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The Beginning of a Brazilian Ethnic Enclave in Dublin, Ireland

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

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Abstract

This research is intended to investigate the ways in which mobilities, and ethnic enclaves are influencing urban landscapes to fully comprehend the breadth of mobility in urban spaces. This ethnographic research is conducted in Dublin, Ireland with members of an emerging Brazilian ethnic enclave on Capel Street. The ethnographic research consisting of interviews and participant observation is situated within the literature of the *new mobilities turn.* The informants are both Brazilian and non-Brazilian English-language students participating in 'language tourism', a study abroad experience designed to immerse the students in their target language of English, as well as expose them to cultural norms and traditions of Ireland. Through this research I have discovered the Brazilian students coming to Dublin to study English, are transporting and transplanting Brazilian identity markers and cultural ideologies into the city's tissue. Specifically, through the development and continuation of a mobility-driven ethnic enclave Brazilian students are regenerating the city centre of Dublin. These transformations are precursors to further urban tissue changes manifested by mobility and ethnic boundaries.

Key words: ethnic enclaves, Brazilians, Dublin, mobility, urban regeneration

Introduction

In this introduction, an outlook of the overall research project will be provided. The research will be positioned in the appropriate scholarship area. The following sections are composed of the research question, research area, thesis structure, and ethical statement. The ethical statement provides a discussion of positionality and relationships with informants. This chapter provides the necessary information to fully comprehend the extent and reach of the research.

Research Questions

The primary question within this research is, *how do mobilities and ethnic enclaves imprint on a city's urban tissue?* To attempt to answer this question, I needed to investigate two distinct phenomena: a migrant community and a cosmopolitan city. Ethnic enclaves are precisely built by foreigners in multi-ethnic places, and constitute a considerable amount of mobility in cities (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Therefore, I chose the Brazilian language-student community in the Capel Street area of Dublin, Ireland. Upon taking an internship at an English-language school on Capel Street, it became apparent there was a substantial community of Brazilian students inhabiting the area, much more than other migrant groups. I became curious as to why this area houses several language schools, and why Brazilians were the majority of English-language students in Dublin. Scaffolding this main question, I was obligated to understand precisely *why* Brazilians are leaving Brazil, and why they are going to Dublin to study English. I then inquired why and how the Brazilian ethnic enclave is being constructed in the Capel Street area. I had to question how the ethnic enclave is being constructed, and what this means for both the Brazilian students and Dublin city. I also needed to question to what degree and in which ways the Brazilian community is truly impacting the city. I questioned multiple perspectives, and sought to understand if and how different ethnic groups (Irish, non-Irish) perceived this growing Brazilian population. Lastly, how could these features potentially carry on into the future of both the Brazilian migrant community and Dublin city. Asking the primary question which is supported by defining questions contributes to the study of the *new mobilities paradigm* and the attempts to understand how our mobilities create contrast and implications within our daily spaces and lives.

Research Area

This research project focuses on individual and collective notions of mobility, belonging, and experience. Specifically, my study is located in urban anthropology, which seeks to "understand the changing nature of urban social life, the influence of urban space and place, and more broadly what constitutes a city in the context of global flows and connections" (Jaffe and de Koning 2016, 1). The approach used to understand these changes is the *new mobilities paradigm*, a precise reaction from the static, sedentary study of social sciences. Rather than only studying the permanent aspects of society, the new mobilities paradigm focuses on the dynamic study of "connectivity, centrality, and empowerment in some cases, and of disconnection, social exclusion, and inaudibility" (Sheller and Urry 2006, 210). This project seeks to emphasise the connection, and disconnection, created by interactions between ethnically derived spaces in the city.

Thesis Structure

The thesis will be demarcated as follows: I will first explain my theoretical framework, interrogate existing research, and define vital concepts, such as *mobilities, ethnic enclaves, place-making, mental mapping,* and other supporting definitions. I will then discuss the urban transformation of Dublin city in terms of regeneration and migrant communities in Chapter II. This chapter will also describe Capel Street's importance in the regeneration of the city. Then, I outline my methods and methodology, discussing ethnography, methods of data collection, and thematic analysis in Chapter III. Chapter IV examines the migration-tourism nexus of young Brazilians migrating to Dublin, describing 'language tourism' and the motivations, intentions, and cultural features that promote such mobility. Following will be Chapter V, inspecting the Capel Street area as an ethnic enclave for Brazilian English-language students, explaining the cultural symbols, mobility to the space, and perspectives of the informants. The following Chapter VI will outline the perceptions of non-Brazilians of the space and Brazilian community. Then I will discuss precisely *how* the ethnic enclave is changing urban life, having influence on the city, strengthening and solidifying the Brazilian community, and why this is a useful consideration for understanding the future of Dublin's urban life in Chapter VII. Lastly, this thesis concludes by addressing specific research questions and calling for future research in Chapter IX.

Ethical Statement

According to the principles of *Research Ethics in Ethnography*, ethnographic work must follow certain ethical guidelines to ensure reliable and true work. This includes: “doing good (beneficence), avoiding doing harm (non-maleficence), and protecting the autonomy, wellbeing, safety and dignity of all research participants" (Iphofen 2013, 11). Using this definition, I approached my fieldwork with a thorough intention of ensuring the safety and wellbeing of the informants. As well, *Fieldwork for Human Geography* (2012) by Richard Phillips and Jennifer Johns outlines critical points of consideration in the ethics of doing ethnographic research. To ensure my research was ethically conducted, I needed to consider if my fieldwork could potentially harm the informants, perhaps if the informants were in a vulnerable group or position. All things considered, my informants were not in a legally vulnerable state, as they were legal residents of Ireland, attending an English-language programme by way of a student visa. As Brazilians and other South American nationals in Ireland, they are migrants. This puts them in a socially vulnerable position, as they are often discriminated against by various other ethnic groups (Crossa and Moore 2009). As their former English-language teacher, our previous relationship was teacher-student, and there was an explicit power-imbalance in their academic position below me. This likely impacted their responses to my questions, and could have limited what they felt comfortable sharing with me. I then needed to explore if my research was exploitative, and who the research was truly for. As Phillips and Johns explain, “The most tangible way to approach this challenge is to ask whether the fieldwork has been designed for your personal gain alone or whether you have balanced this with the interests of participants” (2012, 71). Without a doubt, the primary interest of the research is for my academic career. My research, though, is beneficial to the interests of the informants as it raises to the surface the concerns that immigrants have in Dublin from a different, ethnographic perspective. My research and storytelling could spread awareness of their experiences and allow Dublin city to take more notice of the needs of its diverse population. Next, I asked what effects I would like my fieldwork to have upon the stakeholders and informants. Similar to the previously stated, it is important for the stories of migrants to be told, and if my research could shed light upon their experience, this could lead to a greater awareness of the Brazilian community in Dublin. I also encouraged my informants to raise any concerns they had with Dublin, the language-school, or life abroad with me. This way, I could include their concerns in my research adjacent to my own curiosities. Johns and Phillips (2012) also place great emphasis on reciprocity, and attempting to have a balanced exchange in the relationship between researcher and informant.

This introduction chapter has outlined the necessary information for the research project. The research question and research area sections have described the extent and purpose of the research. The thesis structure has provided a brief overview of the contents of the project. The ethical statement has discussed positionality and relationship with informants. This chapter has described the scope and limitations of the project.

Chapter I: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter of literature review and theoretical framework gives essential information, definitions, and considerations that are necessary for the comprehension of the research project. Several key terms and concepts such as mobilities, place-making, and ethnic enclaves are presented, defined, and discussed to shape the narrative of the research. This chapter thus provides the framework for which the specific research questions can exist and be interrogated. The following sections give critical information necessary for a full understanding of the research.

1.1 Mobilities and the *New Mobilities Paradigm*

The most critical perspective of this project is that of the new mobilities paradigm and mobilities turn, as all research following is understood through the lens of such definitions. *The new mobilities paradigm*, or *mobilities turn*, which emerged in the late 1990s, has brought social sciences and humanities to focus on the movement of people, ideas, things, and the social implications of each. Topics such as human migration (both contemporary and historic), transport studies, tourism, commutes, and much more can all be analysed through the mobilities turn and its principles (Adey 2017) (Edensor 2010) (Bissell 2018). There are several key scholars that have spearheaded this paradigm, yet for the purpose of this project I will mostly be referencing the considerations made by Tim Cresswell, especially in his 2010 work, “Towards a Politics of Mobility", and 2006 *On The Move.* Cresswell’s work specifically differentiates between *movement* and *mobility* which is critical in the validity of the mobilities turn as a viable perspective in the discipline of social sciences. Cresswell also gives an approach of mobility which is holistic and composed of multiple features, *constellation of mobility*. As well, I will be discussing considerations made by Mimi Sheller and John Urry’s in their 2006 “A new mobilities paradigm” which contextualises several social phenomena such as gender, nationality, familial networks, urban life and more within the mobilities paradigm. Cresswell, Sheller, and Urry’s works together provide a well-rounded and wide-ranging discussion of mobilities in everyday sociocultural practice which is essential to ethnographic research. The new mobilities paradigm is a fascinating lens in the discipline of human geography, which allows scholars, researchers, and students to analyse the practices and representations that exist and arise through movement made meaningful (Cook 2018). In terms of such meaningful movements, we must consider the space in which they are occurring. *Space*, and the *spatial turn* of social sciences took place in the 1980s, and brought important spatial perspectives to the forefront, which laid ground for the mobilities

paradigm to develop. The spatial turn in social sciences (and other disciplines such as humanities and literature), emphasises the importance of *space* and *place* in study, as well as the political, social, and cultural aspects of such spaces and places (Guldi 2011). The likes of philosophers such as Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre, and Ernst Cassirer, brought such themes to mainstream research and directed interest to the ideas of political and social structures embedded in space (Engel and Nugent 2010) (Guldi 2011). Previously, space was not interrogated in the social sciences and humanities as often or as deeply as concepts such as time (Cresswell 2010). It is important to consider that the new mobilities paradigm was built upon the concept of *space*, and therefore mobilities can typically be contextualised in ideas of space. The new mobilities paradigm focuses on the practices, meanings, and representations of flow and movement, and the social, cultural reasons for connections between points of interest. Just as importantly, the new mobilities paradigm also seeks to interpret meaning and representation in relation to immobility or the lack of connections, and thus deepening the relationship between movement, or nonmovement, in and around space (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Mobility is also embodied, meaning practised and experienced by the individuals in motion (Cresswell 2006). Moving through the world, by means of walking or taking a bus carry with it the emotions and states of being of the mover. For example, the Brazilian students in the ethnic enclave seamlessly walk into the enclave, yet may be feeling a number of pervasive emotions, ranging from nostalgic to claustrophobic. This emotional and practised embodiment results in a significant act of mobility, that from the naked eye could appear as simply international students walking to class. Embodiment can also occur in the lack of mobility, the immobility, consider cases such as peaceful protests, bans, or boycotts from locations. In the act of nonmovement, individuals embody an act of resistance against something else, resulting in a lack of mobility that may have otherwise occurred. Accounting for the embodiment of mobility and mobile acts, rather than simply looking at *point A to point B,* is precisely the distinction which draws critical analysis to the study of movements as they relate to sociocultural dimensions (Cresswell 2006). Mobilities in this research are certainly not limited to discussions of macro-mobilities such as migration. The mobilities turn is especially aware of micro-mobilities and the sociocultural representations of small movements (Cook 2018). Micro-mobilities are significant in their social ideologies (Cresswell 2006), such as the practice of walking to a bus stop as part of routine in a new city, or sending a text message to a family member in a new country. Remembering that embodiment as part of both macro and micro mobilities represents an ideology that will help untangle the meaning of a certain mobility in time and space. I will be dissecting this relationship of mobilities and space through the discussion of movement to and within a new destination, precisely an ethnic enclave.

Considering the mobilities paradigm emphasis on interrogating what has been previously thought of as movement, it is critical to inquire to what degree are certain movements important? Movement, as simple as trains on tracks or pedestrians crossing streets, can potentially become significant. As Cresswell discusses in his 2006 *On The Move,* "*movement* can be thought of as abstracted mobility (mobility abstracted from contexts of power)" (2). Movement is then acts of mobility stripped of its social, political, or cultural implications. Movement alone may not be significant, therefore we must make distinctions as to precisely what makes a movement significant. While Cresswell's work makes great claims of how movement is made significant, I prefer an approach in which we must attach to movement, *intention.* Intention encapsulates an agency and motivation to the individual or object making the move, and warrants better understanding of the unique experience and purpose of the movement. Pauline Wolff (2016) presents the idea of *circulation* that can assist with this distinction. For the purpose of this research project, I will be using the concept of *circulation* as it relates to mobility. *Circulation* is mobility with intention added to its meaning. Intention allows us to consider aspects such as choice, representation, and consideration. Here, mobility of people, ideas, and things are not random or meaningless, but a specified act that carries symbol and desire (Wolff 2016). It is important to consider where circulation takes place, or rather, in which container mobility circulates. Using mobility as a lens through which to analyse sociocultural phenomena in space, circulation can be seen as meaningful, intentional movements in any form of place, and for the purpose of this project, urban spaces. Circulation then becomes especially important in the conversation of ethnic enclaves, as symbols are the very features that create the physical space which represents the ethnic group. As mentioned, I will be using mobilities discussed by Cresswell, Sheller, and Urry as the framework for which I contextualise the migration of my informants and their movements. Cresswell (2006) writes of *circulation* in a different way, as the bloodline of cities, meaning streets and lanes become arteries in which mobilities and air flow through. This bodily metaphor reflects circulation as something so microscopic as blood cells and presents the idea that any urban mobility of any size is worth consideration. We can consider such an example as *micro mobility*, cases of internal circulation, exchange, and local travel within an enclosed area such as a city. The notion of cities as networks provides an environment for micro-mobilities to occur, as *the network paradigm* refocuses cities as hubs of places, flows, and connections (David et al. 2015). The network paradigm reimages cities not only by micro mobilities, but with macro mobility as well. A city as a network has internal mobility, which is constructed by efforts and phenomena of global connectivity and a world-systems based ideology (David et al. 2015). Global macro mobilities such as international migration to cities changes and influences the city's pre-existing network which may create new micro mobilities. Géraldine

Pflieger and Céline Rozenblat write of this relationship, “all international metropolises, whether they are ‘global’ cities or not, can be considered as a juxtaposition of networked entities that are both globalised and localised” (2010, 2724). We must consider cities as centres of both macro and micro mobility, and these distinctions will help distinguish the aspects of mobility in my research, particularly the mobility of the participants from Brazil to Dublin, and from their homes in Dublin to the emerging ethnic enclave.

To better understand the ways in which mobility can be analysed from the perspective of the individual in and out of their cultural space, Cresswell breaks down mobility into six parts: motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction. Motive force being the *why a person/thing moves,* and whether the motivation is internal or external, which Wolff’s definition of *circulation* clarifies and pinpoints. Velocity is the speed at which the person or thing moves and why it is this way. Rhythm regards the patterns and tempo at which movement takes place, and if there is significance to be measured. Route is the channel or path in which the movement is occurring, and why this channel has been forged. Experience focuses on the feeling of such movement, whether it is the turbulent flight or the emotional distress of being displaced. Lastly, friction asks how and when the movement stops, and why or why not. Each of these six defining aspects of mobility will be interrogated, and the concept of *experience* as part of mobility is especially important to this research for its role in shaping the Brazilians’ decisions in Dublin and beyond. To do ethnographic research, it is imperative to analyse the human condition of the informants, thus their experience of mobility becomes a key aspect of the research. Cresswell also defines the “constellation of mobility” as three parts: physical movement, the representation of movement, and the experience of movement. The physical can be viewed as the method, the transport, and the logistics. The representation can be the reason, the meaning which is ideological and made of purpose. The experience can be the embodied act, the practice and the habits that are created, as well as the emotions and almost intangible human feelings that can occur (Cresswell 2010). The constellation of mobility helps us comprehend key components and focal points within movement. For example, a migrant relocating to a new and foreign destination must physically transport themselves via land, air or sea. They must be doing it for a purpose, whether to leave a poor environment or gain favourable employment. Lastly, they likely feel a certain way about the practice, perhaps fear, anxiety, or excitement. This example is a practice of transnational mobility which is embedded in sociocultural ideology and nation-states, an essential mobile practice for the purpose of this research. It is crucial to consider Cresswell’s constellation of mobility in the context of transnational acts.

Thus, another relevant definition to consider is that of *transnational fields.* The idea of *transnational fields* from Linda Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc's 1994 *Nations Unbound,* highlight the length and longevity of mobility paths, "transnational social fields are constellations of networks that stretch across territorial borders, connecting various places, not only so- called sending and receiving countries, but often also many other places where family and friends, or co-nationals are to be found" (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Here, networks last beyond the moment of movement, and they are even complexed over time and increased mobility.

1.2 Place-making

How mobility circulates in spaces can create meaning through a process referred to as *place-making* (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Recalling the spatial turn and a greater focus on the sociocultural relationship with geographic space, we must identify how meaning is created. Place is derived from space, it is the personality or essence which gives raw or undefined space a form of identity in itself (Tuan 1979) (Cresswell 2013). *Place* for an individual is representative in many ways, "finding one's place" in society, having "a place of one's own" which is separate from "his or her place". Cresswell's *Place: A Short Introduction* unravels these cultural statements as reflective of our desire to create social, and often personal, meaning out of space (2013). As Cresswell writes, "If movement is the dynamic equivalent of location, then mobility is the dynamic equivalent of place" (2006, 3). We must recognise the meaningful relationship between mobility and place, and to properly analyse one, we cannot ignore the other. As well, mobilities are able to thrive and move due to pre existing infrastructures, moorings, and admittedly immobile features (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006). Known as the "spatial fix" (Harvey 1989), mobilities and immobilities coexist on a spatial plane; examples like airports and aeroplanes all the way to taking walks on urban footpaths provide this spatial fix in real time. These systems are complex and multidimensional, and thus necessary for the distinction between mobility and place. Taking the case of cities, which are networks built on mobility both large and small (Pflieger and Rozenblat 2010), mobility is constantly dynamizing space, deepening connections and creating a truly lived environment. Yet still, cities are clusters of places and spaces, whose boundaries differ depending on each individual. A Brazilian in Dublin has their *places* in the city and may move through several seemingly random spaces on their commute to school.

In this way, their experience through the city is shaped by their mobility within it. On the other hand, a local Dubliner may have their own *place* within the Brazilian's perceived space. Individuals build their environments based on their own perceptions of meaningful places. It is essential to remember that the

built environment is not limited to city planning and urban design; all citizens are builders of their own environment and imprint on their cities by their perceivably common daily activities, that upon further investigation carry immense social meaning (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Visuals such as signage, graffiti, destruction, and chalked sidewalks are all marked on a city by its dwellers. Cities are composed of a multitude of connections, networks, and places. Public city spaces are made meaningful by the attitudes and norms associated with it. Public spaces are not randomised chunks of urban tissue, but rather particular spaces for particular audiences and types of behaviour (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). These places are subject to change over time, power exchange, and cultural influence. The concepts of space and built environment as defined by Henri Lefebvre assist in the clarification of how these places are made. Lefebvre explains how space is produced by three parts: perceived space, conceived space, and lived space. Perceived spaces are the ones which structure daily life and urban reality, continuing our spatial understanding. Conceived space is that of ideologized space, the ones which are represented in maps or images by those in power or dominance. Lived space is what is used by inhabitants, a mental invention that can create new meaning for spatial behaviour. It sits atop of physical space, creating symbols and meanings (Lefebvre 1974). Zieleniec summarises to understand space not only as an abstract principle, but also as contested terrain in which everyday life and practices create meanings, values, signs and symbols (Zieleniec 2018). We must contextualise space not as independent from looming factors like historical impact, economic structures, and policy, but entirely intertwined with these dimensions and as a culturally constructed product itself. Urban space, therefore, is especially compelling in that cities are built to be centres of connection and network (Zieleniec 2018). As well, we must consider cities as archives in which these networks of information have been built and are continuously being examined, re-examined, and changed (Rao 2009). This concept of a built environment is especially significant in connection with cultural identity, and it is imperative to remember that identity can and will manifest from the diverse inhabitants of a place.

1.3 Ethnic enclaves

Using the basis of mobility and place-making, we must consider what an enclave is and why it is particular in context to other aspects of the city. There are a number of current definitions for *ethnic enclaves,* they are environments that foster ethnic boundaries and identity, and the cultural content of the suburban mainstream (Fong 1994), as well as areas of "spatial concentration in which members of a particular population group, self-defined by ethnicity or religion or otherwise, congregate as a means of protecting and enhancing their economic, social, political, and/or cultural development" (Marcuse

2005, 3). Ethnic enclaves are precisely built by *everyday spatial regimes,* or norms prescribed to a certain public space, create rules and expectations for those in the area (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). These regimes exist in all public spaces to varying degrees, and in the case of ethnic spaces they manifest as shared cultural norms which result from transnational mobility. In this way, ethnic enclaves are used purposefully to foster ethnic stability in foreign cities (Peach 2005). According to the classic assimilation theory in North America, ethnic enclaves were temporary steppingstones for migrants to assimilate into the new destination. This process was bolstered by *chain migration.* Essentially, chain migration occurs when one person first 'makes the move' to a new destination, and those from the home destination gradually follow (Terzano 2014). Traditionally speaking, ethnic enclaves can be purely residential or commercially built. In the case of the Brazilian ethnic enclave in the Capel Street area, it is built commercially and educationally by the existence of various Brazilian shops and English-language schools marketed to Brazilian nationals.

