Into Ireland: An Analysis Of Cultural Hybridity, Immigration, Food, And Place In The Silicon Docks Market In Dublin, Ireland

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INTO IRELAND: AN ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL HYBRIDITY, IMMIGRATION, FOOD, AND PLACE IN THE SILICON DOCKS MARKET IN DUBLIN, IRELAND

A Thesis
Presented in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Anthropology
The University of Mississippi

by
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ABSTRACT

Ireland is still recovering from the Great Recession that devastated much of the world in 2007. Simultaneously, the country is also dealing with increasing diversity and multiculturalism during a time of rising economic stability. This thesis analyzes the effects of globalization on the local expressions and perceptions of changing cultural identities through an examination of interactions between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees in a weekly lunchtime food market located in the Silicon Docks Business Park in Dublin, Ireland. The actions which occur in the market demonstrate the influences of cross-cultural contact and heterogeneity on the Irish display of power and perceived threat of the "migrant other" through the appropriation and consumption of the exotic other. Simultaneously, this thesis examines the Non-Irish presentation and renegotiation of identity while in the market as well as the Non-Irish migrants’ capitalization of their authority and authenticity over the food they sell.
DEDICATION

For Gracie, Auntie, and Mamgee.

Three tough, hard-working ladies.

You will always be an inspiration.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I first must give the biggest thank you to Robin, the vendors, employees, and patrons who agreed to participate in this project. I would also like to thank my family friend, R, who drove me to and from the market most weeks. Thank you for not only offering a lift each Wednesday, but also for the stimulating conversation about Ireland and Europe and for offering me a place to work during market days. Thank you to Ju for opening your house to me, opening up about your experience as a migrant, and taking me in. You showed me true hospitality and friendship when I first arrived. State side, I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Catarina Passidomo, who encouraged my idea to go overseas and who took the time to painstakingly edit my work. Thank you to my advisory committee: Drs. Simone Delerme, Elise Lake, and Carrie Smith. I would also like to thank the University of Mississippi Graduate School’s Summer Research Assistantship and the Center for Population Studies for funding my research. Additional thank to Dr. James Thomas and Dr. John Green for their help during data analysis. I would also like to thank the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Karen Swenson and Ken Cauthern, Hal Sullivan, and Maggie May. Lastly, a huge thank you to Winston Myers, who pushed me to finish at the best of my ability.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

I met Katarina the fifth time I observed the Silicon Docks Market right outside of Dublin, Ireland at the Silicon Docks Business Park. At that point, I had already gained rapport with many of the vendors and employees, but I had yet to approach the fish and chips stall where she worked. Our first interactions occurred right before the market opened and she, along with two men, were breading fish and shrimp and cutting potato wedges. They were behind schedule and told me to return before the market opened if I wanted to talk with them. My interview with Katarina was out of the ordinary. At first, she doubted the consent form, but I reassured her that her identity would be kept confidential. Once the interview began, it was cut short by the market starting and the presence of customers that wanted to buy the classic English/Irish staple. A week later, Katarina and I were finally able to finish our interview, again, as she was preparing for the day’s market by breading fish and shrimp. At the time of the interview, Katarina was in her late 20s to early 30s, had a master’s degree in pharmacology and was working to be accepted into an Irish postgraduate pharmacology program. She had visited her sister who attended university in Ireland many times before moving, but followed her fiancé here 3.5 years ago.

In our second interview, I asked her if she would ever feel “Irish.” She hesitated in her response, looking around and carefully thinking out her answer. Katarina replied that she felt she would only be allowed to feel Irish if she had children born and raised on the island. Her answer exhibited her love and passion for the Emerald Isle, but also, her hesitation to claim that she would
ever embody the Irish identity. Katarina noted she felt such internal tension while discussing obtaining citizenship and the concept of “being Irish,” particularly with Irish people:

…let’s say when I talk to Irish people and they say ‘you have to know history, you have to be here for years to really, really understand what Ireland is.’ So, I don’t want to say I’m Irish because I don’t want to offend anyone, you know what I mean?... But, like you know I am very—I always think I don’t know enough, or like I am not good enough for anything. That’s probably why I work [at] fish and chips, you know, because I feel I am not good enough to work as a pharmacist in Ireland.

Katarina’s apprehension in becoming an Irish citizen, or feeling Irish, shows itself in her sense of belonging in Ireland. She continues to doubt not only her skills re-negotiating her identity, but also in her ability to function in other aspects of Irish life, like entering a postgraduate (PhD) program. Katarina also used an example of a hypothetical migration to the United States to explain her reservations. She said that if she went to the US and claimed to “feel American”, her claim would be rejected by American-born citizens. Even if she understood the political and economic climate of the United States, she doesn’t believe she would ever deserve the identity of being “American.” Katarina’s uses of such an example highlights the difficulty she faces in the re-negotiation of her identity while in Ireland. Even as she attempts to negotiate her identity as a migrant in Ireland, Katarina is limited by the social requirements needed to integrate into the Irish culture. She wants (and will apply for) citizenship, but even then, she stated she would hesitate to call herself Irish.

Katarina feels an overall lack of belonging in Ireland because of the social limitations which limit how Katarina, a well-educated English-speaking European citizen, perceives herself as never gaining or maintaining the feeling of being “Irish.” Although legally, as a citizen of the
European Union, she has the right to reside in Ireland, she fears she will not be fully accepted as part of the Irish culture by Irish people. Only when she has children will she feel as if she has a secure connection to Ireland. Katarina also implies that she feels it is a requirement that she must be familiar with more than just the political, economic, and social forums of Ireland to be recognized as part of the Irish culture. The social requirements for inclusion in the Irish culture restrict her ability to feel a sense of belonging and express aspects of her identity while in Ireland. Many Irish individuals do not regard Katarina as Irish instead, they see her as an Eastern European who is taking a job in Ireland and threatening the composition of the Irish culture.

Katarina, however, uses her position as an employee in the Silicon Docks Market to address the stereotypes of Non-Irish as lazy, threatening, or deceptive through direct face-to-face contact with Irish patrons. She uses the food she makes to present her identity in a non-threatening way to the Irish. Specifically, she presents non-threatening food that makes Irish patrons more susceptible to validating her identity. Katarina is physically nourishing the Irish body and offering an experience with a Non-Irish individual and is illustrating her Non-Irish identity through the medium of food. The EU and Irish immigration practices and market norms restrict Katarina’s sense of belonging and her position in the Irish culture. Ireland has created barriers and limitations around the composition and definition of what it means to “be Irish,” which has affected the Non-Irish experience and interaction with the Irish.

Katarina’s experience, although not the only migrant experience, represents the acceptation, rejection, and limitations in their expressions of being Non-Irish. The market embodies how a localized space interprets Ireland’s social and legal reaction to globalization and increased migration to structure her interactions in and experiences of the Irish culture.
1.1. RESEARCH CONTEXT

1.1.1. CONTEXTUALIZING THE SILICON DOCKS MARKET

This project seeks to understand the effects of globalization on the local expressions and perceptions of changing cultural identities for both Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees of the Silicon Docks Market. The Silicon Docks Business Park lies in the northeast area of the Irish capital (and largest city), Dublin, and is home to over 50 businesses and 6,000 employees (see Figure 1). The Silicon Docks Market is located on the southeast corner of the business park. The market is composed of 15 vendors, over half of which are Non-Irish owned and operated (see Figure 2).

![Map of Silicon Docks Business Park in Dublin](image_url)

Figure 1. **GENERAL LOCATION OF THE SILICON DOCKS BUSINESS PARK IN DUBLIN. SOURCE: GOOGLE MAPS.**
In this thesis, the term identity is used to signify “the result of the negotiation of personal given conditions, social context, and relationships and institutional frameworks” (La Barbera 2014: 3). An identity is something you “do,” not simply something that one “has.” The expression of identity is shaped by the positive and negative experiences and interactions an individual has in the world. Identity is a fluid process—not fixed or static, but negotiated through the context it is performed and expressed in (e.g., consumption habits, language, dress, etc.) Associations between individuals form when a person recognizes another person’s identity as similar to one’s own. Known as collective identities, these become disrupted when one group cannot or refuses to find similarities with another (La Barbera 2014: 2). The broader context of this analysis is the examination of how ethnically homogeneous cultures (with strong collective identities) approach the effects of intermingling with many cultures at once. The interactions and experiences a migrant has in Ireland reflects the current social, political, and economic volatility of Europe. Countries like Germany, France, and the Netherlands are struggling with becoming increasingly multiethnic and fear losing their cultures (Faruges 2016; Vick 2015). Increased migration from both inside and
outside the European Union challenges the traditional composition of national identity as well as the European welfare-state.

1.1.2. CURRENT ACADEMIC SCHOLARISHIP

Current scholarship regarding identity and the effects of globalization largely addresses the intersection of migrants as identities in transit with the perceived threat as felt by the hosting country. Scholars address negotiations of identity for both migrants and the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation through the examination of prolonged contact and power (Gabaccia 1998; Lo 2008; Sahlins 1981). If allowed into the host country, migrants are often required to adjust aspects of their lives, such as language, dress, and consumption habits. Simultaneously, a host country narrows the construct and composition of their own national identity when faced with such an increase of those different from themselves. Immigration literature acknowledges the tension between multiculturalism and a weakening national identity, especially in terms of controlling migration through public policy (Burroughs 2005; Garner 2007; Green et al. 2011; and Luedtke 2005). Such scholars, however, tend to separate the interaction of migrants and the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation, acknowledging a “two-way relationship” between identity and performance (La Barbera 2014), but often not engaging with the shift in the same space. I will build upon this by analyzing how such a relationship is formed and how it influences interactions in a small, representative space.

Scholarship also focuses on the effects of immigration on host countries, especially regarding large social, political, and economic events in the host country. Some scholars tend to focus on times of political and economic instability in the host country as a source of tension with migrants rather than during times of stability. I will add to this scholarship by examining how
skepticism surrounding immigration stems from the threat of political and social instability in other countries rather from inside the host country.

Research regarding food and identity focuses on the appropriation and absorption of other cultures through consumption. Additionally, researchers note that food preparation and consumption—as a tool of belonging, acculturation, and a coping mechanism—shape the identity of the individual (Heldke 2003; Long 2004). Food is also often analyzed as a symbol of hybridity and an interpretation of culture and patterns of interaction, illustrating a link between local food networks and global food systems (Boutaud, Becut, and Marinescu 2016). It acts as a bridge by which migrants and the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation negotiate and reconstruct their identities through cultural exchange with the other (Crowther 2013; Roseman 2006). Scholars also analyze how migrants use food to address stereotypes and regain agency by opening restaurants using their social and cultural capital (Crowther 2013; Ray 2006, 2007, 2014). Such researchers go beyond this concept to illustrate how immigrants use food, within the limits of cultural norms and limitations, as a tool of resistance by capitalizing from their perceived authenticity and authority over cuisines (Crowther 2013; Ray 2006, 2007, 2014).

Lastly, scholars address how urban places function to shape cultural interchanges (Harvey 1989; Wang and Mattilla 2013) between actors in the space. Harvey (1989), for example, discusses the neoliberalization of space as it impacts the composition and function of a place, meaning the urban spaces become more accessible and shifts who is in it and how they interact. Additionally, Yi-fu Tuan (1977) argues that place functions to shape and renegotiate how individuals perceive their own identities and those of others. Laurier Turgeon and Madeleine Pastinelli (2002) argue small spaces, known as microspaces, aid in the development of the actors’ local expressions of their global identities. I will use the above research to address how place structures the local
interchange between those who function in it and the shifting economic, political, and social climates that influence the reconstruction of identity.

1.1.3. MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

This thesis links the anthropology of food and modern immigrant studies to understand the dialectic between “ethnic cuisine” and interactions in public food spaces. In addition, data from this research can be applied broadly across multiple disciplines to explore how immigrants use food to navigate and interact within a new socio-cultural environment, such as the Silicon Docks Market. This thesis combines anthropology, modern migration studies, food studies, sociology, and even hospitality and tourism studies to analyze the exchanges between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees and use of food as an expression of such exchanges and cultural hybridity in a lunchtime market.

1.2. PROJECT OVERVIEW

First, I seek to examine the demographic composition of the Silicon Docks Market and the external influences that have combined this group of individuals at once. I analyze place of origin and cultural background of those interviewed as well as the influences of global migration and heterogeneity (diversity) to examine who is frequenting the market. For this analysis, the population of the Silicon Docks Market is composed of two groups, Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors/employees. I also examine the global and local social, economic, and political factors that influenced the combination of such individuals in the Silicon Docks Lunchtime Market.

Second, I seek to understand how Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees interact with one another. I evaluate exchanges between those of different nationalities as
facilitated by different cultural identifiers. I discuss how Irish patrons perform their power and reaffirm their national identity in opposition to that of the Non-Irish, as well as how Irish patrons use social control to restrict the performance of Non-Irish identity and protect their national identity. I analyze how Non-Irish vendors and employees use of such interactions to adapt their identity performance to the cultural norms of the market. I also illustrate how Non-Irish use the Irish demand for exotic food within the boundaries of the market restrictions to demand recognition of their identity and gain a sense of belonging. Furthermore, I explain how the concept of place and the constant shifting of demographic structures limit identity re-negotiation.

Third, I examine the role of food as a tool of negotiation between actors in the market. Irish patrons use food consumption as a representation of cultural appropriation and power over the Non-Irish vendors/employees. By contrast, the Non-Irish use food as a bridge to address stereotypes, and regain agency by capitalizing on perceived authenticity and authority over their food to demand recognition of their Non-Irish identity.

Fourth, I analyze the concept of place to examine the Silicon Docks Market as a unique node of cultural interchange between Irish patrons as well as Non-Irish employees and vendors. In addition, I explain how the market is created and defined by the physical and social interactions to establish a microspace and an artificially constructed community. A semi-public space, the physical layout of the market structures the perceived function and purpose of the market for the patrons, employees, and vendors. Last, I discuss how the fluidity of the space contributes to the negotiation and reconstruction of identities during interactions and experiences in the market.

1.3. ORGANIZATION OF THE THESIS

This thesis is organized as follows. First, I begin by introducing the history that has led to
the current socio-economic situation in Ireland in relation to the global economic marketplace as well as the migratory patterns of the island. In Chapter 2, I provide and give an overview of current research and the concepts I intend to use to explain the phenomena in the market. Chapter 3 presents a justification of methodology and methodological tools used while in and out of the field to gather and analyze data. Additionally, in that chapter, I offer the quantitative analysis of the qualitative data collected.

Chapter 4 consists of an analysis of the collected data, which is separated into the themes of cultural hybridity, immigration, food, and place to better represent how demographic composition, the interactions within the market, and the role of food influences Irish and Non-Irish presentations of identity. I begin by discussing cultural hybridity and discuss how cross-cultural contact and heterogeneity have both influenced Irish patrons’ power and Non-Irish expression of identity. Next, I describe how global migration and its residual effects have created a point of contention between the imagined collective identity of the Irish and the demands and influence of the Non-Irish identity. I then examine food use as a representation of appropriation as well as a tool of cultural bridging and agency. Last, I analyze how the physical space of the Silicon Docks Market structures experiences and interactions between actors, and reciprocally how Irish and Non-Irish experience and interaction from the market shift or challenge their own identities. In chapter 5, I conclude by using a broader scope to examine the greater impacts as well as limitations of this research to suggest topics and concepts for further research.
CHAPTER II

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE IRISH ECONOMY AND MIGRATION PATTERNS

The modern Republic of Ireland (referred to simply as Ireland) has changed demographically and culturally through an internal battle between isolationism and first world interaction in the global economic marketplace. Several social, political, and economic revolutions have challenged, devastated, and rebuilt the Republic to being at the current forefront of the European technology industry (Donovan and Murphy 2013). Ireland has made incredible strides as a nation since gaining independence from the UK nearly a century ago in 1922. Ireland, a nation known for the Great Famine of 1845-1852, is located at the western most edge of the European Union. Joining in 1973, Ireland was one of the first 10 nations to be a member of the European Economic Community, precursor to the European Union.

The nation is currently home to 4.7 million people, which is still approximately half of what it was prior to the Great Famine (Coolhill 2014). According to the Central Statistics Office of Ireland, Dublin County is home to 1,273,069 people, with Dublin-proper home to 527,612 people as of 2011 (Central Statistics Office of Ireland 2016a). In 2011, the CSO (2016b) noted approximately 16.9% (766,770 people from all countries excluding Ireland) of the entire population was considered not of Irish origin, including 72.5% (555,594 individuals) from the 26 remaining EU countries, 10.3% (79,021 individuals) from Asia, 7.1% (54,419 individuals) from Africa, 6.1% (47,116 individuals) from North, Central, and South America, and 3.0% (22,427 individuals) from “Other Europe.” The Republic of Ireland fought long and hard to become a
nation and part of the EU and now the nation struggles to cope with the cultural shifts from increased global influences and immigration.

2.1. THE IRISH ECONOMY

The economy of Ireland, like most modern nations, has seen a fluctuation between recessions and economic booms in the past century. The Irish economy of the past 20 years, can be separated into three major periods: “Celtic Tiger” (1996-2007), moving into “The Fall of the Celtic Tiger” or better, “The Great Recession” (2007-2013), and “Post-Recession” (2013-current). The Celtic Tiger is the economic upswing, which followed the economic recession of the 1970s and 1980s (Garner 2007; Kline 2004). The Celtic Tiger is marked by neoliberal tendencies including free market economics, a decentralization of the Irish government, and a deregulation of the national banking system (Coolhill 2014; Donovan and Murphy 2013; Garner 2007). In desperate need for labor, Ireland opened its borders to immigrants and multinational companies alike, thus showing the international and European communities that Ireland had a strong foundation for economic and technological advancement (Donovan and Murphy 2013:24, Garner 2007; Loyal 2011). With a mass migration of individuals mostly from inside the EU (due in large part to the low unemployment rates, favorable taxes, and the EU’s “right to reside”), the Irish began questioning the social and cultural composition of Irish society. Scholars argue that the Irish felt their culture and national identity in jeopardy of change, which increased anti-immigrant sentiment across Ireland (Johns 2013; Kline 2004; Muñoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010; Mutwarasibo 2005).

During the Celtic Tiger, the nation reacted in a legislatively restrictive way, which still has great impacts on migration today (see Burroughs 2015). During the Celtic Tiger, the Irish people
heavily invested in its housing and technology markets. Joseph Coolhill (2014) argues that, as in the United States, banking problems including over-borrowing and risky property loans, coupled with the burst of the dot.com bubble, crashed Ireland’s economy (also see Donovan and Murphy 2013: 59). The Irish economy had “no effective financial safety net” for banks if they collapsed, which led to a free-fall economy (Coolhill 2014: 202). In 2007, two simultaneous economic crises occurred, one Irish and the other international, both based in banking over-extension, bad loans, and “government collusions” (Coolhill 2014; also see Donovan and Murphy 2013). As Donald Donovan and Antoin E. Murphy (2013) note, Ireland’s “real GDP would fall by 3 per cent in 2008 and by an unprecedented 7 per cent in 2009. Unemployment would triple to almost 14 per cent [by] end-2010 and net emigration—thought to have been banished—would restart on a very sizeable scale” (Donovan and Murphy 2013:2; also see Coolhill 2014). Such unemployment rates devastated the Irish economy and the Irish people, and politicians sought to blame migrants for the country’s extended misfortune (Johns 2013). According to the Eurostat website, in January 2016, the unemployment rate in Ireland was 8.5%, which was below that of the Euro-area average of 10.5%. Since the beginning of recovery from the Great Recession in 2013, Ireland’s unemployment rate has started to decline and the immigration rates of the country have begun to increase again.
2.2. MIGRATION IN IRELAND

Migratory patterns into and out of Ireland are heavily dependent upon the economics and politics of the island. Emigration, or those who leave the country to live somewhere else, marks a majority of Ireland’s migration story. Mass emigration began during the Great Famine, with more than half of Ireland’s population leaving or dying while trying to leave (Coolhill 2014). Waves of emigration continued after the nation’s population began to recover in the early 20th century, but was rocked again by the fight for independence from the British as well as infighting. Then Ireland was again hard hit by another recession in the mid-20th century, which extended into the 1980s continuing a mass exodus of Irish citizens out of the country. Emigration numbers outweighed immigration numbers until the beginning of the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s (Coolhill 2014: 204; Donovan and Murphy 2013; Kline 2004). After the fall of the Celtic Tiger, as Ireland (and most of the world’s economy) entered another recession, Ireland yet again experienced massive outward migration (Donovan and Murphy 2013: 255). However, since recovering from the Great Recession, Ireland’s rate of emigration has slowed, according to the CSO.

2.2.1. MIGRATION FROM INSIDE THE EUROPEAN UNION

Immigration, or migration from other countries into Ireland, has also ebbed and flowed in accordance with the economy. Migration into Ireland spiked during the Celtic Tiger, as the country was an attractive option for both intra-EU migrants, specifically to those of the 10 new countries (from eastern Europe) that joined the EU in 2004, but also migrants from outside the EU (Johns 2013; Loyal 2011; Muñoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010; Mutwarasibo 2005). Ireland regulated such flow through legislation, effects that are still felt today. Such legislation included the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, which barred birthright citizenship to those children born to parents who
had not lived legally in Ireland for 3 years. Ireland then opened its doors only to high-skilled workers from other countries. Additionally, according to the Migration Policy Institute website on immigration in Ireland, other such restrictive legislation included Illegal Immigrants (Trafficking) Act of 2000, the Immigration Act of 2003, the Employment Permits Bill of 2003, the EU Rights of Residence Directives of 2004, Irish Born Child Act of 2005, Employment Permits Act of 2006, and a Junior Ministry for Integration (which became the Office for the Promotion of Migrant Integration) was created in 2007. All such directives limited who could migrate and how long they could be in Ireland as well as how migrants are encouraged to integrate into the Irish culture.

After the fall of the Celtic Tiger, however, the lack of economic opportunity heavily decreased immigration while sharply increasing the level of emigration (See Donovan and Murphy 2013). In 2013, the CSO reported that in 2007, 151,100 individuals immigrated to Ireland. In 2008, however, that number dropped to 113,500 and by 2010 the number of individuals that migrated to Ireland dropped to under 42,000 (CSO 2013b). Labor migrants are arriving from all over the world, particularly South America (primarily Brazil), Eastern Europe (Romania, Lithuania, Poland), and Africa, and even parts of Asia. Dublin, does not host distinctive ethnic enclaves like a Chinatown, a Korea-town, or a Little Italy. Instead, there are grocery stores and pockets of individuals scattered throughout the city. According to the CSO, as of 2016, there was a net inward migration in Ireland for the first time since 2009, with 79,300 individuals immigrating to Ireland (CSO 2016c). Migration in the EU is fluid and EU citizens have the freedom to move from country to country.

Citizens of the EU have the freedom of movement within the Union itself through the European Parliament and Council Directive 2004/38/EU. Citizens of the EU, or intra-EU migrants, and their families or partners can visit, live, study, and work in EU member state when legally established as a family member by the EU citizen (see Directorate-General of Justice 2011). As
written in the European Union’s migration guide, *Freedom to move and live in Europe--A guide to your rights as an EU citizen*, “as an EU citizen, you should always be able to cross the borders with a valid national identity card or passport” (Directorate-General of Justice 2011: 10). Specifically, intra-EU migrants have the “right to reside” in most countries for greater than three months if they have a job, are studying, or are completing vocational training. According to the same document above, the right to reside is considered a fundamental personal right that was granted by the 2007 Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union. Additionally, Non-EU family members must seek out a residence card, which indicates their status and rights as a family member of an EU citizen. Individuals can maintain their right to reside as long as they have health insurance, a job or are a student/receiving vocational training (or reasons for being unable to work), and are not taking social assistance (or welfare). Permanent residence is granted by EU law if an EU citizen has lived in the host country for five years. An intra-EU migrant is granted benefits that are not always extended to those immigrating from outside the EU.

### 2.2.2. MIGRATION FROM OUTSIDE THE EUROPEAN UNION

Outside-EU migration is much different; unlike migrants from the other 27 (now 26 with the UK leaving the EU), agreements must be made between the two countries. Outside-EU migration is heavily restricted, mostly due to fear of “deceitful migrants” or individuals who migrate for the purpose of deceiving the state to gain monetary benefit (Burroughs 2015: 490). Seen as one of the biggest threats to Ireland, the narrative of the deceitful migrant is extended to all migrants, involuntary or otherwise (Burroughs 2015; Kline 2004).

