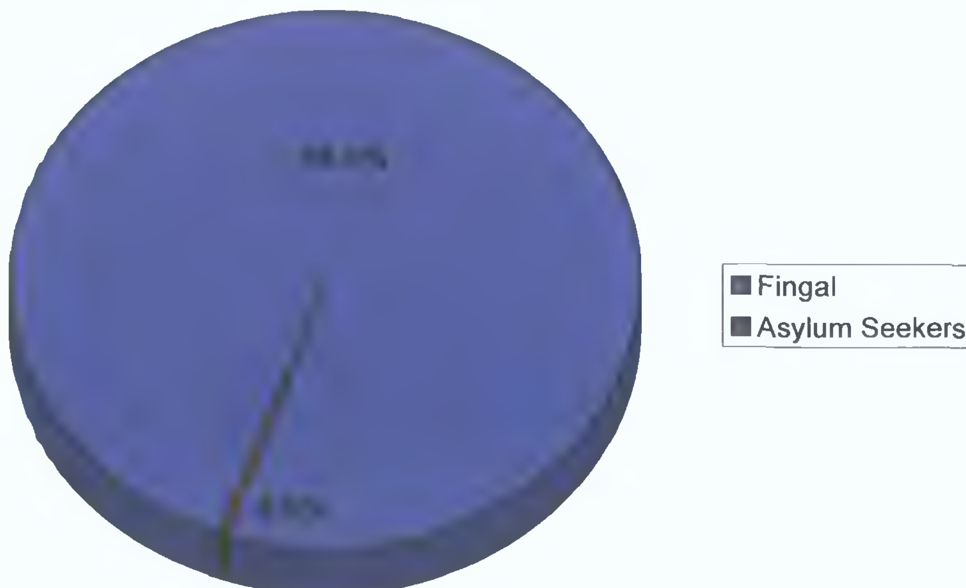
Centre and Cinema Complex accessed by the M50 motorway. Swords has also witnessed the development of the Pavilions Shopping Centre and Airside Retail Park.

This section begins with a statistical analysis of asylum seekers at the Fingal County Dublin scale. Following this overview, a more detailed micro-spatial analysis is contained in three sub-sections which focus on the lives of asylum seekers residing in Swords, Blanchardstown and North County Dublin (Rush, Skerries and Balbriggan). A primary focus in this section is on issues around employment and the so called 'black economy'. It also examines the isolation faced by asylum seekers living in remote areas away from the city. Sport is discussed as a means for integration of asylum seekers into mainstream society. The reason for the unequal distribution of asylum seekers in Fingal is also explored.

Although Fingal has the largest area of the four county councils, it has a relatively small asylum seeker population. As indicated in table 13, the percentage of asylum seekers (1,210) relative to the 2002 Census population (196,413) of Fingal is 0.6%.

The 2002 Census Population of Fingal and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 11



Fingal 2002 Population, 196,413 *Asylum Seekers 1,210*

As stated earlier, because of the lack of previous Electoral Division data it is impossible to statistically compare the number of asylum seekers residing in Fingal between different census years. The number of asylum seekers residing in Fingal in 1996 would be miniscule, due to the small amount of asylum applications in Ireland at that time. The Fingal population might thus perceive the arrival of 1,210 asylum seekers in Fingal as quite a statistical increase in its asylum population. However, this statistical increase is relatively small when compared with the 17.1% increase in the 2002 Census population. The provisional 2006 Census revealed that Fingal had the largest increase in population in the State. This population increase, as discussed earlier, has further urbanised much of Fingal County Council. It could be argued that this rapid increase in the census population might mitigate against the perceptions of the number of and effect of arriving asylum seekers in Fingal by the older indigenous population.

Breakdown of Asylum Seekers Residing in Fingal, June 2002, by 'Status' Category

table 14

Region	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Fingal	461	254	495 *(41*)*	714 *(59%)*	1,210	1

*includes the 1 unaccompanied minor.

Asylum seekers residing in Fingal represented 13% of the total number of asylum seekers in County Dublin (9,195). The 2002 Census population of Fingal was 196,413, asylum seekers representing 0.6% of this total. The majority of asylum claims were family orientated, with children constituting 41% of the asylum seeker population. The male to female ratio in Fingal was higher than the male to female ratio at a county scale. In Fingal, almost 41% of claims were made by females. There were 122 female claimants with children, with no 'qualified adult' in the household. This group could be labelled 'single parents'.

Gender Breakdown of Claimants

table 15

	Frequency	Percent
Male	273	59.3
Female	188	40.7
Total	461	100

There was one 'female claimant' with 5 children; eight with 3 children; fourteen with 2 and one hundred and nine female claimants with 1 child. A reason for the high percentage of female claimants in Fingal is directly related to the high proportion of Nigerian claims in Fingal, 157 or 34% of all claims. Nigerian female claimants in Dublin overall totalled 593 (55%), compared with 434 (45%) of male Nigerian claimants. Clearly, the high proportion of Nigerian claimants has had an effect on the male female ratio in Fingal. There were asylum seekers from 47 countries residing in Fingal. The highest number of 'claims' were Nigerian (157), more than double the number of Romanian claims (70), yet in County Dublin there were more Romanian claims (1,106) than Nigerian (1,077).

Balseskin Asylum Seeker Reception Centre, Dubber

plate 8

Although the Direct Provision policy has been in place since April 2000, asylum seekers have continued to reside in Fingal. The figure for asylum seekers residing in Fingal in 2002 is somewhat 'skewed' by the presence of the Balseskin 'Reception Centre' in Electoral Division Dubber. It had 161 asylum seekers at that time who according to the policy, are 'dispersed' outside of Dublin soon after their arrival. The Balseskin Centre is scheduled to close in 2006 and, thereafter, asylum seekers will be sent to Mosney. Recently, Dr. Ety Schuurmans, principal medical officer with the HSE, said that the only purpose-built Reception Centre had "the best medical and

thereputic facilities for asylum seekers in Ireland" and its closure was "a backwards step" (*Irish Times*, 21/7/2006)

Year of Arrival

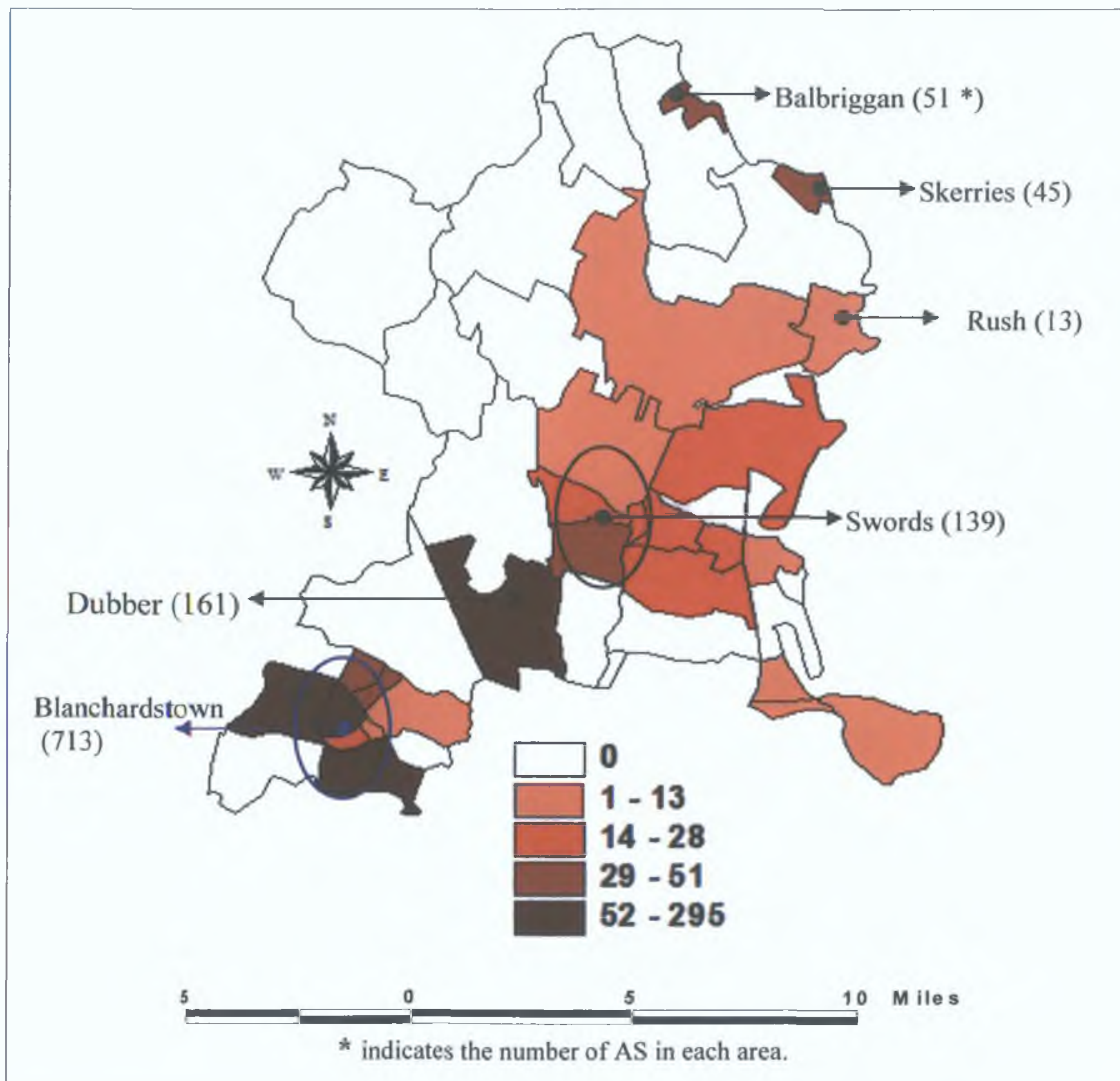
table 16

Year	Total	Percent
1997	12	1.0
1998	20	1.7
1999	174	14.4
2000	196	16.2
2001	409	33.8
2002	399	33.0
Total	1,210	100

** The total represents the number of people within each claim.*

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Fingal, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 20



Asylum Seekers Residing in Fingal, by Nationality and the Relative Percentage of Each to their Total Number in County Dublin, June 2002

table 17

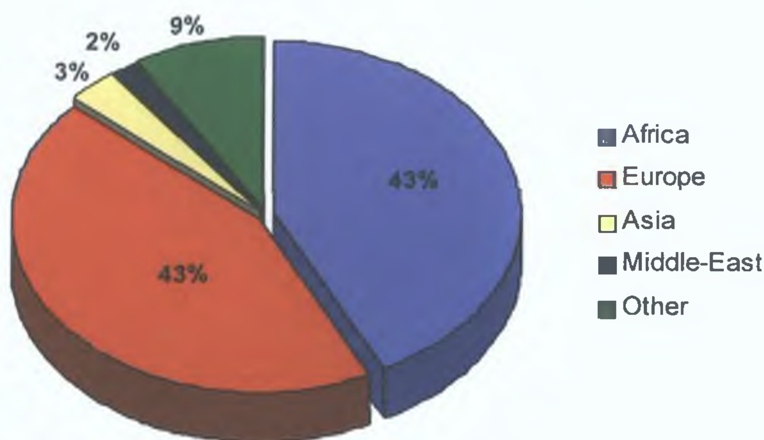
Country	Claims	Household Total	Country Total	Fingal % of Country Total	Country % of Fingal Total
Nigeria	157	354	2155	16.4	29.3
Romania	70	227	2712	8.4	18.8
Other	38	104	686	15.2	8.6
Congo	13	50	228	21.9	4.1
Moldova	16	45	301	15.0	3.7
Ukraine	17	44	315	14.0	3.6
Russia	13	43	291	14.8	3.6
Albania	9	29	123	23.6	2.4
Lithuania	9	29	148	19.6	2.4
Kosovo	14	28	148	18.9	2.3
Poland	6	26	205	12.7	2.1
Pakistan	8	23	63	36.5	1.9
Somalia	7	14	100	14.0	1.2
Togo	8	14	39	35.9	1.2
Niger	4	11	19	57.9	0.9
Algeria	4	10	308	3.2	0.8
Sudan	6	10	26	38.5	0.8
Cameroon	6	9	88	10.2	0.7
Israel	2	9	10	90.0	0.7
Macedonia	3	9	31	29.0	0.7
Ghana	3	8	67	11.9	0.7
Afghanistan	3	7	13	53.8	0.6
Iraq	2	7	68	10.3	0.6
Sierra Leone	3	7	99	7.1	0.6
Syria	2	6	13	46.2	0.5
Yugoslavia	1	6	16	37.5	0.5
Zambia	5	6	15	40.0	0.5
Kenya	2	5	41	12.2	0.4
Kyrgystan	1	5	8	62.5	0.4
South Africa	3	5	44	11.4	0.4
Zimbabwe	3	5	40	12.5	0.4
Armenia	1	4	15	26.7	0.3
Azerbaijan	1	4	14	28.6	0.3
Bulgaria	2	4	93	4.3	0.3
Croatia	2	4	7	57.1	0.3
Estonia	2	4	23	17.4	0.3
Hungary	1	4	8	50.0	0.3
Iran	1	4	14	28.6	0.3
Latvia	1	4	39	10.3	0.3
Mongolia	3	4	8	50.0	0.3
Slovakia	1	4	15	26.7	0.3
Uzbekistan	1	4	27	14.8	0.3
Angola	1	3	116	2.6	0.2
Bosnia	3	3	14	21.4	0.2
Gambia	1	3	3	100.0	0.2
Georgia	1	1	80	1.3	0.1
Libya	1	1	71	1.4	0.1
Total	**461**	**1,210**	**8,967**	**13.5**	**100**

There are 43 Electoral Divisions in Fingal; 27 of these had asylum seekers residing in them. The broader Blanchardstown area, which includes small parts of Lucan and Mulhuddart, housed the majority of asylum seekers in Fingal, with other small 'clusters' in Swords and the increasingly suburbanised towns of Balbriggan and Skerries. Table 17 represents each country's number of asylum seeker claims. It also indicates the household total, or the actual number from that country living in Fingal; this total is then shown as a percentage of all the people from that country residing in County Dublin. Finally, the table shows the percentage of each country in Fingal to the total number of asylum seekers in Fingal.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographical Region Residing in Fingal, June 2002

table 18 chart 12

Fingal	1210	% of Region
Africa	**515**	**42.6**
Nigeria	*354*	*29.3*
All other African	*161*	*13.3*
Europe	**531**	**43.9**
Romania	*227*	*18.9*
All other European	*304*	*25.3*
Asia	**34**	**2.8**
Middle-East	**26**	**2.2**
Other	**104**	**8.6**



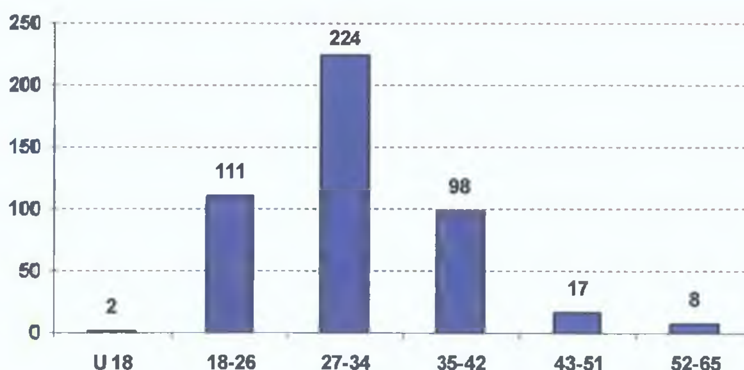
There were very similar numbers of African and European asylum seekers living in Fingal, as indicated in table 18 and chart 12. The evenness is represented in their relative distributions across Fingal, with some exceptions. More Europeans were resident in Blanchardstown and Balbriggan and more Africans in Swords, Skerries,

and the Balseskin Reception Centre in Dubber. When one considers the relative proportions of each nation to their Fingal total, as indicated in table 18 above, it would appear that the large number of Nigerians levels out the African proportion to equal that of the European total. Not including the 'other' category, for which the nationality of the asylum seeker is unknown, eight out of the highest ten asylum seeking countries living in Fingal were from Eastern Europe. The 'all other European' category, as illustrated in table 18, shows 25% (304) of Fingal asylum seekers were from Europe, excluding Romania. The relatively large number of the 'all other European' category residing in Fingal might be linked to the availability of undocumented work in Fingal.

Almost half of the claimants in Fingal were between the ages of 27 and 34, higher than the average percentage for this age group of asylum seekers in Dublin. This cohort were in the prime of their working lives. However (apart from those asylum seekers who were part of a work amnesty prior to the Direct Provision), they were not entitled to work under asylum seeker regulations. The effect of these statistics reveals human issues related to asylum seekers in the Fingal area: Firstly, a sense of frustration felt at not being entitled to work with attendant effects on self esteem. Secondly, as the majority of this cohort have children, they can suffer from the anxiety of not being able to provide for them properly.

Age Range of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in Fingal, June 2002

chart 13

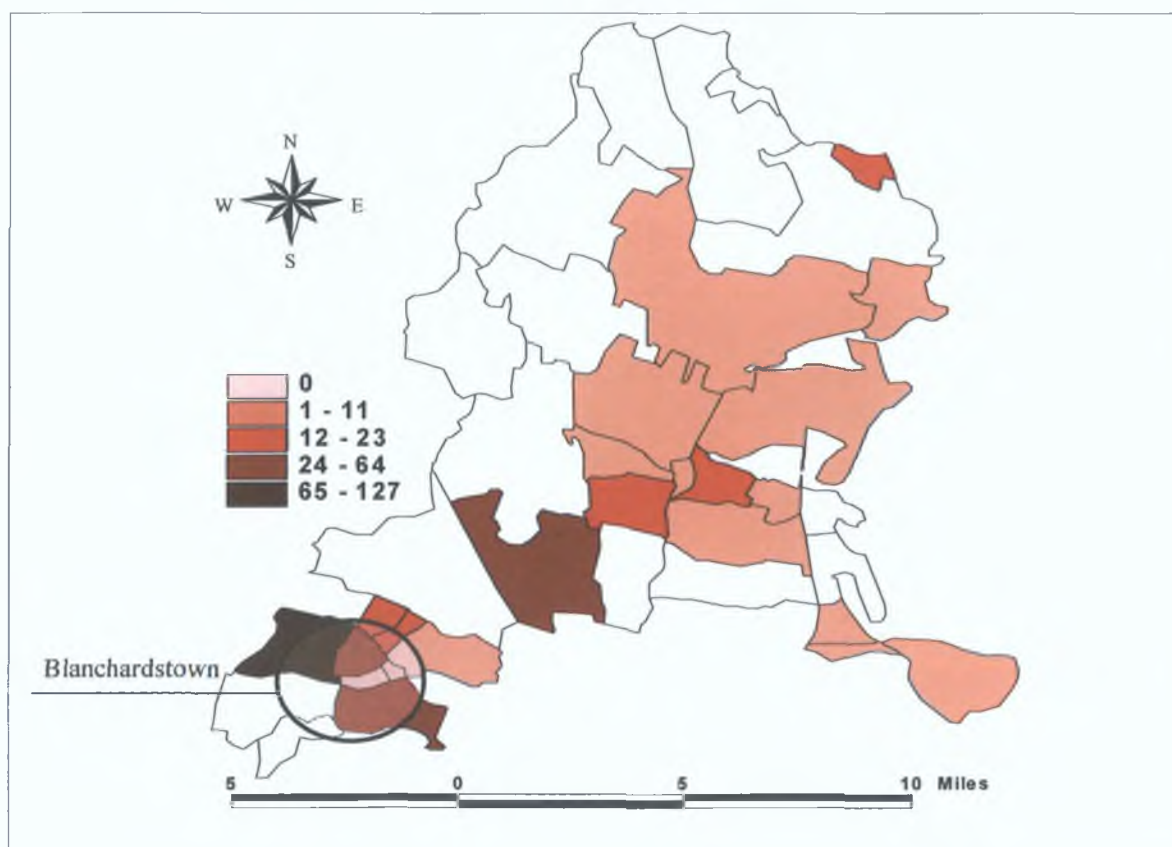


Children of asylum seekers are entitled to education and their school experience exposes them to the material possessions of their peers on a daily basis. Service

providers and school teachers working with young children, in discussion with this researcher, argued that in a world where image is almost everything, not having the correct attire and other 'things' of one's peers can be a source of acute anxiety and affect children with emotions ranging from a sense of embarrassment to a sense of shame. Community workers observe that such anxiety creates obvious concerns for the children's parents. As a result, many asylum seekers look for employment in the informal or 'black' economy and are thus subjected to unfavourable pay and conditions. Map 21 illustrates the spatial distribution of the children of asylum seekers by Electoral Division in Fingal County Council. An overwhelming majority of children of asylum seekers were residing in Blanchardstown, particularly the Blakestown area, which had obvious effects on local schools. In response to the growing number of foreign children in Dublin 15, the Blanchardstown Partnership Area funded tuition for 149 children in 2004. They also allocated grants to four different schools who organised school-based events to celebrate multicultural diversity.

The Spatial Distribution of Children of Asylum Seekers Residing in Fingal County Council, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 21



The clustering of asylum seekers in Blanchardstown has challenged service providers to cater for this new sub-population within their geographical remit. With very few non-Irish nationals residing in this area prior to circa 2000, services had to be created to meet this new demand. In late 2002, the Blanchardstown Asylum Seekers and Refuge Network (BARN) was established to meet needs of asylum seekers and refugees in Blanchardstown. The following sub-section specifically focuses the data analysis on Blanchardstown. It begins with a statistical analysis of asylum seekers residing in this area. The micro-spatial analysis has identified the Electoral Divisions with the largest number of asylum seekers. Based on this statistical research, the effects immigration is having on Blanchardstown and individual locales is explored.

Blanchardstown

A Breakdown of Asylum Seekers Residing in Blanchardstown, June 2002

table 19

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Blanchardstown	253	155	305 *(43%*)*	407 *(57%)*	713	1

*includes the 1 unaccompanied minor

The majority of asylum seekers residing in Fingal were 'clustered' in the Blanchardstown area, which is circled in map 20 on page 193. Blanchardstown consists of Electoral Divisions: Blanchardstown-Abbotstown; Blanchardstown-Blakestown, Blanchardstown-Coolmine, Blanchardstown-Corduff, Blanchardstown-Delwood, Blanchardstown-Mulhuddart, Blanchardstown-Roselawn, Blanchardstown-Tyrrelstown and Castleknock-Knockmaroon.

There were a greater percentage of Europeans (49%) residing in Blanchardstown compared with their Fingal percentage of 43%. Usually, the Romanian and Nigerian asylum seekers are the highest numbers of asylum seekers compared with any other nationality or nationality groupings in any spatial analysis of asylum seekers in Dublin. However, in this instance there were more non-Romanian Europeans than Romanians. As indicated in table 18, there were 148 Romanians and 201 'other' Europeans. One might suggest a spatial correlation between the existing European

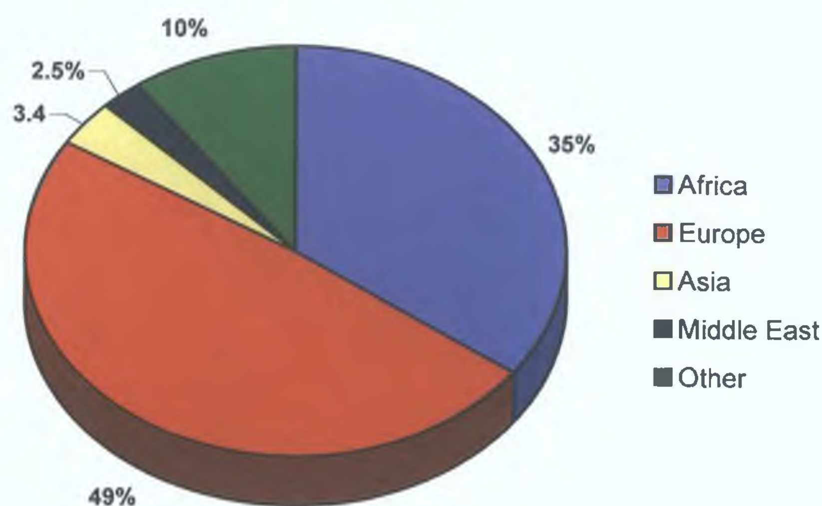
populations of programme refugees residing in Blanchardstown as being one pull factor that has drawn a relatively large proportion of European asylum seekers to live in Blanchardstown.

In total, 713 asylum seekers from 33 nationalities were residing in Blanchardstown in June 2002. The country with the highest total was Nigeria, with 196 asylum seekers and Romania had the second-highest total with 148.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographic Region, Residing in Blanchardstown, June 2002

table 20 *chart 14*

Region	Total	% of Total
Africa	**250**	**35.1**
Nigeria	*196*	*27.5*
Other African	*54*	*7.6*
Europe	**349**	**48.9**
Romania	*148*	*20.8*
Other European	*201*	*28.2*
Asia	**24**	**3.4**
Middle East	**18**	**2.5**
Other	**72**	**10.1**
Total	**713**	**100**



Sixty-five percent of all the asylum seekers living in Blanchardstown in June 2002 had registered with the ERHA between 2001 and June 2002. This represents 155 claims amounting to 462 people. Some of these claimants, and the remaining 251, had to search and find accommodation for themselves, a difficult task particularly when the asylum seekers might not speak English and might also have several children. The difficulties concerning accommodation are exemplified by one family having to house their 8 children; another family with 7 children, three with 6 children, eleven with 5 children, thirty-nine with 4 children, forty-eight with 3 children, twenty-two with 2 children and, finally, thirty individuals having to find accommodation for themselves.

Year of Arrival

table 21

Year	Total*	Percent
1997	4	0.6
1998	17	2.4
1999	105	14.7
2000	125	17.5
2001	302	42.4
2002	160	22.4
Total	713	100

** The total represents the number of people within each claim.*

The average number of people per 'claim' in Blanchardstown was just under three. Sixty-two percent of households had at least 3 people per household. Thirty-five claimants were living alone with at least 1 child. One adult was living alone with 5 children; six adults were living alone with 3 children; eight adults with 2 children each and finally twenty adults were living alone with 1 child.

Within the nine Electoral Divisions that constitute the Blanchardstown area, there were 713 asylum seekers, almost 59% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Fingal. Three hundred and five of this number were children (43%), which would have an impact on the local schools. Table 22 shows that 156 of the 252 claims were for households with more than 3 people.

Household Frequency of Asylum Seekers Residing in Blanchardstown, June 2002

table 22

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	62	24.5
2	34	13.4
3	80	31.6
4	50	19.8
5	17	6.7
6	7	2.8
7	1	0.4
8	1	0.4
Total	252	100

Although the number of asylum seekers in the Blanchardstown area was relatively large, (8% of all Asylum Seekers) the 'group' represents only 1.09 % of the 2002 Census population of 65,466 for this area.

The Population of the Blanchardstown Area and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

table 23

Electoral Division (ED)	*AS Pop.	ED Pop.	AS % ED	Hectare
Blanchardstown-Abbotstown	12	2,537	0.47	702
Blanchardstown-Blakestown	295	24,404	1.21	767
Blanchardstown-Coolmine	150	9,202	1.63	277
Blanchardstown-Corduff	41	4,346	0.94	142
Blanchardstown-Delwood	16	4,589	0.35	93
Blanchardstown-Mulhuddart	34	1,833	1.85	183
Blanchardstown-Roselawn	6	2,043	0.29	44
Blanchardstown-Tyrrelstown	19	1,653	1.15	353
Castleknock-Knockmaroon	140	14,859	0.94	711
Total	**713**	**65,466**	**1.09%**	**3,272**

* Asylum Seeker population

The micro-spatial analysis of the data suggests a spatial correlation between the low economic attainment of EDs like Blanchardstown Blakestown and immigrant residency. As discussed in the Literature Review, there is a possibility of tension occurring between the indigenous population and the immigrant population based on a perceived competition for vital resources, such as local authority housing and welfare payments.

Electoral Divisions Blanchardstown Blakestown and Blanchardstown Coolmine

map 22

BV: Blanchardstown Village. Map source. Ordnance Survey

There were 295 asylum seekers in Blanchardstown Blakestown, the second-highest total in Dublin after Mountjoy B with 327. However, whilst the asylum seekers in Mountjoy B represented 11% of the ED population, those asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown-Blakestown represented 1.2% of its 24,404 Census 2002 population.

Asylum seekers in Electoral Division Mountjoy B were living beside various shops and services in what might be termed a vibrant, multi-cultural quarter. As indicated in map 22 asylum seekers in Blanchardstown-Blakestown and Blanchardstown-Coolmine were residing in suburban areas characterised by row housing and high unemployment.

In certain cases, asylum seeker families were the only asylum seekers residing on some roads. In these cases the sense of isolation can be quite severe and the family, particularly if they are Black, can, upon their initial arrival, be perceived as being ‘out

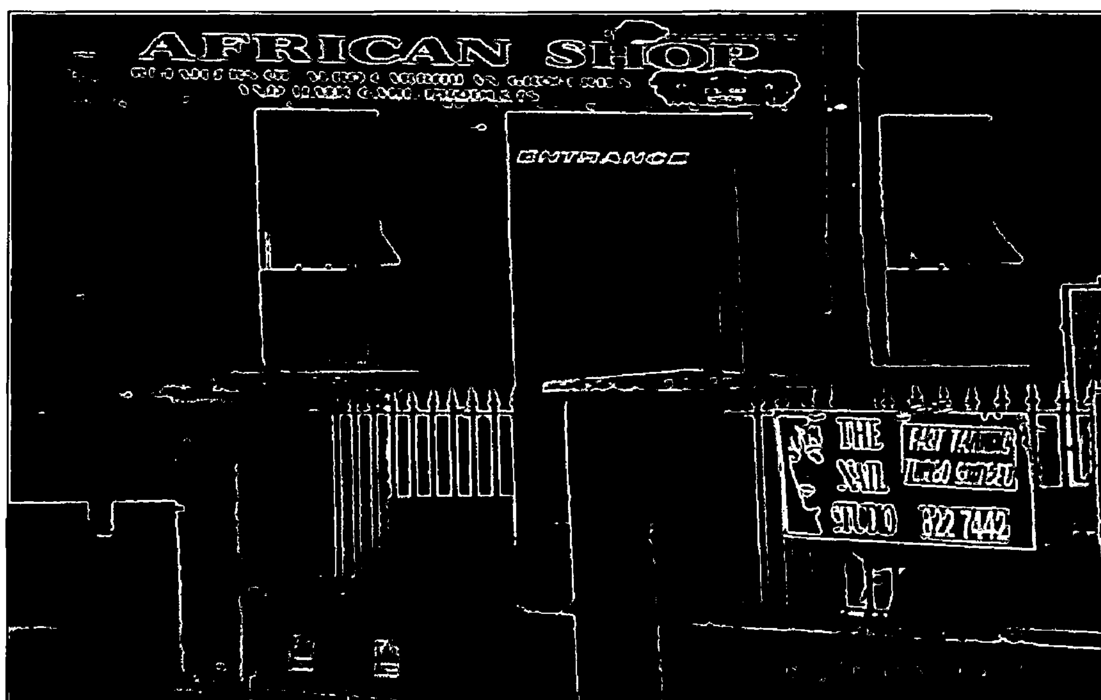
of place'. According to research by Casey and O'Connell (2000) "The results indicate that the Black group were the most frequent victims of racial abuse and discrimination. It seems that, in the Irish context, the darker one's skin, the more abuse one receives." There are no ethnic-based shops and services directly located in these suburbs so that families must travel across main transport routes and different suburban areas to Blanchardstown village to buy ethnic-specific groceries. This issue of living in isolation in large suburbs is discussed further in the South County Dublin section of the data analysis.

Blanchardstown: A Space in Transition

The percentage of asylum seekers to the 2002 Census population of the Blanchardstown area is quite small. However, it is apparent when walking, observing and photographing this area that the asylum seeking and non-Irish national populations have had an impact on this space; the establishment of some 'non-Irish national' shops in Blanchardstown village is testament to this influence (see plates 9 and 10).

African Shop in Blanchardstown Village

plate 9



It is interesting to note the location of each of these stores. While the East European Store (plate 10) is prominent on Blanchardstown's Main Street, the African shop (plate 9) is situated out of sight, at the rear of a building, beside a car park. The reason for the location of each store is primarily due to a bid-rent function, whereby the rent for the East European-based store is higher, as it is in a more prominent location, and the rent for the African store is less, due to its location off the main street.

As with many Afro-Caribbean stores in Dublin, the African store in Blanchardstown includes traditional African foods and hair care products. Based on some of the work discussed in the Literature Review, such as Creswell's (1996) *In Place Out of Place* and Cohen's (2002) *Folk Tales and Moral Panics* it can be argued that the presence of a Black population in this area might seem 'out of place'. The side street store may seem 'out of place' and might be read or perceived by the host society as being somewhat less legitimate than the main street outlets. This is exacerbated by the fact that white people do not use and, therefore, do not know the uses of these premises. It was, therefore, with surprise, curiosity and almost suspicion that this researcher was perceived when first entering the premises. The storekeeper revealed that he had never witnessed a white person in the store and that most of his customers were African immigrants from the surrounding neighbourhoods. He said that the store's location meant that his customers did not need to travel to the city centre to purchase their groceries.

The Rasputin European store is located on the main street (see plate 10). It is styled in the western convenience store fashion with large front facing windows and more identifiable products, such as salami and bottled vegetables. It might, therefore, seem less out of place to the indigenous Blanchardstown population than the African store. Maintenance of its high street location and thus higher rents, depends upon its ability to generate enough profit. It can arguably achieve this due to the larger number of Eastern European immigrants residing in the Blanchardstown area. As well as food predominantly imported from Lithuania, it also sells videos and newspapers from various East European countries. The sign in the window, enhanced in plate 10 on the next page, advertises newspapers from eleven different countries.

Eastern European Shop on Blanchardstown's Main Street

plate 10

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2002

As well as the (703) asylum seekers who were residing in the Blanchardstown area in 2002, there was also a community of Bosnians. In 1998, programme refugees from Bosnia settled in Blanchardstown. According to the Bosnian Community Development Association there are circa 1,500 Bosnians living in Dublin, predominantly in Blanchardstown (Dublin 15) and to a lesser extent Tallaght (Dublin

24). A question might be posed, whether the Bosnian community has attracted other migrants to live in this area, or whether the main factor is economic. Blanchardstown may be a destination for migrants due to an availability of housing and, importantly, cheaper rents. Chain-migration and wishing to live near an identifiable ethnic or racial grouping are reasons for the clustering of arriving immigrants (Rex and Moore 1974). However, where immigrants live also depends on who will sub-let their properties to them. In this sense, landlords within the private-rented sector can 'control' who lives in their properties and, therefore, regulate where immigrants may and may not live.

Phibsboro Boxing Club's Advertisement for New Members in the Russian language

plate 11

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2002

Another sign in the Rasputin shop window was a call for youths to join the Phibsboro Boxing Club (plate 11 above). What is particularly interesting is that the sign is entirely in Russian, a language understood by many East European nationals. Olympian John Treacy, former Irish silver medallist as Chief Executive of the Irish Sports Council, launched the Fingal Sports Strategy document in 2003. The central aim of the document was to "promote access to, participation in, and enjoyment of

sport and physical activity for all the people of Fingal". Speaking to *Metro Eireann* (August 2003) at the event he said: "I will take this opportunity now to urge readers of this newspaper to involve themselves in sport. It is a great vehicle for breaking down barriers." Although it is an aim to encourage minority groups in Fingal to participate in events, Mr Treacy spoke of the "reluctance on the part of some non-nationals" to get involved in activities. However, he concluded his interview by expressing: "As non-Irish nationals become more integrated, more will get involved, as this comes with confidence. It's only a matter of time before some of them will be going on to represent Ireland". Although much of the emphasis is placed on the individual to 'get involved', it might well help the individual to become involved if other organisations were to advertise their clubs and organisations following the example of the Phibsboro Boxing Club. .

Asylum seeker services in Blanchardstown

There are a host of service providers within the Blanchardstown area who, in different guises and capacities, provide a wide range of services for this disadvantaged community. Such services range from education and job training for adults to youth service provision. Some have adapted their service provision to include support for asylum seekers, refugees and other non-Irish nationals residing in this and the broader Dublin 15 area.

The Blanchardstown Area Partnership (BAP) acts as a central agency or 'clearing house' for service providers and members of the public. The partnership carries out needs assessment and where they deem social provision is lacking will work with existing services to adapt their remit to include such a provision. Information from this research has been shared with staff at the Blanchardstown Area Partnership (BAP) to contribute to their on-going assessment of asylum seekers' needs in the Blanchardstown area. A difficulty faced by BAP, and all other asylum seeker service providers in completing a needs analysis, is the lack of any asylum seeker data at Electoral Division scale and thus, research such as this has been fruitful for their work. This researcher was, in turn, able to contact a number of asylum seeker services through the BAP.

The Blanchardstown Asylum Seekers and Refugee Network (BARN) is a voluntary organisation established in late 2001. It received support in accessing of funding through the Blanchardstown Area Partnership. In 2002, in a direct correlation with the dataset in this research, BARN undertook a needs analysis of asylum seekers and refugees in Blanchardstown. As part of this needs analysis, they undertook a household survey of asylum seekers and refuges. In total, they surveyed sixty people from various nationalities. In general those surveyed were not aware of service provision and providers in the Blanchardstown and the postal code Dublin 15 area. As a result, BARN produced and distributed an information leaflet in five languages outlining the information for asylum seekers, refugees and other non-Irish nationals. The survey undertook by BARN found that over half of the respondents suffered racial abuse and discrimination and, as a result, felt socially excluded. Language and literacy difficulties were cited as a contributing factor to the social exclusion of this group.

Through BARN and the Partnership Area, asylum seekers and refugees have been put in contact with other service providers such as the 'Job Club' for asylum seekers and Refugees based at the FAS Asylum Seekers Unit in Coolmine, which was established in 2000. The Job Club offers a range of practical training initiatives from computer courses to language classes. It also advises people on assembling a CV and interview skills, as well as familiarising people with work practices and issues related to the Irish work place.

The Blanchardstown Area Partnership is particularly concerned with people being caught in the private rent supplement trap. In an un-published report being developed by the Blanchardstown Area Partnership, 80% of those on private rent supplement income in 2004 in the Blanchardstown area were non-Irish nationals. It is argued by the Partnership that people can not find employment that will enable them to afford their housing and basic living expenses. There is, therefore, a large cohort of foreign nationals from the new communities who are trapped in unemployment. They need support to free themselves from this poverty and its associated risks to personal health and well being. Disadvantaged sub-groups have little choice in where they reside

based on low income. Another critical factor impacting on where sub-groups 'can' reside is the power of landlords to choose who they want as tenants.

There is also a broader issue relating to the employment of foreign nationals. Bryan Fanning et al (2000) found that a high proportion of refugees and asylum seekers employment did not match their qualifications as exemplified in table 24. There is a clear need for foreign nationals' professional accreditation to be accepted within the Irish workforce. Bureaucratic and professional ring-fencing of Irish jobs leads to highly trained and skilled people being prevented from entering the workforce.

The Qualifications Gained and Work Obtained by Asylum Seekers, 2000

table 24

Education and Career	*Previous Employment*	*Current Employment*
Diploma	Land Surveyor	Translator
Undergraduate	Soldier	Athlete
Post-Graduate	Administrator	Community Worker
Certificate	Engineer	Assembly Operative
Post-Graduate	Teacher	Community Worker
Undergraduate	Engineer	Security Guard
Post-Graduate	University Teacher	Secretarial
Certificate	Mechanic	Sales Assistant
Trade	Telecom Engineer	Restaurant
Post-Graduate	Development Officer	Clerical Assistant
Trade	Mechanic	Forklift driver
Undergraduate	Hotel Manager	Hotel Porter

Table After Fanning et al (2000)

Prior to the beginning of the Direct Provision policy, an amnesty was put in place which allowed asylum seekers already within the system to work, but many have found it difficult to find employment, and when employment was found the pay and conditions were, according to staff working with asylum seekers, worse than the 'Irish staff's' pay and conditions. As part of a research into the issues regarding working conditions for migrants, Fanning et al (2000) found that the majority of the asylum seekers they interviewed had applied for many positions without being offered an interview. More than half of those interviewed had submitted more than 20

applications between July and December. For those who did attend an interview, their treatment was considered negative. Of those surveyed who were working, 53% got the job through family or friendship networks. However, most were overqualified for their specific employment. 83.4% of the sample wanted to change jobs. Foreign nationals working in the service sector were threatened with dismissal if they asked for improved working conditions. One of the frustrations of those surveyed was being racially abused, for example being labelled and called 'spongers' when all they wanted to do was work. Many felt different levels of anxiety based on their multiple-failed attempts to gain or change employment.

Swords

A Breakdown of Asylum Seekers Residing in Swords, June 2002

table 25

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Swords	46	33	60 *(33%)*	79 *(57%)*	139	0

There were 139 asylum seekers residing in Swords in June 2002. These residents represented 12 nations; the biggest country totals were Nigerian with 51 and Romanian, 27. The total number of Africans residing in Swords was 74 totalling 53% of all the asylum seekers in Swords. There were 51 asylum seekers from European countries which totalled 37% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Swords. More Africans residing in Swords than East Europeans is the reverse of Blanchardstown where Europeans were the largest group.

The asylum seeker profile is predominantly made up of families. Seventy percent of households consisted of one or more children. Forty-one percent of asylum seekers had been settled and established in Swords for at least one and a half years by June 2002 (see tables 26 and 27 on following page).

Household Frequency of Asylum Seekers residing in Swords, June 2002

table 26

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	9	19.6
2	5	10.9
3	15	32.6
4	11	23.9
5	5	10.9
6	1	2.2
Total	46	100

Year of Arrival

table 27

Year	Total *	Percent
1997	3	2.2
1998	3	2.2
1999	24	17.3
2000	27	19.4
2001	51	36.7
2002	31	22.3
Total	**139**	100

** The total represents the number of people within each claim.*

Although Swords had the second-highest number of asylum seekers residing in Fingal, it had less than the equivalent of one half of a percent of the 2002 Census ED population of Swords, which was 31,048. There were 574 more asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown than Swords.

The Population of the Swords Area and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, 2002

table 28

Electoral Division (ED)	ED Pop.	AS* Pop	AS % OF ED	Hectares
Swords-Forrest	9797	48	0.5	671
Swords-Glasmore	7679	19	0.2	438
Swords-Lissenhall	6081	12	0.2	1881
Swords-Seatown	4919	32	0.7	355
Swords-Village	2572	28	1.1	131
Total	**31,048**	**139**	**0.4**	**3,476**

* Asylum Seeker

Swords: a space in transition

Although there was some asylum seeker clustering in the environs of Swords village, there was only one particular ethnic-based shop catering for non-Irish nationals in 2002. According to estate agents in Blanchardstown, the Shopping Centre on the outskirts of Blanchardstown village has reduced rental rates in the village and has thus 'freed up' space there. However rental costs and space are still at a premium in Swords village, even with the adjacent Pavilions shopping centre constructed in 2001.

The profusion of East European migrants working in Swords, particularly since the succession of East European States into the EU in 2004, is quite apparent as a large percentage of retail and bar staff are East European females. There are, however, some signs of other non-Irish nationals residing in the Swords area. One scout den, located just South of the main village, is used for religious services each Sunday afternoon by the African community in Swords and its environs.

Swords Scout Den Used as a Christian Church on Sunday

plate 12

The Redeemed Christian Church of God is full every week (see plate 12). Many of the men and women are dressed in colourful traditional African clothing which can be perceived as strange, almost exotic to the Irish eye.

Facing the Church (Den) are playing fields used by many local sports clubs, and across from these are the local GAA playing fields and clubhouse. Over the past number of years, when walking and observing this area, this researcher has witnessed an ever-increasing number of Black children participating in games and training sessions for local soccer and GAA clubs. As of the Spring of 2006, the Scout Den continues to be used as a church which is testament to the roots being laid down by the small African community in Swords.

The local sports clubs, as well as the local schools, have played a large role in the integration of different ethnic and racial groupings in Swords. This integration includes the parents of these children who regularly attend and chat on the sidelines during these activities. In speaking with some local GAA volunteers in Swords, it was said that based on the competition between local clubs, and the general acceptance of 'different' people, arriving children are sought after to play for the different sports clubs. This acceptance and welcoming of new ethnic members is echoed by the photograph of Phibsboro Boxing club advertising (plate 11) in the window of the Russian store in Blanchardstown for new members.

As outlined above, many areas in Fingal have been, until recently, small rural villages and new uses of 'their spaces' can seem strange to the indigenous population. As a consequence of this initial strangeness, some might stare with genuine curiosity at an African women's garb on a Sunday or at the novelty of seeing a black child in a national school uniform. This reaction is embodied in the work of Raban (1974) and of Hertmans (2001: 11) discussed in the Literature Review who wrote that: "The city is a contemporary catwalk". The indigenous people's staring can be positive and negative, so too the responses of the observed. Particularly in the very early days of immigration it would seem that some Irish people 'make strange' like babies when confronted by new faces.

The strangeness felt by the indigenous population to difference can also be related to the activities taking place in 'their' neighbourhood that are usually associated with urban areas. Such urban phenomena are completely new to some of the small towns in Fingal, and include foreign nationals begging on the street, or selling newspapers and

magazines. As discussed by Creswell (1996) and Sibley (1995), such 'border-crossings' by groups such as the Roma and their activities are perceived as being 'out of place' as this group do not fit into village cultural norms.

Late 2001, saw for the first time, non-Irish nationals, mainly Roma, working on the streets of Swords Village. Some Roma had been selling the *Big Issue* magazine, others had been busking and begging. There were also non-Irish nationals working for the *Big Issue* magazine in Balbriggan and Skerries. Based on this researcher's observation, some people who were begging on the main street arrive in the morning via public bus or private van from other areas outside of Swords. In discussion with Focus Housing, this begging is thought to be a form of organised work.

This researcher has observed Roma selling flowers outside pubs and restaurants on Swords Main Street on weekends. The group of flower sellers live close to the village and buy their flowers locally. A shop assistant in a flower shop in the centre of the village explained to this researcher in an informal interview in 2003, that the good weather increased the production of flowers in the Netherlands, and as a result, the flowers were sold at a reduced price. Roses, which usually sell for €1 each, were being sold for 50 cents. The Roma sellers bought bunches of roses and then wrapped and sold them individually. The shop assistant was sympathetic to the Roma, but expressed a growing lack of patience due to their insistence on 'haggling'. Having travelled to Turkey, she had witnessed haggling as the norm there and said the Roma should understand that 'our culture' is not to haggle. During the interview, a customer who overheard the conversation between this researcher and the shop assistant interjected with the comments: "We're paying for their prams" and "I wish I could afford to have a gold tooth...". Organisations working with asylum seekers have expressed to this researcher their concerns that such views might lead to increased prejudice against and racism towards asylum seekers and other migrant groups with different cultural norms. Some East European women are working in the informal economy of Fingal as house cleaners and child minders. Often one person with a 'cleaner' recommends the cleaner to a friend, and the cleaner increases her workload in this fashion. Some women have advertised their house-cleaning services by posting

slips of paper into people's homes; the following is a replicate of one left in a house in Swords in August 2003:

Box 2

For reference pleas coll: 087 ******* (*an Irish woman's name was then given here*)

IF YOU LIKE TO KEEP YOUR HOUSE CLEAN
AND TIDY PLEASE CALL THIS NUMBER
087 *******. YOU WILL NOT BE DISAPPOINTED
THANK YOU

Box 3

The Story of a Latvian Housecleaner

Although a house cleaner in Dublin, Irena (not her real name) 27 years old, is a 'client manager' with an advertising agency in Latvia. Negotiating a mortgage can be one of the most stressful periods in one's life. This was the case for Irena and her husband Tomas (not his real name). In conversation, she expressed a wish to avoid a life characterised by many years of financial struggle in order to pay a mortgage in her homeland Latvia.

Irena and her husband decided to work in another country to accumulate enough money to ease repayments on their mortgage with which they bought their apartment just outside of Riga. Irena says, "we had no choice". She comments that they could "make in one year in Ireland what would take several years in Latvia". Their aim would then be to start a family upon their return to Latvia.

Tomas failed to obtain a work visa in America so was forced to look elsewhere. Previously, the couple had financed Tomas' sister's travel to work in Ireland. They also knew other people who had worked or were working in Ireland and thus decided to travel here themselves. They knew very little about Ireland apart from knowing that the weather was very bad and that Dublin was the Capital. Tomas got a job with a large fruit importer in Fingal. Upon arrival they rented a small house in Swords. Tomas 'works late' 5 to 6 days a week. Irena as planned, sought work too. Replying to notice board advertisements in 'Superquinn' she found work as a house cleaner. Irena calls her employers 'clients'; happy with her work they recommended her to friends until she built up as many hours work as she wished. She works four days a week between two and three hours in each house. She charges 10 Euro per hour.

In general, the couple are happy in Dublin. Irena finds people friendly. She says that she has never experienced any negative attitudes expressed by Irish people, "they usually think I am Spanish, so it is ok...I will leave Ireland with a good feeling inside me". Although she enjoys Dublin she exasperates that the cost of living is extremely high; "it costs 15 cents for a loaf of really good bread and 50 cents for a carton of milk" in Latvia. Irena does most of her grocery shopping in the larger shopping outlets such as LIDL, but is unsure of many of the products upon the shelves. Asked about Irish cuisine, she replies that much of it is frozen and that she would not try food she does not know. When in the city, she shops in Russian stores where she

can buy particular 'seasonings' and other produce from Latvia. One of her pleasures is to read the magazines that her mother sends her; "they are so expensive here...we have Cosmopolitan in Latvia and it costs One Euro Eighty cents, here it costs so much". Although the couple are earning a relatively large amount of money, as much as possible is saved and transferred to their mortgage bank in Latvia. Little is spent on luxuries. For example, Irena has never gone to a coffee shop as it is too expensive.

They do not socialise in pubs, firstly because Tomas is extremely tired after work and secondly Irena says that the pubs are too full and doesn't like it when people get really drunk. They speak with their neighbours and are happy where they live, but Irena misses her mother, father, her brother and in particular her nephew who has just started school. In response to being questioned about her work, she replies that because it is temporary she does not mind cleaning houses, but insists that she could not do it full-time, as she would like to use her brain when working - she has taken a career break from her job in an advertising agency. She says that she could get a job working in a supermarket but prefers the work she does, explaining that she can choose where and with whom she works. She is happy with her clients and can improve her English when speaking in their houses. Before coming to Ireland she took an English language course with the Latvian tourist board; she had also learned some basic English at school. Irena speaks Latvian, Russian, German and her English is improving at a fast rate. Irena is a Lutheran, like the majority of Latvians and Tomas is Catholic. They do not attend church services in Dublin. On Sundays, the only day they have together in the week, they relax and sometimes go on short journeys to places such as Skerries. Before they leave they would like to go to Wicklow. Although they will return to Latvia in the spring of 2004, after staying just over one year, Irena thinks that they may return to Ireland in the not too distant future.

Since this interview, Irena has returned to Latvia with her partner and they are planning to start a family. Irena's sister-in-law, Teresa, who is in her early twenties, came to Ireland from Latvia to take over Irena's jobs. She, like many Latvians, Lithuanians and other East European women, plans to follow the same route Irena has taken. In mid 2005, Teresa purchased her own home in Latvia, but continues to work and save in Ireland. These stories are multiplied throughout Ireland, but not all are as successful. This is particularly the case for Asian-based women who come to Ireland to work as domestics on a temporary work visa. This cohort of women, some with spouses and children at 'home', are living alone and working in another's house. Some have very different experiences to Irena whereby they are practically used as domestic slaves by some of their Irish employers. In 2004, the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland published the findings of their research on domestic work in Ireland, *Employed in the Private Home: A Public Concern; The Experience of Twenty Migrant Women Employed in the Private Home in Ireland.* The research includes twenty case

studies of non-Irish nationals working in different capacities in 'Irish ' homes. The report argues that, in general:

> ...it appears that a significant number of employers are willing to subject their employees to unacceptable employment standards....Evidence has emerged demonstrating problems in relation to pay and deductions from pay; the broad and varied range of tasks allocated; long hours of work; lack of access to holiday and leave entitlements; lack of privacy; and experiences of discrimination. (Migrant Rights Centre of Ireland)

In 2006, a significant number of homeless people were identified as being East European. Service providers have been quite concerned at the ease by which educated migrants can fall into the poverty trap and called on the Government to increase social provision for immigrants who are not entitled to Supplementary Welfare Allowance. One of the main reasons cited for the descent into homelessness was a difficulty in obtaining employment due to a lack of English and also abusive treatment, such as the non-payment of salaries by employers.

Why are there more asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown than Swords?

Although Swords had the second-highest number of asylum seekers (139) residing in Fingal, it had less than one half of a percentage of the Census 2002 ED population of Swords, 31,048. There were 574 more asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown, which had a 2002 Census population of 65,466. One might question why there were more asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown than other areas in Fingal. Due to the stipulation by the HSE that this researcher could not contact any asylum seeker from the data set, it was difficult to determine hard facts as to why this was the case. However, there are some reasons that might be suggested as to why there were more asylum seekers residing in Blanchardstown.

Economic factors

One of the main reasons argued in this thesis lies in there being a spatial correlation between low economic levels of an area and the location of asylum seekers in County Dublin. In essence, asylum seekers live in those areas with the cheapest rents, primarily located within areas of high economic deprivation. Where one rents is aligned with availability. Swords's newly developed residential neighbourhoods are

primarily purchased for owner occupation, which reduces the availability of rented accommodation. Based on literature concerning residential segregation in America such as Smith (1996), one issue to consider is 'red lining'. 'Red lining' is a term used in America to describe the process whereby landlords will select who they rent their properties to based upon particular criteria, such as ethnicity, religion and skin colour. Swords is a relatively affluent set of housing estates comprising middle-class, owner-occupiers. Landlords lease their properties to groups of single professionals, such as those who work in the nearby airline industry, rather than leasing to asylum seekers or other non-Irish nationals. Landlords prefer leasing their properties to cash-paying rent holders as opposed to registering their 'business', which would have tax implications. Therefore, they will not risk leasing their premises to people in receipt of a Supplementary Welfare Allowance with rent supplement. This practice is further discussed in the Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown section of the data analysis.

Human factors

As discussed in the Literature Review, there are political and economic factors as to why people choose to live where they do, or in fact how some people have little choice regarding where they live. There is also a human dimension to segregation. Although there might very well be economic reasons as to where groups initially settle in a particular area, the continued use of this area by an ethnic group can attract other migrants from this ethnic group to settle in the locale. An example is the case study above of the family members from Latvia following each other in the fashion of chain-migration. The snowball effect results in the accumulation of migrants residing in a particular spatial area. As the ethnic population increases in a locale, it can attract ethnic-specific businesses and services to locate there. This process, over time, can pluralise the ethnic make-up and cultural norms of an area.

Fingal - North County Dublin

The following sub-section of this analysis of Fingal focuses its on the increasingly suburbanised areas of Rush, Skerries and Balbriggan.

Rush

There were only 13 asylum seekers residing in the town of Rush in June 2003. The graffiti on the road sign below (plate 13) would suggest that there are other non-Irish nationals residing in the environs of Rush.

Graffiti on Public Road Sign for Rush

plate 13

As discussed above, many East Europeans are working and living in Fingal and the opening of the *Gastronome* Russian food store in Rush is indicative of this presence. As the shop assistant explained, most of the customers are from Latvia, Ukraine as well as from Russia. Similar to the Russian stores in Blanchardstown and Tallaght, the store sells imported foods from East Europe. It also sells and rents Russian language video tapes as well as newspapers and magazines.

The Gastronome Russian Food Store in Rush

plate 14

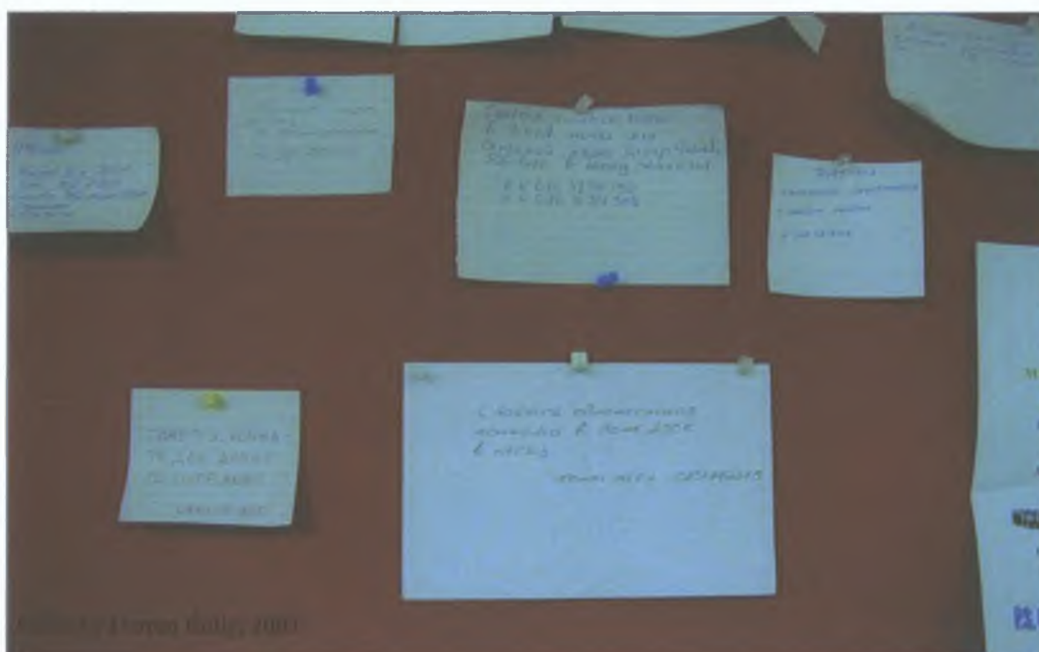
Foreign Language Editions of Cosmopolitan and other Women's Magazines

plate 15

The shop assistant, on the day on which these photographs were taken, spoke with a broad, inner city Dublin accent, which the seventeen-year-old migrant proudly said he has perfected over the last number of years. The teenager, who travels from the inner city at the weekends to work in the store, is originally from the Ukraine. After he sits his Leaving Certificate exam he plans to study Business in University College Dublin. As well as having familiar produce, the notice board in the shop helps those seeking work and accommodation and other services.

Notice Board in Russian Shop

plate 16



The shop sells the *Gazeta*, Ireland's only Russian newspaper. The fortnightly newspaper has international as well as Irish local news. It has numerous advertisements, such as those displayed on the front cover below advertising an 'immigration consultants' solicitor's firm located on Dublin's O'Connell Street. (plate 17)

Other advertisements, all in East European languages, include language and computer training, international phone cards, car salesrooms, money transfer companies, food stores and, as indicated below, housing agents. (plate 18)

Russian Language Newspaper, August 2003

plate 17

GAZETA The first and only Russian fortnightly newspaper in IRELAND

GAZETA ГАЗЕТА

Депортации неизбежны

The Jurists

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

Irish Company Advertisement in Russian Language Newspaper

plate 18

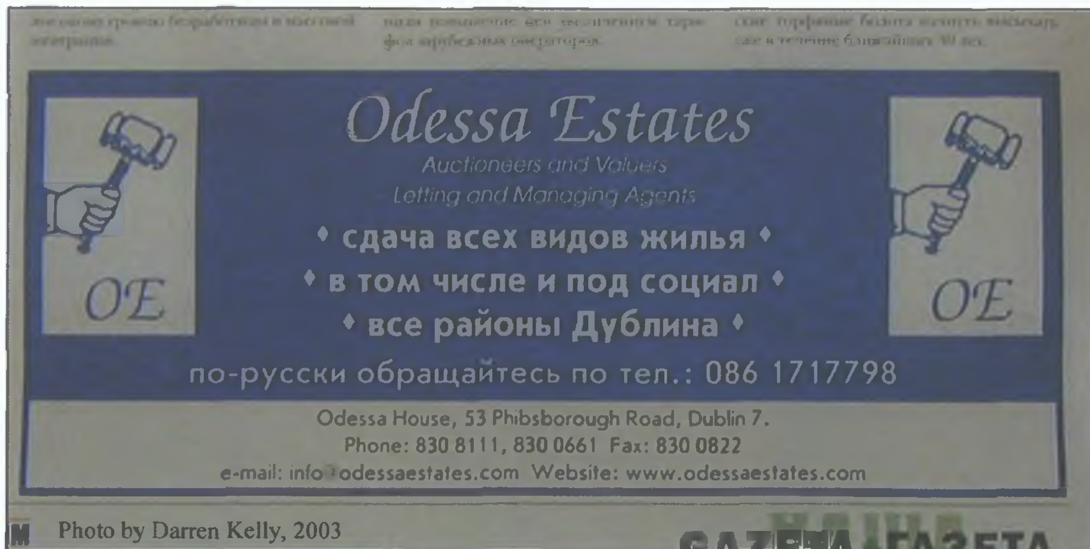


Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

The arrival of non-Irish nationals hoping to work in Ireland has created niche markets which have been tapped into by existing Irish firms and those established by arriving migrants. The *Evening Herald's* creation of a Polish language supplement in 2005 is certainly testament to this. Companies located in Ireland, such as the Permanent TSB bank, have employed Polish nationals to aid communication for their ever-increasing

Polish customer base. Billboard advertisements for the O2 telephone network in Ireland have included information in Mandarin and the Health and Safety Authority have been broadcasting advertisements in different languages on Irish Radio stations. The much-publicised Irish Ferries dispute in 2005, whereby Irish workers were being made redundant and replaced by a mainly foreign workforce under reduced pay highlighted the willingness of some businesses to use immigration and loopholes within legislation to bolster their profits. There are different concerns arising from this issue; firstly the threat to the existing workforce and, secondly, the possibility and willingness by employers to exploit foreign workers. Furthermore, the resulting street protests and political and media debate have had the potential to fuel a growing anti-immigrant sentiment, as the dispute was understood by some to equate to 'foreign workers taking Irish jobs'.

The Immigrant Council of Ireland has reported concerns at the unlawful working conditions and pay faced by immigrants. On November 5th, 2005, 13 East European winkle pickers were rescued from Colt Island off the coast of Skerries having been left stranded there by their employers. Reporting on the event the *Irish Examiner* (8/11/2005) quoted SIPTU's Anton McCabe as saying that this was "another example of migrant workers being used as a cheap commodity".

In interview with this researcher, residents of Rush connected with the farming sector commented that without foreign nationals it would be difficult to employ the requisite numbers needed to work, particularly in high season. Different reasons were cited for this employment difficulty, primarily the fact that Irish people no longer wanted to do such work for low wages. It was discussed by interviewees that students who would usually do jobs such as picking fruit in the summer, increasingly prefer, and have the financial means, to travel to America and other countries to work for the summer.

In general, the indigenous residents agreed that foreign workers were needed and valuable. According to these interviewees, the locals keep to themselves and have little contact with the foreign workers. In this sense, there is very little sign of any social integration. This is exacerbated by the fact that foreign workers, as with Irena in the case study cited above, are living in the area for short periods of time.

Furthermore, in-part due to expense, the foreign population prefer to socialise in each other's abodes rather than in pubs, which is the norm for Irish people. As a result, there are two communities or life worlds; an immigrant population and the indigenous population sharing the same space that is Rush and other areas such as Balbriggan and Skerries.

When walking throughout Rush village, this researcher noticed that the local travel agents have tapped into this new market by advertising flights to East Europe in their front window, as illustrated in plate 19. The destinations advertised are an obvious indicator of the countries from which the Rush workforce originate. The sign also indicates the other customer base, that of some of the Irish indigenous population who, with their increasing wealth, might wish to travel to Disney Land in America for their summer vacations. This analysis illustrates how a researcher can 'read' a social landscape.

Rush Travel Agent's Shop Window Advertisements for Flights to East Europe

plate 19

Balbriggan and Skerries

Unlike Rush, Balbriggan and Skerries do not have any shops that specifically cater for non-Irish nationals. There is, however, a Baptist church service held in the old school in Balbriggan on Sunday mornings. The result of not having particular produce and services in the immediate locale results in local asylum seekers having to do without these particular products or having to travel in to Dublin city for them.

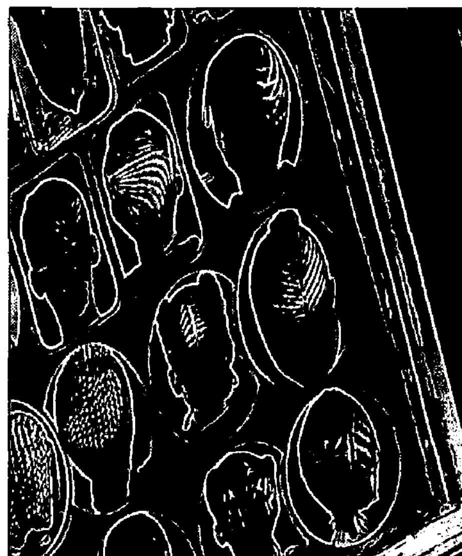
Street Sign Giving Directions for a Baptist Church in Balbriggan.

plate 20

Alongside the dietary difficulties of living in relative isolation, there are further concerns associated with not having shops and services in one's locale. As Rex and Moore (1974) discuss, the local shop not only sells glocal produce i.e. foods from a far nation in the local store, but also services other important cultural needs. Such cultural needs can take the form of the shop having the relevant National newspapers for news of home, or Irish newspapers and periodicals which cater for non-Irish nationals. Some examples are, *The Times of Africa* (African), *Diaspora Romanesca* (Romanian), *Gazeta* (Russian), *Heritage* (African), *Metro Eireann* (Irish Multi Cultural), Polska Gazeta (Polish), *Street Journal* (African) and *Sveiks* (Latvian).

African Hair Style Street Advertisements

plate 21



Shops also double as hair salons and video stores. As this researcher has been told numerous times by African people in the city, hair care is very important, particularly to women who, for example, have their hair straightened regularly. Having one's hair styled is time consuming and as a result the salon becomes a place of conversation. This serves as an important medium for receiving information as well as providing a time when non-Irish nationals can speak freely in their mother tongue.

There are many hair salons on Dublin's Moore Street and Parnell Street, and numerous shops selling hair-care products. This activity not only caters for Africans, but young Irish women are increasingly using these salons and, in this way, the salons are becoming places of integration. There are usually notice boards in shops which provide a useful means of communication for non-Irish nationals. The notice boards inform the reader of various services from immigration lawyers, to up-coming entertainment events and church services. Other information includes available housing to rent, translation services, English-language classes and employment possibilities. Not having such shops furthers the disadvantages of living in physical and 'cultural' isolation in places such as Skerries.

Advertisement Notice Board in an Asian Store in Inner City Dublin

plate 22

Some churches provide transport for people living outside of the inner city. Most of the non-Irish national shops in the inner city, where some churches are located, remain open on Sundays and, as a result, people who live in isolated areas can attend church and also shop; importantly they can meet friends in a caring environment.

Such issues regarding residential isolation are not so different from the Irish situation of the recent past. Firstly, the parish church, particularly in rural areas, serviced not only weekly spiritual needs, but acted as an important place and time in the week where people could congregate and share news. Secondly, the hardships of isolation were experienced by Dublin people when they moved to the new and under developed suburbs, such as Finglas and Coolock in the 1950s and 1960s. Fintan O' Toole (1994: 114) writes in *Black Hole, Green Card: The Disappearance of Ireland* about the experiences of the first residents in the newly developed Crumlin suburb to the South west of Dublin's inner city, "...our parents had been explorers though for the most part involuntary ones, cast adrift without a map or compass, deprived of familiar co-

ordinates, thrust, as Jim Larkin put it in 1939, "into areas to which they are not acclimatised".

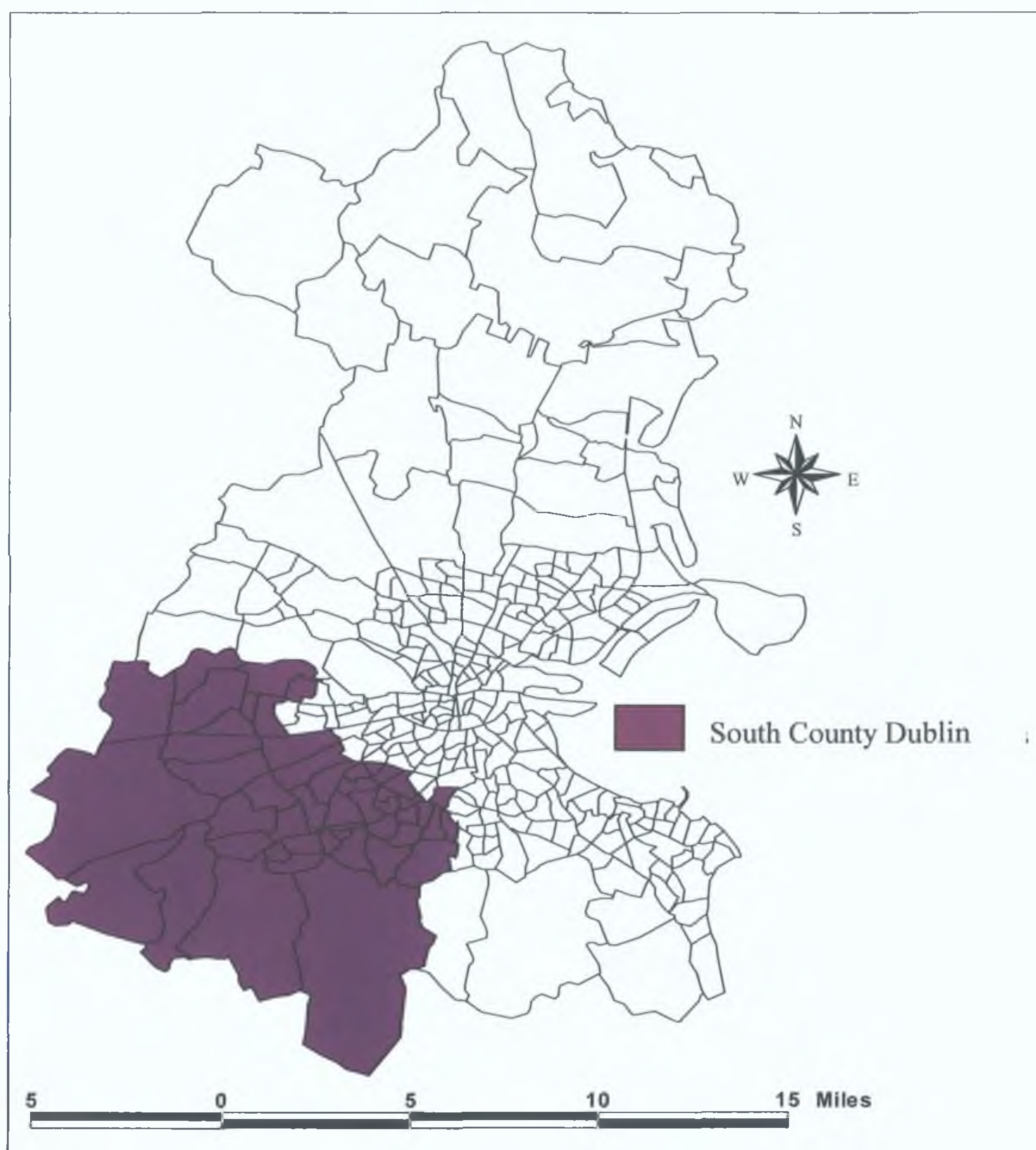
Mini-Bus for Transporting Church Goers to the City

plate 23

The result of isolation, living away from 'local' shops, family and friends, resulted in a form of psychological trauma for some of the suburban residents in Crumlin. Counter to the planners' beliefs, the residents wished to return to the inner city tenements. In essence, the need for familial and community support, albeit in extremely cramped and oft times dilapidated buildings, was greater than the need to live in a suburb. One might suggest that those asylum seekers living away from the city, and in particular those asylum seekers living under the Direct Provision policy, might well suffer from the lack of such stable, cultural necessities, the result being forms of depression, anger and anxiety. As O'Toole (1994: 114) quotes Larkin: "They are simply dumped down there; they don't understand their surroundings. No one ever goes near them except to collect the rent." Therefore, based on these 'Irish' experiences as outlined by O'Toole and, for example, Tuan's (1974) discourse on identity politics discussed in the South West Inner City section of the data analysis, it is understandable that some asylum seekers might feel a need to live close to members of their own ethnic or national group and to 'cluster' residentially.

4.3.2 South Dublin County Council

map 23



The Population and Size of South Dublin and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 29

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02 **	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
South Dublin	218,718	238,835	9.2	1,436	0.60%	22,301	0.06	10.7

* Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

Map 23 shows the area of South Dublin County Council in relation to the rest of County Dublin. Gerry Smyth (2001) in *Space and the Irish Cultural Imagination* describes in detail the physical morphology of South County Dublin in the late twentieth century. In particular, he articulates the drastic urban morphology of Firhouse and Tallaght, which were once rural spaces at the foot of the Dublin Mountains.

As outlined in the Literature Review, Smyth describes how the changing physical nature of South Dublin i.e. its rapid suburbanisation from the 1970s on, was coupled with a transition in the indigenous residents' sense of place, space and identity. The construction of housing for a small, city-size population onto a rural space was not paralleled with social provision and services. Areas such as Tallaght and Clondalkin were unemployment black spots and, inevitably with the lack of social provision, particular social problems arose.

Ireland's economic boom, beginning in the early 1990s, positively affected South County Dublin. This was particularly due to foreign direct investment in this area and the bordering Counties of Kildare and Meath – Intel in Leixlip is one example. The result was the further construction of houses, this time for a growing middle class. The development of the M50 and the construction of the LUAS also hastened the location of new residential developments in South County Dublin. Other facilities developed were the Tallaght Square Shopping Centre, the construction of retail parks and the exclusive City West Hotel and Business Park in Saggart.

While in many ways the economic boom has benefited South County Dublin, it has not necessarily trickled down into some of its poorer, suburban neighbourhoods which still suffer from chronic unemployment. It is in some of these neighbourhoods that asylum seekers have been residing. This section begins with a statistical analysis of asylum seekers at the South County Dublin scale. Following this overview, a more detailed, micro-spatial analysis is contained in three sub-sections which focus on the lives of asylum seekers residing in Tallaght, Clondalkin and Lucan. A primary focus is given to the experiences of asylum seeker families, the issue of racism and xenophobia and the role of voluntary organisations in facilitating the establishment of immigrant groups and the integration of immigrants into the wider community.

Breakdown of Asylum Seekers, Residing in South Dublin Council, June 2002, by 'Status' Category

table 30

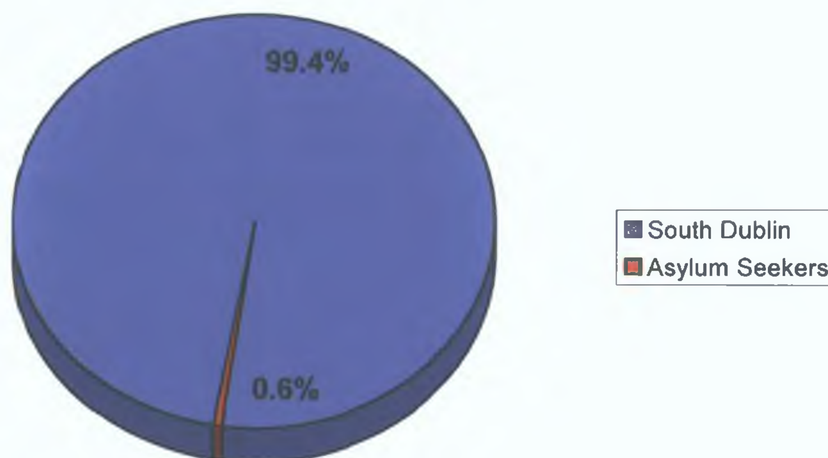
	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
South Dublin	529	291	616 (43%*)	813 (57%)	1,436	7

*includes the 7 unaccompanied minors.

There were 1,436 asylum seekers residing in South Dublin, representing 15.6% of the total number of asylum seekers in County Dublin (9,195). The 2002 Census population of South Dublin was 238,835; asylum seekers were 0.6% of this total. The majority of asylum claims were family orientated. Forty-three percent of the asylum seeking population in the data set were children.

The 2002 Census Population of South Dublin and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the same Spatial Area, June 2002

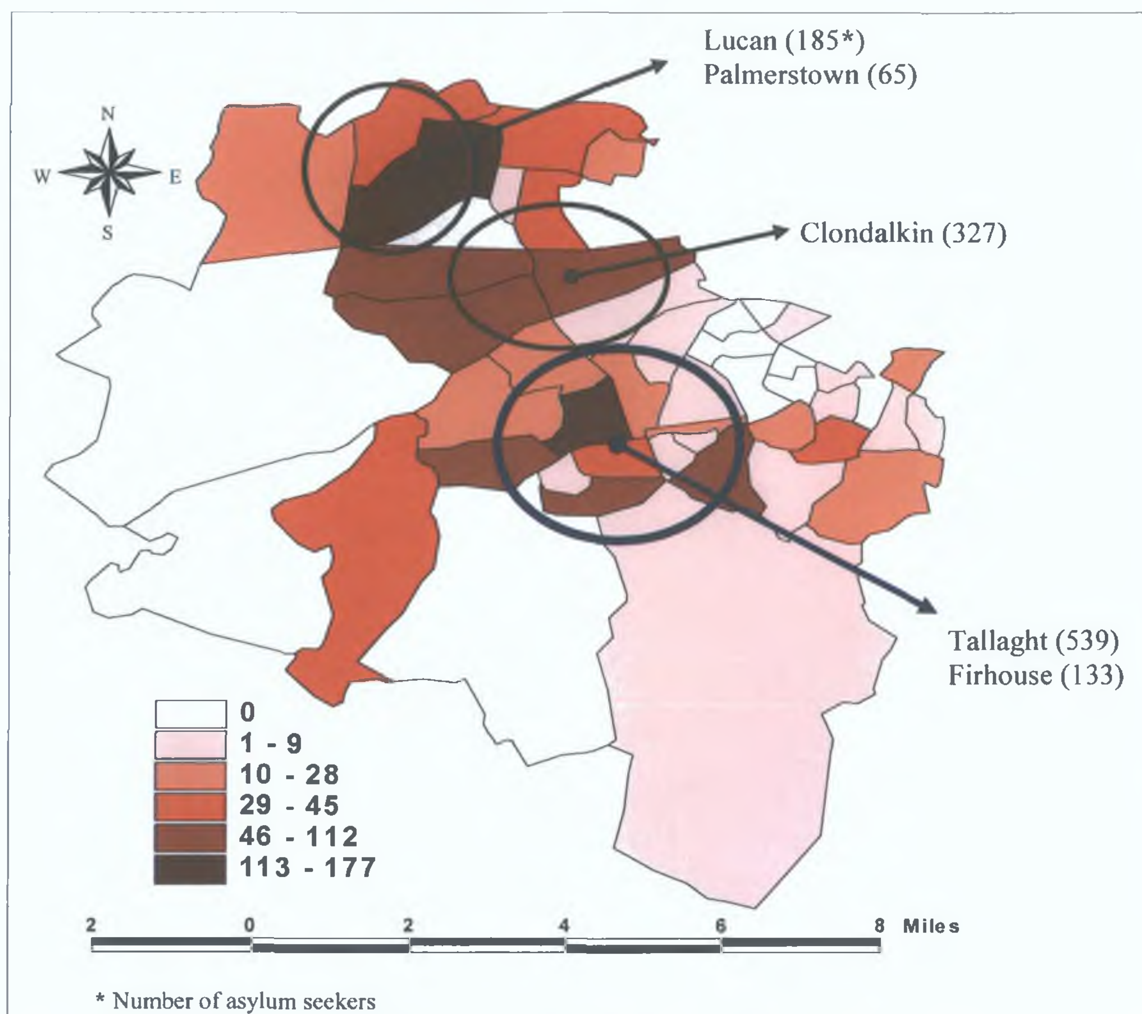
chart 15



There were three main residential areas housing asylum seekers in South Dublin: Clondalkin with 327 asylum seeker residents, Lucan 185 and Tallaght with 672 asylum seeker residents (see map 24). Of the 50 Electoral Divisions in South Dublin, 40 of these had asylum seekers residing in them in June 2002. However, 8 Electoral Divisions had more than 70 asylum seeker residents, a total of 902 or 63% of all the asylum seekers residing in South Dublin (see map 25 and table 31).

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in South Dublin by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 24



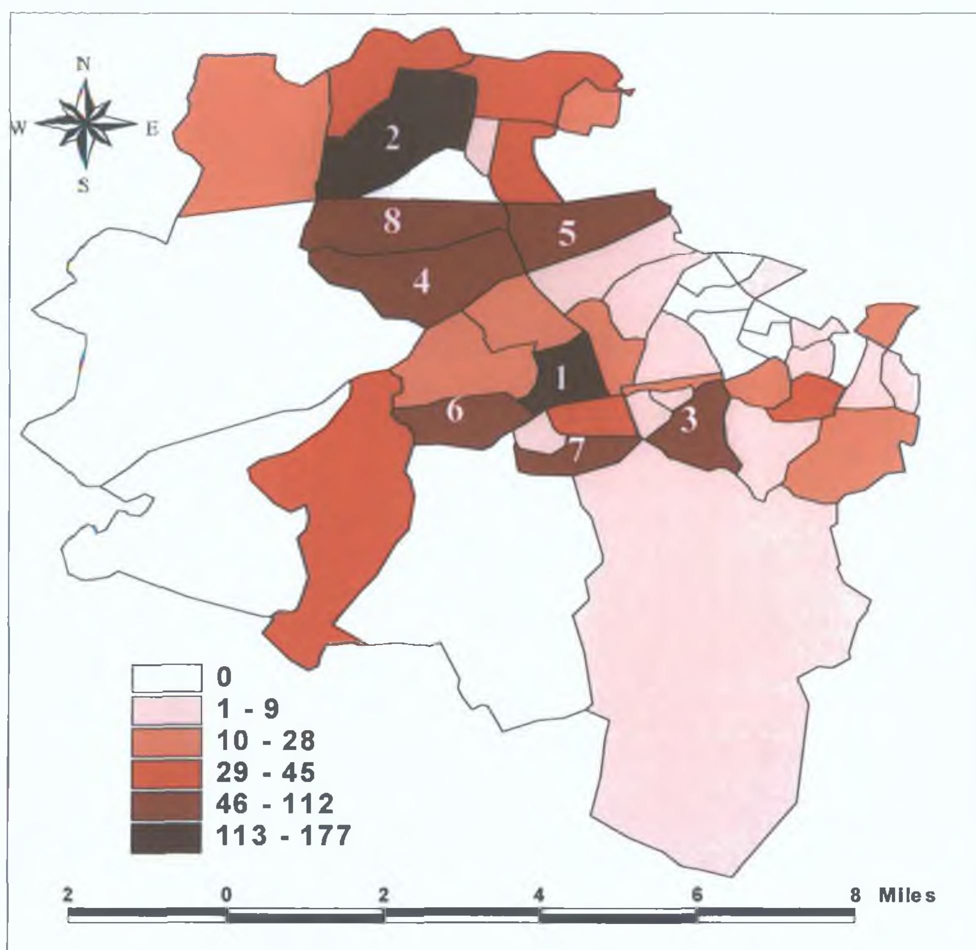
The Eight Electoral Divisions with more than 70 Asylum Seekers and their Percentage of the Total Number of Asylum Seekers (AS) in South Dublin

table 31

Rank	Electoral Division	Total	% of South Dublin AS
1	Tallaght-Springfield	177	12.3
2	Lucan Esker	141	9.8
3	Firhouse Village	112	7.8
4	Clondalkin-Village	109	7.6
5	Clondalkin-Monastery	98	6.8
6	Tallaght-Jobstown	98	6.8
7	Tallaght-Kiltipper	94	6.5
8	Clondalkin-Dunawley	73	5.1
	Total	**902**	**62.8**

Electoral Divisions with the Highest Number of Asylum Seekers in South Dublin

map 25 (*nos. correspond with table 31)*



The following analysis examines an overview of the dataset for South Dublin Council. Map 24 illustrates the areas with the largest ethnic clustering in South Dublin County Council. These are the most disadvantaged neighbourhoods in South Dublin Council. This was also the case in Fingal County Council and thus highlights the spatial correlation between where asylum seekers reside and areas of socio-economic disadvantage. The experiences of asylum seekers within these specific South Dublin Council areas are examined in individual sub-sections.

The female to male ratio is smaller in South Dublin compared to the city areas. The actual number of 'Female' adults would most likely increase if the gender of the 292 'Qualified Adults' was known, as according to the Health Board, in many instances males are usually the family 'claimants'. As with Fingal, one reason for the high percentage of female claimants is related to the high proportion of Nigerians within

the asylum seeker population in South Dublin, 431 or 29.5% (see table 36). As outlined in the Fingal section, the large number of Nigerian female claimants has an effect on the male female ratio in areas where there are large numbers of Nigerians, which is the case in South Dublin.