Not all urban space is experienced equally, and individuals are not positioned equally in public spaces. Identities are marked by various characteristics such as skin colour, clothing, or hair texture, and these identity markers contribute to the ways in which we are positioned in urban space, leading to differing experiences in the same place. For example, an obvious foreigner in a public park can be easily identified and potentially ostracised, while a wealthy-looking local has a leisurely stroll on their lunch break (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). In terms of ethnic enclaves, certain identity markers delineate ethnic boundaries. Ethnic boundaries are patterns of social interaction that reinforce in-group member self-identification and out-group's confirmation of such distinctions (Sanders 2002, 327). When these identity markers and ethnic boundaries exist within the urban tissue, enclaves are built. The growing existence of ethnic enclaves in cities greatly affects the experience of all inhabitants, both within the enclave and those excluded.

Within the enclave and at the point of enclave building, transnationalism is one significant feature of mobility. "Transnationalism can take on a literal dimension in the of circular migration involving frequent visits to the home society, but it can also have a more figurative dimension wherein immigrants and their offspring keep in frequent communication with the home society although not necessary visiting in person" (Sanders 2002, 346). Transnational migrants inevitably transform urban space, as they imprint their distinct cultural features onto a new landscape. Migrants make efforts to "belong" in some way to a city, for temporary or hopeful permanent periods (Jaffe and Koning 2016). Enclaves are hubs of transnational migrants which support the efforts made by the community to

continue their ethnic, cultural practices. As Terzano writes, "in enclaves, immigrants could find familiar culture–grocers that sold ethnic food; churches and schools where the immigrants' native language was spoken; and businesses that were based on skills and goods for which the immigrants were well known. In their new country, immigrants recreated the amenities of their former countries and in doing so, created communities" (Terzano 2014, 342). Due to the nature of the Brazilians' mobility as English-language students, it is apparent they would migrate towards the Capel Street area where many of their fellow migrants are. Research has shown that immigrants with poor English proficiency choose to migrate to locations with large populations of their same ethnic and linguistic background (Bauer et al. 2005, 660). This phenomenon results in a heavily Brazilian, Portuguese speaking environment within Dublin city that can accommodate the migrants with lower levels of English. Yet it is also essential to consider how the area is perceived by others, perhaps how and why the area is understood and consumed. Another interesting feature which can facilitate mobility to and consumption of the enclave is commodification. Commodification of an ethnic enclave can occur when there are few residents in the space, but businesses and the urban area remain ethnically bounded (Terzano 2014). This results in consumption of the enclave by its own ethnic group and by tourists who seek to consume or experience traditional "ethnic" products such as foods, language, and style. Therefore, the ethnic enclave becomes a point of attraction which circulates people to the area.

1.4 Experiential mobility

As mentioned, urban spaces can be consumable, especially considering urban tourism, or in this case, linguistic tourism (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). For many Brazilians who come to Dublin, it is to fully *experience* the city as itself. Due to the nature of their temporary studentship (which could be extended), the Brazilian community seeks to live, work, study, and tour the city for the two years they are in Dublin. Likewise, specifically Capel Street's new-found-popularity is desirable for consumption by Brazilians, other migrant groups, and Irish locals. Cresswell writes that experience is at the centre of human mobility (2010, 25), and we must beg the question, "*how does it feel?"* when unravelling the mechanics of a mobile act. According to Cresswell, the experience of mobility is also *embodied*, carrying with it the practice of sensory engagement, physical movement such as walking or taking transport, and immersing oneself fully into the act of movement (2010, 21). Considering identity markers, place-making, and varying sensory landscapes, the feelings and experience of a person in a certain place depend on their inclusion, exclusion, or degree of familiarity. The experience that migrants have within the enclave can be self-affirming and positive, as the enclave is built to foster the

ethnic identity of its group. On the other hand, mobilising out of the ethnic into “local” places can be experienced as jarring or unfamiliar. In many places, members of ethnic minorities can feel incredibly unsafe or unwelcome when travelling through certain urban areas (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). The experience of movement produces feelings and attitudes towards the spaces being moved through, and perceptions of place are reinforced by these feelings.

This literature review has defined several key concepts essential for the comprehension of this project. Most notably, the *new mobilities paradigm* and *the mobilities turn* and its concepts, place-making and the distinction between space and place, and ethnic enclaves and their development. Special attention has also been given to the embodiment of experiential mobility. The review and discussion of these definitions crafts and builds the theoretical framework for which this research sits.

Chapter II: Dublin's Urban Transformation and Migration

This chapter discusses the necessary information to comprehend how Dublin and Capel Street has transformed and attracted a multicultural population. This chapter first introduces culture-led urban regeneration theories and how cities may appeal to migrants, tourists, and locals. The chapter then focuses on Dublin and the transformation from capital of an emigration country to a creative, wealthy nation. Then, discussion on Capel Street's transformation is given. This chapter finalises with a discussion of current migrant groups in Dublin.

2.1 Urban regeneration theories

There are several ways in which urban regeneration of a deprived area can occur, one of which is by revitalisation of the space by new occupants and their identity markers (Roberts et al. 2016). Receiving occupants into a poorly structured urban space may be difficult, in which case cities must draw in occupants or city-users by way of branding. Cities have identities (Jaffe and de Koning 2016) and are required to utilise their identity in the best methods possible to develop, sustain, and progress. To attract city-users on a global scale, the city must appear as being *creative.* This means, the city is capable of attracting skilled, international workers, to a space that is culturally open, progressive, bohemian, and cosmopolitan (Crossa and Moore 2009). Charles Landry and Franco Bianchini's *The Creative City* explain the value of a strategic urban planning and restructuring on the basis of creativity, intellect, and sustainability (Landry and Bianchini 1995). Richard Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* argues that creative cities will accomplish more than others (Florida 2002). A *creative* city is one that is brimming with diversity, particularly that of ethnic, religious, and sexual, all the while maintaining tolerance (Florida 2002). Creative cities can attract open-minded individuals from their own country, as well as migrants looking for an atmosphere that may not be available in their home country. Sharon Zukin's *The Cultures of Cities* explores how cities and their spaces are composed of diverse aesthetics (1996). For Zukin, city space is negotiated and driven by an increase in diversity (Zukin 1996). Yet the rewards for a city becoming global are immense, principally in that of economic advantage (Pflieger and Rozenblat 2010). Creative cities, through their innovative appeal, can attract the best talent and further develop success through its citizens' impact. Dublin has been named a creative city within the last decade, yet this was not always an easy feat to achieve (Crossa and Moore 2009). In previous decades, Dublin was not at the point of being considered creative, global, or innovative in any capacity. Convery (1988) wrote a suggestion for a bleak 1980s Dublin, "cities which

revitalise themselves somehow create an atmosphere, a style which says to the world that this place is unique, classy, interesting, worth visiting and living in. This can be achieved in a variety of ways: investment in exhibition centres, museums, science centres etc. can, if properly designed, located and managed, make such an impact. Events can create a buzz, a reason to be noticed and be proud" (Convery 1988, 163). Yet cities have become more mobile, flexible, productive, and service oriented in general. Fortunately, these restructurings lent their way to the appeal of seeming *creative*. Cities have increased their numbers of shopping centres, convention centres, stadiums, and have manufactured cultural spaces through gentrification and commodification (Crossa and Moore 2009). Thus, cities do carry a notion of *being sold/marketed* to someone outside of itself. Interacting with a city is consequently an act of consumption, in which an average citizen or tourist is transformed into a shopper, consumer, critic. Dublin's own Temple Bar is a "created" cultural quarter in an attempt to attract more visitors. Capel Street is now dubbed "Capel Play Street" following the transformation of the street as the third pedestrian street in Dublin city(Kelly 2022). Dublin is now an extremely popular destination for tourism, as well as the third wealthiest nation in the world (World Data 2021), yet this was far from the norm thirty years ago.

2.2 Dublin, emigration and transformation

Dublin as a city has undergone immense transformation since its independence from the United Kingdom in 1922. Previously, Ireland was extremely poor due to its economic position within the British Empire despite Dublin's position as an integral city to the Empire. As early as the eighteenth century, this poverty was reflected in the urban tissue of Dublin, with beggars and desperate working class folk crowding in lanes and thoroughfares in the city centre (Craft 1970). The social inequality of Dublin during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was apparent, there were indeed a substantial number of wealthy, skilled Dubliners residing in the city, yet the bulk of the urban population was unskilled, poor or unemployed individuals. While this population was naturally increasing Dublin as a city was not industrialising at the same speed, resulting in an extremely derelict and deprived urban environment (Craft 1970). Still, Dublin's elite and intellectual class was able to erect grand political and economic buildings in the city, many of which are still standing today.

Upon independence from the United Kingdom in the 1920s, Ireland sought to protect its newly fought for freedom and introduced economic policies that nationalised services and banned most foreign trade. Yet over time, these protectionist policies isolated the country and Ireland was still a poor, farming based economy. It was not until 1957 that the Irish government decided to introduce change, trade

barriers were lifted and foreign investment was made into the country. Nationalised services became private, and with low taxes for companies, international organisations began establishing European headquarters in Dublin, without hiring many local Irish (Inglis 2007). Wealthy and influential companies were integrating into the city when Ireland joined the European Union in 1973, yet Irish citizens were suffering from high levels of unemployment and brutal income tax rates whilst government spending increased. During the 1980s an unsatisfied Irish population pleaded for real change. It was at this point that the Irish government pushed for more job opportunities for Dubliners from the multinational companies. This led to the *Celtic Tiger* period of the late 1990s, and even more pharmaceutical and tech multinational companies like Google and Microsoft set up their European headquarters in Dublin due to low corporate tax rates (Inglis 2007). The Celtic Tiger (1995-2008) was a period of vast economic boom within the Irish economy. This was the real beginning of Dublin's identity as a creative city, and Ireland was on an economic high. Unfortunately the 2008 financial crisis affected Ireland immensely, and the country quickly fell back into a recession with high levels of unemployment and dissatisfaction from Irish citizens. The European Union was able to support Ireland during this time, and recovery came a few years later in 2013 (Inglis 2007). More companies began to situate themselves in Dublin, benefiting from the low tax rates and further identifying Dublin as a relevant city in terms of skill and intellect. Since the mid-2010s, Ireland's economy has been considerably stable, and Dublin's population has been steadily increasing by slightly over one percent each year (Macrotrends 2023). Although, this population increase is not entirely a native one, as Irish people have had a long relationship with emigration.

When discussing mobility and Ireland, the conversation usually leans towards mobility *out of* Ireland rather *into* Ireland. Ireland and Dublin have a complicated history with emigration, namely related to The Great Irish Famine of 1845 to 1849, and consequential depletion of the Irish population in the second half of the nineteenth-century (Fitzpatrick 1980). There is an important distinction to be made; there has been immigration that has taken place in Irish history, *in-migration* of rural Irish folk into the urban centres, and the later spring boarding to grander locations internationally. Hanna and Butler write, "Irish cities and towns have always operated as sites of movement, drawing in rural populations and operating as nodal points through which people have migrated to cities all over the globe, forming distinctive Irish urban communities wherever they went" (Hanna and Butler 2018, 7). Several American cities are composed of thriving Irish enclaves dating back to the Famine years in the mid-nineteenth century, especially Boston, Massachusetts with nearly a quarter of residents claiming to have Irish ancestry (Hernandez 2016). Irish nationals have been leaving the island in spurts since the Famine, then again from lack of opportunities in the early twentieth century, and again after the fall of

Celtic Tiger in 2008 (Whelan 2020). Still, emigration especially among young Irish folk is persisting today. This unfortunate reality faces all Irish folk, and Irish media reports it often. National radio broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann (RTE) explains this phenomenon, "people leave Ireland when a crisis in our economy occurs. It also tells us that a majority of the people who leave are those most likely to be engaged in the labour market. They are a workforce, able to make use of the global labour market. When they do this, they relieve the pressure on the state which no longer has to support them via welfare infrastructure, and which may, in fact, benefit through their remittances" (Whelan 2020). Several other factors contribute to the emigration of young Irish citizens, especially that of poor housing availability, increased costs of living, and even a "deteriorating nightlife" in Dublin (CodyKane 2022). Perhaps the most outstanding reason here is the housing crisis in Dublin. Reports as early as 1798 have described an insufficient availability of housing in Dublin city, with overpopulation of homes at 10.5 persons per house, in some areas with over 28 persons per house (Craft 1970). In spite of some young Irish folk emigrating today, there is *still* not enough housing available. Simply stated, there are not enough homes for the rising population. According to the Irish Times, fifty-thousand houses are needed each year in order to solve the housing crisis (Burke-Kennedy 2021). In 2022, there were only 495 homes available to rent in Dublin, half of what was available just six years prior in 2016 (Webber 2022). A good portion of these homes are unlikely to rent to single Irish families, but as a house share to a myriad of migrants, students, or refugees (Webber 2022). With Irish people leaving their labour markets, these gaps are being filled by migrants and international skilled workers desiring to benefit from the available jobs in tech and pharmaceutical industries. Many migrants are congregating in specific areas of Dublin city, with Capel Street being a primary location and rich example of a creative city's street.

2.3 Capel Street

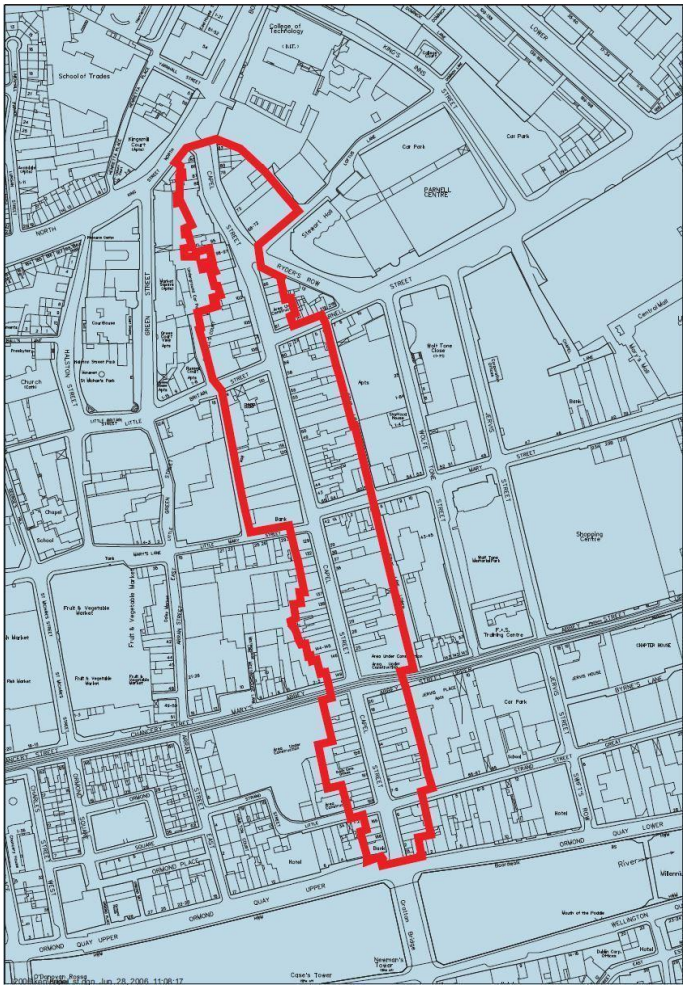

Figure 2.3 Capel Street highlighted in red (Dublin City Council 2009)

Although Dublin's relationship with welcoming many migrants is relatively young, it is immensely compelling. In fact, "rapid immigration during the economic boom of the late 1990s and early 2000s means that Ireland now has one of the highest proportions of foreign-born residents in the EU" (Department of Justice and Equality 2019, i). The 2016 census recorded that of the 4,761,865 Irish population, 535,475 were foreign born non-Irish (Central Statistics Office 2016). Naturally, this has an incredible impact on the city's urban form, physical, and mental geographies. The Celtic Tiger period primarily interested the migrant population to Dublin. Additionally, the eastward expansion of the European Union in 2004 allowed newly EU citizens to gain access to Ireland. Thus, post-recession of the late 1980s, emigration and immigration levels were fairly stable, and 1996 saw the first new migration in the positives (Department of Justice and Equality 2019). These new migrants are creating homes in none other than the city centre, which is creating a distinction in spaces largely thought to be Irish, spaces identified to be "non-Irish". A study conducted on Dublin's urban segregation during the late 1990s and mid-2000s discusses the effects of migrant populations on the city's economic system.

“While migrant segregation in Dublin is considerable (although not extreme) and shows a slight clustering in previously disadvantaged areas, the effect of that clustering is to contribute modestly but in an unambiguously positive way to a narrowing of the gap between the worst-off and best-off areas of Dublin during the economic boom” (Fahey and Fanning 2010, 1626). Essentially, these influxes of migrants in the city centre and streets like Capel Street are actually redeveloping the city’s previously understood as “worse-off areas” and diversifying the environment, leading to more bohemian and diverse neighbourhoods that were once thought to be insignificant by locals.

Capel Street is a typical, quintessential *Northside* street. Dublin city is divided by the River Liffey which separates the town physically, historically, and culturally. Colloquially called “Northside” and “Southside”, there has been a long-standing debate of which side is better than the other. The Southside is often thought to be more affluent, posh, and housing middle to upper class Irish residents. The Northside is associated with the Irish working class, foreigners, and being rather “rough” or “raw”. Despite both sides being commercially and economically bustling, there is a tendency for foreigners and Dubliners alike to prefer one side to another (O’Toole 2012). The Southside is typically known as wealthier and *over* privileged, yet this was not always the case. During the Georgian period beginning in the late eighteenth century, the first extravagant residential homes were actually built on the Northside, many just past Capel Street on Henrietta Street (Phelan 2017). Soon thereafter, in 1784 the Earl of Kildare began development on large townhouses in the Southside, and the affluent families of Northside Dublin migrated to the then vast and open land (Phelan 2016). With now vacant buildings in the tight and narrow streets of the Northside, poorer families began residing in the tenement buildings so reflective of Dublin’s inner city. Capel Street being amid such urban tissue. This form of urban to suburban mobility of Dublin’s upper-class families is still seen today, as real estate prices in the Southside are consistently higher than its Northside counterparts (McCashin 2018). Additionally, foreigners and migrants have come to the Northside to reap the benefits of cheaper housing while still being in the centre of the city.