According to the website of Ireland’s Citizens Information Board, the process to receive a non-contributory state pension is extensive and includes a “means” test (an evaluation of income)
and meeting the “habitual residence condition” (being an EU citizen or having lived in Ireland for an extensive period of time, not defined). For non-EU citizens to receive child benefits, they must be living and legally working in Ireland and their child must be born in the country. This is limited by the Citizenship Referendum of 2004 because it states that for children to have birthright citizenship, they must be born to parents who have already, legally, lived and worked in Ireland. Additionally, for non-EU citizens to receive financial assistance, they must have previously worked in another EU country and legally have a job. According to the same website, work-study visas are granted for outside-EU migrants if the migrant can provide evidence of being enrolled in a course, however, the migrant is not legally allowed to work more than 20 hours per week (40 hours a week is permitted during extended school holidays). To obtain such a visa, the migrant must have all of the following: a letter of acceptance from a recognized school, college, or university and must be full time for at least one year; evidence of academic ability to pursue the course, in English; all fees paid; enough funds to “maintain yourself” during the stay; evidence that the individual has access to €7,000 (about $7421) the subsequent year; evidence of private medical insurance; an explanation for any gaps in educational history; and a confirmation that the individual will return to his or her country of origin. All outside-EU individuals must obtain permission from Ireland to study in the country. As of the 2011 census, the CSO reported that 544,357 immigrants lived in Ireland, however, the exact number of immigrants on social welfare in 2011 could not be found.¹ Both inside and outside EU migrants are restricted by Ireland’s

¹ The CSO reported in 2011 that the percentage of foreign nationals who had received a Personal Public Service Number (necessary for legal work, taxes, and to obtain social welfare) in 2006 and who also claimed social welfare, had risen from 8% in 2006 to 28% in 2011. This statistic, however, is dated as Ireland had not yet come out of the Great Recession and does not account for the increase of migrants since 2011. The CSO also noted that there were several reasons as to why such a number had increased including having a child, a “jobseekers claim, and the fact that some benefits depend on habitual residence requirements or on having sufficient social insurance contribution” (CSO 2013a). These
immigration laws, however, outside-EU migrants are by far more scrutinized by the government prior to legal entry.

Best known for the Great Famine and mass emigration from the island, Ireland has, in the past 20 years, become a nation of immigration. The social, political, and economic climates of Ireland have pushed the country to the forefront of the EU in terms of the technology industry (Donovan and Murphy 2013). Such a phenomenon has created a very large demand for high-skilled labor and therefore has increased the amount of immigration the country experiences. The Emerald Isle, however, is still experiencing and has struggled with how to integrate the migrants into the Irish culture. In the next chapter, I will lay the theoretical foundation and academic scholarship used throughout this thesis.

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numbers are not representative of the current total immigrant population in Ireland because such numbers are only obtained by year that individuals received a PPSN. Additionally, The Irish Times reported in 2015 that Eurofound, an EU research agency, conducted a study on such a topic and found that migrants from the EU were less likely to claim social welfare benefits than the local population.
CHAPTER III
LITERATURE REVIEW

Chapter 3 is separated into four major themes found within the data—cultural hybridity, immigration, food, and place—which will provide a basic framework for understanding the current state of academic inquiry as well as the rest of the thesis. The first theme, cultural hybridity, analyzes scholarship concerning the influence of cross-cultural contact and increasing diversity on the shifting identities of both the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation as well as migrants. This subsection addresses scholars’ use of the concept of how hybridity structures an individual’s approach to a new or different culture. The second theme, immigration, addresses global migration influences on national discourse and weakening national identity to create cultural and demographic boundaries within the nation. This theme also analyzes the global political and economic forces which influence voluntary labor migration as well as how movement changes migrant settlement into a new culture. The third theme, food, speaks to the use of food as a representation of appropriation, cultural flexibility and acculturation, and as a coping mechanism. Additionally, this theme discusses how the consumption of exotic foods is both appropriation as well as a bridge between the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation and migrants. Fourth, I will analyze how scholarship can be combined to define a physical place as well as the interactions and expectations a place imbues on an individual. I will also present how scholars address the issue of a shifting identity as structured by a space.

3.1. CULTURAL HYBRIDITY
3.1.1. CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

Cross-cultural contact studies the results of the exposure, exchange, and appropriation of cultural traits between two or more cultures. Cultural contact theory states that after contact, two cultures will be exposed to different ways of thinking and influence each other. Patrick Lo (2008) writes that interactions between cultures generates a new cultural distinctiveness or hybrid culture through the example of the Cha Chaan Ting cafés in Hong Kong. These cafés and the resulting hybridized culture represent the fluidity and modernity of Hong Kong: one that is neither distinctly British nor Chinese (ibid). The cafés are representative of daily practices in Hong Kong and serve as culturally distinct spaces within the city. Lo continues that the Cha Chaan Ting cafés create a middle ground between two different cultures and generate a new substructure (2008: 64). The resulting culturally hybrid spaces are used by members of all of Hong Kong’s subcultures, and are accepted because the food and cafés do not threaten, but are incorporated into, the Hong Kong identity.

Contact theory, as used in this context, has its roots in Marshall Sahlins’ (1981) discussions concerning the residual changes after the first meeting between the British and Hawaiians. Sahlins argues that in an instance of contact theory, after each culture encounters the other, both are changed in some way. He also argues that changes are contextually based; meaning that each culture will interpret the other in terms that they (the first culture) will understand. Sahlins uses the example of the Hawaiians interpreting the arrival of Captain James Cook as an arrival of the god Lono, whereas the British approached the meeting with the Hawaiians as an opportunity for exploitation. Both cultures interpreted the other in terms that they were accustomed to, meaning that to understand how the cultures changed, one must understand the cultures and the context of the exchange. Mary G. Roseman (2006), writing on Ahmed Jamal (1996), mirrors Sahlins’ idea
when she writes that analysis of acculturation, or “the result of continuous first hand contact between two cultures that change the original cultures of both groups,” is necessary for understanding the resulting changes between cultures and the hybrid culture that emerges (10). She continues by stating that within the context of increased globalization there is a greater chance for an exchange of cultural attributes.

An applied result of the post cross-cultural contact exchange, pluralism, is the presence of multiple nationalities, which creates a political binary. Richard Ashcroft and Mark Bevir (2016) discuss Britain’s exit from the European Union, or Brexit, as a political conflict between those who wanted distinctive, public multiculturalism and those who wanted the total assimilation of migrants into a “homogenous” (single) British culture. Instead, Ashcroft and Bevir argue that the UK should embrace pluralism on a national level, which would allow host cultures to retain power by maintaining their identity at a local level (2016). Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann (2010) discuss food as a way to evaluate such power dynamics between actors in a space. They argue that food exemplifies hierarchy and exclusion between individuals by acting as a symbol of social status. By maintaining what is deemed acceptable to eat in the host country, the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation exhibits the power such a group has over migrants’ expression of identity (2010: 13, 103). Combined with Ashcroft and Bevir (2016), retaining power as expressed at a local level should be analyzed through local interactions between those of the culturally dominant actors and migrants.

The power gained from embracing pluralism at a local level lets the host culture interact with another culture, while maintaining its national identity. Tourism is an example of maintaining power over one’s identity through experiencing face-to-face contact with another culture without completely immersing oneself in said culture (Lo 2008; Roseman 2006). Sara Greco Morasso and
Tania Zittoun (2014) expand on this idea when they describe food as a malleable symbolic resource. Morasso and Zittoun (as well as Lo (2008) and others) describe how food preparation and consumption practices illustrate the success of hybridization from face-to-face contact and that the food becomes a representation of hybridity. This means that the consumption of exotic food is a result of the acceptance or rejection of a new culture into the host culture. Analyzing face-to-face contact through hybridized foods illustrates the localized cultural reaction to a diversifying society.

3.1.2. HETEROGENEITY

Ethnic heterogeneity is a result of globalization and increases the amount of diversity in public places. Steven Loyal (2011) notes that the effects of heterogeneity are contextually based and such diversity tends to make the differences between the host culture and the migrant culture more distinct to the host society. For example, Loyal notes that within Ireland, the Celtic Tiger and influx of migrants affected not only “labor markets [and]… state regulations of political and civic rights [but also]… cultural issues concerning diversity, citizenship, multiculturalism, integration, and ethno-racial domination” (Loyal 2011:181). To analyze such reactions to diversity, Lo (2008) suggests that analysis of consumption patterns gives insight into how national identities are expressed and changed because such patterns mark changes in cultural identities.

The concept of changing identities, however, can only be sustained through the perception of differences between the host and migrant cultures. MariaCaterina La Barbera (2014) as well as Daniele Ruggiu (2014) establish that the self-representation of identity is only possible in contrast to that of the “other.” La Barbera notes that such categories of the “self” and “others,” serves as a series of “references used in relation to individuals who want to define themselves within the larger
interactional context” (La Barbera 2014: 4). Ruggiu (2014) adds that the expression of identity during migration is often categorized and constricted by governing bodies that recognize such individuals as “others.” Those designated “other” are therefore deemed inadequate by the host culture and need acculturation (Ruggiu 2014: 81). Lorenzo Ferrante (2014), along with La Barbera (2014) and Fidele Mutwarasibo (2005), argue that the creation of the “other” can be achieved only through the above process of self-representation and social categorization (e.g., creating the “self” and the “other”).

The effects of social categorization particularly influence how host cultures react to increased diversity. Mutwarasibo (2005) analyzes the effects of heterogeneity on the Irish national identity, specifically as a result from shifting as a country of emigration to one of immigration. Such an influx of ethnic minorities into a country can cause the existing ethnic majority (the Irish) to restrict migrant access to parts of society, for example, social programs. The threat of losing national identity as well as losing socio-economic status results in the host country heavily limiting access of welfare and other social programs for migrants. Mutwarasibo continues by arguing that ethnic groups are an integral part of modern society, but that heterogeneity encourages formerly ethnic homogeneous populations to distance themselves from the migrating groups by creating the above defined category of “other.” Maureen Eger (2010) illustrates this concept of categorical difference when they note that, “increasing ethnic heterogeneity makes real and perceived differences more salient” (205). Loyal (2011) also notes that differences become more apparent in the creation of such categories as “in-group/us” and “out-group/ them.” The creation of such categories polarizes migrant identity from that of the host country identity. The formerly homogeneous population thereby expands and divides the category of migrants (the “other”) into those deemed “good” or able to integrate into the host society, and “bad” (those who cannot).
Bushin and White (2010) also argue that such false narratives feed the creation of a hierarchy of immigrants through legislation, supporting the idea of “good” and “bad” migrants.

Simultaneously, immigrants understand that their identity will shift during migration so they may acclimate to the host society. La Barbera (2014) notes, however, that migrants acknowledge that their identity will shift because they will be in a new culture and not have access to everything they once had. Such behavioral changes include, dress, food, as well as language (Roseman 2006). Migrants use such tools of acculturation to navigate their host culture by publicly presenting their identity in a specific way. Particularly, La Barbera (2014) argues that identity markers such as language are used to perform identity as well as simultaneously categorize those who are similar or different. Gillian Crowther (2013) and Donna Gabaccia (1998) argue that host nations ask (or demand) immigrants to leave aspects of their place of origin, such as their foodways or their languages, behind and to integrate into the host culture. Ashcroft and Bevir (2016) additionally note, however, that migrants can publicly “acculturate” for appearances, while privately reinforcing their own cultural identity through the retention of traditions from their own culture. Use of elements of their place of origin as well as elements of their host country in a public space illustrates the performance of the migrant’s hybridized identity.
3.2. IMMIGRATION

3.2.1. GLOBAL MIGRATION

As noted above, when a great number of migrants enter a new country there is a fear within the host country of a weakening national identity and a loss of culture. Hegemonic (dominant) characteristics, which represent the host country, become destabilized as migrants introduce aspects of their own culture (Bushin and White 2010; Ferrante 2014; Garner 2007; Green et al. 2011; Smith and Winders 2007). Eger (2010) argues that, “this in turn [negatively] affects people’s willingness to contribute to the collective welfare when the collective now includes people not in one’s in-group” (205). In addition, Francisco Herreros and Henar Criado (2009) write that higher rates of immigration cause the social trust within communities to decrease and result in an increase of perceived threat of the “migrant other.” Such threats lead to an increase in national discourse describing immigration as economically, politically, and socially problematic and destabilizing to the host country (Bushin and White 2010). Barbara Ellen Smith and Jamie Winders (2007) contribute to this discussion when they note that heterogeneity (diversity) becomes a source of disputes as immigrants push back, or choose not to push back, against negative treatment from and exploitation by their host country. Although host countries are oftentimes in desperate need of labor, the host country’s reaction to the increased diversity is generally negative.

Such a negative increase in anti-migrant rhetoric is seen in Ireland in an increasingly paradoxical way. Gerard Boucher and Yunas Samad (2008) argue that Ireland has this type of relationship with immigration because it encouraged migration into its borders as well as promoted cultural difference, but the country has systematically lowered the prevalence of certain kinds of migrants into the country. The total population of Ireland, as Loyal (2011) notes, was the highest in the EU between 1999 and 2008 because of the Celtic Tiger and increased labor demands.
Benjamin Kline (2004) and Loyal (2011) liken this increase to Ireland’s increasing interaction with the globalized technology and pharmaceutical markets, which encouraged a mass movement of both high skilled and low skilled workers from Eastern Europe and around the globe. Ireland reacted to the increase of immigration by passing the Employment Permits Act of 2006, which increased migrant rights, but limited the number and kind of low-skilled work permits available to EU citizens and Non-EU migrant labor. The Migration Policy Institute website, for example, notes that during the Celtic Tiger, the Irish government limited the number of Green Cards granted labor migrants. For those migrants with an annual salary of €60,000 or those making between €30,000 to €59,999 in some occupations and only to a very limited number of occupations with salaries up to €30,000 where there was a shortage of labor are allowed entry. The increase and simultaneous restriction of migration illustrates the negative reaction to a decrease in regulation of borders and a massive increase in people who are culturally different. Steve Garner (2007) argues that when the borders within a country are opened, hostility towards new migrants grows exponentially. Eva Green, Oraine Sarrasin, Nicole Fasel, and Christian Staerlé mirror such sentiment when they write of the relationship between national attachment and exclusionary immigrant attitudes (2011: 369). Green et al. argue that tensions are created between native and migrant groups that directly relate to the threat culturally hegemonic groups feel to the composition of their livelihood and identity. The Great Recession heavily increased such attitudes, and even with the economic improvement since 2013, today Irish-born citizens still exhibit anti-migrant sentiments that relate back to fears of the “migrant other” from the Celtic Tiger.

Phillipe Fargues (2016) notes that over one million individuals have crossed through Europe’s exterior boundaries and into a system of nations with semi-permeable borders over the course of one year. The European Migrant Crisis and ongoing war in Syria, which have both
resulted in a flood of migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers into European borders, have made the EU question immigration processes and national security throughout Europe. All EU nations must now answer questions regarding perceived threats, national security, social welfare, and immigrant integration in their national borders (Kaivo-oja 2014). Such a crisis and massive influx of outside-EU migration, however, has made the EU strikingly aware of the reasons why migrants come to and leave certain countries from around the world. Scholars discuss current migration in Europe to distinguish the differing processes involved: intra- and outside-EU migration as well as high and lower skilled labor migration (Johns 2013; Kaivo-oja 2014; Munoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010; Mutwarasibo 2005).

In migration, there are factors that can both push an individual out of the host country, as well as factors that pull the migrant into moving. Push factors can include, but are not limited to: violence, lack of economic opportunity, political or religious persecution, and famine. These factors drive individuals into migrating to a different area, one that will offer a refuge to the migrant. Migrants are also pulled by the opportunities available to them in other countries, such as: safety, job opportunities, education, the opportunity to learn a new language, industry, and better chances of finding a partner. For voluntary migrants, those who choose to move from their place of origin, both push and pull factors heavily influence migrants’ decisions or need to move. Anil Al-Rebholz (2014) argues that the decision to move gives migrants agency while moving because immigrants choose where they want to go. Immigrants renegotiate their identity by combining aspects of their home and new cultures. When voluntary migrants move, they understand that their identity will shift in accordance with their new host country (La Barbera 2014). Therefore, voluntary labor migrants choose to move and choose how much they want to shift their identity.
Michael Johns (2013) argues in his analysis of European migration that the EU has experienced a mass movement of highly skilled workers from Eastern Europe towards the west since expanding in 2004. Intra-EU migration, because of guaranteed extended benefits, support, and protection for the holder as well as their family regardless of EU residence, is easy and attractive for EU citizens. Johns states, “the fact that [intra-EU migrants] share a common European citizenship makes them different from traditional international migrants who do not share rights of residence and employment with their host communities” (2013:30). Rafael Muñoz de Bustillo and José Ignacio Antón (2010) write that areas with traditionally low unemployment rates are optimal spots for both intra and outside-EU migration. Negative feelings towards migrants are most apparent, however, during the “arrival of a large stock of workers, sometimes without much command of the [host country’s dominant language], with a different culture or different skill composition, which clearly presents several challenges for national government” (Muñoz de Bustillo and Antón 2010: 570). The financial and fiscal stability of those living in many European nations is perceived to be under threat due to increased migration (Fargues 2016). Outside-EU migrants, however, are not guaranteed the same benefits and rights that intra-EU migrants are. Both political and economic forces influence the degree and rate of migration from outside the EU (Fargues 2016; Johns 2013). Munoz de Bustillo and Anton note that voluntary economic migrants tend to go to countries where they can make the highest wage. Ireland is experiencing a greater amount of immigration, from both inside and outside the EU, because of increasing economic opportunities for migrants especially in the tech industry. Network (chain) migration encourages migration because of the support system guaranteed by knowing other migrants in the host country. Hein de Hass (2010) notes that “the cost and risk-reducing role of networks makes migration, once set in motion, notoriously difficult for governments to control”
As networks are created and utilized by migrants there is a continued flow of people into the country because of such available support systems.

3.2.2. THE “IMMIGRATION EFFECT”

There is a shift towards dividing those within a country as citizens (or “us”), and migrants (or “them”/ “others”), to maintain national identity. Garner notes that, “by drawing a line around ‘us’, the process of raising nationalist awareness necessarily creates a ‘them,’ suspending other divisions such as class, gender, and sometimes religion” (2007:129). Garner additionally argues that, in Ireland, “an increasing hostility towards Others has been identified in the midst of rapid economic growth and political stability” (2007: 109). This, as Garner notes, is a counter-case to the norm of increased hostility during times of host country instability. This conclusion is corroborated by Johns, who indicates that migrants become “the scapegoat of a population” because hosting nations grow more “insular, more protectionist, and more concerned for their economic well-being” (2013: 45). Garner (2007), writing just before the economic crash of the Celtic Tiger, is noting that the increase of migration was seen as hostile in a time of low unemployment. However, since the fall, such hostility towards migrants is seen again, but during a time of recovery. Green et al. (2011), Johns (2013), as well as others, place the blame for anti-migrant rhetoric on socio-economic influences, due in part to the unstable labor market. It is the residual effects of the migration process and the existing economic disadvantages that cause the host country’s national identity to weaken. As Green et al (2011) note, this is met with an increase of nationalism and anti-migrant rhetoric from some segments of the host population. Garner (2007) argues that Ireland is an outlier because anti-migrant rhetoric increased during a time of political and economic stability. However, combining Garner’s (2007) idea with both those of Johns (2013)
and Green et al. (2011) and applying this to Ireland today, it is both the increase of diversity in a homogeneous country plus the potential threat of political and economic instability, that affect the Irish reception of immigration. This supports the idea that there is a potential threat from all migrants entering the country, not just those attempting to meet the labor demand in Ireland.

Regardless of immigration status, as Elaine Burroughs (2015) discusses, illegal immigration has led to questions and tension regarding the legitimacy of all forms of immigration, including legal or illegal, voluntary or forced. Burroughs notes, however, that the Irish population became heavily skeptical of the immigration process, specifically of the parliamentary-supported idea that some immigrants trying to get into Ireland were dishonest. This created the false narrative of the “deceitful migrant”: an individual who migrates for the purpose of deceiving the state to gain monetary benefit. The concept of the deceitful migrant, as explained by Burroughs (2015), has extended the perceived threat of immigration towards all migrants whether economic or asylum-seeking. As such, the perceived threat of the deceitful migrant generally leads to an increased social and political control of migration. This is most observable in Ireland towards the end of the Celtic Tiger, as will be shown in Chapter 5.

Social control of migrants is characterized by the implementation of social and political policy by the host country as a response to an increase of multiculturalism and a perception of losing national identity. Garner (2007) writes that with the increase of migration and weakening national identity, the host country’s response is generally a defining of nationalist characteristics (nationalism) and a control of sovereignty through restricted borders and access to citizenship. Garner argues that during the peak of migration into Ireland (in 2007), the addition of new accession country nationals to the intra-EU migrants, “might well [have caused] the redefinition of the nation” (2007: 128). Ireland prepared itself for the possibility of shifting national identity,
however, through the introduction of several pieces of legislation. The Citizenship Referendum of 2004, as previously discussed, passed with over 70% approval and extended Ireland’s control over who was allowed to have birthright citizenship. By controlling who is allowed citizenship through policy, countries restrict access to permanent residence and define who can identify as part of the nation. Nationalist rhetoric justifies social exclusion of migrants and normalizes the behavior of granting or retracting citizenship to those not deemed well integrated into the host culture. Summer 2016 marked the centennial of the 1916 Easter Uprising in which the Irish tried and failed to gain independence from the British Crown. Such a celebration of the Irish rising against the British (and the start of the revolution for Irish independence) increased Irish nationalism during the summer. This celebration of Ireland fighting for their independence and rejecting English culture and influence in Ireland was profoundly visual across Dublin. The Karl Vick (2015) uses the European reaction to the “European Migrant Crisis” as an example of how the perceived threat of the migrant affects European identity. Vick writes that because Europe is recognized as a place of numerous individual sovereign nationalities the crisis has shifted from humanitarian to political (2015).

The concept that economic opportunists are posing as political refugees and eroding the welfare-states in the EU propagates the false narrative of the deceitful migrant. Particularly in Ireland, legislation including the Employment Permits Act of 2006 limited what kind of workers were allowed into the country. The Immigration, Residency, and Protection Bill of 2008 (revised in 2010, 2012, and 2015), which was mainly directed at asylum seekers (and in 2010 stipulated that the government would “look past” marriages of convenience), continued to proliferate the idea of the deceitful migrant. Al-Rebholz (2014) analyzes migrant Muslim women in Germany and how their identities are stigmatized and shaped by both social perceptions as well as by legislation.
Al-Rebholz argues that restrictions on migrants, especially if they are growing up with such restrictions, affect how migrants present their identity (2014). Migrants are restricted socially by the host nation and their own culture in addition to the laws of the host country. Migrants must choose how to present their identity to and within the host country.

Voluntary migration in Europe is predicated on the social networks and support systems migrants use to integrate into their new host culture. Harvey Choldin (1973) writes, that networks make the transition to a new city easier. Additionally, Dovilė Vildaitė (2014) explains that in transnational migration, the sense of home and belonging contributes to a migrant’s integration process into the host country. Vildaitė notes that “situated within two cultural worlds, [migrants] define themselves in relation to multiple reference groups and develop multinational and fluid notions of home and belonging” (2014: 62) Combining Vildaitė (2014) and Choldin (1973), looking at the importance of networks, it is necessary to analyze the use of networks as vital for migrants, especially young migrants, to understand acculturation and a sense of belonging for migrants who do not have family, but a strong friend network, in the country.

3.3. FOOD

3.3.1. REPRESENTATION

The host country’s culinary norms often restrict the migrant’s presentation of their food. The globalized food systems also affect what is available, frequently allowing ethnic food to become a subject of appropriation by the host country. The presence of multiple types of ethnic foods at once gives an opportunity for those in the host country to become culinary tourists (Long 2004). Food and consumption choice marks socio-economic status as well as national identity. The term “culinary tourism” (Long 2004) illustrates how ethnic food spaces become a local arena for
mass consumption of globalized cuisine. In this sense, ethnic food becomes de-territorialized: it loses some of the ties to its origin and is recreated within the social, political, and economic context of the hosting country (Heldke 2003). Places where ethnic foods are sold, however, assume an identity that is neither host nor immigrant, but an in-between space where cultural hybridity is most obvious. Culinary tourism has made a trend out of eating extreme or exotic food and as a result, some scholars view such consumption as a status symbol or indicator of cultural dominance (Heldke 2003; Johnston and Baumann 2010). Some scholars contend that culinary tourism is an increasing trend for non-immigrant whites, particularly, as they tend to lack a traditional culture or cuisine. Zygmunt Bauman (2003) notes that in a globalized world, the identity of the “tourist” expressed as an individual seeking the exotic, but that individual can go home to their norm. In short, Bauman (2003) argues that the “tourist” is unique; that they briefly absorb the culture of another while maintaining their own cultural identity through their ability to return to their “home culture”. Such a concept is like that of the culinary tourist, as Gabaccia (1998), Amy E. Guptill, Denise A. Copelton, and Betsy Lucal (2014), and others note that eating ethnic food is seen as the physical consumption of the “other.”

