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Placing Voices, Voicing Places

Archaeology in Inner-City Dublin: Spatiality, Materiality and Identity-Formation Among Dublin's Working Class and Immigrant Communities

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Preface

This project began life with the title *Archaeology in Inner-City Dublin: Spatiality, Materiality and Identity-Formation Among Dublin's Working Class and Immigrant Communities*. This has been retained as a sub-title. The current lead title, *Placing Voices, Voicing Places*, was coined by the project team in Summer 2008 to capture the centrality to the project of the connection between self-expression about heritage and identity—*voices*—in the communities under review, and the importance of *place* in those expressions. This will be the title of the publication issuing from this research.

This report is the second and penultimate to be submitted to the Heritage Council. Important parts of the project are in the process of being completed (for updates see the project website: http://www.projecthumedia.com/ucdcp.html) and these will be fully represented in a final report, the expected date of delivery of which is July 2009. The submission of this report will coincide with the public unveiling or exhibiting of some of the work associated with the project.

The current report offers a series of recommendations at the very beginning. The research and reflection that guides these recommendations is presented over the succeeding chapters.

The following chapters and sections in the present report were written by the following team members:

Executive summary & key recommendations: P. Cooke, A. Feldman, T. O'Keeffe, I. Russell
Introduction: A. Feldman, T. O'Keeffe
Heritage: P. Cooke
Archaeology: T. O'Keeffe, P. Ryan
Sociology: A. Feldman, with the section on Material Culture by **I. Russell**
Art: I. Russell with input by **S. Tuck**
Conclusions: T. O'Keeffe
Appendix 1: P. Cooke

The spread-sheets containing detailed proprietorial data on Monto by **P. Ryan** are too large for inclusion and are made availble in tabular form on the project web-site.

The recent photographs used in this report are by **Michael Brown** (project photographer), except 1, 7, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 59, 63, 65 and 66 by **Ian Russell**, 2, 4, 6, 10, 13, 16, 21, 36 and 48 by **Patrick Ryan** and 32, 37 and 38 by **Tadhg O'Keeffe**.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY AND KEY RECOMMENDATIONS

Placing Voices, Voicing Places: Archaeology in Inner-City Dublin: Spatiality, Materiality and Identity-Formation Among Dublin's Working Class and Immigrant Communities is concerned with people—the working class, migrants, religious minorities, and others—whose identities as individuals and as parts of collectives are inextricably connected with the visual, material and oral cultures of 20th- and early 21st-century Dublin, but whose individual and collective voices are silent in, and arguably silenced by, the official discourse of heritage in Ireland. The project shows the necessity of accommodating these voices within the concept of 'national heritage', it maps out how such an accommodation can be effected through cross-disciplinary and cross-sector collaborations, and it argues that such an accommodation will buttress our collective sense of belonging in the place which we co-habit.

Arising out of this work *so far*, the INSTAR project team is in a position to submit the following:

1. An agreed principle about the heritages of contemporary communities and their places of habitation
2. A series of recommendations to the Heritage Council with respect to (a) heritage policy and (b) those disciplinary practices which are providers—of data, of interpretation—to the heritage sector
3. A series of actions to facilitate wider debate about these recommendations and then to expediate the passage into policy of agreed points.

An agreed principle

All communities in Ireland, regardless of place of origin, duration of habitation, and stability of location of habitation, *possess heritages in Ireland*, and national heritage policies must address the heritage needs of all of them.

Recommendations: heritage policy (Pat Cooke)

The revision of heritage policy to meet the challenges of cultural diversity in contemporary Ireland should proceed by the following steps:

1. A review of current government polices on integration and cultural diversity, with a view to aligning heritage policy where appropriate, or indeed identifying ways in which heritage policy might champion a more effective, culturally-sensitised policy on diversity.

2. A review of Heritage Council strategic plans and goals to ensure that cultural diversity is factored into appropriate fields of operation.

3. A review of the Landscape Characteristion Assessment process with a view to ensuring the process is effectively sensitised to cultural diversity issues and goals.

4. A review of Museum Standards Programme with the goal of ensuring that heritage institutions become active and capable players in the field of cultural diversity.

5. An examination of policy tools such as intercultural dialogue and cultural planning to see how these might effectively contribute to the the integration of cultural diversity goals within heritage policy.

Recommendations: disciplinary practices

Archaeology (Tadhg O'Keeffe)

1. Best professional practise with respect to research, excavation and public dissemination, as outlined by the Heritage Council and other heritage bodies in Ireland, continues to be the *sine qua non* for archaeological interventions in local community areas.

2. Modernity and contemporaneity are recognised alongside, and given equal weighting to, the middle ages and prehistory as valid archaeological time-frames in all policies dealing with archaeology and environment.

3. Archaeological investigations of, or in the inhabited places of, *designated* communities (see **Actions** below) in contemporary Ireland—religious minorities, ethnic minorities, travellers and others—must involve those communities themselves in the process, and must be collaborative with Archaeology's cognate disciplines.

Sociology (Alice Feldman)

1. The exploration of the paradox arising in the emphasis on the importance of local involvement in the production of heritage and the primacy of recognizing and preserving things considered 'of national importance'.

2. The further conceptualisation of the links between tangible and intangible heritage sources and develop the triangulated strategies necessary for efficacious, holistic heritage practice.

3. Supporting the development and sustainability of local heritage activities, groups and community stewards.

4. Promoting inter-disciplinary exchange, by utilizing the study of material cultures as shared discursive spaces in future heritage research (particularly in urban areas).

Arts Practice (Ian Russell)

1. Artistic residencies within heritage and archaeological research projects can enhance the creative and transformative potential of the research projects.

2. When working with contemporary communities, artistic residencies can help draw out the sentiments and emotions of the local communities in constructive and collaborative ways.

3. Collaborative artistic process can create added value to the research outputs of the project by creating strong community relationships to and senses of ownership of the overarching research outputs.

4. Utilization of collaborative arts practice ensures both the integrity of the institutional research objectives as well as ensuring autonomy of the artist to instigate, intervene, provoke and create works which are both affected by the institution and affect the institution.

5. While allowing artists freedom to develop their work, it is best practice to pursue and engage the artists in regular conversations and exchanges to form an iterative creative discussion which mutually affects both the research course and artistic process.

Actions

1. Exploring, in consultation with (a) the Heritage Council, (b) colleagues from other relevant professional contexts, and (c) local community representatives, the possibility of establishing *Zones of Ethnographic Interest* [a provisional label, to be reviewed] comparable with the established *Zones of Archaeological Potential*, as a first step in ensuring that the heritages of *designated* contemporary communities are afforded the level of protection appropriate to them.

2. The staging of a national conference on heritage and cultural diversity to scope all of the issues above, with a view to raising consciousness of cultural diversity among those active in the heritage field.

1

INTRODUCTION

Placing Voices, Voicing Places, of which this report is a summation of work to date, is a cross-disciplinary, cross-sector collaborative effort, with Archaeology as its lead discipline, which addresses an important issue in contemporary Ireland. Taking Dublin as its case-study, its core premise is that critical cultural data on two urban communities with divergent historical trajectories —traditional working class communities, which are in decline, and immigrant communities, which are expanding—are in danger of being lost in the space between the economic development of the urban landscape on the one hand, and Archaeology's preoccupation with *past* lives on the other. The project team's view from the outset has been that these communities self-evidently possess heritages within the cityscape, and are also actively creating heritages for future generations, and that these heritages demand the attention of heritage agencies.

It is no co-incidence that the project began at a moment in time when the focus of public and policy debates turned towards issues of integration. Indeed, the project was drawn to the attention of the public at the launch in June 2008 of Dublin City Council's *Towards Integration: A City Framework* document (see http://www.dublincity.ie/Press/PressReleases/PressreleasesJune2008/Documents/TowardsIntegrationFinal.pdf). Reflective dialogue about the meanings of the national past and their implications for understanding contemporary Irishness are crucial for responding to the question: 'integration into what?'. Current political and civic approaches to consultation, interculturalism and social inclusion, however, have failed to effectively stimulate this discussion. *Placing Voices, Voicing Places* has the distinction of stakeholder participation and co-ownership: we conceive of a genuine Public Archaeology, in which identifications, valuations and representations of the archaeological resource are elements of an ongoing dialogue—one that underpins the evolving cultural diversity that has now become Ireland's future. It is appropriate, indeed symbolic, that such dialogue began in 2008, the European Union Year of Inter-Cultural Dialogue.

2.1 PROJECT BACKGROUND AND CASE-STUDY CHOICE

The impetus for this project came from a cross-disciplinary workshop in UCD in September 2007 which explored the future of Irish Studies as a discipline, especially in the context of in-migration and the related citizenship debate. In that setting, the team members recognised the urgent need

to embrace and give voice to communities that are *de facto* 'othered' by the so-called heritage industry, and the necessity of developing new strategies of investigation and representation for this purpose.

The project focuses on two main geographical areas. These areas, which had preliminary work undertaken in them by various members of the research team, were chosen because of their classic 'multicultural' profiles and because they have seen developer-funded archaeological excavations of their pre-contemporary histories.

The first area is centred on Clanbrassil Street (**1**). Originally a medieval suburb, this is a traditional, Liberties-style, working-class area which is fast disappearing under new apartment blocks, and in which a century-old Jewish population is declining and a Muslim population enlarging.

1 Clanbrassil Street

The second area is the north inner-city between Gardiner Street, Sean Mac Dermott Street (**2**), Amiens Street, and Talbot Street. This is an old working-class district which was, in the late 1800s and early 1900s, a notorious red-light district and has seen massive urban redevelopment over the past few decades.

2 Sean Mac Dermott Street

A third area around Parnell Street and Moore Street was also selected, but for lower-key research; this area, best known for its street-trading (**3**) encompasses the residential and commercial spaces of immigrant African and Asian communities, as well as former working-class tenements, and is home to a monument that has been afforded full heritage protection: the so-called 1916 house.

3 Moore Street

In designing this *Archaeology in Inner-City Dublin* project (as it was then called) the team surveyed the archaeological literature pertaining to the historic city. That survey revealed 'historic' to mean medieval and early modern (up to 1700), the corollary being that the contemporary city was/is assumed not to be archaeological. The survey also revealed that much of the *research* on Dublin as an archaeological locus over the past fifteen years has been concerned with finding (a) historical evidence correlative to the pre-1700 material which is excavated from below ground or surveyed above ground, and (b) archaeological evidence which helps to explain Dublin's pre-1700 material remains according to the comparative normative models. The team noted that these were standard concerns for archaeologists working in urban environments across Europe. The team also noted, however, that *global* patterns of research in urban archaeology differ markedly from the European, both in their use of explicit social theory to interpret their data, and in their recognition that archaeology in a living urban environment is, ultimately, a political project which can be inadvertently complicit in sustaining class differences and 'othering' minorities and sub-alterns. The research questions which underpinned the funding proposal benefited greatly from observing the success of North American and Australian experiences in particular (O'Keeffe and Yamin 2006) in creating feedback loops between

archaeological knowledge and local community knowledge, between academic, vernacular and artistic modes of representation, and between data extracted from the ground as relict evidence and data which are created in the present.

2.2 AIMS OF THE PROJECT

The project had two original aims. The first was to generate responses to a number of specific, academically-driven, research questions addressing the intrinsic presence of the past—recent as well as distant—in the everyday physical and cognitive engagements with urban places of working class and immigrant communities. The second was to establish an interdisciplinary and cross-sector praxis and synergy, showing how Archaeology, in both its development-led and academic guises, might interact with local communities in ways that are demonstrably of benefit to them. In designing this project as a collaborative venture between the academy (UCD), an arts organisation with local community outreach (CREATE) and a public body (Dublin City Council), the project aimed to strengthen the links between policy, practice and scholarship by advancing the role of Humanities and of the Arts sector in public policy, debate and practice, and by bringing issues and dynamics of culture and everyday life into policy process and governance, through innovations in the research process.

In the course of the research the project's aims have changed very little, but they have changed sufficiently, through the experience of doing research, for us to issue a new statement of intent:

> ***Placing Voices, Voicing Places*** **is concerned with people—the working class, migrants, religious minorities, and others—whose identities as individuals and as parts of collectives are inextricably connected with the visual, material and oral cultures of 20th and early 21st-century Dublin, but whose individual and collective voices are silent in, and arguably silenced by, the official discourse of heritage in Ireland. The project aims to show the necessity of accommodating these voices within the concept of 'national heritage', to map out how such an accommodation can be effected, and to argue that such an accommodation will buttress our collective sense of belonging in the place which we co-habit.**

2.3 *PLACING VOICES, VOICING PLACES*: A CONTRIBUTION TO KNOWLEDGE SOCIETY

This project draws on and contributes to scholarly contributions in three central areas.

First, the nature of this project is unique within an Irish context: the integration of Archaeology, Sociology and Arts Practice, and the desire to include local communities as participants rather than merely observers, marks an important new departure for Irish Archaeology and its role in the knowledge society.

Second, the project complements current innovations underway in UCD in the areas of migration, interculturalism and integration. Its interdisciplinary and cross-sector nature will advance the development of a new paradigm in migration studies founded upon a synthesis of policy-oriented work with Humanities scholarship on race/ethnicity, identity and culture, and Irish studies, and it will strengthen the conceptual and practical links between everyday life and national development. Innovations in both of these areas, in turn, contribute to the Irish and UCD participation in the advancement of the EU's new framework programme on developing links between the Humanities and Social Sciences.

Finally, the project, in both process and output, makes significant contributions to public knowledge and the capacity of all 'stakeholders' to engage in dialogue with respect to the issues and dilemmas surrounding current transformations of culture, place and identity in Ireland.

2.4 TIMESCALE: THE COMPLETION OF THE PROJECT

This project was conceived as a *pilot project* to be run over a period of about one year. The team realised, at the conception stage, that a project with greater ambition would (a) require much longer—John Foot's not-dissimilar project in Milan ran for four years and covered a smaller geographical area (2007)—and (b) require less urgency in the expenditure of funds. The effective commencement date was 1 July 2008; even though the grant was awarded in April 2008, there were delays in UCD in processing the grant and producing contracts. Although the budget has now been fully used up, as per the original proposal, those project team members whose work is still on-going have made commitments to complete their tasks by June 30 2009.

Much of the archaeological and sociological research in Monto and Clanbrassil Street has been completed, as has much of the research in the Moore Street area. A full analysis will be presented in Summer 2009 after the project team has had a chance to synthesise the information and draw both general and specific conclusions. Interim statements and graphic materials will be made available through the project web-site: http://www.projecthumedia.com/ucdcp.html.

The final phase of the overall project focuses on material cultures and contemporary arts. It incorporates the introduction of two contemporary artists (the project's artists-in-residence, as per the original proposal) into the Clanbrassil Street area. The rationale and methods of this process will be discussed on-line as the work progresses. The artists are contracted to work on the project until June 2009, at which stage their work will be exhibited.

A number of publications will issue from this project. The two major publications will be a book, designed and published by Zero-G (http://www.zero-g.ie/), and a short policy document. Individual team members will be publish spin-off articles as well, and the Heritage Council INSTAR grant will be acknowledged in each case.

3

HERITAGE

> 'We mainly value heritage as our own, not anyone else's—and not like anyone else's. Lauding our unique legacy, we strive to protect it from contaminants. Old-timers traditionally define themselves by opposition to outlandish newcomers; against alien incursion, the old guard seeks to congeal ancestral purity. But purity is a delusion. Heritage is always mongrel and amalgamated' (Lowenthal 2000, 21).

2.1 INTRODUCTION: RESEARCH CONTEXT

This project sets out to explore two inter-related questions: (a) can archaeology, when committed to a reflexive and inter-disciplinary mode of practice, bring fresh perspectives to the investigation of material culture, in such a way that archaeology is itself transformed as an academic discipline; and (b) can the collaborative inter-disciplinary practice in which archaeology is a constituent element, when applied to understanding culturally diverse urban spaces, illuminate ways in which wider heritage policies and practices can be adapted to embrace the various heritages that constitute contemporary Ireland, which is to say a culturally diverse Ireland?

The following survey of the cultural policy environment in Ireland and more widely within the EU is intended to provide a contextual framework for the investigation of these questions. In the first part, Heritage Policy and Cultural Diversity, the focus is on clarifying cultural policies and concepts that contribute to an understanding of how heritage policy might be adjusted to embrace cultural diversity goals. In the second part, an attempt is made to apply a policy tools analysis to the heritage domain with the goal of providing some practical proposals as to how current practices might be changed or amended to achieve substantive goals in relation to cultural diversity

Overall, it is intended that the kinds of issues outlined and discussed here will be revisited in the light of the specific archaeological, sociological and arts practice evidence thrown up by the current project.

2.2 HERITAGE POLICY AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The policy context

Irish cultural discourse throughout the twentieth century was characterised by an almost obsessional focus on issues of identity, construed almost exclusively within nationalist modes of exploration. Within a narrower framework, the focus was on relational dimensions of inter-cultural conflict on the island between Protestant and Catholic traditions. This in turn was framed by a broader effort to tease out the implications of centuries of colonialism under British rule and its post-colonial consequences for an independent Ireland. Thus the outlines and boundaries of national identity were explored in terms of an historical, bi-polar conflict between Ireland and England, and an internecine quarrel between traditions that had dwelt continually on the island for generations (Howe 2000).

However, by the 1990s there were signs of an effort to place the debates about identity within a wider frame of reference. On becoming President of Ireland in 1990, Mary Robinson championed a definition of Irishness that included the Irish diaspora. But while the embrace of diaspora had the potential to break the spell of introspection, it could also equally facilitate an extended range of influence to an homogeneous vision of Irishness. Bryan Fanning, for one, is of the opinion that the 'enlarged universe of Irishness' conjured by the diasporic perspective 'posed few challenges to protestations of social homogeneity' (Fannning, 2002, 185). At the end of his survey *Inventing Ireland* (1995) Declan Kiberd called for a more broadly-based practice of Irish Studies, one that no longer 'regard[s] Irish experience as representative of human experience', but embraced the way outsiders chose to see us. But even this could be seen as merely an invitation to foreign Hibernophiles to join us in a more elaborate interrogation of our self-obsessions (Kiberd 1995, 641-2).

The path to a broader contextualisation of Irishness would not be a straightforward one. Only a year later, American anthropologist Lawrence J. Taylor noted the Irish public's 'occasionally vituperative reaction to anthropology,' which he ascribed to

> 'an element in the continuing construction of Ireland, a process with its own symbolic geography that defines Ireland internally and externally in relation to a limited number of significant and changing "others" ' (Taylor 1996, n215).

That was in the mid-nineties. Now, little more than a decade later, there are numerous 'outsiders' and 'others' in our midst, and how they choose to see us has become imbricated in how we see

ourselves, a process that will become more profoundly embedded as their children and grandchildren become first and second generation Irish.

The Good Friday Agreement (1998), which seems to have achieved a substantial resolution of our insular, centuries-old intercultural quarrel, arrived at a moment when the Republic of Ireland was already launched upon the most sustained period of economic prosperity since independence. This process of resolution has been closely paralleled with the arrival of immigrants, migrants and asylum-seekers from a great diversity of cultural backgrounds in Europe and the wider world. The 2006 census revealed that almost half a million non-Irish people from 188 countries were living in Ireland (*Irish Times*, 1 July, 2008).

We are only just beginning to wrestle with the implications of these developments. But there is at least one hopeful prospect: that as the critique of nationalism ceases to be bounded by the intricacies of Anglo-Irish relations, the space has opened up for indigenous cultural assumptions and understandings to be questioned and challenged in the context of emergent cultural diversity. It is now possible—indeed urgently necessary—to re-imagine the nation in new and inclusive ways. A good starting place might be a robust analysis of the way Ireland has dealt historically with indigenous forms of cultural diversity (including, for example, Travellers, the Jewish community, gender, and disability).

Bryan Fanning would extend Taylor's critique to challenge the internally constructed 'myth' of homogeneity. Nationalism, he claims, is 'bound up with processes of inclusion and exclusion within a terrain where cultural authenticity and social membership are contested'. The historical experience of Travellers, Jews and women in Irish society testify to the ways the nation-state 'reproduced inequalities between nationals on the basis of gender race and ethnicity' (2002, 2). So while the increasing secularisation of Irish society over recent years has 'contributed to [a] more pluralistic sense of Irish identity…this has not in itself unravelled dominant monocultural conceptions of Irishness' (2002, 184). In analysing data from national identity surveys carried out in 1995 and 2003, Watson *et al* found that the percentage of Irish people who agree with anti-immigrant statements increased significantly in the intervening years—complemented by a 9.9% *decrease* in the number of people who feel that 'ethnic minorities should be given government assistance to preserve their customs and traditions'. The authors conclude that the findings of these surveys show some correlation between national identity and anti-immigrant views (Watson *et al*, 2007, 217-8).

As will become clear from the outline of public policy in Ireland in relation to cultural diversity, a strong predilection for integration as the coordinating principle is not accompanied by any discernibly reflexive understanding of Irishness as a dynamic element in the process. However, giving real meaning to the 'inter' in intercultural dialogue (acknowledged in most policy documents

as a key tool in achieving integration goals) requires some re-interrogation of Irish identity to bring it into play within the field of multiple identities that now constitute the ways diversity is culturally experienced in contemporary Ireland.

The diaspora and altered Irishness

Where to start? Perhaps a good point might be to identify or acknowledge forms of diversity to which Irishness may already have been subliminally prone under conditions of globalisation—that is, independently of the more consciously-apprehended challenge posed by immigration. Acknowledging that transformations in Irish identity are not wholly attributable to the pressures of immigration, and revealing that cultural change is the 'natural' rather than induced condition of Irishness in the modern world, may help to temper simplistic assumptions that such changes in self-perception are exclusively due to multicultural demands triggered by immigration.

In a recent study Catherine Nash explores the impact of Irish genealogical studies, as practiced by natives and those of Irish descent abroad, on the understanding of Irishness. She sees the potential for such studies to unfreeze traditional understandings of Irishness, setting up new, reflexive conditions under which

> 'familiar and novel practices of tracing ancestry and finding origins are shaped by and in turn reshape the imagination of the nation and diaspora as a community of shared descent…and how they intersect with and inform old and new ideas of who belongs in Ireland and to whom Ireland and Irish culture belongs' (Nash, 2008, 3).

Irish-Americans appropriate genealogy to the affirmation of difference within a multicultural society, thus challenging processes of marginalisation and asserting through it a more distinctive claim to recognition in the context of cultural pluralism (2008, 8). The dynamics of the relationship between native and diaspora Irish is fraught with complex ironies. On the one hand, those of the diaspora are drawn to Ireland party because it is the place where 'subjectivity is untroubled by the reflexivity of modernity and where collective identity is unselfconsciously lived' (2008, 10). On the other, the genealogical tourist is part of a complex cultural flow, which, through the encounter with the native, constitutes a hybrid cultural form that 'both challenges the notions of fixity that underpin the model of the racially rooted nation and engages with the intensified mobilities of late-twentieth-century globalisation and their differentiated effects' (2008, 11). She invokes Ingold's 'relational model', which holds that 'persons are not products of inheritance but are continuously in a process of change and development in an all-encompassing network of relationships and situated activities'. Miller (2008, 291) makes a similar point: people are not fully formed by their cultural origins, but are constantly growing and adapting. Hybridity is linked to migration because

it expresses the human capacity for adventure, innovation and adaptation. Recognising where someone comes from is not an adequate basis for understanding what they are *becoming*, and what they are becoming may not conform to a conventional idea of integration. For migrant and host community are simultaneously becoming; the assumption of fixity to cultural positions (particularly that of a host community) is an illusion; the world changes and we must all change with it.

This leads to a radical, ontological understanding of heritage, in which memory and tradition are not handed down from generation to generation but generated in the course of lived experience, which echoes the existential emphasis inherent in the notion of 'heritage dissonance', discussed below (2008,11).

Thus, insofar as heritage and heritage policies constitute a major facet of national identity formation, they have a critical role to play in the reformulation of cultural policies to deal with the contemporary challenge of cultural diversity. The challenge is a radical one: to go beyond an essentialist understanding of heritage as constituted by nationalist ideology in order to embrace a cultural field of diversity that includes multiple heritages—such that integration becomes more a matter of relations *between* many heritages than of many heritages being reconciled *with* one. The point of departure proposed is not based on the premise of a homogeneous culture suddenly subjected to the challenge of irruptive migration, but of a culture that had in any case, through its exposure to the processes of modernisation and globalisation, been subject to less dramatically or consciously apprehended forms of diversity.

Identifying diversity: policy catch-up

Emergent policies for cultural diversity in Ireland

In recent years (that is, within the last five or so) policy-makers and policy bodies have begun to wrestle with the implications of rapid cultural and demographic changes. A short survey of some of the policy documents produced in recent years by some of the key players in the cultural field reveals a pattern: nearly all of them have come to recognise the policy challenges posed by cultural diversity, and nearly all of them are struggling to define frameworks, goals and actions to address it. This transitional condition was recognised in the NESC report *Managing Migration in Ireland* (2006), which noted that

> 'there has been relatively little explicit recognition in policy documents that migration can bring both costs and benefits. There has been little discussion about the likely short-term and long-term social and economic effects of different migration policy measures on different groups in Ireland and beyond' (2005, xii).

It noted also that despite the large annual inflows of migrants to Ireland, legislation and policy in the area have been piecemeal (2005, 3). However, from an international perspective, this experience would appear to be more typical than exceptional. Tony Bennett in a 2001 study of cultural diversity policies across the European Union concluded

> 'Cultural diversity, in all its forms, is posing a profound challenge to traditional formulations of cultural policy, and to our understanding of the public interests served by this policy. In most countries the artistic and cultural landscape has not evolved to reflect the realities of a changed social landscape' (2001, 12).

The following is a brief summary of how issues of cultural diversity have been reflected in some of the policy documents produced by public bodies in Ireland in recent years.

The Arts Council

In 2006 the Arts Council of Ireland published *The Public and the Arts*, a research report in which a range of demographic data was presented to inform future arts strategy in Ireland. From 1994 to 2006 the population had grown from 3.6 to 4.2 million. Interpreting Central Statistics Office data, it outlined the following dramatic changes resulting from inward migration:

> 'In 1996, the number of non-Irish nationals in the state was approximately 6% of the total population. This had risen to 7.1% in 2002 and to 9.5% (an estimated 400,000 people) in 2006. Of those non-Irish people aged over 15, it was estimated that some 38% were from the ten mainly Eastern European states that joined the EU in 2005' (Arts Council 2006, 32)

In a concluding chapter the report seeks to identify 'Some Policy Issues Arising from Study Findings'. The implications of the above scenario for arts policy is not among them. Instead, the concept of social inclusion is interpreted in terms of income, educational attainment, and occupational class (2006, 112). The impression, if not the underlying assumption, is of an essentially homogeneous society whose divisions lie along the axis of class, regulated by economic resources. The emergence of significant ethnic diversity has yet to register as a factor in questions of cultural inclusion and exclusion.

National Economic and Social Forum

Similar assumptions informed the National and Economic and Social Forum's 2007 report *The Arts, Cultural Inclusion and Social Cohesion*. The introduction emphasises the socio-economic definition of social inclusion, of which cultural inclusion is taken to be a dimension:

> 'While we are familiar with the concepts of economic marginalisation and social exclusion, we are less so with that of cultural exclusion. By cultural exclusion we mean exclusion from access to cultural goods and resources that are regularly accessed by the better-off in society' (NESF 2007, vi).

Cultural inclusion is articulated as a function of relative exclusion from economic and cultural resources. But there is, as yet, no explicit recognition of exclusion on the basis of ethnicity as potentially another variety of cultural exclusion, or as a factor that may qualify or complicate a class-based definition of it. Nevertheless, the report is mindful of the emergent nature of cultural diversity in Ireland and the need for policy in that area:

> 'This report then is just the *starting* point hopefully for a more detailed programme of research and policy discussion, especially bearing in mind the dramatically changing ethnic composition of the population underway in Ireland, with all of the implications of this for cultural recognition and inclusion' (NESF, 2007, ix).

There are some other telling reflections made in passing that have direct implications for policy in the field of cultural diversity. For instance, the public benefit of the arts in providing a basis for better understanding within and between communities is outlined:

> 'The arts also introduce new voices into a community, voices that can redefine the fabric of the national or local culture. As such, they can play a pivotal role in integrating excluded minority groups or new immigrant communities into the wider society' (NESF 2007, 11).

The report registers cultural diversity as an emergent phenomenon, but does not take the opportunity to offer some pioneering analysis (however tentative) of how it might be addressed. It would have been useful, for example, if the report had sought to integrate into its very useful observations on social capital and other mechanisms of social cohesion some preliminary observations on how these could serve to link cultural diversity to goals of cultural inclusion. But there is no mention of cultural diversity among the research questions, and the project team did not contain a person from an ostensibly non-Irish ethnic background (2007, vii-viii). Moreover, the report's decision to narrow the field of empirical study to libraries, the visual arts and theatre (NESF 2007, 3) seems hardly wide enough to capture emergent patterns of change in the cultural composition and habits of the population, which are perhaps best registered by broader, anthropological definitions of culture (Bennett 2001, 17). Yet it must be acknowledged that the NESF, along with most other policy bodies for whom cultural diversity can be said to form an

increasingly urgent field of policy analysis, was struggling with a dearth of data to inform its insights. The Report notes, for example, that

> 'no data has been collected yet in Ireland on barriers to accessing the arts which are due to ethnic and racial issues. However a UK study found that the main reasons why those from black and ethnic minority backgrounds did not attend arts venues or participate in the arts were lack of time, lack of information on what is available in the local area, and lack of interest (DCMS/National Statistics, 2006). This is an issue which needs to be explored in greater detail in this country' (NESF 2007, 22).

In the end, this recognition highlights the urgent need for policy bodies to work together to ensure that cultural diversity forms part of the terms of reference and is included among the goals of future research for cultural policy in Ireland.

Department of Art, Sport and Tourism

The Department of Art, Sport and Tourism's *Statement of Strategy* (2008-10), highlights the UNESCO Convention on the promotion and protection of the diversity of cultural expressions, which recognises the threats associated with globalisation in the cultural field and provides renewed impetus for initiatives aimed at protecting indigenous cultural expressions. This is perfectly consistent with national anxieties over the diluting effects of global culture on prevailing perceptions of cohesive national identity (particularly in terms of minority languages, such as Irish). However, the Convention does not reflect the potential threats or opportunities represented to national culture by a more a culturally diverse society resulting from immigration (DAST 2007, 9). The Strategy picks up on the demographic changes outlined in *Public and the Arts* and links these to the kind of social capital thinking that is central to the NESF report, as well as to the lessons learned and skills acquired in inter-cultural dialogue while negotiating the Good Friday Agreement:

> 'This exponential increase in cultural diversity adds to the challenges of developing active citizenship in all sectors of society—as does the prospect of accelerated North-South reconciliation with all its historical and emotional ties. The arts can provide positive solutions to problems resulting from social exclusion by developing self-confidence, social inclusion and acceptance and capacity in individuals and communities. There is strong and growing evidence of links between cultural participation, including sports, and social capital—building networks of trust and reciprocity in communities' (DAST 2007, 10).

But as with the other reports considered here, the opportunity to map or sketch out implications for future policy is not taken. In a section on 'Data/Statistics Strategy' the Department declares

that it 'has identified and prioritised its statistical data needs for policy formulation, implementation and review'. But no details of the relevant fields are provided, among which must surely be the need for better data on patterns of immigration as identified in the NESF report (DAST 2007, 18).

The Heritage Council

Under the terms of the Heritage Act (1995) the Heritage Council is the statutory body charged with proposing and promoting heritage policy in the Republic of Ireland (Heritage Council 2007, 7). The Heritage Council's policy in relation to issues of cultural diversity shares some of the emergent, transitional features found in other public policy bodies with responsibility for culture just described. A broad apprehension of the challenges posed by emergent diversity is registered; but underlying assumptions about the nature of Irish society and the identity to be articulated through the construct of heritage remain to a large extent unquestioned or unfrozen. Thus, in the Council's four-year *Strategic Plan*, *2007-2011*, launched in April 2007, the implication of cultural diversity for heritage policy is squarely confronted:

> 'The Heritage Council recognises that, in today's multicultural and multifaceted society, heritage has a wider range of meanings and values than before. It has become much more than the simple list laid out in legislation [i.e. Heritage Act of 1995]. Heritage involves people, first and foremost, and concerns our present and our future, as well as helping us to understand and appreciate our past' (Heritage Council 2007, 8).

The Plan goes on to emphasise the Council's 'wish to continue to foster the increased significance and value attached to heritage across all levels of our multicultural society' (2007, 9). At the same time however, prevailing, or what one might call 'pre-diversity', assumptions about the nature of heritage continue to inform the Plan's objectives and proposed actions. The title to the first section that contains the above quotation perhaps best crystalises the gap between autochthonous assumptions about heritage and the challenges posed to them by the multiplicity of heritages that immigrants bring with them to Ireland.

Defining our national heritage

The phrase 'our national heritage' is used twelve times throughout the Strategic Plan, and the phrase 'national heritage' alone is used thirteen times. The phrase occurs in the Heritage Act (1995) in defining the primary functions of the Heritage Council. Section II. 6.(1) states: 'The functions of the Council shall be to propose policies and priorities for the identification, protection, preservation and. enhancement of the national heritage, including monuments, archaeological

objects, heritage objects, architectural heritage, flora, fauna, wildlife habitats, landscapes, seascapes, wrecks, geology, heritage gardens and parks and inland waterways.' The phrase is frequently invoked thereafter. In the Interpretation to the Act (Section I. 2.1) the phrase is not defined, its meaning presumably taken to be self-evident.

We might begin our in-depth enquiry of the implications of cultural diversity for Irish heritage policy by unpicking the meaning of all three terms in the phrase 'our national heritage'. It raises some of the following questions:

* In what sense is heritage in Ireland ***our*** heritage—severally or collectively?

* Is there an aggregate heritage that somehow simultaneously belongs to native and newcomer alike?

* Can there be such a thing as 'our multicultural heritage' or is that an oxymoron?

* What is meant by ***national*** heritage?

* Does this include, exclude or accommodate other 'national' identities that now constitute elements of the diversified nation?

* And is it possible to speak any longer of ***heritage*** as a unitary, unifying compound, or must we learn to accommodate the idea of multiple, plural and potentially discordant heritages co-existing under the banner of diversity?

* Does the idea of an aggregate or composite heritage imply that heritage policy is underpinned by principles of cultural integration and/or multiculturalism?

The lists of Actions in the *Strategic Plan* under the headings 'To propose policies and priorities to the Minister for Environment, Heritage, and Local Government' or 'To promote and develop existing and emerging Heritage Council policy proposals and priorities' do not specify any action in relation to cultural diversity (2007, 18-19). This contrasts, for example, with English Heritage's Research Strategy for 2005-10 which lists 'Diversity and social inclusion' in a research category headed 'Social Science' (English Heritage 2005, 10). Again, as with the Arts Council, this does not indicate an unwillingness to tackle the issues arising in this context, but is rather a reflection of the bewildering speed with which they have emerged into the public policy forum.

More importantly, it must be acknowledged that despite the absence of specified actions in recently published strategy documents, both the Arts Council and the Heritage Council have

taken initiatives that indicate that both organisations clearly understand the urgency of the need to come to grips with the issues involved. The Arts Council's conference on cultural diversity in June 2008 has led to a partnership between the Council and the National Action Plan against Racism, in which they have engaged the collaborative arts body CREATE to carry out research leading to 'the development of an Arts Council Action Plan that will enable minority ethnic and cultural groups to participate and contribute more fully to the cultural life of Ireland'. Meanwhile, the present initiative to tease out some of the implications of cultural diversity for archaeological practice and heritage policy more broadly demonstrates the Heritage Council's determination to come to grips with the same challenge.

Migration Nation (2008) and Managing Migration in Ireland (2006)

Though these two policy documents are produced by bodies without an explicit cultural remit, they nonetheless provide an insight into current public discourse and broader government policy in relation to immigration. The two documents are best taken together because it is clear that *Migration Nation*, the Minister for Integration's first significant statement of policy on matters of integration, is largely informed and endorses the main principles of the earlier research report, *Managing Migration in Ireland*.

Migration Nation, as its subtitle makes clear, is the first 'statement on integration strategy and diversity management' by the Minister for Integration, Conor Lenihan, the holder of a junior ministry that was created in the wake of the 2007 general election. The title itself is significant because it subtly suggests an experience shared between Irish people and immigrants, based on the fact that Ireland's history is so deeply marked by emigration. The Minister alludes to it in his forward. He recalls how, in the 1980s, he too was compelled to emigrate, finding that there were 'not enough jobs in the Ireland that chose to educate us'. This is followed by a quotation from President McAleese:

> 'We have a recent memory of the loneliness, the sense of failure evoked by our inability to provide for our own people and the courage it took to start a new life far from home'.

The whole statement of policy, the Minister emphasises, 'is predicated on the idea that Ireland has a unique moral, intellectual and practical capability to adapt to the experience of inward migration' (*Migration Nation*, 7). However the appealing symmetry of this proposition, which elides the historical with the existential, ignores one overriding reality: the great majority of Irish people who now encounter new immigrants in their daily lives were never themselves emigrants, having grown up in the nineties and the new millennium when emigration slowed to a trickle, and have therefore never had the immigrant experience elsewhere.

The Minister proposes that the challenge facing Irish government and society 'is the imperative to integrate people of much different culture, ethnicity, language and religion so that they become the new Irish citizens of the 21st century'. The statement is unambiguous about the direct instrumental link between immigration and economic prosperity (which prompts a more anxious question about the link between immigration and prosperity's sudden disappearance over 2007-08):

> 'In order to consolidate our position of affluence, continued inward migration must be accompanied by a renewed investment in social stability with its demonstrable link to productivity gains. The societal gains from properly managed immigration are obvious and the demographic profile of the migrants we have attracted to Ireland to date illustrates this rather vividly' (2008, 8).

There is little reference in the document to multiculturalism or multicultural approaches to immigration, hypothetical or practical. In its determination to put in place systems that avoid 'the creation of parallel societies, communities and urban ghettoes', the statement's emphasis is very much on governmental mechanisms of integration and *management* strategies, rather than on the need to engage immigrants in terms of who they are and what their values are.

More essentially, the goal of integration is rooted in an assumption about the capacity of government to be a neutral player in the field of conflict and accommodation as played out among natives and immigrants. 'The location of integration policy firmly within the framework of Government's social planning,' it is firmly stated, 'has the benefit of preventing the debate around integration becoming a ''migrants only'' discussion' (2008, 15). And while there is reference to the role of non-governmental agencies and voluntary bodies in developing mutual understanding between natives and immigrants, this only serves to further highlight the government's role as confined to competencies clustered around 'service delivery', something that requires the development of 'organizational intercultural competence' between government departments—though not explicitly between those departments and the diverse public they serve (2008, 22). In other words, the confident hope is that conflicts or tensions that may arise between native and immigrant groups and communities can be effectively *refereed* by putatively impartial governmental mechanisms. Interculturalism is registered as an organizational competency of government, part of its referee apparatus, which has the various immigrant communities and their interactions with natives as their field of adjudication.

However, this idea of government neutrality is based on the presupposition that government is, or can remain, a neutral player in the field of diversities. This is, at the least, contestable. There is much evidence that the institutional structures and bureaucratic norms of the nation-state are

coloured by quite powerful cultural and ideological norms, factors which, if left unexamined, can themselves constitute barriers to the goal of integration.

The candidly instrumentalist language of the statement and preceding report, focused so determinedly on integration as the singular objective, reveal some unexamined prejudices. In *Managing Migration* it is proposed that immigrant integration 'can be thought of as a process whereby new networks and new attachments to the host community are formed, while old attachments to the country of origin and to domestic immigrant and minority groups are weakened' (2006, 162). This offers a seductively transitional, non-reflexive vision of the integration process—one in which the native culture, its norms and assumptions, are barely seen to be in play at all. Instead, immigrant groups are deployed within an inexorable trajectory of convergence with native norms, a process in which integration is accompanied by the gradual atrophy of originary identity, akin to the withering away of the state in the Marxist vision of the communist utopia.

Bennett has a cautionary observation on this approach. When cultural diversity policy is considered under the rubric of social inclusion, he warns, it often carries social *integration* as 'the nationalist sting-in-the tail of current diversity formulations even when assimilationist objectives have been explicitly abandoned' (2001, 50). In other words, integration policy can be elided with social inclusion goals in a form tantamount to assimilation by indirect means. This vision also elides the complexity and lived reality of inter-generational identity among immigrant people and their children. In a subtle analysis of the life experience of first and second generation Indo-Chinese immigrants in France, Simon-Baruah describes a complex mix of original and assimilative elements in the children of these 1950s immigrants. The second generation tend to 'keep private all manifestations of the parental or grandparental culture'. At the same time 'they behave like all other French people of the same social class with regard to laws, work, the choice of schools for children, marriage and extra-familial relations' (in Harzig 2007, 26). A process of integration goes hand in hand with a sharpening of the perception of origins, resulting in an overlap of identifications within individuals between the two sides of their identity.

The report takes a cautiously skeptical approach to multiculturalism. It identifies it as one of the 'instruments' available to government to create a policy framework and as a concept which can symbolically define 'standards of fairness' (the referee function) (2006, 164). Multiculturalism, therefore, rather than being seen as describing or endorsing a cultural or ethnographic reality, is appropriated to a governmental rhetoric of even-handedness, to be used as a resource in the deployment of putatively equitable governance.

At the same time, and somewhat contradictorily, the report acknowledges the undesirability of 'tying citizenship to migrant incorporation and homogenous values, which narrows national identity and the scope for belonging'. Instead, governments should

> 'focus on inclusion and enhancing the capacity for collective action. This develops through people living, working and playing together, particularly on projects in the public domain—which is where the state operates' (2006, 166).

The contradiction arises, perhaps, from the desire to more emphatically insist upon the separation of the public from the private spheres as a means of 'fire-walling' diversity in a democratic context. Tariq Madood takes on the traditional explanation for the public/private split, which argues that restricting cultural diversity to the private sphere allows the public realm to flourish as a forum where equality of opportunity can prevail. This is accompanied by belief in a normative universality in law, politics, economics and welfare. Accommodating diversity, therefore, centres on questions of how to accommodate cultural/religious difference within the norms of a secular state. Madood points to a historic change, under conditions of globalisation, in the terms of this understanding. 'The content of what is claimed today in the name of equality', he argues, 'is more than that which would have been claimed in the 1960s'. There has been a shift away from 'equality in terms of individualism and cultural assimilation' to 'equality as encompassing public ethnicity' (in Harzig 2007, 168-70).

According to Mitchell, assimilation policies 'reinforce the public/private split by separating out 'difference' and relegating it to the private sphere' while bypassing the challenge to prevailing core-group values and norms, whereas the adoption of multiculturalism as government policy implies state-sponsored acceptance, promotion and celebration of cultural difference (2004, 642).

Another important issue arises from the attempts to deal with these matters overwhelmingly through the structures of centralised government. In advocating what he calls 'democratic institutional pluralism' Bader argues that policies for cultural diversity must be accompanied by 'actual decentralisation'. In this perspective, institutionally pluralist arrangements can be described as 'power-sharing systems', thereby affording a better means of reflecting and serving cultural diversity as lived within particular communities on a day-to-day basis (in Harzig 2007, 133).

In any event, the attempt to keep separate the government/public and private/cultural spheres is clearly central to an integrationist policy, but may not ultimately be realistic in fully dealing with all of the cultural dimensions of identity that need to be accommodated in a contemporary democracy that acknowledges citizen rights as in some way bound up with multiple ethnic identities.

Another variant of this divide is that between government and culture, which may be reflected in the way the integrational role of the Minister for Integration has been structured. The Minister is Minister of State at three Departments — the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform, Education and Science and the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. 'These three Departments' the statement explains, 'are recognised as having central roles to play in dealing with the integration of migrants into Irish society while other Departments clearly have responsibilities, in line with their everyday functions' (2008, 67). But why should the 'everyday functions' of other departments not come within the ambit of the Minister's proactive role insofar as they are connected with an integrated approach to integration? Why, for example, does it not include the Department of Education? And why are other Departments with an overtly cultural brief (primarily the Department of Art, Sport and Tourism and the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government, both comprehending state funding and influence over major cultural institutions and a vast field of cultural practices) not included in the Minister's brief? This implies a fissure in the government's approach to immigration, with integration seen *primarily* as a function of economics, legal processes and the realignment of social services, while culture, with its questions of identity and hybridity, is left to the private realm and such forms of social capital as can be fostered by civil society and agents of intercultural dialogue. Which leaves the question: how can a governmentally-determined goal of integration be effectively delivered if there is no substantive governmental engagement with questions of *cultural* diversity?

Conclusion

The changes in Irish society that have produced its diverse cultural complexion have taken place so rapidly that the struggle to come to terms with its implications across a range of public policy fields is easy to understand. Notwithstanding Ireland's religious divisions and the presence of a minority Traveler culture, what had been an overwhelmingly homogeneous society has acquired in little more than a decade a diverse immigrant minority comprising 10% of the population. But while these changes have been rapid, the need to devise informed and enlightened policies to deal with them is just as urgent. Time is not a luxury. As is being learned in the educational system, prejudices and habits of alienation become quickly embedded to form the basis of a more recalcitrant heritage of prejudice in future generations. The abrupt downward turn in economic fortunes over 2007-08, giving rise to darker apprehensions about the social acceptance of immigrant groups under the pressures and resentments of recession, makes the need for policy development and practical action all the more urgent. As the NESC report cautions in its relentlessly instrumental way, 'the higher unemployment rises, the more immigration is seen as a zero-sum game—the idea of a fixed pool of jobs and that immigrant gains occur at the expense of employment of the locally-born population' (2006, 149). The outcome of a zero-sum game in which a self-identity is automatically other-exclusive is that multiple heritages conflict with each

other in dominant and resistant forms. As societies become more diverse, they are prone to become more fragmented (Ashworth *et al* 2007, 4).

At present, as indicated in the discussion of recent policy emerging under the aegis of the Minister for Integration, there is a strong, instrumental determination to make integration work for reasons of economic prosperity and social cohesion. But unless reflexive cultural analysis is brought to bear on the impact of immigration on Irish society, embracing the idea that not only immigrants by natives too are changed by the transition from a culturally homogeneous to a culturally diverse society, there is a danger that instrumental good intentions will to a greater or lesser extent be undermined by the kind of mutual incomprehension, or complacent assumptions about cultural assimilation, that inadvertently feed racism and alienation. Dynamic engagement with culture and heritage—with all of the cultures and heritages that constitute our diluted homogeneity and blended differences, can play a vital role in ameliorating such tendencies.

As the Heritage Council's *Strategic Plan* (cited above) puts it, 'heritage involves people, first and foremost, and concerns our present and our future, as well as helping us to understand and appreciate our past'. It is this kind of insight that needs to be developed into systematic policy so that it can feed through—and hopefully be integrated into—a broader governmental effort not merely to manage immigration, but to understand how immigration alters the prevailing assumptions about Irishness.