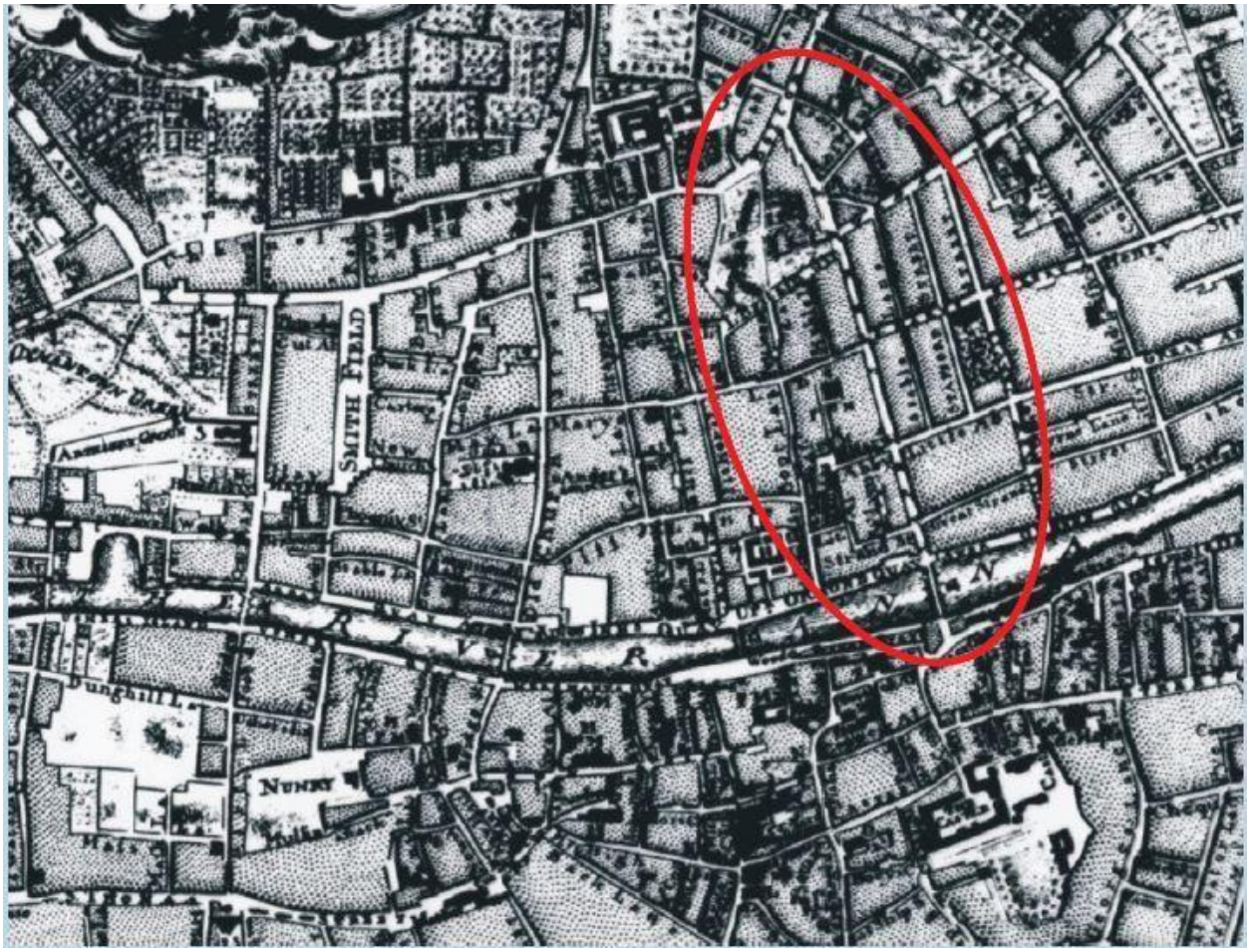

Figure 2.3 Northside Dublin, Capel Street in red, 1756 (Dublin City Council Planning 2009)

In the seventeenth century, Capel Street became available for residential use. The development of this street for residential use is incredibly significant for Dublin's urban history as it was the first large-scale plan executed in a short time frame. Another extremely important aspect of Capel Street is its establishment of the Essex bridge (today Grattan bridge), a primary connection between the North and South sides. During this period, Capel Street was as popular and sought after as some of today's Southside neighbourhoods. Quickly, Capel Street transitioned into a commercial area in the late eighteenth century. From the nineteenth century into the twentieth, Dublin's Northside experienced urban decline in which Capel Street was greatly affected. Throughout the nineteenth century, Capel Street was predominantly commercial. Beginning at this point and especially in the 1980s, Capel Street solidified its reputation as an archetypal North Side street; ridden with rubbish, drug use, dereliction and vacant spaces. At this stage, Dubliners began to stress the importance of redeveloping the area. Now Director of the Environmental Systems Institute at University College Dublin Frank J. Convery, a Professor of Environmental Studies then, wrote an article detailing the needs of redevelopment in

Dublin's city centre. Convery (1988), wrote that the economic fall of Ireland in the 1980s had greatly impacted the urban fabric and physical environment, and government bodies needed to invest in the city centre's redevelopment. He wrote of population decline and an increase in the dilapidation of houses, as well as community and commercial buildings. His main propositions were to introduce proper housing and transportation, while simultaneously giving a stronger voice to the people and local residents (Convery 1988). Convery's commentary gained awareness and facilitated real change in the late 1980s at the perfect time, the start of the Celtic Tiger. Among many benefits, the Celtic Tiger allowed for an immense plethora of urban projects to manifest. Dublin city could then channel funds into deprived neighbourhoods for revitalisation and regeneration projects, as well as preservation of historic areas (Murphy 2000). Capel Street in particular then saw rapid improvement in the form of specialty businesses. With more funds directed into urban revitalisation in the city centre, folks were attracted to spending time there. Particularly that of Louis Copeland, a nationally renowned tailor, opened his shop in a vacant building on Capel Street. Newly opened furniture shops, and a Riverdance organisation headquarters off of Capel Street also contributed to the redevelopment as well (Fortes 2014). Essentially, Dublin was pouring funds into every aspect of the city in attempts to transform the urban area and attract tourism.

From the mid-1990s and into the twenty-first century, The Celtic Tiger period brought about the establishment of urban transport systems, and Capel Street's commercial momentum reaped its rewards. The development of the Luas tram system in 2004 throughout Dublin greatly impacted the possibilities that Dubliners had to efficiently travel to various parts of the city. The "Luas" as it is colloquially called, is a light rail system in Dublin County that provides two lines, Green running North to South, and Red running East to West. It is one of the most popular transport services, having carried 19.2 million passengers in 2020 (Transport Infrastructure Ireland). The Luas is a convenient and cheap method to travel around the city, and at only one euro per ride for students, it is especially popular for language students. Capel Street in particular houses a Luas stop off of its Abbey Street junction, allowing for easy pedestrian access and mobility to the space. These features of redevelopment have led to an increased circulation in the Capel Street area, as folks are purposefully going to the street for various shopping needs, and in the case of this research, education.

The language school of this research is not the only one on Capel Street or Northside city centre. In fact, most language schools *are* in this area, due to a rezoning project in 2006 allowing for educational services in the area. These 2006 plans stated that new structures built on the street can be used for educational purposes, and any existing buildings could also be converted into educational places. The motive was to bring a different population into the Capel Street area, one that was not necessarily

impoverished or not, but unique altogether, in the form of international students. This type of zoning, known as Z5, is *mixed-use development,* seeks to "match the capacity of existing and planned public transport; provide good quality street environments to provide safer and more attractive settings for people to shop / do business; and incorporate cycle and pedestrian friendly designs" (Dublin City Council 2021) among many other objectives. This mixed-use development allowed Capel Street buildings to become a fully fleshed version of a city within a city, housing all types of services found in Dublin on one single street. The emphasis on English-language learning inherently attracts an international community to Capel Street, resulting in a culturally creative and diverse atmosphere. Due to this regeneration and historically cultural significance, Capel Street is now one of Dublin's Architectural Conservation Areas (Dublin City Council 2009).

Looking more closely at contemporary Capel Street, it is composed of a plethora of offbeat and funky restaurants, cafes, and speciality shops. One can find most desires here, whether it be Korean food, locksmiths, hipster cafes, classic Irish pubs, or vintage shops. Capel Street is not viewed as solely Irish or solely international, it is a mix of identity and flavours. The street and its multi-ethnic consumption is generating much attention from a now international level. In a recent publication by London's *Time Out* magazine, Capel Street came in ranking at 22nd on a list of culturally enticing streets all over the world (Burns 2022). The article writes, "There is always something new to discover on Capel Street, whether it's a steamy bowl of authentic pho, a lively Moroccan restaurant with karaoke from noon to night, or brunch at the super-popular Brother Hubbard" (Manning 2022). Capel Street, therefore, is not solely one ethnicity, which in fact heightens the experience of ethnic affiliation. While many ethnic groups and thus ethnic boundaries are coexisting in the same space, this is not necessarily a negative consequence of the shared street. Due to the large number of multiple ethnic groups having shops on the street, other non-Irish groups experience a sense of belonging in the area. Terzano explains this as *coethnicity,* multiple ethnic groups coexisting within a single ethnic enclave, which may lead to a combination of ethnicities thriving within the same urban area (Terzano 2014). This sharing of Capel Street is likely a result of chain migrations, the abundance of language schools, and well-defined identity markers, illustrating that certain ethnic members are welcomed there. Certainly, these groups may also thrive from the commodification of the space through promotion of restaurants and specialty shops. In this way, the ethnic groups are not competing with one another, they are providing different, unique goods and services alongside one another. Capel Street is a rich example of coethnicity, precisely how Dublin has been changing physically and culturally, and what that could mean for the future of Dublin's urban tissue.

Capel Street is an incredible manifestation of the transformation of Dublin into a creative city in the matter of a few decades. According to an RTE News report broadcast in 1981, Capel Street was "one of the most notorious in Dublin's inner city. Crimes range from petty theft to pilfering and robbery with violence" (McNiff 1981). This is wildly different to today, as *Time Out* magazine's naming of Capel Street "one of the coolest streets in the world." Some reasons for its ranking include, "a whirl of culture" and "some of the best food in Dublin" (Burns 2022). These two remarks highly reflect the multiculturalism of the area which would not have been possible without the migrant populations. Several ethnic groups coexist alongside one another and the local populations in Dublin. The ethnic make-up is quite varied, and those with Brazilian backgrounds do hold a substantial portion of the make-up.

2.4 Migrant groups in Dublin

Dublin's growing multiculturalism and capitalisation of its *creative* reputation has made it especially attractive to migrants. It is young, English-speaking, and has a well-educated population working in high-paying and covetable positions (Crossa and Moore 2009). In recent years, Dublin has seen a large rise in the number of migrants seeking to start new lives in the city. Ireland's 2019 Annual Report on Migration and Asylum has shown, "a total of 137,207 visas, both long and short stay, were issued in 2019. The approval rate for visas was 89.5 per cent" (Sheridan 2019). With such a high number of visa applications, Dublin has understood how to captivate potential visitors. During Celtic Tiger and the emigration of young Irish folk, the labour force was refilled by mainly Polish migrant workers along with other EU nationals namely Romanians, Lithuanians, and Latvians (Krings et al. 2009). These groups, along with United Kingdom nationals, hold the top five spots of highest populations in Ireland (Central Statistics Office 2016). It is important to consider that EU and UK nationals have more defined and open routes when migrating to Ireland, and their passports grant them access to residency, and work and study opportunities that non-EU nationals cannot gain (as easily). According to Dublin City Council's report on residential distribution of immigrants in Ireland, "the non-EU category of migrants covers a diverse range of countries. The largest non-EU sub-groups in the 2016 Census were people born in the USA (28,650), followed by Indian- (20,969), Nigerian- (16,569) and Brazilian-born (15,769) residents" (Department of Justice and Equality 2019, 7). In fact, some statistics even show a 218.898% increase of Brazilians in Ireland from 2016 to 2020 (Department of Justice 2020). Despite the Brazilian diaspora not being the highest non-EU foreign ethnic group, the community is indeed rapidly increasing and massively impressing the Dublin area. In 2016 the Central Statistics Office

reported, " since 2006 the Brazilian population in Ireland has more than trebled in size", and the Brazilian population has the highest concentration of any foreign ethnic group in Dublin, at the time having 8,685 residents in the county (Central Statistics Office 2016).

It is important to consider that while many groups have been living in the city for decades, they may not always be treated as equals. Dublin's attempts at being global and *creative* (culturally open, tolerant, progressive) is quickly confronted with its largely monoethnic and religiously conservative history. Many immigrant communities, including the Brazilian, report acts of racism at institutional and social levels (Crossa and Moore 2009). Attempting coethnicity with the local population is not always an easy journey to traverse. Yet in fact, interacting with the local Irish population may not be an everyday occurrence.

Large amounts of the local Irish population rarely live in the same *places* as the migrant groups. According to the Dublin City Council's Socio-Economic Profile of 2011, at the time, there was an overall nineteen percent of the Dublin City administrative area who were non-Irish by nationality. Yet interestingly, those who were not Irish were concentrated heavily in the city centre, whereas Irish nationals were living slightly further out. The report states, "A more multicultural population is resident in the city centre area" (Dublin City Council 2011). Figure 2.4 depicts the highest concentration of non-Irish nationals coloured in blue living in the city centre, whereas the highest concentration of Irish nationals coloured in red are living farther out into Dublin county's north and east sides.

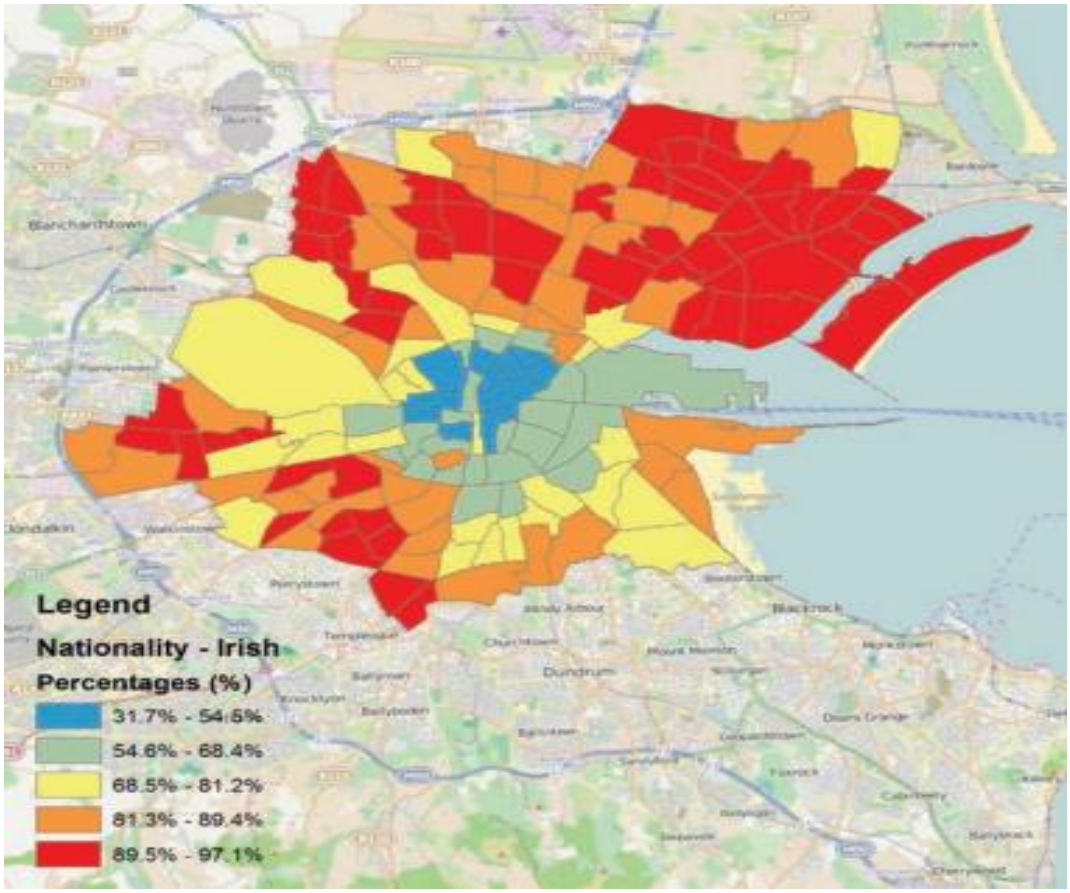

Figure 2.4 Location of Irish population in Dublin. (Dublin City Council 2011)

Though both migrant groups and the local Irish circulate, commute, and venture around the city for work or leisure, there is a divide in where the groups live. According to the research by Fahy and Fanning, immigrant groups came to Dublin during the Celtic Tiger and settled in disadvantaged areas of the city, most commonly in the city centre and specifically Northside. This clustering can still be seen today, and has helped balance such socio-spatial urban inequalities (Fahy and Fanning 2010). Nevertheless, Dublin's housing crisis in the last decade has certainly led to a diffusion of ethnic groups in various parts of the city, taking any sort of housing available (Murphy 2022). Several Brazilian informants I spoke to are living quite far from the city centre, upwards of one hour or more by Dublin bus.

Where these groups are living is not the only important aspect, when asking my informants about where they *find* the most Brazilians, they all responded with "city centre" as the primary location. Brazilians, according to one another, can be found anywhere in Dublin city and *especially* clustering in the centre, congruent to the research conducted a decade prior. Due to the city centre's role as a coethnic space, one may find a variety of groups in the area, and whether they have a home there, the

space is used as a connection/meeting point. The city centre is thus an integral place in the mental maps of both Irish and non-Irish Dublin residents, representing a coethnic shared space.

This chapter has discussed the urban and economic transformations of Dublin and Capel Street which has attracted a multicultural population. This chapter analysed how Dublin became a cultural city through trying efforts to create its identity. The chapter then focused on Capel Street's transformation and current reputation as a "cool" street. Lastly, this chapter presented the current migrant groups in Dublin and their clustering. The information in this chapter is essential in shaping the background of the development of the Brazilian ethnic enclave.

Chapter III: Methodology

This chapter presents the methodology implemented in the project. It is essential to comprehend the approaches used in this research for validity of the project. Each section of this chapter presents a unique component of the research development or analysis. There will be a discussion of ethnography, the data collection process and the informants, methods used to analyse and map the urban landscape, and thematic analysis. This chapter provides the justification for methodology used in the research.

My project aim was to understand and describe the ways in which the Brazilians in Dublin embedded themselves into the city's fabric. To do so, I focused on the relationship between Brazilian English-language students as migrants and their lived experience on Capel Street and the surrounding area. This area is significant because it is home to the language school my research is rooted in, as well as several Brazilian shops, which will be outlined later. This endeavour appeared valuable to me as a researcher, as there was little ethnographic research related to Dublin city's urban life and urban history (Hanna and Butler 2018). Similarly, I saw interest in tracing a trend between migrants and the built environment, one in which a city is properly configured and created by its dwellers. The most optimal way to have my questions answered was to perform a literature review, then to envelop myself in the environment and conduct ethnographic research. I was able to achieve this aim by working primarily with qualitative data. All data was collected by myself through survey, interview, reading, and observation.

3.1 Ethnography

I used the definitions and broad theoretical assumptions of ethnographic research from *Research Ethics in Ethnography/Anthropology* commissioned by the European Commission to approach my research. Ethnography "entails the study of a group through direct contact with its culture and social interactions" (Iphofen 2013, 6). Another useful definition states, "Ethnography is a way of studying peoples' behaviour – language, culture, values, meanings and social organisation – in everyday, natural settings rather than in formal research settings. It is best understood as a 'style' of research requiring the observation and description of people in their normal social context" (Iphofen 2013, 6). I have utilised ethnography's application in human geography outlined by Cook and Crang's *Doing Ethnography* (1996). They state that ethnographic research is composed of three parts: gaining access

to a community, living and/or working with the community, and finally returning to the academic setting to make sense of the experience and cultural insight (Cook and Crang 1996). After gaining access to the community of Brazilian students by taking an internship at a prominent English-language school, I spent several months familiarising myself with employees and students alike. Once I knew a substantial portion of the community, I was able to start asking questions and doing ethnographic research.

There were five assumptions or commitments that I followed when conducting my research; *Understanding and interpretation* (1), which encapsulates the idea that all human behaviour is meaningful and purposeful and should be interpreted as such. *Social events are processual* (2) declares that social meaning is negotiated and changeable, and the relationship between people and their beliefs is in motion and, sometimes, contention. *Naturalism* (3) and *Holism* (4) express that participants should be studied as naturally and holistically as possible. Lastly, and quite importantly, *Multiple perspectives* (5) regards that there are always multiple ways of understanding something. When considering the data from informants, we must believe that multiple perspectives "suggests a kind of 'relativity' about how we understand the world. It does not assume that there is only one, rational, efficient, or correct way to do things – attitudes, values and behaviour depend upon social and cultural circumstances" (Iphofen 2013, 8), and thus we must contextualise our data with careful consideration. These assumptions allowed me to closely ensure the validity of my research both theoretically and ethically.

3.2 Data collection and informants

To compile my data, I had spent one year working in an English-language college to compile both formal and informal data from the staff, students, and passer-byers. I had worked as a programme coordinator and English language teacher. This way, I was able to speak with informants intimately and gain first-hand impressions while amassing large amounts of general information. Being on Capel Street for as long as I did allowed me to deeply interpret and interrogate the experience of the informants. In terms of communication with the informants, I followed Johns and Philips (2012) ethical criteria series to ensure sensitivity to the informants. Undoubtedly, I was direct and up front about my intentions with the research project. Before sending the form from which I pooled my informants, I received written confirmation from both the owner and director of the language school that I could interview some students. I made it very clear to all parties at the school (both students and staff) that I am a current masters student intending to do ethnographic work. Once my project was clearly defined, I ensured to communicate my research questions with my informants. I verbally communicated to the

informants that I was doing my research project on Brazilians in Dublin, their experiences, their community and how they interact with the city. I created a Google Form survey in June 2022 and administered it to some 800 students, and received 140 responses back. The short, ten question survey asked students their basic information about living experience and transport in Dublin. The questions were a mix of fill-in-the-blank and multiple choice. This process allowed me to recruit participants and begin the process of interviewing, as well as create visual representations of the data regarding the mobility of students in the city. I asked each informant individually, after they agreed to be interviewed via the Google Form, if they would like to answer a few questions about living in Dublin and share the experiences they have had since moving abroad. I then had to explain what my personal intentions were with their answers and experiences, how I am particularly interested in ethnic enclaves and language-motivated mobility. I explained to the informants I had invited them to take part in the research due to their enrollment in the school, and how it was comfortable and accessible for them and myself to meet after classes in the area. I explained how the interviews would be conducted, and that I would be using their words in my master's thesis project. I felt there were no risks for the informants in taking part in the interviews, and explained this project had no academic affiliation to the language school they are students of. I assured them that their names would be changed for confidentiality, and that when the project is finished I will happily send them a copy. Lastly, I indicated that if they ever had more thoughts they wanted to share, they could email me whenever they liked. As their former teacher, I fervently sought to keep the interviews understanding, empathetic, and based on a shared excitement for learning about one another.The crucial data here are the interviews and conversations I had with informants. In the summer of 2022, I sat with several informants to understand their perspectives. I conducted interviews with twenty Brazilian students who are living in Dublin and attending the language school. As well, I interviewed ten language students from other Spanish-speaking South American countries to understand their experience as English-students who do not have as large a population in Dublin. I conducted one-on-one interviews as well as small focus groups of three to four students. My intention with including both methods was to gain data individually and deeply through interviews and facilitate discussion among the respondents in focus groups. The focus groups were especially informative as the students could engage with and agree or disagree with one another. Due to the nature of the research being about community, it was important that the community was there during the discussion, and each member could voice their experience. The one-on-one interviews added to this dimension by allowing me to more deeply understand the unique experience of several informants, and fully know their story. Both methods were consensual, semi-structured, and roughly 30 minutes. I had asked questions regarding personal life, preferences, and habits in Dublin. I

also asked about motivation, purpose, and both short-term and long-term goals in regard to migratory decisions. It is important to note that the majority of the students I interviewed were at an Intermediate (B1) or beyond (up to C1) level of English. Their higher level may impact their experiences in Dublin. The three students I interviewed who held lower than a B1 level had higher level students translate between us.