Gender Profile of Claimants in South Dublin, June 2002

table 32

	Frequency	Percent
Male	331	62.6
Female	198	37.4
Total	529	100

Age Profile of Claimants in South Dublin, June 2002

table 33

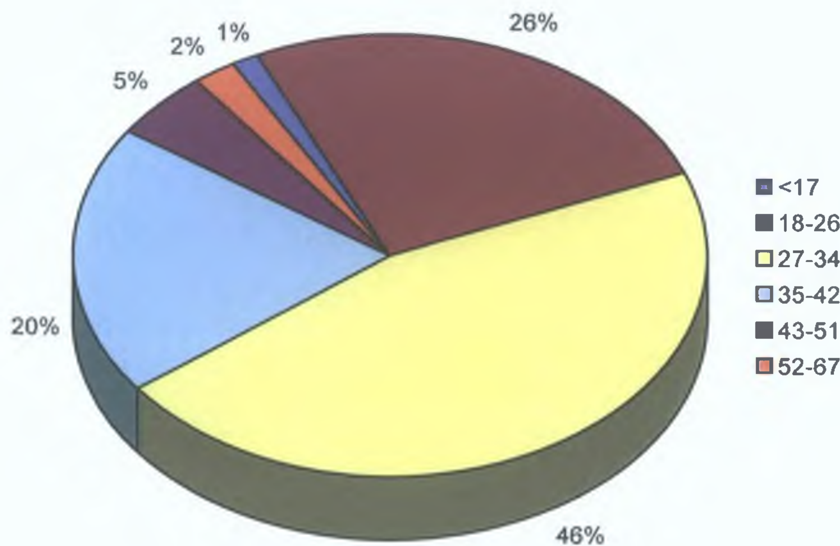
Age	Frequency	Percent
14	1	0.2
15	1	0.2
17	5	0.9
Sub total	**7**	**1.3**
18	23	4.3
19	15	2.8
20	11	2.1
21	7	1.3
22	8	1.5
23	17	3.2
24	14	2.6
25	22	4.2
26	20	3.8
Sub total	**137**	**25.9**
27	22	4.2
28	25	4.7
29	31	5.9
30	31	5.9
31	21	4.0
32	47	8.9
33	39	7.4
34	26	4.9
Sub total	**242**	**45.7**
35	21	4.0
36	18	3.4
37	15	2.8
38	15	2.8
39	7	1.3
40	8	1.5
41	13	2.5
42	8	1.5
Sub total	**105**	**19.8**

Age	Frequency	Percent
43	8	1.5
44	2	0.4
45	5	0.9
46	5	0.9
47	2	0.4
48	1	0.2
49	2	0.4
50	1	0.2
Sub total	**26**	**4.9**
50	0	0
52	1	0.2
53	3	0.6
55	1	0.2
57	1	0.2
61	1	0.2
62	2	0.4
64	1	0.2
65	1	0.2
67	1	0.2
Sub total	**12**	**2.3**
Total claimants	**529**	100

Age Range	Frequency	Percent
U17	7	1.3
18-26	137	25.9
27-34	242	45.7
35-42	105	19.8
43-51	26	4.9
52-67	12	2.3
Total	529	100

Age Categories of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in South Dublin, June 2002

chart 16



The percentages of the older age categories, from 27 years and up, were higher in South Dublin Council when compared with the city areas. The reason for this is that younger, single asylum seekers, in particular men, will gravitate towards the city as opposed to living in a suburb which, in the main, houses families. Based on informal interviews with young, African immigrant men residing in Dublin, there are two main reasons for younger, single asylum seekers choosing to live in the city. Firstly, rent is cheaper, although the main reason given is that they can share rooms and reduce the costs of the rent. Secondly, they choose to live in the city because they are attracted to the shops and services located there. Repeatedly, young immigrants have told this researcher that they feel safer in the inner city where, for example, there are particular bars they can go to without being refused entry and, therefore, socialise in a friendly, accepting environment. Another attraction of living in the city is the short distances to shops and services that target non-Irish nationals.

Living in a large residential area, it is easy for asylum seekers to feel isolated, lost and out of place. To safeguard themselves against such isolation and to empower themselves within their communities, asylum seekers and other non-Irish national women in particular have begun to organise themselves by forming recognised community groups.

Most male asylum seekers and other male migrants have not organised themselves or joined in local community groups. Staff from organisations that work with asylum seekers in South Dublin have explained to this researcher that married men living in this area face particular problems, notably isolation due to a lack of involvement with community activities.

Gender stereotypes and the division of roles within the family unit are not uncommon in Ireland, although gender bias has decreased over time within Irish society. Many of these stereotypes surround the man as the 'bread winner', and the woman as the 'homemaker' in need of care. Current research has focussed on the negative aspects of gender stereotypes on men. Research such as Antonia Owens (2005) strongly indicates that men, particularly in disadvantaged neighbourhoods, find it difficult to break down societal and internalised stereotypes concerning their roles in life. Owens' research highlights the barriers to men entering second-chance learning environments. However, her research shows a gradual breaking of such barriers to education and a growing participation of men in local organisations and educational institutions. This researcher, when visiting the Ballymun Men's Centre, was told by some of its members that they were ridiculed by other men as being 'gay' and 'weak' because of their involvement in the centre. Over time, however, this prejudice has increasingly been reduced due to the success of the centre.

As outlined to this researcher by local community workers in South Dublin, the identity of male migrants within their community is not very different from some of the identities attributed to, and acted out by, Irish males; that of the stereotypical 'head of the household'. Whilst some men perceive their role as the 'boss' or 'breadwinner', in truth this might not necessarily be the case. When researching different ethnic groups one must be cognisant of different cultural norms of the groups researched. This researcher is very much aware that in other cultures, this male 'role' is culturally assigned to men to varying degrees of intensity. The researcher is also aware that this 'role' is facilitated by the suppression of women's rights. Without engaging in a lengthy discourse on gender politics, it is asserted quite strongly by community workers that the role of 'provider' or 'bread winner', along with gender-specific terms such as 'strong', bring with them particular pressures on immigrant men, particularly for those asylum seekers who are not entitled to work.

This, as outlined in the Fingal section, leaves very little room for the male and female asylum seekers to play this 'providing' role for their children. Those asylum seekers caught working illegally are penalised, by way of a €634.87 fine or a month's imprisonment. (www.ris.ie/whataremyrights/asylumseeker.asp)

Within the Direct Provision accommodation centres, asylum seekers are usually not allowed to either cook for themselves or wash their own clothes. As a result, many women who tend to be the 'home maker', carer and cook can also feel the same anxiety and loss of role / identity as the men outlined above. Such a lack of control over one's daily life has had a very disempowering effect on adult immigrants.

In a further discussion of the characteristics of the home life of asylum seekers residing in South Dublin, community workers explained to this researcher how children of asylum seekers and other migrants who attend school often acclimatise more quickly to the English language and their new surroundings than their parents. This leads to instances whereby a child must act as a translator for her/his parents. This can have negative effects on parents if they feel they have failed their children, or are less respected by their children who have seen them in such a vulnerable situation. Immigrant children, through participation at school, can integrate more effectively into the local community. This is discussed further in the South West Inner City section of the Data Analysis. Immigrant women find it difficult to integrate into the broader Irish community, but through their participation in ethnic-specific community, social and educational organisations, they can feel a sense of support and place in their world. Some immigrant men, however, remain isolated at home. Such isolation can have a negative psychological effect on asylum seekers' well being, as was the case for Dublin's inner city dwellers when they moved out to the newly developed suburbs, such as Crumlin. The result, in a Freirean context, is a lack of self-esteem and accompanying anxiety and depression, which is then negatively transferred onto the other members of the family and can result in family dysfunction. According to a British Medical Association report, (2002: 8):

> Asylum seekers often experience a drop in status, and men are more acutely affected by this. Depression and anxiety are common. Men granted refugee status are less likely to find work than are women. This may lead to another change in status, this time within the family, which can cause further distress. Furthermore, men are more reluctant than women to access healthcare.

Many community groups and NGOs, including non-Irish national organisations such as Tallaght Intercultural Action, have identified the problems mentioned above and thus actively engage with communities to counteract the psychosocial problems concomitant with low economic achievement, and recent migration. These groups, using community development principles of raising participants' consciousness of their 'local' situations and a continuing process of empowerment through self and civic action, have greatly increased women's self esteem and increased their profiles within their families and communities. They continue, however, to find it extremely difficult to attract men to their activities.

The South Dublin Arts Officer, in association with South Dublin Libraries, Tallaght Artsquad, Alternative Entertainments and Tallaght Intercultural Action have organised the South Dublin County Council Intercultural Week annually since 2000. The event, stretched out over the course of a week, highlights the food, music, dance, theatre, arts and crafts and literature from the many nations from which people now reside in South Dublin. Thus, a positive signal is sent out in an enjoyable manner which informs the South Dublin 'Irish' residents of the asylum seeker countries' rich beauty and heritage. The event attracts hundreds of school children that actively participate in the events. As table 34 indicates, there was a large percentage of asylum seeker families residing in South Dublin, a characteristic of the suburban areas where there are relatively large numbers of asylum seekers.

Frequency of Asylum Seeker Family Sizes in South Dublin, June 2002

table 34

No. in Household	Frequency	% of claims
1	189	35.7
2	60	11.3
3	121	22.9
4	87	16.4
5	36	6.8
6	21	4.0
7	10	1.9
8	5	0.9
Total Claims	529	100

Each one of the 4,777 asylum seeker claims in Dublin represents either an individual or a family; each has a story, a spatial narrative of migration from one geographical space to another. Each family has its own reason for migrating, each has had various needs upon arrival and each represents a myriad of conflicting emotions and experiences that are a daily reality of living in Dublin.

What are the needs of the two, single, female claimants, one aged 29, the other 37, each living with six children in South Dublin or, the needs of two, single, African fathers, each with a child? There were a total of 116 women living without a 'qualified adult', and two men who were living without a 'qualified adult'. Two of the 116 women were raising 6 children, 2 with four children, 4 with three children, 6 with two children and 33 women were raising one child.

Raban (1974: 27), in discussing the difficulties faced by women living in flat complexes in England, writes that, "…the stay-at-home mother in a tower block flat can be as alone as an astronaut marooned in space; indeed, the sociological space in which she moves is almost as uncharted". It is possible that many asylum seekers living solitary lives in suburban estates and inner city 'flats' might well feel as isolated as if they had moved to the moon, and it is vital that their lives do not go uncharted, but are analysed and such problems addressed.

The Breakdown of the Highest Household Totals by Household (Claim) size in South Dublin, June 2002

table 35

Country	Total	1	2	3	4	5	6*	7	8	Claims
Nigeria	431	64	28	43	15	8	10	2	1	171
Romania	307	18	3	28	29	6	5	1	2	92
Other	114	21	5	7	5	2	3	2		45
Congo	58	22	1	3	3		1	1		31
Algeria	46	6	4	5		2		1		18
Angola	44	8		1	5	1			1	16
Poland	38	5	1	1	1	2	1		1	12
Albania	29			1	4	2				7
Russia	26	1	2	3	3					9
Iraq	25	5	2			2	1			10

** The number in the top row represents the number of people in a claim. For example, there were 10 Nigerian Claims with six in the household.*

Table 35 shows the large number of asylum seeker families, particularly from Nigeria and Romania. Nigerian claims represented 32% of all the South Dublin claims and Romanians 17%, a much smaller percentage. However, there were 3.3 Romanian children per household compared with 2.5 children per Nigerian household, which illustrates that the household total can be a more accurate unit of measurement with regard to actual numbers of people and also indicates particular 'claim' needs when the data is broken down into family unit size. The asylum seeker families in South Dublin consisted of 616 children, all of whom are entitled to attend school. Maps 24 and 25 showing the spatial distribution of asylum seekers residing in South Dublin identify clustering in particular locales. Schools located in these locales are faced with the challenges and energy associated with multi-ethnic classroom environments.

Table 36 represents each country's number of claims. It then indicates the household total or the actual number from that country living in South Dublin; this total is then shown as a percentage of all the people from that country residing in County Dublin (9,195). Finally the table shows the percentage of each country in South Dublin to the total number of asylum seekers in South Dublin. There were asylum seekers from 48 different nationalities resident in South Dublin, as illustrated in table 36.

As with the other regions, the two highest totals were from Nigeria and Romania. Nigeria has a higher percentage residing in a suburban region compared to Romanians, even though Romanians outnumber Nigerians in County Dublin by 557 people. However, both countries' totals are relatively small percentages of their Co. Dublin totals, Nigeria 20% of its total and Romanians 11%. Table 36 can be misleading when one considers the relative proportion of particular countries living in South Dublin to those countries' County Dublin population.

There were relatively few asylum seekers from North East Europe, in particular Moldovans who had only 5.6% of its 301 asylum seeker population residing in South Dublin, Russians 9% of its 291 population and Ukrainians 6% of its 315 asylum seeker population. This contrasts with the relatively high proportion of North East European asylum seekers residing in Fingal. Moldovans residing in Fingal represent 15% of their total population, Albanians 23%, and Lithuanians 20%.

Asylum Seekers Residing in South Dublin by Nationality and the Relative Percentage of Each to their Total Number in County Dublin, June 2002

table 36

Rank	Country	Claims	Household Total	Country Total	S. Dublin % of Country Total	Country % of South Dublin
1	Nigeria	171	431	2155	20.0	29.5
2	Romania	92	307	2712	11.3	21.0
3	Other	45	114	686	16.6	7.8
4	Congo	31	58	228	25.4	4.0
5	Algeria	18	46	308	14.9	3.1
6	Angola	16	44	116	37.9	3.0
7	Poland	12	38	205	18.5	2.6
8	Albania	7	29	123	23.6	2.0
9	Russia	9	26	291	8.9	1.8
10	Iraq	10	25	68	36.8	1.7
11	Lithuania	7	22	148	14.9	1.5
12	Bulgaria	11	19	93	20.4	1.3
13	Ghana	7	19	67	28.4	1.3
14	Somalia	6	19	100	19.0	1.3
15	Ukraine	6	19	315	6.0	1.3
16	Libya	3	17	71	23.9	1.2
17	Moldova	5	17	301	5.6	1.2
18	Pakistan	4	17	63	27.0	1.2
19	Cameroon	8	16	88	18.2	1.1
20	Kosovo	7	13	148	8.8	0.9
21	Latvia	6	12	39	30.8	0.8
22	South Africa	4	12	44	27.3	0.8
23	Zaire	5	12	28	42.9	0.8
24	Kenya	4	11	41	26.8	0.8
25	Sierra Leone	6	10	99	10.1	0.7
26	Burundi	2	9	16	56.3	0.6
27	Macedonia	3	8	31	25.8	0.5
28	Estonia	2	7	23	30.4	0.5
29	Rwanda	1	7	17	41.2	0.5
30	Bosnia	2	6	14	42.9	0.4
31	Egypt	2	6	11	54.5	0.4
32	Azerbaijan	1	4	14	28.6	0.3
33	India	1	4	7	57.1	0.3
34	Iran	1	4	14	28.6	0.3
35	Tunisia	1	4	4	100	0.3
36	Uzbekistan	1	4	27	14.8	0.3
37	Georgia	1	3	80	3.8	0.2
38	Maldives	1	3	24	12.5	0.2
39	Morocco	1	3	17	17.6	0.2
40	Thailand	1	2	2	100	0.1
41	Togo	1	2	39	5.1	0.1
42	China	1	1	16	6.3	0.1
43	Ethiopia	1	1	4	25.0	0.1
44	Israel	1	1	10	10.0	0.1
45	Malta	1	1	6	16.7	0.1
46	Sudan	1	1	26	3.8	0.1
47	Syria	1	1	13	7.7	0.1
48	Vietnam	1	1	1	100	0.1
	Total	**529**	**1,436**	**(all Dub)9,195**	**15.6**	**100**

There were 13% more Africans than Europeans residing in South Dublin in June 2002. This contrasts with Fingal, the other main suburban region which houses asylum seekers, where Africans and Europeans have an equal percentage (43%) of the Fingal asylum seeker population. In general, there were higher percentages of African asylum seekers residing in Tallaght and Lucan and slightly more European asylum seekers residing in Clondalkin. These are discussed in greater detail in the Tallaght and Clondalkin profiles. Most electoral divisions have asylum seekers from both Africa and Europe, however ED Ballyboden had 33 African asylum seekers and none from Europe. Likewise, ED Saggart had 25 asylum seekers from Africa and none from Europe.

Apart from Romanians, there were very few European asylum seekers residing in South Dublin as opposed to the relatively large numbers of that cohort residing in Fingal. In South Dublin, there is a relatively greater number of African nationalities compared with their numbers in Fingal.

There are relatively large proportions of Angolans and Congolese living in South Dublin. South Dublin houses 25.4% of the 228 Congolese residing in County Dublin and Angolans represent 38% of their County Dublin population of 116. The number of asylum seekers from Angola and the Congo residing in South Dublin has contributed to the establishment of both the Angolan Solidarity Association of Ireland (ASAI) and the African Rising Sun Community (AFRISURICO). Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA) has facilitated each group in their establishment. The West Tallaght Resource Centre provides a space from which both groups can have access to office facilities and space for housing meetings and different activities.

The Angolan Solidarity Association of Ireland (ASAI) was launched in Tallaght Library in May of 2002. The group has over sixty active members who meet regularly. Due to the size and nature of Dublin's western suburbs many asylum seekers suffer from isolation and the centre offers a space for members to meet and provide a support network for each other. The group has, on a voluntary basis, organised and managed a drop-in clinic once a week in the West Tallaght Resource Centre.

The 'clinic' offers advice and support to Angolans living in South Dublin, in particular Tallaght. Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA) has assisted the Angolan Solidarity Association of Ireland (ASAI) with funding applications. The success of this, and other projects 'facilitated' by TIA, is that they are based on the principles of community development where they empower groups to seek their own autonomy and, as a result, self-management and stability. Although the services provided by organisations such as ASAI and AFSURICO are very beneficial for those who operate and use their services, TIA do point out that such groups are providing a role that, to some degree, should be provided by the Government. As is the case with many community and NGO groups, the 'professional work' given voluntarily should not be taken for granted. Asylum seekers are not entitled to work, yet the services that they need, and for which they have the skills and credentials to attend to themselves, are not being recognised with employment. This researcher believes that asylum seekers should be paid for the important contribution that they make to the community. Likewise, it is very difficult for the staff connected with Tallaght Intercultural Action and other community groups to live with a job that only offers short-term security of tenure when each person's job is subject to the success of repeated grant applications. Furthermore, as community workers have expressed to this researcher, the constant time-consuming process of organising grant applications takes away from the workers' 'hands on' work, which is what many have been trained for and employed to do, thus jeopardising the success of the different initiatives. The South West Inner City section of the data analysis further discusses the role of community development organisations and highlights the community development work inherent in the regeneration of Fatima Mansions. The community work is highlighted as a model of best practice which can be transferable to work with asylum seekers and other immigrants.

The African Rising Sun Community (AFSURICO) was established in 2001 by local Angolans to provide activities for young Angolan youths. The group's desire is that their activities will act as a deterrent for its participants against anti-social behaviour such as drug taking and crime. The group hopes to establish connections with groups in the Congo. The TIA are acting as a link between AFSURICO and other concerned parent groups in the Tallaght area.

The African Women's Group (ASAC) has taken part in a Department of Social Community and Family Affairs funded personal development and Information Technology course. They also sing as a group and have performed at various local cultural events. They have appeared on the Late Late show and featured on an anti-racism CD organised by *Hotpress.* In 2002, the group affiliated with the Women Together Tallaght Network.

Tallaght

Breakdown of Asylum Seeker Claim Categories in Tallaght, June 2002

table 37

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Tallaght	252	143	277 *(41.5%*)*	393 *(58.5%)*	672	2

*includes the 2 unaccompanied minors.

The Tallaght area consists of 672 asylum seekers residing in 16 Electoral Divisions. Although asylum seekers residing in the Tallaght area represented 46.7% of the 1,436 asylum seeker population in South Dublin, it constituted less than one percent of the Tallaght Census 2002 population of 83,060. Although less than a percentage of the Tallaght population, asylum seekers and other non-Irish nationals have had a noticeable presence in the Tallaght area. Compared with the other suburban areas in South Dublin, Tallaght is the most 'ethnically clustered'.

Asylum seekers in Tallaght were from 32 countries. Asylum seekers from Nigeria totalled 198, 29.5% of the total asylum seeker population in Tallaght and Romanians totalled 142, 21% of the population. The relative percentages of regional groupings in Tallaght are consistent with those in South Dublin. There were ten percent more Africans than Europeans living in Tallaght.

Electoral Division Tallaght Springfield had 177 asylum seekers; the highest amount of all the Tallaght EDs. (see table 31) Tallaght Springfield constituted 26% of all asylum seekers residing in Tallaght, and 12.3% of South Dublin, in June 2002. Of the

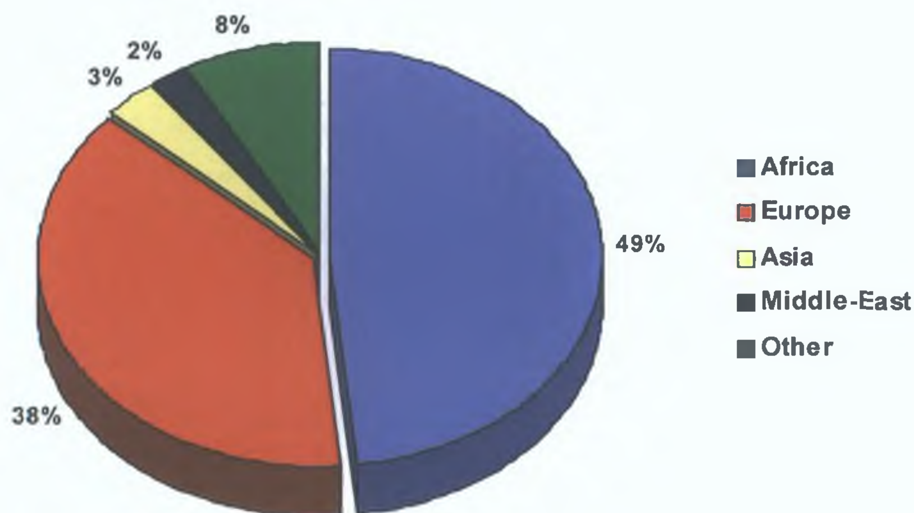
177 asylum seeker Springfield residents, 86 or almost half were African and 59 were European. Although Springfield asylum seeker residents had the highest total in Tallaght, they represented 2.2% of the Census 2002 population of Springfield, which was 7,787.

Representing 2.2% of the Springfield Census 2002 population, asylum seekers have not in any way become 'ghettoised'. Springfield, however, due to its totalling 26% of all the asylum seekers in Tallaght, was the most ethnically clustered neighbourhood in Tallaght.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographical Region Residing in Tallaght, June 2002

table 38 chart 17

Tallaght	Total 672	% of Region
Africa	**325**	**48.4**
Nigeria	*198*	*29.5*
All other African	*127*	*18.9*
Europe	**258**	**38.4**
Romania	*142*	*21.1*
All other European	*116*	*17.3*
Asia	**20**	**3.0**
Middle-East	**14**	**2.1**
Other	**55**	**8.2**



Asylum Seekers Residing in Tallaght by Country and the Relative Percentage of Each to the Total Number of Asylum seekers in Tallaght, June 2002

table 39

Country	Claims	Total	% of Tallaght
Nigeria	75	198	29.5
Romania	43	142	21.1
Other	20	55	8.2
Algeria	10	31	4.6
Congo	19	27	4.0
Albania	5	21	3.1
Poland	8	19	2.8
Pakistan	4	17	2.5
Bulgaria	9	16	2.4
Angola	5	13	1.9
Ukraine	4	12	1.8
Libya	2	10	1.5
Russia	4	10	1.5
Somalia	3	9	1.3
Iraq	4	8	1.2
Latvia	5	8	1.2
Macedonia	3	8	1.2

Country	*Claims*	*Total*	*% of Tallaght*
Zaire	3	8	1.2
Kosovo	5	7	1.0
South Africa	2	7	1.0
Bosnia	2	6	0.9
Egypt	2	6	0.9
Lithuania	2	6	0.9
Kenya	2	5	0.7
Sierra Leone	3	5	0.7
Tunisia	1	4	0.6
Cameroon	2	3	0.4
Estonia	1	3	0.4
Ghana	1	3	0.4
Burundi	1	2	0.3
Thailand	1	2	0.3
Vietnam	1	1	0.1
Total	**252**	**672**	**100**

As seen in relation to the profile of asylum seekers residing in South Dublin, there are also a large number of families residing in Tallaght. Some schools have a relatively large proportion of asylum seeker / non-Irish national pupils, in particular Saint Marks National School in Springfield, Killinardan Community School and Ballycragh National School.

Frequency of Asylum Seeker Family Sizes in Tallaght, June 2002

table 40

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	92	36.5
2	28	11.1
3	56	22.2
4	42	16.7
5	22	8.7
6	8	3.2
7	2	0.8
8	2	0.8
Total	**252**	100

There has been less participation in school by non-English speaking asylum seeker children than those who speak English. In 2001, Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA), in conjunction with the Tallaght Partnership, organised a project which sought to prepare Roma children for school participation. The programme employed two teachers to work with Roma children twice weekly for a total of eight weeks. The project took place in the asylum seekers' hostel which, according to TIA, caused some difficulties. One of the results of this initiative was the perceived need to work alongside the childrens' parents during and before the project began, so as to adduce their support for the project and to foster the parents' encouragement of their children in the project. As is the case for schools and other services provided for asylum seekers, the transient nature of some asylum seekers' lives results in interrupted lives. Children leaving their schools in the middle of a learning process leads to frustration for both the children and their tutors. With the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform deportation threat issued to parents of Irish-born children in August 2003, it is a possibility that some families have been or will be forced to flee once again, to the detriment of the childrens' education and their other daily routines.

Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA) continues to work with members of the Roma community in Tallaght. In April 2002, the Tallaght Travellers Community Development Project, Clondalkin Travellers Development Group and TIA initiated the Education and Ethnic Minorities Project, under the auspices of the TIA's Cultural Maintenance and Support Programme. The Ethnic Minorities project attempts to tackle the problem of racism in schools.

Guided by community development principles, it was hoped that members of the Travelling and refugee/asylum seeker communities would play an active part in the design and implementation of the project. Binchy's TIA *Profile Report* (2002) states that the project aimed to provide members of these ethnic minority groups "with the knowledge and skills to co-facilitate the delivery of anti-racism training sessions within the formal and non-formal sectors". Courses organised by the various Community Development Projects (CDP) have proven to be very successful. They train members of the travelling community to provide health information to members of their own community. The traveller women participants have had to overcome negative female gender stereotyping by male travellers and have shown dedication in

attending classes over the course of two to three years. After their training, the travellers have proven their capability to access and pass on such valuable health information to members of the travelling community, increasingly to men. Following this goal, the Education and Ethnic Minorities programme aimed to:

> ...develop trainees' presentation and facilitation skills, so that they can draw on their own experience: to give trainees an understanding of the context of ethnic minorities within the education system, to develop trainees' analysis and understanding of the theoretical background of racism, and to promote the development of anti-racist policies and practice in schools and community groups.

Fifteen participants represented the Travelling and asylum seeker and refugee communities and the success of this course is being used as a springboard to broaden the project. The course consisting of twice-weekly classes for the duration of ten weeks ended in April 2002. Fundamental to the success of the course was the provision of childcare and transport facilities. According to the Tallaght Intercultural Action *Profile Report* (Binchy, 2002), the group:

> ...mixed extremely well together, found their common ground and formed mutual alliances and support. It was initially intended that the participants would deliver talks to teachers only, but the project has already expanded to accommodate a large number of very different organisations, at a local level and even around the country.

To foster greater understanding of non-Irish national cultures, and in the case of a possible backlash against Muslims living in Tallaght following the September 11 atrocities in New York, the Tallaght Intercultural Action organised an information evening to make individuals and teachers aware of Islamic culture. Upwards of forty teachers and educators attended.

Two main difficulties for support organisations and asylum seekers are transport and child care. Without childcare, many of the parents who have attended services such as English language classes provided by St. Aidan's National School in Tallaght's Brookfield area, would not have been in a position to do so. Through the provision of transport and childcare, asylum seekers have become involved in classes and as such benefit, not least by regular contact with other asylum seekers. This involvement counteracts the terrible sense of isolation felt by many asylum seekers. Furthermore, with the increase in English language ability, asylum seekers are encouraged to enter

into mainstream programmes provided for the broader community i.e. sport, recreation and community groups.

It is through such participation that integration can occur between the Tallaght and non-Irish national groups. However Alice Binchy, a worker in Tallaght Intercultural Action, said to this researcher that integration is not an easy task. She explained that initially she felt that all she needed to do was organise a venue and arrange different people to arrive and integration would occur. At times, however, she feels there is a chasm between people's understanding of one another. The divide, Binchy argues, has been increasingly entrenched due to misinformation. She feels that there are many myths that need to be dispelled in order for integration to begin. She gives one example whereby she arranged young immigrants to visit a Tallaght youth club. The immigrants, feeling like they 'didn't belong', did not want to enter the hall; yet Binchy says that they would have welcomed the Irish youths into their space.

Based on the discourse in the Literature Review of the Birmingham School's work and that of Cohen (2002), Jackson (1989) and Sibley (1995), one might suggest that the youth's reactions are linked to object relations theory, whereby a person mistrusts or fears another person based on perceived differences creating a binary opposition. Such xenophobia can lead to racist behaviour or fear of integration. In many respects the onus is on the outsider, in this case asylum seekers to 'go to' or 'join in' the indigenous groups' activities. The crossing of this cultural and ethnic divide is not easy for the outsider and, as such, integration will not happen by accident but by design. The openness of established groups to accept people whom they perceive to be different is also of vital importance. Some of the local sports clubs have, as in Fingal, embraced children of immigrants into their activities. It must be noted that though some of these children are Irish, they are considered different because they have a different colour skin or parents who might not speak English very well.

Tallaght Intercultural Action has found it difficult at times to persuade indigenous Irish groups to allow immigrant groups access to their venues for meetings. In one instance, an organisation refused to allow their premises to be used by a non-Irish group to hold a religious service. According to TIA, it would appear that the person or

people involved in making the decision feared a 'foreign' religion could involve some form of "voodoo" or ritual which might result in the venue being spiritually defiled.

Alice Binchy had heard the same stories of privileges heaped on asylum seekers by the Health Board, and the labels such as 'sponger' being used against asylum seekers. One urban myth, which this researcher has heard on several occasions, at one stage in both Cork and Dublin on alternate days, revolves around a female asylum seeker being refused entry to a bus or a taxi, the mode of transport depends on the teller. The story tells how this woman takes her child out from the pram and gets into the mode of transport leaving the pram behind, saying it's not a problem as she will get another from the Health Board.

Other myths revolve around asylum seekers receiving cars and satellite dishes from the health board 'for free'. Such myths have led to racist rhetoric aired on night-time talk radio programmes and punctuated across other media. They begin to seep into the indigenous population's beliefs regarding asylum seekers. It is difficult to dispel such myths because such misperceptions become a (believed) hardened 'fact'. One Health Board worker, tired and 'exasperated' by repeatedly hearing these 'accusations', spoke on RTE's Gerry Ryan morning radio show in August 2003, trying to dispel these 'myths'. Anna Keogh (2000: 128) in *Talking About the Other: A View of How Secondary School Pupils Construct Opinions about Refugees and Asylum-seekers,* writes:

> The pupils base their knowledge on what they see on the television and from newspapers, but especially on Radio. Pupils in all schools referred to Chris Barry and Adrian Kennedy's late-night radio talk shows, which often have public discussions on issues such as the refugee situation....The pupils are more aware of the "pull" factors into Ireland than the "push" factors from their countries of origin. The pull factors include the welfare system, the labour shortage and the "Celtic Tiger".

One inner city Health Board worker, in conversation with this researcher, explained that many claims can take months to process. The asylum seeker will eventually receive a backdated lump sum covering the various payments to which he or she has been entitled. Some asylum seekers have bought cheap old used cars with their Health Board cheques, which leads to the myth that the Health Boards are purchasing cars for

asylum seekers. It is often such commonly-held misunderstandings, fuelled by political and media rhetoric, that create resentment of immigrants by Irish people. Some Irish people, who are in receipt of health board payments, feel either that they are not getting their fair share or that they might lose what they are entitled to because their payments will be given to asylum seekers. In this case, competition theory applies, where, according to Susan Olzak (1992) competition occurs when two or more ethnic groups attempt to secure the same resources, particularly in time of recession. The result of such wild speculation about and misrepresentation of asylum seekers in the case of Tallaght has been racial assaults on non-Irish nationals.

Finding a Sense of Place and Space in a Conglomeration of Suburbs

Fintan O'Toole (1994: 114) in *Black Hole Green Card* used the words "cast adrift without map or compass" to describe the extent of disorientation felt by residents of the inner city when they were moved, as part of a slum clearance project, to the newly developed suburbs of Drimnagh and Crumlin in the late 1930s and 1940s. O'Toole argues that the new population had no sense of place or ownership attached to their new homes and surrounding places and spaces. One reason for this was due to the very micro-scale limits of people's experiences living in the inner city. The result was a very strong sense of place for the inhabitants, in particular due to the close residential proximity of extended family. Without these ties, inner city residents felt lost, isolated and depressed in their new environment. Added to this social and emotional mix there were additional challenges faced by asylum seekers arriving in Tallaght in the 1990s, such as a different language or dialect, different skin colour and everyday cultural norms. For many, the emotional, practical and financial support of the extended families can be thousands of miles away.

Electoral Divisions in the Greater Tallaght Area

map 26

Kilnamanagh
Belgard
Kingswood
Tymon
Springfield
Fettercairn
The Square S.C.
Glenview
Knocklyon
Avonbeg
Jobstown
Millbrook
Oldbawn
Ballycullen
Killinardan
Firhouse-Village
Kiltipper
Millbrook

Close-up:

* Shopping Centre   Map Source: Ordnance Survey

The Population of Tallaght's Electoral Divisions and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Areas, June 2002

table 41

Electoral Division (ED)	AS Pop.	ED Pop.	AS* % of ED	Hectare
Tallaght-Avonbeg	6	1,645	0.4	38
Tallaght-Belgard	23	1,970	1.2	272
Tallaght-Fettercairn	26	6,488	0.4	461
Tallaght-Glenview	16	1,496	1.1	45
Tallaght-Jobstown	98	9,838	1.0	277
Tallaght-Killinardan	4	4,700	0.1	75
Tallaght-Kilnamanagh	6	5,323	0.1	213
Tallaght-Kiltipper	94	5,333	1.8	166
Tallaght-Kingswood	28	4,250	0.7	181
Tallaght-Millbrook	9	3,917	0.2	71
Tallaght-Oldbawn	45	4,580	1.0	144
Tallaght-Springfield	177	7,787	2.3	202
Tallaght-Tymon	7	5,604	0.1	203
Firhouse Village	112	9,204	1.2	235
Firhouse-Ballycullen	5	6,594	0.1	283
Firhouse-Knocklyon	16	4,331	0.4	105
Total	**672**	**83,060**	**0.8**	**2,971**

*Asylum Seeker

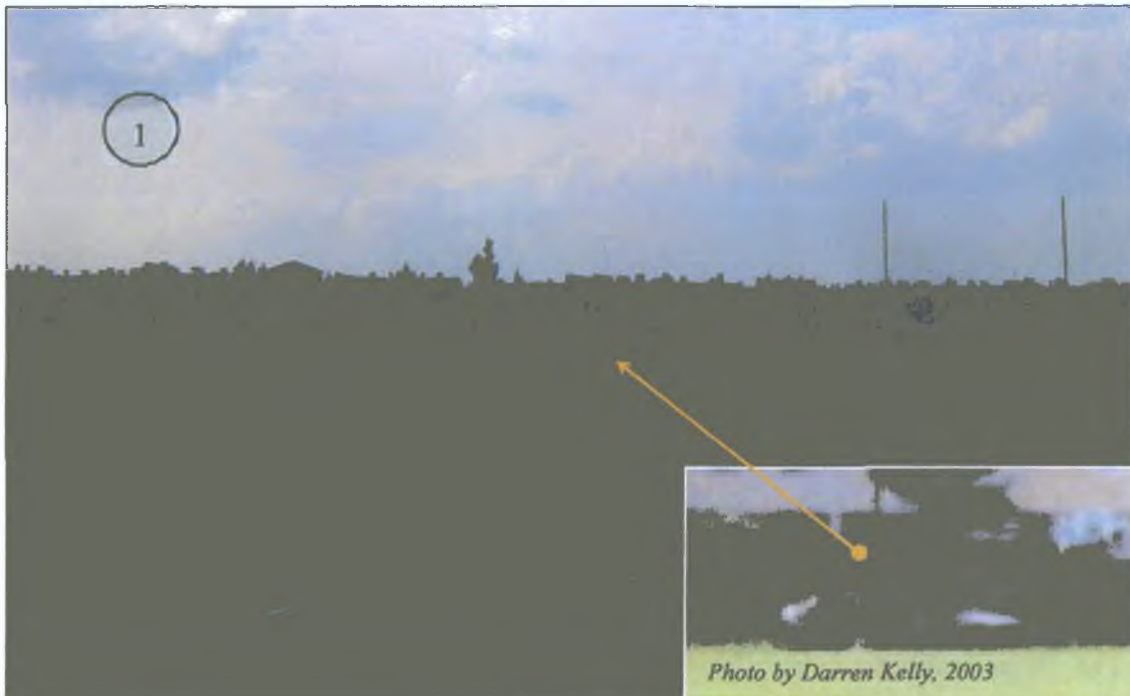
Map 26 shows the extent of the Greater Tallaght area and its sixteen Electoral Divisions. Although this overview is of asylum seekers in the Tallaght area, it needs to be stated that Tallaght constitutes several distinct zones each with its own sense of neighbourhood. The perceptions of asylum seekers by the Irish residents in the various Electoral Divisions may depend on the number of asylum seekers in the respective Electoral Divisions. The largest numbers of asylum seekers were in Tallaght Springfield, Firhouse Village and Tallaght Jobstown Electoral Divisions. As far as some youths are concerned, their sense of place is perceived and operated as being their 'territory'. As discussed in the Literature Review (Davis 1998, Jackson 1989) members of one ethnic or sub-cultural group will not enter another's territory for risk of attack ranging from verbal to physical. In some neighbourhoods, asylum seekers are perceived and labelled as 'not being of that place'. In writing about Tallaght and other disadvantaged neighbourhoods in Cork, Dublin and Limerick, Mary Corcoran (2000: 81) writes:

> Differentiation does not, however, begin and end along the perimeter of the estate. In fact, in all of the estates a complex intrastate differentiation occurs, which has the effect of dividing the estates along social, spatial and even symbolic dimensions. Thus, as well as estates being clearly demarcated from their surrounding locales, as social units they

themselves exhibit considerable internal stratification. As a consequence, the capacity of residents to coalesce around shared interest, or even to identify themselves as belonging to the same social category, may in fact vary not just between estates, but also within estates. It became evident that, on several estates, there were minority groups within minority groups.

Typical Housing Estate and Green Space in Tallaght Area

plate 24



Terraced Housing in Tallaght

plate 25

The close-up map 26 on page 252 illustrates how Tallaght has a number of housing areas / estates separated by highways and green spaces, a maze to be negotiated by the arriving immigrant. The green space in the plate 24 is the area marked with the number 1 in map 26. The space is part of the Jobstown Electoral Division (ED) and acts as the border with Springfield and Fettercairn EDs. The enlarged image is of a burned-out stolen car. The green space acts as a barrier between areas as opposed to a shared space. This barrier or border is further enhanced by the Cheeverstown Road that also divides the EDs, as do the fortified railings around houses closest to the border spaces. This is highlighted in plate 25, which shows the houses opposite the Jobstown ED green space. Using the mode of the work by Kevin Lynch (1960) discussed in the Literature Review, this researcher would argue that Tallaght has its own nodes and pathways that are invisibly signposted, yet explicitly understood by its inhabitants.

With very few intersecting walkways from one main area to another, it can be quite difficult for residents without cars to access the larger shopping arcades. The bridges that are in-situ not only cross the main motorway but cross EDs (territories), as is the case with the bridge in the photo below which crosses the Tallaght By-pass between EDs Oldbawn and Springfield.

Walkway Over Tallaght By-Pass

plate 26

To highlight the different operational hierarchies in-place in Tallaght, Corcoran (2000: 80) quotes one of her research respondents' views on his local neighbourhood, "Fettercairn is like the blacks of Tallaght".

According to the Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA), it has become the norm for some asylum seekers and other non-Irish nationals to be subjected to racial abuse. In one such incident in the summer of 2003, a Russian family was assaulted for asking youths to remain quiet as they loitered outside of their house. The father needed stitches to his head and the mother received a broken arm.

The report of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) on racist incidents between November 2002 and April 2003, urged the Government to review existing legislation against all forms of racial discrimination. The report illustrates that racism exists in Ireland; this is illustrated by the fact that (during the time-period of this data set) forty-eight racist incidents were reported to the NCCRI between November 2002 and April 2003. Forty-one complaints were registered for the period May to October 2001; Forty complaints were registered between November 2001 and April 2002 and sixty-seven complaints were registered between May and October 2002 (see table 42). People from twenty different nationalities registered reports for the six month period November 2002 to April 2003, of which seventy-five percent of the incidents occurred in Dublin (www.nccri.com). As reported in *Metro Eireann,* August 2003, Kensika Monshengwo, acting director of the NCCRI, stated that: "Current legislation outlawing incitement to hatred in the State and other relevant criminal legislation needs to be strengthened so that it is adequate in scope and that it provides for effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions". In the same edition of *Metro Eireann*, Ronit Lentin, writes that: "Our modern world is a highly xenophobic world – the fear of strangers stems from insecurity, and blaming strangers for societal ills that already exist is one strategy of coping when societies such as Ireland are becoming increasingly pluralistic". Dr Lentin, the co-ordinator of the College's M.Phil in Ethnic and Racial Studies is an Israeli and Jewish. She has herself been a victim of continual racial abuse, which has included 'hate mail' received at her Trinity College office (Personal Communication, 2002). The following information was accessed from the NCCRI:

Report Period and Number of Incidents Reported to the NCCRI

table 42

Year	Period	No. Of Incidents reported
2001	May - October	41
2001 - 2002	November to April	40
2002	May to October	67
2002 - 2003	November to April	48
2003	May to October	46
2003 - 2004	November to April	42
2004	May to October	70
2004	November to December	22
2005	January to June	81

The incidents reported relate to three main areas which are:

- Assaults, abuse and harassment.
- Delivery of public and private services.
- Misinformation and circulation of offensive material.

The following are cited as sample cases by the NCCRI (www.nccri.com):

box 4

1: An Irish Muslim of North African origin was beaten up by a group of youths who repeatedly called him "Nigger" and "Bin Laden" and told him to "go back home" even though he had been living in Dublin for the past 20 years. He was hospitalised as a consequence of the attack.

2: A Muslim female, teenager, of Irish-Jamaican origin was called "Osama bin Laden" by a group of young men while she went shopping. The woman felt that the comment had been made because she was wearing the Hijab. In a different incident she was called a "nigger" by a boy of 9-10 years. The incident was not reported to the Gardaí as the girl felt resigned to the fact that this sort of behaviour is common.

3: An Irish Muslim woman was walking in the park with her children when a man accompanied by his bulldog approached. The man let the dog loose to scare the children and commented, "Arab shit". The incident was never reported as the woman thought the man was not from the neighbourhood and it was unlikely he would be brought to justice.

4: A Nigerian national and her children were victims of racist verbal and physical harassment from their neighbours in a local authority housing estate. They also experienced damage to their property. Her husband was forced to leave the estate. The family were relocated to another housing estate

5: A Pakistani family suffered verbal harassment from neighbours and had objects thrown at them.

6: A Spanish employee in a Credit Union was subjected to verbal xenophobic abuse by a customer such as “bloody foreigners” when the customer did not get the service she expected.

There have been differing opinions within the non-Irish national community as to why racial abuse happens. According to Bradley and Humphries' study (1999) of Bosnians living in Dublin, some Bosnians did not want to be settled in great numbers for fear that the 'indigenous' residents would feel that their areas were being 'ghettoised' and would react negatively. According to the study in Dublin 15 (Blanchardstown), 29% of the population spoke with their Irish neighbours on a daily basis, compared to 79% of the population living in County Dublin and County Wicklow. Of the latter group, only 7% expressed a wish to live in closer proximity to more Bosnians. The researchers suggest that: "On the basis of the results it would appear that the more the Bosnian households are clustered together, the less likely they are to communicate with their Irish neighbours". Furthermore, they recommend that this view should be taken into consideration when planning the housing of immigrants, not withstanding the fears of the elderly who were the most likely to seek security from living in close proximity to other Bosnians.

Some asylum seekers also endorse these sentiments. However, according to the Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA), asylum seekers who have been least 'clustered' have been attacked the most. According to the TIA, the reason is that young people feel less threatened and risk less chance of reprisal from asylum seekers who are isolated residentially. This re-enforces the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism's (NCCRI) calls for legislation which will be "strengthened so that it is adequate in scope and that it provides for effective, proportionate and dissuasive sanctions". The NCCRI report of 'Incidents Related to Racism' for May to October 2002 states (www.nccri.com):

> A family living in Tallaght have been subjected to sustained levels of harassment from some other residents in the area, including damage to property and physical abuse. This involved the throwing of stones at cars and house windows and the shouting of abuse.

The Tallaght 'Combating Racism in the Community' conference took place in January 2002. The day-long event attracted representatives from thirty-four local community groups and twenty-six people from ethnic minority groups, which included four members of the travelling community. As seen to be the case with much community-based work, there were a low number of men in attendance, only five out of the sixty participants. The day acted as a safe forum for participants to discuss the

issue of racism. The successful Education and Ethnic Minorities group was formed as a result of the conference. The establishment of the African Cultural Group was also established, based on a conference recommendation to establish a Cultural Working Group. Ten Tallaght African women completed an art project as part of their involvement in the group. The result of this project was an installation depicting traditional African scenes with different fabrics and paint exhibited in the Tallaght Library, coinciding with the International Day Against Racism.

The success of establishing the African Cultural Group highlights the lack of participation by other Regional groups, such as East European nationals. One of the reasons for this lack is that a large majority of East Europeans are members of the Roma community who have limited English and a tradition of non-involvement in such activities. Although there has been a slow but positive move towards the community integration of African non-nationals, the lack of community participation by other non-Irish National groups further marginalizes them and their chances of improving future education, employment and socialising prospects within the wider community.

In August 2003, *Metro Eireann* reported the success of the West Tallaght Brookfield community's one-day 'intercultural celebration of unity in diversity' launched by the South Dublin Mayor Cllr Ardagh. The event, which was funded by the Tallaght Partnership, was according to *Metro Eireann* "a collaboration of projects and groups working together and building new relationships with each other and the residents in Brookfield". The Brookfield Community Centre had information stands mounted by thirty-nine groups and organisations alongside a 'food galleria' catering for over eight hundred people. The food echoed the cultural diversity of Brookfield's residents as did the music performed on the day. During the course of events, women who did a one-year training courses in English and computer skills received their certificates.

The creation of so many groups and celebrations of world cultures brought together many disparate cultural groups within the broader non-Irish national population in South Dublin, many as alien to each other as they are to Irish culture. However, this pluralistic 'group' of nationals need to further develop their links with the 'local' Tallaght residents. Otherwise, the groups might fall into the trap of only preaching to

the converted or be criticised for doing so. Having said this, it is important to note that integration is a long-term process. According to the TIA, one of the first steps is to build up a strong base and autonomy for the non-Irish national groups so as to create the energy and resources from which these groups can begin to actively integrate into the Tallaght neighbourhood both at organisational and individual levels.

Professional Irish international footballer Robbie Keane, a native of Brookfield, attended the one-day intercultural event in the Brookfield Community Centre which sent a positive message to the football-loving youths of Tallaght about integration between all members of Tallaght residents. With numerous local football clubs in South Dublin, there is an opportunity for them to play a vital role in the integration of young people outside of the local school environment. There has been an increasing number of young non-Irish national children joining these clubs in the past two to three years. Some of the underage teams can have as many as three to four non-Irish nationals. The more such interaction becomes normalised, the more it can help to dissipate the levels of racist abuse suffered by non-Irish nationals on South Dublin's streets.

Eastern European Delicatessen in Tallaght

plate 27

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

As in the other suburban areas, asylum seekers travel to Dublin city to purchase goods and avail of services that are specific to their home culture. However, an East European food store has opened on Tallaght's main street with many of the products and services similar to those in Rush and the North Inner City. The TIA in conjunction with the Russian-Irish *Gazeta* Newspaper are actively encouraging East Europeans to become aware of the TIA's activities.

To date, it has been predominantly Africans who have partaken of the TIA services. As discussed in the Literature Review, it is somewhat easier for Europeans to fit in as they have fewer social distance signifiers and social norms compared to some other immigrant groups. A Romanian national revealed to this researcher that 'life is easier if you claim to be from another country, Italy, for example'. Saying that Europeans can 'fit-in' should really be translated as they 'don't stand out' in public. The result is that white Europeans do not receive as much overtly racist verbal abuse on the street as 'Black Africans'. However, the physical assault on the Russian family in Tallaght highlights the fact that not only Black non-Irish nationals have suffered racism.

There are common misconceptions that firstly all non-Irish nationals are asylum seekers and secondly that asylum seekers i.e. all non-Irish nationals are poor and un-educated. Fanning et al (2000), as highlighted in the Fingal section, describe the high education levels attained by asylum seekers and refugees and the downgrading of the jobs they have in Ireland compared with their previous home employment. According to Horgan (2000: 53): "Indeed, it has been suggested that unemployment for refugees and asylum seekers can mean a loss of the social status that was maintained in the home country". Some non-Irish nationals are middle class but, upon arrival in Dublin, live in areas that primarily house an unemployed class. According to Alice Binchy of the TIA, some of the indigenous population resent the 'aspirations' of some of the "snobby" non-Irish nationals and the sanctions for this can be the burning of their cars. *Metro Eireann* (September 2003) reports how a 'French-speaking, black immigrant' family had their two cars burned in the driveway, one was a "Mercedes Benz in a poor area". This raises whether the reason behind the incident was racially motivated or class motivated.

This researcher believes that the development of racial discourse in the context of the recent increase of immigration in an Irish context is welcome and needs to be further emphasised and developed within the academy. However, this researcher also believes that racial discourse should not compete with, or replace, the established discourse on class and social inequality. For example, within the American academy much writing on residential segregation and integration is based on racial discourse and in some cases omits discussion of social class. The 'new geography' of theorists such as Soja has included a Marxist analysis of the production of space and spatial inequality with regard to the inequitable distribution of wealth in society. In terms of social integration between different ethnic and sub-cultural groups in Irish society there is, this researcher believes, a cadre of community activists and NGOs with a broad skills and political base that can be used to integrate these 'new communities' into the existing development models; with a cognisance of cultural differences and, in particular, by using the experiences of immigrants themselves. Many of the issues regarding the Tallaght area as discussed above are also relevant to other areas within the South Dublin County Council, particularly Clondalkin and Lucan. The following pages briefly outline the data concerning asylum seekers residing in the Clondalkin and Lucan areas of South Dublin in June 2002.

Clondalkin

Asylum Seekers Residing in Clondalkin by Claimant Status, June 2002

table 43

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Clondalkin	107	73	147 *(45%)*	180 *(65%)*	327	0

There were 327 asylum seekers residing in Clondalkin, which spans an area of 2,274 hectares. This is the same number of asylum seekers, 327, living in Electoral Division Mountjoy B, in Dublin's North Inner City, which has a total size of 23 Hectares. However, the majority of asylum seekers in Clondalkin were residing in three of the seven Electoral Divisions in Clondalkin: Dunawley, Monastery and Village, as outlined below in table 44. Forty-five percent of asylum seekers were children and 65% adults. Asylum seekers in Clondalkin represented 23% of the total number of

asylum seekers in South Dublin, of which Clondalkin Village (109) had the fourth highest Electoral Division of the 39 EDs with asylum seeker residents in South Dublin.

The Population of Clondalkin's Electoral Divisions and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Areas, 2002

table 44

Electoral Division	AS Pop.	ED Pop.	AS % of ED	Hectare
Clondalkin-Ballymount	2	2011	0.1	316
Clondalkin-Cappaghmore	0	1609	0.0	205
Clondalkin-Dunawley	73	10710	0.7	481
Clondalkin-Monastery	98	9363	1.0	388
Clondalkin-Moorfield	37	6246	0.6	209
Clondalkin-Rowlagh	8	4504	0.2	73
Clondalkin-Village	109	8595	1.3	602
Total	**327**	**43,308**	0.8	**2,274**

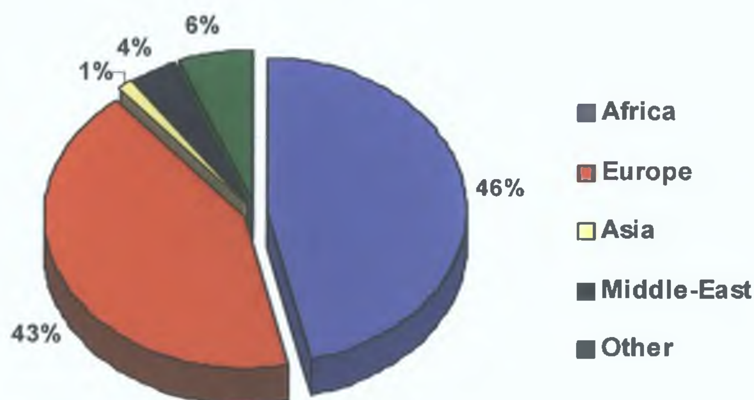
The 327 asylum seekers residing in Clondalkin came from 27 countries. There were 97 from Nigeria, which accounted for 30% of the total number of asylum seekers and 76 Romanians who accounted for 23% of the total number of asylum seekers in Clondalkin.

Asylum seekers from Europe are less of a percentage than African asylum seekers in Clondalkin. However, the European group have a five percent increase in their number compared with their South Dublin percentage of 38%. With one single claim from Asia representing three people and five Middle Eastern claims which total thirteen people, one can imagine the isolation felt by these individuals and families. Although the African and European groupings can be quite disparate regarding the differences between their constituent countries, they do amount to a larger minority group. However, some comfort might be derived for Europeans and Africans living in close proximity. The relatively large numbers of asylum seekers in particular schools might also increase the comfort levels for the children of asylum seekers. Such comfort, based on numbers of people, might not exist for Asian and Middle Eastern asylum seekers.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Region Residing in Clondalkin, June 2002

table 45 chart 18

Clondalkin	Total 327	% of Region
Africa	**152**	**46.5**
Nigeria	*97*	*29.7*
All other African	*55*	*16.8*
Europe	**139**	**42.5**
Romania	76	23.2
All other European	63	*19.3*
Asia	**3**	**0.9**
Middle-East	**13**	**4.0**
Other	**20**	**6.1**



Of the 107 claims (households) residing in Clondalkin, 70% included children. As table 46 indicates, there were 70 families with three or more people. There are very few services for asylum seekers residing in Clondalkin, particularly when compared with Tallaght, which further isolates the asylum seekers residing in Clondalkin.

Frequency of Asylum Seeker Family Sizes in Clondalkin, June 2002

table 46

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	29	27.1
2	8	7.5
3	30	28.0
4	21	19.6
5	9	8.4
6	8	7.5
7	1	0.9
8	1	0.9
Total	107	100

Lucan

Asylum Seekers Residing in Lucan by Claimant status, June 2002

table 47

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Lucan	77	33	75 *(43%*)*	105 *(57%)*	185	5

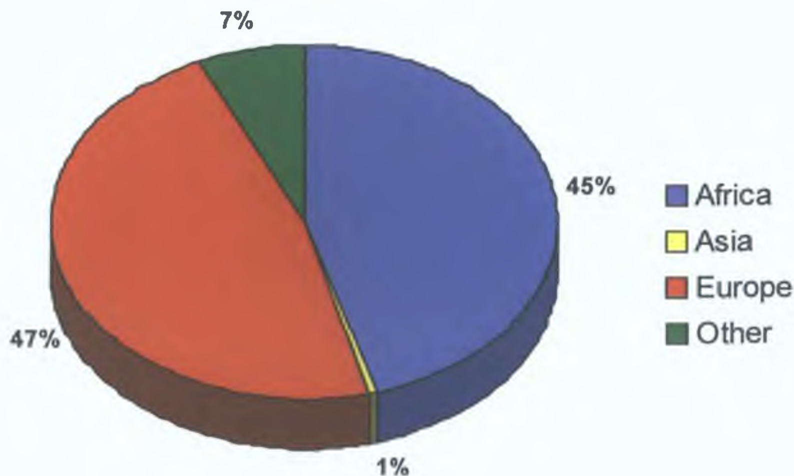
*includes the 5 unaccompanied minors.

There were 185 asylum seekers from twenty countries residing in Lucan. Asylum seekers represent 0.6% of the Census 2002 population of Lucan. Unlike most of the other areas in South Dublin, Romanians outnumbered Nigerians; there were 61 Romanians, 33% of all asylum seekers in Lucan and there were 45 Nigerians, which was 24% of the Lucan asylum seeking population.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Continent of Origin Residing in Lucan, June 2002

table 48 chart 19

Region	Total	Percent
Africa	84	45.4
Asia	1	0.5
Europe	87	47.0
Middle East	0	0.0
Other	13	7.0
Total	185	100



There were slightly more Europeans residing in Lucan compared with Africans, a reverse of the norm in South Dublin. There were 87 Europeans and 84 Africans. There were no asylum seekers from the Middle East residing in Lucan and only one asylum seeker from Asia.

The Population of Lucan's Electoral Divisions and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Areas, 2002

table 49

Electoral Division	AS Pop.	ED Pop.	AS % of ED	Hectare
Lucan Esker	141	20807	0.7	645
Lucan Heights	32	5719	0.6	366
Lucan-St. Helens	12	7045	0.2	1004
Total	**185**	**33,571**	**0.6**	**2,015**

Lucan comprises three Electoral Divisions of which Lucan Esker houses the majority, 141, which accounts for 76% of the Lucan asylum seeker population and almost 10% of the South Dublin Council asylum seeker population. Palmerstown, directly east of Lucan, houses 65 asylum seekers. The issues discussed in the Tallaght sub-section also apply to the experiences of asylum seekers residing in these Electoral Divisions.

Frequency of Asylum Seeker Family Sizes in Lucan, June 2002

table 50

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	37	48.1
2	7	9.1
3	15	19.5
4	10	13.0
5	4	5.2
6	1	1.3
7	1	1.3
8	2	2.6
Total	77	100

There was almost a two to one ratio of adults to children in Lucan. Fifty two percent of asylum seekers residing in Lucan had no 'qualified' children. This was a higher percentage than any other area in South Dublin. Almost half the claims were for individuals, compared with 27% in Clondalkin, 36% in Tallaght and 35% in South Dublin. It is difficult to prescribe a reason for this variance. However, it might be suggested that with 33% of all single claims residing in the same apartment complex, the number living in this location had increased the total number of single claims in Lucan. The issue of 'apartment' sub letting is discussed in the North West Inner City section of the Data Analysis.

David McWilliams' (2006) *The Pope's Children: Ireland's New Elite* illustrates the physical morphology of western Dublin due to suburbanisation and the socio-cultural transition of its inhabitants due to suburban living. The socio-cultural change includes the pressures of long daily commutes, eating fast food as a necessity and childcare costs. This cultural change leads McWilliams' to label Ireland a 'fast move nation'.

Box 5 on the following page contains an excerpt from McWilliams (2006: 165-167). The excerpt shows the relationship between Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy and immigration. It is clear from McWilliams' work that East European and other non-Irish nationals constitute a large percentage of those working within the service sector. McWilliams highlights a number of factors involved in East European migration. The interviewees have come to Ireland as a result of chain-migration, "news travels fast". Rather than misconceptions by some people that economic migrants are poorly educated, the interviewees are multilingual and well educated. As exemplified in the excerpt below, many East European workers plan on returning to their countries of origin when they have accumulated sufficient capital to purchase a home. This is similar to the case study in Box 3 in the Fingal (Swords sub-section) of the Data Analysis.

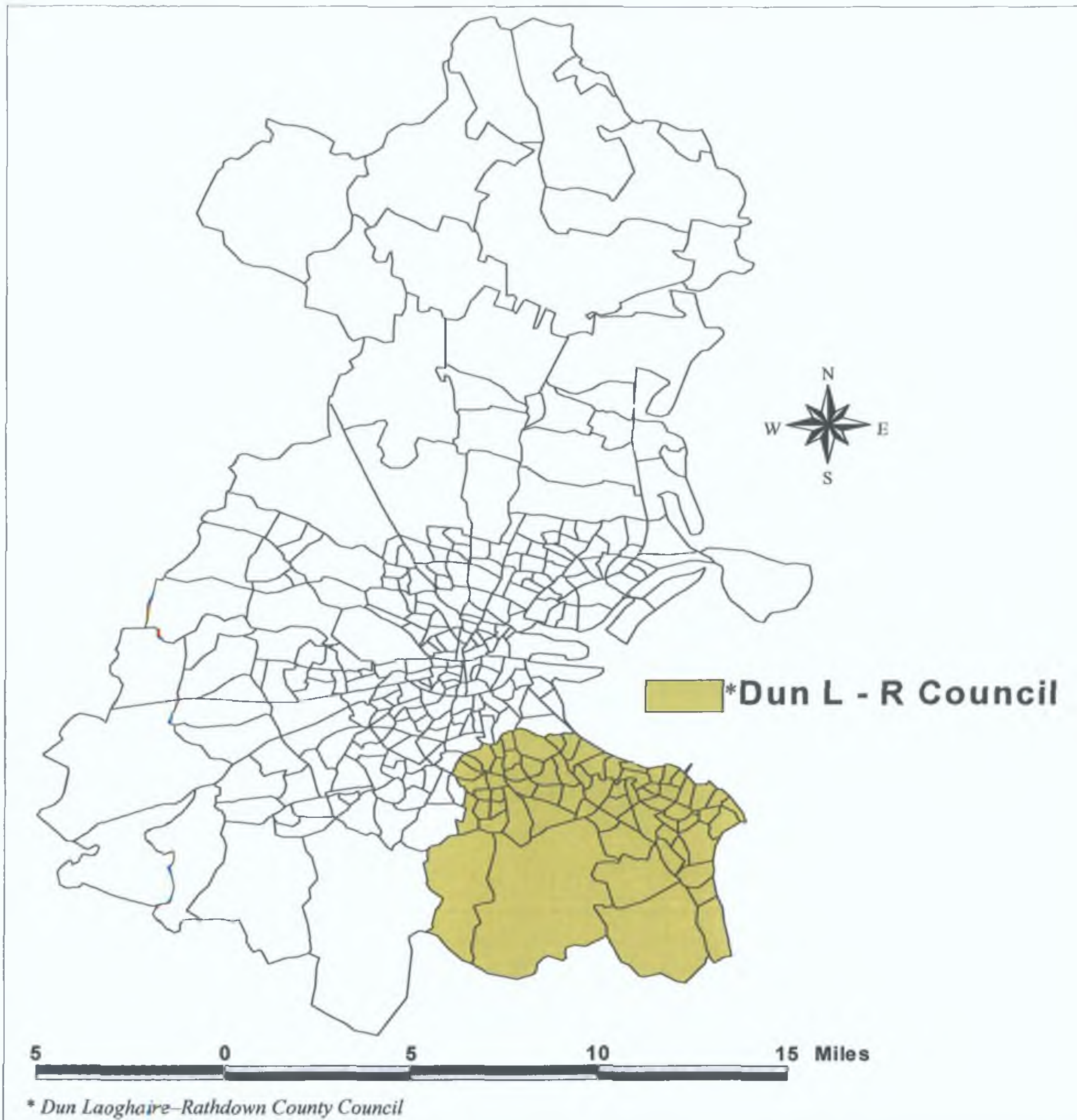
box 5

Excerpt from David McWilliams' (2006) *The Pope's Children: Ireland's New Elite*: pp165-167

- Welcome to the Riga Ghetto, Sir.
This is how Janis the manager of the Texaco in Lucan describes this place. Other than Jaquinder from the Punjab, all the workers at 6.45am on a Saturday morning are from the Baltics.
-What about the Irish workers? Where are they?
-They don't work, they just spend.
Janis has been here five years and his view is that there are two types of people in this country: the workers and the Irish. The immigrants are the workers and the locals are only good at blowing cash. His right-hand man Fjodor is also from Riga. They run the place like clockwork. Behind the hot food counter – the haute cuisine of Deckland – three Baltic girls flick through *Heat* magazine and chat away to each other in their common language, Russian. Elana and Christina are Lithuanians and Alla is Latvian. They snigger as the last of the wiry, arseless ravers space in, pupils dilated, head to toe in full hoody, tracksuit and Diadora runners garb, looking for bottles of water and smokes in tens.
- *Sorry, only twenties.*
- *For* fuck's sake.
Elana and Alla have been here for just under a year. Both are students. Christina, who looks younger, has a five-year-old son Ignas with her who is very happy at the local school. Normally she works 3pm to 11pm and her husband drives for Tesco all night. They don't see much of each other, but it saves on the childcare bills. Her parents are also here working in another garage cum shopping emporium cum fast food joint, suitably titled 'On the Run', which feeds, informs and refuels the legions of worker bees that make up the 'fast move nation'. So there are three generations of this Lithuanian family depending on the Irish commuters for a living. They have a target of two more years when they will have the €30,000 for a place in Kaunus – their home town. Christina is going home for a week in June. The girls all have typical Slav faces, sallow skin, deep photogenic green eyes, set wide apart which suggests that they are in fact Russian, not Baltic in origin, grandchildren of the scattered victims of Stalin's paranoid whims....
Didvis, another Latvian, has just moved from Thurles where he was picking mushrooms. He shares a one-bedroom place with two others. The other girls live together, along with a 20-year-old Estonian, Laura, who is breezily counting thousands of Euros from the till. She dropped out of economics in the university but intends to go back when she has made some cash and seen a bit of the world. For now, €7.65 an hour, free food and a view of the N4 will do just fine.
- *Why Ireland?*
Because their mates came here first, it is easy to get a job and Dublin is plastered all over Russian websites as the place to come to. Dublin, according to a Eurostat Survey, has the reputation of second easiest city in Europe out of thirty for immigrants to get a job. News travels fast. The cso estimates that by 2020, a quarter of a million more new immigrants will be living in Dublin. That is 25% of today's population. It also forecasts that 120,000 Dubliners will leave the city during the same period. These east Europeans are obviously the first wave.

4.3.3 Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council

map 27



The Population and Size of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 51

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02**	AS * 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
Dun L–R	189,999	191,792	0.9	446	0.23	12,695	0.04	15.11

* Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council is the location of some of County Dublin's oldest suburban areas. The reason for this partly dates back to the Act of Union, 1801. A reaction to the Act was the return of some of the upper classes to England or their residential movement out of the city, which increased with great rapidity as tenement slums filled the residential vacuum caused by the elite's departure. Inner City Georgian houses were sub-let by middlemen, who subsequently sub-divided the abodes into multiple units thus turning them into tenements (Brady and Simms, 2001, Prunty, 1998). The result of the movement from the city was the establishment of suburban zones of privilege south of the city.

Over time, particularly in the mid-1900s, middle-class suburbs expanded southwards from the city to areas such as Terenure and Rathfarnham and along the N11 dual carriageway to areas such as Blackrock and Stillorgan. Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown is the location of some of Dublin's most exclusive neighbourhoods, most notably Foxrock and Killiney. Although there has been some recent residential development in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, it has not been as large in scale as those developments in Fingal and South Dublin. The exception is the development of the very large Dundrum Shopping Centre in 2005 and the adjacent apartment complex.

There is, however, a small number of local authority housing in this county council. According to the report *Southside Partnership: A Record of Achievement, the First Ten Years* (2005: 3):

> The county of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown is one of the most affluent counties in Ireland. It has one of the lowest rates of unemployment, the largest percentage of people employed in managerial and professional occupations, one of the highest rates of participation in third level education. These positive indicators do not, however, reflect the levels of socio-economic disadvantage which exist within certain parts of the county, levels of disadvantage which are considerably greater than comparable figures for the Greater Dublin region and for the Republic of Ireland. The 2002 Census of Population provides clear evidence of the nature of disadvantage, poverty and social exclusion which exists within many parts of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown.

The Southside Partnership provides various support services for the populations of these disadvantaged areas. New to their remit is their work with asylum seekers and refugees, arguably, the most disadvantaged group in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown.

The number of asylum seekers residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown is much smaller in comparison with the other three county councils. Asylum seekers in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown are, thus, a very small visible minority residing in predominantly, long established middle-class neighbourhoods.

This section briefly outlines the data concerning the 446 asylum seekers residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. The question of why so few asylum seekers reside in this council is discussed with consideration of economic, political and social factors. Due to the number of asylum seekers residing in Direct Provision Centres, this section highlights the issue of asylum seekers residing in such centres. In relation to the discussion in the sub-section (2.12) of the Literature Review entitled 'Invisible communities and the death of public domain?' particular attention is given to the obstacles faced by asylum seekers trying to integrate into the host society. These include their lack of a disposable income and their existing as a sub-class 'outside of society'. In relation to the work of Davis (1998), it is argued that asylum seekers, as a result of having a miniscule income, are left to 'hang out' in public spaces and thus become visible to the public gaze and subject to negative labelling.

Asylum Seekers, Residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 52

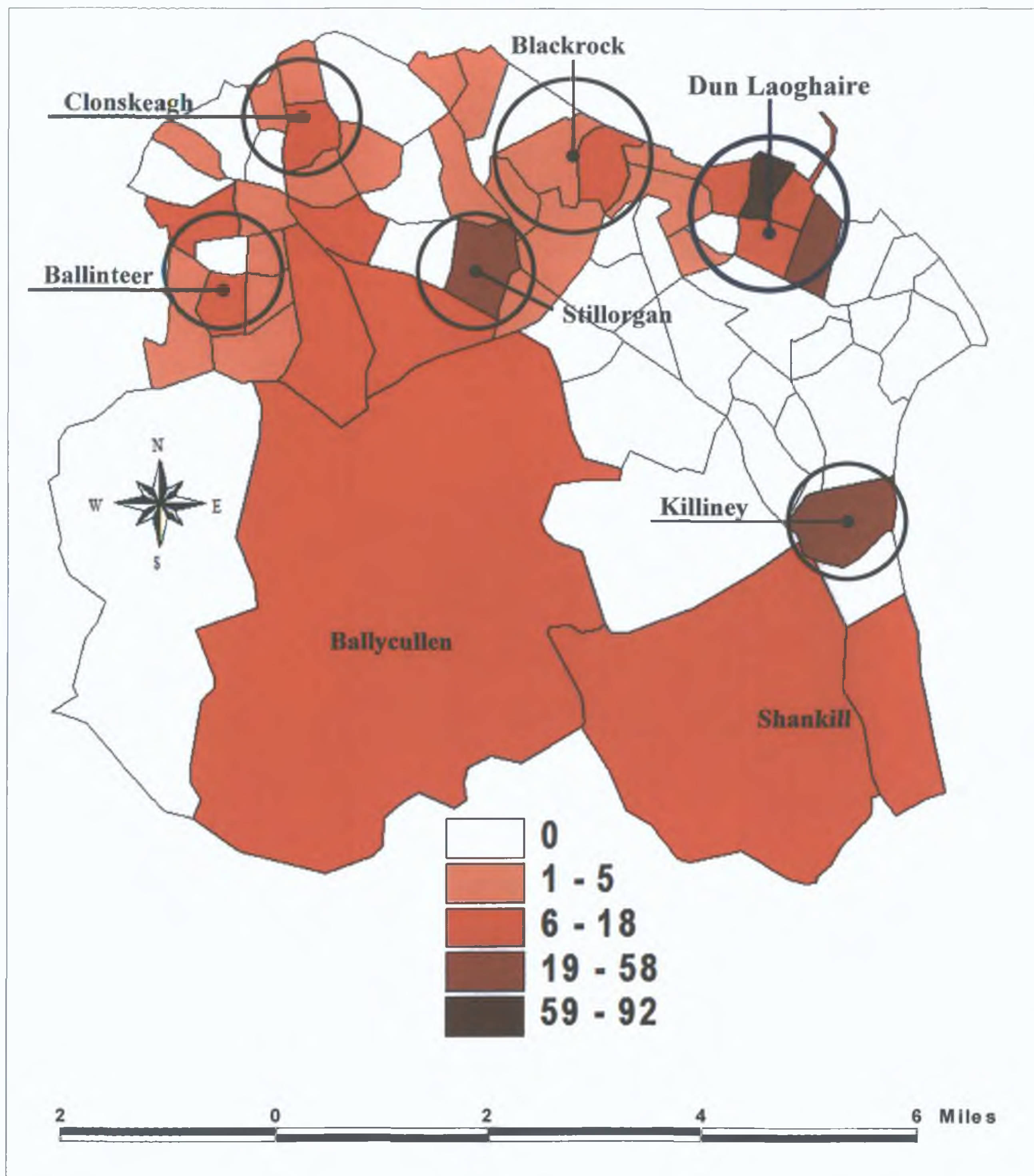
	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Dun Laoghaire - Rathdown	260	65	121 (35%*)	289 *(65%)*	446	**36**

*includes the 36 unaccompanied minors

The 446 asylum seekers residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, represented 4.8% of the total number of asylum seekers in County Dublin (9,195). The 2002 Census population of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown was 191,792; asylum seekers were 0.23% of this total (see chart 20 on page 273). Of the 69 Electoral Divisions in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, 38 had asylum seeker residents.

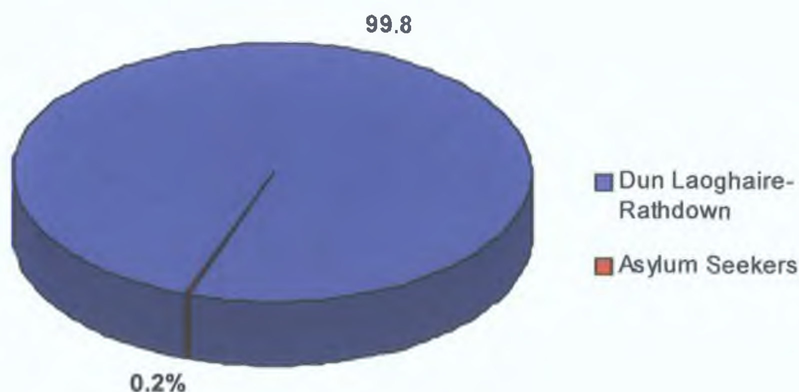
The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 28



The 2002 Census Population of Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 20



As evident in map 28, the largest clustering of asylum seekers was in Dun Laoghaire. This was due to the location of a large Direct Provision Centre located in what was once a youth hostel in Dun Laoghaire close to the ferry terminal. There were five residential centres housing asylum seekers in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. The centres had, in total, 260 asylum seekers, which accounts for 58% of all asylum seekers residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown in June 2002. The centre with the greatest number of asylum seekers was located in ED Dun Laoghaire-West Central; it housed 92 asylum seekers. Dun-Laoghaire-Glasthule had a centre with 58 residents, predominantly between 16 and 18 years; Killiney-South, 54; Stillorgan-Merville, 38 and Blackrock Templehill, 18.

Frequency of Asylum Seeker Family Sizes in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, June 2002

table 53

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	171	65.8
2	28	10.8
3	37	14.2
4	15	5.8
5	6	2.3
6	3	1.2
Total	260	100

The highest number of asylum seekers in an Electoral Division (ED), which does not have a residential centre was ED Ballycullen, which housed 15 asylum seekers. Having a majority of the asylum seekers in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown residing in residential centres changes the nature of the asylum seeker demographics when they are compared with the asylum seeker populations in the other Dublin councils. For example, there were quite a number of young people in residential centres and, as a result, the family profiles are different than in other regions i.e. fewer families as indicated in table 53 above.

The 446 asylum seekers were comprised of 260 claims. Of these 260 claims, 80 (or 31%), had child dependents. One hundred and seventy one of the 260 claims were 'single' claims. There were 9 claims with 'qualified adults' and no children. There were three 'single' adult claimants with 1 child; two single adults with 3 children and two single adults with 4 children, which could be characterised as 'single parents'. The remaining claims consisted of thirty-four 'couples' with 1 child; thirteen couples with 2 children; six couples with 3 children and, finally, three couples with 4 children.

The 'year of arrival' of asylum seekers for Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown indicates 70% of asylum seekers arrived in 2001 and the first six months of 2002, as indicated in table 54. The reason is directly related to the high proportion of asylum seekers 'housed' in residential centres.

Year of Arrival of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dun-Laoghaire Rathdown, June 2002

table 54

Year	Frequency*	Percent
1997	4	0.9
1998	2	0.4
1999	47	10.5
2000	83	18.6
2001	177	39.7
2002	133	29.8
Total	446	100

** The total represents the number of people within each claim.*

The economic, political and social forces that can dictate where asylum seekers reside

Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council has the smallest number of asylum seeker residents when compared with the other three county councils in Dublin. One reason for the smaller number of asylum seekers is economic. According to Eoin O'Sullivan (1997), Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown is the most expensive residential rental space in Dublin and thus asylum seekers with miniscule resources will not be able to afford to live in this council area. According to O'Sullivan (1997: 7), a lack of financial resources is not the only inhibiting factor to finding accommodation:

> Finding private rented housing can be difficult – the pool of accommodation is generally limited – but even more limited for people, like asylum seekers and homeless people, who rely on Supplementary Welfare Allowance Scheme for assistance with their rent, because many landlords refuse to take them.

Casey and O'Connell (2000) found that 50% of their research sample of minority groups, when questioned under the category of 'finding accommodation / dealing with landlords', had been discriminated against due to their 'colour or race'. In the case of the Black sub-group, 60.9% experienced discrimination when finding accommodation / dealing with landlords.

O'Sullivan refers to a Department of Social Welfare publication (1995) which states that this form of housing benefit plays a role in the creation of 'employment traps', areas that house a single class of people with little chance of residential mobility. Based on O'Sullivan's (1997) report, it could be argued that Supplementary Welfare Allowance rent assistance payments and the refusal of some landlords to rent their properties in particular areas to ethnic minorities, could create residential traps. Dublin's recent past has witnessed the creation of unemployment traps, or what are often called, 'poverty traps' with their associated social ills. Coolock and Finglas in North Dublin City in the 1970s and 1980s are examples. So too are Tallaght and Clondalkin to the west of Dublin in the 1980s and 1990s. In the new century the trend continues, but in this instance people of different ethnicity and race are being entrapped. This research questions whether a combination of different ethnic populations residing in such areas of disadvantage will lead to ethnic tensions within these zones.

A majority of asylum seekers living in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown are residing in Direct Provision Centres and residential care centres in the case of unaccompanied minors. According to Fanning (2001: 11): "The asylum seeker dispersal programme amounted to a form of social dumping within which the state took little responsibility for the needs of asylum seekers and host communities". He argues that without any facilities, finances and social provision, other than those very basic services provided under the Direct Provision programme, asylum seekers have had very few opportunities to integrate into the host communities. As illustrated by this researcher, asylum seekers in Dublin are being 'dumped' into areas of high economic deprivation. The possibility of racial tensions arising due to the indigenous, deprived population perceiving asylum seekers as a threat to their social benefits and the usurpation of their physical and cultural space is treated in the inner city sections of the Data Analysis.

Direct provision and obstacles to social integration

The greater proportion of asylum seekers in Dun Laoghaire Rathdown arrived from 2001 onwards, indicating that many were housed in Direct Provision accommodation centres. Asylum seekers are theoretically resident in Direct Provision Centres for upwards of 6 months whilst their claims for refugee status are being processed. In reality, a high proportion of asylum seekers reside in the centres for a longer time. There are numerous instances where asylum seekers have been resident for upwards of two years in this hostel-like accommodation. The main reason is due to the very low percentage of asylum seekers who are given refugee status at the first instance. Most are refused and lodge an appeal, thus remaining within the Direct Provision programme for long periods of time until their appeals are processed. Staff of the Irish Refugee Council have said to this researcher that living in residential accommodation for such a long period is detrimental to an asylum seeker's well being. According to the *Village* (18/5/'06):

> The direct provision system was intended to coincide with more efficient processing of asylum applications, with a six-month target for resolving each case. That hasn't happened. Prioritisation procedures introduced in 2003 by the Minister for Justice, Michael McDowell, have resulted in applicants from so-called "safe countries" (mostly in Eastern Europe, and South Africa), and from Nigeria, being processed more quickly. But large numbers of asylum seekers have been living in accommodation centres for over two years, with some in accommodation as long as five years.

With a total of €19.60 per week, asylum seekers can not afford to join in on the many social activities which are 'normal' practice in Irish society. For example, a cappuccino or café latte in Dun Laoghaire costs upwards of €3. Six coffees accumulate to an asylum seeker's weekly welfare payment. According to the Free Legal Advice Centre (http://www.flac.ie):

> In contrast, an Irish homeless person in a similar hostel also in receipt of full bed and board would generally be left with not less than €60 after the value of the accommodation was taken into account.

As discussed in the sub-section of the Literature Review, 'Invisible communities and the death of public domain?', Fanning and Mac Éinrí (1999) suggest in their report, *Regional Reception of Asylum Seekers in Ireland: a Strategic Approach* that asylum seekers residing in Direct Provision Centres are excluded from society in many ways. Ireland, they argue, is, by and large, a 'cash economy' and thus asylum seekers with a limited amount of disposable cash are excluded from interaction with the host society. Furthermore, they write that: "Denial of necessary social assistance to asylum seekers amounts to forcing the individual into destitution and thus threatens his/her basic human rights". Fanning (2001: 7) argues that:

> Such inequalities [such as Direct Provision] can be explained to a considerable extent by how the lesser rights experienced by immigrant groups impose or compound barriers to participation in the host community. Asylum seekers exist at the bottom of a hierarchy of immigrant groups with lesser rights and entitlements to Irish citizens. Immigrants who begin their lives in Ireland as asylum seekers are particularly vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion.

With no disposable income, it is important to question how, therefore, can asylum seekers pass the time? This question is particularly poignant when one considers that there are very few, if any, social and leisure facilities in Direct Provision Centres. According to a the *Village* (18/5/'06):

> The accommodation centres often have no leisure facilities other than a television. Some do not allow visitors. Asylum seekers complain consistently about the quality of the food on offer, saying it is repetitive and insensitive to ethnic or cultural needs. A number of people we spoke to for this article...said food had been rotten on occasion, that food was recycled from one meal to another, and that management were inflexible about how and when they served meals. Most centre residents have no access to kitchen facilities, in many cases, not even to a kettle....A number of asylum seekers we spoke to...said they had been threatened by centre management that if they complained they would be moved, and many said they were afraid to complain.

Age Profile of Asylum Seekers in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, June 2002

table 55

Age	Frequency	Percent	Age	Frequency	Percent
16	5	1.9	35	5	1.9
17	32	12.3	36	2	0.8
Sub total	***37***	***14.2***	37	4	1.5
18	71	27.3	38	3	1.2
19	19	7.3	39	2	0.8
20	1	0.4	40	5	1.9
21	2	0.8	41	3	1.2
23	1	0.4	42	3	1.2
24	6	2.3	*Sub total*	***27***	***10.4***
25	8	3.1	43	2	0.8
26	3	1.2	44	1	0.4
Sub total	***111***	***42.7***	45	1	0.4
27	11	4.2	49	1	0.4
28	14	5.4	50	1	0.4
29	7	2.7	*Sub total*	***6***	***2.3***
30	7	2.7	51	1	0.4
31	8	3.1	52	2	0.8
32	12	4.6	55	1	0.4
33	5	1.9	56	1	0.4
34	6	2.3	60	2	0.8
Sub total	**70**	**26.9**	65	1	0.4
			75	1	0.4
			Sub total	***9***	***3.5***
			Total	**260**	**100**

As table 55 indicates, 148 asylum seekers in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown were between 16 and 26 years. A further 70 were between 27 and 34 years, which equates to half of all the asylum seekers below 35 years of age. The age profile of asylum seekers indicates a high proportion of young asylum seekers residing in residential care centres in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown and that a large number of young adults live in Direct Provision Centres. As discussed in the South Dublin County Council section, not having the entitlement to work can lead asylum seekers to feel increasingly isolated from society, a loss of self esteem and increased levels of anxiety and depression.

There is very little private space or provision of activities in asylum seeker accommodation centres. Living in a society where leisure is only a luxury for those who can afford it, going to the gym being an example, asylum seekers are left to walk around the streets and sit on walls, which surround the private café spaces of Dun

Laoghaire. This thesis argues that the indigenous population's perception of the number of asylum seekers residing in a locale can be based on misperception. The visibility of asylum seekers is due to the location of their housing i.e. in street facing abodes and also due to their lack of money as outlined above. As Mike Davis, in *City of Quartz* (1998) argues, 'hanging out' is deemed 'criminal' in the mindset of a proportion of the American population. The result for teenagers, argues Davis, is their having to live under constant surveillance and threat of eviction from 'public' spaces such as shopping malls. There is a possibility that the same theory or story may apply to asylum seekers in Dublin.

