

'Cold and Lively'

*Exploring the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion
in the Dublin area from a neighbourhood perspective*

'Com frio e cheios de vida'

*Explorando as experiências de imigrantes Brasileiros com relação a inclusão /exclusão
socio-espacial na região de Dublin de uma perspectiva de vizinhança*



Dublin is...

“Dublin, it is like a mother for us Brazilians to help all and she has a lot of opportunities.”

“ The smell of smoked barley coming out of the Guinness chimneys on a windy day in the liberties.”

“It's a very multicultural city with a lot of opportunities. Either personal, social and economically.”

‘Cold and Lively’

Exploring the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area from a neighbourhood perspective

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* *Photo on the frontpage is the researcher's own picture*

Preface

After a long journey of deciding on a topic, changing my thesis topic, and overcoming other obstacles I encountered, I am proud to share with you my master thesis. Starting with my first research ideas of researching the Irish diaspora and after having very explorative meetings with Dr Maurice J. Casey (formal researcher at the Museum of Emigration in Dublin) and Ms Corporaal of the Radboud University, I ended up at New Communities Partnership (NCP) in the Dublin area for my internship. NCP is an NGO that helps immigrants that come to Ireland. This is also why in the end I decided to change the topic to immigration issues in Ireland instead of focusing on Irish people emigrating. The internship period was quite challenging, but I had a fruitful time at the organisation. I learned how NGOs like NCP deal with challenges of helping immigrants and also I learned more about myself, being a Dutch researcher living in Dublin for three months.

Second, I am grateful that it worked out in the end for me to travel abroad during the COVID-19 pandemic and that I was able to move to Dublin. In this research, one of the main issues that is found is the extreme housing crisis that is going on in Ireland. I am really grateful that I was able to find accommodation in Stoneybatter, a very lively area in Dublin. Stoneybatter was such an amazing place to live and living in such a gentrified area as a geography student was super interesting. My house in Dublin was also the base camp for my research because almost all my interviews took place at home via Zoom due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Altogether, my time in Ireland was very useful for conducting this research.

Acknowledgements

Several persons have contributed to this research from its initial stage until its completion. First of all, I would like to express my warmest appreciation to the people I formally and informally talked to, particularly those who participated in this research. Without you, I could never have presented the thesis as it is right now. I would like to thank you for opening up to me so quickly and for sharing your ideas and thoughts regarding my topic. So, thank you very much!

Secondly, Francesco takes a very special position in this thesis. Thank you for your support and for bringing me in contact with the research group. Furthermore, I would like to thank Shamim of the Dublin Inquirer for showing interest in my research and publishing an article in the newspaper about it.¹ In addition, I am very grateful and honoured for the pleasant cooperation with Mrs Arjumand Younus of TU Dublin. I hope we will keep in touch and we can combine our research results in the end.

A special word of gratitude goes to Niall and Ian, my flatmates in Dublin. Thank you for always listening to me, being there during harder times, for your support, for all the lovely cups of Irish tea, and of course for all the good craic. Cheers lads, you have been a great help to me! My time in Ireland would not have been the same without my friends in Ireland and even back in Brazil. Thanks to David, Ward, Kwesi, and Helder, for your continuous support and for sharing your network with me.

I feel grateful for my supervisor Dawit, who was there during the last period of my thesis. Thank you for the great support, the meetings we had, and your encouraging comments. Additionally, I would like to thank Joris. Thank you for your final comments on my research.

Furthermore, I express my sincere thanks to my parents and brother Joep. Joep, thank you for all your help, your willingness to peer review my chapters all the time, and for being supportive when I needed it. I could not have done this process without you. I would like to thank my library buddies for all the motivational coffees we had. Last but not least, I cannot say that I could have done the thesis without the help of my lovely friends of the master's programme and my other friends.

Babette Geurink
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¹ <https://www.dublininquirer.com/2022/02/16/a-researcher-wants-to-ask-brazilian-dubliners-what-stops-you-feeling-like-you-belong>

Abstract

Contemporary Ireland has been shaped by migration. Acknowledging the relatively recent nature of immigration to Ireland and the ensuing frame of ‘the migration threat’ in Ireland and Europe, this study investigates the experiences of migrants residing in Ireland. In particular, it gains empirical insights into the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion in the Dublin area and their sense of belonging in Irish society. Brazilians are studied because they are one of the largest non-European migrant groups in Ireland. This thesis applied qualitative research methods, which included a case study of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area. The data was collected from fifteen semi-structured interviews and notes from formal and informal conversations that were carried out between January and March 2022. These were thematically analysed in Atlas.Ti. Drawing on the concepts of ‘citizenship’, ‘social identity’, ‘social networks’, ‘discrimination, racism’, and ‘the neighbourhood’, the thesis explored the experiences of Brazilian migrants and their sense of belonging in Irish society. Belonging in society is reflected in this study in terms of the migrants' experience with equal access to social and spatial networks, their treatment by Irish society, and the socio-economic opportunities they get in, for example, the labour- or housing market. In this process, the social and spatial aspects of inclusion and exclusion clearly intersect. The thesis shows, first, there is unequal treatment towards Brazilians when it comes to their social identity and nationality, which results in out-group treatment. Second, Brazilians face prejudice against them, which results in discrimination, racism, and stereotypes. Third, Brazilians face spatial issues in their residential area when it comes to the dysfunctionality of the housing market, which also impacts their level of social inclusion. Though, from a residential perspective, they are more embedded in their neighbourhood than in Irish society in general. Nevertheless, the importance of the neighbourhood in terms of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion is not considered the most important value of belonging to Irish society. This study highlights the importance of decision-making processes for immigrants in Ireland by using the socio-spatial inclusion-exclusion lens, and it can be useful for policymakers and (migrant) organisations to target service provision to vulnerable (non-European) migrant communities.