The consumption of the “other” as a tourist often leads to the appropriation of the cuisine and culture of the “other.” Lisa Heldke (2003) defines culinary colonialism as “the appropriation of [cultural] practices by [an economic or political power]” (xvii). Today, it is common for individuals to seek out cuisines for their exotic aspects without regard for the history of the food. Oftentimes tourism becomes the celebration of food as a resource that can be “appropriated without any regard for the people whose cuisine it is, and the social, economic, and political circumstances they find themselves within” (Crowther 2013: 205; also see Heldke 2003). Host countries use food as a resource for culinary colonialism, not just nutritionally, but as an indicator of national identity
dominance and socio-economic status. In an exploration of the connections between food and nationalism, Richard Wilks (2002) notes this as the dichotomy between in-group and out-group cultural identifiers. Knowledge and taste are expressed through consumption, linking representation of who belongs both in the local setting as well as the national. Decolonizing foodways, Heldke (2003) suggests, means accepting food as a representation of the origin country as both economically and politically associated with the food’s place of origin and then placing that food at the same status of other foods. Again, Bauman (2003) introduces how appropriation affects the concept of the globalized identity. Taking from Walter Benjamin, Bauman refers to this identity as “the flâneur” (French for “the stroller”), who has the ability to appropriate certain aspects as part of their identity and make such cultures as part of their own. This is an expression of a host country identity interacting with that of the migrant through appropriation rather than borrowing, like the tourist.

Both the widespread knowledge of and willingness to try different cuisines makes food acceptable in a new culture. Turgeon and Pastinelli note that “food is mobile, multivocal and polysemic; it moves from one group to another, it expresses different voices, and it can take on different meanings depending on the intention of the consumers” (2002: 250). Culinary traditions not only move, but are changed within the hosting society. Boutaud, Becut, and Marinescu (2016) mirror these insights, arguing that food is material and symbolic, as marker of culture, personality, social class, gender, family, and community. Food is an inner dialectic of both a return to the traditional culture as well as a longing for discovery of new cuisines as a marker of a capitalist culture; especially in a globalized world. As Boutaud, Becut, and Marinescu explain, food “translates the tension that defines our identity construction between finding refuge in a frame… and escaping from this frame and discovering oneself throughout the new worlds of flavor and
sensation” (2016: 1). As a marker, change in food or consumption patterns indicates a simultaneous shift in identity. Therefore, an analysis of food preparation and consumption habits of migrants and individuals in the host country can illustrate the acculturation and renegotiation of identity.

Pierre Bourdieu’s concept of habitus is interpreted here as that which informs an individual’s actions while at the same time structurally representing the social world (Bourdieu 1986). Migrants must understand the changing social structure of their new cultural settings to acculturate successfully. Bourdieu writes that habitus is generally taken for granted, but he also emphasizes that the construct of the habitus is limited, and it changes significantly as an individual is trying to place themselves in a new culture and attempts to gain capital in their new context. As Priscila de Morais Sato, Joel Gittelsohn, Ramiro Fernandez Unsain, Odilon José Roble, and Fernanda Baeza Scagliusi (2016), taking from Bourdieu notes, “[habitus] can be understood as an embodied arrangement of social structures that predisposes an individual to certain actions, in accordance with the social context in which it is produced” (175). An individual’s habitus represents an individual’s previous experiences and interactions and serves to shape how that individual will interact in similar situations.

Bourdieu notes that habitus is based upon the accumulation of social and cultural capital. He defines social capital as the privileges awarded to an individual because of membership within a certain group, whereas cultural capital is gained through experiences within certain social contexts (Bourdieu 1986). Social and cultural capital are based on social, cultural, political, and economic factors within daily practice (Boucher and Samad 2013). While discussing cultural capital, Bourdieu notes, “any given cultural competence (e.g., being able to read in a world of illiterates) derives a scarcity value from its position in the distribution of cultural capital and yields
profits of distinction for its owner” (1986: 284). In this context, Bourdieu argues that the reciprocal recognition of cultural capital again increases both parties’ amount of cultural capital.

Cultural capital is linked to the amount of knowledge of other cultures and gives the individual a greater level of status within a certain social context (Bourdieu 1986). Socio-economic factors including education and income level affect the opportunities to change the amount of capital an individual has. What is deemed suitable or unsuitable to consume connects the local community to the greater national identity (See Desoucey 2010). Knowledge of and reciprocal recognition of exotic cuisines increases that individual's cultural capital. Josée Johnston and Shyon Baumann (2010) mirror this concept when they argue, as noted earlier, “Cultural capital is required to appreciate…discourse and discern which features of exoticism are worth pursuing” (104). Food becomes part of the public atmosphere as a representation of status and national identity. In this sense, a culture that is considered globalized and more globally open will struggle with what food represents their national identity. Krishnendu Ray argues, however, that migrants act as “inverted anthropologists” and use their position as cultural outsiders to observe, negotiate, and participate in their new culture, meaning they have a different perspective as to what is deemed important in that particular culture (2014:392). Therefore, as Ray notes, migrants use observation for their own capital gain by opening restaurants that cater to the demands of their host country.

Within the realm of immigration and food, Ray (2007) argues, there is an inverse relationship between the prestige of a cuisine and the level of immigration. He uses the example of the prestige and popularity of Italian food within the United States, noting that during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when Italian immigration was at its height, Italian food was thought of as unsuitable. Today, however, Italian cuisine is one of the most popular and prestigious foods within the United States. Ray (2007) argues that when there is a decrease in immigration
rates from a specific country, there tends to be an increase in prestige of that country’s cuisine in the hosting country. However, Crowther (2013) argues that individuals in the host country will look past negative cultural stereotypes to enjoy such food. Helena Tuomainen (2009) argues that there is a certain amount of hybridity that takes place before the migrant moves to London. This, in turn, increases the transformation of foodways and the speed at which new foodways become inculcated into the migrant’s daily life. Tuomainen states that colonialism has already generated hybrid identities. This means that residual interactions from colonialism have allowed for a change in identity before the migrant even leaves their place of origin. La Barbera (2014) corroborates Tuomainen by arguing that reaction to migration differs between each migrant group, but there is an overall expectation for change as the group interacts with a new culture. Crowther (2013) as well as Ray (2014) argue that acknowledgement of cultural change allows for migrants to maintain and gain back some of their agency by capitalizing on their perceived authority and difference in the host culture.

3.3.2. BRIDGING

Food is used as a cultural bridge between host cultures and migrants as a tool to both renegotiate and reaffirm cultural identities. Roseman (2006) in addition to Crowther (2013) and Guptill, Copelton, and Lucal (2014) note that individuals who eat out more, eat multiple kinds of cuisines, are higher educated, and are younger exhibit a greater willingness to go back and try “exotic” foods over again are also more likely to try different kinds of cuisines. In terms of education, Rochelle Côte and Bonnie H. Erickson (2005) write, “this may be because…education is actually educational, opening people’s minds to critical debunking of received stereotypes and enhancing people’s knowledge of the positive aspects of many different groups” (2). With higher
education comes a greater opportunity for increases in both social and cultural capital because of the natural exposure to different kinds of people and ways of thinking. On a related note, greater amounts of education generally result in a higher individual income which grants the individual more financial capital to spend. A higher education indicates that the individual will be willing to try new foods. Some cultural elites with high social and cultural capital, however, might choose to not consume exotic food, instead, practicing culinary conservatism (Gabaccia 1998:36-37). As noted above conservatism has a way of breaking down when it comes to new, enticing foods (Gabaccia 1998).

La Barbera (2014), Lo (2008), and Paloma Moré (2014) contend that migrants subvert negative stereotypes by strategically performing parts of their identity and thereby presenting their presence in an unthreatening way. Johnston and Bauman (2010) echo this when they note, “these exotic foods and cuisines are strange, but can still be understood and enjoyed; they are made familiar and palatable through descriptions that emphasize familiar iconography and recognized food preparation techniques and ingredients” (114). When the food becomes hybridized and familiar, those who were once culinary conservatives become tourists. When food is accepted, negative stereotypes tend to dissipate due to the increased face-to-face contact that individuals have with the other culture (Crowther 2013; Gabaccia 1998). Immigrants use food as a bridge to connect with their host country by sharing and selling food in a “familiar” way by altering their menus or ingredients (Johnston and Baumann 2010). In selling their hybridized, yet familiar foods, immigrants promote a space of cultural interchange between their identity and that of the host culture.
3.4. PLACE

3.4.1. ETHNOSITE

Ethnosites are defined spaces that evoke cultural interchange within multicultural societies (Crowther 2013; Turgeon and Pastinelli 2002). Gillian Crowther defines ethnosites as places where “members of the ethnic group can reaffirm their own ethnicity through eating familiar food, and for non-members there is the possibility of appropriation and acceptance” (2013: 277). The number of individuals and the demographic diversity in a space gives it greater multi-ethnic interaction potential. This means that the greater the diversity, (i.e., the greater the number of different cultures within a single space), the greater the likelihood that an individual will interact with someone or some aspect (food, clothing, etc.) of a different nationality or ethnicity. For example, a supermarket could serve as an ethnosite because it facilitates public intercultural exchange.

The market creates a physical space for multi-ethnic interactions through the different selections of multi-ethnic food choices and products produced and made in different countries. Aucoin and Fry (2015) label such ethnosites as nodes for products and communities. This means such spaces promote greater interchange of culture through the food offered because of the interactions supported there. Brief interaction, however, does not guarantee a deep, meaningful exchange. If you buy a papaya from your local supermarket that was grown in India, buying it doesn’t mean that you chose to envelope yourself in the Indian culture. However, you physically consume the papaya and thereby consume the social, political, and economic practices that produced the fruit. However, a greater opportunity for cultural exchanges arises when an individual is placed in a space with great freedom of movement and an unthreatening environment.

Ethnosites are fundamental urban spaces that are necessary for urban place-making (Harvey 1989). David Harvey (1989) argues that urban space embodies more than just a physical
space, but, both a physical and social environment that influence individual perceptions and renegotiations of identity through the process of place-making. He also argues that an urban space constantly changes because of the fluid and diverse demographic. An ethnosite becomes imbued with value when those who interact in it give the space value. Yi-Fu Tuan (1977) argues, “what begins as undifferentiated space becomes place as we get to know it better and endow it with value” (6). Tuan analyzes not just urban experiences and geography, but the way individuals interact that give a place meaning and value. Not only do experiences and geography affect the interpretation of space, but also, the individual interactions additionally give the space meaning. He writes that symbols also mediate experiences: “Many places, profoundly significant to particular individuals or groups, have little visual prominence. They are known viscerally, as it were, and not through the discerning eye or mind” (Tuan 1977: 162). Ethnosites, particularly restaurants and by extension any place that sells food, are known viscerally through the gut. Such sites promote exchanges of cultures through the exchange of food. The culture of the producer moves when the food moves from producer to consumer. Microspaces, or small ethnosites, promote interchange in the same culturally meaningful way.

3.4.2. ARTIFICIALLY CONSTRUCTED COMMUNITY

Microspaces, particularly, express localized interpretations of global phenomenon (Turgeon and Pastinelli 2002). As noted earlier, food as a commodity becomes a bridge between cultures. As a microspace, however, a place becomes imbued with contextually based values—a local expression of identity (e.g. terroir) illustrates both national identity and local availability (Crowther 2013; Trubek 2008). The contextual expression of identity gives that space a meaning and function. Tuan (1977) notes that such a function can be both general and specific. Tuan argues
that place structures the composition of identity and social life as both “fluid and enormously complex” (1977: 164). The general function of a space represents the overall ideal function of the space, whereas the specific function represents the individual ideal each actor gives the space versus the reality of the space. Tuan writes, “It is possible to specify them in detail and design accordingly. An architect has an intuitive grasp, a tacit understanding, of the rhythms of a culture, and he seeks to give them symbolic form” (ibid.). Identities are presented in terms of both the general and the specific. Those who frequent a place, such as a market, physically structure the interactions and expectations of the space.

Places either encourage or discourage mingling between individuals. Crowther notes that, “the layouts of the markets often encourage shoppers to abandon their cars, walk through stalls, and make discoveries of new foods, while helping to develop an appreciation for public spaces and life, connect the urban with the rural” (and additionally with the globalized) (2013: 259). Intercultural interactions, therefore, depend on the physical place, not just the people who participate within the space. The location and demographic of the space gives meaning and structure to individual expectation for the space. For example, if you go to a supermarket in your neighborhood, you expect to see your neighbors (if you know them) and expect that the supermarket will have a food you are looking for (or know it carries). Crowther (2013), again, recognizes that the structure of the space structures the kinds of interactions between actors in the space, meaning that the physical architecture will either encourage or discourage exchanges between the individuals functioning within it. Additionally, Chen-Ya Wang and Anna S. Mattila (2013) argue, while analyzing authenticity of consumer dining experience, both environmental and social elements such as physical set-up up and actors influences food choice and interactions before purchasing ethnic food. Mutwarasibo (2005) and Edge, Engelhardt, and Ownby (2013) argue such
places cause the negotiations of identities of both migrants and the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation. Applying Mutwarasibo (2005), Edge, Engelhardt, and Ownby (2013), and Wang and Mattila (2013), the space both re-affirms and transforms the identity of each actor through their interactions and the food they purchase.

Interactions between cultures cause residual changes in each, even if the participating actors do not immediately notice. The interaction between two or more cultures results in cultural hybridization and creates a new culture, which does not strictly represent either. Exposure to other societies results in a hybrid that acknowledges the intercultural exchanges and effects of hybridization. Migration tests the limits of both the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation within the host country and the migrants themselves. First world countries need immigration to maintain the population and perform the everyday functions necessary to keep society going. The current origin of migration into the European Union and the reaction to immigration exhibits the acceptance or rejection of the migrant culture.

From the ingredients to the cooking techniques, to the physical act of eating, food is highly representative of culture. Food is a tradition, a staple passed down from generation to generation. Interactions in the global economic marketplace influence individual and collective consumption habits. Sharing food does not just consist of the cooked (or uncooked) ingredients being offered, but the cultural and individual perceptions and relationships represented. Food as a marker of in-group solidarity and a source of out-group distinction represents a commodity that signifies both the local and the global. When individuals migrate either across regions or even transnationally, they bring food consumption and processing habits with them. Individual food preparation and daily consumption practices define one’s place within a culture. Place is a semi-fluid concept, defined by the movement of individuals into and out of the space. Both geography and individual
experiences influence the function of a place. As individuals perform their identities and exchange information the definition of a place is renegotiated.

The literature mentioned above gives a basic theoretical outline for how to approach expressions and renegotiations of identity in such a space as a lunchtime food market. Knowledge of and basic engagement with the literature establishes the baseline of how cultural hybridity, immigration, food, and place are currently situated in the academic world. However, each theme interplays with the others exhibiting how such concepts as heterogeneity and food combine to explain how individuals get to the Silicon Docks Market. I will use this literature to examine how a small, localized space expresses the effects of diversity and migration by defining of cultural norms and limitations. I will expand on the scholarship above to analyze food as tool of resistance as well as a source of capital for migrants. Additionally, I will use such scholarship to examine the market as it structures the local interchange between the actors within it as well as the shifting cultures that influences the reconstruction of identity. The research above represents a limited selection of the fields of food anthropology, migration studies, geography, and sociology; however, such a selection aids in understanding the interactions in and functions of the Silicon Docks Market. In the next chapter, I describe the process of data collection and analysis from the methodology used before, during, and after fieldwork, and describe the quantitative analysis of the qualitative data collected.
CHAPTER IV
METHODS AND FINDINGS

In this chapter, I first describe the theoretical background of the methodology used to collect and analyze data as well as the research process, the specific methodological tools used to collect data, how data were analyzed, and the quantitative aspects of my research. The theoretical foundation of data collection is grounded in ethnography; however, I use a mix of both quantitative and qualitative methodology while in the field as well as throughout analysis.

Second, I present and explain the research process as it represents an expanded chronological timetable of outlining the project, procurement of funding and approval, arriving in the field, and performing data analysis. I then discuss the combination of ethnographic tools used to collect data while in the market, including participant observation, informal interview, and photography. I explain how I use inductive analysis to evaluate the data and determine the four major themes of the project. Finally, I present the demographic and quantitative data produced by the project as divided by theme with examples of informant responses.

METHODOLOGY

4.1. THEORETICAL FOUNDATION OF METHODOLOGY

The most popular form of data collection in anthropology is ethnography as it uses multiple methods of data collection, which are analyzed together during data analysis (Crowther 2013; DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, Miller and Deutsch 2009). Ethnography is defined as “a way of studying people, cultures, enterprises, and phenomena in a natural setting… rather a collection of
research methods bundled together to help us understand the meaning that people in a group or of a place give to the things they themselves do or value” (Miller and Deutsch 2009: 138). At its most basic definition, ethnography is not the utilization of a single methodology, but (as stated above) a collection of different methodological tools that can be used to not only collect data, but to analyze the data as well. As Clifford Geertz (1973) notes, “the ethnographer ‘scribes’ social discourse; [s/he] writes it down. In so doing, [s/he] turns it from a passing event, which exists only in its own moment of occurrence, into an account, which exists in its inscriptions and can be reconnsulted” (19). Ethnography depends on fieldwork, where the researcher uses participant observation, interviews (formal or informal, structured, semi-structured, or unstructured) to better comprehend the group they are studying from both the emic (insider) and etic (outsider) perspectives. The use of ethnography is not a new methodological tool utilized in anthropology. In my own research, I use ethnography, participant observation, interviews, photography, as well as mixed quantitative and qualitative methodology to analyze the market from both emic and etic perspectives.

Participant observation is utilized to gain access to the cultural processes behind events while maintaining an outsider perspective. Although this will be explained in greater detail later in the chapter, participant observation “is a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture” (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011:1). The goal of participant observation is to project the culture as accurately as possible.

I use a combination of quantitative and qualitative methodology throughout data collection and analysis. Quantitative data are generally used to “explore causality or associations, measurement of these relationships become an important part of the research” (Miller and Deutsch
Such methodology is structured so as to be free of bias, by maintaining distance from the research subjects and objectivity within the project (2009). Quantitative data are best for studying populations, demographics, and causalities between variables. Qualitative data result from the researcher’s active communication and interaction with the individuals being studied. Researchers using qualitative methodologies “may want to study the behavior or phenomenon of interest in a more natural or holistic setting than the clinical setting of the laboratory or experiment… to understand how these factors interact to create the behavior or phenomenon” (Miller and Deutsch 2009: 21). Using a mixed methodology allows for fluidity within the field during interviews and observation. Quantitative analysis of qualitative data permits for not only the raw data of “yes” and “no,” but the personal idiosyncrasies and anecdotes of informant interviews to be captured as well.

4.2. RESEARCH PROCESS

The research process is broken down into three chronological parts including pre-field, field, and post-field. This is to guide the audience through the mental processes leading up into the field and the analysis of the data after collection. Pre-field research includes the academic research process and fieldsite choice, as well as an explanation of funding and IRB approval and initial contact with the market vendors. The second subsection, field, describes the arrival process to and description of the market, including an explanation and use of fieldnotes and ethnographic tools as well as a reflection on my positionality within the market as a researcher. Finally, post-field explains the transcription, coding, and analysis of data collected in the market.
4.2.1. PRE-FIELD

The research process began by analyzing the current state of academic inquiry of a research topic that interested me. Jeff Miller and Jonathan Deutsch (2009: 26, taking from Hilton 1998) argue that a personal interest within the research topic will inherently produce better analysis because of the researcher’s personal curiosity. I chose Ireland as a fieldsite because of both personal connections as well as personal curiosities about the country. Ireland is a newer country with a long and proud history. My father moved to Ireland in 1998 and the first time I visited him was right as the Celtic Tiger was gaining traction in the country. From then up until 2007, I visited the country nine times.

Ireland has also shifted in terms of the culture and the events occurring inside the country. The summer of 2016 marked the centennial celebration of Ireland’s fight for independence against the British, who had governed them for so long, which meant a heightening of pride in the Irish identity. Also, while I was there, the Brexit occurred. During this time, Ireland wanted to distance itself from their British neighbors, but the Brexit brought up concepts surrounding immigration that the Irish had been dealing with. Both events combined put the people of Ireland on heightened alert to change and difference in the country with an added pride in Irish heritage and the desire to maintain it. Analyzing the foodways of Ireland gives a greater examination of how bacon and cabbage has become tikka masala and naan and what that has done to the Irish identity. To approach this topic, I began with a broad inquiry of food markets within Ireland and in choosing the fieldsite in Ireland. I used both inductive and deductive methods for choosing my site and the major themes that I expected to see while in the field.

Choosing a fieldsite required using the locations of known food markets in Ireland and census data of the three largest cities in Ireland: Dublin, Cork, and Limerick. I then used Excel to
input 58 markets found under Bord Bia, the National Irish Food Board, and included the market name, county in which each market was located, and address of the market. Next, I consulted 2011 electoral division (ED) demographic census data for Irish and non-Irish populations, which can be found on All Island Research Observatory in the Census 2011 National Mapping Viewer. Additionally, I input the area, area number, total population for each area, total Polish area population, total Polish area population percentage of the ED, total Lithuanian area population, total Lithuanian area population percentage of the ED, total “Other EU 27” area population, total “Other EU 27” area population percentage of the ED, total “Rest of the World” area population, total “Rest of the World” area population percentage of the ED. I then ranked the markets using the computer software SPSS. I did this by taking the total Polish area population, total Lithuanian area population, total “Other EU 27” area population, and total “Rest of the World” area population. Finally, I ranked the markets as per highest foreign born population, to ensure a greater chance of encountering a foreign-born individual.

To choose the market, I proceeded to use the top 12% of markets, 7 markets out of 58 total markets in greater Dublin, Cork, and Limerick areas. I then chose Dublin in part because it has the largest airport as well as the highest density of immigrants of all cities in Ireland. Next, I began to take a closer look at each market on the internet by considering location within Dublin and the composition of the market itself. I found that three of the markets (ranked 2, 4, and 5 on the list of top 7 markets) were under the same larger umbrella market, the Irish Market Group. Such markets were prepared food markets rather than farmer’s markets and seemed to include a greater variety of ethnic foods. This eliminated the other two markets not under the Irish Market Group umbrella.

\[\text{2 Within the 2011 Irish Census Polish and Lithuanian immigrants are included within their own category due to the mass migration from those two countries at the beginning of the Celtic Tiger.}\]
I then contacted the owner of the Irish Market Group, Robin, who informed me that one of the markets was no longer in use, thereby limiting the number of markets available to study. This information allowed me to reduce my choice further. In the end, I found the Silicon Docks Market, located in a corporate business park, to have the greatest variety of non-Irish owned tents. The isolation of the market in a corporate park was also attractive as a field site as it seemed that the clientele would be consistent and repetitive throughout the weeks.

Funding, prior to entering the field, was generously provided by the University of Mississippi’s Graduate Summer Research Assistantship and the Center for Population Studies, housed at the University of Mississippi. The amount of funding ensured transportation to and from Ireland and the fieldsite as well as housing while in the field. Prior to entering the field, I acquired approval from the Institutional Review Board as the project met the requirements for research with human subjects.

Initially, Robin suggested I contact each vendor through Facebook Messenger, as most vendors used that form of social networking as a means of communication. I successfully contacted eight of the fifteen vendors via Facebook Messenger using an IRB approved message (See Appendix 1). I planned to approach the remaining vendors face-to-face when in the field. Of the eight contacted prior to arrival in the field, three responded and agreed that I could interview them. One of these, the Irish owner of Fish and Chips, requested to Skype with me to ‘to confirm that you are who you say you are’, which I was happy to oblige. We spoke over video for approximately 10 minutes and I explained that I am a master’s student looking to gather data at the markets. The owner explained that he wanted to confirm my identity because he frequently gets similar messages, which are scams generally asking for money. During data collection, this topic was a frequent joke between vendors and me because some did not trust my identity over the internet.
Other vendors, whom I messaged but who did not respond, noted their own inattentiveness to Facebook messages or inability or infrequency of checking the website.

4.2.2. FIELD

I collected data for seven weeks between May 28th 2016 and July 17th 2016. While in the field, I stayed with a 32-year-old Brazilian woman in a neighborhood called Inchicore, located in southwest Dublin, across the river from Phoenix Park. My housing was located a five-minute walk from both the local tram station as well as the city bus. It took just over an hour to get to the fieldsite by using public transportation, which included a tram ride, walking, and taking a train. On most market days, however, a family friend would pick me up in his car and drive me to the market. This was most convenient for both of us as he lived well outside the city and worked in a multinational company close to the market.