Re-defining heritage for a diverse Ireland

Heritage and dissonance

There is, indeed, a fundamental tension between the idea of a syncretic *national* heritage and a heritage that 'involves people, first and foremost'. A definition of heritage centred on people, rather than one rooted in putatively objective or positivist readings of material culture and landscapes, allows us to see heritage as a protean, dynamic phenomenon with the capacity to register material culture as an evolutionary process, recording shifts and changes in contemporary society.

This more ontologically-based understanding of heritage was outlined in a compellingly systematic way by Tunbridge and Ashworth in *Dissonant Heritage* (1996). Contrary to prevailing assumptions about heritage that construed it as a powerful agent of synthesis, integral to the construction of nationalist narratives and group ideology, they argued that it was an inherently 'dissonant' phenomenon. The delay in coming to terms with heritage dissonance arose primarily from the misperception of it as a quality inhering in 'objective' historical data. They described the

misperception as it applied in the context of urban heritage in terms that apply just as validly to archaeology:

> 'The idea that there exists a fixed quantity of a conservable past that is recognisable through objective, universal and measurable sets of intrinsic criteria, underpinned the urban conservation movement through most of its history of development. Inventories were constructed and protective legislation framed on just such assumptions of an ultimately listable, agreed, fixed quantity. The revelation gradually dawned that such assumptions were untenable as heritage did not exist in a fixed and once-for-ever endowed quantity that could theoretically be included in a comprehensive inventory, but was infinitely creatable in response to demands and expectations and management skills at exploiting these, rather than the availability of materials' (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 9).

In subjecting the phenomenological premises of heritage to this revisionist critique, they were assisted by the vigorously polemical work of David Lowenthal who, in his *Heritage Crusade* (1996), declared: 'the present is not just the past's inheritor but its active partner, reanimating the sleeping, excavating the buried, and reworking a legacy in line with present needs' (1996, 141).

In subsequent work carried out in collaboration with Brian Graham, Ashworth and Tunbridge further developed the implications of this shift, leading to the axiom that 'meaning is more fundamental than artefact in defining heritage' (Graham *et al* 2000, 29). It is a cultural lens rooted in contemporary feelings and anxieties, looking backwards and forwards from the present moment, amounting, in short, to 'the contemporary use of the past' (2000, 2). It is a malleable, adaptable and serviceable concept; heritage, and heritages, can be 'invented or discarded as the demands of contemporary societies change' (Ashworth *et al* 2007, 6).

To accept the inherent dissonance of heritage is inevitably to challenge homogeneous or hegemonic ideas of 'national heritage'. Heritage emerged as an ideological construct that developed through the process of modernisation in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was instrumental in producing the modern territorial nation. The 'imagined community' of the nation (Anderson 1991) was simultaneously exclusionary and integrationist, setting up a tension between identity and otherness, and 'absorbing or naturalising potentially competing heritages of social-cultural groups or regions' (Graham *et al* 2000, 12,18).

Heritage and hegemony

Because definitions of heritage are regulated by power relations, its hegemonic potential needs to be recognised. Graham et al define cultural hegemony as 'the attempt by a powerful social group to determine the limits of meaning for everyone else by universalising its own cultural truths'.

They see nationalism as hegemonic in this respect, in that it attempts to 'subsume difference in representations of homogeneity'; ethnic nationalism subsumes diversity in a denial of heterogeneity (2000, 55, 59). It is also what gives heritage dissonance its 'zero-sum' characteristics: a heritage that belongs to someone simultaneously does not belong to someone else. One group's heritage potentially disinherits another's.

The dissonance analysis suggests that 'heritages' are intrinsically in conflict, and that heritage policy can only be a poor vehicle for the resolution of inter-cultural tensions and conflict. Nationalism and cultural diversity, therefore, can be seen to be on a collision course. Bennett, for example, acknowledges that forms of cultural diversity

> 'challenge the basic grammar of national cultures to the degree that they involve relations between peoples, histories, cultures and territories which…are at odds with —which contradict, cut across, or cannot be reconciled with—those of nationalist projects' (Bennett 2001, 28).

But the challenge of the dissonance model to assumptions about heritage as implicitly ameliorative are not confined to intercultural contexts. The Irish have discovered what it is to disagree profoundly and bitterly about heritage on an intra-national basis: the visitor centre controversies of the nineties (Mullaghmore and Luggala) and the infrastructural disputes of the new century (Carrickmines and Tara) more than adequately suggest that cultural dissonance can just as easily be a function of internal cultural diversity arising from tensions between the national and local valuations of the same heritage entities.

However, Graham *et al* are convinced that an acceptance of intrinsic dissonance can also provide the basic conditions for 'the construction of pluralist, multicultural societies based on inclusiveness and variable-sum conceptualisations of power' (2000, 24). And heritage dissonance does have one very positive implication from a policy perspective: the shift in the understanding of heritage from phenomena to perception makes it more readily amenable to human agency and choice, so that 'the production of heritage becomes a matter for deliberate goal-directed choice about what uses are made of the past for what contemporary purposes' (1996, 9). Accepting the intrinsic dissonance of heritage, therefore, can serve as a basic premise for a heritage policy that engages realistically and effectively with cultural diversity and turn an apparently negative conception of heritage into a potentially enabling idea.

Actual diversities, imagined communalities

Heritage dissonance constitutes a field of contested and negotiated cultural values that embraces all perspectives, however authoritative or hegemonic. When framed within a field of cultural diversity, engaging with dissonance demands an 'anthropology of the self', a reflexive practice

that seeks to render visible the potentially invisible position of the native as one of the elements in play in the field of self and others (Lidchi 2006, 110). What Eagleton writes about the non-reflexive blindness of an institution like the British Museum in the context of imperialism is equally (if ironically) applicable to national museums in the context of nationalism.

> 'The beauty of being a ruler is that one does not need to worry about who one is, since one deludedly believes that one already knows. It is other cultures which are different, while one's own form of life is the norm, and so scarcely a 'culture' at all. It is rather the standard by which other ways of life show up precisely *as* cultures' (Eagleton 2000, 46).

Nationalism (and by extension national heritage) strives either to impose unity on cultural diversity or (more plausibly) to mediate an idea of unity through diversity (localities and regions become variations rather than distinct cultural types). The national scale of reference remains, in geographic terms, the primary frame for the definition and management of heritage (Graham *et al* 2000, 75). Yet, especially under conditions of postmodernity, where the boundaries between local, national and global scales of human experience are increasingly interwoven, the role of nationalism as the primary ground of heritage definition has become contested and ambiguous. This blurring of boundaries finds its most human embodiment in the unprecedented levels of migration, criss-crossing the globe in seeming indifference to the sovereignty of nations.

Migration gives rise, within the boundaries of nation states, to forms of cultural diversity that challenge nationalist homogeneities. Bhabha has written about how 'minority discourse contests genealogies of "origin" that lead to claims for cultural supremacy and historical priority' (1994, 157). Massey takes this line of analysis further by claiming that, notwithstanding the impact of migration on the contemporary globalised world, particular places are 'always already hybrid' and 'are always constructed out of articulations of social relations', such that essentialised ideas of locality or nation 'fail to recognise the long history of interconnectedness with elsewhere' (in Driver and Samuel 1995, 183).

Perhaps, then, if the practice of heritage in Ireland is to become better sensitised to contemporary forms of cultural change, it needs to begin with an effort to unfreeze assumptions around the way the national community has come to be imagined. Perhaps a greater appreciation of regional and local forms of diversity—something already manifest in the Heritage Council's approach to policy—and the historical impact of wider cultural forces on the shaping of Irish traditions and culture, could better serve the re-imagining of an Ireland that was, and is, the composite of its regional and local—and now international—variations.

But the challenge of devising immigration policies that adequately register cultural diversity against the backdrop of strongly defined national identities cannot be underestimated. According to Bennett, cultural policies that seek to deal positively with cultural diversity will need not only to 'define the conditions of equity and fairness for cultural participation'—which appears to echo the referee position arrived at in current policy—it will need to go much further than this and 'embrace diversity rather than cultural homogeneity as a norm' (2001, 11).

The nation state is the product of a modernist process that achieved unity through overdetermined claims of ethnic coherence within chosen boundaries, but also embraced universalist ideas of social justice, equality and human rights inspired by the French Revolution. Graham et al are clear that we face no easy choice: we can over-idealise multicultural autonomy, producing multiple forms of ethnocentrism ('an ethnocentrism which may separate rather than unite'), or an outcome that aggravates conflict and dissonance (2000, 101, 83). Holland's recent history (which saw the assassination in 2002 of a politician, and in 2004 of a film-maker, who were outspoken in their views about the negative impact of Islamic culture on Dutch society) provides a timely reminder of how, under the pressure of politics and events, diversity policy can lurch between multicultural hybridity on the one hand and integration on the other.

The tendency to see policy options as lying along a spectrum between governmentally-determined integration and a post-modern acceptance of society as comprising the sum of its multiple cultural identities (what could be called pure multiculturalism), has presented policy-makers with an apparent dilemma. Eagleton suggests a paradox. The paradox of identity politics, he says, is that 'one needs an identity in order to feel free to get rid of it'. An identity denied or complacently ignored is one liable to be more strongly asserted. Ironically, it is only under conditions where people mutually respect each other's cultures that difference becomes 'self-abolishing'. He concludes:

> 'The most uninspiring kind of identity politics are those which claim that an already fully fledged identity is being repressed by others. The more inspiring forms are those in which you lay claim to an equality with others in being free to determine what you might wish to become. Any authentic affirmation of difference thus has a universal dimension' (Eagleton 2000, 66).

The overall implication here is another paradox: only through multiculturalism can integration be successfully accomplished; when you are free to express yourself, only then are you free to engage with others on a ground of integrity.

Graham *et al* (2000, 98) more soberly suggest that attempts to manage heritage dissonance predicated on cultural diversity can take two forms. In the case of deep-rooted differences

between cultural groups (as in Northern Ireland) a minimalist approach that seeks to highlight only those elements that people have in common can be pursued. Alternatively, an inclusivist approach that seeks to accommodate all identifiable heritages is possible. In both cases, however, the question of who is in control arises: *who* is it that decides common ground or the basis of communal interactions? In the Republic of Ireland at present there appears to be one overriding answer: a judicious government that stands above the fray.

Dealing with immigration is one aspect of the challenge posed by plural identities in modern societies. But diversity policy aimed exclusively at immigrants is unlikely to be successful if it is not part of a wider concern to ensure that all minority groups are treated inclusively. Thus, in Ireland, Traveller culture and heritage would be an obvious comparator, as would our relative success or failure in dealing with barriers to social and cultural participation on grounds of gender and disability.

In tackling this complex matrix of issues with a view to reformulating heritage policy, it is worth bearing in mind what Graham *et al* caution: that the limits to policies for cultural diversity are prescribed by the fact that culture—most particularly in the form of heritage—*embodies ideas of continuity (*Graham *et al* 2000, 26). Thus, while it is reasonably to be expected that a dominant or native culture will engage in a re-interrogation of its own cultural norms in the process of accommodating diversity, retaining a sense of coherence and continuity with roots, and with the reassuring tropes and icons of a familiar heritage, should not be underestimated. This is what gives substance, after all, to the idea of integration in heritage. However, because nations are imagined and invented, they can be re-imagined and re-invented—and thus continuity can always be recalibrated. So it was that Ireland's first antiquarians derived largely from the Anglo-Irish ascendancy. It was they that founded Ireland's first heritage institutions, the Royal Irish Academy and the Royal Dublin Sociey. It was their desire to belong, to assert a sense of rootedness in Ireland and continuity with its culture and history, springing up two or three generations after the brutality of plantation, that made them the first conservationists of Irish monuments and historic sites.

Class and diversity

Two working-class areas of Dublin (or at least areas that would traditionally have been described as such) have been chosen as fields of study for the INSTAR pilot project. Incredible though it may seem, it would be quite possible to engage upon a study of the archaeology and heritage of these areas, and to explore their contemporary character as places of cultural diversity, without engaging with the question of class. This is because culture and heritage, in the politics of postmodernity, can serve so effectively to occlude questions of social class. In *The Trouble with Diversity: How we learned to Love Identity and ignore Inequality*, Benn Michaels argues that the occlusion of class by culture means that we would prefer to get rid of racism than to get rid of

poverty, 'and we would much rather celebrate cultural diversity than seek to establish economic equality' (2006, 12). Cultural diversity seduces us into the belief that cultures are essentially equal, which makes them different from classes, which are essentially unequal. Celebrating diversity, he concludes, has become a way of accepting inequality (2006, 174). Instead of ignoring economic inequality, we should concentrate 'not on respecting the illusions of cultural difference but on reducing the reality of economic difference' (2006, 203). This may be the basis for a more comprehensive vision of what a Minister of Integration's portfolio should look like: embracing not merely questions of functional integration, but also identifying barriers to that objective rooted in the relation between social justice (class) and culture (identity).

The issue of class also comes into attempts to deal with insider/outsider relations in the context of an effective cultural diversity policy. According to Haylett, cultural diversity discourse has been largely defined in terms of libertarian values, leading to an acceptance of white working class culture as inherently racist, whereas 'it is mainly within these cultures that multiculturalism is lived and negotiated on an everyday basis with more complex outcomes than racism alone' (in Nash 2003, 641).

One of the more promising prospects for the use of archaeological survey data in the current project, therefore, is that a comprehensive impression of social relations in the urban landscape, in both its vertical/historical and horizontal/lived dimensions, will emerge. The multi-disciplinary approach implies an effort to evoke the cultural multi-dimensionality of place, to describe elements and actors in their disposition, juxtaposition, and interaction. The indigenous working-class community is a vital element of the mosaic. As Nash has observed, 'recognition of whiteness as a racial category rather than unmarked norm against which the racial difference of others is judged critically expands the geographies of race', which means that the attempt to define these new kinds of heritage landscape must involve 'delineating the unnamed features of hegemonic whiteness, and tracing the different geographies and histories of how whiteness is lived as a social identity' (2003, 640). This raises another paradox:

> 'anti-racist arguments for considering human diversity in terms of anti-essentialist cultural difference can easily be recouped to support ideas of national cultural purity, cultural exclusiveness and natural antagonism between 'cultures'. The concept of culture has a central place in new racism whose discourses have shifted from the overt claims of racial superiority and biological difference to the idea that 'fear of strangers' and tensions between groups are an innate and universal feature of human societies. Anti-immigration attitudes and racist 'fair but firm' asylum policy are increasingly entangled with 'common sense' notions of citizenship, nationhood, the idea of natural 'thresholds of tolerance' and an instinctive fear of 'others'' (Nash 2003, 641).

Racist discourses of national belonging can persist in discussions of immigration that insist on emphasizing cultural differences and thus help to 'naturalize antagonism between racially marked groups', all of which challenges progressive ideas of plurality, hybridity and multiculturalism. It is also in this sense that unrevised or uninterrogated ideas of heritage as mediated through the policies of governments and national bodies can unwittingly and inadvertently end up serving such perspectives. One needs to be alert to the ways in which 'official' versions of culture are amenable to inversion and subversion through the lived, day-to-day dynamics of community and street-life.

'Weak' and 'strong' multiculturalism

Fanning's discussion of racism in Ireland is based on the premise that cultural differences are *not* illusory, and that inequalities—described as 'structural inequalities'—are rooted in combinations of social and cultural difference that are not so easily disentangled. Thus he endorses a view of 'strong' multiculturalism which argues that 'an emphasis on equality grounded only in liberal individual rights to equal treatment is an inadequate basis for strong multiculturalism'. What he describes as 'weak' multiculturalism is a policy whereby 'the imagery of diversity proliferates but where the aim is to manage diversity rather than to contest inequalities'. This managerialist emphasis, consistent with an integrationist approach, is strongly resonant of the emphasis found in *Migration Nation*, where

> 'the presumption of a fixed 'we' or 'us' capable, if necessary of tolerating the existence of those defined as 'other' or 'them' underlies citizenship' (2002, 179).

Fanning draws a conclusion that poses a direct challenge for putative arts or heritage policy: symbolic measures, such as the promotion of positive images of minorities or the celebration of exoticism, are unlikely to be sufficient to challenge racisms in society'. More harshly, Lentin and McVeigh argue that approaches which 'festivalise' cultural differences are in fact a mark of what they call 'racism-without-racism', a process which ends up 'appropriating difference through celebrations of the multicultural' (2006, 11).

As will become clearer below when a series of policy approaches to cultural diversity from a heritage perspective are outlined, arriving at a stable set of values and premises to guide the design of policy on a consistent basis is a complex challenge. There is a fundamental cleavage between citizenship-based approaches rooted in the affirmation of the libertarian principle of rights as inalienably individual and those that seek to safeguard cultural differences through laws that acknowledge the principle of group cultural rights.

Rowlands, for example, points out that there is no legal definition of cultural rights within western democratic constitutions, which raises the more general problem of 'defining collective rights by contrast to those of the individual and the state'. Assertions of cultural rights do not define the individuals who possess those rights, let alone account for hybrid forms of identity that adhere to more than one cultural group (in Buchli 2002, 117). He sees multiculturalism as evoking an inescapable dilemma: 'the need to reconcile the demand for creative affirmation of each identity without it leading to closure towards others' (2002, 118). This raises challenges for the interpretation of material culture, a principle component of heritage construction. 'Turning cultures into objects,' Rowlands writes, 'can only be legitimised through the conversion of possession of culture into a right and these are rights in cultural property', which in turn is a form of right that is not catered for in the cultural legislation of most countries (2002, 125). This mismatch between individual and group cultural rights poses a fundamental problem for the design of heritage policy that seeks a 'strong' rather than a 'weak' engagement with cultural diversity.

At the same time, 'strong' multiculturalism can be criticised for essentialist constructions of ethnicity which can all-too readily lead to perceived differences between peoples becoming fixed and unbridgeable. Appadurai (1996) argues that 'culture' taxonomises, 'reifying boundaries between cultures as classificatory divisions'. He advocates the use of the verbal form 'cultural' to indicate a field of differences, which includes overlapping forms of identity (hybridities) that may get occluded in overly-prescriptive forms of multiculturalism.

Conclusion

All of these considerations form a challenging background against which the reformulation of heritage policy to take account of cultural diversity has to be made. Yet the relation of heritage policy to these issues need not be perceived as a passive one in the context of wider government policies: heritage, the process in which the evolving re-conceptualisation of the past in the present is materially mediated, can, when more reflexively understood, play a leading role in clarifying the assumptions and value judgements shaping the wider policy architecture of government. Heritage is essentially a cultural construct—and so are the perceptions of difference that constitute ethnic and other forms of human diversity.

Most cultural policies, Bennett argues, are attempts to draw some kind of balance between three elements: (a) social justice and recognition of common cultural rights; (b) the recognition of claims to difference of indigenous and immigrant communities; and (c) a concern to integrate all elements within a common culture. However, in concluding his extensive review of cultural policies and cultural diversity in the European Union, he is in no doubt that it is the second of these that constitutes the crucial test because of the way these communities challenge and sometimes conflict with dominant national traditions (2001, 55). The challenge for heritage policy is to mediate the uneasy relationship and potential conflict that exists between affirming a

coherent national identity while accommodating and/or integrating the cultural identities whose pasts and traditions have not been aligned with a core national identity.

Framing policy objectives for cultural diversity in heritage

To reiterate the key premise underlying this analysis: heritage is rooted in perception rather than phenomena so that 'goals determine content rather than vice versa' (Graham *et al* 2007, 71). This makes it feasible to examine existing heritage values (and hence policies) to provide a better understanding of cultural diversity. Fanning, for example, provides two practical examples of where the principles of existing cultural heritage policies could be extended to include a more inclusive acknowledgement of diversity. 'If Irish society can envisage group rights for Gaelic speakers and designate spatial areas within which the Irish language is to be economically fostered,' he argues, 'then measures which support Travellers or other minorities can be envisaged.' Likewise, he points out, if under the Good Friday Agreement a means could be found to acknowledge Ulster Scots as part of Ulster Protestant identity, then other minority languages can also be accommodated within the educational system. [Fanning, 2002, 195] However, while individual instances like this can inform the policy-making process, the more fundamental need is to place such instances within a policy framework built upon credible principles of consistency and fairness.

Typologies of heritage plurality

In a more systematic effort to clarify the policy options for heritage and diversity, Graham et al propose a typology of policy responses to global pluralism (2007, 73-205). Five models are identified: Assimilation, Integration, the Melting Pot, Core+, Pillar and Salad Bowl. A brief summary of their characteristics may be found in Appendix 1.

Integration or Multiculturalism?

The authors caution that this typology does not offer the simple option of applying any one of the models exclusively to a particular society or nation. It is, in fact, difficult to identify any one country that adopts one model in isolation. Different variants may be adopted at the same time, or at different times, in different countries. They are keen to emphasise that it is not possible to adopt a 'simplistic notion that there is a dichotomy between uni-cultural and multicultural visions of society and that a definitive binary choice in policy is required' (2007, 87). They emphasise that the term 'multicultural' can be applied to many of the models.

This point is particularly important in the context of the evident wariness of multiculturalism manifest in the Minister for Integration's recent statement and the NESC report that informs it. Thus multicultural societies can be characterised by a single core, beyond which peripheral

cultures are tolerated. But they can also be pillar models in which the distinctiveness and integrity of each culture is respected (2007, 182).

However, the assumption that multiculturalism provides the best route to social inclusion as a policy goal is challenged by the presence in stable societies of non-threatening exclusivist heritages (such as that of the Poles in England who run their own daily newspaper in Polish), and, ironically, by migrants and refugees fleeing from other cultures where multicultural experiments have failed (Toronto, for example, has the largest urban concentration of Ceylonese Tamils) (2007, 205).

There are no straightforward or obvious deployments or configurations of the typologies outlined in Appendix 1 that offer guaranteed solutions. However they do provide a range of configurations and design options around which the goal of pluralizing the past can be understood and to some extent calibrated. But goals need to be contingent and subject to revision:

> 'The continuous renegotiation of the past in the present demands that places carry more layers of meaning, which enhances the potential for dissonance and conflict and for resistances to authorised discourses' (Graham *et al* 2007, 208).

The global scale of migration patterns has accentuated the challenge of coping with diversity in modern nation-states, and calls for an international perspective on the issues. But of course this implicitly challenges 'the dominance of the national scale in policy orientation and formulation' (2007, 211). While it may be feasible for some states to envisage a steady-state outcome (as perhaps the Minister for Integration's statement does), it is also feasible to see the management of a dynamic flux of interacting cultural elements—within clearly-defined legislative and policy frameworks—as a feasible goal in its own right. Though heritage policy offers no ready panacea, Graham *et al* nevertheless remain confident that heritage is a major instrument for managing cultural diversity (2007, 87).

The ERICarts report *Sharing Diversity: national approaches to intercultural dialogue in Europe* (2008) offers some useful clarification of the integration/multiculturalism dilemma. It identifies two basic policy pathways to dealing with minority-majority relations in society: policies aimed at greater cohesion, on the one hand, and ones aimed at affirming diversity on the other. It acknowledges the fierce debates currently waging across European countries on the policy dilemmas posed by these approaches. But it points to some enlightened efforts to overcome the apparently irreducible antagonism between these two positions. It quotes Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary in the UK government of 1966, as presaging the spirit of current EU policy when he commented:

> ‘I do not think we need in this country a "melting pot", which will turn everyone out in a common mould, as one series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman... I define integration, therefore, not as a flattening process of uniformity, but cultural diversity, coupled with equality of opportunity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. That is the goal. We may fall short of it in its full attainment, as have other communities both in the past and in the present. But if we are to maintain any sort of world reputation for civilized living and social cohesion, we must get far nearer to its achievement than we are today’ (ERICarts 2007, 92).

The report follows the spirit of this approach by suggesting that pluralist societies need to develop improved ways of managing the conflict inevitably engendered by polarized presentation of the issues in terms of integration or multiculturalism. It advocates defining policy objectives so that they ‘include both the personal freedom to make choices and the ability of minorities and individuals to uphold, within the framework of universal human rights, what they consider important in order to maintain their identity in a dominant cultural environment’. But it is not naïve about the prospects, noting that ‘such well-meaning aims may lead to conflict’ (2007, 93).

Ireland: a mixture integration and core+ approaches?

It is hardly surprising to find that Ireland betrays features of more than one of the models outlined by Graham *et al*. The current configuration of government policy suggests a strong predilection for the integration model, tempered with elements of the core+ approach—especially in the apparent ad hoc quality of emergent cultural policies. The strongly integrationist logic of *Migration Nation* suggests that a weak rather than strong multiculturalist approach is being pursued in relation to ‘added’ identities. The centring of the Heritage Council’s current policy on the ambiguous proposition of ‘our national heritage’ potentially facilitates either a strongly integrationist or a core+ philosophy. At the same time, the overt acknowledgement of heritage’s existential qualities, as reflected in the more nuanced definition of heritage found in the Council’s most recent Strategic Plan, suggests a tentative shift towards a more unambiguous core+ approach—but with the question of whether it represents an inclusive or exclusive version yet to be determined.

Citing the example of the UK as a core+ model, Graham et al examine the application of social inclusion models by agencies like English Heritage. Instancing English Heritage’s 2004 *Historic Environment Local Management*, they detect an underlying assumption that social inclusion can be fostered through inclusivist core+ models. With its goal of arriving at ‘a shared understanding of diverse histories’, the analysis appears to be based on the assumption that once diverse cultures are made manifest to all they become shared by all. However, goals of social inclusion and community cohesion can potentially conflict: promoting self awareness within a cultural group can lead just as easily to an exclusive as an inclusive outcome (2007, 146).

2.3 HERITAGE POLICY TOOLS FOR CULTURAL DIVERSITY

The identification of strategic policy goals needs to be accompanied by some sense of how policy principles can be practically enacted through implementation tools. What follows is an outline of some of the policy tools that may have the greatest potential for integrating principles and actions for cultural diversity within a heritage policy framework.

Landscape characterisation

Pioneered in 1994, the practice known as Historic Landscape Characterisation (HLC) is now a policy tool used widely across Europe. English Heritage, for example, uses it as its primary means of achieving the goals and aspirations of the Council of Europe's European Landscape Convention (2000). The Convention was ratified by Ireland in 2002, but the government has been slow to carry out Landscape Character Assessments (LCAs), the Convention's key implementation mechanism.

In a report of 2007, *Landscape Character Assessment in Ireland: Baseline Audit and Evaluation*, the Heritage Council noted that its own 2002 proposal for a national landscape assessment process had not been taken up by government and that 'Ireland is almost the last remaining country in western Europe without a national LCA system'. The report recommends that a 'National Landscape Classification' should be commissioned to provide a broad framework for individual studies (Heritage Council 2007, ii).

Among the other recommendations is that the Heritage Council, the Department of Environment, Heritage and Local Government (DoEHLG) and Fáilte Ireland should work in close partnership to tackle the landscape issues raised in the report, and to implement its recommendations. [2007, x] The involvement of Failte Ireland in the process of establishing landscape character immediately raises issues about the role of tourism in heritage, and specifically about the construction of a tourist/heritage gaze according to essentialised and commodified notions of Irishness (O'Connor and Cronin 1993; 2002). Graham *et al* emphasise how, as an economic resource, heritage is a perceived to be a primary resource in tourism, economic development and rural and urban regeneration. And because it helps define the meaning of culture and power, it is also a political resource. Heritage places can thus become involved in the legitimation of power structures (Graham *et al* 2000, 17). Tourism can also be involved in the reification of normative understandings of heritage insofar as 'preservation and restoration freezes artefacts in time whereas previously they had been constantly changing' Graham *et al* 2000, 20).

Building on the findings of a County Clare landscape pilot study, the Heritage Council published in 2002 a *Policy Paper on Ireland's Landscapes and the National Heritage*. That paper stressed , according to the 2007 report (2007, 8), 'the interdependence of the Irish people and their landscape'—but which 'Irish people' and in what sense is it 'their' landscape?

Using the *Landscape Character Assessment Guidance for England and Scotland* (2002) as its main source, the 2007 report offers a summary of concepts and definitions central to landscape characterization. The concepts discussed (2007, 10-15) convey very little direct sense of the potential impact on landscape character of emergent cultural diversity. However, it is evident that some of the concepts used have implicit or potential capacity to capture some of the issues central to developing a heritage policy that is responsive to cultural diversity. It is acknowledged, for example, that subjectivity of value judgments poses a major challenge to the validity of the process:

> 'the search for supposedly objective approaches has reflected a desire, in some quarters, to remove the element of personal judgement from the process. In LCA the process of characterisation should be objective in the main, while making judgements to inform decisions involves an element of subjectivity that can be clarified by using criteria agreed beforehand. Any subjective inputs should be made in a systematic and transparent way and, in addition, should involve stakeholder input. This will help ensure that an appropriate range of views is taken into account, encourage ownership of the study, and ultimately facilitate the successful action on landscape issues' (2007, 13).

It will be noted that the process described here displays greater faith in 'objective' processes than found in Tunbridge and Ashworth's understanding of heritage, which they see as rooted primarily in subjective valuation. Nevertheless, the fact that the stakeholder emphasis applied here is taken seriously in the rollout of LCAs, and crucially in urban areas, would be critical to the capacity of this mechanism to serve as a tool sensitised to emergent diversity. Otherwise, the tool remains in constant jeopardy of merely reinforcing essentialised ideas of Ireland as mediated through landscape narratives, driven as much by the need to create economically viable landscapes for tourist consumption as to record the evolving inter-relation of people and place in the shaping of a landscape's ceaselessly evolving character.

An implicit historicist approach to landscape recognition and definition is manifest in the way the 'landscape guidelines' are presented. Landscape guidelines, says the report, 'indicate the actions that may be required to maintain or enhance the key characteristics and distinctive character of an area' (2007, 14). However, recognizing and acknowledging the presence of newcomers within

and upon a given landscape may have little to do with *maintaining* or *enhancing* pre-existing characteristics, but with recognizing new impacts and *alterations* that are the manifest imprint of another's cultural expression on a pre-existing character type (for example, the adaptation of a Christian church to serve as a mosque). This may be regarded, perhaps, as an overly subtle emphasis, but teasing out such nuances can be important in adjusting the LCA process to take full account of cultural diversity and ensuring that landscape characterization captures all of the lived-in qualities of a given space.

Taking a cultural geographer's perspective, Graham *et al* give an account of the Belvedere project in the Netherlands. This was an intensive area mapping programme that began in 2000 and which sought to contribute to the creation and enhancement of local identity throughout the country. Its underlying assumption was that a multiplicity of local identities can produce an aggregate national one. But how do you identify a local identity when local communities, in our contemporary 'glocalised' world, are constantly in flux? If the concentration is on those features of landscape that are overwhelmingly *historical* the danger arises of characterizing locality in terms of essentially obsolete elements (2007, 64). And when the plotting of local character is organized through a national agency, the danger is that a generic set of common identifiers comes to be used, producing an homogenized idea of locality, or the accumulation of disparate elements into an aggregate vision that is national in scope. Ultimately, 'it is dangerous to conflate identity with place identity' as much identity is not fixed in place (2007, 65). One of the major challenges for landscape characterization as a mapping tool, therefore, is to avoid reifying landscape exclusively in terms of its historical dimensions in a way that blinds it to contemporary adaptation and change.

According to the report, a total of nineteen LCAs have been prepared by local authorities in Ireland to-date (2007, 17). Consistent with the general range of concepts employed, the summary of the individual county LCAs in the report contains no obvious evidence that cultural diversity issues were factored into the process. Crucially, only seven out of 19 LCAs included *stakeholder consultation* as part of the process (2007, 27). Other significant factors to note in terms of LCA sensitivity to diversity issues are: two-thirds have been prepared mainly by 'landscape consultants', and one third by in-house local authority staff (mainly planners), giving an expert bias to the characterization process. Less than half the surveys systematically consider forces for change affecting the landscape—and any such consideration would surely need to address demographic changes, thereby registering nascent cultural diversity (2007, 37).

As the extensive quotation from the report above recognizes *in principle*, stakeholder involvement is vital to the process. But it is vital *in practice* that stakeholder involvement is actively pursued to capture the dispersed character of cultural diversity in Ireland in all of its local and regional

variations (driven, it is worth noting, by an immigration policy that has exactly such dispersion as one of its goals).

Case Study: County Clare

The Clare LCA was commissioned and funded by the Heritage Council and completed in 2004. Following on from the Clare pilot study undertaken in 2000, 'it was one of the most comprehensive and detailed assessments to have been produced in Ireland'. The character areas and types are mapped and described in detail, resulting in 'a robust and evidenced-based analysis of the forces for change acting on each character area and also in relation to broad types of development'; each character area description concludes with detailed principles for landscape management (2007, 20). The process further required 'an overview of forces for change affecting the landscape, local stakeholder involvement in identifying key landscape characteristics and forces for change, and an assessment of the key issues and priorities affecting each landscape character type' (2007, 26).

The Clare LCA study foregrounds the need for consultation and lays special emphasis on 'the centrality of the people who live and work within the landscapes of the County' to the process (2004, 1). In identifying 'Landscape Character Types' the report is clear that the generic emphasis is on physical rather than human elements. It tries to identify 'principal drivers for each LCT' and in doing so observes:

> 'in practice…many of the drivers remain similar if not identical for each LCT and thus universal landscape drivers may be identified, comprising topography, geology and land cover. This reflects current guidance at national and European level recommending the identification of LCTs principally in terms of land cover and landform' (2004, 3.1).

In a list of 'Landscape Character Types Identified in County Clare' only one urban form is listed as 'built up area' under 'Lowland areas' (2004, 3.4). This type is described as follows:

> 'Urban settlement with denser population levels that provides a hub of commercial, industrial and cultural activity that impacts on surrounding rural areas. Major communication routes radiate from centres including road and rail services. A variety of urban style buildings and often a number of historical features as found within Ennis; alternatively, planned urban centre of Shannon reflects more homogenous urban styles. Linear expansion along the roads a frequent element, resulting in 'urban sprawl'' (2004, 3-15).

The following are the 'Factors for Change' identified for the urban type:

* Insensitive urban sprawl
* Petrol stations on fringes—poor visual approach to towns
* Traffic and congestion
* Quarries for stone nearby
* Loss of traditional urban styles by inappropriate new building designs

One of the peculiarities of the report is that there is no follow-through, as there is with most of the other types, to give an exemplary account of an urban landscape. It is remarkable, for example, that the county town of Ennis receives no detailed treatment, which is a pity because it is almost inconceivable that an effective LCA for contemporary Ennis could have been written without engaging in some way with the challenges posed for the LCA process, and indirectly for heritage policy, by the demographic make-up of contemporary Ennis. The following account attempts to map out some of the characteristics that a comprehensive LCA process, sensitised to cultural diversity, may need to consider.

A town called Ennis

In a long, reflective piece in the Irish Times (5 January, 2008) writer and actor Mark O'Halloran spoke to Brian O'Connell about the strange feelings evoked by revisiting his home town in new times:

> 'Walking around Ennis last week, the town has changed almost beyond recognition. Large-scale industrial estates inhabit the outskirts, and the once disused rail tracks, where much of O'Halloran's teenage exploits occurred, are once again active with freight and passenger services to and from Limerick. "There's even taxis here now," he says, "It's a much larger and more prosperous town and it's weird when I see it. I was walking around on Christmas Eve and it is incredibly beautiful. I was nearly conned into believing I could live here again. The town is now filled with Polish and other communities and it's great. It adds a sense of vibrancy and multiculturalism." '

In the same piece, O'Halloran offered a glimpse into a forthcoming television series he was planning for RTE dealing with community. 'It's set in an apartment block,' he explained,

> ‘and each episode is exploring the idea of what community is now. I'm trying to find out what are community events, are they the cutting off of water or the breaking down of lifts. Through these, I want to explore tensions that are there and not being looked at’.

O’Connell and O’Halloran wander around Ennis on Christmas Eve, taking in its sights and sensations:

> ‘It's close to evening and the town has just turned on its Christmas lights. The compact streets are bustling once again, with the footpaths clearly too narrow for the increase in daytime revellers. Cubans and Kosovans, Kenyans and culchies squeeze past. The setting is hugely enticing, like a mini-Berlin minus the avant-garde’.

In 2004 Nigerian-born Dr. Taiwoo Matthew, a former asylum seeker, was seeking to become the first black person to be elected to public office in Ireland by becoming a member of Ennis town council. Describing himself as ‘an Ennis man’, Dr. Matthew explained that ‘we are not passing through…we are here to stay and we are here to be part of this community’ (Irish Times 22 March, 2004). Dr. Matthew was duly elected to the town council. In a visit to Ennis in 2005 the Nigerian ambassador to Ireland, having noted that Ennis had one of the biggest African populations in Ireland, with over 600 living in the town, praised Ennis as ‘a great model for the integration of non-Irish nationals and should be copied in other centres across Ireland’ (Irish Times 12 January, 2007).

Some important questions arise:

* Should an LCA exercise have picked up on the key elements here: the search for community, the disused rail tracks, the taxis, the Polish, the Cubans, the Kosovans, the Kenyans, the fact that it had the biggest Nigerian population in Ireland?

* Do these things matter for landscape characterisation?

* If they do, what can be done to improve the LCA as a tool for registering and responding to diversity?

An obvious answer to the latter question is to take a much more active approach to an existing mechanism: stakeholder consultation. English Heritage’s *Using Historic Landscape Characterisation* (2004) contains some useful pointers in this direction. Among ten Guiding Principles outlined, are the following two which could be adapted to the Irish process:

* *All aspects of the landscape*, no matter how modern, are treated as part of landscape character, not just 'special' areas

* Characterisation of landscape is a matter of *interpretation not record, perception not facts*; understand 'landscape' as an idea, not purely as an objective thing

* *People's views*: it is important to consider collective and public perceptions of landscape alongside more expert views

* Landscape is and always has been dynamic: *management of change, not preservation* is the aim (English Heritage 2004, 6)

Though several of these elements are also to be found in the description of principles underlying the Heritage Council's approach to LCA, the importance of combining them to capture the full range of factors at work on the contemporary landscape—including those changes wrought by emergent forms of cultural diversity—needs to be identified as a high-level goal. The irony here is that English Heritage, in the context of outlining its principles, does not seem to follow through elsewhere in the document by identifying specific or explicit goals either in relation to social inclusion or identifying cultural diversity (a word-search of the document produces 0 results for both these terms). Though one would expect to see these ideas followed up in a chapter on 'Partnership, Learning and Outreach' there is not much to be found there on the subject. There is reference, for example, to such practices as the holding of 'stakeholder seminars' in the context of particular HLC case-studies, but the composition of the stakeholder group is not described (2004, 48).

Could it be that the lip-service paid to notions of outreach and consultation is symptomatic of a desire to maintain the classificatory rigour of a top-down, professionally-driven and goal-oriented process? What may be required here is a refashioning of the expert-community relationship; we need to remind ourselves that 'many communities and people do not necessarily share the attempts of positivist science to compartmentalise the world' (Waterton 2005, 314). Logically, a move in this direction involves embracing heritage's capacity for dissonance, its intrinsic resistance, as a lived, existential mode of asserting and contesting cultural values, to neat forms of classification.

Waterton is explicit about the consequences of an expert-driven system of heritage values that fails to engage with the existential:

> 'If we do not move towards the idea of a critical sense of plurality, the balance in favour of scientific, archaeological and other expert knowledges will continue to

> impose a process of management that will fail to fulfil one of its central tenets—that we conserve cultural heritage because it is valued' (2005, 319).

What may be required is a more radical rethinking of landscape along the lines, perhaps, suggested by Kenneth Olwig, who in tracing the etymological roots of the word to the German 'landschift', a word that embodied the idea of a body of land 'defined by its customs and culture, not by its physical characteristics' (Olwig 1996, 633). Politics, history and culture are inescapably intertwined in landscape. He sees that this understanding of landscape must include issues of migration and cultural diversity:

> 'The United Kingdom has yet to erase the national memories of the peoples absorbed by England, and with the influx of immigrants, it is now full of ethnic neighbourhoods that maintain a cultural sense of place identity that refuses to be absorbed into a stratified social landscape' (1996, 645).

Intercultural dialogue

Another way of reinforcing the consultative basis of landscape characterisation would be to combine it with other, mutually reinforcing policy instruments, such as intercultural dialogue.

In the European Commission's *Agenda for Culture in a Globalising World* (2007), the promotion of intercultural diversity was recognised as an official policy tool of the EU, contributing to the enhancement of cultural diversity in European countries, trans-nationally across them, and internationally with other regions. Commission programmes for 2007-13 treat the promotion of intercultural dialogue as a key cultural priority (ERICarts 2007, 4). Hence 2008 has been declared the *European Year of Intercultural Dialogue*.

The objective of intercultural dialogue is to achieve 'unity in diversity'. It is advocated as an alternative to multiculturalism, which is seen as indicating multiplicity of cultures without sufficiently emphasising the interconnection between them (2007, 9). But it also challenges core cultures by insisting that 'no part/side/partner in the dialogue stays at the centre of the world or in an absolute position', and involves the creation of a shared space (2007, 10). It is to be distinguished from a purely integrationist approach by the fact that its goal is not the integration of 'others' into a given cultural order but one of transforming civic culture and the public sphere so that the full range of diverse elements—comprising both core and sub-cultural groups—finds voice and visibility there.

The 2007 report was preceded by a sectoral analysis of four fields (education, culture, youth and sports) seeking to identify the specific ways in which they could contribute to the development of intercultural dialogue. In relation to the cultural sector, it is recommended that an effort be made to diversify the range of what is understood as culture, so that it relies 'not just established canons, professional codes or narrow views of history and heritage'. This is seen as requiring nothing less than 'a thoroughgoing transformation of the methods used to interpret or reinterpret…[the]"high culture" canons of mainstream art and cultural history of a particular country' (2007, 39).

Education is seen to be at the heart of the process. Without 'civic education' understood as the political socialisation of a democratic system, it is unlikely that intercultural dialogue can function effectively in other sectors (2007, 40). This highlights the need for an integrated approach to the use of all of the policy tools available in relation to cultural diversity (and thus, once again, for a broadening of the understanding of integration from that currently embraced by the brief of the Minister for Integration).

The challenge of cultural diversity for the cultural sector

The report identifies specific challenges facing the cultural sector. It cautions, for example, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between superficial activities that 'showcase' culture and those which genuinely promote intercultural dialogue. At the same time, the controversy over Dutch cartoons that lampooned Islam and a British play that portrays murder in a Sikh temple are cited as examples of 'growing anxiety about integration and growing confusion over where the lines of acceptability are to be drawn' (2007, 47).

Reflecting Tunbridge and Ashworth's understanding of heritage as a construct, the ERICarts report distinguishes between an 'essentialist paradigm' of heritage that sees it as a static phenomenon to be transmitted in a one-way, linear trajectory and a 'dialogical (or process oriented) paradigm'. The latter understands heritage as a set of cultural objects that can be re-negotiated and re-constructed as part of the creation of a common space of social interaction. The processual nature of intercultural dialogue is emphasised as its essential feature; it should not be construed as a goal in itself. Thus, in the specific context of the museum, intercultural dialogue 'should be ingrained in a museum's practice and in how it actually encourages interaction across all audiences' (2007, 51).

Simona Bodo has been involved in a number of EU projects to implement cultural dialogue in real-world museum contexts. Among these, is the *Advantage Göteborg: World Cultures in Focus* project. It arises in a context where national and regional government in Sweden has been committed over the past decade or so to revising and reconfiguring cultural services to more

realistically reflect the growing cultural diversity of Swedish society. In 1998 the Swedish Government established the National Museums of World Culture, an initiative made up of three already existing museums in Stockholm (the Ethnographical Museum, the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities, and the Museum of Mediterranean and Near Eastern Antiquities). The mission of the National Museums of World Culture was linked to three specific goals of Swedish national cultural policy:

a) the goal of equality: stating the right for all citizens to be able to participate actively in cultural life
b) diversity in artistic and cultural expression, which influences what Swedish cultural institutions would be expected to deliver
c) internationalisation: emphasising the importance of both international exchange *and* the coming together of different cultures within Sweden.

In 2004 the process was taken a stage further when the three museums were regrouped under a common organisation—the Museum of World Culture in Gothenburg—so that they could more effectively 'play a specific role in dealing with the challenges of multicultural Sweden, through their international collections and networks' (Bodo 2007). A fuller description of the project, which involved the recruitment of 20 unemployed Gothenburg citizens from the Horn of Africa, can be found on the project website (see bibliography). But what the project demonstrates is a clear determination to link national, regional, and cultural instititions in a cohesive strategy to make policy on cultural diversity a living, practical reality.

Museums

In his classic study of nationalism, *Imagined Communities*, Anderson identified three institutions of power central to the construction of national identity: the census, the map and the museum (1991, 163-185). It was the museum, according to Anderson, that allowed the state to appear as the guardian of tradition, and this power was enhanced by the infinite reproducibility of the symbols of tradition. Thus insofar as the museum provides a critical medium through which the nation can be—perhaps even must be—re-imagined in non-traditional ways, it constitutes a critical civic space within which an accommodation between the nation and the 'non-national' challenge of cultural diversity can be enacted.

In 1997 the International Council of Museums issued a policy statement on *Museums and Cultural Diversity*. It affirmed 'recognition and affirmation of cultural diversity at the local, regional and international levels and the reflection of this diversity in all policies and programs of museums across the world' (ICOM 1997). Museums across Europe over the past decade have been

developing explicit policies on intercultural dialogue. These vary from celebration of difference, to promotion of cultural self-awareness, to approaches designed to facilitate integration. Bennett highlights in particular multicultural approaches to museum display that present aspects of dominant native cultures on an equal or comparative footing with other cultures, allowing for differences with other cultures to be 'registered, assessed and tolerated' (ERICarts 2008, 123).

The approach taken by museums in dealing with cultural diversity tends to be largely governed by overarching government policies and priorities. Integration approaches involve museums in providing the means by which new citizens can get to know the mainstream culture by helping them to learn its history, values and traditions. At the other end of the spectrum, other museums are experimenting with culturally specific programming through developing exhibitions aimed at specific communities, or drawing upon collections that might have significance for an immigrant community. Museums can also initiate new collecting practices and folklore projects that aim to record and represent the character of minority communities they serve.

The ERICarts report outlines deficiencies in current museum practice from an intercultural dialogue perspective, some of which echo the dissonance critique of heritage practice outlined above:

* they tend to have a static, essentialist notion of 'heritage' from a native perspective

* minority communities are targeted in terms of their own cultures and collections, while opportunities to develop cross-cultural interactions are avoided

* by treating minority cultures and communities as 'exotic' they can end up reinforcing stereotypes

* there is a tendency to articulate 'diversity as richness' rather than identify tensions and frictions which need to be dealt with as part of the process of changing attitudes

* intercultural dialogue is perceived as a goal or pre-determined outcome rather than as an interactive process.