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Punctuation marks

In this research quotes of the respondents are used to gain a better understanding of the current situation. In these quotes different marks are used for the readability of the quotes. The following marks are used:

<p>[...] = One or more words left out / two disconnected sentences put after each other [] = Word addition / clarification ... = Unfinished sentence / Long pause - = Truncation of the sentence <> = Tone of voice</p>
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Table 1: Punctuation marks (Taaladvies, n.d).

Chapter 1 | Introduction

“The message we need to articulate – is that migration is a good thing for Ireland and enriches our society. We all benefit from diversity and together we will be stronger for it. Migration makes our economy stronger, our public services sustainable, and our culture and society richer” (Varadkar, 2019).

Varadkar’s² statement shows, there is a political and social message that needs to be articulated about migration in the Republic of Ireland (hereafter, Ireland). Ireland is mainly known for its emigration history. However, over the past decade, Ireland has also become an immigrant destination (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008). As a result of the increased immigration, the arrival of immigrants quickly became a matter of security (Michael, 2021). In addition, Varadkar acknowledged that: *“Some towns feel that their identity is threatened”*, due to the arrival of migrants. This statement contradicts the above formulated message that migration is a good thing for Ireland. In addition, seeing migrants as a threat to the national identity is not exceptional when we compare it to other nation-states. In international literature, we find debates that address the framing of migrants as cultural and economic threats (Gilmartin, 2015; McGinnity & Kingston; 2017; Michael, 2021; Boucher, 2008).

As a result of ‘the migration threat’ framework, increased violence and racism against migrant groups can be recognised in Ireland over time. There is a rise of criminal damage and arson against buildings where migrants reside (Michael, 2019). Additionally, some scholars and NGOs addressed their concerns about the 2018 presidential election, where some candidates openly declared support for drastic anti-immigration measures. These candidates used racist language to describe Travellers, refugees, and migrants (Michael, 2019; Fox, et al., 2022). This also resulted in a more general concern about the candidacy of far-right parties (e.g. the National Party) in the 2019 and 2020 elections (Siapera, 2019). This anti-immigrant discourse is relatively new for Ireland compared to other European countries (Garner, 2007; O’Malley, 2008). Therefore, in this study Ireland and in particular, the Dublin area is used as a case study. It examines the experiences of migrants and how they are treated as part of Irish society.

According to Phillips (2007), the matter of migration became highly politicised, which is also the case in Ireland. The political understanding of immigrants in Ireland is framed by the Irish national reflection on migrants and their European Union membership as non-Schengen member (Gilmartin, 2015). The Irish national approach towards migration is seen as somewhere in between assimilation and multiculturalism (Lentin & Titley, 2011). As Ireland faced immigration flows at a later stage than other European countries, they agreed upon the idea that a full assimilation or multicultural approach would fail, as was seen in other European nations (Lentin & Titley, 2011). For example, this Irish approach does not include orientation and language tuition or labour market training (Lentin & Titley, 2011; Boucher, 2008). Nevertheless, this Irish mid-way approach does not mean that immigrants are fully welcomed in Irish society. The Irish political approach emphasises the need to protect the Irish state and its population towards migrants. Consequently, to some extent segregation occurs (Phillips, 2007; Boucher, 2008; Michael, 2021).

Ireland’s shift from mainly an emigration country to an immigrant destination, the political and social adjustment to the situation, and the framing of migration as a matter of security calls for a study that includes the experiences of migrants residing in Ireland. In this study, Brazilian migrants are picked as a case study. This group has been studied because Ireland has one of the largest groups of Brazilian immigrants in the European Union, and the group has increased enormously compared to other nationalities over the last few years (Central Statistics Office, 2020; McKinney, 2021). The majority of

² Prime Minister of Ireland (Department of the Taoiseach, 2022).

the Brazilians who moved to Ireland reside in the Dublin area. The Dublin area in this study includes the city of Dublin, Howth, and Bray (see figure 4, p. 21).

Due to the increased number of diverse migrant groups in Ireland, of which the Brazilian community is one, the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) initiated a study to map out the diversity of neighbourhoods and the residential distribution of immigrants in Ireland in 2019. This study acknowledged the need for specific ethnic data on an individual level. Currently, this specific data is lacking according to the ESRI report. The ESRI report recommended further study of personal experiences of a specific ethnic-, non-native English group. The main rationale behind the call to study group-specific experiences is to avoid segregation and exclusion (Fahey et al., 2019).

This study, inspired by the ESRI report, seeks to comprehend Brazilian migrants' socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion in the Dublin area, as well as their sense of belonging in Irish society. To start with, this research obtains insights into their experiences of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Secondly, I want to show if and how Brazilian *social identity* affects socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Thirdly, the goal is to focus particularly on a neighbourhood level to understand what role the neighbourhood plays in socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area. Lastly, the aim is to understand what socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion means regarding belonging in Irish society. The experiences of the respondents are studied regarding, social, spatial and economic opportunities. In addition, this study emphasises equal treatment as an important factor to understand their sense of belonging. Lastly, the sense of belonging is understood through accessibility to, for example, the labour market in the Dublin area.