The Silicon Docks Business Park was built at the beginning of the Celtic Tiger (around 1996) and covers over 40 acres. It is located a mere 5km from Dublin City Centre, a 20-minute driving commute in morning traffic. The business park caters mostly to the technology industry, hosting many multi-national corporations such as the technology giant Google, the networking conglomerate Citrix, as well as the software development company Oracle. In addition, the park is home to Irish based and North Irish based companies. Per the 2011 All Island Research Observatory, the business park is in an electoral division composed of 79% Irish-born citizens and 21% immigrants from “the rest of the world.” The business park is a host of great diversity and is represented by 6,000 Irish and Non-Irish employees. The park offers amenities such as an on-site fitness center, shuttles to and from the bus and train stations, as well as several food options and a barber. The park emulates California’s Silicon Valley with the perks to soothe any urban
professional demands. The buildings include multiple revolving doors into large entrance halls flooded with natural light and even foliage. Within the work areas, often located behind doors that you must have a key card to enter, cubicles line the floor, more oftentimes filled with computers and IT whizzes. The business park hosts four food options available Monday through Friday: Munchies\(^3\), a European-style café\(^4\), a Spar and Insomnia Coffee\(^5\), and a limited lunchtime café and bar\(^6\). In addition, the business park has teamed up with a local market conglomerate of vendors to bring a weekly lunchtime market open for a limited number of hours most Wednesdays of the year.

The Silicon Docks Market is a part of the Irish Market Group and is one of eight lunchtime markets that run in various large business areas around Dublin. The market has served the business park for 10 years. The food stalls open to patrons at 11:00am and are broken down by 3:00pm. Much of the food sold is prepared and cooked on site and the market stays open for all weather conditions except for strong wind (see Figure 3).

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\(^3\) An Irish chain coffee and sandwich shop. Located at the back of the space where the Silicon Docks Market occurs.
\(^4\) The café serves breakfast and lunch. It at the back of the space where the Silicon Docks Market occurs and additionally hosts a stall at the market.
\(^5\) A convenience store and coffee spot common throughout Ireland that generally hosts a deli inside it. Located 300 meters west of where the Silicon Docks Market occurs
\(^6\) A burger café and bar, located 300 meters west of where the Silicon Docks Market occurs
Vendors begin setting up anywhere between 6:00am and 7:30am, depending on the amount of food prep that must be done. Figure 4 below is an example of the vendors and employees setting up for the day’s market.
The market boasts fifteen food stalls that sell everything from South Indian food, Brazilian Bar-B-Que, Singapore-style noodles, Thai food, outdoor oven baked pizzas, pasta, burgers/steak and fries, Spanish-style paella, vegetarian burgers and salads, Japanese style sushi and bento boxes, Mexican-style burritos, New York style street food, fish and chips, German-style bratwurst, and “easy and fresh” modern Irish food, see Figure 5 below. The market is surrounded by buildings and earthen works on either side of it. All seating for the market is located either right outside the market-proper, or a quarter of a mile walk to benches and beanbags near a pond.
The vendors and employees set up an event/canopy tent that includes a plastic mat underneath that serves as a floor. Additionally, the stalls include menu and name signs, several tables (with matching laminate tablecloths) and various table-top grills, burners, and fryers, see Figure 6 and 7. All contents are connected to several Irish Market generators, where vendors get power to run the operations. Everything, including food, is brought in by vendors and employees via small nondescript commercial vans. Once the stalls are set up, food preparations begin, which include, but are not limited to, cutting fresh vegetables, assembling salads, breading fish, etc., (see Figure 8).
Figure 6. Moving Equipment. An employee moves the charcoal burning grill while the tent (behind) is set up.

Figure 7. Equipment necessary for the market. An example of some equipment necessary for the market including (from L to R) a fryer, burners, pasta baskets, and a tray warmer.
Figure 8.  **Market Prep: Making Salads. Marijanna makes a spinach salad before the market starts, her electric griddle heating up beside the salad for the vegetarian burgers she will sell in the market.**

The market gets into full swing around noon with approximately 1,600 individuals visiting the market each week. The transaction between patrons and vendors is generally courteous and quick, highlighting the necessity for a fast lunch. Most employees within the park have limited time for lunch, some with as little as 30 minutes. The prices within the market range from €5 to €12 (about $5.50 to $13.00), (see menu and pricing examples in Figure 9). The food is served in “take away” containers that are easily disposable after patrons are finished with their meals, (see Figure 10).
Figure 9. **Menu Examples.** On the left, an example of a menu for the South Indian-Style Stall. On the right, an example of the Mexican-Style Burrito menu and the Japanese-Style Sushi and Bento menu.

Figure 10. **Example of Brazilian BBQ, Take Away.** Example of the “take-away” boxes food in the market is generally served in.
Once patrons buy their food, where they choose to eat is often also dependent on the weather; if it is a nice day with a shining sun, often patrons will sit on bean bags (provided by the business park) or benches located near the man-made pond located about 20 feet away from the market, see Figure 11 and Figure 12.

![Figure 11. PATRON EATING AREA. A PATRON STANDS, LOOKING AT THE POND. THIS IS A WIDER VIEW OF WHERE SOME PATRONS SIT AROUND THE POND LOCATED A LESS THAN A QUARTER OF A MILE AWAY FROM THE MARKET.](image1)

![Figure 12. BY THE POND. TWO PATRONS SIT ON A BENCH HAVING A CONVERSATION. BEHIND THEM, BUSINESS PARK EMPLOYEES SIT ON THE GROUND AND ON FLUFFY CUSHIONS AFTER PURCHASING THEIR FOOD.](image2)
If the day is gloomy, however, or there are other personal preferences or work-related circumstances that prevent patrons from sitting down near the pond, patrons generally go back to their place of work. The market is busiest between noon and 1:30pm. Figures 13 and 14 show the market at the peak time with almost every stall with a long line of patrons.

![Figure 13.](image13.png)
**Figure 13.** IN LINE FOR LUNCH. PATRONS LINE UP AT THE SPANISH-STYLE PAELLA STALL.

![Figure 14.](image14.png)
**Figure 14.** LINED UP TO ORDER. PATRONS LINED UP AT SEVERAL STALLS.

While in the market, I took field jottings when able and then transferred them to a field notebook. I wrote the jottings in shorthand and included descriptions of the field site, interviews, questions and topics that I wanted to expand upon within interviews and interactions witnessed
before, during, and after the market. In addition, I photographed the market and eating areas to capture moments that would not otherwise have been in field jottings. At the end of each day, I would transfer an expanded-upon field jotting into a larger field notebook while in the field and downloaded any interviews and photographs onto my computer immediately after I got home. Additionally, towards the end of my time in the field, I began transferring raw fieldnotes into a document.

I used participant observation and informal interviews to collect data. I participated in being both a market employee as well as a patron, giving me both insider and outsider experience and perspective. I also observed and participated in the setup and take-down of the market, see Figure 15.

Figure 15. **BREAK-DOWN OF THE MARKET. ALL TENTS AND EQUIPMENT (ON RIGHT SIDE) MUST BE MOVED BACK INTO THE VANS.**

I would arrive between 7:45am and 8:30am and would interview vendors and employees, as they could multitask and answer my questions. I approached or talked to 40 individuals (both patrons and vendors/employees) throughout the six Wednesdays I spent in the field. I interviewed
80% (32 informants) of the individuals I initially contacted, and will focus on 23 of those interviews in my analysis, as analysis will be limited to interviews with nine Irish Patrons and fourteen Non-Irish Vendors and Employees. Of those 23 interviews, fourteen (61%) of informants were male, whereas nine (39%) were female. All informants were over the age of 18, with 50% (8 informants) being between the ages of 25 and 30, 25% (4 informants) being older than 40, 12.5% (2 informants) being between the ages of 32 and 40, as well as 12.5% (2 informants) were under the age of 25. Three informants, however, just answered as being “over 18.” Irish patrons interviewed represent 0.6% of all patrons that frequent the market ((number of informants/average number of patrons in the market) x 100) of Irish patrons interviewed 44% (4 informants) were female and 56% (5 informants) were male. Of the 14 Non-Irish informants interviewed, 36% (5 informants) were vendors and 57% were employees, 64% (9 informants) were male and 36% (5 informants) were female. Half of Non-Irish claimed nationalities from inside the E.U. with the greatest number, 21% (3 informants), being from Hungary. Those Non-Irish from outside of the E.U. were from South Africa and the largest number (6 informants, 43% of Non-Irish Informants) were from Brazil. Most Non-Irish informants had been in Ireland either three to five years or nine to eleven years.

I tried to blend in with the other workers in the business park by dressing in business casual. This allowed me to participate as a patron while in the market as well as blend in with the demographic of the patrons. My positionality as an educated female researcher meant that I was treated differently by patrons than by the vendors and employees. I gained rapport quicker with those Irish and Non-Irish individuals who spoke fluent English as well as had a higher degree of education. Additionally, as I gained rapport with the vendors, I would hang around stalls to observe. From the vendor’s point of view, my positionality within the market was somewhere
between an employee and a patron. Oftentimes male vendors and employees would joke with me or at me (mostly crude jokes), however, when I approached them before or during the market, I was generally greeted in a friendly manner. This reflexive approach to my data will be accounted for in my post-field analysis of the data.

4.2.3. POST-FIELD

Upon returning home, I collected, organized, and analyzed the data collected from my time in the market. I completed the transfer of my fieldnotes into one cohesive document and began transcribing all interviews. Individually transcribed interviews were then combined with fieldnotes from that interview as well as other observations regarding that informant. Next, I used the mixed methods software and then openly coded all interviews and fieldnotes. I used open coding because it allowed for the inductive development of themes. As Robert Emerson, Rachel Fretz, and Linda Shaw (2011) explain, the ethnographer “attempts to capture as many ideas and themes as time allows but always stays close to what has been written down in the fieldnote” (175). I then consolidated codes to address the four major themes that were chosen. Themes were chosen based on their prominence within multiple interviews as well as on a basic consultation with academic literature on similar markets. I used the computer assisted mixed methods data analysis software, DeDoose to code, organize and both quantitatively and qualitatively analyze data. I gained access to this program through the Center for Population Studies. I then further analyzed the data to best address the themes and subthemes chosen previously.

4.3. DATA COLLECTION METHODOLOGY

As noted above, I used a combination of ethnographic tools including semi-structured, informal interviews, participant observation, as well as photography to collect data. By exercising
multiple tools, I gained access to both the patron side of the market as well as that of the vendors/employees.

Interviews began with a presentation of Informant Consent Form (Appendix 2) and an explanation of research to the potential participant, informing them that participation could be terminated at any time as well as assuring the informant’s confidentiality. Interviews were semi-structured, as they had a set number of questions; however, the interview also had flexibility in question content and order (see Appendix 4). If a participant seemed uncomfortable, then I would skip to a question that was not as personal. As Miller and Deutsch note, “A less structured interview format depends on the ability of the researcher to recognize social cues, the ability to know when to probe and when to remain silent, and the ability to know when a vein of interest is exhausted and the topic needs to be changed or supplementary questions asked” (2009: 149). Then patrons and employees/vendors were given a consent form (see Appendix 2) and then agreed to being interviewed and gave oral consent. During interviews, I would closely watch the participant for bodily reactions and I would note such movements in my field jottings. At the end of interviews, I would then ask them to sign a photograph consent and release waiver and photograph them (See Appendix 3).

As stated above, both Irish Patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees did not have a great amount of time for interviews; therefore, while in the field, I shortened the original interview from one hour to 15-30 minutes. Most employee and vendor interviews occurred in the field with the notable exception of one. This was done on the informant’s request due to limited access in the field prior to or immediately after the market. We scheduled to meet at a co-op in the informant’s neighborhood and the interview was much more extensive than those performed in the field. Most interviews were recorded apart from two because the conversations started causal and then became
interviews. In such times, instead of recording, I wrote extensive field notes. One entire stall declined to being interviewed, I believe this was due to a language barrier between the owner and myself. The owner did not speak or understand English very well and possibly mistook me as an immigration agent.

I approached patrons at random to be interviewed. No patrons refused to be interviewed, however, many noted that they had a limited time for lunch, which imposed a time constraint. Many of the patrons interviewed were a result of snowball sampling; one patron interviewed introduced me to other patrons interviewed, which skewed the data. On the busiest days, approximately 2.6% of the employees in the park will visit the market. The patrons, however, are a mix of both Irish and Non-Irish, as are the vendors and employees. Most patrons were under the age of 30, with many patrons being Irish. Nationality was never a given detail from outward appearance, therefore those patrons I approached could have been Irish or Non-Irish.

Interviews and interview questions were divided based on the role within the market, between patrons and those who worked in the market. The informal interview was designed to ease informants into talking about immigration and national identity, to gain rapport. This was particularly pertinent when interviewing patrons because there was the uncertainty about seeing the patron in the market again. Patrons were not interviewed within proximity of any vendors or employees to ensure that patrons could openly discuss immigration and market preferences and maintain confidentiality. Additionally, I did not interview vendors and employees simultaneously with patrons as to not disturb the vending process. Depending on the role within the market as well as the individual’s status of Irish or Non-Irish, questions pertained to how the individual got to the market and their opinions on immigration within Ireland as well as those of the market and food. Not every informant was asked or answered every question. During the interview, I did not ask
some questions because of the direction of the conversation. I did deduce some answers through responses to other questions or through observation or conversations outside of the interview. For more information, see Appendix 4.

I used photography in addition to participant observation and semi-formal interviews to accurately capture the market and the interactions within the market to the audience. When placed in the correct context, the photographs are visual displays that can “make clear things that we don’t always get by observing people and listening to them” (Miller and Deutsch 2009: 152). However, as Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) note, one cannot rely solely on photography, which is why photography is used in conjunction with other ethnographic tools.

The use of several methodologies ensures that the fieldsite is represented from the multiple different perspectives that interact within it. Using participant observation and photography in addition to interviews gave me access as a researcher to have both an emic and etic view of the market.
4.4. DATA ANALYSIS AND SYNTHESIS

I used DeDoose to organize, code, and analyze the data systematically. I uploaded transcripts of all interviews used for analysis into the program and then assigned descriptor information, which included demographic information about each informant. Such quantitative descriptor information collected included gender, nationality, age, education level, EU citizen or not, whether the informant was an employee, a vendor, or a patron, what stall each employee or vendor worked at, or the occupation a patron held (see Table 1). Qualitative data was coded in accordance with the themes that developed through the preliminary analysis of the data as well as the use of both inductive and deductive analysis.

Coded excerpts were then separated by themes into excel spreadsheets. Quantitative data was then analyzed for descriptive statistics of the total pool of informants, while qualitative data were grouped by similarities and differences between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors’/employees’ responses. Longer excerpts that were to be included within the thesis were then edited. Initial data analysis was quantitative, including basic demographic data (as mentioned above). Further analysis included the separation of individual informant’s responses as either Irish patrons or Non-Irish vendors and employees in two different excel spreadsheets. Once completed, each question was then placed into a chart and the responses were analyzed by number and the corresponding percentage of informants that answered that way. Each question was then separated into each theme and subtheme, with many questions applying to several themes as well as several sub-themes. Some questions, however, applied more to certain themes than other and therefore were thereby categorized into the most pertinent theme.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant Name</th>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>EU Citizen</th>
<th>Position in Market</th>
<th>Stall Where Informant Works</th>
<th>Job Where Informant work in Business Park</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lukacs</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maria</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Outside Education</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Brazilian BBQ</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William/K</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>South African</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>Started Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Administrator</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeff</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>South Indian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marijanna</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Polish</td>
<td>32-40</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>Vegetarian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bartal</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>32-40</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Vendor</td>
<td>German</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katarina</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Bulgarian</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Fish and Chips</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alyssa</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Brazilian BBQ</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy 1</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Paella</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guy 2</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Paella</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manuel</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Spanish</td>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Pasta</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diana</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Hungarian</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>Leave Insert</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Mexican</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>High School</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>NY Street Food</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oscar</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Brazilian</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Less than High School</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Employee</td>
<td>Fish and Chips</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Leave Insert</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rory</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Marketing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sean</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emma</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A HR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eric</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Master's</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Sales</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>25-31</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A HR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amanda</td>
<td>Female</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Under 25</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James</td>
<td>Male</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>40+</td>
<td>Undergrad</td>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>Patron</td>
<td>N/A Technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FINDINGS

4.5. CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

4.5.1. CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

Questions regarding cross-cultural hybridity surrounded the daily habits of Irish patrons' consumption and interaction patterns. When asked how often Irish patrons interacted with Non-Irish individuals, 89% of patrons responded with "every day", see Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th># of Irish Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Irish Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Everyday</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer Question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During interviews, patrons were asked how often they had contact with other cultures, and some gave extended answers as to the social demographic changes seen in Ireland. For example, one Irish patron, Eric, a 26-year-old who works in sales at a multinational company in the business park, noted, "if you look at any other city in the world [the city is a] massive sort of multicultural, diverse. I think Ireland, well, Dublin at least is [beginning] to fit. We've moved towards that way." In this excerpt, Eric explains why he has such frequency with interacting with individuals who are not Irish. Patrons were also asked to describe what stalls they had tried before. A decided majority of patrons had tried a variety of stalls in the market and were willing to continue to try new foods.

In response to Irish patrons' exposure to other cultures as well as the limitations of ingredients and patron's preference, Non-Irish vendors were asked if they had changed their food. Of the six vendors interviewed, all six of them stated that they had to change their food in some fashion. One informant, Lukacs, the 40-year-old Hungarian owner of the Mexican burrito stall and
who had been in Ireland for ten years, noted that he changes the menu slightly every two years.

Lukacs noted in his interview:

It's not like a restaurant that you have to change [the menu] so often because we-
we [only] go [to the market] once a week, people don't get bored of it, so—so. So
every two years, I change my menu…. Now I have a lot more trimmings. I—now
I have fresh av—fresh guacamole made from fresh avocado every morning with
every—and uh, and now we have more, more options. We have two kind of ah,
chicken, shrimp and all that. Not very big change, but…

Lukacs noted that he does have to continue to update his menu according to what the patrons want
in their burrito. As the demand for "exotic" cuisine in Ireland increases, Lukacs and all the other
vendors must be able to keep up with the requirements of the market. Burritos are products that
can be made in front of the patron and are within the limited parameters of the time patrons are
willing to spend obtaining food.

4.5.2. HETEROGENEITY

An increase in diversity due to Ireland's demand for high-skilled labor is apparent in both
the business park and in the market. The Celtic Tiger brought in much of the needed labor to build
several aspects of the Irish economy. Table 3, exhibits answers after patrons were asked if they
had noticed the Irish culture change in the past ten years, 78% said that Ireland had changed and
22% believed it had not "changed."

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th># of Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

69
Did Not Answer Question | 0 | 0
---|---|---
Total | 9 | 100

One Irish patron, Sarah, who was in her mid-late 20s, noted "I don't know; I don't think it's changed a lot. Obviously, there's more people, but that's about it. I don't think the [country] or anything has changed." Although she doesn't believe Ireland has "changed," Sarah has noticed an increase in diversity within Ireland. Later in her interview, however, she notes that she does not want to extend individual rights to migrants and limits the boundaries of what is Irish and what is "other" or Non-Irish.

Due to the increase of diversity in Ireland, Non-Irish individuals are aware of how they must present their identity within the boundaries as to what is acceptable for the "migrant other" or risk social rejection. One such requirement or demand for participation in the Irish culture is the ability to speak English. Over half of the Non-Irish vendors/employees knew English before arrival (various levels from just knowing colors to having learned in school), whereas 43% of vendors/employees learned in Ireland, see Table 4. Diana, a 49-year-old Hungarian employee of the Mexican burrito stall, noted that she learned English "on the streets and from [her] family." Most Non-Irish individuals, however, learned English through an English-as-a-second-language school.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th># of Non-Irish Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Non-Irish Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knew Before Arriving</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learned in Ireland</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6. IMMIGRATION

4.6.1. GLOBAL MIGRATION

When Irish patrons were asked to describe what it means to be "Irish," answers included "craic" (easy going), humor, personality, pride, and accent. The responses were too limited to quantify this opinion. When asked about migration and how immigration has affected Ireland, most interviewees, 67%, noted that the immigration situation in Ireland was a positive thing. However, 33% stated it was positive, but were skeptical of migrants in the country as working or contributing to the Irish culture, Table 5. Also, 89% of Irish patrons also noted that they perceived most migrants were living off social welfare while in Ireland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Opinion</th>
<th># of Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Positive, but have reservations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Irish vendors and employees stated that they were pushed or pulled to Ireland for very specific reasons. Over 71% of Non-Irish vendors/employees noted that Ireland was their first choice when migrating, but of the other 29%, 21% initially wanted to go to England and 7% wanted to go to Germany. Table 6 shows that 64% of migrants noted in their interviews, they wanted to work. Additionally, the economic factor (of Ireland being cheaper) was a pull factor for 43% of Non-Irish vendors and employees. Family and friends within Ireland were social pull factors mentioned by 36% of migrants. Over 20% of informants had family within Ireland before immigrating. Whereas, Table 7 shows the push factors for leaving included the lack of work in the country of origin (43%), and violence (21%). Migrants moved into Ireland because they believed...
that they would be able to improve themselves either socially (by learning English) or economically (by gaining employment)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pull Factors</th>
<th># of Non-Irish Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Non-Irish Informants mentioning Pull Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adventure</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family or Friends</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low Cost</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opportunity</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visa</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learn English</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Push Factors</th>
<th># of Non-Irish Informants</th>
<th>Percentage of Non-Irish Informants mentioning Push Factors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of Work</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violence</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.6.2. THE “IMMIGRATION EFFECT”

Immigration has led to an increased perceived fear of migrants, as seen through the Irish patron responses to several questions regarding immigrants and their contributions to Irish culture. Table 8 below shows the Irish patron response when asked their opinion of the European Migrant Crisis; 56% of Irish informants noted that it was negative and 33% of Non-Irish individuals had reservations of refugees coming into Ireland.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th># of Informants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Negative, but had reservations</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer Question</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A 28-year-old Irish male who works in sales, John, expressed his reservations of refugees by stating:

I completely understand where they're coming from—their country's completely war-stricken. Uhm, and, yeah. I think it does have to be closely monitored because it would be very easy to—I mean, let's say ISIS to infiltrate countries, sort of disguising as [an] immigrant. But, I don't think you can just shut the door and just forget about them.

Most Irish patrons held reservations about refugees coming into Ireland, mirroring John's sentiment of the deceitful migrant. The European Migrant Crisis has led to increased perceived fears of migrants arriving in Ireland, threatening social, political, and economic aspects of the Irish lifestyle. When asked for the individual's opinion on extending EU rights to migrants within Ireland, 56% agreed, whereas 22% did not think migrants should have all rights extended to them, and 22% did not answer the question (see Table 9). One Irish informant, Sarah, noted the negative
repercussions of extending rights to migrants, "well I mean if they were coming and they automatically had everything we had, they'd be able to go on the dole or whatever and I think that would be unfair." However, others noted that rights should be extended, but should not include social welfare. Also, 56% of informants agreed that all migrants should have access to Irish citizenship (whereas 44% did not answer the question or implied that they agreed), see Table 10. This exhibits a paradox between what Irish individuals imagine to be acceptable and the pragmatic response to an increase in immigration.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 9: Irish Patron Opinion on Extending EU Rights to Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 10: Irish Patron Opinion on Extending Irish Citizenship to Migrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Opinion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Did Not Answer Question</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Non-Irish vendors and employees are especially aware of the welcoming/unwelcoming contradiction. Table 11 exhibits the Non-Irish vendor and employee response when asked if they had experienced negative treatment while working in the market, 36% expressed negative treatment inside the market and 57% responded they hadn't (7% did not answer the question).
In contrast, outside of the market, 78% experienced adverse treatment. This could be, as Andrew stated with a low tone, because "[the patrons] know how to hide it better." I asked Oscar, a Brazilian-Italian employee of the Fish and Chips stall, about a time when he experienced some racism in the market. When asked if this was a common occurrence, however, Oscar firmly replied "no." Although negative experiences are not a common occurrence, migrants use their social networks, such as family and friends, to better understand and work through transitioning into the Irish social structures. While in Ireland, however, a majority (71%) of migrants used or were part of or active in a community composed of their nationality within Ireland. However, 21% those who are active in such communities had problems with or did not want to be a part of such communities (see Table 12). Additionally, I observed the patrons frequently interacting with each other before and after the market.
Table 12: Non-Irish Informant Response to Being Active in a Community of their Nationality in Ireland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th># of Informants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, but doesn’t like the Community</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N/A</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.7. FOOD

4.7.1. REPRESENTATION

As mentioned above, Irish patrons noted how often they had frequented different stalls. In the market, 55% of Irish patrons said Fish and Chips, with Mexican burritos, Japanese sushi, Italian pasta, Spanish paella all mentioned by patrons. One patron, John, noted that even though he had not tried the South Indian food, it was next on his list. All patrons had a general knowledge of the types of food in the market.