Section 2.4 of the Literature Review engaged with a current debate surrounding the increased reduction of available public space and of how its uses have become more regulated and controlled. Davis (1998, 2000) agues that people, particularly teenagers and immigrants 'doing nothing' but sitting on benches in shopping malls, pose a threat to those 'doing something' i.e. people shopping in the mall. Davis uses the example of the shopping mall whereby young people who sit down, rather than spend money, will be ejected from the premises.

A Fortified Private Gym in Dublin City

plate 28

Plate 28 illustrates the extent of 'security', complete with spiked fences, CCTV surveillance and security guard at a 'private' gym in Dublin. The increased number of gated communities and guarded 'public' spaces and facilities is discussed in the Dublin City Council section of this data analysis, particularly in the sub-section which focuses on the South East Inner City.

Due to a lack of finances, asylum seekers will not meet in this gym. With the increase in the privatisation of leisure activities it is difficult to identify where such different life worlds will meet. It can be argued that such physical separation will increase a lack of empathy and tolerance of different sub-groups towards each other and might possibly lead to moral panics based on an inflation of perceived differences between different sub-groups.

In the context of Dun Laoghaire–Rathdown, one fears that asylum seekers will repeatedly be 'moved on' from public space to public space throughout the course of the day. Furthermore, how will the residents and users of private space perceive this sub-population who are in full view? A majority of asylum seekers living in accommodation centres in the Dun-Laoghaire-Rathdown Council area are African and, therefore, the young people 'hanging out' will most likely have black skin.

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Region Residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown, June 2002

table 56 and chart 21

Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown	Total 446	% of Region
Africa	**246**	**55.1**
Nigeria	*154*	34.5
All other African	*91*	20.4
Europe	**147**	**33.0**
Romania	*70*	*15.7*
All other European	*77*	*17.3*
Asia	**8**	**1.7**
Middle-East	**14**	**3.1**
Other	**31**	**7.0**

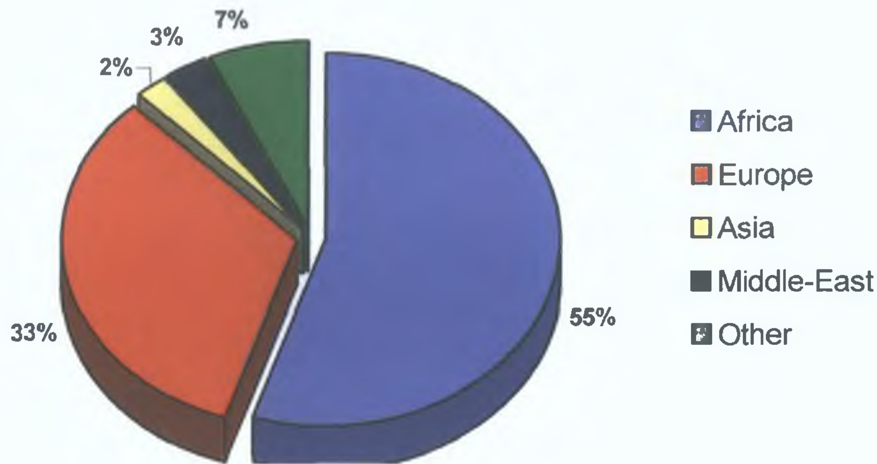


Table 56 shows that there were twice as many Nigerians as Romanians. The number of Africans as a percentage of the Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council asylum seeker total was much greater than the relative percentages of African asylum seekers in the other county councils. This large percentage was due to the large number of Nigerian asylum seekers residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council in June 2002.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown by Nationality, June 2002

table 57

Rank	Nation	Total	Rank	Nation	Total
1	Nigeria	154	18	Kosovo	4
2	Romania	70	19	South Africa	4
3	Other	31	20	Egypt	3
4	Russia	27	21	Latvia	3
5	Cameroon	17	22	Niger	3
6	Libya	15	23	Philippines	3
7	Sierra Leone	14	24	Poland	3
8	Ukraine	14	25	Croatia	2
9	Moldova	13	26	Tajikistan	2
10	Iraq	11	27	Bulgaria	1
11	Congo	9	28	Comoros	1
12	Zimbabwe	9	29	Kazakhstan	1
13	Algeria	7	30	Kenya	1
14	Albania	6	31	Lithuania	1
15	Ghana	5	32	Malawi	1
16	Pakistan	5	33	Somalia	1
17	Angola	4	34	Sudan	1
				Total	**446**

Given the prevalence of Black young men in this county council, particularly in central Dun-Laoghaire where there is a large Direct Provision Centre, will their high visibility create moral panics in the white, middle-class society? As already maintained in the South Dublin County Council section, Casey and O'Connell (2000: 29), in a survey of immigrant experiences of racism in Ireland, suggest that the Black sub-group experience more racism than any other group.

The volunteer-based Dun Laoghaire Refugee Project was established to support the needs of asylum seekers and refugees in Dun Laoghaire and its surrounding areas. Its main work has been with young asylum seekers, known as unaccompanied minors. The group soon identified particular levels of anxiety with members of this group who were approaching, or had turned, 18 years of age. Once turned 18, these teenagers were no longer in the care of the state and returned to the asylum process as an independent adult. Some of the group, although residing in the State for a number of years, have faced deportation and, at the very best, an unknown future once deported to their countries of origin. Most would be subjected to the forces that motivated their departure from their countries of origin, such as the threat of female genitalia mutilation, imprisonment, torture and for many a return to a place where there is no longer any family support network. This small cohort of young people have become labelled as 'aged-out' and the Refugee Project began a campaign to support their needs. The following text box, produced by the Dun Laoghaire Refugee project, outlines their case.

box 6

Cothrom na Féinne do Lucht Iarrtha Tearmainn
Asylum Seekers & Natural Justice

Applications for 'leave to remain' made before 1 January 2005, other than on the basis of parentage of an Irish born child.

SUMMARY: We came to Ireland as unaccompanied minors seeking asylum. Our asylum applications were unsuccessful. In our countries of origin gross violations of human rights continue to be widespread. We have been resident here for up to five years. We can contribute our education, skills and hard work to help the Irish economy grow, if allowed to work. We can repay the investment made in our education and skills-training for which we are grateful. Revised arrangements have been put in place for granting temporary "leave to remain" to non-nationals who *are the parents* of an Irish born child. We ask for similar arrangements to be put in place for those who did *not* parent an Irish child.

1. We are asylum seekers who arrived in Ireland as unaccompanied minors – now mainly over 18 years of age and called "aged out" minors. The majority of us have no family members alive in our birth countries and are orphans. All of us applied for asylum because we considered that we had, each of us, a well-founded fear of persecution for the reasons set out in the United Nations Convention on Refugees: we continue to have that fear. We come from countries where gross violations of human rights are common practice and where 'to avail of the protection' of our countries of origin under the local legal - and policing - system is not an option, as that system fails to conform with international human rights standards, is weak and corrupt, or often no longer functions because of endemic violence.

2. We are living in Ireland, some for almost five years, have no criminal record and can show evidence of good conduct and integration in the communities where we reside. The Irish Government provided us with education until we reached 18 years of age. For this we are grateful.

3. We are willing and anxious to work, if allowed, and wish to contribute our education, skills and enthusiasm to the Irish economy. In this way we will repay the investment made in us by the Irish State and Irish people. We wish to remain in Ireland without the fear that drove us here to seek safety. We wish to play our part in building the vibrant Ireland of today and of the future, a multicultural Ireland in a multicultural Europe.

4. The total number of "aged out" asylum seekers who have applied for leave to remain on humanitarian grounds up to 1 January 2005 but ***not*** on the basis of an Irish born child is relatively small (maximum 500). As young men and women we could have parented an Irish born child during our period of residence in Ireland. The fact that we did not do so was based on our moral convictions including our desire not to risk the responsibilities of parenthood in our uncertain situation.

5. The Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform on 18 December 2004 and subsequently on 10 January 2005 published announcements about *'revised arrangements for the consideration for permission to remain made by the parents of Irish born children'*. Many such parents are former asylum seekers. We hope that these revised *arrangements* imply a development of *policy* as regards 'leave to remain'.

6. We ask that the same *consideration* should be given to the applications made by us (prior to 1st January 2005) for 'leave to remain' on humanitarian grounds. This would mean 'leave to remain' legally in Ireland for two years initially (with permission to work) and, on renewal, extension for a further three years, subject to such conditions as may be made.

7. We urge that the Irish authorities reach positive decisions soon, so that we can end the state of uncertainty in which we have lived for so long. We want to organise our lives for the benefit of ourselves and of this country where we have put down roots, made firm friendships in the Irish community and have been accepted and integrated. We have no remaining family members in our birth countries and, if returned to these countries, we fear for our safety and our future. Please let us stay and build our future here.

Many adult asylum seekers echo the willingness of this aged-out cohort to integrate into and contribute to Irish society. In order to identify the needs of different disadvantaged groups residing in Dun Laoghaire Rathdown, the Southside Partnership

helped to form UNITE, an amalgamation of service providers working with disadvantage. The group met with several other groups to discuss their needs. One such meeting took place with asylum seekers residing in a Dun Laoghaire Direct Provision Centre. The report (2000) of the initial findings found that:

> ...70 of the 170 people living in the hostel attended the evening meeting. Many of the issues raised were about fundamental living conditions and access to a vast spectrum of services....The meeting was carefully designed not to raise people's expectations but the overall outcome was very positive with people commenting that "the opportunity to talk about frustrations and needs makes a difference.
> (http://www.southsidepartnership.ie/download/United%20Vision%20Consultation.doc)

The large turn out by the asylum seeker residents emphasised their willingness to involve themselves directly in programmes that will aid their integration into the host society. Furthermore, as discussed by Fanning (2001), voluntary organisations have the ability to create new, multi-cultural and intercultural spaces in Irish society.

Unlike other county councils, this researcher found very few examples of ethnically-based shops catering for immigrants in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. One interesting example of an immigrant targeted enterprise was an internet facility located in the sitting-room of a small house on a side street in Dun Laoghaire.

Despite there being very few immigrant-based and targeted stores and services, Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown is in a transitional phase from being particularly mono-cultural to poly-cultural. For example, the Irish Islamic Centre and Mosque is located on Roebuck Road in Clonskeagh near to Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown's border with the Southern section of Dublin City Council.

The ever-growing and increasingly popular 'Festival of World Cultures' has been held in Dun Laoghaire each year since 2001. According to its web page (http://www.festivalofworldcultures.com/about/):

> The Festival aims to build a positive public response to current integration issues, nurturing tolerance, respect and understanding through the arts and entertainment. Having evolved out of the necessity to respond to the changing demographic of Ireland, the Festival aims to enhance cultural expression and integration by providing a platform for inter-cultural creative exchange. With over 70% of the programme free to the public and through an extensive marketing campaign that focuses on developing new community audiences, the Festival undertakes to provide accessible performances and activities to those that would or could not avail of new and alternative experiences.

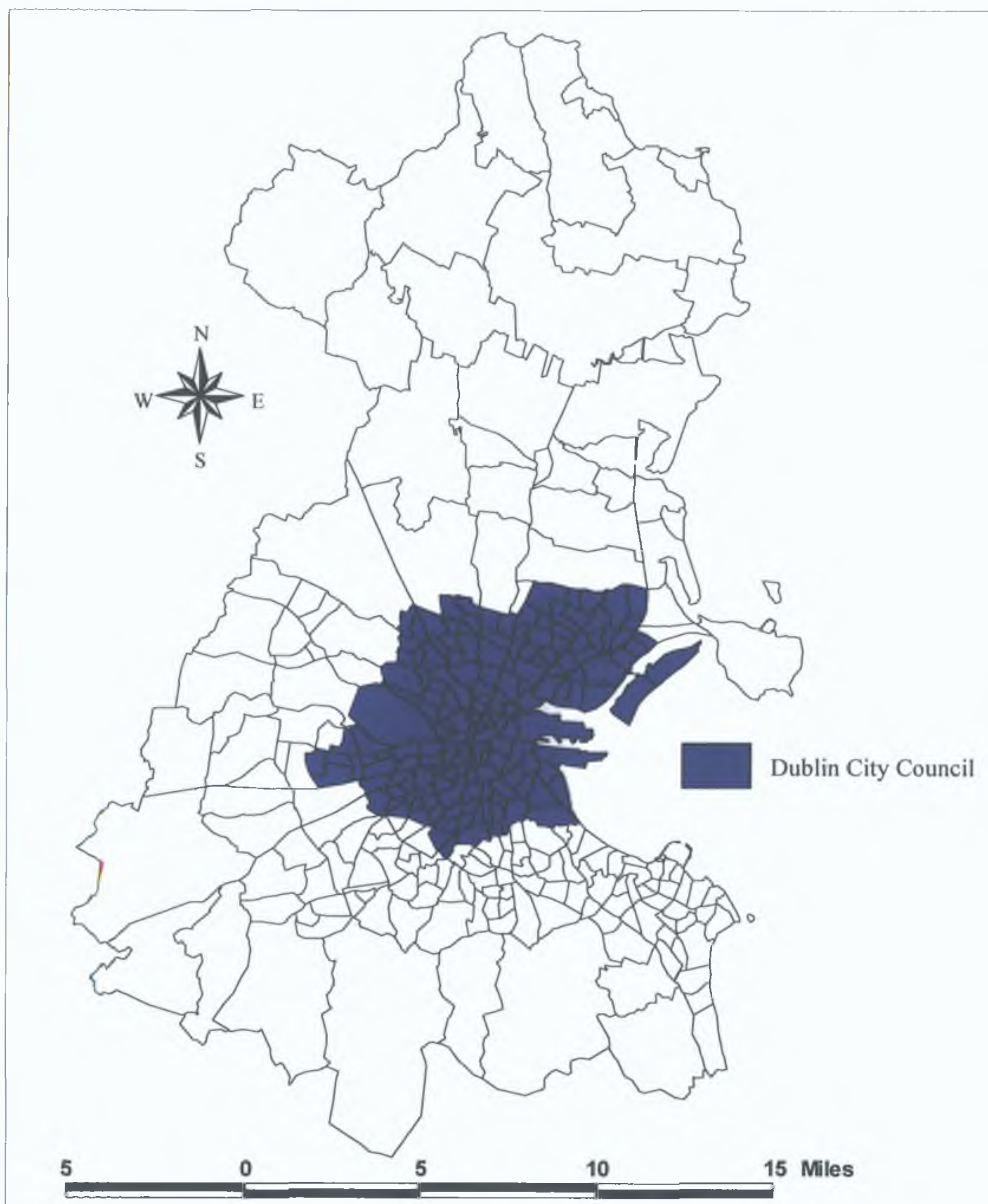
This researcher has attended the festival each year since its inception. While acknowledging that 70% of the events are free and, thus theoretically, open to all, it has been noticeable that the majority of the audience are white. Some of the free events are held in bars. Asylum seekers would need to part with a large percentage of their weekly 'subsistence allowance' to afford the luxury of a drink at this "free event". It also highlights the reasons why asylum seekers and un-documented migrants seek employment in the 'black' economy i.e. the need to gain an income to enjoy Ireland's increasingly expensive cash economy.

This researcher has argued in Chapter One that many people in Ireland have become globalised, particularly in relation to their employment i.e. working for international business. The chapter also relates Irish people's consumption of global products ranging from food to music as being indicative of the speed of change in Irish society. The success of the festival shows peoples' willingness to embrace aspects of other cultures is positive.

Davis (2001) and Smith (2001) acknowledge the 'spicing' of US cities due to the influence of Latino culture. They both argue, however, that the acceptance of different musical styles and food does not include the mixing of people, i.e. the white, middle-class consumers and the Latino immigrants. This researcher, whilst acknowledging the success of the Festival of World Cultures in terms of introducing and celebrating diverse music and gastronomy to an Irish audience, questions whether this cultural hybridity would encourage people to integrate on a people basis i.e. mix with people of a different ethnicity and / or race. With many of the artists being of different ethnic origins and the viewers predominantly white, such events might reinforce some existing stereotypes; for instance that people of different ethnic backgrounds are there to serve, provide and entertain the white consumer.

4.3.4 Dublin City Council

map 29



The Population and Size of Dublin City Council (DCC) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

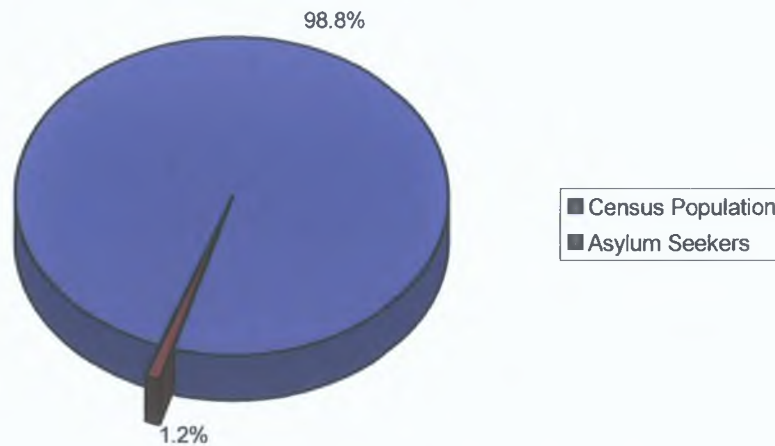
table 58

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02**	AS * 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
DCC	481,854	495,781	2.9	6,066	1.22	11,761	0.52	42.15

*Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

The 2002 Census Population of Dublin City Council and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 22



The 6,006 asylum seekers residing in Dublin City Council in 2002 represented 1.2% of the Council's 2002 Census population of 495,781. Although this might seem like a relatively small percentage, asylum seekers were not distributed evenly across Dublin City and thus particular areas of the city have experienced relatively high levels of clustering as illustrated in map 30 below.

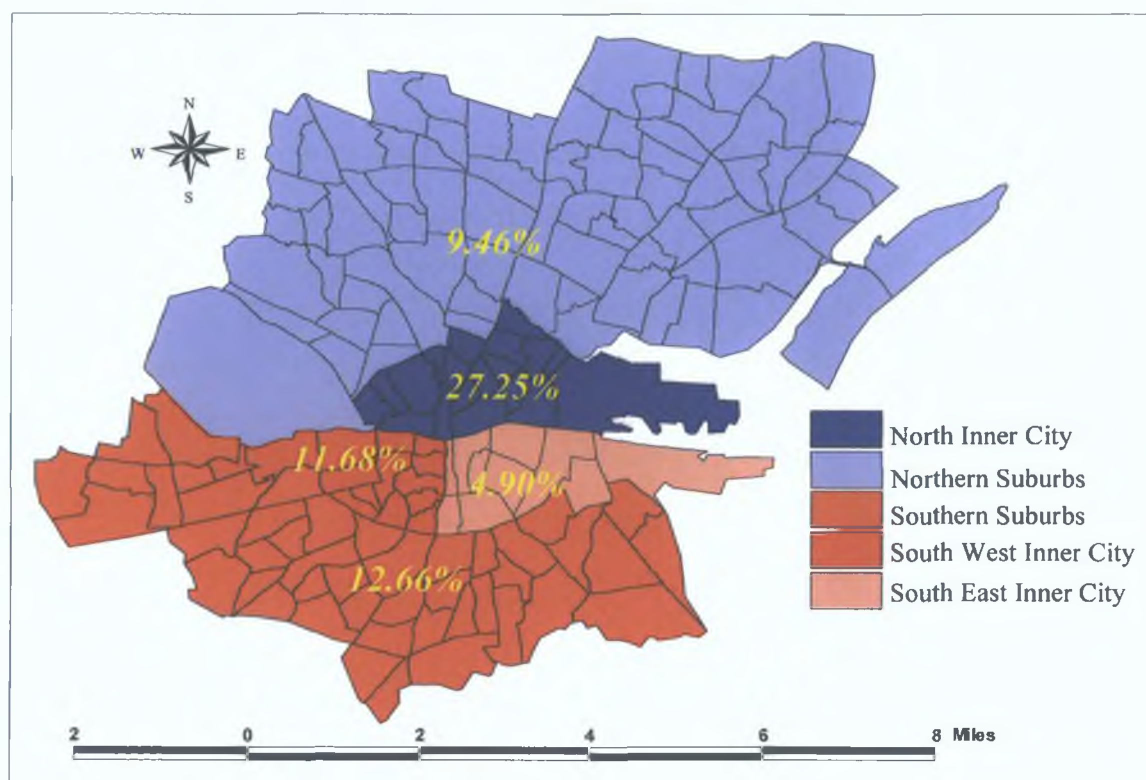
The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers in Dublin City Council, by Electoral Division, 2002

map 30

The Dublin City Council asylum seeker population represented 65.9% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in County Dublin in 2002, indicating the extent of this group's residential clustering in the city. In order to examine the extent and effects of this clustering, the analysis of the data was sub-divided into different spatial units.

Dublin City Council by Research Units of Analysis and the Percentage of the Total Number of Asylum Seekers in Co. Dublin residing in each Unit

map 31



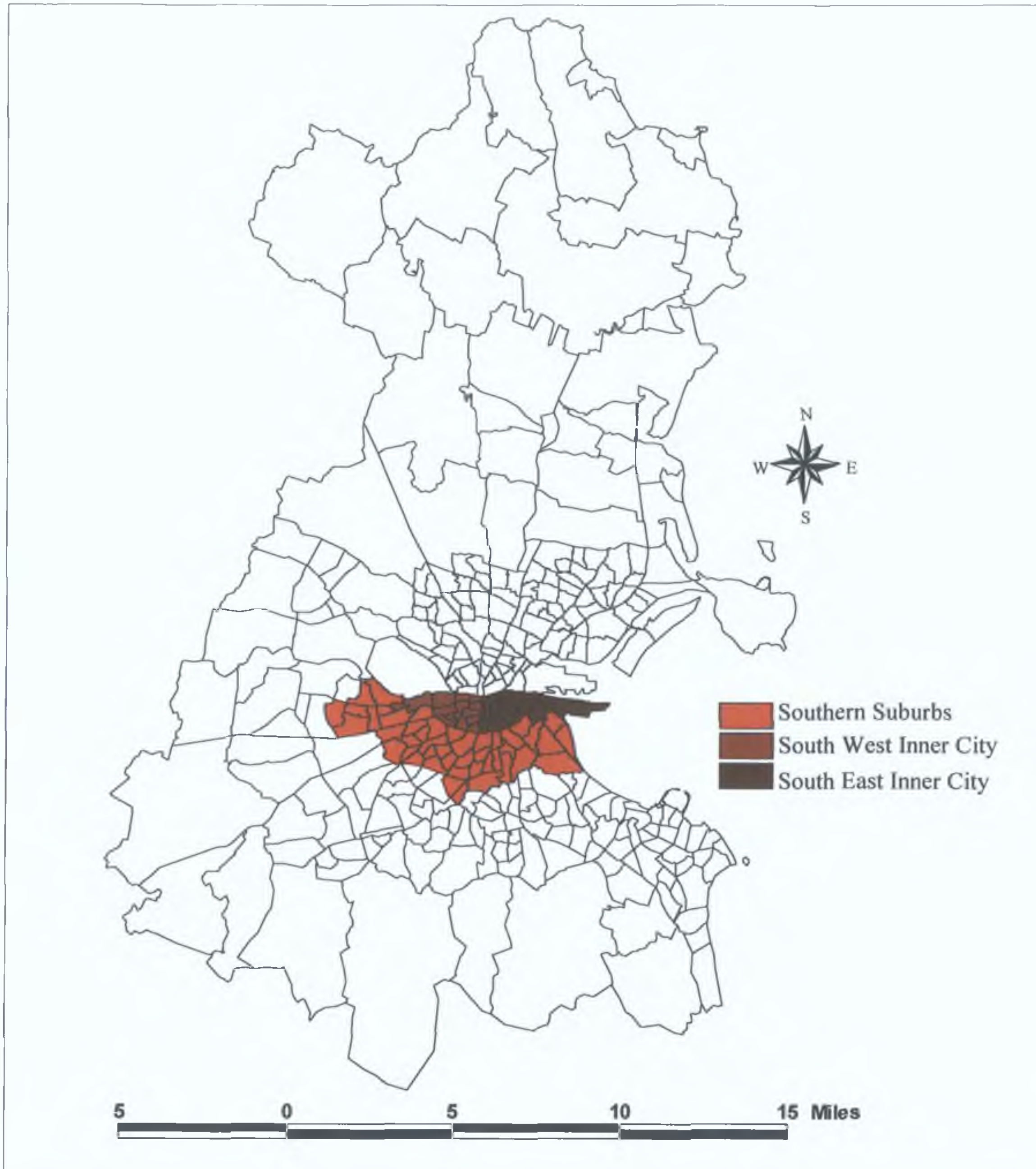
Map 31 illustrates the extent of asylum seeker clustering in different areas of Dublin City County Council. Of the 9,195 asylum seekers residing in County Dublin in 2002, 870 were residing in the City Council's northern suburbs, constituting 9.46% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Co. Dublin in 2002. The North Inner City housed 2,506 asylum seekers, 27.2% of their total Co. Dublin population. Dublin City Council's southern suburbs housed 1,165 asylum seekers, 12.6% of all asylum seekers. The South East Inner City housed 451 asylum seekers, 4.9% of their total number and the South West Inner City housed 1,074 asylum seekers, 11.6% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Co. Dublin in June 2002.

Each of the five spatial units highlighted in map 31 constitutes a separate section within this Dublin City Council section of the data analysis. Within each section, specific neighbourhoods were analysed to identify possible reasons for, and the effects of ethnic clustering. The analysis of the South East Inner City focused on the area's economic and cultural development and its associated gentrification. It is argued that this 'development' has increased the competition for space in the area. In effect, the production of space in the South East Inner City (SEIC) has changed the everyday realities for its indigenous population. The increase in rental costs in the SEIC has created a spatial funnel, whereby those with the least resources must move away from the SEIC to find affordable accommodation in neighbourhoods further from the city's centre. It is also argued that areas such as the South East Inner City, as well as other areas in Dublin City South, act as *de-facto* barriers which block disadvantaged sub-group's potential to reside and socialise in these areas.

The maps produced by this researcher illustrate that the South West Inner City and the North Inner City were areas into which asylum seekers located. Both the South West Inner City and North Inner City sub-sections of the data analysis pay particular attention to the effects such ethnic and associated cultural transitions have had on these neighbourhoods and their indigenous residents. The analysis focused on possible future scenarios that could occur in Dublin's inner city due to immigration and gentrification. The possibility of vibrant, cosmopolitan city neighbourhoods emerging, due to the on-going social and cultural morphology of these areas is presented. Ultimately, it is argued that this cosmopolitanism might occur if pro-active spatial, socio-economic and intercultural strategies are created within a sustainable development framework. If such a sustainable development framework and intercultural strategy does not emerge, these areas might become increasingly peripheral to mainstream culture and everyday life. Increasing levels of ethnic clustering and social isolation, coupled with low levels of education, bad health care and high unemployment, could possibly lead to civil unrest in these areas.

4.3.4 (a) Dublin City South

map 32



The Population and Size of Dublin City South and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 59

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02**	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
Dublin City South	194,638	205,260	5.5	2,690	1.30	4,287	0.63	47.88

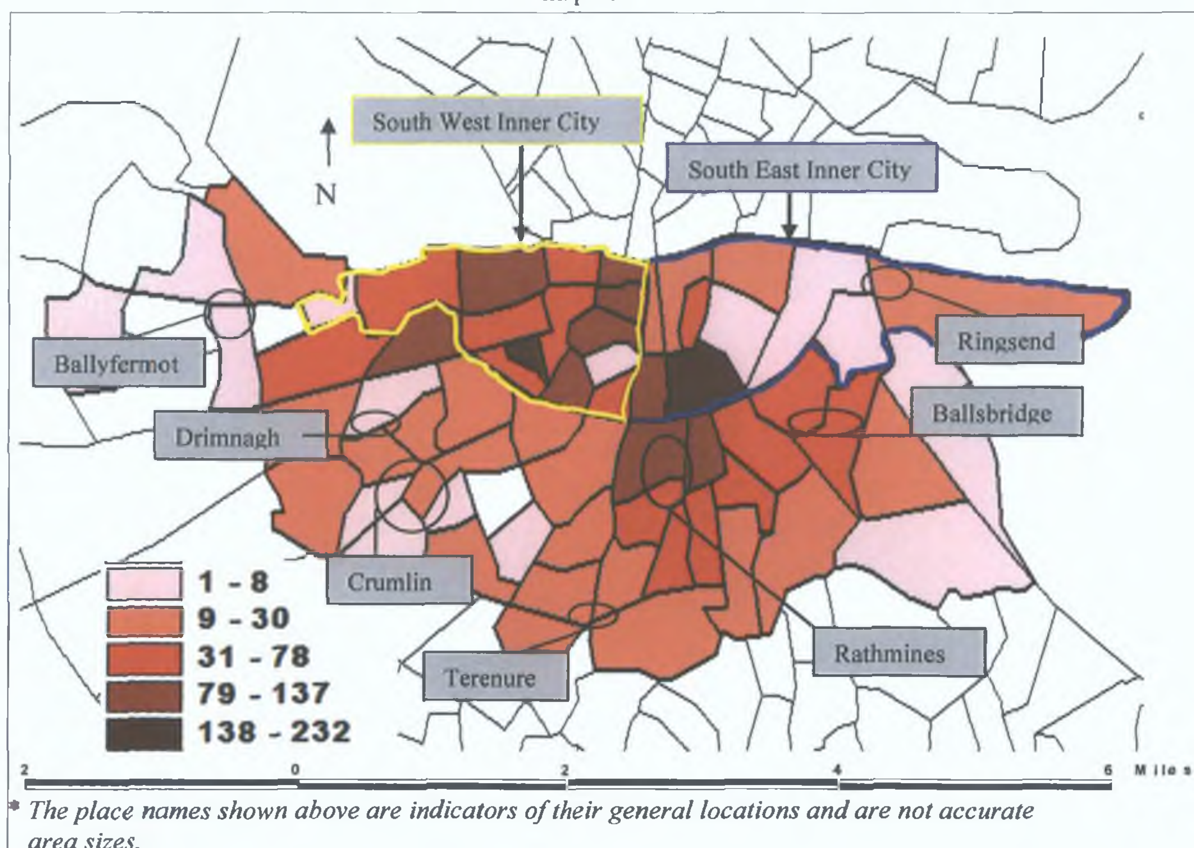
*Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

Dublin City South (DCS) has a reputation for being one of the most affluent spaces in Dublin. There are, however, quite contrasting spaces in DCS, ranging from exclusive postal district Dublin 4, which is home to plush residential homes, embassies and exclusive hotels, to deprived neighbourhoods in the South West Inner City. There are very small clusters of disadvantaged, local authority housing (flats) in the affluent South East Inner City which have been increasingly gentrified throughout the 1990s.

Dublin City South is also the location of some of Dublin's first working-class suburbs, such as Crumlin and Drimnagh. Rathmines has many large sub-divided houses which were primarily sub-let to rural migrants and, increasingly over time, to university students throughout the latter half of the 20th Century. More recently, they have been sub-let to immigrants.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South by Electoral Division, June 2002*

map 33



The place names shown above are indicators of their general locations and are not accurate area sizes.

In terms of immigration, Dublin City South is quite unique. At one stage, it was home to Dublin's Jewish quarter around Clanbrassil Street as described in Nick Harris' *Little Jerusalem* (2002). In recent times, there has been a noticeable increase in its Muslim population along the South Circular Road where the Dublin Mosque is situated. Through the use of photography, this researcher has highlighted the process of cultural and social morphology in Dublin City South, particularly within the South West Inner City. A sequence of photographs in the South West Inner City section for instance, highlights the increasing number of Halal shops in the former Jewish quarter of the city.

The spatial distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin City South (DCS) generally paralleled the social class residential pattern of DCS. Asylum seekers were essentially residing in the poorer sections of DCS. An exception to this was an area of the South East Inner City (SEIC) at its border with the South West Inner City (SWIC). In this part of the SEIC, the placement of four Direct Provision Centres in close proximity increased the number of asylum seekers. This area of the SEIC has become home to three distinct sub-groups: indigenous, gentrified and immigrant.

The premium placed on space and high rental prices within Dublin's South Inner City (SIC) is apparent when one analyses the relative proportion of its asylum seeker population of 2002 compared with the proportion of asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City (NIC). Whereas 74% of asylum seekers in Dublin City North were residing in its NIC space and 26% in its suburbs, in Dublin City South, 57% of its asylum seeker residents were occupying its SIC space (70% of which were in the South West Inner City) and 43% in the DCS suburban space.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South (DCS) by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 60

	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
DCS	1,384	550	756 (29.5%*)	1,897 *(70.5%)*	2,690	37

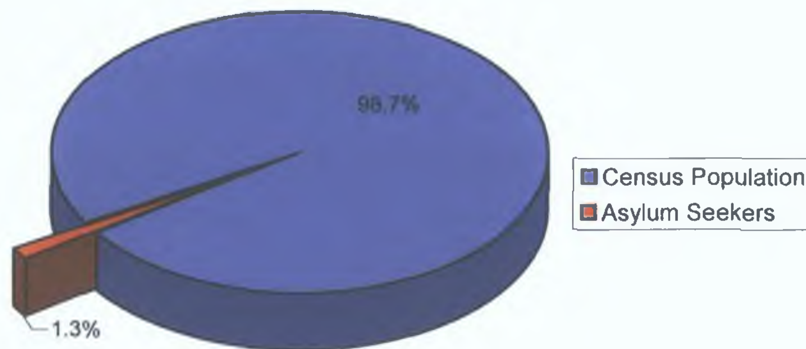
*includes the 37 unaccompanied minors

The 2,690 asylum seekers residing in Dublin City South represented 29.25% of the 9,195 asylum seekers in this research sample. As chart 23 indicates, the 2002 Census

population of Dublin City South (DCS) was 205,260. The proportion of the 2,690 asylum seekers in DCS relative to the 2002 Census population was 1.3%.

The 2002 Census Population of Dublin City South and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 23



The percentages of male and female claimants in Dublin City South (DCS) were similar to those percentages within other regions. The large number of male claimants is not an accurate indicator of the number of female asylum seekers residing in DCS as according to the Health Board, the male usually is the claimant and the partner or spouse is within the 'Adult Dependant' category.

Gender Profile of Claimants Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

table 61

	Frequency	Percent
Male	1,051	76%
Female	333	24%
Total	1,384	100

Asylum seekers increased in number in Dublin City South (DCS) despite the inception of the Direct Provision policy. Of the 2,690 asylum seekers residing in DCS, 2,118 had been waiting more than six months for the result of their refugee application, and more than 1,000 had been waiting for one year or more. As discussed in the Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown section of the data analysis, the location of Direct Provision Centres is a political decision with social implications for the immediate locale.

Year of Arrival of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

table 62

Year	Household Total	Percent
1997	6	0.2
1998	64	2.4
1999	533	19.8
2000	554	20.6
2001	961	35.7
2002	572	21.3
Total	2,690	100

Household Frequency of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

table 63

No. in Household	Frequency	Total number	Percent of Claims
1	744	744	53.7
2	178	356	12.9
3	334	1,002	24.1
4	77	308	5.6
5	34	170	2.4
6	11	66	0.8
7	4	28	0.3
8	2	16	0.1
Total	1,384	2,690	100%

Of the 1,384 claims in Dublin City South (DCS), 744 or 53.7% were single claims i.e. individuals without a partner or family members, parents or children. There were 111 claims that included a dependent adult, most likely a spouse or partner but no child dependant. DCS was home to 64 females and 3 males who were living alone, each with 1 child. There was a total of 756 children residing in Dublin City South.

The spatial distribution of asylum seeker children in map 34 on the following page illustrates that asylum seekers with children were living predominantly in the South West Inner City, towards the 'suburban' locales of Kilmainham and Inchicore. The clusters in Electoral Divisions Ushers A and Merchants Quay A correlated with the relatively large population of 'Romanian' families living in these EDs.

Spatial Distribution of Children of Asylum Seekers in DCS, June 2002

map 34

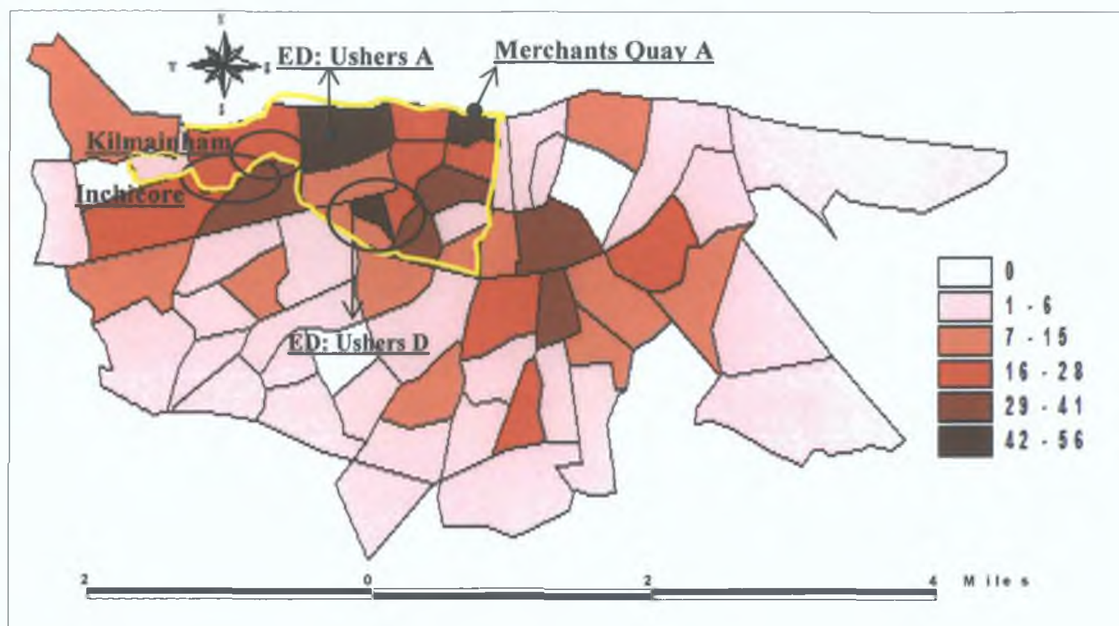


Table 64 and chart 24 indicate the distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin City South (DCS) by continent of origin. The European group represented 51.3% of all the asylum seekers residing in DCS and the African grouping represented 37.7%. The large number of Romanian asylum seekers residing in Dublin City South was the reason for there being more Europeans than Africans. Table 64 indicates that the proportion of Africans and Europeans would have been very similar if Nigerians and Romanians did not constitute the numbers which they form in the total.

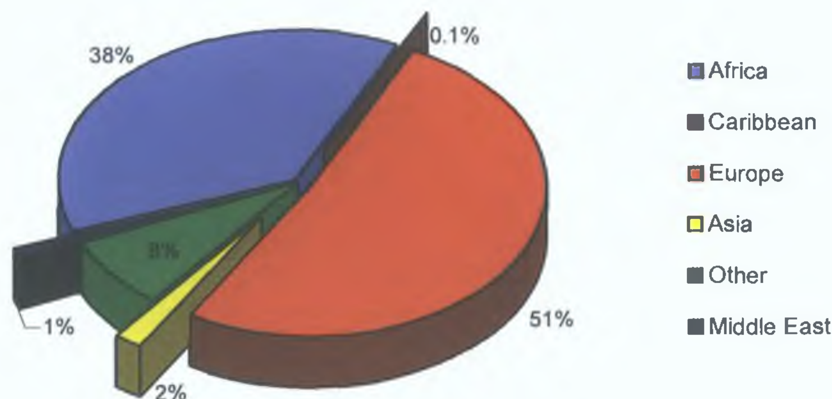
Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Continent of Origin Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

table 64

Dublin City South	2,690	% of Region
Africa	**1,015**	**37.73**
Nigeria	*530*	*19.70*
All Other African	*485*	*18.03*
Europe	**1,382**	**51.38**
Romania	*888*	*33.01*
All Other European	*494*	*18.36*
Asia	**47**	**1.75**
Caribbean	**4**	**0.15**
Middle East	**33**	**1.23**
Other	**209**	**7.77**

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Continent of Origin Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

chart 24



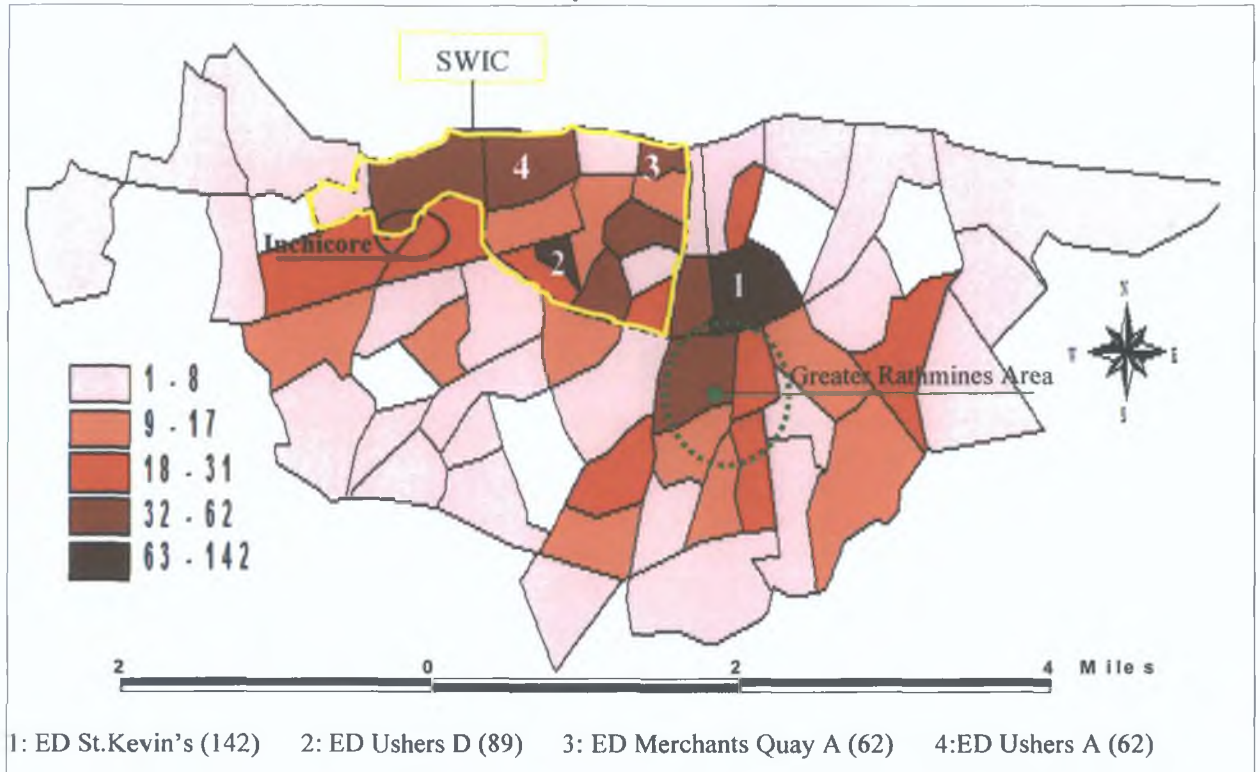
Although the European group constituted half of all asylum seekers in Dublin City South, a far greater number of European asylum seekers were residing in Dublin City North. The 1,382 European asylum seekers in Dublin City South represented 30% of their 4,652 County Dublin population. In comparison, 2,507 European asylum seekers were residing in Dublin City North, which constituted 44% of their total.

The African asylum seeker group had a more uniform distribution in Dublin City, whereby the 1,015 residing in Dublin City South represented 28.5% of their 3,563 County Dublin population and their 1,062 in Dublin City North represented 29.8% of their total number.

The percentage of Asians residing in Dublin City South (DCS) was 33% (47 asylum seekers) as opposed to 17% (24) in Dublin City North. Twenty seven percent (33) of asylum seekers from the Middle East were residing in DSC compared with 9% (11) in DCN, although their highest percentage was in South Dublin with 31% (37).

Spatial Distribution of African Asylum Seekers in Dublin City South, June 2002

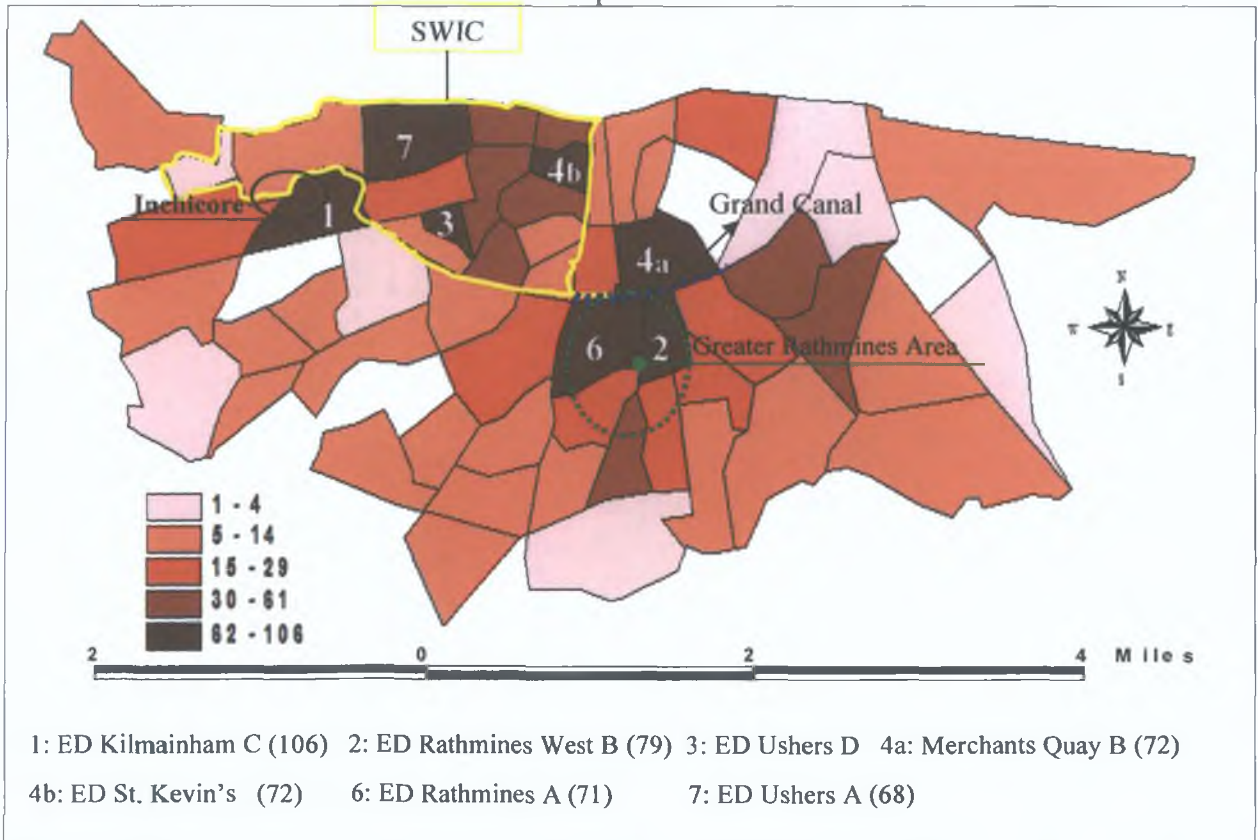
map 35



1: ED St.Kevin's (142) 2: ED Ushers D (89) 3: ED Merchants Quay A (62) 4:ED Ushers A (62)

Spatial Distribution of European Asylum Seekers in Dublin City South, June 2002

map 36



1: ED Kilmainham C (106) 2: ED Rathmines West B (79) 3: ED Ushers D 4a: Merchants Quay B (72)
4b: ED St. Kevin's (72) 6: ED Rathmines A (71) 7: ED Ushers A (68)

The Electoral Divisions (EDs) numbered 1 to 4 above show those EDs that had the largest number of African asylum seekers. They also housed the largest numbers of Nigerian asylum seekers. Electoral Division St. Kevin's with 142, was the ED with the largest number of African asylum seekers. The second-largest was Arran Quay D in Dublin City North (map 65, p 451). Although the Electoral Division with the highest number of African asylum seekers was in the South Inner City, the largest African cluster areas were in Dublin City North, particularly in the North East Inner City.

There were particular locales, or areas, in Dublin City South with relatively large European asylum seeker clusters. The largest group of European asylum seekers in Dublin City South was residing in Electoral Division Kilmainham C, with 106 residents. The largest cluster area was situated between the lower Rathmines area and Electoral Division St. Kevin's in the South East Inner City. There was a large spread of European asylum seekers across the South West Inner City, particularly around Ushers D (Rialto), Kilmainham C (Inchicore) and Merchant's Quay B, (The Liberties).

Asylum seekers from 60 different countries were residing in Dublin City South (DCS) as indicated in table 65 on the following page. Romanians (888) and Nigerians (684) had the largest populations. Combined, they represented 52% of the total number of asylum seekers in DCS. Although 60 countries had asylum seeker residents in DCS, thirty-four had fewer than 10 asylum seekers; ten had between 10 and 19; nine had between 20 and 50 and four countries had between 50 and 100 asylum seeker residents in DCS. Despite the small numbers of asylum seekers from most of the 60 countries, when residentially clustered, they constituted a substantial sub-population or ethnic cluster. Furthermore, asylum seekers were not the only immigrant group residing in places that have affordable housing and shops and services catering for their needs. Refugees, economic and undocumented migrants also share spaces inhabited by asylum seekers. The result of this layering of immigrant sub-groups is a greater density of ethnic clustering in particular locales in Dublin City.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South by Country of Origin, June 2002

table 65

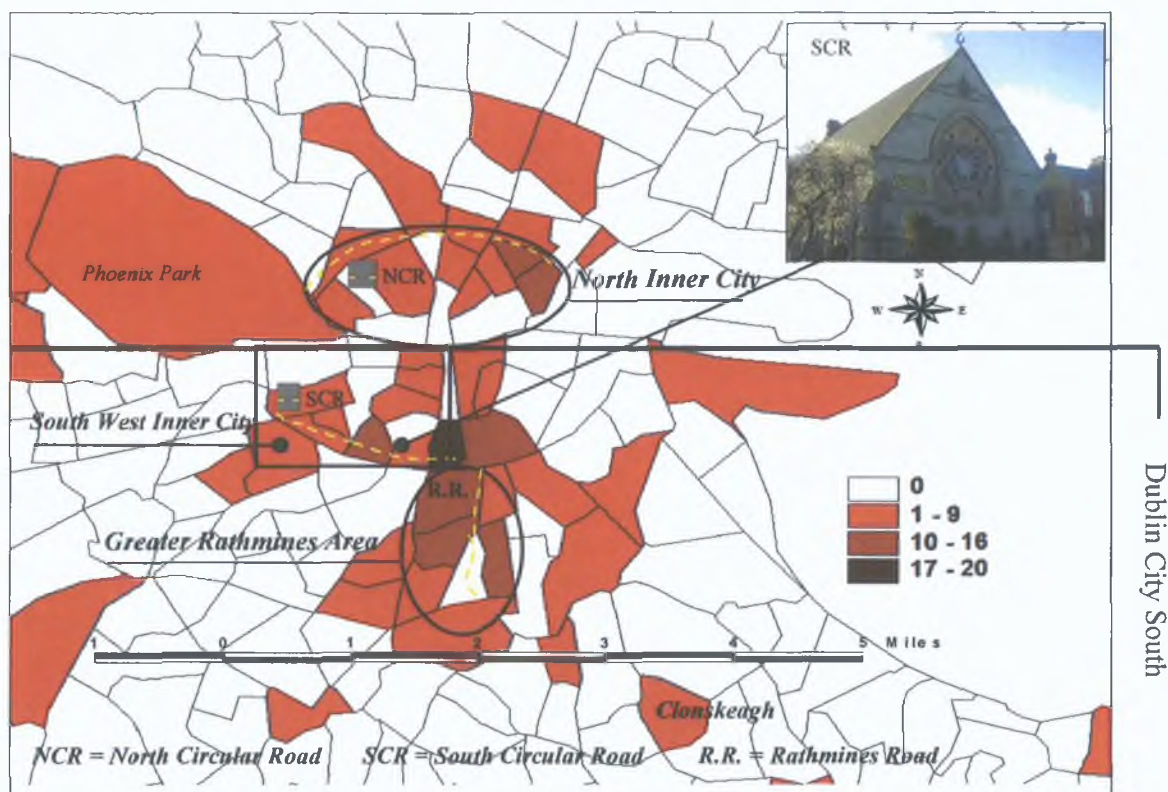
Rank	Country	DCS	DCN *	Rank	Country	DCS
1	Romania	888	1,207	32	Yugoslavia	8
2	Nigeria	530	684	33	Armenia	7
3	Other	209		34	Sudan	6
4	Algeria	168	77	35	Zaire	6
5	Ukraine	98		36	Bosnia	5
6	Moldova	96		37	Uzbekistan	5
7	Congo	76		38	Iran	5
8	Russia	72		39	Zambia	4
9	Kosovo	40		40	Latvia	4
10	Poland	37		41	Turkey	4
11	Angola	35		42	Jordan	4
12	Libya	35		43	Afghanistan	3
13	Georgia	30		44	India	3
14	Sierra Leone	26		45	Jamaica	3
15	Lithuania	26		46	Hungary	3
16	Somalia	25		47	Kyrgystan	3
17	Albania	24		48	Macedonia	3
18	Iraq	19		49	Syria	3
19	Cameroon	18		50	Benin	2
20	Pakistan	18		51	Burundi	2
21	Kenya	16		52	Comoros	2
22	South Africa	16		53	Niger	2
23	Maldives	14		54	Rwanda	2
24	Ghana	13		55	Egypt	2
25	Togo	11		56	Uganda	1
26	Morocco	10		57	Macao	1
27	Estonia	10		58	Cuba	1
28	Zimbabwe	9		59	Croatia	1
29	China	8		60	Malta	1
30	Bulgaria	8		61	Tajikistan	1
31	Kazakhstan	8			**Total DCS**	**2,690**

** DCN Dublin City North*

Although Nigeria and Romania had the highest numbers of asylum seekers residing in Dublin City South (DCS), they were not exclusively clustered in DCS. Both Nigeria and Romania had fewer asylum seekers residing in Dublin City South than Dublin City North (see table 65). Algeria was the only country that had a large majority of its asylum seeker population residing in Dublin City South. As indicated in table 65, there were more than twice the number of asylum seekers from Algeria residing in Dublin City South compared with Dublin City North.

Spatial Distribution of Algerian Asylum Seekers in Dublin City, June 2002

map 37



Almost 80% of all Algerian asylum seekers were residing in Dublin City County Council. The majority (54.5%) were residing in Dublin City South as highlighted in map 37 above. Algeria was the only national group with a relatively large number of asylum seekers in Dublin to have more asylum seekers residing in Dublin City South than Dublin City North.

Age Profile of Algerian Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South, June 2002

table 66

Age	Frequency	Percent
17	2	0.9
18-30	93	42.6
31-40	110	50.4
41-55	13	5.9
Total	218	100

One of the main reasons for the large majority of Algerians residing in Dublin City can be connected to their demographic profile. All but 2 of the 218 (98.6%) 'claimants' were male. Table 66 shows the majority of claimants were between 18 and 40 years of

age. As discussed in the Tallaght sub-section of the South Dublin County Council section of the Data Analysis, it is easier for young Algerian asylum seekers to live in the city, close to their friends and to shops and services catering for their needs, than to live in distant suburbs where transport can prove to be expensive and where they could be dislocated from their group.

Algerians have chosen to reside in greater numbers in Dublin City South (DCS) as opposed to Dublin City North (DCN). One contributing factor for Algerians locating in the South Inner City might be religion. The data set did not include claimants' religion. For members of the Algerian group who are Muslim, the Dublin Mosque (see map 37) located on the South Circular Road (SCR) may have been a factor in their decision to live near to the SCR; another mosque is located in Clonskeagh in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown. There were also a relatively large number of Halal and 'Asian' food stores in the South West Inner City close to the mosque on the South Circular Road. Being part of a larger Muslim 'community' might well have been a decisive factor in the residential choices of those Algerians. Although the number of Pakistani asylum seekers was small it was particularly interesting that there were no Pakistani asylum seekers residing in Dublin City North, whereas there were 18 residing in DCS. One could propose that Pakistani asylum seekers residing in the city chose to reside in Dublin City South due to its having a larger Muslim population.

There were almost certainly other factors present which contributed to Algerian asylum seekers' residency in 2002. Why for example, were there more Algerians residing along the South Circular Road (SCR) in the South West Inner City (SWIC) as compared with Clonskeagh, where the other mosque is located? The main reason was economic. Accommodation was more available and cheaper in the large sub-divided houses along the SCR and SWIC area as opposed to Clonskeagh, which is an upper middle class residential suburb.

If the Mosques and a Muslim community were an attraction for Algerians one might question why a relatively large percentage of Algerians were residing in Dublin City North where there was no mosque or as many Halal stores? The reason might be simply due to the availability of affordable housing. The South Circular Road and surrounding streets in the South West Inner City are somewhat more developed than sections of the

North Inner City and, consequently, accommodation had already been let and rents can be more expensive. Moreover, areas once considered disadvantaged in the South West Inner City, such as the Guinness cottages next to Fatima Mansions where rent might have been cheaper, have become increasingly gentrified. Single professionals have increasingly bought small, redbrick, sub-divided houses due to their quietness, quaintness and proximity to the city. This gentrification further reduces available housing for 'arriving' immigrants into the area. These issues will be discussed further in the South West Inner City sub-section of the data analysis. It is worth noting, however, that since late 2003 there has been a noticeable increase in the number of shops selling Halal meat in Dublin City North and a Muslim place of worship has been established in a building on Moore Lane to the rear of Moore Street.

The following three sub-sections of the Dublin City South (DCS) section of the data analysis cover: DCS's suburban area, with a particular focus on Rathmines, the South East Inner City and the South West Inner City. Each sub-section quantitatively analyses the asylum seeker data for these spatial units. A qualitative analysis discusses the lives of asylum seekers residing in these areas and will broaden the analysis and discourse to cover the general polycultural transition process underway in these spaces.

Dublin City South Suburbs

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City South Suburbs by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 67

	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
DCS Suburbs	613	244	308 (26.7%*)	844 *(72.4%)*	1,165	13

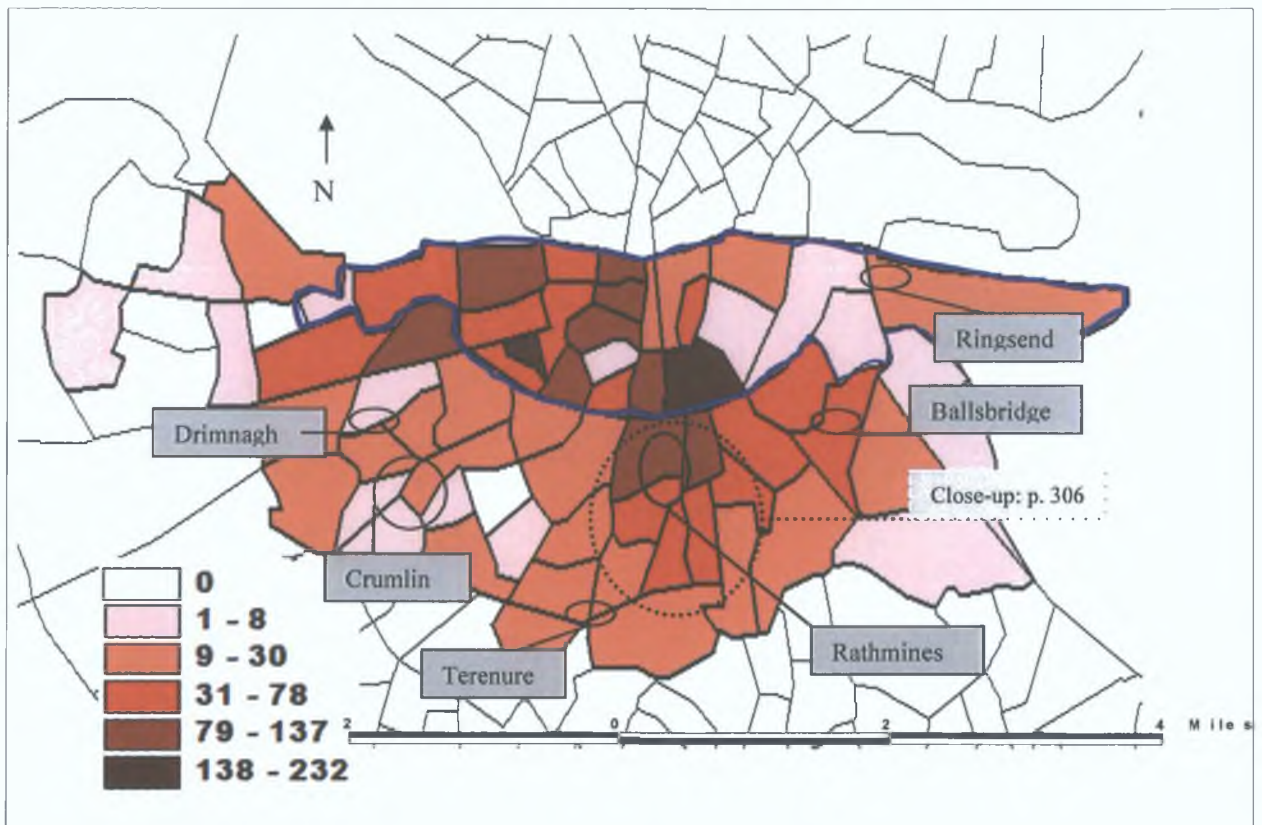
*includes the 4 unaccompanied minors

The 1,165 asylum seekers residing in the 'suburban' section of Dublin City South represented 43% of DCS's total asylum seeker population. As stated earlier, this 43% was much greater than the equivalent percentage of asylum seekers that were residing in Dublin City North's (DCN) suburban area which housed 26% of the DCN

population. Although this section is labelled 'suburban', the Electoral Division's contiguous with the city are, by historical definition, only outside the city dating from a time when the Grand Canal was Dublin City's border. Beyond it lay the very affable, leafy suburbs or townships of Rathmines and Pembroke. In 2004, areas around and inside the canal remain urban in location, but at the same time suburban by way of life, in the sense of their remaining family-based houses with garden space in definable neighbourhoods.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City Council's Southern Suburbs, June 2002

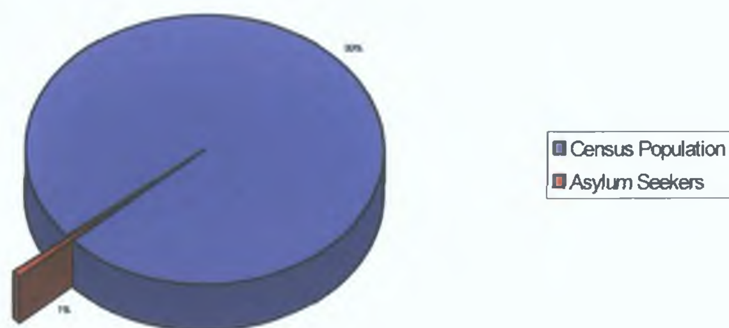
map 38



Although there was a relatively large percentage of asylum seekers in Dublin City South's suburbs, the 1,165 asylum seekers as a group were a very small percentage of the DCS suburban 2002 Census population of 128,389, as indicated in chart 25 below.

The 2002 Census Population of Dublin City Council's Southern Suburbs and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 25



The largest concentration of asylum seekers, when calculated as a percentage of the 2002 Census population by Electoral Division (ED), was Rathmines B, which had 127 asylum seekers or 3.6% of its 3,522 Census population. Asylum seekers in 11 of the 41 EDs in DCS's suburban region represented more than 1% of their Census 2002 population (table 68). The majority of the Electoral Divisions with relatively large numbers of asylum seekers in Dublin City South's suburban area were in the Rathmines area.

Electoral Divisions with the Largest Percentage of Asylum Seekers in Dublin City South's Suburban Area, June 2002

table 68

Electoral Division	Census	A.S.	Percent
Rathmines West B	3,522	127	3.61
Kilmainham C	3,845	136	3.54
Rathmines West A	4,745	117	2.47
Inchicore A	2,033	50	2.46
Rathmines West D	3,285	78	2.37
Rathmines West C	2,715	60	2.21
Pembroke West B	3,279	65	1.98
Inchicore B	1,867	30	1.61
Rathmines West F	2,921	44	1.51
Rathmines East D	2,957	38	1.29
Pembroke West C	4,273	52	1.22

Rathmines

Asylum Seekers Residing in Rathmines by Claimant Status, June 2002

table 69

	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Rathmines	327	114	115 (21%*)	437 *(79%)*	556	4

*includes the 4 unaccompanied minors

Rathmines had one of the largest asylum seeker clusters with 556 asylum seekers. However, as a group they represented 1.5% of the Rathmines area's 2002 Census population of 36,886. The cultural profile of Rathmines is similar in some respects to areas such as Drumcondra and Phibsboro in Dublin City North, whereby over time the large, family houses were sub-divided into separate 'flats' for students and people arriving in Dublin in search of work. Since the late 1990s, the immigrant population has been arriving in these same places looking for cheap accommodation. Mostly young, single, asylum seekers moved into the large houses along the Rathmines Road, some of which are sub-divided into as many as 18 different units / flats.

House on Rathmines Road Lower with 14 Sub-Divisions

plate 29

Age Range of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in the Greater Rathmines Area, June 2002

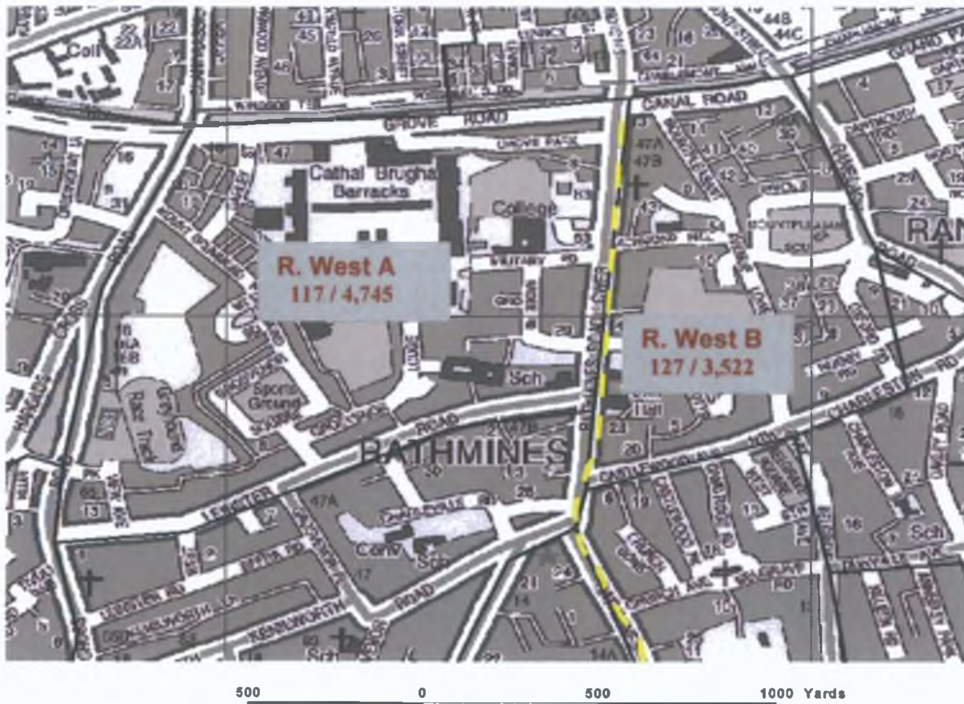
table 70

Age	Frequency	Percent
17	4	1.22
18-27	113	34.56
28-36	164	50.15
37-45	37	11.31
46-60	9	2.75
Total	327	100

Although a small percentage of Rathmines' 2002 Census population, the location of asylum seeker housing on the main thoroughfare increased the visibility of asylum seekers in the area.

The Two EDs with the Highest Number of Asylum Seekers in the Greater Rathmines Area, June 2002

map 39



The Number of Abodes Within Each ED in the Rathmines Area Inhabited by Asylum Seekers and Asylum Seekers as a Percentage of the 2002 Census Population of each ED

table 71

Rathmines Area	Census '02	A.S. '02	A.S. % of Census	No. of Abodes
Rathmines East A	4,522	44	0.97	10
Rathmines East B	5,009	18	0.36	3
Rathmines East C	3,674	12	0.33	6
Rathmines East D	2,957	38	1.29	9
Rathmines West A	4,745	117	2.47	38
Rathmines West B	3,522	127	3.61	36
Rathmines West C	2,715	60	2.21	21
Rathmines West D	3,285	78	2.37	18
Rathmines West E	3,536	18	0.51	8
Rathmines West F	2,921	44	1.51	26
Total	**36,886**	**556**	**1.51**	**175**

Table 71 illustrates the number of abodes that asylum seekers were living in within each Electoral Division. Electoral Division Rathmines East B for example had 16 of its 18 asylum seekers residing in one large sub-divided house. ED Rathmines West A had 90% of its asylum seeker population residing on five roads. There was a total of 35 asylum seekers living in one abode and totals of 24 and 17 in two others.

Whilst the data shows that many premises housed asylum seekers from various countries, some housed a single national grouping. For example, on one road there could be one house with 6 Algerians and another house close by with 8 Congolese. Romanian asylum seekers tended to reside together. Two houses beside each other housed 26 Romanians divided into numerous 'flats'. In Electoral Division Rathmines West B, 68% of the asylum seeker population were residing on 4 roads. Half of the asylum seeker population in Rathmines West C were residing on the Rathmines Road.

Of the 556 asylum seekers in Rathmines, 154 or 28% were African and 336 or 60% were European. Adults represented 79% of the 556 asylum seekers in Rathmines. Of the 327 'claimants', 277 or 84% were male and 50 or 16% were female.

Montage of Shops and Services Catering for Immigrants in the Rathmines Area, 2003

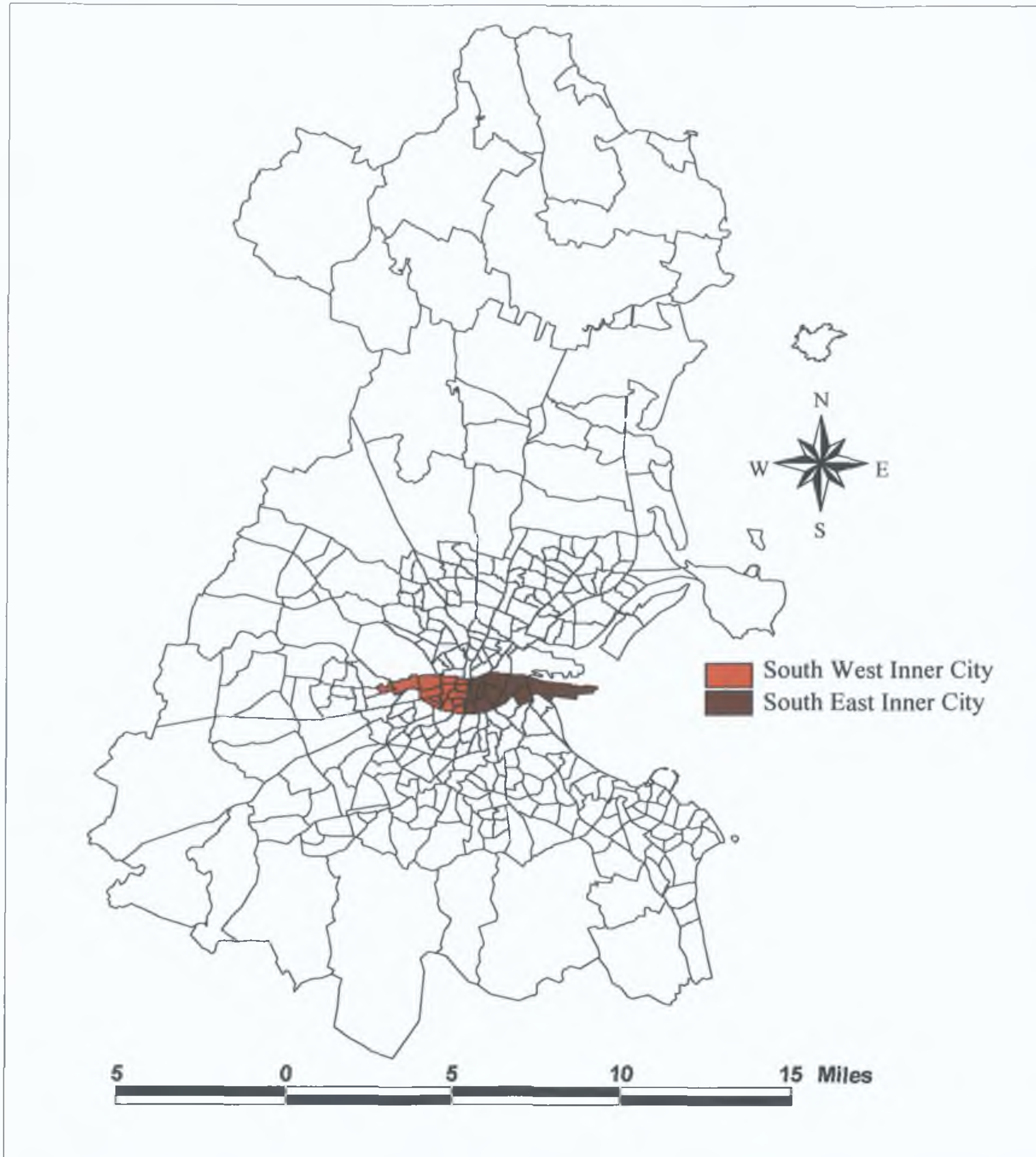
plate 30

The shops, which primarily target immigrants in Rathmines were all located on, or just off, Rathmines Road. There were not many immigrant-based services in this area, possibly due to the close proximity of a large number of such services in the South Inner City just beyond the Grand Canal.

Those services identified as targeting immigrants were, in the main, internet stores which advertised call rates to most of the asylum seekers in this data set's countries of origin. In 2002/2003, Rathmines was one of the only areas with a relatively large number of African asylum seekers that did not have an Afro-Caribbean store in the area. There was, however, one hair salon specialising in African hair styling. Such salons cater for a wide range of clients and increasingly young Irish women.

SOUTH INNER CITY

map 40



The Population and Size of the South Inner City (SIC) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 72

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02*	AS** 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	Cen. Per Hect.
SIC	52,754	62,722	18.9	1,525	2.43	1,160	1.31	54.07

* Census (Cen.) ** Asylum Seeker (AS)

Dublin's South Inner City (SIC) is not as geographically compact and as singularly identifiable as the North Inner City. It stretches from Ringsend and the south docks to the east to Inchicore to the west. Its Southern border roughly follows the South Circular Road (SCR) and the Grand Canal. As map 40 above illustrates, the SIC is divided into the South East Inner City (SEIC) and the South West Inner City (SWIC).

The South East Inner City (SEIC) is characterised particularly by the affluent city-centre shopping precincts, such as the Grafton Street area and the St. Stephen's Green shopping centre, and its Georgian Squares, such as Merrion Sq. and Fitzwilliam Sq. which house Government offices, Museums and Business offices. The majority of asylum seekers in the SEIC reside in the EDs that border the South West Inner City. The border between the two areas consists of the older shopping streets, such as Georges St., Aungier St., Camden St. and Wexford St., referred to in this research as a zone in transition.

Identifiable locations in the South West Inner City, such as Meath St, with its Liberty Market, Francis Street and Thomas Street, have all been physically and, arguably mentally, connected through construction. They have also merged with James Street and Mount Brown. These more central city sections of the SWIC stretch westwards to include more suburban neighbourhoods such as Kilmainham and Inchicore. During the 1950s, these two areas would have been distinct villages, but over time, the two areas have become larger suburbs and now have physically merged with the city as construction and development moved south from the city's centre.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South Inner City by 'Status ' Category, June 2002

table 73

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
SIC	771	306	448 *(31%*)*	1,053 *(69%)*	1,525	24

*includes the 24 unaccompanied minors.

There were 1,525 asylum seekers residing in Dublin's South Inner City, which constituted 16.58% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in Co. Dublin in June, 2002. There were asylum seekers from 51 countries residing in the South Inner City as illustrated in table 74.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South Inner City by Nationality, June 2002

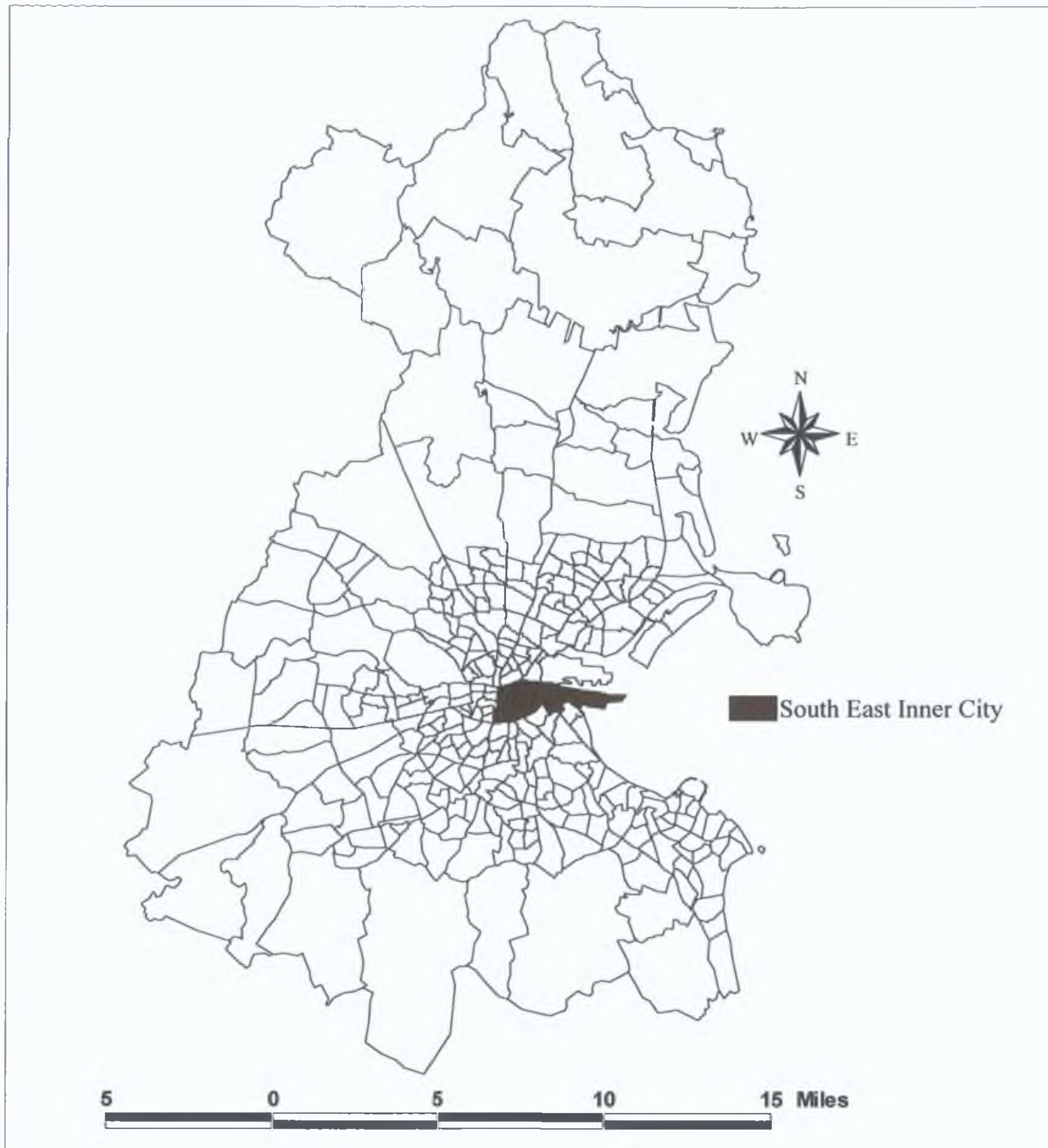
table 74

Rank	Country	Total	% of SIC	% of Country	Rank	Country	Total	% of SIC	% of Country
1	Romania	461	30.23	17.00	27	Morocco	7	0.46	41.18
2	Nigeria	373	24.46	17.31	28	Yugoslavia	6	0.39	37.50
3	Other	128	8.39	18.66	29	Bosnia	5	0.33	35.71
4	Algeria	90	5.90	29.22	30	Iran	5	0.33	35.71
5	Ukraine	53	3.48	16.83	31	Sudan	5	0.33	19.23
6	Russia	51	3.34	17.53	32	Jordan	4	0.26	100.00
7	Congo	44	2.89	19.30	33	Zambia	4	0.26	26.67
8	Moldova	31	2.03	10.30	34	Zimbabwe	4	0.26	10.00
9	Somalia	24	1.57	24.00	35	Afghanistan	3	0.20	23.08
10	Libya	21	1.38	29.58	36	India	3	0.20	42.86
11	Lithuania	19	1.25	12.84	37	Macedonia	3	0.20	9.68
12	Kosovo	16	1.05	10.81	38	Syria	3	0.20	23.08
13	Angola	15	0.98	12.93	39	Togo	3	0.20	7.69
14	Georgia	15	0.98	18.75	40	Comoros	2	0.13	66.67
15	Pakistan	13	0.85	20.63	41	Egypt	2	0.13	18.18
16	Sierra Leone	13	0.85	13.13	42	Iraq	2	0.13	2.94
17	Albania	10	0.66	8.13	43	Niger	2	0.13	10.53
18	Ghana	10	0.66	15.38	44	Uzbekistan	2	0.13	7.41
19	Maldives	10	0.66	41.67	45	Armenia	1	0.07	6.67
20	South Africa	10	0.66	22.73	46	Croatia	1	0.07	14.29
21	Poland	9	0.59	4.39	47	Cuba	1	0.07	50.00
22	China	8	0.52	50.00	48	Kazakhstan	1	0.07	5.88
23	Kenya	8	0.52	19.51	49	Latvia	1	0.07	2.56
24	Bulgaria	7	0.46	7.53	50	Turkey	1	0.07	16.67
25	Cameroon	7	0.46	7.95	51	Zaire	1	0.07	3.57
26	Estonia	7	0.46	30.43		Total	1,525	100	

As discussed in the introduction to the Dublin City Council section of the data analysis, asylum seekers residing in the South Inner City were clustered in particular spatial areas. The data analysis in this South Inner City section is sub-divided into two distinct sub-sections, the South East Inner City (SEIC) and South West Inner City (SWIC). The spatial analysis of the SEIC considered how its space has been produced by political, socio-economic and cultural forces. Such analysis illustrates the processes which contributed directly to the spatial distribution of asylum seekers. The South West Inner City houses the majority of asylum seekers in the SIC. Following an overview of the asylum seeker data for the SWIC, the effects of immigration on particular neighbourhoods, such as Inchicore, the Liberties area and Electoral Division Ushers D are discussed.

South East Inner City

map 41



The Population and Size of the South East Inner City (SEIC) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

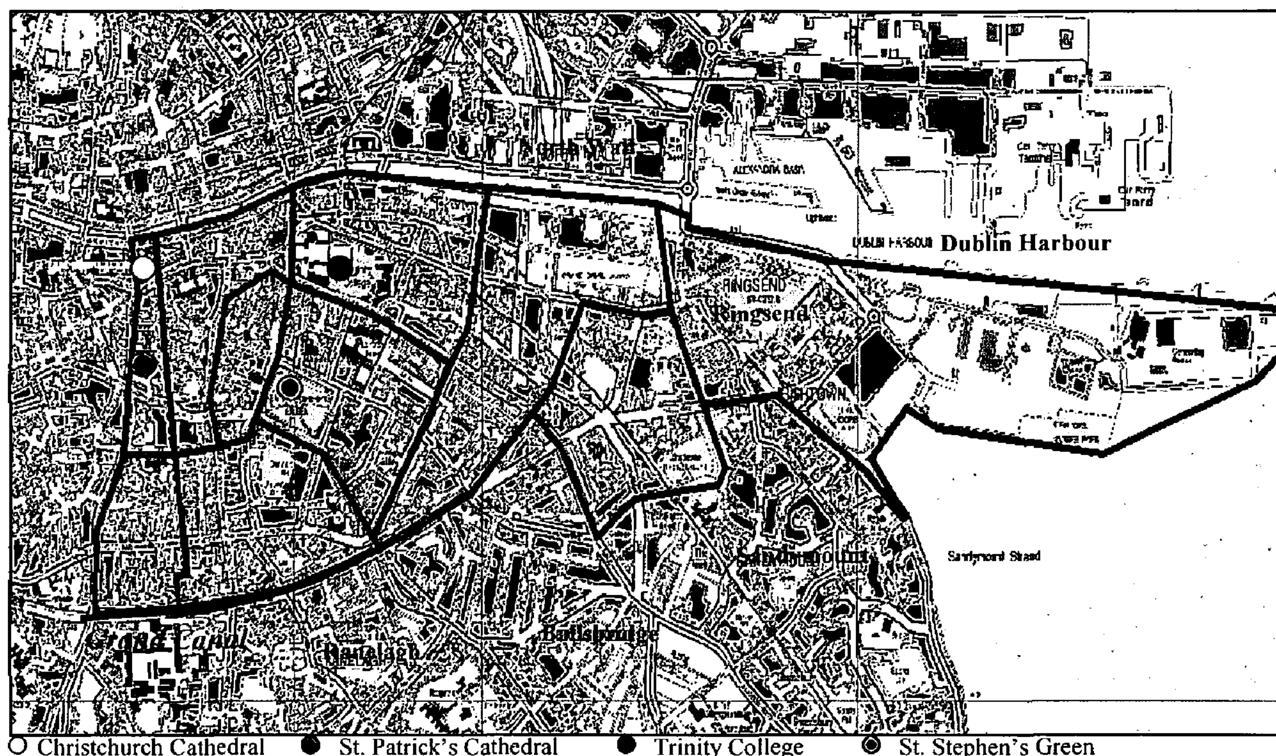
table 75

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02**	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
SEIC	26,778	33,078	**23.5**	451	1.36	687	0.66	48.15

* Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

South East Inner City Street Map with Landmarks

map 42



O Christchurch Cathedral ● St. Patrick's Cathedral ● Trinity College ◉ St. Stephen's Green

The South East Inner City (SEIC) stretches east to west from Dublin Bay along the River Liffey to the river's intersection at Wood Quay and Winetavern Street. This western border runs north to south past Christchurch Cathedral and St. Patrick's Cathedral ending at Clanbrassil Street at the Grand Canal. The South East Inner City is characterised by many of Dublin's Georgian Squares, such as Merrion Square and Fitzwilliam Square, where Government buildings and a central Business District are situated. The area acts as a central tourist area that includes Trinity College, St. Stephen's Green, Dublin Castle, and Grafton Street which houses the city's foremost up-market retail outlets.