In order to study the broad concept of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, this thesis has identified five dimensions through which the empirical material was analysed. These five dimensions are citizenship, social identity, social networks, discrimination and racism, and the neighbourhood. These dimensions are explained through eight social and spatial interconnected indicators that emerged clearly during the interviews. To continue, these five dimensions interrelate with the concept of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusions through, in the first place, the importance of the (dual) citizenship status of the Brazilians residing in the Dublin area. Their (dual) citizenship status is one of the main indicators studying socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Secondly, social identity reflects in-group and out-group belonging, as studied by Tajfel (1974) and Turner (1975). Thirdly, social networks relate to the concept of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion through the potential for interaction and social ties that exist. This is strongly connected to the concept of social identity. The fourth dimension, discrimination and racism, clearly relates to the social networks that exist in space. Discrimination and racism are analysed through social and spatial outcomes that can mainly be found in the existence of negative stereotypes and out-group treatment. The last dimension, the neighbourhood, mainly highlights the spatial outcomes. However, the social outcomes are strongly intertwined with the spatial. This has been shown by the analysis of the housing market, which includes spatial competition and discrimination and racism against groups that are not Irish. It complements socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion throughout safety issues, facilities, mobility, and neighbourhood social networks.

To explore all of this, case study research was done in the Dublin area and semi-structured interviews were conducted to understand the Brazilian individual experiences. Studying the five dimensions of citizenship, social identity, social network, discrimination and racism, and the neighbourhood the experiences are identified. This study shows how the experiences are clearly personal and their access, treatment, and opportunities are limited in the Dublin area, which harms their sense of belonging in Irish society. In particular, on a social identity level, social and political improvements can be made.

1.1 Research objective & research questions

This study gains empirical insights into the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area and their sense of belonging in Irish society. My aim is not to generalise the data, but to contribute to the knowledge about Brazilian migrants settling in the Dublin area by studying their experiences. This approach helps to uncover the impact of socio-spatial

inclusion/exclusion at the meso level. It contributes to the little knowledge that is currently available about Brazilians in the Dublin area. It should be noted that the research was limited by a case study of a specific group of Brazilian migrants and cannot be generalised, for example, due to the diverse socio-economic position of Brazilian migrants in Ireland. To grasp the experiences of the Brazilian migrants, I chose to use semi-structured interviews. I conducted fifteen interviews with Brazilians who moved from Brazil to Dublin (Chapter 3.2.1). Therefore, my goal is to examine:

How do Brazilians experience socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area; does their non-European nationality play a role in their experience; how do they experience inclusion/exclusion in their residential area; and does their experience of inclusion/exclusion influence their sense of belonging in Irish society?

To achieve this objective, I formulated one main research question and four sub-questions. This leads to the following research question:

What are the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding 'socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion' within the Dublin area and how does this affect their sense of belonging in Irish society?

In this thesis, there is a focus on the two central modes of inclusion/exclusion: the social and the spatial. The spatial and the social are separated to give a clear overview. In practice, the two concepts clearly intersect with each other and an overlap between both concepts can be found. Analysing both concepts reflects on how experiences shape one's sense of belonging, as shown through three dimensions: access, treatment, and opportunities. Firstly, for the purposes of this research, access is taken as a measure of access across space within different neighbourhoods in the Dublin area. It reflects the degree of perceived accessibility for individuals in the Dublin area to, for example, the housing market (Lima, 2001). Secondly, I consider the socioeconomic opportunities that individuals or groups have (Lima, 2001). Lastly, to understand the concept of treatment, I studied their experiences of equality. It reflects upon the labour market, the housing market, accessibility to social services, as well as the right for individuals to vote, and to be treated equally and free from discrimination and racism (Loyal, 2011, p. 142-143). To explore this, the following supporting sub-questions are in place:

What is the context behind the Brazilian settlement in the Dublin area?

This first sub-question aims to illustrate the reasons for moving to the Dublin area and I intend to understand how experiences of moving to the Dublin area contribute to their experiences of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. The context behind the settlement is important to address because it sets the tone for further experiences in the Dublin area. This sub-question has a more descriptive nature, which is necessary to understand the level of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging.

How is social inclusion/exclusion experienced by the Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area?

I aim to focus on the personal experiences of Brazilians living in the Dublin area regarding social inclusion/exclusion. Specifically, I am interested in social elements of inclusion/exclusion; this is done by studying the dimensions of 'social identity', 'social networks', 'citizenship', 'discrimination and racism'. The social element mainly reflects upon the relationships that exist in space. This helps to move away from just an integration perspective. In this study, the terms social and spatial inclusion/exclusion are separated in the sub-questions; however, in practice, the social and the spatial are really intertwined. Simultaneously, the third sub-question specifically focuses on the spatial component of this research.

How is spatial inclusion/exclusion experienced by the Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area?

Through the interpretations of the Brazilians, I explore their experiences regarding spatial inclusion/exclusion. It considers how the residential area relates to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and how this affects their experiences from a more city-wide perspective. This is done by studying different facets of the neighbourhood regarding interaction, clustering, concentration, and centralisation. This

helps to give this study a specific spatial focus. In addition, it attempts to relate the spatial to the social elements.

How does the socio-spatial experience of Brazilians relate to their sense of belonging in Irish society?

Belonging in this study is summarised through three dimensions namely: opportunities, access, and treatment. This reflects upon the social and political context of migrants in the Dublin area. I aim to understand individual experiences and try to find similarities in their stories. It reflects upon the interaction between the Brazilian migrants and Irish society. This study aims to understand daily practices that hinder or contribute to a sense of belonging. My goal is to show if and how social and spatial outcomes have an impact on the sense of belonging.

1.2 Relevance

1.2.1 Societal relevance

The societal relevance can be found in the fact that immigration flows into Ireland have gotten more and more attention over the last few years. The increasing number of immigrants in Ireland has changed the composition of Irish society. The changes in immigration flows and also the scale, composition, and patterns make Ireland an interesting place to research contemporary processes regarding immigration (Gilmartin & Dagg, 2020). In particular, because the first flows of migrants in Ireland were quite homogeneous, unlike other European countries. Ireland had less pre-existing immigrant groups that were ethnically mixed. This resulted in the fact that, since the 1990s, a new public debate about immigration has been going on. There was a specific focus on immigrants and integration and discussions about how to do things ‘right’ when it comes to migrants (Tittley, 2012, p. 821; Gilmartin & Dagg, 2020). Nowadays, the public debate has shifted from how to ‘do it right’ to seeing migrants as a ‘threat’ to Ireland. Moreover, this situation raises questions, such as whether Brazilian immigrants experience this shift and concern as problematic and how do Brazilian immigrants navigate through the Irish immigration system? This thesis contributes to this discussion by looking at the socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion of Brazilian immigrants. It enhances immigrant issues of concern and complements the experiences of Brazilians arriving in Ireland.