In attempting to clarify intercultural goals through heritage projects, three key questions arise:

(a) are they intended to enhance the capacity of immigrant groups to understand a country's history, art and culture? or
(b) compensate for past misunderstandings and misrepresentations of minority cultures in museum and heritage representations? or

(c) is it a bi-directional process that aims to transform both host and minority cultures in a mutual, simultaneous process? (ERICarts 2008, 124)

The report suggests that an attempt to answer all three of these questions needs to be made if the goal of intercultural dialogue (implicit in the third question) is to be achieved, and goes on to provide some guidelines for 'intercultural heritage education' as it might be best practiced within 'third spaces' such as museums. These guidelines may be summarised as follows:

* understand intercultural dialogue as *a bi-directional process* involving native and immigrant individuals

* embrace a *dynamic, dialogical notion of heritage* as a set of cultural objects—both tangible and intangible—that should not only be preserved and transmitted but also re-negotiated, re-constructed in their meanings and made available to be shared in a common space of interaction

* intercultural heritage education should be focused on developing *attitudes and behaviours* that are indispensable in a world of increasing interaction between culturally different people

* focus on *methodology rather than content*: the content of an intercultural project is not sufficient for its success; the processes used to explore such content are crucial

* avoid dependence on existing collections and develop new ones to reflect the diversity of the community being served

* recognise the need for *long-term commitment* rather than tokenistic interventions or occasional encounters

* promote *inter-sectoral partnerships* between museums, libraries, archives, schools, adult learning agencies, local authorities, community groups, practicing artists, and so on (ERICarts 2008, 125)

The authors take the challenge these standards represent one stage further by asking a more fundamental question: even when adopted, do these values have an impact on the institutional culture of the museum? This will not happen, they argue, if, as is often the practice, duties in relation to intercultural dialogue are farmed out to the outreach and education departments while curators and conservators stand aloof from the process. A radical embrace of these principles involves a rethink of all of a museum's essential functions from an intercultural perspective and a

determination to ensure that the outcome of intercultural programmes is clearly visible in documentation systems and in permanent and temporary exhibitions.

Newman and McLean provide a very useful case-study on 'The Impact of Museums upon Identity' which finds that when the policy environment is strongly prescriptive (as social inclusion policies allied to performance indicators tend to have been under the Labour government since 1997), museums end up 'producing meaning through the use of frameworks of knowledge and classification which were the result of regulatory forces' (2006, 57). The important message here, perhaps, is that measuring for policy outcomes is likely to be misleading if insufficient investment of effort has been made into the processes—with a particular emphasis on institutional culture—by which those outcomes are arrived at.

Bennett sees the operationalisation of diversity policies in the public sphere as a crucial litmus test of the policies themselves—especially in the case of publicly funded institutions. Museums, in particular, have a key role to play. They can act as 'a means of stating and symbolising a commitment to the right of all groups in a society to have their cultural interests and activities taken into account in the allocation of public cultural resources', and help immigrant communities to develop a sense of place, belonging and recognition in host societies (2001, 56). As places amenable to high levels of public trust, they can act as safe places to commence a questioning of national culture, an unfreezing of prevailing modes of understanding and the accommodation of new dimensions of national identity.*

Museum Standards programme

A clear linkage is emerging here between the adoption of high-level polices and strategies built around the values of intercultural dialogue, and the implementation of such policies through (amongst other resources) the revision of mission statements, and the collection and access policies of public museums. Encouragingly in the Irish context, a ready means by which to operationalise these policies in a practical way now exists. It is recommended that the current categories for the Standards Programme for Irish Museums, introduced by the Heritage Council in 2007, be reviewed to include performance indicators in relation to cultural diversity.

The table on the following page reviews the standards and suggests ways in which they might be amended in the light of cultural diversity goals.

* It is worth noting that two Irish museums have taken notable initiatives in recent years through their education and outreach activities to find ways of practically engaging with the culturally diverse nature of its visitors and target communities. Papers were presented outlining these activities by Bronagh Clearly, Education and Outreach officer, Fermanagh County Museum, and Jenny Siung, Education Officer at the Chester Beatty Library, at an IMA seminar on cultural diversity, held on 1 November, 2008. A Heritage Council policy initiative in relation to cultural diversity should, among other things, seek to audit such activities with a view to producing a programme of best practice in this field for Irish museums.

Table 1: Heritage Council Standards for Museums Programme: A cultural diversity checklist

Category	Standard	Cultural diversity review
1. Constitution and Policies	Mission Statement	Reformulate to include cultural diversity goals where appropriate
	Collection Policy	Amend to include new and specified fields of collection as appropriate to museum's mission.
	Disposal Policy	Where an object or objects may have been acquired under conditions of colonialism, it may be appropriate to consider a specific policy on restitution.
	Loan policy	A museum's lending policies may take a proactive approach to lending relevant materials to other qualified institutions for the purpose of fulfilling cultural diversity goals.
2. Museum Management	Strategic Management Plan	Strategy and 1-year implementation plan can act as vehicle for specific commitments for cultural diversity goals.
5. Exhibition	Policy and Budget	The exhibition policy and budgets (especially for special and occasional exhibitions) can deliver specific commitments to raising public consciousness of the cultural diversity of modern Ireland. Linked to and reflective of similar changes in collection policies.
	Consistent approach to labelling	Raises the issue of a language strategy for exhibitions; whether, for example, museum services should be multi- as well as bilingual (Irish-English) to meet the needs of specific, locally diverse communities.
	Visitor survey	Can act as a performance indicator as to whether specified goals in relation to cultural diversity are effective in their delivery, or ways in which delivery can be improved to better connect with audiences.
6. Education	Education Policy	Could flow from mission and strategic planning to provide programmes of activity designed to meet cultural diversity goals.
7. Visitor Care and Access	Visitor statistics	The criteria for the gathering of visitor statistics may be amended to serve cultural diversity goals.

Cultural planning

While cultural policies are traditionally focused on arts and heritage policies in terms of identity issues, cultural planning is more focused on how particular resources are used in the everyday lives of people and the spatial contexts in which they dwell. Bennett sees that cultural planning can be used to particular effect in urban planning and development projects. It demands of cultural administrators that they develop new skills in relation to

> 'drawing up comprehensive spatial inventories of cultural resources within a given area developing plans for the use of those resources that are integrated with other planning fields (economic, traffic, architectural), aimed at conserving the diverse cultural ecology of complex urban systems' (2001, 61).

Ghilardi observes that policy delivery mechanisms that work primarily through national and international institutions are less effective in dealing with the dynamics of local culture than local government, which is better at 'managing new urban contradictions and conflicts'. Thus the application of the cultural planning approach at the local level 'enables policy makers to think strategically about the application of the cultural resources of localities to a wide range of public authority responsibilities'. Cultural planning is not 'the planning of culture' but 'a cultural (anthropological) approach to planning and policy'. He advocates the kind of approach, championed by Jane Jacobs and Patrick Geddes in the 1960s, that treats territory as a living ecosystem 'made up of diverse resources which need to be surveyed and acknowledged by the local community at large before policy can intervene' (in Bennett 2001, 125). Mercer states as a core principle of cultural planning that it is not a physical but a human science that requires a multi-disciplinary approach to stand a chance of capturing 'how people live, work, play and related to their environment'; his summary definition of the process is: '*the strategic and integral use of cultural resources in urban and community development'* (2006, 5-6).

Landry and Bianchini note that in order to create more sustainable urban environments we will have to address 'how people mix and connect, their motivations and whether they take responsibility and "own" where they live and change their lifestyles appropriately' (1995, 13). One of the key ingredients in fostering the creative city is consultation. They give the City of Quebec as an example of a place that has gone to considerable lengths to make consultation with citizens more practical and systematic: in two urban districts local people elect citizen bodies with direct rights of initiating proposals and making decisions which are binding on the local authority (1995, 53).

Bianchini is of the view that, in contrast to the British multiculturalist approach, the French tradition of civic republicanism is, despite its many shortcomings, 'better able to transcend neighbourhood-based class and ethnic identities, through a stronger sense of shared belonging

to the city'. The French commitment to the high-quality design of public space is particularly important, and he praises in particular the efforts of architect Roland Castro in working-class suburbs, which adds to the quality of civic urbanity 'through the development of new squares, high quality housing, public art, cultural centres and festivals' (Bianchini 2004). Endorsing an inter-cultural dialogue approach, he sees the value of intercultural urban policies that

> 'would be aimed at promoting cross-fertilisation across all cultural boundaries, between 'majority' and 'minorities', 'dominant' and 'sub' cultures, localities, classes, faiths, disciplines and genres, as the source of cultural, social, political and economic innovation' (2004).

Bianchini is a strong advocate of the cultural planning approach to urban spaces as a positive response to the influence of globalization on cities:

> 'The idea of 'cultural planning' is a possible response to the problematic cultural implications of globalisation for cities. It is an attempt to challenge traditional approaches to urban development by recognising the value of local cultural resources…Unlike traditional cultural policies—which are still mainly based on aesthetic definitions of 'culture' as 'art'—cultural planning adopts as its basis a broad definition of 'cultural resources'' (2004).

A vital element in the cultural planning approach is the process of capturing changing images and perceptions of the city from the perspective of disparate ethnic groups and different generations. For cultural planning to work, the adoption of reflexive practices on the part of experts is critical:

> 'policy-makers in all fields should not simply be making an instrumental use of cultural resources as tools for achieving non-cultural goals, but should let their own mindsets and assumptions be transformed by contact with the richness and complexity of the often hidden and invisible assets of local cultural life' (2004).

For these goals to be achievable, methods and practice have to be people-centred, interdisciplinary, lateral, holistic, innovative and experimental.

One of the important factors he draws attention to is the absence of coordination among agencies with responsibility for culture in European societies. He notes that 'aesthetic definitions of culture tend to prevail and policies for the arts are rarely co-ordinated with other policies' (2001, 126). A cultural planning approach for Ireland, therefore, would suggest a much closer integration of bodies with responsibility for culture (possibily under the aegis of the Minister for Integration as previously suggested) but also between key players in the cultural field such as the Arts and

Heritage Councils. What Ghilardi observes of the situation in the UK could just as validly apply to Ireland: 'policy-makers tend to interpret the notion of local cultural resources in a rather narrow way, mostly as heritage, thus overlooking potential synergies between sub-sectors of the local cultural economies' (2001). Thus, a landscape characterisation process for an individual county, adjusted for a cultural planning aproach, would involve the coordinated input of arts and heritage professionals. When it comes to developing the research agenda around these issues, he echoes the the interdisciplinary principles that inspire the present projectm calling for 'a *re-training* of policy-makers and administrators so that they can acquire a broader knowledge of other disciplines involved in the understanding of how the urban and social fabric of a location functions' (2001, 130). He also points to how libraries can become an important resource in providing access to information and training, and museums can promote multicultural understanding.

3

ARCHAEOLOGY

3.1 ARCHAEOLOGY IN *VOICING PLACES, PLACING VOICES*

This project, renamed *Placing Voices, Voicing Places* as it developed, is concerned with people—the working class, migrants, religious minorities, and others—whose identities as individuals and as parts of collectives are inextricably connected with the visual, material and oral cultures of 20th and early 21st-century Dublin, but whose individual and collective voices are silent in, and arguably silenced by, the official discourse of heritage in Ireland. The project's primary aims are, stated simply, to show the necessity of accommodating these voices within the concept of 'national heritage', to map out how such an accommodation can be effected, and to argue that such an accommodation will buttress our collective sense of belonging in the place which we co-habit. This accommodation of diverse heritages within the national heritage edifice will make demands on those disciplines and practices which are effectively the service providers to the heritage industry. Archaeology is the principal such provider, heading a list that includes History (Social, Religious, and Political), Historical Geography, and Folklore.

Irish Archaeology is a discipline which has been very firmly focused on the medieval and prehistoric pasts for much of its history. In *Placing Voices, Voicing Places* the discipline is invited to address with a comparable rigour the more recent past and the contemporary present, particularly with respect to certain communities within the urban place. It is argued here that Archaeology can best serve the building of a pluralist heritage concept in Ireland through dialogue with other disciplines, and that the notion of a pluralist heritage thus generated will feedback into the discipline of Archaeology itself, enriching it epistemologically and methodologically without undermining its core identity.

Archaeology and the working class

This report is, as was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the second report of the project. It is the penultimate statement being submitted to the Heritage Council before the exhibition and publication of the final outcomes. It concentrates on the heritages of working class communities.

That category 'working class' requires qualification in most circumstances of use, not least here. As a term, it is a survival of the late 18th and 19th centuries when society, especially urban industrial society, was understood to be comprised of two major groups: those who produced, and those who consumed. Although this was a rather simplistic model of social organisation, the distinction between those who laboured and those who enjoyed the fruits of that labour had a certain validity in the age of the Industrial Revolution, but arguably weakened thereafter. By the start of the 20th century in Britain, which was the home of the concept, 'working class' and 'lower class' had become largely synonymous in a social hierarchy that had both 'upper class' and 'middle class' divisions. Class membership was identified according to material possessions, places of habitation, and routines of daily and seasonal life. Inevitably, these indicators became more complex for each class as the categories of class themselves became more complex. Moreover, the indicators of class affiliation were not stable: the indicators for one generation were not necessarily the same for the next.

Given that it was peripheral to the Industrial Revolution and had little large-scale, mechanised, urban industry until well into the 20th century, the 'working class' designation sits a little less comfortably in the context of Ireland than in Britain. Belfast is the exception: it was an industrial city in the 1800s and it was provided with a classic, Manchester-style, working class built environment. Nonetheless, the term has been current in Ireland since the 19th century and is still in colloquial usage in larger Irish cities. One obvious example is how, in Limerick, rugby is still described as a 'working class' sport, meaning that it draws players and spectators from the city's 'non-professional class'.

Within the large Irish cities 'working class' is usually a description of place as much as of people: for example, some of Dublin's suburban housing estates, especially those which were developed when its inner-city districts were cleared of tenements in the mid-20th century, have long been described as 'working class'. This attachment of the term to a place does not connote that everybody living there should be regarded as 'working class'. If 'working class' is about place as well as people, we can regard gentrification as a process by which places are made to change their class category.

Many fields of research use the phrase 'working class', but a distinction can be drawn between those disciplines which refer to it as an historical model, those which analyse its meaning as an historical construct, and those which use it in the context of social activism. How does Archaeology fit here? Archaeology's interest in the world for which these class concepts were created is only 40-odd years old, having begun in earnest with the establishment in the mid-1960s of the Society for Historical Archaeology and the Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology, and is little more than a decade old in Ireland, but trends are clear: on both sides of the Atlantic the discipline fits the first two categories, but in North America there is also a strong

tradition of social activism embedded in the archaeological study of the recent past (O'Keeffe *forthcoming* 2009a).

Because the concept of 'working class' is of interest to a very wide range of disciplines within the broadly-conceived historical-scientific and social-scientific fields, the archaeological study of those people and places which are so described is best approached in collaboration with other disciplines. That assertion has special strength when an archaeological study of *contemporary* 'working class' people and places is considered. Archaeology and Sociology are ideal partners in this context. While the premise of Archaeology is that people can be accessed and comprehended through their materialities, Sociology offers direct inquisitorial contact with the people themselves. This dual disciplinary interrogation of 'working class' as a category that describes places, objects and people, reduces the danger of essentialising the category while offering the promise of revealing the nuances of 'working class' identity.

Chapter lay-out

This chapter has three major headings, two of them dealing with general issues and one presenting detailed data and illustrative material. Section 3.2 introduces the notion of an archaeology of contemporaneity within the urban environment. This is the theoretical support for a project that tackles a time-period that archaeologists normally regard as outside their remit. The point is made here that the study of working class communities is a study in Urban Archaeology, from which point the section reviews the practice of Urban Archaeology globally and locally, stressing especially its need to forge synergies with cognate disciplines. Section 3.3 introduces the study area chosen for this research, and presents a justification for the choice. This is followed by a long and detailed outline of what we know of the area from various sources; the spread-sheets containing detailed proprietorial data on Monto by Paddy Ryan, one of the project team, are too large for inclusion and are made avaialble in tabular form on the project web-site. The purpose of this section is to show how much can be said about an inner-city working class district through careful research, but also to lead the reader to the conclusion that current levels of archaeological engagement are needlessly low. The chapter ends with a short review of the types of people one would have encountered in the study area when it was a notorious red-light district in the late 1800s and early 1900s.

The final section, 3.4, contains the suggestion that the archaeologist who walks through and around an area like the north-inner city, bouncing his or her thoughts between what he or she sees and what he or she knows, is engaged in a valid, if somewhat limited, interrogatory and revelatory exercise. It is suggested, though, that observing *similar* perambulations of the urban space by local community members, and recording their responses and reflections using the established methodologies of sociology, is a strategy by which the archaeologist and the

sociologist can together gain some understanding of local senses of place, identity and heritage, and so contribute to the wider project of community welfare.

3.2 THE ARCHAEOLOGY OF INNER-CITY DUBLIN: ISSUES AND PRACTICES

Placing Voices, Voicing Places is a fairly unconventional project within the context of Archaeology in the Republic of Ireland, not least in its temporal concerns, its line-up of professional partners, and its explicitly-stated intention to challenge an understanding of heritage that is deeply rooted historically in an essentialised Irish national identity. But at the project's core is a very conventional archaeological process. The project engages with the archaeological things that are encountered in vast quantities as one moves through and between parts of contemporary Dublin, and, following in the established disciplinary tradition, it attempts to make some sense of those things within the lives of their creators and users. It is an archaeology of the past, but the past in question is contemporary and familiar, not distant and unfamiliar. It is an archaeology that is based on a simple proposition: everything—even the very newest of things (**4**)—acquires a past from the moment of creation, and so everything can be claimed as possessing archaeological potential.

4 Entry to convent premises from Railway Street, recently erected but already battered and graffitied

The first section of this chapter is an introduction to the basic proposition that Dublin's archaeology in general is largely an archaeology of the recent past. This is followed by a brief presentation of *the archaeology of contemporaneity* as a core theoretical construct of the archaeological component of the project, and by an explanation of how the dialectical relationship between remembering and forgetting underpins the idea of an archaeology of contemporaneity and is therefore critical to this project's concern with 'othered' communities. The second sub-section of the chapter reviews Urban Archaeology in its global context, which allows us place this project's work in a historiographical context. The final sub-section turns to Urban Archaeology policy in Ireland, scrutinising it in the context of the present project.

Archaeologies of Dublin's recent past

Traditional archaeological thinking in Ireland in general and heritage branding in Dublin in particular have inadvertently combined to persuade the public that the phrase 'the archaeology of Dublin' properly connotes wattle-built houses, leather shoes in waterlogged deposits, a town wall with gates and mural towers, and so on. But most of Dublin's inner urban area, as defined spatially by the two canals, is not very old at all. Age is relative, but in the context of Irish Archaeology the year 1700 has long been the effective boundary between what is regarded as archaeological time ('old') and post-archaeological time ('not old'), and most of the Dublin landscape happens to falls on the post-archaeological side of that date.

The medieval city was actually quite small and has left relatively little above ground, other than the castle and the two cathedrals. By contrast, there is a vast amount surviving around the city from the three most recent centuries. The volume of 18th-century built fabric surviving around Dublin is particularly striking, and is a reminder of the city's status as a capital in an enlarging global empire before the Act of Union. Somewhat surprisingly, given that it was in decline for most of the century, the city also saw a lot of building activity in the 1800s, and while its domestic, industrial and institutional architecture is modest next to what is found in Belfast, it is still a strong feature of Dublin's landscape. The first three-quarters of the following century, which brings us almost up to the present, saw localised, aerially-extensive, insertions of built fabric. Most of this was associated with the prior removal of tenements. In the case of O'Connell Street and its surrounding streets the new building work followed with the destruction of 1916. Moving around this project's three study areas, one is reminded at every turn of this urban youthfulness. Traces of Georgiana around the edges of Sean McDermott Street and Parnell Street are reminders of the mid-1700s and the first settlement of the city's north-eastern sector. They are also reminders of the demolition of Georgian streetscapes in the 1970s and early 1980s (**5**). The landscape of Sean McDermott Street and its neighbouring streets is simply a new landscape in itself, parts of which already have antiquity within the local neighbourhood context (**6**).

5 Gardiner Street, 1970s; these buildings no longer stand [Photo: Terrry Fagan collection]

6 Laneway (mainly 1960s fabric) connecting Railway Street and Sean Mac Dermott Street

Clanbrassil Street tells a slightly different version of the same story. The *line* of this street is old—it was one of the main routes in and out of the medieval city—and it can therefore be enfolded into the narrative of medieval Dublin, but nothing of antiquity survives above ground here. It is effectively an 18th-century and later street. At its north end, within sight of St Patrick's Cathedral, one is in the zone of destruction of 18th-century fabric, albeit a destruction on a less spectacular scale (and arguably of a less spectacular heritage) than that visited on the north inner city. At the south end of the street, within sight of the canal, early 19th-century Georgian-style houses still stand, testifying to the post-Union seepage of the bourgeoise out of the inner city and into an inner suburban ring. In between, however, Clanbrassil Street is a new landscape, or more accurately a compilation of new landscapes: there is a now-fragmentary landscape of Victorian commercialism which is still ringed on most sides by Victorian terraces, for example, and there is also a new landscape of public housing and retail architecture, punctuated on the streetscape by those fragments of Victoriana (**7**). The basic point being made here is that, notwithstanding some upright medieval and buried Viking structures, Dublin is essentially a young city. Its contemporary centre of gravity remains the space that was created in the 18th and 19th centuries by a bourgeoise that consciously marginalised, both economically and geographically, the old medieval core.

7 Clanbrassil Street, with 19th-centiry buildings on the left and late 20th-century buildings on the right

Archaeologies of modernity and contemporaneity in Dublin

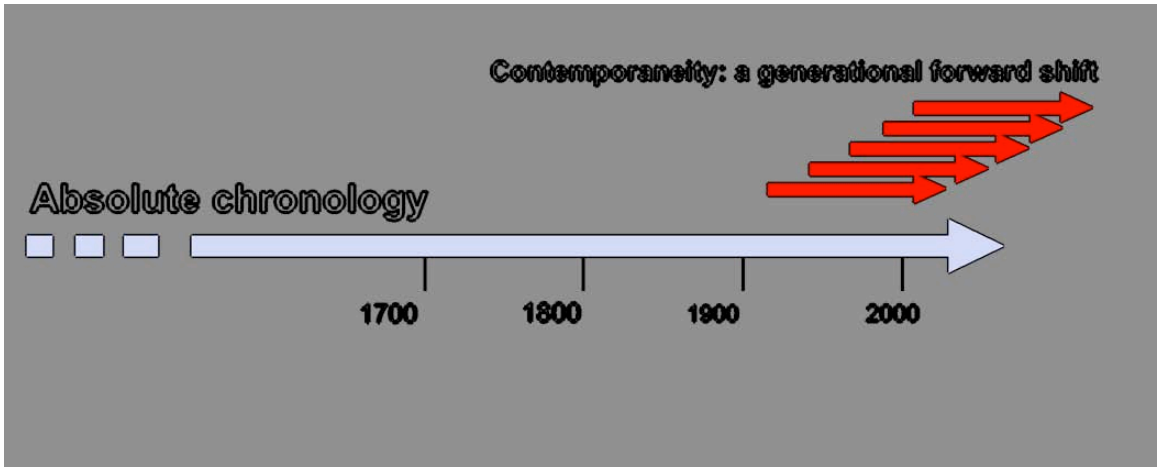
The two temporal constructs of *modernity* and *contemporaneity* are little used, and even less theorised, in Irish archaeological writing. These concepts are at the core of archaeological thinking about the world that we inhabit, and their importance, descriptively and analytically, becomes apparent once one submits fully to the idea of an archaeology of the post-1700 period.

Briefly, 'modernity' is a difficult term, if only because it has been used in different ways in different disciplines (Friedman 2001). There is a general cross-disciplinary consensus that the modern period begins in the 16th century (the discovery of the Americas), and that modernity therefore describes a worldview that was formed during the Renaissance, was codified in the Enlightenment, and has always been informed by global capitalism (O'Keeffe 2008). There is also a consensus, not least among archaeologists, that the modern era brings us up the 20th century (Orser 1996), and that once we enter that particular century the concept of 'modernity' begins to require qualification or corrective measure: thus we have such terms as late modernity, super-modernity, and post- modernity.

The definition of pre-1900 modernity as a rational, capitalist, worldview is hugely problematic. It simply steps over the many complexities and contradictions of the post-1500 world, and of course it privileges the western (or, more accurately, North Atlantic) view of the history in an age when the world was actually revealed to be geographically larger than 'the West'. These problems need to be tackled, but all that can be done in the context of this project is acknowledge that 'modern' is now not only accepted but expected as an adjective applied to post-medieval Dublin (Craig 1992). The city's 18th- and 19th-century landscapes are landscapes of modernity.

When the term 'modern' is used hereafter, it is used with respect to the pre-1900 period. So, how should the *contemporary* city of Dublin be described? Is it modern, late modern, super- modern, or post-modern? Or is it simply 'contemporary'? If the preferred answer is that latter, what are the temporal boundaries of contemporaneity? How far back, in other words, does 'contemporary' go? The contemporary city of Dublin is defined in this project as the city that is known today, in 2008, through lived experience or through personally-inherited knowledge. It is the city, in other words, of knowledge-through-inhabitation, or knowledge-through-memory. Thus an archaeology of *contemporaneity* within Dublin can be conceived of as an archaeology of the material signifiers of the contemporary condition of being-in-the-city, as they are known and understood by the urban population itself, either through its own direct experience or through the memories of lived experience as passed down to the present generation in their lifetimes by former inhabitants. By this definition, an archaeology of contemporaneity in Dublin is located in time between the early 20th century and the present. And it is an archaeology that plainly requires a dialogue with Sociology, its closest cognate discipline, as is shown in Chapter 5.

Can this archaeology of contemporaneity not go back into the 19th century? The answer must is 'no'. There are no memories of 19th-century life in Dublin that have passed down through the generations without some contamination by official history. In decoupling *contemporaneity* from *modernity*, this project manages to liberate the idea of contemporaneity from the temporal structure and interpretative model of modernity while allowing that an archaeology of contemporaneity will also be an archaeology of modernity. To put this another way, scholarship can continue to describe the world of the late 1900s and early 2000s as belonging in some way to the age of modernity, whatever prefix (late or post- or super-) we might attach to that word, but contemporaneity is a temporal plane that slides along as time itself passes (**8**). Thus an archaeology of contemporaneity is simultaneously of archaeology of modernity, the difference being that the former is concerned solely with (a) comprehending things that are contemporary in date, and (b) comprehending the contemporary condition of things that are older, but in the context of contemporaneity.



8 Graphic representation of contemporaneity as a floating chronology that moves later in time with passing generations

Developing the second of these points, the archaeological elements of the contemporary landscape which originated in the modern, 18th- and 19th-century, city—the Georgian and Victorian buildings, most obviously—are part of the archaeology of contemporaneity in the city. They can be studied in the contexts of their creation and original use, but the ways in which they were (or are) altered in the 20th century also illuminates the complex conditions of contemporaneity. Their very survival, intact, modified or in fragments, is part of the story (**9**). By the same token—and this is a very important point—the destruction in the 20th century of other buildings and archaeological features that were created before that century is also part of that story: the spaces left in the landscape by the removal of objects of modernity are spaces of contemporaneity. Absence is, in other words, a form of presence, especially in a place, like the

former Monto, when what is now missing is rich in history and memory, and the space it once occupied is so plainly a space of absence (**10**).

Remembering and forgetting

If memory is a critical concept in this project, helping in our definition of contemporaneity, so too must be its dialectical partner, forgetting. The rapid turnover of spaces and objects, and even of

9 (left) Original St Thomas's School (early 19th-century) on Sean Mac Dermott Street; 10 (right) View eastwards along Railway Street; the wall and open space on the left mark the sites of houses

buildings, in the contemporary urban landscape means that the urban dweller is perpetually forgetting. Some features of the urban landscape are consigned instantaneously to memory (**11**), and others are consigned to memory through a lingering death, as one bit after another falls away (**12, 13**), but all of them will be forgotten.

Most archaeological work deals with things forgotten, not things remembered (Deetz 1979). Archaeology's traditional mission has been to retrieve forgotten things and then to legitimise some remembering of them by contemporary audiences by giving those things value in narratives about the past. The discipline's difficult relationship with the cognate discipline of History may

11 (left) Part of a child's scooter suspended on the convent rere wall, Railway Street; 12 (middle) a decaying down-pipe, Gloucester Street convent; 13 (right) exposed brickwork,probably early 20th-century, Foley Street

spring from the fact that the latter curates the most powerful and enduring (though by no means the most honest) medium of *memory*, the written word, whereas Archaeology curates the record of things for which there is generally no memory at all. The archaeologist's valorization of forgotten things— Archaeology's found objects, one might say—does not of course restore any intrinsic value to them, since few things ever have an intrinsic value to be lost in the first instance. Rather, what passes as valorization is actually reinvention: archaeological objects are reinvented as pieces of jigsaws, the pictures on which never actually existed.

The challenge for archaeological engagements with the contemporary world is to make sense of objects for which there *are* specific memories, or objects which might not themselves be remembered but which are products of a cultural environment that is known, that is remembered. The distinction between modernity and contemporaneity may involve much more than the remembering of the signification of material objects. One feature of contemporaneity is that its signifiers are viewed with the expectation that they will have short shelf-lives. Some are plainly ephemeral, though we cannot predict their life-span (**14**), some are left on or at ground level as debris and await removal (**15**), and some are inscribed underfoot as temporary maps of ever-changing subterranean techno-landscapes (**16**). Even the buildings of the last century or so are not really expected to last. The archaeological materialities of *our* contemporaneity seem, then, to be matched in ubiquity by speed of destruction. In an archaeological study of minority communities within the urban environment this notion of a rapid turnover of spaces and objects needs highlighting, since one measure of a community's sense of marginalisation is its sense of power to effect any change or prevent any change in this process of destruction.

14 (top left) Paintwork on Moore Lane; 15 (botton left) an abandoned bottle in a bag, Foley Street; 16 (right) the surface of Foley Street showing a large man-hole (mid-20th-century), a disused drain cover (late 19th-century), and the tarmacadamed signs of recent utilities work.

Urban Archaeology and the global city: a review

The communities of interest in this multi-disciplinary project are urban communities. They are urban in two senses. First, the specific community collectives in the project physically live in urban places. 'Urban' can be read, then, as a neutral, geographically-specific, adjective. Second, the urban environment is not a passive background to their experience of being-in-the-world but actively shapes that experience. Scholars in other fields, especially urban sociology and urban geography, have shown how urban places have particular time-space geographies in the present, and particular trajectories of such geographies in the past (Soja 1994; Upton 1998). They have shown how, through the densities of population and the diversities of identity, urban places offer some very particular challenges of social negotiation. So, there is an *a priori* case that the communities of concern in this project cannot be understood without understanding 'urban' as a concept of place. The opposite is equally the case. The communities possess what might be very loosely termed 'urban culture', but they are also the inventors, the manipulators, in a sense the artists, of urban culture.

More than twenty-five years ago Clack and Haselgrove, writing about medieval and earlier urbanisms, asserted that ‘archaeologists still have no clear idea of what they are trying to contribute to urban studies’ (Clack and Haselgrove 1981, 3). Separated from Clack and Haselgrove by one postmodern revolution, a new interest in the recent past, and a whole lot of new data, how have things changed? Adrian Green's assertion that Archaeology possesses the approaches that can 'contribute enormously to our understanding of urbanism, not only in specific places but as part of larger processes of cultural development and interaction' (2006, 1) has a ring of optimism but is still worryingly aspirational. It begs the following: Archaeology *can* contribute, but has it? A review of Urban Archaeology literature might cast some light on this.

Categories of Urban Archaeology literature

The field of Urban Archaeology has an extensive literature. Considered globally, it falls into four main categories, regardless of period.

First, there are individual town and city studies, usually arising from excavation. The excavations in question are rarely research-led: the ownership, development and value of properties in most urban environments means that excavation that is not linked to development (or, more accurately, redevelopment) is extremely rare. The general conclusions drawn in these particular publications are conditioned by the lack of control that the archaeologists have over the excavatable resources within the urban areas that interest them.

It might be noted in this context that many contemporary (capital or major) city centres in Europe are not co-terminuous with medieval cores, and that inner-city heritage is usually therefore of a

'post-medieval' nature. Dublin is a classic example of this. The scope for *non-invasive* archaeological investigation into the archaeologies of modernity and contemporaneity in any inner-city area is obviously at its greatest before redevelopment, and the optimal time for investigation by excavation is during redevelopment when sites are cleared and new building works are awaited. Unfortunately, for cities in Ireland the idea that heritages of recent vintage are archaeological and require protection and/or investigation took root far too late. Dublin is again a classic case of this: as protests to save Wood Quay were taking place at one end of the city, Georgian landscapes were being cleared away out at the other.

Second, there are period- and place-specific surveys of urbanism. The quantity of those written by archaeologists and foregrounding archaeological evidence falls away, not surprisingly, as one moves from the middle ages into the modern period. A *Viking Towns of Northern Europe* book based mainly on archaeology is entirely imaginable, but an *Early Modern Cities of Northern Europe* based on archaeology is not.

Third, there are general overviews of urban archaeological praxis, usually addressing such issues as the problem of digging in built-up areas (Carver 1987).

Finally, there is the strategic or policy document, for which Urban Archaeology has been responsible for a large number (Staski [ed] 1987). These documents usually address the specific problems of doing archaeology in the urban environment, problems that range from the benefits and non-benefits of piling to matters of preservation.

An 'understanding of urbanism'?

> 'Each generation, it seems, defines the urban question after its own fashion, as an articulation of social challenges, political predicaments and theoretical issues reflecting the current conjuncture of urban society. [T]he dynamics shaping contemporary cities (and, as a corollary, the nature of urban problems) have shifted significantly since the 1970s, calling for new conceptual tools and new forms of political mobilization' (Scott and Moulaert 1997, 267).

Missing from this line-up of the main types of urban-themed literature produced by the discipline of Archaeology are publications that address specifically that condition of being-in-the-city, that mutual shaping of place and identity that is particular to the urban environment. Archaeology has traditionally steered clear of such issues, even though they have attracted the attention of scholars from very many other disciplines and are actually central to the task, in archaeologist Adrian Green's simple phrase (2006, 1), of 'understanding urbanism'. Archaeologists are not entirely disinterested in these matters, however. Although not widely recognised outside the

discipline (see Merryfield 2001, for example), the tradition of what is called Historical Archaeology (the archaeological study of the modern period) in North America has, for example, pushed urban archaeological praxis away from functionalist interpretations of recovered data in the direction of social activism for the contemporary world (Leone 1992; Schavelzon 1999). It is what Dean Siatta has called (albeit in a non-urban context) an 'emancipatory archaeology' (2007). Much of the impetus for this has come from university-sector Archaeology, and it clearly fulfills some of the facilitating, partnership and technical roles that Gilderbloom and Mullins (2005) require the academy to contribute to the issue of urban sustainability.

In Ireland, by contrast, the emphasis within the archeological profession and the heritage agencies has been on the efficient retrieval of data followed by its *normative* explanation. These attainable and quantifiable goals allow archaeologists in Ireland to contribute historical detail to the discussion of 'the urban', which they have done very successfully over the past three decades, but it has neither encouraged them nor equipped them to intercede in wider debates on urban issues, except with respect to the preservation of heritage. Working class and certain other contemporary communities are thus doubly disenfranchised: their heritages are not old enough to be subjected to the same level of archaeological engagement as earlier heritages, and the capacity of individual archaeologists to train their intellects on issues of concern to those communities is blunted by the requirements of disciplinary professionalism.

At this point it is useful to turn our attention, finally, to the Heritage Council's own review of urban archaeological policy. This is the final section of this chapter.

Urban Archaeological practice in Ireland: *a review*

The Heritage Council commissioned the Oxford Archaeological Unit (OAU) to review Urban Archaeological Practice in Ireland. The report is available on-line at http://www.heritagecouncil.ie/publications/urbanarch/execsummary.html. The aim of the review was to 'enable it [the Heritage Council] to propose policies to government in line with its statutory responsibilities under section 6 of the Heritage Act, 1995'. While the anecdotal scope of the report will inevitably have changed over the eight years since publication, one knows from a general knowledge of the operation of the discipline in Ireland that the recommendations made in it will not have been followed through to the degree that they are no longer apposite, a point which is made here without any suggestion of dereliction of duties among professional archaeologists or by the professional sector. Few of the procedural problems which practitioners reported to the OAU in the consultation process have, for example, been resolved. To that extent, then, *Urban Archaeological Practice in Ireland* [hereafter UAPI] might be regarded as a contemporary expression and critique of both the *current* state-of-play in, and the *future* aspirations for, one specialised archaeological praxis in Ireland.

The combination of factual information and practitioner opinion permits us to read the report as a testimony to the comprehension, by archaeologists and heritage-industry specialists, of the concepts of a 'post-medieval' past within the urban environment, the criteria by which archaeological engagements with this past are either activated or are adjudged to be unnecessary, and the criteria by which the results of such engagements and non-engagements are evaluated in terms of the public good as well as the professional good. The fact that the archaeological past stops at 1900 in this report weighs on these questions since there is a discord between archaeology as an amenity for living people within the city and archaeology's own ignoring of the living heritages of those very people.

On the issue of the concept of a 'post-medieval' past, the concern expressed among practitioners about the 'cut-off' date of 1700 for monuments regarded as archaeological is very welcome. However, it is worth noting that the concern expressed is because the cut-off date is expressly 'detrimental to the coverage of industrial archaeology' (UAPI 2.2.2.3:5). This equation of 'post-medieval' with 'industrial', which is made repeatedly in the report, is ill-informed. Indeed, a similar confusion about boundaries informs the view expressed that 'some respondents commented that the legislation was far weaker with respect to the built heritage than to archaeology' (2.2.2.3, 6). Similarly, reported concern about the relative neglect of the archaeology of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poor (UAPI 4.1.12) is welcome, but a single reference to this hardly amounts to a strong advocacy among professional archaeologists and other heritage professionals for the *non-industrial* archaeology of the post-1700 period having intrinsic value. Indeed, UAPI cites single-storey workers' houses as sole exemplification of that record of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poor that needs attention; such houses are arguably part of our *industrial* heritage anyway.

It must be stressed, however, that major difficulties in evaluating attitudes to this later historical material arises from the manner in which UAPI collected feedback from respondents and reported it. For example, in drawing attention to inconsistencies in the investigation of the post-1700 archaeological resource, UAPI comments that 'this trend was attributed more to a pragmatic decision that while post-medieval and industrial archaeology is *sometimes important*, there has usually been more than enough to do to cope with the pressures on the *really important* Viking and early medieval periods" (UAPI 4.1.8; *emphasis added*). Does this extraordinary qualitative judgement really represent the views of professional archaeologists? It certainly seems to reflect the way in which those archaeologists were canvassed for their opinions. Even a seemingly innocuous comment about the relative numbers of urban excavations period-by-period is couched in language which suggests that the archaeology of post-1700 date is intrinsically less important: 'In general more sites of *purely* post-medieval and late post-medieval date have been excavated,

and there has been an increase in sites where *no significant archaeological deposits* have been excavated during this *recent* period' (UAPI Box 8; *emphasis added*).

Although ostensibly it was merely reporting on the operation of Urban Archaeology in Ireland and might therefore be insulated against any criticism that is offered of that praxis, the OAU is complicit in generating and sustaining a praxis that is insufficiently conceptualised at its core. First, its questionnaires were written from a perspective that suggested that pre-1700 archaeologies had special status. Second, by offering recommendations of a practical rather than intellectual nature, and by privileging procedural matters over interpetative and 'amenity value' matters in the ordering of those interpretations, the OAU sustains the idea that archaeology is primarily a methodology.

More positively, three of its general recommendations must be embraced with vigorous commitment:

1. the need for "a practical definition of *sustainability* for the historic environment in the local context of urban archaeology, architecture and townscape" (3.4.11; *emphasis added*)

2. the need for "future urban archaeology research frameworks ... to establish some basic tenets about the survival and future potential of archaeological deposits, and some basic questions about urbanism in general as well as about individual towns" (4.7.16)

3. the need for a "wider recognition of research issues (i.e. the broad quest for knowledge about the past) [which] engage more with what both specialist interests and the general public, especially local communities, find interesting" (4.7.18).

Each of these issues is addressed specifically as part of a suggested rethinking of Urban Archaeology in the final chapter of this section of the report, and each is represented in this report's recommendations with respect to the inner-city communities.

3.3 MONTO AS A CASE-STUDY

In desiring to study the working class through an archaeological lens, the project team opted not to focus on one of Dublin's suburban landscapes but to choose instead one of the older, inner-city, communities. Many of Dublin working class suburbs were populated by families which had

previously lived in the inner city anyway (McManus 2004). Inner-city areas offer greater time-depth for a discipline (Archaeology) which, even in its postmodern guise, continues to be concerned with diachronic change.

The study area chosen was the north inner-city (**17**). This is the area bounded on the north by Sean Mac Dermott Street, on the south by Foley Street, on the east by Buckingham Street Lower, and on the west by James Joyce Street. The main thoroughfares within this bounded area are Railway Street and, to a far lesser degree Beaver Street.

The core of this area, which degenerated into slums after the end of the Georgian period, was known in the 19th century as 'Monto' or 'the Monto' (after Montgomery Street), a red-light district of considerable renown. Our study area sticks closely to the limits of Monto.

17 Study area, 2006

Why Monto specifically as a study area?

All three of the areas of Dublin being studied in this project have working class histories which extend back into the 1900s at least and which fit its geographical requirement of being in the inner-city area, as least as it is defined by the canals. In terms of landscape and population profile, Clanbrassil Street is perhaps the most diverse of the three, as befitting a thoroughfare that stretches from the inner-city to the canal and has both commercial properties and residences along the way. It will feature in the final report of this project because of its history as a traditional Jewish area into which there has migrated a substantial Muslim population, but evidence of its working class identity is everywhere. Moore Street is more obviously working class to the casual visitor than Clanbrassil Street, though its working class character has an elusive quality because it is not fixed to the landscape: its most familiar working class population packs up at night and moves away, leaving the detritus of its day-time presence scattered on the street in the shadow of buildings which are either derelict or are rented by members of then local Asian community. Moore Street will also feature in the final report, alongside Parnell Street, on account of its African and Asian populations.

The area that was chosen for this part of the project was formerly known as Monto. It is a choice that is not entirely unproblematic. Given that Monto (named after Montgomery Street, a street now known as Foley Street) was an infamous red-light district in the late 1800s and early 1900s, there was a need to be cognisant of the danger of associating this particular contemporary working class community with a past of violence, rampant alcoholism, and prostitution. Also, given that Monto no longer exists, but that evidence of one solution to the problem of prostitution in the area survives in the locale in the form of a wall of the Magdalen laundry (**4.19**), there was also a need to be cognisant of the danger of foregrounding a memory or set of memories that members of the local community today might rather forget. These are issues that will be returned to in the final chapter: who owns the past, who speaks for the past? There is also the problem of survival: relatively little remains from the 19th century and earlier in this landscape, so that an archaeology of contemporaneity here has less historic fabric to be factored in than other areas. These issues aside, Monto presents itself as an area of exceptional interest to the student of inner-city Dublin's working class, past and present. It is a classic, if not *the* classic, historic inner-city working-class space in Dublin. In the sections that follow, Monto's typicality and atypicality are spelled out.

Monto's universals

First, in the late 18th century Monto was home to fairly well-to-do people in large and medium-sized terraced houses, even if was nowhere near as wealthy as, say, the district close to St Stephen's Green on the south side of the city. In the 19th century, however, it slid into poverty and by the middle of that century it was representative of the tenement city; in fact, it was one of the

poorest districts of the city, as Prunty (1998) has documented. So, Monto offers an example of a citywide phenomenon in the 19th century: the grand architectural flesh of a prosperous past and the rotting subcutaneous living conditions of an impoverished present. When the Darkest Dublin photographs were taken in 1913 (see Corlett 2008), every one of them showing broken glass windows, these great buildings had already seen seventy or eighty years as slums (**18, 19**).

18 Rere of Railway Street 1913, from Darkest Dublin slide collection [Photo: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland]

19 Rere of Lower Gloucester Street 1913, from Darkest Dublin slide collection [Photo: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland]

Second, Monto today (or rather the area today that was Monto back then) is also representative of a present absence: its Georgian landscape is all but gone. Much of that landscape disappeared with a purge of prostitution in the 1920s and 1930s turned into a purge of prostitution's streetscapes. The clearance of the later 18th- and early 19th-century landscape was a little earlier here, therefore, than the clearance elsewhere. But had those buildings survived that purge they would almost certainly have been pulled down anyway in the 1960s, 1970s or 1980s. It is not, then, the circumstance of clearance but the fact of clearance, and the subsequent erection of public housing in apartment-block form, that makes Monto fairly typical of the erstwhile Georgian landscape of inner-city Dublin. If a value is placed in the presence of absence, as noted above, then this study area has a particular richness.

Third, the clearances of the middle of the 20th century in Monto, as elsewhere, effected a diaspora to the new suburbs, thereby feeing a new working class landscape. According to local informants it is quite common for people with links to the north inner-city to return regularly, thereby maintaining a connection between the inner-city and suburb at the level of working class culture.

Monto exceptionalism

The one sense in which Monto is not typical is the level of vice that is recorded in the area in ther 19th and early 20th centuries. Prostitution was everywhere in the 18th- and 19th-century city, but Monto was the area in which it was most heavily concentrated from the middle or late 1800s.

What attracted vice to this area was in part its location, close to the docks, to a train station (Amiens Street), and to an army barracks (Aldborough House). But we do not know when exactly Monto became a venue of concentrated prostitution. In 1847, according to Thom's *Directory*, a good number of the houses are recorded as belonging to regular and legitimate businesses, pointing to low-level but steady commerce. By the 1870s and 1880s, however, the number of houses returned as tenements is staggering, and the place seems to be empty of legitimate business. It is likely that the houses were tenements for quite some time before many of them become brothels.

Moral judgements aside, as a red-light district Monto had an important role in the operation of the city. First, if a prostitute was, as Walkowitz puts it, the 'quintessential female figure of the urban scene', a spectacle in a series of urban encounters and fantasies in whom was condensed the general anxieties about poverty, infection and so on (1980, 21), then Monto was at the geographical centre of Dublin's culture of fear. It was also then, by extension, an important place at the genesis of a complex genealogy of reform measures against prostitution in the 19th century, and arguably against women's ownership of their own sexuality in the 20th; from Monto,

in other words, we can see the formation of the line of repressive politics around female sexuality that James Smith has traced very convincingly from the 1930s up to the 1990s (2007, 9-14).

Second, as a red-light district Monto was an 'other', an 'othered' and an 'othering' place within the city. At one level it was almost hyper-local: it had residential buildings and spoken accents that were typical of Dublin, but it also had a reputation for poverty, drunkenness and violence that would have discouraged many middle-class Dubliners from venturing near it. On another level, though, it was a global place, connected to the empire through the nearby port, and bearing comparison in almost every regard with contemporary red-light districts as far flung as, say, Little Lon, Melbourne's red-light district (Mayne and Lawrence 1998).

So, why Monto? The answer is partly this very combination of the typical and atypical. The answer is also partly that this area, to judge by the interview feedback to date (see Chapter 5), retains a sense of itself as a locale, as a place within the city that is also a place apart. It is *par excellence* a site of investigation of working class heritage and identity.

Four lists

This chapter presents the most comprehensive review yet of the area's historical-topographical development up to the present. The intention here is not to offer archaeological interpretations; indeed, there is very little explicitly or conventionally archaeological in this chapter. Rather, the intention here is simply to map the area's development, putting all extant and missing buildings into some sort of context.