Non-Irish informants used food as a tool of negotiation while in the market. Table 13 shows that when asked if they interacted with someone of a different nationality, 35% of Non-Irish informants noted they interacted with someone of a different nationality "every day," while 42% of informants noted a high frequency of communicating with an individual of a different nationality. Additionally, as mentioned above, 100% of the vendors said that they had to change their menu in some way for their food to sell better in the market.
4.7.2. BRIDGING

Irish patrons used the food sold in the market as a bridge to renegotiate and reaffirm the Irish identity. Irish patrons seemed eager to try new foods, with 89% of them noting that they were willing to try new foods when presented with the option. Also, of the Irish patrons interviewed, 88% were under the age of 31, and 89% had at least an undergraduate degree, whereas 11%, instead, had vocational training (see Table 1). Both the younger age and higher education rate are appropriate for the business park composition, due to the market demand for higher skilled (and educated) workers in the technology and sales sector (Donovan and Murphy 2013).

Non-Irish vendors and employees use food to bridge gaps between them and the Irish patrons. Non-Irish individuals connected with Irish patrons using food as a tool, regardless of what kind of food they were selling. Over 60% of Non-Irish vendors and employees interviewed sold food that did not originate in their place of origin. When asked if either the vendors or the employees had a "close tie with the food," 57% responded yes, whereas 42% answered that they did not feel a strong relationship to the food they sell (see Table 14).
Table 14: Non-Irish Informant Response to Having a Close Tie with the Food They Sell

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Response</th>
<th># of Informants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yes</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>57.14285714</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>42.85714286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Bartal, the 36-year-old Hungarian owner of the German Bratwurst stall, said that he felt close to the food he sells because his grandmother was German, he notes "I really like the German foods and the Hungarian foods, they're really similar." Bartal enjoys the food he sells, even though it is not Hungarian food.

4.8. PLACE

4.8.1. ETHNOSITE

Analysis of the theme of place depends on fieldnotes to describe the interactions between Irish and Non-Irish individuals within the market. Ethnosites are spaces that promote intercultural exchange. The function of the space the market resides in depends on those who are within it. For Irish patrons, 22% went to the market at least once a month, 33% went at least twice a month, and 44% of Irish informants went four times a month.

Table 15: Irish Patron Market Frequency Per Month

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency (# of times per month)</th>
<th># of Irish Informants</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A majority of Irish patrons attend the market every week. However, this shows that the market is constituted of different individuals each week. For Non-Irish, the market is a way to make money and all stalls set up in the market every week.

4.8.2. ARTIFICIALLY CONSTRUCTED COMMUNITY

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The market is a local expression of how Ireland interacts with the rest of the world. The diversity of the market is composed of those who can frequent it. The market is an extension of the business park, which is isolated from the rest of Dublin. The composition of the market reflects how the market will interact and exchange cultures. Both Irish and Non-Irish expect their interactions and experience of the market to be a certain way. For example, Non-Irish employees and vendors expect most patrons to act in a specific way because the patron chooses to go to the market. The community only assembles once a week, and the actors within it change more frequently than not because of work schedules (for employees) and preference as well as the financial ability to purchase food from the market. The market itself is unique, seen by some as an ordinary (habitual) space for the preparation, exchange, and consumption of goods. This, however, represents the localized expression of how Ireland has reacted in the past and continues to respond to increased immigration. Data collection and analysis of this space is significant in understanding the interactions, relationships, and experiences of interacting with the other as based on culinary and cultural exchange.

In addition to presenting the quantitative analysis of the qualitative data, this chapter has given an overview of the theoretical grounding in ethnography and anthropology, detailed the research process pre-field to post-field analysis, and how I analyzed the data collected. Next, I engage with both the scholarship from Chapter 3 and the quantitative and qualitative data as presented in this chapter to analyze and synthesize the data by theme.
CHAPTER V
DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter illustrates an analysis of what was observed and recorded at the market including interactions, fieldnotes, and interviews. First, I describe how cultural hybridity, or the intersection between two cultures, has challenged how Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees perform and negotiate their identities while in the market. I demonstrate how cultural contact has shaped the Irish experience and interactions as a performance of power and dominance in the market. Then, I illustrate how Non-Irish vendors interact with the Irish cultural norms to renegotiate their identity to become successful entrepreneurs.

Second, I describe how Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees react to global migration and the impact on cultural and legislative restrictions by the Irish on the Non-Irish. I use the example of what an Irish patron expects from a migrant to integrate. I also discuss how migrants use agency during the transmigratory process to renegotiate their identities in their home country. I then examine the impacts of immigration on both the Irish patron's national identity as well as the Non-Irish feeling of belonging. Next, I explain how food establishes a relationship between the Irish and Non-Irish. I give the example of the consumption of Non-Irish food as representative of the exposure and appropriation of the Non-Irish identity. In this subsection, however, I demonstrate how the Non-Irish use their foods to renegotiate and navigate the social structure of the market.
Third, I describe how the Irish use food to both renegotiate and reaffirm their identity within the changing Irish landscape. I illustrate the Irish use of exotic food as a symbol of status and dominance over the Non-Irish vendor or employee. I also demonstrate how Non-Irish individuals capitalize and gain success as an authority over Non-Irish foods to gain back agency from and demand recognition within the Irish culture.

Fourth and finally, I describe how the market becomes a place that structures the expectations, interactions, and experiences for patrons as well as vendors and employees. The market represents a space of cultural interchange and for experiencing the "other." The market structures the cultural exchanges and interactions between the Non-Irish vendors and employees as well as the Irish patrons. Particularly, I use the effects of Irish immigration laws and market standards as an example of the localized interaction between two different groups of individuals. I finally illustrate how the market functions as a place of financial and social gain by assembling a community of people who wouldn't normally interact together.

5.1. CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

5.1.1. CROSS-CULTURAL CONTACT

Irish patrons set the market norms, using their position in the market to assert dominance over the identity of Non-Irish individuals. The patron demands a great variety of food offered, consistency of food, and standards of communication. Therefore, the market structure ensures that no two stalls sell the same food. A stall's success depends on the demands of the patron. Irish patrons can consume exotic food in this context without feeling their identity threatened while maintaining their identity as Irish (Lo 2008). Interacting with and consuming food prepared and sold by Non-Irish individuals does not threaten the patrons. When asked, 89% of Irish patrons
responded that they interacted with a Non-Irish individual "every day." These interactions with Non-Irish vendors and employees can go unnoticed by the Irish patrons. The Irish patrons interact with a Non-Irish person every day, and thus the interactions with migrants that are integrated into Irish culture become mundane. However, in a general sense, the Irish patron still feels a perceived threat of the Non-Irish. Irish patrons express their confidence in their identity through their willingness to try different kinds of foods (Roseman 2006), discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

Sean and Adam, Irish patrons both in their mid to late 20s and work in technology sales, discuss having tried a vast majority of the Non-Irish offerings from the market, see Figure 16 below.

Figure 16.  IRISH PATRONS SEAN AND ADAM, 24 AND 28. ADAM GIVES A THUMBS UP AFTER THEIR INTERVIEW.

Sean specifically says he doesn't go back to the same stall every week, but that he rotates through a variety of stalls. He notes, "like, I got fish and chip bout two months out, but next week chances are I'll probably get a burrito or something." Adam agreed with Sean that he had tried up to 90% of the food in the market, but he stated that even though he had tried the food, he didn't
necessarily enjoy it. Drawing from the literature, both Sean and Adam are asserting their dominance through the practice of consuming many different cuisines at various times, embodying "culinary tourism," which I analyze later in this chapter. Ashcroft and Bevir (2016) argue that power comes from embracing pluralism on a certain level while maintaining the power of one's national identity. Johnston and Baumann (2010) describe this use of food as an illustration of power dynamics between the two actors, in this case, Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors. Because patrons set the cultural norms, they hold more power. Additionally, the Irish have a mutable identity that they renegotiate as a result from prolonged face-to-face contact with other cultures. Such contact increases the potential for exchange and appropriation of the "other" (Roseman 2006; Sahlins 1981). Patrons feel confident enough in their identity that when they are met with cross-cultural contact, they can interact with the other culture while maintaining their identity (Gabaccia 1998; Lo 2008).

Non-Irish vendors' financial success depends on their adjustment to the cultural norms of the market. Each stall caters to the particular clientele and produces a product that directly results from the market requirements. For example, Marijanna, the owner of a vegetarian and juice stall, explains how she changed her food to meet the demands for a quick product. She brought her idea for burgers with vegan cheese made of cashews and a burger patty that tastes like duck, however, it was too labor intensive to get to the patron quickly. Marijanna notes that the proprietor of the markets, Robin, told her that she needed a quick product, or her food wouldn't sell.

He told me what I [needed]…a quick product and [then] I can do whatever I want, but it has to be quick so I can serve many people within a short period of time…. Robin told it to me—so, then, I thought about salads and burgers. That came to-that's the first thing that came to my mind. So, I—there were no cheese and no patty,
but that's what he tried, and that's how I got into market, yeah… no, no, no. He told me, like, I have to sell my menus—to think about this and like, you know. So I came up with the burgers and with the salads. Like, there are so many other burgers I could make and so many other stuff I could do, but not in the market, there is no crowd out there for that.

Marijanna altered the food she wanted to sell at the market to the norms of the market and the demands of the clientele. She would not be able to sell her product if there was not a request for vegetarian food. See Figure 17 for an example of Marijanna’s Vegetarian Burgers.

Figure 17. **Example of Market Food.** Marijanna’s Vegetarian Style Burgers on Display for Patrons with a Market-Made Salad in the Background.

As Edge, Engelhardt, and Ownby (2013) contend, food, as an identity becomes fractured and reconceived, reflects a changing environment. The patron typically only has between 30 minutes to an hour for lunch, which means that the food patrons buy must both be in their price range and quickly prepared. Marijanna's modification of her food to the market requires her to have a quick and attractive product to profit from her business. Since opening her stall one year ago, she has built a solid customer base and has expanded her business to service two other markets during the week. Marijanna's experience illustrates the process of how food becomes a representation of place, as described by Morasso and Zittoun (2014). They write, "Food, as a malleable symbolic
resource, is fed with other symbolic resources and experience, and evolve[s] together with the individual migrant's preferences and experiences" (Morasso and Zittoun 2014: 36). Marijanna and all the other five (6 in total) Non-Irish vendors in the market adjusted their menu to reflect the environment of the patron's lifestyle. The requirements for food presentation indicate the power of the Irish patron. Therefore, vendors must comply with such demands and adjust their menu or risk failure in the market.

5.1.2. HETEROGENEITY

Irish patrons recognize the changing social, economic, and political landscapes and therefore construct their identity by marking themselves as culturally different from the "migrant other." Due to the interaction among the various nationalities in the technology industry and increased diversity, Ireland has struggled with how to absorb the plethora of new nationalities within its borders.

Irish patrons recognize the changing social, economic, and political landscapes and therefore construct their identity by marking themselves as culturally different from the "migrant other." Ireland needs both high and low skilled labor required for a booming economy, the country has difficulty with a changing culture (Bushin and White 2010; Johns 2013; Kline 2004; Mutwarasibo 2005). The heterogeneity of the market promotes an exchange in cultural attributes; however, it also disrupts the composition of Irish national identity. For example, Eric, Amanda, John, Adam, and Sean discuss the amount of diversity at the market while sitting on bean bags in the separate seating area a quarter of a mile away from the market (See Figures 11 and 12). Eric emphasizes the increased number of Eastern Europeans into lower class jobs, specifically construction, who remained in Ireland after the fall of the Celtic Tiger. Amanda, on the other hand,
notes the current influx of migrants into the technology and business sector, remarking that businesses are "interlinked to immigration of Europeans… [because] all of the European headquarters [are] here. It's kind of made [Dublin] a more modern city than it was." Amanda remarks on the visible change in the demographic when she equates diversity of the city with modernity of the country. Heterogeneity exists in the market due to both intra- and outside-European migration and effects both Irish and Non-Irish experiences of the market. Not only have Eric and Amanda noticed the changing demographic around them, as Loyal (2011) argues, an increase in heterogeneity generates contextually based effects to the hosting country. In Ireland, diversity extends from social demographic changes to both the economic and political (as well as socio-psychological) realms (187). When asked if they had noticed whether Irish culture had changed in the past ten years, 89% of Irish patrons acknowledged a change. The example of migrants in the labor market, as well as Amanda's comments regarding the modernity of Dublin, illustrates the intersectionality of socio-demographic, economic, and politically based changes to the Irish culture. The exchanges within the market, as Lo (2008) explains, "function as important markers of cultural identity providing insights into social changes, power relations, class structures, gender roles, and national ideologies, especially in our globalizing society" (56). Those who attend the market represent Ireland's role in the global system through technological and migratory expansion.
Irish patrons construct their identity through interpersonal differentiations, or the recognition of the self in contrast to that of the "migrant other" to establish boundaries between Irish and migrant identities (La Barbera 2014: 2; Mutwarasibo 2005; Ruggiu 2014). The distinction between the Irish and the "migrant other" have become more apparent since Ireland transitioned from a place of emigration and homogeneity (Pre-Celtic Tiger) to one of immigration and heterogeneity during the Celtic Tiger (Garner 2007, Muñoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010; Mutwarasibo 2005). Mutwarasibo (2005) notes a two-fold creation of such an "other" (he refers to migrants perceived as the "ultimate other"), through self-identification as well as categorization (also see La Barbera 2014). Patrons self-identify as Irish by systematically classifying other nationalities as different from them (Ferrante 2014). A phenomenon also seen in other Irish patron interviews when Rory describes the Polish as doing "a lot of work. They do a lot of work." Her co-worker, Sarah, follows this up by noting, "Yeah, they're good at trades. I think more so than the
Irish. And good work ethic as well." Although both women praise the Polish for having a strong work ethic, they categorize them as a category distinct from the Irish. As noted previously, in addition to Loyal (2011), Eger (2010) argues, "increasing ethnic heterogeneity makes real and perceived differences more salient" (205). Rory and Sarah illustrate how the Irish have constructed the concept of "good/wanted" and "bad/unwanted" migrants. By such, Rory and Sarah use an imaginary framework of what cultural elements Non-Irish must have to function in the Irish culture. Irish individuals perceive Non-Irish as unable to meet such requirements, like Rory's "hard worker" standard, as "bad" and incompatible with their culture (Viola 2014: 30). However, such requirements are often vague and based on the fear of the other culture as destroying the host country's culture. Amanda and Eric also note the increased visible demographic changes in the everyday practices of the city, but as I will show in the upcoming pages, such changes reach beyond that of pure demographic shifts.

Figure 19. Irish female patrons Rory, Sarah, and Emma (from L to R). They eat during their interview.
Non-Irish vendors and employees reconstruct and present their identity through the lens of perceived Irish values. When moving, migrants acknowledge that their identity will change because of their interaction with their new host culture (La Barbera 2014). Non-Irish vendors and employees must present this hybrid in the standard for communication between patrons and vendors/employees, the English language. The use of the language establishes a similarity between Non-Irish vendors/employees and Irish patrons, and it creates a way for the Non-Irish to participate in the market. Over half of the Non-Irish vendors/employees knew English before arrival (various levels from just knowing colors to having learned in school), whereas 43% of vendors/employees learned in Ireland (either through an English language school or "on the streets"). As Roseman (2006) notes, during acculturation, behavioral changes such as learning or practicing the culturally dominant language articulates the hybridity of a migrant into a new culture (9).

Transactions between the Irish patron and Non-Irish vendor or employee take place in English, but English is not the only language used in the market. As Alyssa notes, languages spoken between Non-Irish vendors and employees can be different for those not of the same non-English speaking nationality. The use of several languages at the market, however, shows the frequency that a Non-Irish vendors and employees fluctuate between cultures to bring the stall success. Non-Irish vendors and employees do not always present the same identity but choose to what aspects of their identity to show to Irish patrons as well as their co-workers. The market offers a space for Non-Irish individuals to practice their English language skills because they could communicate with Irish people. A Non-Irish individual using several languages while in the market exemplifies Ashcroft and Bevir's (2016) use of pluralism. The necessity of the English language creates a binary of identities for Non-Irish individuals who must present their hybrid identity—as both a migrant in Ireland and a representative of their place of origin—to patrons in
English. Such a necessity exemplifies what Gabaccia (1998) and others note, host countries encourage migrants to leave their foodways and their identities behind. However, as Alyssa shows, in the private space inside the tent, they can also be Brazilian by speaking Portuguese. However, a stall may employ individuals of different nationalities; therefore, such a phenomenon may not be consistent throughout the market.

Those unable to communicate in English while in the market have a disadvantage to hybridizing with the Irish culture. For example, while interviewing Non-Irish individuals at the Brazilian BBQ stall before the market began, I was unable to interview three of the four employees because they did not speak English. During the market, only Alyssa and Maria [the Brazilian owner of the stall] talked with the customers, while those who cannot instead prepare the food. Those Non-Irish employees who do not speak English, become culturally marked as not yet acculturated into the culture and pose a potential threat to the Irish. Those who cannot speak English often fill the role of cooks, who do not interact with the patron. Alyssa's example of speaking English exemplifies the necessity of those Non-Irish individuals to speak English to be successful in communicating with patrons and ultimately making a profit in the market. LaBarbera (2014) notes that "markers create and define the boundaries that distinguish similarities and differences. The language, dress, behavior, and occupation of space used for the purpose of identification are largely visible markers of identity" (6). The use of the English language is required for identity performance for the opposing group. Non-Irish vendors/employees create a similarity with the Irish patron by performing their Non-Irish identity in English while re-affirming their Non-Irish identity to other employees in their home language. The simultaneous use of both English and their native language marks cultural hybridization because it allows Non-Irish vendors/employees to perform both identities.
5.2. IMMIGRATION

5.2.1. GLOBAL MIGRATION

Ireland has a paradoxical relationship with its globalized identity. Although most Irish people embrace global influences, within the market, Irish patrons create borders around the definition of their national identity. An increase in immigration and diversity into a country threatens the definition of national identity and even promotes a division and stigma against increased diversity (Bushin and White 2010; Ferrante 2014; Garner 2007; Green et al. 2011; Smith and Winders 2007).

The composition of a national identity is often difficult to define; however, it becomes easier to differentiate one's national identity regarding what it is not. When asked off the cuff, all Irish patrons could casually give a definition of the characteristics of "Irish-ness," including traits like humor, pride, personality, and accent. Adam discussed what it means to be Irish, laughing at the complexity of what defines his identity:

Uh, basically pride. Ehm, the country always gets behind, like we're the underdogs nine out of ten times in every sport so the country always gets behind the team, I suppose. Ehm, green—potatoes, potato crisps, I don't know. [laughs] St. Patrick's Day.

Such a discussion would, most often, led to patrons defining what was necessary for migrants to acculturate or be a part of Irish culture. Such debates were more animated and severe:

Sean: If [migrants are] willing to work hard, like, and go out and like, and are willing to earn a good day's pay, they're accepted for what they are like. I don't think any people have any issues with that. I think there is a kind of
issue where some people feel where some people kinda--

Adam: Don't make an effort.

Sean: Don't make an effort to try and gain employment or are trying to gain social welfare—when they might be entitled to it--- where, whereas if people are coming off to work internationally. Earn a day's wages people are pretty happy, I think.

Additionally, Adam noted that migrants coming into Ireland should have an open-mindedness to the Irish culture, thereby conveying that migrants must acculturate into his society to have success within their new home. Adam notes:

if [immigrants] come over here with an open mind to take on the Irish culture, ehm, where the country of— probably the best sense of humor of all the European countries, so I mean like, if you come over here and have a mind for humor… uh yeah [immigrants should be allowed in Ireland]. But, if they come over here with [the] mind that they're willing to work, and they're willing to engage with us. Yeah, I have no problem with it, no.

The discussion between Adam and Sean epitomizes the paradoxical relationship between Irish encouragement and recognition of needing labor and the discouragement of expressing the Non-Irish identity. They place boundaries around what "Irish-ness" means and then physically isolate themselves away from Non-Irish people. Higher immigration, as Herreros and Criado (2009) argue, causes a decrease in social trust between the host country and migrants. Irish patrons’ decreasing social trust of migrants results in an increase of perceived threat of the migrant. A negative narrative about migrants permeates the Irish culture, in extending what Bushin and White (2010) argue, through a national discourse surrounding migration as problematic (they note
specifically young people, but this extends to all ages). Additionally, a majority, 89%, of Irish informants mentioned that they perceived migrants as living off social welfare instead of working. Irish patrons are fearful that migrants will arrive in Ireland and not contribute or pay into the welfare state by creating a perceived threat that migrants take social welfare. Smith and Winders (2007) argue heterogeneity has created a source of disputes as immigrants choose to push back against negative treatment in their host country. Of those interviewed, 67% noted that the immigration situation in Ireland was a positive thing; however, 33% did note that their skepticism of migrants in the country as working or contributing to the Irish culture. For example, Adam and Sean argue they will only consider a migrant as functioning in the Irish culture only if that migrant is "willing to work."

Loyal (2011) notes that during the Celtic Tiger the population increased by 18 percent, the highest of all 27 EU countries. Bushin and White (2010), however, take from Boucher and Samad (2008) when they note that Ireland has a "paradoxical nature [with] migration and integration—[by] promoting respect for cultural difference, whilst encouraging immigration by those deemed similar to the Irish population" (2010: 171). Ireland, as a country, was encouraging immigration, but systematically keeping out any migrant that they deemed "deceitful." During the 1990s prosperity of the technology and pharmaceutical industries (Kline 2004), Ireland's economy and the need for labor skyrocketed as the number of jobs doubled. Labor migrants both legal and illegal entered the country. However, when the Celtic Tiger began to diminish and ultimately crashed in the mid-2000s, the political and economic stability of Ireland was again shaken. Adam and Sean's concept of how migrants should integrate into the Irish society expresses residual feelings from the post-Celtic Tiger economic devastation, which, as Garner (2007) notes, sparked many hegemonic ideas of national identity, racial purity, and security, thereby increasing daily hostility.
Amanda, John, and Adam, who all work together, commented on their seating arrangement and its importance within their national identity and acceptance of other nationalities. Amanda says that they all work on the same floor, in the same company. John then quickly adds that "see, we try to get away from [our Non-Irish co-workers]." Then, riding on the tails of both Amanda and John, Adam adds, "that's why we're here—all together." All five of them then laugh, but they felt the need to separate themselves from Non-Irish individuals physically. Although Adam said in the previous excerpt that immigrants need to have a willingness to engage with the Irish, in this passage, Adam jokes that he wants to get away from the migrants within his office. Adam's contradictory reactions to migrants and the Irish identity illustrates the tension that Green et al. (2011) note. This tension occurs between threats to livelihood and confidence in identity. Although this does not mean that they do not associate with or hang out with Non-Irish individuals, their comments (especially while Eric, John, and Amanda eat) about escaping their Non-Irish colleagues grant such an assumption. The comments from the group of Irish patrons above, although not directed towards any one person, exemplify indirect mistrust of migrants. The comments from Amanda, John, and Adam illustrate Garner's (2007) argument that opening borders opens the door for a greater amount of daily hostility towards migrants.

Non-Irish vendors and employees, however, gain agency through their negotiations between push and pull factors. Regardless of origin, vendors and employees were attracted by economic opportunities in Ireland and for social reasons, such as learning English. Over 71% of Non-Irish vendors/employees noted that Ireland was their first choice when migrating, but of the other 29%, 21% initially wanted to go to England and 7% wanted to go to Germany. Pull factors, or reasons for migrating to a specific place, include economic opportunity and reuniting with
friends and family. Many Non-Irish vendors/employees (64% of migrants interviewed) chose Ireland because they wanted to work. Also, 36% of migrants noted social factors, including reuniting with family and friends. For example, Alyssa, the Brazilian employee, describes her reasoning for coming to Ireland as being both economic and political. It was a cheaper option and Brazilians can obtain a work/study visa with relative ease. She remarks that it is easier to go to Ireland than to go to the US or Canada. Global political and economic forces drive voluntary labor migration from countries with fewer opportunities to those that have more (Fargues 2016). Rafael Muñoz de Bustillo and José Ignacio Antón (2010) write that areas with traditionally low unemployment rates were optimal spots for both intra and outside-EU migration. During migration, immigrants move to a host country to meet their specific needs. Coupled with what Jari Kaivo-oja (2014) argues—that the EU created a demand for high-skilled labor by putting the fewest restrictions on the group—this illustrates how public policy was used to limit migration. Additionally, Kaivo-oja argues that those countries that have outside borders of the EU, like Ireland, have a greater likelihood of having "major problems in immigration policy" (2014: 69).

An increase of high-skilled and low-skilled labor from both inside and outside of Europe causes Ireland to question national security, welfare, and integration of migrants (Fargues 2016; Muñoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010; Kaivo-oja 2014). The choice to voluntarily move allows migrants to maintain agency while re-negotiating their identity in their host country (Al-Rebholz 2014: 69). Specifically, during the Celtic Tiger, a period of substantial labor market growth, the high demand for labor opened a pathway for mass movement of high and low skilled workers (Johns 2013; Kline 2004; Muñoz de Bustillo and Anton 2010).