As inspired by the ESRI report, there is a need to focus on ethnic and cultural differences regarding immigrants in Ireland, especially on an individual country or birth group level (Fahey et al., 2019). Moreover, the ESRI report referred to the fact that empirical research into the field of housing discrimination and residential segregation has not yet been studied in Ireland on an individual migrant level (Fahey et al., 2019). The focus of this study can be found in the analysis of Brazilians by looking at it from a social identity perspective instead of an ethnicity perspective (Chapter 2.1.2). It captures the inclusion/exclusion processes of Brazilian migrants, in particular by looking at the inclusion/exclusion process on a neighbourhood level. Examining the role of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion allows us to better understand the types of inclusion and exclusion that are specifically related to people's sense of belonging in Irish society. The neighbourhood level is incorporated in this thesis because previous studies have shown that people who live in affluent neighbourhoods are more likely to become excluded and experience disadvantages (Fahey et al., 2019). Gaining a better understanding of the concept of spatial exclusion may create political and social awareness in Irish society towards Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area.

With this study, I aim to provide evidence for shortcomings in immigrant socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion processes that create barriers to successful inclusion in the Dublin area and whether this affects their sense of belonging in Irish society. Inclusion became an important value and objective in the field of migration and has also been the subject of several major international agreements, such as the Sustainable Development Goals (United Nations, 2022). Given the importance of the UN, this research contributes to the growing interest in the field of inclusion and exclusion. Mainly because the levels of immigration to Ireland continue to increase, it is important that I study inclusion processes and

spatial outcomes. This is to harness the benefits of immigration and to show how a more socially cohesive and just society can be created. Furthermore, there is some growing awareness of the spatial transitions between different groups (Maguire et al., 2016): “*Sharp spatial transitions, also called social frontiers, between two groups rather than the gradual blending of residents across neighbourhood boundaries may indicate an aversion to living near members of the other group.*” (Dean et al., 2018, as cited in Fahey et al., 2019 p. 66). As a consequence, social tensions and conflicts may arise. It reflects on the willingness of Brazilians to stay in Ireland in the future. Moreover, this study does not only focus on the demographic transformation of Ireland, it also includes the socio-spatial and economic change.

Subsequently, from my personal experience living in Dublin, I encountered that Brazilians are facing a lot of stereotypes, such as: ‘*They are here to party*’; ‘*They just work as Deliveroo drivers*’; ‘*They tend to live in bedrooms together because this is part of their culture*’; or ‘*They are here illegally*’. With the increase of immigrants in Ireland, some racial stereotypes can be found. This also includes concerns about linguistic and/or cultural identity by the host population, whereas some of them see immigrants as a cultural and economic threat (McGinnity & Kingston, 2017). Hence, it reflects upon the little knowledge that is present about the Brazilian community, which in some cases results in stereotypical thoughts about Brazilians. Acknowledging these stereotypical thoughts, there is a need to understand how this may affect the experiences of Brazilians in the Dublin area. In addition, by discussing the current situation of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area, the Brazilian community expressed gratitude for being heard. Especially to bring their experiences and stories to a wider audience. This thesis creates awareness of the challenges immigrants face in navigating Irish society and institutional infrastructures.

Lastly, I aim to show how ‘the others’, migrants from non-European countries, are treated in the Dublin area. It distinguishes between the experiences of the Brazilians in the Dublin area and the political and social reaction to immigrants in Ireland. It emphasises the importance of decision-making processes for immigrants in Ireland. The data collected in this thesis may be used by policymakers and (migrant) organisations to target service provision to vulnerable (non-European) migrant communities.

1.2.2 Scientific relevance

Seeing Ireland as a ‘new’ immigration country, there is a lack of data on specific migrant groups compared to other European or American countries (Johnston et al., 2002). In addition, due to the relatively recent nature of immigration to Ireland, long-established research is absent into minority groups in Ireland, except for the Traveller Community and some other European migrant groups, such as Polish migrants in Ireland (e.g. Fahey et al., 2019; Fanning et al., 2020; Gilmartin & Mills, 2008). Moreover, there is a limited variety of studies that focus on individual immigrant experiences within the spatial analysis in Ireland (Fahey et al., 2019; Wissink et al., 2016). Therefore, as argued by Mac Éinrí & White (2008, p. 163): “*Geographers need to engage with immigration into Ireland and use their ‘geographic eye’ to produce their specific insights*”.

Looking at socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in Ireland also asks for an approach that includes who gets admitted to Ireland and under what conditions. In this research, I intend to investigate the experiences of Brazilian migrants in a broader sense, including what facilitates or inhibits the possibility of becoming socially and spatially included (Gilmartin, 2015) and the sense of belonging in society. Moreover, this research calls for a change focusing on socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion rather than focusing on integration policies (Fahey et al., 2019). Several previous migration studies, conducted in other fields, have demonstrated how inequality and discrimination result in non-citizen exclusion. Hence, discrimination is even institutionalised in different settings over time to the point that it is normalised and hard to overcome (Soysal, 1994; Bauböck, 2006). It is important to consider this institutionalised discrimination against immigrants that is enacted in practice.