As their former language teacher, most of our relationship consisted of myself teaching them ways of communicating. Following our interactions after their courses ended and during the interviews, I was gratefully taught some Portuguese phrases and words, some of which are included in the project. This sharing of language slightly shifted our relationship into a friendlier, culturally exchanged one. At this point I seriously considered what type of relationship I wanted to have with the informants. It was clear there was a power imbalance, myself as their former English-language teacher, and themselves as language students. Cook and Crang write in *Doing ethnographies* (1995) how to address the inherent political element of holding power in research, "not only must the significance of the researcher's position and apparent intentions be considered but so too must her/his responsibilities over how the people being researched will be represented in any account produced, how this will be circulated, and the impact that this might have on their lives in the future" (18). Of course, in my research, my position as an academic staff member and American citizen signifies a high level of power. Yet I sought to navigate this imbalance by refocusing the relationship towards both parties' similarities. As a citizen from the United States of America, I was able to empathise with the migratory experience of the participants. None of us were local Dubliners, and we also experienced forms of cultural shock and newness, albeit them much more than myself. Also, my informants were in roughly the same age range as myself (20-35), and we were able to chat about common interests and life experience. Still, ethnographic research has a history of exoticizing and mystifying cultural groups from the global South, positioning Europeans and other Westerns as merely creating fantastical stories of these people, creating an "othering" and distance (Cook and Crang 1995, 20). This aspect was at the forefront of my mind, and I sought to dismantle this ideology with clear and fair communication.

I then conducted interviews with the college staff, who are a diverse mix of Irish, European, Asian, and American. I asked roughly five staff members their opinions on the student body and their perceptions of how Dublin is shifting into a greater international destination. I have conducted interviews with three Dublin locals and a Capel Street shop owner and consulted with two other Dublin residents from other parts of Ireland. I asked questions regarding their perception of how Dublin and Capel Street have changed over the last few years, and how/if they have been impacted by such changes. I compiled data through note-taking.

3.3 Mapping the urban landscape

I utilised various methods and approaches to decipher how not only my informants, but myself, understood the Capel Street area and ethnic enclave. In doing so, I sought to discover ways in which I could, and others do use sensory, embodied practices to navigate the urban space. Mobility cannot be separated from the time and space in which it occurs (Cresswell 2006) yet the perceptions of time and space are contested by the individual's experience of mobility. To understand how the ethnic enclave is perceived by those within it and those outside of it, we can consider the ways various landscapes are schematised. Chapter six of Phillips and Johns' *Fieldwork for Human Geography* discusses the ways in which landscapes can be mapped, both by researchers and their informants. Visual maps are the most traditional and commonplace style of representation yet tapping into the other senses can result in a more well-rounded depiction of the space. Johns and Phillips state that embodied encounters can give more geographic knowledge than purely disembodied visual, birds-eye-view style of mapping (Johns and Phillips 2012, 130). For example, creating soundscapes or landscapes of smells can give a better representation of the social and cultural implications of an area. Knowing which sensory experiences are occurring in specific places of a city can solidify membership to the group which produces them (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). The mapping of senses creates feelings of belonging, separating the included from excluded and further defining cultural or ethnic boundaries. Yet we must acknowledge the inherent value provided by visual maps, whether physical or imagined. Visual maps as well are subject to interpretation, and Robert J. Chaskin (1997) writes of mental maps and their ability to define an individual's decisions. Chaskin describes contributing physical features like paths, roads, rivers, and other well-defined landmarks. He also outlines social attributes like demographics, perceptions of safety and danger, and opportunities in the area. Therefore, the personal, subjective, social mapping joins with the physical, creating a mental perspective of the city specifically for that individual (Chaskin 1997). Surveying the landscape linguistically defines which areas in a city are culturally or ethnically different from the majority language. As Bharain Mac an Bhreithiún and Anne Burke write, "linguistic landscape in its fullest sense embraces the full range of words occurring in the environment, from the commercial language of the advertising poster and the shop façade to the official regulatory signage erected by municipal and national authorities" (2014, 90). These markers are not limited to "official" signage, but also include graffiti, small posters in restaurant windows, or handmade advertisements. A linguistic landscape further creates a sense of inclusion or exclusion especially for Brazilian English-language students. An investigation of Brazilian migrants in the United States

explains that Brazilian Portuguese evident within urban landscapes serves to strengthen "Brazilianness", which is used as an identity marker to distinguish the population from Spanish-speaking and Iberian-Portuguese speaking groups (Rubinstein-Avila 2005, 879).

The linguistic landscape serves as an opportunity to understand cities and urban spaces, which is comprehended by the mother tongue and, to some degree, the target language of the individual. These sensory geographies, especially linguistic landscapes and personal mental maps help shape the experience of and mobility decisions made by the Brazilian students.

I have examined the various ways in which the participants and myself understand the ethnic enclave. These methods of mapping, both visual and by other senses, have allowed me to understand the embodied and practised mobility of interacting with the enclave, as well as discover the identity markers that exist in the area.

3.4 Thematic analysis

While I used methods like content and discourse analyses, I was primarily interested in *thematic* analysis, to broadly examine the overall feelings and trends the participants had on the topics. Thematic analysis, defined by Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke is a type of analysis within social science. It is the process by which qualitative data is examined and subsequently connected by similar themes (Braun and Clarke 2021). Thematic analysis is incredibly useful in analysing interviews, as there are various themes in the experience of each informant. In thematic analysis, researchers must familiarise themselves with the data, code interview notes, identify themes, review themes, and define them. This is the process I underwent, analysing my interview notes, and grouping them into broader categories and themes based on the participants experience.

Conducting research on urbanity and lived experience would be utterly unsuccessful without an ethnographic approach. It was imperative that I conducted interviews and observations to fully grasp the perceptions of those I am researching. Approaching my project aim, it became incredibly clear that qualitative data was going to be my primary resource, and this data needed to be interpreted and handled with curiosity and affinity. As previously mentioned, there is little ethnographic research on Dublin's urban form. This approach could enhance the typically objective perspective on the city's space, and gaining the phenomenological point of view enriches Dublin's urban history archive. In any

case, to understand the mobility, urban experience, and space building of a community, I needed to ask questions, listen, and interpret.

This chapter has discussed the reasons for which several methods were used in the making of this research. Ethnography, data collection and informants, mapping and thematic analysis were defined, discussed, and explained. The previous sections have provided the necessary information to understand the methodology and its purpose for this project.

Chapter IV: Migration-Tourism Nexus Among Young Brazilians in Dublin

This chapter discusses language-tourism and its distinction among other migration theories. This chapter then outlines the motivation of Brazilians when leaving Brazil and relevant push factors. This chapter describes pull factors that contribute to informants choosing Dublin. This information is necessary for comprehending the background of the informants when arriving in Dublin and the ethnic enclave.

4.1 Language tourism

Several migration theories have been utilised in migration studies to explain migrant motivations and systems (Lee 1966) (Ravenstein 1889) (Wallerstein 1974). The motive for a migrant's move can vary greatly, from representing an act of political agency to seeking better employment opportunities (Cresswell 2010). As well, a migrant will experience the mobility differently as it relates to their motivations and goal, focusing on different elements of the move (Cresswell 2010).
My informants in particular are students, entering Dublin on a student visa to learn English. Indeed, all the informants I spoke to were all working, sometimes multiple jobs, in addition to their full time English studies. Yet the mentality to migrate to a country on the basis of learning, especially language learning, differs greatly to that of the intention to move solely for work. Motivation related to education is distinctive from motivation related to work or financial security. Mobility through forms of tourism compared to other forms of mobility (work-motivated, asylum, etc) require a theoretical distinction when approaching their characteristics (Williams and Hall 2000). Educational tourism seeks to provide an experience in which students gain skills or knowledge from travelling to a foreign country, and English-speaking countries typically lie high on the list of desirable destinations. Most commonly, Australia, the United Kingdom, and the United States welcome the highest numbers of students visiting for educational, often linguistic purposes (Kenfack and Öztüren 2021). Though this may be changing, as Ireland has seen an over twenty percent increase in foreign students at Irish universities since the implementation of Brexit policies (Corr 2022). 'Language tourism', a studying abroad experience crafted to immerse a student in the target language, as well as expose them to cultural norms and traditions of that country, provides an experience only available by moving to a specific country (Iglesias 2016). 'Language tourism' is therefore presented to be a formative, diverse experience in which an individual can better themselves on the basis of education rather than financial opportunity (although this is typically a byproduct). There is a perceived value for 'language tourism'. Migrating on

the basis of educational or linguistic advancement, rather than only financial growth, may be understood as a more valuable or worthwhile venture (Redondo-Carretero et al. 2017). Consequently, levels of satisfaction during the time abroad may be fulfilled more deeply and with more meaning as the experience is valued higher for its linguistic and cultural benefits (Redondo-Carretero et al. 2017). In this way, 'language tourism' or educational tourism differs from that of other migrations as it is meant to be more experiential, playful and developing, rather than to escape a negative situation in the home country or benefit from amenities in the new destination. Still, the Brazilian informants explained that both learning English *and* work opportunities are what drew them to Dublin, along with several other individual factors.

4.2 Push factors

There are several factors which contribute to the emigration of Brazilians out of their home country. The Brazilian diaspora is a growing community, with members both near and far from their origin. Most English-written research focuses on Brazilians in the United States, and there is little recorded on Brazilian migration to Ireland, let alone Dublin (Healy 2006). While the United States and Ireland are incredibly different, the same reasons for leaving Brazil can apply to both nations. In 2009, there were an estimated two million Brazilians living abroad (Marcus 2009). In the ten years following, this number has more than doubled to 4.2 million according to Brazil's Ministry of Foreign Affairs's 2020 *Comunidade Brasileira No Exterior Estimativas Referentes Ao Ano De 2020* (Brazilian Community Abroad Estimates for the Year 2020) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). Today, Brazil suffers from immense economic and social inequality, as well as the effects of deforestation, violence, and political instability and corruption, many of which began shortly before emigration was commonplace (Morales Ruvalcaba 2013). Economic and political upheaval in Brazil throughout the 1980s has resulted in their relatively young migratory practices (Marcus 2009). At the time, Brazil underwent an economic recession and experienced great hyperinflation which continued into the 1990s. Brazilians fled most often to the United States, yet with the expansion of visa opportunities in other countries, especially Ireland, there are considerably more options than before (McKinney 2021). Additionally, ex-president of Brazil Jair Bolsonaro's far-right policies polarised the country. Bolsonaro has been credited with promoting extreme hate speech and racism (Lum 2019). Several of my informants explained they were extremely dissatisfied with Bolsonaro's presidency, making it "easy" to leave their home country in the midst of the currently turbulent political atmosphere.

The main push factors that lead to Brazilians leaving their home country can be explained in three categories: (1) lack of economic opportunity/ financial growth, (2) lack of environment to learn/practise English, and (3) lack of curiosity satisfied in their own country. Despite being one of the largest economies in the world, Brazil has extreme levels of income inequality, and household purchasing power is incredibly poor (Johnston 2021). A few informants told me that they needed to save for at least a year in order to purchase the newest iPhone, whereas in Ireland they could purchase the same device in half the time's wages. Levels of English in Brazil are incredibly low, with only 5% of the population stating they know some English (British Council 2014). Basic English courses at schools are insufficient and paying for private lessons is typically not a feasible financial option for most lower to middle-class families (British Council 2014). While younger Brazilians (18-24) can say they speak more than older generations, overall English fluency is low. Several informants explained that for the entirety of their English-language teaching in school, they only learnt the verb "*to be".* Informants I spoke to who came to the language school at an A2 level of English arrived in Dublin with virtually no ability to speak, and little comprehension. Brazilians, much like any other nationality, are a group of individuals with complex goals and visions for their lives. Several informants of mine spoke about their desire to live abroad, experience a new culture, and meet people from different backgrounds. While this drive to leave Brazil and experience something new may be intertwined with the dissatisfaction with other elements of the country, it is still relevant to consider that these particular Brazilians are in Dublin as students, taking part in a tourist venture and want to benefit from a novel "life abroad" experience. In 'language tourism', the target language may be the primary factor in choosing a destination, yet other elements are considered such as cultural attractions, safety, location, and affordability (Redondo-Carretero et al. 2017). My informants desired an experience, even if short-lived, that could offer them not only a temporary escape from the monotony of their home country while simultaneously giving them an advantageous opportunity to improve their English skills *and* make and save funds at the same time. This type of tourism for Brazilians is only available in a limited number of countries, Ireland being one.

4.3 Pull factors

As a destination, Ireland comes in at 15th most popular destination for the Brazilian diaspora with roughly fifty thousand Brazilians residing in the country in 2020. Though Ireland falls much lower on the list compared to the likes of the United States (1,775,000), United Kingdom (220,000), Portugal (276,000), and others, the Brazilian community in Ireland is growing exponentially within the last five

years (Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2021). The Brazilian diaspora in Dublin is indicative primarily of chain-migration. Chain-migration declares that one or few migrants enter a new destination first, and those from their home country follow them (Terzano 2014). Yet there are still many other pull factors at play.

“I came here because some friends were here” -Paulo, 28
“My cousin is here, he’s doing a PhD here” -Felipe, 22
“A lot of people from my city came here” -Bruno, 25

Paulo arrived in Dublin just four months prior. He is working as a sous chef, a wildly different career than his personal training venture in Brazil. He arrived in Dublin with his wife, and has been spending most of his free time with her and his friends from back in Rio de Janeiro. Felipe has been in Dublin eight months, living with his cousin who has been in Dublin for years at this point. He works in a pub, one in which he can’t speak Portuguese as he is the only Brazilian on his shift. Bruno, with a degree in tourism, has been in Dublin only half a year. He is currently using his Advanced English (C1) skills as a hotel receptionist. While he came to the city alone, he already knew a rich network of friends from Rio de Janeiro.

These informant statements depict choices to migrate based on chain-migration. A defining factor in a student’s decision was pre-existing relationships present in the city. Carved pathways to a destination makes the migration process easier, as prospective students can ask a friend, family member, or acquaintance for guidance and assistance throughout the migration and resettling process (Terzano 2014). The informants explained that this sense of assistance and familial-like uplifting has been crucial to their adjustment period in Dublin. Additionally, there were a few informants who arrived in Dublin with a spouse, sibling, or cousin, furthering a sense of camaraderie during the move. Still, several students went to Dublin alone, and Carlos (27) explained, “If you’re Brazilian, other Brazilians help you. We’re like a family and you can meet people on Facebook or WhatsApp groups if you don’t know a lot of people”. In Brazil, Carlos was a part-time music producer with a degree in nursing. He is now working as a cashier at a convenience shop near his home on the outskirts of Dublin city.

Knowing that there is a large and growing community of Brazilians in Dublin motivates other Brazilians to make the move, as having the security of community gives them a feeling of safety in a foreign city. Still, there are other ways in which Ireland appeals to Brazilian emigrants.

Several informants explained their desire to participate in a life-abroad, somewhat "magical" experience. Marcus's discussion of "geographical imagination" with his American-based Brazilian migrants describes the emotive ideas of place created by the individual when imagining a foreign destination (Marcus 2009). The Brazilians in his research explain their desire to visit the United States was based on stories told and images shown by friends and family who had already gone. This geographical imagination which serves as motivation and inspiration to move abroad applies to the migration to Dublin as well. My informants explained their friends, family, even acquaintances sharing pictures on social media glamorised the country and city for more than what it's worth. Similarly, the images posted of convenient travelling within Europe due to Ireland's proximity to the continent pulled them in more.

Commodification of Ireland has been present for decades in efforts to increase tourism to the country (Markwick 2001). To draw tourists to Ireland, specifically the rural west, tourism agencies in the early twentieth century began selling brochures and packages of an idyllic version of Ireland, associated with picturesque images of green pastures, sheep, and Celtic fairies. Many of these representations of Ireland were imagined by Irish American immigrant families, yearning for their homeland in which marketing agencies could turn profit. Yet in fact, these idyllic images were of an imagined past, one in which the Famine, British rule, and impoverished citizens were not cognizant. While these images and fantasy can provide an imagined nostalgia for Irish folk, they draw in tourists and migrants to a proposed Celtic myth fairy-tale that creates unrealistic expectations of the country (Markwick 2001). This idea of Ireland is a commodified form of geographical imagination that pulls Brazilians to Dublin that oftentimes does not ring true.

Fernanda (33) mentioned that four years ago she travelled to Dublin, enjoyed the city, and became interested in moving to Ireland one day. Fortunately, Fernanda received a scholarship from the English-school which allowed her to feasibly make the move. Fernanda explained her choice was embedded in her philosophy to *"seize the moment"*, and that she is now in her thirties, she wanted to do something spontaneous before it was too late. Now in Dublin, Fernanda works as a waitress in a Moroccan restaurant on Capel Street where she often speaks Portuguese, English, and French to patrons. She also works as a childminder for a wealthy Southside family. Similarly, Bruno (25) and Carlos (27) had always wanted to move abroad, and because they already knew a few people in the city, they felt Dublin was a good enough option. Karina (21) was the only informant in Dublin for the short period of one month. She explained her decision to stay in the city was "I just wanted to travel". Karina stated

participating in ‘language tourism’ was a resourceful option for her month abroad, so that she could improve her English in the classroom and travel within Ireland at the same time. Karina was specifically attracted to Dublin for its English programmes and historic architecture.

Most other informants mentioned that Dublin was their choice because it is “cheap” compared to other English-speaking countries. In fact, Dublin is not a particularly cheap city, but rather gives the perception of affordability especially compared to the inflation occurring in Brazil (Johnston 2021). It is not only the better standard of living in Dublin that appeals to the students, but the ability to save money for their futures, or send it back to their families in Brazil in the form of *remittances*. Remittances are immensely important to the families of migrants, providing income that could take potentially double or triple the time to make in the home country (Yang 2011). Sending remittances did not come up in my interviews very often, likely because the students did not want to disclose such information, or because they were not engaging in the practice. Albeit two students indicated they would send remittances to their families consistently, and these students had single parents and/or younger siblings. This desire for financial security can be seen in other Brazilian diaspora, specifically in the United States and in pursuit of “the American dream” (Marcus 2009). In 2021 Ireland ranked as the third wealthiest nation in the world in terms of GDP and the Purchasing Power Parity (World Data 2021). Informants explained that engaging in ‘language tourism’ while simultaneously working was an extreme pull factor in going to Ireland. The possibility to work and study at the same time is an appeal for the informants, one that only certain international student visas offer.

Perhaps the most pervasive answer I received in interviews when asking why Dublin over other cities was that of feasibility, the student visa. Ireland’s visa stipulations allow Brazilians to enter the state and apply for permission to enter at the gate, rather than undergoing a visa application process through an Irish embassy in Brazil (Department of Justice 2022). In fact, the United States requires Brazilian visa applications to be made at embassies before arrival (U.S. Department of State 2023). Brazilian students in Ireland can then apply for student visas after acceptance to English-language programmes or eligible higher education programmes. With an English-language student visa, Brazilians can engage in part-time work during school periods, and full-time work during holidays (Department of Justice 2022). The United Kingdom equivalent of the English-language student visa prohibits work of any kind (Department of Education 2023). Like Ireland, Australia and New Zealand allow English-language students to take up part-time work (Department of Home Affairs 2020) (New Zealand Immigration 2023), yet with considerable distance to other desirable tourist destinations, no informant explained

whether Australia or New Zealand was a consideration for them at that time. Ireland then offers accessibility to work and travel, while Dublin is already home to a growing and impactful Brazilian community.

The English-language student visa is intended for full time studies (Department of Justice 2022) and part-time work. Still, several students indicated their primary desire in migrating to Dublin was to make money, and the student visa was merely a means to an end. Especially for those students who already came to Dublin with high levels of English due to previous jobs in the tourism industry, the principal goal in Dublin was to make and *save.* Married couple Gabi and Diego (24) are both working at a meat packaging factory in Dublin County. They explained they decided on Dublin to make as much and save as much money as possible to later move to Canada. Paulo (28), said Dublin was a great place to make money, try new career paths, and save for a later return to Brazil or elsewhere. There are a variety of factors that pulled Brazilian migrants to Dublin specifically, ranging from a desire to travel and have a unique, Irish experience, to saving funds for a later and larger move.

This chapter has discussed language-tourism and its relevance to the Brazilian informants' mobility to Dublin. This chapter is essential in framing the context of how Brazilians are impacting the migration trends in Dublin and Ireland. This chapter has explained the various push and pull factors that contribute to this specific migration, as well as provided statements and personal motivations from the informants which exemplify migration theories at play.

Chapter V. The Brazilian Enclave on Capel Street

This empirical chapter presents details of the Brazilian ethnic enclave on Capel Street. This chapter employs ethnographic research by way of interview excerpts and observation of the urban space. The chapter briefly discusses the urban form of Capel Street and environs, giving context for the development of the enclave. Next, the symbols of Brazil that exist in the enclave are discussed. The chapter then outlines the mobility to the enclave and the significance of urban mobility in enclave building. This chapter finalises with the cultural beliefs and opinions of the enclave and community by the informants.

5.1 Urban form and fabric of the area

Figure 5.1 View of Capel Street from third floor of language school, street lined with Georgian buildings on small plots. Photo by Catherine Kwalton 2022.