This record is offered here for two reasons. The first is to indicate the sort of detailed empirical research that is required in studying the archaeologies of modernity and contemporaneity in inner-city Dublin. The second and more important reason touches directly on the purpose of the INSTAR programme itself: the presentation of detailed information on Monto from the 17th century, and the intrinsic interest of that information, highlight the need to enfold this area and others like it into the discourse and management of heritage. This data illuminates how the area in the contemporary present can be conceived of as having those very layers of presences and absence that (a) constitute the raw material of an archaeology of contemporaneity, and (b) allow a connection to be made between this archaeology and the material generated by the sociological analysis.

Archaeological recording and heritage-evaluation of Monto at present simply does not match the potential of Monto to have its 18th-20th-century past revealed. This section addresses that specific point by simply presenting four heritage or heritage-related lists.

Protected structures in the core study area (List 1)

There are four listed buildings or building-sets in the area: the Georgian terrace, 2-8 Buckingham Street Lower, and the Fire station, facade only, 9-11 Buckingham Street Lower (**20**), the facade of the former Presbyterian church, 62 Sean MacDermott Street Lower (**21**), and the former carpenter's asylum, 35 Sean MacDermott Street Lower (**22**) (*Record of Protected Structures* (Dublin City Council). Missing from this list are, for example, the mid-century, Art-Deco-like, flats-buildings (**23**).

20 (top left) Fire station and part of Georgian terrace, Buckingham Street Lower; 21 (top right) Scot's church, Sean Mac Dermott Street; 22 (bottom left) former carpenter's asylum, Sean Mac Dermott Street; 23 (bottom right) Liberty House, Railway Street.

Recorded monuments in the core study area (List 2)

There are three recorded monuments in the area listed by Dúchas, the Heritage Service (1998) in the Record of Monuments and Places (RMP), each with its own Site and Monument Record (SMR) number. Each is 'a site' without a known site: approximate locations are known from

cartographic sources but exact locations are not known: DU018-020505 is a sea-wall site (17th-century) between Foley Street and Talbot Street, DU018-020501 is a mill pond site (17th-century) at Talbot Street, and DU018-020502 is a tide-mill site (17th-century) at Talbot Street.

Stray finds in the core study area (List 3)

No stray finds in the immediate area are listed with the National Museum to date.

List 4, Licensed excavations in the core study area 1995-2004 (List 4)

The following list gives details and brief synopses of excavations in the project's study area.

Year and number: 1995, 085; *License reference*: 95E6; *Location*: Parnell/Cumberland/Gardiner Street; *Findings as reported*: 18th-century cellars removed before assessment had taken place. 'No features of pre-18th century date were uncovered'.

Year and number: 1996, 094; *License reference*: 95E287; *Location*: 47 Gardiner Street/ Beresford Street; *Findings as reported*: An in-fill reclamation layer approximately 1.6m deep, overlying the natural clay, below which was riverine gravel (5.7m below existing ground level). 'No archaeological features or deposits found'.

Year and number: 1997, 145; *License reference*: 97E0373; *Location*: 49 Lower Gardiner Street; *Findings as reported*: Foundations of cellars and outbuildings. No significant archaeological stratigraphy above naturally occurring clays and river gravels.

Year and number: 1997, 148; *License reference*: 97E0038; *Location*: Middle Gardiner Street; *Findings as reported*: Three trenches excavated. 'No archaeological soils or features were recovered'.

Year and number: 1998, 161; *License reference*: 98E0200; *Location*: 23-27a Middle Gardiner Street; *Findings as reported*: 18th-century cellars, which had removed all earlier deposits to below level of subsoil. 'Nothing of archaeological significance found'.

Year and number: 1998, 166; *License reference*: 98E0351; *Location*: Parnell Street/Hill Street; *Findings as reported*: Recent building rubble and cellar remains overlying compact light brown, stony natural. 'No evidence of archaeological features'.

Year and number: 1999, 216; *License reference*: 99E0097; *Location*: Marlborough Street (Dept of Education); *Findings as reported*: No evidence of earlier than 18th-century activity other than garden clays. No structures found associated with that period. 19th-century basements had occupied a large proportion of the site. Possible sherds of 18th century pottery *c*.0.6 to 1.0m below present ground levels. Stone lined wellshaft possibly associated with 19th-century development of the site.

Year and number: 2001, 392; *License reference*: 01E0043; *Location*: Mabbot Lane; *Findings as reported*: Average depth of clay and building spoil deposits 1.6 to 1.8 m. Disturbed nature of soil and absence of any pottery and other artefacts predating 18th or 19th century suggested the land in undisturbed state prior to development of Gardiner Street.

Year and number: 2002, 0515; *License reference*: 02E1580; *Location*: 81 Amiens Street; *Findings as reported*: Three pits excavated mechanically *c.* 3m. Cellars truncated a deposit of clean introduced clay, which overlay river gravels and silts. Mews buildings truncated any deposits sealing the layer of clay-suggesting to the excavating archaeologist the clean nature of clay was possible evidence of an early reclamation measure.

Year and number: 2003, 0587; *License reference*: 03E1914; *Location*: 10-10a Talbot Street; *Findings as reported*: Foundations abutting a substantial wall forming street frontage. Dating latter half of 19th century.

Year and number: 2003, 0589; *License reference*: 03E0683; *Location*: 54 Talbot Street; *Findings as reported*: Monitoring on site. 'No archaeological material was identified'.

Year and number: 2003, 0590; *License reference*: 03E0231; *Location*: 70-72 Talbot Street; *Findings as reported*: 'No archaeological material came to light'.

Year and number: 2003, 588; *License reference*: 03E0605; *Location*: 27-32 Talbot Street; *Findings as reported*: 'No archaeological material came to light'.

Year and number: 2004, 0507; *License reference*: 04E0834; *Location*: 83 Amiens Street; *Findings as reported*: Sand under shallow garden soils suggesting location of former beach or deposit layer.

Year and number: 2004, 0506; *License reference*: 03E1926; *Location*: 35-39 Abbey Street Lower; *Findings as reported*: In-fill deposits.The infill deposits of loose mid-to light brown deposits had several late inclusions. They overlay the natural clay.

Year and number: 2004, 0544; *License reference*: 03E0971; *Location*: 31-35 Gardiner Street; *Findings as reported*: 'No deposits of archaeological significance were present'.

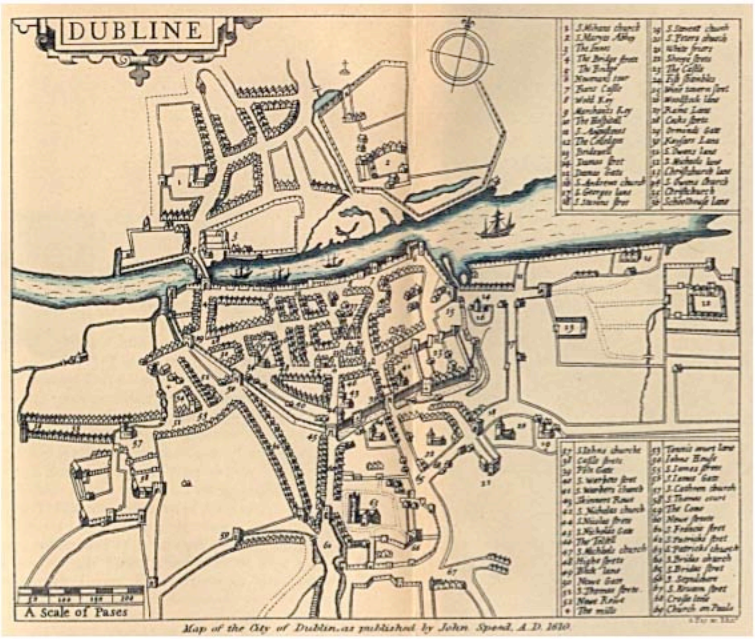
Year and number: 2004, 0582; *License reference*: 03E0879; *Location*: Railway Street; *Findings as reported*: 'No further archaeological material was identified at the site'. The excavator refers to a previous report [2003, 571] on the site but this is not in the data base.

The north inner-city from the 17th to the mid-19th century

The principal sources for the area in the period up to the mid-1800s are cartographic. These allows us pin down the actual dates of lay-out of the streets as the area transformed from countryside to suburb to city. The 19th century saw the first scientific and systematic mapping of the city by the Ordnance Survey, but a number of pre-OS maps fill in the early decades of the century. These sources allow us identify spaces in the contemporary landscape that have histories; those very spaces may have buried remains worthy of revelation by excavation (and subsequent display to the public?) in the redevelopment of the area, but even without that type of archaeological intervention those spaces are of interest.

John Speed 1610: This map (**24**), which dates from 1610 and has a numbered key to the important features of the city at that date, is the earliest surviving printed map of Dublin city. Despite some of its limitations, it still provides a very clear impression of the extent of the city and its environs in the early modern period. It is ‘essentially a portrait of the late medieval city’ (Casey 2005, 22). The walled medieval area was still very much at the core of the city at the commencement of the 17th century; only one bridge spanned the river at this time, ‘The Bridge’, and provided access to the north bank of the Liffey around modern Church Street. The most easterly feature recorded on the map is the enclosing wall associated with St Mary’s Abbey,

roughly in the region of modern Liffey Street. The northerly limit of the city at this date was roughly along the line of modern North King Street. It is clear from this map that the north-eastern quadrant of the city, of particular interest to this study, had not been developed in any sense by the early 1600s.



24 John Speed's map of Dublin 1610; the modern city centre is where the terrier or legend is on this map

Down Survey 1655-56, The Cromwellian *Down Survey* map *c.*1655-56 is very sparse on detail, but it confirms that little had changed on the north side of the city in the forty-five years since Speed's map. Modern Capel Street in the environs of the old St. Mary's Abbey is the most easterly extent of the city.

Bernard de Gomme c.1673, Thomas Phillips 1685, De Gomme and Phillips worked in Ireland from April to November 1673 as military engineers, tasked with recording for defensive purposes the topography of Dublin and its environs, along with other Irish towns. Their two maps (McCullough 2007, 64) provide important information in the period after Charles II had been restored to the monarchy (1660) and the Duke of Ormond had returned to Ireland as Viceroy (1666). These momentous political changes co-incided with, and probably influenced directly, the rapid development of the city shown on these maps (Casey, 2005, 23). The middle ages in Dublin were, as Craig observed, 'at last at an end' (Craig 2006, 29).

De Gomme's map of about 1673 is a valuable record of this development in progress (**25**). Unlike Speed's earlier map, de Gomme's map does not depict individual houses within the city, but he does record the more prominent features (alleys, main public buildings, churches, defensive gates). He shows a network of streets to the east of 'Oxman towne' and Church Street as far as the area of modern Capel Street suggesting limited development in this north eastern sector of the city since Speed's map of 1610, and a lane running west to east below the Abbey Parks part of the old St. Mary's Abbey estate suggests the line of the later Abbey Street (McCullough 2007, 62). Some of the main roads leading into and out of the city to the north and the north-east were also recorded by de Gomme. It was around these routeways that the later expansion of the 18th century would occur. 'The road to Hoath' (modern Howth) running along the edge of the north strand in Dublin Bay would later to be renamed, appropriately, The Strand and later still Amiens Street. 'The highway to Ballibough' (modern Great Britain Street/Parnell Street and its continuation as Summer Hill) can also be seen.

24 Bernard de Gomme's map of the later 17th century showing the laying out of a road/ street network to the north-east of the city.

In our core study area, de Gomme included a feature near to the then strand, north of the Liffey. This is depicted in red and is located in the area approximate to where modern Talbot Street is located. At its most easterly point it turns at a right angle in a north-westerly direction. It appears to be a sea wall and is reasonable to suggest that this is the beginnings of Mabbot Street (later Corporation Street, later again James Joyce Street). In 1909 Cosgrave remarked that this was then the seashore and he referred to a map of 1717 on which was marked 'corner of Mabbot Wall, which was once the sea wall' (1909, 88). Unfortunately he does not provide the details of the map apart from the date, and we now have no knowledge of the map. Craig (2006, 52) introduces a Gilbert Mabbot and a Colonel Carey Dillon in connection with a bridge project to cross the Liffey in the vicinity of the present Customs House. Apparently both gentlemen were accused by Alderman Fowkes, who had a concession from the City for running ferries at that point, of frequent interference with the operation of his ferries across the river at this point. Mabbott was a member of a syndicate of bridge-builders, which also included William Hawkins (whose name is preserved today in Hawkins Street and Hawkins House). Mabbot and Hawkins proposed to connect the two growing eastern suburbs, north and south of the river, in what would have been the first East-Link. As Craig pointed out, this would effectively have joined up the two streets which eventually bore these two gentlemen's names, but that project did not happen until 120 years later. Phillips's map of 1685 provides evidence of development activity to the east of St Mary's Abbey towards the end of the 1600s. A formal grid of (then unnamed) streets of nine blocks had been laid out in that area between Great Britain (now Parnell) Street and both Upper and Lower Ormond Quay on the north bank of the river Liffey. Using later maps we can identify them fairly accurately. The series of new streets running parallel to each other in west-east lines included Little Britain Street and its continuation as Great Britain Street, Little Mary Street and its continuation as Mary Street, and Mary's Abbey and its continuation as Little Abbey Street. The intersecting streets running north-south include Arran Street/Boot Lane, Capel and Jervis Streets, and Upper, Little, and Lower Liffey Streets, the latter being the most easterly point on Phillips's grid. A long rectangular block adjacent to the river (modern Ormond Quay and Bachelor's Walk) can also be seen reaching as far east as modern O'Connell Street. This block is bounded to the north by modern Middle Abbey Street. To the east of Liffey Street, however, the future Henry Street and Moore Street, and their subsidiary street and lanes, had not yet been laid out. At the eastern land limits as shown on Haliday's reproduction of the Phillips map, in the area of the later Strand (Amiens Street), a mill pond is depicted near modern Talbot Street, with a road adjacent to it running parallel to what is now Gardiner Street. Haliday cited a reference from the City Assembly Rolls for 14 October 1715 to Mabbot's Mill: it is a reference to the laying down of a quantity of' kishes' used to repair the north bank 'as far as opposite Mabbot's mill' (Haliday 1884, 233). It is reasonable to suggest that this is the start of the early modern Mabbot Street, in which case it is oldest street in the core study area. This view seems to be corroborated by a perusal of Brooking's map of 1728 (see below).

Henry Pratt 1708, The early evidence of development activity clearly recorded in the cartographic record of the latter part of the 17th century signals the commencement of a more sustained development activity in the north-east quadrant of the city, not least in the area of interest to us. This activity in time was dominated by the various developers of the Jervis, Moore and Gardiner estates (McCullough 2007, 64). The growing evidence of this activity, and the pace of it, are again recorded in cartographic sources, of which Pratt's map is the oldest. This map is of limited use because of small scale used. It also borrows heavily from Thomas Phillip's earlier map (1685) discussed above. It is very unlikely to be a completely accurate reflection of what was actually happening in the city at the time, as that would suggest that no further significant progress eastwards, or for that matter anywhere else in the city, since the time of Phillip's map of 1685, twenty five years earlier, which from the historical record seems very unlikely.

Charles Brooking 1728, Andrew MacLaren, who used the phrase 'golden age' to describe Dublin in the post-Williamite 18th century, has suggested that after 1750 the city's suburban expansion took off at a rapid pace (1993, 30). The drivers of this expansion were the landed gentry who owned the eastern hinterland of the city and divided it into a patchwork of estates. Sheridan has analysed the Gardiner/Mountjoy estate in the north-eastern sector of the city, developed by Luke Gardiner and his family over a period of a century after 1720 (Sheridan 2001, 91). This estate was adjacent to the Aldborough estate which included parts of Gloucester Street and Mecklenburgh Street. Brooking's map is the first important cartographic milestone of the 18th century; there is a map of 1708 by Henry Pratt but it gives little details and seems to have borrowed heavily from Phillips's earlier map. Brooking's map is not perfect map—John Andrews has described it 'as a mediocre effort of 1728' (Andrews 1977, v)—but it does show the start of this rapid development of the city. By 1728, in the north-east sector of the city, the North Wall stretched all along the north bank of the Liffey, extended eastwards in line with Ringsend on the opposite bank of the river before turning north in the direction of Clontarf; this section would later be named East Wall. The North Wall was part of a major project to reclaim land from the river and the estuary, the reclamation land being known later as The North Lotts. The need to canalise the ever-silting river Liffey to faciliate shipping was recognised in the early 1700s, and Brooking's map shows us that the associated reclamation process was still in an early stage: at the North Wall his map is glossed 'This Part is Walled in but as yet over flow'd by [th]e Tide'. The area to the east of Capel Street extending to Drogheda Street (later Sackville Street and now O'Connell Street) was mostly developed in 1728, although the part of Drogheda Street to the north of the junction with Henry Street still had undeveloped areas on the both sides of the street. Modern North Earl Street was part of Henry Street at this date. To the east of modern O'Connell Street, the southern end of Great Marlborough Street and Lower Abbey Street was in an advanced stage of development, and the area of Marlborough Bowling Green, an important social venue during the century, was marked out on the ground. There was a grid of new streets to the east of 'Great Marelborough Street' (now Marlborough Street), between Great Britain Street (Summerhill/Parnell

Street) to the north and ‘Abby Street’ (later Lower Abbey Street) to the south. This area extended to the east as far as ‘The Strand’ (Amiens Street). A number of these streets already had, according to the testimony of Brooking's map, some street front development in 1728. Mabbot Street was the only street within our study area named on Brooking’s map. But a wide unnamed street shown to the west of Mabbot Street is almost certainly part of what was to become Gardiner Street Lower. Running west to east from ‘Great Marleborough Street’ (Marlborough Street) is the street which was known later (1756) as Great Martin’s Lane and later still as Mecklenburgh Street, Tyrone Street and later Railway Street. To the north of this area there was enclosed land but no evidence as of yet of Gloucester Street. To the south, the next street running west to east to The Strand, and bisecting Mabbot Street, is a bit more problematic. At first glance the inclination is to suggest Talbot Street, but later 19th-century maps show Talbot Street running as a continuation of Henry Street and North Earl Street in an almost straight line to Amiens Street. It is certain that the eastern end of this unnamed street to the east of Mabbot Street is that which was named World’s End Lane in the mid-1700s and later known as Montgomery Street.

John Rocque 1756. This map provides a very informative picture of the development of this north- east quadrant of the city by the mid-1700s (**25, 26**). With the exception of a few spaces,

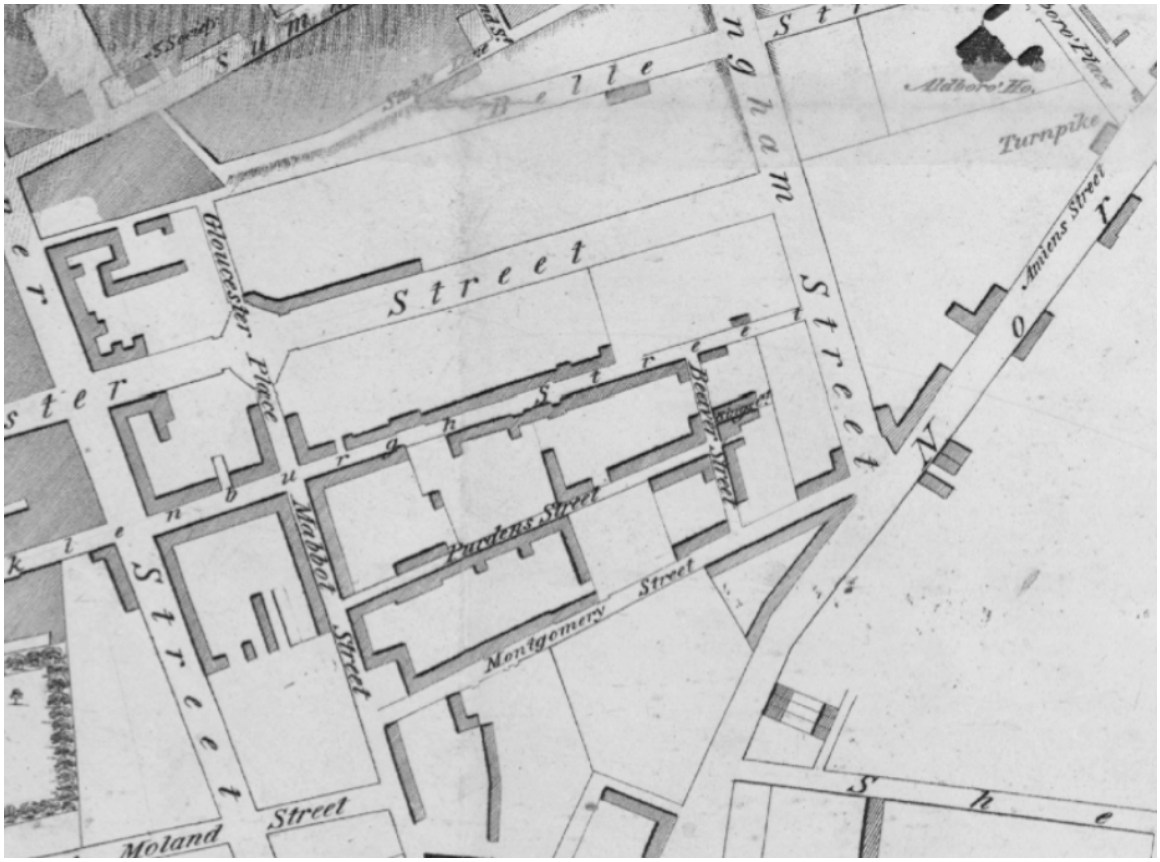
25, 26 Rocque’s map, 1756, showing the north-east city with most of its streets laid out.

the area to the east of Capel Street and as far as Great Marlborough Street (Marlborough Street) is fully developed. The east side of Moore Street is a notable exception where the parcel of land captioned the Old Brick Field had yet to be developed. East of Great Marlborough Street the developments indicated on Brooking's map of 1728 named, even though comparison between the two maps reveals that the actual level of development in the eastern extremities of the north-eastern suburb of the city has not significantly increased in the intervening twenty eight years; he open spaces on Brooking's map in this area are still depicted as undeveloped ground on Rocque's map. Great Martins Lane (later Mecklenburgh Street), World's End Lane (later Montgomery Street), and Lower Abby Street, the eastern ends of which are nearest to The Strand, are still the most developed parts of those streets. The later Montgomery Street must, in the mid-1700s, have appeared so remote to Dubliners at the time that it received the evocative name World's End Lane (see Cosgrave 1909, 88). Gloucester Street was not laid out yet in 1756, and the area between Great Martins Lane and Summer Hill was blocked out in fields. The buildings and plots shown in Great Martins Lane and Worlds End Lane on Rocque's map were possibly 'cabins or sea-side villas', and some of the plots may also have been allotments. The Dublin Society Botanical Gardens were located there between 1735 and 1795 (McCullough 2007, 63).

Pool and Cash 1780: While this relatively small scale map is sparse on detail, it is critically important It provides the first glimpse of Gloucester Street (later Upper Gloucester Street) in the printed cartographic record. It records the western end of this street where it meets Great Marlborough Street, named after The Duke of Gloucester, brother of George III (Cosgrave 1909, 89). The name Mecklenburgh Street, given in 1765 to the former Great Martins Lane, also makes its first cartographic appearance on this map—it was named after Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh who married George III in 1761—while the connecting street known as Beaver Street from 1811 is signed Little Martins Lane (Cosgrave, 1909, 84). Montgomery Street (formerly 'World's End Lane') also appears for the first time on a map with the Pool and Cash map. It had been renamed in 1776 after a daughter of Sir William Montgomery (Bart.) who had married John Beresford who was active in developing this area. She was a sister-in-law of Luke Gardiner, otherwise known as Lord Mountjoy (Cosgrave 1909, 88). Gardiner Street to the west of our study area was still known by its older name of 'The Rope Walk'.

Thomas Campbell 1811. Thirty years after Pool and Cash, Campbell's map records extensive development in the north-eastern sector of the city (**27**). Gardiner Street was now a major street stretching from the Custom House to Mountjoy Square and on as far as Dorset Street. Gloucester Street was fully laid out by 1811 but the eastern part (later Gloucester Street Lower and later still Sean Mac Dermott Street) had not been at this date, except for a small section on the north side of the street just east of the Gloucester Diamond. At the eastern end of Gloucester Street, Buckingham Street had also been laid out, but there was little evidence of development by this

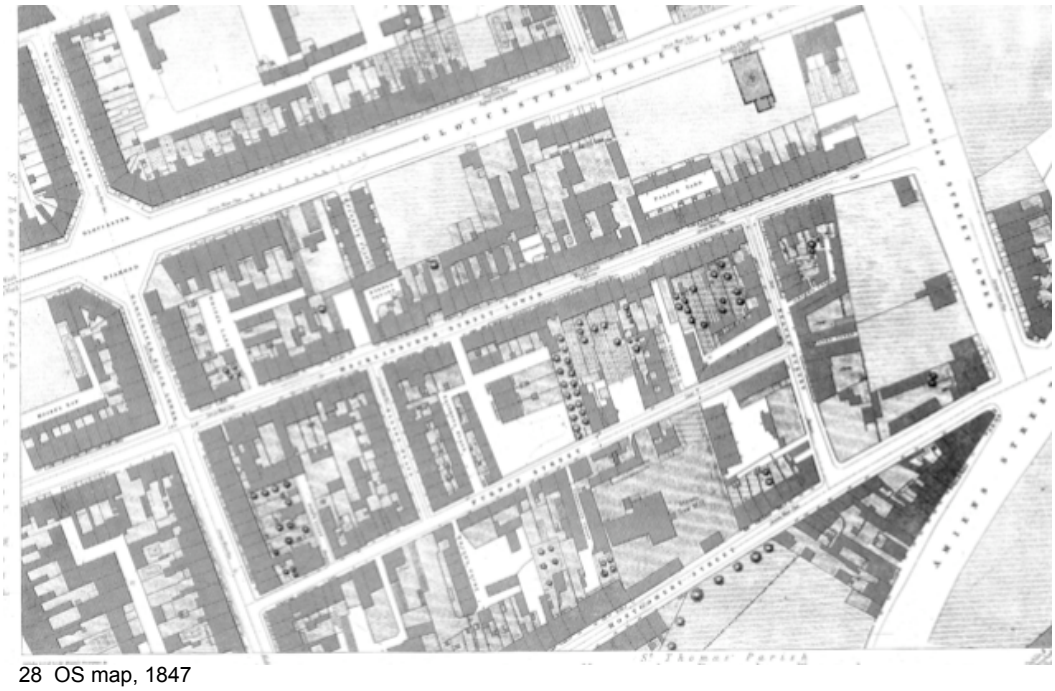
date. The north side of Montgomery Street (which this map makes clear is the successor of World's End Lane) was completely occupied by buildings, except for the one large open site. The south side of the street, with the exception of the eastern end, was open ground. Mecklenburgh Street was almost fully developed in 1811, with the exception of a small part at the eastern end (Mecklenburgh Street Lower) where it terminated at Buckingham Street. Talbot Street, an important thoroughfare later in the century, had not yet been laid out. To the rear of Montgomery Street to the north, and running parallel with it, Pool and Cash show Purdens Street, later known as Purdon Street. A undated manuscript map of *c.*1800 in the City Archives (WSC/Maps/230), entitled 'A survey of holdings in Montgomery Street Dublin the estate of Viscount Mountjoy', shows a 'Stable Lane', running to whole length of Montgomery Street to the rear of the holdings



27 Campbell's map, 1811, shows gradual settlement of the new streets

there as far as Beaver Lane. It seems very likely that this particular 'Stable Lane' is the lane which later became 'Purdens Street'. On later maps Purdon Street, in line with this humble beginning, is consistently depicted as a relatively narrow street, until it ceased to appear in records around 1960.

The north inner-city in the later 19th and 20th centuries



28 OS map, 1847

29 OS map, 1864

The first Ordnance Survey map of the area of interest to us had its survey conducted in 1837 and then published with some revisions and new countours in 1847. It was published with further revisions in 1864, and then in further revisions and new additions thereafter. For the first time since John Rocque's effort of 1756 nearly one hundred years earlier, there was now, in 1847, a cartographic record of almost all plots, with back streets, alleys and courts, on a city-wide basis and at a scale (5 feet to 1 statute mile) and level of detail not heretofore achieved. The 1847 edition of the map had house or lot numbers (**28**), but regrettably numbers did not appear on the later revision in 1864 (**29**). Unfortunately, also, the street numbering system was changed regularly and it is quite a challenge to match the numbers given in other sources (see below) with properties marked on the maps. Here is an example, and its illustrate a problem that pertains all across the study area: from Mulgrave Place westwards to the Gloucester Diamond the numbers on the 1847 map run to 141 to 149, but Thom's street directory (see below) for the same date suggests that the sequence runs to 150/151, which on the map are clearly shown as being on the opposite side of the intersection; Griffith's valuation (see below), on the other hand, lists 149 and allocates numbers 149a, 149b & 149c to the additional buildings on the south eastern corner of the Gloucester Diamond (still officially part of the Gloucester Street Lower), and Thom's *Directory* later (1861) adjusted its numbering scheme to reflect Griffith's.

The Ordnance Survey mapping exercise was an integral part of the General Valuation of Rateable Property in Ireland, a major initiative to establish a uniform property valuation system for all buildings and land on country-wide basis. The information was recorded and published between 1847 and 1864. Information for Dublin City was published 1854 and was originally known as the *Primary Valuation.* In time it became commonly referred as Griffith's Valuation (hereinafter referred to as such). Used in conjunction with large-scale O.S. maps, it provides a 'snap-shot' in time of the occupants (heads of households only) and the immediate lessors of a particular property at that date, and their occupations. An earlier valuation exercise known as Dublin City Valuation of 1830 (hereinafter referred to as the '1830 Valuation', undertaken by parliamentary act (Act 5 Geo. IV. C. 118), also survives and is a useful earlier comparative source to Griffiths Valuation. In addition to these sources, street directories, including Thom's which was published on an annual basis from *c.*1844 onwards, facilitates the construction of the chronological record of occupation of a particular site with some certainty in a systematic way. Paddy Ryan's tabulation of proprietorial data, available on the web-site, provides a chronological record abstracted from Thom's at ten-year intervals for the principal streets and alleys of the area for the period 1847 to 2001. It is presented here in Appendix form as a record for later use, but also as an indicator of the type of information which is available for use to the scholar who is willing to devotes literally tens of hours to data collection. The street directories of the period, particularly Thom's *Directory*, provides us with an insight into the occupants of particular houses and streets and the trades or professions carried on there over the period. However, where houses were set out 'in Tenements' a common housing practice at the time, this invariably implied

that multiple families were housed in the one house. Consequently the identity and occupations of these tenement dwellers remain anonymous. This means that the directories, while a good resource for tracing trends in particular areas or streets they are limited as a census substitute. It is not until we access the earliest surviving census records of the early 20th century (1901; 1911) that we can put names to the whole families of the occupants of the tenements in those particular years. This, of course, is also the case with the occupants of houses where the heads of households or businesses were invariably the only name listed in Thom's, which was mainly intended as a Post Office, local government and professions-and-trades directory. The fact that only very fragmentary census records survive for the period prior to 1901 makes the trade directories a valuable census substitute, a role that was never originally intended.

Sean Mac Dermott Street Lower

That part of Gloucester Street to the east of Gardiner Street is known as Gloucester Street Lower and that part to the west as Gloucester Street Upper. The core study area is to the east of Gloucester Place Lower (Gloucester Diamond) as far as Buckingham Street Lower. For a period Gloucester Street extended eastwards to Portland Row (North Circular Road). That section from Buckingham Street Lower to Portland Row was later separated from it and was renamed Killarney Street towards the end of 1901. Today the north side of Sean Mac Dermott Street Lower is almost completely taken up with a variety of public and utilities buildings in contrast to the situation that prevailed during the 19th and 20th centuries. On the north-east part of the Gloucester Diamond today a modern block of apartments endeavours to recreate the ground profile of the 19th century buildings. Moving eastwards from here, the Catholic Church of Our Lady of Lourdes occupies a large site covering the old street numbers 12 to 22. The current church building (dating from the 1960s) is currently under consideration for redevelopment. Prior to the building of this church, a temporary chapel-of-ease, previously erected in Cullenswood Road, Ranelagh, and 'made of timber and galvanised iron', was erected on the site *c.*1915 under the direction of O'Callaghan & Webb (*Irish Builder* 57, 28 Aug 1915,386; see The Directory of Irish Architects, www.dia/ie/works, hereafter referred to as DIA; **30**).

30 The temporary chapel-of-ease, Sean Mac Dermott Street [Photo: Terry Fagan collection]

A Dublin City Council public swimming pool and a school complex to the rear are co-located on the adjacent site to the east. East of here again is a Simon Community Hostel located in the old Carpenters Hall, the site of an older charitable institution. It also incorporates some adjoining property and together with number of modern small apartment buildings occupies the block to the Rutland Street Lower intersection. Past the intersection another school building and a substantial modern dark-brick ESB substation occupies a large frontage on to the street. Adjacent to this is a small terrace of original 19th-century refurbished Georgian houses, some of which are now occupied by a local office of Dublin City Council. Gloucester Street was relatively late in being developed as was referred to briefly above in the earlier general review. The earliest part was the Upper part, nearest to Sackville Street (later O'Connell Street). It was reported to be 'very fine' (Cosgrave 1909, 89). This is reflected in the quantities and rateable values of houses returned in the 1830 Valuation. Typically those houses in the Upper part returned values averaging £90 per annum and were classified in the '7th class', while those in the Lower part of the street, particularly to the east of the Diamond, typically had values averaging £40 per annum and were typically in the '13th class'. In that Lower part of the street the older houses east of the Diamond and fronting on to the north side of the street, all of them in the Mountjoy Ward, had consistently higher valuations than the later built houses on the south side of the street which were in the North Dock Ward. As would be expected those small houses and cottages built in the alleys and courts to the rear had significantly lower valuations (**31**).

31 Glorney Cottages - typical low-value houses built in alleys off the main streets. Image from 1913, from Darkest Dublin slide collection [Photo: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland]

How do we explain the general lower values in the Lower part of the street? Prunty has suggested that by 1811 'there was little development beyond the (unfinished) Mountjoy Square' because the demand for high-class housing had greatly diminished even before the original scheme for Gloucester Place and Gloucester Street Upper, conceived *c.* 1791, had an opportunity to be implemented (Prunty 1998, 278). Vacent lots in 1847 along the eastern end of Gloucester Street Lower and Buckingham Street tend to confirm Prunty's observations relating to

delayed development. Rateable house values recorded in Thom's for the north side of Gloucester Street Lower in 1847 varied from a high of £70 at the western end in the vicinity of the Gardiner Street, to £35 from the Gloucester Diamond to the eastern end at Buckingham Street.

On the south side of the street, which was later in the development cycle, the values tended to be lower with the higher values again at the western end in the region of £95. The values diminished rapidly as the street progressed from Mulgrave Place to the east where, even at this date, a number of properties were set out as tenements with values in the region of £12 to £15. On the whole, the street could be classified as reasonably affluent in 1847, with small pockets of poorer quality housing confined to the various alleys and courts to the rear of the houses on the main street.

William Wilde in his analysis of Dublin's streets of 1851, based on data from the 1841 census and brought up to date for publication with the 1851 census, classified Gloucester Street Upper and Lower as a '2nd class' streets, a downgrading from the previous '1st class classification' (Prunty 1998, 41,42). By the time of Griffith's Valuation seven years later, the values mentioned above were significantly reduced in some cases by as much as between one quarter and one third. Even allowing for that, there were still very few houses in Gloucester Street with values of less than £10, which was not the case with a number of streets to the south as will be discussed below.

Kane's Court East

One of the small courts off Gloucester Street was Kane's Court East ('Cain Court' in the 1830 Valuation). It was located approximately halfway down this street was accessed by way of a covered alley between numbers 24 and 25. The details provided in Thom's on this small court are sparse, describing the contents as 'seven houses in tenements, valuation £52'. Seven years on, Griffith's Valuation (1854) is more informative and provides a much more extensive list of 22 houses in this enclave, listing out the individual occupiers (heads of households). The bulk of these houses, ranging in valuation from £1 to £7, are let by a William J Kane and a William Murphy. *The Asylum for Aged Carpenters:* The Asylum for Aged Carpenters, number 35 on the north side of the street near to the junction with Rutland Street Lower, still survives today. It was not recorded in the 1830 Valuation, which helps us to date it. It appears on the OS 1847 map surveyed in 1838, suggesting a date range of 1831-1838. Thom's *Directory* for 1847 lists it as 'The Carpenter's Asylum'. It was originally built by Frederick Darley the Younger to assist carpenters who had fallen on hard times (NCEA, 1991, 54). The building retained the name for a long period and has continued its association with the construction trades into to modern times.

St. Thomas's School (Church of Ireland)

At the junction with Rutland Street Lower, St. Thomas' School, a long rectangular building the bulk of which is located on Rutland Street Lower, is recorded on the map. It was recorded without a number as the 'Parish School', the last building on the north side of the street in the earlier 1830s Valuation, where it is given a valuation of £35 and classified as a '14th class' building. Thom's in 1847 describes it as 'Sunday and Daily School' in charge of Miss Page. Griffith's (1854) allocates numbers 40 and 41 to the school, with a valuation of £0 0s 25½ d. A record informs us that additions and alterations to the building occurred in under the direction of Frederick George Hicks (*Irish Builder* 76 Sep 1934, 769; 77, 6 Apr 1935, 269). This site (40) has continued to be associated with various branches of education right up to recently where it operated as a Technical School. Thom's (1847) lists the adjacent numbers 41 to 44 as 'Houses unfinished' and as late as 1872 number 41 was still listed as 'Building ground'.

Gloucester Terrace

Terrace Place is listed in Thom's together with Gloucester Terrace as the one intersection between numbers 44 and 45 in 1847. However by 1861 this has changed and Terrace Place is now listed as the intersection between numbers 41 and 42. It continued to be recorded in Thom's up to *c.*1900, when access from Gloucester Street was terminated. Access to the area in the rear continued to be possible from the Rutland Street and Bella Street area, which even today is a maze of small streets. A short distance eastwards, numbers 45 to 50 constitute Gloucester Terrace, and which on the 1847 map are shown as numbers 1-6 Gloucester Terrace. This was an impressive terrace of houses set back from the street with landscaping depicted to the front and rear on the map. Although an integral part of Gloucester Street Lower, Thom's lists them as a distinct street in 1847 with its own numbering 1-6, but by 1861 the terrace was listed as an integral part of Gloucester Street proper with the numbering 45 to 50. The architect was John Thomas Papworth who exhibited drawings of the terrace in 1831 at the RHA (RHA 1831, no.256, cited in DIA). Cosgrave considered both the Terrace and the Gloucester Diamond as 'architectural embellishments of this once fine street' (Cosgrove 1909, 89), but by 1911 it is clear from Thom's that the Terrace had deteriorated into tenements. The terrace survived into relatively recent times before being demolished in the 1950s. It appears to have undergone some remodelling into tenements during the early 1900s, but to what extent this occurred is not clear, as it still retained the neo-Classical facade to the end. Since the drawings mentioned above have not come to light to date, it is difficult to verify the extent of any remodelling of the outer structure. Its facade appears to have mirrored the facade of the Scots Church on the opposite side of the street (IAA, 63/10X5, 63/10X2). Today, the site is occupied by an ESB sub-station.

The south side of the modern Sean Mac Dermott Street Lower has also changed dramatically during the period. As with the north side of the street it too is now dominated by a few large complexes, with the exception of two small terraces which still survive from the earlier period of

the 19th century and which includes numbers 56 to 60 at the Buckingham Street end and 73 to 77 mid-way up the street. The 'convent lands' now from 62 to 77 (in 20th-century numbering) still dominate a large extent of the street, the most prominent feature being the late Victorian, red-brick fronted, convent and asylum building (**32**).

32 Gloucester Street convent from rere, in advance of redevelopment

While it is not a Protected Structure in its entireity, the facade and shell of this building, and the convent chapel to the rear, are being retained in the re-development plan of the area. Past the intersection with Gloucester Lane to the west there is a small grassed area or park and the remainder of the street is occupied by St Mary's Mansion, a large complex of City Council flats dating from the 1940s. These flats were refurbished *c.*1993. As with the nearby 'convent lands', this complex also backs on to Railway Street. Tracing the early development of the street we see a contrasting picture to that presented today. The numbering scheme on the south side runs from 121 to 149 in Griffith's (1854) time. Twenty-four years earlier there were only six properties recorded from Buckingham Street to the Gloucester Diamond (Gloucester Place Lower) and these were 147 to 152, with rateable valuations of £55 each.

The 'Scots Church'

Directly across the road from Gloucester Terrace on the south side of the street, the Scots Church (**33**) features on the OS1847 map, the only building on this relatively large site at the time. Thom's Directory locates it between numbers 121 and 122, and describes it in 1847 as the Presbyterian Meeting House, with the minister recorded as the Rev William Wilson of 57 Amiens Street. However, Griffith's Valuation (1854) provides a map designation number as 125 'a', and locates it between local street numbers 124 and 126. It also provides the immediate lessor's name as James Duncan. The rateable valuation of the property is given as £38 and interestingly the adjoining ground is still 'in tillage' at this date. By 1861 this anomaly with the address numbers was corrected in line with Griffiths. Duncan C. Ferguson was the architect around 1848, according to the DIA. This date is too late, as the building already appears on the OS1847 map, which was originally surveyed in 1838. The Dublin Civic Trust lists it as *c.*1830 which appears to be a more accurate date, although it is not actually mentioned in the earlier 1830 Valuation. A date range of 1830 to 1838 would be more accurate. The building continued to be listed consistently as a 'Presbyterian Church' in Thom's *Directory* throughout the 1800s. However, by 1900 this usage had changed and it was by then being utilised for commercial purposes by John Ferguson who was described as a corn merchant. This association with corn and grain products continued at least into the 1980s after which the site (62) together with an adjoining site (61) were both classified as 'derelict'. Today only the front facade survives and it is intended to incorporate it into any new development of the surrounding area.

33 The Scot's Presbyterian Church, Sean Mac Dermott Street

The ‘tillage field’ west of the ‘Scots Church’ was still listed as ‘building ground' in 1891, when it was numbered 92-100. For a number of years prior to this it was omitted altogether, as in 1881 when there was a gap in the numbering in Thom's Directory between 91 and 100. Over the years it has variously been listed on maps as ‘Yard & Sheds’, ‘Waste Yard’ or just left blank. A small portion of this plot was eventually used for part of the later convent buildings. The majority of this area was converted for use in the early 20th century as an enclosed formal garden recreational area for the convent. This transition can be seen on the early 19th-century OS maps. It continued to be depicted as a garden on the 1936 and 1966 maps. It is only in more recent times that a hostel and smaller convent building was built on the site.

Female Penitents Retreat

The religious institution, the Female Penitents Retreat, which was to gradually dominate this block from *c*. 1870 onward, was still in the embryonic stage. In 1847 it was still largely confined to premises to the rear of the present site at number 76 Mecklenburgh Street Lower (Railway Street Lower). Casey suggests a date of 1822 for the founding of the Magdalen Asylum which was eventually taken over by the Sisters of Charity in 1877 after a remodelling by Robinson (Casey 2005, 140). The early 1822 date would only apply to the Mecklenburgh side of the site which is listed in the 1830 Valuation as the Female Penitentiary and shown at number 76 on that street in the OS 1847 map. Casey also suggests a number of extensions to the long three storey brown–brick building fronting on to Sean Mac Dermott Street, the latter being ‘a six bay block with its advanced porch and handsome chimneystack ... built in 1888 to designs by W.H Byrne' (Casey, 2005,140). These dates fit with information gleamed from the *Irish Builder* listed below.

On Gloucester Street Lower at this date the next developed lots were shown west of the ‘tillage field’ adjacent to the Scots Church and are numbered 126, 127 & 128 on the OS 1847 map. These houses to the front of Brewery Yard (access to which was between numbers 126 and 127) would later undergo a series of number changes until they were incorporated into the convent block during the development phase of the last half of the 19th century. In 1868 a report in the *Irish Builder* states: ‘Just completed: substantial and commodious building… extends from the old premises into Gloucester-street, shere a broad front of three storeys in height is presented: Builder: Mr Duggan’ (*Irish Builder* 10, 15 Jan 1868, 24). John Bourke is named as architect (DIA). The complex would continue to feature in the *Irish Builder* during the remaining part of the 19th century and early 20th century because of the ongoing development of the site. Later it was reported that additional: ‘Extensive adds. & alts, Builder: Pat Monk’, occurred in 1874 (*Irish Builder* 16, 1 Mar. 1874, 73). In this instance the architect was John Loftus Robinson (DIA). Later again a report from 1888 provides the information that the foundation stone was laid for another significant addition to this complex in September of that year. In this instance William Henry Byrne was the architect (DIA). The Census of Ireland for 1901 includes details on the numbers of persons living in numbers 95 to 104, ‘Convent-Sisters of Mercy’: twenty one religious sisters and

seventy five lay persons whose occupation is mainly given as ‘Laundress’. Half of the lay people came from Dublin City and Dublin County with the balance coming mainly from the surrounding counties. The religious included five from Dublin with the balance coming from mainly from the counties of Leinster (1901 Census, National Archives).

A comparison of the 1904 and 1907-8 maps shows a dramatic increase in the footprint of the buildings on the site, particularly to the east of the site, where Brewery Yard has been incorporated into the complex. This includes the substantial ‘chapel block’ (built on part of Brewery Yard), which does not appear on the 1904 edition or earlier 1889 edition. The area to the east, which on earlier maps showed an open yard with rows of parallel ‘drying posts’, no doubt associated with the laundry which was the main activity carried out on the site, has also undergone some changes. In the 1907-8 map the posts have disappeared and the area previously designated for that activity is now occupied by what appears to be a circular ornamental feature and formal garden with a grotto of some description in the corner. Later maps still show this feature, at least up to 1936 which also shows some additional extension (number 71a) to the front of the building. A further small extension with gate way (number 72) marks the western extent of the ‘convent lands’ in the maps of 1936 and 1966.

Brewery Yard

In 1847 access to Brewery Yard, to the rear of the south side of street, is through an alley between numbers 126 and 127 although no caption is given on the map. The 1864 revision does include the caption ‘Brewery Yard’. Thom’s *Directory* in 1847 mentions the name as an intersection between house numbers 126 and 127 and also includes a separate entry for it although the information is sparse, being restricted to: ‘1 to 9 Tenements’ with a total valuation of £56. Some years later (1854) Thom’s shows an increased quantity of houses, from 1 to 12, and a revised the unit valuation of £2. By comparison, Griffith’s (1854) records the quantity as ten houses some with small yards. These are all let to '*lodgers*' by Sylvester Moore with the exception of number 6 which is let to Anne Summerville. The valuations range from £2 10s 0d to £4 0s0d, those with yards paying an additional £1 0s0d. Like a number of other small courts in the area, it was eventually annexed to the ‘convent lands’, as discussed above. The origin of the name Brewery Yard is not clear, although it hints at some type of brewing activity in the vicinity. No historical record has been found to date, to provide corroboration for such activity in the immediate area. Neither is there any record for local streams, a prerequisite for earlier brewing activity in an area, although there is evidence of a ‘Service Water Pipe’ laid down the centre of Gloucester Street Lower at this date, which could have supplied water through a large bore pipe. The supply in the area at this period originated from the City Basin near to Broadstone, the water for which was purchased from the nearby Royal Canal.