The South East Inner City's western area does, however, house small areas with high levels of socio-economic disadvantage, particularly at the SEIC's border with the South West Inner City. This same area is also home to Direct Provision asylum seeker centres.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South East Inner City by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 76

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
SEIC	299	67	85 (24%)	343 (76%)	451	23

*includes the 23 unaccompanied minors.

The asylum seeker population in the South East Inner City (SEIC) represented 29.5% of the South Inner City's (SIC) 1,525 asylum seeker population. Of the 299 claimants, 346 or 77% were male and 105 or 33% were female. In terms of the 'Year of Arrival' category, 13 arrived in 1998 (2.9%); 81 in 1999 (18%); 62 in 2000 (13.8%); 174 in 2001 (38.6%) and 121 (26.8%) asylum seekers arrived as of June 2002 (se table 79, p. 316). The dramatic increase in the number of asylum seekers residing in this area from 2000 to 2001 was due to the locating of Direct Provision Centres in this area.

Asylum Seekers Residing in the South East Inner City Dublin by Nationality, June 2002

table 77

Rank	Country	Total
1	Nigeria	110
2	Romania	95
3	Algeria	44
4	Other	30
5	Ukraine	17
6	Somalia	11
7	Ghana	10
8	Libya	10
9	Moldova	9
10	Kosovo	8
11	Albania	7
12	Angola	7
13	Congo	7
14	Estonia	7
15	Georgia	7
16	Pakistan	6
17	China	5
18	Iran	5
19	Kenya	5
20	Poland	5

Rank	Country	Total
21	Russia	5
22	Sierra Leone	5
23	Cameroon	4
24	Sudan	4
25	Afghanistan	3
26	India	3
27	South Africa	3
28	Zimbabwe	3
29	Lithuania	2
30	Niger	2
31	Togo	2
32	Yugoslavia	2
33	Zambia	2
34	Cuba	1
35	Iraq	1
36	Latvia	1
37	Macedonia	1
38	Maldives	1
39	Turkey	1
	Total	**451**

As table 77 illustrates, Nigerians were the most populous asylum seeker country in the South East Inner City (SEIC). This contrasts with most other spatial areas in Co. Dublin where Romanians have been the largest national group. The reason for Nigerians being the largest national group in the South East Inner City is due to the large number residing in the 4 Direct Provision (DP) Centres located in the South East Inner City. Of the 175 asylum seekers residing in the DP centres, 77 or 44% were Nigerian. There were only 6 Romanians living in these particular DP centres (4.4%). With 40% (175) of the 451 asylum seekers residing in the SEIC living in DP centres, the location of these centres affected the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in the SEIC.

Number of Asylum Seekers (AS) Residing in SEIC EDs as a Percentage of the Census Popukation of 2002 and the Number of AS per Hectare in June 2002

table 78

Column: A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
Electoral Division	AS pop 2002	Census 2002	AS % of Cen. '02	Census 1996	% Difference Cenus 96-02	Hectares	AS per Hectare
South East Inner City							
MANSION HOUSE A	26	4,269	0.6	3,139	36.0	65	0.4
MANSION HOUSE B	2	990	0.2	770	28.6	64	0.03
PEMBROKE EAST A	15	4,304	0.3	4,349	-1.0	214	0.07
PEMBROKE WEST A	4	3,241	0.1	1,646	-1.5	63	0.06
ROYAL EXCHANGE A	14	3,569	0.4	2,267	57.4	44	0.32
ROYAL EXCHANGE B	48	1,936	2.5	1,613	20	22	2.18
SAINT KEVIN'S	**232**	**4,601**	**5.0**	**3,497**	**31.6**	**62**	**3.74**
SOUTH DOCK	6	3,764	0.2	3,307	13.8	106	0.06
WOOD QUAY A	15	2,866	0.5	2,651	8.1	17	0.88
WOOD QUAY B	89	3,538	2.5	3,539	0.0	30	2.97
SEIC Total	**451**	**33,078**	**1.4**	**26,778**	**(+6,300) 23.5%**	**687**	**0.66**

Table 78 shows that Electoral Division St. Kevin's had the largest number of asylum seekers residing in Dublin's South East Inner City area, due to 3 Direct Provision (DP) centres located in this ED. The other DP centre was located in ED Royal Exchange B, the ED with the third-largest number of asylum seekers residing in the South East Inner City.

The number of asylum seekers in each Electoral Division is shown in column *B* of table 78, and the 2002 Census population of each ED in column *C*. Column *D* indicates the percentage of the asylum seeker population relative to the 2002 Census population of each ED. As an example, the total number of asylum seekers residing in ED Saint Kevin's was 232, which was equivalent to 5% of the ED's 2002 Census population of 4,601. Only two other ED asylum seeker populations had the equivalent of more than 1% of their Census 2002 populations, ED Royal Exchange B, which had 2.5% and Wood Quay B, which also had 2.5%. Column *I* shows the number of hectares per ED and column *J* shows the number of asylum seekers per ED.

The location of Direct Provision Centres in the SEC is the main reason for the relatively sharp increase in asylum seekers residing in the South East Inner City (SEIC). Table 79 indicates the year of arrival of asylum seekers residing in the SEIC in 2002.

The 'Year of Arrival' of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South East Inner City, June 2002

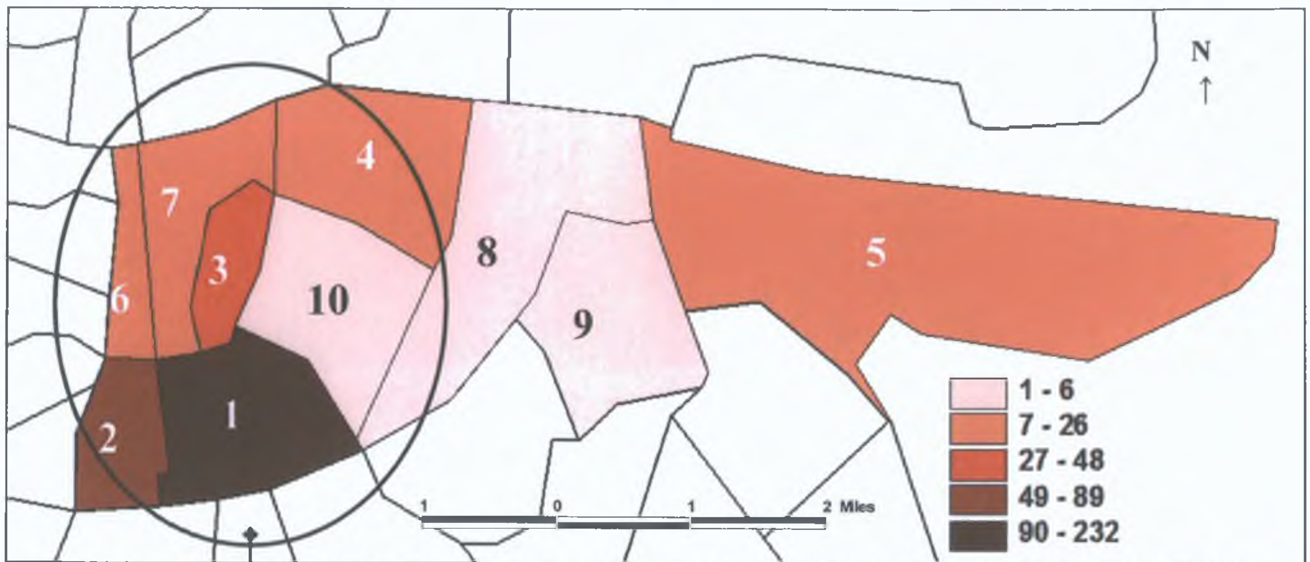
table 79

Year	Total	Percent
1998	13	2.88
1999	81	17.96
2000	62	13.75
2001	174	38.58
2002	121	26.83

The arrival of asylum seekers and other immigrants has had some effects on particular residential pockets within the South East Inner City (SEIC). It is argued by this researcher that the 23.5% increase in the SEIC census population between 1996 and 2002 has reduced the impact that asylum seekers have made on the SEIC. Although the 2002 Census population includes people of different ethnicity and social class, this researcher believes that much of the increase in population is due to the arrival of a gentrified sub-population into the SEIC, housed in the recently constructed apartment complexes.

Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in the South East Inner City, June 2002

map 43



ED Key: **1.** St. Kevin's **2.** Wood Quay B **3.** Royal Exchange B **4.** Mansion House A **5.** Pembroke East A **6.** Wood Quay A **7.** Royal Exchange A **8.** South Dock **9.** Pembroke West A **10.** Mansion House B

South East Inner City Zones of Activity map 44

Landmarks: A: Christchurch Cathedral B: Grafton Street C: Trinity College D: St. Stephen's Green

The changing demographics in the South East Inner City (SEIC) have been accompanied by cultural, physical, political and socio-economic changes that are transforming the area. In order to describe a more accurate picture of the fluidity of the space that is Dublin's South East Inner City, map 44 shows the general location of its different culture zones or districts. The term culture is explicitly used here because culture is expressed spatially (Jackson, 1989). The main aim of this South East Inner City (SEIC) area analysis is to describe some of the spatial movements of these zones in order to reveal particular factors and forces that contribute to where asylum seekers live. This areal analysis also aims to illustrate 'how' asylum seekers and immigrants contribute to the process of cultural change in particular spaces. Electoral Division St. Kevin's will be used here as an example with which to specifically examine these questions.

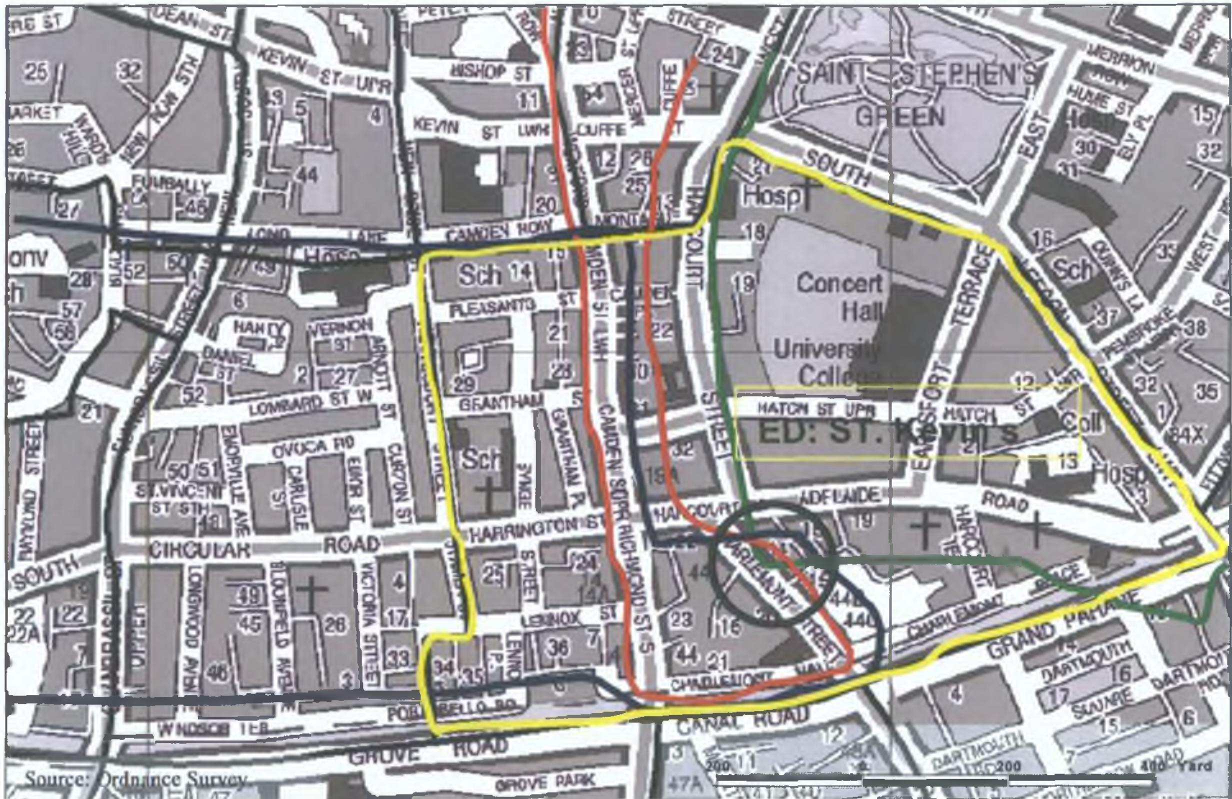
Electoral Division St. Kevin's

The main reason for the reduction in the relative percentage of asylum seekers in an Electoral Division's 2002 Census population in the South East Inner City (SEIC) is the increase in the ED's population due to gentrification. Electoral Division (ED) St. Kevin's had the highest number of asylum seekers and the largest percentage and density of any ED in the SEIC. However, Table 78 shows that the 2002 Census population in ED St. Kevin's increased from 3,497 in 1996 to 4,601 in 2002, a 31.6% increase in its inter-census population.

A rising economic performance in a country can attract a number of immigrants. Immigrants usually live in cheaper areas whilst bolstering the service economy of that country (Harris, 2002). The Dublin experience follows this formula. However, it seems quite unique that Dublin's immigration and gentrification process, whilst occurring at the same time, has often occurred in the same spaces, such as in Electoral Division St. Kevin's.

Electoral Division St. Kevin's: A Liminal Zone

map 45



Yellow: Electoral Division St. Kevin's **Green**: Business District **Red**: Zone of Transition
Blue: Old Jewish Quarter, Today's Muslim Quarter **Black Circle**: Liminal Zone

Electoral Division St. Kevin's did not provide a blank concrete canvas for immigrants and gentrifiers to fill. There has been an 'indigenous' population residing in the area for many years, as was the case in other urban villages, such as Stoneybatter and Smithfield in Dublin's North West Inner City.

The housing in plate 31 and the housing in plate 32, on the following page are quite contrasting (see map 46, p. 322). The housing in plate 31 is associated with the word 'flat', and the housing in plate 32 is associated with the word 'apartment'. The apartments are characteristically gentrified. They house mostly young, single professionals and are guarded by gates, monitors and surveillance cameras. They have a convenience store centrally located where the gentrified can buy most of their produce without having to leave their complex / 'community'. According to the 2002 Census of Population, the average weekly rent for a local authority house was €51.57 compared with €201.57 for a privately-furnished house.

Local Authority Flats in Electoral Division St. Kevin's

plate 31

Gentrified Apartments in Electoral Division St. Kevin's

plate 32

Photos by Darren Kelly 2003

Plate 33 illustrates how these two communities are intriguingly juxtaposed against each other face to face, or rather building face to building face, on Charlemont Street. It is unlikely that there is much human interface between residents of both communities on a daily basis, except perhaps in the convenience store. However, the prices in the 'convenient' store are quite high and might not attract those residents who live in the flats. The fencing in plate 32 with its surveillance cameras and monitors is the second line of defence after the blue security gate that is prominent in the foreground of plate, 33.

Apartments and Flats on Charlemont Street

plate 33

The two communities are located on either side of Charlemont Street. However, whilst the 'flats' are called Charlemont Gardens, the apartments are called Harcourt Green. It might be the case that the name Harcourt Green will not be associated with Charlemont Street, which has a negative connotation, but with close-by Harcourt Street, Harcourt Road and Harcourt Terrace to the rear of the apartments, which have a positive label. There seems to be a link between the economic development of this section of the South East Inner City, signalled by much renovation work around Harcourt Street and apartment complexes such as Harcourt Green.

Charlemont Street and Harcourt Road

map 46

Numbers correspond with photographs in this section

The Harcourt Building

plate 34

Plate 34 was taken in 2003 at the intersection of Harcourt Street and Harcourt Road and Adelaide Road. The building has since been named the Harcourt Building in the American style. It is a symbol of the economic development in this area. As well as an inter-related economic and residential development in ED St. Kevin's, there has also been a related process of cultural transition. In the area of Harcourt Road and Camden Street Upper there are several Western style coffee shops which primarily target the local business workforce and apartment dwellers, creating a 'Cappuccino Culture' in the area (plate 35).

Cappuccino Culture: Montage of cafes in the ED St. Kevin's Area

plate 35

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2003

Based on the rapid gentrification process in this newly developed neighbourhood, it was not surprising to this researcher that one of the most globalised coffee outlets, Starbucks, opened on the ground floor of the Harcourt building in 2006.

Starbucks in The Harcourt Building

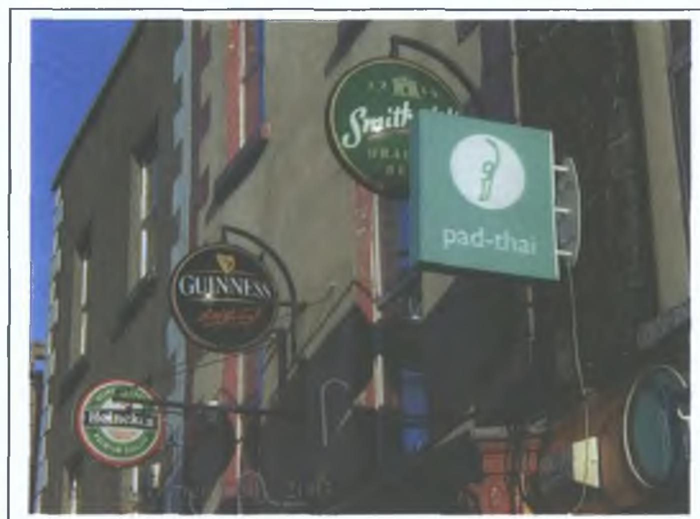
plate 36

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

Plate 36 also shows a passing LUAS tram that connects the South East Inner City with gentrified Dundrum, which was also chosen as a location by Starbucks when they first entered the Irish market in 2005. The development of the LUAS has opened up easier access to the South East Inner City and thus the potential of increased investment and customer base.

Juxtaposition of Old and New Businesses on South Richmond Street

plate 37



The sharp rise in the number of coffee shops in this area echoes the rise in expensive restaurants in the area, which ultimately has increased its kudos. Some of the older pubs in the area, such as the Bleeding Horse, have been completely transformed into trendy bars, clubs and hotels. Expensive restaurants are in stark contrast to the longer-established pubs and cheaper take-away eateries in this area. The Pad-Thai restaurant, in plate 37, seems quite 'out of place', juxtaposed against a pub's advertisements for alcohol, such as Guinness. Each sign denotes either the new or the traditional. In a place like St. Kevin's, the question emerges whether the traditional businesses and indigenous people can compete and survive with the arrival of new people and places.

Thus far, Electoral Division St. Kevin's has been described as being a heterotopic liminal zone, with both the indigenous and gentrified communities residentially juxtaposed in the same space. The two communities, however, whilst close in residence, most likely engage in different social spheres, which leads the researcher to

label the areas as being heterotopic. Asylum Seekers encapsulate another micro-community within this liminal zone. In 2002, a Direct Provision Centre was being operated in a large Georgian building called Sancta Maria on Charlemont Street, physically juxtaposed against the other two communities as illustrated in plate 38.

Age Range of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in Electoral Division (ED) St. Kevin's, June 2002

table 80

Age	Total	Percent
16 – 17 *	20	12.3
18 - 26	59	36.2
27 - 34	53	32.5
35 - 42	19	11.7
43 - 71	12	7.4
Total	163	100

* This group were unaccompanied minors.

The majority of asylum seeker claimants including those housed in ED St. Kevin's were relatively young i.e. of working age. Almost 69% of all asylum seeker claimants were between 18 and 34 years of age. The young population increased when the 28 adult dependents and 41 children were taken into consideration. As discussed in the South County Dublin County Council section of the data analysis, unemployment can cause high rates of anxiety in asylum seekers. The Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown County Council section discussed the increased visibility of young African asylum seekers in public spaces due to their non-involvement in mainstream activities due to a lack of resources.

This micro-spatial area, Electoral Division St. Kevin's, is an example of three separate life-worlds inhabiting the same space in 2002. It illustrates that an ethnification and gentrification process was emerging simultaneously in the same space at the same time. Such a radical change in the demographic and socio-cultural make-up of this area must, at best, be intriguing for the indigenous residents of ED St. Kevin's. Such radical change in one's locale might also cause fear and resentment that could lead to rising tensions and possibly anti-social and racist behaviour.

However, as gentrification has continued in the SEIC since 2002 there is some evidence to suggest that asylum seekers, and other marginalised businesses and people might be forced i.e. spatially funnelled away from the SEIC into different areas that are less economically and culturally attractive, for example, the South West Inner City and the North Inner City.

In 2005, the Sancta Maria building, which housed asylum seekers in 2002, was transformed into a private tourist accommodation centre operated by Citihostels. The Citihostels website advertise their Sancta Maria hostel as located in the "village Quarter" of Dublin:

> Citi Hostels *Sancta Maria* is located in the highly fashionable "village quarter" in the heart of Dublin city and only 5 minutes walk from Grafton Street - the fashion centre of Dublin....We are surrounded by numerous cultural, historical and entertainment attractions all within easy walking distance. Just around the corner there is a variety of shops and supermarkets. Nearby you will also find a street market with many fresh fish, fruit and vegetable stalls. (http://www.citihostels.com/)

Sancta Maria Citihostel, Charlemont Street, ED St. Kevin's

plate 38

The disuse of the Sancta Maria building as a reception centre for asylum seekers has greatly reduced the number of asylum seekers residing in ED St. Kevin's. The fluctuation of the building's uses is due to political and economic forces, and is an example of the fluid uses of city places and spaces. It further illustrates how gentrification has the potential to create a 'geography of exclusion' in the South East Inner City. Using a Marxist analysis of the production of space, David Harvey (1973:53) states that: "The 'hidden mechanisms' of income redistribution in a complex city system usually increase inequalities". An analysis of the hidden mechanisms (political and economic) that have been contributing to the on-going demographic and cultural transition in the SEIC, can aid an understanding of why asylum seekers were located in particular areas in 2002. Furthermore, such an analysis can aid the identification of places that might become increasingly ethnically clustered in the future. Once more to quote Harvey (1973, pp23-34; 84):

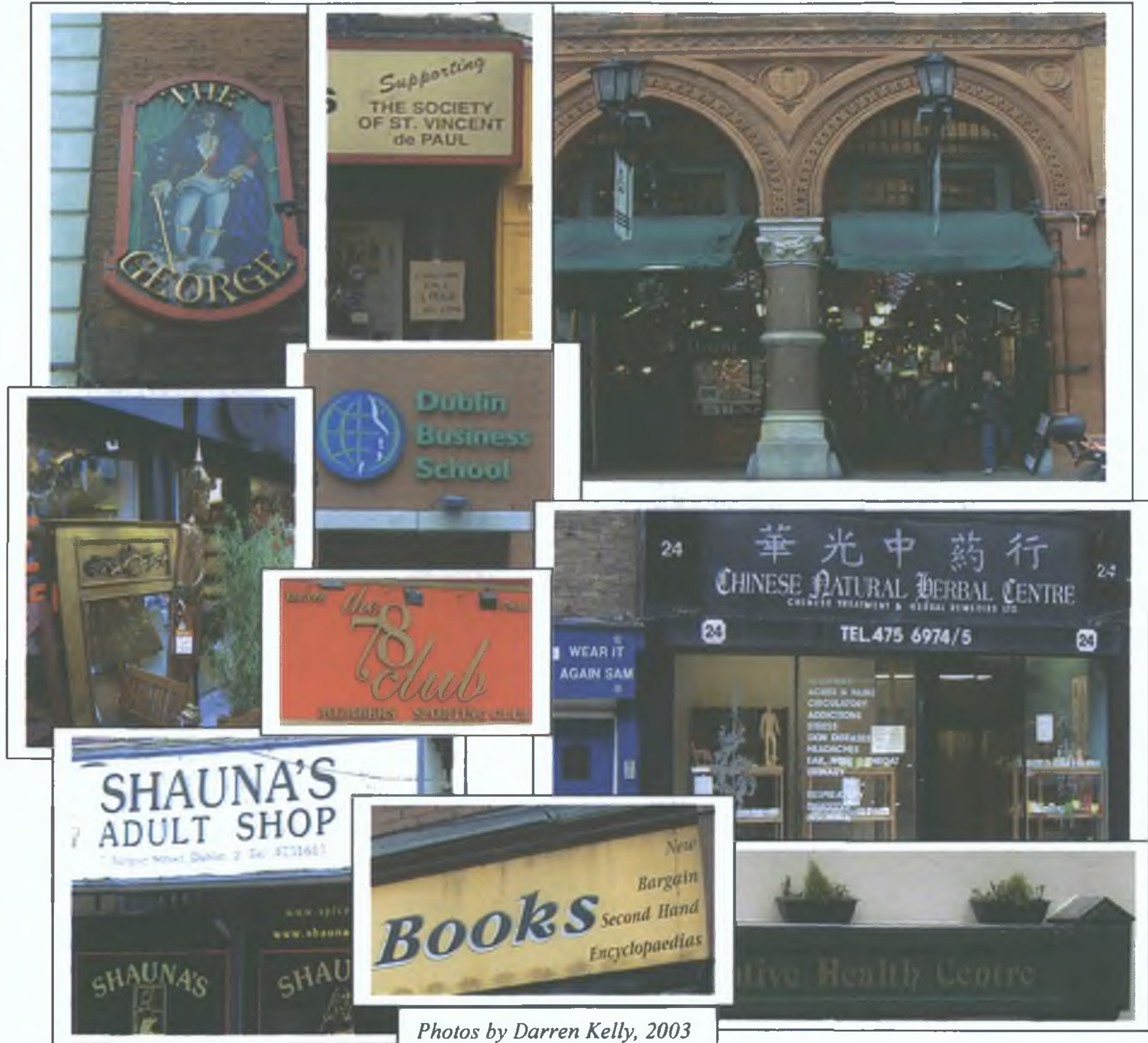
> ...if space reflects existing social norms then we must seek to understand the message which people receive from their constructed environment....Once cultural heterogeneity develops and social barriers to movement are imposed, cultural divergence may proceed apace within the city system....There are strong forces working towards cultural heterogeneity and territorial differentiation in the urban system....Any general theory of the city must somehow relate the social processes in the city to the spatial form which the city assumes....We must relate social behaviour to the way in which a city assumes a certain geography, a certain spatial form. We must recognise that once a particular spatial form is created it tends to institutionalise and, in some respects, to determine the future development of social process.

A number of factors contributed to the location of the Sancta Maria Citihostel in the South East Inner City (SEIC). One factor is location i.e. the proximity of the building to the central tourist core around Grafton Street. This proximity was not the sole determining factor for locating Citihostel in the SEIC. Safety and the area's attractiveness were other considerations in choosing the location of the business. Prior to gentrification, the area was synonymous with disadvantage and danger. The gentrification of the area has arguably improved its physical attractiveness and the increased population can foster the feeling of safety for people living in and visiting the area.

Culture wars are spatial wars: the South East Inner City's 'Zone of Transition'

Sub-cultural Places along Georges St. / Aungier St. / Wexford St. / Camden St.

plate 39



Photos by Darren Kelly, 2003

The change in "trendiness" in this once run-down area, as discussed above in relation to Electoral Division St. Kevin's, is indicative of the cultural shift that is occurring in, what's labelled here the Zone of Transition. It runs from George's Street at Dame Street as far as Richmond Street South at the Royal Canal (see map 44 on page 317). This area, once just off the beaten track or just off one's mind map, would have been characterised by second-hand clothes shop, record and book stores, wholesale clothing

trade, furniture and food stores and alternative medicine centres, and The George, Dublin's most established gay bar. These places were on the periphery of society, firstly in terms of location, and, secondly in terms of lifestyle, i.e. the accepted norm of mainstream society. The Georges Street Arcade housed many stalls supplying second-hand products, palm readers, body piercing, antique clothing and other bric-a-brac, in what might be described as a bohemian or underground atmosphere. There were also a number of small guesthouses, hotels and pubs in this zone.

Due to their peripheral nature, such streets attracted adult stores selling lingerie, sex toys, and x-rated movies and also attracted gambling and 'sport' clubs. Due to the relatively cheaper rents in this zone, it is also home to many shops raising funds for different charities such as St. Vincent de Paul, Simon Community, Age Action, and Hospice centres.

The Long Hall Pub on South Great Georges Street

plate 40

This photograph shows The Long Hall, one of Dublin's oldest and most well known pubs situated on South Great Georges Street. The buildings surrounding it are all in the process of redevelopment, which might well change the clientele of this established cultural land mark.

Zones of Transition, or Liminal Zones, have more than one social class and / or ethnic group residing in them and thus become zones of contested space. The ability of the gentrified population to out-bid the indigenous residents and thus dislodge them from their once established neighbourhoods is articulated to great effect by Jonathon Raban (1974: pp86-90) in *Soft City*: (my embolden)

The burrowing out of new postal districts inside the city is like a drive into a new frontier. Like a frontier, it produces edgy and painful encounters with the indigenous population (the sitting tenants, some of whom are immigrants, some cockneys), who are alternately harassed with eviction notices and raised rents, and romanticised, like Fennimore Cooper Indians, as real people....Significantly, London is unique amongst capital cities in that its middleclass regard it as a right to live in a whole house and not in an apartment.... Their crescents and squares are turning into one-class communities of neighbours....There is always the opportunity given money and property, to create your own society, to choose a locality and turn it into a village of friends...**community is becoming an increasingly expensive commodity**....We're as style bound as class bound.

Newly Constructed Dunnes Home Stores on South Great Georges Street

plate 41

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

Plate 40 of the Long Hall illustrates the derelict site to the side of the pub. Dunnes Stores developed the site in 2005 into a household and interior design store, plate 41. Celebrated Irish designer Paul Costello has created a range of kitchen ware and other home furnishings exclusively for Dunnes. This quite radical development of Dunnes' product range indicates a re-targeting of their market to suit the tastes and price range of gentrifiers and cultural and product consumers visiting this 'new' area. The architecture follows the curvature of the road, but its marble and glass frontage is in complete contrast to the classical red brick Victorian buildings that line South Great Georges Street. One building to the left of the Long Hall is the redeveloped Dunnes Stores head office.

Re-development of Dunnes Stores Head Offices on Stephen Street Nth.

plate 42

Political Art of a Cottage façade on top of the City Art's Centre

plate 43

Cranes Over Dublin's South East Inner City Dock Lands

plate 44

Plate 43 represents the physical and psychological claustrophobia suffered by the indigenous residents of the South East Inner City's City Quay and Pearse Street residents, due to the construction of large corporate offices and apartment blocks beside their small terraced houses. Plate 44 illustrates the extent of the physical morphology of the entire South East Inner City's docklands.

Such architectural change, as that on South Great Georges Street, is illustrative of the physical threat to the integrity of the street's architecture. It is also typical of the cultural transition in the area. Mitchell (2000: 140) writes (my bracket): "Marx rightly showed… [that such production] is no respecter of pre-existing social, political, economic, or cultural boundaries, or of pre-existing ways of life". As outlined earlier in this section, one of the main centres of subculture in the Zone of Transition has been the Georges St. Arcade. The Arcade still feels like a sub-cultural place, but now also houses food stalls with expensive cheeses, olives and wines and design stores. In essence, the Zone of Transition has been up-graded. This process, however, is not only due to external influences i.e. up-market product, food and clothing outlets and restaurants 'moving-in'. Fashion and cultural-styles that were once 'out' are now 'in', – having become retro and highly sought after. The effect on the market and surrounding area has been an increase in footfall i.e. shoppers, and thus

an increase in profits for those stall holders. This upgrading process has also occurred along streets west of Grafton Street, for example South William Street, which housed wholesale garment suppliers, an Asian food store and some Adult stores. The result has been the 'opening up' of a large retail shopping and restaurant pedestrian space linking George's Street and Grafton Street and, thus, a reinsertion of a zone that was once geographically and psychologically peripheral back into the city's mainstream geographic and cultural centre. It has been argued that cultural production can change the identity of city spaces. The location of these new cultural places can be based on the cheap, rental space in an area but also based on the cache of the existing site, which was arguably the case in the South East Inner City. Rather than new cultural zones moving in and forcing the older establishments and the existing indigenous and immigrant community out, there might be the possibility that the area can accommodate the different sub-cultural populations in what could be labelled a cosmopolitan space.

Cosmopolitan Third Space in the South East Inner City

Spice Land Asian Store

plate 45

Immigrant stores have existed for a relatively long time in the Zone of Transition. The majority are mostly Chinese alternative medicine stores. The Asian food store on George's Street and the Asian Market on South William Street have also been in business in this zone. Further north, in Electoral Division St. Kevin's, is 'Spice Land', an 'Asian Retail' store which has been a well-known landmark for many years. Unlike the newly established, immigrant-based stores, according to the owner, Spice Land has a broad customer base. Many Irish customers shop here before returning to their abodes in near-by Rathmines. Spice Land also services an existing Muslim community, which stretches west along the South Circular Road (SCR) and the South West Inner City.

In recent years there has been an increasing number of 'Asian' stores in ED St. Kevin's, particularly along Richmond Street South. Although labelled Asian by some, they are labelled Middle Eastern, Arabic and Mediterranean by others. Many might be considered Muslim based. Their rise in number certainly correlates in space and time with the rise in the number of immigrants residing in the immediate and surrounding area. The Asian stores have been opening at the same time as the opening of 'Cappuccino culture' outlets and restaurants that service the increasing gentrified and business class in the area.

El-Sinbad, Ethnic-Based Store on Nth Richmond Street

plate 46

The renewed vibrancy along Wexford Street, Camden Street and Richmond Street South is palpable when walking in this area. Some New York students living and studying in Dublin, when speaking with this researcher, have likened this area to New York City (Manhattan). Both Camden Street and Richmond Street South are similar to Broadway along NYC's Upper West Side where many stores have awnings which shade fruit and vegetables. The number of different peoples and styles, all at one point in space and time, are also similar. This cosmopolitanism is quite attractive to many people, those who like to be 'urbane'. In New York, the Upper West Side which borders Harlem has become one of the most desirable neighbourhoods in which to reside (Smith, 1996). Part of the attraction of living there is the mixed ethnicity of the area as opposed to the more ethnically segregated Upper East Side across Central Park. One negative aspect of this desirability is the displacement of those long-term residents who can no longer afford to pay the ever-increasing rents.

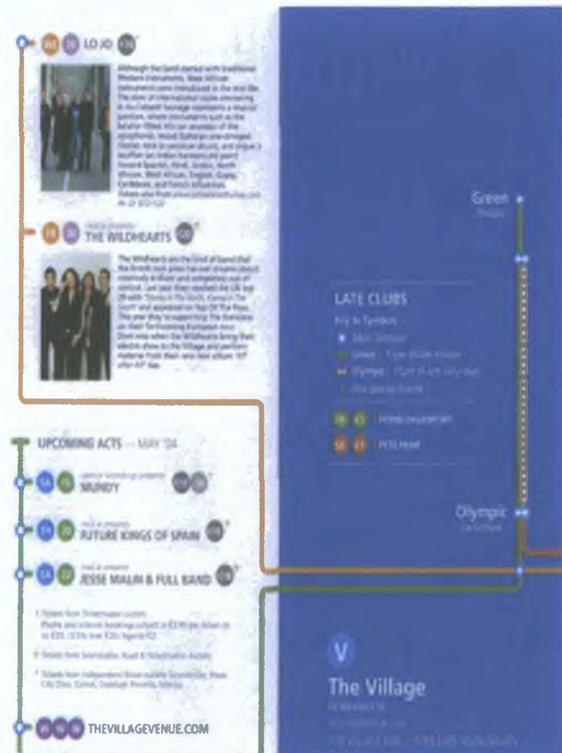
It is this cosmopolitanism, the changing nature of an essentially mono-cultural space to an increasingly poly-cultural space, that might prove fruitful in reconciling the ethnic and class divides along such a space, where the coffee houses fit comfortably beside the Asian vegetable stores. In relation to food culture, it is this urbanity, cosmopolitanism and globalism that can bring those who live in the gentrified apartments into the 'immigrant' stores to purchase goods and, therefore, increase the levels of interfacing at this micro-spatial level.

It is not surprising that this area's business community has promoted itself as an identifiable unit called 'The Village'. This village label has associations with New York's Greenwich Village and London's trendy Camden market. The area has developed its own info-sheet titled 'The Village' in which local events are reported. One club is called 'The Village'. The brochure for up-coming events, as displayed in plate 47, imitates a New York subway map.

The Village Bar and Music Venue with NYC Subway–like poster

plate 47

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003



Although this is a new business concept in an old space, it has the ability to draw on the old. The long established and well renowned and respected Whelan's music venue is a case in point. Whelan's, with its mixture of musical performances, has constantly brought people into this area and it will certainly add to the cache of The Village.

Social exclusion in the South East Inner City

In terms of the public spaces in the South East Inner City, if the gentrified group and immigrant group interface in the various Asian food stores, it does not mean that the indigenous group will interface with either the gentrified or immigrant groups. If this indigenous group does not conform to the cache of this new cosmopolitan village in their immediate locale, might they be excluded? Exclusion does happen in terms of restricted access to particular venues by security guards and the indigenous are also

locked out of gentrified soft spaces. However, exclusion from so-called public space is more complicated, particularly when the youths reside in this space.

Cultural production is dictating the spatial and cultural narratives of consumers in an invisible maze. The walls are invisible but the vectors of direction and velocity are controlled in what Jameson (1998: 15) calls a postmodern hyperspace. As much as the maze is invisible for the shoppers, it is explicitly visible for those without the means to purchase. It might be argued that the shoppers and tourists do not see the security staff, or if they do it is understood that they are there to serve and protect. For those 'other' non-shoppers and tourists, the security staff become bouncers whose job is to refuse entry or eject. In this case, there are two different South East Inner Cities, one visible, the other invisible. Davis (1998: 226) writes that:

> ...in many instances the semiotics of so-called 'defensible space' are just about as subtle as a swaggering white cop. Today's upscale, pseudo-public spaces – sumptuary malls, offices centres, culture acropolises, and so on – are full of invisible signs warning off the underclass 'Other'. Although architectural critics are usually oblivious to how the built environment contributes to segregation, pariah groups – whether poor Latino families, young black men, or elderly homeless white females – read the meaning immediately.

Youthreach Pleasants Street is a training centre for disadvantaged teenagers who, for diverse reasons, have fallen through the different nets of mainstream schools and other youth services. The researcher, formerly a Development Education and Life Skills educator in the centre, engaged in semi-structured group discussions with the centre's trainees and meetings with the centre's staff about the changes in the local area.

Some of the teenagers reside in the Charlemont Street local authority housing complex and expressed amazement at the speed of change in the area. Most felt increasingly excluded from 'their place'. Some thought that the gentrified apartments were 'nice looking' but described the residents as 'snobs'. It was an overwhelmingly common experience for this group of teenagers to be excluded from various shops and events throughout the city. According to the teenagers and their instructors, exclusion is based on how they dress and of their inner city accents, pejoratively labelled as 'common'. The result is that many do not go into the main shopping streets in the city. Like asylum

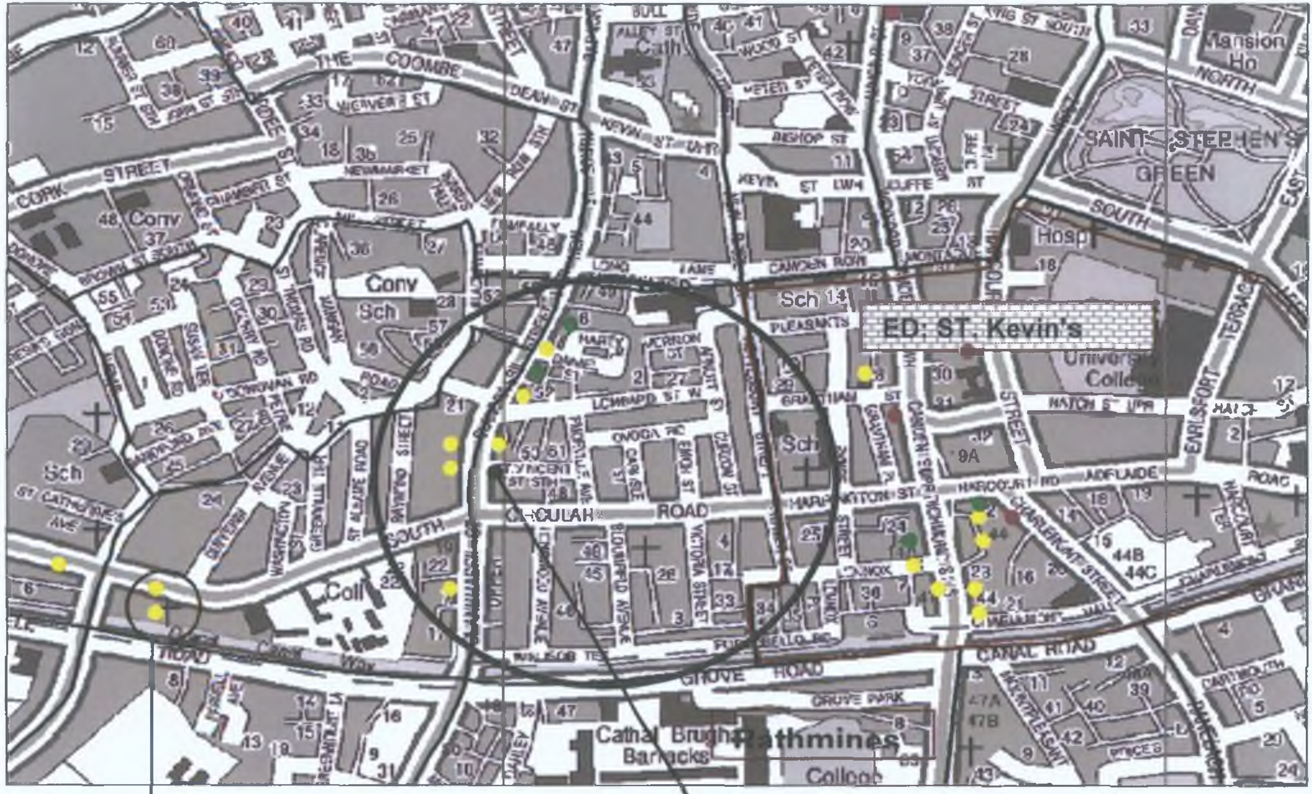
seekers, this group are also excluded due to financial reasons as they are not able to afford the new culture.

One teenager said to this researcher that "we're treated like niggers", another interjected, "no we're not, cause they get everything". The trainee felt like a member of an under-class in his neighbourhood. Another trainee turned the conversation to immigration and uttered the catchphrases 'they get everything' and that 'they're sponging'. The group also noticed the increasing number of non-Irish nationals in the area. What was most interesting about this discourse was that their instructor said the group had warmly welcomed a young African into the centre. According to one of the instructors, the most senior trainees had taken the African female 'under their wing' and were 'extremely protective of her'. The instructor found it interesting that the teenagers would voice racist opinions and when questioned about the irony of this, replied, "ah no, that's only x, sure she's one of us!". In this, case the differences between the African girl and the Irish group disappeared due to their affinity as trainees and friends first and foremost. This illustrates, at a micro-level, how contact between individuals of different ethnicity and race can dispel any fears and or prejudices about each other and friendships can be established. One of the overriding questions posed within this research is whether or not this integration can occur at a community level. The South West Inner City section will explore this question in greater depth.

The western border of the South East Inner City, in line with recent immigration from the late 1990s, has experienced a large increase in its number of Halal and other Middle Eastern and Eurasian food stores, highlighted in plate 48 on the following page. Interestingly, this cultural transition in the South East Inner City has been taking place in what was once the centre of the relatively large Jewish population in the early 1900s. The area was commonly referred to as 'Little Jerusalem' (Harris, 2002).

Islamic / Arabic Neighbourhood upon the Old Jewish Neighbourhood

map 47 plate 48



Photos by Darren Kelly 2003

Standing either side of the border between the South East Inner City and the South West Inner City (SWIC) along the South Circular Road (SCR) is an area that includes a relatively large Muslim population. Semiotically, many Muslims are visible by their attire such as Muslim women wearing a Burka, thus marking them as being 'out of place' (see plate 49). There are numerous shops selling Halal meat and, at the centre of this area, is the Dublin Mosque.

Woman Wearing a Burka in Public Space

plate 49

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

The Mosque is located on the South Circular Road (SCR) in Electoral Division Wood Quay B which had the second-highest number of asylum seekers residing in the South East Inner City (SEIC) in June 2002 (see map 43 on page 317). Of the 89 asylum seekers in Wood Quay B, 57 or 64% were residing in sub-divided houses (flats) on this section of the SCR. The total number of asylum seekers along the SCR and connecting Harrington Street totalled 82, 18% of all asylum seekers in the SEIC. As a percentage of asylum seekers not residing in Direct Provision Centres i.e. living in private rented accommodation, this percentage rose to almost 30%. This illustrates the extent of micro-spatial clustering of asylum seekers within Electoral Divisions.

With an existing ethnic community established in this section of the city for a period of time prior to the more recent arrival of asylum seekers, it could be assumed that asylum seekers would tend to live in this area. This however, has not been the case and this phenomenon was discussed in further detail in the Dublin City South section in relation to the spatial distribution of Algerian asylum seekers who have settled in this area.

Several reasons for asylum seekers not living in greater numbers in this area can be suggested. Firstly, non Muslim asylum seekers might not choose to live in this area. Secondly, it is more than likely that, with the increased popularity of this space with single professionals, asylum seekers are forced to look in other places for cheaper and more readily available accommodation. The result is a 'push factor', whereby asylum seekers turn their attention to areas further west or to the North Inner City (NIC) as opposed to the South Inner City. The amount of available retail space would have been greater in the North Inner City in the late 1990s and early 2000s and thus attracted non-Irish national targeted businesses. The greater number of these retail services in the North Inner City might have acted as a 'pull factor' for asylum seekers' choice in where they reside.

The negative portrayal of Muslims by the popular media during the 'war on terror' must bring concern regarding the increased possibility of racist attacks against Muslims residing in this area. Racism is not new to the area. Tom Halpin (2005) writes: " [Leopold] Bloom inadvertently acts as a lightning conductor for the anti-Semitism already latent in the society around him and which, by the simple fact of his existence in that society, he triggers without ever really being conscious that he does so."

Leopold Bloom, the central protagonist in James Joyce's *Ulysses*, was born at 52 Upper Clanbrassil Street in 1866 in what was to become the heart of Dublin's Little Jerusalem during the time when Jewish immigrants were fleeing pogroms in Czarist Russia. In 1900, four years before Bloom's day, June 16th 1904, there were 2,000 Jews living in Dublin, which according to Halpin (2003) was between 0.6% and 0.7% of the Dublin population.

plate 50

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2004

The Jewish Museum pictured above, was opened by the President of Israel Chaim Herzog who was born one street away in Bloomfield Avenue. The synagogue on Adelaide Road, established in 1892, closed in 1999, and with Erlich's butcher shop having closed in 2002, there are not many traces of those 'old days', apart from the Bretzel bakery, which was established in 1870. The Bretzel, meaning bread stick, has not had a Jewish owner since 1965. Shortly after this time, the Kashrut board (Jewish dietary committee) found that the produce did not fulfil the prerequisites of kosher food. However, the Bretzel continued to flourish and its new owners, who took over in 2001, claim the produce is once again Kosher. As of 2006, the store owners say that the bagels and bread is Kosher but the pastries and confectionary are not. The Bakery has become particularly popular with the area's gentrified community.

During the 1930s there was, according to Harris (2002), 5,500 Jews living within a few minutes walk of Clanbrassil Street, seventy years on, these places are currently the location of a new and different immigrant community.

It is interesting that practically all of the shops and services catering to the Jewish community were centred on one street, Clanbrassil Street. This is similar to the pattern of more recent immigration in Dublin, which at first began with several shops being established along Parnell Street and then Moore Street. There were also several such stores just off Clanbrassil Street. What is similar between this community in the past and the current immigrant communities in Dublin today is the sense of community that they engender. Just as ethnic stores in Dublin today are used as centres to advertise social events, so too:

> ...for young people in the 1930s, Clanbrassil Street was our centre. We were forever going to the various shops asking permission to stick up notices for dances and meetings. It was the only way we had of communicating information to the community at that time" (Harris 2002: 45).

Based on the discussion of the production of physical and psychosocial semioticised space in the South East Inner City it can be concluded that the space race has been won by the cultural producers and gentrifiers (each synonymous with the other) and the result is the physical and psychological squeezing of the indigenous and asylum seeker groups into an increasingly reduced space. The lack of employment for each of these latter groups, coupled with the demographic profile, suggests the possibility of this reduced space becoming increasingly contested. The local YMCA, being aware of the potential for conflict between youths in this shrinking community space, organised a 5-a-side international football competition in Aungier Street (see plate 51).

Photo Montage: Know Racism Wall Mural in the Zone of Transition

plate 51

South West Inner City

map 48

The Population and Size of the South West Inner City (SWIC) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 81

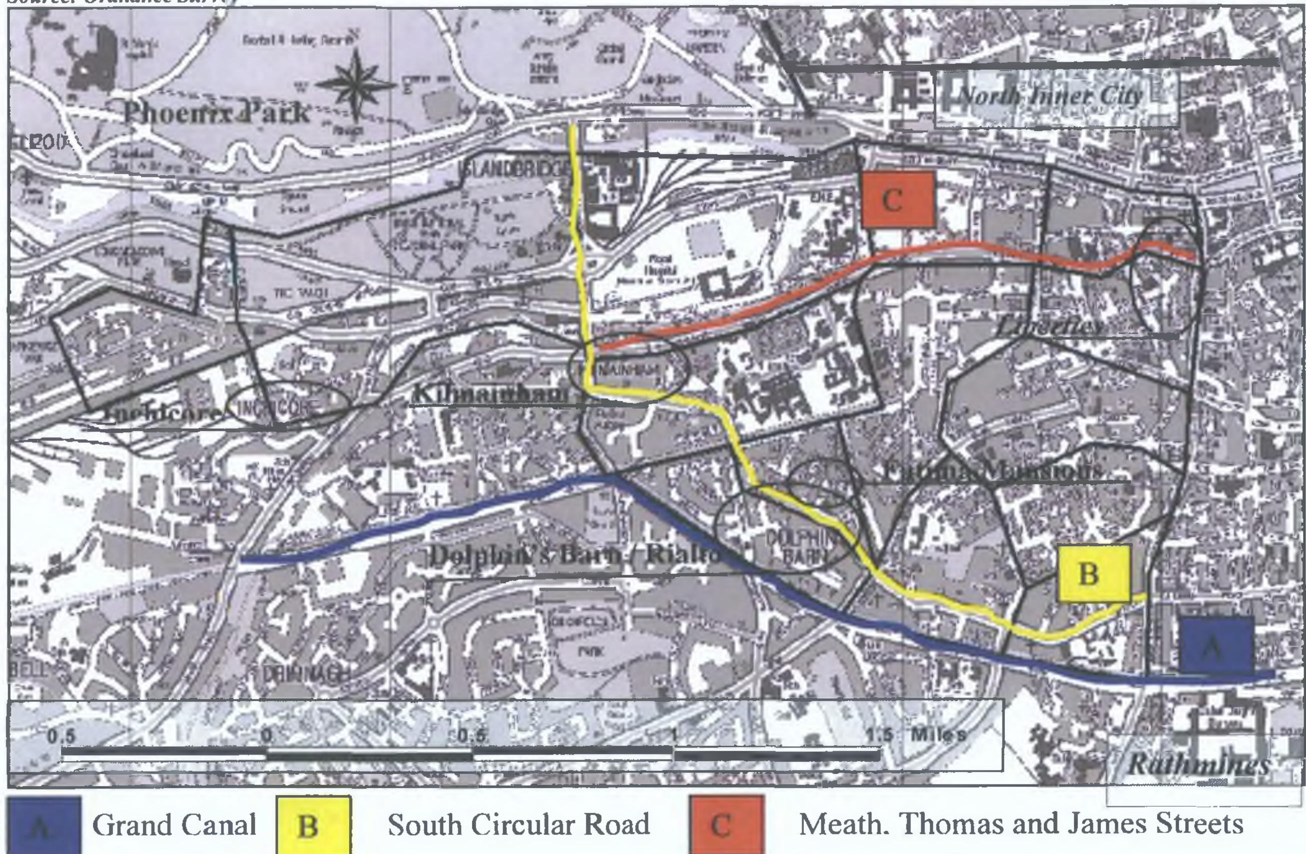
	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02*	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
SWIC	25,976	29,644	14.1%	1,074	3.6%	473	2.3	62

* Asylum Seeker (AS) ** Census (Cen.)

The South West Inner City with Landmarks and Neighbourhoods

map 49

Source: Ordnance Survey



Dublin's South West Inner City (SWIC) stretches from St. Patrick's Street and Clanbrassil Street in the east to Inchicore in the west. From north to south it stretches from the River Liffey to the Grand Canal. There were 1,074 asylum seekers residing in the SWIC in June 2002. Most of the SWIC sits within postal code Dublin 8. There were 1,415 asylum seekers residing in Dublin 8 in June 2002, the highest total of all the 22 postal codes in Dublin.

Although this spatial unit is officially called the 'inner city', it includes Kilmainham and Inchicore, which, until recently, were areas considered suburban spaces rather than inner city spaces. The South West Inner City also includes some of Dublin's oldest inner city villages, particularly the Liberties area of the city.

Pat Guerin's report for the South West Inner City Network, *Building Solidarity Across Communities*: *Bringing Anti-Racism to the South West Inner City*, (2003: 5) describes the South West Inner City as containing some of:

> ...the most disadvantaged communities in Ireland....These communities have endured high and long-term unemployment, very low levels of educational achievement, poor infrastructure, sub standard housing, large-scale environmental decay and a general lack of recreational facilities.

The South West Inner City has undergone significant changes in its physical and socio-cultural make-up since the late 1990s. In effect, the process of gentrification and cultural production that has occurred in the South East Inner City (SEIC) has moved into the South West Inner City. Guerin's (2003: 5) report notes that the area has "undergone a process of gentrification" but "there is little evidence to indicate that these developments have any real positive impact on the area's disadvantaged communities". There seems to be an indication that trickle-down economics has not occurred in this area. Guerin reports (2003: 5) that, "there is some evidence to indicate that the sense of relative deprivation felt by the area's older and more disadvantaged communities has been increased by the arrival of more affluent residents". As well as the more affluent residents arriving in the South West Inner City in recent years, there has been the arrival of relatively large numbers of non-Irish nationals, which in June 2002 included 1,074 asylum seekers.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South West Inner City (SWIC) by 'Status ' Category, June 2002

table 82

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
SWIC	472	239	363 (34%*)	710 (66%)	1,074	2

*includes the 2 unaccompanied minors.

The 1,074 asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City's (SWIC) represented 70% of the South Inner City's 1,525 asylum seeker population and 11.6% of their Co. Dublin population. These percentages illustrate the extent of micro-spatial asylum seeker clustering in particular spatial units within Co. Dublin in 2002.

Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in the SWIC by Gender, June 2002

table 83

	Frequency	Percent
Male	324	68.6
Female	148	31.4
Total	472	100

Male asylum seekers represented 68.6% of asylum seeker claims. Female asylum seekers represented 31.4% of claims, a relatively large percentage considering female claimants represented 24% of the Dublin City South asylum seeker population. The increase in female claimants correlated with the relatively large number of children of asylum seekers in this section of the city.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's SWIC by Country of Origin, June 2002

table 84

Rank	Country	Total	% of SWIC	% of Nation
1	Romania	366	34.08	13.50
2	Nigeria	263	24.49	12.20
3	Other	98	9.12	14.29
4	Algeria	46	4.28	14.94
5	Russia	46	4.28	15.81
6	Congo	37	3.45	16.23
7	Ukraine	36	3.35	11.43
8	Moldova	22	2.05	7.31
9	Lithuania	17	1.58	11.49
10	Somalia	13	1.21	13.00
11	Libya	11	1.02	15.49
12	Maldives	9	0.84	37.50
13	Angola	8	0.74	6.90
14	Georgia	8	0.74	10.00
15	Kosovo	8	0.74	5.41
16	Sierra Leone	8	0.74	8.08
17	Bulgaria	7	0.65	7.53
18	Morocco	7	0.65	41.18
19	Pakistan	7	0.65	11.11
20	South Africa	7	0.65	15.91
21	Bosnia	5	0.47	35.71
22	Jordan	4	0.37	100.00

Rank	Country	Total	% of SWIC	% of Nation
23	Poland	4	0.37	1.95
24	Yugoslavia	4	0.37	25.00
25	Albania	3	0.28	2.44
26	Cameroon	3	0.28	3.41
27	China	3	0.28	18.75
28	Kenya	3	0.28	7.32
29	Syria	3	0.28	23.08
30	Comoros	2	0.19	66.67
31	Egypt	2	0.19	18.18
32	Macedonia	2	0.19	6.45
33	Uzbekistan	2	0.19	7.41
34	Zambia	2	0.19	13.33
35	Armenia	1	0.09	6.67
36	Croatia	1	0.09	14.29
37	Iraq	1	0.09	1.47
38	Kazakhstan	1	0.09	5.88
39	Sudan	1	0.09	3.85
40	Togo	1	0.09	2.56
41	Zaire	1	0.09	3.57
42	Zimbabwe	1	0.09	2.50
	Total	**1,074**	100.00	

Asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City were from 42 countries of origin as illustrated in table 84 above. As a group they represented 3.6% of the South West Inner City's 2002 Census population of 29,644.

The two largest asylum seeker populations residing in the South West Inner City in June 2002 were Romanian and Nigerian. Together they represented 59% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City (SWIC). The 366 Romanian asylum seekers residing in the SWIC represented 13.5% of their total County Dublin population. The 263 Nigerian asylum seekers represented 12.2% of their County Dublin population. Although Romanians and Nigerians had relatively large populations in the South West Inner City, they had larger populations in the North Inner City.

Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in SWIC by Year of Arrival

table 85

Year	Frequency	Percent
1997	5	0.5
1998	33	3.1
1999	170	15.8
2000	233	21.7
2001	363	33.8
2002	270	25.1
Total	1,074	100

Table 85 indicates that at least 41% of asylum seekers had been living in the South West Inner City one year prior to June 2002. Circa 16% had been residing in the area for more than two years prior to June 2002. Two years is a time in which families will have adjusted to their surroundings and begun the process of laying down roots, with children attending local schools and families creating friendships within the community. As illustrated by the photography in this research, it has been a time in which particular shops and services that cater for immigrants have also been established in the area. In essence, the South West Inner City has morphologised physically, socially and culturally from a predominantly single class, mono-(sub)cultural unit to one that is characterised by different classes, ethnicities and sub-cultures. As the process is continuing it remains to be seen whether these different groups will create an identifiable community, or a heterotopia with several sub-groups and sub-cultures living separately, yet side-by-side, in the South West Inner City. The use of the term sub-culture to describe the South West Inner City is deliberate as it emphasises the fact that particular communities within this spatial unit have a different cultural norm to other spatial units in Dublin. Also, in many respects, it is a

sub-culture of poverty and social exclusion. Many of these sub-cultural housing projects are matriarchal rather than patriarchal with strong community bonds (Corcoran, 2000).

Household Profile of Asylum Seekers Residing in the SWIC, June 2002

table 86

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	193	40.9
2	66	14.0
3	142	30.1
4	45	9.5
5	18	3.8
6	4	0.8
7	3	0.6
8	1	0.2
Total	472	100

Table 86 indicates the number of asylum seeker families residing in the South West Inner City. Of the 472 claims, 241 included children. The total number of children residing in the South West Inner City in June 2002 was 363, which represented 34% of the total number of asylum seekers. Children of asylum seekers are entitled to attend school up to the age of 18 and thus the school acts as one of the main starting points for integration. Playing on the streets after school becomes one of the visible indicators of inter-community interfacing. This can contribute to a kind of trickle-up social integration, starting first with children then including older siblings, parents and other adults.

According to Guerin (2003) there were 196 children from 35 countries attending one of 15 Primary and Secondary schools in the South West Inner City. Guerin names these children as being from the 'New Communities' as many of these children are Irish citizens, thus the label non-Irish nationals would be incorrect. The largest two individual countries identified by Guerin (2003), as indicated in table 87 on the following page, were Nigeria with 47 children and Romania with 38. There is a correlation between the countries with the highest numbers of children attending school in this area and the countries with the largest asylum seeker totals – Nigeria and Romania.

New Community Students in the South West Inner City, December 2002 – January 2003

table 87

Country	Primary School	Secondary School	Total
Algeria	2	3	5
Angola	3	3	6
Bangladesh	2	0	2
Bulgaria	2	1	3
Congo	0	1	1
Cameroon	0	1	1
Egypt	2	0	2
Ghana	2	0	2
Guinea	0	1	1
India	4	1	5
Iraq	1	1	2
Ivory Coast	2	0	2
Liberia	0	1	1
Libya	0	3	3
Lithuania	1	4	5
Moldova	2	0	2
Nigeria	35	12	47
Pakistan	6	2	8
Philippines	4	1	5
Poland	2	0	2
Romania	31	7	38
Russia	7	3	10
Sierra Leone	2	0	2
Somalia	11	3	14
South Africa	1	0	1
Sudan	0	1	1
Tanzania	2	0	2
Trinidad	1	0	1
Ukraine	4	2	6
Yugoslavia	4	1	5
Zaire	2	0	2
Zimbabwe	5	4	9
Total	**140**	**56**	**196**

Source: Guerin, (2002) *Building Solidarity Across Communities: Bringing Anti-Racism to the South West Inner City.*

Guerin's data was based on the time frame December 2002 to January 2003. The correlation between the asylum seeker data in this research with Guerin's research on school attendance would suggest that children of asylum seekers are attending school in the South West Inner City. Such data, coupled with the presence of immigrant shops and services as illustrated by the photographs taken by this researcher, shows the effect immigrants are having on every day life in Dublin.

Age Profile of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in the SWIC, June 2002

table 88

Age	Frequency	Percent
16	1	0.2
17	1	0.2
Sub total	***2***	***0.4***
18	15	3.2
19	14	3.0
20	6	1.3
21	16	3.4
22	12	2.5
23	19	4.0
24	20	4.2
25	23	4.9
26	23	4.9
Sub total	***148***	***31.4***
27	22	4.7
28	28	5.9
29	25	5.3
30	30	6.4
31	29	6.1
32	28	5.9
33	29	6.1
34	14	3.0
Sub total	***205***	***43.4***
35	16	3.4
36	10	2.1
37	8	1.7
38	15	3.2
39	6	1.3
40	6	1.3
41	6	1.3
42	8	1.7
Sub total	***75***	***15.9***

Age	Frequency	Percent
43	5	1.1
44	6	1.3
45	6	1.3
46	3	0.6
47	3	0.6
48	3	0.6
49	2	0.4
50	2	0.4
51	1	0.2
Sub total	***31***	***6.6***
52	3	0.6
54	1	0.2
55	2	0.4
58	1	0.2
62	2	0.4
64	2	0.4
Sub total	***11***	***2.3***
Total	**472**	

Table: 88b

U18	2	0.4
18-26	148	31.4
27-34	205	43.4
35-42	75	15.9
43-51	31	6.6
52-64	11	2.3
Total	472	100

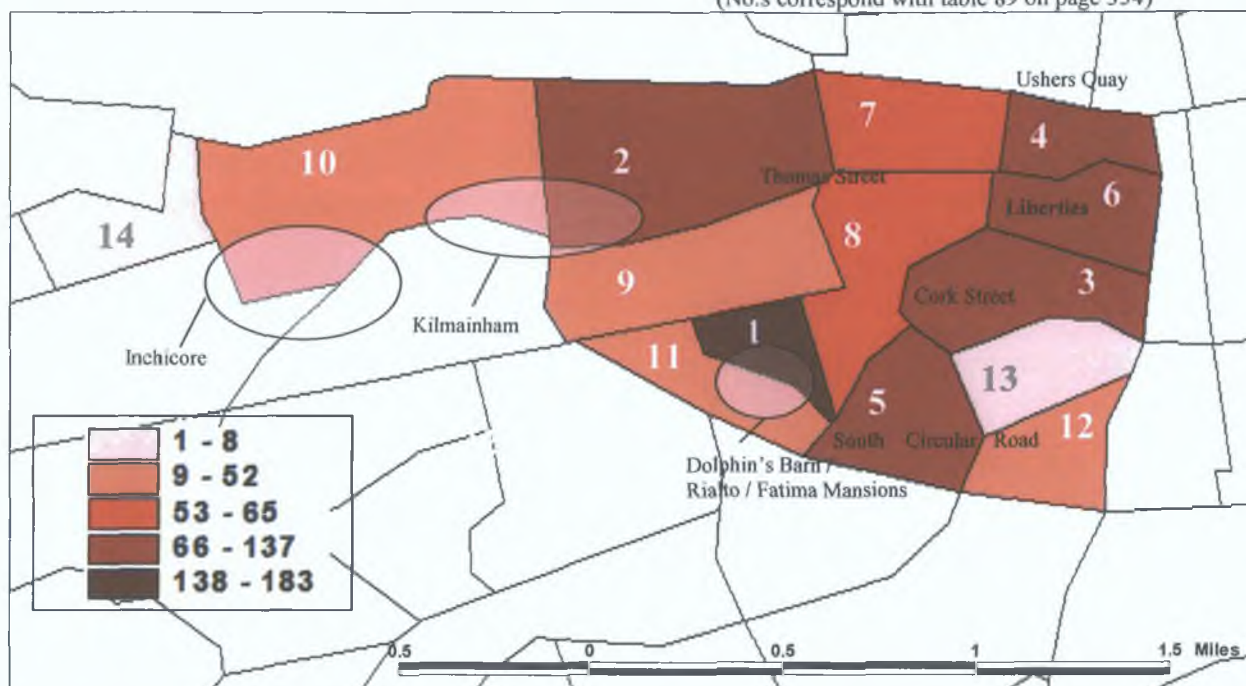
Seventy five percent of all asylum seekers in table 88 above were below 35 years of age. All of the 472 asylum seekers were of working age despite the fact that none were entitled to work. Also prohibited were the 239 asylum seekers in the 'dependent adult' category who were predominantly female partners of claimants, the result being 711 adult claimants residing in the South West Inner City were not entitled to work. As discussed in the South Dublin County Council section of the data analysis, the denial of access to unemployment has led to increased levels of anxiety and

depression in asylum seekers and thus highlights the need for service providers to target this cohort of adults in need of support in the South West Inner City.

Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's South West Inner City, June 2002

map 50

(No.s correspond with table 89 on page 354)



The areas circled are indicators of location only; they do not indicate actual area size.

Map 50 illustrates the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in the South West Inner City (SWIC) and shows a direct spatial correlation between the location of asylum seekers and neighbourhoods experiencing extremely high levels of indigenous economic deprivation. Guerin (2003:15) cites the ICON report of 2002 which included reactions by the indigenous inner city population to immigrants, such as "....they should be put in a school by themselves and leave the Irish alone", "They're getting houses before our own", "They get everything and get it for free" and "They're sponging off us and making up sob stories when they're nearly all illegal". These are reactions by those who feel that they have the most to lose from the arrival of asylum seekers and refugees in Ireland. Guerin (2003: 15) writes, "community workers in inner city areas have suggested that there is a virulent strain of anti-refugee racism among some members of Dublin's disadvantaged communities". Based on

Guerin's report, the maps produced as part of this research identify particular spatial units that are potentially prone to racial tensions.

The Total Number and Percentage of Asylum Seekers by South West Inner City Electoral Division and as a Percentage of their Total County Dublin Population, June 2002

table 89

Rank	Electoral Division	Asylum Seekers (AS)	% of SWIC	% of AS Dublin Total
1	Ushers D	183	17.0	2.0
2	Ushers A	137	12.7	1.5
3	Merchants Quay C	114	10.6	1.2
4	Merchants Quay A	112	10.4	1.2
5	Merchants Quay F	111	10.3	1.2
6	Merchants Quay B	97	9.0	1.1
7	Ushers B	65	6.0	0.7
8	Ushers C	60	5.5	0.7
9	Ushers F	52	4.8	0.6
10	Kilmainham B	49	4.5	0.5
11	Ushers E	43	4.0	0.5
12	Merchants Quay E	36	3.3	0.4
13	Merchants Quay D	8	0.7	0.1
14	Kilmainham A	7	0.6	0.1
	Total	**1,074**	**100**	**11.7**

Electoral Division (ED) Ushers D housed the largest group of asylum seekers in the South West Inner City (SWIC). As indicated in table 89, ED Ushers D housed 17% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in the SWIC and 2% of the County Dublin population which clearly illustrates the extent of micro-spatial asylum seeker clustering in this part of the South West Inner City.

As well as calculating the actual number of asylum seekers by Electoral Division (ED), asylum seekers as one 'group' were calculated as a percentage of each ED's 2002 census population. This calculation was important because whilst statistically some EDs had similar numbers of asylum seeker residents in June 2002, the actual relative percentage and density levels varied greatly between these EDs since the EDs vary in population and area size. As a rule, EDs are much larger in population and area size outside of Dublin City Council and thus the percentage and density levels of asylum seekers in inner city EDs are much larger.

Number of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's SWIC by ED in 2002 as a % of the 1996 and 2002 Census Populations and as a Ratio per Hectare

table 90

Column: A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Electoral Division	AS pop 2002	Census 2002	AS % of *Cen. '02	Census 1996	%Diff. Cen. '02-'96	Hectares	AS per Hectare
Kilmainham A	7	2,355	0.3	2,445	-3.7	25	0.28
Kilmainham B	49	1,159	4.2	1,172	-1.1	81	0.60
Merchants Quay A	112	1,824	6.1	1,513	20.6	17	6.59
Merchants Quay B	97	3,449	2.8	2,356	46.4	23	4.22
Merchants Quay C	114	2,639	4.3	2,079	26.9	33	3.5
Merchants Quay D	8	2,084	0.4	2,060	1.2	22	0.4
Merchants Quay E	36	1,660	2.2	1,463	13.5	23	1.6
Merchants Quay F	111	2,264	4.9	2,296	-1.4	29	3.8
Ushers A	137	1,679	8.2	845	98.7	71	1.9
Ushers B	65	1,072	6.1	926	15.8	26	2.5
Ushers C	60	2,708	2.2	2,571	5.3	38	1.6
Ushers D	183	1,752	10.4	1,802	-2.8	14	13.1
Ushers E	43	1,935	2.2	1,894	2.2	21	2.0
Ushers F	52	3,064	1.7	2,554	20	50	1.04
SWIC Total	**1,074**	**29,644**	**3.6**	**25,976**	**(3,668) 14.1%**	**473**	**2.3**
South Inner City Total	**1,505**	**62,722**	**2.40**	**52,754**	**(9,968) 18.9%**	**1,160**	**1.2**

*Census

Table 90 shows there were 1,074 asylum seekers (column B) residing in the South West Inner City at the same time as the 2002 Census population of 29,644 (column C). Asylum seekers in the South West Inner City (SWIC) represented 3.6% (column D) of the South West Inner City's 2002 Census population. The extent of gentrification in the SWIC has contributed to the 14.1% population increase between the 1996 Census and 2002 Census (Column F). It could be argued that the increasing population in the SWIC would mitigate the impact made by asylum seekers residing in the SWIC. The effects of gentrification on the physical and psychological borders of the South West Inner City is discussed in the Liberties / James Street sub-section of this SWIC data analysis.

The 3.6% percent equivalent of the South West Inner City 2002 Census population was 4.5 times greater than the 0.8% all asylum seekers (9,195) represented as a percentage of the County Dublin 2002 Census population (1,133,821) making this a

stark contrast. Starker was the fact, that 7 Electoral Divisions (EDs) had asylum seeker populations which represented more than 4% of their 2002 Census populations.

The asylum seeker population living in Electoral Division Ushers D in 2002 was equivalent to 10.4% of the EDs 2002 Census population. In terms of density, column H in table 90 illustrates that ED Ushers D had 13.1 asylum seekers per hectare, compared with 2.3 asylum seekers in the South West Inner City (473 hectares) and 0.10 per hectare in County Dublin (92,066 hectares). This highlights the unequal spatial distribution of asylum seekers in Dublin, and how this has led to the micro-spatial clustering of asylum seekers in particular Electoral Divisions and further still, in particular zones within these Electoral Divisions, such as Ushers D.

The South East Inner City section made visible the socio-economic and political processes that manipulate space. This researcher has argued that such processes create residential and social funnels through which asylum seekers and other sub-groups in society are squeezed. The higher percentages and density of asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City compared with the South East Inner City is an example of the result of residential spatial funnelling. The concluding part of this South West Inner City section further focuses the research's spatial lens to analyse those areas at the end or other side of the spatial funnel: Inchicore, Electoral Division Ushers D and the Liberties and James Street area. These constitute particular locales where asylum seeker (immigrant) clusters are emerging. These spaces, home to different sub-populations, have become increasingly densely populated, and thus pose questions regarding the possibility for tensions arising in them.

Italo Calvino's short story "All At One Point", in *Cosmicomics* (1993), masterfully satirises such shared living in a confined space and, in the process, poses many questions relevant to this research thesis. Calvino begins his story with a preface: "Through the calculations begun by Edwin P. Hubble on the galaxies' velocity of recession, we can establish the moment when all the universe's matter was concentrated in a single point, before it began in space". Old Qfwfq, one of the first or the first, as there was no 'before', inhabitant of this 'space' narrates the story:

box 7

"Naturally, we were all there, - old Qfwfq said, - where else could we have been? Nobody knew then that there would be space. Or time either: what use did we have for time, packed in there like sardines? I say "packed in like sardines," using a literary image: in reality there wasn't even space to pack us into. Every point of each of us coincided with every point of each of the others in a single point, which was were we all were."

....Contrary to what you might think, it wasn't the sort of situation that encourages sociability; I know, for example, that in other periods neighbors called on one another...

In the end each of us associated only with a limited number of acquaintances. The ones I remember most are Mrs. Ph (i) NKo, her friend De XuaeauX, a family of immigrants by the name of Z'zu, and Mr. Pbert Pberd... There was also a cleaning woman – "maintenance staff" she was called – only one, for the whole universe, since there was so little room. To tell the truth, she had nothing to do all day long, not even dusting – inside one point not even a grain of dust can enter – so she spent all her time gossiping and complaining.

Just with the people I've already named we would have been overcrowded; but you have to add all the stuff we had to keep piled up in there: all the material that was to serve afterwards to form the universe... And on top of that, we were always bumping against the Z'zu Family's household goods: camp beds, mattresses, baskets: these Z'zus, if you weren't careful, with the excuse that they were a large family, would begin to act as if they were the only ones in the world: they even wanted to hang lines across our point to dry their washing".

But the others also had wronged the Z'zus, to begin with, by calling them "immigrants," on the pretext since the others had been there first, the Z'zus had come later. This was more unfound prejudice – that seems obvious to me – because neither before nor after existed, nor any place to immigrate from, but there were those who insisted that the concept of "immigrant" could be understood in the abstract outside of space and time.

It was what you might call narrow-minded attitude, our outlook at that time, very petty. The fault of the environment in which we had been reared. An attitude that, basically, has remained in all of us, mind you: it keeps cropping up even today, if two of us happen to meet – at the bus stop, in a movie house, at an international dentists' convention – and start reminiscing about the old days. We say hello...and we promptly start asking about this one and that one... and so we start in again on the old disputes, the slanders, the denigrations...

Let me make one thing clear: this theory that the universe, after having reached an extremity of rarefaction, will be condensed again has never convinced me. And yet many of us are counting only on that, continually making plans for the time when we'll be back there again. Last month, I went into the bar here on the corner and whom did I see? Mr. Pbert Pberd. "What's new with you? How do you happen to be in this neighbourhood?" I learned that he's an agent for a plastics firm, in Pavia.... "When we get back there, " he said to me, in a whisper, "the thing we have to make sure of is, this time, certain people remain out... You know who I mean: those Z'zus..." I would have liked to answer him by saying that I've heard a number of people make the same remark, concluding: "You know who I mean... Mr Pbert Pberd" To avoid the subject, I hastened to say: "What about Mrs. Ph(i)Nko? Do you think we'll find here back there again? "Ah yes...She, by all means..." he said, turning purple...

One of the most interesting questions arising from Calvino's masterpiece is whether or not humans are, by their very nature, predisposed to the creation of social divisions as a means of seizing power. Tuan (1990: 14) argues: "The brain's oldest heritage is basically reptilian. It seems to play a primary role in instinctually determined functions such as establishing territory, finding shelter, hunting, homing, breeding, forming social hierarchies, and the like".

Calvino sets his story pre-time, pre-race, pre-class and pre-gender. Yet, the creation of sub-groups through adverse labelling is rife through that one point. The role and label of 'maintenance staff' is attached to the label of 'woman' and 'cleaner' and so gender discrimination and class division is born, furthermore, a before and after is created by labelling the Z'zus as immigrants. Old *Qfwfq* narrates that, "it was what you might call narrow-minded attitude, our outlook at that time, very petty". Quite interestingly, he adds that it was "the fault of the environment in which we had been reared". Here, Calvino adds a sense of environmental determinism into the equation; he argues that being confined to a small, restrictive space isn't "the sort of situation that encourages sociability".

The discourse in Chapter One of this thesis is very much related to the issues raised in Calvino's story. Chapter One argued that Ireland, particularly since independence, attempted to define itself as a mono-cultural ideal which included a single religion, language, social structure and behavioural code. Ireland's strong tradition of inter-parish rivalry, and also of there being an intra-parish hierarchy, was also examined. One could argue, using Calvino and Tuan's discourse, that Irish society has a tradition of establishing political and socio-cultural boundaries based on strong identification with place (landscape), family and community.

Unlike Calvino's story, where everyone was as one, contemporary Ireland is increasingly pluralistic in terms of ethnicity and culture. Calvino's one point is, however, somewhat similar to Foucault's (1986) heterotopia, which "is capable of juxtaposing in a single real place several spaces". Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Dublin's inner city are spaces where different ethnic and sub-cultural populations groups are living 'all at one point'.

The following sub-sections include an analysis of asylum seekers residing in inner city communities that are as identifiable by location and cultural norms as rural village communities. The difference is that rural parishes, until quite recently due to suburbanisation from major cities, have had geographical distance between them. Inner city communities, however, have very little geographical distance between them. For example, the distance between some inner city communities can be the width of a small street.

In the case of the South West Inner City, an Electoral Division such as Ushers D has different communities within its borders that are separated by high walls and single interstitial streets. Asylum seekers and other immigrants have increasingly inhabited these streets. In some cases, small gated apartment complexes have been shoehorned into the interstitial space between these inner city communities. On one street in ED Ushers D, two adjoining houses signify the beginning and end points for two different communities.

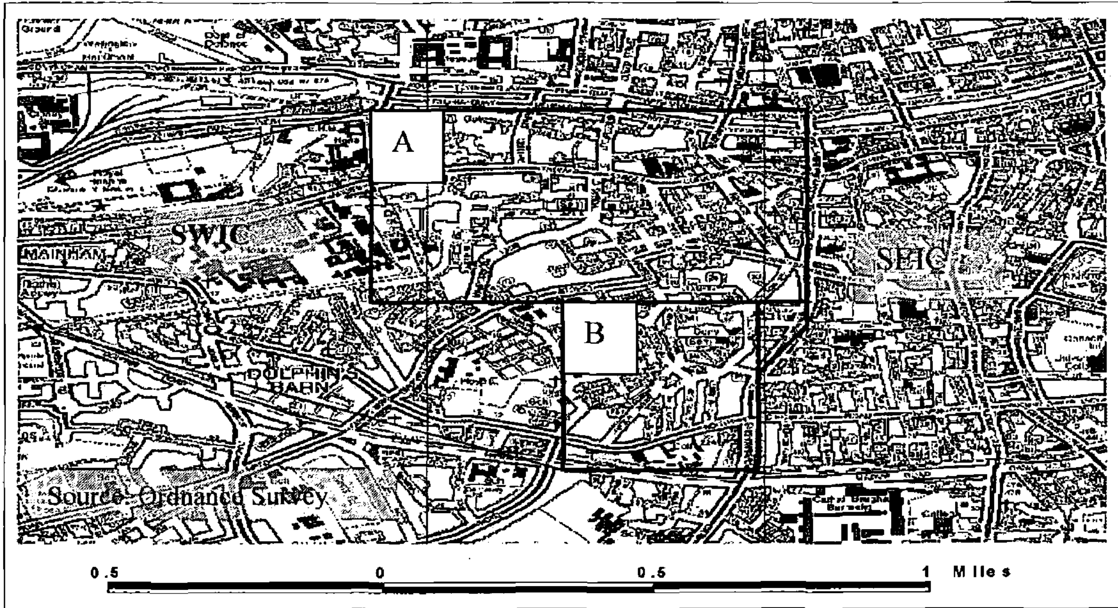
Areas such as Ushers D, therefore, have become physically similar to that described in Calvino's "All at One Point". However, although cramped into the same space, areas in the South West Inner City house distinctly different sub-cultural populations, namely, indigenous, gentrified and immigrant. These spaces might be labelled postmodern due to the juxtaposition of different life worlds in space and time.

The following micro-spatial analysis focuses on such increasingly plural or postmodern spaces: Inchicore, Electoral Division Ushers D and the Liberties / James Street area. The possibility of racial and class tensions being fuelled in these particular areas due to the residential proximity of diverse sub-populations and sub-cultural groups has been examined in the context of discourse on social segregation, spaces of liminality and moral panics discussed in the Literature Review. It was expressed in the *Irish Times* (14/8/'06) editorial titled 'Formal Structures on Immigration' that:

> Many immigrants have made their homes here and intend to stay. They work hard and pay their taxes. And they should be welcomed as a creative and dynamic new element in Irish life. Unfortunately, they are not always viewed in that manner, particularly in inner-city communities where they are sometimes seen as competitors for limited resources.