The street itself is a picturesque, typical representation of Georgian Dublin. The urban features of Capel Street give the impression of enclosure and intimacy. On these narrow streets are tall buildings with tall windows, drawing the eye vertically. The atmosphere is quite the opposite of wide and open, it is rather confined and tight, almost as if one is enveloped by buildings on either side. These terraced buildings are placed on small plots, each wall against one another, which creates a feeling of long-standing closeness (Dublin City Council 2009). Despite the majority of Georgian style, there are still indeed scatterings of newer styles which create a slight intrigue to the perhaps otherwise monotonous architecture. Furthermore, Capel Street is bookended by the Liffey in the South and the veering of Bolton Street in the North. With a view of Dublin City Hall from the top of Capel Street, it's a constant reminder of the centrality and Irish identity of the street, while still holding its own unique, multiethnic identity built by its current users. These features are not that of only a thoroughfare, but rather a destination, or mooring. The mooring of Capel Street acts as a bounded space in which certain activities or expressions can only manifest within its boundaries (Hannam, Sheller and Urry 2006). Capel Street is bounded by markers of ethnicity of diverse groups and spatial regimes by students and other city-users, creating a mooring for those who frequent the area each day. As the students mobilise from Brazil to Dublin, they continue their mobility to the Capel Street area each day for class. At this point, there is a certain immobility, as Capel Street acts a mooring for students to attach themselves to. Capel Street is an integral part of the students' place-making in Dublin city, one in which the mobility to makes meaningful. Capel Street as a mooring becomes even more significant to the Brazilian migrants through its abundance of Brazilian symbols and markers.

Figure 5.1.2 A Moroccan restaurant, Irish convenience shop, and Korean restaurant side by side, opposite to two Chinese restaurants on the other side, Capel Street. Photo by Catherine Kwalton 2022.

5.1.1 Symbols of Brazil

Brazil is manifested in a variety of ways by the users of the enclave. These symbols are not only manifested through visual markers but represented through smells and sounds as well. The landscape of Capel Street is rich in Brazilian-evident sensory experiences. There are seven Brazilian grocers/shops on Capel Street and its environs. Informants indicate they were incredibly shocked to see how many Brazilian-catered establishments there were on the street. Felipe (22) and Anita (33) explain there are significantly more Brazilians and Brazilian establishments in Dublin than they imagined. Both Felipe and Anita imagined Ireland to be mostly monoethnic with few migrants or symbols of other nations.

Figure 5.1.1 Brazilian shop at Capel Street and Strand Street Great junction. Photo by Catherine Kwalton 2022.

The Brazilian shops naturally advertise Brazilian products in the window, yet will also provide Portuguese notices in addition to English. One shop had a sign posted *"Please queue outside"* in English and Portuguese. Even shops which are not overtly Brazilian are catering to the students; a small electronic shop opposite a Brazilian bakery employs Portuguese speaking individuals. I entered the shop once and was greeted in Portuguese, and while I waited for my purchase, the employees were speaking Portuguese to one another. These auditory symbols give the impression that several shops on Capel Street, not only the Brazilian ones, are catering to Brazilian consumers. The soundscape of Capel Street is varied, with English-language schools and several other languages present on the street. Portuguese is a large part of this soundscape, spoken between students walking out of classes, employees during work, and even individuals on phone calls. Gabi (24) states, "[Brazilians] are everywhere. You listen to Portuguese everywhere you go." Gabi explained that hearing Portuguese is not confined to Capel Street alone, but everywhere in Dublin with more heard in the city centre. Carlos (27) went to Dublin with the expectation of not speaking Portuguese. He mentioned, "Sometimes I'm really annoyed because all the time you hear Portuguese, especially in the centre." Even at times when the informants would rather improve their English, or simply have a break from hearing their native language, it is near impossible in some areas of the city. This Portuguese soundscape then facilitates development of mental maps for the students in which they know where they can, or where they may not, encounter Portuguese.

Not only are these shops themselves symbolic of the ever-growing enclave, but the products in the shops are symbolic as well. Inside the Brazilian shops, one may find a variety of different food goods native to Brazilian culture and cuisine. Brazilians must purchase goods only found in these shops, rather than local Irish or British chains, if they would like to prepare a traditional dish. Products like tapioca flour, specialty meats, sweets, and beverages are most common amongst the informants. A speciality Brazilian bakery "padoca" (a São Paulo slang term for "bakery") is a well-frequented spot for Brazilian students attending class nearby. When asking a Brazilian what they think of the *pão de queijo* (Brazilian cheese bread) from the shop, answers will vary from absolute adoration to "it's not real *pão de queijo"*. Even if the products from these shops are not to the same desirability as what can be found in Brazil, the informants indicated they still want to "try them" to see. Additionally, these shops and primarily the bakery, serve as meeting points or micro-enclaves within the enclave, as most often only Brazilians speaking Portuguese will be found inside.

Figures 5.1.1.2, 5.1.1.3 Padoca Bakery on the ground floor of a Georgian building on Capel Street which advertises "Brazilian style" foods: "coxinha, mini snacks, cakes kit festa (party kit)". Photos by Catherine Kwalton 2022.

When walking past these shops, especially those preparing hot foods, the smell of typical Brazilian dishes fills the air. The informants indicate that there is a familiarity in the smell of warmed tapioca

flour and parmesan cheese of a *pão de queijo*, or the sweetened condensed milk of a *brigadeiro* (chocolate fudge balls). On the ground floor of the language school there is a student canteen that prepares light bites, coffee, tea, and Brazilian baked goods *pão de queijo* and *coxinha* (fried chicken pasty). In the summer of 2022, a student forum was held at the language school to address student concerns. An informant John (25) attended and explained that students were dissatisfied with the lack of diversity in food options at the canteen. Brazilian students explained they would like a more inclusive canteen that represents the student body, and they would like to try different foods from different countries. John said, "It's not fair that everyone has to eat Brazilian food all the time. Even I would like to try something else". These symbols, the sensory experiences of smell and taste, viscerally create a feeling of being in Brazil, rather than embodying Irish cultural and consumption practices.

Brazil is also represented on the bodies of the informants, manifested in style and dress. Brazilian football fans can be seen walking along Capel Street wearing various team shirts, embodying the symbols of national and local teams. Many Brazilians during the warmer Irish months can be seen wearing flip-flop sandals on and around Capel Street. Flip-flops are characteristic of Brazil's fashion sense; the colourful shoes are worn by both wealthy and impoverished citizens and are typical for beach days in the country (Baker 2017). Other elements of Brazilian fashion can be seen in the area. Brazilian style typically favours colourful and more casual pieces (Lewis 2023) which are reflective of summer, sun, and relaxation. Irish style, on the other hand, is typically more muted, structured, and adapted to cooler and windy days (O'Connor 2022). Luana (28) informed me of a hair salon on one of Capel Street's environs, Parnell Street, which places a Brazilian flag in the shop window. Luana has been living in Dublin for four months and was due to get her braids redone. She entered the shop and asked the owner if the establishment was Brazilian. To her surprise, the owner is actually from the Central African Republic, and hangs the Brazilian flag there to attract business. Braids are an important part of many Brazilians' hair care (Sullivan and Terra Athayde 2016), one which must be maintained and celebrated whilst abroad. This symbol indicates that not only Brazilian shop owners are aware of the area's users, but non-Brazilian owners as well understand the value of the consumer body.

Other small symbols are plastered around the Capel Street area. Some graffiti on environs read *Corinthians,* a football club from São Paulo. Football is an integral element to Brazilian culture (Lourenco 2022), and the representation of it in Dublin is symbolic of attempts to transfer the same passion to this new destination. Small stickers of Brazilian flags can be seen on lampposts and shop

windows. Other graffiti may be seen depicting Portuguese words and phrases, or simply drawing using the green, blue, and yellow of the Brazilian flag.

Various identity markers, both physical and non-physical, are abundant in the Capel Street area. They serve as indicators of which peoples are in the area and which are welcomed to express their culture in the space. These identity markers create ethnic boundaries, ones in which Brazilians can be a part of, and non-Brazilians may not be able to resonate with or participate in.

5.2 Brazilian mobility to and within the enclave

Students had a variety of perceptions before arriving in Dublin; Tami (33) mentioned she feared the transition because friends had told her Dublin was dangerous, expensive, and difficult. Carlos (27) mentioned he initially imagined the city as "opportunity land" or "easy life, Hollywood life, no problem". Felipe (22) and Karina (21) explained they were initially surprised by the amount of international people, and assumed Ireland would be "more Irish". A few said they had very little expectations or ideas, besides knowing it may be very different to their lives in Brazil. Lucas (25), on the other hand, had been preparing for the move since 2018, and he often researched the housing crisis. Before even leaving Brazil, he was prepared for the potential difficulties. They all explained they were not told extensively of the high cost of living by the language school sales agents. This was a difficult conversation for Paulo (28), Carlos (27), and Lucas (25), as they felt somewhat tricked by the school. Before purchasing the English course, the students are sold a geographical imagination by the sales agents. This imagination is, in fact, created by the agents and promoted under false pretences. The imagination depicts an exciting and enriching cultural exchange, an immersive language experience in which students can intimately know and relate to local Irish folk. Unfortunately, students are not told of the housing crisis or influence of the Brazilian community in everyday interactions. Recent article by the Irish Times explains similar feelings of a Brazilian student in Limerick, "Antonio Wilson recalls seeing the Instagram advertisements back home in Brazil. They promised a chance to study English in a "magical musical country" where "a good time is around every bend", with images of convivial pubs and majestic landscapes. There was no mention of sky-high rents, lack of accommodation or the soaring cost of living – just that learners were allowed to work part-time on wages far higher than at home." (O'Brien 2023). While students felt deceived by those promoting the English courses, they are gratefully able to find support through one another and those who are in Dublin already.

Most students I spoke to had arrived in Dublin and started their language course the following week. The speed of this transition can be tumultuous, and in a new cosmopolitan city, it can be incredibly overwhelming when one first arrives. New migrants knowing only a few areas of the city results in Brazilians congregating to specified places. In terms of 'language tourism', chain migration can be especially prevalent. As Terzano explains, "[chain migration gives] newcomers easier access to housing, jobs, and socialising, particularly when they spoke little or no English" (Terzano 2014, 324). Students can shop and eat on and around Capel Street with the knowledge that in several places they can speak Portuguese. Terzano continues, "in enclaves, immigrants could find familiar culture–grocers that sold ethnic food; churches and schools where the immigrants' native language was spoken; and businesses that were based on skills and goods for which the immigrants were well known. In their new country, immigrants recreated the amenities of their former countries and in doing so, created communities" (Terzano 2014, 342). Students arriving in Dublin are typically told by someone they know who is already in the city about Capel Street, most often because it is the location of their language school. An informant explained that the owner of *padoca* bakery is Brazilian himself and knows several Brazilians. He often assists them in getting settled upon arrival to Dublin, and is sometimes seen helping them with suitcases immediately after their flights. Capel Street thus is a meeting point that nearly all Brazilians are aware of when they first arrive.

Though Dublin is a large metropolitan area with long commute times, students utilise city means to get to school each day. The survey sent to students included questions regarding their mobility to the school. As shown in Figure 5.2, students' transportation types when arriving to class consist of Dublin bus, Luas, DART (train), bicycle, and by foot. Of the students who took the survey, the majority 60% use the Dublin bus to arrive at school. The second largest group is those who walk to school, at 23.75%. Correlating this with the time it takes to arrive at school by foot, it is assumed that a substantial number of students live near enough to the language school to allow for walking as their mode of daily transportation. Speaking with informants, there is a desire to live close to the school, as well as in the city centre, in the midst of the multi-ethnic population and in proximity to school or work. Even if the student is living far from the centre, they expressed a desire to move closer to their obligations. Having collected the data, it is evident that most students participate in the *everyday spatial regime* of commuting to school.

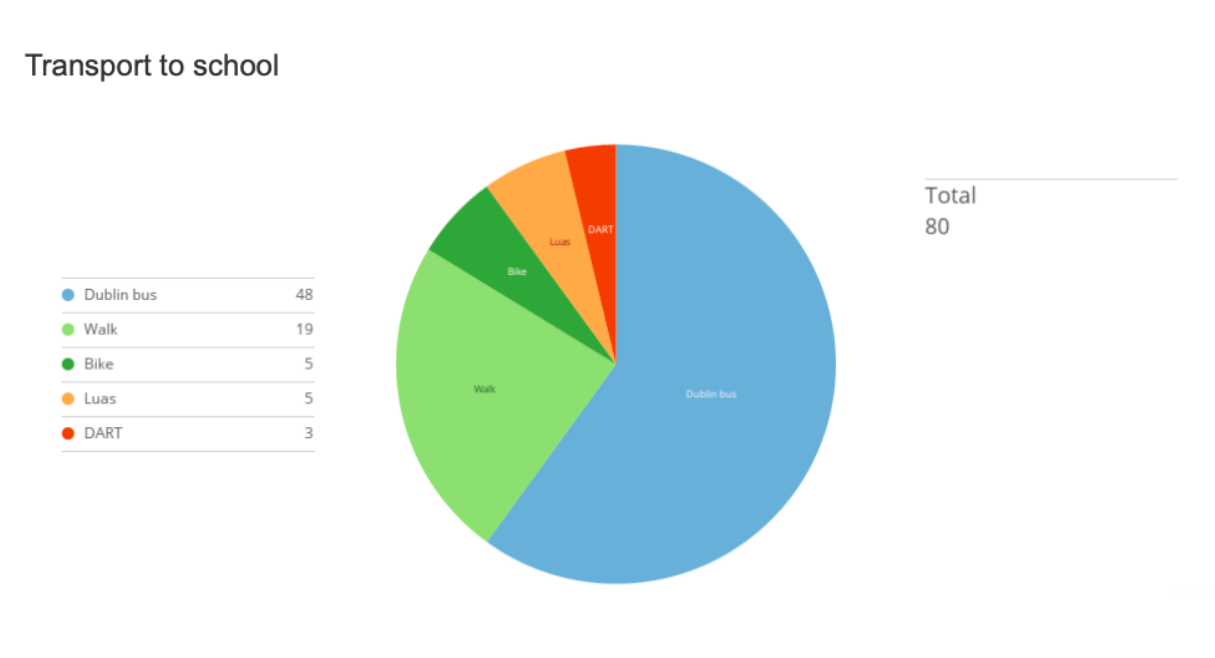

Figure 5.2 Infographic *Transport to school types by number of students* created by Catherine Kwalton through Domo, 2022

The Brazilian students, five days per week, participate in a socio-spatial set of rules and norms or, *everyday spatial regimes.* Spatial regimes are the rules that define certain social interactions of a public space (Jaffe and de Koning 2016). One of these norms is mobility; every single student must come to class in accordance with their student visa requirement. These everyday spatial regimes create expectations of the shared space and contribute to how the inhabitants perceive and interact with the area. If students stop coming to the enclave, the enclave cannot be experienced. In this way, just as their mobility is continuous place building, it is the expectation, the social rule that few would like to deviate from. This spatial regime being an act of mobility is the very habit that creates the enclave. The enclave, then, is facilitated and continued because of urban mobility. This stipulation of the English-language student visa is in part responsible for the desire to go to the enclave each day.

5.2.1 The pedestrian zone

Walking is an important mode of mobility to the enclave, as it illustrates the concentration of students in walking distance. Similarly, walking is significant *within* the enclave, and Capel Street has now become a symbolic mooring through the obsolescence of vehicles. Capel Street became car-less in May of 2022, coined “Capel Play Street” originally when vehicles were only prohibited during some night hours, it is now a fully-fledged pedestrian zone. The pedestrian and cycle area begins at the Parnell

junction and ends at Strand Great Street, only two blocks shy of the entire Capel Street. There are no longer parking spots along the street, and deliveries by car can only be made between six and eleven in the morning (Kelly 2022). Popular Grafton and Henry Streets in Dublin city centre are car-less as well, yet Capel Street is now the longest. There is concern from shop owners as to whether this decision will be viable for their companies' livelihood, and several locals to the area are vehemently against this change. Nevertheless, the shift into a pedestrian space has delighted those who frequent the area by foot anyway. My informants, both Brazilian and non-Brazilians, explained the street is now much more relaxed, making their commutes to work or school a bit calmer. The area now persists almost as a common market in the day, with shops and schools catering to the needs of everyday life. At night, the street comes alive like a carnival, with fan-favourite pubs and restaurants open late. Capel Street is a nearly 24/7 playground in which city-users can engage safely and freely without obstruction or fear of motor-accidents. Some informants explained it now feels like a campus, or area of the city in which they feel an ownership or the space when inside, and can enjoy the street while having coffee before and after class. The choice to spend even more time on the street when not necessary is reflective of the strength of the enclave and community.

Figure 5.2.1 *Capel Play Street* graffiti made by Dublin City Council. Photo by Catherine Kwalton 2022.

5.3 Brazilian cultural beliefs, opinions of the community

Ron Johnston et al. explain that ethnic enclaves and urban segregation occur from three categories: discrimination, disadvantage or individual choice (Johnston et al. 2008). Even considering Ireland's young history with migrants and Dublin's housing crisis, the Brazilian enclave on Capel Street is built on the basis of choice due to its non-residential nature. The Brazilian community, to varying degrees, *wants* to be in the enclave and in the presence of one another. This desire is intentional and strengthens the viability of the enclave as it is a place which the community wants to exist and flourish.
Through the construction of the enclave, the values and ideologies of Brazilian culture interact with the space and agents around them. The impact of Brazilian culture on Capel Street is not only brought through physical symbols, but the influence is also composed of several ideologies, beliefs, and norms which solidify the space as Brazilian. As psychologists Torres and Auxiliadora Dessen write, "Brazil

can be represented by the image of a big family, with few formal rules, but with a consensus regarding the authority of the father" (Torres and Auxiliadora Dessen 2008, 191). This declaration is congruent with the experiences of my informants, who continually refer to their community in Dublin as close, familial, and emotional towards one another. As well, there is an informality among Brazilians, and several informants explain they feel more at ease with other Brazilians compared to the local Irish. Similarly, according to one of social psychologist Geert Hofstede's cultural metric, Brazilian culture is more collectivist than certain Western countries, especially those in the Anglo sphere. From a scale of one to one hundred, Hofstede scores national cultures by degree of individualism, with a score of one hundred being the highest. Individualist powerhouses like the United States, Australia, and the United Kingdom, score ninety-one, ninety, and eighty-nine, respectively. Ireland's score on the individualism metric is seventy, placing it at eleventh place on the scale, which is highly individualistic. Meanwhile, Brazil is at a score of thirty-eight in twenty-eighth place (Hofstede-Insights 2022). Brazil's traditionally collectivist culture prioritises the needs of the community over the desires of the individual. Thus, Brazilians clustering on the Northside is warranted, where they can easily access one another and continually contribute to the collectivist and familial ideals they were taught in their home country. Another important aspect of Brazilian culture informants, Gabi (24) and Felipe (22) explained, is that of *jeitinho,* a concept that encapsulates the notion that there will always be a way to solve a problem, even if the idea is not yet apparent or visible. In other words, it's the idea that adapting and accepting change will ultimately be beneficial, even if one does not yet know how. There will always be a way to manage and solve a problem, even if through untypical means. *Jeitinho* becomes especially evident in their lives in Dublin. Many students refer to Dublin as being more difficult than anticipated, mostly due to language difficulties, housing, and managing both work and school. Yet these problems do not become so large that they return to Brazil; rather, they continue with their purpose in coming here, and find support when they can. Informant Anita (33) stated that while she is struggling with English more than expected, she is routinely applying for jobs to improve or meet new people who she can practise with. Despite her current struggle with insufficient language skills, she employs a *jeitinho* mentality rather than leaving Dublin. This mentality allows individuals in the enclave to remind one another of the various ways in which problems will ultimately be solved.

Informants showed no preference for which nationalities they would like to spend time with. The students would like to improve their English abilities and seek out non-Brazilians (typically at their place of work) to speak English with. Due to the high numbers of Brazilians enrolled at the language school, they often find difficulty meeting non-Portuguese speakers in class. There are several other nationalities present in the school, mostly from South America and East Asia, yet these individuals may

not be in the same classes as them. There was a distinction made among the informants that they *do* spend more time with other Brazilians, despite not having the intention to, and attempting to meet people who do not speak Portuguese.

Several significant comments were made:

“I would like to have non-Brazilians around to improve my English. But after a while, Brazilians make me feel comfortable because they are so warm” -Fernanda, 33

“Brazilians are warmer and try to help each other” -Bruno, 25

“I like both [Brazilians and non-Brazilians], Brazilians make me feel better, like a little piece of my home here” -Gabi, 24

“It’s easier with Brazilians” -Diego, 24

“Brazilian people are more friendly” -Felipe, 22

“To communicate and understand for me it's more difficult. My bubble is only Brazilian. It's bad because I don't practise English” -Anita, 33

“We live in a bubble” -Lucas, 25

“Sometimes we need help. We need our minds to be safe so we don’t be crazy. Sometimes I need to talk to Brazilians to understand me. We need to talk to share our problems” -Carlos, 27

The informants feel a comfort with one another that is, at that point in time, not achievable with the local Irish or other nationalities. The informants explain they can sense when someone is Brazilian, simply by the way they look. Gabi (24) mentioned when she takes the bus to school, she can tell who is Brazilian, and feels a sense of familiarity towards them. Paulo (28) is at an Intermediate (B1) level of English. He mentioned that he passionately tries to make non-Brazilian friends to practise English, and even attempts to speak English with his Portuguese-speaking friends. He mentioned a Brazilian friend from the language school who is two levels higher than him and speaks English to him when out for drinks. He loves that she “always puts English on the table” for him. This allows him to feel more at ease when making mistakes and gives him an opportunity to practise his skills safely. While Brazilians are more comfortable with one another, and generally enjoy the company, this is not always the case. Lucas (25) shared two stories:

“Maybe a few weeks ago, I started to feel some disgust by the Brazilians. I went to a restaurant, and the waiters were Brazilian. When he took my order he treated me poorly. I could see him interacting with Irish customers well, but me, no. Everywhere, the Brazilians treat other Brazilians poorly and treat Irish people way better. Brazilians are very rude to other Latin Americans.”