Migrants often use social and kinship networks to guarantee a smooth transition into a host country. Diana, a Hungarian employee of the Mexican stall, notes that the factors pulling her to
Ireland included familial ties as well as economic opportunities available. She notes that she was pulled to reunite with family as well as pushed out to find employment in another country:

I just followed the family because my daughter, uh, finished school and came to Ireland because she didn't get, did get the job and we have no money for the— for the college. That's why, uh, that's why she came to Ireland, and half a year later, my husband followed my daughter because, uh, the money. We have four kids, and the money is not really enough, that's why my husband tried to follow my—my elder daughter and uh and after a year, me and my younger daughter followed my husband… In Hungary the— the life is beautiful. Everything is very nice, the weather, the— the cities, uh everything. Just, uh, no—no money. No job, no money. This is the problem. Some people is very rich, and some people is very poor. No middle, that's the problem at the moment in Hungary.

In this case, Diana used the pre-existing kinship network as well as the economic opportunities in her choice to move to Ireland (see de Haas 2010 as well as Choldin 1973). However, because she lives outside the city center, her network does not include a community of Hungarian individuals. Only 14% of informants had family within Ireland before moving. An overall lack of Hungarian network support diminishes Diana's sense of belonging while living in Ireland, which makes her want to return home. Unfortunately, Diana is not able to because of the lack of economic opportunity in Hungary. As Vildaitė (2014), drawing from Zubida et al. (2013) notes, "the process of making home and developing the sense of belonging is complex and often entails the juggling of local and transnational attachments" (62). In this example, Diana illustrates her agency over her migration situation because she chose to migrate to a place with a low unemployment rate and because of her kin-network that moved previously.
European and non-European employees and vendors differed in the political and economic reasons that compelled them to leave their places of origin. For, example, Bartal (see Figure 20), the Hungarian owner of the German bratwurst stall, stated that he left Hungary because of the lack of economic opportunity:

I don't know there was—after the construction worsened in Hungary there wasn't too much good works and I wanted good money. Before that, I got good money… and, and I said to myself if I cannot put any money into my account or some really huge holiday or something like that, like a new car or something like that, if I cannot make that, because I could make that when I was 18, 19, 20 years old, but on that years, I could not make it, so that's why I said I have a few [monies], I have to go anywhere. And I can't speak any language, just a bit English that's why I was thinking about England and Ireland. And I spoke with lots of friends living around in Europe, and I choose, okay, Ireland.

Bartal wanted to make more money and have the time to take a vacation, but he felt pushed from Hungary because of the lack of employment opportunities there. Bartal's reason for leaving was a common push factor for migrating, financial—he could not find work, a lingering reminder of the recession in Hungary. The top push factors included the lack of work in the country of origin (43%), while violence (21%) was also a contributing factor for leaving their place of origin.
Push factors or reasons to leave a place of origin for non-European based vendors/employees include political factors such as violence. For example, Maria and Alyssa, both Brazilian, discuss the violence in Brazil. When prompted, Alyssa said while living in Ireland, she is safe, a reason why she likes living in Ireland over Brazil. Maria also discussed the gang and street violence that concerned her on a regular basis in Brazil. When asked to give an example, they began a dialogue recalling the need for two cellphones in Brazil, a cheaper one to use on the street and a nicer one for "apps and everything." Maria jokingly noted that she had a gun pulled on her three times, once with her father while dining at a restaurant. Maria has now married an Irish man and wants to spend most of her life in Ireland, as does Alyssa. However, Alyssa will be forced to return to Brazil after her visa expires. Alyssa and Maria said that violence was a factor that pushed them from Brazil, both feeling safer in Ireland due to Ireland's restrictive gun laws.

5.2.2. THE “IMMIGRATION EFFECT”

An increase in the perceived threat of migrants as well as weakening national identity extends validity to the Irish use of the social categories of "us" and "them." All European (both Irish and Non-Irish) informants commented on their fear of the other, in this case, the "deceitful
migrant." Sean and Adam discuss the European Migrant Crisis and the threat of the "other" as well as the need for tight vetting processes:

Sean: Obviously there needs to be some kind of process, kinda, to allow them in, but there is definitely space and places across Europe as well...

Adam: [at the same time as Sean] There is a big panic about Muslims coming over to this country, and I mean--Into Ireland, yeah, but 90% of them are families that are willing to come over here and move away from war-torn countries. Well, I'd say 95% of them are...

Sean: More than that!

Adam: Oh, more than that even, but it's just the one percent, two percent that are involved with terrorism, like that are slipping through the crack that are coming over here. That's the worry, but the 98% that are here just to escape their war-torn countries and their war-torn capitals, by all means, come over, do you know what I mean? That's—It's just setting up, they have to set up some sort of… Vetting process, I suppose. But, how do you do that when you don't have passports, and you don't have anything. So, like, it's hard to determine that, I suppose...

Sean and Adam recognize the worsening conditions in Syria and the Middle East but doubt that every refugee only wants to flee and does not have ulterior motives. For the Irish patrons, 56% said that the European Migrant Crisis was bad for the migrants and 33% had reservations about migrants (voluntary or other). There resides a greater fear of the intentions of the migrant, regardless of status as a refugee or as a voluntary economic migrant. Such fear becomes a grounds for questioning the motives of all migrants. Sean and Adam again show this through the
commentary of migrants (both European and Non-European) arriving in Ireland and refusing to work:

Sean: Like, you don't want someone coming over here and sponging the money off social welfare. If someone is willing to go out and look for a job then yeah, fair enough, they deserve it. But, like, we don't want to be paying taxes, and then somebody gets off a plane from anywhere in the world and says ‘ah, I actually don't want to work, I'll just take their money', it's just a bit frustrating...

Adam: We do have a very lax social welfare system, which makes it very easy to claim off the government. Very easily.

Sean: The laws—like there are a lot of stories that like those families from like Eastern Europe that would fly back from Eastern Europe once a month, like the father would be here on full social welfare, and he was living in Poland, and he would fly back or fly over here and claim the social welfare and fly back because it was worth it to him.

Sean and Adam extend the category of the deceitful migrant to all who have the potential of migrating to Ireland and, in turn, create a "them" category that extends to any status of migrant. The perceived threat of migrants moving into Ireland is predicated on the high unemployment rates that followed during the recession. They extend their reservations towards migrants. The perceived threat of the deceitful migrant makes the migrant a scapegoat for fear of losing Irish national identity. Garner (2007), Green et al. (2011), and Johns (2013) argue that it is not only political and economic instability in the hosting country which increases anti-migrant rhetoric but also increased migration during times of political and economic stability. The perceived threat of potential
political and economic instability as triggered by mass immigration (a lack of jobs available to Irish citizens, a weakening national identity) increases demand for legislation controlling the flow of migrants.

The perceived threat of immigrants and deceitful migrants has evoked social control through an economic and political response by the Irish populace and government. All Irish patrons believe that there should be a limitation or boundaries regarding migration into Ireland. More than anything, the Irish feared migrants arriving in Ireland and subsequently refusing to work, instead of collecting a social welfare check. Most Irish patrons acknowledge that many migrants work hard. However, they prefer their people do the work (even though immigrants often work jobs deemed insufficient for the culturally dominant demographic of the host nation). Rory and Sarah express that through their discussion of controlling the rights extended towards Non-Irish to become citizens, and they agreed that migrants do a great amount of hard work. However, they did not wish to extend all rights that citizens receive within Ireland, specifically social welfare. Sarah notes, "well I mean if they were coming and they automatically had everything we had, they'd be able to go on the dole or whatever and I think that would be unfair." Rory agrees with her in the sense that even though they pay into the welfare system, migrants should not be able to take from it.

Amanda and Eric specifically, exhibit the perceived threat of the deceitful migrant accepting non-contributory state pensions while discussing why people migrate to Ireland. This group of Irish patrons noted that mostly Europeans migrate to Ireland, but have issues with migrants from outside of Europe immigrating. Amanda notes, "so many Brazilians. Like a visa thing they can get to—a really easy visa card. So they can study for whatever." Eric follows up by saying that with the visa they can work "20 hours a week or something like that." Then Amanda
clarifies for him, "Yeah, and then work for two years." Amanda, John, Adam, and Eric express their skepticism of all migrants either refusing to work or overextending their student worker visas. The group prefers Europeans rather than those from outside Europe. Amanda, John, and Eric exemplify the perceived threat of migrants coming in and taking from Irish. Burroughs (2015) explains that the rapidly increasing prevalence of this sentiment in the past 20 years is due to the dissemination of skepticism about the immigration process. Burroughs notes that the culturally dominant demographic of strong welfare countries often deem immigrants, regardless of status, as a perceived threat to the entire welfare state. When asked for the individual's opinion on extending EU rights to migrants within Ireland, 56% agreed that rights should be extended, whereas 22% did not and 22% did not answer the question. The European Migrant Crisis and the Brexit brought out the tension between the movement of individuals (regardless of status) and the Irish patron's desire to control the flow of migration. Irish public policy justifies the use of social stigmatization of migrants to limit rights and citizenship to those who do not integrate well.

The migrant crisis has, as Vick (2015) argues, transitioned into a political crisis by labeling all migrants economic opportunists and labor migrants. Irish responses about extending rights to migrants mirror the concerns of Sean and Adam, as well as Sarah and Rory. John says, "Yeah, yeah, I guess so, yeah. It's some things I dunno. It's some things like, uh, child benefits and the rest of that—maybe, maybe not." Amanda quickly follows his comment up with an animated response, "like if they're just on a working holiday visa, they shouldn't be able to claim social welfare!" John and Amanda note that there should be a restriction for those on a "working holiday visa," but not those EU migrants who can move freely within the EU. Ireland's participation within the EU, as previously discussed, allows for European citizens to move fluidly and work in other areas of the EU, (according to European Communities (Free Movement of Persons) (No. 2) Regulations 2006
(S.I. No. 656 of 2006)). Over half (56%) of Irish patrons agreed that all migrants should have the ability to gain Irish citizenship, while 44% did not answer the question or implied that they agreed. When the concept of outside-EU migrants was brought up in the interview, Amanda, Eric, and John became more animated in their discussion, nodding to each other as a sign of reinforcement and raising their voices as they excitedly discussed the kinds of social restrictions that were necessary for certain migrants. The negative perception of the migrants leads to an increase in legislation that physically blocks who can come into Ireland.

Social control, as exhibited by the Irish patrons above, constructs a standard of "good" and "bad" migrants. In Ireland, migrants must prove themselves as hard-working by contributing to Ireland financially through taxes.

A steady increase in immigration since the Celtic Tiger has caused Ireland to draw boundaries of who can and who cannot identify as Irish. Such restrictions include the 2004 Citizenship Referendum, the Employment Permits Act, and the Immigration, Residency, and Protection Bill of 2008, which, as Bushin and White (2010) argue, created a hierarchy of immigrants that "dehumanize migrants and deny the realities of their everyday lives" (171). Most notably, the Citizenship Referendum of 2004 requires that birthright citizenship cannot be granted to those whose parents have not lived in Ireland legally for at least three years. For Brazilians, specifically, their visas require them to go back to Brazil after two years, publicly stating that Ireland does not want Brazilians to claim citizenship Ireland through the student-worker visa program. According to the Irish Department of Justice and Equality's Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Services, gaining citizenship takes five years of legal residence and about $1,200, to apply for citizenship. The high price makes citizenship unattractive and even impossible for some immigrants. Social control through public policy normalizes the powers to grant or retract
citizenship to those not deemed as identifying with the country.

Irish immigration policies limit the Non-Irish vendors’ and employees’ expression and performance of identity. The appealing economic stability and safety within Ireland trigger an increase of immigration from Eastern Europe as well as other parts of the world with a history of economic and political instability. Oscar, the Brazilian-Italian employee of Fish and Chips, described how Irish individuals have become more closed-minded towards immigrants and, although friendly, they socially stigmatized immigrants coming from both outside and inside the EU. Oscar explains this phenomenon:

So, I-I think they [Irish citizens] want[ed] it [immigration] before, when they were in a recession, okay? And then, so they open the door for these students, so these students brought loads of money to the country, and now they want to close the doors. You know, because they took all the money they want and now they want to close. That's happened with Brazilians, though. They are closing doors for-ah-like Latin Americans … yeah, more of culture and the thing is like, if they allowed many people to come in there is no jobs. You know cause it's a small place here, so it's not big enough for many people. But, I don't think it's right just to close the door, and that's it, you know?

As Oscar acknowledges in his interview, with the influx of migrants (specifically, Brazilian migrants) into Ireland, the Irish recognized the potential after-effects of immigration and began changing their legislation and immigration policies. Other Non-Irish vendors and employees noted such a sentiment, 35% expressed negative treatment inside the market, and 57% responded they hadn't (7% did not answer the question), 78% experienced adverse treatment outside of the market. Ireland wanted and encouraged labor migrants until it felt a threat to national identity (Garner
Oscar, who has been in Ireland for four years, noted the overt rejection the Irish had towards those outside the EU by retelling his own negative experience in the market. Such an experience illustrates the stigmatization placed on immigration in general, but specifically on those individuals who Irish consider to be Non-European. Negative treatment inside the market in addition to restrictive immigration laws in Ireland limit certain expressions of Non-Irish identity (Al-Rebholz 2014). Such perception drives the threat of a weakening national identity and, therefore, a continuing division between migrants and Irish individuals. This, again, goes back to what Bushin and White (2010) discuss, Ireland has created a paradoxical nature of encouraging immigration, but also limiting who or how an individual can migrate or integrate into the Irish culture.

Non-Irish vendors’ and employees’ sense of belonging in Irish culture depends upon the navigation of shifting social structures. The social networks lend support to the Non-Irish vendor/employee to either affirm or reject aspects of the migrant's national identity. The composition of a social network, as well as the level of desire to acculturate into Irish society, limits the amount and kind of support a migrant receives. Anthony, a Brazilian employee who works at the New York Style Street Food stall, discusses his experience with the Brazilian community in Dublin:

…Well in the beginning…I used to-to hang out a lot of foreigners. So, I had a lot of Italian friends here, Spanish here, and South American friends, so. But, now, I just, I have a lot of Brazilian friends…yeah, I live with just Brazilian[s]. But, I used to live with Italians, Australians, but now it's a Brazilian house—eh…

The individual use of social networks to navigate the Irish social structure differs. Some migrants exhibit a greater willingness to shed parts of their national identity, while others do not. Anthony
(see Figure 21) discusses how within the Brazilian population some people purposefully reject the Brazilian community to better acculturate into Irish culture:

…It's like—It's not that we don't like each other, but some people…yeah, some Brazilians avoid each other…a lot of people avoid one another because they come here meet new people and to meet foreign and to study and to improve their English, so I think I think it's the reason to avoid….

This rejection of other Brazilians was discussed by other Non-Irish employees during their interviews, including Oscar, Andrew, and Alyssa. Choldin (1973) notes that social (he says kinship) networks aid in the transition into a new culture; however, I am extending this to not only kinship but friendship as well. A clear majority (71%) of migrants used or were part of a community composed of their nationality in Ireland. However, 21% of those active in such communities had problems with or did not want to be a part of such communities. Brazilians choose to go to Ireland because they can learn English and make money at the same time. As demonstrated by several Brazilian vendors/employees, some individuals desire to shed (and outright reject) certain aspects of the Brazilian identity to acculturate better into Irish culture. The large Brazilian community in Ireland acts to reaffirm the Brazilian identity. However, because of their limited time in Ireland, a percentage of migrants reject aspects of their Brazilian identity to gain the most experience in the short time they are there.
Brazilians, along with other migrant groups, exhibit a sense of belonging when successfully navigating interactions with and expectations of Irish patrons. La Barbera notes that, "belonging emerges from a complex process of appropriation and reinterpretation of social boundaries that depends on whether those who are on the other side of the border may accept or reject the minority group" (2014: 4). Alyssa, for example, wants to connect to Ireland by learning English and said that she no longer watches Brazilian TV programs or cooks Brazilian food at home so she can acculturate into Irish society. However, Alyssa unconsciously uses her Brazilian network through living with other Brazilians and working for a Brazilian BBQ stall. La Barbera continues, arguing, "The Other and the Self are not clearly defined as constant categories, but serve as situational shifting references used in relation to individuals who want to define themselves within the larger interactional context" (La Barbera 2014: 4). The social networks Non-Irish vendors/employees use support while in Ireland, but the composition of the social network and the level of desire to acculturate into Irish society limit the migrant's success. The constant shifting of what determines the other, gives migrants create a network from within, so migrants can navigate the market in a
5.3. FOOD

5.3.1. REPRESENTATION

The interaction and consumption of food from the market acts as a cultural identifier of participation in culinary tourism and colonialism. Irish patrons Rory, Sarah, and Emma frequent the market every week and consume food from the various Non-Irish stalls, but note they eat "normal Irish food." Rory and Emma note that they try different types of food within the market, as Rory notes, "sushi or the pasta or the fish and chips when I change it up." Irish patrons express their cultural flexibility when they choose to consume different types of ethnic foods and then go back home and eat "normal Irish food." Consuming exotic foods in the market exemplifies culinary tourism as Long notes that, "becoming a tourist is a choice, and with that choice there is an implied openness to the new" (2004:21). Long (2004) defines culinary tourism as "the intentional, exploratory participation in the foodways of an other-participation including the consumption, preparation, and presentation of a food item, cuisine, meal system, or eating style considered to belong to a culinary system not one's own." (21). Culinary tourism is the act of borrowing cultural experiences, like eating exotic food, but being able to return home.

Additionally, Bauman (2003) also notes that "the tourist is a conscious and systematic seeker of experience, of a new and different experience, of the experience of difference and novelty—as the joys of the familiar wear off and cease to allure" (29). Bauman (2003) demonstrates that the tourist can go out and consume and try the other and then return to their cultural norms. For example, Rory, Emma, and Sarah express that the market is a place for them to consume different types of food. Specifically, they note that they consume "normal Irish food,"
which they describe as "less exotic," consisting of meat, vegetables, potatoes. When asked to
describe normal or traditional Irish food, "Meat, Potatoes, and Vege" were mentioned five times,
"coddle," a Dublin dish of sausages, bacon, and onions and potatoes, was mentioned twice, "stew"
was mentioned once, and a lack of ethnic food mentioned three times. Irish patrons display what
Bauman (2003) notes: the tourist has a home to which they can return. This means that they can
go out and physically consume the other (Guptill, Copelton, and Lucal 2014) and yet maintain
their Irish identity. The market offers a wide variety of ethnic and exotic foods such as fresh Italian
pasta and Brazilian BBQ, to paella and sushi and provides a space for culinary tourism—a space
for Irish patrons to taste and visit multiple different national cuisine representations. I am using
the concepts found in the literature to make sense of what I saw as an observer. All Irish Patrons
described patronizing several different stalls in their interviews. The fish and chips stall was
mentioned the most, by 55% of Irish Patrons, but many referred to the variety of stalls and foods
that they had frequented (except the patron whose first time it was in the market). Mexican-Style
Burritos, Japanese-Style Sushi, Italian pasta, Brazilian BBQ, Spanish-Style Paella were among
those mentioned by the Irish patrons. As culinary tourists, Irish patrons can consume differing
cultures for an affordable price without having to leave the business park.

Culinary tourism is the act of going out to seek the exotic, whereas culinary colonialism is
the appropriation and transformation of different cuisines. As Heldke (2003) notes, Irish patrons
appropriate food practices to look for the exotic. Returning to the discussion between Amanda,
John, and Adam, they suggested that Irish food was changing because Irish chefs were going places
and "robbing them" of their culinary ideas and "improving on them." Culinary colonialism from
elsewhere changes Irish food, but additionally, demands for exotic foods cause Non-Irish vendors
to change their menus. Amanda, John, and Adam exhibit what Heldke notes: culinary (or as she
refers to it, cultural food) colonialism is the appropriation of food practices, both politically and economically, by a particular group or power (2003:19). More simply put, culinary colonialism is "eating the booty from earlier generations' globe-chasings" (Heldke 2003:163). John, Adam, and Amanda recognize how the Irish appropriate food from other cultures.

As Turgeon and Pastinelli argue, food acts as a mobile symbol, and when culinary traditions move, they are changed, appropriated, and consumed by the hosting society. Bauman (2003) employs Walter Benjamin's concept of the "flâneur" by extending this example; culinary colonialism influences the Irish identity through the ability to absorb and appropriate certain aspects of foreign cuisines. As Bauman notes, "[the flâneur] imagine[s] himself a scriptwriter and a director pulling the strings of other people's lives without damaging or distorting their fate" (2003: 26). The appropriation and absorption of other cultures instantiate the identity of the flâneur (through culinary colonialism). Through the appropriation and consumption of food, Irish patrons accumulate and exchange their social and cultural capital. Such consumption of exotic foods marks an individual's cultural capital (Boutaud, Becut, and Marinescu 2016; Johnston and Murphy 2010), their expression of knowledge and education about other cultures. Irish patrons use the market as an escape from mundane office work by gaining high levels of cultural capital through their consumption of exotic food on their 30-minute lunch break.

Reciprocal acknowledgment between Irish patrons expresses "the relationship of appropriation between an agent and the resources objectively available, and hence the profits they produce, mediates the relationship of (objective and/or subjective) competition between himself and the other processors of capital competing for the same goods in which scarcity—and through social value—is generated" (Bourdieu 1986: 284). Bourdieu's interpretation of reciprocal acknowledgment additionally solidifies the patron's comfort and standing within their Irish
identity. John displays the amount of cultural capital he has when describing what he eats. He notes, "if I have [spice] for dinner, it'd probably be tapas, Mexican, Italian, Thai, Chinese." Adam then responds that he will come over for dinner when John cooks the different kinds of ethnic food. John then uses his cultural capital to try different foods in the market. John and Adam perform their local identity while consuming food from the market. Both patrons use this moment to express their knowledge and cultural capital, which is "required to appreciate…discourse and discern which features of exoticism are worth perusing" (Johnston and Baumann 2010: 104). The amount of cultural capital an individual has influenced how they perform an identity. The context in which John presents his identity through his knowledge and consumption of different foods exhibits that he has deemed those cuisines suitable to consume to maintain an Irish identity. Applying this as Desoucey (2010) argues, suitable or unsuitable consumption categories connect the local identity with the greater national identity. Food as a representation, or commodity of culture, changes as one culture absorbs or appropriates another. For the culturally dominant demographic, such as Irish patrons, the amount of capital elevates their social status within the society and as some argue increases their tolerance towards others. Irish patrons secure their identity as an Irish person by gaining social capital. Whereas, cultural capital allows Irish patrons to present their identity on a global level.

Non-Irish vendors and employees use food as a tool to negotiate interactions with patrons during the market. Bartal, the Hungarian owner of the German Bratwurst stall, discusses how he uses food to negotiate experiences with customers while in the market. He gives an example of a patron who refused to get into the line to buy his food and instead attempts to skip the line by approaching from the other side. Instead of denying service to the patron trying to skip the line, he tries to attend to both the patron in the line and the patron who skips the line. However, Bartal
notices the frustration of those patrons in the legitimate line, and he attempts to ameliorate the situation using food. He notes that:

And after that sometimes you can see who is in the big cue and seeing them like this [upset] and if I saw that—usually I give a free drink or something like that. Enough to where everybody's happy. I think the most important is the hospitality is that the customer has to be happy enough. So, I always try to give and sometimes they ask—can I have just one and a half sausage instead of two. Why not, yeah?

Bartal uses his experiences from previous similar interactions with patrons in the market to structure how he negotiates the above situation. In the example above, Bartal uses food as a tool of negotiation between upset patrons, and he uses habitus to structure and renegotiate how he performs his identity as a Non-Irish vendor. Bartal used previous experiences in the market to navigate and structure his reaction to the current upset patron (Sato et al. 2016). Non-Irish vendors act as "inverted anthropologists" (Ray 2014: 392) through their ability to observe, negotiate, and participate in the market by using cultural norms. Migrants are often characterized as passive in the amount of agency and power they have in a new culture. However, Ray argues that instead of viewing immigrants as "only laboring" (ibid.:389), selling food and owning a restaurant gives immigrants agency and authority. Ray's concept of the "inverted anthropologist" can be applied to the market, as 35% Non-Irish informants noted they interacted with someone of a different nationality "every day," while 42% of interviewees noted the frequency of interacting with an individual of a different nationality. Many migrants interacted with someone who was different than them on a frequent basis and used the results of those interactions and observations in the market. Migrants observe the cultural norms of the host culture and then decide to open a restaurant (or, in this case, a stall) to appease the demand for exotic food and gain agency and identity
Non-Irish vendors and employees use the accumulation of social and cultural capital to display agency and authority over their identity. Citing Ray (2007), Crowther (2013) acknowledges that immigrants have more social and cultural capital when opening a restaurant. Crowther argues that migrants use a social support system in the restaurant business and that those in the host country perceive migrants to have a greater authority and authenticity of the cuisine sold (2013:197). Exchanges reinforce capital and migrants gain it more quickly over time through exchanges. Non-Irish vendors mobilize their perceived identities as authorities of the "foreign" or "other" to capitalize on the Irish desire for "exotic" cuisines. However, Non-Irish vendors and employees must balance the expectations of what Irish individuals deem to be exotic, while still being appealing enough to consume. With globalization, as Toumainen (2009) argues, a certain amount of hybridity takes place before movement, meaning that even before Non-Irish vendors and employees move, they have already accumulated the knowledge and expectations (capital) of what must change to have success in the Irish culture. Therefore, although they must alter the food they sell, successful Non-Irish vendors capitalize on the Irish expectations derived from the presentation of the "exotic" cuisine.

