



LUND UNIVERSITY

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The Great Irish Welcome?

- Uneasy multicultural relations on Dublin's Moore Street market.

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Master Thesis (one year) : SOCM13, 15 credits.

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Abstract

Moore Street is a market street in central Dublin which in recent years has transformed into one of the most multicultural streets in the city. The street traders that have been a presence on the street for generations are now working next to shop-keepers from a diverse range of countries. As such it is often held up as a positive example of multiculturalism. The purpose of this thesis is to examine to what extent Moore Street can truly be seen as a functioning multicultural community. Particular attention is paid to the rights of those who work on the street, especially in light of the proposed developments in the area. Data was collected through interviews with both street traders and shop-keepers on Moore Street and through e-mail correspondence with various stakeholders. Drawing on theories ranging from Norbert Elias's Established-Outsiders to Lefevbre's production of space, this data was then analysed alongside policy documents, newspaper articles and other written material relevant to the current situation. This study found little evidence that a multicultural community is forming on Moore Street. The two groups remain clearly separated and they are far from equal in status. Linking this micro study of Moore Street to the wider topic of immigration in Ireland, I argue that the situation on Moore Street is symptomatic of prevailing discourses where immigrants are offered only a partial welcome based on the degree to which they are seen to benefit Irish society.

Keywords:

Multiculturalism, Immigration, Integration, Moore Street, Ireland

Popular Science Presentation

What makes a community? What makes us feel like we belong within a group of other people?

What happens when people differ in some important aspect, can they still form a community?

These are just some of the questions I was asking myself before I embarked on a research project on Dublin's Moore Street. This street is known by Dubliners and tourists alike mainly for its open air market, the oldest surviving one in Dublin. The stalls on the street are operated by women whose history on the street stretch back for generations. They have a reputation for friendly wit and, crucially, a great sense of community. In recent years, the street has changed a great deal and many of the shops of the streets are now run by immigrants from all over the world. I was curious to find out whether the stall-holders had welcomed these newcomers into their community.

What I discovered was that not only had they not welcomed the newcomers into their community, but they objected to their very presence in the street. The stall-holders had a very clear idea of their identity as a group and the newcomers did not fit into this group. In fact, they were seen as a threat to this group and to the street more generally. They were described as unruly, even criminal, and they were seen as the main cause of the street's decline.

A more likely cause of the street's decline is a proposed redevelopment for the area. This has been delayed several times, partly because the street has historical significance due to the role it played in the 1916 Easter rising. Until a final decision on the matter is reached, the developers are renting out available shops on a short term basis, offering little in terms of maintenance and many of them are now in terrible condition.

This redevelopment is important because it shows the inequality of the two groups on Moore Street. The immigrant shop-keepers are simply seen as a temporary solution to a vacancy problem. They are not really organised as a group and struggle to make an impact on decision-making. The stall-holders on the other hand have their own organisation and they are backed by the Council and various historical organisations as an important part in the street's history *and* future. In many ways, this echoes the official state view on immigrants in Irish society. They are welcomed only for as long as they are seen to contribute to Irish society in general and the economy in particular. The *rights* of immigrants are often ignored.

I still believe that a multicultural community is possible, and the stalls and shops on Moore Street would have a lot to gain from working closer together, but this can only happen if they are seen as equals both by themselves, by state officials and in society as a whole.

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1. Introduction

It's a changing Ireland, a changing time, and here's this mixture of different cultures all walking up and down one road, a mixture of different cultures all working in the same street – but there's a great sense of community.

(Darren Morrison, manager Moore street mall, quoted in *Checkout*, 2008).

Moore Street is a street in Dublin's city centre famous for its open-air market, a tradition stretching back several centuries. In recent years, the street has gone through some dramatic changes. The old traditional stalls are still there and many of them are operated by third or fourth generation street traders. The difference is that nowadays they are working alongside shopkeepers from all corners of the world. Amongst increasing claims of the failure of multiculturalism as a concept of integration, Moore street is often presented as a positive example of the newly multicultural Dublin with old and new working side by side. As such, Moore Street offers a great opportunity to study multiculturalism in practise.

1.1 Purpose of study and research questions.

The main aim of this study is to go beneath the surface of Moore Street's multicultural image and ask:

Is Moore Street a functioning multicultural community?

Defining a 'community' is not a straight forward task; it is a word of many meanings. In its most basic sense a community “comprises individuals in a social group, within the larger society, who share the same regional area and possess mutual concerns” (Sullivan, 2009: 92). But the term also implies the elusive 'sense of community' mentioned in the quote above. This sense of belonging to a community goes beyond geographic location and is often based on some similarities between its members in terms of: “shared beliefs, culture, norms, values, history, experiences, language, class, or interests” (ibid). As such, a 'multicultural community' could be seen as a contradiction in terms. Since geographic proximity is not enough to bind people together, the question is whether the individuals that work on Moore Street have managed to transcend cultural differences to form a

'functioning multicultural community'; one that is inclusive rather than exclusive; cohesive rather than divisive.

One possible obstacle to the formation of a multicultural community on Moore Street is inequality in terms of status and power. This is of particular relevance as the street is targeted for extensive redevelopment. In light of this, a second question is worth exploring:

Do those who work on Moore Street have an equal right to a future on the street?

Moore Street does not exist in a vacuum and its potential as a multicultural community can only be understood when placed in its wider context. Therefore this thesis attempts to connect the micro study of Moore Street with macro-level aspects of immigration and integration in Ireland. The group dynamics on the street will be analysed drawing on Norbert Elias's theory on established and outsiders and Allport's intergroup contact hypothesis. On a structural level, a couple of Irish scholars work on the limitations of Irish integration policy will be discussed. This in turn will be linked to the wider topic of the use and value of space in the city. On this topic, Lefebvre's concept of 'the right to the city' and his theory on the production of space will be discussed with particular attention given to its implications on race and class.

2. Background

Tourists and locals alike may know Moore Street mainly as the oldest surviving street market in Dublin but in recent years the street has made headlines due to a historical significance of a different kind, namely, the important role it played in the 1916 Easter rising. No. 16 Moore Street is deemed to be of particular importance as it served as the last headquarters for the Irish rebels before their surrender.

The rebellion caused a great deal of destruction and many structures on the street had to be rebuilt (Kennerk, 2012: 46ff.). By the 1960s the wide-spread dereliction of Moore Street and its surrounding areas meant it required intervention yet again. Instead of repairing and rebuilding dilapidated structures, Dublin Corporation (in partnership with a major developer) opted for large-scale demolition. After years of changed plans and general uncertainties, the Ilac shopping centre was finally opened in 1981. Its opening spelt the end of not only the many small side streets and alleys that had once formed a part of the market but also most of the west side of Moore Street

itself. Unable to pay the much higher rent in the shopping centre, most of those trading on that side of the street were forced to close shop for good (Kennerk, 2012: 135ff.).