This research specifically focuses on migrant clustering and segregation as part of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Some scholars have addressed the existence of migrant clustering and segregation

in the city of Dublin (Fahey & Fanning, 2010; O’Boyle & Fanning, 2009; Fahey et al., 2019). However, the literature focused on segregation in space in Ireland is limited, and there is considerably more emphasis on quantitative data than on immigrant experiences (Gilmartin & Dagg, 2020). Literature focused on spatial segregation emphasises the negative effects on the opportunities people get to participate in civil society (Bolt et al., 1998). There is a special interest in the change in residential patterns. It is not just about the degree of separation but also whether migrants live in socially disadvantaged areas (Piekut et al., 2019).

This thesis contributes to knowledge development around socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and especially puts forward the qualitative approach because previous approaches have mainly been focused on quantitative data collection through a geographical lens. By doing so, issues can be found that inhibit socio-spatial inclusion. It shows what facilitates socio-spatial inclusion and how this relates to a sense of belonging in Irish society. Furthermore, it aims to contribute to the academic discussion about migration in Ireland. Academic literature shows that migration is increasingly seen as a threat and this frame is often used by politicians to counter immigration.

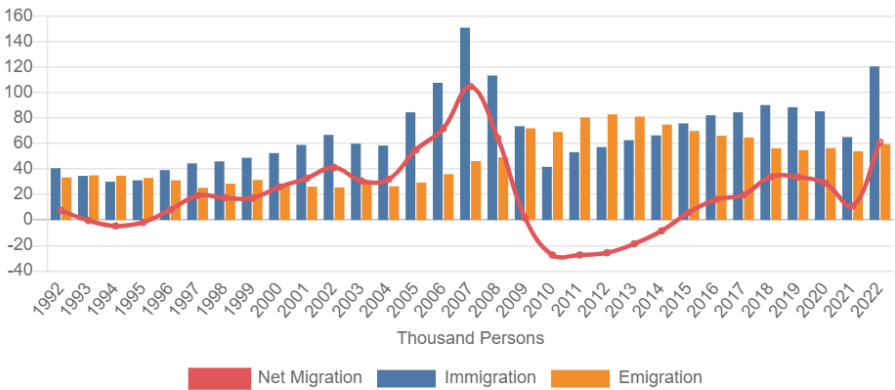
1.3 Background: A changing island

To fully grasp the socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion of the Brazilian migrants in this study, there is the need to provide some background information about the immigration situation in Ireland and then specify the Brazilian case.

1.3.1 History: Immigration to Ireland

Considering the history of Ireland, the Great Famine has had a major impact on the current demography of Ireland. The Great Famine of the late 1840s until the late 1950s was a period in which the Irish population declined sharply. This decline of inhabitants can also be explained by emigration in addition to the famine (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008). In 1922, the Republic of Ireland became an independent state, and after years of emigration, from the 1990s onwards the number of immigrants in Ireland increased. Notably, during the age of the Celtic Tiger³ the number of immigrants skyrocketed. This increased international labour migrants and multinational investments coming to Ireland (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008). However, during the economic crisis in 2008, the inbound of immigrants dropped again. Figure 1 shows a growing trend of immigrants again since 2011. In 2022, 120,700 newcomers arrived in Ireland. This is much higher than the previous years, which might be a result of the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020 and 2021.

Figure 1: Immigration, Emigration and Net Migration 1992 -2022 (CSO, 2022)



³ Celtic Tiger is a nickname for Ireland in the years their economy was rapidly growing (1995–2007) (Peters, 2021).

Ireland became much more diverse as a result of the immigration flows into the country (Honohan, 2010). However, the immigration streams were quite ethnically homogenous for a long period of time. Initially, mainly European labour migrants moved to Ireland, which was a result of the New Member States (e.g. Poland and Lithuania) joining the EU in 2004 (McGinnity & Kingston, 2017). The census of 2016 showed an increase of non-European migrants (CSO, 2020). These days, Ireland can even be seen as a multi-ethnic island (Gilmartin, 2015).

Ireland became an interesting destination for migrants during the economic boom, also referred to as the 'Celtic Tiger'. By this time, there were many economic opportunities, which made it interesting for migrants to move to Ireland. The economic boom was followed by an enormous economic crisis in 2008. Both caused a significant change in the Irish economy (Gusciute et al., 2021). Over time, we can see an increase in multinational investments in Ireland (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008). Investments were made mainly in finance, software, and information-intensive industries. This resulted in the fact that companies like Google, LinkedIn, and Microsoft located their European headquarters in Dublin, which also makes Dublin 'the tech capital of Europe'. Considering these investments, Dublin faces some physical, cultural, and demographic changes. A consequence of the increased multinational investments, there is the need for a skilled workforce (Gilmartin, 2015). This is also one of the reasons why Brazilians are residing in the Dublin area (Chapter 1.3.2).

The deep recession in 2008 caused high levels of unemployment. The newly arrived migrants were hit hard by the economic recession, and their level of unemployment was significantly higher than that of Irish nationals. Consequently, migrants opted to leave Ireland (McGinnity & Kingston, 2017).

The majority of the immigrants that arrive in Ireland come to Ireland to work (Muñoz de Bustillo & Ignacio Antón, 2010). According to the Migrants Rights Centre Ireland (2015), there are barriers to enter the labour market for migrants due to a historical lack of recognition of qualifications and experience from the country of origin. The main mechanism by which non-EU nationals take up employment in Ireland is through the employment permit system, a regime initially based on a guest worker model offering limited rights to migrant workers (Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, 2015). A problem that occurred is the recognition of Brazilian diplomas; it involves a long and complex process (Citizens Information, 2022a). In practice, this means that some are not able to work in their respective fields and areas of expertise (Gilmartin, 2015).