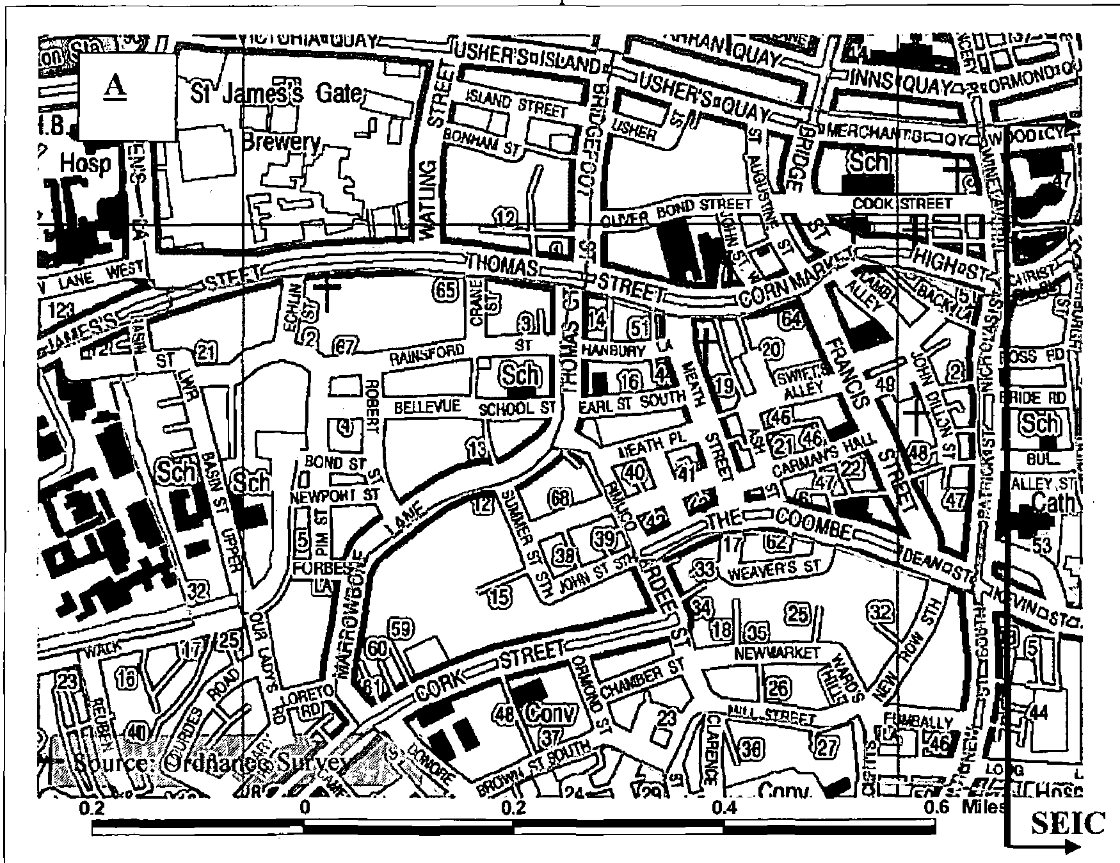
The SWIC's Liberties and James's Street Areas

map 51



The Liberties and James's Street Area

map 52



The SWIC's Border (Clanbrassil Street) with the SEIC (South Circular Road)

map 53

Source: Ordnance Survey

Housing and Religious Landmark in the Liberties

plate 52

The Liberties is one of Dublin's most renowned inner city villages. It stretches from James's Street and Thomas Street to the North, to the Coombe and Dean Street to the South (see map 52). Both Patrick Street and its extension into Nicholas Street act as a border between the Liberties area of the South West Inner City (SWIC) and the South East Inner City (SEIC). Entering into the Liberties through an arch on Hanover Lane from Patrick Street takes one into a different life world. Small, one-story and two-story, red brick terraced houses line the quite narrow streets constructed during slum clearance projects in the early 1900s (see plate 52).

Electoral Divisions Merchants Quay, A, B and C, which border the South East Inner City, represented 30% (323) of the total number of asylum seekers (1,074) residing in the South West Inner City in June 2002. These three Electoral Divisions cover much of the Liberties area.

Asylum Seekers in the Liberties Area by Claimant Status, June 2002

table 91

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adult	Total Household
The Liberties	132	77	114	209	323

There were 323 asylum seekers residing in the Liberties in June 2002 from 21 different countries. Two hundred and five claims were male and 118 were female.

Asylum Seekers by Country of Origin, Residing in the Liberties, June 2002

table 92

Country	Total	Country	Total
Romania	98	Maldives	3
Nigeria	91	Syria	3
Russia	31	Congo	2
Other	26	Uzbekistan	2
Ukraine	18	Zambia	2
Moldova	11	Georgia	1
Algeria	8	Macedonia	1
South Africa	6	Poland	1
Lithuania	5	Sierra Leone	1
Pakistan	5	Somalia	1
Jordan	4	**Total**	**323**
Bulgaria	3		

This relatively large number of asylum seekers residing in these spaces is an indication of spatial funnelling. Housing in this section of the city is more available and relatively cheaper than accommodation in the South East Inner City. One of the reasons for the availability of housing in this area is due to the increase in the construction of apartment blocks, some of which are being sub-let to immigrants. Much of Patrick Street, for example, has been re-developed as apartments, which has caused radical physical juxtapositions of residential places and spaces in the South West Inner City.

One of the effects of asylum seekers residing in newly developed apartment complexes is resentment towards them by some of the indigenous community living in sub-standard housing in the immediate vicinity. One of the reasons for resentment is a belief, from some of the indigenous residents of the South West Inner City, that asylum seekers receive preferential treatment in terms of social provision from the Government (Guerin 2002).

What is not seen by the indigenous community is the rack-renting of asylum seekers and other immigrants i.e. several people sublet an apartment which is too small for them. This researcher argues that one result of rack-renting might be the turning of a gentrified apartment block into a tenement block of flats through overcrowding and physical disrepair. This, to some degree, echoes the transitional process that occurred in central Dublin when single dwelling Georgian houses were transformed into sub-divided tenement houses for the impoverished Dublin population and arriving rural peasant class in the 1800s. The effects of gentrified apartments being used by non-Irish nationals is discussed in greater detail in the North Inner City section.

The main two thoroughfares that run north to south through the Liberties are Meath Street and Francis Street. Meath Street is a long narrow street. The street consists predominantly of long-established, small independent stores that are frequented by the local population. The produce is much cheaper along this street compared with the shops in the South East Inner City. The Liberty Market is located on Meath Street. The market houses many stalls selling a range of cheap clothing and household goods. The frenetic pace and spirited nature of this retail and residential space is more akin to a busy main street in a rural town than a street very close to the centre of the capital

city. Only one immigrant store has opened on Meath Street. The 'Russian Delicatessen', however, is located away from the heart of the Liberties at the very north of the Meath Street, close to Thomas Street. In 2002, the same store had a premises on Moore Street, which subsequently was sub-let and opened as an Asian store.

Russian Delicatessen on Meath Street

plate 53

The data for asylum seekers in table 92 above indicates a number of asylum seekers from Romania, Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Moldova, Georgia, Macedonia and Poland residing in the Liberties. The store sells food easily recognisable to this East European asylum seeker population. Following the accession of new East European States into the EU, this store has increased its business in the area. Until the arrival of this store, the Saray-Mehran 'Asian, Mediterranean and Bosnian' store was the only established store in this section of the city which specifically sold Halal food. It has, however, a more mainstream location and has a wide customer base, like that of Spice Land in the South East Inner City. In 2003, the Saray-Mehran business opened up another store in Swords, Fingal.

Saray-Mehran 'Asian, Mediterranean and Bosnian' store, Thomas Street

plate 54

To a large extent, the Liberties area has not experienced much impact from immigration as compared with the centre of Inchicore and Rialto to the west or Parnell Street and Moore Street in the North Inner City. The physical and socio-cultural space of the Liberties has been increasingly challenged by the construction of apartment blocks and gentrification rather than ethnification. This is particularly the case around Francis Street, which has been a unique space for antique furniture stores in Dublin city. With the process of competitive bidding in this space, the antique stores face being out bid by property developers for their sub-let space and thus will be forced to move to another location.

Asylum seekers residing in Dublin's South West Inner City were clustered at micro-spatial scales. With an increase in refugee applications each year from the 1990s to 2002, it would have been understandable if the number of asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City had increased. The introduction to the data analysis illustrated a slight increase in the number of asylum seekers in this area, mainly Dublin 8, between 2000 and 2002. The 2002 census population for Dublin's South West Inner City was 29,644, an increase of 14.1% on the 1996 census population of

25,976. Electoral Division Ushers A had an extraordinary 98.7% increase in its census population between 1996 and 2002. Therefore, despite the cries of an asylum seeker influx by the media, the actual percentage of asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City has, most likely, been reducing.

Pimlico Tavern in the Liberties

plate 55

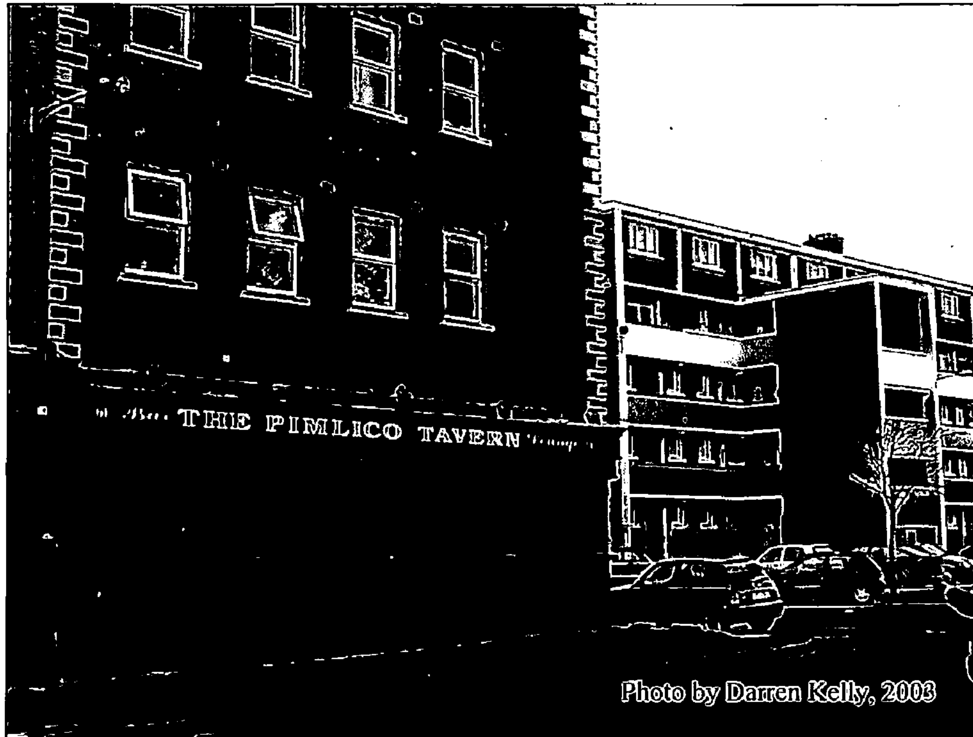


Plate 55 above shows the Pimlico Tavern in the Liberties in the foreground and local authority housing, labelled 'flat complexes' (in this research), in the background. The discussion regarding the changing nature of the indigenous residents of ED St. Kevin's lived space in the South East Inner City due to gentrification is widely applicable in the South West Inner City. Pete Saint John's song "Rare Old Times" was quoted in the South East Inner City section with regard to the amount of construction work that has altered some of Dublin's cityscape. The fictional singer of the song is Sean Dempsey:

> ...as Dublin as can be, born hard and late in Pimlico in a housed that ceased to be / By trade I was a cooper, lost out to redundancy / Like my house that fell to progress, my trade's a memory.

The Guinness factory was the mainstay employer for residents in the Liberties in the 1900s, but as manufacturing became automated many of the local residents lost their jobs and a downward spiral of economic disadvantage ensured for the following generations of the indigenous population. The Pimlico Tavern (plate 55 above) was once a local pub for local residents. Following a fire, the Tavern was reconstructed in 2000/2001 to include apartments above the pub. Apartment complexes have been constructed adjacent to the pub and, as such, the area is in transition and has become a contested space.

Gentrified Apartments on Clanbrassil Street

plate 56

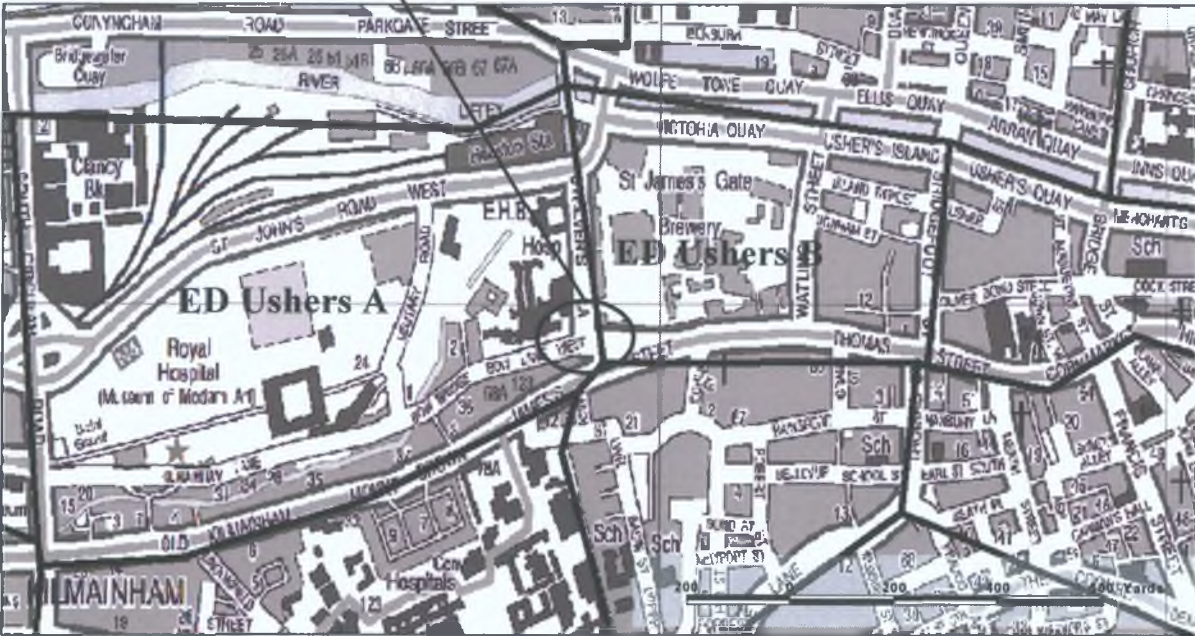
Clanbrassil Street, a relatively wide thoroughfare, has acted as the physical border between the two south inner city electoral areas. It also acts as a cultural marker between the two. The South West Inner City (SWIC) has been socially and culturally more peripheral to the city, whilst the South East Inner City has been associated with the city's core. However, as Lynch's (1960) discourse on people's mental projections and perceptions of the city suggests, it could be argued that the border of the South West Inner City threatens to be psychologically moved westwards into the SWIC due to gentrification. Plate 56 illustrates gentrified apartments on Clanbrassil Street which acts as the South West Inner City's border with the South East Inner City. Although gentrifiers mainly inhabit such apartment blocks in Electoral Divisions along the

South West Inner City's border with the South East Inner City, the sub-letting of some residential units has increased the number of asylum seekers in these Electoral Divisions.

Immigrant Church and Stores on James's Street, 2003

plate 57 and map 54

Photos by Daren Kelly 2003



Source: Ordnance Survey

The photo-montage above shows an African church and Shop (Mini Market) and an internet store all located on James's Street. There was a piece of graffiti saying '*Niggers Out*', on the walls of the building used as a church. This could be a sign of the tensions between these two communities in what is now a contested space. The

space is also economically contested, with increasingly changing uses, not only due to recent immigration but also due to the increasing gentrification of the area.

Immigrant Stores and Vacant Lot on James's Street, 2003

plate 58

Newly Constructed Gentrified Apartments and Retail Space on James's Street, 2006

plate 59

Standing against the three buildings where the three immigrant-based services are situated in 2003 (see plate 57) was a block of buildings in the process of renovation in 2003 (see plate 58 above). Notice was given that the buildings would retain their retail space and would include the creation of six, one-bedroom and two 2-bedroom apartments on the first and second floors, and to the rear extension.

Plate 59 shows the end result of the redevelopment on the once run-down buildings on James's Street; gentrified apartments and a pharmacy as well as a Centra food store replaced the African Church, food store and internet store. This is an example of how owners of new retail outlets and property developers can out bid immigrants for building and residential space. The process, as illustrated in plates 57 – 59, shows the fluidity of inner city space. Immigrants are attracted to run-down spaces in peripheral areas that are usually occupied by an adjacent, indigenous disadvantaged group. Once the area is deemed acceptable and profitable to developers they 'move in' and out bid the immigrants for the use of the property. This contemporary process of invasion and succession of economic and residential space was discussed in relation to the work of Neil Smith (1996) in the Literature Review.

The arrival of the immigrant group had culturally morphologised the vacant space by attracting people of different nationalities to the space. The church that was situated on James's Street is an example. This cultural transition along James's Street, although small in scale, is similar to the process that was discussed in relation to the Zone of Transition in South East Inner City. To the east of the newly developed buildings (in plate 59 above) as James's Street veers towards St. James's Hospital is a small row of run-down buildings, similar to the condition of those buildings in plate 58 prior to re-development. Since 2003, an 'adult store' (plate 60) and on the opposing side of the street an internet store, mainly used by immigrants, have been located. The internet store (plate 61) to the west was replaced and another, further to the east in a more peripheral location, has been established. This is an example of how economic factors can control where immigrant shops and services are located in the city.

Socio-Economic Liminal Space on James's Street, 2006

plate 60

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

plate 61

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

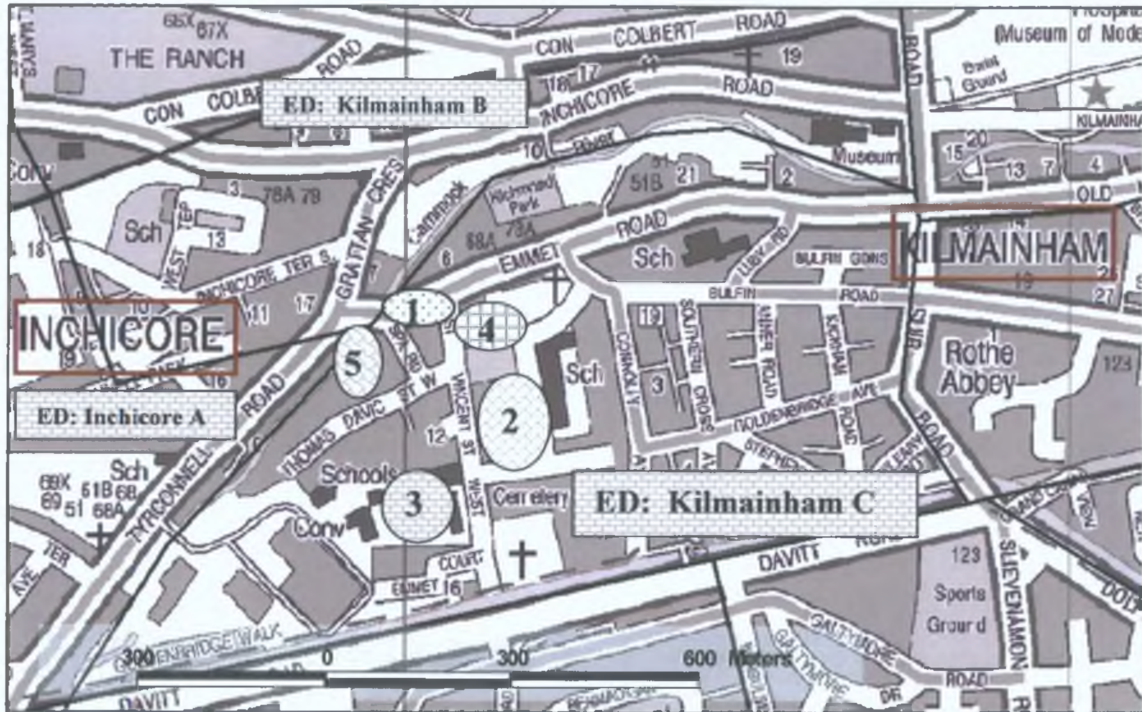
It would not be surprising if the adult store and the immigrant store are replaced in the future by apartment blocks and convenience stores. To the right in plate 60 above is a block of local authority flats. These flats, like Dolphin's Barn, Fatima Mansions and St. Michael's Estate in the South West Inner City are stationary residential spaces whilst around them is a current of socio-economic and cultural change.

Further east of this transitional zone in James Street, to the north of the South West Inner City lies Inchicore, where there is a relatively large number of asylum seekers. It could be argued that, based on the concept of spatial funnelling, spaces in Inchicore could become residential catchment areas for immigrants. In 2003, the roots of an African community were being established in Inchicore and are discussed in the following sub-section of the data analysis.

To the west of the transitional space on the southern border of the South West Inner City with the South East Inner City at Clanbrassil Street is Electoral Division Ushers D. Ushers D covers much of the Rialto neighbourhood and is home to the largest asylum seeker population in the South West Inner City. This area has become a residential catchment area and represents a unique space in Dublin where very strong indigenous sub-populations and an immigrant sub-population are living side-by-side.

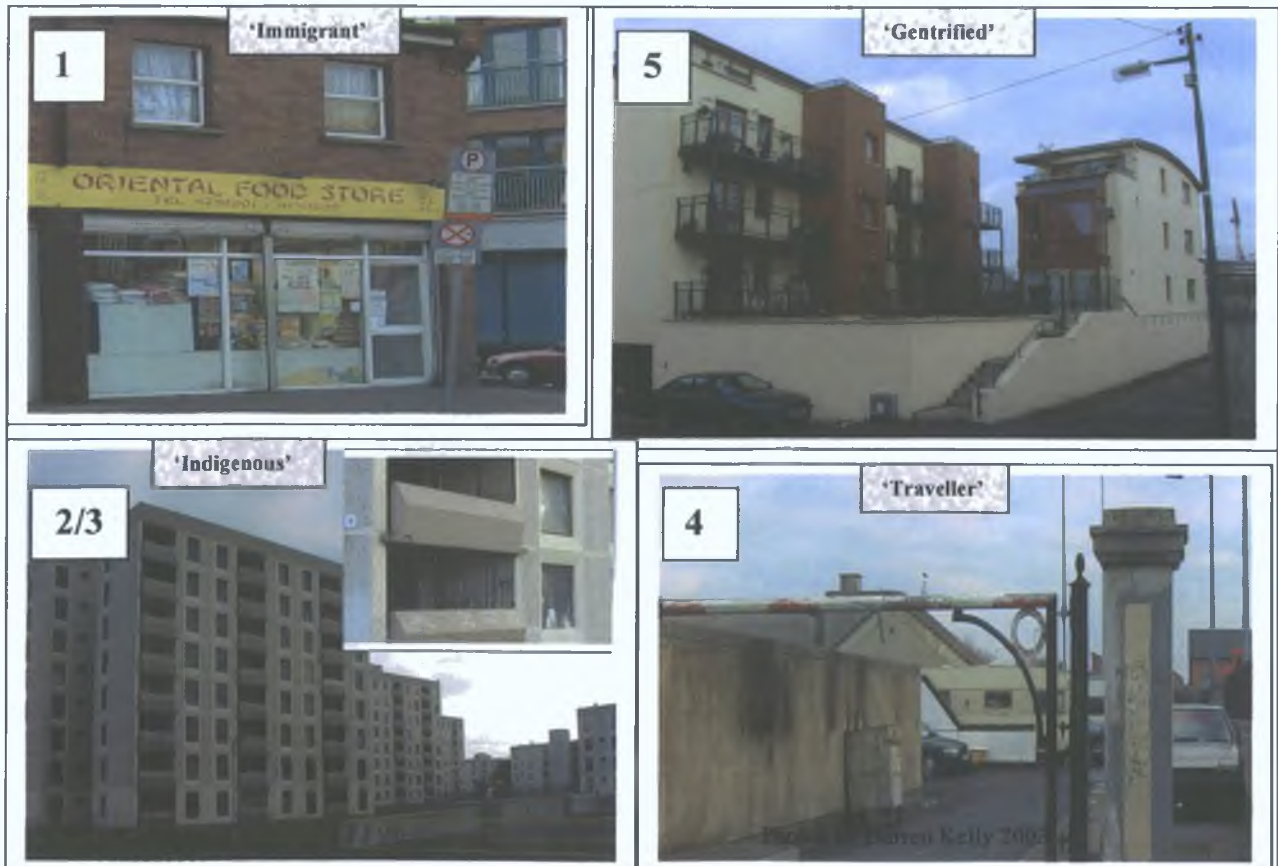
INCHICORE: *"All at one Point"*

map 55



Source: Ordnance Survey

Different Sub-Population Housing in Inchicore, 2003 *plate 62*



Inchicore is within postal code Dublin 8, but does not fit neatly into the boundaries of the South West Inner City. This is highlighted by the fact that Inchicore Electoral Division Kilmainham C is not within the boundaries of the South West Inner City. However, this analysis of Inchicore includes data relating to ED Kilmainham C, which had a relatively large asylum seeker population in 2002. Inchicore borders Ballyfermot to the west and Kilmainham to the east. This latter border has become increasingly unclear as the city shifts further west and apartment buildings redefine those spaces along Emmet Road and Old Kilmainham that once acted as boundary reference points between formerly distinct neighbourhoods.

In terms of its residency history in the 1900s, Inchicore would have been home predominantly to families connected with the railroad industry living together in a tight-knit community surrounding the Inchicore village. The MeKee army barracks was also situated in Inchicore. With a reduction in work associated with the railroad and the removal of the barracks, Inchicore changed.

Working Class Corporation Housing in Inchicore

plate 63

The construction of St Michael's Housing project on St. Vincent's Street West virtually separated Inchicore into two halves. The eastern side had older working class housing (plate 63) and an increasingly older population, whilst the western side had St. Michael's estate and its younger population, as pictured in photograph 2/3 in plate 62.

Like Ballymun and other such housing experiments, St. Michael's Estate failed and became characterised by high unemployment and related social ills. The area is characterised by a strong sense of community and, like other flat complexes in Dublin, has its own sub-culture. For instance, young people's interest in and ownership of horses has been a long-standing tradition. Despite the strong sense of community, the lack of agency and consultation about changes in the community has created unease and mistrust in broader political structures.

Horse Culture in Inchicore

plate 64

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2005

Residents objected to the proposed closing of the long-established St Michael's Christian Brother's Boys School. According to the *Irish Times* 26/4/'06:

> Parents collecting their children from the school yesterday said they were "shocked" at the news. The school is in a designated disadvantaged area and has a high proportion of pupils with behavioural problems and special needs...The parents said they were "very worried" about whether they would be able to get their sons into schools in the area. Many learned about the closure, due in June, on radio news programmes yesterday morning and were not told formally by the school until yesterday afternoon..."I'm just totally shocked," said Jean Delaney, whose son, Colm, is in third class. "To be told about it only at 2 o'clock on Tuesday afternoon, when you've only heard rumours from the radio. The child is in third class and it will be awful messy now trying to get him in somewhere else. He has another three years to do and, yes, I am very worried.

The parents' shock highlights the insensitivity displayed by the school in failing to inform or involve the families. However, the *Irish Times* reported in 5/5/'06 that "the

Christian Brothers have now agreed to retain the school for another academic year after a campaign by parents".

The €160 million regeneration plan of the St. Michael's estate proposes to demolish the dilapidated flats and construct houses on the same space (*Irish Times* 31/1/'05). One community development worker explained to this researcher that the local St. Michael's estate residents have been disappointed with the fluctuating development plans and have struggled to have their voices heard regarding their desires for the space in which they live. Similar issues of inner city redevelopment and the need to incorporate immigrant communities are discussed in the following Electoral Division Ushers D section.

The traveller community is another sub-population with a unique culture on St. Vincent's Street West. A traveller halting site is also located on the edge of St. Michael's estate on St. Vincent's Street West (see photograph 4 in plate 62 on page 373). Two further groups of people have come to Inchicore to live in recent years, a non-Irish or immigrant group (see photograph 1 in plate 62) and a gentrified group, (see photograph 5 in plate 62). The result was a creation of another sub-population of residents in Inchicore.

Inchicore is now a multi-class and multi-ethnic residential area, and can be labelled as being a heterotopia. Inchicore, and in this particular instance, St. Vincent's Street West in Electoral Division Kilmainham C which houses several distinct class and ethnic groups, is a contested space.

St. Vincent's Street West in Electoral Division Kilmainham C is a heterotopia. It is an example of the potential risk of complete invisibility caused by the residential isolation of different sub-groups in society. Plate 62 shows the carceral-scape of the traveller halting site and the carceral apartments of the gentrified. Each is physically separated and enclosed away from the main street and public access.

So as not to contravene privacy laws connected with the data protection act, particular residential spaces occupied by asylum seekers can not be pictured or named in this thesis. Although Inchicore is discussed as a cluster area centering around ED

Kilmainham C, 72% of all the asylum seekers in ED Kilmainham C were resident in one block of apartments. This could be labelled an immigrant enclave. Apart from housing asylum seekers, the other immigrant residents most likely include refugees, work permit holders and undocumented migrants and Irish citizens with non-Irish national parents and siblings. Of the 136 asylum seekers residing in Kilmainham C, table 93 shows the country of origin of the 98 asylum seekers living in this enclave.

Asylum Seekers by Country of Origin residing in one micro-cluster (enclave) in ED Kilmainham C

table 93

Country	Total
Lithuania	5
Moldova	2
Morocco	1
Nigeria	8
Romania	68
Ukraine	14
Total	98

Of the 98 asylum seekers, 70 were adults and 28 were children. Of the 98 claims, 93 were male claimants, all but 2 of these claims included a dependant adult, most likely a spouse or partner. It is interesting that the largest majority in this enclave were from Romania and very few Africans were resident. The other 18 African asylum seekers in ED Kilmainham C were living closer to Emmett Road where there was an Afro-Caribbean fashion and food store. There were 31 African asylum seekers residing in houses in neighbouring Electoral Division Kilmainham B in Inchicore.

The housing enclave is located away from the main street and the asylum seekers from this micro-cluster / enclave have to walk circa 350 metres through the main indigenous population's residential space to access public transport, schools and the immigrant-based shops and other services located in Inchicore village. Without acceptance by the indigenous population, walking from the enclave through the indigenous space can be intimidating for immigrants. This is most likely the case for the members of the Roma community (in the Romanian category) whose clothes signal their difference and highlight the extent to which they are 'out of place'. Guerin's (2003) research of the experiences of new community residents (immigrants)

in the South West Inner City reports that, in general, the Black population had experienced more racism than that of the Asian and East European populations adding however, that:

> The experience of the Russians and the non-Roma Romanians interviewed were different in so far as they had experienced lower levels of verbal abuse on the streets... The Roma family believed that they were discriminated against across a whole range of areas and especially when dealing with service providers whom they believed did not like Roma people and did not try to help them. Guerin (2003: 23)

Residing in such an enclave could lead to further social isolation for immigrants. Stephen Barber's (2001: 93) *Extreme Europe* explores such spaces on the margins such as a Cité (housing project) in Paris, where immigrants live in residential isolation. Commenting on Paris, Barber writes:

> The eastern European refugee population of the 1990s was not expected to take any activity and remained fixed in mental space like the Russian exiles of 80 years earlier, their memories of expulsion and horror initially too livid for them to perceive the landscape into which they had been dispatched. Eventually, they gathered to sit in small, mute groups around the concrete-block satellites or on benches in the suburban squares, their gazes oscillating abrasively inwards and outwards as they faced a return to their scorched-earth homelands or a clandestine life hiding ever deeper in the lost periphery of the city...[a] dispossessed human component of the suburbs.

Mixed-Race School Children Walking on Emmet Road, Inchicore Village

plate 65a

One of the main ways of dissolving physical and mental isolation is through the 'normalising' of difference and, thereafter, social integration. Children can be the

starting point for integration. For children of asylum seekers, integration begins with school and flows out of the school door onto the streets. Kiberd (2001) writes, "children are not natural racists, but they are natural conservatives....[We need] to encourage children to become carriers and celebrants of multi-cultural values". Plate 65a above shows the beauty and ease of integration and simple friendship, between two young schoolboys walking with their teacher through Inchicore.

plate 65 b

African Shop and Post Office on Emmet Road, Inchicore Village

plate 66 and plate 67

Natural inquisitiveness regarding newness is often labelled as racist. Such curiosity, when fostered, can facilitate children's understanding, acceptance and celebration of difference, not simply tolerance. Plate 65b shows the natural inquisitiveness of humans to difference, where two young girls stare at the two Asian men who are delivering produce to the So Kee food store on Emmet Road. As postulated in the South East Inner City section of the data analysis, children may begin a process of what this researcher labels 'trickle-up' integration whereby they are the first to break social barriers to integration, followed by their older siblings, parents and other adults into the integration acceptance process.

Afro-Caribbean Food Store and Cosmetic Shop, Emmet Road, Inchicore

plate 68

Next to an Afro-Caribbean food store (plate 68), the Post Office on Emmet Road in Inchicore Village had been a hive of activity. Increasingly, people use the Post Office to collect welfare payments and to pay a broad range of bills. It is a place where the different sub-populations share the same place and space. Plate 67 shows a trio of Black women chatting as they meet at the Post Office as a middle-aged white man observes them. This man seems to display the same child-like interest and inquisitiveness about difference. The older indigenous population are 'naturally conservative' and this conservatism can lead to fear manifested as xenophobia and ultimately racist feelings

and / or actions. Rumours and resentment can be fuelled if the indigenous population have to wait much longer in queues to use the Post Office's services and if they see, for example, Black people, regardless of their status, collecting their social benefits. They might reflect upon and believe the often-heard comments about asylum seekers being spongers and other negative, detrimental labels.

Members of different Sub-Populations Standing at a Bus Stop on Emmet Road

plate 69

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

Augusto Boal (1993) in his *Theatre of the Oppressed* discusses the importance of the snapshot in time, particularly that of the bus stop being used as a cultural-anthropological lens through which to observe human life in a given locale. Hertmans (2001:103) writes that in analysing cities "you are inclined to think in general terms because they all 'seem' the same.... you must look at the small things, the individual, or you will begin to think that you understand the world – the surest way not to understand it". Savage and Warde (1993: 106) in relation to the work of the sociologist Herbert Gans write that:

> Urban ceases to be a first-order cause of particular social practices, and is replaced by central sociological variables (demographic and socio-economic) as the way to explain differential experience within the city...Case studies, those with a historical component as well as ethnographies, which often take a territorial area as a convenient unit for studying social relationships in context, are essential to understanding the diversity of urban living.

The bus stop in plate 69 above is located on Emmet Road and captures the micro-anthropological human dynamic that is emerging in Inchicore. It illustrates some of the different sub-populations: white, Black, East European, as well as young and old. Curiously, all of the people are female. The building at which the bus stop is located, the Inchicore 'workman's club', is a reminder of its past, where once it would have been a popular meeting place for the local male railway workers. The bus stop illustrates the juxtaposition of different people in the same space at the same time without any of the sub-populations interacting.

The two East-European women at the bus stop are waiting with their sons who are in prams. As stated earlier in this data analysis, immigrants are perceived by many indigenous Irish people to be welfare cheats. In this case, the two females waiting for a bus are clearly visible to all passing motorists and open to being labelled, regardless of what status these women might have. The same sentiment could be felt regarding the Black women talking in front of the post office with their prams beside them in plate 67 above.. These examples echo the arguments made earlier in the data analysis concerning the visibility of immigrant groups and how their visibility can be magnified by passing motorists and the indigenous population into gross exaggerations about immigrants.

The rapidity of change in Inchicore and other spatial units should not be underestimated. Emmet Road is at the heart of Inchicore Village and it symbolises the new multi-culturalism of Inchicore in Dublin's South West Inner City. To capture the cultural transition of Emmet Road, this researcher took the photographs of shops and services, illustrated above, in late Spring 2003. At this time, there was one African food store, one African clothing store and one African barber shop, as well as an Asian food store. These stores have remained in operation on Emmet Road and the fluidity of this space has continued. Since 2002, a Balti restaurant has opened on this small stretch of Emmet Road as well as an African based café, an internet store and another African multi-purpose food and goods store, as illustrated in plate 70 below. It is of note that over many immigrant-owned enterprises are satellite dishes, used to access television from the country of origin. The relative longevity of these enterprises clearly illustrates the establishment of an African community in Inchicore.

Montage of Immigrant Shops on Emmet Road, 2006

plate 70

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2006

Eurospar Food Store on Emmet Road, Inchicore Village, 2006

plate 71

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

In 2005, the post office, once central to the streetscape, was moved into the rear of the Europsar food store that opened in 2004. Above the store is a gentrified apartment complex. The extensive range and expensive pricing in the store would suggest that Europsar is targeting the gentrified sub-population of Inchicore. Plate 73 illustrates the opening hours of the store that suit people leaving early and returning relatively late from work. The store is also tapping into the emerging cappuccino culture. Furthermore, plate 73 illustrates an advertisement in the store's front window which states, "Polish products on sale here". This sign signifies the increase in Polish residents in Inchicore.

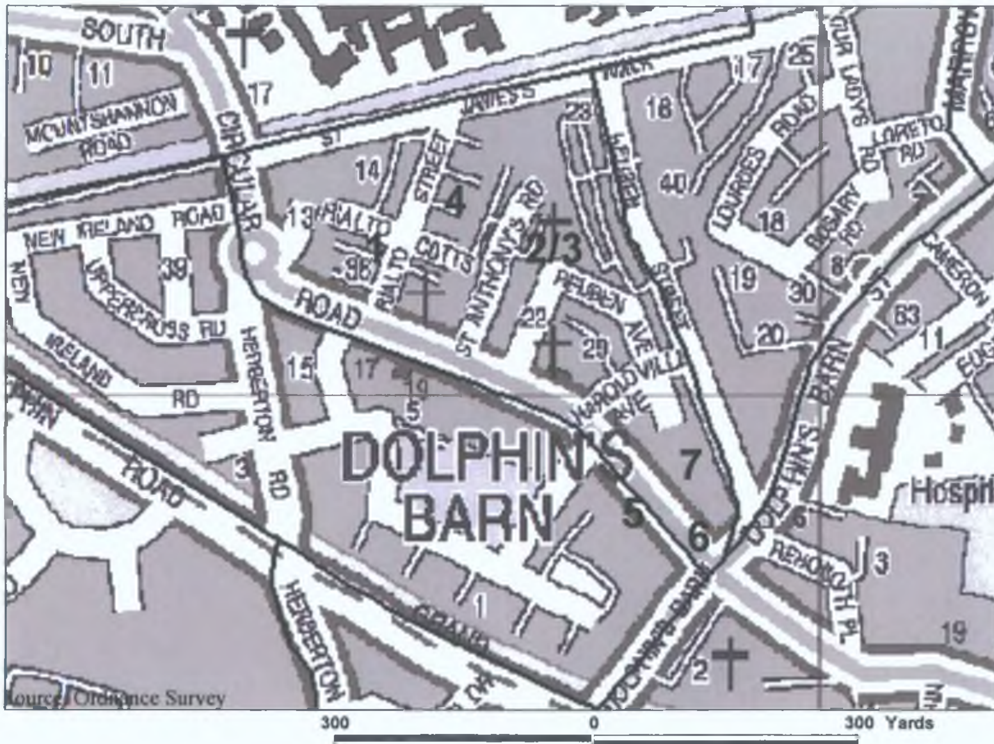
Signs for Post Office, Polish food and Coffee in Eurospar, Emmet Street, 2006

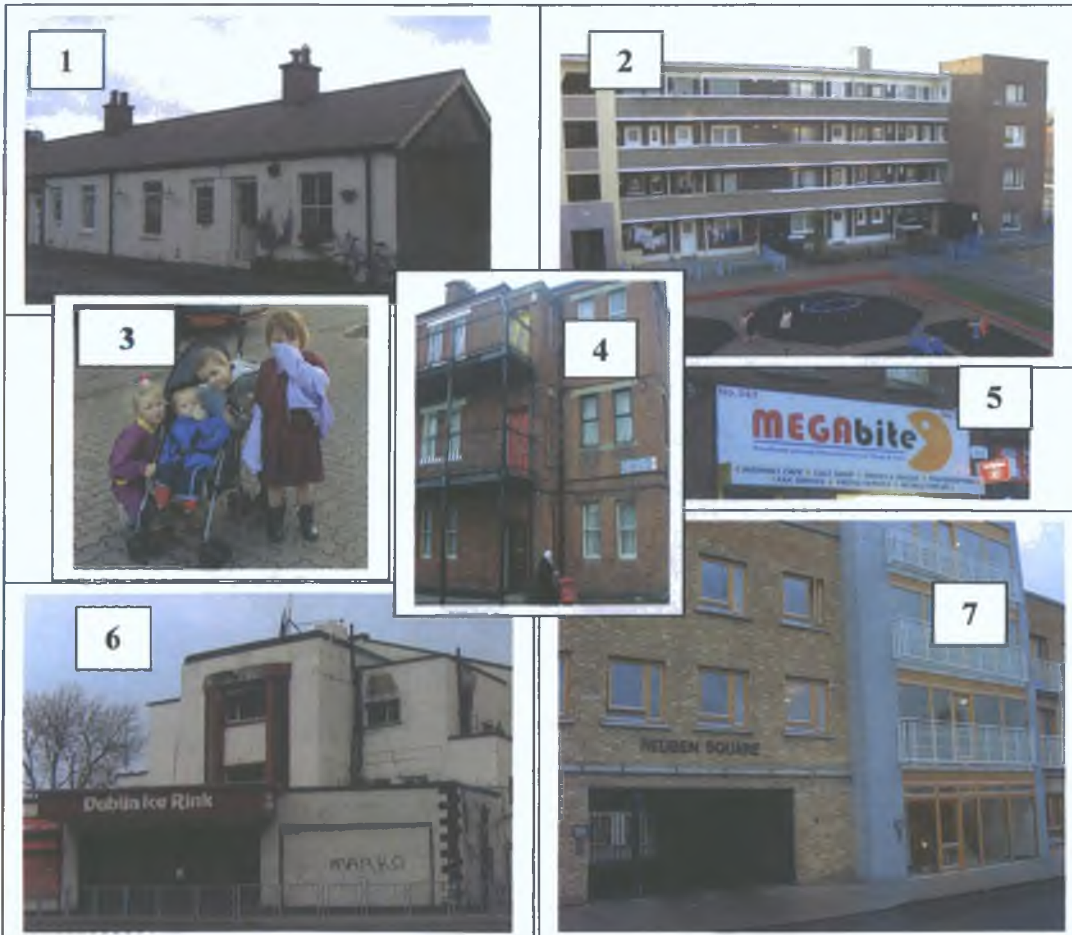
plate 73

Also indicative of the rising Polish and East European population of Inchicore was the establishment of the Balkan food store in 2005. The store sells food, newspapers and magazines from several East European countries. It is located next to the 'Village Barbers' which signifies both the former 'village' identity of Inchicore and the curious juxtaposition of old indigenous spaces with new immigrant spaces in the new multi-cultural space that characterises Inchicore.

Electoral Division Ushers D: *Melting Pot or Tinder Box?*

map 56 plate 73





Photos by Darren Kelly, 2002 / 2003

Electoral Division (ED) Ushers D encapsulates much of the Rialto area. In the early 1950s, the Dolphin's Barn and Fatima Mansions local authority flat complexes were built in Rialto as part of inner city slum clearance projects. Rather than becoming a single community with a diverse housing tenure, Rialto became home to several distinct communities with a de-facto residential hierarchy in place. Mary Corcoran (2000: 77) in *Local Authority Residents: An Invisible Minority* writes that:

> Current research suggests that Dublin is the most socially polarised of seven European cities being examined in comparative context (Betwixt project, 1999)....Given the centrality of the principle of home ownership in Irish society, social housing is generally viewed, by home-owners and tenants alike, as an inferior option. If private ownership is for the upwardly mobile consumer, social housing tenancy is for those going nowhere. Social housing tenants, who are generally spatially segregated and socially stigmatised, occupy a minority status position within Irish society.

Housing stock in Ushers D ranges from small, country-like cottages and working-class houses to local authority flat complexes and newly constructed gentrified apartment blocks. Examples of this housing are illustrated in plate 73. A section of the South Circular Road (SCR), which has characteristic large, sub-divided housing and, in some cases, ground-floor level shops passes through ED Ushers D.

When speaking with this researcher, a local community worker said that residents of the different indigenous residential areas rarely enter each other's territories to the extent that each small area is a single identifiable community. Some inner city communities are as psychologically distant from each other as rural communities might be physically and psychologically distant from each other. To some degree, the rural inter-parish dynamic discussed in Chapter One is also present in this micro-spatial urban space.

Asylum seekers are particularly clustered on certain streets in Ushers D. These streets lie between different Rialto communities rather than within those communities. The possible outcomes of immigrant and gentrified spaces moving into the indigenous sub-population's space is discussed. The sub-cultural norms of the Fatima Mansions community, in particular the strong identification with place and the strong connection between a resident's dwelling and the immediate streetscape is analysed. The central role that the community played in the physical and social regeneration of Fatima Mansions is highlighted as a model of best practice in community

development. It is argued that such a model can be transferred to the development of immigrant communities and also used to aid an inclusive, all-community integration process. The provisional research findings of the Canal Communities Partnership Area's Intercultural Centre are included.

Asylum Seekers Residing in ED Ushers D by Claimant status, 2002

table 94

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
ED Ushers D	96	35	52	131	183	0

There were 183 asylum seekers from 19 countries residing in Electoral Division Ushers D in June 2002. There were no unaccompanied minors in this area or Direct Provision Centres, therefore asylum seekers were living in private-rented accommodation.

Asylum Seekers by Country of Origin Residing in ED Ushers D, 2002

table 95

	Country	Total
1	Algeria	7
2	Angola	2
3	Armenia	1
4	Cameroon	3
5	Comoros	2
6	Congo	18
7	Egypt	2
8	Georgia	7
9	Iraq	1
10	Kosovo	2
11	Macedonia	1
12	Nigeria	45
13	Other	17
14	Pakistan	1
15	Romania	59
16	Russia	3
17	Sierra Leone	5
18	Somalia	7
	Total	183

Table 95 illustrates the country of origin of asylum seekers. The 17 different countries illustrate the diversity of the asylum seeker population in this Electoral Division. However, as with all the other spatial units analysed in this data analysis, the majority of asylum seekers were from Nigeria and Romania.

Table 96 shows the year of arrival of asylum seekers. Forty-one asylum seekers were registered with the Health Board and waiting determination of their refugee status for at least 2.5 years. A large number had been waiting for their refugee status to be determined for more than one year. As outlined earlier, this is a time in which families and communities begin to establish themselves in their residential spaces.

Claimant's Residing in ED Usher's D by Year of Arrival

table 96

Year	Total
1998	11
1999	30
2000	53
2001	62
2002	27
Total	183

As outlined earlier in the South West Inner City section, the asylum seeker population in Electoral Division (ED) Ushers D was equivalent to 10.4% of the EDs 2002 Census population. In terms of density, there were 13.1 asylum seekers per hectare in ED Ushers D. These statistics show that this ED was one of the most densely populated asylum seeker clusters in County Dublin in 2002.

Although asylum seekers are statistically clustered in this area, they were not sharing the same residential space as the indigenous communities. One hundred and nine asylum seekers, almost 60% of their total number in this Electoral Division, were residing on two streets. This highlights the level of residential segregation in Rialto. The result of immigrants occupying interstitial streets between communities has been the reduction of much physical and social space between the different communities. Although physically juxtaposed against each other, the borders between the sub-populations are still fairly rigid, mainly due to the fact that no asylum seekers reside in local authority flat complexes. However, as definitive residential and social borders

begin to fade and lived spaces begin to merge, the possibility of inter-community tensions can be raised.

One local community drug task force worker has explained to this researcher that housing along some of these interstitial streets are predominantly sub-let and have, as a result, a transient occupancy. The increase in the transient occupancy reduces the capacity for the residents of such streets to be included and integrated into adjacent communities. Furthermore, many of the houses are in disrepair which physically marks these spaces as being undesirable and separate from adjacent communities.

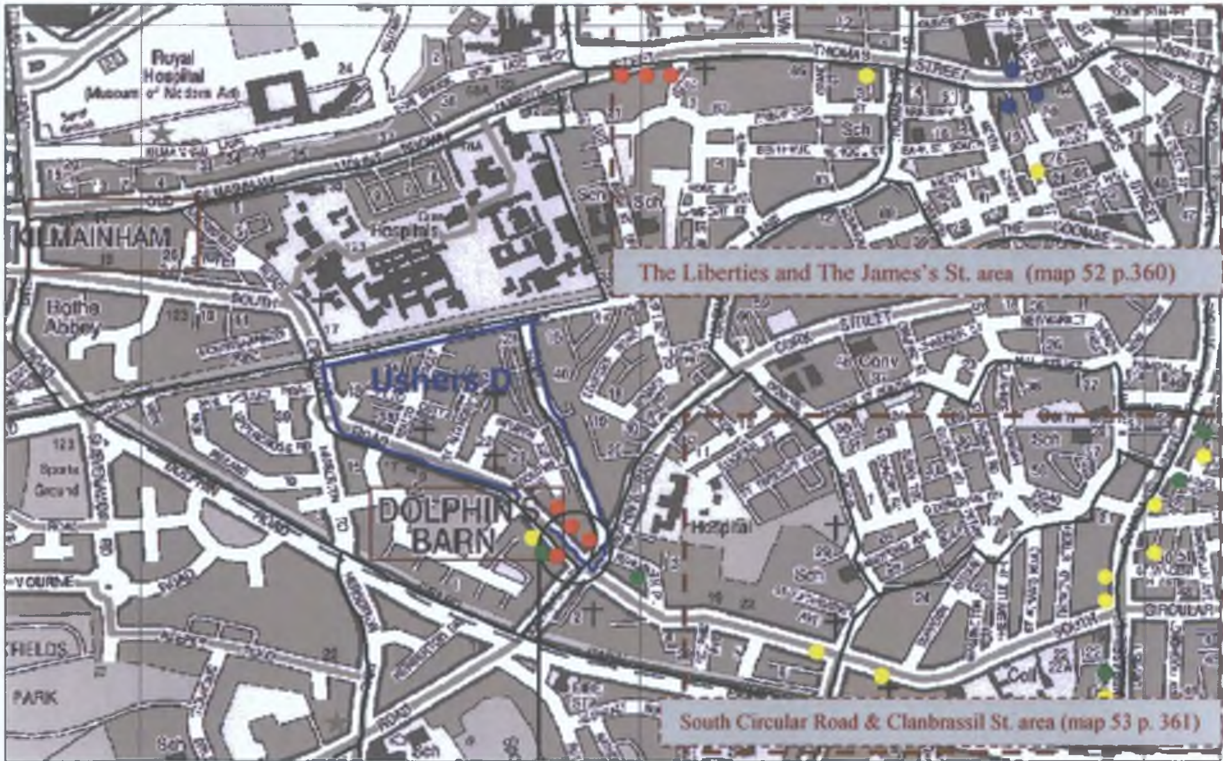
The residents of Fatima Mansions were successful in their campaign to rid the community of being a centre for drug use and selling in Dublin. There have been relatively large-scale problems of drug addiction and drug selling in the interstitial streets close to Fatima and, as a result, the residents of Fatima have psychologically and socially distanced themselves from such streets. According to one local community worker, these interstitial streets have become 'flash points' in the Rialto area.

Due to a lack of financial resources, it has been in such streets that immigrants have begun to reside. Without prior knowledge of the community dynamics, asylum seekers found themselves clustered in border territories that were in effect hotly contested spaces. There is a danger of asylum seekers being automatically associated with the negative labels attached to the drug culture of such interstitial spaces and increases their alienation from the adjacent communities.

To integrate into the larger community, asylum seekers are faced with several challenges that must be overcome in conjunction with different service providers in the locale. This researcher argues that such an analysis of the dynamics in these interstitial streets in Electoral Division Ushers D illustrates the importance of providing a social and cultural context of particular spatial units as part of the data analysis.

Immigrant-based Stores in the South West Inner City, 2003

map 57 & plate 74



Source: Ordnance Survey

Internet African Asian E. European

As highlighted in this thesis, space, culture and identity are fluid, and as such, these interstitial transient spaces into which asylum seekers have located themselves can, over time, transform in different ways. If asylum seekers, or more broadly the immigrant population, remain in these spaces for a period of time, the space might well become labelled as an immigrant or ethnic space rather than a transient, drug or dangerous flashpoint area.

When speaking with this researcher, board members of the Fatima Mansions Groups United (FGU), which is an amalgamation of all various groups in Fatima Mansions, reported that immigrants living in such interstitial streets feared the anti-social behaviour that was present in and around these streets. As a result, some immigrant families felt it necessary to move from Rialto to suburban areas such as Lucan in South Dublin County Council. The Board members said that as a consequence of moving to the suburbs the immigrants felt isolated and would often return to meet with friends and, for example, to attend church services in the inner city.

Talking with service providers in this area, it would appear that the residential immigrant spaces are somewhat transient. This hinders the potential for establishing a sense of community within the immigrant population in Rialto. Over time however, immigrants are remaining in the area and it might be the case that a critical mass of immigrants residing in the same streets will begin to engender a sense of community amongst the immigrant group. Once established as a micro-community, it may well be easier to institute a common ground between the immigrant and indigenous communities with an aim to integrate them into a more broadly-defined plural community. As of 2006, Rialto has not fully developed an immigrant community as such. However, the long-term establishment of immigrant shops and services in Rialto is a definitive sign that Rialto is a centre for immigrant activity.

Like Inchicore, Rialto has, or once had, central village spaces in which locals obtained their daily groceries. They also acted as communal spaces in which the different communities could purchase goods and use other services, such as the post office, the bookmakers and the local pubs. However, over time these central spaces were used less frequently and as businesses closed down or re-located not all were replaced. From the late 1990s, some of the vacant shop spaces were sub-let to business people

who opened immigrant-targeted shops and services as indicated in plate 74. The majority were multi-use Afro-Caribbean stores which catered for the needs of the local immigrants, ranging from money transfer and internet services to indigenous food and hair care products.

As illustrated in map 57, all of these stores are clustered together on the South Circular Road at Dolphin's Barn to the east of Electoral Division (ED) Ushers D. There is another cluster of shops on the South Circular Road, at the western border of ED Ushers D. These are more associated with the 'Rialto' community of this ED and curiously no immigrant stores have been located there. It would appear that this section of the ED has become central to the indigenous Rialto community and the other end of the ED is peripheral and home to the immigrant and flat complex communities.

In 2006, a Polish shop had been added to the cultural variety of shops along the immigrant section of the South Circular Road which illustrates the increasing number of East European nationals residing in this area of the South West Inner City. Inset in plate 75 is a welcome sign with the flags of 6 different East European countries and also an Irish flag, welcoming Irish customers.

Polish Owned, East European Store on South Circular Road in Ushers D, 2006

plate 75

Prior to the opening of the Polish store, the site was used as a second-hand clothing store by the indigenous population. Chris Maguire, a local resident and member of the Fatima Groups United (FGU) said that it is indicative of the 'changing times' that the indigenous group no longer used the second-hand store. According to Maguire, it was the increased spending power of the indigenous groups and the increased stigma attached to purchasing second-hand goods which stopped people from using the store. As a result of this non-usage, the store closed to be replaced by the Polish store.

All of the shops illustrated in plate 74 above were still in business as of Spring 2006. Another African hair-care store has opened in the same immigrant business space since 2002. This longevity of service is testament to roots being established in the neighbourhood by immigrants, particularly Africans. This stability in place, as expressed above, might foster a greater sense of acceptance of this group by the indigenous population. The hypothesis of dissipation of difference is similar to that of Allport's contact hypothesis of 1954. Over time, the feelings of strangeness held by both the indigenous group and the African group towards each other can dissipate. However, until the community has been established, there is a transitional phase during which the immigrant group might be perceived as being 'space invaders'. Other physical space invaders are gentrified apartments, as illustrated in plates 76 and 77 on the following pages. As well as representing a physical morphology of this space, the gentrified residents represent another sub-cultural population in Electoral Division Ushers D.

The Site of Dolphin's Barn Ice Rink in 2003 and 2006

plates 76 and 77

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

Apartment Towers in Dolphin's Barn, 2006

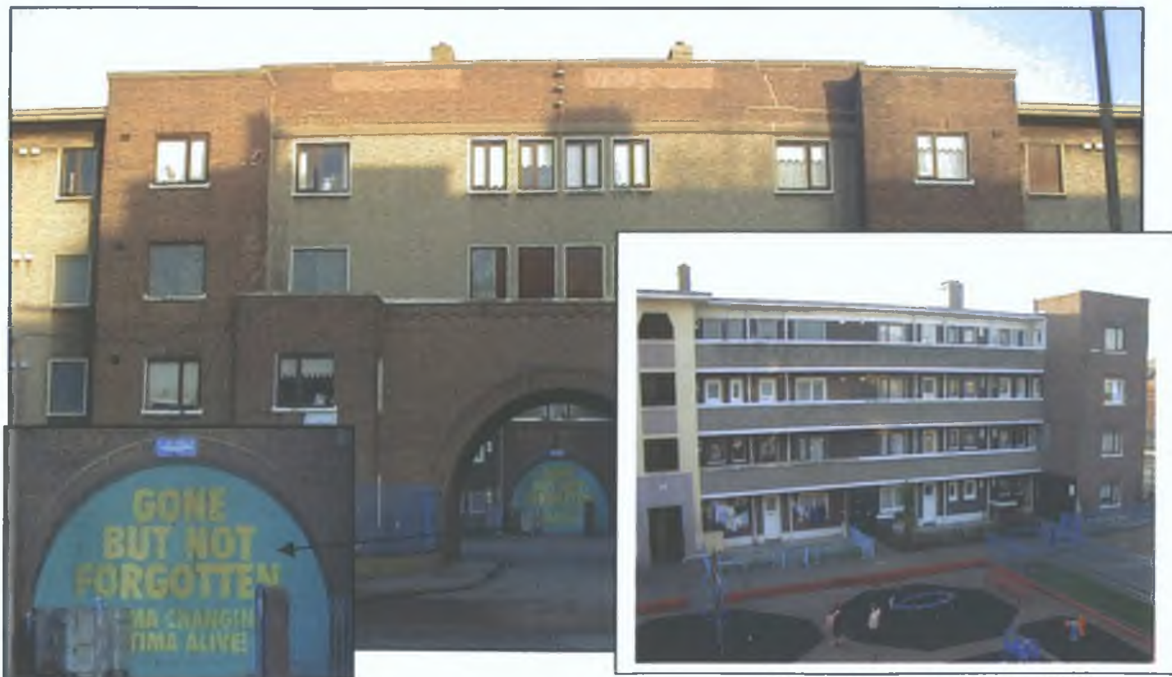
plate 78

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

The changing nature of the landscape at the junction of Dolphin's Barn and the South Circular Road is quite dramatic. The narrow street between the two buildings in plate 78 above is Rueben Street, the length of which is lined with small, red brick terraced houses. Fatima Mansions lies at the end of Rueben Street.

Fatima Mansions, 2002

plate 79



Photos by Darren Kelly, 2002

To underscore the possible reactions by the indigenous communities to the arrival of these new communities, in particular the immigrant community, the following discussion focuses on Fatima Mansions, an isolated, sub-cultural, local authority flat complex in Electoral Division Ushers D.

Fatima Mansions was constructed in 1949 as part of the inner-city slum / tenement clearance project, consisting of 14 four-story housing blocks. Initially the project was successful but, like the neighbouring Dolphin's Barn estate, it fell into decline from the 1970s onwards. According to Joe Donohue et al (2006):

> For decades residents have had to tackle poverty, neglect and the twin burdens of drugs and demonisation. They have endured some of the worst social and housing conditions of any housing estate in the country. Fatima had the highest unemployment statistics, levels of ill-health, numbers of early school leavers, prison incarcerations, drug users and other negative indicators.

Fatima Mansions were physically and emotionally barricaded from broader society and thus established their own micro-community. There is a possibility that immigrants entering into such a closely-knit and bordered space might be perceived as invaders of territory. The opening up of the indigenous residents' physical and sub-cultural space might result in fear. Homi Bhaba (1994: 54) sums up this possible fear when he writes, "....when their glances meet he ascertains bitterly, always on the defensive, they want to take our place".

In *Eleven Acres, Ten Steps* (2000) O'Gorman writes Fatima Mansions had a total of 757 residents, 52% (394) of which were less than 25 years-of-age. Corcoran (1998) reports that, "91% of the community are dependent on Social Welfare for income... 44% were early school leavers with no formal educational qualifications...[and] around one-third of the residents had some chronic illness or disability".

The fact that 91% of this walled micro-community is dependent on social welfare payments is quite significant when considering the reactions of this population's responses to immigration. As outlined throughout this thesis, the media have negatively portrayed asylum seekers as economic 'spongers' and 'welfare cheats'. If such media views were believed by the Fatima residents, they might perceive this new immigrant community as being competitors for limited social benefits. According to Chris

Maguire of Fatima Groups United, it is quite surprising that there has been no real racial tension in the area. This, according to Maguire, is testament to the indigenous community's sense of tolerance. Whilst accepting Maguire's insight into the Fatima community, this researcher posits that one other reason for the relatively low level of overt racial hostilities between the two groups is their segregation. Because Fatima is such a distinctive bordered territory, the community has needed to exist within its own social bubble.

Model of Bordered Residential and Social Spheres in ED Ushers D

fig. 10

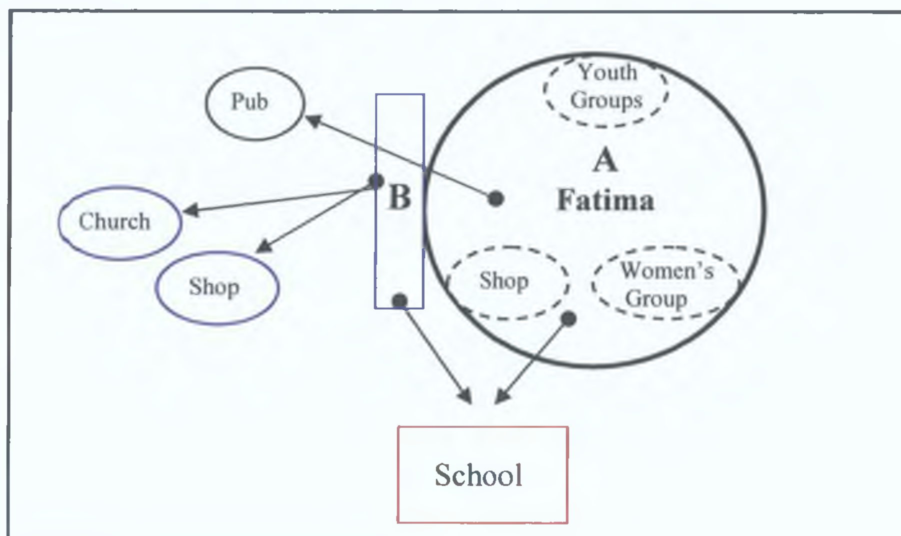


Figure 10 above illustrates the juxtaposition of the Fatima Mansions community and its socio-spatial bubble and sphere of influence (marker A). The space marked B is representative of the streets adjacent to Fatima Mansions, which are increasingly housing immigrants. The communities, although physically juxtaposed do not have a common residential and public space. Circle A, which represents Fatima Mansions has a number of smaller circles within it which represent the 'local' shop and also a youth club and women's group exclusively used by Fatima residents. What can be seen in the case of Fatima Mansions is a self-sufficient micro-community.

The only direct sphere of influence over the two communities is the local school which has both indigenous and immigrant pupils. It has been discussed in the previous sub-section how children can be the first successful, integrated, multi-cultural sub-set in Irish society. It would be hoped that children could engender a trickle-up form of integration amongst members of the different communities in Irish society. By the very nature of children having to attend school, a quasi-forced integration process is fashioned for the children from different ethnicities. Due to pupils' interaction on an everyday basis, in many cases the quasi-forced integration becomes an unforced and normal way of life within the school.

There is no quasi-forced integration for adults in society and, thus, integration can only occur if adults willingly seek out spaces and places occupied by different nationalities. There are many social barriers that prevent this mixing of adults from occurring. One of the circles outside of Fatima Mansions is the pub. This might possibly be a place where different groups could meet. Joan Harmon's (2005) *Canal Communities Intercultural Centre Research Report* contains the findings of work compiled by a multi-ethnic team who were predominantly local residents. The team were trained in research methods and then carried out more than 500 interviews in the South West Inner City area. One of the research findings was that many immigrants do not enter Irish mainstream spaces, for example pubs, because they feel they would be stared at and made to feel unwelcome.

Eriq Ebouaney stars as a Congolese asylum seeker residing in Dublin in the 2006 film *The Front Line*. In an interview with Donald Clarke of *The Irish Times* (25/8/'06) Ebouaney, a French immigrant from Cameroon, says:

> "You look at the African communities in France and they have been there for a long time. But here in Ireland I think the Africans feel more different" They feel more foreign than their French counterparts? "Yes, very much so. They feel alone and lost....Sadly, and not entirely without reason, we often find ourselves assuming that any African we meet here will, at some point, have been made to feel unwelcome."

According to Harmon (2005) there is a willingness of the new communities to integrate into the host society but they are afraid, or do not know how, or where to do so. Immigrants perceive pubs and other community services such as youth clubs and educational centres as being for 'Irish people only'. Harmon (2005: 10-14) cites the

following responses by immigrants to questions about barriers to participation in Irish society:

- Not open and welcoming
- Private
- Too expensive
- Only for the Irish
- Set groups already exist
- Not for all cultures
- People from other cultures do not attend
- People are not mixing
- Too Shy
- I want advanced English
- Cannot attend because no child care
- Not enough information

Ebouaney, in the *Irish Times* (25/8/'06) explains that one of the difficulties faced by immigrants attempting to integrate into Irish society is the socialisation process practiced by Irish people:

> "People here are warm and curious about you...they are very open. But, from my point of view, the difficulty is they [Irish people] live in doors. In houses. In pubs. African people live outdoors, even in Paris. It is difficult when you enter a pub." He mimes pushing open a door and peering into an imaginary dark space. "I would go in and would find myself the only black man in the place. But people did start talking to me. They were really friendly. They just needed time to get used to these new faces."

Figure 10 above includes two blue coloured shapes which are representative of immigrant shops and services in the area. According to Harmon (2005: 6) 300 people attend the Christian Redeemer Church in Rialto every Sunday. These services are primarily used by local immigrants and thus, highlight the separation between the immigrant and indigenous communities.

By calculating and illustrating the spatial distribution of asylum seekers and their correlation with disadvantaged indigenous communities, this researcher questions what would happen if the different communities' residential and or social bubbles were to merge into one another? According to Sibley (1995), as discussed in the Literature Review, this merging of space, people and cultures creates liminal zones and relates them as visually analogous with Venn diagrams.

Venn Diagram Model of Liminal Space in Electoral Division Ushers D

fig. 11

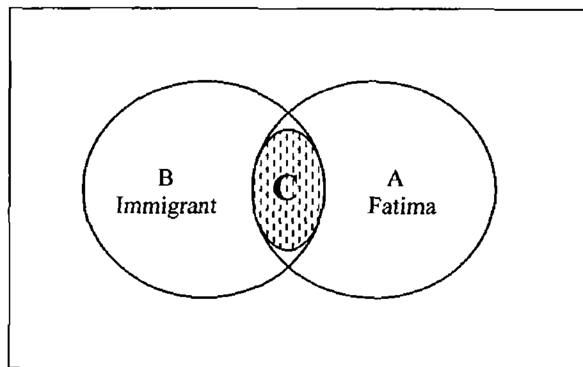


Figure 10 on page 397 illustrates what this researcher termed the 'social bubble' of the Fatima Mansions community, marked A, and the social bubble of the immigrant group, marked B. Figure 11 differs from Figure 10 as it illustrates, in the mode of Sibley's work, a liminal space, marked C, where these two groups' lived and social spaces intersect. In this scenario, the 'perceived' challenge to the Fatima community is not social benefits, as discussed above, but the arrival of a different sub-cultural group into the communal (public) space of Fatima Mansions. The extent of the perceived threat of one group 'encroaching' or 'invading' into the Fatima group's space can be related to the Fatima community's identification and relationship with their public space.

Although chronically underprivileged and physically isolated from its immediate surrounds, Fatima Mansions remained a close-knit community. Corcoran (2000: 79) writes that Fatima Mansions is 'relatively dense, forming distinct social units clearly delineated from the immediate neighbourhood", adding that as part of her research, "70% of the residents questioned in the tenant survey undertaken...said that they did not feel part of the Rialto community".

To try and gauge the effects immigration might have on such a community and thus the reaction by that community to immigrants, it is deemed important by this researcher to consider the relationship between the indigenous residents and their immediate streetscape. Tuan (1974: 216) makes the distinction between a working-class person's relationship with the street and that of the middle-class person:

> To a middle-class person home may extend to a lawn or a garden for which he pays taxes, but beyond it the space is impersonal. As soon as he steps on the street he is in the public arena in which he feels little sense of belonging. To a working-class man the boundary between his dwelling and its immediate environs is permeable....The street is a common unit of neighbourhood sentiment.

Public space is de-facto private space within inner city residential spheres of influence. Thus, any incursion by an outsider into this sphere is, by analogy, tantamount to an outsider walking into a middle-class person's home – it is an intrusion. Harvey (1973:85) writes: "Low-income groups, for example, often identify very closely with their housing environment and the psychological cost of moving is to them far greater than it is to the mobile upper, middle-class." According to Tuan (1974: 99):

> ...a person in the process of time invests bits of his emotional life in his home, and beyond his home in his neighbourhood. To be forcibly evicted from one's home and neighbourhood is to be stripped of a sheathing, which in its familiarity protects the human being from the bewilderments of the outside world. As some people are reluctant to part with their shapeless old coat for a new one, so some people – especially older people – are reluctant to abandon their old neighbourhood for new housing development.

The occupants of Fatima Mansions are not being forcibly removed from their homes. However, the regeneration or re-building of new housing on the same site, as in Fatima, can still be traumatic for older residents and, furthermore, the encroachment of new communities onto the once communal sphere of the street can lead to anxiety.

One of the negative aspects of a socio-cultural transition as well as a physical transition marked by the construction of large apartment towers, as in plate 78 above, is the potential loss of the indigenous residents' sense of community and identity. If the street and local shop is part of the home for the indigenous residents, the loss of such identity locators can be a physical and mental loss. For the older residents in particular, the manuscript by which they relied upon to navigate their city space has been erased or partially hidden, only seen as an historical and cultural palimpsest. The poet John Montague (1995:33) could be speaking for these residents in his poem "A Lost Tradition" which laments such loss of language and identity, which was quoted earlier in Chapter One:

All around, shards of a lost tradition
...The whole landscape a manuscript
We had lost the skill to read
A part of our past disinherited;
But fumbled like a blind man,
along the fingertips of instinct.

Old and New Housing in Fatima Mansions, 2006

plate 80

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

In a DVD accompaniment to Donohue et al (2006) *A Regeneration Manual: Dream/Dare/Do*, one Fatima Mansions resident describes her disorientation during the regeneration of the estate. Upon returning home she explained that she got lost because the flats by which she took her bearings had been demolished. She had to look around and re-gain her bearings before returning home. Jokingly, but quite poignantly, she quips that she no longer knew where the kids were playing and where the drugs were being sold. In this case, it will take time before the natural rhythms and social norms of the street will be re-cast. Another resident shown in the DVD who had lived for 40 years in a Fatima Mansions flats said that walking from her house into her new back garden was like walking into "another world". The woman explained that

formerly when she opened the front door of her flat she would stand out onto her balcony and talk to her neighbours and would look at everything that was going on in the open space in the centre of the housing block below. Plate 81 illustrates the use of the front garden and the street as a social space in the regenerated space that once housed the Fatima Mansions flat complex.

Fatima Mansions Streetscape, 2006

plate 81

Plate 81 illustrates that the residents' sense of communal public space in front of their homes has prevailed following the demolition of their flats. In essence, the street is an extension of the home where everyone knows each other. Every time this researcher has entered Fatima Mansions, he has been confronted by inquisitive children and stared at by adults. As strange as a white, male Dublin 'outsider' walking through their territory might seem to the local community, it has been even stranger for the residents to witness an immigrant community being established within a very close proximity. As discussed above, this new community might be perceived by the indigenous residents of places such as Fatima Mansions as being 'space invaders' leading to fear and anxiety.

In a reductionist manner, this fear is portrayed too freely as a fear of losing social welfare payments. This researcher uses the term 'a psychology of fear' to describe a process that is more than a fear of a losing social welfare payments to immigrants. It is a fear of 'others' and a fear of losing one's physical space and, concomitantly, the identity that accompanies that physical and mental space. A fear of strangers or xenophobia can also be related to a moral panic as discussed in Cohen's (2002) *Folk Devils and Moral Panics*. As discussed in Chapter 2, the indigenous group become fearful of the 'other'. In this case, arriving immigrants, due to physical difference and as a result of false perceptions about them, cause a moral panic. In an up-dated forward to his work Cohen (2002: xi) writes that asylum seekers have been demonised because they are a "suitable enemy: a soft target", like the school child who is small and fragile, targeted by the school bully. Cohen (2002: xi) writes that the soft target can be "easily denounced, with little power and preferably without even access to the battlefields of cultural politics".

Mary Douglas (1966) writes that the dominant group in mainstream society might see and classify 'different' sub-groups as being 'impure'. For some within a dominant host society, a signifier for impurity can be as simple as skin colour, in many cases black, and male. Bhaba (1994: 54) discusses the boundary between the signifier and signified, of subaltern and oppressor, "between the texture of poetry and a certain textuality of identity". Frantz Fannon (1967) writes: "The Negro enslaved by his inferiority, the white man enslaved by his superiority alike behave in accordance with a neurotic orientation".

According to Cohen (2002), such places where there are figures of high unemployment, single mothers have become 'folk devils' subjected to adverse labelling as 'welfare cheats' thus creating a moral panic. According to Niall O'Baoill, the initial co-chair of the Fatima Regeneration Group and Culture and Arts officer of Fatima Groups United, the representative body of the Fatima residents and groups, the original plan was to open up the large walled borders between Fatima Mansions and the neighbouring cottage dwellers. However, in conversation with this researcher, O' Baoill confirmed that a kind of "panic" ensued in Rialto residents who thereafter objected to the opening up of the space between the two juxtaposed communities and

the plans were scrapped. The wall and fence that separates the two communities is illustrated in plate 82 below.

A Walled Border between the Fatima and Rialto Communities in Rialto, 2006

plate 82

If such a superiority / inferiority dialectic is emerging in Ushers D between members of the most disadvantaged communities, such as Fatima Mansions and the newly emerging communities it is a terrible irony, as the so-called 'superior' grouping would be indigenous residents who have been labelled as 'inferior' within Irish society. If this is the case, in places like Fatima Mansions, it could be suggested that such a dialectic could be the result of a Freudian-like transference. This is analogous to Paolo Freire's (1970) pedagogy of the oppressed, whereby the oppressed victim transfers his aggression on to his or her family. In this transference, the victim becomes the oppressor, using the learned language that he or she has been victim of in the past.

Based on Gordon Allport's 1954 contact hypothesis thesis, it can be questioned whether residential proximity of the different sub-populations will increase acceptance and integration. According to MacLachlan and O'Connell (2000: 6) Allport's hypothesis, which focussed on white and Black integration in America, "is the idea that at the core of much inter-group hostility is ignorance and that increased

contact between groups should lead to an increase in knowledge about each other and therefore a reduction in hostile attitudes and behaviour." MacLachlan and O'Connell (2000: 6) argue that the contact hypothesis thesis might not necessarily prevail in Ireland arguing that:

> Allport qualified his hypothesis and suggested that contact was only likely to be positive if the group members were of equal status, pursuing common goals and their interaction was backed by institutional support. It is clear that, in this case, those conditions are not met since minorities coming to Ireland have been effectively stigmatised, stereotyped and labelled in many ways. Rather than being portrayed as pursuing the same goals in Irish society, they have to deal with a population which often perceives them as a drain and a parasite on resources, rather than being potential partners and fellow citizens.

The Irish media sensationally imply that areas in Dublin are becoming ghettoised and the result will be race riots like those in Brixton during 1995. Such race riots were as much to do with class i.e. economic and social inequalities in Thatcher's Britain and police brutality than inter-racial violence. This was the case in the Los Angeles riots of the late 1990s following the Rodney King murder. Such scenes are excellently captured in writer-director Mathieu Kassovitz's 1995 movie *La Haine* (2001), which forbodingly- aired weeks prior to the Brixton riots. *La Haine* (Hate) depicted riots in a Cité 20 miles from central Paris, following the vicious assault of a teenager by police.

The movie, based on real events, sparked such a storm within the public eye that the French Prime Minister Alain Juppé called his cabinet together for a private screening before discussing the problem of the projects. The introduction to the DVD (2001) reveals:

> *La Haine* had proved to be a timely reminder that human bombs can go off any time, any place, any where from Tottenham [London] to Queens [New York], any place where human beings are packed on top of each other in boxes...a world belonging to the architects of the 1960s and 1970s who designed the labyrinthine estate [in] a carved out landscape...

The description finally says that police containment and segregation caused a "cataclysmic implosion" and that *La Haine* was a "cry for help". *La Haine* depicts a life that is characterised by residential segregation, isolation and social ills, such as drug addiction. This is a life that would be instantly recognisable to residents in some of Dublin's local authority housing estates, such as St. Michael's Estate, Fatima Mansions and Dolphin's Barn (see plate 83 below) in the South West Inner City.

Dolphin's Barn Local Authority Flat Complex

plate 83

Photo by Darren Kelly 2003

In 2005, Chinese Student Zhi Song was brutally murdered during an attempted robbery in his rented house on Rueben Avenue, Rialto. Derek Wade, the convicted perpetrator of the killing, a local indigenous resident, received a mandatory life sentence for the murder. *The Star Sunday* (March 11th, 2007) claimed that, "there had been immense anger within the community that one of their own had been attacked", however, they inflamed possible racial tension by claiming that the Triad gang would seek revenge. The tragic incident shows how easily racial tension can erupt in polycultural spaces.

Community development in Fatima Mansions: a transferable model of best practice for the development of immigrant communities

Plate 80 of the old and new housing in Fatima Mansions is illustrative of the tremendous physical changes to the area. These physical changes also show the social and community changes in the area. A tag line used in the Fatima Regeneration Committee's publication (Donohue et al 2001: 3) *Eleven Acres Ten Steps*: is "the old ways don't work". The old ways refers to the top-down approach to community regeneration whereby decision makers enforce their plans and will upon a community who are not given a voice in the regeneration of their own spaces. This old way

disempowered and disenfranchised communities and ultimately the development plans failed. According to Niall O'Baoill who originally co-chaired the Fatima Mansions regeneration board, the physical regeneration of communities has to follow a sustainable development model whereby a sense of autonomy is fostered within the community and with that autonomy comes a responsibility for the redevelopment by the local residents. As outlined above, Fatima Mansions has been one of the most disadvantaged communities in Ireland, ravaged by drugs and according to O'Baoill, a place where the male residents of Fatima Mansions in particular "were flattened by the last 20 years".

The fostering of autonomy was not about fostering a sense of community spirit as it was already there. The area is explicitly matriarchal whereby the women, particularly the older and long established female residents held the community together. However, until their involvement with FGU the residents did not believe that they could play an official role in the development as many of them feared and did not trust authority. In essence, a sense of autonomy needed to be established within the residents in order to politicise their community spirit. Critical Fatima Mansions workers and residents visited all of the Fatima Mansions residents and groups working in the area asking them what they wanted from the regeneration of their area. They also visited other community groups. As a result, Fatima Groups United was established in 1995, "a representative body for Fatima residents and community based projects including the youth services, football clubs, and adult education" (Donohue 2006: 8).

The project is a Public Private Partnership (PPP) and, whilst Fatima residents wanted some control over the control of their new housing, they did not want to completely lose the area's sense of identity once private and social housing was added to the area. Charlie O'Neill of the FGU noted that it was important that "two ghettoes would not exist", one home to the Fatima Mansions residents in their new abodes and one ghetto consisting of the private owners. To this end they did not wish for the private housing to be gated and separate to the Fatima residents' homes. Furthermore, social space would be central to the plans as well as other facilities, such as playing fields, a community centre and a crèche. In essence, the Fatima residents became co-designers and managers of the redevelopment of their area. One battle for retaining the Fatima

identity was based on the naming of the newly constructed LUAS tram stop adjacent to Fatima Mansions. According to O'Neill, the Fatima Groups United (FGU) had to "do battle" to have the stop named Fatima. The FGU also campaigned and saw the area around the stop landscaped and also campaigned for the construction of Fatima housing to open itself out to the LUAS stop rather than turning its back to it.

LUAS Stop at the Site of Fatima Mansions with Mural of Fatima Residents, 2006

plate 84

Intercultural Design in Fatima Mansions Mural

plate 85

Song Lyrics on Walls of Fatima Mansions Prior to Demolition, 2006

plate 86

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2006

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2006

Plate 85 shows the sign at the Fatima LUAS stop in the foreground and a mural in the background. The mural also includes Mrs Gavin, Fatima's oldest resident. Her inclusion in the mural highlights the importance of women in the community and the respect for old age. The mural also includes children who are the largest population cohort in Fatima. The water shows the link between the residents and the Grand Canal. The latticed design in the background of the mural was an attempt to illustrate the cultural diversity within the broader community and includes Asian, Middle Eastern and Latin American influences. Plate 86 shows the song lyrics composed by local women as part of a project that resulted in the creation of a music CD. The lyrics were painted on the flat block that was the last to be demolished in September 2006. It was a way that the residents could leave their mark on the demolition process and claim that their way of life would 'remain the same'.

The use of murals in American cities was discussed in the Literature Review with regard to the residents of the Hispanic community of Pilsen in Chicago, and their opposition to gentrification partially through the use of murals. The murals in Pilsen raised the political awareness of its residents. According to O'Baoill, as part of the political empowerment process of the Fatima residents, the FGU organised the majority of the residents to be placed on the electoral register. The fact that most of the residents were not on the electoral register highlights the lack of political awareness and involvement of the Fatima residents.

Donohue et al's (2006) *Dream / Dare / Do: A Regeneration Manual* was published by the Fatima Groups United as a way of telling the regeneration story of Fatima Mansions from their perspective and, furthermore, to act as a survival guide for community groups whose communities have been targeted for regeneration by their county councils:

> We believe it's a moment in time for development in Ireland. The next decade will see numerous regenerations of city and rural communities. With the increased value of land, new higher density housing targets, higher-rise planning objectives, and the powerful impact of Public Private Partnerships, the context for urban regenerations is a particularly interesting and heated one. There are several communities in Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Galway – and in smaller urban centres – earmarked for imminent regeneration. Many of these communities, having limited experience of negotiating with decision-makers and vested interests, are approaching Fatima and seeking advice. We're delighted to offer any help we can.

The regeneration manual provides a detailed 'regeneration checklist' for such communities entering the planning battlefields of community regeneration. The following are the ten headings under which they argue regeneration can be successful:

1. Don't let oppression of poverty limit you
2. Plan and set your agenda
3. Understand the partnership challenge
4. Create structures to make partnership accountable
5. Set up an advisory team
6. Devise a communications strategy
7. Ensure social regeneration is given equal status to physical regeneration
8. Take care of your community
9. Invest in a strong team to lead
10. Settle for excellence. Follow best practice

The summary of the social regeneration plan includes:

1. Safe and sustainable community
2. Education
3. Health and wellbeing
4. Employment training and enterprise
5. Arts and culture
6. Sports and recreation
7. Environment
8. Planning and design of community facilities

The role of the Fatima Groups United and the Fatima Regeneration Board has been extensively outlined here as a model of best practice in community development. This is based on the belief of this researcher that this knowledge is transferable to the immigrant community. Furthermore, engaging all sub-communities within a spatial area's development strategy may increase sub-community acceptance and interaction.

The Canal Communities Intercultural Centre

The Canals Communities Intercultural Centre's geographic remit is Bluebell, Inchicore, Kilmainham and Rialto, an area that spans much of the South West Inner City. According to Marja Almquist, team leader of the Canals Communities Partnership area, the need for the Intercultural Centre stemmed from the Rainbow Project which was created as a result of local immigrants' anxiety and pleas for help around the time of the change in legislation regarding children born to immigrant parents. Prior to the change in legislation, immigrant parents of Irish-born children automatically qualified for Irish citizenship. At the time, there was a lack of any top-down information and social provision. For example, parents of Irish born children had to pay their own legal costs when applying to remain in the State with their Irish children. Different local community and immigrant organisations stepped in to help the immigrant community. The Rainbow Project was set up by the Canals Communities Partnership (CCP) to help immigrants at the time of this change in legislation, and also to identify immigrants' needs in the canal area. From the energy of this group it was decided to establish an Intercultural Centre to act as a point of contact for immigrants.

In the mode of community development practice, the Canal Communities Partnership (CCP) carried out a needs analysis of immigrants in the area before establishing its remit. Furthermore, immigrants from the area were targeted to carry out the research rather than using an outside agency: "A community development approach was applied to the training and research process, based on principles of inclusiveness and empowerment" (Harmon 2005: 17).

Residents from all communities in the CCP area were invited to apply for a position on the research team that would carry out the needs analysis in the area. The CCP received 70 applications from 12 countries, including Ireland (Harmon 2005: 3). This highlights the willingness of immigrant residents to become actively involved in community development. Some of the applicants were from outside the CCP area but still wanted to become involved. Part of the interest in the research was due to the fact that successful applicants would be paid for their involvement and would gain training prior to the research. This highlights the willingness of members of the immigrant community to work as opposed to some people's views that immigrants simply wish to receive social welfare payments.

Harmon's report is particularly significant as it includes the views of asylum seekers residing in the South West Inner City with whom this researcher could not directly contact (as stipulated in the agreement with the Health Board before receiving the asylum seeker data). There were asylum seeker members on the research team. This posed some technical difficulties with regard to their being paid. However, Almquist believed that, as members of the community, it was essential that asylum seekers, regardless of political status, would be an integral component of the research team and that asylum seekers residing in the area needed to be consulted about their social / community needs and what they would like the Intercultural Centre to provide.