Some would argue that the street has been in decline ever since. In the last decade though, the street has been given a new lease of life by the arrival of immigrants from all corners of the world. From the 2002 census to the 2011 census the proportion of foreign born residents rose from 5.8% to 12% (CSO, 2012). Many of these new arrivals settled in Dublin city centre and Moore Street has become one of the most multicultural streets in Dublin. However, those who have set up shop here are doing so under very uncertain terms. Yet again, the area is under threat from redevelopment. No. 14-17 were declared a national monument in 2007 hence there are certain conditions attached to any work done on the site and any plans submitted are subject to ministerial consent. The rest of the street however, is likely to be demolished as plans for a major commercial development were approved in 2010 (Kennerk, 2012: 153). Although Chartered Lands, the development company in question, is currently in debt and its assets are now controlled by the National Asset Management Agency (NAMA), the agency has a policy of working with indebted developers on 'financially viable' projects such as the one on Moore Street (NAMA, 2013). The development has been delayed several times and as of yet it is uncertain when work will actually begin. In the meantime everything on the street is run on a temporary basis: the so called national monument is shamefully neglected, short-term rents give little stability or incentive to make improvements and visually intrusive temporary signs and run-down shop-fronts do little to change the image of Moore Street as a street in decline.

3. Previous Research

Despite its presence in local and national media and, I would argue, in the consciousness of the Irish population, Moore Street has not been given much academic attention. On a more general note however, the topic of Ireland's transformation from a country of emigration to one of immigration has received a fair bit of interest amongst Irish scholars.

Of central interest is the question: how is Ireland to avoid the mistakes made by countries with longer histories of immigration?

3.1 Multiculturalism vs. Interculturalism.

Linked to this question is the debate surrounding the alleged 'failure of multiculturalism'. Modood and Meer (2012) argue that whilst there has been a retreat, by politicians and scholars alike, from the term 'multiculturalism' it is unclear what exactly is being criticised. Multiculturalism, especially on a policy level, has been accused of forcing people into separate groups, causing divisions that in turn has led to segregation and even terrorism. Writing about the situation in Britain, the authors claim that this simply does not ring true since multicultural policy was never about creating divisions but rather to encourage a more inclusive British identity that allows for diversity and equality. They argue further that there is little evidence of retreat from such policies, hence it seems to be the word itself that has become tainted rather than what it stands for. In some cases, Ireland being one of them (Bryan, 2010), this has led to a 'rebranding' of multiculturalism to interculturalism. This shift is somewhat problematic, partly because it is not always clear where the difference lie and partly because the interculturalist emphasis on a 'cohesive whole' ignores the "majoritarian bias that places the burden of adaptation upon the minority" (Uberoi and Modood, 2013: 32).

However, there is no denying that segregation is a real problem in multicultural (for want of a better word) societies. Britain has a longer tradition of immigration and is as such an established 'multicultural' society but contact between different groups is still relatively rare. As Cantle (2006) puts it, people go on living their 'parallel lives'. It is perhaps too early to say if the same will happen in Ireland. In their study on spatial segregation in Dublin, Fahey and Fanning (2010) saw some residential clustering but as of yet segregation is by no means extreme. The study identified a slight over-representation of immigrants in disadvantaged areas (certain suburbs and the north inner city) but most of the clustering could be explained by the fact that newly arrived immigrants tend to gather in areas where rental property is readily available.

But spatial segregation is but one of the challenges the newly multicultural Ireland might face. Also important when assessing the success of integration is Irish people's attitudes towards immigration. The *Annual Monitoring report on integration* (McGinnity et al., 2012: 58ff.) uses data from an ESS survey to explore this issue. The study shows that in 2002, Irish attitudes towards immigration were amongst the most liberal in Europe. The figures improved in 2004 and 2006 but dropped in 2008 and again in 2010. The authors see two possible explanations for this. One relates to the group threat theory (see Schlueter & Scheepers, 2010) that states that attitudes towards immigration tend to

become more negative at times when immigration is increasing. In Ireland, the proportion of foreign-born residents more than doubled in this time period. Another possible explanation is the economic downturn that saw unemployment figures go from 4.5% to 14%; attitudes tend to become more negative in times of crisis. This could also explain why those hit hardest by the recession, represented in this study by those with the lowest levels of education, are more negative towards immigration. In a more small scale study on attitudes towards immigrants, Ní Chonail (2007) interviewed people living in Blachardstown, a Dublin suburb with a high proportion of immigrants. Drawing on Balibar's theory of 'crisis racism' she noticed that immigrants are often scapegoated when resources are limited. Instead of blaming the state for their lack of planning, immigration is seen as the cause of limited housing, school places and employment.

3.2 Irish Integration policy.

It might be worth asking then: what are Irish policy makers doing to counteract these worrying tendencies? Not enough, seems to be the general consensus. Boucher (2008) argues that despite various claims of having the advantage of being able to learn from other countries mistakes, Ireland has consistently failed to come up with a coherent integration policy. In the 1990s when Ireland first started receiving larger numbers of immigrants, they were treated as temporary 'guest workers' brought in to fill a labour shortage. Due to the temporary nature of this arrangement, an integration policy was deemed unnecessary. With the EU enlargement in 2004, changes were made to Ireland's immigration policy. As the need for low skilled labour could now be filled from within the EU, immigration from outside EU became more restrictive and targeted towards those with higher skills. Again, it was deemed that immigrants from the EU and highly educated individuals from outside EU would find it easy to 'fit in', hence integration policy remained rudimentary at best. What does exist in terms of policy is centred around what is best for the 'national interest', little is said about the rights of the immigrants themselves and the responsibility of integration lies squarely on the shoulders of the immigrants themselves. Long term residency and citizenship are still difficult to obtain and many immigrants remain here on a temporary basis even after over a decade in the country. In fact, a recent study showed that immigrants are far less likely to become citizens in Ireland than in most other European countries (Immigrant Council of Ireland, 2013).

A similar line of argument can be found in Bryan (2010). In her analysis of Irish integration policy she identifies what she calls a 'corporate multiculturalism', where immigrants are primarily viewed

in terms of the economic benefit they offer the nation and only those who are advancing the interests of the nation are invited to call Ireland 'home'. This is only a partial acceptance ('as long as *they* have something to offer *us*') and although Irish interculturalism may seem to celebrate diversity and equality it in fact reinforces existing power inequalities by making the dominant culture (white, Irish, Catholic) the 'valuer' of minority cultures which are only valued as long as they are seen to 'enrich' the dominant culture or benefit the economy. Bryan then ties this policy analysis to a case study of a school that has been held up as an example of 'positive interculturalism'. The school's response to immigrant students, she argues, reflects state-level discourses on immigration: they are only valued if they are perceived as 'beneficial', if not they are seen as a threat to the school's reputation. She concludes that intercultural education policy amounts to nothing more than empty rhetoric since it is rarely followed up by proper training and funding.