Moore's Cottages

A second small court to the west with access between lot numbers 130 and 131 known as Moore's Cottages (not to be confused with a similarly named area on the north side of Gloucester Street Lower) is also recorded in Griffiths (1854). This particular court is not recorded in Thom's in 1847 nor is it shown the large scale OS Maps of that date or the later 1864 revision. Moore's Cottages is a good example of how Griffith's Valuation provides information on the poorer class of people who lived in tenement buildings or small cottages during the second half of the 19th century. These people are generally anonymous until the early 1900s when some information on them can be accessed from the surviving census data of 1901 and 1911. Before that date only fragmentary census data survives. But in this case, Griffith's informs us consists of houses numbered 1 to 7 and provides the individual occupiers of theses small houses, each with individual valuations of just £0 10s 0d (ten shillings). Like those recorded in Brewery Yard above and numbers 126 to 130, the immediate lessor in all cases for this small block is Sylvester Moore, who no doubt gives his name to the cottages.

Gloucester Lane

Moving westwards, a large open lot numbered 134 to 140 in Thom's in 1847 is described as Building Ground. By the time of the 1864 revision the greater part of this open space had been filled in by development. The remainder of the plot is an "L" shaped 'lane,' to the west side and rear of this plot. It is not named in the 1864 map nor is it clear why it does not appear named on a number of later large scale maps. It is possible that it was a private lane during that period as access to it appears to be restricted. It is not until much later *c.*1936 that it appears named on maps as Gloucester Lane, running parallel to and to the east of Mulgrave Place where it defines the western border of the convent lands. It was included briefly by name in Thom's in 1861 with one to eight tenements, and a decade later in 1872 with one to six tenements, after which date it does not occur. Today it is small straight lane connecting Sean Mac Dermott Street and Railway Street. The west-east part of the original lane is included in the 'convent lands', currently cleared for redevelopment.

Mulgrave Place

This next intersection, Mulgrave Place, is recorded between numbers 140 and 141 in Thom's in 1847. Griffith's in 1854 returns ten houses with valuations of between £4 to £6 each, and lists the occupants by name, noting that three of the houses were vacant at that date. The street name dates from 1835 when the Viceroy was the Earl of Mulgrave (Cosgrave 1909, 89). While a number of the courts and alleys mentioned above tended to have a limited life span until *c.*1870, this particular small street existed up to the 1950s; the last entry appears in Thoms in 1958. Although only a minor street in the area, it does provide some informative detail on the inhabitants for parts of its history. After the development of St. Mary's Mansions it was demolished

and the area is now part of a small grassed park immediately adjacent to the west of Gloucester Lane.

Gloucester Place Lower

Today the east side of the street is levelled and is occupied by a green space, a buffer space between the road and St. Mary's Mansions, while the west side has been redeveloped with modern high rise buildings. Gloucester Place Lower, part of the core study area, shows houses numbered 2 to 8 on the west side of the street south to north , and numbers 9 to 15 north to south on the east side. The later revision edition of the OS map shows only minor changes to the street profile 25 years on. Numbering is more consistent although here, Thom's (1847) includes numbers 1 to 15. However Griffith's (1854) lists a total of 16 houses, because of the introduction of number 8½ on the east side to accommodate a small house which had obviously been inserted there.

Railway Street

This former Georgian street (**34**) mirrors to a large extent modern Sean Mac Dermott Street to the north, discussed above. This is particularly evident with the north side of Railway Street where the properties backed on to those on the south side of former Gloucester Street Lower, and was especially evident with the relationship of the 'convent lands' backing on to each other on both streets. From the intersection with Gloucester Place Lower to the west, the north side of the street is dominated by the block containing St Mary's Mansions as far as Gloucester Lane. The remaining part of the street from there to Buckingham Street Lower, with the exception of a small section at the east end of the street, which has already been redeveloped is taken up by the 'convent lands', which are all scheduled for redevelopment. The south side of the street has effectively been redeveloped with apartment blocks and commercial buildings with names including 'The Forge', reminding us of earlier activities in the area. The 'Liberty House (Flats)', which dominates the south side of the street as far as Corporation (now James Joyce Street) dates from the 1930s.

34 Railway Street from 1913, from Darkest Dublin slide collection [Photo: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland]

The origins of Railway Street/Mecklenburgh Street Lower are much earlier than Gloucester Street as has been mentioned above. However, it was not conceived on such a grand scale as was Gloucester Street. Consequently the length and the width of the street does not compare with the later grander Gloucester Street. Only Mecklenburgh Street Upper is classified in William Wilde's scheme of 1851, where it was classified as a 'mixed street' (Prunty 1998, 44). No mention is made of Mecklenburgh Street Lower in this listing implying it was down the scale as Wilde's classification was confined to 'major' Dublin Streets. Later, because of the growing reputation of Mecklenburgh Street Lower as a red light district, the residents of the Upper part of the street were successful in lobbying to change the name of their street to Tyrone Street in 1886. However within a few years (1888) the residents of the Lower part for the same reasons were also successful in changing their street name to Tyrone Street Lower. Again in 1911 another change occurred when the inhabitants of the 'Upper' section of the street renamed their section of the street Waterford Street, while the Lower part became Railway Street.

The house numbering in 1847 ran from west to east on the south side of the street, from to 12 to 57. That is from the intersection with Corporation /Mabbot Street to the west to Buckingham Street Lower to the east. The reverse direction from Buckingham to Mabbott, east to west on the north side of the street, has a sequence of numbers from 58 to 100. The house numbering in the earlier 1830s Valuation was done on the basis of Mecklenburgh Street when it was one street. Subsequently it was divided into Upper and Lower sections, which necessitated a re-numbering scheme which was later used in Thom's and Griffith's. As with the majority of the streets in the study area, a number of alleys and small courts are to be found to the rear of both sides of the street.

Whites Lane (North-East)

On the north side of the street proceeding east the first intersection with Gloucester Place Lower is Whites Lane (North-east) between house numbers 98 and 99. The 1830 Valuation, lists 2 houses (small tenements) in a lane behind what was then number 126. The owner was listed as 'White', which was also the case for numbers 124 to 128. Thom's (1847) lists eight tenements there, but seven years later Griffith's (1854) reduces this to five (numbers 1 to 5). Number 2 being a stable and yard, valued now with number 15 Gloucester Place Lower, which was just around the corner. Although not listed in Thom's after the 1870s period, White's Lane continued to be included on maps into the 1930s when it was then included in the new Corporation flats development of St Mary's Mansions of that period. The western wall of the apartments of St. Mary's Mansions facing on to Gloucester Place Lower today is built directly on White's Lane.

Byrne's Square

Byrne's Square the next intersection further east is accessed between numbers 89 and 90. It consisted of tenements 1 to 6, valued £42 (Thom's 1847) although this was later revised down to

£22 in 1861, when only 4 tenements were recorded. Griffiths (1854) returns the earlier number of 6 houses consisting of various valuations from £2 10s 0d to £5 each. Unlike Thom's it does provide details of some of the tenants and the lessor 'Reps of John Byrne', no doubt the original developer or a near relation. Like the previous White's Lane, it continued to be depicted on maps into the middle of the 20th century, although it was not listed in Thom's after the 1870s. It was also incorporated into the St Mary's Mansions scheme where today part of it lies under the eastern wall of Block K and the remainder forms part of the green space adjacent to Gloucester Lane. A number of the houses between numbers 78 to 89 in the street roughly between Byrnes's Square and the next court called Nickleby, acquired a reputation later in the 19th century and early in the 20th century as part of one of Dublin's more infamous red light districts. According to Finegan, 1860 to 1900 was the period when the 'Monto' was at the height of its activity, when it was tolerated by the police (Finegan 1978, 9). It lasted into the early years of the new Free State in the 1920s, when it was finally closed down. Finegan listed madams and their houses, including a number operating in Railway then Tyrone Street Lower. He mentions Mrs Annie Mack who owned or controlled at least eight houses at one time which led to the area being sometimes known as 'Mackstown', although he does not mention his source (Finegan 1978, 11). There is a record of a Mrs. Annie Mack at number 20 in 1881, which house had a valuation of £13, but ten years later it was occupied by a Mrs O'Brien in 1891, and who was still there in 1900. Mrs Annie Mack was later recorded in Thom's in 1891 and 1900 at number 85 (**35**).

35 Mrs Mack's house, Railway Street, 1930s? [Photo: Terry Fagan collection]

Another madam mentioned by Finegan was Mrs. Meg Arnott, recorded in Thom's at number 83 in 1900. Next door at number 82 a Mrs. Cohen is listed in 1891 and later in 1900. This house she owned or rented from 1888 and 1905 (Finegan 1978, 12). James Joyce included Bella Cohen in *Ulysses* and set the brothel episode (Episode 15) in number 82 (**36**). A Mrs. Meehan, who is recorded at numbers 85, 86 and 87 in 1921 and well into the 1930s is also mentioned by Finegan as running houses of prostitution (1978, 11).

36 T. O'Keeffe with UCD MA in Archaeology class, November 2008, stand outside the site of Bella Cohen's brothel

Thom's lists these house euphemistically as 'Lodging houses' during this period. We know from the census returns for 1901 and 1911 that the vast majority of people living in the area were ordinary people endeavouring to raise families in difficult circumstances. One cannot assume automatically that all young women living alone or in groups in the area were engaged in prostitution. Luddy highlighted this when she commented on returns from the 1901 census from this area which named only two persons, Maggy Boylan in Faithful Place and Maud Hamilton living in Elliott Place, which the enumerator (most likely a member of the DMP) had indicated were prostitutes (Luddy 2007, 45).

Nickleby

The evocatively named Nickleby, another small court was accessed between numbers 77 and 78 and as with the previous small courts it also continued to feature into the middle 1870's when redevelopment at that time impacted on the area. Thom's (1847) records two houses there with a valuation of £12 each. It also provides the names of the occupants, Alexander Graham a carpenter, and Mr Edward Lowther, although by the time of Griffith's (1854) which lists it as Nickleby Court, the occupants had changed to Robert Whelan and Patrick Lennon respectively. Robert Whelan continued to live at number 1 up to 1872, while Patrick Lennon, a stone cutter, was still there at least up to 1875 when entries in Thom's cease. It continued to feature as Nickleby on maps up to 1904, but by 1907 it had been subsumed into the Magdalene Asylum.

The Magdalene

The 1830 Valuation names this house, number 106 at that date, as the 'Female Penitentiary' with a valuation of £40 0s 0d and describes it as '3 stories, with yard'. At that time it was classified it as '12th.' class house of which there were twenty different classes at the time (Valuation of Dublin, 1833, 3-5). The 'Magdalene Asylum' located at number 76 is the name used on the map, while Thom's (1847) describes this establishment as the 'Female Penitents' Retreat', under the control of a Mrs. Eliza Doyle with the title of Matron. Griffith's (1854) describes the occupiers as the 'Trustees of the Female Penitentiary', with Rev. James Laphan as the immediate lessor, with an annual rateable valuation of £44 0s 0d on the property. The 1864 revision of the map does not indicate any significant change in the street topography in the immediate vicinity during the interim. By 1872 this address was indicated as the 'Back entrance to Female Penitents Retreat', no doubt reflecting the development activities which was occurring at the front of the site on Gloucester Street discussed earlier in relation to Gloucester Street. At this time Miss Mary Cooney was listed as Matron. After this date the Asylum expanded to include the next plot to the west, number 77 (Thom's 1881). This heralded the expansion of the establishment which continued to expand gradually to the north (as discussed in connection with Gloucester Street above) and to east and west over the next twenty years taking in some of the smaller adjacent courts and lanes. By 1900 the complex included plot numbers 68 to 80 inclusive on Mecklenburgh Street Lower (now Tyrone Street Lower since 1887). It is also from around this date (1900), that Thom's records the establishment of St Mary Magdalene's Asylum on Gloucester Street Lower, as discussed above. This Gloucester Street complex directly backed on to the Female Penitents' Retreat on Mecklenburgh Street Lower which by 1881 had changed its name to St Mary's Penitent Retreat. This effectively meant that by the end of 19th century the Asylum/Convent complex controlled about one third of the whole block. The complex continued to expand with the last major expansion occurring in the late 1930s when some of the remaining properties between the Asylum and Byrne's Square, some ironically previously occupied by the houses associated with prostitution, were demolished and the space was occupied by the Asylum's Laundry facility. Although part of the one establishment, the front and rear premises

continued to be recorded separately under their own titles up to as recent as 2001. That part of the complex facing on to Gloucester/ Sean McDermott Street and the Chapel block has survived because of its architectural merits although not officially enjoying Protected Structure status according to the latest published list. The intention at the moment is to incorporate the structure into a new scheme. It is also likely that the convent chapel will become the parish church taking on the role of Our Lady of Lourdes Church (1954) further up the street. Some of the buildings now demolished, associated with the industrial laundry complex facing on to modern Railway Street did not enjoy the same the same status so only a few have survived (**37, 38**).

37 (top) The laundry as it now appears; 38 (right) one of the wall fans.

Palace Yard

Palace Yard, mentioned above, was accessed between numbers 70 and 71 and is variously recorded in Thom's between 1847 and 1872 as having between, 3 to 4 tenements and with valuations of £12 each in 1847. Griffith's (1854) reduced this to £6 each and provides the names of the occupants at that date. The origin of the name is not clear as it does suggest a more salubrious environment than the tenements which were actually recorded there at this date. A 'Dispensary' is recorded at number 69 on. This is described in Thom's (1847) as 'St Thomas's Parish Dispensary' in the charge of Charles Crocker King M.D. Although still indicated as such on the revision in 1864, neither Griffith's (1854) nor Thom's (1861) corroborate this, instead they list it as a tenement. It continued to be listed as such until *c.*1900 when it was recorded as part of St.

Mary's Penitent Retreat, as discussed above. Today the site of Palace Yard is still occupied by standing buildings, the only ones which were part of the old Laundry, on the Railway Street side of the 'convent lands' to be retained. On the opposite side of the street (south side) proceeding west from Buckingham Street Lower intersection, towards the intersection with Beaver Street, a large undeveloped plot is shown in 1847. By the time of the 1864 revision this was fully developed. It would later include a new small lane, Rodolph Place between 1904 and 1907, and which was redeveloped by the 1970s.

Uxbridge

West of Beaver Street, the small court Uxbridge, which backs on to Purdon Street, was accessed by an entry between numbers 41 and 42. Four houses were listed there with valuations of £8 to £12 (Thom's, 1847). The name comes from the Earl of Uxbridge, Lord Lieutenant 1828-9 and 1830-3 (Cosgrave 1909, 84) Thom's lists the occupier's in the 1847 edition after which the occupiers are mainly anonymous, except in 1854 when Griffith's also lists them by name. It is notable that all the occupants had changed in the intervening seven years. This rapid turn-over of the occupants of houses in the city appears to be fairly typical for the time and not only confined to the tenement occupiers but was also common amongst tradesmen and the professional classes of the day. As with the small courts mentioned above, Uxbridge is not mentioned in Thom's after 1875 although it continues to feature on maps at least up to 1930's when it was then incorporated into Liberty House Flats development. Today the entry between Block F of Liberty House Flats, the most eastern of that complex, and the new development known as The Forge, marks approximately where an entry to Uxbridge was once located.

Faithful Place(s)

Further west between numbers 26 and 27 is the intersection of Faithful Place This was one of the streets in addition to Mecklenburgh Street Lower which achieved notoriety later in the century when it featured as part of the red light district. At that period it consisted of 'nine small houses in tenements' ranging from £6 to £12 (Thom's 1847). By 1861 this has increased to 'nineteen small houses in tenements', a figure which continues to be mentioned until 1872 when it ceases to be recorded in Thom's. After a gap of forty years it again re-appears in the record but this time the lower number of eight houses is recorded (Thom's 1911). The earlier (1847) discrepancy in numbers in Thom's is accounted for by the information contained in Griffiths (1854), which clearly indicates that there are in fact two Faithful Places one East and one West. The one returned in Thom's is certainly Griffith's Faithful Place East which includes three larger houses with yards valued £9, previously valued at £12 in Thom's 1847. Together the two Faithful Places of Griffith's total nineteen houses, the same number recorded in Thom's 1861 and mentioned above. Griffith's lists the heads of households in 1854 and from the valuations it is clear that the houses in Faithful Place East are the more substantial. This street was not listed between 1881-1911, and then only eight houses are recorded. The Census for 1911 lists buildings numbers 1 to 12.

Numbers 8 to 11 are recorded as 'stores' and number 12 is housing five different families ranging from one to three persons. Number 1 houses two females Lily Thompson aged 26 from Blackrock a 'laundress' and the other was Maggie Boylan a boarder from Co. Meath whose profession was recorded as 'Pros.' Whether this was entered by Lily Thompson or the enumerator is not clear, Maggie Boylan did not read or write herself. This is the person referred to previously above (Luddy 2007, 45). This street was also incorporated into the new developments in the area during the 1930's.The eastern wall of Block C of Liberty House Flats facing on to the open green space between C and E Blocks is the location of Faithful Place west, which ran north south immediately adjacent to it. Faithful Place east which ran in parallel to Faithful Place east ran roughly north south adjacent to the west wall of Block E.

Elliott Place

Elliot Place, another of the adjacent streets which later gained a reputation as part of the red light district (**39, 40, 41**), connected Mecklenburgh Street Lower and Purdon Street to the south and was located at the intersection between 21 and 22. At this date it contained nineteen houses numbered 1 to 9 north to south and 10 to 18 south to north. The names of the occupiers are listed in Thom's (1847), which shows an extra house number 19 not included on the above map. Four of the houses set out as tenements (Thom's 1847). They were of various sizes ranging in valuation from £10 to £4, but which was reduced by approximately 20% in valuation by the time of Griffith's in 1854, in line with the rest of the area, which incidentally also lists number 19. The occupiers listed in Griffith's are all different to those mentioned seven years earlier in Thom's (1847) and a number of the houses now set out as tenements has increased to seven. (Griffith's terminology indicates 'lodgers' when the house is set out as tenements). This street was also omitted from Thom's for a period 1880 to 1911. The census for 1911 coincides the reappearance of Elliott Place in Thom's where the sparse description is given as '1 to 19 tenements…£3 to £7 10s 0d'. The 1911 Census also records 19 buildings seventeen of which are listed as private dwellings most of which are housing two to four distinct families. House number 15 is housing three families including Maud Hamilton aged 28 mentioned also by Luddy, who is living in one room. It appears she could read and write and under occupation had written what appears to be 'no information'. Inserted under it in another hand is '(Prostitute)' (Luddy 2007, 45). The rest of the house is taken up by three other young women occupying one room and described as domestic or general servants. Another room is occupied by a single female aged 40, but it is not clear what occupation she follows. As with Faithful place above its history as a street was fairly similar, and it continued to be occupied into the 1930s until it too was assimilated into the new developments of Liberty House flats of the day. Elliot Place which ran parallel to the previously mentioned Faithful Place above is now also buried under the same open green space between Blocks C and E, of Liberty House Flats. Block D which is oriented east-west straddles these two small streets.

39, 40, 41 Three undated photographs of Elliott Place, all facing northwards towards Railway Street, 1930s? Note that the two women in the lower photograph are also featured in the middle photograph where they are joined by a third woman holding a child [Photos: Terry Fagan collection]

Breen's Court

The block from Mabbott Street to Elliott Place, numbers 12 to 22 is well developed by this date and very little change occurs between 1847 and the later 1864 revision. Breen's Court although mentioned in Griffith's, with access between numbers 17 and 18 and listing six houses in 1854, is not captioned on the OS 1847 or the 1864 revision. The rateable values are averaging £4 10s 0d. It appears on later maps as variously Breen's Court *c.*1880 and later still Tyrone Court *c*. 1900, which name it retained until it also was subsumed into redevelopments of the late 1930s and early 1940s. It is located in the eastern section of the open space between the two sections ('L' shape) of Block C Liberty House Flats.

Purdon Street

Another of the streets which was part of the red-light district, Purdon Street does not exist today and is only remembered as the entrance to Liberty House Flats on James Joyce Street (Corporation Street). It was located south of and ran parallel to Mecklenburgh Street from James Joyce Street (Corporation Street) east as far as Beaver Street, to the rear of the modern 'Steelworks' on Foley Street today. In a sense it is sandwiched between two larger 'more important' streets Railway Street/ Mecklenburgh to the north and Foley /Montgomery Street to the south. The development history of these two streets had a large influence on the evolution of Purdon Street over the past two hundred years. Purdon Street was referred to above in the discussion on Campbell's map where it appears almost certain that the street was originally conceived as a 'stable lane' to the rear of both Railway/Mecklenburgh Street and Foley/ Montgomery Street *c.*1800 (WSC/Maps/230). With regard to numbering there are discrepancies with the numbers given in Thom's (1847), which lists the numbers 1 to 55 and is very vague about intersections particularly at the east end on north side of the street. Griffith's (1854) provides some clarification. Here the house numbers ran from 1 to 44 with the intersection at 22 and 23, which highlights the discrepancies with the numbers shown on the OS 1847 map. After 1847 however, detail in Thom's is very scant at times, often reduced to entries such as: 'Fifty houses in tenements, £1 to £10 each. One person gets a mention by name in 1872, 'Ryan, Michael, marine stores', but the number of his residence or shop is not given. *Fox's Lane*: The first intersection which occurs between numbers 7 and 8 in Thom's (1847) is Fox's Lane and although Griffith's (1854) does not distinguish it as a lane it does suggest the likelihood of this by the use of the term 'In rere' to distinguish two properties 7 (a) and 7 (b) which occur between local numbers 7 and 9.

***White's Court* (or *Carlisle Place*)**

A second court occurs between numbers 9½ and 10 variously called White's Court or Carlisle Place which is the name given in the 1864 revision (Ord. S. 9, 1864). Thom's records White's Court vaguely as, 'In Tenements', without providing any quantity or house numbers. This is corrected in 1861 when the figure of four is included and a range of valuations from 10s0d to £3

pounds is provided. Griffiths (1854) was much more specific listing numbers 1 to 11 dwellings/ sheds (1 shed in ruins) providing the names of all the occupants (heads of household). White's Court is not listed after 1863 when it is still showing 'four small tenements' and although Carlisle Place replaces it on the 1864 revision map, the new name does not occur in Thom's. The name continues on the later maps *c*.1900 but ceases after the redevelopment of Foley/Purdon Street in the early 1900s.

Connolly's Court

Connolly's Court is recorded erroneously as an intersection between numbers 20 and 21, although the actual entry for Connolly's Court advises that it is: 'Off Purdon– street, No. 16' (Thom's 1847, 672). The OS 1847 shows it between 15 and 16. Griffith's (1854) shows it between 16 and 17 and records house numbers 1 to 4 in the court, with 'lodgers' in each. This continues to be the entrance on later valuation maps *c*.1880. Connolly's Court also receives mention in 1861 and 1872 with its 'Four houses in tenements', after which it is not listed in Thom's. It was still featuring on maps in 1904 but by 1907 long with the other courts on this street mentioned above it was also incorporated into the large redevelopment of Foley /Purdon Street of the early 1900s. It was located at the east end of what for a period was Corporation Place at the end of block 1 to 55 and 56 to 95 where it became part of the entrance to the Corporation Buildings complex from Foley Street.

Mitchell's Court

Griffith's also includes another number of small courts on this south side of the street including Mitchell's Court to the east of number 17, with three small houses, which is not mentioned at all in Thom's. Additionally a little further east, Beaver Court to the west of number 20 also receives mention in Griffith's with its five houses and named occupants. Although not mentioned in Thom's for 1847 it does receive an entry for 1861 with 'Three houses in tenements' recorded, after which it ceases to be mentioned. *Ayre's Court* (or *Eyre's Court*): Some confusion has occurred between Ayre's Court and Eyre's Court because they are both located on the same street and at times the names appear to have been used interchangeably. Thom's 1847 when listing Purdon Street in 1847 states that the intersection for Ayre's Court is located between numbers 53 and 54 on the north side of Purdon Street going east from Mabbott Street. However, the map names this small street located between the same two numbers as 'Eyre's Court' without any further detail. Later maps c.1900 also show 'Eyre's Court 'in the same location. Griffith's (1854) also includes 'Ayre's Court' between 53 and 54 and records five houses the three larger ones with 'lodgers', and does not mention 'Eyre's Court' at all. The separate street entry for Ayer's Court in Thom's (1847) may provide the answer to the confusion when it actually locates Ayre's Court at number 25 Purdon Street, which is on the opposite side of the street, although the cartographic record does not include any street named Ayre's Court'. Both versions have separate entries after 1847. Ayer's Court in 1861 having 'four houses in tenements' and Eyre's Court for the same year having three

houses in tenements. It survived into the late 1930's when it was subsumed into the large Liberty House Flats redevelopment of the area where it now forms part of the open space to the east of Block 'A'.

Supple's Court

Progressing eastwards past the intersections for Elliot Place and Faithful Place, touched on above, the next small court is Supple's Court (also known as Purdon's Court) which Thom's records as consisting of '1 to 7 Tenements', with various valuations between £2 to £4 in 1847. In 1861 and 1872 this figure was reduced to 'Four houses in Tenements with valuations of £3 10s 0d. It ceases to be recorded in Thom's after 1875. It is named on both OS 1847 and 1864 between number 38 and 39 on the OS 1847 map. Griffith's 1854 does not mention it by name but refers to a house and yard 'in rere' at this location, with a £4 valuation. The position on the map is a relatively small area and appropriate for one small house, and not the seven tenements mentioned above, so there is an anomaly here. In 1889 it is recorded on a map as Ryan's Court a description which continues in use at least up to 1904. Although the court is still shown in 1907 there is no name attached to it at this stage. As with the other small courts of this area it too was assimilated into the regeneration activities of the 1930's. It is now part of an open space to the south of Block E Liberty House (Flats). After 1847 the amount of useful detail provided by Thom's on Purdon Street is negligible, often just describing the street as 'Fifty houses in tenements', with house valuations of from £1 to £10 (Thom's 1872). Between 1872 and 1911 it does not receive any listing whatsoever in Thom's reflecting no doubt the low status of the street. When the street reoccurs in the record in *c*. 1911, buildings 1 to 39 are listed as 'Corporation Buildings', which was associated with the development on and to the rear of Foley Street to the south at the time. The cryptic record in Thom's continues up to the 1950s before it disappears for a second time from the record when the street was 'demolished' in 1958 (Thom's 1958). The line of the old street is still obvious today at the Corporation Street end where it forms the entrance to the Liberty House Flats between the flats and the northern side of the new Liberty House high rise block.

Foley Street

Today, very little of the original street fabric remains with the majority of the street redeveloped over the past forty years. The cobblestones are the sole physical reminder of the street's history (**43**).

At the intersection with James Joyce Street (Liberty Corner) on the north side of the street a large building Liberty House is located. This corner was the location of number 134, Phil Shanahan's public house often mentioned in the folklore of the area particularly regarding the 'Monto'. Continuing east is a large tree lined grassed recreational area with playgrounds and Tennis courts, replacing what was once was the site of Corporation Buildings *c.*1904-1980 (**44**). 'The Steelworks' a major apartment and office building complex occupies the remainder of the block as

43 Cobble stones on Foley Street

44 Corporation Buildings, Foley Street [Photo: Terry Fagan collection]

far as Beaver Street. This particular block was historically associated with some industrial or commercial activity continuously from its early association with a ‘Saw Mill’ and ‘Flour Mill’ recorded on the early OS maps. As discussed above, Mabbott had an early mill in this general area during the 17th century, so there is a recorded history of industrial activity in the vicinity. The block from Beaver Street to Buckingham Street Lower is now taken up with a ‘Bord Gais’ building. The south side of the street east to west consists of a public house Lloyds (established 1893) and some remnants of old buildings including a dilapidated wooden shop front with the name of John Mullett over the shop. Some new apartment buildings called Montgomery Court, probably the only token reminder of the street’s original name, takes up a frontage eastwards as far as the point opposite to Beaver Street. The remainder of the street as far as James Joyce (Corporation) Street, houses a variety of uses including commercial buildings, sites under construction, and a hotel. Montgomery Street as discussed in the general review above is one of the relatively older street in the area *c.*1756. Named as World’s End Lane on Rocque’s map in 1756 and also showing as an un- named street earlier in Brooking’s map of 1728. It is included on two sheets and as can be seen is relatively well developed by 1847. Part of this street, the western end at Corporation Street/ Mabbott, can be found on. On the north side of the street the numbering runs from 38 to 74 east to west from the Buckingham Street to Mabbot Street, whilst on the south side

of the street the numbers west to east start from 1 to 37, although some gaps do exist in the streetscape at that time (1847). Starting on the south side going eastwards a number of long plots can be observed. The first of these occurs after number 3 and run south as far as Talbot Street. Thom's describes 4 and 5 as John Connell's Yard. Seven years on Griffith's lists 4 as 'Passage to No.'s, 1,2& 3 '. It survived intact as can be seen on the map revision. In fact it is not until the period between 1904 and 1907 that changes can be detected on the maps when the lower portion facing on to Talbot Street was finally developed. Numbers 10 and 11 are described as 'Building ground' in Thom's (1847). Nothing much has changed by the time of Griffith's (1854), except for the description, which describes numbers 9, 10 and 11 as the: 'Rere of Verdon Hotel , Talbot Street'.

Nugent's Court

Thom's (1847) records Nugent's Court between numbers 17 and 18. Griffith's (1854) does not distinguish it by name, merely recording a building 17(a) 'In rere' occupied by a 'Martin Nowlan' with the premises described as 'house and yard' and with a valuation of £2 10s 0d. Although it continued to be mentioned as an intersection in Thom's into the period of the 1880s, it was not listed as a distinct street. Further east along the street a large open frontage can be seen and which Thom's (1847) records as numbers 21 to 27 describing the plot as 'Building ground', and which Griffith's (1854) records as numbers 22 to 27 and describes as 'Rere of No.41 Talbot Street'. By the time of the next revision of the map in 1864 some additional development had occurred on this site from Montgomery Street south to Talbot Street. The remainder of the street, including numbers 28 to 37 eastwards to Amiens Street, is already developed by this date. On the north side of the Street from Amiens to Beaver Street, the block including building plots 38 to 42 is shown with a mixture of buildings and open ground although it is described as 'Building ground' in Thom's (1847). Griffith's (1854) some years later states that this block is actually valued as number 10 Beaver Street. By the time of the revision of 1864 this vacant site (No.10 Beaver Street) on the corner has been built on. Further west from Beaver Street the terrace of houses 43 to 49 is well established. A number of activities are recorded including that number 46, which is the only one set in tenements at this date. Seven years later 43 to 46 inclusive also have *(lodgers*) and by 1861 the terrace is listed as Tenements, although number 46 also houses James Flannagan a 'boot & shoe repairer'.

Steam Saw Mill

The large plot on the map, number 50, includes the description 'Steam Saw Mill'. This is also described as 'Saw Mills' in Thom's (1847) with a valuation of £8. Griffiths Valuation (1854) describes the occupiers as 'The Patent Saw Mill and Corn-mill Co' and includes a description of the premises as Corn, saw-mills and Timber yard with a valuation of £65. By the time of the 1864 revision it is clear that some building work has occurred in the interim, particularly on the Montgomery Street side of the site where some extension to the buildings has occurred. A new

caption of ‘Flour Mills’ is included for the first time. Two water cisterns can also be seen at the Purdon Street side of the site, no doubt required to provide a standby water supply for the steam engine powering the Saw Mills. An entry in Park Neville’s diary (City Engineer), records an annual charge of £15 0s 0d for a supply via two one inch pipes to Mr Dowell for a Steam Engine to power a saw-mill , at 50 Montgomery Street. This was part of a survey he conducted in the later 1860’s as part of an assessment of the water needs of industrial users in the city, prior to the introduction of the new Vartry Water Supply in the late 1860’s (WW/10/1). Thom’s records a Mr M’Dowell at that address in 1861 and afterwards either himself or descendents in possession continuously up to 1900. After which it is listed as ‘vacant’ in 1911. This site continued to have a mixed industrial use: as a Saw Mill on the eastern half on the site and Flour Mill on the western portion. It remained an industrial site undergoing various changes in usage from builder’s providers stores in the 1930’s to steel stock yard before it was redeveloped during the last decade. Leaving there numbers 51 westwards to 61, was already a well established part of Montgomery Street by the time of the OS 1847 map. An alley entrance to White’s Court, discussed above, is located between numbers 61 and 62.

Brady’s Cottages

Although not mentioned in Thom’s 847 and Thom’s 1854 or shown on the 1847 map and the 1864 revision, Griffiths (1854) mentions Brady’s Cottages with an entrance between numbers 71 and 72 where it lists numbers 1 to 7 small houses with valuations of £1 10s 0d. It records all the occupiers (heads of households) by name and lists Daniel Brady as the immediate lessor or landlord. This practise of naming these small courts and alleys after the builder or developers (or in some cases an antecedent) is a pattern which can be detected in Griffith’s Valuation in this area. A number of small courts including White’s Lane named after Richard White; Byrne’s Square after John Byrne, Halpin Court after Matthew Halpin, and Brady’s Court after Philip Brady are just a number of examples. Later valuation maps *c*.1880 show Brady’s Cottages with 1 to 6 small houses and it continues to feature on OS maps up until 1904 when it becomes part of the new development of Corporation Buildings in Foley/Purdon Street at that time. The space it occupied survived as a walkway from Foley Street into this new development providing access Corporation Place between numbers 95 and 96. Foley Street/Mabbott Street continues west to the remaining number 74 on the street at that date 1847, where it intersects with Mabbott/ Corporation Street. After 1907 with the increase of households on the street due to the building of the new Corporation Flats (51-130) the street numbers would later extend to 134. Corporation officials in addressing some questions raised by the Committee to Inquire into the Housing Conditions of the working class in the City of Dublin in 1914, provides some insight into the scope of this particular housing initiative of Dublin Corporation.

James Joyce Street

The oldest street in the area, this was re-named James Joyce Street in recent times. Previously known as Corporation Street and Mabbot Street, this street has been almost completely redeveloped over the past twenty years, both its late Georgain and mid-20th century having been demolished (**45**, **46**). It is dominated by large modern buildings today. On the west side buildings include Tyrone House and Metropolitan Buildings. On the eastern side of the street it is a similar story with the block between Talbot and Foley Street occupied by one large building. Liberty House another large building occupies the block between Foley and the old Purdon Street taking up a large part of the street. Now the oldest buildings on the street, Liberty House Flats occupy the block between the now defunct Purdon Street and Railway Street. Located at the western end of the core study area is Mabbot Street, which originally ran from Luscomb's Court (Store Street) north to Mecklenburgh Street Lower. This was later shortened *c.*1921 and that part of the street from Store Street, north to Talbot Street was incorporated into Store Street *c.*1921. From Talbot Street to Mecklenburgh Street the numbering in 1847 ran south to north on the east side of the street from 9 to 35 and north south on the west side of the street from 36 to 62.

45 Corporation Street (1930s?); 46 Corporation Street flats (1950s?) [Photos: Terry Fagan collection]

By 1847 this street was well established with only a few free building plots. The first three houses, 9, 10 and 11 have rateable valuations of £30, 320 & £25 respectively in Thom's 1847, amongst the occupants of number 10 was Hugh Byrne, the City Architect of the day. By the time of Griffith's (1854) these valuations had been reduced to £22, £15 and £24 respectively. Number 11 housed the *Victoria* tavern. The intersection with Montgomery Street occurs between numbers 11 and 12. The only 'building ground' shown at that date was between numbers 15 to 17. Purdon Street the next intersection is between numbers 21 occupied by John McGrath provision dealer and number 22 across the intersection occupied by Timothy Bowes, a vitner. No gaps appear in the street between 22 and 35, where Terence Brady, a grocer and spirit merchant occupied the premises numbered 35 on the corner with Mecklenburgh Street. Returning south on the west side of the street, number 36 is occupied by Thos. Byrne boot & shoe maker. While at the southern end where the numbers ascend to 62 at the corner with Talbot Street, Philip Brady, a grocer and tea dealer occupied number 62. In between along the street a variety of trades and professions occupy the street.

Mabbott-Court

Griffith's (1854) includes Mabbott-Court, between numbers 55 and 56. This consists of houses numbered 1 to 6, three of which are set to lodgers by Ann McKeown the lessor. The valuations here are between £0 15s0d and £2 10s 0d reflecting the small size and quality of the houses. In Thom's (1847) 'Mabbot Lane, or court' is treated as a separate entity, but with a very brief entry only: 'Stables and tenements £5': Mabbott Lane which runs to the rear and parallel to the west side of Mabbott Street is clearly marked on the map and still exists to this day despite all the recent development in the area. However the caption Mabbott Court does not appear on the map, but instead in the area where one would expect to find it, another court 'O'Loughlen's Court' is featured and is still mentioned in the revision seventeen years later. Although the later maps, of *c.* 1900 continue to show the space intact (but still un-named), it was not until 1936 that the name Mabbott Court is inserted on the space as a later addition by hand.

Gloucester Place, Lower

The shape of Gloucester Diamond is very pronounced on all maps, and was achieved by the unusual diamond shape of the roads at the intersection. An earlier manuscript map from 1791 (WSC/Maps/309) contained in the collection Wide Street Commissioners maps in the City Archives, shows this feature in a plan showing building plots laid out at that date. The continuation of Mabbott Street northwards is known as Gloucester Place Lower until it reaches the Gloucester Diamond, at Gloucester Street Lower (**47**). The street to the north of the Diamond is known as Gloucester Place North. The numbering here is organised 1 to 8 south to north on the west side of the street and numbers 9 to 15 north to south on the east side of the street. By 1847 this street, as with the other three parts of the Diamond are well established at this period. It includes a good mixture of trades, with just two of the houses' one on either side set out as

tenements. Griffith's Valuation some seven years later introduced number 8½ on the east side. A comparison of the names appearing on both sources tends to confirm the rapid turn over of tenants in rented accommodation which appears to be common for the day. Only three names out of 13 listed in 1847 reoccur, that of Richard White vitner at number 15 and Francis Harvey at number 7 and James Millington at number 10. By 1861 the only name still represented was that of Richard White at number 15, the vitner. The distinct profile of the Diamond was retained into modern times. Today this profile has been achieved to a degree by the positioning of the buildings as in the past. The road today, however, only retains the shape on the south-west corner, presumably to cater for modern day motor traffic considerations, so a lot of the original impact at this intersection has been lost. The name still resonates today in some of the older Dublin folk songs including the *Spanish Lady* made popular by the *Dubliners* and in the local folklore. In the War of Independence a house near to here was reputedly the scene of the arrest of three of the leading members of the Dublin Brigade of the IRA, who were later shot in Dublin Castle 'while trying to escape' by Auxiliaries of the British forces on Bloody Sunday 1920.

47 Gloucester Street Lower, showing the Diamond on the left, in 1913, from Darkest Dublin slide collection [Photo: Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland]. Note the poured concrete wall in the foreground, with broken glass bottles set into it.

Beaver Street

Today this street, as with the other streets within the area has been redeveloped, with the exception of a small area on the east side old numbers 7 & 8 occupied for a number of years by James Daly brush manufacturer (**48**) and prior to that was a dairy yard, at the Foley Street end. The remainder of the east side of the street focussed around Beaver Close is mainly occupied by apartment blocks. The west side of the street is divided into two blocks separated by a gap which is located approximately where the now defunct Purdon Street once connected with Beaver Street. The large block to the south is known as 'The Steelworks', with an entrance on Foley Street , while that block to the north is named 'The Foundry'. On the early OS maps Beaver Street (*c*.1811) originally known as Little Martin's Lane, oriented north-south, connects Mecklenburgh Street to Montgomery Street. The numbering follows a (north-south) sequence on the east side of the street of 1 to 10 and on the west side (south-north) numbers 11 to 22 (Griffiths 1854). A number of the houses at the time were used as family residences (1 to 3), the balance had some involvement with trade, which of course did not preclude them from being used as dwelling houses, or set out as tenements. In common with other streets in the area a number of small courts were also present on this street.

48 Daly's brush makers, Beaver Street

Ring's Court

The first intersection is Ring's Court between numbers 4 and 5, where Thom's records: 'Three houses in tenements' valuation £20. Griffith's seven years later records the presence of eight houses, all very small with valuation from £0 10s 0d to £0 15s 0d and also provides the names of the householders. The landlord was 'Trustees of Simpson's Hospital. By 1861 this court was recorded as 'Ruins' (Thom's 1861). Later maps of *c.*1890 show an open space. From the early 1900's it had various industrial uses including a brush manufacturing site (Sterol brushes) from the 1940's and latterly a scrap metal merchants yard, until it was redeveloped in more recent times.

Wood's Court

Between numbers 7 and 8 is Wood's Court, which like a number of the other smaller alleys is recorded in the earlier directories. Thom's (1847-61) records it as having 'Two houses in tenements' with a £6 valuation. Later in the 1860s it is recorded as 'Ruins' as with the previous Ring's Court above, before it too disappears from the record. In 1854 Griffith's mentions it also, as houses numbers 1 to 5, four of the houses having *(lodgers).* The large site on the corner with Montgomery Street (42) is not built on at this date.

Marr's Court

Both the 1847 and 1864 maps omit the names on a number of the small courts in this part of the street. Some are also completely overlooked in Thom's (1847). Relying on Griffith's in this instance, on the western side of the street Marr's Court is located, between 11 and 12. Griffith's (1854) records it with five houses, valuations of £2 on average, numbered 1 to 5 and listing the holders. John Marr is the immediate lessor.

Cromwell's Court

Purdon Street is the next intersection between 16 and 17. Next is intersection is Cromwell's Court between 18 and 19. This court includes small houses and small yards with numbers from 1 to 8, the majority valued at £1 5s 0d each. From there to end of the street at number 21 a number of tenements are listed in Thom's (1847). Griffiths includes a number 22, one more than Thom's, but includes a note that it was valued with number 48 Mecklenburgh Street Lower located on the corner with Beaver Street. For a number of years Beaver Street was not included in Thom's during the 1880s and 1890s, but it continued to be a location for a number of small industries during this period including a foundry ice cream makers and various engineering business until it was redeveloped in recent times.

Buckingham Street Lower

Buckingham Street Lower is the eastern boundary of the core study area, and is oriented north south. Of all the streets in the area it is the one which retains some of the historic building fabric.

Because of its eastern location it was later than other parts of the core study area to be developed. This is very apparent from the 1847 and 1864 maps, where those parts of the street nearest to Amiens Street and the docks area, include evidence of the earliest development on the street. By 1864 the western side of the street is almost completely developed. The numbering scheme on the east side of the starts numbers 1 to 30 (south to north) and on the west side of the street (north- south) 31 to 48 (Griffith's 1854). Thom's (1847) is ambiguous with locating some of its intersections, no doubt because of the undeveloped nature of the street in its early stages. On the east side looking north a terrace of Georgian style houses, 1 to 8 represent part of the earliest development which still survives. Numbers 1 to 7 can be seen on the 1847 map. Number 8 was built slightly later (1847 to 1861) and it appears on the later revision. The fire station occupies numbers 9 to 11 inclusive. This was designed by Charles James McCarthy the City Architect (1893-1921) and opened in 1900 at a cost of £8,000 (DIA). The Fire Station was the first permanent building on this site which was previously used as a builder's yard. Today it houses an artist's studios and other local community offices. Further north another of the original terraces survives. This is followed by a modern apartment building on the corner with Sean Mac Dermott Street. On the west side of the street another of the original terraces, numbers 22 to 26 survives. A modern building Buckley Hall follows on the corner with Railway Street. At the far side of the intersection (south) a modern 'Georgian style' redbrick two storeys terrace blends in with some of the older fabric of the street. The site of the 'Macushla Ballroom' at the southern end of the street has been incorporated into the Bord Gais building on Foley Street.

Monto peoples

This review of the topographical and proprietorial history of the area has shown how the period in which Monto existed as a red-light district was actually quite short. Monto's end-game is well-known (Finegan 1978; Fagan 2002; Luddy 2007) and a brief summary will suffice here.

The Roman Catholic charitable organisation, the Association of Our Lady of Mercy, founded in 1921, began an active campaign to rid the north inner-city of its brothels in 1923. By the time the Association was renamed the Legion of Mary in 1925 it was in a position to claim considerable success in persuading women to vacate the brothels and to start afresh as penitants in proper employment. The success of the project was also a result of a large police raid in spring 1925 in which big numbers of madams, prostitutes, pimps and customers were arrested. In 1926 the problem of the Monto's 'open brothel' was regarded as resolved, although in reality the problem remained, as witness the famous photographs of girls congregating where Elliott Place joins with Purdon Street.

One of the observations made above when introducing Monto as a study area was that it attracted to it a diverse selection of people. It is appropriate then to close this part of the chapter by elaborating on that statement. Five different categories stand out.

Monto 'workers'

The women of the Monto are the most intriguing but mysterious of the astonishing range of people for whom the area was either a home or a place to visit. The names of some of the individual brothel madams (or, more accurately, landladies) are known, with Bella Cohen on Mecklenburgh Street being the most famous. The names of other owners and of the women themselves may also be known from the 1911 census, but the census returns tended not to identify prostitutes (with two exceptions, as noted above) so one cannot assume that the women listed as owners or lodgers were involved in this activity. Some of the women who worked in the area are known by their initials and from the biographies that were recorded when they moved from Monto to the Legion of Mary's Sancta Maria hostel, a 'safe house' in Harcourt Street: 'M. B.', for example, was a street prostitute for 26 years and a habitual drinker of methylated spirits when the Legion 'rescued' her from her abode in a brothel in Elliott Place (Luddy 2007, 251). If there is accuracy in the numbers of prostitutes—many hundreds—claimed by the police to have worked in Dublin, or claimed by the Legion to have been rescued, the conclusion must be that we know proportionately very little indeed about the Monto women.

Our ignorance about these women is itself important. Just as their lives were somewhat disposable in Monto's world of vice and violence, their historical identities have been disposed of. More research in the records of the Westmoreland Lock Hospital (see below) may reverse this conclusion, but the likelihood is that many women will never have their names and life stories known. That silence of the sources about these women also rings a bell of caution, however. How sure can modern commentators be that the numbers of prostitutes in Monto matched those reported? How sure can anybody be that there were as many brothel-houses as reported? It has been observed (Pierce 2004) that women who operate with autonomy from men are open historically to characterisation as prostitutes in a homosocial environment, even though it is not an accurate representation. Put another way, women who challenge patricentric socials norm through independence of mind and action are 'othered' by that, and can be constructed in male discourse as corporeal sites of moral and sexual deviance. Their identification as prostitutes is metaphorical in these instances, but its a powerful metaphor in a social context in which the prostitute is a carrier of contagion to the male population. And it is a metaphor that can overtake reality in an environment of reform. That may be what happened to some degree around Mecklenburgh and Montgomery streets, where the census and other sources reveal large numbers of women living on their own or as unmarried tenants in the area. Indeed, middle-class objections to activities around Mecklenburgh Street may have been motivated not solely by moral outrage at prostitution but by the fact that the home, a place which emerged as a distinct place in

the 19th century as a place in contradistinction to the industrial place (see Benjamin 2002, 220), was being violated.