In relation to the question 'What do you want the Intercultural Centre to provide?' the research team put the interviewees wishes into the following categories: (Harman 2005:10)

1. Social 27%
2. Recreation/Sport 16%
3. Education 15%

4. Childcare 13%
5. Information 10%
6. Youth 7%
7. Arts 7%
8. Other 5%

One of the main wishes for the Intercultural Centre was for it to be a safe and friendly space for immigrants and indigenous residents to meet. Some of the expressed wishes for the Centre included: provision of free internet services, confidential advice on immigration issues, counselling services, child care, a multi purpose hall for meetings and functions and, finally, the provision of classes, such as English language, keep-fit, relaxation and cooking. Due to the atrocious conditions of some rented housing, one respondent wished the Centre could "provide shower facilities for people living in bedsits" (Harmon 2005: 15). As highlighted in the research report, many of the activities listed above are already provided within the Canal Communities Partnership (CCP) area. However, as outlined many immigrants did not know of these activities or were afraid to join them for various reasons. The report recommends that (Harman 2005: 18-19):

> The Centre will have a role in referring people to these services. In addition, the Centre will be required to act as a link between existing services and local and new communities, in terms of information and outreach. The specialist role of the Centre will be the intercultural dimension, including encouraging an intercultural response at local level to the needs in the community....The Centre will also highlight gaps in provision of intercultural services to the relevant organisations and to policy makers. Through its work, the intercultural Centre will develop a model of best practice in Interculturalism.

The Intercultural Centre will provide a safe space for immigrants. According to Almquist the aim is not to segregate the Centre from the wider community but to use it as a 'meeting point' for all residents in the community. What is unique to this project is that it is organised within the structures of the Canal Communities Partnership, an existing community organisation and, therefore, has the back-up of paid staff knowledgeable in community development and, for example, funding sources and strategies. People involved with the Fatima Groups United, such as Charlie O'Neill are also involved in the Intercultural Centre illustrating that knowledge and energy can be shared on a community-wide basis. Furthermore, the local indigenous workers see the employment of immigrant staff as integral to the project.

4.3.4 (b)

Dublin City North

map 58

The Population and Size of Dublin City North (DCN) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

table 97

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02	AS* 2002	AS % '02	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
DCN	287,216	290,521	2.9%	3,376	1.16%	7,474	0.45	38.8

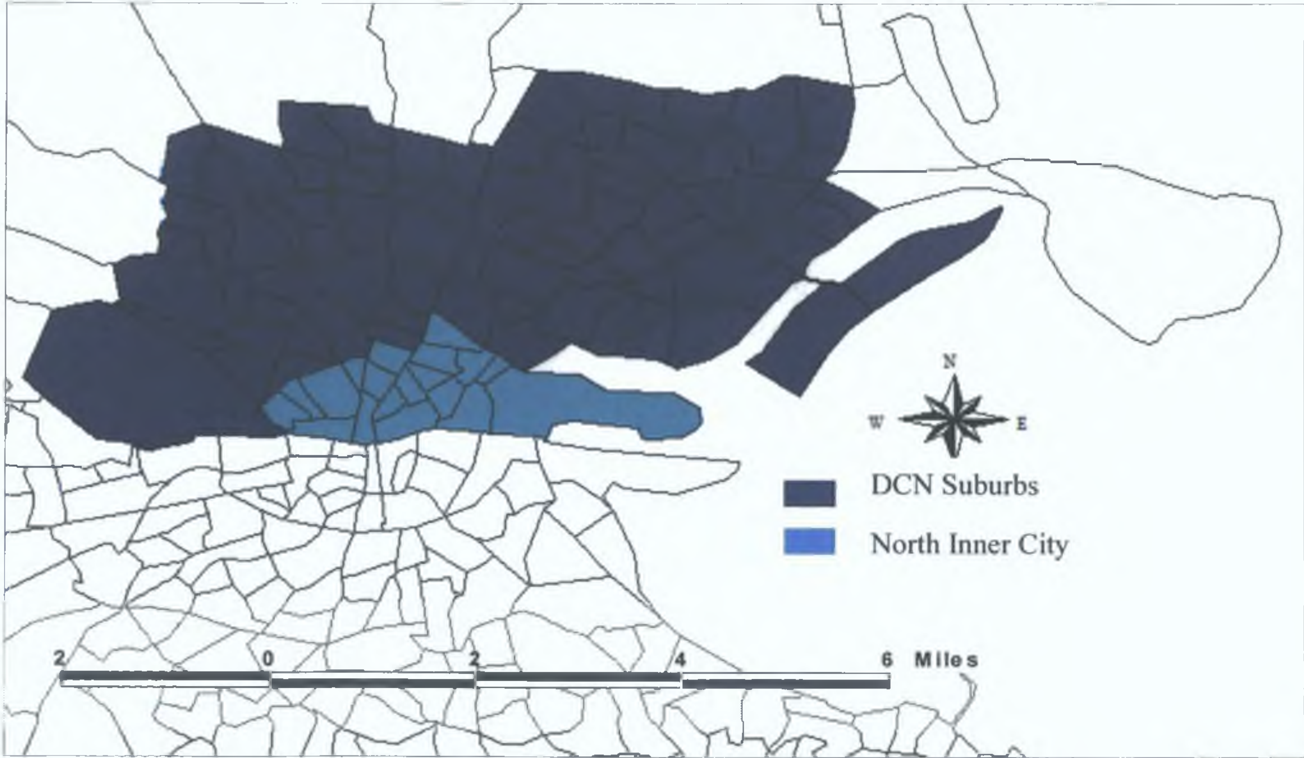
* Asylum Seeker ** Census (Cen)

Dublin City North (DCN) comprises many of Dublin's older working-class suburbs, such as Cabra, Coolock, Finglas and Glasnevin. It also includes the infamous tower-block housing experiment of Ballymun and relatively newer suburbs (mid 1970s and 1980s) of Darndale and Belcamp in the northeast. The more affluent suburbs of DCN run along the coast from the reclaimed lands of Marino's Fairview Park out along Clontarf as far as Sutton, which borders Howth in Fingal County Council.

Dublin City North also includes Dublin's North Inner City (NIC), which is the area between the River Liffey at its Southern border and the Royal Canal at its Northern border. It stretches between the entrance of Phoenix Park to the west and the docks at East Wall. Almost three quarters (74.2%) of all asylum seekers in Dublin City North (DCN) were residing in its North Inner City area, which had 2,506 asylum seeker residents in June 2002.

Dublin City North
with North Inner City

map 59



Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City North by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 98

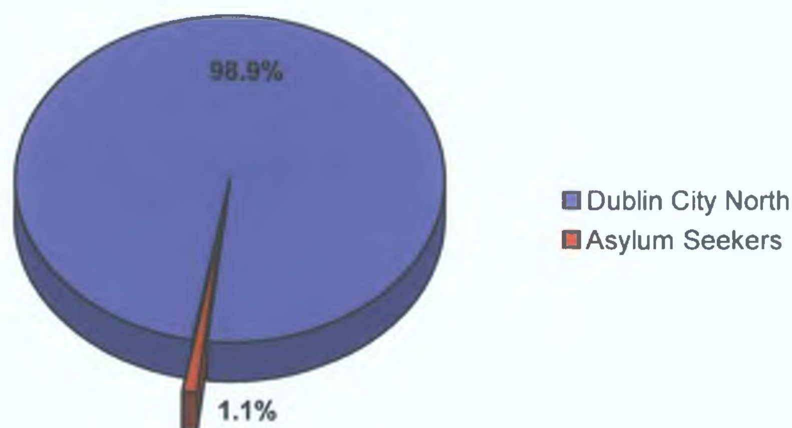
	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
Dublin City North	1,723	698	955 (30.5)	2,343 (69.5)	3,376	78

*includes the 78 unaccompanied minors.

There were 3,376 asylum seekers residing in Dublin City North (DCN) in 2002, which represented 36.7% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in County Dublin (9,195) in 2002. The 2002 Census population of Dublin City North (DCN) was 290,521; asylum seekers in this data set represented 1.16% of this total.

The 2002 Census Population of Dublin City North and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the same Spatial Area, June 2002

chart 26



Asylum seekers in Dublin City North (DCN) represented 64 countries. However, 78.3% of all the asylum seekers residing in DCN were from 10 countries (see table 99). The largest, single, national total was Romanian with 1,207 asylum seekers. This represented 36% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in DCN. The number of Romanian asylum seekers residing in DCN in 2002 was greater than the entire asylum seeker population of 1,210 that were residing in Fingal County Council at the same time.

The 684 Nigerian asylum seekers represented 20% of the total number of asylum seekers in Dublin City North. This was quite a relatively low percentage when compared with the relative proportion of Nigerian asylum seekers to all other asylum seekers in different areas, for example, 30% in South Dublin County Council and 29% in Fingal County Council.

The Ten Countries with the Highest Number of Asylum Seekers in Dublin City North, June 2003

table 99

Rank	Country	Total	% of DCN
1	Romania	1,207	35.9
2	Nigeria	684	20.4
3	Ukraine	140	4.2
4	Moldova	121	3.6
5	Russia	119	3.5
6	Poland	94	2.8
7	Algeria	77	2.3
8	Lithuania	70	2.1
9	Kosovo	63	1.9
10	Bulgaria	57	1.7
	Total	**2,632**	**78.3**

Of the ten countries with the highest numbers of asylum seekers residing in Dublin City North, eight were from Europe. Dublin City North had the highest percentage of European asylum seekers compared with all of the other spatial units analysed in this chapter. As table 100 indicates, Europeans accounted for 61.2% of all the asylum seekers residing in Dublin City North - 35.9% were 'Romanian' and the remaining 25.3% were from all other European countries.

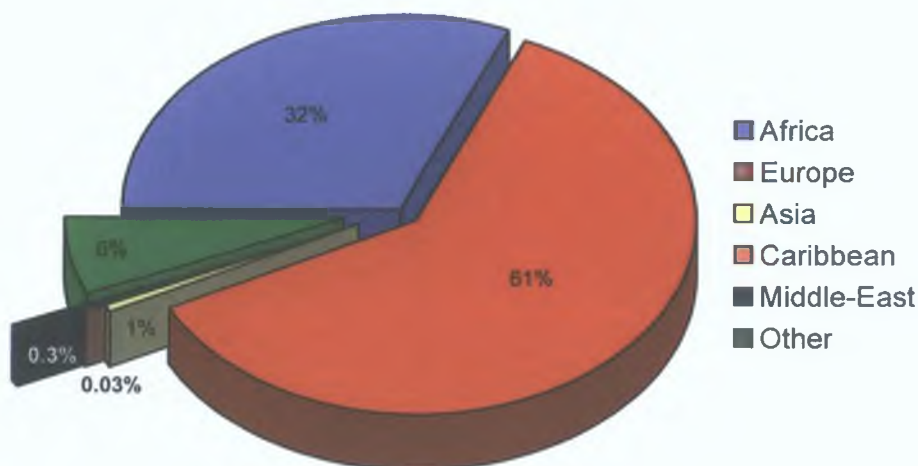
Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographical Region Residing in Dublin City North, June 2002

table 100

Dublin City North	Total 3,376	% of Region
Africa	**1,062**	**31.6**
Nigeria	*684*	*20.4*
All other African	*378*	*11.3*
Europe	**2,057**	**61.2**
Romania	*1,207*	*35.9*
All other European	850	*25.3*
Asia	**24**	**0.7**
Caribbean	**3**	**0.1**
Middle-East	**11**	**0.3**
Other	**219**	**6.5**

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographical Region Residing in Dublin City North, June 2002

chart 27



Dublin City North (DCN) had a total of 1,222 male claimants, which accounted for almost 71% of all claimants in DCN. This was the highest male claimant percentage of all the spatial areas analysed in this research. One contributing factor to such a high proportion of male claimants was the relatively low number of Nigerian claimants in DCN. Where there were more Nigerian claimants there was a higher female claimant ratio due to the relatively high proportion of Nigerian female claimants. There were 501 female claimants in DCN - 29% of all claimants.

Gender Profile of Claimants Residing in Dublin City North, June 2002

table 101

	Frequency	Percent
Male	1,222	70.9
Female	501	29.1
Total	1,723	100

2,725 asylum seekers living in DCN in June 2002 had registered their asylum claims following the implementation of the Direct Provision policy. However, table 102 suggests that despite the Direct Provision policy a large number of asylum seekers remained in Dublin City North (DCN).

The 651 asylum seekers who registered their applications for refugee status before 2000 were automatically entitled to full Supplementary Welfare Allowance (SA) payments.

This cohort of asylum seekers would have directly sought private-rented accommodation as opposed to being placed in accommodation centres under the Direct Provision policy.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City North by Year of Arrival

table 102

Year	Total	Percent
1997	23	0.7
1998	67	2.0
1999	561	16.6
2000	672	19.9
2001	1196	35.4
2002	857	25.4
Total	3,376	100

Household Frequency of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City North, June 2002

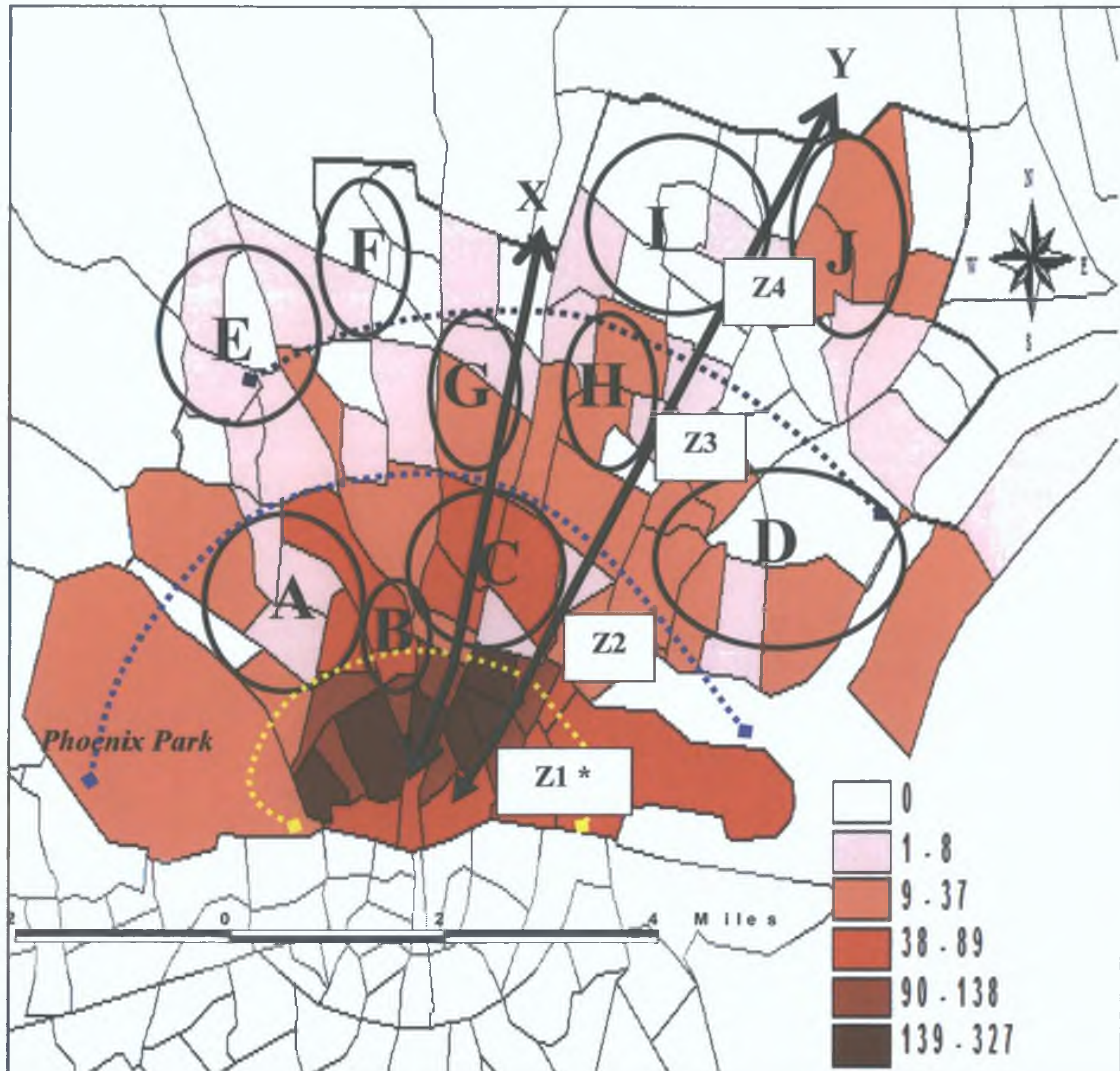
table 103

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	906	52.6
2	227	13.2
3	425	24.7
4	112	6.5
5	36	2.1
6	12	0.7
7	2	0.1
8	2	0.1
11	1	0.1
Total Claims	1,723	100

Although this research has illustrated that a large proportion of asylum seeker families were residing in Dublin's western suburbs, such as Tallaght and Blanchardstown in 2002, table 103 indicates that a large number of asylum seeker families were living in the city at this time. Although more than half of the claimants in Dublin City North (DCN) were individual claims, 590 included a child dependent. Of this 590, 95 were single claimants with no adult dependent i.e. single parents.

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin City North by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 60



Suburban Neighbourhoods

A: Cabra / Glasnevin
B: Phibsboro
C: Drumcondra
D: Clontarf
E: Finglas
F: Ballymun
G: Whitehall / Santry
H: Beaumont
I: Kilmore / Coolock
J: Donaghmede / Raheny

X, Y: Main Transport Corridors from City

*: Asylum Seeker Cluster Zones. The coloured lines indicate the spatial area of these zones.

The areas circled in map 60 above represent the location rather than accurate area size of suburban neighbourhoods in Dublin City North. Some areas incorporate smaller neighbourhoods, For example, Priorswood and Darndale are within the Coolock area.

Map 60 illustrates that Electoral Divisions closest to the centre of Dublin city had the largest numbers of asylum seeker residents. Furthermore, the closer Electoral Divisions are to the inner city the smaller in area size they are. The result of this has been the creation of relatively densely populated ethnically clustered micro-spatial areas.

The map is resonant of Burgess' 1924 concentric zone model of Chicago, whereby the further suburbs are located away from the city's core, the more affluent they tend to be (see Fig. 4 p.60). Burgess described a process of 'invasion and succession' whereby people upon reaching a particular economic and social 'level' would move further away from the city along transport corridors. The different zones, highlighted by the coloured lines in map 60 above, also generally follow the bid-rent curve theory, whereby the closer a property is situated to the urban core .the more expensive it becomes. The economic irony of this theory is that people, such as asylum seekers, become trapped in inner city areas because they cannot afford the transport costs of living in suburban areas. Instead, they live in cramped living conditions in the inner city, often exploited by landlords.

Of the 93 Electoral Divisions (EDs) in Dublin City North, 68 had asylum seeker residents. The densest settlements were within zone 1 (Z1) indicated by the yellow intersecting line that more or less follows the North Circular Road, which in effect acts as the North Inner City border. Most of the Electoral Divisions (EDs) within this NIC 'cluster zone' had between 90 and 327 asylum seeker residents. The Electoral Divisions in zone 2 (Z2) primarily constitute the Cabra and Drumcondra areas. These EDs housed between 9 and 89 asylum seekers. It is interesting to note, however, that within this second zone, the highest populations, which averaged 38–89 asylum seekers, were located along the North Circular Road and transport corridors which lead to and from the city. These corridors are identified as two large arrows, X and Y. The central arrow X follows the transport corridor from O'Connell Street, along Dorset Street ending at the M1 motorway. The second arrow Y runs along Talbot Street, Amiens Street, North Strand and, finally, the Malahide Road.

The number of asylum seekers was minimal in the final zones (Z3 and Z4) which house older, working-class suburbs such as Coolock and Finglas. The exception in this final zone was that some areas within the Donaghmede area to the northeast housed between 9-37 asylum seekers. However, these EDs had an average population of over 3,000 people, which drastically reduced their asylum seeker density levels.

Asylum Seekers, Residing in Dublin City North's Suburban Areas by 'Status' Category, June 2002

table 104

	Claimants	Qual_Adult	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
DCN Suburbs	**429**	178	263 (32%)*	589 (68%)	**870**	18

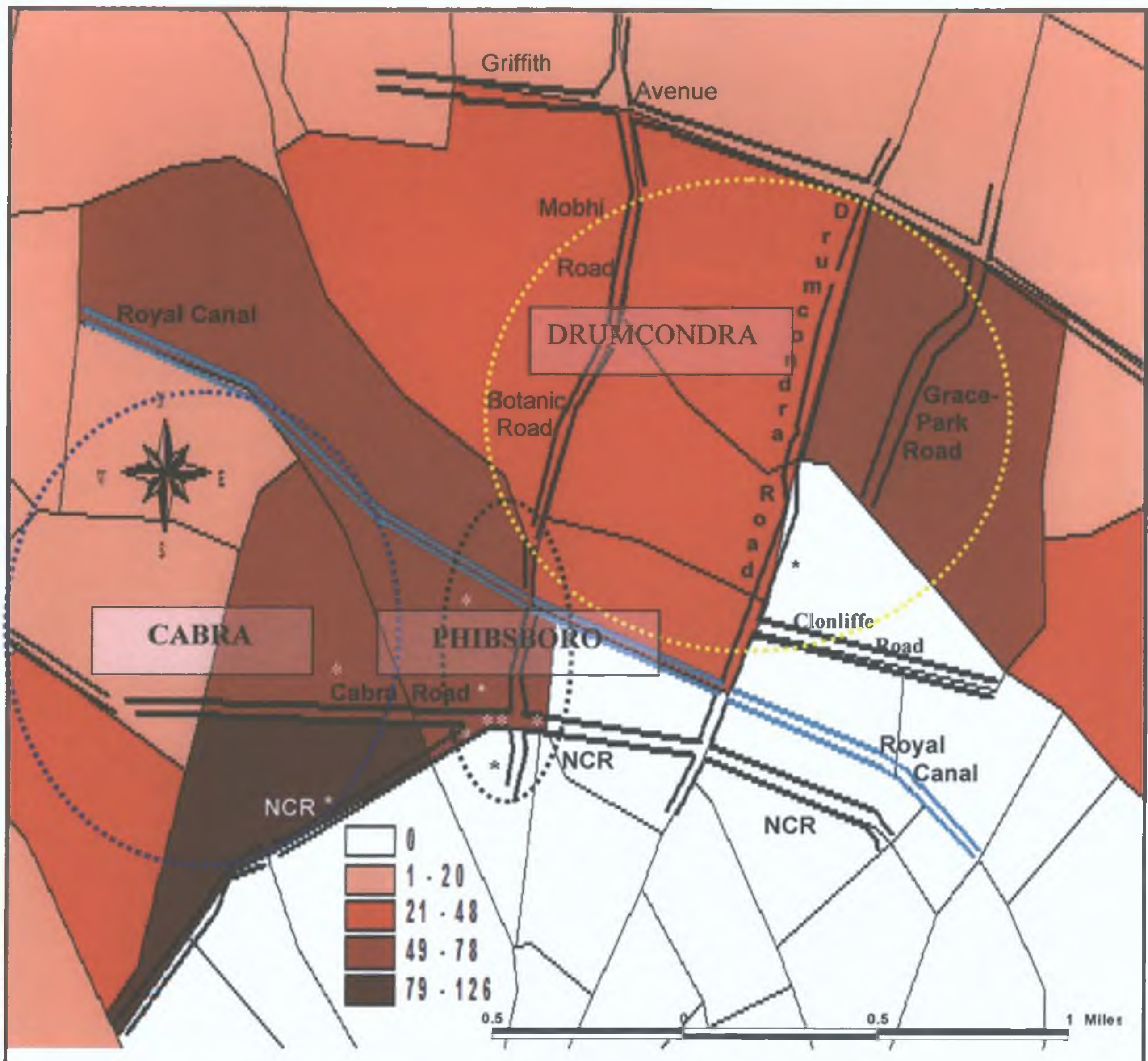
*includes the 18 unaccompanied minors.

There were 870 asylum seekers residing in the suburban areas of Dublin City North (DCN). The ratio of children to adults was lower in DCN compared with the western suburbs such as Blanchardstown and Tallaght. The main reason for this was that the majority of asylum seekers in DCN suburbs were mainly residing just outside the North Inner City in sub-divided houses in zone 2 in map 60, which runs between the North Circular Road and Griffith Avenue. These areas are not characteristic of the traditional family housing suburbs further away from the city, but are characteristically composed of sub-divided housing units which attract individuals rather then families.

Zone 2, highlighted in map 61 on the following page, comprises Cabra, Phibsboro and Drumcondra. Some of the houses in this zone are sub-divided into as many as 16 separate dwellings. Rent is not cheap in these houses for different reasons. Firstly, they are particularly in demand in Dublin's North City due to the number of Colleges in the vicinity, such as Dublin City University, Marino Institute, and St. Patrick's College, Drumcondra. The number of students seeking cheap accommodation results in some unscrupulous landlords further decompartmentalising their properties and, furthermore, squeezing two and three beds into small, one-bedroomed spaces.

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers in Drumcondra, Cabra and Phibsboro, June 2002

map 61



* indicates the location of an immigrant-based shop or service in 2002 / 2003.

Secondly, landlords, aware that some migrants are staying in the State 'illegally', take full advantage of this fact by squeezing numerous people into small and, at times, uninhabitable flats, which are dangerous to the inhabitants in terms of general health and safety.

Sub-Divided Housing on the North Circular Road

plate 87

This photograph shows a row of large houses on the North Circular Road in Electoral Division Cabra East C, which had 126 asylum seeker residents. The close-up photo of one front door indicates there are 16 sub-divisions or 16 different dwellings in that house.

This researcher has visited one such house where five immigrants shared a one-bedroomed flat. From time to time there would be a greater number residing in the flat, as friends would stay there upon arrival in Dublin until they found alternative accommodation. Other immigrants, such as Chinese students, reduce their living costs by cramming into small flats and apartments. According to Rex and Moore (1974), a lack of support for immigrants and a lack of control in the housing market by the Government created an exploitive class of landlords in England, which became the 'net under the social systems net'. The lack of government housing policy concerning the private-rented sector and limited funding of community development can lead to landlords becoming the net under the Irish social systems net.

The number of asylum seekers in Dublin: perception versus reality

One might question why indigenous residents of predominantly white suburban areas perceive and believe, as anecdotal evidence suggests, that the number of asylum seekers in Dublin is greater than it is? As discussed previously, the media rhetoric surrounding asylum seekers is highly inflammatory, which to an extent fuels racism. In essence, the factual reality becomes secondary to the perception of reality, whereby a person's beliefs regarding asylum seeker issues are directly commensurate with his or perceptions, not facts. Another contributing factor to suburbanites' perceptions might be related to the transport corridors which they use to travel to the city (illustrated as X and Y in map 60). Talbot Street is a terminus for many buses travelling to the North East and Parnell Street for those buses travelling to the northwest. There are several shops primarily catering for non-Irish nationals along these bus routes and termini. The *Lithuanica* East European food store on Amiens Street and the *My G Superstore* which caters for Africans on Dorset Street are two examples.

Prominent Immigrant Stores on main thoroughfares North Circular Road and Dorset Street

plate 88

There are also several such shops along the North Circular Road such as the *ABC Europa,* which caters for East Europeans and *Jorag*, which caters for Africans. With shops located in such focal positions, the perception might be that there are more stores than there actually are. Furthermore, because some Africans, Asians and East Europeans travel from different locales to use these stores, their presence is increased in the area which may lead to false perceptions regarding the number of non-Irish nationals residing in the immediate area.

Ethnic Commuters at Bus Stop on Parnell Street

plate 89

The bus stop above is the terminus for several buses which travel along Dorset Street and on as far as Finglas. In essence, because non-Irish nationals are seen on these corridors it might be the perception of the indigenous suburban commuters that many streets to the rear of the main streets are similar in nature i.e. that they house immigrants.

Of the 60 claims in Electoral Division (ED) Cabra East C, 33 had addresses on the North Circular Road and 17 on Cabra Road (see plate 87). One address housed 17 asylum seekers. Thus, the majority of asylum seekers in this ED, which had a 2002 Census population of 3,638, were living in highly visible locations. It is important to consider that whilst the asylum seekers represented 3.4% of the Cabra East C population, the passing commuter might perceive there to be a much higher percentage of asylum seekers in Cabra East C due to the high visibility of asylum seekers in this ED. The high visibility of asylum seekers' abodes, due to their being placed upon main

transport corridors, was a recurring feature in the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in inner city areas, such as the North Circular Road, Parnell Street, Bolton Street and Dorset Street. An asylum seeker or a small group of asylum seekers standing in front of their flat, taking fresh air in public space, will be seen by numerous private vehicles and buses that pass by each minute and can lead to inflated perceptions about the number of immigrants in that immediate locale.

Black Immigrant selling the Evening Herald at Strategic Inner City Traffic Junction

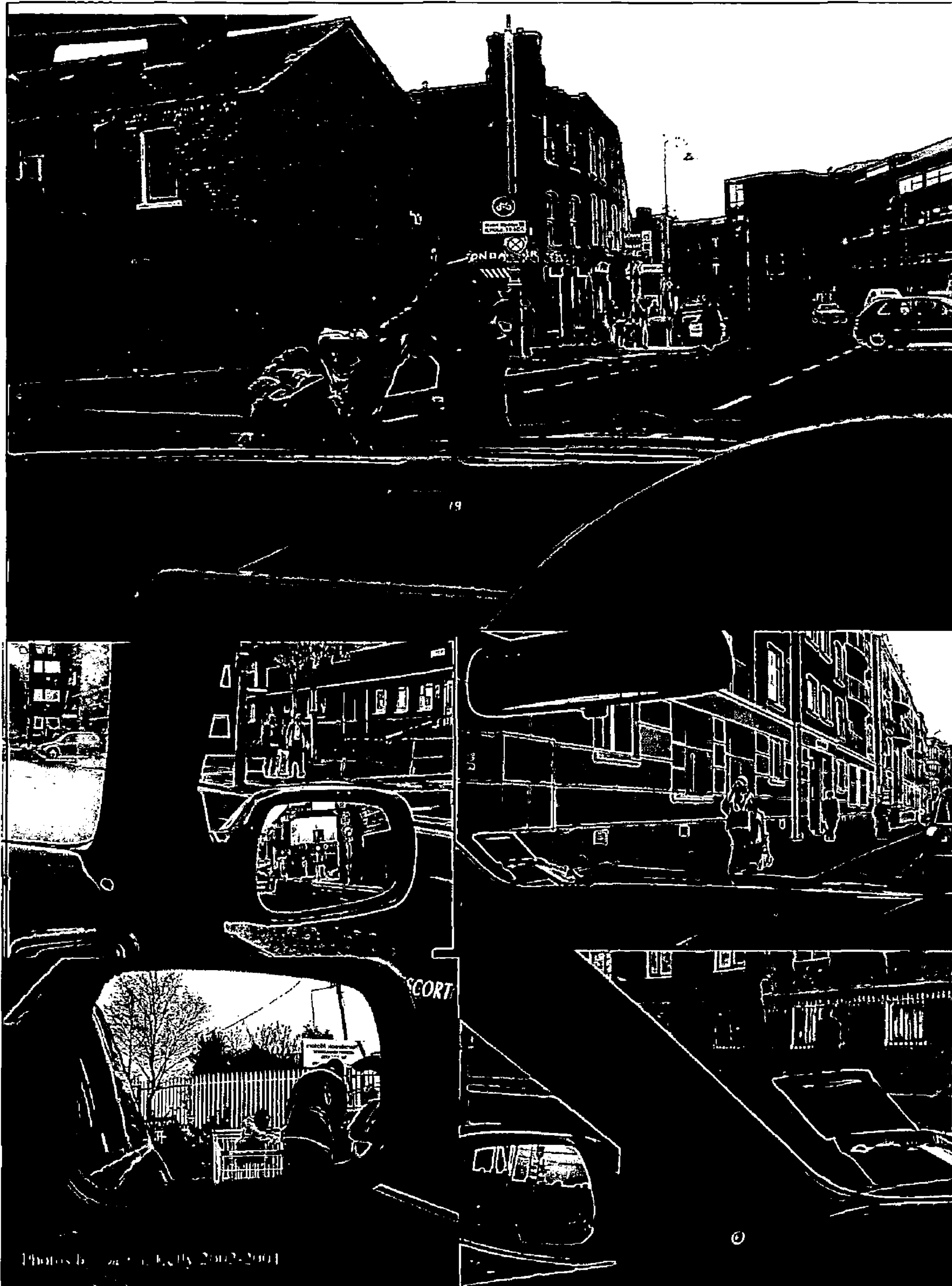
plate 90

Plate 90 shows a man selling the *Evening Herald* newspaper on the traffic ladened north / south River Liffey intersection of Arran Quay, Church Street, Merchant's Quay and Bridge Street. St. Audeon's Church on Thomas Street can be seen in the background. It is postulated here that people in cars might perceive that there are many non-Irish nationals in an area due to this group's high visibility. This is a case in point where predominantly young Black men are selling newspapers on street intersections across Dublin every morning and evening. Members of the Roma community have also begun selling the *Big Issue* magazine at major intersections. Such activities, alongside the selling of tissues and the cleaning of windscreens, are common place in other

countries, but new to Ireland. One aspect of this group's visibility is related to their being walkers occupying visible / public space rather than drivers who occupy invisible / private space.

Visibility of Immigrants in Public Space

plate 91



The changing tenancy pattern, which includes an increased occupancy by students and immigrants, has also dictated the types of shops and services in these areas. For example, there has been an increase in the number of laundrettes, convenience stores, video stores and fast food and take-away food outlets in this area. Such changes might be deemed positive or negative. By 2002 and 2003, a number of shops and services catering for non-Irish nationals have been established in the Phibsboro area. These are highlighted as black and white asterisks in map 61 (p.424).

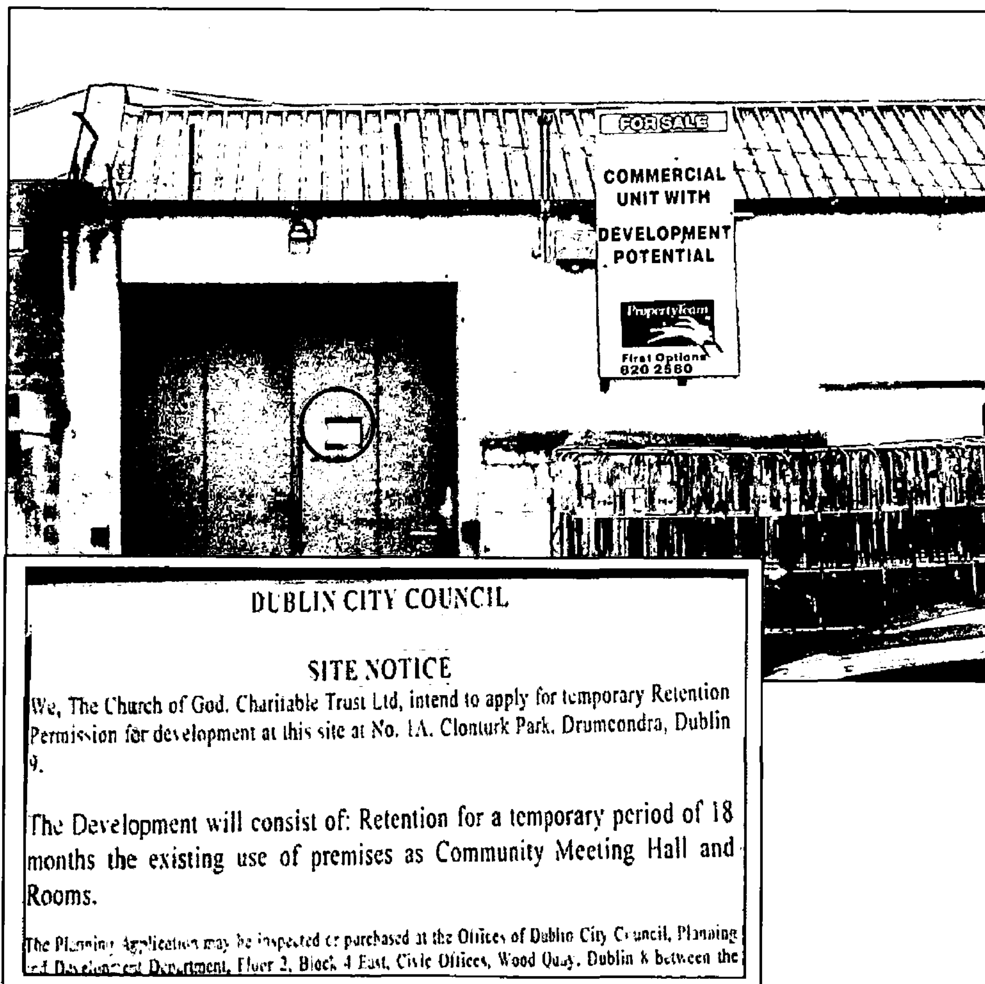
Ethnic-Based Shops and Services in Phibsboro

plate 92

Shops in Phibsboro in 2003 included a Romanian barber shop and an African hair salon. There were two Internet stores, one used by Africans and the other, which included a video library, used primarily by East Europeans. There was one large African food store which sold imported food and hair care products from Africa. It also sold foreign language newspapers and magazines, and had a notice board with various pieces of information ranging from an advertisement for DJ Femi on the local Radio station to the Christ Chapel International Ministries located in a laneway close to Dallymount's Bohemians football stadium. The red box in plate 92 above is an advertisement for an African beauty pageant sponsored by the 3 T's Hair Salon held in Liberty Hall on October 26th 2003.

The Church Of God, Drumcondra, 2002

plate 93



DUBLIN CITY COUNCIL

SITE NOTICE

We, The Church of God, Charitable Trust Ltd, intend to apply for temporary Retention Permission for development at this site at No. 1A, Clonturk Park, Drumcondra, Dublin 9.

The Development will consist of: Retention for a temporary period of 18 months the existing use of premises as Community Meeting Hall and Rooms.

The Planning Application may be inspected or purchased at the Offices of Dublin City Council, Planning and Development Department, Floor 2, Block 4 East, Civic Offices, Wood Quay, Dublin 8 between the

The asterisk north of Clonliffe Road in Drumcondra in map 61 represents the community Meeting Hall of the Church Of God, which was located at the rear of a

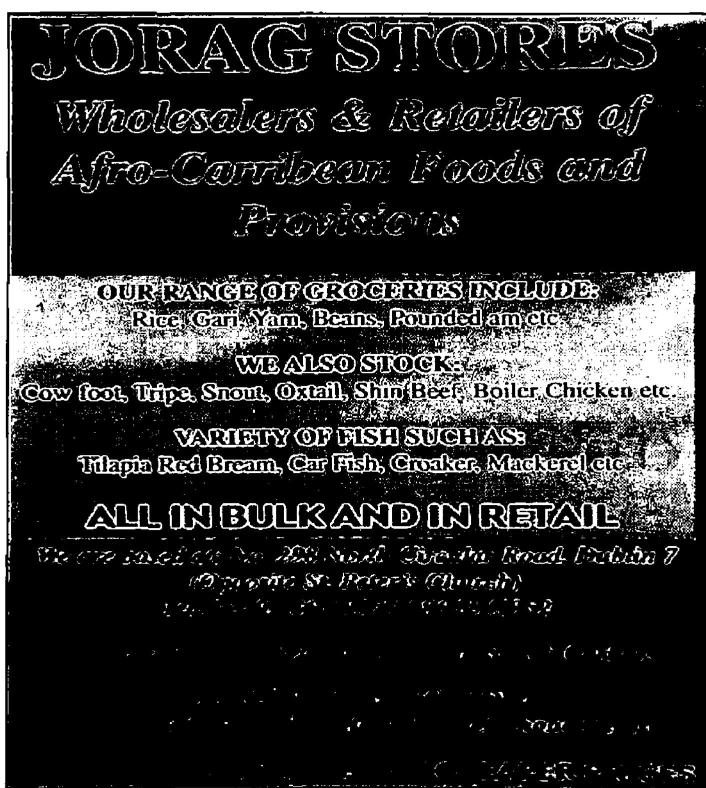
Tesco Supermarket. East European nationals mostly attended the Church. Like many immigrant shops and services, the church had a short tenure and soon after relocated.

Competition for economic and residential space amongst arriving immigrant groups in Dublin City North

Map 61 highlights the placement of immigrant services along the North Circular Road, broadly within the Phibsboro area in 2002 / 2003. Most of the African stores have remained in place as of 2006. This indicates a relatively long tenure, particularly when compared with the rapid change in occupancy of many immigrant stores along other immigrant spaces, such as Parnell Street in the North Inner City.

Jorag Afro-Carribean Store, North Circular Road, 2003 (to date)

plate 94



The 'Jorag Afro-Carribean' store has been located on the North Circular Road since 2001. The meats listed in the above advertisement would once have been popular amongst Dublin's poorer population in the mid 1900s. It is interesting, therefore, that an arriving immigrant group from a nation at a different phase to Ireland on the

Demographic Technological and Cultural Model has brought Ireland's culinary past to the present. Jorag also sells African videos and newspapers and magazines, some of which are published in Ireland.

Due to the accession of Eastern European States into the European Union in 2004, the immigrant landscape has altered to reflect the rising number of East European immigrants residing in Dublin City North and the North Inner City. Newly established immigrant shops and services, which primarily target East European nationals, have located in the same spaces already occupied by African and Asian shops and services. The Perestroika East European food store is located about 20 yards from Jorag.

Perestroika East European Food Store, North Circular Road, 2006

plate 95

Like Jorag, Perestroika sells imported food stuffs, videos and magazines, in this case, primarily from Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania and Russia. Plate 95 above shows the Polish Bakery bread delivery van outside Perestroika. Some East European print media is now published in Ireland. For example, the store sells *Sveiks*, "the first Latvian newspaper in Ireland" and *Polska Gazeta*, "the first Polish weekly in Ireland".

The reasons for the spatial correlation of African and East European services can be related to economics and culture. The latter would suggest that the placement of services is related to where East European immigrants have already been in situ. However, rather than 'choosing' where to live, as discussed in the South East Inner City section, availability and cost can most likely be the determining factors in immigrant housing. It could be argued that the factors concerning immigrant residency also apply to the location of retail units for immigrant shops and services i.e. the availability of cheap space. This availability can be contingent on the wishes of larger Irish / global retail outlets who do not need such retail spaces. Therefore, based on the spatial distribution of residential patterns of asylum seekers and retail units as illustrated in this study, this researcher argues that macro-economics are primarily dictating the location of immigrant retail outlets and residential patterns rather than micro-spatial cultural forces. However, once the immigrant residential and retail patterns have been established, the micro-cultural practices of these arriving sub-cultural groups impact on the indigenous, once mono-cultural spatial unit. The North West Inner City section of the data analysis illustrates the movement (spatial funnelling) of ethnic-based shops and services away from the city's core, due to Dublin City Council's regeneration projects and large retail investment and property development in the inner city. This can result in an increase in immigrant shops, services and residency in places such as Phibsboro.

Support services for immigrants in Dublin City North

Due to the relatively large clustering of asylum seekers and other immigrants in the north inner city, different NGOs and church organisations became involved in providing services. One local volunteer worker said:

...we had to...asylum seekers came to us looking for information and support. There was very little [information and or support] organised by the government so we felt compelled to provide these services ourselves...although we were happy to do this it took us time to gather the relevant information and initiate properly organised events and information sessions for example.

Two of the most important services for immigrants in Dublin, SPIRASI (Spiritan asylum services) and the Vincentian Refugee Centre are located on the North Circular Road in Dublin City North.

SPIRASI

SPIRASI was founded in 1999 under the trusteeship of the Holy Ghost Fathers, and governed by an independent Board of Directors. It incorporates three main areas of work: the Centre for Health Information and Promotion (HIP), the Centre for the Education and Integration of Migrants (CEIM) and the Centre for the Care of Survivors of Torture (CCST). This latter group reported: "During 2003, 420 referrals were received from every Health Board area in the country while the total number of clients since 2001 numbered 730 people from over 40 countries" (www.spiarasi.ie).

SPIRASI also offers literacy and Information Technology classes and also provides an educational outreach programme. It provides office space for immigrant-led organizations, such as ARASI, Metro Eireann, Sierra Leone Ireland Partnership, Global Sourcing Support Organisation for Needs of Asylum Seekers.

The SPIRASI centre follows a community development approach to their work, including aspects of peer education and the use of arts as a medium through which their service users can explore particular issues. Such an approach has been discussed in relation to the work of the Fatima Groups United organisation in the South West Inner City section of the Data Analysis. According to Fr. Michael Begley, CSSP, Director of SPIRASI in an address to the Reception and Integration Agency (RIA), 2004:

The Centre for Health Information and Promotion is a unique peer-led, partnership managed initiative between SPIRASI, the NAHB and the RIA which delivers health information in multiple languages at Dublin reception locations to newly arrived asylum seekers. It uses adult education and community development methods both in the development of resource materials and in the delivery of educational sessions with a participatory emphasis. The aim of this project is to help newly arrived asylum seekers to understand how the Irish health system works and how to access needed services. During 2003, 1,452 newly arrived

asylum seekers participated in health information sessions organised by the four salaried immigrant staff who run the project. (www.spirasi.ie)

In his, address Fr. Begley echoed the struggle for resources articulated by all of the groups this researcher spoke with during the course of this research: "Like most organisation with charity status in the NGO sector, SPIRASI struggles to secure adequate financial support for the services it offers" (www.spirasi.ie). It is of note that SPIRASI have had to employ two grant writers to work alongside its development co-ordinator. As outlined with regard to Tallaght Intercultural Action, too much money and time is spent with regard to keeping financially afloat as opposed to providing services. Like many other NGO and community organisations, volunteers provide much of the work. To survive and optimise services, organisations like SPIRASI must engage in a sustainable development model. According to Fr. Begley: "It is our experience that the formation of a partnership relationship between voluntary and statutory services is one way to effectively move forward together as this allows for a synergy of service beyond what either sector can offer alone" (www.spiasi.ie).

In 2002, the same time as the dataset in this research, 434 students attended SPIRASI English Language Daytime Programmes. The students represented 53 nationalities. 175 people attended English language evening classes and 294 people attended computer classes. 303 clients were screened in the CCST. The average client age was 34.

Plate 96 below was part of an exhibition organised by SPIRASI in conjunction with the Irish Museum of Modern Art. The exhibition was the culmination of an art project / course undertaken by SPIRASI service users. The project was co-facilitated by artists, Louise Walsh (sculptor) and Christopher Harrington (photographer) who worked with the group. The plate illustrates the power of the visual image to arrest the imagination of the viewer. According to one participant: "The art project was great fun – working loads on art and stuff. It helps to show another side of us – to give our side of the story. Art can be fun, it can communicate a lot of stuff that is hard to say – loads more than words" (www.spirasi.ie). In 2006, the arts project in SPIRASI is working on a storytelling project.

BARS (photographic exhibit in IMMA, 2005)

plate 96

"This piece with bars shows that's you can be really institutionalised as an asylum seeker. It is a self-portrait of me before I did this project – stuck in a hostel, getting depressed with nothing to do. But with the Spirasi phone number between my hands it symbolises a way out of the bars of solitude and hopelessness". (www.spirasi.ie)

Vincentian Refugee Centre (VRC)

St. Peter's Catholic Church in Phibsboro has become a focal point for Christian immigrants in the Cabra / Phibsboro area, illustrated at its 2pm Sunday Mass for the African Community which features an African Choir. On the second Sunday of each month there is a special Indian Mass for members of the parish's Indian community.

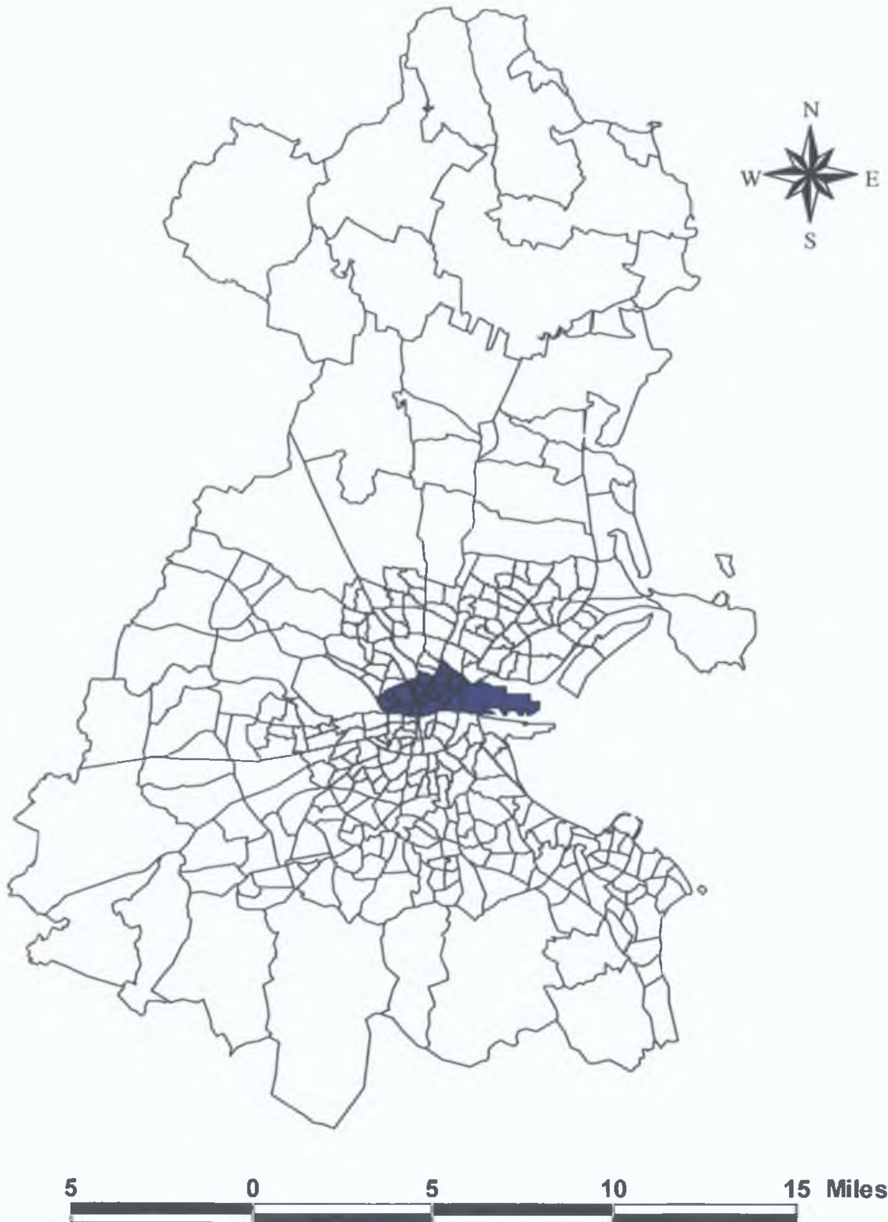
The Vincentian Refugee Centre (VRC) is located in the St. Peter's Church on the North Circular Road (opposite the Jorag Afro-Caribbean store). Many immigrants who seek comfort and advice in the VRC are of the Christian faith and subsequently they become members of the parish community. However, the services are open to and used by immigrants of all faiths.

The Centre was officially opened on the 25th January 1999. It provides services for people seeking asylum, refugees and people with permission to remain in the State. The centre's Mission is to: "Provide a place of welcome and hospitality; Seeks a decent quality of life and living circumstances for people seeking asylum; Acts to lessen the difficulties toward integration and Works for Social Justice". The VRC also aims to "contribute to policy/legislation and work with non governmental and statutory agencies to support minority ethnic groups to integrate into Irish society" (www.stpetersphibsboro.ie).

The VRC provides services similar to those provided by SPIRASI, such as English language classes and Computer training. They provide advice and support with regard to housing, information on social welfare, education, health, employment as well as Asylum and Immigration Law. The VRC also provide support for unaccompanied minors, particularly for those minors who live close-by in residential housing. The centre is a place where immigrants can seek advice in a welcoming and friendly atmosphere. The strength with which the Church is integrating its immigrant congregation into the broader society can be adapted and used as a model that could be followed by secular community organisations, such as the Canals Community Partnership discussed in the South West Inner City section of the Data Analysis.

NORTH INNER CITY

map 62



The Population and Size of Dublin's North Inner City (NIC) and its Percentage and Areal Density of Asylum Seekers, June 2002

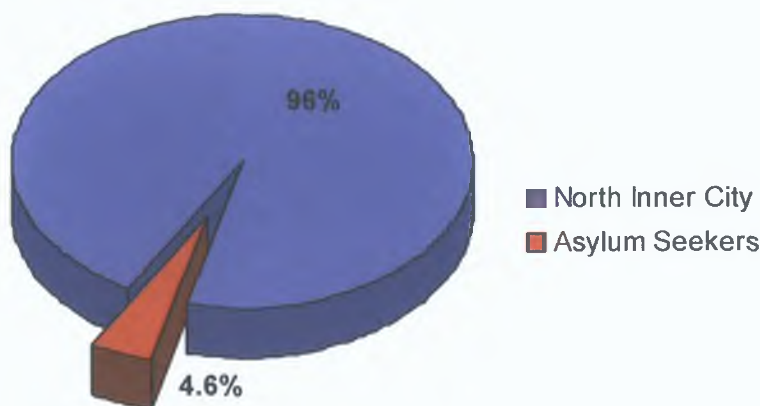
table 105

	Census 1996	Census 2002	% diff Cen. '96-'02	AS* 2002	AS % '02**	Hectares	AS per Hect.	**Cen. Per Hect.
NIC	44,911	54,213	21	27.2	4.62	57.43	2.65	1.05

* Asylum Seeker ** Census (Cen)

The 2002 Census Population of the North Inner City and the Relative Percentage of Asylum Seekers Residing in the Same Spatial Area, June 2002

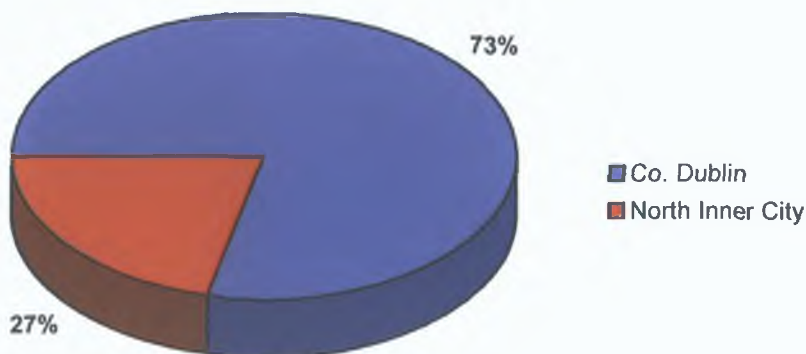
chart 28



There were 2,506 asylum seekers residing in Dublin's North Inner City (NIC) in June 2002, which represented 4.6% of the North Inner City's (NIC) 2002 Census population of 54,213. The NIC population represented 4.8% of the Co. Dublin 2002 Census population of 1,122,821. According to the 2002 Census, the NIC covers 944 hectares and Co. Dublin, 92,066 hectares. Although the NIC is 1% of the total area of Co. Dublin, it housed 27% of all asylum seekers residing in Co. Dublin in June 2002.

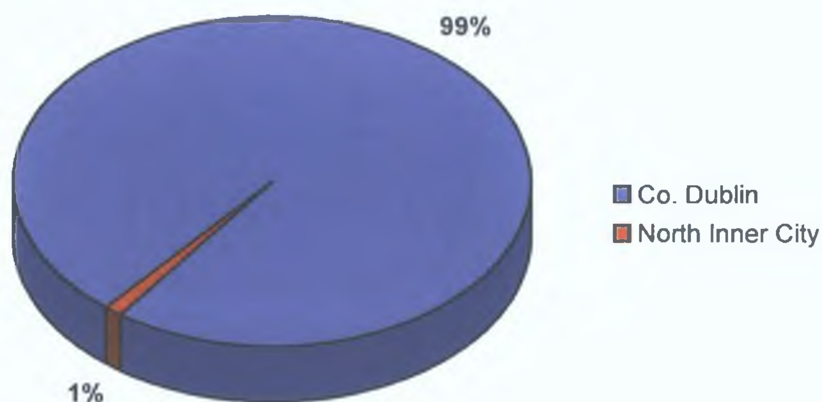
The Number of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's North Inner City as a Percentage of the Total Number of Asylum Seekers Residing in Co. Dublin, June 2002

chart 29



The North Inner City by its Proportionate Area Size of Co. Dublin

chart 30



Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's North Inner City by 'Status ' Category, June 2002

table 106

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
NIC	1,294	520	692 (30%*)	1,754 (70%)	2,506	60

*includes the 60 unaccompanied minors.

The 1,294 asylum seeker claims housed in the North Inner City (NIC) represented 2,506 people. There were 60 unaccompanied minors, the majority of whom were living in residential care centres. The NIC had a total of 905 male claimants, which represented 70% of all claimants. One contributing factor to such a high proportion of male claimants was the relatively low number of Nigerian claimants in the NIC. Where there were more Nigerian claimants there has been a higher overall female claimant ratio due to the relatively high proportion of Nigerian female claimants. There were 389 female claimants in the NIC, which represented 30% of all claimants.

Gender Profile of Claimants Residing in the North Inner City, June 2002

table 107

	Frequency	Percent
Male	905	70%
Female	389	30%
Total	1,294	100

The Romanian asylum seeker population of 931 represented 37.2% of all asylum seekers in the North Inner City (NIC). Seventy-Eight percent of Romanian claims were male thus contributing greatly to the large male to female ratio of asylum seekers residing in the NIC in 2002.

Of the 1,294 claims in the North Inner City (NIC), 512 included at least one child dependent. There were 91 claims comprising child dependants but not adult dependants. These claimants, in an Irish context, have been labelled as 'single parents'. All of these single, asylum seeker parents in the NIC were female. There were seventy-four women with 1 child dependant, thirteen women with 2 child dependants and four women with 3 child dependants.

Household Frequency of Asylum Seekers Residing in the NIC, June 2002

table 108

No. in Household	Frequency	Percentage
1	683	52.8
2	173	13.4
3	325	25.1
4	79	6.1
5	26	2.0
6	5	0.4
7	1	0.1
8	1	0.1
11	1	0.1
Total	1,294	100

There were 512 families residing in Dublin's North Inner City. As opposed to suburban areas of Dublin there are very few amenities or green spaces for children. Many asylum seeker families reside in large sub-divided houses which are unsuitable for families. The houses lack privacy and the corridors are narrow so that carrying prams up and down stairs can be quite difficult. Plate 97 on the following page illustrates a lack of recreational space in front of the houses. Furthermore, the street is close to the house's entrance which can be dangerous for young children, particularly with the streets heavily laden with passing vehicles.

Entrance to Housing in the North Inner City

plate 97

Jonathan Raban (1974) discusses in *Soft City* how the sense of isolation experienced by flat dwellers can be immense, and is particularly acute for single parents. A lack of any private garden space for children has increased the use of public green spaces by families residing in such abodes, hence increasing their visibility.

Mountjoy Square has become reanimated through its usage by non-Irish nationals. Pick-up basketball and soccer games involving people from various nationalities have become commonplace. Many East Europeans, particularly members of the Roma community, use the park to relax and socialise most evenings. In plate 98 below, the group of East European nationals are shown enjoying their social time away from their flats. Yet, by virtue of their visibility in this space, the group has been open to negative labelling. Terms such as 'lazy or 'sponger' have been used by commuters travelling along the busy transport corridor adjacent to the Square.

Immigrants Enjoying the Public Space of Mountjoy Square

plate 98

The Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seeker Children in Dublin's North Inner City, June 2002

map 63

North Circular Road — Dorset Street — Bolton Street — North King Street

a: St. Gabriel's N.S. **b**: St. Mary's N.S. **c**: George's Hill N.S. **d**: O'Connell's N.S.

Map 63 illustrates the spatial distribution of children in the North Inner City (NIC) in 2002. The red dots, which indicate the number of children, have been placed in areas of the EDs where the majority of asylum seekers were residing. For example, the dots have been placed closer to North King Street as most asylum seekers were located in this section of the Electoral Division Arran Quay B. The schools indicated on the map are, from left to right, St. Gabriel's National School, Cowper Street and George's Hill National School, George's Hill in the North West Inner City and St. Mary's National School, St. Mary's Place, just off Dorset Street and O'Connell's National School on Richmond Street in the North East Inner City. Each of the schools have had a non-Irish national cohort of students since the late 1990s, which has been growing in proportional size ever since. Twenty five percent of children in St. Mary's School were immigrants in 2002. Although the 25% immigrant population in St. Mary's has remained constant, the immigrant student body has been in constant flux as many pupils leave the area within a short span of time to be replaced by newly arriving immigrants. According to teachers interviewed at St. Mary's and St. Gabriel's, the short amount of time in which a non-Irish national pupil attends the school makes teaching a more difficult task, creating frustration for both students and teachers. Another challenge faced by teachers is the broad spectrum of language ability and educational achievement of immigrants ranges from children with no English and little formal schooling to children who are multi-lingual and who have excelled in educational attainment.

One of the main challenges faced by schools, such as those in map 63 above, is the difficulty of communicating with pupils' parents who do not speak English. It is the norm for children to bring information home to their parents notifying them of special events, particular pupil needs and of changes to the calendar. To counteract this problem, the North West Inner City Partnership's Intercultural Working Group in consultation with local schools is actively working to translate some school information and general notices. Furthermore, the Intercultural Working Group in consultation with the Dublin Institute of Technology, which will be re-locating to Grangegorman in the North West Inner City, is hoping to put in place a translation service for schools in 2006/2007. Chris Jones and Jill Rutter (1998) and, Rutter (2001) clearly show how the affirmation of cultural diversity and language is essential to avoid minority groups' children feeling isolated and marginalised within schools.

One teacher from St. Gabriel's noted to this researcher that problems of racism on the streets 'permeate the walls of schools'. However, although there are some problems with racism in schools, the integration between children at St. Mary's and St. Gabriel's has been largely successful due to pro-active encouragement of integration by the schools' committed staff.

According to the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform (1999: 9) in *Integration: a Two Way Process* "integration means the ability to participate to the extent that a person wishes in all of the major components of society, without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity". The NCCA guidelines on Intercultural Education are discussed in the NWIC section (page 495). The increased religious diversity of students is a challenge to the majority of primary schools in Ireland, where the teaching of Catholicism has been mandatory. There is no curricular provision for those students who do not take part in religious instruction. This often leads to students being left idle. Additionally, due to sacramental preparation and initiation being integral to Irish Catholic schooling, many non-Catholic students lose a great deal of time during specific Communion and Confirmation years. Although schools have been sensitive to issues around religious instruction, teachers have voiced a need for the Department of Education and Science to address and introduce particular national policies regarding these issues. According to Donal O'Loingsigh (2001: 115-123) in *Responding to Racism*:

> It is therefore evident that the question of interculturalism needs to be accommodated, and that the rights of ethnic and religious minorities must be realistically and adequately catered for in the current Deeds of Variation for Denominational Schools....Currently, it is extremely difficult for children from ethnic minorities to learn to value their culture, their traditions, their language and way of life when the schools they attend are traditionally dominated by one culture and no effort is made to prevent the minority cultures from being subsumed / assimilated into mainstream culture.

It is important to note that some of the pupils in inner city schools hold dual nationality. This group represents the initial stages of what will become, over time, a growing sub-section of the Irish population. It is of great import therefore, that schools such as St. Mary's be allocated necessary funding and educational and social support by the Government. This support can facilitate important integration work in schools that can have great benefits for the pupils, as well as the greater community, in the form of trickle-up integration.

"So How Was Your Day?":
Collecting Children From St. Mary's School, off Dorset Street

plate 99

Photos by Darren Kelly,

Asylum Seekers Residing in the North Inner City by Year of Arrival

table 109

Year	Frequency *	Percentage
1997	23	0.9
1998	44	1.8
1999	402	16.0
2000	463	18.5
2001	929	37.1
2002	645	25.7
Total	2,506	100.0

*represents the total number of people in each year based on the number of people in each claim.

As discussed earlier in the section covering Dublin City North, it is interesting to note that although the Direct Provision policy has been in place since 2000, a large number of asylum seekers were living in private-rented accommodation in Dublin in 2002. As table 109 indicates, 469 asylum seekers registered their refugee applications prior to 2000 and 2,037 after 2000. The reality for upwards of 932 individuals (those applications made prior to 2001) was the fact of having to live under the restrictions of asylum seeker law for at least two years. Although many have professional qualifications, there is no entitlement to work or education for adult asylum seekers.

As table 110 indicates, claimants' ages ranged between 14 and 63 years. Just under three quarters (73%) of claimants were between 18 and 34 years of age, and 16% were between 35 and 42 years of age. The remaining 5.8% were between 43 and 63 years of age. As discussed in the South Dublin County Council section of the Data Analysis, the result is a temporary life for asylum seekers lived in a non-status limbo. The only status the individual has is being an 'asylum seeker' and this has become a pejorative term for many with negative connotations such as being a 'welfare sponger'. The result has led to racist abuse by other groups in society.

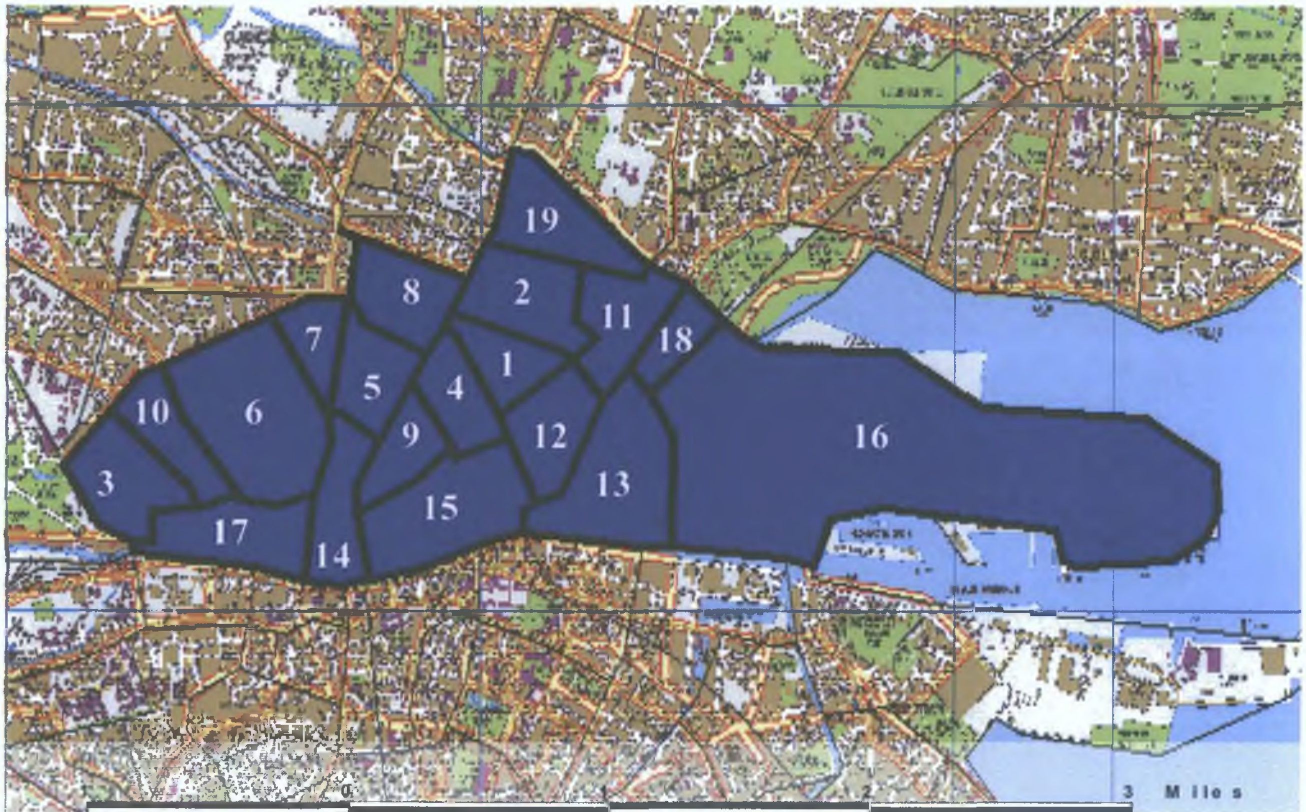
Age Profile of Claimants Residing in the North Inner City, June 2002

table 110

Age	Frequency	Percent
14	1	0.1
15	5	0.4
16	10	0.8
17	47	3.6
Sub total	***63***	***4.9***
18	46	3.6
19	39	3.0
20	26	2.0
21	22	1.7
22	33	2.6
23	40	3.1
24	51	3.9
25	54	4.2
26	64	4.9
Sub total	***375***	***29.0***
27	91	7.0
28	84	6.5
29	72	5.6
30	76	5.9
31	71	5.5
32	71	5.5
33	58	4.5
34	48	3.7
Sub total	***571***	***44.1***
35	45	3.5
36	32	2.5
37	25	1.9
38	33	2.6
39	24	1.9
40	18	1.4
41	14	1.1
42	19	1.5
Sub total	***210***	***16.2***
43	11	0.9
44	11	0.9
45	9	0.7
46	6	0.5
47	3	0.2
48	6	0.5
49	4	0.3
50	2	0.2
51	4	0.3
Sub total	***56***	***4.3***
52	2	0.2
53	2	0.2
54	1	0.1
55	2	0.2
56	4	0.3
57	3	0.2
58	1	0.1
59	1	0.1
62	2	0.2
63	1	0.1
Sub total	***19***	***1.5***
Total	**1294**	

Electoral Divisions in Dublin's North Inner City

map 64



Map Source: Ordnance Survey

1. Mountjoy B
2. Ballybough B
3. Arran Quay D
4. Rotunda A
5. Inns Quay B
6. Arran Quay B
7. Arran Quay A
8. Inns Quay A
9. Rotunda B
10. Arran Quay E
11. Ballybough A
12. Mountjoy A
13. North Dock C
14. Inns Quay C
15. North City
16. North Dock B
17. Arran Quay C
18. North Dock A
19. Drumcondra South B

There are 19 Electoral Divisions (EDs) in the North Inner City (NIC). Six of these EDs were ranked in the 10 EDs with the highest number of asylum seekers residing in County Dublin's 322 EDs in June 2002. Of the 29 Electoral Divisions (ED) which housed more than 100 asylum seekers in County Dublin, 11 were located in the North Inner City (NIC). Electoral Divisions within the NIC are much smaller in size than suburban EDs, which results in their asylum seeker populations representing greater proportions (percentages and density) of their 2002 Census Populations.

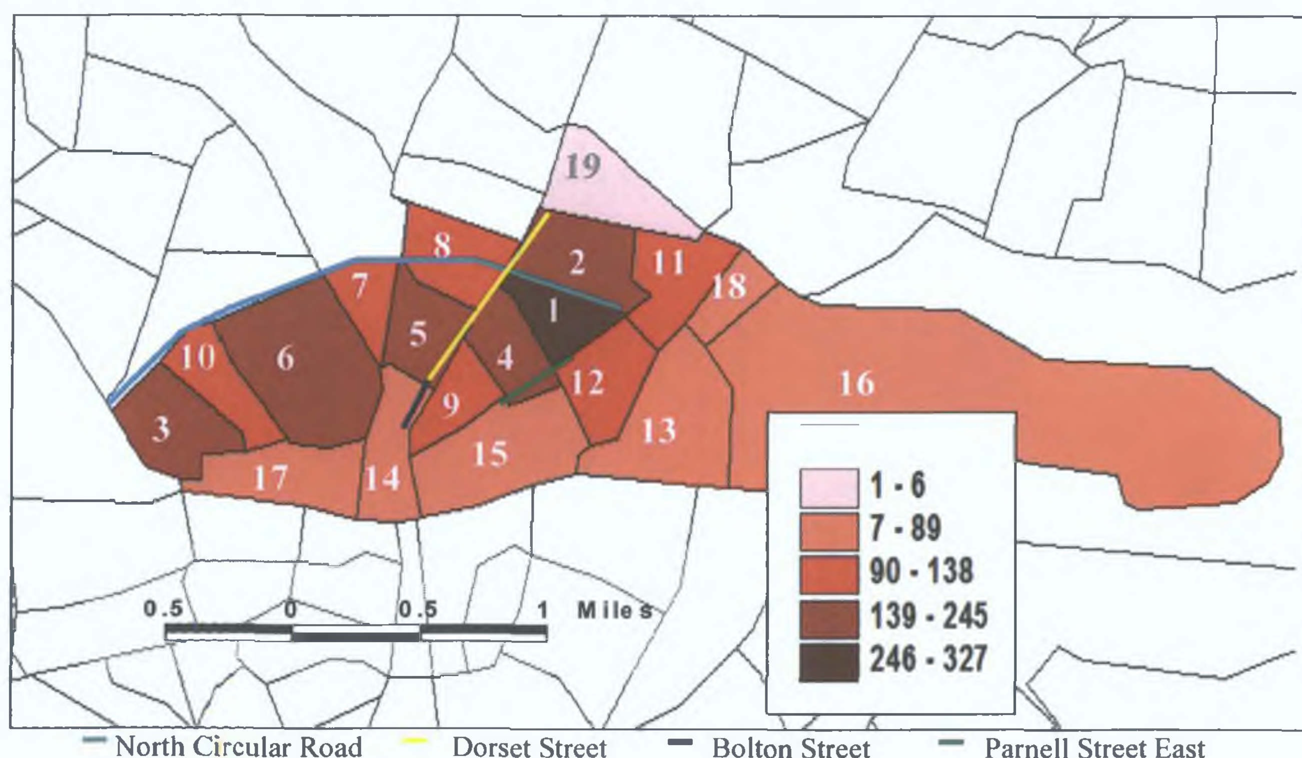
The Total Number of Asylum Seekers (AS) by Electoral Division in the NIC and each as a Percentage of the Total AS Population Residing in Co. Dublin, 2002

table 111

Rank	Name	Frequency	% of AS Total
1	Mountjoy B	327	3.6
2	Ballybough B	245	2.7
3	Arran Quay D	216	2.3
4	Rotunda A	215	2.3
5	Inns Quay B	197	2.1
6	Arran Quay B	191	2.1
7	Arran Quay A	138	1.5
8	Inns Quay A	128	1.4
9	Rotunda B	123	1.3
10	Arran Quay E	118	1.3
11	Ballybough A	101	1.1
12	Mountjoy A	97	1.1
13	North Dock C	89	1.0
14	Inns Quay C	71	0.8
15	North City	70	0.8
16	North Dock B	64	0.7
17	Arran Quay C	61	0.7
18	North Dock A	49	0.5
19	Drumcondra South B	6	0.1
	Total	**2,506**	**27.2**

Spatial Distribution of Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's North Inner City, June 2002

map 65 (Nos. correspond with table 111)



North Circular Road Dorset Street Bolton Street Parnell Street East

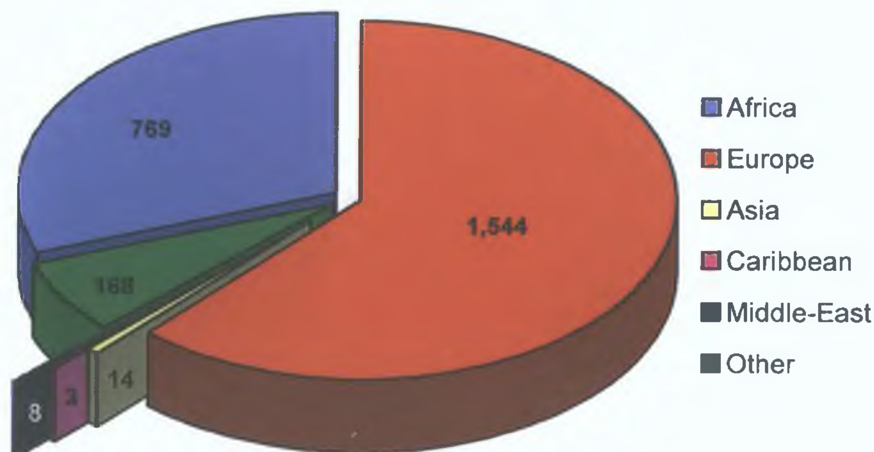
The North Inner City (NIC) housed 27.2% of all asylum seekers residing in Co. Dublin in June 2002. As illustrated in map 65 above, the NIC is clearly the most ethnically clustered spatial area in Dublin. The following analysis will focus firstly on the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in the NIC by geographic region and nationality, followed by an analysis of neighbourhoods with the largest numbers of asylum seeker residents, ending with an analysis of ED Mountjoy B.

The spatial distribution of asylum seekers in the North Inner City by geographic region and nationality

Total Number of Asylum Seekers by Geographic Region Residing in the North Inner City, June 2002

table 112 chart 31

North Inner City	Total 2,506	% of Region
Africa	**769**	**30.7**
Nigeria	*495*	19.8
All other Africa	*274*	10.9
Europe	**1,544**	**61.6**
Romania	*931*	37.2
All other Europe	613	24.5
Asia	**14**	**0.6**
Caribbean	**3**	**0.1**
Middle-East	**8**	**0.3**
Other	**168**	**6.7**



The Number of African and European Asylum Seekers, Residing in the North Inner City, by Electoral Division, June 2002

table 113

Name	African Total	European Total
Arran Quay A	59	59
Arran Quay B	37	145
Arran Quay C	19	31
Arran Quay D	91	114
Arran Quay E	26	77
Ballybough A	46	45
Ballybough B	48	182
Drumcondra South B	2	2
Inns Quay A	69	54
Inns Quay B	68	107
Inns Quay C	6	65
Mountjoy A	47	40
Mountjoy B	54	244
North City	20	50
North Dock A	24	24
North Dock B	30	30
North Dock C	15	62
Rotunda A	55	148
Rotunda B	53	65
Total	769	1,544

As table 113 indicates, asylum seekers from East European countries as a group had the highest population of asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City (NIC) in June 2002. Their population of 1,544 was double the total of Africans, 769. The reason for this greater percentage is solely related to the residential patterns of the European group as opposed to the African group. The European group of 1,544 in the NIC represented 32% of their total Dublin population, compared to 700 Europeans residing in the South Inner City (SIC), which represented 15% of their total Dublin population. The African group, with a total of 769 residents in the NIC, represented 21.5% of their total County Dublin population and their SIC population of 641 represented 18% of their total County Dublin population. It is clear from the data that asylum seekers from Eastern Europe were heavily clustered in the North Inner City and that African Asylum seekers were more evenly spread across the city.

Asylum Seekers (AS) Residing in the North Inner City (NIC) by Country and as a Percentage of all AS in the NIC, June 2002

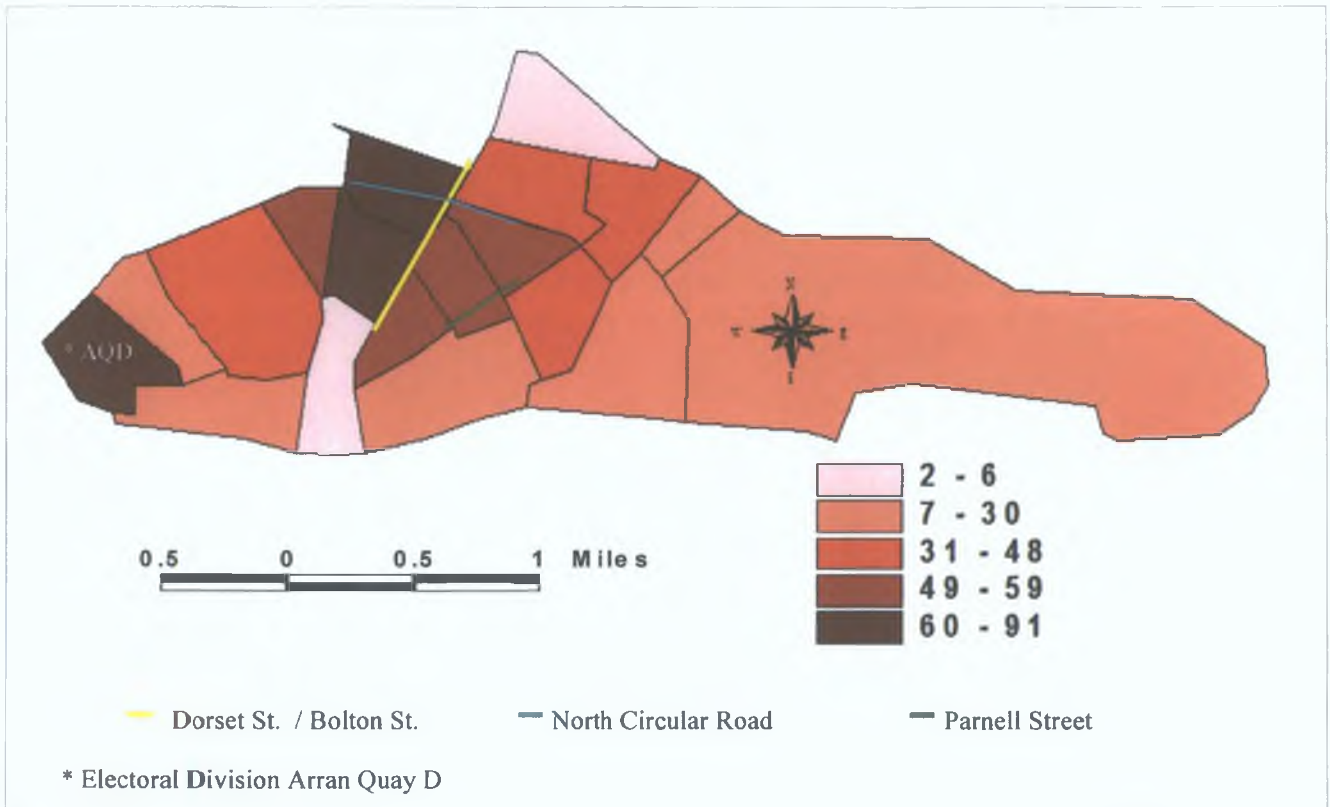
table 114

Rank	Country	Frequency	% of NIC	Rank	Nation	Frequency	% of NIC
1	Romania (map 71)	931	37.2	27	Togo	6	0.2
2	Nigeria (map 67)	495	19.8	28	Kenya	5	0.2
3	Other	168	6.7	29	Guinea	4	0.2
4	Poland (map 76)	85	3.4	30	Iraq	4	0.2
5	Moldova (map 75)	83	3.3	31	Morocco	4	0.2
6	Russia (map 77)	74	3.0	32	South Africa	4	0.2
7	Algeria	66	2.6	33	Burundi	3	0.1
8	Kosovo	49	2.0	34	Chechnya	3	0.1
9	Bulgaria	45	1.8	35	Ethiopia	3	0.1
10	Lithuania	40	1.6	36	Kazakhstan	3	0.1
11	Georgia	34	1.4	37	Niger	3	0.1
12	Albania	32	1.3	38	Sudan	3	0.1
13	Somalia	28	1.1	39	Syria	3	0.1
14	Sierra Leone	27	1.1	40	Uganda	3	0.1
15	Angola	26	1.0	41	Jamaica	2	0.1
16	Cameroon	25	1.0	42	Libya	2	0.1
17	Congo	25	1.0	43	Turkey	2	0.1
18	Latvia	13	0.5	44	Cuba	1	0.04
19	Slovakia	11	0.4	45	Estonia	1	0.04
20	Ghana	9	0.4	46	Guinea-Bissau	1	0.04
21	Czech Republic	8	0.3	47	Hungary	1	0.04
22	China	7	0.3	48	Lebanon	1	0.04
23	Macedonia	7	0.3	49	Lesotho	1	0.04
24	Maldives	7	0.3	50	Mali	1	0.04
25	Rwanda	7	0.3	51	Malta	1	0.04
26	Azerbaijan	6	0.2		TOTAL	2,506	100.00

As indicated in table 114, ten of the countries with the largest asylum seeker totals in the North Inner City (NIC) were from East Europe, Nigeria and Algeria being the exception. Apart from Romania and Nigeria, the numbers of asylum seekers were relatively low. However, by mapping the spatial distribution of each country, the research illustrates a clear spatial clustering of asylum seekers from each country. This residential overlap of all asylum seekers has contributed to the clustering of asylum seekers in particular locales (maps 72 – 77). As discussed earlier, the reasons for this are mostly economic and, thereafter, the result has been a shift in cultural norms in particular locales.