3.3 Everyday multiculturalism.

Although the above study attempts to bridge the macro-micro divide to some extent, much of the literature on immigration in Ireland is quite 'policy heavy'. Wise and Velajutham (2009) would argue that multiculturalism is all too often discussed from a top-down perspective concerned with policies and management of diversity. They propose an alternative perspective called 'everyday multiculturalism' seeking to “explore how cultural diversity is experienced and negotiated on the ground in everyday situations” (ibid: 2). This approach, they argue, may highlight potential conflict but everyday multicultural encounters of kindness and compassion can also “represent a sense of hope and a democratic resource” (ibid: 7). Included in Wise and Velajutham's collection of works of the topic is Watson's (2009) study of everyday multiculturalism at two London markets. She stresses the importance of looking at the historical context of the markets; whilst one had a long history of diversity, the other one was up until recently predominantly white, British and working class. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the first market was largely positive towards multiculturalism whereas the second one expressed racist ideology and nostalgia for the homogeneity of the past. Watson explains how nostalgia can create divisions: “For those who can claim a stake in the past, nostalgia plays an active role in the construction of nation and a sense of belonging, leaving newer arrivals excluded from a narrative of continuity in place” (2009: 133).

Valentine (2008) is sceptical about the idea that hopefulness can be found in everyday multicultural encounters. Writing from an urban geography perspective, she argues that there has been a shift in

thinking about the city as a 'city of crime' to a 'site of connection', a site where differences meet and interact. She links this shift to a renewed interest in Allport's classic 'contact hypothesis'. According to this theory, contact between different groups is an effective way to reduce prejudice. Valentine's interview data however, shows that the opposite is often true. Proximity often leads to aggravated comparison between groups and their (real or imagined) access to resources, which in turn can lead to a hardening rather than softening of attitudes. Although most people she interviewed remained civil in their encounters with difference she warns that civility should not be mistaken for respect and the gap between personal values and practises in public places can be quite wide.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that this is far from an exhaustive review of the research available but rather an overview of studies that I find particularly relevant to Moore street. That the immigrants' perspective is largely missing from this discussion does not mean that such research is not conducted. A number of interesting qualitative studies, for example on immigrants and the Irish media (Titley, 2012) or immigrants' understanding of social protection in Ireland (Timonen & Doyle, 2009), do exist but I deemed their focus too narrow to warrant a more detailed discussion in this context. One possible limitation of previous research is that they tend to focus *either* on the immigrant experience *or* on the host population and their attitudes. That the interaction *between* the two is more rarely discussed presents a great opportunity for further research.

4. Theoretical Foundation

Although my study is in many ways informed by the work discussed on previous pages, when analysing my data I have limited my focus to a few theories that are particularly relevant to the situation on Moore Street.

4.1 Allport's contact hypothesis.

A useful starting point is Allport's (1954) 'contact hypothesis'. Almost intuitively, the idea that contact between different groups will lead to a reduction in prejudice holds a distinct appeal. If segregation, and the lack of contact that follows, is seen as a major obstacle to a functioning multicultural society it is tempting to assume that contact will have a positive effect on integration. I would argue that it is the same 'common sense' thinking that lies behind the contact hypothesis that has led many to view Moore Street as a kind of role model of multicultural Dublin. Here we have,

in the very heart of Dublin none the less, a street were people from a variety of different backgrounds work together, seemingly in peaceful coexistence. But as Valentine (2008) shows, proximity does not necessarily lead to any meaningful contact and contact does not always lead to respect. Allport (1954: 287) himself saw certain limitation to his theory. He argued that for contact to be beneficial the following conditions are important; equal status between groups, common goals, intergroup cooperation and the support of authorities, law and custom. In my analysis, I will explore to what extent these conditions are met on Moore Street.

4.2 Elias's Established and outsiders.

As something of a counterpoint to the contact hypothesis, I am also drawing on Norbert Elias's *Established and Outsiders*. In a small town he called Winston Parva, Elias noticed a clear power imbalance between two outwardly similar groups. Although the groups were both working-class and of the same ethnicity, they differed in their length of time in the town. One group, known as 'the village', had been there for several generations whereas the other, 'the estate', was made up of more recent newcomers from various parts of the country. The first group of 'old families' managed to establish themselves as a power elite that dominated social, cultural, political and religious life in the town. Not only that, they also managed to establish themselves as a group of 'superior human virtue'. The newcomers were seen as a threat to the 'established' group's way of life and the long-standing traditions and norms that they had come to value highly. In order to protect their perceived identity as a superior group they closed ranks against the newcomers, contact with the 'outsiders' was avoided since it risked lowering their own social status. Since the outside group were strangers to not only the established but also to each other, they lacked the group cohesion to fight back against these claims (Elias, 1994).

There are, of course, some obvious differences between Winston Parva and Moore Street. The main one being that Moore Street is far more diverse, both ethnically and culturally. It may then seem like a strange choice of theory, but as Elias himself stated, “what one calls 'race relations' are simply established – outsider relationships of a particular type” (1994: xxx). When one focus on race or ethnicity, one focus on what is peripheral (e.g. Skin colour) and ignores what is central (the power imbalance between groups). This imbalance is determined by how the groups are bonded together, not by any of the characteristics that the groups possess independently of it (ibid.). I hope to show that analysing Moore Street in terms of established and outsider figurations can be a fruitful way of

exploring power differentials in a multicultural area.

4.3 Lefebvre's production of space.

Elias saw in Winston Parva a 'universal human theme' in miniature (1994: xv). Established and outsider figurations exist not only in small scale communities but in society as a whole. Hence the theory is not only relevant to a micro-level study of Moore Street but also to a macro-level study of Irish immigration. As the research discussed above (Boucher, 2008 & Bryan, 2010) indicates, Irish integration policy shows a clear separation of 'us' and 'them'. It is not clear whether this is a case of public opinion influencing policy or the other way around, but it is interesting none the less. Also of interest in Bryan's concept of 'corporate multiculturalism', where immigrants are only welcomed as long as they are deemed beneficial to Irish society in general and the Irish economy in particular.

This is of particular relevance to Moore Street, especially with regards to the proposed redevelopments. What is proposed is essentially a gentrification of an admittedly run-down area.