Maria, the Brazilian owner of the Brazilian BBQ stall, noted that she did change the menu due to the limitations of Ireland and the market. Alyssa specifically said, "because in Brazil, we used to eat BBQ, eat beans, a certain kind of beans and we don't sell it. And with farofa [cassava flour mixture] too." The reaction to migration, as Toumainen (2009) argues, differs between each group, however, because 100% of the vendors noted that they changed their foods shows that there was an expectation of change. Although she has altered the menu, Maria capitalizes on her perceived "exoticism" and authority of "exotic" cuisine and in doing so, as Crowther (2013) and
Ray (2014) note, she maintains her agency as a migrant while selling food that is changed to the Irish taste. Maria gains social capital and acknowledgment as a vendor when she sells her Brazilian BBQ and gaining cultural capital with Irish patrons by selling food that appeals to them. The capital she gains aids in Maria being successful in the market while maintaining agency through subverting expectations of Irish patrons and mobilizing her perceived identity and authority over Brazilian food.

5.3.2. BRIDGING

Although Irish patron identity as a tourist or stroller limits their actions within the market, food and consumption patterns can act as a bridge to renegotiate and reaffirm the Irish identity. As presented above, Irish patrons use the market to set boundaries around the composition of the Irish identity; however, the market promotes cross-cultural contact. Of the nine Irish patrons, 89% of them noted that they were willing to try new foods when presented with the option. This exemplifies how individuals who consume exotic foods become more likely to go back and try other exotic foods. When considered in tandem with the increased education level and a young demographic, this finding supports what Roseman (2006), as well as Crowther (2013), Gabaccia (1998), and Guptill, Copelton, and Lucal (2014) argue that such individuals will consistently go out and try different exotic foods. Many Irish patrons interviewed, 88% were under the age of 31. Also, 89% were found to have at least an undergraduate degree, whereas 11% had at least a high school degree. Rochelle Côte and Bonnie H. Erickson (2005) conclude that more educated individuals will increase the diversity of social networks, meaning higher educated people want to consume more diverse cuisines (12). An increase in diversity and exposure to other cultures encourages and drives changes for a diverse food scene (Johnston and Baumann 2010). Working
in an international business park encourages, but does not guarantee, an increased consumption of "exotic" foods. Boutaud, Becut, and Marinescu (2016) note, changing food represents hybridization and consumption patterns within the culture as well as a link between local food networks and the contemporary global food system. Heldke notes that to decolonialize food consumption there must be a recognition of the context in which the food is prepared, sold, and consumed (Heldke 2003; also see Johnston and Baumann 2010). The recognition of consumption of the "other" in Ireland bridges, like Amanda, John, Eric, and Adam did earlier, between the patron and the vendor and employee.

Irish patrons use food knowledge and consumption as cultural capital, which exhibits their identity as a product of the hybridized cultural exchange. An interchange of identities occurs during the interaction between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors or employees. Such an exchange can either be a social unifier, or it can drive a wedge between the two groups. Acceptance or rejection of food depends on the contextually structured exchange. Wilks (2002) argues that food is a cultural identifier of in-group and out-group solidarity. The consumption patterns of the Irish patrons represent the acceptance of migrant food into both in the local and national settings (2002: 66). The local acceptance of food depends on the national acceptance of the culture. As Crowther (2013) argues, food must be examined through heritage, unique individual experiences, and culture to understand the enculturation of food as acceptable in a culture. Local interactions and interpretations of such interactions, by extension, express the greater national ideal.

Food represents a tool of recognition and acts as a bridge to address stereotypes of migrants. Food serves as a vehicle for resisting negative stereotypes, regardless of whether the Non-Irish vendor or employees sell food from their place of origin, as 60% of Non-Irish vendors and employees do. Non-Irish vendors and employees are fighting the stereotype of the migrant who
arrives in Ireland and refuses to work. Non-Irish vendors and employees provide a service to Irish patrons by selling them "exotic" cuisines that increase Irish patrons’ cultural capital (Johnston and Baumann 2010: 3). The food presents a bridge by which migrants can subvert negative expectations and strategically present their identity in a personal and unthreatening way (La Barbera 2014; Lo 2008; Moré 2014). When asked, Oscar did not feel a close tie to the food he sells; he gave an adamant and stern no while shaking his head. However, when asked the same question, Guillermo answered in a different way than Oscar; he said that he gets "into it" that "if I don't believe in what I sell then I won't sell it." Both Oscar and Guillermo do not sell food that corresponds with their Brazilian nationality. Although Oscar does not feel a close tie to the fish and chips he sells, over 50% of the Non-Irish vendors and employees noted that they felt a strong relationship to the food they sell. As Crowther (2013) as well as Gabaccia (1998) notes, selling of food subverts the stereotype because people will look past negative feelings for the other group to eat their food.

5.4. PLACE

5.4.1. ETHNOSITE

The market acts as an ethnosite, as described in the literature review, meaning that it is a clearly defined space that encourages multicultural interactions (Turgeon and Pastinelli 2002: 251). Increasing diversity, as seen in the composition of the business park and comments from patrons and vendors/employees, increases the capability for cross-cultural contact. As Martin Aucoin and Matthew Fry (2015) argue, such ethnosites, like the market, function as nodes for both products and formation of communities. The market operates as a reoccurring space, always found in the same place each week. Otherwise, the market returns from the classification of place to that
of space. Such interactions take place between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees can take place only during market hours once a week.

Urban place-making creates the market space. Both the physical and social interactions that take place and shape how the Irish and Non-Irish understand the Silicon Docks Market (Harvey 1989; Wang and Mattila 2013). The space, desolate during other times of the week, becomes a place when "endowed with value" and its function recognized (Tuan 1973: 6) (see Figure 22).

![Figure 22](image)

**Figure 22.** THE MARKET AT AROUND 5 PM. NO ONE IS AROUND HOURS AFTER THE MARKET HAS COMPLETELY PACKED UP AND CLEARED OUT.

During our interview, Rory corrected me when I asked her how often she frequents the market by noting that it "only happens on Wednesday." For Irish informants, 22% went to the market at least once a month, 33% went at least twice a month, and 44% of Irish informants went four times a month. Developing the physical space into "the Silicon Docks Market" once a week mediates both the patrons' as well as vendors' and employees' experience of this place. Yi-Fu Tuan
notes that "experience can be direct and intimate, or indirect and conceptual," but is facilitated by symbols (Tuan 1977: 6). The market is a group of small mobile restaurants and symbolizes the patrons and vendors/employees experience of individuals different from themselves. Outside of the market, most businesses have a subsidized canteen. However, as Adam notes, "every other day I try to eat something healthy and then the market on Wednesdays is somewhere where me might eat something unhealthy as well." Adam's comments correspond to those of the female patrons; he notes that he consumes food within his office, generally eating at the office canteen. The market space becomes a recognizable aspect of the business park. The amount of time experienced within the market, however, differs by the position of Irish or Non-Irish as patron or vendor/employee. The market is not perceived as rare or exotic by the patrons, but offers a glimpse into the Irish and Non-Irish reaction to the shifting Irish social, economic and political climates. Although the values and experiences differ for each actor, the market functions as a structuring agent of certain interactions and expectations.

5.4.2. CULTUALLY CONSTRUCTED COMMUNITY

The market represents a microspace or a small space that expresses the localized interpretation of national experiences and expectations (Turgeon and Pastinelli 2002). Crowther uses the example of the local terroir to describe the expression of national identity through the local availability/acceptance (Crowther 2013: 256). The interactions an Irish patron has with a Non-Irish vendor/employee while in the market exemplifies the "local" interacting in the national social, economic, and political fabric of Ireland (Crowther 2013: 256). It has a certain desirability in the moment because it a hybrid between the expectations of the national and the availability of such values in the local.
As a recognizable "public" place, the market facilitates individual experiences and the presentation of identities. The business park acts as an expression of Ireland's global function within the technology industry and increases the diversity in the park and market. The business park has a defined policy on individuals allowed entry, enforces this with a guarded entrance on either side of the park. Only those allowed in the park, such as employees of the companies and on Wednesdays, the market vendors and employees, may enter. Those who function within the market negotiate the structure of interactions and expectations.

The composition of the business park then creates an ideal for how the market should run, for example, the expectation that all individuals in the business park, including those preparing food at the market, should act as business professionals. Therefore, within the market, identity presents itself as an ideal individual who works within the business park. Extending Tuan's (1977) idea of ritual as a structuring act for identity and place to the function of the market, the ritual of eating at the market endows a place with deep cultural meaning. Such a ritual instills the actor (Irish patron or Non-Irish vendor or employee) in it with a cultural identity, meaning that the act of going to or working at the market influences the renegotiation of that individual's identity.

The function within a space shapes how an individual sees the place, but also it shapes how that person perceives their identity in the space. Interactions between patrons and vendors/employees are extremely brief, lasting less than 45 seconds. This brevity does not allow for building deep and meaningful relationships. However, repeated face-to-face contact, as well as the consumption of the "other," encourages cross-cultural exchange. Consider the stalls as micro-ethnosites because they encourage frequent interaction between employees of different nationalities, except the Brazilian BBQ stall. For example, a staff of two to three worked each observed stall (which might or might not include the vendor), each stall representing up to three
nationalities. Manuel, the Spanish employee at the Italian Pasta stall, notes in his interview that even if he does feel close to the food he works with, he feels close with his co-workers and bosses. He says, "We cook, but I don't know how close because I am not Italian and it is not my stuff. But, always the Italian are in my heart. [All laugh]. Even if we loss in playing football." Although he does not sell his food, he still makes connections with his co-workers in the stall. Working in the stall guarantees frequent and extended interaction and cross-cultural engagement for Non-Irish vendors and employees.

The interactions at the market, through the extension of diversity in the business park, depend on the physical layout of the market. All Irish patrons could recognize the patterns and thereby expected the market to interact in a specific way. Therefore, the Irish patrons expected their interactions with Non-Irish individuals to happen a certain way. Crowther notes, "the sociability of the markets arises from the participants' willingness to linger and have conversations while buying food, and they have become the food shopping places to be, and be seen" (2013: 259). As Andrew notes in his interview, he expects patrons in the market "hide" their dislike or distrust of migrants "better" than those individuals outside of the market. Non-Irish employees and vendors expect patrons to interact in a specific way from outside the market because those individuals choose to go to the market and the food (culture) they wish to consume. The market, being rather small, can become very cramped during peak times. The market consists of two rows with stalls flanking the sides and the restaurant and café at the end. Right before and after peak times, the market encourages culinary tourism and capitalism between patrons and vendors/employees.

The market serves a different purpose depending on the individual's position as an Irish patron or Non-Irish vendor or employee. Non-Irish vendors/employees, on the other hand, expect the
market to be a place where they sell their food and make money. The purpose of the market differs for both the Non-Irish vendor and their employees. Non-Irish vendors can use the market to subvert economic constraints through lower overhead costs. Marijanna wants to own a storefront eventually, but because she self-funded the start-up from her savings, the food stall was the cheaper option to start in the market:

And that's when I, like, I started the market because I love, you know, I always wanted to have my own restaurant, and that was the cheapest way to start. To go on the market, to show your product—

Marijanna subverts the expense of the start-up and overhead costs of a restaurant. For many vendors, the market acts as a stepping stone until they can afford a restaurant; however, some vendors enjoy the mobile market and invest in food trucks as well. The market allows vendors to get a foot in the door, build a client base, and express their love for their food. Although not the case for every vendor, the market can offer a cheaper way for vendors to sell their food. Non-Irish employees view the purpose of the market to make money. For example, Manuel, a Spanish employee at the Pasta stall, uses the market as a way for him to earn money while supporting his musical career:

… Today, again, I think that it was raining I think—I thought, ‘why I'm here?' like in this weather. But, one of the most important things is to be working and to be doing whatever you want. I am working, and I am saving some money. Even if I am not working that much and I am playing drums, this is my stuff. So, [the job is] good.

Manuel hopes not to make employment in the market a permanent career. He understands that to support his music career, he must work to support himself. Manuel, as a citizen of Spain
(and the EU), benefits from the ability to move freely. The market provides him a job, one that he must work hard at to save money and live his lifestyle.

The Irish patrons expect the market to bring exotic food, prepared quickly at a lower price. Sean repeatedly describes his purpose of going to the market as a place for socialization. Both he and Adam recognize that the market is an excuse to get away from their office. Sean notes that "[the subsidized canteen is] not great. Mix it up, get out of the office… like our own slice of cheers"

The layout of the market encourages the patron's purpose: to explore exotic foods and chat with friends. The market and the seating area adjacent to it promotes the capital exchange for food as well as socialization. The purpose of the market depends on the individual acting within it. Therefore, each position will have different reasons for coming to the market. The general Irish public do not seek out the market as a destination for exotic food. Instead, patrons expect to visit, spend money and time, and to consume, while migrants expect to represent themselves and capitalize on their situation in a new country. Although the purpose might be different for each group in the market, ultimately it brings them together as a sort of community.

Community members assemble in the space during the market days. However, they differ in the social or financial basis for being in the market. Each market acts as its own community with free-flowing actors within it, as Wang and Mattila (2013) argue, the environment and social elements between actors influence the identity of a place. William, the manager of the market and former vendor, describes the draw of the market for the more than 1,600 patrons each week, which contributes to a constantly shifting identity. Mutwarasibo (2005) argues that cross-cultural contact both reaffirms and transforms both migrant and ethnically hegemonic citizen identities and therefore influences a renegotiation of the space. The interactions within the market create the identity of the market for each individual who leaves the community at the end of the market.
Therefore, the market creates a community between both Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors/employees through the acknowledged similar expectations and interactions as structured by the market.

The interactions and consumption that occur at the Silicon Docks Market demonstrate how cross-cultural contact and an increase of heterogeneity influences Irish individuals to display their power and perceived threat of the "migrant other" and thereby triggering a renegotiation of the borders surrounding national identity. The market becomes a place for Irish patrons to reaffirm their identity and express their increasing fear of a changing Irish culture through the appropriation and consumption of the exotic other. The market exemplifies how Non-Irish vendors and employees present their identity to the Irish patrons. In the market, Non-Irish vendors and employees use the presentation of hybridized food as a tool for identity renegotiation. Additionally, this market shows Ireland's interaction with the globalized world through the economic, social, and political draw of migrants to the island. The Silicon Docks Market illustrates the complex tensions and contradictions of globalization through the presentation and consumption of the "exotic other" within a localized microspace.
CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

I began this thesis with a description of an interaction with Katarina, the Bulgarian employee of the fish and chips stall, as an example of Non-Irish navigation and adaptation to the Silicon Docks Market and Ireland. In our discussion, Katarina expressed a decreased sense of belonging while in a country where she is legally allowed to live and work. Her feelings of rejection in the Irish culture, however, illustrate the social and legislative restrictions Ireland places on migrants. She must perform her hybrid identity—as both a migrant in Ireland as well as a Bulgarian—to Irish patrons in a non-threatening way. Katarina limits her identity expression and representation while she interacts with patrons in the market, but uses the market to her advantage to both obtain monetary security and to act as a representation of the “migrant other” functioning in the Irish culture. In this conclusion, I will combine the four themes from the previous chapter to explain and expand upon Katarina’s experiences and interactions from inside the market and within Ireland. Using mixed method analysis gives an idea of how this microspace represents the business park and the local implementation of Ireland’s paradoxical relationship with immigration.
6.1. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

6.1.1. ANSWERING QUESTION I: WHO IS IN THE MARKET?

The four themes in data analyzed are used in combination to discuss who is interacting with the market, how individuals interact with those who are different from themselves, and how the role of food is used to negotiate such interactions. The composition of the market can be broken down into the demographics as well as the outside cultural influences that draw individuals to the space. Although the business park houses both Irish and Non-Irish patrons as well as Irish and Non-Irish vendors and employees, for this thesis, those interviewed are broken down into 9 (36% of informants) Irish patrons and 14 (64% of informants) Non-Irish vendors and employees. Of those interviewed, 70% had European origins with Hungary as the highest represented country outside of Ireland; however, Irish patrons comprised 36% of the total 23 individual interviews used in this thesis. Male Irish patrons comprised 56% of all Irish informants, while female Irish patrons comprised 44%. As noted previously, 89% of Irish patrons were under the age of 31 and the same number of Irish patrons held an undergraduate degree or higher with many Irish patrons holding occupations in the technology area or in human resources.

The Non-Irish vendors and employees composed a larger majority of the interviews used at approximately 64% of the interviews. Vendors and employees were split 50/50 in whether they had European origins. Of those not from Europe, 86% (6 out of 7 Non-European vendors and employees) were primarily Brazilian. Vendors comprised 43% of Non-Irish informants and 26% of total informants, while Employees comprised 57% of Non-Irish informants and 35% of total informants. In terms of gender, 64% of Non-Irish vendors and employees were male, whereas 36% were female. Many Non-Irish vendors and employees were between the ages of 32 and 40 (43%),
while 36% were between the ages of 25 to 31, and 21% were over the age of 40. In terms of the amount of time spent in Ireland, Non-Irish informants tended to have been in Ireland between three and five years or nine and eleven years, both representing 36% of Non-Irish informants.

Both Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees were drawn to the market due to differing outside cultural influences. Irish patrons used the market as a place to consume food, experience different cultures, as well as to socialize. For example, as one of the Irish patrons, Amanda noted, going to the market is an escape from mundane office life and "gets us out of the office." The market is a place to obtain sustenance, but also to be culinary tourists and explore different cultures from around the world. Irish patrons, however, are in the business park because of Ireland’s role in the technology industry. Alternatively, Non-Irish vendors and employees are draw to the business park and market because it is a place of economic opportunity and financial stability. They are drawn to Ireland, however, because they are pushed from their places of origin and pulled to a place of economic opportunity and a place imbedded with support from social and kinship networks. The market composition is fluid and temporally dependent due to the fluidity of employee's schedules and the patron's freedom of movement in and out.
6.1.2. ANSWERING QUESTION II: HOW DO INDIVIDUALS IN THE MARKET INTERACT WITH THOSE WHO ARE DIFFERENT?

The second research question addresses how individuals in the market act with those whom they consider different from themselves. Both Irish patrons as well as Non-Irish vendors and employees use identity markers to structure their interactions with those who are different than themselves through self-recognition, social categorization, and identity renegotiation (La Barbera 2014). Irish patrons interact with the Non-Irish by demanding a taste of a quick and exotic meal that they can use as cultural capital while maintaining their Irish identity. Irish patrons use cross-cultural interactions with Non-Irish vendors and employees to demonstrate their power and hegemonic, culturally dominant Irish values through social control and the creation of the “migrant other.” The power they display during observation was not so much communicated in the way that they talked to vendors and employees, but through their actions as culinary tourists and colonialists.

Non-Irish vendors/employees use interactions with Irish patrons to renegotiate and adapt their identity performance to cultural norms of the market as well as Ireland. Although they are limited by both the market norms and the social and legislative restrictions of Irish immigration policy, Non-Irish vendors and employees use such interactions to regain agency and a sense of belonging in Ireland. They use both the English language and change their foods to present their identity to Irish patrons in a non-threatening way and successfully profit from the market while addressing negative stereotypes of immigrants. Interactions between individuals in the market structure spatial and temporal restrictions of identity performance, market expectations, and the frequency and depth of interactions. The market-space presents opportunities for cross-cultural
contact and creates a shared meaning and purpose between Irish and Non-Irish.

6.1.3. ANSWERING QUESTION III: WHAT IS THE ROLE OF FOOD IN THESE INTERACTIONS?

The final question asked how food is used to mediate interactions between Irish and Non-Irish informants. In the market, food is both a representation of both appropriation and acculturation and it acts as a bridge between Irish and Non-Irish cultures. As a tool, food serves to unite Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors and employees through a meeting in the middle for a mutually beneficial exchange. Irish patrons express their power and acceptance of others through their consumption of "exotic" cuisines. Patrons act as culinary tourists and culinary colonialists to express their knowledge of exotic foods and then gain social and cultural capital as a means of maintaining their local and global identities. However, Non-Irish vendors and employees use these interactions to regain agency and acceptance in Ireland by knowingly changing menu items, but also capitalizing from the needs of the market and their perceived authority over their food. As noted above, in this foodspace, Non-Irish vendors and employees act as a visual representation of immigrants and use the production of food to address stereotypes and gain identity recognition from Irish patrons.
6.2. DATA ANALYSIS OVERVIEW

6.2.1. CULTURAL HYBRIDITY

Irish patrons assert and maintain their cultural dominance as Irish through the interactions with and consumption of the "other" in a non-threatening environment. Such individuals observed used their position to express dominance over the Non-Irish by setting norms and demands for a variety of cheap and exotic foods available. The increase of diversity in the market disrupts the Irish collective identity by challenging the hegemonic social, economic, and political landscapes while culturally marking themselves as different from the "migrant other." Patrons use such social categories to create a narrow construct of what is required of Non-Irish to integrate into Ireland. The Irish patrons’ imaginary framework of what is "good" is so restrictive that the perception of migrants as "bad" gives validity to the Irish's overall dislike and distrust of all migrants.

The Irish patrons’ expression of dominance during cross-cultural contact forces the Non-Irish to comply or risk financial failure in the market. Non-Irish vendors and employees must be able to meet certain standards to be successful in the market; they must produce a product that follows the preferences and expectations set by Irish patrons. Such demands for integration into Ireland triggers a reconstruction of Non-Irish vendors’ and employees’ identities, as seen through the use of the English language and limits how the Non-Irish (especially those who are non-English speaking) can perform their identity. The Non-Irish identity depends on recognition from the Irish that they are functioning within the Irish society and culture. Non-Irish vendors and employees must reconstruct their identity as a sole representative of their place of origin, to a hybrid as that of a migrant within Ireland. The Non-Irish identity becomes hybridized in the market because the
Non-Irish present their identity as both a migrant through the lens of perceived Irish values.

6.2.2. IMMIGRATION

An increase of the global presence through heterogeneity causes the Irish to create a perceived threat of migrants which lead to increased social restrictions on the expression of the Non-Irish identity. Limiting expression of the Non-Irish identity illustrates the paradoxical relationship Ireland has with globalization and migration.

Patrons extend perceived threats and skepticism towards migrants to all those wishing to enter the country regardless of cultural background or migratory status. Most notably, Irish patrons are more concerned with their weakening governments and economies across the world as the source of increased immigration, and therefore are a threat to Ireland. The Irish patrons illustrate how globalization has shifted the lens and perspective of migration onto the instability in other countries, rather than solely on the success of their country as a draw to the island. Ireland's legislative implementation of the Citizenship Referendum of 2004, which restricts who can have birthright citizenship, as well as others to limit what kind of labor is allowed in the country. Patrons show the hypocrisy embedded in the Irish culture because they acknowledge the need for immigration to sustain a population and labor force, but want only certain characteristics integrating into their society, if any at all. Irish patrons, especially those who entered the workforce during or right after the recession, are wary of economic instability and low employment rates in Ireland. Although unemployment rates have seen a steady decrease since the end of the recession in 2013, patrons illustrate their fear of the threat of unemployment and lean on negative stereotypes to socially and legislatively control migration.

When they migrate, Non-Irish vendors and employees acknowledge that they will have to
reconstruct their identity to interact in the Irish culture. Migrants are in Ireland because of the dynamics between the center (Ireland) and the periphery (Non-Ireland). Ireland has offered work or a chance to be close to friends and family, opportunities their countries of origin lack. Non-Irish migrants gain agency through their negotiations between push and pull factors. Although Ireland was not the first choice for 29% of the Non-Irish vendors and employees, they made the conscious decision to move. Non-Irish migrants demand recognition of their identity and their incorporation in the Irish culture, but are limited by the social and legislative Irish immigration policies. As seen with Katarina, she is afraid of calling herself Irish because of the fear of such a comment as being rejected by the Irish people. The Non-Irish sense of belonging depends on the social migrant networks to enable them to navigate the Irish social structure. Among Non-Irish migrants, there is a contrast between wanting to conform to Irish culture or a longing for association with their nationalities. They use their social networks to either reaffirm their identity or to acculturate into the Irish culture. The market creates a network of support between migrants that also allows for migrants to interact with other migrants as well as Irish patrons.