The upshot of this questioning of the accuracy of the label ‘prostitute’ when applied so freely today to women of the north inner-city in the late 1800s and early 1900s, may be the conclusion, offered tentatively here but due to be explored in more detail in one of this project’s spin-off articles, that Monto is in large part an imagined place, a construction of late Victorian society. This is not to deny the reality of prostitution in the area before and after 1900 but simply to recognise that the branding of the area may have more to do with contemporary homosocial values and moral imaginations. A rethinking of Monto along these lines—a job for a later date—is encouraged by work on historic prostitution elsewhere (Mayne and Lawrence 1998; Dawdy and Weyhing 2008).

Monto nuns

Nuns constitute the second group of people in Monto. The presence of the Gloucester Street convent at the north edge of Monto, and of the Magdalen asylum where that convent's block of land faced onto Mecklenburgh Street, were noted above. The nuns' presence here is not at all surprising. Magdalen asylums were run by nuns wherever they were established, and they were specifically for reforming sinners (hence ‘Magdalen’), many of whom happened to have been prostitutes and many of whom were destined to return to that life when they left (Runstedler 2006). The contrast is striking between the inmates of the asylum, unmarried women who were regarded as having 'fallen' through the exploitation or exercise of their sexuality, and the nuns, women who denied or countered their own sexuality in order to be 'brides of Christ'. On the issue of the asylums it is useful to note here that the first Magdalen asylum in Ireland opened in Dublin in 1767 and was Protestant; the first Roman Catholic asylum was Townsend Street in 1797. By 1835 there were eleven such asylums in Dublin alone. Within the Magdalen asylums the prostitutes and other women were inaccessible. They could, and indeed often did, leave the asylums voluntarily. Of course, the religious communities running the asylums were reluctant to let any of their charges leave the institutions which they ran, but they were powerless to stop it happening.

The alternative to the Magdalen asylum was not run by nuns: this was the lock hospital. This was an actual hospital type for sufferers of venereal disease. Undifferentiated initially by religion, class or sex, lock hospital inmates were either prostitutes, people who frequented prostitutes, and people who contracted the disease second- or third-hand without having ever consorted with prostitutes themselves. In the nineteenth century, lock hospitals became women–only institutions, and women were separated according to circumstances (married or ‘fallen’) and religion. Unlike the Magdalen asylums, the lock hospitals exerted unofficial power of confinement over women until the 1860s, often bolting doors and barring windows to stop inmates from escaping. The

Westmoreland lock hospital (Boyd 2005), which was located across the Liffey from Monto and took in many Monto women, had a penitentary in the early 1820s, which was a working environment for women who had been prostitutes. One of the activities there in which they partook was laundering, where the act of washing clothes was homologous with clensing the soul, and this is something the hospital had in common with the Magdalen asylum.

Monto clients

The next category of person found in Monto is the visitor, the client, the customer. What marks Monto off from other working class areas in the 19th-century city is that, because of the activity there, it attracted people from outside of it, and not just from the wider city area but from overseas as well. Frank Duff captured this perfectly: “Visiting [the Monto] was like being in another country. That ‘exotic’ flavour did not arise from (although it was intensified by) the sort of visitors you would encounter—such for instance as the big party of Turks, complete with red fezzes, just come straight from the boat. That visit, by the way, was rounded off by a terrific row because some of them were robbed" (1989). Spaces of prostitution, architectural and corporeal, are spaces where men of different religion, class and race come into unconscious contact with each other, directly and indirectly. Monto was such a place.

Monto reformers

Secular social reformers, sometimes operating as individuals but more normally operating as members of so-called ‘purity movement’ collectives, constitute the next category. Those whom we encounter in the history of Monto possessed a universal understanding of the evils of vice and the need to instil qualities of virtue in ‘fallen women’ (Schwartz 2000).

To understand their presence in Monto it is necessary to think about the official secular response to the area's vice problem. Monto's reputation in the early 20th century merited it a mention in an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article on prostitution in 1901. This described how the Dublin police turned a blind eye to the 'open houses' of one street—Mecklenburgh—and how this meant that Dublin was home to more flagrant prostitution than cities in southern Europe or, its says specifically, Algeirs. This implied 'zone of tolerance', as it would be described today, was more than one street, but it was Mecklenburgh rather than Montgomery that was usually singled out as the more important street. Was Monto really a 'zone of tolerance'? Probably. Although the Dublin Metropolitan Police had the powers to shut down brothels thanks to the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1884, the force had, by its own records (Statistical Returns of the Dublin Metropolitan Police, *Parliamentary Papers* 55 (1895), Table 35), closed down only four of the seventy-four brothels that it claimed to be in Monto. Indeed, the records amassed by Luddy comparing the numbers of brothels in the city as a whole with the numbers that had been raided (2007) is a clear sign that there was little real desire by the secular authorities to tackle the problem between the

middle of the 1800s and the early 1900s. This suggests a certain acceptance of prostitution as part of the fabric of contemporary life (and therefore as a practice not really to be exterminated).

Secular social reformers were less sanguine. Two individuals stand out, one real and one ficticious. The former was Frank Duff, co-founder of the Association of Our Lady of Mercy and prime mover against the Monto madams. The latter was *Ulysses*'s fictional hero, Leopold Bloom, who stated his desire to be declared 'the world's greatest reformer' while in Nighttown, Joyce's name for Monto. The reformers crossed religious divides, which gives them special interest in an age in which a strong, nationalist Catholicism dominated the moral landscape of Dublin. Although Duff's organisation proved the most effective, mention must be made of the White Cross Vigilance Association, a Church of Ireland organisation with offices at 82 Mecklenburgh Street, next door to Bella Cohen's brothel. From 1885 to 1910 members of the Association stood outside the brothels, shining lanterns into faces of people visiting while taking down the names and addresses of those whom they recognised. Its patrols of two dozen men were dispatched from its office every night from 9.30 to 2am (Mullin 2003). The White Cross Vigilance Association actually claimed credit for the closure of Monto, although clearly it was less central to that end-result than the Legion.

Monto flâneurs

Finally, among the major categories, there are the curious, the sightseers, the urban gazers, the flâneurs. Mullin has described the prostitute and the slum as the 'twin urban spectacles for a fascinated yet repulsed urban bourgeois gaze' and contends that their co-habitation of Monto made it a compelling place (2003, 177). Joyce's account of Nighttown, and the experience of Bloom within it, evokes Baudelaire's *flâneur*, the 'gentleman stroller of the streets', the 'botanist of the sidewalk', who experiences the city through perambulating it *incognito*. Walter Banjamin's conceptualisation of the flâneur as a sort of pre-tourist, a creation of modernity and of industrialisation, has a resonance here in that the working class—and Monto was a working class area—was itself a product of the Industrial Revolution.

3.4 EXTRACTING FROM MONTO: RE-IMAGINING AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL PRAXIS FOR THE CONTEMPORARY INNER-CITY

The culture of professional archaeology in Ireland, with its particular history of non-participation in the subject's theoretical debates, does not encourage practitioners to say much about, or do much with, say, an excavated 19th cellar, other than make a record and make that record available. The outcome is a report in which the people of the past are absent. Yet, for such a feature in Dublin there is potential for the archaeologist to weave interesting and arresting stories about the subterranean spaces of the 19th-century city, drawing on the one hand on contemporary 19th-century literature as well as on conventional historical sources, and exploiting

on the other hand the fact that the archaeologist descending into a recently exposed cellar by ladder is physically retracing 19th-century steps. Moreover, there is potential to name those who owned a property above a cellar and even to locate descendants who might find the discovery of a cellar with a family connection intrinsically interesting.

The argument against this sort of semi-imaginative, personalised, intervention and engagement is that most archaeology is commercial and that, even if the profession were interested, the funding bodies—mainly developers over the past fifteen years—would not support work that veered away from conventional descriptions and normative analyses into ‘stories’. But one might suggest, to develop a point made elsewhere (O'Keeffe 2006), that the commercial world's expectation of archaeologists simply reflects what archaeologists expect of themselves. This is not an argument for all excavations to lead to narratives, but it is an argument for a rethink of the reasons why certain parts of the heritage resource are excavated to begin with, and why the findings are then reported in a language that suggests that the real value of the excavation is to produce material for comparative analysis of material produced in other excavations (O'Keeffe 2008).

Just as a revealed object—a cellar, a clay-pipe fragment—can in theory be woven into interesting stories that bring the past to life in the present, so too can the living, contemporary, streetscape be used as a point of departure for archaeological narratives about contemporaneity and modernity, narratives in which observation and hard knowledge (the traits of objectivity) are combined with informed opinion (half-objective, half-subjective) and the deployment of an archaeological sensibility (subjective). The archaeologist who explores the contemporary urban environment with a willingness to construct a narrative that combines the subjective and objective and gives equal weight to the surfaces of contemporaneity and the layers of hsitoricity, can become *almost* like the *flâneur* mentioned above: a perambulator of a modern landscape who observes and comments and develops an understanding from that perambulation that he or she would not get otherwise. This comparison between the archaeologist and the *flâneur* is a theme we will pick up again presently.

Ways of seeing

> ‘Different ways of seeing inevitably produce different representations of the object of analysis’ (Dear 2000, 5).

That long review of data for the north inner-city which was presented above shows the quality of material available to us, and it makes clear that this area merits the careful attention of heritage-sector professionals. But the four lists preceding that review reveal both the slight archaeological knowledge of the area, and the very light touch of heritage agencies on the area. Although it is

ostensibly a very new landscape, it has fragments of an older (albeit late 18th-century) landscape in it, and it has very rich historical (and, thinking of Joyce, historical-fictional) associations, and these factors alone should give it the sort of heritage rating which, for better or worse, would manifest itself in the area in signposts, information boards, 'saved' pieces of built fabric, an occasional walking tour, or a frequent visit by a hop-on-hop-off tourist bus.

The constant turnover of built fabric and the non-stop alteration of landscape would almost certainly ring alarm bells were this part of the medieval core of Dublin. However, its late Georgian date of establishment, coupled with its particular post-Georgian history, means that it has slipped under the heritage radar. The affect of this is not simply to deprive the area of some public acknowledgement of its significance. The affect is to deprive the local community of some recognition, for themselves and for their place of habitation, in a sector of the cultural economy—the heritage sector—that can influence many aspects of that community's life, not least the economic. Yes, there has been a shift in tourism patterns from the consumption of durable goods to the consumption of experiences (Judd and Fainstein 2003), but that shift does not lessen the economic opportunities. But let us imagine that, on foot of the presentation of information above, the 'heritage sector'—an inadequate blanket term but the meaning here should be clear—'moves in' to the north inner-city and declares it an area of heritage value. What would 'heritage professionals' pick out as worthy of, say, information boards? What would be saved, physically, in the midst of redevelopment? What conditions would attend pre-redevelopment excavation licences here? What criteria would be used to answer these three questions alone? To what extent would the local community be involved in establishing the criteria and answering the questions? And what *is* the local community here? How long does one need to be resident in the area to be regarded as 'local' for these purposes? Or how far back does one's family need to go to be 'local'?

'Mind the gap'

These questions are important because they draw attention to the gaps that *potentially* exist between (a) those historical but inert objects of heritage-industry interest which constitute the archaeological resource (**49**), and (b) those objects that have local meaning and value but might not possess the level of historical interest to register on the professional archaeologist's radar (**50**). By drawing attention to potential gaps, these questions actually highlight the need for those disciplinary 'providers to the heritage industry', such as Archaeology, to actually establish if there are gaps in the first place.

Dialogue between local communities and heritage agencies/professionals in places like Monto, where heritages are not old and passive but recent and active, has the potential to close those gaps, or at least to narrow them. The process requires archaeologists and fellow professionals from cognate disciplines to work *with* local community members in two specific tasks. The first is

the capturing of the multivocality—the *voices* in this project's title—of place and material. The second is the finding of a common language, or at least of some means of translating for each other, the voices that each hears. Some of the methods described in the following chapter—digital story-telling, for example—are used in this project because they help us to address these two tasks.

49 (left) Capital from main entrance to Gloucester Street convent; this feature will be retained in the site's redevelopment

50 (right) A white tile cross inserted into the rere wall of Gloucester Street convent, which is one of a number placed deliberately to look over Railway Street; this feature will not be retained in redevelopment.

Finding traces in Urban Archaeology

Archaeology's engagement with the north inner-city over the past decade or so is captured in the contents of the 'four lists' presented above, especially the third and fourth lists. If these lists are any measure, the discipline is clearly punching below its weight: the entries in the lists do not represent Archaeology's full capacity for intervention in the cultural life of the district, or its capacity to explain to a community, constituted of the old working class and the new immigrants, just how the district has come to look as it does today.

It is reasonable to suggest that Archaeology has fallen short of what it can do in an area like Monto because resources are limited and opportunities are few. But to attribute too forcefully to external factors—resources, opportunities—the very modest level of engagement that is documented in the 'four lists' above would be to miss a critical point. Archaeology has fallen short of what it can do in an area like Monto because, it is asserted here, it privileges methodology over epistemology; it self-identifies as a practice rather than as a philosophy (O'Keeffe *forthcoming* 2009b). For all its merits, the Oxford Archaeological Unit's statement on Urban Archaeology in

Ireland, commissioned by the Heritage Council, concludes with some practice-based and managerial directions—professionalism, prioritisation, dessimination—but eschews philosophical or theoretical issues. Susan Lawrence, in her role as discussant in a collection of papers on the Historical Archaeology of global urbanism (2007), voices a not dissimilar view of what 'we' do and should be doing, and makes no reference to philosophical issues: in order to move forward, she says, we need to review our management of the [urban archaeological] resource, we need a strategy for sampling, and we need to assess value and determine selective preservation/ retention. Lawrence's concerns, articulated for a global archaeology of recent-historical and contemporary urbanism, seem a universe away from the theoretical epicentre of Urban Studies (see O'Keeffe and Yamin 2006), and this is remarkable given both the interest in globalism, and in the tension between local and global, that characterises much Historical Archaeology around the world.

The need to follow the sort of agenda proffered by UAPI, Susan Lawrence and others (see Greene 2006 for references) for the improvement of the discipline is incontestible, but there is an equal, if not more urgent, need to focus on what Archaeology might reasonably aspire to be when pitched into the company of other disciplines which deal with the urban place? This very issue was raised earlier, and this is the appropriate place to revisit it.

Non-archaeological scholarly discourse on the urban place over the past forty years at least has been fixed on a series of key, non-material, concepts: ***spatiality*** and the importance of geographic scale in the construction and operation of the social (Henri Lebefvre, for example), ***capitalism*** as a social-economic mechanism that explains the specificity of urban forms (Manuel Castell, for example), and ***hybridity*** as an expression of the coming together of different collectives within the urban environment (Michael Dear, for example). It is critical to recognise that historicity, a concept with which archaeologists operate, *is* fully acknowledged in the deployment and exploration of these three concepts—spatiality, capitalism and hybridity—in the non-archaeological literature. None of the scholars cited here regard time-depth as irrelevant; all subscribe to a basic principle best articulated by Charles Tilly:

> 'Past social relations and their residues—material, ideological, and otherwise—constrain present social relations' (1988, 711).

The contemporary 'metropolis' possesses, as Iain Chambers memorably put it, a 'poignant narrative' as 'the site of the *ruins* of previous orders in which diverse histories, languages, memories and *traces* continually entwine and recombine in the construction of new horizons' (1990, 112; emphasis added). The words 'ruins' and 'traces' evoke the archaeological in this check-list of urban ingredients. The former word connects us to a philosophical literature (by Adorno and Benjamin, for example) that is certainly relevant to *Placing Voices, Voicing Places*

(see Loukaki 2008 for a parallel project that makes use of the concept of 'ruin') but is not explored here (see O'Keeffe *forthcoming* 2009b for this and for what follows). 'Trace', however, is a word of immediate value here.

In the context of the Chambers quote, 'trace' might be equated with 'material remains', and Archaeology is, by common consent, the subject that deals with 'material remains' (Drewett 1999, 1, citing others). But this seemingly-innocuous identification of itself as the discipline of 'material remains' may be at the heart of Archaeology's struggle to create space for itself alongside Sociology and Geography in the field of urban studies.

First, it suggests a rupture or gap between the full-bodied and the empty-spaced, between the material from the non-material, rendering space as 'non-archaeological' as an oral testimony or an emotional reaction. Archaeologists who emphasise 'material remains', then, allow space to be genuinely archaeological *only* when it is solid-bodied or conceptualised as Cartesian. Their's is an Archaeology that has not moved significantly from the old paradigm of 'things in space' to the new paradigms, articulated by Lebefvre and now well established, of 'the social production of space' and 'the spatial construction of society'.

Second, such a claim privileges 'remains', the fragments that are left behind when other things are removed. Embedded in this is a sense that Archaeology deals with that which has failed: excavation is the revealing of things and surfaces that have lost their currency, that have been rejected, and have been rendered outdated by the passage of time and the timing of fashion. Conceptualising them as heritage retrieves a *public* value for them—that value being that they help us/somebody explain who we/they are—but that value is not intrinsic to the object but needs to be superimposed on the object. While Archaeology can take the old and the abandoned and make claims of relevance for them, by contrast it struggles to deal with that which is current. It has no rationale for dealing with the living object, the contemporary building, the place or space or materiality which has not (yet) failed. It does not know how it should explain the contemporary, or if it should. It cannot think beyond comparative analysis as a methodology for the contemporary, and yet it does not know whether it should do such analysis.

The first step in creating a synergy between Archaeology and those other disciplines concerned with the urban, might be to reimagine Archaeology as a discipline that deals with *traces* not remains. This concept of trace—with its genealogy in the writings of Adorno, of Vidler, and in the work of the situationists (O'Keeffe *forthcoming* 2009b)—allows the following: it allows Archaeology maintain its interest in the old, in those failed things which are the traces, residues, of larger complexes, but it also allows Archaeology to see the current, the contemporary, the as-yet successful, as comprised of *trace elements*, connectors to other places, other things, other people. A building facade, thus conceptualised, has the potential to lead us vertically (back in

time, in other words) through those traces of its past, but it also has the potential to lead us horizontally (to contemporary things elsewhere, in other words) by offering an infinite number of trace elements for us to make a selection from. ‘Trace’, then, is a word that fits well in a vision of Archaeology as a discipline that seeks to comprehend the present as well as the past.

Towards a methodology: the archaeologist as *flâneur*

That gap between the archaeologist and the local community member which was discussed above is conceivably a gap between what each perceives to be a meaningful trace. The only way to bridge that gap is for each party to reveal what traces he or she sees, and to reveal what those traces may be revealing to him or her. For the archaeologist, who enters an area like Monto from the outside, the traces appear only as the area is perambulated, observed, thought about, and spoken about.

Here is a very brief sketch—without the burden of cross-references—of one archaeologist's walk to and through the contemporary inner-city, reflecting on it through the lens of a knowledge of this historic past, and reflecting on that past through the observation of the contemporary. It is not a representative walk; it is simply an illustration of what one archaeologist can see and how one archaeologist (TOK, in this case) might reflect on the heritage environment:

> Monto is approached from the south, from the shadow of Liberty Hall and the smaller shadow of Busaras. These buildings of the middle of the 20th century articulate a vision of late modernity that was held onto briefly in the period between the depressed 1950s and the equally depressed 1970s. Their international modern style is ahistorical: they celebrate their own materiality (of glass, steel, reinforced concrete) and eschew the archaic elements or neo-Classicalism or neo-medievalism. This architectural denial of historicity gives them real force— real historical force, ironically — in a city with a preoccupation with history.
>
> Monto is also approached from the shadows of another pair of linked buildings: the Custom House and the Financial Services Centre, two icons of Dublin's business history, two centuries apart. That Monto should extend across the urban landscape close to these reminds us how, back at the foundation of urban studies, the key writers on Chicago noted how areas of deteriorated housing, vice, and crime invariably grew up just on the edge of *the business areas* of great cities.
>
> The walk towards Monto passes close to the Abbey Theatre, the national theatre. It is an institutional monument to the spirit of nationalism that gripped Ireland in the late 1800s and early 1900s, and that helps us understand why Monto, the destination, no longer stands above ground. When it was performed here in 1926, Sean O'Casey's play, *The Plough and the Stars*, created great consternation for its foregrounding of a prostitute, Rosie Redmond. One theatre-goer famously remonstrated that there was no prostitution in Ireland since the British left, not realising that the actress who played Rosie based her character on the women from Monto who congregated around the theatre.

A walk towards Monto from the west might start at Moore Street, one of the last places where one can *hear* Dublin's working class history. The campaign—successful—to save the house in which the men of 1916 men made their declaration of surrender highlights the importance of the nationalist narrative in Dublin's history. The proposed redevelopment of the area, which will leave this house and its adjoining properties as islands in a sea of very contemporary buildings, has *not* generated opposition based on the certain or probable loss of other heritages in this same area, and yet there are other heritages here. The redevelopment of the street, if it proceeds, will probably bring to a close a tradition of working class street-trading that has gone on for more than a century, and it will empty the buildings on the east side of the street of their current, migrant-oriented, business identities. The loss of Moore Lane, behind Moore Street, will mean a loss of the site of a Nigerian pentecostal church, as well as of other buildings associated with the 'new Irish'.

The edge of the old Monto area is not known. One cannot say when one is inside it or still outside it. Joyce opened Episode 15 of Ulysses at 'the Mabbot Street entrance of Nighttown', but which end of Mabbot Street was it? Was the entrance along Mabbot Street rather than at one of its other street intersections? Joyce's Nighttown was, in Joyce's imagination, a place of furtive encounters, of discrete signs, aural and olifactory. His description of the area's dimly illuminated fan-lights signalling the presence of prostitutes, and the later descriptions of the area with their references to semi-boarded-up windows concealing the activities inside, recall Baudelaire's Paris:

> “Looking from outside into an open window one never sees as much as when one looks through a closed window. There is nothing more profound, more mysterious, more pregnant, more insidious and more dazzling than a window lighted by a single candle. What one can see out in the sunlight is always less interesting than what goes on behind a window pane. In that black or luminous square life lives, life dreams, life suffers”.

Modern Monto bears as little relationship to Joyce's Nighttown as modern Paris does to Baudelaire's.

The complexes of flats in the old Monto area replace the Georgian houses and tenements, often covering over completely the sites of streets, as in the case of Purdon Street. Where the old Georgian houses faced onto the street, each with its own entrance and many with carriage entrances beside them as well, the mid-20th-century flats complexes look into open spaces behind the street, and single entrances give access to them. Gary Boyd has suggested that this was a deliberate plan by the city authorities to control access to the new communal housing spaces and thus prevent the re-emergence of vice. In some respects, though, the flats complexes are not significantly different from the Georgian houses they replaced: they contained many families at their peak, and they still rise over the streetscape as three- and four-storey brick buildings, with the same horizontal articulation as the older, now demolished, houses.

A walk down Foley Street, the eponymous heart of the old red-light district, is a walk through an urban landscape of new buildings of glass and metal and reinforced concrete. A single wall of old brick survives from when this street gave Monto its name. The Steelworks dominates the street. It is a strikingly transparent building. Walter Benjamin, in his *Arcades* project, showed that the arcades of Paris were streets transformed into interiors, where the abundance of mirrors and reflective surfaces confounded orientation. The loss of this character in Monto—still present in the 1930s flats, is a robbery of heritage, arguably—its a transformation of the spririt of the area, of its defining characteristic—its hiddenness.

> Here is a landscape that has hidden time-depth, but urban-renewal movements have comandeered it physically by occupying its cultural spaces, offering a notion of renewal that is more about consumption than culture. The very discourse of urban history, with which any perambulating archaeologist here will be familiar, foregrounds progress in terms of development, underscoring the facilitation of civilization by means of rationalisation (mapping streets and avenues on a grid, zoning commercial and residential blocks), circulation (concourses, thoroughfares of all kinds), and gentrification. It is a discourse that adopts a social-darwinist perspective; it persuades city planners that the best strategy for the development of urban space is to take it over, to take control of it. But the juxtaposition of the old and, in its 'renewal guise', the new, gives an impression of unfinishedness around the heart of the old Monto. This in turn creates the impression that one needs to keep developing, to finish what was started. With each turn of that redevelopment wheel, the history gets buried deeper and the historical orientation is even more confounded.

This type of reflective travelogue is no less valid a narrative form than the conventional archaeological narrative. In its favour is its potential to convey an impression of an area. But there are three problems. First, it is a single-voice travelogue, and it highlights some things and fails to recognise others. Second, it is a single disciplinary voice—an archaeologist's—from outside the area. Third, coming from outside the area, the observer here is restricted to spaces that are open and accessible. It is a surface-deep account. The nuances of the area and its personal histories are inaccessible and so are replaced by a more professional historical interpretation.

But each of these problems can be addressed by using this same basic methodology—the reflective walk through an area, allowing thoughts to ebb and flow—with local community members whose knowledges are deeper and more intimate, and whose knowledges may well touch upon the sort of historical knowledge to which the archaeologist has more direct access.

Such a strategy requires those movements through, and reflections on, an area like Monto to be recorded, and for the participants to be interviewed as part of the process. Here, then, is the space for a synergetic collaboration between, in the first instance, the disciplines of Archaeology and Sociology. The suggestion being made here is, in other words, that local communities are regarded not merely as informants to the archaeologist and the sociologist but are active participiants in the discovery or revelation of heritage data, a role that reflects their position as stakeholders.

This project's project's on-going engagement with the local community in Monto has already begun to reveal the complex, imbricated, layers of meaning within the landscape and the material culture of the area. The emergent stories possess a stratigraphy, or at least hint at one, as some memories and knowledges are foregrounded and others are more recessed. It is this concept of stratigraphy that allows us conceive of a data-retrieval based on interview recordings of personal recollections as fundamentally archaeological, even though it is not a materialist stratigraphy.

To conclude: setting targets in line with UAPI

Three particular recommendations were highlighted in the review of the Heritage Council's *Urban Archaeological Practice in Ireland* report.

The first of these was the need for "a practical definition of *sustainability* for the historic environment in the local context of urban archaeology, architecture and townscape". This project concurs with this in principle, but there are two observations to be made which will enhance the point with respect to the archaeologies of modernity and contemporaneity in the urban context. First, the separation of archaeology, architecture and townscape is problematic in and of itself, but more particularly it can lead to a separation of powers in dealing with urban environment. This project highlights the need for disciplines to share investigative and policy-making spaces, and that same principle of cross-sector dialogue and negotiation should apply at the level of local government. Second, *sustainability* is a contingent concept. It cannot be assumed that what constitutes sustainability in one area or for one group is the same as for another. Sustainability must, in the context of the issues raised in this project, be defined with local community interests in mind.

The second point in UAPI is the need for "future urban archaeology research frameworks ... to establish some basic tenets about the survival and future potential of archaeological deposits, and some basic questions about urbanism in general as well as about individual towns". On the second part of this statement, the importance of enfolding Archaeology in wider discussions of urban issues is discussed in the text above. On the first part of the statement, there are two observations to be made here. First, the term 'deposits' might usefully be replaced with 'traces', a word that connotes much more than simply the buried record. Second, the first step in the process of establishing tenets about archaeological 'traces' of modernity and contemporaneity should be a rethinking of the idea of the Zone of Archaeological Potential as currently operated. Areas of interest to the study of the recent past are not necessarily co-terminous with those of interest to medievalists. Zones of Archaeological Potential that are specific to the archaeologies of modernity and contemporaneity might be designated separately—as *Zones of Ethnographic Interest*, perhaps—in consultation with scholars such as those working on this project, and in consultation with the local communities themselves. Within such zones, there might be instituted a statutory obligation to have all development preceded by a *Placing Voice, Voicing Places*-type project.

Finally, UAPI expresses the need for a "wider recognition of research issues (i.e. the broad quest for knowledge about the past) [which] engage more with what both specialist interests and the general public, especially local communities, find interesting". This is an incontestable aspiration.

There is a danger than the local communities will get fed things that specialists find interesting in the expectation that those communities will find them interesting as well. A project that involves the local communities, as *Placing Voice, Voicing Places* does, has a built-in safeguard against the dangers of a heritage edifice that constructed solely by specialists.

* * * * *

The final point in this chapter of the report returns us to the issue raised at the start. The Monto part of the *Placing Voice, Voicing Places* study was concerned with 'the working class'. Readers will notice that the phrase disappeared in the course of this archaeological report. This is because the process of investigation and analysis in this project revealed the irrelevance of the identification of the people of the old Monto as 'working class'. In a project that seeks to empower local communities in the identification and celebration of their heritages, it is surely appropriate that the description of those communities that was imposed on them from outside has proved to be redundant.

The detailed description of the historical topography of our inner-city study area in the section above is possible because data survives. These biographies of houses and streets offer the raw material for a fascinating narrative of the historical development of a vital, living, portion of the city, and they hint at the potential for an equally fascinating historical narrative about the people as well. Such stories, were they to be forged from these items of topographical and proprietorial information, would be stories predominantly about the working class or, perhaps more accurately, lower class of the inner-city from the mid-1800s: one would describe them according to those class categories because they were evidently low in skills and worked locally (and probably spasmodically), and the houses they rented or owned were low in value. Such stories would be largely disconnected from the present, in part because they would lie largely outside the time-span of living memory and in part because so little fabric remains as touchstones for any sort of collective or collected memory (O'Keeffe 2007).

But the heritage that is present in the documentary and cartographic sources, and in the survival of the some of the streets and street-lines, is not the heritage of a 'foreign' (in a Lowenthalian sense) or inaccessible past. The spaces of this history remain in the north inner-city, and those spaces are important. They can be walked into and around, they can be pointed out, and they can be presented. The battlefield archaeological site is a model of sorts. In battlefield archaeology the events are in the past and there are no physical traces on-site, but knowledge that a space possesses a past as a site of a battle is an important part of the heritage consciousness. In fact, battlefield sites reveal to us how the absence of traces can render some spaces of heritage very powerful in the imagination. The critical point is that one needs to *know* which are the spaces of history. In the absence of physical traces and in the passing of living memory, the spaces of

history are not obvious. They do not advertise themselves. Part of the archaeologist's obligation, surely, is to find the space and then convey that knowledge. That process of finding might involve invasive and ultimately destructive methodologies (excavation), or it might simply involve detailed mapping, historical research and on-site examination. Whatever the case, the archaeologist reveals the space and contributes to an understanding of it. The value that a community or collective places in that knowledge of the historic space will be increase if that community is involved in the revelation. But the use to which the space is put falls outside the archaeologist's remit and falls instead in part into the remit of the heritage policy maker.

4

SOCIOLOGY

4.1 APPROACHING THE MONTO THROUGH THE SOCIOLOGICAL IMAGINATION

The past two decades have been a time of significant transformation in Irish society. One of the most notable catalysts of change has been the recent and rapid shift from being a country of emigration to one of immigration, inaugurating an extraordinary process of ethnic diversification within what has long been considered a 'monocultural' society. Migration has thus served as an important measure as well as driver of change, reflecting Ireland's immersion in the global arena and initiating pervasive changes, socially and institutionally. While much has been of the 'new global Ireland' and the many contributions diversity will make to Irish society, the settlement of migrants brings with it fundamental challenges to the hegemonic constitution of the Irish nation-state and its 'people'.

The construction of migrants as Other to the nation in national discourse and through legislation sits uneasily alongside the celebration of a multicultural Irish society. This oppositional configuration may appear to provide a clear distinction between citizens 'who belong' and are deserving of the state's protection and resources and migrants who are not. However, as the longterm presence and settlement of migrants has become a permanent reality—and their children are learning Irish, Polish words are becoming part of the new urban cool of youth cultures, and people born outside the country are being elected to political offices—the questions, 'what does it mean to be Irish?' 'Who can be Irish?' are unavoidable. This must, however, be seen against the backdrop of the recent conflicts surrounding the use of Croke Park for rugby matches and the playing of the English national anthem there, the joint Catholic-Protestant mass in Drogheda in celebration of the 90th anniversary of the Easter Rising, the participation of gays and lesbians in the St Patrick's Day parade in New York, and even debates concerning the true colours of the Irish flag. Thus, the issue of immigration and the home-making projects of migrants tend to highlight the uncertainties underpinning 'Irish' identity and the ruptures in the imagined national community—yet they are contradictions that have always been and continue to be inherent in this formation. As such

> 'the nation-state model, which asserts (or seeks to create) congruity between nationality and citizenship, cannot offer an adequate basis for societal belonging in the age of globalization and migration. The continuing attempt to base citizenship

> on membership of an imaged cultural community leads to political and social exclusion and the racialization of differences. Such trends do not just disadvantage minorities—they also lead to social divisions and political conflicts for the societies concerned' (Hedetoft and Hjort 2002).

Scholarship concerning such issues as identity, diversity and social change in Ireland—with respect to issues of immigration—has yet to catch up with these changes, and until very recently, has been limited primarily to the areas of ethno-nationalism and racism. Work on ethnonational identity has proven unduly narrow as a result of the legacy of 'Orthodox nationalist scholarship' and a preoccupation with the conflict in Northern Ireland. The former's concern with nation-building and constructions of a unified, homogenous 'Irish people' (Connelly 2003, 174) and the latter's exclusive focus on Catholic-Protestant, British-Irish relations have rendered other minority ethnic communities virtually invisible in national political and intellectual landscapes (Hainsworth 1998; Feldman 2003). Research is increasingly addressing the meanings of Irishness (Murphy 1991; O'Toole 1998; Graham 2001) and some specific aspects of everyday identity (Fagan 1995; Kockel 1995; Cronin 1999), but this has been predominantly quantitative in nature, with little in-depth qualitative exploration of how people see and understand themselves in relation to gender, age, class, sexuality, locality, art and so on.

The initial lack of adequate infrastructure and resourcing for the reception of migrants in the 1990s, alongside media warnings of 'floods' of migrants threatening to overwhelm the island and a lack of accurate public information, created a hostile environment into which migrants arrived in Ireland. As such, academic and policy attention with respect to migrants—or 'new communities'—in Ireland has evolved largely under the rubrics of racism and immigration. A notable amount of research has been devoted to a wide range of policy issues relating to refugees and asylum seekers, and recent scholarship has centred primarily upon the dynamics and deepening of social and institutional racism in Ireland (Hainsworth 1998; Fanning 2002; Lentin and McVeigh 2002; Garner 2004), with a substantial amount of work based on attitudinal surveys and social psychological analyses (MacGreil 1996; MacLaughlin and O'Connell 2000; Garner and White 2002).

The sustained focus on racism, academically, and with respect to activism in the civic and political arenas, has been critically important (especially as many people still believe that asylum seekers receive free mobile phones and cars from the government); however, there are limitations to its capacity to capture the complex transformations currently taking place. The resulting ghettoisation of these issues and communities of interest within what is often constructed as 'special' policy areas and 'target groups' removes them from wider considerations of social and economic development of Irish society as a whole. It also contributes to the reification of ethnic-Others' and 'aliens' as 'problems' and perpetual outsiders of the legitimate'(although now multi-

ethnic) populace (Feldman *et al* 2005). This contributes to burnout among the victims of racism as a result of being over-researched and generates backlash among segments of the host society who feel stigmatised as being racist. And, while research on the formation of new migrant communities is increasing, there is still a dearth of understanding of the circumstances on the ground that promote and obstruct the evolution of a multicultural society in Ireland.

Much criticism of these imbalances has been advanced by race critical scholars and in 'critical white studies'. They argue that it has led to the de-racialisation of majority ethnic identities and over-racialisation of 'visible' ethnic minorities, reinforcing a simplistic black/white dualism, and essentialising Others' alterity (Brah 1996; Frankenberg 1999; Nayak 2003). This in turn circumvents crucial opportunities to excavate the various forms of otherness within white communities—the 'crisis in the dominant forms of Anglo-ethnicity' (Brah 1996, 2)—and develop greater insights into the foundations of all racial and cultural positionings (Frankenberg 1999). As such, this imbalance has generated 'the striking contradiction . . . that we now seem to know far less about the racialised identities of the ethnic majority . . . who they are in the present post-imperial moment . . .and who they may yet "become" ' (Nayak 2003, 139). In a large scale qualitative study of identity and change, of approximately 100 Irish people participating in biographical interviews, only a handful could actually articulate what it meant to be Irish at a personal level, beyond reciting popular symbols such as St Patrick's Day, Guiness and so on. Yet, at the same time, it also revealed a diverse array of identities, positionalities and roles (beyond ordinary categories of sex, class, age and so on) within the so-called mono-cultural majority society—'born-and-breds', 'blow-ins', 'characters' to the point where neither those who enjoyed a life located in the centre of the community (the family who owned the corner shop and the hub of local life) nor those raised in orphanages felt as though they ever really 'fit in' to the wider society (Feldman 2006). This study also illustrated the ways in which existing structures of social and ethnic relations between Catholics and Protestants, Irish and English, settled and Travellers not only serve to create the basis upon which migrants are received, but reflect fundamental dynamics set in motion in relation to any who are not seen as part of the community:

> 'There are hundreds more houses being built…and these are usually occupied mostly [by] …young people from Dublin, selling out and coming up and commuting back. It's becoming a commuter town…there's no doubt about that…So people are moving and getting a nicer lifestyle here but they are not mixing with the locals I've been told, and I said "Well is that because you'd know people [here are] …a bit clannish?" "No [they've said], we've put the hand of friendship out, it's not being accepted—they tend to stick to their own and even the tennis clubs and whatever they are all there together, they're not making any effort you know to integrate with the local people". So that's, I think a bit sad, because there's going to be more of

> them as well don't forget, as time goes on it will just completely change the whole, the whole life of the people here' (Feldman 2008, 270).

This research illuminates the ways majority ethnic Irish people cultivate their subjectivities—in dialogue with and resistance to the parameters of a mythic unified, homogenous national culture and social order—shape their orientations towards the Immigrant Other, whose stories, lives and biographies are, in turn, reconfiguring their own. It demonstrates the value and necessity of moving beyond the static, essentialising categories of ethnicity, nationalism and citizenship associated with modernity and nation building, to a focus on 'belonging as an act and a process . . . [in order] to capture the richness, nuance and variety of the social and political conditions under which people commit and entrust their loyalty to larger communities' (Christensen and Hedetoft 2004, 2). Yet it also demonstrates the ways views concerning inmigration and the diverse society that is evolving are very much cross-cut by a multitude of issues relating to personal experiences of 'difference', the level of mobility (culturally and materially) people are able to achieve and the sense of 'home' and belonging they are able to cultivate. It is thus within the

> 'interface between people and their own crises of existence and the regimes managing their lives, that private and public notions of racial and ethnic identity are staked out and negotiated. It is here that we confront, contest and collude in, publicly calibrated notions of who we are in racial or ethnic terms' (Knowles 2003, 46).

As such, scholars such as Brah (1996) advocate frameworks that provide a more contextualized space for mapping the many intersecting and multiplicitous dimensions and transformations that cut across the micro and macro dimensions of change in a given society. Her notion of 'diaspora space' recognizes 'how the dynamic movement and negotiation of culture is reconfiguring the meanings of ethnicity, and other forms of social difference, for all individuals and groups'. It is both a methodological and epistemological articulation (Gurnaratnum 2003, 21) that constitutes and embodies the geneaologies and geographies of both dispersion and staying put, that is, the common intersecting fields of interpersonal and institutional engagements among indigenes and migrants, and the border crossings and cultural translations, displacements and re- and deterritorialisations that that entails (Brah 1996; Papastergiadis 2000). This is particularly poignant in the Irish case, given the history of emigration and loss (and valorization of the Irish diaspora) that constitutes a significant cornerstone of the national history and collective psyche, the impact of often overlooked dimensions of Irish participation in both colonial (whether related to the British empire or the Catholic missions) and postcolonial (in terms of constituting a recent post-independent nation) formations and histories. But it also keeps at the forefront the fact that migration and its attendant transformations are part of a natural, global processes in which

Ireland is inextricably implicated, not a temporary aberration that will disappear through tougher immigration laws and the return of immigrants to their home countries.

Heritage, the imagined community and the local context

Despite initial views that the importance of the national and local would erode in the face of globalizing forces, Savage *et al* (2005) observe that the fixed space of the local becomes an anchor in a turbulent world, providing a sense of 'home', but one which must be understood through the lens of evolving global relationships. Globalisation, therefore, produces new forms of localization in a dialectical relationship' now popularly referred to as "glocalisation", where globalisation has reconfigured notions of 'home', 'community' and 'locality'. The 'local' is not a static, parochial or defensive context in which local identities are constructed in resistance to or in defense of the global, but a vital context in which people creatively construct senses of personhood and belonging from the new people, technologies and ideas moving through their places of residence. Increasingly, communities are no longer formed over successive generations and based on traditional forms of work and culture (Nayak 2003), and it is more common for 'neighbours' to be 'strangers' from distant places, and 'security' to be based on the priorities of transnational corporations (Papastergiadis 2000). Turbulence is a fundamental dimension of everyday life: 'Boundaries are shifting, new processes are forming, outcomes becoming more transitory as the system enters a period of prolonged disequilibrium…interdependence and uncertainty' (Papastergiadis; 102). Yet, despite the creative destruction posed by glocal processes, the question still remains (Castles 187): 'how can national distinctiveness be maintained 'if the migrant-Other, who has always been Other to the nation is now also part of society?

Heritage, as a constellation of negotiated and mediated sentiments and interpersonal relationships through which identities and values are passed on through the material and temporal understanding of experiences (Russell *forthcoming* 2009), has much to contribute to the understanding of the current transformations of Irish society and the issues of diversification, integration and social cohesion in the glocal context, particularly as

> 'much of the construction of ideas of national identity takes place at local level, as people engage in drawing boundaries—real and symbolic—around their particular communities. These everyday conceptualisations of identity are far removed from the 'purified' and often stereotyped versions which eventually come to form part of more explicitly nationalist ideologies…The local tells about the production of the nation as a public, about the project of producing the 'people'' (Thompson *et al* 1999, 54).

The focus on the everyday lived contexts of human communal life provides a critical opportunity to map the confluences, tensions and evolving hybridities in such a project, in a grounded fashion, rather than from the assumptions of a hegemonic configuration of national identity and thereby maximizing the de/con/structive power of 'heritage dissonances'.

Yet, while heritage practices ostensibly 'involve people first and foremost' as discussed in Chapter 3, Turnberry argues that a disconnect arises due to the lack of relevance of the historic environment to people at the individual/personal or community level, stemming from the fact that many may feel the aspects of the past or history that are meaningful to them are ignored or undervalued given the predominant focus on 'form and fabric' to the exclusion of expression and representation of cultural heritage:

> '[I]t is possible, or probable, that people simply believe in things (heritage) because they want to and need to, and that what they believe in has minimal inherent value and limited socio-political or cultural pertinence…This…does not deny the importance of specific objects, specimens, structures, locations, or activities, but it suggests a different reason for defining heritage and heritage assignment. It also suggests that the heritage of individuals and groups may be disassociated with history but assigned importance by means of social interchange…and assumed need….Heritage, in most communal situations, is something that is partly material, partly human, and partly spiritual on which humans often freely to cope with circumstances specifically challenges that face them' (Edson 2004, 336)

Thus, in many ways, it is 'the 'intangible' forms of heritage that are the most significant for the sociologist—the spiritual, social and traditional 'values'; ideas and emotions; pride and identity; symbols of the 'ethos of community life' that people co-create through their relationships and associations within their physical/material environment to become 'commonalities of practice': 'Cultural sites, places and artifacts can, therefore, be considered to be physical representations of perceptions of self, community and belonging and their associated cultural values' (Turnberry 2004, 299).

As such, the sociological brief in relation to this project is concerned with understanding what 'heritage' means in the local/community context and how heritage, as experienced in everyday life and personal life stories, is related to notions of national heritage and belonging: How do people construct a sense of connection to each other and to the place, locale, nation in which they live? What do they draw on—physically, historically, culturally—from the local, national and global resources and institutions that shape their life trajectories—to cultivate a sense of belonging and collectivity? How do these dynamics play out in the current contexts relating to the evolution of a

comparatively ‘mono-cultural’ society into a multicultural, multiethnic and multinational one? Are multicultural heritage(s) possible in one nation-state?

With its focus on (1) translocational positionalities (Anthias 2002), (2) methods combining to form a ‘spatial cultural studies’ (Nayak 2003) that integrates the historical, structural and material histories of a community to map the impact of global forces on peoples’ senses of self, identity and social relations, and (3) community participation and the role of the local in the production or the national, the sociological and archaeological visions share much in common, although their practices ultimately differ in significant ways. In addition to exploring the value of social ‘data’ for the archaeologically-based heritage project through the combined use of narrative, material culture and participatory research methods in an attempt to excavate the dimensions and dynamics of the social production of space, the aim of this work is also to examine the synergies and limits of interdisciplinary practice.

4.2 MONTO METHODOLOGIES

Qualitative social science methodologies focus on how people understand and act in the world, how they create shared meanings, and how these meanings shape (and are shaped by) the structures of the lived world. Qualitative methods are inductive and used to elicit and ‘give voice’ to different stories, from which grounded theories concerning the phenomena of interest can be developed. Qualitiative methods can be approached from a variety of theoretical perspectives—phenomenological, critical, feminist, and race-critical—and methodologically, from ethnographic to visual methodologies employed to gain insights into the personal and everyday life contexts.

Understandings and explanations of concepts such as identity are particularly challenging to capture. Researchers cannot simply ask interviewees to talk about their identities, as they involve abstractions that do not necessarily make sense or which can be articulated in the contexts of their everyday ‘lived’ lives. Asking people to talk about their personal or national heritage invokes the same dilemma. Thus the sociological fieldwork undertaken in the Monto area addresses the heritage question by eliciting understandings of following three areas: (1) heritage at the personal level: peoples’ subjective identifications and belongings—what makes them who they are, by asking them to talk about their lives, what things have been passed down to them that are particularly meaningful, illuminating the factors have affected their choice or the meaningfulness of particular influences, eg., events, personal experiences, critical moments or disruptions, particular places, people, ideas and so on; (2) heritage in the local context: the role of place and the spatial processes of inclusion and exclusion through what it means to be from or reside in the area, drawing out the tangible and non-tangible elements most important to them and finding out what they feel should be passed down or known about the area; (3) national heritage issues:

which, if any, national/collective representations have shaped their sense of self and place, and how their lives are part of that story, what things may be missing or hidden from public/popular discourse.

Identity, belonging and the heuristic value of narrative and biography

Narrative has come to be considered the central form through which human experience is made meaningful, and is, increasingly, seen as the foundation upon which self-identity is achieved (Polkinghorne 1988; Holloway and Jefferson 2000; Schlater 1998). Narrative methods are used to open up forms of 'telling' about experience, in terms of the content as well as in relation to why and when a story was told or told in a certain way, along with those left untold (Reissman 2003). This is often not possible in the contexts of conventional forms of in-depth qualitative interviews, the structure and dynamics of which often serve to suppress, obstruct or distort the participants' stories (Holloway and Jefferson 2000).