Although often framed in positive terms, gentrification can have a negative effect on those who no longer 'fit in' or can no longer afford to live or work in the newly gentrified area (Atkinson and Bridge, 2005). Lefebvre's theory on the production of space and 'the right to the city' has been used to provide some insight on the subject. Millington (2011) add the concept of race to Lefebvre's theory in his study of the global cities of London, New York and Paris. The 'production of space' consists of three dimensions; Spatial practises (space as it is perceived), representations of space (space as it is conceived) and representational space (space as it is lived). The second dimension is where capital has the most influence and the tendency is to "conceive only of *abstract space*, in which the ultimate arbiter is value" (ibid, 7). The value of space is ordered hierarchically and this hierarchy changes over time. The middle classes who in earlier decades escaped for the suburbs have recently rediscovered a taste for city living, leading to the displacement of the working classes and, crucial to Mellington's argument, ethnic minorities. In other words, they are losing their right to the city. Despite the multicultural presence in these cities, they are still conceived as fundamentally white spaces where the non-white 'others' are never more than half-residents that can be moved around at will (ibid, 14-15).

Informed by the theories discussed above, my analysis will attempt to show how the situation on Moore Street is symptomatic of wider social processes concerning integration and land use in the city. What these processes, and those who set them in motion, value above all is economic growth.

Convincing decision makers to consider the value of a place in any other terms than exchange value is a difficult task indeed and it is not necessarily an ability that all groups concerned possess in equal measure. Linking this back to Moore Street, the unequal status given to the groups in wider society may have an adverse effect on integration on the street.

5. Methodology

As I suspect is the case with many a research project, the reality of field work presented me with a number of challenges that meant I had to make some alterations to my original research strategy. Although aware that time restraints would prevent me from conducting a 'proper' ethnography of Moore Street, I set out with the intention of exploring the area guided by some ethnographic concepts. Some of these remain intact whereas others proved more difficult.

5.1 Ethnography: the researcher's role and some ethical considerations.

Ethnography, and indeed most qualitative research, emphasises the need to see things through the eyes of the people under study. In order to gain insight into the insider's perspective, it is important for the researcher to take a non-judgemental stance (Fetterman, 2004). The question is not whether they are right or wrong but rather how they interpret their situation and how this informs their behaviour. I did not anticipate the ethical implications of this. During my field work I often encountered views that I found disagreeable and the conflict between my personal values and my role as a non-judgemental researcher was difficult at times. The fact that, more often than not, the 'researcher' won feels like something of an empty victory considering I failed in my civic duty not to let these views go unchallenged.

Ethnography as the 'art of describing a group or a culture' (ibid.) poses another challenge when faced with the multitude of cultures on Moore Street. To fully describe the complexity of cultural groups on Moore Street would be a project of much greater scope than I can hope to achieve with this thesis. Studying more than one culture in an area where there is tension between groups, as was the case on Moore Street, also causes loyalty issues; one does not want to appear to take sides. After my initial interviews with the stall-holders (who expressed negative views on the shops), I was reluctant to contact shop-owners in their presence since I feared this would affect my chances of

follow-up interviews. My decision to focus on the shops on Sundays, as the stalls are closed that day, was only partly successful as few shop-owners worked Sundays.

5.2 Contextualisation and critical discourse analysis.

On a less conflicting note, ethnography also emphasises the need for contextualisation (ibid.): Moore Street can not be fully understood if taken out of its wider context. This was an aspect that I found of increasing importance as the project went on. Since one of my objectives was to examine power differentials on the street, especially in light of the proposed developments, I found myself asking 'who has the power to make their voice heard outside the defined context of the street?'. This led me to look at external processes relating to policy and planning and also how the street is presented in the media and by various voluntary groups with an interest in the street. In doing so, I diverged slightly from the ethnographic path. Although I had no intention of analysing the linguistics of these texts in any great detail I found critical discourse analysis to be a useful guideline on this matter, particularly its focus on "how language figures in the constitution and reproduction of social relations of power, domination, and exploitation" (Fairclough, 2004).

5.3 Practical limitations of the study.

The method most closely associated with ethnography is participant observation and it was my intention to include some form of it in my study. However, the difficulty of observing a street like this without attracting too much attention became clear to me on my first visit to the street. There was nowhere to sit down so I was left standing on the side of the street taking notes, looking somewhat conspicuous. The stall ladies were calling out 'Are you all right there love?', the phone shop staff were trying to sell me sim-cards and the hair salon girls were trying to sell me hair extensions. Although this willingness to make contact should be seen as a positive, it made it next to impossible to observe interaction from a distance. It's a street that drags you in.

I see two reasons why participant observation is difficult to achieve in a project with a very limited time-scale. First of all, it takes time to fully immerse yourself in a culture. And second of all, it takes time for the people around you to get used to your presence. I decided instead to focus on interviews as my main method of data collection, any observation was limited to what I could pick

up in the process. Over the course of a few weeks I conducted interviews with seven stall-holders and three shop-owners. Two of the stall-holders and one of the shop-owners were interviewed again on a separate occasion. I also talked to around ten employees working in various shops on the street. Many of these conversations were quite brief but they proved informative in their own way.

I started out by interviewing the street traders and apart from a few exceptions I had no problem with access to interview subjects. This became more of an issue when I moved on to interviewing those working in the shops. A number of people said they were too busy to talk. Another problem was that the owners of the shops were rarely present. The employees often said they didn't know enough, or as one person said: 'have the authority', to speak to me. Perhaps the most important issue to mention is the language barrier I encountered in the shops. A substantial number of shop employees declined talking to me because they believed their English was not strong enough. Of those I did interview, several struggled to understand the questions and I struggled to state them in such a way that they would be understood. In a few cases I was also met by some suspicion regarding my motives. One man asked to see student id and asked several questions about the purpose of the study and another man asked why I wanted to know about 'secret issues' of his business.

On a more practical note, as I do not have the proper equipment to record sound in a noisy street setting, I chose not to record these interviews. The fact that the people I interviewed were at work and therefore moved around a lot during the interviews (to serve customers, move stock around etc.) whilst talking to me would have made this even more difficult. Another possible issue is that even if the interviewee has agreed to be recorded, the customers have not. Also, taking notes seemed to me a less intrusive, more informal way of recording the interviews that might be more likely to put the interviewee at ease. Note-taking does have its drawbacks however. For an inexperienced note-taker such as myself, it proved impossible to write fast enough to keep up with the more talkative subjects. Whilst I tried to write down exact quotes when something particularly note-worthy was said, my main focus was to get the gist of the conversation down.

My interviews were informal and fairly unstructured, loosely following an interview guide¹ but also open enough allow for the unanticipated. To ensure the validity of my data I had to find a balance between avoiding leading questions that might prompt the interviewees to simply give they answers they think I want to hear and at the same time keeping them focused enough so that they actually measure what they are supposed to measure, i.e. the extent to which Moore Street is a functioning

¹ See Appendix.

multicultural community. Although I feared my interview guide was too vague on this front, it turned out that the multicultural aspect was something the interviewees needed little prompting to bring up. In case of the stall-holders at least, it was something they were very eager to talk about.