The Spatial Distribution of African Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 66



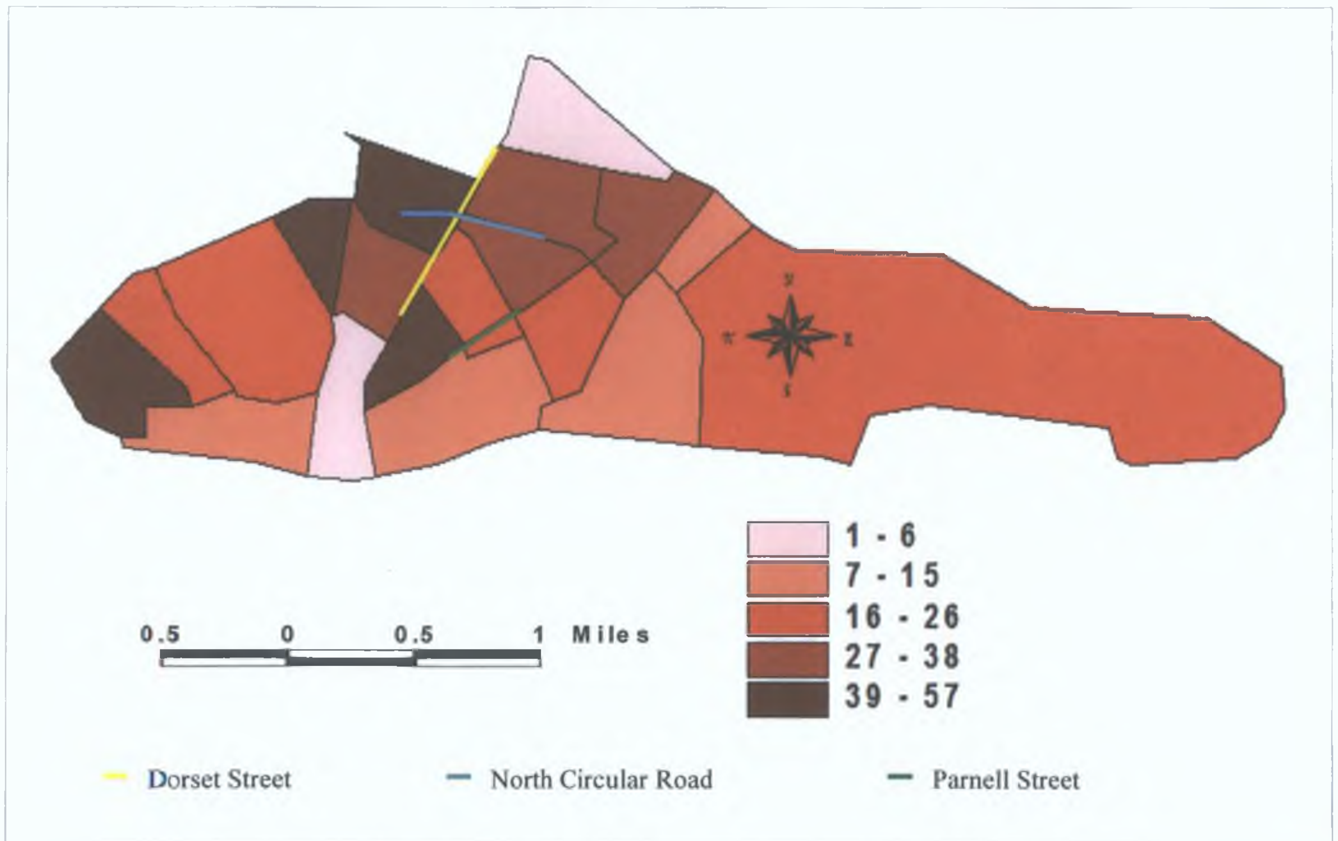
There were 769 African asylum seekers from 23 countries residing in Dublin's North Inner City (NIC). Although the area around Parnell Street, indicated by a green line in map 66, has a large number of shops and services catering for Africans and has been labelled 'Little Africa' in the media, the majority of African asylum seekers were not residing in the EDs bordering this street.

The majority of the 769 African asylum seekers were residing in Electoral Divisions bordering Dorset Street, which is indicated by a yellow line in map 66 above. This concentration area could be called the Dorset Street-North Circular Road (NCR) axis (a section of the NCR is indicated by the blue line in map 66). The other Electoral Division with a large proportion of African asylum seekers was Arran Quay D (AQD in map 66).

The number of shops and services that were catering for Africans on Dorset Street reflected the high proportion of Africans residing in this neighbourhood. As well as reflecting the asylum seeker population, it could also suggest that these shops reflect the presence of other African sub-groups such as refugees, those granted 'Leave to Remain' and undocumented migrants, many of whom would have left the asylum process. The impact the Nigerian community has had on the location of an African community must be considered, as Nigerians represented 64.3% of all African asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City in June 2002.

Spatial Distribution of Nigerian Asylum Seekers in Dublin's North Inner City, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 67



There was a spatial correlation between the African residential patterns and those of Nigerians. This correlation becomes apparent when one compares the two maps that show the spatial distribution of the African (map 66) and Nigerian (map 67) groups. The Nigerian group were also clustered in Electoral Divisions bordering Dorset Street

and in Electoral Division Arran Quay D. Many of the African shops in the North Inner City are owned and staffed by Nigerians.

Due to their very small numbers, individual African national groupings would be quite isolated if they were to live in separate areas. According to African immigrants who have spoken with this researcher, living in isolation increases both an individual's visibility and apprehension from a lack of familiar and comforting surroundings. In essence, it can be postulated that the Nigerian area has become a centripetal force in attracting immigrants from other African nationalities to live in the 'Nigerian' area. As a result, the area may, over time, evolve into being an 'African' cluster area.

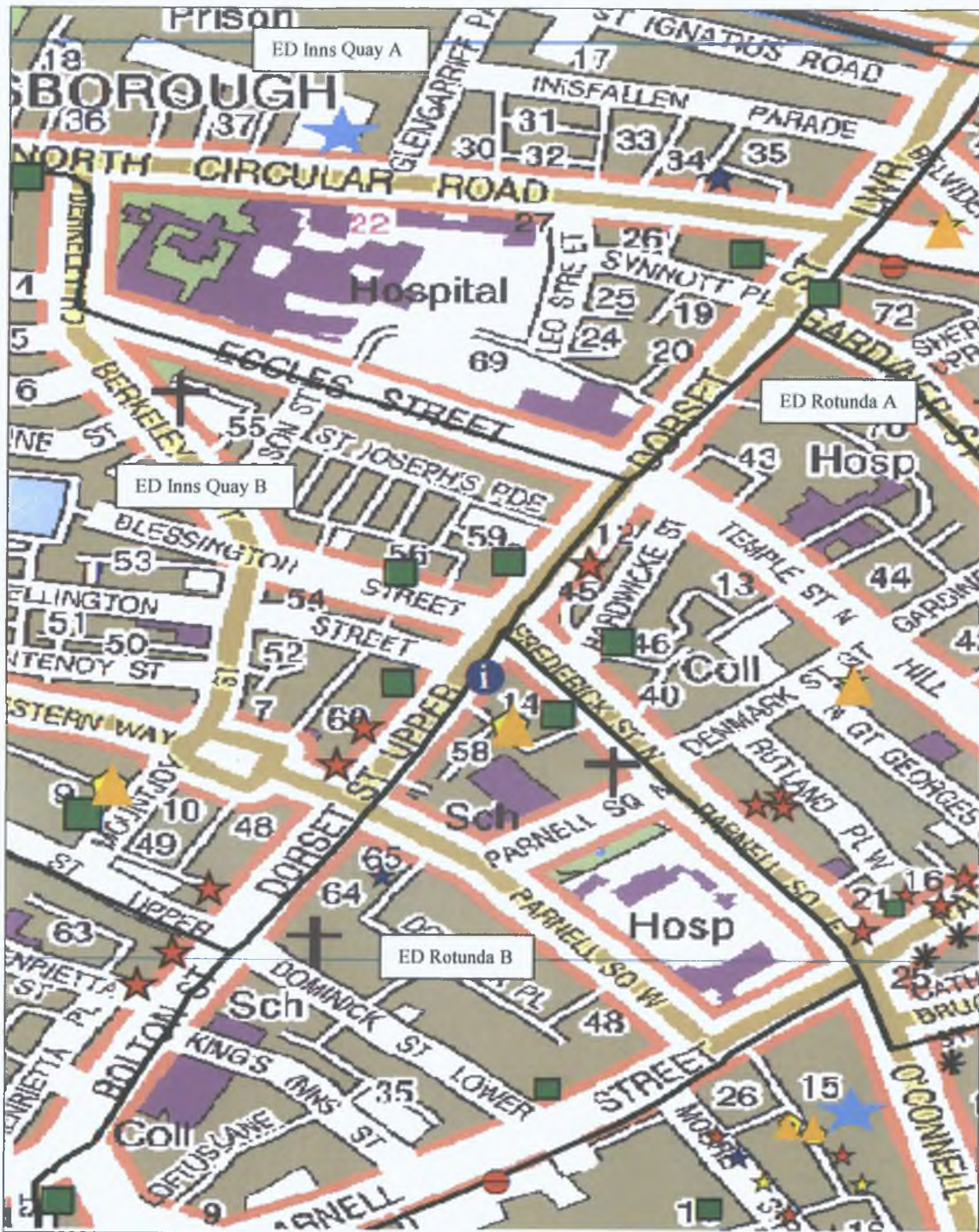
African Shops on Dorset Street, 2003

plate 100

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2002

Immigrant Stores on Dorset Street, 2003

map 68



KEY:

African

Eurasian

East European

Place of worship

Internet

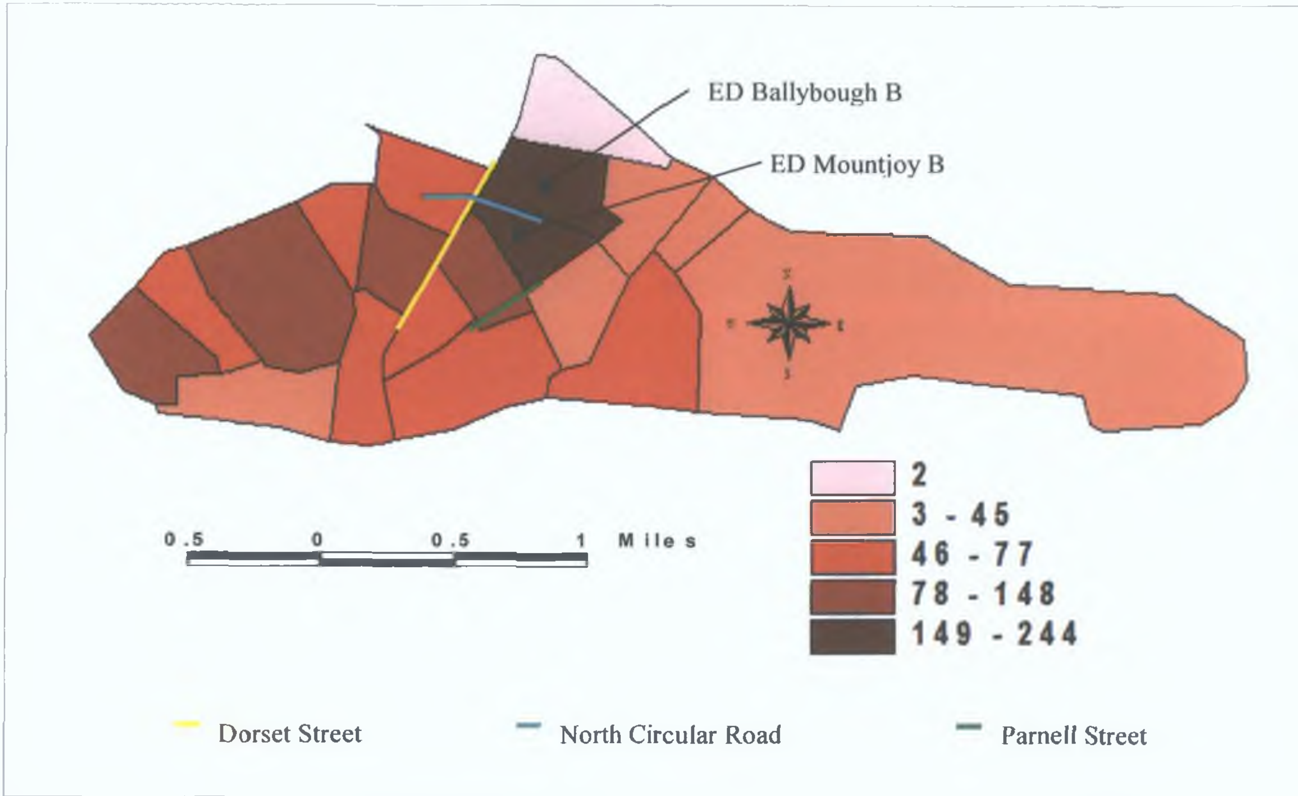
There were four African stores on Dorset Street in August 2003 and two on Bolton Street. All six were still in operation in 2006, which is testament to the stability of the African presence in this area. There were also four Internet and call centres. The four of these Internet shops employed African staff and predominantly African people seemed to use their services. There were also a number of other shops just off Dorset Street, as indicated in map 68. The two places of worship were the 'Life Renewal Ministries International', which was located on Mountjoy Street and the 'Overcomers Gospel Faith Mission International' on North Frederick Lane. Map 68 clearly illustrates the number of African shops and services in the Parnell Street and Moore Street areas. The two latter areas will be further discussed in the North East section of this data analysis of the North Inner City. Black immigrants live together for safety and security, and also shop and socialise together in the same place for the same reasons. This enhances the cultural reasons for immigrant clustering as opposed to the argument that macroeconomics is the sole reason for clustering.

It is important to consider where and to what extent, East European asylum seekers were residentially clustering in the early 2000s. Such an examination is particularly relevant as some of these countries, since their accession into the EU, have freedom of movement and thus such clustered areas may well become the initial in-bound destination for future East European immigrants. An awareness of the spatial distribution of immigrants and the forces underpinning this movement is essential for future urban and community planning and development.

As outlined earlier in this section, there were twice as many East European asylum seekers as Africans residing in the North Inner City (NIC). The main clustering was within the North East Inner City, in particular Electoral Divisions Mountjoy B and Ballybough A. It is interesting to note that this area with the highest representation of any one regional group, that of East European asylum seekers, was labelled 'Little Africa' in and around 2000 due to the 'visibility' of African shops and signs, rather than the number of people who were living there. The area has, over time, become increasingly identified as a 'Chinatown' due to the increasing number of Asian stores located there.

Spatial Distribution of East European Asylum Seekers in Dublin's North Inner City, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 69



Asylum Seeker Countries with the Highest numbers in the NIC as a Percentage of their Dublin Totals and their SIC Totals as a Percentage of their Dublin Totals

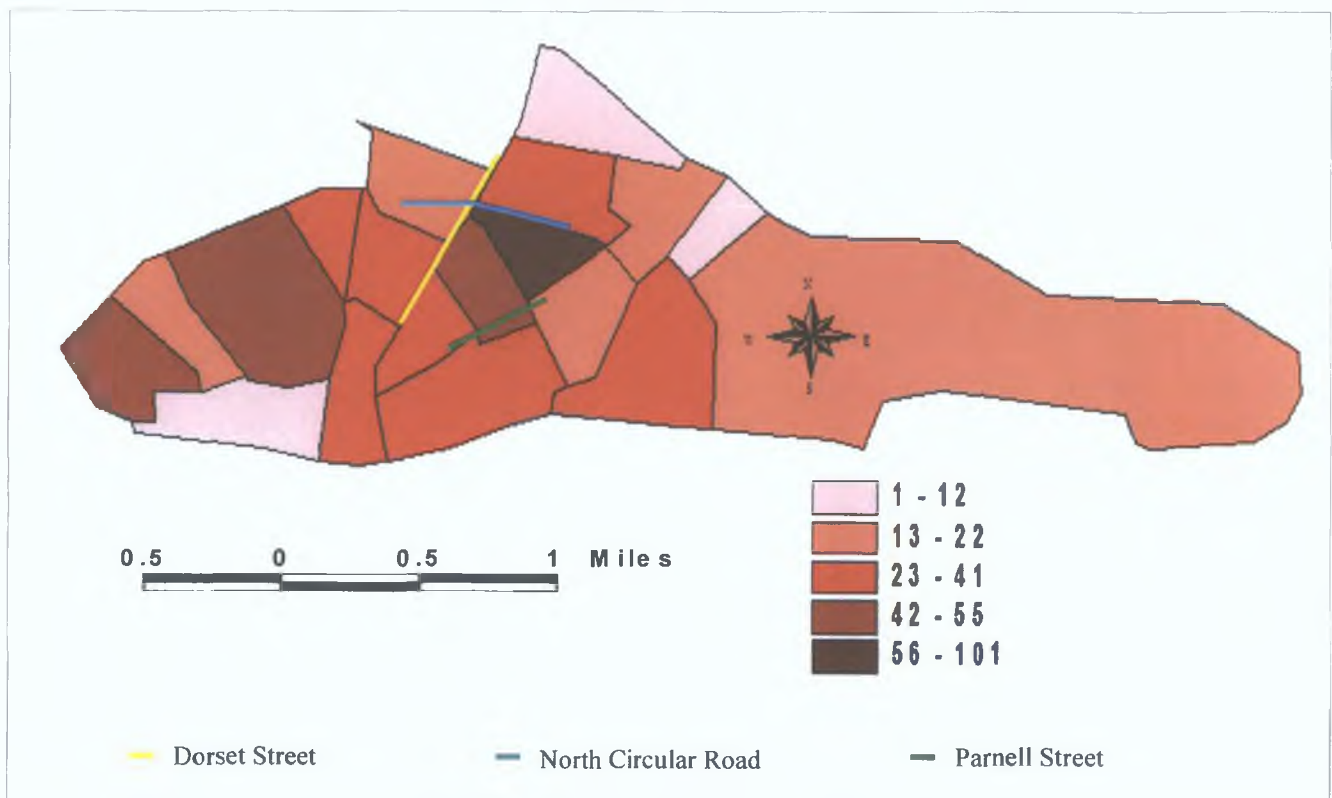
table 115

Rank	Country	NIC	Dub. Total	% of Total	SIC	% of Total
1	Romania	931	2,712	34.3	461	17.0
2	Nigeria	495	2,155	23.0	373	17.3
3	Other	168	686	24.5	127	18.5
4	Poland	85	205	41.5	9	4.4
5	Moldova	83	301	27.6	31	10.3
6	Russia	74	291	25.4	51	17.5
7	Algeria	66	308	21.4	90	29.2
8	Kosovo	49	148	33.1	16	10.8
9	Bulgaria	45	93	48.4	7	7.5
10	Lithuania	40	148	27.0	19	12.8
11	Georgia	34	80	42.5	15	18.8
12	Albania	32	123	26.0	10	8.1
13	Somalia	28	100	28.0	24	24.0
14	Sierra Leone	27	99	27.3	13	13.1
15	Angola	26	116	22.4	15	12.9
16	Cameroon	25	88	28.4	7	8.0
17	Congo	25	228	11.0	44	19.3

Table 115 indicates the 17 nations with the highest numbers of asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City (NIC) area in June 2002. Apart from Algeria and the Congo, the remaining 15 nations had larger proportions of their populations residing in the NIC compared with the South Inner City (SIC). The table clearly illustrates that the NIC has become a cluster area for European nationals. Almost half of all Polish, Bulgarian and Georgian asylum seekers and more than a third of all Romanians and Kosovars were residing in the NIC. There were also more than a quarter of Moldovan, Lithuanian, Russian and Albanian asylum seekers residing in the NIC.

Spatial Distribution of 'All Other European Nations' Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

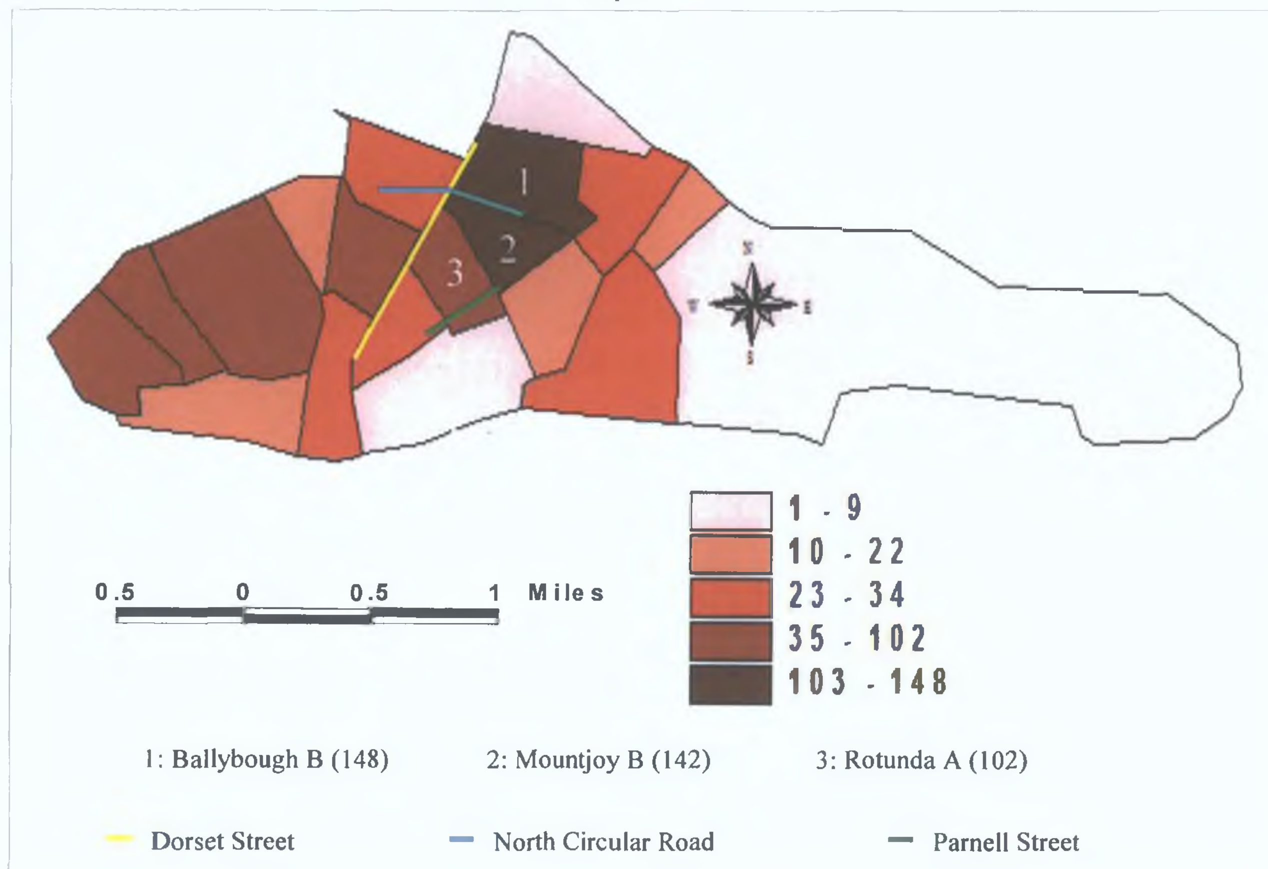
map 70



As illustrated in map 71 below, the spatial distribution of asylum seekers from Romania was characterised by relatively high density clustering in specific Electoral Divisions. Ballybough B had a Romanian asylum seeker population of 148, Mountjoy B had a population of 142 and Rotunda A, 102. In total, there were 931 Romanian asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City (NIC) which represented 33% of all Romanian asylum seekers.

Spatial Distribution of Romanian Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 71



Romanians were much more densely clustered when compared with Nigerians, the second-largest asylum seeking population. There were 664 Romanian adults in the North Inner City and 264 children. It is impossible to know what percentage of the 'Romanian' asylum seeker cohort is of Roma ethnicity. Furthermore, members of the Roma community might also be nationals of other East European countries. However, according to Louise Lesovitch's (2005) *Roma Educational Needs in Ireland: Contexts and Challenges*:

> The population of the Roma in Ireland is based on estimates. The most widely given estimate are 2,500 to 3,000 with the majority originating from Romania. Anecdotal evidence gathered in research for this report would seem to indicate that this figure is in all probability higher.

According to Pavee Point, very few Roma children are attending school in the North Inner City, which leads to concerns regarding the educational welfare of young Roma children, many of whom remain with their parents as they work during the days and evenings. Roma parents and their children have become highly 'visible' on Dublin's

streets through their selling of the *Big Issue* magazine, flower selling outside pubs and clubs at night and begging. Small groups of Roma women also travel to suburbs to go from door to door asking for food or money. The result has been a broad-based anger at and lack of tolerance towards members of the Roma community by the Irish population (and by sections of the immigrant population).

East European (Roma) Flower Sellers at Dublin Corporation Market

plate 101

The reaction is most likely the result of a lack of understanding in Irish society of the cultural norms of the Roma, as well as a lack of awareness of the group's disadvantaged standing within their countries of origin. Such a lack of tolerance and awareness of this ethnic group's situation is, to an extent, similar to the experiences of the Travelling community in Ireland. The Pavee Point Traveller Centre is located in Electoral Division Mountjoy B. The centre engages in an array of education and support services for Travellers. The centre has included the Roma community within its remit and aims to inform and encourage social provision for this marginalised sub-

group in Irish society. Pavee Point, alongside the VEC and the Roma Support Group co-sponsored Lesovitch's (2005) report which states:

> The issues and barriers, which affect Roma access, participation and attainment in education, are long-standing, complex and multi-faceted. Successful provision for Roma is achievable if cultural and social factors as well as historical experiences are taken into consideration. Innovative and inclusive education services, projects and programmes for Roma adults and children are emerging throughout Europe and Ireland. This report highlights the need to build on this work and promote better understanding of a diverse community known as the Roma.

box 8

Key Findings and Conclusions of the Report (Lesovitch, 2005)

The research found the barriers to Roma adult participation in education (primarily, language and literacy development) include:

- Stress of the asylum process and an inability to plan for the future
- Mother-tongue non-literacy as well as non-literacy in other languages
- Limited and/or no English language skills development
- Traditional gender roles
- Cultural attitudes to mixing in non-Roma sectors and fears of losing Roma culture
- Limited and/or negative experiences in formal education provision

The barriers to Roma children's participation and achievement/attainment in education include:

- Lack of family support for school
- Parental inability to help with schoolwork
- Traditional gender roles
- Difficulties eliciting accurate information on children's previous school experiences and/or enrolment
- Peer group relations in schools
- Literacy and familiarity with a formal learning environment

In conclusion, the report emphasises the importance of the extended, intergenerational family-group learning environment in Roma culture. It draws attention for the need to:

- Establish/build a link between the home and education institutions for adults and
- children
- Understand traditional social and cultural roles maintained by the majority of
- Roma families in Ireland
- Provide programmes for Roma men, which have specific work-related outcomes
- Provide programmes for Roma women, which reflect childcare responsibilities and socialisation roles
- Implement a family learning approach to language and literacy development for Roma adults and children

The Minister for Justice, Equality and Law Reform announced in January 2007 that Romanian nationals would no longer be recognised as asylum seekers (http://www.justice.ie/80256E010039C5AF/vWeb/pcJUSQ6X5LL9-en). Although Romanian nationals may enter freely into Ireland, they may only do so for a period of three months and thereafter must be in receipt of a work permit, enrolled in an educational institution or prove that they have sufficient finances to remain in the State. Romanians, who do not fit the above criteria, may be deported. Being outside any

Government social system (for example, those who were asylum seekers) furthers the risk of impoverishing members of the Roma community. In effect, this ruling will criminalise members of the Roma community.

Although densely clustered, there has been little evidence of their establishment of shops and services for Romanians in Dublin, which exacerbates the sense of cultural dislocation. The *Transval* Romanian Restaurant off Bolton Street was established before the arrival of Romanian asylum seekers and was catering for Irish as well as non-Irish clients. According to the owner, until the arrival of relatively large numbers of Romanian asylum seekers in the area there were no cases of racist graffiti on or around the premises. However, once Romanians arrived in the locale, racist graffiti was written on the walls of the restaurant. The ABC Europa food store was established during the Summer of 2003 on the NCR, close to Dorset Street.

ABC East European Shop to the East of the North Circular Road near Dorset Street

plate 102

This store, as well as selling Romanian and other East European and Balkan foods like the Russian store in Rush, acted as a point of reference and information for Romanians. The advertisement above was posted inside the front door of the store. Importantly it was advertising the information meeting in Liberty Hall on August 27th 2003 for parents of Irish-born children, organised by the Coalition Against

Deportation of Irish Children (CADIC). Following the decision by the Supreme Court in the L and O case of January 23 2003, which ruled that non-Irish National parents of Irish-born children could be deported, the Minister for Justice Equality and Law Reform, in July 2003, sent letters to 700 migrant parents. The letters informed the parents that the Minister intended to deport them unless they made written representations for 'Leave to Remain' within 15 working days. The migrants, according to the Minister, could not apply for Free Legal Aid. The average cost for a solicitor to fulfil the migrant parents' requirements in this instance was circa €3,000. The panic that ensued was widely reported in the National media (and in *Diaspora Românescă* pictured below), and an information meeting had to have two sittings due to the number of parents that arrived from all over Ireland. For many Romanian parents with no English, this advertisement in Europa might have been their only source of information about the meeting, thus showing the important role that these shops play in such communities.

Romanian Language Newspapers plate 103

The shop, which (plate102), advertises Romanian Magazines and newspapers. As well as the weekly Romanian *Dracula* publication which ABC import, they also sell Diaspora Românescă, a weekly English publication which caters for the Romanian Diaspora in England and subsequently, Ireland. The leading editorial in the Diaspora Românescă 16-24 August, 2003 is 'Confuzie totală' (Total Confusion).

The ABC Europa store also catered for other East European nationals residing in the Dorset Street / North Circular Road (NCR) axis area. Despite East European asylum seekers outnumbering African asylum seekers in 2002, there were very few East European stores, particularly when compared with the number of African stores. In 2003, the only two other East European stores were Lithuanica, located on Amiens

Street and a large Russian Delicatessen on Moore Street. The latter relocated to Meath Street in 2004 and was replaced on Moore Street by an Asian food outlet, which indicates the fluidity of immigrant services in the North Inner City.

Eastern European Asylum Seekers Residing in the North Inner City by Status Category, by Electoral Division, June 2002

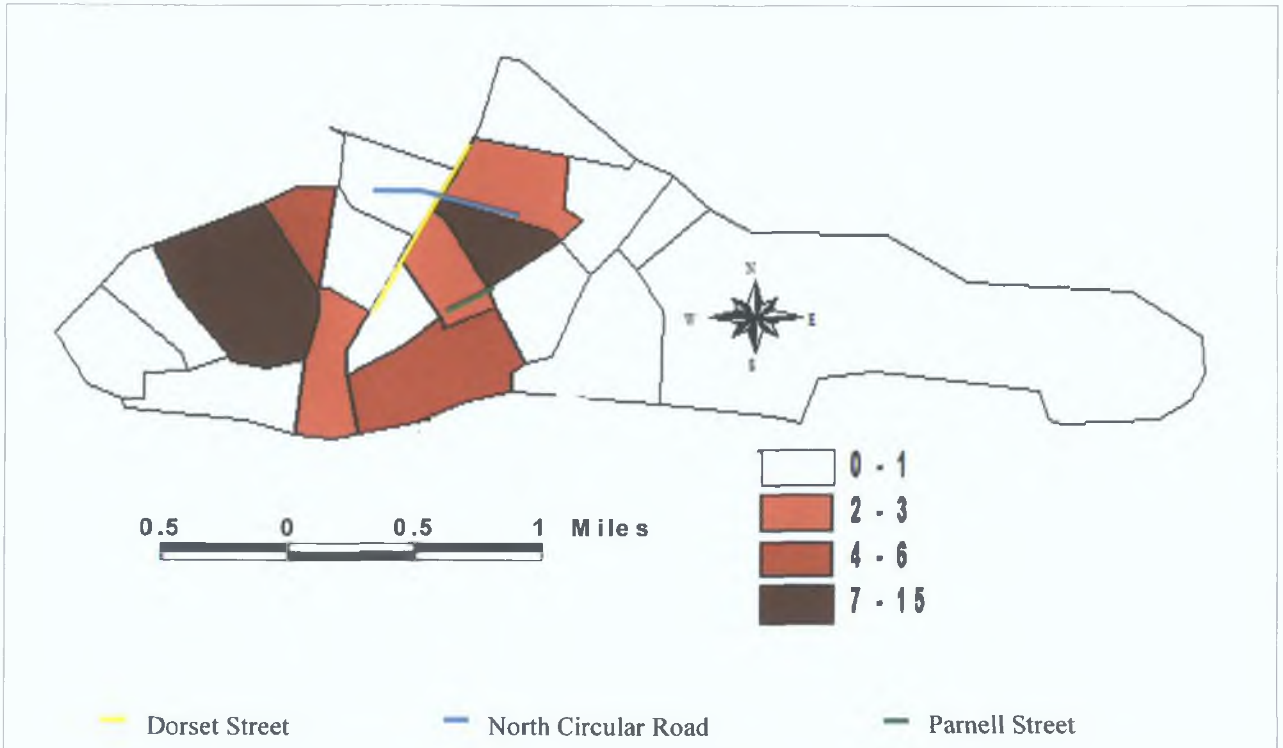
table 116

Rank	Name	Claimant	Q_Adult	Q_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Un_Minor
1	Mountjoy B	115	65	64	178	244	0
2	Ballybough B	87	43	52	129	182	0
4	Rotunda A	78	35	35	113	148	0
5	Arran Quay B	59	40	46	99	145	0
6	Arran Quay D	46	31	37	77	114	0
7	Inns Quay B	58	23	26	77	107	4
12	Arran Quay E	31	18	28	49	77	0
18	Inns Quay C	24	20	21	44	65	0
20	Rotunda B	27	20	18	45	65	0
21	North Dock C	31	13	18	44	62	0
27	Arran Quay A	37	10	12	36	59	9
29	Inns Quay A	22	14	18	36	54	0
31	North City	18	16	16	34	50	0
36	Ballybough A	27	9	9	36	45	0
40	Mountjoy A	16	12	12	28	40	0
48	Arran Quay C	12	9	10	21	31	0
49	North Dock B	13	6	11	19	30	0
57	North Dock A	9	6	9	15	24	0
178	Drumcondra South B	2	0	0	2	2	0
	North Inner City Total	**712**	**390**	**442**	**1,082**	**1,544**	**13**
	Other Cluster Areas:						
3	Blanchardstown-Blakestown (Fingal)	51	39	74	90	164	0
8	Kilmainham C (South Inner City)	39	36	31	75	106	0
9	Rathmines West B (South Inner City)	36	19	24	55	79	0
10	Blanchardstown-Coolmine (Fingal)	25	21	32	45	78	1

Table 116 shows the total number of East European asylum seekers within each Electoral Division (ED) in the NIC. It also indicates that the accumulation of asylum seekers from individual countries in seemingly small numbers can, when grouped together, create a cluster zone. The 'Rank' column represents each Electoral Division's (EDs) ranking according to the total number of East European asylum seekers in County Dublin's 322 EDs. The table shows that 6 of the 10 most heavily populated Eastern European EDs were in the North Inner City. The other four top 10 European EDs are shown at the bottom of the table. Electoral Division Mountjoy B had an East European asylum seeker total of 244, and an overall asylum seeker population of 327 - the largest in the North Inner City (NIC) and Dublin.

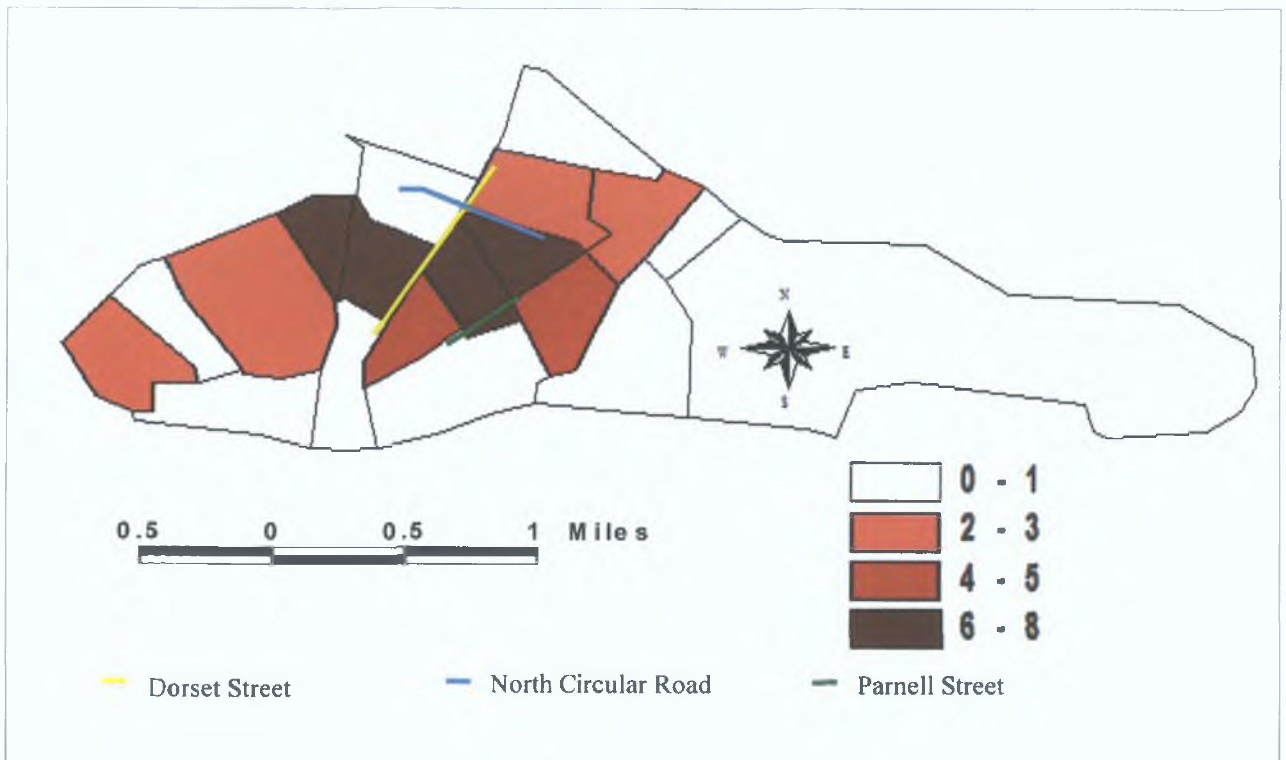
Spatial Distribution of Bulgarian Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 72



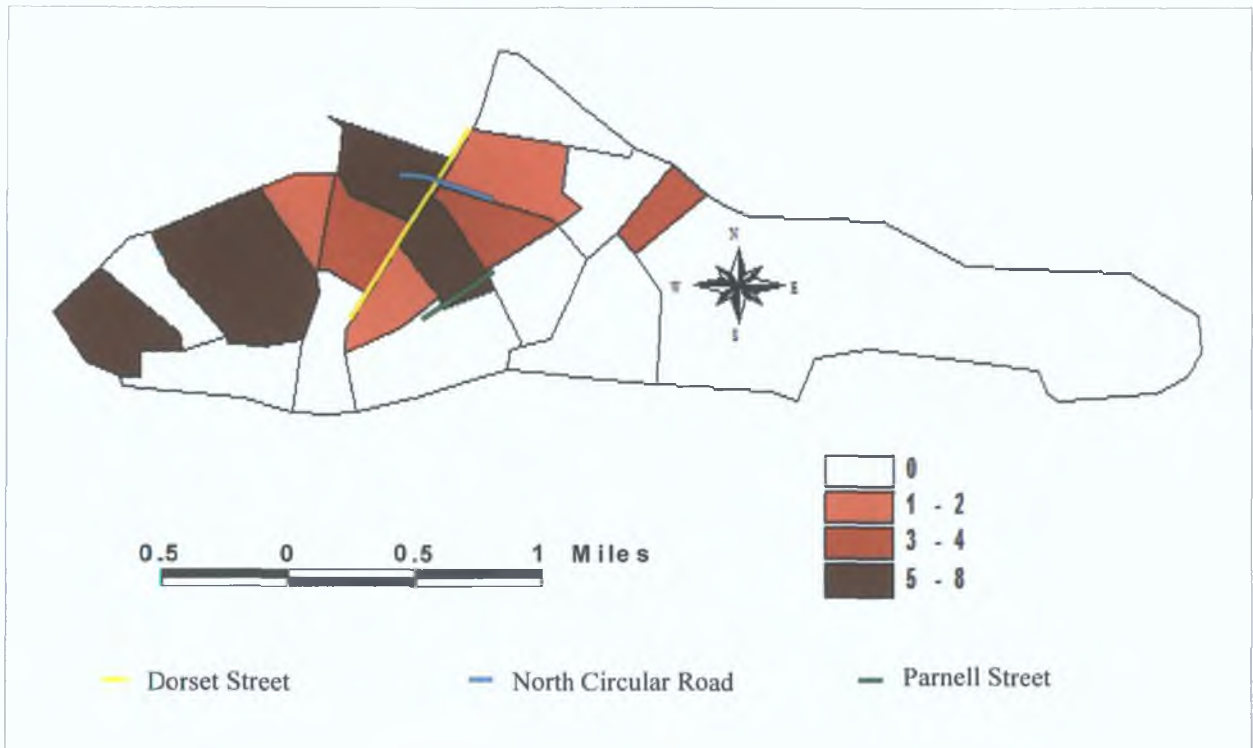
Spatial Distribution of Kosovar Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 73



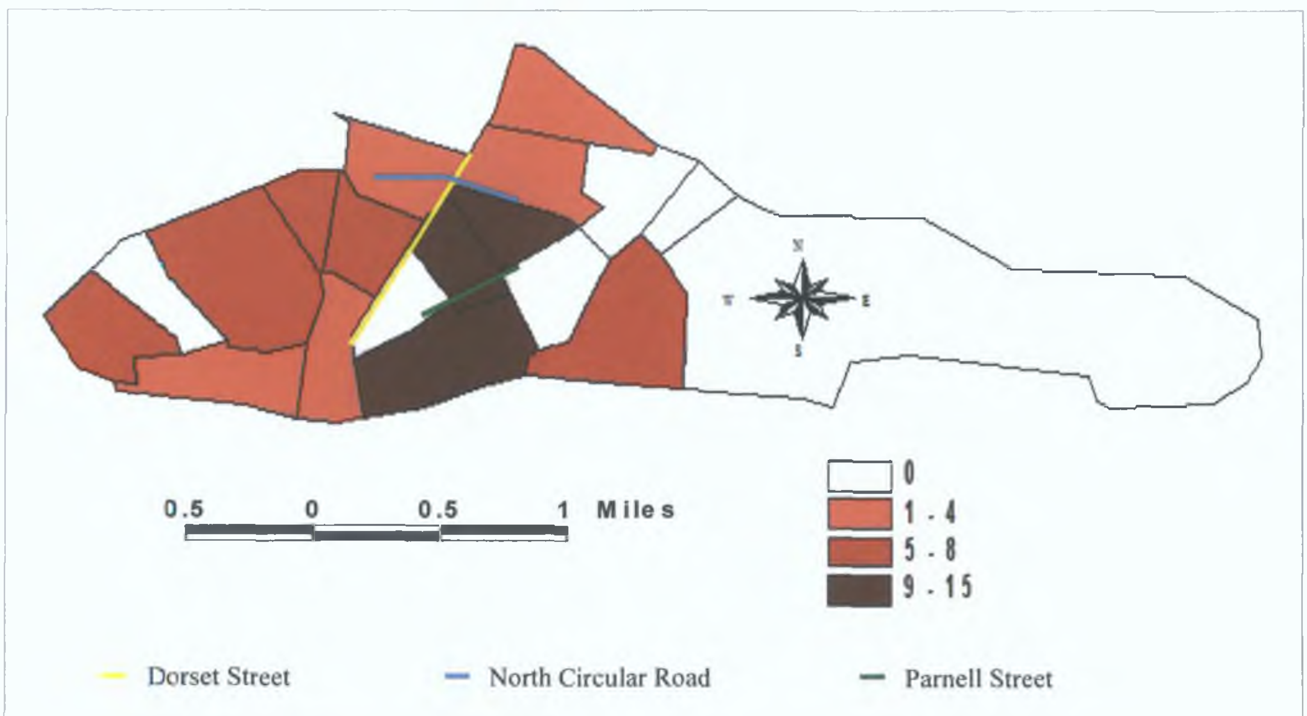
Spatial Distribution of Lithuanian Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 74



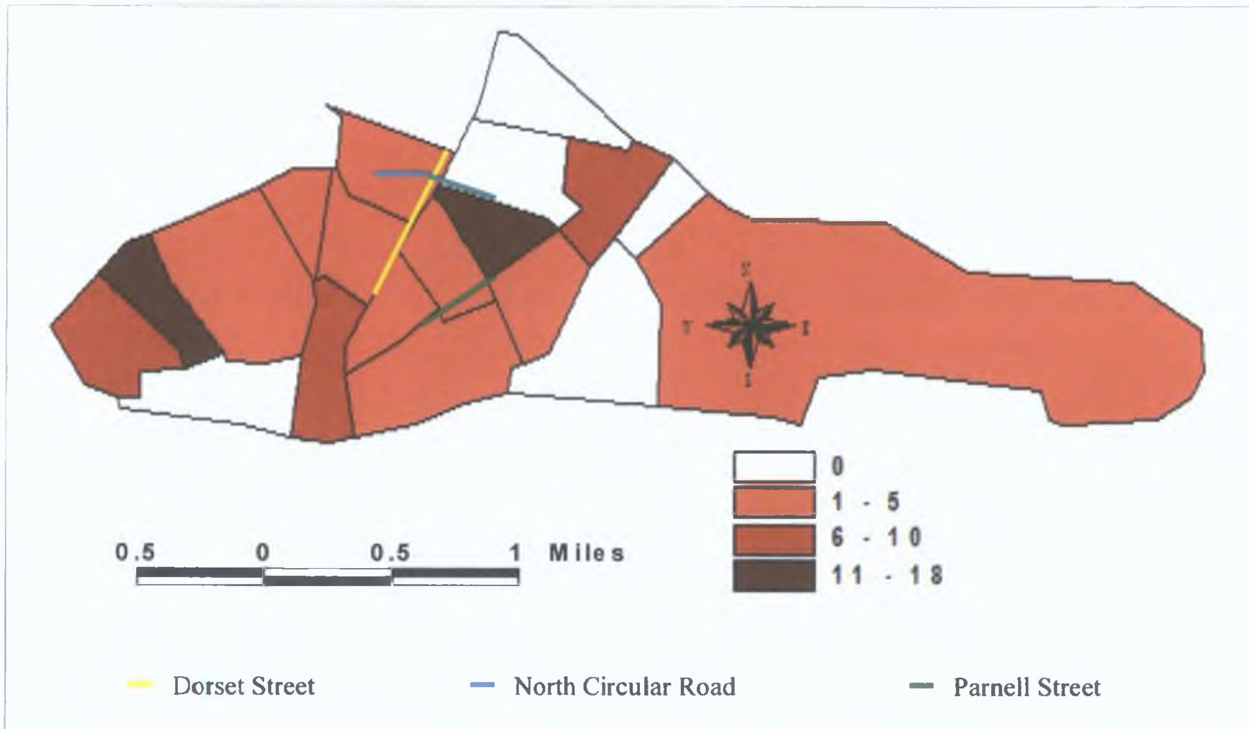
Spatial Distribution of Moldovan Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 75



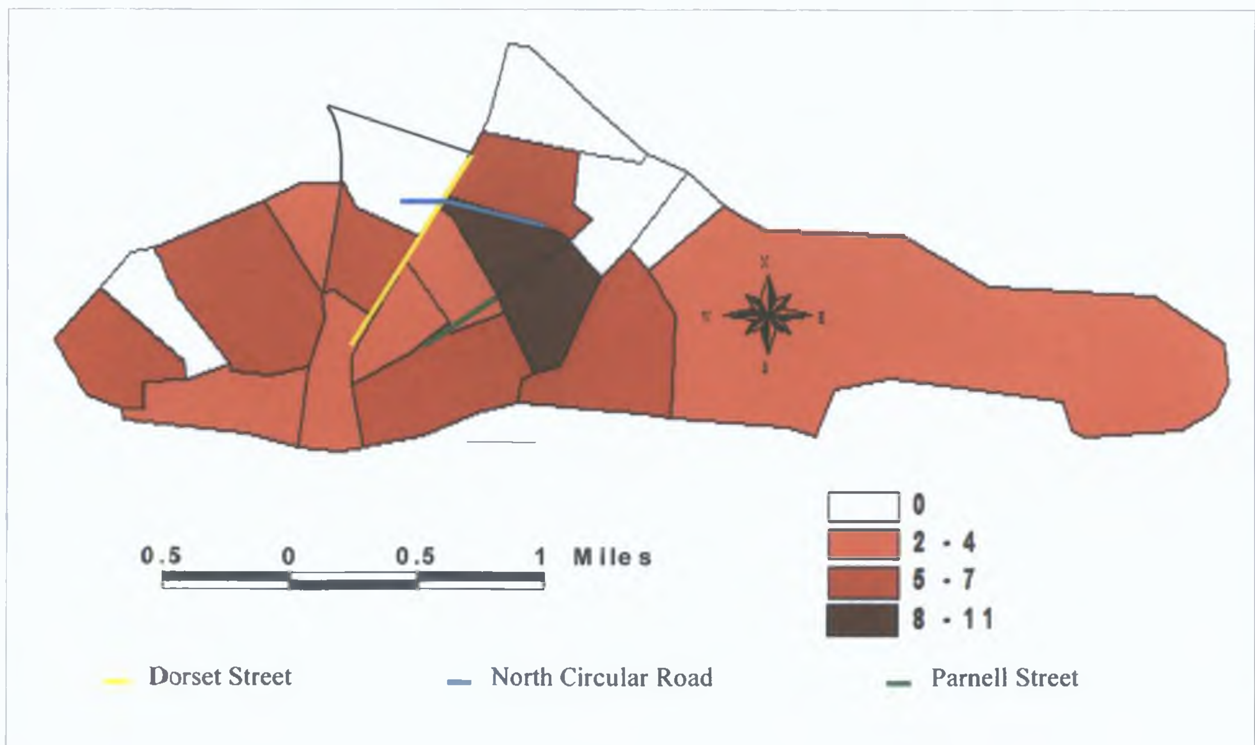
Spatial Distribution of Polish Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 76



Spatial Distribution of Russian Asylum Seekers in Dublin's NIC, by Electoral Division, June 2002

map 77



The sequence of maps showing the spatial distribution of East European countries above followed a particular spatial pattern, whereby East European asylum seekers were residing around the North Circular Road / Dorset Street axis in 2002. It could be argued that the same locations indicated in this spatial analysis of East European asylum seekers have attracted East European nationals who have travelled to work in Ireland since the accession of East European Countries into the European Union in 2004. Since 2004, two East European shops have located along Dorset Street and four on Capel Street that adjoins Bolton Street, a continuation of Dorset Street. The African Stores have remained along Dorset Street and Bolton Street and, thus, have not been affected by the arrival of the East European stores. The arrival of East European stores along Capel Street has joined what was, until 2004, a particularly Asian food store location. Capel Street as a Zone in Transition will be discussed further in this section on page 497.

Polish Shop on Dorset Street

plate 104

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

Asylum seeker cluster zones in the North Inner City

To judge the density of the asylum seeker population in the North Inner City, their total population was measured against each Electoral Division's 2002 Census population and area size.

Number of Asylum Seekers in North Inner City EDs, as a Percentage of the Census of Population 2002 and as a Ratio per Hectare 2002

table 117

Column: A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
Electoral Division	AS '02	Census '02	AS % of *Cen. '02	Census'96	% Diff. Cen '96-'02	Hectares	AS per Hect '02
North Inner City							
Arran Quay A	138	1,390	9.9	1336	4.0	14	9.8
Arran Quay B	191	3,089	6.2	1963	57.4	72	2.6
Arran Quay C	61	2,375	2.6	1914	24.1	38	1.6
Arran Quay D	216	3,675	5.9	3264	12.6	34	6.3
Arran Quay E	118	2,902	4.1	2957	-1.9	26	4.5
Ballybough A	101	3,368	3.0	3570	-5.7	37	2.7
Ballybough B	245	3,009	8.1	2571	17.0	34	7.2
Drumcondra S. B	6	1,377	0.4	1282	7.4	34	0.2
Inns Quay A	128	3,373	3.8	3235	4.3	32	4.0
Inns Quay B	196	2,953	6.6	2680	10.2	28	7.0
Inns Quay C	71	2,359	3.0	1748	35.0	28	2.5
Mountjoy A	97	3,242	3.0	3108	4.3	29	3.3
Mountjoy B	327	2,725	12.0	1994	36.7	23	14.2
North City	70	3,942	1.8	2391	64.9	56	1.3
North Dock A	49	1,287	3.8	1188	8.3	15	3.3
North Dock B	64	3,628	1.8	3655	-0.7	336	0.2
North Dock C	89	3,568	2.5	2411	48.0	63	1.4
Rotunda A	215	4,199	5.1	2522	66.5	24	9.0
Rotunda B	122	1,752	7.0	1122	56.1	21	5.8
NIC Total	**2,504**	**54,213**	**4.6**	**44,911**	**(+9,302) 21%**	**944**	**2.7**

* Census

Table 117 indicates the number of asylum seekers by Electoral Division (ED) in column B. It then lists the census population for each in column C and then calculates the number of asylum seekers as a percentage of the census population in column D. For example, the number of asylum seekers residing in Arran Quay A in June 2002 was 138, which represented 9.9% of the EDs census population of 1,390.

The census population for each Electoral Division is indicated in column E. Column F indicates the percentage difference between both census populations. Finally, column H indicates the density level of asylum seekers in each ED by dividing the total number of asylum seekers, in column B, into the ED's hectare size, which is shown in column G.

Although the asylum seeker population has risen quite dramatically since the late 1990s, their percentage of the 2002 Census population has been mitigated by a large increase in population in the NIC. Column F indicates a 21% increase in the North Inner City's population between 1996 and 2002. As outlined earlier in the research, the relatively recent construction of apartments in the inner city has contributed to this increase in the area's census population. The construction of gated communities has been the result of an increasing gentrification process, which has morphologised sections of the city, in particular the North West Inner City, along the Quays and through Smithfield to the inner city's northern borders in Phibsboro.

Although the percentage of asylum seekers to the 2002 Census population appears quite small, they are far greater than the proportion of asylum seekers in other spatial areas. For example, as outlined earlier, the County Dublin asylum seeker percentage of its 2002 Census population was 0.6% whilst the asylum seeker population of Electoral Division Mountjoy B constituted 12% of the EDs 2002 Census population. The result was Mountjoy B housed twenty times more asylum seekers compared with the County Dublin average. It is important to note that the percentages of all non-Irish nationals living in the North Inner City will be greater than the percentage of asylum seekers residing in the NIC.

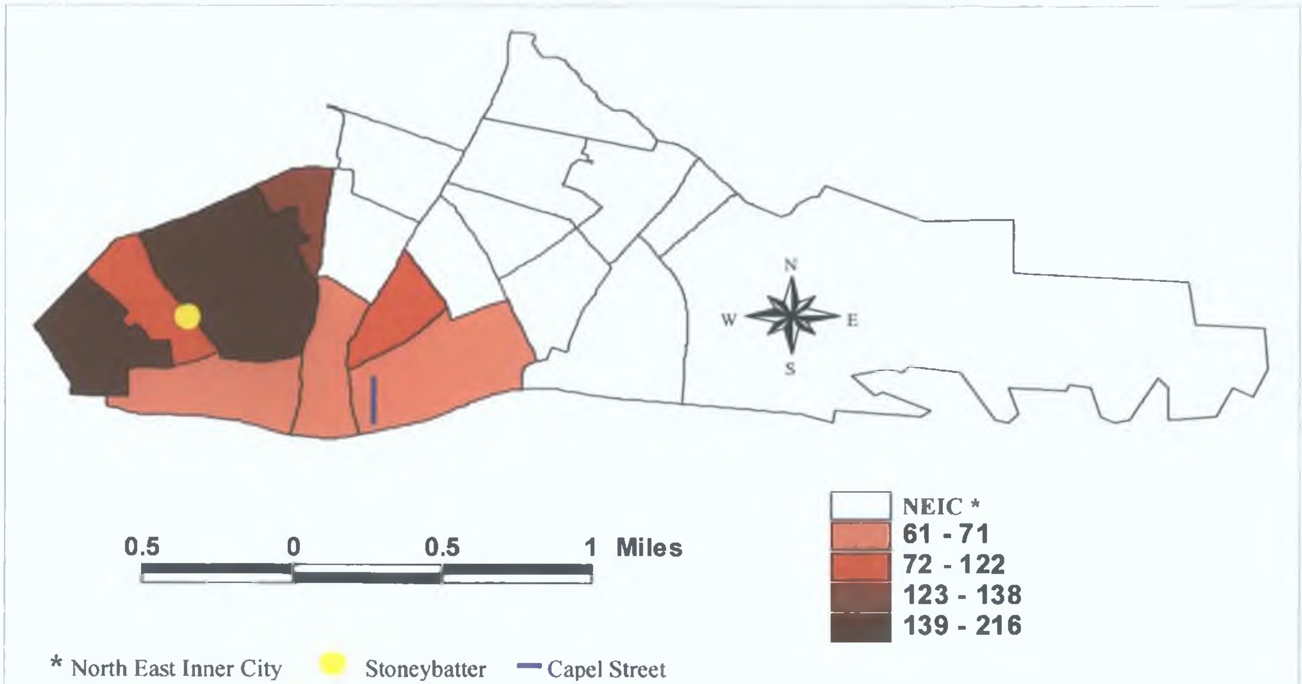
Based on the Department of Justice Equality and Law Reform's statistics concerning the granting of refugee status to asylum seekers, less than 10% of the 2,506 asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City (NIC) will gain refugee status. It is not known how many asylum seekers leave or stay in Ireland following their refusal of refugee status. Those who remain will, most likely, travel to ethnic cluster zones where there are more opportunities to find housing and undocumented employment, and where it is easier to avoid detection from the Garda National Immigration Unit.

It is impossible to know the number of un-documented migrants and other immigrant groups, such as refugees and those granted Leave to Remain, residing in the North Inner City. Asylum seekers constitute a percentage of non-Irish nationals / immigrants residing in the NIC and thus the maps produced are a partial but very important analysis of the distribution of immigrants in the North Inner City. The creation of the maps showing the spatial distribution of asylum seekers in this research has been shown to correlate strongly with shops and services which target non-Irish nationals. Therefore, the maps serve a dual purpose. Firstly they quantitatively show asylum seeker clusters and, secondly, they indicate immigrant cluster areas.

The following section sub-divides the analysis of the North Inner City into two geographical sections, the North West Inner City and the North East Inner City. These two areas are not as geographically and psychologically clearly defined as the South East and South West Inner City. Rather than an in-depth analysis of the data concerning the two broad geographical sections of the North Inner City, the following analysis primarily focuses on the cultural transition in specific neighbourhoods within the North Inner City namely: Stoneybatter, Smithfield and the Markets area, Parnell Street and Moore Street and, finally, Electoral Division Mountjoy B, which had the largest number of asylum seekers in 2002.

North West Inner City

map 78



Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's North West Inner City (NWIC) by 'Status' Category, 2002

table 118

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
NWIC	405	192	268 (35%*)	563 *(65%)*	865	34

*includes the 34 unaccompanied minors.

The 865 asylum seekers residing in the North West Inner city (NWIC) represented 34.5% of the North Inner City's 2,506 asylum seeking population. Of the 854 asylum seekers, 65% were adults and 35% were children. Males represented 69% of the 439 claimants and females 31%. Europeans were the largest group with 541 asylum seekers, which represented 62.5% of all the asylum seekers residing in the NWIC. There were 258 Africans, which represented 30% and the other categories totalled 55 people, which represented the remaining 7.5%. There were asylum seekers from 41 countries; Romanians were the largest cohort with 295 asylum seekers, which represented 34% of the NWIC total. Nigerians were the second-largest national grouping with 171 asylum seekers, which represented 20% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in the NWIC.

Asylum Seekers Residing in the NWIC by Country of Origin

table 119

Country	Total	Percent of NWIC		Country	Total	Percent of NWIC
Romania	295	34.10		Czech Republic	5	0.58
Nigeria	171	19.77		Zimbabwe	5	0.58
Other	60	6.94		China	3	0.35
Ukraine	46	5.32		Ghana	3	0.35
Poland	39	4.51		Morocco	3	0.35
Moldova	36	4.16		Jamaica	2	0.23
Russia	27	3.12		Kazakhstan	2	0.23
Bulgaria	25	2.89		Latvia	2	0.23
Georgia	13	1.50		Rwanda	2	0.23
Lithuania	13	1.50		Togo	2	0.23
Algeria	12	1.39		Burundi	1	0.12
Kosovo	12	1.39		Chechnya	1	0.12
Somalia	12	1.39		Estonia	1	0.12
Angola	11	1.27		Ethiopia	1	0.12
Congo	11	1.27		Guinea-Bissau	1	0.12
Albania	10	1.16		Iraq	1	0.12
Sierra Leone	9	1.04		Lesotho	1	0.12
Cameroon	7	0.81		Mali	1	0.12
Azerbaijan	6	0.69		Zambia	1	0.12
Uzbekistan	6	0.69		**Total**	**865**	**100**
Zaire	6	0.69				

As table 119 suggests, a large proportion of countries have small numbers of asylum seekers. However, when grouped together, they represented a relatively large minority sub-group residing in the North West Inner City (NWIC).

The North West Inner City comprises Electoral Divisions: Arran Quay A, Arran Quay B, Arran Quay C, Arran Quay D, Arran Quay E, Inns Quay C and small sections of North City and Rotunda B. These EDs can be divided into three individual residential areas: Smithfield, Stoneybatter and parts of Phibsboro. The latter area was discussed alongside Cabra and Drumcondra in the Dublin City suburbs section on pages 423 to 438. The following analysis focuses on the transition of Smithfield and Stoneybatter from being essentially mono-cultural spatial units to being increasingly poly-cultural spatial units.

Stoneybatter, with cranes in Smithfield and the Dublin Spire in the background

plate 105

The montage of Stoneybatter shows an old woman (marked by a yellow line in plate 105 above) pushing a shopping trolley down Manor Street. Like most people, she will have a mental map of her locale, which will include certain long-established shops and pubs, and other cultural and social landmarks. The Dublin Spire in the background occupies the same space which was occupied by Nelson's Pillar. The street she walks upon runs on to the River Liffey and the new James Joyce Bridge at Hardwicke Street which opened in 2003. According to Hourihane. (2003:8):

> Some studies of personal space have been conducted at a micro-spatial level and tell us much about how we function as people....When people leave one place and go to another they do not behave randomly. They use maps that they carry in their minds. These mental maps contain signals telling people where to turn, how far to go before they turn again, and so on, until they reach their destination. Places make a visual impact on the mind and these make up a large part of the stored mental maps.

This old woman's Stoneybatter (in plate 105) and her mental map is different to the Stoneybatter and mental maps as recognised and used by the predominantly non-Irish nationals and gentrifiers who have just recently moved in to the area. For example, a little further along the street pictured, this woman will pass by an African Internet store and an African hair salon (see plate 106). Almost facing these two places is the new Londis store, the kind that is fast replacing the smaller 'local' corner shops. A large proportion of the staff in these convenience stores in 2002 / 2003 were Asian. Above the Londis is a gentrified apartment block. In a critique of Stoneybatter's changing spatial narrative, one must understand the life-world of the old indigenous residents. The rapidity of the socio-cultural and physical morphology of their area must be, at the very least, bemusing for the older members of this community and, for some, possibly frightening.

African Shops and Gentrified Apartments in Stoneybatter, 2003

plate 106

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2003

Stoneybatter's changing identity

Housing in the Stoneybatter area, until recently, consisted mainly of small cottages built as artisan dwellings, similar to housing in the Liberties area across the River Liffey to the south. Larger two and three-story houses were located on the main streets. Some of the street names, such as Oxmantown Road, reflect the depth of Stoneybatter's history, Oxmantown being one of the original settlements outside of 'Viking' Dublin. Although the neat rows of cottages are quite small they housed large, working-class families, many who worked for the Jameson and Guinness factories. The relatively wide streets acted as *de-facto* gardens where children played and parents conversed. The close proximity of housing, shops and schools facilitated a close-knit community with its own history and identity. Kevin Kearns in *Stoneybatter: Dublin's Inner Urban Village* (1989: 18) writes:

> Stoneybatter has survived providentially as a genuine inner urban village. Long cherished traditions, customs and lifeways are still practiced and 'neighbouring' flourishes along every street. With most of old Dublin now tattered or demolished, Stoneybatter stands uniquely as a truly living community. It has the largest elderly population in the city, an invaluable repository of local oral history and urban lore.

Urban Village Cottages in Stoneybatter

plate 107

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

Kearns' description of Stoneybatter goes against many common perceptions of a city. He points out that there are spaces within cities which house close-knit, homogenous communities like Stoneybatter, an area which won the Guinness Living Dublin Award in 2001. The original 'urban village' of Stoneybatter centred around the continuation of Prussia Street, Aughrim Street and Manor Street off of which were rows and squares of smaller cottages, as illustrated in plate 107. As recently as the early 1980s, cottages in need of renovation were sold for circa €20,000. The low cost was based on both the size of the housing and the area not being perceived as a prime location. The area was hit by unemployment following the closure of the Jameson distillery and the closure of local businesses, such as the abattoir. It became run-down and was perceived as being a 'rough' neighbourhood by non-locals. The low cost of housing in Stoneybatter enabled the continuation of extended families residing in the same area for generations, which in turn facilitated the continuation of its identity and sense of community.

Throughout the 1990s, children of local residents could not afford the rapidly increasing house prices and had to move away from their area to buy a home. It might be speculated that this has fractured the sense of community in Stoneybatter. Artists and writers began purchasing property in Stoneybatter as they had with cottages in Rialto. They were attracted to its community feel and its closeness to the city and, somewhat unwittingly, became the forefront of a larger gentrification process that would envelop much of Stoneybatter from the late 1990s onwards. In equating Ireland's 'tiger' economy with that of Japan and Canada a decade before, David McWilliams wrote in the *Sunday Business Post* 29/10/2000:

> Today's Ireland looks, smells and feels like Japan in the late 1980s Japan. Every time I see the excellent "Take five @ £200,000" piece in the Irish Times property section, in which a two up, two down in Stoneybatter costs as much as a chateau in Provence, I think of Tokyo's imperial palace and Canada around 1990.

In 2003, the cost of one and two bedroom abodes in Stoneybatter was in the region of €250,000 - €300,000 and, in 2006, between €400,000 - €500,000. The arrival of an avant-garde population did not represent a physical morphology of Stoneybatter, but a social and cultural morphology. Just as the changing residential patterns in Phibsboro led to the changing nature of its shops and services, the residential changes in Stoneybatter were reflected in some of the shops and services along its main streets.

The *Mero Mero* Mexican restaurant was located on Manor Street in 2001. It is of note that the owners of the restaurant run a stall in the urbane and cosmopolitan Temple Bar food market each Saturday called 'Sabores de Mexico'. In the 'bestofbridgestone.com' the *Mero Mero* was critiqued by a former Stoneybatter resident:

> When we lived in Stoneybatter, Dublin 7, which is not so long ago, the local sport was... kicking the gutters of the house of our septuagenarian neighbour. How things change! Stoneybatter is now home to a loose collection of arts journalists, bijou novelists, and feng shui consultants....Stoneybatter now has cafés featuring live jazz (in our day the cafés featured chips....) and ethnic restaurants. There is a new Indian restaurant, and now Mero Mero [Mexican] Café has opened....And who's for betting Stoneybatter will swiftly be the first Spanish-speaking district of Dublin?

The location of the Mero Mero testified to the changing cultural landscape of Stoneybatter. In 2003 it was replaced by the Java Café, which tapped into the growing 'cappuccino' culture in Dublin. Polski Sklep Warszawa, a store that caters for the newly arriving East European residents in Stoneybatter, was established in 2005.

Polski Sklep Warszawa (Warsaw Polish Shop)

plate 108

Maureen's Newsagent, Stoneybatter, 2003 and 2006

plate 109 and plate 110

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2003

Photo by Darren Kelly, 2006

The Mero Mero, Java Café and the Warszawa Polski Sklep on Manor Street have signalled the on-going cultural transition in the area. Each have stood in sharp cultural contrast to Maureen's Newsagent which is located close-by on Manor Place. It acts as a physical and cultural landmark, and a visual reminder of past times. Maureen's, like the older, indigenous population, is an example of how aspects of Dublin's past remain alive in the present, curiously inhabiting two time frames. Plates 109 and 110 illustrate Maureen's Newsagent in 2003 and 2006. The 2006 photograph illustrates the shoehorning of apartments into the small back yard of the building adjacent to Maureen's, and stands as an example of the attractiveness of this area to developers. It also illustrates the rapid creation of temporal juxtapositions between old and new housing, and the increasing likelihood of cultural change in the neighbourhood.

Old and New Buildings Juxtaposed on Brunswick Street

plate 111

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2003

As well as social and cultural changes, there have also been physical changes in Stoneybatter. Plate 111 above shows two buildings that face each other on North Brunswick Street, which runs between Stoneybatter and Smithfield. The changes are quite stark and are indicative of the number of old houses that have been destroyed and replaced by apartments in the North West Inner City (NWIC). Whilst some people argue that the changes are negative, because they alter the face of the area, others argue that the face-lift is positive and attracts extra money and resources into the area. Plate 112 below illustrates a row of old cottages on the right and newly built,

two-storey houses on the left. The uniformity of the old cottages is in stark contrast to the newly constructed housing opposite them, which has broken the architectural integrity of the space. However, the newer houses are not fenced in which creates some form of spatial continuity on the street and allows for more interaction between neighbours.

Juxtaposition of Old Cottages and New Houses in Stoneybatter

plate 112

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2003

Gentrified Carceral Apartment Complex in Stoneybatter

plate 113

The fortification highlighted in plate 113 isolates this group of gentrified individuals from their neighbours. Stoneybatter risks being dislocated into at least three different communities: the first is that of the established indigenous residents, the second, the gentrified apartment dwellers and the third group, non-Irish nationals who, like the gentrified group, have newly settled in Stoneybatter since the mid 1990s.

Smithfield and the Markets Area

Smithfield, the home of the Old Jameson Whisky Distillery, was once a major source of employment for the residents of Stoneybatter to its West and the Markets Area to its East. The closing of the Distillery began a downward spiral of unemployment and poverty. According to *Plannum*, the European Journal of Planning:

> Dublin's Inner City had experienced severe decline between 1940 and 1985, which saw a decrease in inner city population of 40,000, a steady out migration of business activity to the suburbs and no private housing development since the 1940's resulting in an estimated 400 acres of land classified as either derelict or vacant by the mid 1980's. High unemployment and low educational attainment coupled with a poor standard of social housing were common socio-economic features of the population of the Inner City. (http://www.planum.net/4bie/main/m-4bie-dublin.htm)

Apart from the once-monthly horse fair on Smithfield's cobblestone square, people from outside the immediate locale tended not to enter this part of the North West Inner City. Despite the physical degeneration of Smithfield, the people who remained living there had a strong sense of community. With very little employment, residents depended upon one another and a strong bond remained in this economically abandoned, residential inner city locale. One source of employment was linked to the fruit and vegetable and fish markets close to Smithfield.

The North West Inner City (NWIC) area is changing dramatically, particularly in Smithfield, the flagship project of Dublin City Council's Historic Area Rejuvenation Project (HARP). The HARP area comprises 109 hectares and stretches from O'Connell Street westwards to the National Museum at Collins Barracks. According to the Council, the main concept for the Markets area close to Smithfield is to create an environment by means of what the Council call 'a footprint superimposed on existing properties' i.e. a palimpsest.

It is obvious that the generator of activity and its consequent urban form has been for many decades, or even centuries, the wholesale markets in this area of Dublin. **Any radical change of use would weaken Dubliners sense of identity of their city** so the initial consideration is to find a similar use, and exchange the present warehouses and storage sheds for a form representative of a certain shift of emphasis to accommodate a similar activity.... to create a vibrant new retail market, with a consolidated wholesale provision aimed at the needs of the inner-city restaurant / catering / food / retail trades as **the focus of a new city quarter**." (www.dublincity.ie/planning/citymarkets/main.htm) (Researchers embolden)

The H.A.R.P project aims to change the psychological orientations of Dublin's inhabitants by directing their attention west to the Markets Area, which in turn will lead to Smithfield, the largest, open civic space in Europe with an area of 1,300 square metres. According to the Council:

Apart from introducing a metropolitan space, equivalent to Mountjoy Square, and thus re-introduce a well known urban form characteristic of Dublin City, it will act as an iconic reference for citizens half way between O'Connell Street and the rejuvenated Smithfield. The present distance between O'Connell Street and Smithfield of 1,700m is too long for a mental and physical connection between Smithfield and the economic and social activity that is slowly moving up river. This new square would provide the ideal stepping stone between the two. (www.dublincity.ie/planning/citymarkets/main.htm)

Tax incentives in Smithfield have attracted developers who have built apartment blocks along Arran Quay, North Brunswick Street and those incorporated into the Jameson Distillery regeneration on Bow Street. As well as increasing the area's population, the newly constructed LUAS tram stops at Smithfield and attracts further business and tourism to this area.

Mural on Smithfield wall – a Jester Juggling Dublin's Castles

plate 114

Smithfield Plaza, 2003 and 2006

plates 115 and 116

The mural illustrated in plate 114 is located at a gable end of a building located at the foot of Smithfield's main square. The jester sitting in one castle is juggling two others. The symbol for Dublin is three castles and, thus, the mural could be interpreted as a visual representation of Dublin's changing landscape. The photograph was taken in 2003. Standing behind the building are two cranes which were constructing apartment blocks on the Square. The radical physical morphology of Smithfield Square in illustrated in plate 116. Smithfield has changed from being a small, isolated community into being a relatively large, urban, cosmopolitan residential quarter. The scale of the transition has shattered the indigenous community's sense of place. Inner city villagers have no cultural and physical rights to the public spaces that they have lived in and developed for generations and, therefore, the city has the ability to re-constitute the reality of these public spaces. The physical and cultural repositioning of the North West Inner City into the city centre has been the expressed aim of Dublin City Council as quoted above.

As discussed in relation to the South West Inner City, gentrification has occurred at the same time as ethnification. Many Asian immigrants have located in Smithfield, to the extent that the indigenous locals in the early 2000s began naming the area Chinatown, and labelled the main square 'Tiananmen Square'. Local grass roots community organisations are trying to work alongside the indigenous residents, city officials and the new communities in order to manage the area's development and to try and maintain a cohesive, although changed, sense of community.

The following three sub-sections focus on different interconnected themes. Firstly, the nature of apartment living in this area is explored, illustrating how the sub-letting of apartments in one complex led to it becoming a *de facto* immigrant complex with negative labels. Secondly, the ethnification of the area is examined. Initially, the area was predominantly Asian, with pockets of African spaces, but since 2005 a number of Polish shops have been established in the area, particularly around Capel Street. Thirdly, the view of these changes and the role of local organisations is explored, and this researcher argues that the area, through a form of economic and cultural boosterism, has the potential to become a sustainably developed, cosmopolitan neighbourhood.

Gentrification to ghettoisation: from luxury apartment complex to tenement complex?

It is not known whether the newly-constructed apartments in the North West Inner City are being bought by owner-occupiers or for the purpose of sub-letting. Some speculators purchase their properties with an aim of selling them soon after for a profit. A settled community, however, needs established residents. Some apartments in the North West Inner City (NWIC) were predominantly owner-occupancy when first built, but this has changed whereby many of the 'luxury' apartments have become sub-let. The problem with some sub-letting is that apartments built for single or dual occupancy have been let to a number of people. Overcrowding has, in some cases, resulted in the physical downgrading of the property.

One apartment committee has said in an interview with this researcher that apartment living is communal and, as such, very much depends on residents' mutual respect for their particular environment and issues such as noise control. In a sense, collective ownership of the apartment complex is a necessary ingredient to the success of the lived environment. The increase in sub-letting and a transient occupancy can jeopardise such sense of ownership and the collective responsibility for the apartment building and community.

The success of apartments will have a bearing on the success of the surrounding communities. This researcher studied one large, city-block sized, apartment complex in the Smithfield area over a three-year period. The complex is similar in design to other apartment complexes in the North West Inner City. When the apartment complex opened in 1995, there were primarily white, Irish tenants. Not all of the 240 apartments housed owner-occupiers because individuals bought the tax incentive apartments for investment purposes and sub-let. Of the 240 apartments, 200 are one bedroom and the remaining 40 are two bedroom. The majority of residents were white, single or couples who were predominantly professionals. The age would generally have ranged between mid 20s and 30s. In a sense, the complex was used as a 'dormitory' space whereby the main purpose of the apartments was to provide a place to sleep close to the residents' places of employment.

From about 2000, a number of units were sub-let to non-Irish nationals. Over the following two to three years, the sub-letting snowballed to the point where there were relatively few owner-occupiers left residing in the complex. In this particular case, the changing occupancy did not create problems, in part due to the very strong in-situ residents committee who continued to maintain the building and its services to a high standard. As a result, the new residents fitted into the existing 'social contract' that maintained the success of the apartment 'community'. The demographic change in tenancy of the early 2000s was an indicator of the changing multi-culturalism of the surrounding area.

The management committee believed that in 2004, a conservative estimate would indicate that non-Irish nationals represented 55% of the apartment population. There were mainly East Europeans and Chinese, with a smaller proportion of Africans. The number of families had risen to circa 25-30 from 3-4. The central courtyard in the complex has a water feature as its centrepiece, but was very rarely used by residents until 2001. According to one resident whose apartment overlooks this courtyard, when non-Irish nationals began living in the complex the water feature became a focal space where parents and friends would sit and play with their children. The changing demography resulted in the changing social construction or use of this space.

Although some apartment owners sold their apartments in order to trade-up to larger properties, it could be considered that the process of apartment blocks changing from white, single, professional, owner-occupiers to predominantly non-Irish nationals who are renting is a form of 'blockbusting'. This American term, according to *The Dictionary of Human Geography* (Johnston, et al. 1994: 35), relates to the process whereby the introduction of black households, "by estate agents" causes a moral panic in the white occupants who "may not welcome the prospect of [living in] a mixed neighbourhood". The result is the selling of their property at a reduced cost which stimulates "rapid neighbourhood change on the basis of fear and prejudice".

Unlike the main apartment complex studied by this researcher, other apartment complexes in the area became particularly run-down following radical tenancy changes. One local community employee working with the local immigrant population, explained to this researcher that once the white professional owner

occupiers left the complex, small apartments were sub-let to groups of individuals and families, and that care of the sub-let apartments and external public spaces was not maintained. During the early 2000s, one block in particular was increasingly sub-let to members of the Black community. By 2004, this apartment complex primarily housed immigrants and was negatively perceived by members of the indigenous population.

There were a total of 116 asylum seekers living within three apartment blocks in the North West Inner City (NWIC). Although some people assume that the conditions were luxurious this was not the case. The overcrowding in one building visited by this researcher had led to degeneration in the upkeep of the building. Some of the area's indigenous population believed that, in particular, Black people and other immigrants residing in this apartment complex were 'welfare spongers'. The local population began calling the immediate area around the apartment block a ghetto and a slum. If this one example were to be multiplied in other apartment complexes in the area, there would be a danger of this space receiving a negative label, which might, in turn, lead to particular racial tensions. Although only a hypothetical scenario at present, it illustrates how poor housing legislation and the role landlords play in society can dangerously tip the delicate balance between the creation of urban cosmopolitan villages and the creation of slum-like areas. The continued gentrification of Smithfield and the Markets Area will most likely mitigate against this scenario on a broad level.

This discussion of downgrading of apartment blocks places the emphasis on the role landlords play in downgrading housing units rather than the tenants. Although immigrants have been the tenants in the sample cases discussed herein, the same scenario can apply to students or other sub-cultural groups who are at the mercy of landlords. Rather than immigrants creating slum like conditions, it can be argued that immigration into the North West Inner City has brought life into the area, particularly prior to the large-scale gentrification process. The following sub-section will examine the effects of immigration in the Smithfield and Markets Area, and discuss the initial racial re-actions to immigration by some of the indigenous population and the measures by local organisations to counteract this racism and xenophobia.

The changing cultural landscape in the North West Inner City as a result of immigration

Although this area has been clearly gentrified, it has been labelled 'Chinatown' by many of the local residents, just as a section of the North East Inner City (NEIC) has been called 'Little Africa' and Rush in Fingal, 'Rusha'. The reason for the 'Chinatown' label was based on the relatively large number of Chinese students who are sub-letting apartments in this locale. The name correlates with the map on the following page, which illustrates the number of shops and services catering for Asians in and around the Markets Area and Capel Street in 2003 (and still there in 2006). A large proportion of staff working in many of the convenience stores in the North West Inner City (NWIC) are Asian, which has increased the group's visibility.

Although the restaurant in plate 118 is called Chinatown, the two food shops on either side of it are Filipino, as is the Bayanihan Oriental Supermarket on nearby Capel Street. Unlike many generic Chinese restaurants, the menu in this restaurant is in Chinese only. The signs on the notice boards in nearby shops are also in languages other than English. The prevalence of Filipinos shopping in this locale is echoed by nearby Club Travel on Abbey Street who advertise airfares to the Philippines. The free *Filipino Forum* newspaper is distributed in the local Asian stores.

Noor Food Asian Food Wholesale Outlet

plate 117

Shops and Services in the South West Inner City Catering for Dublin's Asian Community, 2003

map 79 and plate 118

Source: Ordnance Survey   Church   shop   internet

Dublin Corporation Markets

Photos by Daren Kelly, 2003

Similar to the number of Asian stores along Little Mary Street (plate 118) above, the Noor Food Asian Cash and Carry in the Markets Area (plate 117) is proof of the increasing effect the Asian population is having on this area. It, as well as the "Little Britain Street" sign make interesting temporal signposts, one looking back at a Colonial time and the other looking to the unknown, multi-cultural future. Interestingly, Joyce's Leopold Bloom was the victim of anti-Semitism by customers in Barney Kiernan's pub on Little Britain Street in 1904 (Joyce, 1986, 271-272).

A small group of local community activists decided to try and make the 'Chinatown' label a positive one by fostering integration between the Chinese / Asian community and the indigenous community. Based on the idea of celebrating the Chinese New Year in Smithfield in 2004, the 'Dublin Chinatown Festival Committee' was established in March 2003 in association with the Dublin City Development Board and Dublin City Council. Committee members included the Irish Chinese Information Centre, A.R.T.S. Ltd and the Lung Ying Dragon Sign Kung Fu Club. The Department of Foreign Affairs has supported the work of the Committee.

Dublin Chinatown Logo

plate 119

According to their website www.dublin.ie, "the primary aim of the Committee is to organise a co-ordinated festival in the City to celebrate the Chinese New Year – a new permanent fixture on Dublin's festival calendar". The aims and objectives of the organisation are set out as being:

> Integration between the Chinese community and the Irish community in the City; Make links between businesses - Chinese businesses and businesses hoping to operate in China; Sharing of information and contacts between different organisations in the Chinese Community and organisations involved in distinctly Chinese or Asian activities; Make information available to the Chinese Community and about the Chinese Community and to Promote and educate on Chinese culture in the City and raise the profile of Chinese in the City.

According to Ken McCue, Chairperson of the North West Inner City Partnership's Intercultural Working Group, members of the NWIC's new ethnic communities have suffered many instances of racism from the indigenous community. He also points out however, that rather than using the term racism, the term xenophobia might be more apt to describe some people's reactions to immigration. McCue related to this researcher that some of the children from the Markets Area would scream racist abuse at non-Irish nationals passing by on their way from the city to Smithfield. Some would throw rotten fruit at the passers-by. Mr McCue observes that following intercultural work with the local children, much of the racist behaviour stopped. According to Mr. McCue, it is through the decreasing sense of newness and intrigue in the new ethnic residents, alongside an increase in interaction between the two communities, that some of the racist behaviour has been reduced. During the Autumn of 2003, Li Dan worked with children in George's Hill, Stanhope Street and Brunswick Street National schools to create papier-mâché lanterns and Chinese decorations that covered Smithfield at the time of the festivities in 2004.

Mr. McCue, in highlighting the need for increased intercultural work in the north inner city, explained to this researcher that the intake of new pupils into George's Hill National School, located across from the fruit and vegetable market in 2006, was 70. Of these, 40 were non-Irish nationals. In this case, the indigenous Irish pupils have become the minority. He emphasised the argument made by this researcher earlier that the development of an intercultural curriculum module by the Department of Education is urgently needed, as well as an increase in school funding towards intercultural activities and service provision for non-Irish national children, particularly language learning classes.

The NCCA published *Intercultural Education for Irish Schools* in 2005, which addresses intercultural learning in primary schools. This publication was much needed and valuable, notwithstanding the fact that much more in-depth work needs to be done in this area. Research documents emerging on intercultural issues tend to focus on interculturalism / integration between the Irish population and the immigrant population. Much consideration also needs to address the integration between all the different sub-groups in Irish society.

Sport Against Racism in Ireland (SARI)

SARI uses sport to integrate people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds in a pro-active way. According to its Director, Frank Buckley, the organisation began in 1997 as a direct response to the growth of racist attacks in the North Inner City. Its inception was a community's response to a community's problem that has since grown to national and international levels. It has support from a host of professional football bodies, such as FIFA, as well as players and managers such as Robbie Keane and Brian Kerr. In February 2005, SARI hosted two workshops in Croke Park as part of the national Conference on the European Year of Education focussing on sports. One asylum seeker speaker connected with SARI explained how sports can be used to help asylum seekers integrate into local communities. Also in 2005, SARI received €50,000 from An Post, which had been donated by Irish designer John Rocha and, in 2006, launched a photographic exhibit of their work in the ILAC centre.