In summary, the Celtic Tiger and the economic recession are important considering the increase of immigrants in Ireland. The island's demography changed as a result of the increased number of immigrants who settled there. In addition, immigrants are very important for the Irish labour market. However, the ability to find a job that meets someone's qualifications is not that easy. To specify the situation on a group level, a background to the Brazilian case is discussed in the following paragraph.

1.3.2 The Brazilian case

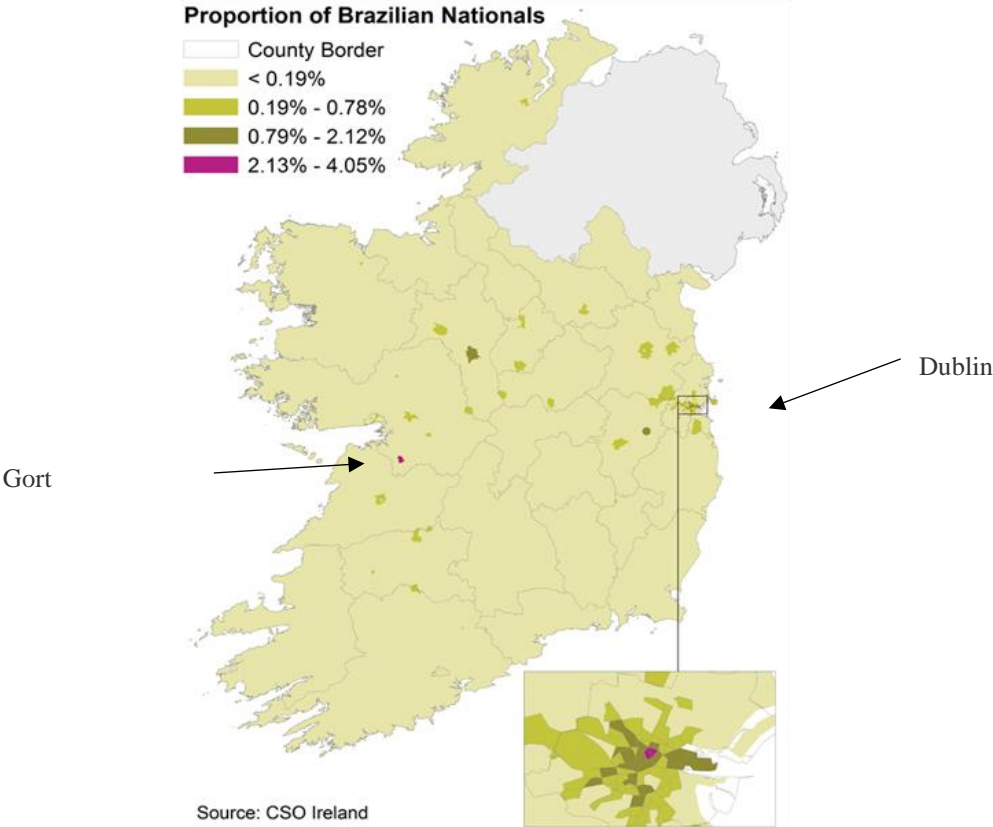
According to 2016 census data, there are 13,640 Brazilian residents in Ireland. Around two-thirds of them live in Dublin. Figure 2 shows the percentage of Brazilians in Dublin (CSO, 2020). Over the last few years, the number of Brazilians has significantly increased in the Dublin area. In 2016, 64% of Brazilians (8,685 people) lived in Dublin city and its suburbs. According to the Central Statistics Office (2020), this is the highest concentration of all other nationalities in a single settlement. Considering the large number of Brazilians nowadays, there is the need to understand how the Brazilian community ended up in Ireland. It can be argued, there is no historical linkage between Ireland and Brazil, which makes the question of why Brazilians are moving to Ireland even more interesting (Maher & Cawley, 2014).

Previous studies have identified three big inflows of Brazilians into Ireland. The first wave of labour migrants arrived in Ireland at the beginning of the 1990s. This group of Brazilian workers was first recruited to work in the meat processing sector. This especially took place in Gort and Roscommon, in

the county of Galway (Maher & Cawley, 2014). This active recruitment took place from the 1990s until 2008 when the economic crisis affected Ireland very badly (Maher & Cawley, 2014). Despite the meat factory closing in 2007, Gort is still recognised as a meeting place for Brazilians in Ireland (Maher & Cawley, 2014). Figure 2 shows, there is still a large population of Brazilians residing in Gort. The second group of Brazilians that has to be considered is the group of Brazilians that come to Ireland as English-language students. This wave started in the 2000s and continues nowadays. When Brazilian students study in Ireland, they are allowed to work during their stay (Cawley, 2018). They can work 20 hours per week besides their studies, which is not allowed in other European countries where English is the official language. As a consequence of Brexit, Ireland is currently the only country in the EU where English is the mother tongue. Lastly, the third wave, which has increased in the last few years, also includes labour migrants, especially engineers that work for the IT and civil construction industries. An important factor in all of this is that Brazilians who are coming to Ireland are non-visa-required, which means they can apply for a visa on arrival (McKinney, 2021; Citizeninformation.ie, 2022).

Since the economic recovery in 2011, there has been a great demand for workers, and Brazilian professionals have been recruited to come to Ireland. To come to work in Ireland, they received a critical skills employment permit to reside in Ireland (Department of Enterprise Trade & Employment, n.d.; Cawley, 2018). In addition, over time, the trade relations between Ireland and Brazil have grown. As a result, there is a demand from Irish companies for workers who can speak Brazilian Portuguese (Cawley, 2018). Moreover, Ireland became a partner in the Brazilian ‘Science without Borders’ programme. In this programme, people can get scholarships to come to Ireland to improve their English skills (Clarke et al., 2018). Lastly, the movement of Brazilians to Ireland since the late 1990s can also be seen as a result of the increased level of globalisation (Mac Éinrí & White, 2008).