“In my job there are so many Brazilians who are there illegally. They are afraid to lose their jobs and they start to exclude me and make me feel bad so I quit, because they think I will take their jobs away.”

Other informants indicated that some Brazilians feel a sense of competitiveness with one another in Dublin. Carlos (27) stated, “some Brazilians think if they had it bad, then I need to have it bad too” in regard to finding accommodation and applying for residency permits. Anita (33) and Karina (21) explained that in large cities in Brazil, there is a pressure to overwork and one is judged if they decide to take time off or complete a project slowly. They didn’t like this aspect of judgement in the Brazilian work culture, but mentioned they still find it among some Brazilians in Dublin. Problems between Brazilians that may have existed in their home country are being brought over transnational fields to Dublin. Just as would occur in Brazil, the community sometimes faces interpersonal conflict. Despite these sometimes-turbulent moments, the informants still explained that most Brazilians intend to help one another, especially through Facebook groups which assist in searching for accommodation and preparing visa or work related documents.

A recurrent topic that came up during interviews in which all informants could agree on was that of cleanliness and safety in the city. Architects in Brazil, Camilla (24) and Wesley (24) have a passion for urbanism. They explained they were extremely disappointed with the state of the inner city centre, and shocked to see a European capital have such large amounts of rubbish. Gabi (24) mentioned she was shocked by the amount of litter on Dublin buses, considerably more than she has seen on public transport in her home city of São Paulo. For Fernanda (33) and Bruno (25), the Capel Street area is not “cute” “clean” or “beautiful”. They explained that being from Rio de Janeiro, they expected the city centre to be quite dirty. Still, they much prefer the atmosphere of Southside neighbourhoods like Rathmines or Grand Canal Dock. Karina (21) explained she was surprised by “bad smells” in the city as well. Other informants stated they read on Facebook groups before going to Dublin that violent acts often occurred in the city, primarily by teenagers the Brazilians termed *“nanas”* short for “knackers”. The informants explained they often dislike roaming around the city centre because of possible interactions with *“the nanas”* and try to avoid local Irish people they deem to look inebriated or acting outlandish. Gabi (24) and Diego (24) explained that while they are apprehensive about these people, they still feel immeasurably safer than in Brazil. When asked if they felt danger in Dublin, Diego responded, “Anywhere is safer than Brazil. Depends on your degree of danger.”

Considering this dissatisfaction with litter and potential disturbance by local teenagers, the fact that the Brazilians still desire to stay in and around the Capel Street area is reflective of the value they have placed in the area and the community. They are able to resonate with the experiences of one another, whether that be successes in improving their English, or annoyance with aspects of the city that are different from Brazil. Being on Capel Street with one another provides an atmosphere in which they

can share stories and emotions, and be understood in ways only achieved through the shared experience of being from Brazil.

This empirical chapter has presented the necessary information of the Brazilian ethnic enclave on Capel Street. Ethnographic research was utilised to illustrate the informants' opinions and experience. This chapter has described the atmosphere of Capel Street, the symbols of Brazil that exist in the enclave, and the ways in which students mobilise to the space. This chapter has presented Brazilian cultural beliefs and opinions of the enclave and community by the informants.

Chapter VI. Others In the Area

This empirical chapter is essential in understanding the perception of the Brazilian enclave by non-Brazilians in the Capel Street area. This chapter discusses the other communities present in the Capel Street area. This chapter narrates the perspectives and opinions of Irish folk, non-Brazilian students, and others who spend significant time on the street. This chapter investigates the experience of these non-Brazilian informants in a highly Brazilian-identified ethnic space. Lastly, the value of multi-ethnic enclave building is explored.

6.1 Other nationalities on Capel Street

Several other nationalities and ethnic groups are present in the Capel Street area. Historically, there has been a local Irish population which is composed of shop owners and Dubliners brought up and living in the city centre. In addition to the Brazilian students attending English classes, there are also students from Italy, France, Spain, Turkey, Spanish-speaking South America, and East Asia. Capel Street also houses several ethnic food shops from around the globe, and these populations can be found residing on adjacent streets. Parnell Street in particular houses multiple communities, namely those from China, Nigeria, and Romania (Freyne 2018). Still, there are communities from Korea, Vietnam, India, and certainly Brazil. In this area, high levels of English are non-essential. Most days it will be difficult to find someone at a non-Irish shop or restaurant speaking English openly (Freyne 2018). Most often shop owners will speak to their patrons in their native language. The Capel Street area is extremely beneficial for those who have low levels of English, providing an atmosphere of community or family. In fact, people in Dublin specifically with lower levels of English proficiency are more likely to face social isolation in the city (Department of Justice and Equality 2019), and would likely prefer to live and work among other speakers of their language. While this is of great importance to the new migrants in the area, the local Irish population is facing a loss in familiarity.

6.1.1 The local perspective

Local Dubliners and Irish folk are seeing a rise in migrant populations in the city centre. So much so, that some are even referring to the Capel Street area with a new name. “The Brazilian quarter, it’s being called. Lots of Brazilians here taking over”, Liam, a local shop owner explained. A small coffee

shop less than seventy metres south of the English-language school is constantly brimming with patrons. The owner, Liam (late thirties), prides himself on the cheap, regular, and kind nature of his business. Liam's coffee and comic shops have been in the area for two and five years respectively, and he has seen a steady increase in the number of Brazilian patrons at the coffee shop especially, making up sixty to seventy of his current clientele. "In the last ten to fifteen years Dublin has become very multicultural, like London. Whatever happens in England, six months later will happen in Ireland", he mentioned knowingly. Liam chose to set up shops close to home; he has been brought up and lives just up the road in the city centre, and often refers to himself as a "townie".

Liam and his also-Irish-wife run the shop along with two other baristas. One of which is a local Irish woman herself, and the other is a Hungarian man who has been living in Dublin for several years. Previously, Liam had employed a Brazilian student who brought in "loads of business", yet she has since moved on from Ireland, but the impression lasts, and his coffee shop is the most popular for students on Capel Street. When asked if there have been more Brazilians post-pandemic Liam said, "way more Brazilians here now. But because they are college students. If they weren't Brazilian, they would be something else." He explained that it could be any nationality frequenting the shop, yet it just so happens to be Brazilians these days. Liam explained that he is grateful for their business and understands the value that his service provides for students. He mentioned that he can tell when they are students, as oftentimes there is a slight language barrier, or the students may not converse in the ways that Liam is used to. "Sometimes they come across a bit rude because of the language, they seem like they are shouting".

Liam explained the area he once knew as a child to be very "Dublin", is now becoming quite Brazilian. Liam mentioned that a nearby pub used to be his "*local",* he stated, "it's totally Brazilian now. Wouldn't have been like that four or five years ago." This pub in particular hosts a weekly "conversation pub class" for the language-school students to practise their English skills. Due to the consistent arrival of students with limited English levels, most employees at the pub are speakers of more than one language, typically folks from South America, and specifically Brazil.

Liam mentioned other pubs on the street and in the area that are extremely different to how they were when he was a child, and that Capel Street overall has an entirely changed "energy". Much of this shift has been positive, and Liam appreciates the newfound business from students. He did explain the recent "Capel Play Street " pedestrianisation, and how it has negatively impacted his business, "the sales have dropped. No tourists. Now it's only people who work in the area. The street play thing has brought poor business." Liam explained he is lucky to still have his business post-pandemic, and is grateful to any patrons who purchase from his "cheap and cheerful" establishment.

Zack (30) is a Northern-Irish architect living and working in Dublin for the past four years. Zack has worked at firms all over Dublin city, but has only been living in various Southside neighbourhoods. He mentioned he was initially shocked at the demographics when first moving to Dublin, “I was shocked at how little Irish people were there. It wasn’t really an Irish city, but a city of young European professionals". He explained he anticipated seeing a multicultural European population, as Dublin is English speaking, home to several American tech headquarters, and accessible for Europeans. He was surprised by the amount of Brazilians, though, “I thought it was because they had EU passports and settled in Dublin, but they were actually there to learn English on student visas.” Zack explained he can see a stylistic difference, “aesthetically, the look of citizens is more casual. When I think of Europeans I expect to see smarter dress, but I was surprised walking down the street that everyone wears lounge clothes.” He admits this may be from students, yet also from cultural differences manifested by migrants. While Zack had previously thought young folk would cluster around Portobello or Rathmines for a night out, he explained how “most people are thinking it’s cool to go to Northside pubs in Phibsborough or Capel Street ". He stated, “they’re not really edgy but more on the frontier, fresher, newer, more hipster. [The pubs and restaurants were] a nice change of pace, seems more authentic, less commercial compared to places on the Southside”. In terms of demographics, he mentioned Capel Street is much less Irish, much more Asian and Brazilian, than his Southside neighbourhood. For Zack, the multicultural population adds value and excitement to his experience in Dublin, something that was not prevalent in his home county of Down.

6.1.2 Other migrant perspectives

James (25) is an Irish American teacher at the language school. He just moved to Dublin two months ago, after living in the United States his whole life. James lives in the affluent Southside neighbourhood of Ranelagh, but spends most of his week on Capel Street teaching and spending leisure time after work. James explained he had no preconceived notions about ethnic make-up in the city, and having an Irish father from Roscommon, he anticipated meeting majority Irish people. He stated he was initially shocked at the number of Brazilians not only at the language school, but in Dublin. “I had no idea it was so Brazilian" he stated when asked about the Brazilian population. Now, he is enjoying his work and helping the language students, Brazilian and non-Brazilian, and appreciates the cultural exchange. Ava (30) is an American teacher at the school who has been living and studying in Dublin for the past four years. Ava previously spent most of her time on her university campus in the

Southside, yet since taking a part-time job at the language school has split her time between the both sides of the Liffey. Ava explained she was not aware of the large Brazilian population before coming either but has found immense friendship in it. Ava is part of a Brazilian jiu-jitsu club on one of Capel Street's environs, one in which many of her students and colleagues attend as well. Ava explained some of her closest friends she has met at the club and at school, in addition to the Irish and international folk she has met though her postgraduate degree studies. Both James and Ava positions as language teachers at the school give them a facilitated opportunity to make connections with the Brazilian population, while still maintaining a degree of distance and creating boundaries between themselves and the community.

The Brazilian community among English-language schools in Dublin is thriving and, to some degree, intimidating for non-Brazilian English-language students. Brazilians make up the majority of the student body, yet most other nationalities at the language school are South and Central American, with large populations from Mexico, Costa Rica, Chile, Honduras, and Bolivia. There is often a scattering of students from Asia and specifically East Asia, typically from Mongolia, China, and Japan. Lastly, the smallest substantial community of students is Turkish. There may often be a single Malaysian or Argentine student, yet this is rare. Most classes ranging from Elementary (A1) to Upper-Intermediate (B2) are typically sixty to seventy percent Brazilian, twenty percent Spanish speaking South Americans, and perhaps ten percent Asian or Turkish. This atmosphere often causes feelings of exclusion for the non-Brazilians due to language barriers, and/or inability to relate culturally or to cultural references. All in all, the environment of the language school is immensely Brazilian which can be felt by all students.

Sara (27), from Chile, states that she doesn't have a Chilean community, but a *Latin* one. She explained there is not a large Chilean community in Dublin in which she can receive support, but there are plenty of other Spanish-speakers from South American nations in which she has comfort. Sara has a handful of Chilean friends but spends most of her free time with other Spanish-speaking students, and Irish children. When she arrived in Dublin three months ago, she found a job working as a live-in childminder for an Irish family in Malahide. The housing crisis is especially difficult for language students and migrants, as they may not have the connections and networks that Dubliners or other Irish folk have. Sara was more than thrilled to take the opportunity to have accommodation and a job in one place, even if far from the city. Diana (25) from Costa Rica explained a similar situation. She is a childminder close to Malahide, and explained she only knows one other student from Costa Rica. Most

of Diana's friends are from the language school, but are a mix of nationalities, including Brazilian. Both Sara and Diana have prioritised integrating into an Irish-family lifestyle as they are not able to rely on a large population from their home country. For them, creating an atmosphere that feels familiar and like home is nearly impossible without having others from their country nearby. They explained living with an Irish family has improved their English skills immensely and eliminating accommodation costs has relieved them of the financial stress their peers face.
While they are grateful for their situations, Sara still recognizes the difficulties of being abroad and alone. She recognizes that the Brazilian community in Dublin is much more defined and supportive of one another, "they have a community. This is my perception, maybe it's not reality. I think when they arrive to Ireland, they have a community to make them feel safe, and people to help them. It's more than for other countries."

Alexa (22) from Mexico has been living in Dublin for nearly a year and works as a nail technician in a wealthy Southside neighbourhood. She explained at previous nail salons, she worked amongst Brazilians and sometimes encountered typical workplace conflicts. While she was frustrated with these altercations, she explained she often felt alone being the only Mexican on staff. She stated, "if you have a problem with one Brazilian, you have a problem with all of them." For Alexa, there was difficulty in the lack of a Mexican community, and she often felt outnumbered by Brazilians. Alexa explained she has no ill-will towards Brazilians in Dublin, and even has several Brazilian friends she has met in class. Still, she often finds it difficult to feel fully accepted by them as she cannot speak Portuguese and is from a different background.

Miguel (26) explained similar testaments. From Bolivia, Miguel is working at a Japanese restaurant in Southside Dublin. He stated he does not have a large Bolivian community, yet he is happy to make friends from other nations. He mentioned "I know there are a lot of Brazilians here, but I don't mind." Miguel explained he wants to make friends with anyone to practise English, but typically spends time with other Spanish-speakers from South America. Miguel still desires friendship with his Brazilian peers and welcomes opportunities to spend time together when possible.

Other informants explained they often feel underrepresented by the language school and the Capel Street area. They find it difficult to gain the same experience and support that is present in the language school that the Brazilian students have. In terms of Capel Street, very little representations or symbols

can be found to reflect the Spanish-speaking population, aside from occasional non-Brazilian Latin American goods and products found in Brazilian shops.

6.2 The importance of multi-ethnic enclave building

Coethnicity in urban space is a term that refers to the existence of multiple ethnic groups in the same enclave (Terzano 2014). To varying degrees, non-Irish groups are able to find comfort, support, and familiarity through the built community in and around Capel Street. The commodification of an enclave occurs when the enclave is constructed not by residential inhabitants but commercial and social users, practising everyday spatial regimes such as eating certain ethnic foods in restaurants and buying speciality products (Terzano 2014; Jaffe and de Koning 2016). Ethnic commodification represents an idea that the urban space can be consumed, used, and experienced as a unique entity (Terzano 2014), apart from the rest of urban Dublin in the case of Capel Street. Particularly, the urban regeneration of Dublin's city centre has been brought about by the increase in population of diverse ethnic groups, most recently that of the Brazilian community and their shops and restaurants which attract both members of the Brazilian community and non-Brazilian community to the space. As well, non-Brazilian city-users are interested in the Capel Street area for its abundance of unique, authentic shops that are not found elsewhere in Dublin city. The more ethnic groups that are building community in and around the Capel Street area, the more the area is benefiting from commercial success and thus longevity of the population in the urban tissue. Even if there are more abundant symbols of certain ethnic groups represented in the enclave than others, the area still benefits those who are non-Irish migrants or language students, as the space operates to promote the diversity of Dublin's city-users.

This empirical chapter has shown the impact that the Brazilian community has on other communities in and around Capel Street. This chapter has discussed other communities that exist and spend time in the Capel Street area, narrating their opinions of the Brazilian community and experience in the enclave. This chapter has also outlined the value of multi-ethnic enclave building.

Chapter VII. Changes in the City and Brazilian Community

Moving beyond Capel Street, this chapter frames the impact that the Brazilian community has on Dublin city. This chapter discusses the specific changes in Dublin's urban tissue and culture as they relate to the Brazilian community and ethnic enclave. This chapter also examines the futures of some Brazilian students and what their plans may indicate for the continuation of the enclave.

7.1 Changes in the urban tissue of Dublin

As a result of increasing ethnic enclave building in Dublin city, changes are apparent in the urban tissue. Dublin's identity as a *creative city* has resulted in an elevated desire by migrants to mobilise, resulting in continuous immigration in recent decades (Crossa and Moore 2009). The city then benefits from further regeneration by new migrants, again reinforcing the city's intelligent, innovative, and diverse environments (Fahy and Fanning 2010). Still, unfortunately this has resulted in an even more intensified housing crisis which was already underway pre-Celtic Tiger (Webber 2022). Brazilian students all over Ireland, and especially Dublin, are crammed into overpopulated houses. Some informants explained they shared rooms with at least three other people. One student told me she was sharing a bed with a stranger. Cities unfortunately cannot always manage urban housing in ways that would alleviate such situations, especially considering the housing crisis is pervasively affecting most members of the urban area, local and international. Individuals across the city will take whichever housing opportunity they can, and Dublin city is thus becoming quite mixed residentially in terms of previous ethnic group boundaries that were prevalent in the 2010's. The more people residing in Dublin city, regardless of ethnicity, the more congested the living situation is.

This increased mobility to Dublin has indeed created more significant and meaningful places, abundant in identity markers and cultural symbols, which are delineated by ethnic boundaries. Capel Street and its environs are an example of this changed urban tissue. The ways in which mobility is embodied has also changed within the urban space, as now there are migrant-students circulating in the Capel Street area. Previously, this was not the case, as Capel Street in the late twentieth century was deprived (McNiff 1981). This migrant-student mobility represents an educational dimension within Dublin's *creative city* identity. The space is now represented as educational, diverse, and authentic.

The Brazilian students are physically changing the urban tissue of Dublin by imprinting cultural markers that are specific to Brazil onto the city. Through shops, stickers, flags, style, and language, Dublin is in many ways "becoming Brazilian". These symbols and identity markers, in part and

amongst other ethnic markers, have facilitated the regeneration of Capel Street as representative of a *creative city's* previously disadvantaged area. While there are numerous physical changes occurring from the Brazilian ethnic enclave, there are cultural impacts shaping Dublin life as well.

7.2 Changes in the culture of Dublin city

Considering Ireland's young relationship with migrants, the changes in Dublin's cultural atmosphere are visibly marked in the urban tissue and norms of the city. Many Brazilian and non-Brazilian student-informants explained they spend substantial time with one another, and often engage in Latin-style parties or events. There are a handful of nightclubs around Dublin's city centre which hold weekly "Latin nights" in which Latin music is played. Interestingly, on these nights alcoholic beverages are cheaper, often promoted as "beer for €1!" on "Brazilian Funk Night" on Instagram pages of some nightclubs, as they are attracting a distinctly Brazilian student population. Figures 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 are screenshots of such advertisements from *Dicey's* nightclub's Instagram page. Bruno (25) during the interview expressed he now avoids going to *Dicey's*, as it's too "overcrowded with Brazilians".

Figures 7.2.1 and 7.2.2 Screenshots of posts by Dicey's nightclub promoting Brazilian/Latin music nights with low-cost beer. Screenshots by Catherine Kwalton 2023.

Even in Dublin's non-Brazilian specified consumer/leisure spaces, Brazilian students are working as waitresses, chefs, and other members of staff in service and hospitality jobs, thus creating a workforce with different cultural tendencies to that of Irish folk. In typical Irish tourist restaurants in the city centre, especially Temple Bar, it is not uncommon for several members of staff to be Brazilian English-language students. Brazilian colleagues at popular pubs are often speaking Portuguese behind the bar and to Portuguese speaking patrons. Brazilians in Dublin are also using English in ways that are particularly Irish. Brazilian-Irish terms like *"nanas"* for "knackers" are introduced in the migrants' lexicon, illustrating a blending of the two cultures' environment. Interestingly, the 'language tourism' that the students are seeking when arriving to Dublin is actually reshaped by a *new* 'language tourism' for Irish locals. Irish English-language teachers Mary (28) and Kate (25) explained they started learning Portuguese with language learning apps to understand some useful phrases and jokes said by their students. Mary and Kate stated they are benefitting from exposure to Portuguese that they otherwise would not have living outside of Dublin.

Irish friend of Mary, Eoin (28), works in a restaurant in the city centre with several Brazilian colleagues. He explained they often bring food to share during shifts, and he has enjoyed trying new treats like *pão de queijo* and Brazilian-style carrot cake. Sharing of food and language with the local population is effectively changing the habits and experiences of these local Irish people within their home country.