5.4 Limitations of the sample.

Regarding the size and representativeness of the sample for the interviews a few things should be said about the composition of the street. There are just over twenty stalls currently in operation and almost fifty shops. Out of these shops, at least twenty are so-called 'phone shops' (selling and repairing second hand phones), there are also a significant number of hair salons specialising in African hair and a smaller number of shops and restaurants specialising in 'ethnic' food. Only a handful of shops, a couple of butchers and a bookmaker, are specifically Irish. One restaurant, 'The Paris Bakery', is owned by a French/Irish couple. Having interviewed around a third of the stall-holders have a fair degree of confidence in the representativeness of my sample on this front. The similarity of the views expressed was note-worthy and it is unlikely that additional interviews would alter what I consider the dominant view, even if I was to come across people who disagreed with it. The same can not be said for the shop-owners. The difficulty of gaining access to this particular group meant that only three interviews were conducted, all of which happened to be with owners of food shops. It would be a stretch to call this a representative sample. The interviews I conducted with shop employees can only partly compensate for this as they have not made the same investment in the street (emotionally or financially) and hence their experience and knowledge of the street differs substantially. Since the reliability of this data is in question, it can offer only possible indications of the views of the shop-owners and not any definite conclusions.

Finally, although some sampling limitations were beyond my control, I also made a conscious decision to exclude certain individuals from my sample. I am referring to those who trade illegally on the street. The cigarette sellers in particular may be a highly visible presence on the street but it is doubtful whether I could have established enough trust in the short time available to make any meaningful contact. Perhaps more importantly, as part of my focus is on the *rights* of those trading on the street, it seems besides the point to discuss this group since they clearly have no 'right' to sell counterfeit or illegally imported cigarettes.

6. Results and Analysis

As discussed previously, Allport's (1954) contact hypothesis holds a 'common sense' appeal when studying multicultural communities. What else than contact between groups have the ability to make the strange and threatening seem familiar and non-threatening? When one comes in contact with people as colleagues, neighbours, acquaintances or even friends it is hard to view them as wholly 'other'. However, proximity in itself does not necessarily lead to any meaningful contact and what I found on Moore Street was a situation where one group (the stall-holders) of people actively avoided contact with the other group. When they spoke of the 'community' on Moore Street they clearly defined this as excluding all shops owned by 'foreigners':

Is there a good sense of community between the stall holders?

Oh yeah, there's some bickering but we get along.

What about the shops?

I'll have a chat and a laugh with the one's from the butchers, and Lidl and the Ilac but the foreign shops, no. No contact at all. They stick to themselves.

Speaking of how the street has changed over the years and how she does not enjoy working there as much any more, another woman has this to say:

All those foreign shops, they bring in a bad atmosphere, drinking and fighting. There's still a good sense of community between the few stalls that are left, and the shops that have been here years and years, but there's only about a quarter of the stalls left.

This may disprove the contact hypothesis to an extent but it is in line with previous research. If immigrants tend to cluster in disadvantaged areas (Fahey & Fanning, 2010) and people in these areas generally have more negative attitudes towards immigrants (McGinnity et al., 2012), it seems unlikely that contact on its own will lead to more positive attitudes. As Valentine (2008) and Ní Chonail (2007) have shown, when resources are scarce, as they would be in a disadvantaged area such as Moore Street particularly in today's economic climate, increased competition leads to hardened attitudes and in some cases the 'scapegoating' of immigrants.

6.1 Established and outsiders on Moore Street.

Elias's theory on established and outsiders offer an alternative explanation to why immigrants are seen as a threat on Moore Street. Just like in Winston Parva, the concept of 'old families' was evident amongst the street traders on Moore street. When asked how long they have worked on the street, the ladies I spoke to often followed an answer like 'forty-eight years' with the qualification 'but my family has been her for four generations'. They were keen to stress that their sense of belonging extended beyond their own life time, as one woman said 'I'm not going anywhere, my family's been here 98 years, it's in my bones, we're part of history'. They all agreed that the street had changed a lot over the years and that this change was not for the better. The street was described as a 'kip', as being 'run-down', business had slowed down a lot and a few said they no longer enjoyed working there but they kept at it because it's 'a way of life for us, it's all we know'. It soon became clear that the main cause of the deterioration of the street was attributed to the arrival of immigrant shop-keepers to the street.

The perceived threat that immigrants pose to the street traders on Moore Street can not be explained solely as competition for scarce resources (although there was some evidence of that as well). Immigrants are seen as a threat to their established way of life, the norms and values that they have built up over generations. Just like the established in Winston Parva, they close ranks against these 'outsiders' in an effort to protect their identity as a group and as a way of asserting their superiority (1994: xxii).

This sense of superiority was expressed in different ways. In a way their group is valued *because* it is a closed group, it's a community to which membership is in some way exclusive:

They [the council] won't be giving out any new licenses. You [referring to the interviewer] couldn't get a license. It is a family oriented business we are running here. I can keep trading here and my children can take over but they won't be giving out any new licenses.

Another woman had a slightly different take on the situation. When asked about the empty stalls on the street and whether new stall holders might come to the street, she replied:

No, there's not. There are people that have put in applications for stalls, but they don't know what is happening to the street. They [the council] are talking about getting people in selling different things, food and bread, that sort of thing. Who's going to come here for that? And the people that have applied now, they're foreign nationals, they're not our own people.

As already mentioned, their long presence on the street was in itself seen as giving them more of a right to the street, as one woman said:

All those foreign shops, they shouldn't have been allowed here. They sell all the same things, fruit and veg and fish. They should have been let to someone, just not to them. /.../ We were here first. We belong here.

A sense of nostalgia for the past was evident, the same woman continued:

I have lovely pictures of the street from over the years, you wouldn't believe it, it was a different place, all the different shops, all the different butchers, the place was packed.

While they all agreed that the newcomers were bad for the street, they expressed this in different ways. Either as unwanted competition as in the case of the lady quoted above, or as being bad for business in other ways: either by the kind of businesses they run ('All those shops selling hair extensions and phones, no one comes here for that') or by their very 'foreignness':

All those black shops, no one wants to shop here any more. I overhear people all the time saying 'I'm not going down Moore street, all those black shops'.

The newcomers were not just seen as a threat to their business however, but to the overall safety of the street:

All those foreign shops, there's sitting in there drinking wine, if a stall is empty they're sitting there drinking. Some of the shops sell drugs. The anti-social behaviour here is unbelievable, the guards² are here all the time. The Polish are always fighting. They use the street as a toilet. Walk down any alley here and the smell!