Narrative interviews include such approaches as Gestalt strategies (whereby people tell stories according to certain images that are stimulated by the question, and that the structure of these images and the stories told around them are used as a map for the interview), free association, oral histories and other strategies which encourage the narrator to choose what stories and where to begin ('can you tell me about a time when…'). In this fashion, the 'story-telling stays closer to the actual life-events than methods used to elicit explanations' (Holloway and Jefferson 2000: 32). Arising at the intersection of biography, history and society (Reissman 2003), life stories are ultimately cultural forms in themselves, drawing upon pre-existing oral and story-telling forms and traditions which help to translate and transmit stories that have been handed down through families and social networks (Smith 2002, 349).

Biography is 'a narrative activity involving reflection, theorization and the translation of living, rendered as stories, into text' (Knowles 2003, 55). In contrast to other narrative methods, biography is process oriented, focusing the process of becoming rather than on a fixed state of being. As living conditions change across the lifecourse, so do senses of belonging take on different meanings and relevance, shaped by evolving social relations and discontinuities and disruptions within one's life. In the current moment, shaped as it is by turbulence and uncertainty, 'the question, "who am I" becomes increasingly difficult to answer', and 'the idea of belonging to a nation or a people defining "identity" for life', outdated' (Rosenthal 1997, 23; Papastergiadis 2000; Rustin & Chamberlayne 2002). Through biography, 'we see the texture of individual lives; the connection between lives in the form of social relationships; the interface between people and the broader social and political landscapes; the everyday and the extraordinary; and personal and social transformation (Knowles 2003, 51).

Narrative research places a large emphasis on the agency of the narrator, in both choosing what stories to tell and how to tell them, as well as in constructing the explanations or meanings they reflect. Life stories do not necessarily follow a linear fashion, and often generate more of a mosaic of partial recollections and topical stories, arranged around people, places, specific events and experiences. As such, the 'truths of narrative accounts lie not in their faithful representation of a past world, but in the shifting connections they forge among past, present and future (Reissman 2003, 341). These methods are, however, particularly effective for eliciting the relational, situational and fluid aspects of identity and belonging in the personal and local contexts of one's life while, at the same time, speaking to wider collective and national social, political and cultural landscapes. Self-definition and various cultural, ethnic and national affiliations derive from their situatedness in a particular biography—played out against the backdrop of relevant family and other intersecting histories and the places which create the social and spatial contexts of these relationships (Rosenthal 1997; Knowles 2003). 'We are not direct elements of a collective that we represent; rather, we live from the potential for experience and meaning in our own life history, which is embedded in collectives, environments and nations…' (Knowles 2003, 24).

Migration Journeys

Migrant narratives and biographies involve considerations that are both similar to and distinct from the life stories just discussed. Ultimately, everyone comes from somewhere, not everyone stays, and some return after leaving, whether the 'place' involves a local neighbourhood or a country. Moreover, integration will ultimately involve what migrants 'bring with them' as well as what they have adopted in the new destination, as in the many ways in which emigration and returned migration have shaped the dispositions of members of the host society.

In many ways, even though one may seek to elicit understandings of subjectivity and belonging through a biography, it is the narrator who chooses when and where to begin the story. However, it has been the tendency of much migration research that deals with issues of integration to begin its focus with the point of arrival. While the nature of arrival and reception is key a influence on the construction and negotiation of identity and belonging for migrants, increasingly scholars argue that the story of migration as a journey starts well before. The historical relations between sending and receiving countries, the circumstances of departure, migrants'goals and expectations, their preparation for the trip and prior knowledge of the destination country all shape the strategies of engagement and adaptation they cultivate and the sense they make of their experiences in the new country (MCRI 2008). Moreover, rather than conceptualizing migration as a break or disruption in the lifecourse, typical of 'cataclysm' theories of migration and diaspora, 'in many cases, migration is experienced not primarily as a biographical discontinuity,

disrupting life projects and networks…but rather as a continuity of specific biographical projects and sometimes, in case of persecution and refuge, even of life itself…' (Breukner 2002, 217).

Similarly, the processes of settlement and integration can also be approached from the perspective of the storied life of a community. In her work on Italian immigrants in Britain, Fortier examines the creation of St Peters, formerly 'Little Italy', as an 'ancestral space' and focal point for social life to illuminate the ways in which migrant settlement manifests itself in 'locally specific ways' (1999:41). Through the analysis of the places, stories, events, artifacts, rituals and routines of everyday life (which engender an array of classed and gendered subject positions) she concludes that

> 'St Peter's is a place of re-membering. It is a place of collective memory, in which elements of the past are cobbled together to mould a communal body of belonging. It is a place where individual lives, present and past, are called upon to inhabit the present space, to "member" it. Finally, it is a site where individual bodies circulate; come and go where bodies are signifying actors in claims for and practices of the identity of St Peters and former Little Italy. These bodies are, in turn, projected into a structure of meaning that precedes them and re-members them into gendered [and ethnicised] identities and belongings' (Fortier 1999, 59).

Thus Individual life journeys can be viewed as luminous "traces"of the social elements through which they pass. (Chamberlayne and Rustin 2002, 10). And while they generate an array of diverse experiences, through such detail, they also have the capacity to provide insights into and across the larger arenas of groups, cultures and societies, for both host and migrant.

4.3 MATERIAL CULTURE

The unique challenges to archaeological studies presented by this project, as reflected in other areas of this report, are the methodological and ethical limitations of archaeology to critically engage with contemporary, culturally diverse communities. Since both study areas under consideration in this project are socially and culturally diverse, it was decided that standard archaeological methods should be complemented by multi-disciplinary approaches to the material cultures present within these communities.

Archaeological argumentation can tend to search for classifications and typologies, categorizing and bounding what are fluid and complex lived social relationships. As the primary goal of archaeological methods is to study the past today, these methods, initially, were neither conceived nor intended to document complex contemporary relationships. Thus, the project team

advocated the adoption of complementary methods and the consultation of alternative literatures than that traditionally utilized in archaeological research. In keeping with the project's multi-disciplinary approach, a project component was dedicated to complementing both the sociological and archaeological methods through the study of material cultures.

Archaeology and the significance of things

Archaeology is a discipline of things. The epistemological basis of archaeological study is the engagement and documentation of material traces of agency and the abstraction of information and data from these engagements with material things. Because of the resiliency of some things to degradation, decay or decomposition, these things are useful for the construction of diachronic data. These things can, however, be overly relied upon in order to render narratives of places and peoples. This is particularly the case when considering the engagement of archaeology with contemporary living communities in the endeavour of studing recent or contemporary archaeological heritages. The ability to abstract objects as having singular meanings and as definitive markers of values, identities or cultural or political powers or presences in the context of working with contemporary communities has ethical implications. The same objects and subjective academic research can be utilized to simplify complex, cultural diverse situations, 'typecasting', determining or limiting the transformative potential of people living in these communities. For this project, in order to fully engage with these ethical implications, collaborative engagement was sought with sociological methods, which have extensively developed methods responding to the ethis of working with contemporary culturally diverse communities. In support of this, material culture studies as an undisciplinary, collaborative practice was selected to encourage greater inter-disciplinary exchange and transparency of methods.

Material culture studies

The study of material culture is itself not a discipline. Rather it is a sensibility, a sensitivity to the ways humans relate to the things in the world and interpret, mediate and create meaning through these relationships. The development of material culture studies as a distinct intellectual pursuit generally has been in response to the dominance of literary and historical authorities in the generation of structural narratives of social worlds (Woodward 2007, 5). The study of things in themselves and their relationships with humans, although admittedly mediated linguistically through text and imagery, attempts to foreground the underrepresented impact of material relationships and changes within these relationships upon human self and social manifestations. Given the myriad of disciplines which are concerned with material culture (e.g. art, archaeology, anthropology, architecture, design, engineering, fashion, housing, urban studies, amongst many others), the study of material culture is ideally suited to the creation of multidisciplinary projects and promotes interdisciplinary exchange.

The intellectual history of material culture study owes much to Marxist and materialist theory (Tilley *et al* 2006), and although admittedly post-structuralist, in the context of this project, the study of material domains relates strongly to social concerns but is, however, by no means advocating Marxist ideologies. Rather, material culture study here intends to bear witness to lived, meaningful relationships with things and reveal subliminal relationships and significances within material domains. This will offset traditional abstractions of things for the creation of disciplinary epistemologies through the development of ontologies of sentiments within material relationships.

Although there is an increasing body of literature relating to the study of material culture, there also is no general theory of material culture. In its broadest conception, it is the epistemological study of human engagement with material things, and as such, there are far too many domains to allow for a general theory (Miller 1998, 7). Cars, cellular phones, street paving, urban planning, sanitation systems, clothing, landscaping and food are just some examples of domains involving the study of material culture. The academic study of these domains has an equally diverse number of disciplines, largely in response to industrial specialisations and commercial trends. Material culture studies then intends to confront these diverse forms and disciplines and their subsequent representations of material things as objects.

In the context of this project, the study of material culture seeks to explore this diversity in material forms and material worlds while allowing for enrichment through contextual engagement with specific, discrete things.

The material culture component of this project, which is on-going,

* engages the appearances of material things in contemporary communities
* documents the changing relationships between humans and things
* witnesses the impact (on multiple scales) that material changes within communities have on the social and cultural manifestations of those communities
* creates reflexive stories reflecting the impact of macro-material domains, relating to urban-wide, national and global trends, on these communities
* infer linkages between intimate, individual relationships to material domains and macro-material domains
* reveals intimate stories of manifestation and mediation of self-hood through discrete and personal material domains

This is carried out by telling stories emanating from material engagements. These stories relate to and simultaneously operate on multiple scales:

* intimate—personal or individual relationships to things
* intra-community—shared relationships with things within a professed group/ community
* inter-community—shared relationships with things between different groups/ communities

These inter-community stories occur on three general scales:

* local—shared relationships with things between groups within a physical proximity (e.g. walking/communiting distance)
* state/national—shared relationships with things amongst numbers of groups within a state
* global—shared relationships with things amongst groups in disparate global locations

It should also be noted that the things shared throughout these scales do not necessarily directly correlate to relative distances or proximities between groups and things. For instance, a person may have an intimate relationship with a thing in a far away location with which other people or groups may have relationships of different scales (for example, a person living in inner-city Dublin relating to the Empire State Building in New York City).

Material culture studies and archaeology

Material culture studies are not an end in themselves but are a means to facilitating research synergy and multi-disciplinary collaboration. In the context of this project, these studies will help reveal complex non-literary relationships between people and the material domains in which they co-habitate. Material culture studies complement archaeological methodologies in this endeavour by elaborating on the complex manifestation of the material traces of agency in the world. The study of material cultures focuses on things and objects as relational signifiers. As such, it avoids the reduction of complex social relationships to specific, singular classifications. In the words of Daniel Miller (1998, 4), ‘studies of the house do not have to be reduced to housing studies, studies of design to design studies. By the same token, studies of transnational identities of commodities do not have to be reduced to kinship, class or gender.’

Thus, the deployment of the study of material cultures within a multi-disciplinary project dealing with culturally diverse areas helps liberate other the other disciplines involved from tendencies to singularly classify objects of study. The material cultural approach embraces the multiple relations

associated with all things under study which helps to create a discursive space in which to explore unrepresented, unauthorized or deliberately omitted stories.

In the context of this project, the study of material cultures plays the critical role of permeating the boundaries traditional archaeological studies may place on the study of material things in collaborative environments. The material cultural approach here supports and encourages a rich hybridity of engagements with the material things of the communities studied through the development of collaborative methods of study between archaeology, sociology and contemporary art.

From a disciplinary perspective, the material culture component of the project

* complements the traditional archaeological research components
* encourages an engagement by archaeology and sociology with anthropological and visual and material culture theory literature
* provides a collaborative discursive space for telling of stories emanating from human engagement with things
* informs the curatorial conversations of the artistic process which will respond to these stories

Domains of study and experience

Traditionally, material culture studies focused on the portable objects with which humans relate. In the context of our project, material culture refers to a broad diversity of material domains. These material domains are not limited by the traditional understanding of tangibility and rather embrace a broader understanding of multi-sensory engagement with places and sentiments and emotions of places. For example, the smell of St James' Gate when it is brewing Guinness is caused by the material trace of the process of fermentation wafting in the air. The subsequent inhalation of these material traces cause olfactory sensation which may trigger sentiments of place or specific emotions. This material engagement and subsequent feeling of place are critical aspects of the material cultures of a place a communities living memory of a place. Also, since the production and transmission of sound waves are reliant on materials as media, the relationship between sound production and reception to material domains must also be considered as part of the material cultures of an area (also see Miller 1998, 7-8).

The multi-sensory domains of material culture include:

* touch/taste—portable objects (e.g. trinkets, cellular phones, currency, clothing), consumables (e.g. food, drinks and drugs), vehicles, non-portable objects (e.g. streets, walls, etc.), art (e.g. sculpture), public signage, advertising
* sight—architecture (and associated temporary development structures), art (e.g. photography, paintings, etc.), civil engineering works, public signage, advertising
* hearing—traffic and associated vehicle noise, construction noise, alarms, cellular phones, music
* smell—sanitation, industrial production, rubbish bins, cooking

This multi-sensory approach is intended to undercut assumptions that there is a 'real' or limited 'tangible' world. Rather, material cultures approached in this manner highlights the relation qualities of things and the importance of these relationships in the creation of stories and construction of meanings. These infinite relationships are crucial to supporting an understanding culturally diverse heritages. By including intangible material cultures, such as sights, smells and sounds, lateral relationships are created as these dynamically percolate within and throughout spaces and are shared by many different communities with many different associated meanings. This subsequently can alter the grounds upon which heritage classifications are given. For example, St James' Gate is not simply articulated as national heritage in an abstract sense, but the shared lateral relationships amongst communities to the material culture of the smell of brewing throughout inner-city Dublin proposes a relational and egalitarian argument for any heritage classification.

Participatory and Action Research

The tradition of participatory research has evolved over the last several decades in response to critiques regarding the politics of knowledge in the research context centring on scientific claims of neutrality, objectivity and objectivity, the predatory nature of research, the devaluation of local non-expert knowledge, and in relation to the material consequences of the application of research in policy development, which is often not in sync with community or target group needs and dynamics on the ground (Licha 2000; see also Truman *et al* 2000, Holland & Blackburn, 1998; Reason & Bradbury 2001). Participatory research strategies seek to promote more direct involvement in and ownership of the research process communities or groups of focus, at all phases of the work—from identification and construction of research questions, objectives and design, to assistance in the implementation of the data collection activities and data analysis and the provision of feedback in relation to the final outputs.

An underlying aspiration of this type of research to promote the 'emancipatory' or capacity-building in relation to the contribution to the development of a variety of skills acquired by

participants through their involvement. Action research takes this further, whereby the research process initiates the establishment of a group or organization (the processes and activities of which generates data for the project), but which will last beyond the duration of the specific project, providing the means through which the group or community may continue this work. Such principles and practices are becoming increasingly important due to the consequences of over-research and burnout among marginalized or vulnerable populations who, as policy 'target groups' such as youth, Travellers, the disabled and so on, have become increasingly resistant to participation in research due to feelings of exploitation, suspicion and disillusionment with the process and the outcome of their involvement (Feldman 2006; 2003; Feldman, Frese and Yousif 2002). Migrants have been the most recent group to fall victim to this dynamic.

As immigration and its many related issues are comparatively newer areas of policy and provision, there has been little existing knowledge base, particularly for use as baseline data for policy development, reform and implementation, a foundation for use by civil society actors in campaigning and advocacy, and as a vehicle for new scholarly approaches to familiar topics of national identity, ethnic conflict and social exclusion in Ireland. This trend is also reinforced by the increasing demands for research resulting from European and international conventions and initiatives, such as the development of a common EU agenda for integration, requirements stemming from the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racism, and so on. As such, research in this area has evolved in an ad hoc, uncoordinated and piecemeal fashion.

In light of the copious amount of research activity taking place it is not surprising that asylum seekers, refugees and immigrants are becoming increasingly critical of the process and its consequences. Feldman *et al* (2002) confirmed in an exploratory study of this issue that, in some cases, participants reported that research could provide challenging and exciting opportunities to gain and showcase skills, learn about Irish society and institutions, and serve as a way of giving back to their communities. Yet, overall, interviewees across sectors shared the view that refugees and asylum seekers are 'sick to death' of being researched, particularly as they rarely receive copies of the final report or other outcomes. Many who were interviewed felt exploited by the lack of inclusion and consultation in all stages of the research and knowledge-production process, particularly as they often feel they are 'doing all the work' without compensation or training in return. Because most were well aware of the importance and influence of research in identifying needs and contributing to social change, and the implications of the ways in which researchers represent their needs on 'their behalf', this exclusion proved particularly frustrating: it's like a doctor saying "you have a headache...", without even asking you what's wrong (Feldman *et al* 2002, 12). Paradoxically, those who constitute the most valuable sources of information in the research process are nonetheless treated as expendable and ancillary: We are considered ignorant, very limited people. They think we are all the same, a group with problems, an unwanted group to be researched' (Feldman *et al* 2002, 12). Thus, efforts to obtain the resources

to commission their own research have intersected with the goals and strategies of migrant civic mobilization engaged to gain recognition of their voices and response to their needs.

A research model, Cultural Renewal (Nair and Whyte 1999), has been adapted for the purposes of the Monto fieldwork in order to respond to the issues of both community empowerment and interculturalist practices. This strategy involves inclusive, participatory and dialogic processes that are based on the understanding that cultural expression and communication are the bases for community development processes and planned cultural change. It views positive community action as rooted in respect for individual cultural identity, intercultural appreciation and supportive communication interaction among different groups.

Noting that initiatives for change are typically introduced from outside a given community, this model employs a participatory, action-based process to revitalise the local culture of the community by developing its cultural integrity and intercultural harmony. This promotes the conditions for strengthening cultural identities which, in turn, serve as the basis for harmonious interrelationships and the integration of subcultures within the community into larger cultural systems. This creates a foundation for the collective well-being of the community and for unity in diversity at various levels. In addition to this relationship building process and the development of action-based local strategies, the cultural renewal process also seeks to elicit and build common/ shared culturally-based principles and values that may serve as building blocks for the renewal process and wider social change.

The cultural renewal approach was originally developed to address the interaction across different subcultures within a given community in the contexts of development practices. However, this strategy is particularly relevant in relation to the integration, interculturalist and diversity mandates that currently underpin a number of cross-cutting social and policy issues and objectives as it lends itself to combining anti-racism, development education and community development strategies through

* a positive approach: starting from the premise of ‘renewal’ (in the sense of revitalization as opposed to something ‘new’) rather than community dysfunction

* bringing the array of groups and sections of the community forward together, rather than ghettoising or segregating them according to different social or policy categories

* transcending the tendency to focus solely on the racism of the host community and the needs/problems of migrant communities

* more than just promoting ‘understanding’ through the generation of information, but focusing on relationship-building through active exchange and involvement developing participants’ and groups’ communication competencies which can, in turn, promote confidence, self-reliance and interdependence and thereby developing capacities that are valuable in other areas of representation, consultation and involvement in policy development.

Such strategies hold great potential for serving as a bridge between the local community, civil society and statutory bodies. In fact, Licha (2000) argues that participatory processes of information and knowledge production (whether engaged by government agencies, academics or local groups) constitute an essential dimension of inclusive forms of development, democratic and culturally embedded policy-making.

4.4 MONTO RESEARCH DESIGN AND FIELDWORK

Through a series of small projects employing narrative, biographical and material culture methodologies in an overall participatory/action framework of cultural renewal, the work in the Monto centres on generating an understanding of what ‘heritage’ means in the local/’community’ context, through a focus on how people construct a sense of connection to each other and to the place, locale, nation in which they live.

The process of ‘negotiating access’ to this area began with a general meeting of the entire team with Terry Fagan, Director of the Dublin Folklore Project, in order to obtain background information and other ideas in relation to the project. The North Inner City Folklore Project was established in the late 1970s, following local involvement in the collecting and publishing of short stories from people in the area, and in later years was supported by the FAS Community Employment scheme. The Project seeks to contribute to the promotion of oral history and folklore as central to the understanding of the roots of social identity, rather than being viewed simply as ‘old-fashioned beliefs’. Over the years it has built up an archive of photographs, recordings, interviews and stories of life in the North Inner City, produced publications, organised exhibitions and tours, and contributed to an array of research, historical and media work.

Through our discussions, it was decided to work in partnership with the Folklore Project, in order to benefit from Terry’s role in the community (he has been doing this work for many years and is well known in the area) and his guidance in relation to making contacts with potential groups, designing the activities for each of the groups and his participation in the project in terms of arranging and carrying out some of the field activities. It was also felt that it would provide an

opportunity to contribute to the life and activities of the Folklore Project itself, and to encourage further participation of the local residents in its work.

Together we decided on carrying out the fieldwork with three key groups: senior citizens, youth and migrants, in conjunction with organizations who provide services to them or of which they are members. Three organizations were chosen:

The Lourdes Day Care Centre for seniors was established in the late 1970s through funds collected from the local community and was later funded by the Eastern Health Board. It provides a wide range of services and activities for the seniors in the area.

The North Centre City Community Action Project (NCCCAP) was established in 1978 as a community development project by a group of inner city activists to combat, through training, high unemployment in the inner city. Some original founders include Mick Rafferty who is currently a local councillor, Tony Gregory, TD, and Seanie Lamb a local activist. Over the years it has evolved and is now a FAS funded Community Training Centre based in the Fire Station Artists Studio, which seeks to create work and life opportunities for five distinct groups of young people to assist them in securing future employment and/or pursuing further education or training.

The Dublin Multicultural Resource Centre is a community-based organization that began as an initiative of the Intercultural Working Group of ICON, the Inner City Organisations Network. It is funded by the Dormant Accounts Fund through Pobal and Dublin City Council's Community Gain scheme. Its long-term aim is to be a resource for people of all nationalities and ethnic groups and to promote the development of a multi-cultural society through the integration of established and new communities living in Ireland. It provides a variety of resources, supports and training to community organizations and agencies and is involved in policy work at local and national level in the promotion of multiculturalism and civic groups.

Initial contacts with the directors of the Lourdes Centre and NCCCAP and follow up meetings were held with the wider Monto team to explain the project and develop the particular activities they felt would be both appropriate for their organizational remits, current practices and participants.

Monto Field Activities and Outputs

A criticism of material culture studies is that it advocates fetishism or romanticism of things. This could lead to fetishism or romanticism of community identities (for example, impoverished groups). To address this concern, collaboration is sought with sociological researchers in order to

temper the material culture approaches with ethical, participatory research methods. These seek to incorporate the communities own voice within the creation of material culture narratives. Given the professed ambition of material culture study to create collaborative, egalitarian, relational discursive spaces, it is critical for the material culture researcher to reflexively relinquish expert authority over the generation of material culture narratives. Simultaneously, the researcher has responsibility for ensuring the delivery of outputs which both can be enjoyed by the communities considered and which fulfill all obligations of the overarching research project.

To achieve this balance, the fieldwork began with the engagement of material cultural research (in both Clanbrassil Street and Monto locations) that focused on public material cultures while activities involving the local community groups were being collectively developed, and which continues through March. Following the completion of the community project activities, a second phase of material culture work focusing on internal/personal material cultures will be undertaken.

Material Culture Activities

Public material cultures **(September-March)**
This phase focuses on the public spaces of the study areas. It documented the contemporary streetscapes and life patterns associated with the study areas. This was undertaken by Ian Russell and Michael Brown, project photographer. Photo documentations are available online at: http://www.flickr.com/photos/31073994@N06/

Streetscapes (**51-53**)
Both study areas were extensively walked by foot and photographed. Walking tours were also taken of the north inner-city with Terry Fagan and of the Clanbrassil Street area with Cormac O'Donnell.

Both study areas were traversed by bicycle and car to incorporate the experience of commuting culture in the areas. Clanbrassil Street was also viewed by bus. Video documents were make of bicycle trips as part of the project archive.

This was intended to complement Tadhg O'Keeffe's and Paddy Ryan's diachronic reconstructions of the streetscapes.

51 Moore Street markets

52 Lower Clanbrassil Street just below the intersection with South Circular Road. Note the Asian restaurant and Halal food occupying older premises.

53 Upper Clanbrassil Street.

Window displays (**54-58**)

Special attention was given to the window displays in the study areas. This included shop windows, domestic windows and public house windows. These were photographed for the project archive.

54 Domestic window displays from New Street South. Note the statue in the photograph on the right appears in a number of windows throughout the area as well as throughout the Monto study area.

55 Domestic window displays from New Street South and Lower Clanbrassil Street.

56 Shop front from Lower Clanbrassil Street.

57 'Unintentional' window display on Parnell Street. Notice the Slang Dictionary and English-Polish Dictionary.

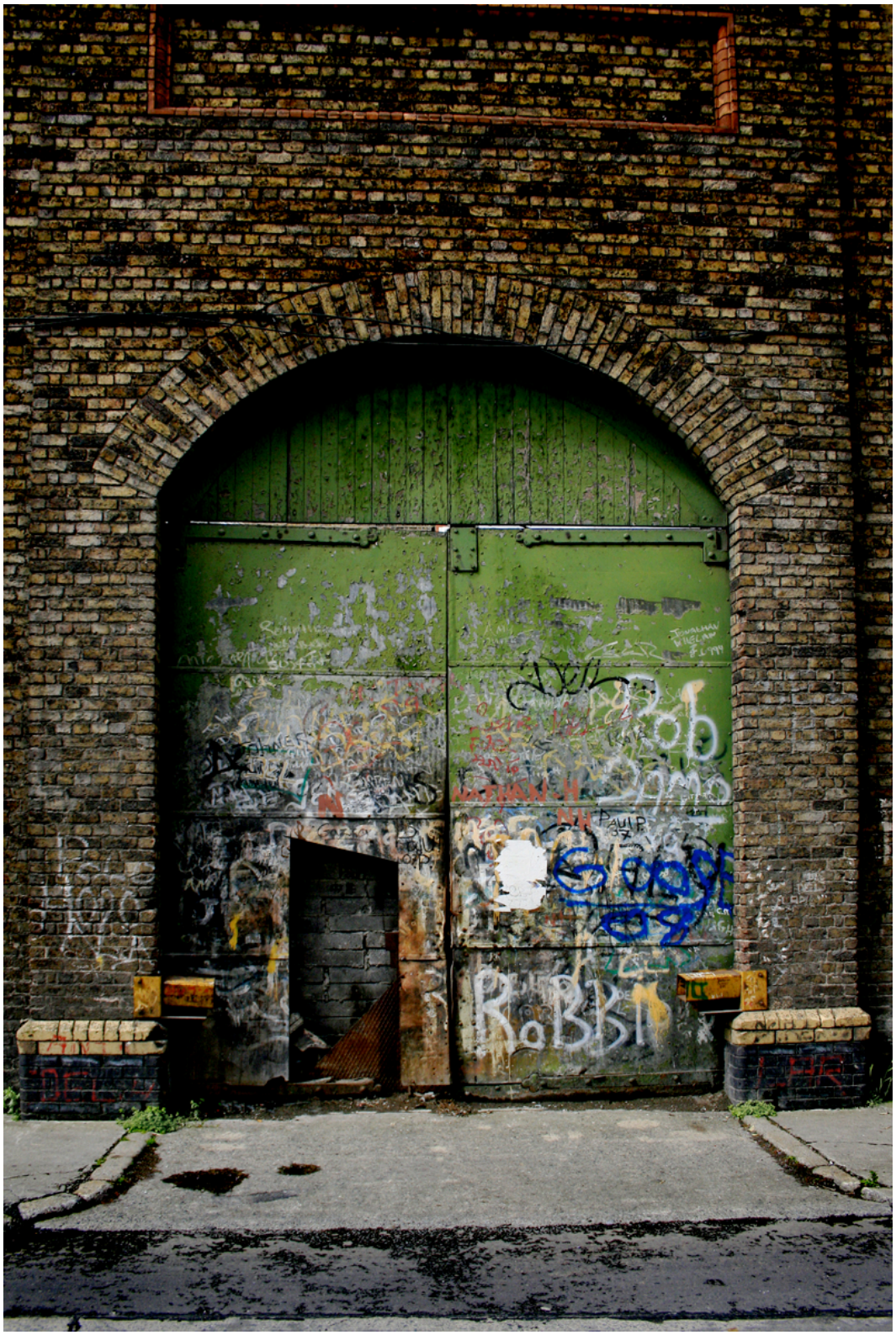
58 Plastic food display at a Chinese restaurant on Parnell Street.

Graffiti (**59-61**)

Photographic documentation was undertaken of the graffiti and guerilla sticker campaigns in the study areas in order to document unsanctioned public cultural expressions

59 Graffiti on a boarded window, New Street South.

60 Moore Lane.



61 Sealed doorway into Gloucester Street convent.

Public Monuments (**62-65**)

Special attention was given to any and all public monuments or heritage properties extent in the study area for the purposes of comparison to findings from the project.

62 Scot's Presbyterian church on Sean McDermott Street.

63 Unnamed public monument on New Street South.

64 Public monument, Parnell Street.

65 The house where James Joyce's character Leopold Bloom begins his day in Ulysses, Upper Clanbrassil Street.

Immersion (**66**)

In order to provide inspiration for sociological interviews, the walks of the study areas were intended to be approached as immersive actions into the material domains of the study areas. This provided inspiration for the inclusion of sound, sight and smell within the relational understading of the material cultures of the study areas.

66 Traffic on New Street South. An important quality of the character of contemporary Clanbrassil Street is the heavy flow of high speed traffic (and also long standing traffic jams). This flow of cars makes it very difficult to cross the road, effectively dividing the street in two.

Community-Based Field Activities **(September—January)**

Alongside the archaeological and material cultural methodologies, this work will employ oral history/biographical interviews and group discussions, involving the use, and in some cases production by participants, of visual and material culture as both triggers, symbols and reflections of the things upon which they draw to understand, construct and convey their senses of self, belonging and place—within the locale and the wider society/nation.

These activities have been arranged to coincide with the existing programmes of activities of these organizations and to contribute to their work on the ground (and can be tailored to the specific goals and work plans of the participating organizations in order to add further value of their work). They will involve a series of three to four sessions with participants from/members of these organizations who live in the area.

Lourdes Day Care Centre: in conjunction with the planned 30 year anniversary of the Centre in 2009, this work began with a general group discussion with 15 people at the Centre, facilitated by Terry Fagan, Cormac O'Donnell, Alice Feldman and Michael Brown. In order to stimulate discussion, three days previously, Terry had set up a small photography exhibit of old and recent photographs of the area from the Folklore Project archives, including well-known and ordinary everyday places and activities. During the two-hour session, participants were invited to react and reminisce, sharing a multitude of stories and recollections about their place and the locale. Terry has been following up with individual interviews in addition to taking photographs of the participants and the Centre. A final session will be held before the Christmas holiday whereby the group will be asked to bring in photographs and mementos to stimulate both individual narrations as well as story-telling across the participants. The discussions and interviews will be recorded.

NCCCAP Youth Group: as part of its regular course schedule, a group of 6 students were selected to participate in this set of activities. The series began with Terry providing an overview of the work of the Folklore Project, the heritage of the area and presentations of audio/visual material from the Project's archives. The students were provided with their own digital cameras to use for this project, and to keep following its conclusion. A second, full day, session was held with Michael Brown (team photographer) who provided an overview of the type of work he does, instructed the students in the use of the cameras, and led a walking tour, with their instructor, for the purposes of allowing the students to get used to the cameras and to begin thinking about what sorts of photographs to take and why. A third session will involve the students presenting 3 photographs they have selected, again, encouraging the telling of individual stories as well as cross-telling among the students. This session will be attended by Terry Fagan, Cormac O'Donnell and Alice Feldman. Between sessions two and three, the students have been continuing to go out and take photographs with their instructor and will have the opportunity to print out them out for for further reflection. Michael Brown is also planning on a further follow up in

January in order to provide any further instruction requested by the students. The final discussion session will be recorded.

Dublin Multicultural Resource Centre: the activities undertaken with the Centre will contribute to its development of a larger community of users and participants. While still in development, the initial plan involves a first session with Terry Fagan who will provide an overview of the work he's done in the Folklore Project and a presentation of a general history of the residents, places and key events shaping the area. In addition to their reactions to what they have learned from Terry's presentation, a general discussion will be encouraged concerning their experience of life in the area, where and how long the residents have been living there and their overall impressions. Participants will be invited to a second session where they will be asked to bring objects or photographs reflecting their life in the area—things and places that are important to their story/life in the area, things they feel should be known and passed on—and to tell whatever stories they'd like to share in relation to the material they have brought with them. They may also choose to include things or pictures they brought with them from their home country. These discussion will be photographed and recorded.

Internal/Personal Material Cultures **(January-March)**

As the collection of things is being recognized as a broadly shared behaviour amongst contemporary people, study of material cultures will be undertaken within the internal and personal spaces of the study areas (see Cooke 2008). This phase is intended to fully integrate with the sociological interviewing process in order to adopt and ethical engagement with the local community in the generation of material culture narratives about their lived experiences of the study areas. This will include:

> *Domestic displays*
> This includes the exploration of stories emanating both from seen and unseen things within the domestic lives of the participants.
>
> *Personal objects*
> This includes objects people bring with them out into their communities and throughout their daily lives.

In order to avoid an overly deterministic approach to these things, participants in the sociological interview process will be subtly encouraged to bring things to interviews in order to help tell stories. These exchanges then may lead to invitations on behalf of the participants to explore other personal things within their domestic spaces. These interviews will also serve to draw out stories relating to the material cultures of public spaces but through inter-personal conversation rather than abstract research documentation through survey.

In the context of the study of material cultures, it is intended that the arts process will help advocate the relational qualities of story creation and the agency of people within the manifestation of the material cultures of their communities. By supporting the creation of new material cultures through collaborative artistic process, the radical implications for the lateral relationships revealed through the study of material cultures will be realized.

Digital Storytelling **(January—March)**

In similar fashion to personal/internal material culture work, the final phase of the community-based work in the Monto is designed to introduce material culture and arts practices into the sociological research practices focusing on narrative and community-based storytelling. Based on the principle of the participant as creative agent in the theorizing, telling and production of community and heritage knowledges and resources, digital storytelling involves the individual's creation and production of her/his own multi-media piece, or story. Through the process of familiarization with the Monto neighborhood, learning about the people who live there, the physical space, the diverse organizations and social actors, and arising from the field activities currently taking place, a particular configuration of participants for the digital storytelling workshops will begin to emerge. Six people, representing a diversity of ages, backgrounds and circumstances, will be selected to participate in a 3-month programme of workshops during which they participants will produce a 3-5 minute digital story that centers on their experiences, voice and images. The workshops will involve learning to produce these multi-media pieces on computer, script their narratives and choose a variety of images to integrate into their pieces. The workshops will be hosted by Larkin Community College (in the Monto neighborhood) in conjunction with Dublin City Council's Community Technical Aid unit.

The process of creating these multi-media artefacts will unfold during weekly workshops over a period of three months. The participatory pedagogy of the digital storytelling process facilitates critical engagement with the participants' lived experiences, physical environment, emergent stories and images. The participants will create these stories in dialogue with these experiences, localities and artefacts, and are subsequently involved in determining the exhibitory platforms for their stories within and as part of a community of practitioners. Workshop sessions will be audio recorded in order to include the discussions and reflections on their own and each others stories and work that take place during this project in order to capture the evolution, process and possibilities of intercultural dialogue through shared stories. As in the first part of the Monto project, a pre-launch viewing of the 6 digital stories will be held for the workshop participants and will also include those participating in the other field activities in order to have a larger conversation about heritage issues across groups, methodologies and media outputs.

4.5 PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS

As all of the community-based field activities in the Monto are currently still in process it is not possible to offer initial observations in relation to the data content. However, there have been noticeable impacts of the project in terms of the personal and interpersonal dynamics of those participating and in the environment of the organisations hosting these activities.

In relation to the senior citizens, at the first session, while initially apprehensive about being tape-recorded, during the discussion, after someone told a particularly interesting and entertaining story, another jumped up and exclaimed ‘I hope someone’s writing this down!’. Many of them thanked the team members for attending, saying they were delighted that people are interested in their stories. On subsequent trips to the Centre, Terry has reported ‘a buzz about the place’ when he arrives, as many would still like to be interviewed and have their picture taken, both because they get a laugh from it, but also because they are concerned that the stories and information will be lost. There is a strong sense sitting among them that one never knows how much time one has, and Terry has been keen to get the photographs as soon as the interviews are recorded, as he has often found in his work, that if he does wait, the person might pass on.

The most profound impact has been among the students. Initially, we were careful in planning different contingencies, as there was a great possibility that the students would not be interested (and there was no requirement to attend even though it was being run as a programme activity) and that they would lose interest, drop out or generally mess around. There were also concerns that given their lack of confidence they would be too apprehensive about engaging with the team. We were keen to have them involved not only for the purposes of their contribution to project knowledge base, but, in line with the participatory research principles, we wanted to provide an opportunity for the students to be exposed to people and possible careers that they would not have had the occasion to encounter. As with the digital storytelling work, the opportunity to meet a photographer, learn from a professional and so on, might create the spark for a student to consider taking up further or higher education and so on.

In speaking with the instructor after the second session with Michael Brown, she noted that in the three years she had been working there, she had ‘never seen so drastic an effect on the students.’ She reported the fact that someone had given them cameras (of their own), was willing to teach them, and had the patience and interest to spend the day with them had had an incredible effect on their self-value and self-worth. Since that session, a previously ‘lethargic and un-motivatable’ group of students have been so excited and interested in the project that they have been going out every morning taking pictures. In addition to photographing ploaces that they have some relation with (such as a family member living there), they have been talking to people on the streets and asking if they could take their pictures, sometimes to have their pictures taken

with them, 'even non-nationals'. There is also one student who has seemed to show a particular skill—she observed that she could see his head working and that she would not have thought that he would have such advanced thought for his age. Additionally, the instructor noted that the other students in the Centre are volunteering to participate in everything, just on the off-chance that there might be a chance to become involved in a similar project, and it has improved the overall environment of the Centre as a whole. While she would not typically advocate 'throwing money at problems', she noted that in this case, to be given cameras and told 'they're yours' and to have access to equipment has been 'really and truly fantastic' for them. The instructor ended the discussion noting that she felt the field strategy that we employed was particularly effective—beginning with Terry, whom they know, proceeding with Michael who was seen to be 'laid back' and got on with them quite well, and so on, slowly introducing them to various members of the team as they became increasingly confident in themselves. When asked if she thought the team attendance of the final discussion group would interfere in terms of interpersonal dynamics (Alice Feldman is of American background, an academic and so on) she replied 'No, not at all. They'd love to meet a real American!'.

While this type of outcome was certainly hoped for and not completely unexpected, it is somewhat of a revelation. As Russell (*forthcoming* 2009) observes,

> the significance of emotive responses for determining and articulating value in heritage is critical. Heritage does not simply exist. It is something we have to care about and simultaneously care for. Unfortunately the vast majority of heritage studies literature does not engage critically with how or why people "care" from an emotional, psychological or intellectual standpoint.

Not only do people want their voices to be heard, and to be included in the wider collective script, but they also care about the place they live, particularly when they see themselves as active co-creators of those places. Because more than this, the fieldwork process has also highlighted the commitment of the people who lead and are involved the organisations with whom we have been working. All four organisations were established through grassroots, through the collection of funds and volunteered time from those who had comparatively little. Their remits not only focus on delivering needed services, but strive to build capacity, to increase quality of life, to extend the horizons and life choices their constituencies may have. The staff with whom we are working have all been committed this type of work for the better part of their lifetimes. They embody the role of 'community stewards' and their and, as such, their stories will be included as part of the project knowledge base. It is also interesting that the era in which these organisations were established, during the late 1970s and early 1980s also coincides with the times of the grassroots heritage campaigns, the Dublin in Crisis conferences, that involved a wide cross-section of people working together from different communities, professions and walks of life. This ethos of

'community spirit' seems to be more than just something older residents talk about when they are 'feeling nostalgic' for times past when the community was close and people treated each other with respect and generosity. It may even be part of the 'heritage' of the Monto (as in other places in Ireland). As such, the team is looking forward to seeing the outcomes of the activities which involve the participants from the three groups coming together to discuss the project and their contributions to the book, and the possibilities for the cultivation of shared values, aspirations and ethos' for their lives in the area through discussion and exchange. As one English interviewee who is married to an Irish woman in the previous study observed, 'Once they know where you are from and what your business is then they are okay (laughs).'

Nayak (2003, 161-2), in his study of changing youth identities and subcultures in the North of England, argues that

> In order to make the question of race and ethnicity meaningful in predominantly white preserves it was necessary to … [develop] a detailed "pedagogy of place". Exposing the diverse geographies and histories of white students upon Tyneside could be a productive exchange where the immediate heritage of respondents was discussed. The recognition that 'English' identities had changed over time allowed these students to feel less threatened by the prospect of black British settlement… Encouraging students in mainly white areas to sensitively trace their ethnic and social-class lineage was found to be a fruitful way of deconstructing whiteness.

He also observes (2003, 162-3) that historical and cultural geographies served to 'implode' the notion of a coherent white English ethnicity and cultivate 'interest amongst students in race relations they felt they could have a personal stake in. In this way, the students'

> subjective deconstructions acted as fertile ground upon which to yield syncretic youth identities…Through utilizing a "pedagogy of place" that focused on migration, hybridity and difference, it was found that the implosion of white ethnicities could offer alternative historical trajectories that many students had a self-fascination with. Tracing their familial past was a means of personalizing history, making it relevant to their life experiences to date.

There is thus great potential within heritage practice to realize the promises of both national and community enrichment and interculturalism. In its fullest sense, it may have more to contribute to the aspirational (conceptual as opposed to state-based) goals of integration, and beyond the 'samosas, saris and steel drums' (or 'dish, dress and dance') formula to cultural diversity (a phrase reflecting criticism of what has become the standard approach to multicultural or intercultural events and activities—that they are a waste of resources as they have little value

beyond the once-off, superficial). Moreover, there are increasing examples of innovative practices being employed in the heritage sector towards community building and development (Riley and Harvey 2005; Giaccardi and Palen 2008; Newman and McLean 1990).

The heritage sector, however, is noticeably absent from the current debates concerning interculturalism and integration, despite both regimes ostensibly working in the area of articulating, 'preserving', 'managing' and celebrating Irish culture and values. As such, the 'immigration industry' (as well as people on the street…), when it asks immigrants to integrate into Irish society and take on 'our' 'values', cannot tell us what the 'into what' is. Heritage and tourism despite being the guardians and producers of this 'what', cannot contribute effectively to these questions or dilemmas—due to both infrastructural and conceptual isolation from the wider arenas of social policy and social engineering, and the social research that would interact with them, as well as the limitations of practice. Consequently neither arenas (immigration or heritage) are taking seriously enough the dynamics and implications of crises (due to globalization as a whole) in everyday life strategies, attitudes, identities (what does it mean to be Irish?), and the links between personal and national identities. Nor are they functioning to promote this type of dialogue and critical reflection despite their mandates as well as the great potential for innovation and success such work holds for these regimes. Work on the ground in the contexts of local, everyday life and interactions is thus urgently needed in both these (as well as other) areas. While this may be typically an argument for 'joined-up' governance and policy it has become more than apparent that this has to begin with the type of intellectual, interdisciplinary and cross-sector synthesis that is the central focus of this project.

5

ART & ARCHAEOLOGY

Art and archaeology

As one of this project's professed aims is to activate the contemporary heritages of the study areas, the project team considered how best to collaborate in this contemporary creative act. Although archaeology is itself creative, it was decided that best practice would be to enlist the disciplinary skills of contemporary artists through two residencies to help provoke, elaborate and enrich the creative processes throughout the project. The inclusion of artistic residencies within archaeological research initiatives is not without precedent. Here I note a series of companion projects working within the synergy of artistic and archaeological practices:

European Union

EU Trans Form Actions, EU Culture Programme Land Art Project (http://www.transformactions.eu)

England

Material City, Bristol (http://www.24hourmuseum.org.uk/nwh/ART46516.html)

Thames Big Dig, Tate Modern, London

Ireland

Ábhar agus Meon, Sixth World Archaeological Congress (www.amexhibition.com)

Italy

Intersezioni, Parco Archeologico di Scolacium, Roccelletta di Borgia, near Catanzaro, Calbria (http://www.intersezioni.info/default.asp)

Spain

PAC Murcia (http://www.pacmurcia.es/)

USA

Presence Project, Metamedia, Stanford Humanities Lab, Stanford University (http://presence.stanford.edu:3455/Collaboratory/Home)

From art to archaeology to art: a brief disciplinary history

Archaeology owes much of its intellectual history to art historical traditions (Russell 2008). It was the art historians-come-antiquarians, who were fascinated initially with the extant material remains of Classical and Egyptian civilizations and would come to engage with local and rural regions across Europe, who established many of the interpretive methods of archaeological practice and would come to establish significant archaeological societies (e.g. the Royal Irish Academy or Kilkenny Archaeological Society) and chairs of archaeology at universities throughout Europe (Russell 2006).

Once archaeology was established as a university discipline in the 20th century, artistic interpretation of the material traces of the past would become eclipsed by scientific methods being appropriated from other developing scientific disciplines. During the first half of the 20th century, cultural historical methods of analysising artefacts led to the appropriation of archaeological data for the purposes of reifying European ethno-nationalistic claims to territorial regions such as the Irish Free State (Cooney 1996; Crooke 2000), Falangist Spain (Díaz-Andreu 1993; 1995; Díaz-Andreu & Ramírez Sánchez 2004), the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Klejn 1993; Shnirelman 1995; 1996) and National Socialist Germany (Arnold 1990; Arnold & Hassmann 1995). In the wake of the Second World War, intense criticisms were made of European cultural institutions and their relationships to ethno-nationalistic and fascist politics. Archaeology in order to assure its disciplinary status advanced positivism in the form of processual archaeology as means of advocating an objective, impartial study of the remains of the past, distinct from the manipulation of spurious interpretations of material culture for political purposes (Russell 2008, Trigger 1989).

Despite this turn towards positivism as a means of establish rigorous and ‘hard’ data, archaeological thought remained highly philosophical, speculative, interpretative and subjective. Although archaeological practice had largely departed from its initial relationship to artistic studies of objects and landscapes of the past, during the later half of the 20th century new synergies grew between contemporary art and archaeology—celebrating a shared purpose of engaging, mediating and interpreting contemporary material culture.

In the context of the Republic of Ireland, the http://www.amexhibition.com/rosc.html *Rosc* exhibitions (1967; 1971; 1977) in Ireland in the 1960s and 70s positioned the study and appreciation of archaeological materials alongside that of modern and contemporary art. More recently, *Beyond the Pale* (1994) at the Irish Museum of Modern Art celebrated research synergies between modern and contemporary art and archaeology in the subjective interpretation of material culture such as the Sile na Gigs. Also of interest is the excavation and reconstruction of Francis Bacon’s studio in at the Hugh Lane Gallery in Dublin in 1998 as an example of the

potential for collaborative research between archaeological and artistic thought and practice (see Campbell 2000; McGrath 2000; Wilson 2000). It should be noted, however, that in all of these projects, divisions between the methods and sensibilities of the disciplines still remained largely unquestioned, untested and uncriticized.