7.3 Future mobility of students and the enclave

Capel Street may be considered a mooring for students in the city, and it can also be considered a mooring in their educational or vocational careers. Most students I interviewed planned to stay in Dublin for at least two years, which is the maximum amount of time granted to them under Ireland's English-language student visa stipulations. Some informants explained that their tentative plan is to live, work, and study in Ireland, try to get sponsored by a company, and obtain a *critical skills visa.* The critical skills visa in Ireland is extremely desirable for non-EU or non-EEA individuals, as it provides the opportunity to work through a registered organisation or company with a high salary and prolonged job and financial security. The requirements and eligibility for this visa are quite extensive, and most individuals sponsored through this visa are engineers, architects, or medical personnel (Citizens Information 2022). Gabi (24) and Diego (24) stated their original intention was to save money for a subsequent, permanent move to Canada. Yet when asked if they felt like they were enjoying Ireland

more than Brazil, Gabi explained, “it's a lot more relaxed. I can walk around and enjoy. It's a place I can imagine my life. I like it more than I expected. I changed my mind.” She and Diego have decided to try and obtain at least one critical skills visa, in which the other can obtain sponsorship based on marriage. They would like to stay as long as they can, and later move to Canada for work and to raise a family when and if they can no longer stay in Ireland. Lucas (25) plans to apply for jobs in his field of supply-chain management, and hopes to stay in Ireland with his Brazilian partner, sponsoring her if possible. Camilla (24) and Wesley (24) have since both received critical skills visas from a local architecture firm after applying to several on a whim. The desire to obtain this visa stems, in part, from wanting a smooth transition from English-student to working professional, one in which the informants can stay in Dublin in the communities they have already established. As well, this visa would provide substantially more income than the jobs the informants currently have. Already having the established community, several informants desire to socially mobilise in Dublin city and gain more long-term financial security.

Many informants I spoke to are planning to apply for a university programme, typically graduate programmes in tech-related fields. Fernanda (33) has since began studying a computer programming degree at a small college in Dublin, and has now obtained a university-based student visa, in which she has been granted a longer stay and slightly more freedom regarding working-while-studying stipulations (Department of Justice 2022). Bruno (25) and Karina (21) have also expressed an interest in enrolling in university programmes. In Bruno’s case, he intends to finish his two years as an English-language student before applying, while Karina must finish her undergraduate degree in Brazil and may return for a graduate programme.

Another intention expressed by several informants was to obtain a European passport based on ancestral connections to either Portugal or Italy. Portugal and Italy both provide citizenships based on ancestry. If there was at least one grandparent (or great grandparent) who was a citizen of that country, one may be entitled to citizenship as well, given all the necessary documents and procedures are submitted and completed (Ministério das Relações Exteriores 2022). Many Brazilians qualify for this opportunity, and many informants I spoke to were actually in Ireland attempting to obtain this visa already. If one can obtain this visa, they will be allowed to live and work freely in any state of the European Union. While their opinions on Ireland and Dublin can wildly differ, most students explained they intended to at least *try* other European nations, of which Germany and Portugal were recurring mentions. Felipe (22) explained he does not want to continue living in Ireland but would like to try

continuing dental schooling in Germany. Anita (33) is married to a Brazilian who already has Portuguese-by-descent-citizenship, and she can thus live and work freely in any EU state yet wants to continue her English studies in Dublin.

There are a myriad of goals and intentions for the future of these students, yet they all share the same experience of staying in Dublin and attending English-classes before continuing on to other ventures near and far. Their time and education on Capel Street shapes their identity as ‘language tourists’, which may later transform into cultural or educational tourism in other nations, or into work-based migration in Ireland. Undoubtedly, the current students using Capel Street will have to leave after their two-year stay. While this will likely result in recurrent slow periods in the use of Capel Street by Brazilian students during low enrolment periods, yet the enclave will unquestionably persist. Considering the exponential growth of the Brazilian community in Dublin, the enclave growth will be facilitated by continuation of chain migration and new Brazilians to the space. As well, the commodification of the enclave by its builders will continuously attract non-Brazilian consumers to the area thus promoting its survival through economic sustainability. All things considered, the enclave and Brazilian community in and around Capel Street will thrive in years to come through the continuation of Brazilians wanting to study English in Dublin.

This chapter has discussed the specific impacts in the urban tissue of Dublin city by the Brazilian community. This chapter has also discussed some cultural impacts on Dublin city and its Irish population. Finally, this chapter has examined the future plans of some Brazilian students and the ethnic enclave's viability.

Chapter VIII. Conclusion and Recommendations

This conclusion addresses the specific research questions posed in the introduction. This conclusion summaries the research and speculates future possibilities for the Brazilian community in Dublin and Dublin city's urban tissue. This conclusion then finalises with future research recommendations which can further investigate the phenomena.

8.1 Answering specific questions

The primary question of this research queries how mobilities and ethnic enclaves imprint on city's urban tissues. Through the ethnographic research conducted, mobilities and ethnic enclaves heavily imprint on a city's urban tissue through regeneration, spatial regimes, and ethnic boundaries. Migrants in a new destination can regenerate previously disadvantaged areas, resulting in certain areas of Dublin like Capel Street now being regarded as "cool" (Burns 2022). These areas benefit from consumer interest by city-users which increase mobility to the area. 'Language tourism' as a form of mobility brings students to the city in which they imprint cultural norms and expectations from their home country onto the area, creating distinct ethnic spaces. Spatial regimes of mobility, like the Brazilian students travelling to class each day, create a ritual of taking certain urban paths, routes, and transport types to the enclave each day. The ethnic enclave then imprints on the city through ethnic boundaries created by the migrants/students which further transforms and regenerates the city into something new, diverse, and cosmopolitan. To address why Brazilians are leaving their home for Dublin, I have discovered that Brazilians are leaving their home country in pursuit of better opportunities elsewhere; opportunities may be economic, cultural, or experiential. Brazilians desire migrating to Ireland for its seemingly exotic cultural elements. Brazilians are then mobilising to Dublin specifically by way of English-language student visas which allow them to work and study, participating in what in this thesis has been called 'language tourism', while also financially sustaining themselves. When in Dublin, Brazilian student mobilities often moor on Capel Street, an historical area that is being constructed as an ethnic enclave. This enclave is being constructed there as Capel Street is rich in culturally diverse businesses, and at the same time is vulnerable as a previously disadvantaged area of the city. The presence of Brazilian dominant English-language schools, pre-existing Brazilian shops and establishments along with other Brazilian-specific symbols in the area are creating a heavily bounded "Brazilian quarter". From this research I was able to understand how Brazilians are impacting the local Irish culture, which is through exposure to Brazilian cultural elements like food, style, and language.

The Brazilian ethnic enclave will likely continue to impact Dublin city and Irish culture in the future through increased migration and cross-cultural contact.

8.1.1 The future of Dublin

Dublin city's identity as *creative* and English-speaking will likely continue to attract international and curious migrant-workers and students in the next few years as well. Ireland's economic growth (World Data 2021), the United Kingdom's exit from the European Union (Corr 2020), and attractive visa opportunities (McKinney 2021) position the country and its capital as a top destination for language and cultural tourism. Yet this continuation of non-Irish folk in Dublin may potentially result in further residential urban segregation. Saiz and Wachter (2011) theorise that immigrant settlements are perceivably less desirable to natives. Irish folk may increasingly desire residential and commercial separation from various ethnic groups resulting in harsh ethnic boundaries in the city. Yet it is also likely that Dublin city will continue to struggle with housing insecurity. In which case, it is possible that emigration by Irish young folk will continue. The more language students are encouraged and motivated to move to *Dublin*, rather than other Irish cities, the less housing will be available. Although, according to Saiz and Wachter, "Neighbourhoods that are spatially contiguous to immigrant enclaves are more likely to subsequently become more immigrant-dense themselves" (Saiz and Wachter 2011, 171). There is possibility that already existing ethnic spaces will provide opportunities for new migrants to enter and find community through continuation of migrant mobility to the area. If so, Dublin will be considerably more multicultural than in past decades, with a specific "Brazilianness" to the city that was not apparent before. The Brazilian students' criticism of the city regarding litter and danger may also be taken into account by the Irish population. As Brazilians continue to gain a more substantial voice in the city, the local population may consider their opinions and enact them into further regeneration projects. This future may represent a more influential Brazilian community, one which has impacts on systemic levels.

8.1.2 The Brazilian community in Dublin

Through continuation of Brazilian student mobility to the area, the Brazilian community in Dublin will increase through the security and networks that the enclave provides. Though the maximum amount of time an English-language student can stay in Dublin is two years, chain-migration will facilitate the continuation of new Brazilian students to the area as it has done for the current students. Additionally,

if the informants can obtain the *critical skills visas* and European passports they seek, there is possibility they will stay in Dublin city and continue to have fully fledged careers and lives there. Especially considering that the Brazilian students in Dublin are a young demographic, it is possible they may settle in the city, starting families and raising first generation migrants in Ireland. While it is not entirely possible to foresee the impact that the future may have on the Brazilian community in Dublin, it can be assumed that the current impacts will at least persist if the language schools continue to welcome Brazilian students.

8.2 Recommendations for further research

More research may be conducted on the integration of Brazilians to Ireland overtime, for example, how English-language students secure *critical skills visas* at Irish companies. It would be useful for comparisons to be made with the Brazilian community in Dublin city and other cities in Ireland. Namely, large cities of Galway, Limerick, and Cork. For instance, the language school that has been the main reference to sample participants to this research has recently introduced a second location in Cork city. This may alleviate pressure on students to secure housing in Dublin city, while still partaking in the "Irish life abroad" experience. It would be useful to examine if, and to what degree, Brazilian communities are physically manifested in the urban tissue of these cities. Additionally, comparisons of the Brazilian community in Dublin against other sizable non-Irish English-student communities, perhaps from European nations like Spain, Italy, and France in order to examine the spectrum of ethnic boundaries in the city of Dublin would enhance the research on Dublin's growingly diverse communities.

This conclusion has addressed specific research questions posed in the introduction. This conclusion has summarised the research and speculated future possibilities for the Brazilian community in Dublin and Dublin city's urban tissue. Lastly, future research recommendations have been presented and suggested.

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Interview Notes

All interviews were conducted during the months of June, July, and August of 2022 in Ireland.

(L=Liam, late thirties, male; I=interviewer; *=notes taken during interview)

I: Can you tell me a bit about you? How did you get into this business and what's your background?

L: Been in retail since 11, collector. Cousin owned a comic shop down the street. Niche little place.

*always good at retail. him and cousin set up comic shop together- he was the business type

L: I'm from this area. Just across the road is Dublin 7. From town. I'm a townie.

I: Has this area always had a lot of immigrants?

L: First black guy in school was a big shock, during secondary school there were more immigrants. In the last 10-15 years it has become very multicultural, like London. Whatever happens in England, 6 months later will happen in Ireland. It was during the Celtic Tiger, when the country was doing well a lot of people came, mostly Polish, making loads of money and sending it back. Then Indian, Pakistan, Chinese on Parnell, which used to be IRA 20 years ago.

I: When did your shops open? Why here?

L: Comic shop opened 5 years ago - the expansion of the previous one which has been open for 12. Comic shop is only one who does second hand toys in Dublin, (cater to kids with pocket cash, do payment plans) - very local and mentality "for local people".

*Cafe only 2 years old! This property opened up and he snatched it. "seen the potential" "cheap and cheerful, not a lot of that around here" this property before was a beauty salon, which closed because of the pandemic. Opened the cafe at the start of the pandemic.

L: There was no one around the city centre to do quick covid safe coffee. I saw the opportunity and took the chance.

*prides himself on the cheapness.

L: Places like the cafe next door are the perfect example of places we are competing against, trendy and expensive. It was a family run shop at first. Amy is local, the other barista. a Brazilian girl started at first, she brought it a lot of business.

I: Why did the Brazilian leave?

L: Brazilians are not fixed to one job. It's good for a period and good for them to improve. Not good for business owners because they are so mobile.

I: And the other guy (barista)?

L: Henry's girlfriend is a friend of the wife.

*He wants to hire people who are polite and won't be rude to you.

L: Manners are what bring people back to businesses, being nice is the best.

I: What's your clientele like?

L: Regular Joe sokes. Cheap local people are the IDEAL.

*Cater to people like him. regular people. Comic shop caters to regular people.

I: What about Brazilians?

L: 60-70 percent of coffee shop patrons are Brazilian. Cheap prices draw them in.

I: Do you have any issues with language?

L: I've worked with many nationalities. Sometimes they come across a bit rude because of the language. They seem like they are shouting and being rude. They mostly come in big groups as usual.

I: Do you get tourists?

L No tourists. You would get people parking here and then walking to the centre. Now there is no one really. Since it became *capel play street*, the sales have DROPPED. NO TOURISTS. NOW IT'S ONLY PEOPLE WHO WORK IN THE AREA. THE STREET PLAY THING HAS BROUGHT IN A LOT OF POOR BUSINESS. Lack of cars in this area has really negatively affected this. The idea was to draw more tourists but it has only deterred it. Capel St signs say "closed"

*He's gone to city council meetings about this.

I: So have you seen a rise in Brazilian people around here?

L: Definitely. Brazilian quarter is what this area is being called. lots of brazilians here taking over. THIS AREA IS DRAWING LOTS OF BRAZILIANS TO ONLY EACH OTHER. ONLY SUPPORT BRAZILIAN PEOPLE. Very loyal. because there's a lot of shops catering to them.

I: How has the area changed?

L: THE BLACK SHEEP WAS A NO GO PUB, GANGS. Capel street was very rough 10 years ago. Since then it's become hipster, laid-back like. These pubs you would get robbed in.

*FATHER WAS A BOXER AND HE FOUND IT TOUGH.

*woolshed used to be local, now its a total Brazilian bar. wouldn't have been like that 4-5 years ago.

L: There's way more Brazilians in the cafe. Because they are college students. If they weren't Brazilian they would be something else. They will get the food at *padoca* and then buy the coffee here. This area has lots of hipsters, townies, and students. ALSO OLDER CROWD. THEY LOVE THE CHEAP STUFF.

(Z=Zack, 30, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: What do you think about the people in Dublin?

Z: I was shocked by how little Irish people there were. When I got there it sort of cemented that it wasn't an Irish city, it was a city of young European professionals. I was also surprised at how many Brazilians there were. I thought it was because they had EU passports and settled on dublin, but they were actually there to learn English on student visas.

I: You thought it would be mostly European?

Z: Dublin is English speaking and in the EU with links to US tech so it made sense for Western Europeans to be there. I knew there would be Nigerians and Indians as well, but I was surprised by the South Americans and particularly the Brazilians that were there.

I: Have you spent much time on Capel Street?

Z: I never lived on capel street but would go for food or drink. When I moved there people said the cool parts were Portobello and Rathmines, but that was starting to change. Most people were thinking it's cool to go to Northside bars. Not really edgy but more on the frontier, fresher, newer, more hipster. It was a nice change of pace, seems more authentic, less commercial. Capel Street has more unique and authentic spots. Capel Street has more Brazilians, more Asians, less Irish.

I: Can you identify who is Brazilian or Irish by the way they look?

Z: Aesthetically, the look of citizens is more casual. When I think of Europeans I expect to see smarter dress, but I was surprised walking down the street that everyone wears lounge clothes. That might be from the Brazilians, I don't know. I spend most of my time in the Southside, which is very professional. The people who work there are Irish and what you'd expect with Europeans. I work with English, Irish, and more Western Europeans. When I lived in another Harold's Cross, you can feel a more student energy with also Brazilians, it's more loose.

(A=Ava, 30, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Can you tell me about how you got the job at [the language school]?

A: Yeah, I go to jiu-jitsu with [Brazilian colleague]. She told me about it since she knows I'm doing my PhD in English.

I: You two are very close. When did that start?

A: From jiu-jitsu. I wanted to try it, and met so many great people there. One of my students goes there too.

I: Have you had many Brazilian friends before?

A: No, never. I had no idea how many were in Dublin. Most of my friends are from university, but now I'm close to a lot of people from [the language school].

(J=James, 25, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: So, how's it been getting settled here [at the language school]?

J: Great. Everyone is so nice and helpful. I'm really loving getting to know the students. They tell me so much about their lives and it's really crazy for them.

I: Yeah. What do you think about it being majority Brazilian?

J: I had no idea it was so Brazilian.

I: Dublin? Or [the language school]?

J: Both. My dad is from Roscommon, but I guess he left decades ago. He never mentioned anything like that.

(M=Mary, 28, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(K=Kate, 25, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: How are your classes going lately?

M: Same old. Working on superlatives.

K: Yeah, we're doing the third conditional. It's awful.

M: Oh, that's tough. They struggle with that.

I: Everyone?

M: Yeah, they all do. Thank God I'm not teaching it.

K: You're lucky. My class is great. They're always speaking Portuguese, though. I'm actually learning Portuguese on Duolingo now.

M: No way! So am I. I want to understand what they're saying when I turn around.

K: Exactly. One of my students told me a joke in Portuguese and I'm gonna use it in my afternoon class.

M: That's class. I'm getting *padoca* for lunch. Do you want to come?

I: Yeah.

M: You know Eoin? He got new Brazilians at work. They've been bringing him *pão de queijo* and he loves it.

K: You should bring him to *padoca.*

M: I definitely will.

(S=Sara, 27, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(D=Diana, 25, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Do you have a lot of friends from your countries here?

S: No. Not really. Maybe a few. I mostly talk to people from Mexico, Bolivia, some from Chile.

D: No. I only know one person.

I: Do you feel like you have a community? Like the Brazilians?

S: I don't have a Chilean community, but I feel I have a Latin one. The Brazilians they have a community. This is my perception, maybe it's not reality. I think when they arrive to Ireland they have a community to make them feel safe, and people to help them. It's more than for other countries.

D: I agree. I have a lot of friends from Latin America. Brazilians too, so it's okay.

S: Yeah, it's okay, and I have the family. They help so much.

I: The family you work for?

S: Yes. They are so welcoming. They always point out my mistakes.

D: My family is good too. They make me feel part of them.

(A=Alexa, 22, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(M=Miguel, 26, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Do you have a lot of friends from your countries here?

A: There are a lot of Mexicans, yes. I have a lot of friends from Spain, Costa Rica, other places too.

M: I have some. I talk to everyone. Anyone who wants to speak English.

I: Any Brazilian friends?

A: Yes. You know [student from class]? I love him.

M: Not really. I try to speak with them. Sometimes. If someone from class asks me to go out I go.

A: It is hard to speak with them when they are in a group. At my last job it was all Brazilians. I don't speak Portuguese, you know. The manager there was so mean to me. She was mean so then everyone stopped talking to me. If you have a problem with one Brazilian, you have a problem with all of them. It's like that here [at the language school] too. It is frustrating.

M: You have to be patient. I know there are a lot of Brazilans here, but I don't mind.

A: I know. I am.

(L=Luana, 28, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Do you spend a lot of time on Capel Street?

L: For class of course. Sometimes to take a coffee with my friend after.

I: And you notice a lot of Brazilians here?

L: All the time. Everywhere.

I: On the street or at the shops?

L: Both. Oh. I saw a Brazilian flag the other day in a hair shop on Parnell Street. I thought of course she is Brazilian. But she is not. Let me show you.

*Shows me an instagram account of the hair salon, the biography has two flag emojis. One Brazilian flag and one Central African Republican flag.

L: You see? She is not Brazilian. I went in to see if I can get my braids done. I asked her, "oh are you Brazilian?" Because I saw the flag. She said "no I am from Africa". She told me she puts it there to get Brazilians to come.

I: Wow. Does she speak Portuguese?

L: No. I don't know. I don't think so. We spoke in English.

(C=Camilla, 24, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(W=Wesley, 24, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: What do you like about Dublin?

C: I like where we live. It is far and quiet. Very clean and nice.

W: Yes. So peaceful with all the parks.

*Live close to Kildare border

I: Do you like coming to the city centre?

W: Sometimes, to see friends or go out to try some food.

C: Yeah, we love to try new food.

W: And for class we have to come here. We try to not be absent.

C: Yeah we don't like to be absent. But the city centre is so dirty. I don't like to be here so much.

I: Is it too dirty?

W: I was so shocked when I came here. People don't care about the environment. There is trash everywhere.

C: It's not like that in Curitiba. Everywhere the streets are clean. Here it is so bad. I thought "is this Europe?"

W: We try to pick up trash we see on the bus. It's really sad.

(P=Paulo, 28, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(L=Lucas, 25, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(C=Carlos, 27, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Where are you all from and is it very different to Dublin?

L: I'm from Rio Grande de Sud. Dublin is the same size for me. But I had to change my life. When I first arrived I was very confused because my city doesn't have trains or trams. There was too much transportation.

P: Rio de Janeiro. Dublin is not a big city. It's a small city with big problems. Why here don't have too much motorcycles?

C: Me too. Rio de Janeiro. For Ireland it's a big city. Very multicultural, sometimes too much.

I: What did you think before coming here?

C: I thought easy life, Hollywood life, no problems. Opportunity land. I had three months to prepare before I came. I didn't have much time. It’s not true.

L: Yeah. I knew all these problems in Brazil. I searched a lot about this. But when living here is different. I knew about the documents, teenagers, accommodations. I have been preparing since 2018.

*they explain how language school agents sold them “fake” ireland

I: How was your experience getting settled here?

C: For me it was hard to change my mind. I didn’t want an unskilled job. I had to change my mind about this. People look down on people who work that. Documents aren't difficult but you spend too much time.