The 'foreigners' in their view are unclean, disorderly and even criminal. This form of what Elias terms 'blame gossip' is often contrasted with 'praise gossip' of the own group. The same woman continues:

Look at those black girls out there [on Henry street] trying to push hair extensions on people, they're stopping people going up here. They don't have a license to do that, but no one's stopping them /.../ We have a license, we pay our rates and taxes. It's one law for some people and another for some.

² 'Guards' is a reference to An Garda Síochána, the Irish Police force.

Again, Elias offers a possible explanation to their need to set themselves apart from the newcomers. In Winston Parva, the behaviour of the newcomers made the old residents feel that “any close contact with them would lower their own standing, that it would drag them down to a lower status level in their own estimation as well as in that of the world at large” (1994: 149). Talking about Moore Street as a tourist attraction, one woman said:

Look at the street! And this is supposed to be a tourist attraction! They write about it in guide books. I get people from Australia asking how did you let the street get this way? And I tell them, it's not us doing this!

There is no denying that the street has seen better days. By keeping their distance from the newcomers and blaming them for the decline of the street, the established stall holders are essentially keeping the blame off themselves and establishing themselves as a higher status group with no part in the street's deterioration.

Just like the established group in Winston Parva however, much of what the stall-holders had to say about the newcomers seemed untrue or at least greatly exaggerated. A small minority of trouble makers came to represent the outside group as a whole. No mention was made of the fact that the majority of the shop-keepers were hard-working, law-abiding citizens just like themselves. Interestingly, they also failed to mention any anti-social behaviour caused by Irish people in the street.

The idea of group cohesion is central to Elias's argument and he sees in it the reason why established groups can state their views with such conviction. Those lucky enough to belong are unlikely to break ranks for fear of being 'tainted' by the inferior group and the outsiders lack the cohesion to retaliate.

The situation on Moore Street seem less straight forward however. Whilst the outside group in Winston Parva described the established 'old families' as 'stuck-up' and excluding, the newcomers on Moore street had only positive things to say about the stall-holders. They were described as 'very nice, very friendly', one man even described them as 'very helpful': “They inform us if they see someone trying to rob something outside”. There is no evidence that they see themselves in opposition to the stall-holders, hence the idea of 'retaliation' seems redundant. Perhaps, as Valentine (2008) would argue, this highlight the important difference between civility and respect, or perhaps it was a topic that the shop-keepers and their employees this not feel comfortable discussing. They were generally much less critical about life on the street and those working there. The concerns they

did raise related mainly to the lack of security and the presence of drug users and troublesome teenagers.

That does not however mean that their lack of cohesion is not problematic. This is expressed in a number of ways. First of all, they too are aware of some of more disruptive aspects of the street. One Bangladeshi employee of an oriental food store told me that there is no conflict *between* groups, 'it's just the Africans fighting with each other'. He said he witnessed an African man breaking a bottle and chasing after another man the previous week. On a different occasion, the owner of the same store mentioned 'Eastern Europeans drinking, shouting and arguing'. In other words, they too felt the need to distance themselves from certain elements of the immigrant population. Another thing worth mentioning is the competition between different shops. The same shop-keeper as quoted above said:

My shop depends on a certain type of minority, it is a limited population. When there are too many of the same type shops, the customers are divided which doesn't help business.

Excessive competition between shops was brought up in a number of shops on the street as a barrier to good relations. The fact that none of the stall-holders brought up the fact they are all essentially in competition with each other could at least in part be explained by the strong bond, or cohesion, they have built up over generations.

6.2 Power differentials on Moore Street.

Moore Street also differs from Winston Parva on another major point. Whilst the latter can be observed as a community in isolation from wider society with relative ease, the same is not true for Moore Street. Although it is clear to see that the recent arrival of immigrants is seen as threat to the stall holders, it is far from the the only threat they face. To call them a 'power elite' would be to overstate their actual power to a great extent. In comparison to the more recent arrivals however, they have a definite power advantage. This is particularly important in the light of proposed developments on the street. When asked about these developments, the two groups differed in their attitudes. Whilst the shop-keepers seemed resigned to their lack of power, the street traders stated that 'they *should* have a say' or as one woman said: 'we're only little fish, but little fish can swim too'. It is important to note that the stall-holders have their own organisation, 'The Moore Street Traders Association' that represent their views at meetings with the council and with developers. To the extent that is possible, the association also keeps them informed of proposed changes. Access to

information is still a problem for the stall-holders as well as the shop-keepers, as one woman said: 'they [the developers] never tell you anything until it's too late'. She was only told a week before building work commenced that Lidl was opening right beside her stall and she ended up working on a building site for nearly two years. Interestingly, she was offered by the council to move her stall down the street but she refused. She was staying in *her* spot.

The lack of organisation amongst the shop-keepers however, put them at even more of a disadvantage. Again, the lack of cohesion in this 'outside' group of recent immigrants from a wide variety of backgrounds may make organisation difficult to achieve. In fact, even though the stall-holders clearly see them as group, it is highly doubtful whether they see themselves as one. They also face additional challenges when trying to access information and affect decision-making, the language barrier being the most obvious one. Of those I interviewed, most seemed poorly informed regarding the proposed developments. Many were under the impression that it would only affect the buildings surrounding the national monument. Although the owners were more aware that working on a short term lease came with uncertainties, they too were left out of the loop somewhat. One man I spoke to, who is running a grocery store on the Ilac centre side of the street knew of no immediate plans for that particular part of the centre. I later found out that the Ilac centre has secured TK Maxx (a discount clothing store) as an anchor tenant for this side of the centre. To facilitate for this tenant, a number of smaller units (including the grocery store mentioned) will be turned into one large unit. This work is set to start early next year (e-mail correspondence with the Ilac centre director, 07/11/13). Perhaps to avoid conflict, the developers seem to be in the habit of keeping all those concerned, both shop-keepers and street traders, in the dark for as long as possible. Since information is rarely given it is often a matter of seeking it out, and whether it is through reports in the media or through informal networks, it is more accessible to the street traders.

Just as Norbert Elias saw in Winston Parva a small-scale representation of wider societal problems, I would argue that the situation on Moore Street is indicative of a wider problem of integration in Ireland. If the official stance on immigration, as Boucher (2008) argues, is to treat immigrants as a temporary presence in Ireland, who are only welcomed as long as they are deemed beneficial to the Irish economy (Bryan, 2010), is there any wonder if the stall-holders of Moore Street feel justified in seeing them as an inferior group who, as they are of no (perceived) benefit to the (Irish) stall-holders, have no real right to be on the street? And if the integration policy is not backed up proper funding and training to, for example, make language education readily available to immigrants, is

there any wonder if they are struggling to make their voices heard? If they are still in Ireland on a 'temporary basis' after a decade in the country, perhaps they feel that a short-term lease on Moore Street is the best they can hope for?