Figure 2: proportion of Brazilian Population Usually resident in Ireland by Electoral Division 2016 (CSO, 2020)



1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis consists of seven chapters. In Chapter 1, the research topic is introduced by presenting the research problem, its relevance, the aim of the research, and the research questions. The introduction chapter is followed by Chapter 2, which discusses the most relevant concepts, dimensions, and indicators from a theoretical perspective and helps to investigate the experiences of the Brazilians in the Dublin area. Furthermore, this chapter presents the conceptual framework. Chapter 3 focuses on the methodological setup that is used to gain a better understanding of the research choices that I made. The subsequent Chapters 4, 5, and 6 are the empirical chapters of the research. Throughout these empirical chapters, my goal is to investigate the experiences of Brazilians in the Dublin area. Chapter 4 includes the experiences of Brazilians when it comes to the migration process and settling in the Dublin area. Chapter 5 investigates Brazilians' experiences concerning socio-economic inclusion/exclusion in Ireland. In the last empirical chapter (Chapter 6), I focus on the experiences of Brazilians regarding the neighbourhood and how this contributes to spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area. These empirical chapters all focus on the five dimensions (citizenship, social identity, social network, discrimination and racism, and the neighbourhood) that are centralised in this research. These dimensions are explained throughout the eight indicators that are explained in Chapter 2. The outcomes of the empirical chapters result in a reflection on this in the concluding chapter (Chapter 7). Chapter 7 addresses the importance of how the two concepts of social and spatial intersect and how social-spatial inclusion/exclusion reflects the sense of belonging in Irish society. Additionally, a reflection is given concerning the limitations of the research, and possible recommendations are examined for future research and policy making.

Chapter 2 | Analytical framework: the landscape of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion of Brazilian migrants in Ireland

This study identified five interrelated analytic dimensions of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion to answer the research questions. In this chapter, I outline the three central concepts of this research: socio-spatial inclusion, socio-spatial exclusion, and belonging in society. Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging are ‘measured’ based on several relevant dimensions that reflect on experiences. These dimensions are studied as functions of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. The dimensions are: ‘citizenship’, ‘social identity’, ‘social networks’, ‘discrimination and racism’, and ‘the neighbourhood’. They emerged from existing literature and after the analysis of the empirical data that has been collected. They are used to outline the experiences of the Brazilians; how this impacts inclusion and exclusion, and therefore their sense of belonging. In this sense, belonging is summed up in three dimensions: their access to social and spatial outcomes, which reflect their social and spatial treatment, and the opportunities they receive, living in the Dublin area. This is further analysed and schematically displayed in the conceptual model in paragraph 2.2 (p. 18).

In paragraph 2.1.1, I describe the concept of citizenship as the first act of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. The issue of citizenship is one of the first issues Brazilians encounter when they arrive in the Dublin area and it reflects their sense of belonging. Paragraph 2.1.2 describes social identities as part of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. In paragraph 2.1.3, the social networks are discussed, and in paragraph 2.1.4, I focus on the principles of discrimination and racism. Lastly, paragraph 2.1.5 touches on the socio-geographical landscape by analysing primarily the social and spatial levels of the neighbourhood.

2.1 Theoretical framework

2.1.1 Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion as a function of citizenship

Citizenship is a function of inclusion and exclusion because it enables being denied from a national perspective. It is a political tool to control and create restrictions towards ‘foreigners’ (Bauböck, 2006). I do not aim to discuss all the facets of the concept of citizenship, but I will focus on citizenship through a migration lens and discuss how citizenship creates or denies access for migrants. This lens gives an insight into how citizenship is perceived from a nation-based perspective and what issues and positive aspects it may bring.

The understanding of citizenship has changed throughout the years. For some, citizenship reflects the relation between the: ‘*political subject and the state*’ (Clarke et al., 2014, p. 9); it ‘*distinguishes citizens and aliens*’ (Clarke et al., 2014, p. 9); it emphasises ‘*equality and inequality in society*’ (Clarke et al., 2014, p. 9); or, following Hannah Arendt, it defines ‘*the right to have rights*’ (Clarke et al., 2014, p. 9). Citizenship is viewed in this study as a means of distinguishing ‘members’ from ‘outsiders’ based on their relationship to a nation-state.

In addition, from a historical perspective, people could just be related to one country. Over the years, several countries have legalised the option for dual or multiple citizenship (Weil, 2011; De Haas et al., 2020). One of the reasons given for this allowance of dual or multiple citizenship is the increased international mobility that is a result of globalisation (Faist, 2016; Conway et al., 2008). Dual or multiple citizenship determines a person's chances in life even more than class, ethnicity, or gender. Some scholars have argued that obtaining citizenship in any Western nation gives someone a top position in the global class structure (Macklin 2007; Shachar & Hirschl 2007; Centeno & Cohen 2010). Western citizenship, particularly European citizenship, allows for higher wages, free movement between country states, residency in member states' territory, and limits the possibility of deportation (Harpaz, 2015; De Haas et al., 2020; Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016; Faist et al., 2016). This thesis focuses mainly on

the ability to reacquire European citizenship because of someone's European ancestors. The preference for a European passport and the positive outcomes of this citizenship status are seen by some as an opportunity that should not be missed. As such, it represents the ultimate goal of a stabilisation process (Harpaz, 2015; Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). Others see becoming a European citizen as an 'act of rebellion'; a way to undermine the bureaucratic system. This shows that citizenship is designed to include or exclude people in space (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016).