6.2.3. FOOD

Patrons exhibit their identity through the interaction with and consumption of food. Irish patrons can experience different cultures in the market but then return to and maintain their cultural norms. Culinary tourism is the individual interaction with food, whereas culinary colonialism is the cultural appropriation of different cuisines. Irish patrons do not expect the same “dining experience” from the market that they expect if they went to an ethnic food restaurant, however, they expect the same amount of “transportation” to another culture. Irish patrons did not show any dissatisfaction or even notice that their burrito was made by a Hungarian woman rather than by a
Mexican woman. The food, however, becomes de-territorialized and stops reflecting certain values of the country of origin (Heldke 2004). Colonialism strips away the cultural identity of the food and ignores recognition of the cultural origin. However, regardless of recognition, Irish patrons gain social and cultural capital through the consumption and knowledge of the "exotic food." They demonstrate their identity on a global level through the accumulation of cultural capital through their willingness to try different cuisines, but also maintain their group membership through setting the norms of the market.

Food acts as a bridge when the Irish return agency to the Non-Irish through the acknowledgment of the cultural context in which it came. Irish patrons Amanda, John, and Adam show a slight recognition and return of agency when they discuss how Irish chefs are "robbing" New York City of its culinary diversity and bringing it back to Ireland. Such a recognition acts as a social unifier and incorporates the social acceptance of food, and then the acceptance of the migrant group as well (Crowther 2013; Gabaccia 1998; Ray 2006). Through their willingness to try new foods, Irish patrons extend a cultural bridge to the Non-Irish. Irish patrons would not have cultural capital from the market if they did not or were not willing to consume "exotic" or appropriated food. Irish patrons must reconstruct their identity by mitigating the social category of the other and give agency back to the Non-Irish migrants. To do so, however, both groups must acknowledge the other. The Irish, especially, must give recognition to the identity of the Non-Irish as participating in the Irish culture. The Irish must engage with the realistic view of an ethnically heterogeneous country and renegotiate the concept of the Irish rather than the imagined ideal of the Irish national identity.

Non-Irish vendors and employees use food as a representation of their cultural flexibility as well as a tool of identity reconstruction. The individual habitus structures how Non-Irish
vendors and employees navigate the challenges of the market. This means that when Bartal had to use his knowledge of customer service in Ireland to navigate the social misunderstanding between him and the patron, he benefitted from the knowledge and was later successful in maintaining his business. Non-Irish vendors use their position as cultural outsiders to act, as Ray (2014) notes, as inverted anthropologists who analyze the situation around them and capitalize on their ability to fill the niche. This concept is a response to the patron demand for food variety in the market and pushes vendors to not necessarily sell food of their origin, but what they will profit from the most. Non-Irish vendors and employees gain cultural capital by acknowledging the necessary change of the menu contents and gain agency by capitalizing on the preferences of the patrons. Non-Irish vendors and employees use their social and cultural capital to reconstruct their identity to interact within the structure of the Silicon Docks Market.

Non-Irish individuals use food as a bridge to address the stereotypes projected upon their identity. Even if the individual is not producing food from their country of origin, the food is a vehicle for subverting negative stereotypes and encouraging more exposure to the "other" in a non-threatening environment. The market encourages subverting stereotypes of the Non-Irish for the consumption of good food. The food itself acts as a bridge between the globalized imaginary "ideal" of a cuisine to the localized "real" representation of the cuisine. Food, therefore, serves as a representation of the ideal of how the Non-Irish are supposed to act and the actual way that Non-Irish reconstruct their identity and fight for recognition in the Irish culture. Food becomes a symbol of identity as either a consumer or as a producer and promotes the exchange of food as a mutual recognition of the opposite group's identity.

6.2.4. PLACE
The market is a clearly defined space with high potential for cross-cultural interactions as an ethnosite and as a node to produce goods and creation of a community (Aucoin and Fry 2015). The position of the market in a business park and in the city of Dublin, regulates the expectations of and interactions of those in it. The market is imbued with value by the clientele and market vendors and employees that frequent it. The physical space only has one overall purpose, to prepare and consume food, but the purpose of the individual in the market depends on the position of that individual. The market presents the opportunities for and exposure to multicultural interactions, however, it does not guarantee deep, meaningful interactions between Irish patrons and Non-Irish vendors/employees. Each stall presents an opportunity for those of different nationalities and cultural backgrounds to have deeper and more meaningful interactions and can be considered a micro-ethnosite, except for a few stalls. Working within the stall guarantees multiple, frequent interactions with patrons as well as extended interactions with co-workers. Simultaneously, the layout of the market functions to encourage interactions and define expectations of individuals, as both groups expect to interact with the other group in a quick and professional way.

The market creates a shared meaning between those who act in it thereby artificially creating a community of actors. It is a microspace and an expression of how a local space interprets the imagined idea of national identity. This shared perspective generates a community of individuals who engage with and in the market. Due to its occurrence once a week, the community constructed during the market times is artificially constructed and constantly shifting. The composition of the members is not always consistent, so those identities within it are constantly renegotiating the identity of the market. This community is brought together by a shared expectation, but the interactions and experiences in the market encourage individual identity reconstruction. The market illustrates the current state of immigration in Ireland and around the
world and is a space to express culturally hybrid identities through contact and diversity. It is also a space for acculturation and appropriation and is the physical bridge that unites or restricts interactions between those in the market. It is an example of a local expression of Ireland's reaction to globalization, and how people interact with others that are different from themselves.

6.3. GREATER IMPACTS

The market is a depiction of Ireland's engagement with the globalized world during a time of great migration from both inside and outside the European Union. The experiences of and interactions between Irish and Non-Irish individuals represent the effects of globalization on the localized expression and perception of changing cultural identities. This isolated market depicts the local implementation of Irish patrons’ concerns and fears of the "deceitful migrant” as they become restrictions on the expression of the migrant's identity.

The presentation of this market is that it is neither solely unique nor mundane, but a nuance of the local, the national, and the global. The Silicon Docks market is ordinary, a routine for those who function within it. Irish patrons have come to expect the presence of “exotic” food around them and express this through their demands for variety in the market. The availability and variety of different foods is approved by the proprietor, Robin, however, Irish patrons expect such a variability in their Wednesday lunch choices. Irish patrons use this demand along with the others to maintain their dominance over the Non-Irish, which must be met by Non-Irish vendors and employees or they face financial and social failure in the market. The food produced and consumed is neither strictly representative of its origin nor strictly Irish, but rather, it represents the hybridity of the market that acts as a bridge between Irish culture and others. The market, however, is not simply a platform for the Irish to lord their culture over those who are different from themselves.
Instead, it creates an opportunity for Non-Irish vendors and employees to expose the Irish to different cultures and it acts as a place for Non-Irish to make money from the Irish desire to eat different cuisines. The interactions between Irish and Non-Irish creates an opportunity for cultural exchange and mutual understanding through the exchange of foods. Irish patrons consume exotic foods, while Non-Irish vendors and employees address stereotypes and gain monetarily. The market is tucked away and gated, isolated from Dublin’s inner city and from those who do not work in the market or in the business park and limits who can be and interact in the market itself. The individuals in the market create a unique, artificially constructed community that would not be assembled if not for Ireland’s interactions with the rest of the world. The composition of the market is constantly shifting, but is representative of a hybrid community that would not necessarily frequently gather together. This market represents the creation of a community in which Irish individuals express their anxiety surrounding immigration through their actions, but how immigrants subvert these limitations to be successful in Ireland.

The importance and analysis of this data goes beyond the market and adds to the scholarship of immigration and the use of foodways during globalization to express changing identities and cultures. Such analysis of immigration, especially during the centennial of the 1916 Easter Uprisings, exhibits how a younger country deals with both economic recovery and increased interaction in the global marketplace. The interactions between Irish and Non-Irish individuals illustrates the necessity for identity re-negotiation in an increasingly multicultural context. How Non-Irish individuals present food in the market demonstrates the parameters created by the Irish expectation of the cultural "other." Migrants, however, exemplify their agency by opening a stall and capitalizing on their perceived authenticity. This study adds to the fields of anthropology, sociology, the study of foodways, as well as others due to the analysis of how local spaces and the
exchange of food and capital act as a mediator between migrants and those of the host country. The Silicon Docks Market demonstrates the complex tensions and contradictions of globalization through the presentation and consumption of the "exotic other" within a localized microcosm.

6.4. LIMITATIONS

The limitations of this thesis and data collection span from the lack of time in the field to the small sample size of data collected. During the summer of 2016, Ireland was experiencing a surge of nationalism due to the celebration of the centennial of the 1916 Easter Uprising against the English as well as heightened awareness of immigration due to the Brexit. This, in turn, will skew the results for both Irish and Non-Irish as the Irish are expressing an increase in national pride and the Non-Irish feel the pressure from both events. The use of snowball sampling has additionally skewed the data for both groups. Many Irish patrons, in particular, knew each other and were co-workers, meaning that they most likely shared views and were close in age. Due to the market’s brevity of occurrence, data collection and build rapport with all informants in the field was limited. Particularly, I did not embed myself with the patrons, as I did with the vendors and employees. My positionality as a researcher in the market influenced the amount and kind of information the informants gave to me. Therefore, such data is limited by my interactions with those interviewed.

The data additionally were skewed by interviewing each informant one time and not periodically to reaffirm answers throughout series of events during the market, such as the Brexit. Not all Non-Irish owned stalls or nationalities that were present in the market were interviewed. To expand, one stall refused an interview due to a lack of communication and rapport building with the vendors and employees of the stall. Additionally, the interview from
another Non-Irish owned stall did not have sufficient recorded data and could not be used in the interviews used in this data analysis. Lastly, data were collected at one site, which does not express a broader pattern across Ireland or Dublin, however this and other such limitation of the collected data can be addressed and rectified in further research.

6.5. FURTHER RESEARCH

Further research to expand on the data collected during such a limited time in the field should consider greater analysis of the Silicon Docks Market as well as across Europe. The market should be analyzed temporally, as it develops into its microcosm as compared to other, similar lunchtime food markets. Such an examination would expand on the discrepancy between markets as well as build on the concept of how the Silicon Docks Market as an example of a localized interpretation of a globalized phenomenon. Further research would also benefit from expanding the sample size and including a wider range of Irish and Non-Irish patrons, vendors, and employees and from an analysis of interactions between Non-Irish vendors and employees and Non-Irish patrons as well as Irish and Non-Irish vendors and employees. Of those interviewed, those chosen for this data analysis were due to the lack of Non-Irish patrons and Irish vendors and employees. Expanding the sample size would give a richer analysis of how immigrant in different levels of work (high-skilled vs. low-skilled) interact with each other and how they are though of by Irish individuals. The data would also benefit from a comparative study between this and one of its sister markets located around Dublin as well as in similar markets in other Irish or European cities. Expanding the number of sites would increase the number of informants as well as give validity to the data collect and analyze data validity across multiple areas within the same city. An examination of different markets as spaces as examples of how globalization and migration have
challenged expression and renegotiations of national identities.

This market represents a nuance in a modern, globalizing Ireland. Ireland shouldn’t be thought of on the cultural edge of Europe, but the representation of how Europe interacts with both the Americas and the rest of the world. The market itself, though isolated from much of Dublin, and that of Ireland itself, shows the localized expression of how and why those of different cultural backgrounds work and navigate the Irish culture successfully. The Silicon Docks Market is a nuanced example of how Irish and Non-Irish identities are expressed and renegotiated through interactions and experiences that individuals have between among each other. This analysis describes how not only Irish individuals set the norms of the market and demand a quick, cheap, and exotic product, but how Non-Irish individuals are using the market to express their own agency and filling the niche in this market. The Non-Irish vendors and employees are not simply passive actors in this market, but actively renegotiating their lifestyles and their identities through the interactions they have. Irish patrons also not only set the cultural norms, but are exposing themselves to representations of other cultures in their home land. This market is neither good nor bad, neither unique or mundane, but represents how individuals of different cultural backgrounds interact in a globalized world and work together to make a successful market.
LIST OF REFERENCES


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Fargues, Philippe. 2016. Who are the million migrants who entered Europe without a visa in 2015? Population and Societies 532(1).


Sato, Priscila de Morais, Joel Gittelsohn, Ramiro Fernandez Unsain, Odilon José Roble, and


Zubida, Hani, Liron Lavi, Robin A. Harper, Ora Nakash, and Anat Shoshani. Home and away:
APPENDIX
APPENDIX 1: Informant Contact Message

Email Script:

Dear _____,

My name is Grace Myers and I am a master’s student in anthropology at the University of Mississippi in the United States. My research surrounds immigration within the European Union, particularly how immigrants navigate a new country and deal with the amount of social tolerance their host country shows towards them. I am mainly looking at this through the lens of food and foodways.

This summer I will be traveling to Ireland and conducting research at the East Point Market in Dublin. I will be staying in Dublin for six weeks to interview patrons and vendors alike. I obtained your contact information from the market’s website and Facebook, and would love to interview you about your experience in Ireland and working at the market. The interview will take approximately one hour, and could be scheduled at a time that is convenient for you. I would also love to observe your vendor stall and the interactions between you and your staff with the patrons and of course sample your delicious food! All interview responses will be confidential and you will have the opportunity to exit the research at any time if you feel uncomfortable.

Thank you in advance for your consideration. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Grace Myers
University of Mississippi

Verbal Script:

Patron:

Hello, my name is Grace Myers and I am a graduate student from the United States. I am doing my thesis research here at the market, and as a customer/vendor/employee of the market would you mind if I interviewed you at a later time? My research surrounds immigration within the European Union, particularly how immigrants navigate a new country and deal with the amount of social tolerance their host country shows towards them. I am mainly looking at this through the lens of food and foodways. The interview will take approximately one hour and could be scheduled at a time that is convenient for you. All interview responses will be confidential and you will have the opportunity to exit the research at any time if you feel uncomfortable.
APPENDIX 2: Informant Consent Form

Consent to Participate in Research

Study Title: Immigration, Tolerance, and Foodways in Dublin, Ireland

Investigator
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University, MS 38677
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☐ By checking this box I certify that I am 18 years of age or older.

The purpose of this study
This study will look at foodways as relating to the amount of tolerance people have towards immigration or the amount of tolerance immigrants experience while in Ireland.

What you will do for this study
You will be asked to meet at a separate time to be interviewed. If more time is needed to complete the interview, you will be asked to either extend the interview or meet again at a determined time. All interview answers will be kept confidential, however some descriptors such as age, gender, ethnicity, and occupation might be used.

You will be asked your opinion on immigration, your political opinions, immigration status, amount of intolerance or xenophobia experienced in a daily setting, as well as reasoning for leaving a home country or choosing Ireland. At the end of the interview you will be asked if you consent to your name being used in contact with a nominee of your choice for the possibility of an interview.

The interview will be audiotaped and photographs will be taken as part of the project. Pictures of your marketplace interactions will be taken, however your face will be either blurred or cropped out of the photograph, unless otherwise specified otherwise. Photographs will be used within presentation of the study and have the possibility of being published.

Videotaping / Audiotaping
You will be audiotaped while during the interview so I can quote your interview answers and take better notes.

Time required for this study
This interview will take approximately 1 hour to complete with the possibility of taking additional time as necessary.

Possible risks from your participation
You may feel stress from answering survey questions on your opinion of immigration or immigration status. Please see the Confidentiality section for information on how we minimize the risk of a breach of confidentiality.

Benefits from your participation
You should not expect benefits from participating in this study. However, you might experience satisfaction from contributing to scientific knowledge. Also, answering interview questions might make you more aware of opinions you’d like to change.

Confidentiality
Vague identifiers such as age, gender, occupation, and ethnicity will be collected throughout this study. To protect your confidentiality your name will not be recorded and information that identifies you from your responses will only be available to the researcher. All any data will be kept on an encrypted computer and flash drive. The identifiers used will be vague enough that you will be protected and your confidentiality protected. At the end of the interview you will be asked if you consent to your name being used in contact with a nominee of your choosing for the possibility of an interview. If you decline to answer this question, your name will still not be used or released.

Members of the Institutional Review Board (IRB) – the committee responsible for reviewing the ethics of, approving, and monitoring all research with humans – have authority to access all records. However, the IRB will request identifiers only when necessary. Your information will not be released without your written consent unless required by law.

Confidentiality and Use of Audio Tapes
Audiotaping will allow researchers to transcribe your answers to the questions asked. Only researchers will have access the audio. The audio recorded will be kept indefinitely after transcription. Audio recordings will be kept on a password protected computer file. Additionally, you might be asked to sign a standard release form to allow audiotapes or photographs to be used in various publications or presentations.

Right to Withdraw
You DO NOT have to volunteer for this study, and there is no penalty if you refuse. If you start the study and decide that you do not want to finish, just tell the researcher. Whether or not you participate or withdraw will not affect your current or future relationship with the Department of Anthropology, or with the University of Mississippi, and it will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are entitled. The researchers may stop your participation in the study without your consent and for any reason, such as protecting your safety or protecting the integrity of the research data.

IRB Approval
This study has been reviewed by The University of Mississippi’s Institutional Review Board (IRB). The IRB has determined that this study fulfills the human research subject protections obligations required by state and federal law and University policies. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a research participant, please contact the IRB at +001-662-915-7482 or irb@olemiss.edu. Please ask the researcher if there is anything that is not clear or if
you need more information. When all your questions have been answered, then decide if you want to be in the study or not.

**Statement of Consent**
I have read the above information. I have been given an unsigned copy of this form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions, and I have received answers. I consent to participate in the study. Furthermore, I also affirm that the experimenter explained the study to me and told me about the study’s risks as well as my right to refuse to participate and to withdraw.
APPENDIX 3: Informant Photo Consent and Release Form

THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI
RELEASE

For valuable consideration, I do hereby authorize The University of Mississippi, its assignees, agents, employees, designees, and those acting pursuant to its authority (“UM”) to:

a. Record my participation and appearance on videotape, audiotape, film, photograph or any other medium (“Recordings”).
b. Use my likeness, voice and biographical material in connection with these recordings.
c. Exhibit, copy, reproduce, perform, display or distribute such Recordings (and to create derivative works from them) in whole or in part without restrictions or limitation in any format or medium for any purpose which The University of Mississippi, and those acting pursuant to its authority, deem appropriate.
d. I release UM from any and all claims and demands arising out of or in connection with the use of such Recordings including any claims for defamation, invasion of privacy, rights of publicity, or copyright.

Name: _______________________________________________
Address:______________________________________________
Phone No.:____________________________________________
Signature:____________________________________________
Parent/Guardian Signature (if under 18):___________________
APPENDIX 4: Informant Questions, Broken Down By Vendor/Employee and Patron

Questions for Irish Patrons:
1. Are you over the age of 18?
   a. If yes: Do you consent to the participation in and use of the information from this interview for future analysis?
   b. If yes: How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. What do you consider to be your nationality?
5. How much formal education have you received?
6. What is your occupation?
7. What/where do you generally tend to eat?
8. Why do you come to the market?
9. Why do you choose to eat here?
10. How often do you come to the market?
11. If you have been to the market before: What stands do you generally go to?
12. What kind of food do you generally eat?
13. Do you like to eat a variety of food?
14. Do you try to eat foods from different ethnic cuisines?
15. Do you feel like food is a way to connect with different people? Different cultures?
   a. If yes: Do you feel like it allows you to understand people from an unfamiliar place?
16. How frequently do you interact with someone who is not your ethnicity in this market?
17. What constitutes acting or being Irish?
18. There has been a large influx of immigrants to Ireland over the past 10 years, how has Ireland changed?
19. Are you religious?
   a. If yes: How does religion play into your life?
20. Do you have extended family in Ireland?
21. If you don’t mind me asking, where do you live?
   a. Why did you choose there?
22. Outside of the market, would you say you interact with people more like yourself or people of many ethnic backgrounds?
23. Are you politically active?
   a. If yes: Would you say you are more left-leaning or right-leaning?
24. What immigrant groups do you think contribute most into Irish society?
   a. How do they contribute?
25. Do you feel that immigrants in Ireland should have the same rights as citizens?
   a. If not: Do you believe that they should have any rights at all?
   b. How do you think immigrants could become more “Irish”?
   c. What would make migrants more “Irish”?
26. Do you believe that they should have the ability to become citizens?
27. Do you feel that the current system for immigrants to become citizens is satisfactory?
28. Have you experienced or do you feel as though immigrants take jobs away from Irish citizens?
29. What are your thoughts on the European Migrant Crisis?
30. What is your take on the current immigrant situation in Dublin?
   a. Do you think it is a good thing?
   b. Do you think it is a bad thing?
31. Would you identify yourself from the following:
   a. Irish only
   b. Irish first, then [Country of origin/European]
   c. [Country of origin/European] first, then Irish
   d. [Country of origin/European] Only
32. How do you identify yourself today? In terms of nationality or ethnicity?
33. Do you consent to me taking pictures of your booth/ food truck? No pictures will have your face or name or place of business specifically associated with the picture, unless you allow.
34. Is there someone else you know of that might benefit my research? I would not contact them without your consent.
   a. If yes: Do you consent to me telling them that you, specifically, gave me their contact?

Interview Questions for Immigrants Vendors/Employees:
1. Are you over the age of 18?
   a. If yes: Do you consent to the participation in and use of the information from this interview for future analysis?
   b. If yes: How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. What is your ethnicity?
4. What do you consider to be your nationality?
5. How much formal education have you received?
6. What is your occupation?
   a. What was your occupation in [country of origin]?
7. How and when did you decide to leave your home country?
8. How did you get to Ireland?
9. Why did you decide Ireland? Was it your first choice?
10. What was coming to Ireland like?
    a. Did you have to learn English?
       i. If yes: how did you learn it?
11. What were the people like when you first arrived?
12. Have the way people treated you changed?
13. Did you ever experience anything that caused you to feel uncomfortable?
14. For Vendors:
    a. Why did you decide to open a food business?
    b. How did you hear about the Silicon Docks Market?
    c. Why did you decide to sell food at the market?
    d. What kind of food do you sell?
e. How did you choose to sell that kind of food?
f. Did you change the food so it would sell better?

15. How does it feel to cook food here at the market?
16. Do you feel a close tie to the food you sell?
17. How did you learn to cook the food that you sell here?
18. What has the customer reaction been to your food?
19. How frequently do you interact of someone who is not your ethnicity in this market?
20. What kinds of people frequent the market?
21. Have you ever experienced any sort of negative treatment towards you while in the market?
   a. If yes: to what do you attribute that to?
22. Do you have children?
   a. If yes: Was your child born here?
   b. What was their experience like growing up?
   c. Do they experience negative treatment?
23. Are you religious?
   a. If yes: How does religion play into your life?
      i. Does religion allow you to navigate Irish society?
         1. If yes: How does/did religion allow you to understand Irish society?
24. Do you have extended family in Ireland?
25. Do you plan on returning to [country of origin]?
26. If you don’t mind me asking, where do you live?
   a. Why did you choose there?
   b. Is there a large population of [country of origin] there?
27. Outside of the market, would you say you interact with people more like yourself or people of many ethnic backgrounds?
28. How do you incorporate your home-country traditions into Irish society?
29. Do you send money back to [country of origin]?
   a. If yes: Who do you send money to?
30. Are you politically active?
   a. If yes: in what ways?
31. Are you a citizen of Ireland?
   a. Yes? How did you become a citizen?
   b. No? Why haven’t you become a citizen yet? Do you want to?
      i. Why or why not?
32. How do you perceive non-immigrants to be reacting to immigration in the past year?
   a. Did people react differently before the European Migrant Crisis?
33. What are your thoughts on the European Migrant Crisis? Do you feel it unfair? Does the increase in immigrants make you uncomfortable?
34. Do you feel safe while in Ireland?
35. Would you identify yourself from the following:
   a. Irish only
   b. Irish first, then [Country of origin/European]
   c. [Country of origin/European] first, then Irish
d. [Country of origin/European] Only

36. How do you identify yourself today? In terms of nationality or ethnicity?

37. Do you consent to me taking pictures of your booth/food truck? No pictures will have your face or name or place of business specifically associated with the picture, unless you allow.

38. Is there someone else you know of that might benefit my research? I would not contact them without your consent.
   a. If yes: Do you consent to me telling them that you, specifically, gave me their contact?
VITA

Education

BA, Anthropology 05/2015
University of Mississippi Oxford, MS

MA, Anthropology 05/2017
University of Mississippi

Employment

Teaching Assistant
GEOG 101: Introduction to Geography 2015-2017
University of Mississippi

Research Assistant
Department of Anthropology
University of Mississippi 2015

State of the South Project
Center for Population Studies 2016

Major Awards

Graduate Assistantship Non-Resident Scholarship $ 14,269.50 2016-2017
Graduate Assistantship Tuition Scholarship $ 5,731.50 2016-2017
Graduate Assistantship Non-Resident Scholarship $ 14,269.50 2015-2016
Graduate Assistantship Tuition Scholarship $ 5,731.50 2015-2016

Publications


Conference Papers
“Urban Slavery and Diet up to 1860s in Holly Springs, Mississippi” presented at Southern Foodways Alliance Graduate Student Symposium, Oxford, MS. 2016.