That's not to say that all immigrants want to stay in Ireland permanently and it is possible that the short-term arrangements suit many of the shop-keepers that trade there. Those I talked to however, expressed frustration with the present situation. As one shop-keeper said: 'It makes you feel bad, you work very hard and [he pauses] but what can you do? We have no choice'. Another shop-keeper had this to say:

We are on short term contracts and can be given our final notice any day. So far I don't know what their plans are, we haven't been informed of any definite decisions. So we have to take precautions because we can be kicked out any day.

He agrees that it difficult to run a business under these conditions but for the time being they will stay on Moore Street:

We picked Moore street because we knew we would get a lot of foreigners here, we have a customer base here. You wouldn't get that on other streets....the stream of customers you get here you wouldn't get anywhere else.

When the responsibility of integration is placed solely with immigrants themselves, which certainly seems to be the case on Moore Street, little attention is paid to what puts them at an unfair advantage. At the start of this year, the Moore Street Advisory Committee (made up of a number of Dublin city councillors) made a call for public submissions regarding the proposed developments. This was advertised in newspapers and on the council website. Only two shops on the street made a submission, one Irish owned butcher and one French/Irish bakery. The stall-holders made a submission through the Moore Street traders association. Although the vast majority (in my estimate, at least 90%) of shops on the street are owned by immigrants, none of these were represented. Of the shops I interviewed, few had any knowledge of the committee and none had heard about the call for submissions. One shop-keeper had the following to say:

the committee have excluded the shop-keepers, it is only there to protect the street traders. It is difficult to join in now, the decisions have already been made.

I contacted the chairman of the committee and asked if any contact was made with these businesses, who due to language barriers may have needed additional help and guidance, and I got the this reply:

we did not contact them directly as the process was the public call for submissions - I would think there may be a legal problem asking specific parties separately for a submission (possible favouritism/bias allegations etc) (e-mail correspondence, 20/10/13).

It could be argued that by ignoring the group who will probably be most affected by the proposed changes, whether this is because of their lack of organisation, their lack of language skills or their lack of historical ties to the area, is simply another form of favouritism/bias. The councillors that make up the Moore Street Advisory Committee are elected officials who should represent *all* the people of Dublin, regardless of their background. Instead, the committee is made up of eight councillors, seven³ of which express a specific interest in the 1916 Easter Rising in the report published by the committee (Dublin City Council, 2013). Admittedly, the notice calling for submissions makes a specific mention to the historical monument but it also states that the purpose of the committee “is to review, report on, and make recommendations to the City Council in respect of the *overall* Moore Street Area Development” (ibid., my emphasis). The following section from the report shows so clearly how well the street traders have managed to align their interests with that of historical preservation, it's worth quoting at length:

[T]he people who currently trade from the stalls on Moore Street are an extremely important group to the City, not only from the preservation of the market for commercial purposes but also from the tourism, cultural and historical point of view. The Moore Street market continues to be one of the biggest commercial and visitor attractions in Dublin City. Many things have changed in Moore Street over the years; however Moore Street Traders are the one iconic group of individuals who form a living and breathing bridge from today back to bygone eras and particularly the era of Moore Street in 1916 (DCC, 2013: 8).

In this fourteen page document, not one mention is made of Moore Street being important as a multicultural meeting place. The street traders get a full page to themselves. Although the document is not overtly racist or discriminatory, the ease with which the vast majority of the people trading and, it should be added, shopping on the street today can be written out of its recent history in an official document is in itself alarming.

Not surprisingly, many of the submissions made to the committee came from various voluntary organisation with a historical focus. Although these groups differ in some respects, they show

³ The eight is Gerry Breen, a former Lord Mayor of Dublin, who's inclusion on the committee is based on his successful mediation “between Paul Clinton (CarltonGroup) and Joe O’Reilly (Chartered Land) in 2006-2007 in an effort to secure the redevelopment of the Carlton Site” (see appendix to the report, DCC, 2013).

similarities in how they deal with the multicultural aspects of the street. Whether they are content with the developers plan to preserve no. 14-17 only or whether they want the whole terrace preserved, immigrants are noticeably absent from their ideal visions of a future Moore Street. The street traders on the other hand are given a central role in these proposals due to their historical links. A proposal made by the Combri group, co-founded by a great grand son of the rebel James Connolly, is particularly telling. In the the document *HQ 16: A Citizen's Plan for Dublin*, the group envisions a street restored to it's 1916 appearance where the shops are let to new tenants that “as far as is practicable /.../ echo the original retailers of 1916”. In the drawings that accompany the document all the shop signage on the street has been replaced by the Irish names that were present in 1916 (*Medina Asian food store* becomes *Hanlon's* and so on).

6.3 The production of space.

In the end however, neither the advisory committee or these organisations will have the final say on the matter. The fate of both the shop-keepers and the street traders lies in the hands of the developers and the planning authorities. Although my attempts to establish contact with Chartered Lands, the developer in question, failed I did manage to get in touch with the centre director of the Ilac centre (partly owned by Chartered Lands). He had the following to say:

Most of the units trading on Moore Street generally are temporary in nature. Both sides of the street are targeted for redevelopment. This is because of the commercial density underutilization of the areas in question. In the peak city centre district such as this, each area should be generating significant economic activity, stimulating surrounding economic activity, providing significant employment and act as stimulator of local residential accommodation demand.(e-mail correspondence, 07/11/13)

In the above statement, Moore Street is conceived purely as 'abstract space' and the only interest is that of it's exchange value. In the words of Lefebvre, abstract space “serves those forces who make a *tabula rasa* of whatever stands in their way, of whatever threatens them – in short of differences” (1991: 285). In other words, whatever 'use value' the street may have as a multicultural meeting place, a working-class street market or a place of historical significance is deemed unimportant. A peak city centre district *should* generate significant economic activity above all. When Lefebvre talks about the 'right to the city', he talks about the right to “urban life, to renewed centrality, to places of encounters and exchange /.../ enabling the full and complete *usage* of these moments and

places” (1996: 179). This right has particular bearing for the working classes who have been “rejected from the centre to the peripheries” (ibid). In other words, they are losing their right to the city. Millington (2011: 14-15) extends the same argument to ethnic minorities. It seems that Dublin, just like the cities Millington studied, is still seen a 'white space' despite its multicultural presence and non-white 'others' are never more than 'half-residents' that can be moved around at will.

On Moore street, and perhaps also in Irish society as a whole, ethnic minorities are seen as as a 'temporary' presence that can be excluded from the decision-making process without it even being given much thought. Perhaps due to their lack of cohesion as a group, the lack of support they find in wider society or even the uncertainty of residency in Ireland, they find themselves powerless to object to this treatment.