SARI 5-a-side 'Soccerfest', 2003

plate 120

Plate 120 above shows a Gardai team versus a mixed African team in SARI's 2003 Soccerfest held in Grangegorman in the North West Inner City (NWIC). The event has been held for 10 years and, according to Buckley, has attracted more than 5,000 players and 25,000 spectators. The teams represent different ethnic groups and diverse organisations from all parts of Ireland. Such sporting events are also social events and have been accompanied by world food, music and children's activities.

MaSamba Music Group

plate 121

Plate 121 was photographed at the SARI tournament in 2003. The drummers in the photo are mostly young, white, Irish women who have embraced the emerging popularity of drumming in Ireland. Such activities are helping young people to embrace multi-culturalism. Many of SARI's activities are grounded in community participation, with an emphasis on children. They organise an annual 'Kid's May Day Multi-Cultural Sportsfest' and have also organised an 'Intercultural Sport & Music Festival', which included 7-a-side soccer competitions, boxing, cricket demonstration, Gaelic football and hurling competitions.

Another aspect of SARI's work has been the establishment of their soccer team AER LINGUS-SARI, which consists of 28 players from 13 Nations and plays in Dublin's Leinster Senior League. As SARI Co-ordinator Frank Buckley expressed in an interview, integration has to occur between people from all of the different nationalities in Irish society, not simply between 'all the others' and Irish people.

Capel Street: Zone of Transition

Ken McCue has been quite explicit in interview with this researcher. He maintains that for inter-culturalism to occur in the inner city it must include a dialogue and interaction between members of the different ethnic communities, as well as dialogue between the indigenous Irish community and the new communities. Mr McCue has

expressed concern regarding racism towards the Chinese and Asian community by members of the East European community. Activities organised by SARI and the Chinatown Festival Committee in partnership with the Intercultural Working Group of the North West Inner City Partnership have encouraged positive interaction between the two communities.

Polish Bakery on Capel Street, 2006

plate 122

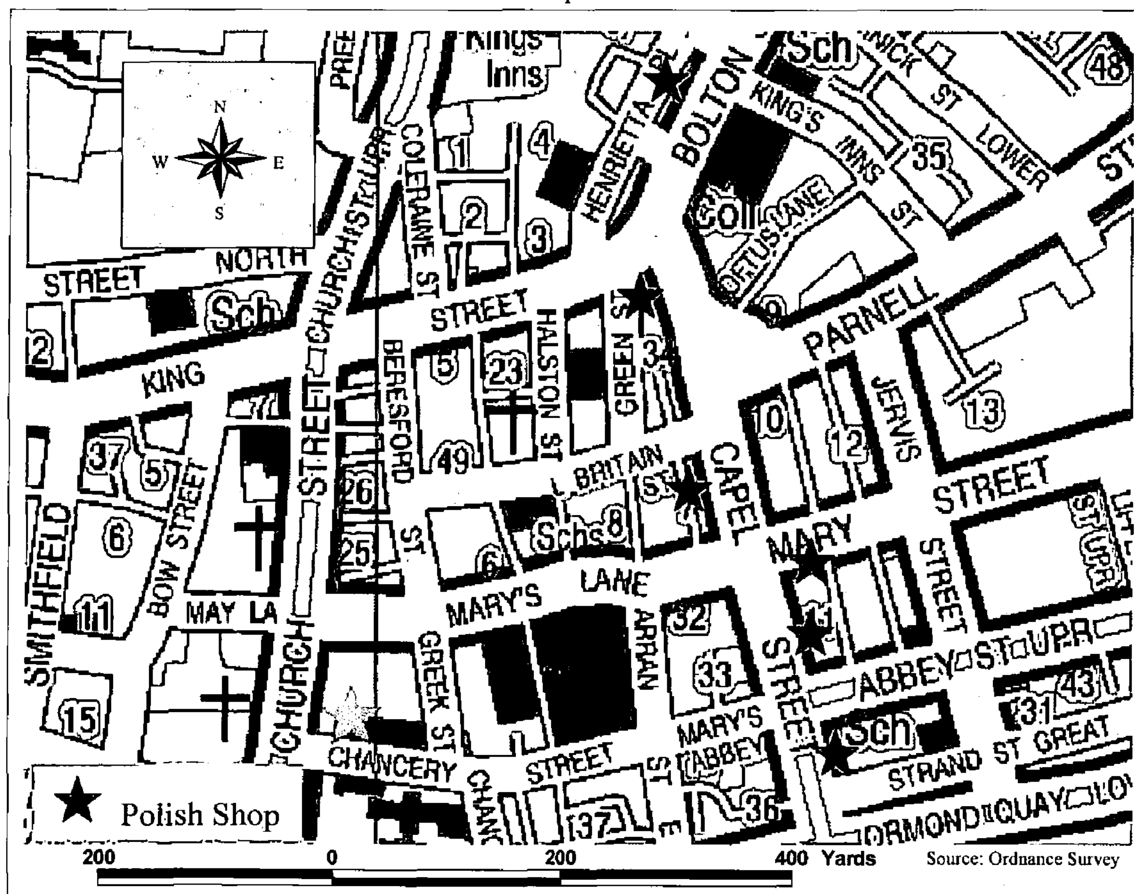
Chinese Barber on Capel Street Bakery, 2006

plate 123

Capel Street is an example of the presence of the two communities in the North West Inner City in 2006. Capel Street, with the adjacent Little Mary Street, was predominantly home to Asian stores. However, since 2005, East European stores, in particular Polish stores, have been established along Capel Street. For example, Kanal is a Polish themed bar / club and restaurant and is a focal point for some of the Polish community in the inner city. Also located on the street are Polonia and Eurosaver, two East European food stores (see map 80 below). The travel agents on Capel Street advertise flights to East European countries. At the very top of Capel Street at its junction with Bolton Street is the Polish Bakery and directly opposite it, an Asian hair studio.

Polish Shops and Restaurant on Capel Street, 2006

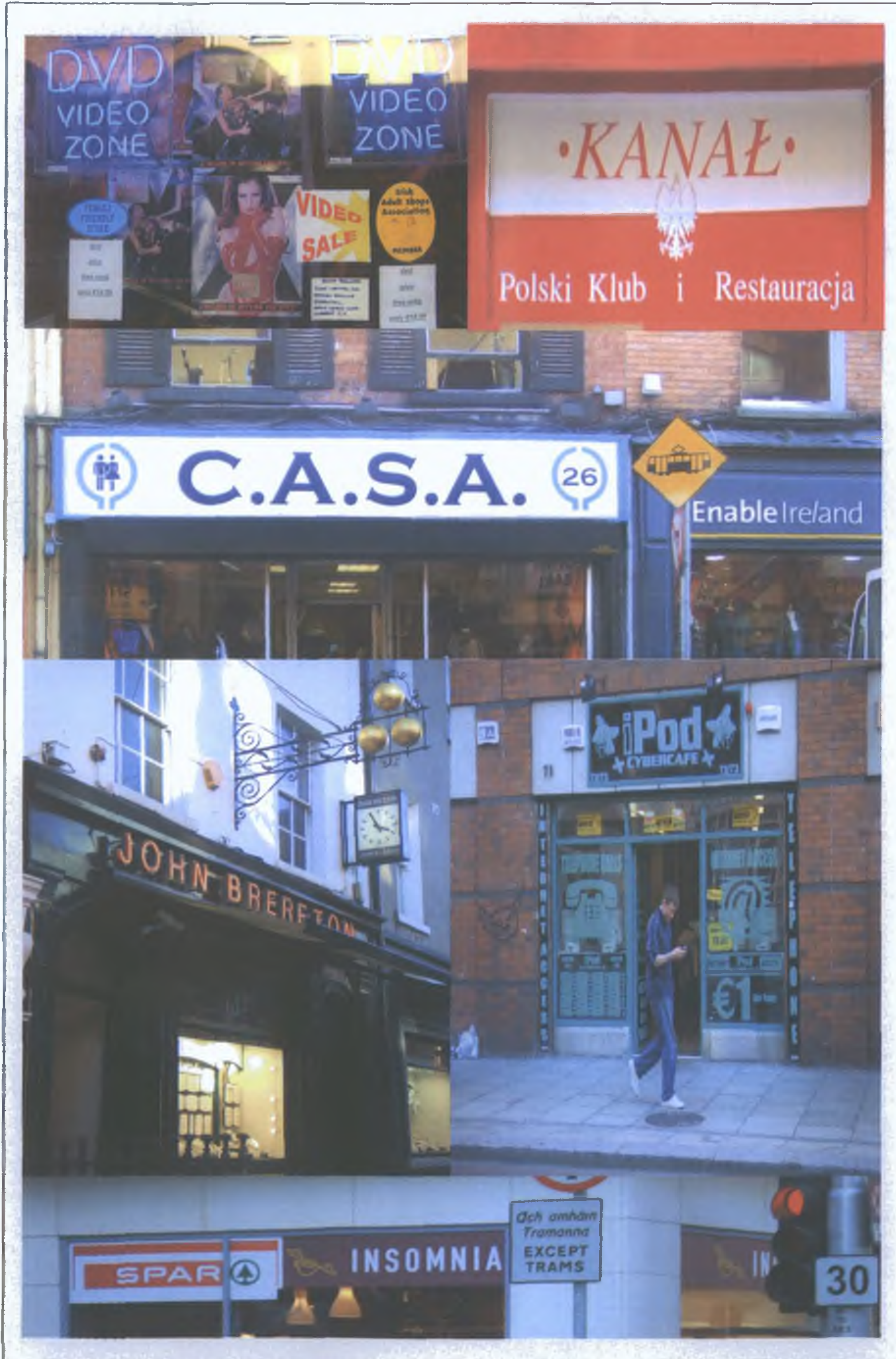
map 80



Map 80 illustrates the Polish shops located on Capel Street and adjoining Bolton Street and Mary Street. Map 79 on page 493 illustrates the Asian stores on Capel Street and Little Mary Street. Both Asian, Polish / East European stores have been located in this Zone of Transition.

Capel Street: North West Inner City's Zone of Transition

plate 124



Capel Street: North West Inner City's Zone of Transition

plate 124

Photos by Darren Kelly, 2006

The run of streets between South Great George's Street and South Richmond Street constitute the South Inner City's Zone of Transition. It divides the South East with the South West Inner City. As discussed in the South East Inner City (SEIC) section of the data analysis, the area was, until recently, on the South Inner City's periphery. The peripheral nature of the street was more a psychological one as opposed to a physical one as it lies near the Grafton Street area in the centre of the south city. The reason for the street being psychologically peripheral was related to its uses, which by and large were not associated with mainstream culture. It was argued that once some of the activities such as having tattoos and body piercings, buying second-hand clothes and music, and to an extent gay culture became acceptable, the street became increasingly populated and, thus, was re-constituted into the centre of the south city.

Capel Street is also a Zone of Transition in the North West Inner City. Plate 124 illustrates the range of shops and services in this zone, including adult and immigrant stores, charity shops and a pawnbroker. The northern end of the street has been a long established location of furniture stores. The location of these diverse shops is based primarily on the availability of retail spaces at relatively cheap rent. As future retail investment and gentrification moves westward from the centre of the city, particularly due to the proposed €700 million development of the area by Arnotts (RTE, 12/9/06), and as retail investment and gentrification moves eastwards from Smithfield, Capel Street, the border between east and west inner city, will become increasingly susceptible to further change. In this instance, the area will attract more up-scale services. This up grading of location is already beginning to arise. For example, the plush RhodesD7 restaurant was located in the newly developed Capel Building on the corner of Capel Street and Mary's Abbey in 2006. The restaurant, not afraid to include its postal code within its official name and advertising signature, is owned by Gary Rhodes - Michelin 3-star restaurateur and popular television 'celebrity chef'. Convenience store Spar and Insomnia coffee have also been established along Capel Street.

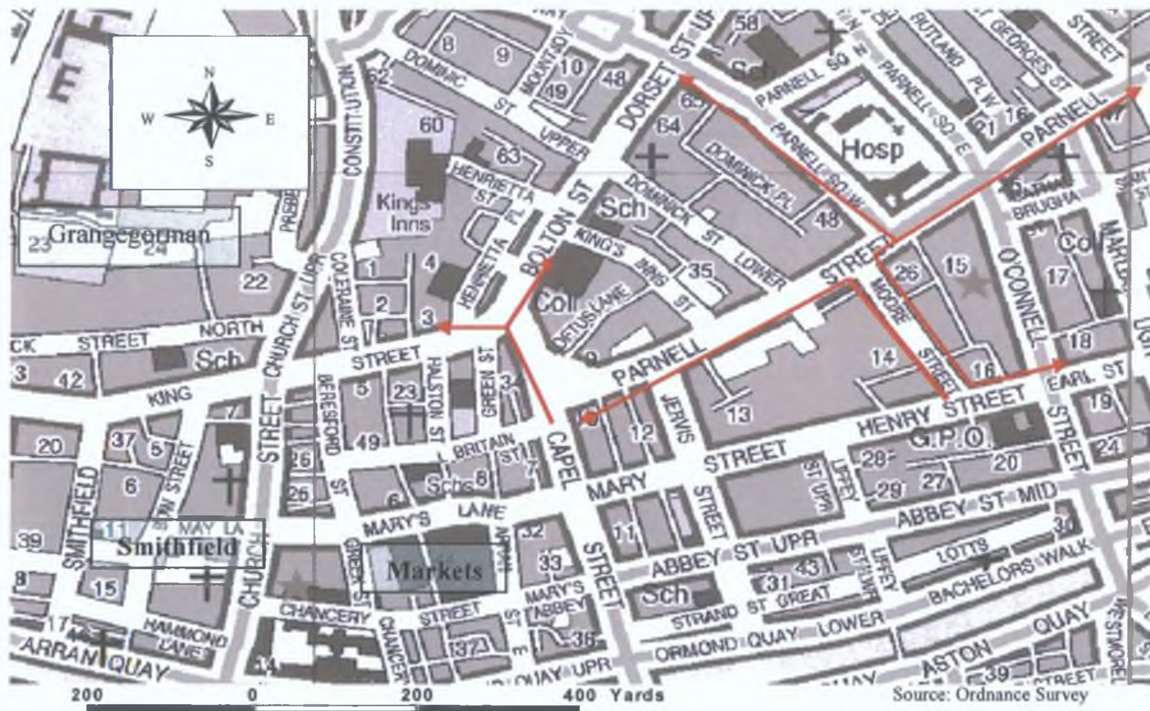
The arrival of immigrant-owned shops and services, as well as up-market restaurants coupled with adult shops and charity shops, illustrates the cultural flux of this area. Although ethnic shops have located in this area due to the availability of space and cheaper rents, their arrival can be related to a move westwards by ethnic shops away

from the North East Inner City's Moore Street and Parnell Street East area, which has been the main section of the city housing immigrant shops and services.

Short-term leases in decrepit buildings are not an attractive option for some immigrant businesses. East European stores are more akin to Western convenience stores in style than the more open plan, market-like African stores around Moore Street. In this case, it could be argued that the African stores and small Asian outlets on More Street are small, immigrant entrepreneurs starting from the bottom of the economic ladder and building up their enterprises, whereas the East European stores are operated by established business people. One of the main factors for the decrepit nature of the buildings on Moore Street is that many will soon be demolished as part of Dublin City Council's regeneration plan for the area.

Potential Spatial Movement of Immigrant Shops
Due to Planned Inner City Regeneration

map 81



The result of the regeneration of Moore Street and the central city area will be the forced movement of dozens of immigrant shops away from the area. Many of these businesses will move further into the North East Inner City. Some might move westwards down Parnell Street to the North West Inner City's Zone of Transition.

Ethnic businesses will be spatially funnelled away from property desired by the Council and big retail business, as illustrated in map 81. In time, as the North West Inner City's Zone of Transition is developed, immigrant businesses might be funnelled once more. Most likely, this funnelling will not continue west into gentrified Smithfield but into Bolton Street and up along Dorset Street into the North East Inner City.

This researcher argues that a form of sustainable development can foster a cosmopolitan, village-like community in inner city areas of Dublin. Part of the development of such a cosmopolitan community can tap into the energy created by arriving immigrants, as is the case in Capel Street. Rather than being spatially funnelled away from inner city communities to make way for large retail development and gentrification, the in-situ migrant communities should be embraced. According to McCue, the location of several different ethnic groups along the same streets and spaces in Dublin is quite unique. In most major cities like London and New York there are individual ethnic quarters or villages; little Italy and Chinatown are two main examples. In Dublin, Capel Street and, in particular, Moore Street and Parnell Street are examples of streets occupied by various different ethnic groups with Chinese, Filipino, Nigerian, Pakistani, Polish and Russian stores all sharing, rather than competing for the same space. McCue believes that such spaces should be protected and developed rather than exploited for short-term gains and thereafter gentrified. The arriving immigrant groups have established, through their own ingenuity and hard work, truly lived in and operational cosmopolitan spaces as opposed to pastiche global retail spaces for consumers.

North West Inner City Network

The North West Inner City Network (NWICN) is an independent, member-based forum of Community and Voluntary Groups in the North West Inner City of Dublin. Established in 1997 by a group of local community activists, the Network seeks to ensure that the community has an active say in how their community is developed. They have been fighting to maintain the physical and cultural integrity of the area as it regenerates. Importantly, however, the NWICN has proactively embraced the new communities into the area. Their remit is captured by the title of their 2006-2010

action plan, *Investing in the Community: Responding to Changing Landscapes 2006-2010.*

As a response to the increasing number of asylum seekers, and refugees and other migrants such as Chinese students residing in the area, an Intercultural Working Group was established by the NWICN. The impetus for the establishment of this working group came from An Siol a partner within NWICN.

An Siol, located on Manor Street, works with disadvantaged youths and the elderly in the Stoneybatter area. The organisation received funding in 2001 to employ an intercultural resource worker developing initiatives to support Refugees and Asylum Seekers who had recently arrived in the North Inner City, with a specific focus on working with immigrant women. Unfortunately, An Siol lost its funding and thus the intercultural employee and a valuable resource for the organisation and the area itself.

The Intercultural Working Group of the North West Inner City Network was established in 2000, comprising representatives of local organisations from the Dublin 7 inner city area. One of the aims of the group is to facilitate the, "harmonious and positive interaction between the various ethnic cultures that make up the community". To facilitate the interaction of different ethnic groups in the community, between 2001 and 2003:

> ...the group completed a programme of activities that was funded by Know Racism, Combat Poverty and Dublin Inner City Partnership. These included; consultation sessions with representatives of ethnic minority communities and local statutory and community service providers; an information fair; a debate on multiculturalism; anti racism training and a celebratory intercultural event. (North West Inner City Network, 2005)

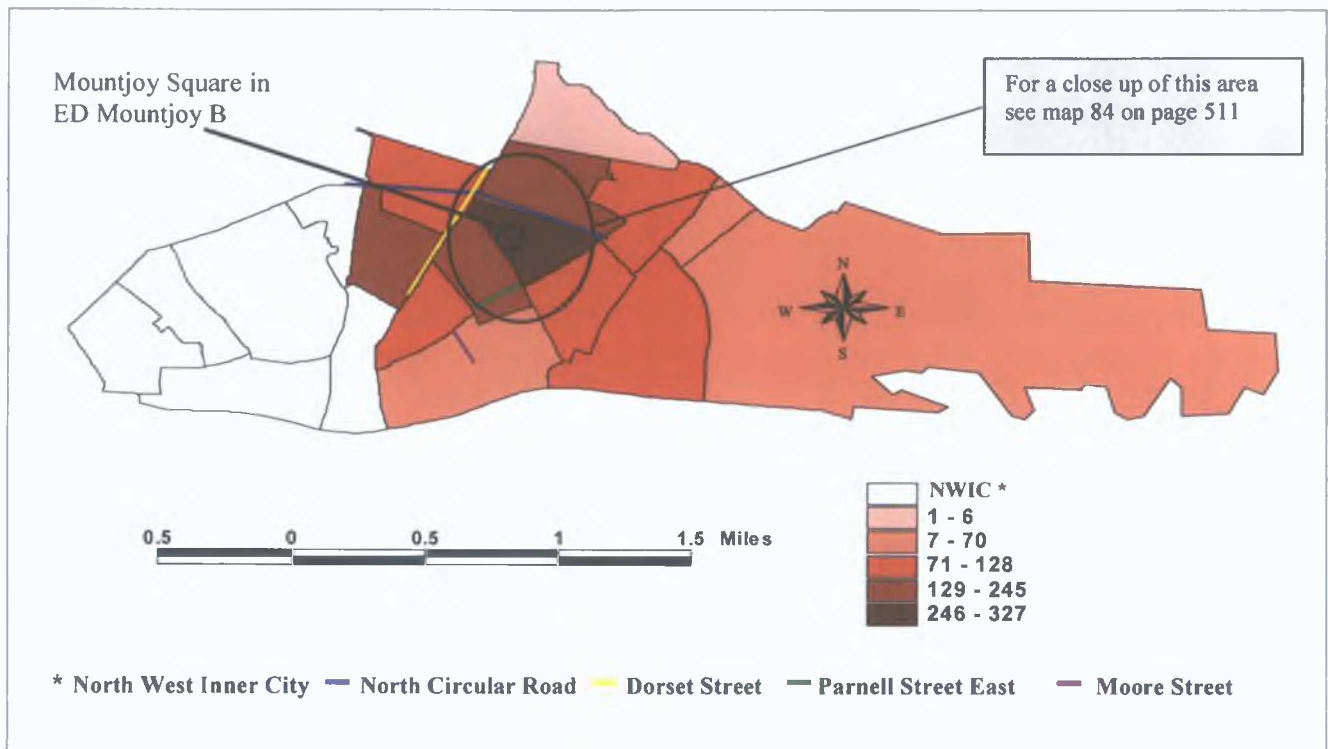
The Intercultural Working Group of the NWICN produced a map for immigrants, which indicates 34 immigrant services in the North Inner City. The group won a Media and Multicultural award from Metro Eireann for the production which was translated from English into Romanian and Russian, with an appendix of addresses and the work of the groups mapped. The group also published a 'good practice guide on interculturalism', and have organised education workshops for inner city organisations on anti racism and interculturalism.

The Intercultural Working Group have, in partnership with the Inner City Network Organisation (ICON), been actively campaigning for the establishment of a dedicated intercultural centre for Dublin to be housed in the inner city. The centre would be a focal point for intercultural organisations in the city of Dublin which could avail of office space and meeting rooms. It would provide a performance and exhibition space. The centre would also organise outreach educational services for community groups and schools. The idea of the centre being home to an Irish Diaspora museum has also been discussed. A large building at the bottom of Gardiner Street, which was once used as a labour exchange, has been targeted as a possible location for the intercultural centre.

Gardiner Street in Dublin's North East Inner City would be an apposite site for the proposed intercultural centre as it is one of the areas in the city with a large immigrant population. In terms of this research data set, the North East Inner City housed the largest number of asylum seekers compared to all other spatial areas in County Dublin. The following section will analyse the data concerning asylum seekers residing in the North East Inner City in 2002. It will develop upon the discussion of Moore Street and Parnell Street as the largest concentration areas of immigrant shops and services. The section includes an analysis of Electoral Division Mountjoy B which housed the largest number of asylum seekers in 2002.

North East Inner City

map 82

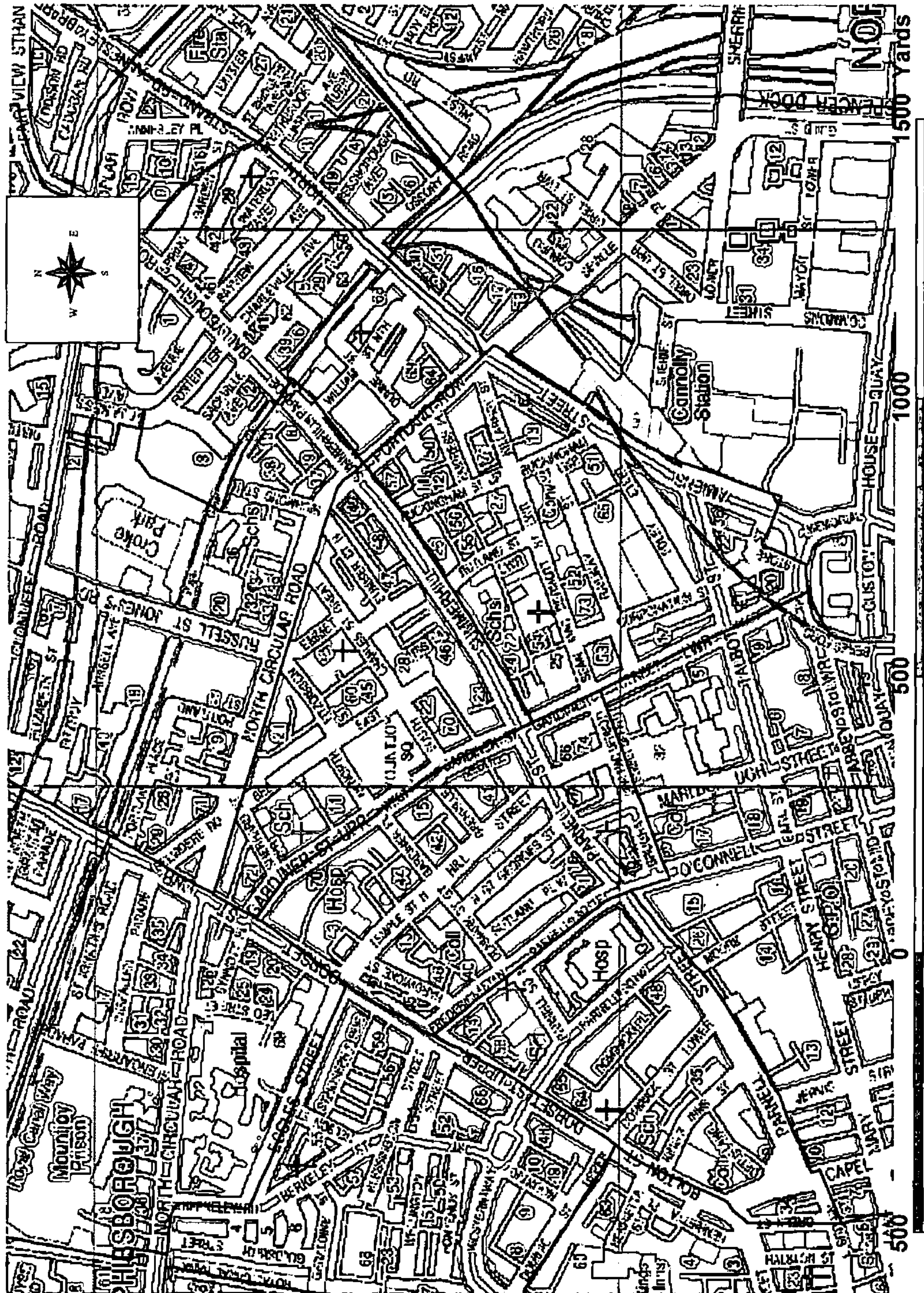


The North East Inner City (NEIC) stretches from the Capel Street / Bolton Street area in the west to East Wall and the docklands in the east. The NEIC runs from the River Liffey in the South to Drumcondra in the north. Unlike Smithfield in the North West Inner City, the NEIC does not have a particular social or communal space. Instead there are separate micro-communities and flat complexes that are not necessarily connected with each other physically and socially.

Map 82 illustrates that the majority of asylum seekers were residing in the western and central section of the NEIC. Although physically close to the city centre, asylum seeker cluster areas around Dorset Street, Parnell Street, Mountjoy Square and Summerhill are not frequented by shoppers and tourists using city centre spaces. These cluster areas are, thus, economically and socially peripheral to the city centre.

Main Transport Corridors in the North East Inner City

map 83



Note: Black overlay lines indicate Electoral Division Borders

Whereas the streets surrounding apartments and houses in the North West Inner City (NWIC) are small and narrow, many of the streets in the North East Inner City (NEIC) are transport corridors, such as Amiens Street, Dorset Street, Gardiner Street, North Circular Road and Summerhill (see map 83 above). These noisy arteries in the NEIC make it difficult to psychologically 'cut' away these corridors and 'paste' the different residential places together in the form of an identifiable NEIC physical and mental space. It has been argued in the North West Inner City (NWIC) section of the Data Analysis, that if grass roots organisations can foster a strong sense of space and place in the NWIC, it may be easier to incorporate new sub-populations into that identifiable place and space. Such a shared space is open to multiple readings and uses that are regulated by an implicit but loosely structured social contract. The dislocated nature of residential and social spaces in the NEIC could hinder the creation of a broad NEIC identity amongst residents. Thus, integrating new sub-populations such, as immigrants, into the NEIC might prove difficult due to the poly-neucleated nature of its spaces.

Asylum Seekers Residing in Dublin's North East Inner City (NEIC) by Status Category, June 2002

table 120

	Claimant	Qual_Adult	Qual_Child	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minor
NEIC	889	328	424 *(27%)*	1,191 *(73%)*	1,641	26

*includes the 26 unaccompanied minors.

The North East Inner City (NEIC) was the largest asylum seeker cluster area in County Dublin in 2002. There were 1,641 asylum seekers residing in the North East Inner City, which represented 65.4% of the North Inner City's 2,506 asylum seeking population and 17% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in County Dublin in 2002. Of the 1,641 asylum seekers in the North East Inner City (NEIC), 73% were adults and 27% were children. Males represented 70% of the 889 claimants and females the remaining 30%. Europeans were the largest group with 1,003 asylum seekers, represented 61% of all the asylum seekers residing in the NEIC in June 2002. There were 511 Africans which represented 31% and the other categories totalled 126 people, which represented the remaining 8%. There were asylum seekers from 49 countries of which Romanians were the largest national grouping with 636 asylum

seekers - 38.7% of the North East Inner City (NEIC) asylum seeker total. Nigerians were the second-largest national grouping with 324 asylum seekers, which represented 19.7% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in the NEIC.

Asylum Seekers Residing in the North East Inner City (NEIC)
by Country of Origin, June 2002

table 121

Country	Total	Percent of NEIC	Country	Total	Percent of NEIC
Romania	636	38.78	South Africa	4	0.24
Nigeria	324	19.76	Togo	4	0.24
Algeria	54	3.29	Zambia	4	0.24
Ukraine	53	3.23	China	4	0.24
Moldova	47	2.87	Uzbekistan	4	0.24
Russia	47	2.87	Niger	3	0.18
Poland	46	2.80	Sudan	3	0.18
Kosovo	37	2.26	Uganda	3	0.18
Lithuania	27	1.65	Czech Republic	3	0.18
Albania	22	1.34	Iraq	3	0.18
Georgia	21	1.28	Syria	3	0.18
Bulgaria	20	1.22	Libya	2	0.12
Cameroon	18	1.10	Zaire	2	0.12
Sierra Leone	18	1.10	Burundi	2	0.12
Somalia	16	0.98	Chechnya	2	0.12
Angola	15	0.91	Ethiopia	2	0.12
Congo	14	0.85	Turkey	2	0.12
Latvia	11	0.67	Morocco	1	0.06
Slovakia	11	0.67	Cuba	1	0.06
Maldives	7	0.43	Hungary	1	0.06
Macedonia	7	0.43	Kazakhstan	1	0.06
Ghana	6	0.37	Malta	1	0.06
Zimbabwe	6	0.37	Lebanon	1	0.06
Kenya	5	0.30	Other	108	6.59
Rwanda	5	0.30	**Total**	1,641	100
Guinea	4	0.24			

The main asylum seeker residential cluster area within the North East Inner City (NEIC) ran parallel between Dorset Street and Parnell Street, Summerhill Parade and Ballybough Road (see map 84 on page 511). Moore Street and Parnell Street have represented a *de facto* immigrant district in Dublin since the late 1990s, but risks dislocation due to Dublin City Council development plans. If this dislocation occurs, it is argued by this researcher that immigrant businesses and immigrants will be spatially funnelled deeper into North East Inner City residential zones, which are in

effect enclaves of socio-economic disadvantage. Such indigenous residential enclaves are, like Fatima Mansions, tightly knit communities with particular social norms and social contracts.

The largest asylum seeker cluster area in County Dublin in 2002

Electoral Divisions Mountjoy B, Ballybough A and Rotunda B

map 84

1: ED Mountjoy 2: Ballybough B 3: Rotunda A

There was a combined total of 787 asylum seekers residing in Electoral Divisions, Mountjoy B, Ballybough A and Rotunda B, which have a combined area size of 81 hectares. Electoral Division (ED) Mountjoy B had 327 asylum seekers making it the highest asylum seeker total in all of Dublin's Electoral Divisions. Electoral Division Ballybough B had 245 asylum seekers, the second-highest total and ED Rotunda A,

with 215 asylum seekers, had the fourth-highest total of asylum seekers residing in Dublin in June 2002. The combination of these three Electoral Divisions constituted the largest asylum seeker cluster area in Dublin in 2002.

Asylum Seekers by 'Status' Category Residing in Electoral Division Mountjoy B, June 2002

table 122

Claimants	Qual_Adults	Qual_Children	Total Adults	Total Household	Unacc_Minors
170	77	80 *(25%*)*	245 (75%)	327	2

* includes the 2 unaccompanied minors

The 327 asylum seekers represents 13% of the total number of asylum seekers residing in the North Inner City and 3.6% of the total number in Co. Dublin. ED Mountjoy B had more than 11 times the average number of asylum seekers per ED, which was 28.5 per ED in 2002. There were asylum seekers from 24 countries residing in ED Mountjoy B in June 2002. Romanians represented 43% of the 327 asylum seekers.

Asylum Seekers Residing in ED Mountjoy B by Country of Origin, June 2002

table 123

Country	Total	Percent	Country	Total	Percent
Romania	142	43.43	Ghana	4	1.22
Nigeria	29	8.87	Maldives	4	1.22
Ukraine	25	7.65	Lithuania	3	0.92
Other	20	6.12	Latvia	2	0.61
Poland	18	5.50	Sierra Leone	2	0.61
Bulgaria	15	4.59	Angola	1	0.31
Algeria	14	4.28	Burundi	1	0.31
Moldova	11	3.36	Cameroon	1	0.31
Russia	11	3.36	Congo	1	0.31
Georgia	6	1.83	Iraq	1	0.31
Kosovo	6	1.83	Uganda	1	0.31
Albania	4	1.22	Zaire	1	0.31
China	4	1.22	**Total**	**327**	100%

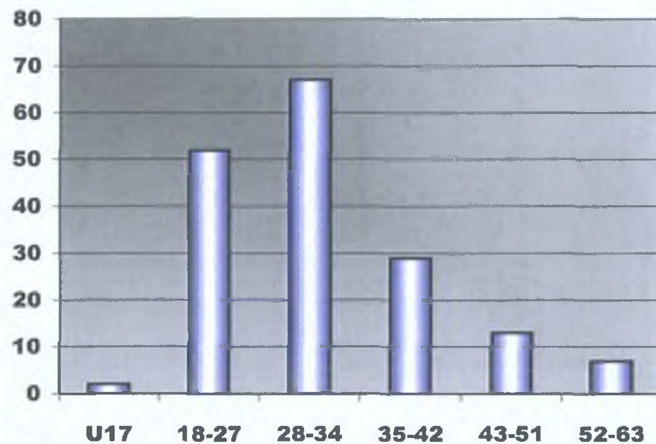
Age Profile of Claimants Residing in ED Mountjoy B, June 2002

table: 125

Age	Frequency	Percent
17	2	1.18
Sub total	***2***	***1.18***
19	8	4.71
20	2	1.18
21	2	1.18
22	5	2.94
23	8	4.71
24	9	5.29
25	4	2.35
26	6	3.53
27	8	4.71
Sub total	***52***	***30.59***
28	10	5.88
29	9	5.29
30	11	6.47
31	11	6.47
32	12	7.06
33	11	6.47
34	3	1.76
Sub total	***67***	***39.41***
35	8	4.71
36	3	1.76
37	3	1.76
38	3	1.76
39	2	1.18
40	2	1.18
41	3	1.76
42	5	2.94
Sub total	***29***	***17.06***
43	3	1.76
44	3	1.76
45	3	1.76
48	2	1.18
50	1	0.59
51	1	0.59
Sub total	***13***	***7.65***
52	2	1.18
55	1	0.59
56	1	0.59
57	1	0.59
62	1	0.59
63	1	0.59
Sub total	***7***	***4.12***
Total	**170**	**100**

table 125 b

Age	Frequency	Percent
U17	2	1.18
18-27	52	30.59
28-34	67	39.41
35-42	29	17.06
43-51	13	7.65
52-63	7	4.12



Gender Profile of Asylum Seeker Claimants Residing in ED Mountjoy B, June 2002

table 124

	Frequency	Percent
Male	134	78.82
Female	36	21.18
Total	170	100

One hundred and forty eight (87%) of the asylum seeker population in ED Mountjoy B were between 18 and 42 years of age. As discussed in the Fingal and South Dublin sections of the Data Analysis, the non-entitlement to work has aversely affected the quality of life for asylum seekers through a decrease in confidence and self-esteem. Although the majority of asylum seekers of this age group in the ED were adults, there were 80 children of asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors.

Household Profile of Asylum Seekers Residing in ED Mountjoy B, June 2002

table 126

No. in Household	Frequency	Percent
1	90	52.94
2	25	14.71
3	44	25.88
4	6	3.53
5	4	2.35
11	1	0.59
Total	170	100.00

There were fifty-eight claimants with at least 1 child. Of these, forty-seven included 1 child. There was one family with 9 children, four with 3 children and there were six families with 2 children. There were three single parents with 1 child.

Year of Arrival of Claimants Residing in ED Mountjoy B, June 2002

table: 127

Year	Frequency*	Percent
1997	1	0.31
1998	3	0.92
1999	58	17.74
2000	100	30.58
2001	104	31.80
2002	61	18.65
Total	327	100

**represents the total number of people in each year based on the number of people in each claim*

The majority of asylum seekers residing in Electoral Division (ED) Mountjoy B had registered their refugee claims in 2000 and 2001. The percentage of asylum seekers who had registered their claims prior to 2000 was 19%. The 61 in 2002 were based on the data between January and June of that year.

The 2002 Census of Population for ED Mountjoy B was 2,739. The asylum seeker group represented 11.93% of the ED Mountjoy B census population. The comparatively large number of asylum seekers residing in the ED, coupled with the speed with which they arrived, has made a strong impression on the indigenous residents of the area. However, this researcher believes that a 36.7% increase in ED Mountjoy B's census population between 1996 and 2002 has had its own impacts on the area and, thus, diluted the effects that asylum seekers have made on the area. Notwithstanding the fact that the census population includes different ethnic and social classes, a considerable proportion of this arriving cohort is related to the number of apartment complexes built in the ED in recent years i.e. a gentrified sub-population, which have made their own impact.

Compared with many of the other 322 Electoral Divisions, ED Mountjoy B is quite small and, therefore, the density of the asylum seeker population is greater. In one small section of ED Mountjoy B, there were 114 asylum seekers living in 8 houses. These 114 people constituted 19 individuals and 31 families. Having visited similar abodes to those in question, it is quite certain that these families are faced with quite cramped and difficult living conditions.

Housing in Electoral Division Mountjoy B and surrounding NEIC area

Georgian Houses on Mountjoy Square, 2002

plate 125

Plate 125 illustrates two different facades of Georgian houses on Mountjoy Square. To the front they can be resplendent, but the rear reflects the reality of what lies beyond the buildings' front doors. Inside, the houses can be similar to tenements because of the extent that they have been sub-divided into separate dwellings. The Georgian houses shadow or hide other kinds of neighbouring housing environments,

such as the small community off Charles Street and Council Flats in plates 126 and 127 below.

Charles Street Inner City Community, 2002

plate 126

Local Authority Flat Complex on Buckingham Street Upper, 2002

plate 127

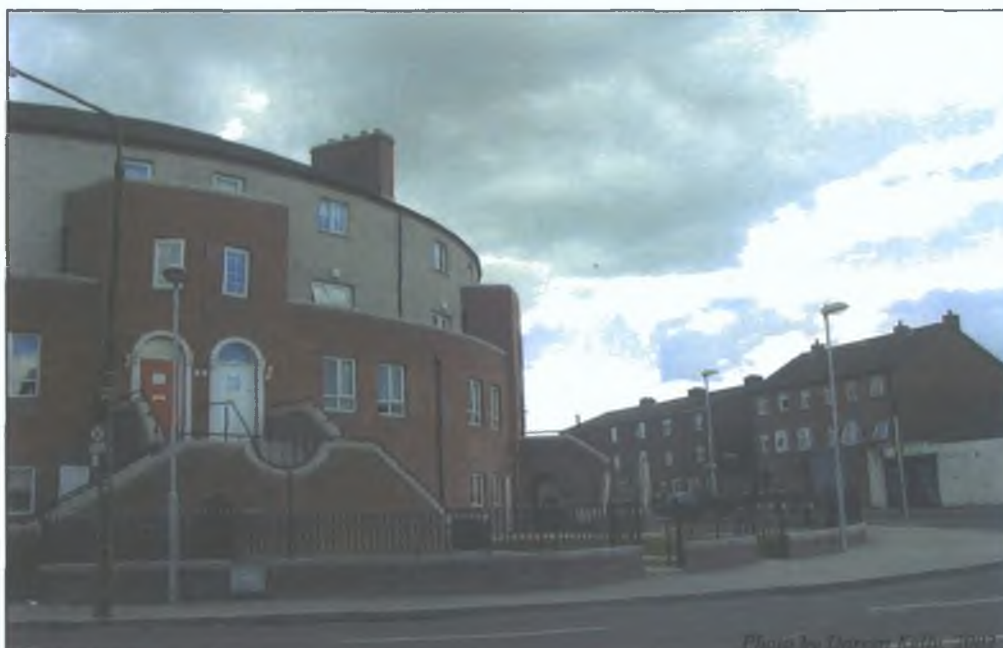
Other communities close to Electoral Division Mountjoy B in the North East Inner City (NEIC) include local authority flat complexes which are juxtaposed against rows of old cottages as is the case in Ballybough and Summerhill.

Dilapidated Public Housing on Ballybough Road, 2002

plate 128

First Phase Completed Public Housing on Ballybough Road, 2002

plate 129



Ballybough and Summerhill have experienced above average levels of unemployment and welfare dependency. The area has been socially and psychologically devastated by the drug-related deaths of many of its residents with HIV Aids. In terms of the physical infrastructure, the housing stock has been undergoing a process of physical regeneration.

Plate 128 on the previous page, taken in August 2003, illustrates the extent of the dereliction in the corporation flats, including boarded-up windows and graffiti. Some of the flats were inhabited and others burned out. The advertisement for Dublin City Council's regeneration programme includes a photograph of completed housing. These new housing units can be seen in plate 129. There has been a process of gentrification emerging in the North East Inner City (NEIC), but not to the extent of that in the North West Inner City (NWIC). The main apartment construction has taken place along Gardiner Street West (plate 130) and a small development on Pig Lane off Mountjoy Square.

Gentrified Apartments on Gardiner Street, 2002

plate 130

Carceral Cityscape, Gardiner Street, 2002

plate 131

Plate 131, of an apartment block on Gardiner Street, is an example of how residential realities are juxtaposed. There is a constructed barrier that separates the two groups, the apartment population in the forefront of plate 131 and the redbrick social housing population in the background of plate 131. The construction of apartment complexes along Gardiner Street in the early 1990s visually creates a large border between the disadvantaged communities, such as Ballybough to the east of Gardiner Street, and the centre of the city to the west.

There has been a move by some young Irish professionals into the Ballybough area, not unlike the process that emerged in Stoneybatter in the North West Inner City a decade before, whereby artists and intellectuals moved into Stoneybatter prior to a recognisable gentrification process. Despite this initial gentrification phase in the North East Inner City (NEIC) and the regeneration of the local authority housing complexes, much of the residential space in the NEIC is being used as cheap rental accommodation. Many of the houses in the NEIC are sub-divided into different flats, particularly those along transport corridors such as Dorset Street and the North Circular Road. The quality of many flats is at best of a minimal standard and thus the

cheaper rent attracts people such as welfare recipients and students with low economic means. It was against this backdrop of socio-economic and physical decay and initial gentrification that asylum seekers entered the North East Inner City in the late 1990s. The NEIC has been a heterotopic space since the 1990s and has been faced with many of the opportunities and challenges discussed with regard to the South West Inner City. However, asylum seeker numbers and immigrant businesses have been on a larger scale in the NEIC compared with the NWIC, and sections of the media have been identified the NEIC as a potential site for racial tension.

ED Mountjoy B and neighbouring Areas in Transition

Main North East Inner City Residential Cluster Area, Showing Immigrant Shops and Services, 2003

map 85

1: ED Mountjoy B   2: Ballybough B   3: Rotunda A

● : one shop / service

▬ : several shops/services

The green dots on map 85 indicate the location of immigrant shops and services in 2003 and thus reveal a spatial correlation between the areas housing the largest numbers of asylum seekers and shops and services catering for immigrants' needs. The area runs east of O'Connell Street to the Summerhill and Ballybough area with ED Mountjoy B at its centre. The green lines on Parnell Street represent a number of immigrant shops and services. To the west of Parnell Street, further into the city's commercial centre, is Moore Street (circa 700 yards from Mountjoy Square) which has the highest concentration of immigrant shops and services in Dublin. The majority of these locations in map 85 have remained as immigrant shops and services in 2006, although some have changed ownership between 2003 and 2006.

Belvedere Corner Store, North Circular Road, 2003

plate 132

The area around Electoral Division Mountjoy B is characterised by rows of two-storey red brick houses. Corner stores have been an integral part of community life in these areas where many residents would purchase daily staples such as bread, milk, tea and newspapers. Since the early 2000s, immigrants have leased many of the long-established corner stores in the North East Inner City area. This was the case with the popular Belvedere Corner Store which was sub-let to an Asian businessman in the early 2000s.

As illustrated in plate 132, the vegetables remained outside the store and the indigenous residents' staples such as bread and milk were sold inside. However, even though items like Saxo salt and cooking oil were displayed in the window, there were mostly unfamiliar products on display, such as canned peppers and vegetables and a range of spices. The Belvedere Corner Store still maintained some of its old customer-base, including students who rent flats in the nearby houses. However, the other four shops along the North Circular Road were African-owned or leased and catered primarily to immigrants.

African Corner Store on North Circular Road, 2002

plate 133

There is an interesting form of palimpsest in the photograph of the Kogi corner shop in plate 133 whereby the sign, which was above the former occupier of the space, 'Gardiner Security LTD.', was still visible through the white wash. It might be the

case that in some of the indigenous residents' mind maps, the old wholesale security distributors' store has remained as a landmark, not yet erased from memory. In this case, the older generation clings to old landmarks to maintain their spatial and cultural equilibrium in a time of rapid cultural transition.

Both the Belvedere and Kogi corner stores have elements in common. Firstly, both have clothes drying in the windows, which suggest families live above the shops and, secondly, both have satellite dishes. It is common place to see satellite dishes on buildings housing non-Irish nationals used to access television entertainment and news programmes in their own languages, all of which reduce their sense of isolation and loneliness.

Satellite Dishes on Sub-Divided Housing in the North East Inner City

plate 134

Moore Street and Parnell Street: Dublin's immigrant district

Moore Street, 2002

plate 135

Plate 135 illustrates a typical fruit and vegetable stall on Moore Street in the North East Inner City (NEIC). For generations, inner city women known as dealers have operated the stalls. Over time from the mid to late-1900s, Moore Street lost some of its vibrancy due to a reduction of customers, as people who moved away from the city's centre opted to shop in local suburban supermarkets. From the late-1990s, as immigrants, including asylum seekers, were beginning to residentially cluster in the more run-down residential spaces in and around ED Mountjoy B, a small number of immigrant shops opened in Moore Street and neighbouring Parnell Street due to the availability of vacant premises at relatively cheap rents.

Initially, it was mainly African enterprises that opened along Moore Street and Parnell Street. There were two main services, firstly, shops that imported African food produce and, secondly, hair salons that provided a service that, according to one African stylist on Moore Street, is very important to African women.

African Shop and Dublin Dealers on Moore Street

plate 136

Typically on Moore Street, buildings have been sub-let to various different businesses, for example an African shop on the ground floor and a Chinese restaurant on an upper floor. Some shops are sub-divided for different uses, for example, a shop in the front section and a video section and or hair salon towards the back. In some cases, the different business ventures in a single shop are operated by different people who sub-let their small spaces from the main leaseholder. One example of this sub-division of shop space is the small booths at the front of shops operated primarily by young Chinese students who sell telephone cards.

There has not been much tension between the dealers and the immigrant businesses and customers. The immigrant shops brought a significant increase in customers onto the street, which has been beneficial for the dealers. The increase in customers along Moore Street has been evidenced by the signs written in Mandarin and other languages in the front window of the long established Buckley's Butcher Shop on Moore Street. As discussed earlier, the cuts of meat sold in Buckley's were once popular in Dublin during the early and mid 1900s. Plate 137 below illustrates the changing product range in Troy's Butcher Shop on Moore Street. Troy's have included Halal meat as part of their extended product range.

Troy's Butcher Shop, Moore Street with Halal Meat and Cuts of Meat to Suit Immigrant Customers, 2002

plate 137

China Room Restaurant, Moore Street, 2002

plate 138

The China Room restaurant opened in 2000. According to the owner, the restaurant provides a "home cooked" meal at very moderate prices for Chinese students who have very little disposable income or for anyone wanting traditional Chinese food. The owner says that her food is unlike the typical Chinese takeaway restaurants that cater for Irish clients' tastes. She did not want to change the seemingly run-down décor as the students would not avail of the service if it looked like an Irish-Chinese restaurant. Initially, Irish customers did not enter the restaurant because its décor was different to stereotypical Irish Chinese restaurants.

Moore Lane, Official Street Sign and Chinese Advertisement

plate 139

The two signs on Moore Lane to the rear of Moore Street are indicative of this new multi-cultural space. In 2003, this hidden space was home to two churches, Christ Glory Ministries and Christ Ambassadors Ministry. There was also one African supermarket and one Asian supermarket. This area is particularly vibrant and colourful each Sunday as it becomes a space where people can socialise after Church. In 2005, a building on Moore Lane was used for Muslim religious services.

These communal immigrant spaces in and around Moore Street and Moore Lane serve several functions. They are places where people can speak about problems, exchange information about social events and the notice boards have information concerning housing and employment. In this case, they are particularly important for those residing in isolated suburbs. The shops and churches provide a space where immigrants can communicate in their own languages.

Slavyanskaya Russian Delicatessen, Moore Street, 2002

plate 140

Medina Asian Food Store, 2006

plate 141

Since 2002, Moore Street experienced rapid growth in the number of shops operated by Asians particularly catering to Chinese students. Plates 140 and 141 illustrate the change in tenure of one prominent site on Moore Street. The owners of the Slavyanskaya Russian Delicatessen relocated to Sean MacDermott Street and Medina, once a small store on Moore Street moved to the much larger premises on Moore Street.

The signs in plates 140 and 141 represent a prominent physical and cultural landmark on Moore Street. The name of Hanlon on the side of the sign is a form of palimpsest that acts as a reminder of a previous time when Hanlon's was an established fishmonger on Moore Street. The last headquarters of the 1916 Rising was located in the rear parlour of Hanlon's. Hanlon's is also mentioned in the Lestrygonians chapter of James Joyce's *Ulysses*. Seamus Deane (1985: 78) described Joyce's Dublin as "...that palimpsest of cultural maps, the landscape of Dublin". Whilst buildings such as Hanlon's on Moore Street act as a temporal reminder of the past, the traders have inhabited a particular cultural norm in Dublin during the mid 1900s and now inhabit a different cultural reality in the early 2000s.

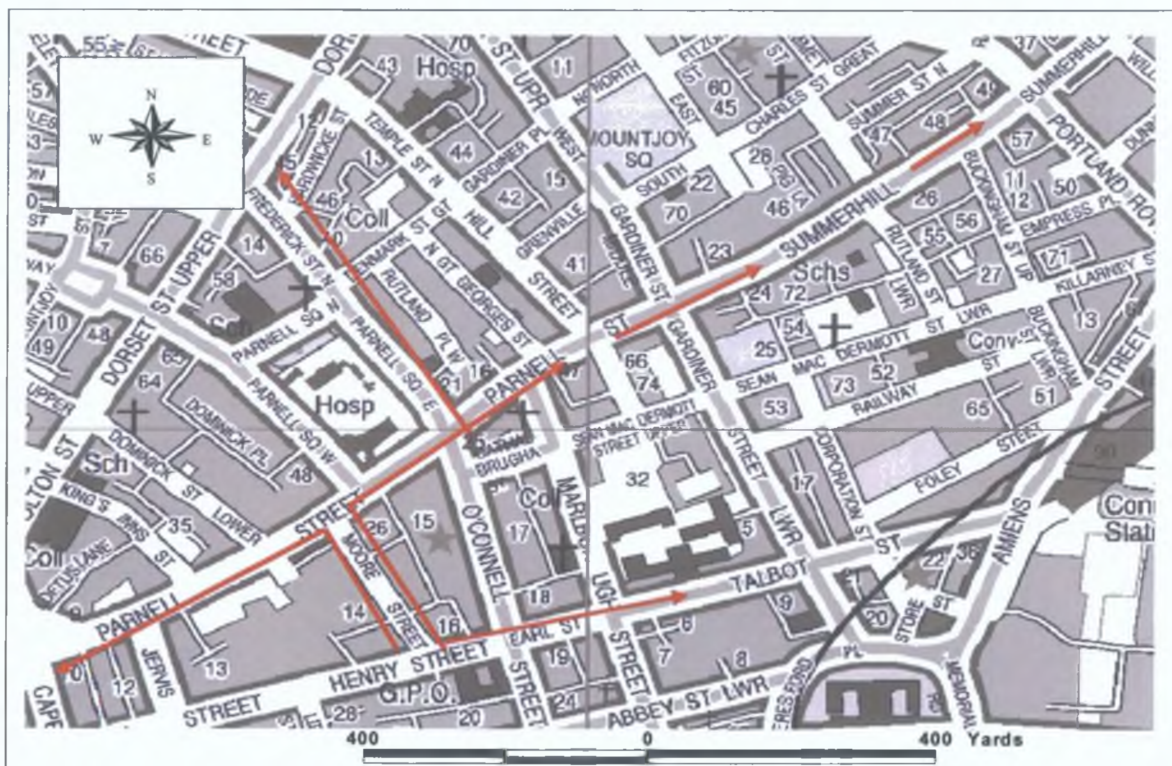
Jury's Hotel at the Corner of Parnell Street and Moore Street, 2006

plate 142

Jury's Hotel opened at the corner of Parnell Street and Moore Street in 2005. The construction of the hotel, office blocks and apartment blocks on Parnell Street West adjacent to Moore Street has significantly altered the physical and cultural landscape of this area. As outlined in the North West Inner City section, this area represents a truly operational cosmopolitan space. However, the new development of the ILAC centre and the construction of a roofed arcade from it to include Moore Street might possibly erase the cultural landscape that has been encapsulated along Moore Street for generations, as well as eradicate the newly developed immigrant / cosmopolitan nature of the space.

Potential Spatial Movement of Immigrant Shops Due to Planned Inner City Regeneration

map 86



Due to the gentrification of Smithfield and the redevelopment of the Markets Area in the North West Inner City (NWIC), it is most likely that the immigrant shops and services will not be funnelled west from Moore Street, but into more peripheral locations in the North East Inner City such as Dorset Street, Parnell Street and further east into Summerhill and Ballybough, where the largest cluster of asylum seekers

were residing in 2002. Interestingly, the first African hair salon in Ballybough was opened there in 2006.

One of the First Afro-Caribbean Foodstores to Open on Moore Street Moves Away From the Street in March 2007

Plate 143

One of the first immigrant stores to locate on Moore Street was the Crystal Afro-Caribbean Foodstore and hair salon (plate 89). This prominent store moved east away from Moore Street in March 2007 to Cathedral Street. The owner said that the reason for the move was the difficulties with their lease on Moore Street and that the new location offered more economic stability. This move is interpreted by this researcher as an indicator towards the future movement of other stores from Moore Street. Although relatively close to Parnell Street, Crystal is located on a small street that does not have any other immigrant-based stores. The store owner accepted that there would be some loss of passing trade, but that most of the regular customers would travel to the store's new location to purchase their goods.

African Hair Salon in Little Africa, Parnell Street, 2002

plate 144

Asian Shop Signs in Chinatown, Parnell Street, 2006

plate 145

The increase in the location of immigrant shops and services on Parnell Street might be related to the regeneration plans for Moore Street. The changing cultural landscape of Parnell Street has been quite dramatic in terms of speed and visual effect, as exemplified by the number of brightly coloured Asian signs jutting from the old red brick buildings (see plate 144). Parnell Street acts as an example of the potential for inner city spaces to culturally morphologise. The rapid cultural change of the North East Inner City has had different effects on the indigenous residents.

Parnell Street, east of O'Connell Street has undergone a cultural transition in the manner of Moore Street. From the late 1990s, African stores appeared along the Street and in 2000 the area was labelled 'Little Africa' by sections of the media. Unlike Chinatown, with its positive overtones linked with urbanity and cosmopolitanism in many Western cities, by and large the media in Ireland has used the term Little Africa pejoratively.

Although Parnell Street has been labelled Little Africa, since 2005 it has become increasingly known as Little Asia or Chinatown. In 2006 there were 18 different Asian businesses on Parnell Street between Gardiner Street and O'Connell Street ranging from restaurants and hair salons to food stores. There were however, nine African businesses, both food stores and hair salons along Parnell Street in 2006 as well as two East European food stores and one large East European bar. Another large East European bar, Baltica, owned by Ukrainian Alex Vakiy, was located close-by on Marlborough Street in 2004. Baltica replaced the Peacock Lounge, which was popular with young indigenous residents from the North East Inner City.

The Blue Lion pub, illustrated in plate 145 below, had been one of the main 'local' pubs used by the indigenous population of the inner city and Summerhill sections of the North East Inner City. In 2005, the pub was transformed into a Korean barbeque restaurant and bar, illustrated in plate 146. The changing of the Blue Lion into the Ice Bar signalled a radical shift in the cultural use of this building and the surrounding area. Of all the cultural changes along Parnell Street, this transfer of use was arguably the most significant.

The Blue Lion Pub, 103 Parnell Street, 2002

plate 146

Ice Bar and Han Yank Korean Barbeque, 103 Parnell Street, 2006

plate 147

The *International Herald Tribune* (8/5/2006), reporting on the cultural changes to Parnell Street, wrote that "this part of Ireland's capital is a microcosmic study of how global migration trends can transform a formerly homogenous city". The article reports an interview with the owner of the Ice Bar, who described the initial difficulties experienced with young indigenous clients directly after the change in ownership from the Blue Lion (http://www.iht.com/articles/2006/05/07/news/city6.php). In the interview the owner explained how he needed to "drive away the old crowd" by raising the prices. The article describes the Blue Lion as a "notoriously violent dive" and described the area as being "run down" and "bordered by tough public housing projects". Despite the opening line that migration can transform a "homogenous" space, the article did not reflect the effect of this cultural change on the local inhabitants.

The transformation of the Peacock Lounge into a Ukrainian Bar and the Blue Lion pub into a Korean bar is an example of how the indigenous population's social and cultural spaces are being transformed. Integration and urban development will not happen by accident but by design. Indigenous residents must be included in the re-development of their residential and cultural spaces if they are not to become disenfranchised and if the possibility of confrontation between different groups is to be avoided.

Indigenous responses to physical and cultural change in North East Inner City indigenous residential enclaves

It was argued earlier in this section that Gardiner Street has acted as a physical border between disadvantaged neighbourhoods in the North East Inner City (NEIC) and the City's centre. Like Fatima Mansions in the North West Inner City, small micro-communities such as those around Sean MacDermott Street practically existed as mono-cultural spatial units. The arrival of immigrants into such inner city communities in the NEIC from the late 1990s on signalled a marked change in these spaces. The completed construction of large apartment blocks on Sean MacDermott Street and deeper into NEIC disadvantaged neighbourhoods in 2005 and 2006 is also indicative of the radical physical and social change in the NEIC.

As with the SWIC, local community organisations have been trying to manage the rapid demographic, socio-cultural, economic and physical transition of the North East Inner City

Sean McDermott Street Apartment Block and Polish Store, 2006

plate 148

Prior to ethnification and gentrification in the NEIC, most of the community development work related to drug rehabilitation, unemployment, housing and education provision. The Inner City Organisation Network (ICON) constitutes many important youth and community services in the North East Inner City. Examples include: CityWide drugs campaign (North Strand Road), Community Technical Aid (Railway Street), Firestation Art (Buckingham Street), Inner City Renewal Group

(Amiens Street), the Larkin Employment Centre (Amiens Street) and Lourdes Youth and Community Group (Sean MacDermott Street).

Increasingly, immigrants are coming into contact with NEIC community organisations, thus adding to their workload, opportunities and challenges. To this end, the organisations have tried to include issues pertaining to immigration in their work. For example, the Refugee Information Service organised by the Refugee Council is located once weekly in the offices of the Inner City Renewal Group. However, a dedicated immigrant organisation or sub-group of an existing organisation to deal with immigrants' needs has not emerged. Most of the immigrant services for the inner city such as SPIRASI are located in the North West Inner City.

It is important that organisations in the North East Inner City (NEIC) do not perceive immigrants as a threat to their indigenous service users. For example, local community groups are working on behalf of the indigenous population to obtain better housing provision and improve social resources. Immigrants also need housing provision and social resources and, therefore, organisations can either include immigrants as part of their remit or deem them to be a challenge to their users i.e. the indigenous population.

If the term 'tightly-knit' is used to describe inner city communities it could be argued that ethnification and gentrification have been picking away at the mono-cultural fabric of these communities. It could be questioned whether or not the communities' sense of place will be unravelled and, furthermore, what the consequences of this loss might be for all of the sub populations in these changing neighbourhoods. Seany Lamb of the Inner City Renewal Group, when speaking of apartment blocks being built in the Docklands area said that:

> ...in effect a new community is being built...there's a learning process necessary between the new community and the old community and that's not easy. It's certainly not easy for the indigenous population to see themselves surrounded and overwhelmed. But there's a golden opportunity for them [indigenous population] if they are given the chance to take that opportunity....But it will take time. (http://reflectingcity.com/2002/8501a.htm)

Seany Lamb argues that the arrival of immigrants has affected local indigenous peoples' housing problems:

> It has to be said that the influx of refugees and asylum seekers who generally tended to drift towards areas where housing was attainable and at a cheaper rate...the effect of that was the safety valve of the private rented sector which our own people would have used while waiting for social housing was gone...there is no available housing in the private rented sector in the area. (http://reflectingcity.com/2002/8501a.htm)

Some racism towards immigrants in the North East Inner City has been fuelled by misconception and fear, rather than inherent racist beliefs. Asylum seekers are perceived as welfare spongers, and the indigenous residents feel that their welfare payments might be jeopardised because of the arrival of immigrants into the North East Inner City. In essence, immigrants are perceived as a threat and as being in competition for resources. To gauge the response of the indigenous North East Inner City residents to immigration, interviews were held with critical individuals by this researcher. One particular interview with a young woman in her late 20s, who has lived all of her life in a local authority flat complex just off Sean MacDermott Street, proved to be quite insightful. For the purposes of the research, the interviewee will be named Theresa.

Theresa returned to adult education and subsequently has been employed, working with 'out of home' children and teenagers in the North East Inner City. Rather than directly asking questions about immigration, she was asked about her relationship with her neighbourhood at three different periods in her life, primary school years, secondary school years and adult years. The reason for these three questions was to gauge her views of how her community had changed over time.

Despite Theresa's description of unemployment and the drug situation in the Sean MacDermott Street area in the 1980s, what was most apparent from the interview was Theresa's love for her community:

> The area has a bad name....[But] Definitely, I had a great time growing up there, its not the same now as it used to be and I'd like to get out but I'm proud of where I'm from.

When asked why she wanted to leave the area, Theresa responded that, "the area is dead". She explained that when growing up "you knew everyone" and that due to the local authority housing people from outside the area that, "now you don't hardly

know anyone". In this case, Theresa argued that the Government are content for people to be disenfranchised because "they want us out". She added that this was because they want to replace the flats with apartments. Theresa expressed a sense of physical and cultural claustrophobia due to the new construction, "they were caging us in and blocking out light". Theresa made quite hateful and racist comments about immigrants, particularly Black immigrants moving into the area, "I hate the bastards":

> I know in my work I have to learn to bite my tongue...but I wish they weren't here....I know that's not the right thing to say but that's what I feel...they've ruined Parnell Street....They're supposed to be coming from war in their countries and they're buying shops....I think it's wrong people should live with their own Blacks with Blacks or yellow whatever...and whites with whites or from your own back ground....Sometimes you see a black and a white couple walking down the street and I think it is shameful....I think [the area] will get worse...

To varying degrees, the interview encapsulates many of the views of people in the neighbourhood. Although there are racist comments, the interviewee was quite articulate regarding the on-going cultural changes and the possible future tensions in the area. This researcher does not condone the racist comments made, but believes it is important to reflect upon the interviewee's perceived loss of identity, place and space. As expressed earlier, the positive reporting of the changes to Parnell Street by the *International Herald* did not reflect on the views of the indigenous population. For example, Theresa felt that "they've ruined" it. This researcher argues that to ignore or dismiss inner city residents' relationships with their home spaces and their views on immigration and gentrification is perilous. The issue of integration will become increasingly important if immigrants and immigrant businesses are spatially funnelled into what were once primarily mono-cultural, inner city spaces.

Gaining an understanding of residents' racism or xenophobia is one of the first steps in dealing with the problem. Some indigenous residents are more favourable to change; the acceptance of immigration by many of the traders along Moore Street is testament to this. As discussed in previous sections of this Data Analysis, a well-structured, sustainable developed model of integration that employs best practice models of community development as used successfully by Fatima Groups United and other community organisations can foster successful poly-cultural spaces in Dublin. Learning from the experiences of immigration in other countries would also be valuable in the development of integration and intercultural planning in Dublin.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The spatial distribution of the dataset

One of the aims of this research was to discover whether asylum seeker ghettos were emerging in Dublin. The maps which were produced clearly illustrated that in 2002 there were no asylum seeker ghettoes using the conventional working definition of a ghetto. This was because asylum seekers were residing in a relatively large number of areas throughout Dublin. However, the maps clearly illustrate a high degree of asylum seeker clustering in particular spaces. For example, 4,031 or 43.7% of all asylum seekers were residing within Dublin's inner city, particularly in residential spaces within the North East and South West Inner City. A high proportion of asylum seekers were residing along public transport corridors, such as the North and South Circular Roads and Dorset Street, thus making this sub-population more visible to passing commuters.

This researcher has argued that the high visibility of asylum seekers has possibly contributed to a misperception of their numbers, as they represented less than one percent of the 2002 Dublin Census of Population. However, media-hype and political rhetoric about immigration and the potential creation of immigrant ghettoes contributed to a misconception about the number of asylum seekers and a negative perception of asylum seekers and immigrants in general.

There was no overt clustering of asylum seekers on a nationality and regionality basis with the exception of Romanians, many of whom were Roma, who were largely clustered in the North East Inner City. There also tended to be a correlation between where Nigerian asylum seekers and other Africans were residing.

Due to the spatial nature of this analysis, the research findings concerning asylum seekers and immigrants for one location were often different to the findings concerning this cohort in a different location. The following conclusions are, therefore, grouped into two broad categories: firstly, suburban areas, including outlying towns and villages such as Rush and, secondly, the inner city.

Suburban Areas

A large number of asylum seeker families were residing in disadvantaged suburbs, such as Tallaght and Blanchardstown on Dublin's western fringe. Children of asylum seekers and other immigrant sub-groups have significantly changed the demographics of primary and secondary schools. The speed with which schools have become multi-ethnic, multi-cultural and concomitantly multi-religious spaces has proved to be a major challenge for students and teachers, and poses questions regarding the school curriculum and religious education in schools.

Interviews with immigrant groups showed that asylum seekers find it difficult to physically and socio-culturally place themselves within suburban and rural spaces and, therefore, experience isolation and depression. This is exacerbated by their non-entitlement to work, which has forced some asylum seekers to work illegally for inadequate pay and working conditions. The research has illustrated the benefits that asylum seeker women have gained from community and group participation in suburban areas such as Tallaght. However, the seeming unwillingness of asylum seeker men to become involved in community and group work has exacerbated their high levels of anxiety and depression. The lack of amenities and privacy in Direct Provision Centres, coupled with a lack of educational and social provision for adult asylum seekers, led to their sense of isolation and heightened levels of anxiety.

Asylum seekers receive inadequate financial support from the Government and thus face difficulties participating in mainstream cultural activities and events due to the costs associated with participation. The increased privatisation and control of public spaces, such as suburban malls, increases the risk of asylum seekers and other immigrants being excluded.

Inner city

Asylum seekers, one of the most vulnerable and disadvantaged sub-groups in Irish society, were living in some of Dublin's and Ireland's most disadvantaged inner city areas. Asylum seekers were mainly residing in large sub-divided houses, often quite run-down and over-crowded. A significant number of families, particularly Romanians, were residing in inner city neighbourhoods.

There was a correlation between spaces which housed asylum seekers and spaces with shops and services catering for immigrants. This researcher believes that macro-economics are primarily dictating the location of immigrant residential and business patterns rather than micro-spatial cultural forces. However, the research has illustrated, particularly through the extensive use of photography, that once the immigrant residential and retail patterns were established, the micro-cultural practices of these arriving sub-cultural groups have greatly impacted on the spaces into which they have been located – Moore Street and Parnell Street are two primary examples. The clustering of asylum seekers around the Dorset Street / North Circular Road axis suggests that this area of the North East Inner City might well become an in-bound residential destination for future groups of immigrants, including asylum seekers, arriving in Dublin.

Dublin's city space is fluid; it is, as Jonathan Raban calls London, a 'soft city'. As illustrated in this research, the inner city is both physically and culturally in transition due to gentrification and ethnification. The research identified co-terminous lifeworlds of indigenous, immigrant and gentrified sub-populations juxtaposed in inner city spaces, each living with different cultural and temporal registers. These spaces have been identified as heterotopic and postmodern because the sub-populations are physically and socio-culturally juxtaposed rather than intertwined.

Dublin once consisted of a sequence of isolated, mono-cultural inner city villages. The shoehorning of apartment blocks into the interstitial spaces between villages has radically altered inner city indigenous physical boundary locations. The sub-letting to immigrants of un-used buildings in interstitial spaces has also contributed to the blurring of indigenous residents' physical and socio-cultural boundary markings. In

essence, the indigenous residents' mind maps are being partially erased as the city re-inscribes itself physically, socially and culturally. This rapid morphology affects the indigenous residents' spatial and cultural equilibrium and threatens some residents' identitification with, and uses of, places and spaces in their communities. This researcher has found a range of indigenous residents' reactions to these changes that encapsulate dislocation, claustrophobia, bemusement, resentment and hopelessness.

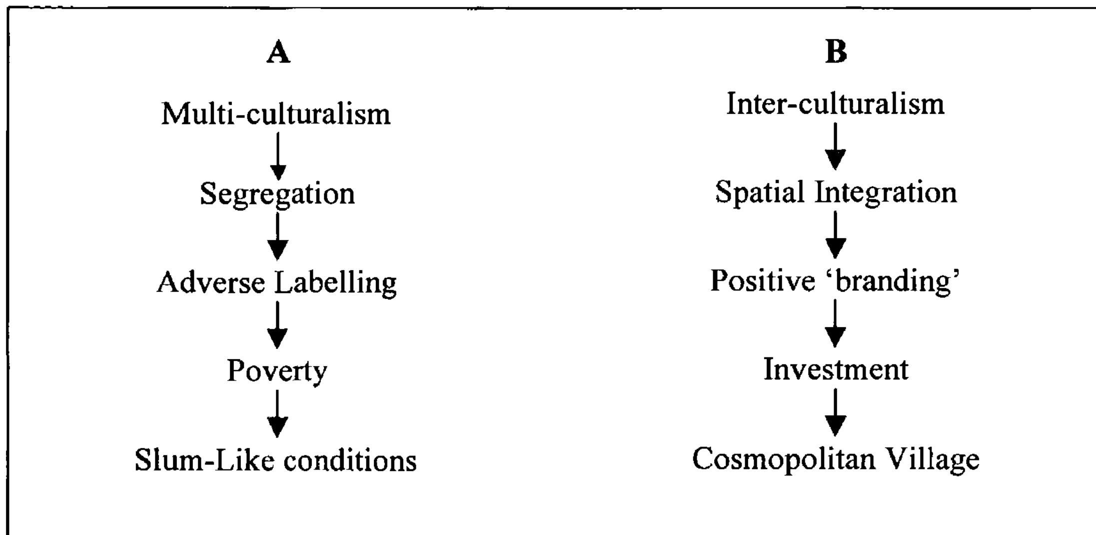
In order to identify Dublin's spatial narrative of shifting physical and cultural borders of inner city space and the effects thereof, this researcher needed to become aware of the meanings ascribed to buildings and spaces by indigenous residents. This was done through historical research methods, which included the reading of oral histories as well as discussions with individuals and community leaders. Through a combination of the roles associated with the *flâneur*, photoethnographer and human and cultural geographer, the researcher observed the city's physical, social and cultural landscape. Furthermore, the researcher 'read' the city through a form of semiology. The physical and cultural landscape was read as a palimpsest whereby polysemious meanings of locations were read from the point of view of indigenous residents, immigrants and gentrifiers. The research linked the discussion of the indigenous residents' relationship with space to a broader discussion of Irish identity politics, using a postcolonial perspective to inform this exploration of immigration.

Reasons for ethnic clustering and possible future spatial patterns in inner city space

Because there were no immigrant districts in Dublin prior to the mid-to-late 1990s, an exploration of why asylum seekers and other immigrants were living and starting businesses in these spaces became a central query of the research. The researcher has postulated that Ireland's non-regulated, private-rental sector has contributed greatly to ethnic clustering. This open market, along with competitive bidding, has created paths of least resistance through which asylum seekers and other immigrants have been spatially funnelled. The other side of the funnel are zones which are, as yet, not desired by capital and cultural producers, where those most vulnerable sub-populations in society must compete for space.

Two Potential Models of Spatial Development in Dublin

Fig. 12



Based on this research, figure 12 hypothesises two potential spatial developments for urban spaces in Dublin and Ireland. Model A is based on a multi-cultural model, whereby the economic, socio-cultural and political development of immigrants are not specifically identified and fostered. In this case, immigrants are left to the vagaries of the open market and public machinations. Based on competitive bidding practices and, in particular, the non-regulation of the private-rental sector, immigrants and their businesses might be dispersed from the central city through spatial funnels into areas on the city's periphery that are already disadvantaged 'poverty traps'. This could potentially lead to areas becoming slum-like, due to disinvestment, the poor physical fabric of buildings, lack of social supports and cultural facilities and the over crowding of tenants.

Model B is based on an immigration policy that would foster education and the cultural capital of immigrants of ethnically clustered spaces. The numerous photographs taken by this researcher illustrate the vibrancy that immigrants have brought to what had been economically run-down, inner city spaces. The establishment of immigrant shops and services amounts to quite a radical social and cultural morphology of these spaces. Public and private investment that taps into this energy, and that of the gentrification process, has the potential to transform ethnic clusters into cosmopolitan spaces.

Recommendations:

Inner city areas are not blank spaces for development; they are home to existing indigenous communities. Therefore, it is vital that public policy empowers and manifests the human and cultural capital of these areas towards uses that will also benefit the indigenous residents. It appears important that further work on a sense of space and place for the various groups of residents in Dublin be conducted.

It is believed that if the indigenous residents are given an active role in the transition of their neighbourhood, then the change from a form of mono-culturalism to poly-culturalism can be positive. Success requires a single, identifiable community governed by a loosely defined social contract, rather than a fractured space occupied by different non-integrated sub-communities who do not identify with each other.

The integrated area regeneration plans for Dublin were designed prior to the emergence of recent immigration. Therefore, it is the expressed view of this researcher that urban plans should be re-visited to take into consideration the effects that these plans might have on emerging immigrant spaces. It is believed that urban planning must include cultural planning as the city become increasingly poly-cultural. It is argued that pro-active urban and cultural planning can reduce the risk of immigrant slum-like areas emerging and thus reduce the potential for racial tensions.

A recommendation of the research is for safeguards to be put in place to protect immigrants from financial exploitation by landlords. Furthermore, regulations should prevent landlords from rack-renting practices and to ensure that rented accommodation meets sufficient health and safety standards.

It is recommended that dedicated research into the effects immigration is having on schools is needed. It is also a recommendation that Department of Education and Science ethical guidelines and curricula be further developed and funded to equip schools adequately to meet the challenges faced by immigration. Greater discussion and discourse with regards policy on the provision of religious instruction needs to take place. Improved English language provision, both methodologies and funding, is deemed to be essential for the success of immigrant children's educational

development. This in turn can facilitate social integration amongst pupils and 'trickle-up', community-wide integration between immigrant groups, such as asylum seekers and the indigenous population. Without education, economic and social development, some of the more disadvantaged immigrants, particularly those without good English language skills, could remain at the bottom of the economic and social hierarchy in Ireland. In essence, sections of Dublin's growing immigrant community might represent the next generation of extreme social disadvantage in Ireland.

The research identified the crucial work NGOs and community organisations have been doing with immigrants, Tallaght Intercultural Action is an example. The researcher would argue that such groups are providing services that should be greatly assisted by Government agencies. It is a recommendation that such groups be generously funded for the important provision they make to immigrants and community-wide integration. Valuable non-paid community work undertaken by immigrants should be recognised. This work should not be used as a replacement for paid employment. The research has identified the need for community integration as a matter of urgency. Issues that have been identified by indigenous residents relate to misunderstanding about immigrant groups such as asylum seekers, resulting in the potential growth of racism and exaggerated perception of crime and violence associated with such groups.

The Government selected buildings to be used as Direct Provision Centres in economically depressed sections of the city and, in this way, added to the clustering of asylum seekers residing in disadvantaged areas. The research recommends that DP Centres should not be located without cognisance of the communities where they are being located. Contact with local organisations should be formed prior to their location, and integration of asylum seekers into the immediate areas should begin from the time asylum seekers register their refugee applications rather than after the determination of their applications. It is recommended that asylum seekers receive substantially more than their €19.10 per week Direct Provision subsistence payment.

Census 2006 shows that the number of people residing in Ireland who were not born in the State has increased significantly. Due to the rapidity of recent immigration, it is not known how long immigrants will stay in Ireland. While some immigrants return to

their countries of origin some will stay. Thus, forward planning for all immigrant groups including asylum seekers is a necessity, so that they will be incorporated into all aspects of Irish society in a pro-active manner. Much can be learned from the experiences of immigration in other countries. This researcher suggests that forward planning can act to prevent conflict, rather than future Governments struggling to organise conflict resolutions to problems that could have been avoided. Central to this prevention is that all immigrants are recognised as active, potential, long-term citizens of Ireland and that immigrants can, as they have shown to date, contribute greatly to Irish society. Large-scale spatial and cultural research based on 2006 Census data can further contribute to forward planning by Government.

The introduction of this research began with a statement that Ireland's 'Celtic Tiger' economy was a pull-factor for inward migration. As the research ends, the *Irish Times*' (March 30th 2007) front page pronounced that, based on ESRI forecasts: "Growth is predicted to fall to lowest rate since 1993 [which might bring about the] demise of [the] Celtic Tiger". A downturn in the economy will have adverse effects for immigrant workers and increase competition in the work place. It might, in turn, lead to an increase in the poverty rates of immigrants and increase competition for resources.

David Harvey (1973: 23) writing about the creation of ghettos in American cities wrote: "I shall argue that we are able to say something relevant to the problem only if we self-consciously seek, in the process, to establish a revolutionary geographical theory to deal with it". Based on this researcher's fieldwork, local community organisations at grass roots level are pro-actively attempting to address issues of integration and racism. Unfortunately, at a macro level it seems increasingly apparent that the government has not self-consciously sought to find a geographical, spatio-cultural theory to deal with the integration of non-Irish nationals into mainstream Irish society. It would seem that some politicians have not considered whether or not, or for how long, immigrants will stay in the country. Political indifference or apathy towards immigration would result in immigrants being locked out of Government-sponsored social systems.

The retail sector has quickly identified immigrants as a source of revenue and capital creation. This would suggest that they have included this sub-population in their long-term plans. For example, banks advertise their products in different languages and Tesco stores have aisles dedicated to East European produce. Dublin Bus has been pro-active in their recruitment of non-Irish national drivers. A recent advertisement in Spring 2007 by Dublin Bus claims that they hire personnel from 50 countries.

This researcher maintains that political engagement by immigrant communities at a local and national level would increase their political profile in Ireland. In turn, the politicisation of immigrants could further aid their call for social supports and also aid their integration into Irish society. Cohen (2000: xi) writes that asylum seekers have little "access to the battlefields of cultural politics". The intervention of established community groups and NGOs in Dublin can facilitate immigrant groups to establish their communities and encourage their voices to be heard in 'the battlefields of cultural politics' and also within the battlefield of the Irish Realpolitik.

As demonstrated in the research, there is an established body of community services and NGOs in Dublin with a cadre of experienced and motivated staff and volunteers. The role of the Fatima Groups United and the Fatima Regeneration Board has been used in the research as a model of best practice for community development. This use is based on the belief of this researcher that the knowledge gained is transferable to the wider immigrant community. It would be necessary to engage with the new immigrant communities in order to know their needs and then employ and, if needed, train people to fully develop their individual and collective potential. A secure immigrant community can be a precursor to strong integration between the indigenous and immigrant communities.

This researcher questions whether cultural boundaries may vacillate, whereby people can move freely in the course of their daily lives amongst varying cultural norms and then return to their homes which have their own basic cultural principles. One might suggest this would lead to an informed society with understanding and tolerance as keys to stability in Ireland's emerging polycultural society. Robin Quershi reports in the *Guardian* 13/4/'07 how the insertion of asylum seekers into the disadvantaged area of Yoker was not negative but, somewhat surprisingly, heightened the

indigenous residents' sense of community: "The arrival of asylum seekers in Glasgow's most deprived areas has given back a sense of community in a way that no government initiative has ever done". Guershi also reports that gentrification of sections of the area were also positively embraced by the indigenous residents of Yoker. It is recommended that experiences such as this which heighten the co-existence of various sub-groups in society be examined with the aim of informing social policy.

The spatial analysis of the asylum seeker data is the first of its kind and can be used to aid future comparative analysis of asylum seeker data. To date, this researcher has been contacted by staff from each of the four county council offices requesting access to the research findings to aid their policy provision. As outlined in the introduction, it is a wish of this researcher that the data will benefit groups working with and assisting asylum seekers and non-Irish nationals in the various spatial units or geographical scales analysed here. At a basic level, the information will give a better understanding to such groups such as Tallaght Intercultural Action (TIA) and SPIRASI of the asylum seekers living within their locale and, with the help of the data, aid an assessment of the needs of the people that the data represents. This researcher has met with staff of the Dublin South County Council who requested these research findings as, in the case of the Blanchardstown Partnership, the County Council have no access to raw data of asylum seekers by Electoral Division. This research has contributed to South Dublin County Council's assessment of the needs of asylum seekers. The county council have begun to employ GIS technology to further their understanding of demographics in South Dublin and, as a result, further their needs assessment and, ultimately, social provision. This research has clearly pointed to the pertinence and appropriateness of such developments.

Traditionally, there has been a divide between quantitative and qualitative research. This research has used an interdisciplinary approach that combined qualitative and quantitative methodologies. Although challenging the boundaries of convention, it is argued that such work can engender important questions for further disciplinary and inter-disciplinary research. Much of the discourse discussed in the research was published in the early 1970s and arose in the wake of the inner city riots which occurred in many Western cities in the late 1960s. Both Governments and

Universities were attempting to make sense of the reasons and processes which gave rise to the discontent and rioting.

Ireland is currently undergoing radical physical, economic and socio-cultural change. The general public, artists, writers and the academy are, in their own ways, trying to come to terms with this new Ireland and what it means to be Irish. To date, much of the discourse about Irish identity politics and Irish postcolonialism in Ireland has been located within Departments of English. This researcher has attempted to link such discourse with Geography and Cultural Studies. Henri Lefebvre ([1974] 1991) called for praxis between the world of theory and practice. Sibley (1995) also called for a close relationship between theorist-practitioners and the people that they (ob)serve. This researcher attempted to open up a space between the interdisciplinary discourse and the realities of everyday life in contemporary Dublin and Ireland. The researcher, while acknowledging the established expertise and strength of single discipline focussed research, recommends that the academy should provide more space for interdisciplinary research which opens up new windows and ways of seeing and critiquing Ireland. This has the inbuilt potential to contribute to Irish social policy.

"The more people...are on the margins, the weaker is the centre...we all have a stake in building a future which respects and celebrates diversity – a generous sharing Ireland that encompasses many traditions and cultures and creates space for all its people."
President Mary McAleese, 24 February 2000 (NCCA Guidelines on Intercultural Education, 2006)

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