P: To find a house was very difficult.

C: Yes. And find a job is easy. The accent is difficult.

L: It was difficult to get all the documents and find a house, work is easy to find. When I came here I came open to do these kind of jobs. I don't feel sad in my opinion. I trained my mind in Brazil to do this.

I: Where do you see the most Brazilians?

L: Everywhere. City centre.

P: Yes. City centre. Really everywhere.

C: Even me in Blanchardstown.

I: Do you prefer being around Brazilians?

P: I like to hangout with friends from other countries. Sometimes I prefer other people like Turkish. It’s easier with Brazilians.

L: I like being with them but I would like to go out more with native people or people who speak English. Sometimes Brazilians are very rude here. Maybe a few weeks ago, I started to feel some disgust by the Brazilians. I went to a restaurant, and the waiters were Brazilian. When he took my order he treated me poorly. I could see him interacting with Irish customers well, but me, no. Everywhere,

the Brazilians treat other Brazilians poorly and treat Irish people way better. Brazilians are very rude to other Latin Americans.

P: Of course.

L: Another. In my job there are so many Brazilians who are there illegally. They are afraid to lose their jobs and they start to exclude me and make me feel bad so I quit, because they think I will take their jobs away.

C: Some Brazilians think if they had it bad, then I need to have it bad too. It is like this. It's sad.

I: Wow. How did you make friends here?

L: I meet ppl at school. When I came I didn't know anyone. I stayed in airbnb and struggled mostly.

C: I knew some people from Rio. But I first met people in the hostel.

P: I had some friends here. Also Facebook groups. I make friends at work too.

I: How long do you plan to stay in Dublin?

C: At least two years, then I don't know.

P: It's the same for me.

L: For me at least five or six. Only go back to Brazil to visit home but not live there. I would like to get a job here in my subject and me and my girlfriend can stay.

I: Why did you come here?

L: To fulfil a dream and English. I wanted Australia but too expensive so Ireland is good because it's in Europe. It's an opportunity to travel and it's close and cheap.

C: New opportunities and English, it's cheaper than other countries. AND EASY TO GET VISA.

P: Yes. The visa is easier. Also for me to make money and English.

I: Do you feel safe?

L: I feel safe in parks. I feel unsafe on the Northside. Not as bad as Brazil but at night there is theft. A little bit dangerous in all of Dublin, I can feel this.

P: I feel the best at home because I live alone with my wife.

C: I feel safe at my home. It's not the city centre but it's close.

I: Do you spend time with mostly Brazilians?

L: We live in a bubble.

C: Yes. Because sometimes we need help. We need our minds to be safe so we dont be crazy. Sometimes I need to talk to Brazilians to understand me. We need to talk to share our problems.

P: Yes. But a friend of mine is in Advanced and she always puts English on the table. The context is English. This helps a lot because it's comfortable.

(F=Fernanda, 33, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(B=Bruno, 25, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Where do you feel the most comfortable here?

F: I prefer Grand Ganal and Rathmines. I don't prefer the city centre, people are strange, a lot of drunk people and people with drugs. The teenagers as well. The *nanas.*

B: Yes. Me too. The drunk people are too much around here. It's not cute.

F: It's not clean either. That's how all city centres are though. Rio is the same.

B: Yes. Rio in the centre is also like this.

I: Why did you come here?

F: I always wanted to do it and live abroad. I got a scholarship here, and after the pandemic, I wanted to try a nice and new experience. I always thought I was too old, but had a "seize the moment " for Ireland. I also came 4 years ago and enjoyed Dublin so Dublin was on my mind.

B: It was my dream since young, to do something abroad. I came here because some friends were already here.

I: How long will you stay?

B: I think I will stay two years, then try to go to Portugal because there are friends there.

I: Would you go back to Brazil?

B: I don't feel like I belong in that place anymore. Just go back to Brazil to visit.

F: I'll come for two years in Ireland, but open to new possibilities. Trying not to think too long term. Somewhere in Europe maybe.

I: Who do you know here? Who are your friends?

F: I'm mostly friends with Brazilians, because of the school. I have a few friends from LA and France due to work.

B: Mostly Brazilians. Some work friends who are not Brazilian. All of them are from the language school.

I: Do you prefer being around Brazilians?

F: I don't prefer it, I would like to have non-Brazilians to improve my English. But after awhile, Brazilians make me feel comfortable because they are so warm

B: The same, no preference. But Brazilians are warmer and try to help each other.

I: Where do you find the most Brazilians?

F: City centre. Of course Capel Street.

B: Yes. Everywhere. Even in my home. Especially Dicey's. It's not my cup of tea anymore. It's overcrowded with Brazilians.

I: What was your experience getting settled here?

F: I was very happy, trying to find permanent accommodation. Feeling super lucky, and wasn't missing home. I found it easy since day one, because I was expecting the worst. I was reading on Facebook groups and got scared of the situation and *the nanas.*

B: I was so happy to take this opportunity. But I spent one month and a half trying to find accommodation. But I know in the beginning it was always difficult.

I: What did you expect before you arrived?

F: I was really scared from reading bad things on Facebook.

B: I thought about what friends said and came with an open heart. It's different from Brazil, smaller than Rio.

I: Oh yes, you're both from Rio. How is Dublin different?

F: I have a few friends from Chile who complain about spending too much time on the bus. But for me spending thirty minutes on the bus is so normal!

B: Yes I agree. They always complain.

F: I am used to taking lots of transport. I always sleep in the bus, I like it.

B: I love being from a big city. I like the connections you can make in a big city.

F: I love being in a multicultural place. You can see more people all over from Brazil in Rio. Here its a mix of international.

I: So how do you feel here?

F: I don't have a feeling of belonging somewhere. You never feel like you belong. Because you have your culture, even if I live with Irish people and marry an Irish person, it will never be the same. Sometimes you don't have the proper word to express the feeling.

B: When I come back to Brazil it will be different as well, when you come to an underdeveloped country.

F: You can compare, compare the salary as a professional in Brazil as a waitress in Ireland. But yed. You feel like you don't belong anywhere. You stop feeling a part of anywhere. You are always homesick of everywhere.

B: Yes. You are always changing and nothing will be the same because I am not the same.

F: And not having the words really impact your life. When I lived in France I was 14 and learned French so quickly because I had to. It's the same here. It's the best way to learn. So I try every day.

(D=Diego, 24, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(G=Gabi, 24, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Why did you come here?

G: To save money to go to Canada and have a better life and learn English. I was a nanny in the US for a year and that really helped my English. But here you can make a lot of money.

I: How long will you stay?

G: We will stay two years but we're trying to get citizenship and work visa to stay longer. Something like *jeitinho*, do you know it?

I: No, tell me.

*She searches it on her phone and shows me

G: We can try to figure something out.

I: Who do you know here?

G: We are friends with a lot of people from church so it's very international. Also some from work and from [the language school].

I: Do you prefer Brazilians?

G: I like both. Brazilians make me feel better, like a little piece of my home here. When I was in the US I was very isolated. It was during the pandemic and I only saw the family. I didn't speak any English and they didn't speak Portuguese. So here I like the Brazilians.

D: It's easier with Brazilians.

I: Do you see a lot of Brazilians around?

G: They are everywhere. You listen to Portuguese everywhere you go. Every time I'm at a bus stop I can see a Brazilian nearby.

D: Even in Coolock.

*they live in Coolock

I: You like it here? Do you feel safe?

D: Anywhere is safer than Brazil. Depends on your degree of dangerous. Most people who come here from Brazil have a better quality of life and you can buy more.

G: It's not difficult compared to the USA. Everyone is so friendly and patient. I feel like I'm in ireland. It's a lot more relaxed. I can walk around and enjoy. It's a place I can imagine my life. I like it more than I expected. I changed my mind.

D: We only had problems before we came.

I: Did you have a lot of perceptions before coming?

G: I didn't know too much.I thought it would be bigger. I thought the people would be more educated or civilised. I found way more garbage in the bus than in Brazil.

D: It's a dirty city. Especially in the city centre.

(K=Karina, 21, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Why did you come here?

K: I just wanted to travel.

I: How long will you stay?

K: One month. I want to go back. But after visiting Trinity College I was amazed. Maybe I can return after my degree.

I: Do you know a lot of Brazilians here?

K: I know different people. I didn't come here with the intention of being around Brazilians. We get close faster though and they are easier to approach.

I: How has it been here so far?

K: [Irish people] are already used to foreigners so it's easy, people are also so friendly.

I: Did anything shock you?

K: There are more foreigners in general. I thought it was mostly Irish. I hear so many languages all the time. Especially Portuguese. I was surprised by the bad smells here in the city too.

I: Is Dublin very different from your hometown?

K: I'm from Santa Catarina. The buildings here are so tiny. All the buildings are a lot smaller than in Brazil. I thought ok, its Europe, its old but nothing modern. I prefer the way it is here.

I: Do you like it here?

K: Yes, I do. If you do something slowly in Brazil people judge you. Someone will be like "what is your purpose". Here you have a higher purchasing power. You can buy things in weeks that would take months to save for in Brazil. This is why people go to USA, Canada, Ireland, etc. I don't feel comfortable to walk around the streets here though.

(A=Anita, 33, female; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

(F=Felipe, 22, male; I=Interviewer; *=notes taken during the interview)

I: Why did you come here?

A: I decided to start a new life with my husband. Better opportunities. Brazil has a lot of problems and here not.

F: The pandemic pushed me here. I stopped university because I was bored.

I: How long will you stay?

F: In Dublin one year and a half.

A: I want to stay forever.

I: Do you feel safe?

A: I live in Santry. I don't have fear here, it's different, generally it's a safe place as well.

F: I feel safe in places like Donnybrook, Rathmines, Ranelagh. BUT NOT CLOSE TO CITY CENTER. Because I think in the centre there are many *nanas*. I don't feel safe to put my bike in front of [the language school]. But it’s normal to have gun violence in Brazil so here we feel a lot safer.

I: Who do you know here? Who are your friends?

F: I know friends from my house. Before I came I had a cousin here who introduced me to his friends.

A: Mostly people from [the language school] and a couple from Rio.

I: Do you prefer being around Brazilians?

F: Brazilians are more friendly.

A: It’s easy to communicate and understand and for me it's more difficult. My bubble is only Brazilian. It's bad because I don’t practise English. But I still try. I try to talk English all the time with anyone. I’m looking for a job where I can speak English.

I: What was your experience getting settled here?

F: The only problems were legal, government, and documents.

A: My husband came one month before me. It was different but okay.

I: Did anything shock you when you arrived?

F: More Brazilians than I thought. Rent is crazy too.

A: More Brazilians. Dublin is very small. I prefer the small cities. You feel nicer. I like the parks here too, not a lot in my city. There's lots of options to have a nice day. In Rio some places are super dangerous because there's not enough people around.

I: So you like living here?

A: Here the feeling is not fast, in Rio you need to make things fast all the time. Everybody is calm. For mental health it's better. If you work a lot and have time for work, in 5 years you can buy a house and the government can help you.

F: I don't feel comfortable to raise a family here. Maybe I will go to another country for education.

Survey

This section contains the raw data from the preliminary research survey designed to broadly understand students' mobility.

Gender	Nationality	When did you arrive to Dublin? (approximately)	Which zone do you live in? (for example: Dublin 7 or Smithfield)	What type of accommodation do you have?	How do you usually arrive to SEDA?	How long does it take you to arrive?	Do you feel safe in your zone?	Do you feel safe near SEDA?	What is your job here?	Would you be willing to be interviewed about transportation and accommodation?
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 09	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Aircraft cleaner	No
Female	Brazilian	2020-08-26	Dublin 1	Personal flat / share with partner	Luas	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes

Male	Panamin ian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Passeng er Services Agents Dublin Airport	Yes
Male	Mexican	########	DublÃ-n 7	Hostel / hotel	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	Nothing	Yes
Male	Panamin ian	########	dublin 6	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	none	No
Female	Brazilian	########	D24	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	1 hour<	Yes	Yes	Gibson Hotel / Docas	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	D3	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Cleaner and homecar e	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared apartme nt	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes	Floor Staff	No

Female	Mexican	########	Dublin 3	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Housekeeping	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Balbriggan	Shared flat - own room	DART	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes	Chef	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 13	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen Porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D06	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Housekeeper	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - shared room	Bike	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Cleaner and delivery	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 24	Shared flat - shared room	Luas	1 hour<	Yes	Yes	I don't have a job yet.	Yes

Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 9 Santry	Personal flat / share with partner	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Female	Mexican	########	D7 Cabra	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Housekeeping	Yes
Female	Mexican	########	Dublin 9	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	No
Male	Brazilian	########	12	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen Porter	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 17	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Waitress	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 9	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	For now, rider	Yes

Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - own room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	I don't work	Yes
Female	Bolivian	########	Dublin 22 Clondalkin	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes	Fish shop	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	D3 Clontarf	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	No	Accommodation Associate	Yes
Female	Panamanian	########	Dublin 13	Host family (Irish)	DART	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Housekeeping	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	ManutenÃ§Ãµes	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Personal flat / share with partner	Bike	<10 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Kp and Waiter	Yes

Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Housekeeper	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Navan, meath	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Maybe	No	Bar staff	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Personal flat / share with partner	Walk	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Iâ€™m donâ€™t have any work at the moment	Yes
Female	Bolivian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	I still dont have	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Naas - Kildare	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	1 hour<	Yes	Maybe	Cleaner and Housekeeping	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Smithfild	Studio alone	Bike	<10 minutes	No	Maybe	cleanner ,replace	Yes

									material s,person al fight	
Male	Brazilian	2021-12-08	D9	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Bread factory	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	D18	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Receptionist	No
Male	Panamin ian	########	DublÃ-n 24	Shared flat - shared room	Luas	1 hour<	Yes	No	Kp	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D12	I live with my boyfrien d.	online , I never went to school		Yes	Maybe	When I arrived I worked in cleaning for 2 years, and I worked in my business. Today I	Yes

									work only in my business, I make energetic jewellery with stones and crystals. I'm a jewellery designer	
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 09	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen Porter	No
Male	Malaysian	########	roundwood	house	Personal car	1 hour and half	Yes	Yes	student	No
Male	Turkish	########	Dublin 9	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	I don't have a job, yet	Yes
Female	Mexican	########	D7 Phibsboro	Shared flat -	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Waittres	No

				shared room						
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 6	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D11	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	No	No	Clenear	No
Male	Mexican	########	Dublin 13	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe		Yes
Female	Mexican	########	Stillorgan	Studio	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	kitchen assistant	Yes
Male	Costarrican	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	20-30 minutes	No	Maybe	Kitchen and cleaning assistant	Yes

Female	Panamin ian	########	Dublin 20	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Houseke eper	No
Male	Brazilian	########	D8	Shared flat - shared room	Bike	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	KP, Delivery	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 7	Shared flat - own room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kp	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Hostel / hotel	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	I don't have a job	Yes
Female	Hondura n	########	D14	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	No	Maybe	Looking for a job	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 9	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Hairdres ser	Yes

Male	Bolivian	########	Dublin 1	Personal flat / share with partner	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Packing	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 4	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Office cleaner	Yes
Male	Honduran	########	Dublin 7 Cabra	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen Porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D8	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Chef	Yes
Male	Mexican	########	Dublin 20	Shared flat - own room	Bike	20-30 minutes	Yes	No	Waiter	Yes
Female	Japanese	########	Dublin 9	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Waitress in Japanese	Yes

									restaurant	
Female	Japanese	########	Coolock	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes		No
Male	Chilean	########	Dublin 16	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Mexican restaurant (attending public)	Yes
Female	Mexican	########	Dun laoghaire	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes	Waitress	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Rathmines	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen porter	Yes
Male	Bolivian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	I don't have a job yet	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat -	Luas	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Kitchen Assistant	Yes

				shared room						
Male	Panamanian	########	Dublin 9	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Restaurant Floor Staff	Yes
Female	Mexican	########	D11	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	No		No
Female	Panamanian	########	Dublin 1	an office, I share my room with a girl and the office with 9 people and a bathroom	Walk	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Yes	I don't have yet, I'm looking	Yes
Male	Malaysian	########	Wicklow	Host family (Other)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	None	Yes

Male	Brazilian	########	Inchicore	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Software developer (in Brazil)	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D09	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Castleknock	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Minder	No
Female	And Croatian	########	Dublin 11 Gasnevin Park	Studio	And walk	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	I dont have a job, i came back to Brazil	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 9	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	No	Hairdresser	Yes

Male	Brazilian	########	D11	Host family (Irish)	Scooter	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Cleaner	No
Female	Mexican	2022-01-12	Dublin 9	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	30-40 minutes	No	Yes	Chef	Yes
Male	Chilean	########	Dublin 12	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaning	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - own room	Walk	20-30 minutes	No	Yes	Chef	Yes
Female	Bolivian	########	Dublin 3	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Cleaning	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 6	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Housekeeping	Yes

Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 15	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Housekeeping	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Bray	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Yes	Yes	Kitchen porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	13	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	waitress	No
Male	Honduran	########	Dublin 10	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Night Porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	No	Maybe	cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D7	Personal flat / share	Dublin bus	1 hour<	Yes	Maybe	Waitress and Aircraft Cleaner	No

				with partner						
Female	Panamin ian	########	DublÃ-n 15	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	No	Waitress and cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Bray	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Yes	Yes	KP	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	nort	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Manicur e	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 13 Portman ock	Shared flat - shared room	DART	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Waitress	Yes
Male	China	########	Lucan	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe	No	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Maybe	McDonal dâ€™s and Cleaner	No

Female	Chilean	########	Malahide	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Au pair	No
Male	El Salvador	########	Dublin 15	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Maybe	Maybe	Kitchen Porter	No
Male	Malaysian	########	Wicklow	House	Personal car	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Part time job	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Co. Dublin - Dun Laoghaire	Personal flat / share with partner	DART	50-60 minutes	Yes	Maybe	CREW Member at McDonalds	Yes
Male	Bolivian	########	Dublin 9	Shared flat - shared room	Bike	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 16	Host family (Other)	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe	I work in cleaning.	Yes

Male	Brazilian	########	Smithfield	Personal flat / share with partner	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	No	I'm unwaged have 4 months	No
Male	Brazilian	########	D15	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Housekeeping	No
Female	Honduran	########	Dublin 12	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Remotely with an IT company. I brought this job with me from my home country.	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 3	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Cleaner	Yes

Female	Chilean	########	I love un dublin 3 clontarf	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	I'm findind a job	Yes
Male	Panamin ian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen porter	No
Male	Brazilian	########	D15	Host family (Other)	Dublin bus	50-60 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kp	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 12	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Housekeeper	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 17	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Bar back	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Food Runner	Yes

Male	Guyanese	########	Dublin 15	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Nil	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Cabra	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Bartender	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1 - North Docks	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Dental Nurse and Home Care Assistant	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 7, Phibsborough	Personal flat / share with partner	Luas	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	<10 minutes	Yes	No	Catering Assistant	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 9	Shared flat -	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Housekeeper	Yes

				shared room						
Male	Honduran	########	Dublin 9	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Unemployed	Yes
Male	Mexican	########	Dublin 13, Clongriffin	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	30-40 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Catering service.	No
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 3	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Waiter.	No
Female	Brazilian	########	Terenure	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	Yes	Mkt,customer service, commercial	Yes
Prefer not to say	Chilean	########	DublÃ-n 7	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Elder carer	Yes

Female	Brazilian	########	D01	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	Delivery oo	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	Student housing/ dormitory	Walk	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Yes	Cleaning	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Male	Mexican	########	Dublin 1	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaning	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 5	Shared flat - own room	Dublin Bus and 15 min walk	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Baker	Yes
Female	Mexican		D09	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	30-40 minutes	Yes	No	Nail technician	Yes

Female	Brazilian	########	D09 santry	Personal flat / share with partner	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	Iâ€™m donâ€™t have yet.	No
Male	Chilean	########	DublÃ-n 1	Shared flat - shared room	Bike	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Glass recolector	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 16	Host family (Irish)	Luas	40-50 minutes	Yes	Yes	Cleaner	Yes
Male	Bolivian	0199-01-29	D25	Shared flat - shared room	Luas	40-50 minutes	Yes	No	KP	Yes
Female	Panamanian	########	Dublin 07	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	10-20 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Waitress	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8/ Island Bridge	Shared flat - own room	Dublin bus	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Therapist	No

Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 1	I own an apartment. I'm paying the installments	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	None	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8 Rialto	Shared flat - own room	Bike	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Kitchen Porter	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########		Personal flat / share with partner		10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes		No
Female	Brazilian	########	Bray, Wiclow	Host family (Irish)	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Yes	Yes	housekeeping	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 8	Shared flat - shared room	Bike	10-20 minutes	Yes	Yes	Staff	No
Male	Brazilian	########	AdamStown	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	1 hour and half	Yes	Yes	I'm not working yet	Yes

Female	Brazilian	########	D15 Ashthown	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	40-50 minutes	Yes	Maybe	Any job yet	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	Dublin 3	Shared flat - shared room	Walk	20-30 minutes	Maybe	Maybe	Cleaner	Yes
Male	Brazilian	########	Dublin 5, Artane	Shared flat - shared room	Dublin bus	20-30 minutes	Yes	Yes	I don't have any yet	Yes
Female	Brazilian	########	D01	Shared flat - own room	Walk	<10 minutes	Yes	Yes	Only student	No