As Allport's contact theory states, certain conditions need to be met for inter-group contact to lead to positive relations: 1) equal status between groups; 2) common goals; 3) inter-group cooperation and 4) support or sanction of the authorities, law or custom (1954: 287). Based on my study of Moore street I would conclude that none of these conditions are met:

- 1) The stall-holders have successfully established them self as a superior group hence they are by no means equal.
- 2) The 'Moore street traders association' support the redevelopment (providing they can continue trading) that will spell the end of the shops, hence their goals are opposite not common.
- 3) Few signs of inter-group cooperation can be observed.
- 4) Only one group (the stall-holders) have the full support of 'the authorities, law and custom'.

It is fair to say then, that the conditions on Moore Street are far from favourable when in comes to inter-group contact and any claims of it being a 'functioning multicultural community' are highly questionable.

7. Conclusions

A recent newspaper article reported that 'Mrs Brown' was filming on Moore street. Mrs Brown is an inexplicably popular comedic creation played by Brandon O'Carroll and in this new film she finds herself working at her stall on Moore Street only to be threatened by Eastern European developers (McGreevy, 2013). What the film makers have done is taken one 'threat' to Moore Street: the proposed redevelopment, and combined it with another: the recent arrival of immigrants on the street. By doing so they are playing on the fears of not only the real life street traders but perhaps also the general public.

In a way this is what the real life street traders have done too: taken one threat and turned it into another. It matters little that the real life developers are Irish and that it is them that have subjected the street to what can only be described as deliberate dereliction over past decade or so, the street traders still blame the immigrant newcomers for the street's decline. The developers may be viewed with a certain amount of scepticism, but the immigrants are viewed with antagonism.

To reduce the situation on Moore Street to a simple matter of race or ethnicity would be all too easy. Physical appearance may make the outsiders on Moore Street easily identifiable but race in and of itself can not explain *why* they are seen as a threat and *how* the stall-holders can justify seeing them as an inferior group.

Likewise, it would be a mistake to see it as purely a competition for scarce resources. Although there was some mention of unwanted competition, what the stall-holders perceive to be under threat is not so much their livelihood but their sense of *community*. Trading on Moore Street is not just a job for them, it is 'a way of life', it's 'in their bones'. They are a close knit group of women whose shared memories stretch beyond their lifetimes to that of their grand-mothers or even great-grand-mothers. Theirs is a community closely tied up with tradition and *this* particular place. It is a community that is difficult for any outsider to join.

There is no denying however, that this *is* a community under threat. In recent years, many of the stall-holders have retired with no one to replace them. Of the women I spoke to, only two wanted to see their own children take over their stall some day. The rest wanted 'something better' for their children or stated that their children had no interest in taking over. And they *do* face increased competition, in the last decade three large supermarkets have opened up in the close vicinity of

Moore Street. Not only that, people's lifestyles have changed and many prefer the convenience and the sterile environment of the supermarkets. Somewhat ironically, this last point seems to apply to the indigenous population to a greater extent. Many, if not most, of the stall-holders current customers are immigrants themselves so the perceived threat may in fact be what is keeping them in business. By working against the shop-owners who are bringing in their customers base they may be doing themselves a great disservice.

But as Elias shows, turning against another group is one effective way of reinforcing the strength of ones own group identity. There is strength in numbers only if those numbers are working together and group cohesion becomes all the more important in times of uncertainty. The group identity of the Moore Street traders is important not only to themselves but it is their main selling point when trying to ensure that they have a place in the street's future. Although unfortunate, and somewhat misguided, it is perhaps understandable that they distance themselves from anything or anyone that can be seen to lower the standing of their group. This thesis may paint them in an unflattering light, casting them as the 'bad guys' if you will, but it is important to remember that they too have endured their fair share of hardship. The environment they work in is far from ideal. They have no access to running water or proper facilities and the uncertainty of a development that has been in the pipeline for over a decade but is continuously delayed is affecting them too. Since the developers have no interest in maintaining buildings they may soon demolish much of their beloved street is in disrepair. One the other hand, if the developers succeed in gentrifying the area, it is unclear how the distinctly working class stalls fit in with their plans. That they have managed to stay strong as a group under such unfavourable conditions is quite an achievement and in many ways they are admirable. Not only because they are standing up for their rights but also because they are strong independent women who work very hard: they are on their feet all day, in all weathers, and still manage to maintain their warmth and friendliness. Bearing in mind that civility should not be confused with respect, the fact that they do not seem to treat the immigrants on the street with open hostility should count for something.

It should also be noted that some of their concerns regarding the shops are not completely unfounded. As the shop-keepers themselves noted, over twenty phone shops in one street is hardly sustainable. These type of shops are also problematic since dealing in second hand phones carry with it certain connotations. The public perception is that they are fences for stolen good and whether this is true or not it is at least possible that they may attract a certain criminal element to the street.

Providing they abide by the law, and I have no reason to believe that they don't, the fact of the matter remains: these shop-keepers have the same 'right' to trade on the street as any Irish-born shop-keeper have. They pay the same rents, fees and taxes as anybody else. So why then are they treated differently?

Part of the problem is that when we talk about the 'rights' of immigrants, all too often we talk about it in strictly legal terms. Take the right to citizenship for example. Even those who do manage to obtain citizenship in Ireland may still find themselves asking: But am I an *equal* citizen? As I have tried to show with this thesis, equality can not be measured in legal terms alone. The right to the city, to access of information; the right to be seen and heard are rights that are hard to put in legal term but they are distributed unequally. Perhaps most importantly, the right to belong, to put down roots, is a particularly difficult 'right' to obtain. In Moore Street, and arguably in Ireland as a whole, immigrants are seen as a temporary and (re)movable presence and the idea that they may have a right to the street, city or country is rarely voiced. The economic focus of Irish integration policy may at least in part be seen as an attempt to counteract stories about 'welfare tourists' by showing that immigration is in fact good for the economy. But as a consequence it allows people to view immigrants in terms of how beneficial 'they' are to 'us' instead of encouraging real equality.

When 'they' are not seen as beneficial, as in the case of Moore Street, 'they' are not welcomed. Although they express it more or less openly the street traders, the developers, the council and the various historical groups all abide by this logic in one way or another.

It is still early days for multicultural Ireland but it is highly doubtful whether the mistakes of other countries have been avoided. If multiculturalism is seen as pandering too much to the need and rights of ethnic minorities, Ireland is at no risk of falling into that particular trap. The question is whether they have gone too far in the opposite direction. Only time will tell, but in years to come they may find second and third generation immigrants less accepting of being treated as second class citizens.

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Appendix.

Interview guide:

- How long have you been working here?
- How would you describe your work?
- How did you get into this line of work?
- Would you like to see your children take over after you?
- How has the street changed over the years?
- How would you describe the working relations today? Between the stalls and shops?
Do they work well together?
- What do you think of the redevelopment plans?
- What you like to see happen to the street?
- Do you feel like have a say in the future of the street?
- Are you part of any organisation?