As such over the last fifteen years, individuals and groups within archaeology and the arts have, however, begun to undercut the divisions between specializations (see Shanks 1992; Pearson & Shanks 2001; Renfrew 2003; Renfrew *et al.* 2004; Pearson 2006; Witmore 2006; Ingold 2007; Russell 2006; Cochrane & Russell 2007; Russell *forthcoming*). For example the recently completed *Ábhar agus Meon* exhibition series hosted by the Sixth World Archaeological Congress consisted of an art exhibition, a series of interventions and two new artistic commissions through collaborations between the Irish Museum of Modern Art, Green On Red Gallery and University College Dublin (www.amexhibition.com). Also of note here is the multiple arts projects at Kilmainham Gaol undertaken by Pat Cooke as part of the negotiation of the heritage spaces there (see Cooke 2008).

Art, archaeology and contemporaneity

Our world is a complex network of things, of traces and residues both of things from the past and phenomena of today but also possibilities for the future: a cobblestone from a 19th century Dublin street, stones from a medieval city wall or a ticket-stub from this past weekend's GAA match at Croke Park (see Witmore 2006; González-Ruibal 2008). To cope with the complexity of the co-temporal appearances of these things, we ascribe order to their occurrences—a temporal structure allowing the rationalization of the contemporary appearance of these things today (see Thomas 2004; Russell 2008).

This archaeological sensibility to interpret the world around us has a specific history and modern context of development, but whether or not these things are evidence, traces or residues of pasts, the engagement, negotiation and mediation of relationships with these things is decidedly contemporary (see Shanks 1992; Latour 1993; Russell 2008). Archaeology is not simply about the past. The performance of archaeology is a contemporary attempt to realize different pasts, but to control and structure their appearances through rationally manifested knowledge and information. To focus only on the scientific aspects of archaeology is only tells half of the story. The narrative of archaeology is as much, if not more so, about the fascination of encountering and mediating things today whose stories one is compelled to construct or reconstruct from traces and residues, absences and presences. It is a curiosity about things and a drive to mediate the experiences of things to render the world intelligible today which underpins the archaeological sensibility (Russell 2008).

The overwhelming dominance of scientific inquiry in archaeology as a discipline has to a certain degree hampered the appreciation of the subjective qualities of engaging material things and interpreting the contemporary lateral relationships between people and things. Conversely, artistic practice since the 1960s (e.g. Joseph Beuys) has advocated an increased appreciation of lateral subjective relationships as the main generator of meaning and value. It is important to acknowledge that within a project such as this, archaeology can not do everything and nor should it be expected to do so. To complement archaeological practice and archaeological sensibilities within a radically contemporary archaeological study, it seems only fitting that professional creators of contemporary material culture and other cultural expressions be engaged in order to elaborate on the contemporary subjective relationships within communities and their continual negotiation and change.

These relationships are ripe with emotional and ideological sentiments which are difficult if not impossible or inappropriate to capture within traditional scholarly research in archaeology or sociology. To activate and elaborate these sentiments, it was decided that the establishment of two artist residencies would be included in the remit of the project. Not to abjure academic specialisations, the artistics process encouraged to blur the boundaries between creativity and analysis within collaborative research. The artististic process would be allowed to permeate and percolate throughout the broader interdisciplinary structures in place both responding to them and challenging them to change and develop to incorporate and handle ‘difficult’, emotional and highly subjective understandings and mediations of places and peoples engagements within these places.

5.1 ARTISTIC PRACTICE AND INTERDISCIPLINARITY

A core component of the interdisciplinary structure of the project is the establishment of shared collaborative discursive spaces. One which has previously been explored is material culture studies. Artistic practice, indeed, engages with the same unbounded engagement with material things. It also explores and establishes lateral relationships between people and things being particularly sensitive to the emotions and sentiments associated with these relationships. In order to draw out the sentiments of and sentimental relationships to the study areas, it was decided to offer two contemporary artists the opportunity to take up residencies in the Clanbrassil Street research area.

As there is no specific space or institutional home for this research project in which to house the resident artists, it was necessary to locate the residencies through the creation of a strong interdisciplinary environment. Therefore, the archaeological, sociological and material culture studies were initiated in advance of the artists taking up residency. This decision led to the

fortunate opportunity of having both a study area enhanced by collaborative artistic practice and one without. This will allow for the *ex post facto* analysis of the effectiveness of artist residencies in enhancing the research deliverables from collaborative interdisciplinary research projects.

Selection Process

The selection of the artists for the two residencies was undertaken by CREATE under the direction of Sarah Tuck. CREATE is the research project partner with the expertise and organizational mandate for collaborative arts in Ireland. Sarah Tuck and CREATE handled the vetting and recruitment of both artists following best practice of their institutional procedures.

After the selection of the two artists was made, Ian Russell was attached as Coordinator and Curator in order to manage and facilitate the collaborative process between the artists and the other academic project components.

Collaborative arts practice and process

CREATE and Dublin City Council will work with the artists in mediating and brokering relationships with communities. Some of the key questions that will be addressed in thinking through the collaborative process with communities (of place and /or interest) which we will in some way document are:

> Does the partner community pre-exist the art project or is it produced by the project?
>
> What is the nature of the collaboration between the artist and the community?
>
> What is collaboration in this context?
>
> How does the collaboration unfold?
>
> What is the role of the artist?
>
> Is the partner community coincident with the idea of audience?

The collaborative arts process and practice engaged by the artists will inevitably explore tensions and difficulties and is intended to do so. Sarah Tuck has chosen here to offer an extensive quote from Miwon Kwon's (1998) critique of Grant Kester's description of collaborative arts and his

proposal of 2 models of communities. Tuck suggests that Kwon teases out much of the current debate amongst artists with regards to collaborative practice(s) and ideas of identity formation which are pertinent to the wider objectives of the project (also see Kwon 2004 & Kester 2004):

> One is the "politically coherent community," as he calls it, and the other is the "created community," created through a delegate artist, who is positioned as such to fulfill some public art project. In his view, the collaborative dynamic in the latter case, tends to be fraught with problems of paternalism. … In contrast, the collaboration of politically coherent communities would yield a more "equitable process of exchange and mutual education, with the artist learning from the community, having his or her presuppositions about the community and issues challenged in the process." According to Kester, "self determined identities of politically coherent communities are derived from an ongoing collective process of internal debate and consensus formation around issues of common interest to their members." One, they exist prior to the artist's presence. Two, they organize themselves through internal dynamics directed to common interests…
>
> Within Kester's logic, when a community comes together around an art project, it is assumed that the collaboration begins with uneven power relations and inevitably will lead to untenable paternalism. "Successful collaborations, on the other hand, in which the artist does not overtake the identity or use the identity of the community or infantalize its members, but is in some form of mutual exchange with them, are only possible when the artist engages a politically coherent community."
>
> For me, there are several problems with this formulation, although I think it is an important beginning step to try to unpack this thing called community. First, the one-to-one correspondence between the formation of a community, distinguished in terms of a prior coherence, and the possibility of some sort of productive collaborative exchange discounts the multitude of ways that an artist can engender different types of community formations. I have tried to distinguish different types of communities that emerge through collaborative projects, and my sense is that different communities can emerge out of different processes and interactions. I don't believe that if the community preexists the collaboration it is necessarily more productive….This mode of identifying communities in advance of potential collaboration has facilitated and popularized a newly bureaucratized and formulaic version of community-based public art, where an artist plus a community plus a social issue equals public art. In such circumstances …the identity of the community group comes to serve as the thematic content of the art work, representing the social issue in an isolated and reified way. In the process, the community itself can become reified as well. That is one of the objections I have to Kester's model.
>
> Even though Kester insists on the need to understand the unity of a community as "the product of contingent processes of identification" when he categorizes the different types of communities to extrapolate two corresponding collaborative results, one good and one bad in his view, he in effect argues against the authenticity of a community that might be activated within the contingency of a public art process. In so doing, Kester disallows the important ways in which an artistic intervention can productively reinvent or critique the very concept of community. Kester's categorical rejection of communities that might emerge as an outcome of a public art intervention reflects an implicit, albeit complex essentialism of the community that is grounded on two points regarding its fundamental character. … Perhaps the primary issue to discuss in community is the issue of difference in relation to understanding identity formation, collective or otherwise. It is also important to understand the possibilities and limitations of community-based public art. The concept of difference as forwarded in most instances in public art discourse reduces it to the idea of multiplicity of uniquenesses, indicating simply the acknowledgement of the existence of diverse particularities within contemporary society. Whether characterized as inaccessible to anything beyond

> an exploitative appropriation by an artist or seen as available to genuine collaborations that naturally extend an artist's realm of operation, diverse particularities of communities seem fully formed entities awaiting engagement from the outside.
>
> Although such an acknowledgement is not altogether without political and artistic importance, such conception of difference supports the temporal and spatial demarcation of communities as discrete social formations. This is to say, they are thought to coalesce organically among like minded people in opposition to a dominant culture, and are mutable only as a result of internal process, and that their strength and coherence are determined in proportion to their resistance and impermeability to external pressure and influence. What this kind of conception subtly but crucially discounts is the ongoing conditionality of identity formation in general, an understanding of it as a process of articulation, but also simultaneously as disarticulation that is fully mediated by a myriad of internal and external pressures on a continuous basis.
>
> This idea of multiculturalism, of community, is based on what political theorist Chantal Mouffe has called a closed system of differences, wherein difference is understood not as a process of continual identification of misrecognition and recognition, which is intrinsic to self construction and group formation, it is not understood as a relational process, but as fixed entities. What I am advocating is to try to think of community-based art not so much as based on the idea that discrete communities exist in the world as disenfrachised and marginalized, but to think of communities in a much more fluid way, so that collaborations can engender new formations of what could be called communities. As such, these communities potentially can disappear and reform. This view is based more on the idea of affinities rather than identities. For a lot of artists who have been engaged with community and collective work, it is a crucial time, because they recognize that there is a tendency towards the rationalization and instrumentalization of collective experience in community-based art.

One of the challenges of including artistic residencies within an interdisciplinary research environment is that the research objectives can, at times, seek to be proscriptive of the artistic process, leading to derivative or predetermined works being realized. It was the intention of this project, by the recommendation of CREATE, to follow best collaborative arts practice allowing the artists free license to participate in the research process while maintaining their artistic independence. The inclusion of artists on this basis carries with it some degree of risk in that the research team is unaware of what will be realized and has no control, only influence, over the creative process. As an exercise in participatory research, collaborative arts practice has, however, the same challenges and risks posed to the academic integrity of the researcher. Thus, the best method of assuaging this risk is to promote strong intra-group relationships amongst all team members, encouraging free exchange of ideas and information’s in an open and creative process of thought on an iterative basis.

Curatorial Process

The curatorial process utilized in this instance is highly iterative. It depends on conversation and inter-personal exchange as primary methods of establishing collaborative relationships between

the curator and artists and the rest of the project team. The primary role of Ian Russell in the establishment of the residencies has been to maintain regular communication with the artists regarding all aspects of the project—conceptual, practical, administrative and creative. The artists were also encouraged to establish one-on-one relationships with other members of the project team in order to develop an egalitarian collaborative environment. Ian Russell also worked to encourage the project team members to pursue the artists for meetings and discussions—especially to establish extra-project relationships and exchanges to enhance the collaborative synergies. Following the iterative quality of the curatorial process, Ian Russell as curator has worked to relay creative developments from all aspects of the project to all the project team members through personal conversations rather than solely at project meetings. This allowed for a stewarded creative development of insights and creative outputs.

Throughout the process, it is the intention to ensure mutual integrity and autonomy for all the separate project components. This is particularly relevant to the artistic process for in order that the artists' outputs be seen as successful, they would need to be seen to be autonomous continuations of each artists' own creative careers—and not as derivative or determined solutions to research problems. The final output of the curatorial process will be the dissemination of the artistic deliverables be they theatrical productions, films, visual art exhibitions or performances. Another output relevant to this process is the design and production of a publication which integrates all the project components into an effective and affecting 'book' which will be given to members of the local communities and distributed widely throughout the heritage, arts and academic sectors. This publications will be designed by Ciaran OGaora, Director of Zero-G. Ciaran OGaora will play a consultancy role in his capacity of designer, helping hone and focus the final deliverables encompassing all the interdisciplinary project components. This is particularly important in order to achieve a fully successful synergy and presence of the artistic outputs within the broader academic research outputs.

Artist Descriptions

Sean Lynch: Visual Artist

Sean Lynch is an artist based in Frankfurt and County Kerry. He studied history at the University of Limerick and Fine Art at the Stadelschule, Frankfurt. He has exhibited solo exhibitions at the Galway Arts Festival and at Limerick City Gallery of Art. He has taken part in recent group exhibitions at Office Baroque, Antwerp, the Royal Academy of Art and Oeen Group, Copenhagen, the Lucas Kronach Preis, Kronach, and the Lewis Glucksman Gallery, Cork. Through his art practice, Lynch continues to investigate a wide range of, overlooked cultural artefacts and

forgotten historical subjects. Through research, photographs and installations he discloses and builds upon fragile stories and objects, magnifying traces of their often-idiosyncratic existence (see Lynch 2007).

Artist's Statement of Practice

My artworks investigate and shine a spotlight on a range of almost-forgotten historical subjects. Using my practice as a platform against the cultural amnesia that surround varied topics, my research, photographs and installations advocate a kind of activism towards history. I disclose and build upon fragile stories and objects, magnifying traces of their often-idiosyncratic existence.

Throughout Europe the culture of progress predominates rather than a culture of survival. I am specifically interested in the friction between these two processes, often referring to Walter Benjamin's subtle notion of 'revolutionary nostalgia,' an approach that considers the resonance of history in critical relation to contemporary discourse. I think the analogy of yesterday's newspaper is a good one. It is just past, still close at hand, easy to find again and reassess from the vantage point of today.

I worked as an architectural historian for some time. During this job, I began to see my uncovering of information about a place as a way of relating my work to a kind of situation-specific art practice. The subplot, the hidden history, became relevant, as a way of seeing the world. Some scenarios can be told and described so many times; a story begins to narrow down to a particular narrative and content. I am interested in loose ends of stories: the footnotes that tend to get lost, and how to mediate their presence through shining a spotlight on them. What I find is often a peripheral story to a main event.

I have investigated alleged supernatural trees, in danger of destruction from Ireland's new motorways in the video work Latoon. In Finding Richard Long, the contemporary conditions of Long's sculptures in the Irish landscape are traced. Previous works have considered the office workers of Mies Van Der Rohe's Seagram building in New York, Joseph Beuys' visits to Ireland, and the construction of a replica of the Berlin Wall in Dublin in 1965 and its subsequent recycling into a school for Travellers in Cherry Orchard. In recent months, I have been searching for the mythical island of HyBrazil, last seen in the Atlantic Ocean in 1872.

My venture is to pick up these marginalized fragments, and to renegotiate them into alternative configurations. My gallery presentations become an open space for the feedback of history and myth to occur, and allow a place for the continued recovery of further tales and forgotten histories.

Interim Report

In June 2008 I was approached by CREATE about the possibility of making an artwork about the heritage of Clanbrassil Street and its surrounding area. After some discussion, a site visit and several meetings with the project team, I have committed to producing an artwork for June 2009.

Initial contact has been made with the local Mosque, with whom I am interested in developing a project. There are several possible strands I am considering at this stage. Certainly I am interested in rejuvenating a local piece of heritage or history into a contemporary idiom. I have done some research into the character of Zozimus and his life in the area in the early 1800s, and I am currently considering how to make a film, book, or site-specific work that might re-introduce his presence into the area on an everyday basis once more,

Ursula Rani Sarma—Playwright

Ursula Rani Sarma is an Irish Playwright of Indian/Irish descent. She has written several plays for the stage which have been produced internationally. Her work has been produced by companies such as the Royal National Theatre London, Paines Plough Theatre London, The O'Neill Theatre Centre Connecticut and the BBC amongst others. She has a BA in English and History from NUI Cork and an M Phil in Irish Theatre and Film from Trinity College Dublin. She is currently a doctoral candidate in Trinity and is conducting research in the area of contemporary Irish drama. Her most recent play *The Magic Tree* (Sarma 2008) was recently produced as part both the Edinburgh and Dublin Fringe Festivals in 2008 (also see Sarma 2002).

Initial Project Outline

At this early stage in the process I am considering the key aspects of this residency which interest me. The words 'Local communities', 'heritage' and 'archaeology' all strike me as being of importance and relevance to the changing cultural landscape Clanbrassil Street.

As it stands, I am as yet to meet any of the residents of Clanbrassil Street although I will be doing so in the coming weeks. This will be my third community residency and in the past the work which I have created has been in response to my interaction with the inhabitants of a community as well as to the space in which they live.

When I began to think of the project initially I was repeatedly drawn to the concept of 'excavation' and how it may be applied within the context of an individual or a community's narrated history. I am interested in how this would apply to the female members, and by contrast the male members, of the Muslim community and in hearing their response to viewing their lives or histories as 'unbroken ground' when placed in front of an Irish audience. I am interested in asking questions about the definition of 'home', 'belonging' and 'narrative archaeology' as opposed to 'geographical archaeology'. I am interested in the idea of who decides which version of history is written and what is left unwritten and whether the members of these migrant communities feel that they are entitled to a history of their own in a country where they are seen primarily as 'immigrants'. I am interested in the buildings themselves and how the street has been, and continues to be, changed and 'developed'. I am interested in 'development' as a concept and how it has been taken in the past to equal progress and how the current and past residents of the street feel about this. The progressive widening of the street struck me on our last walk along with the heavy flow of traffic, even crossing from one side of the street to the other was difficult. I am interested how this physically separates the residents of one side of the street from those on the other. I am interested in hearing what is important to these people and why and what part the street they inhabit has to play in that.

My over all vision for this residency is that it will have two strands. The first will involve a direct collaboration with some of the residents of Clanbrassil Street to create an end product (a publication/series of stories/cards). By directly involving the residents in this project I hope to instil within these individuals a sense of ownership over the end product. This collaboration, broadly speaking, will attempt to investigate 'story telling' from the position of migrant communities and how 'story' can be equated with 'life stories' and whose 'stories' deserve to be recorded in which places. The exact form that these stories or histories will take is impossible to know at this point but it would be my hope that whatever the result is, it will be tangible enough to be placed within the Clanbrassil Street area so that they become a shared narrative and part of the living history of the area.

The second strand will involve my own artistic response to the experience of the residency. I have not defined the exact form which this response will take however in past residencies I have produced plays, a collection of poetry, screenplays etc. It depends on my experiences and which literary form I feel will best serve the subject matter.

It is my intention to begin meeting with the residents within the next few weeks and to begin to identify the individuals who are willing to work with me on this project. I would hope to spend the first half of the residency working with these individuals and collecting/ developing the material for the end product. The second half of the residency will be

spent editing this material and working on my own artistic response to my experiences. It is my intention that the ‘end product’ will be completed by June 2009 with my own ‘artistic response’ to coincide also.

6

A conclusion...

We noted at the start of this report that the *Placing Voices, Voicing Places* project has reached the end of its official funding phase, but that the research is on-going and that this report is an interim statement, the last to be produced before the project's various works are unveiled to the public in the former Monto and Clanbrassil Street, and the book published. At this stage, though, it is possible to make recommendations to the Heritage Council, and these are listed at the start of this report.

This project set out about seven months ago with a series of questions, and they can be restated here (with clearer articulation than before, thanks to the the experience of many months' work by the project team) as an appetizer to the final report.

> *Batch 1*: What do the new migrant communities of our study areas understand by 'identity', and to what extent do these understandings tally with the often-unconscious articulation of identity in material culture, landscape and movement through the landscape? What constitutes 'heritage' among these communities? How do they understand debates about preservation and conservation? How do they evaluate, if at all, the dominant nationalist paradigm in current debates about heritage (as at Tara, or the 1916 house on Moore Street)? Do they recognise the presence of this paradigm in their urban landscapes? What effect do these dynamics have on their own sense of home-building and belonging?
>
> *Batch 2*: Can we draw down the meanings of these residues by engaging with local community members, long-resident and indeed newly-settled? Specifically, can we measure how these communities diverge in their comprehending of them? To what extent are these residues the signifiers of place and territory, and the *aides de memoire*, for 'native' so-called working-class communities? (And, to what extent is the low heritage value placed in residual spaces such as backlanes problematic for those immigrant communities which occupied these spaces upon first arrival in Ireland?). What are their implications for weaving a new social fabric of intercultural and cross-community relations?
>
> *Batch 3*: Does the process of recording these contemporary landscapes have to exclude those who live within them? Is the conventional end-product—the stratigraphic drawing, the Harris Matrix, the scaled photograph—the only end-product? Can we so engage local communities in the data-collecting and data-representing aspects of our archaeological project that they are empowered as participants and stakeholders? Is the mural, or the installation, or the performance, as legitimate a mode of presenting heritage as the archaeological drawing? Is it more culturally appropriate?
>
> *Batch 4*: Can we recycle the results of archaeological excavations into our dialogue with local communities, so that this evidence, garnered from invasive operations

> conducted without any local input, is actively put at the service of the local community? And can we facilitate local communities to see archaeological excavation as a type of public performance, a carefully choreographed procedure that demands to be viewed by the public. Does the archaeological excavation have a purpose beyond providing the archaeologist with data on the one hand, and meeting a developer's legal obligation on the other?

The UCD-based participants in this project represent branches of disciplines which have strong vocational characteristics but are buttressed by explicit theoretical positions. Common to all three disciplines, and informing this project, is the proposition that society is spatially- and materially-constructed. This idea has its fullest articulation in the work of Henri Lefebvre, and has formed the basis of projects comparable with our own, such as Edward Soja's *Thirdspace* project in Los Angeles, and University College London's *Strangely Familiar: Narratives of Architecture and the City* project. Yet neither the *Thirdspace* nor *The Unknown City* projects prioritised the time-depth of the urban environment, in large part because neither project was really about urban communities but was concerned instead with spatiality in and of itself. We contend that time-depth, which is an archaeological concept, is critical to a sophisticated, nuanced, readings of urban communities. Our 'Lefebvrian approach' involves us moving away from normative, functional, understandings of ***material culture*** towards an understanding of it as a powerful, often subconscious, signifier of identity. It is also involving us moving away from Cartesian mappings of ***spatial culture*** towards cognitive mapping of places and of patterns of movement and use.

In similar fashion, we conceptualise the arts element of the project as a vehicle for mobilising heritage as a catalyst for arts practice. In so doing the project is, in collaboration and consultation with local communities, provides for a reading of heritage as cultural memory. The role of the arts/ artist-led collaboration within the wider framework of the project is, as the final report will demonstrate, enabling a significant creative reinterpretation and reinscription of site as a repository of lived memory, and future signification. In conceiving of 'exhibitions' of the two arts=ists-in-residence's art, *Placing Voices, Voicing Places* will enliven critical approaches to the marketing and management of heritage, as well as to the role heritage plays within the discursive considerations of urban regeneration and reconstruction.

* * * * *

Although the fabric of the city is ever-changing, vestiges of older fabric survive in neglected spaces—backlanes, for example—where their survival is incidental rather than a result of heritage policy. These *residues* are important touchstones for local community memory and identity. They are stray references to disappeared but still-recalled residents and businesses. They are stray survivals from once-familiar landscapes. They go unnoticed as archaeological excavations dig past them and modern development rises over them. We can quantify the

contemporary urban landscape-as-palimpsest through the recording of the complex stratigraphies —documentary, cartographic, material and oral—of these residues, and in doing so we establish the value of recording such residues in urban environments to the point at which such recording becomes a matter of archaeological policy.

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Appendix 1

Typology of heritage policy responses to global pluralism

Derived from Graham *et al* (2007)

Assimilation models
Only one set of values norms and practices, that of the core or dominant culture, determines identity. Sub-cultures may be tolerated, provided they do not challenge the dominant culture. Resistant cultural forms are seen as provisional forms in transition to full integration. The core culture assimilates, but is not changed in the process.

Function of heritage in this model:

the affirmation of only one set of dominant values
denial and exclusion of the potential for pluralisation.

Integration models
Can be accommodated to both right and left wing political visions. Integration strategies can incorporate two goals (a) acculturation—the process by which a minority culture is adapted to a majority culture until it is virtually indistinguishable from it (b) functional integration—which enables the minority culture to function effectively within the host society, and is delivered largely through focused government policies in such fields as labour, education, housing social services policing and so on. Government policies often fail to distinguish between acculturation and functional integration, assuming that one contributes to the other. However, it is possible for groups to be economically integrated while retaining cultural independence, as it is possible for acculturated groups to be economically alienated from society.

Heritage in this model may take one or more of the following variant forms:

assimilation of 'outsiders' while re-affirming the values of 'insiders'
incorporation of 'deviant' cultures through transitional measures
marginalisation of deviant cultures through museumisation
denial of the existence of other sub-cultural forms through destruction, alteration or concealment.

The main challenge faced by assimilation policies is to identify the cultural minorities that are to be assimilated. While first-generation immigrants provide an obvious focus, second generation immigrants often possess many of the attributes of citizenship, while remaining dysfunctional in terms of educational attainment, family stability and other factors. The temptation is to direct heritage policies at essentially socio-economic challenges. But the question arises of whether heritage can be used in an acculturation strategy (which may include the teaching of a national language and a national history) where other socio-economic issues remain unaddressed.

Melting pot models
These are primarily characteristic of settler societies, post-colonial societies with authoritarian governments, and authoritarian ideological regimes (for example, the Soviet Union). The vision is of disparate elements 'smelted' together to produce a new whole. It shares with the assimilation model a desire for a single core, a culture of shared values. In settler societies, the presence of indigenous cultural groups (American Indians and Aboriginals in Australia, for example) have been subject to three responses: ignore, marginalise or cultural hyphenation.

Role of heritage in this model:

the immigrant is encouraged to abandon heritage values of the home culture and offer primary allegiance to the values and heritage of the new society
stress is laid on the trappings of national identity (flags, anthems, oaths of allegiance etc.)

such countries (e.g. US and Canada) may devote more resources to heritage than countries with a longer history.

Core+ models
Typical of western democracies with long-standing national boundaries, now attempting to accommodate immigrant groups. The society possesses a consensual core identity, to which minority groups may be added. Additional cultures do not compete with the core for dominance and are not seen as threatening to it. It contrasts with the multicultural (salad bowl) model by rejecting cultural relativism, and with the assimilation and melting pot models by not seeking to incorporate minorities. It has inclusive and exclusive variants: in the former, members of the core culture may participate in aspects of minority cultures, whereas in the latter the role of culture as aiding community cohesion in the sub-culture is accepted, but this may have little significance to the wider society which remains largely indifferent.

Role of heritage in this model:

at least initially, core+ models do not arise as a result of conscious public policy, but through a series of ad hoc reactions to emergent diversity
heritage may adopt a defensive posture in relation to the core, defending its values, preserving its integrity, and promoting core values among peripheral cultures, with the goal of preventing society from fragmenting into antagonistic or mutually uncomprehending cultural elements
promotes social inclusion, in the pursuit of which it may promote peripheral cultures as enhancements of the core
tends towards instability due to the dynamic nature of the relationships.

The instability of the model gives it the potential to evolve into three identifiable outcomes:

(a) the core remains substantially unchanged by peripheral additions and retains its hegemonic cultural role
(b) the core commingles with other cultures and shades into the salad bowl model (below)
(c) The core can be weakened by add-ons so that cultural groups become exclusively demarcated into the pillar form (below).

Pillar models
These reflect defensive postures in often deeply divided societies (the evolution of Dutch society in the wake of the religious wars of the seventeenth century is a prime example, and Belgium with its Flemish and Walloon linguistic divide is a more modern one). Such states strive to impose only minimal uniformity on constituent cultures. The main challenge for the state is to maintain parity of esteem while acknowledging cultural exclusion among the cultural elements that comprise it. For this reason, the pillar model may be the most unstable, and therefore most transient, of those outlined thus far. However, it may provide an attractive and durable solution in states where cultural divisions are largely coterminous with political divisions.

Role of heritage in this model:

each pillar has the freedom to create and maintain its own heritage
the role of the state is restricted to ensuring equality of provision.

Salad bowl models
This model represents the vision of multiculturalism: disparate cultures create a cohesive whole without losing the distinctiveness of each. Pluralist (treating diversity as an asset) or separatist (accentuating difference to foster group internal cohesion) objectives are possible.

The model presents three main difficulties:
(a) spatial scale: at what level does the identification of cultural variety become apparent and valid? National policies may appear irrelevant at a local level.

(b) at what point in the spectrum of values between the individual and the social is the group to be identified, and who makes that identification? (This recalls Rowlands argument about cultural rights, above)
(c) the need for a binding element: is it possible to maintain a 'coreless diversity without any universally accepted values or norms?' [2007: 85]

Role of heritage in this model:

Can take inclusive and exclusive forms
Inclusive approaches stress openness and a desire to make multiple heritages as widely known and accessible as possible to all
Exclusive approaches empower distinctive groups to select and manage their own heritage

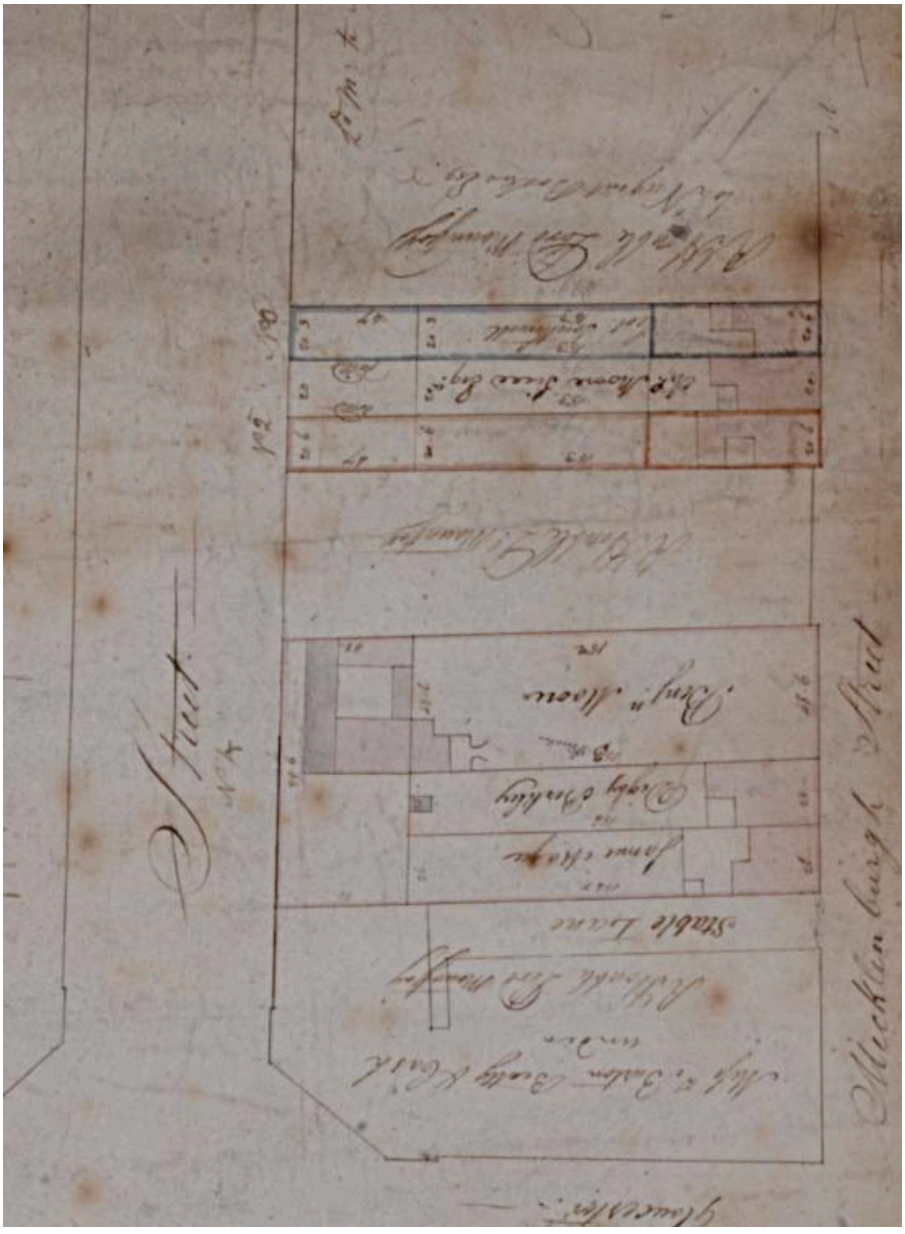
There are real challenges in both these approaches. Inclusivist approaches face the challenge of achieving an appropriate weighting between the elements, in terms of relative size and historical significance. In addition, minorities may fear trivialisation of their cultures while the majority may fear dilution or diminution of theirs. Exclusivist models have much in common with the pillar model, and may be a threat to social cohesion.

Appendix 2

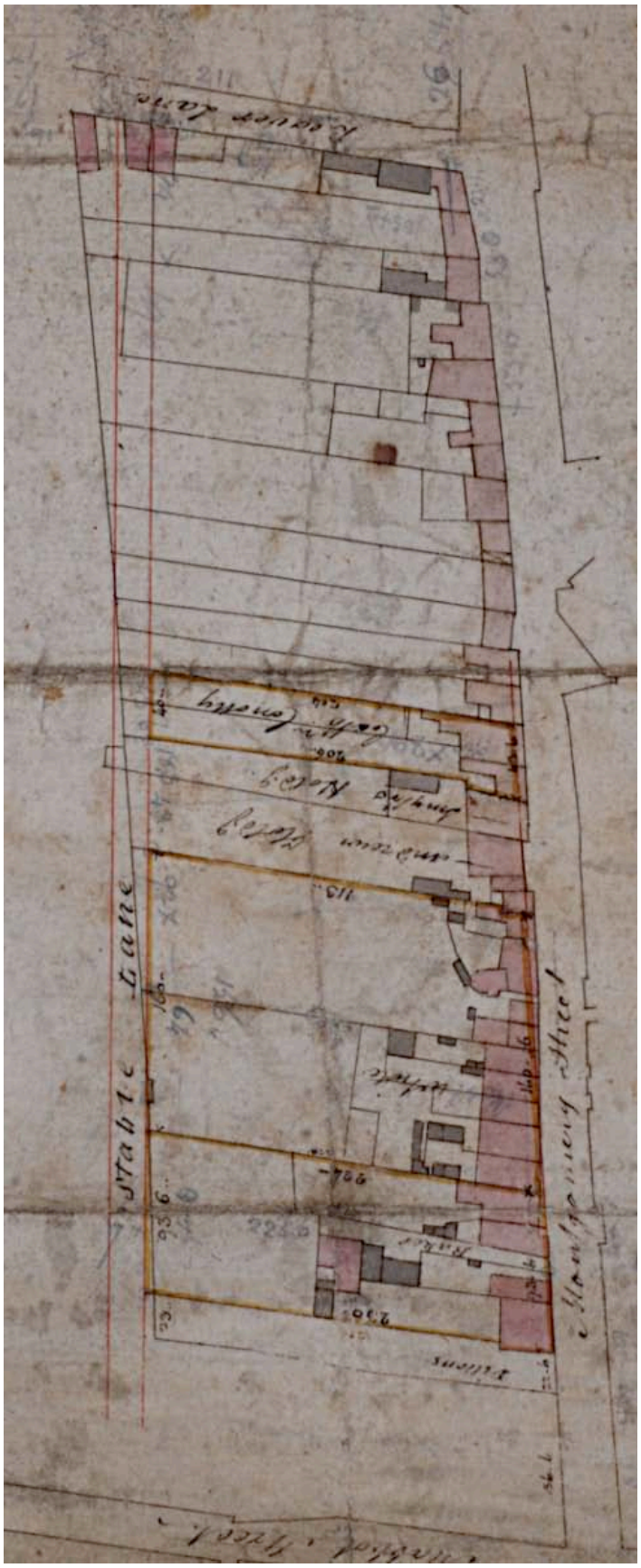
WIDE STREET COMMISSIONER MAPS

Photographs: Dublin City Public Libraries

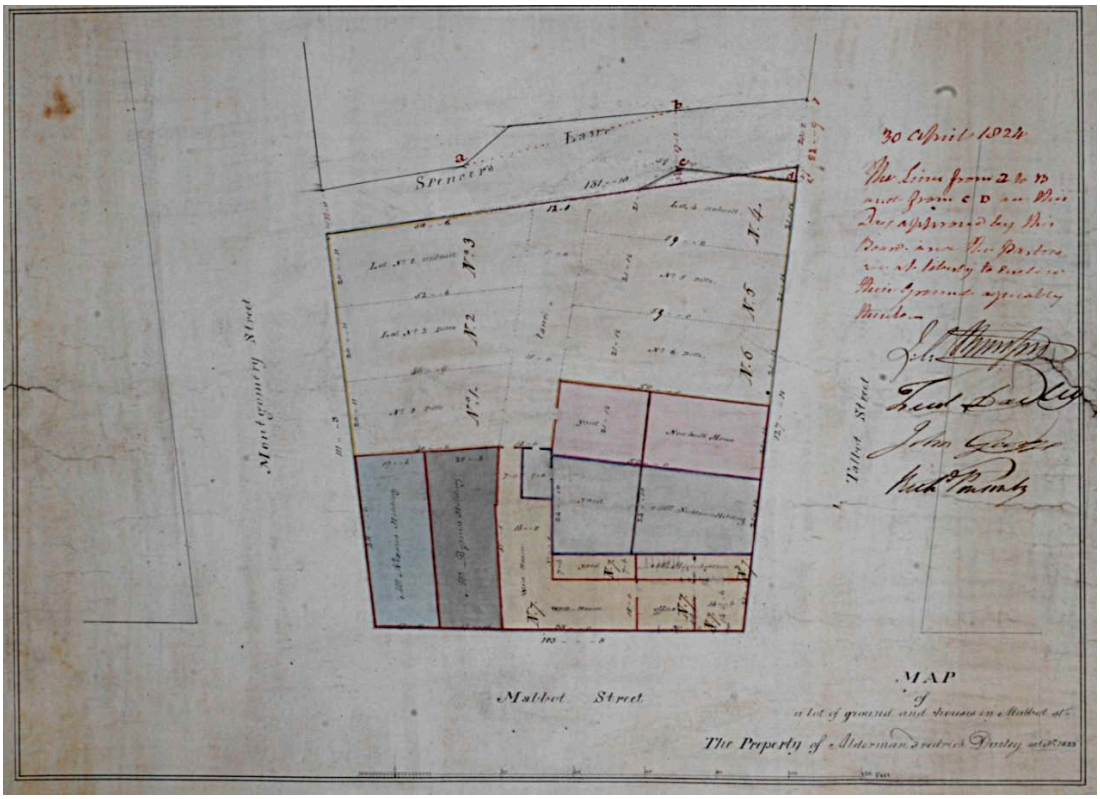
The City Council archives in Pearse Street house maps of the Wide Street Commissioners, five of which, shown here, map part of the north-inner city study area. These maps are referrred to in the preceding text. Only two are dated (69 and 71 below).



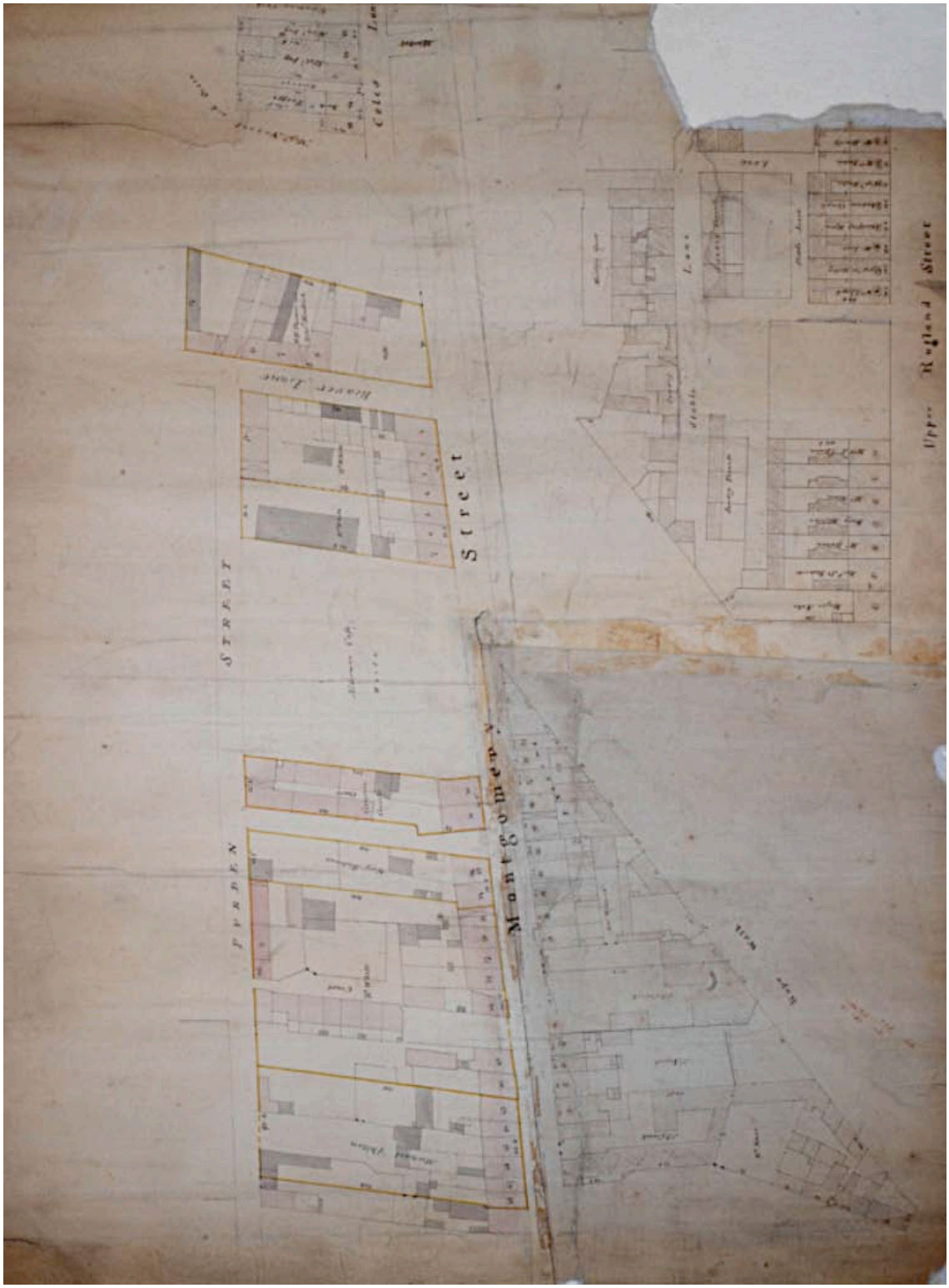
67 WSC 217: 'Micklinburgh' street; part of Gloucester Diamond is visible in the bottom left corner.



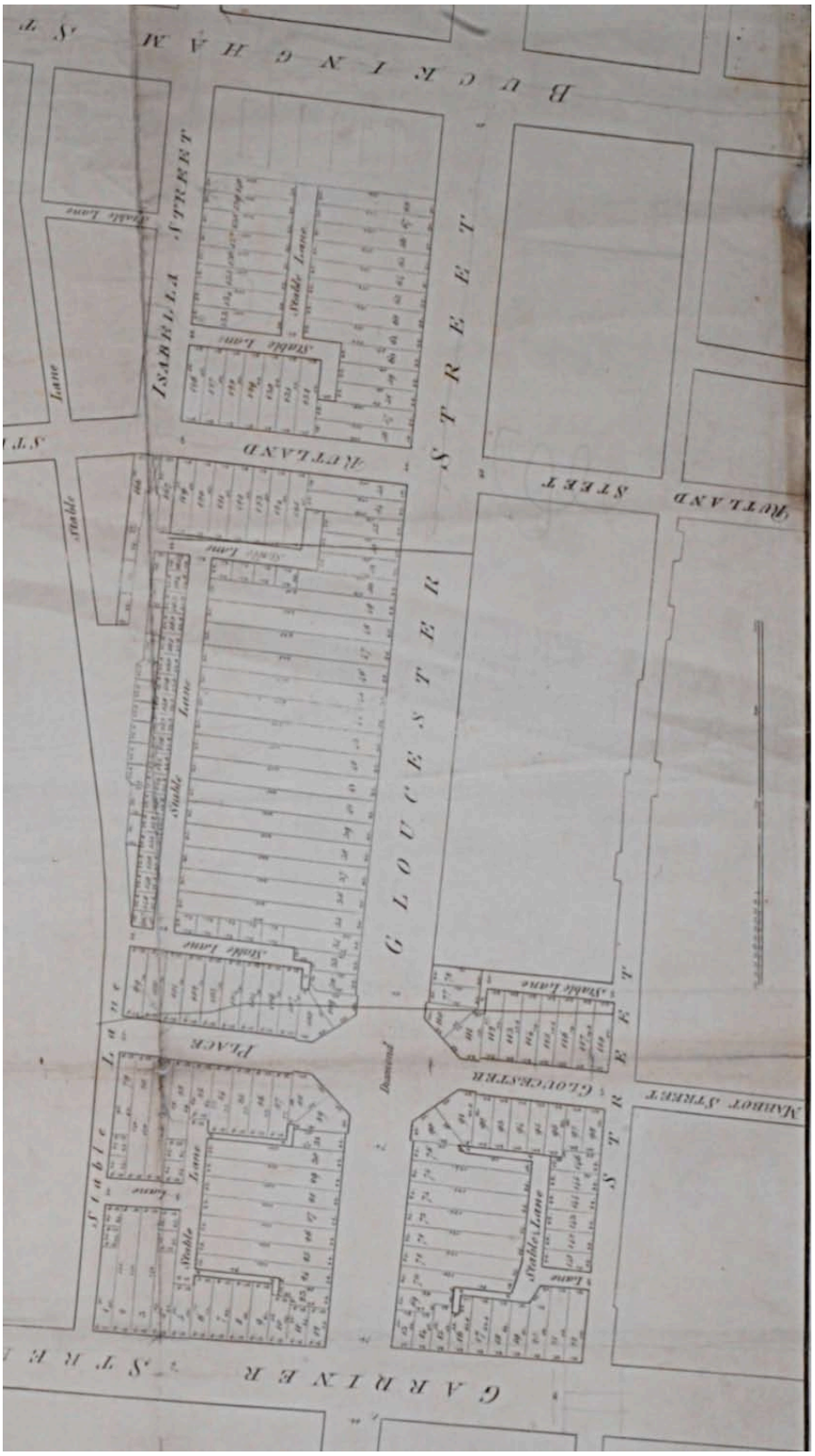
68 WSC 230: Montgomery Street prior to its redevelopment after 1800; the Stable Lane on the left is what later became Purdon Street.



69 WSC 244: Montgomery Street and Mabbot Street, 1824.



70 WSC 262 The most important of the WSC maps of the area to survive, this shows Montgomery Street 'straightened' and Purdon Street newly created from an old stable lane,



71 WSC 309: Excerpt from a substantially larger map of 1791 showing Gloucester Street and, to the right, Mecklinburgh Street.