Nowadays, people are also able to obtain dual or multiple citizenship and not reside in the country of their citizenship. This non-residential dual citizenship creates a new kind of relationship between the state and the individual (Harpaz, 2015; Castles & Davidson, 2000). In this sense, citizenship overlaps state borders (Faist, 2001): "*The idea of a citizen who spends most of his or her life in one country with a single shared common identity is losing ground*" (Castles and Davidson, 2000, p. 7-8). This means that most dual citizens still have a primary country of residence where they can obtain all the rights and duties like every other ordinary citizen, such as paying taxes and being able to work. Seeing the relationship with the second country of citizenship, the one they often do not reside in, also gives them fewer rights and duties, which also means fewer obligations (Harpaz, 2015; Groarke & Dunbar, 2020; Bauböck, 2006).

In this study, citizenship reflects inclusion and exclusion by determining who belongs and who does not belong in Ireland, or, in other words, who is included and who is excluded (Balibar, 1991; Tajfel, 1974; Phillips, 2007). While dual citizenship makes it easier to become included, exclusionary tendencies can be recognised when it comes to social and spatial outcomes. In this, we have to be aware of the fact that even between countries, differences can be discerned between who is included and who is excluded (Silver, 2015). Moreover, inclusion and exclusion mechanisms are largely determined by powerful actors rather than an individual's free choice (Harpaz, 2015; Abrams et al., 2005). Such exclusionary tendencies in Ireland can be found, for example, in the recognition of degrees and visa requirements that are in place for non-Europeans (Faist et al., 2016; Citizens Information, 2022a/2022b). Another aspect that limits the ability to become included when it comes to citizenship is the increasing significance of securitization (Faist et al., 2016). Since the early 2000s, immigration has become more and more a matter of security. The immigration debates are focussed on: 'the protection of the state and its population', and less about the opportunity to include immigrants within Irish society (Boucher, 2008; Fox et al., 2021; Michael, 2021). Regardless of this exclusionary tendency, migrants who are highly skilled and actively contribute to a nation-state's economic productivity are more likely to become politically included (Faist, 2013).

Furthermore, exclusion and inclusion can be examined from a legal and sociolegal perspective via formal and substantive modes of citizenship. According to this interpretation, citizenship is the legal status of belonging to a nation-state. This is symbolised, for example, by holding a passport of a nation-state (Lister, 2000, p. 98). Obtaining European citizenship through ancestry is a privilege not everyone has. Obtaining dual citizenship is a benefit for a very marginal group, which may even create a gap between people with the same national background (Howard, 2005; Balibar, 2009; Faist et al., 2016). To continue, 'substantive citizenship' refers to the rights and obligations that are associated with being a 'member' of a state (Lister, 2000, p. 98). In Ireland, becoming an Irish citizen is seen as something quite favourable because citizens are able to hold multiple passports without abandoning their first nationality and do not have to take any language tests (Citizens Information, 2021). However, when someone obtains another EU passport and resides in Ireland, they do not have the same rights as an Irish citizen. For example, someone's access to voting is still limited (Citizenship Information, 2021). Who can become an Irish citizen is extensively discussed in Irish politics and society. Accordingly, in 2004, a citizenship referendum took place in Ireland. The referendum and the 27th amendment changed the law from Jus Soli to Jus Sanguinis (Scheibner & Morrison, 2009; Groarke & Dunbar, 2020). This means that the referendum has rejected the automatic right to Irish citizenship for children born in Ireland to non-Irish national parents. This referendum and the continuous debates about citizenship show that a

shift is taking place about who belongs in Ireland and who is allowed to become an Irish citizen (Groarke & Dunbar, 2020).

In this case, citizenship is seen as something that determines the relationship with the Irish state. In conclusion, both inclusion and exclusion are associated with the concept of citizenship and have a significant impact on the opportunities available to people. This study focuses specifically on dual citizenship and non-residential citizenship and how this relates to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area.

2.1.2 Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion as a function of social identity

The social identity approach is centralised around the idea that social groups impact how people see themselves and others around them in a social context (Ellemers et al., 2002). Early formulations by Tajfel (1974) and Turner (1975) outlined the concept of social identity. Their initial theory refers to: “*An individual’s self-concept, which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership*” (Tajfel, 1974, p. 69). In other words, it includes the individual’s place in, for example, a society (Tajfel, 1974; Turner, 1975).

Moreover, we have to take into consideration that each of us may have a range of different social identities. These social identities derive from highly meaningful groups for those who refer to a more abstract social identity (Ellemers et al., 2002). Membership in a social group is determined by whether a person considers themselves to be a part of the group or a full member (Branscombe et al., 1999; Turner, 1975). Furthermore, different social identities can be used in various settings (Owens, 2010). Therefore, the process of socially identifying with a social group (or groups) is very personal, and not everyone experiences the social identification process in the same way (Ellemers et al., 2002; Turner, 1975).

In addition, we can assume that an individual tries to remain a member of a certain group and lives up to the group’s norms and rules in order to maintain their common identity (Tajfel, 1974; Owens, 2010; Tajfel & Billic, 1974). This process is understood as: in-group behaviour (Ellemers, 2012). This process is constantly in motion: an individual is constantly considering if this group membership is contributing in a positive way to their social identity (Tajfel, 1974; Ellemers, 2012). The key features for becoming an in-group member are: the ease with which one can become an in-group member, the stability of a group, and the current status of relations within a specific group (Ellemers et al., 2002, p. 165). Consequently, if a group does not meet the individual expectations of its members, this person will tend to leave. In practice, leaving an in-group can be very complicated. It might even be impossible to leave, and leaving a group can also conflict with someone’s individual values (Tajfel, 1974). Moreover, all groups in society live amid other groups that exist. In other words, according to Tajfel (1974), the complete repeal of groups in society is impossible.

When membership becomes relevant to the social context, the in-group members become normative, and the non-members become part of the out-group (Owens, 2010). As argued by Tajfel (1974), when discussing social identity, a distinction can be made between in-group behaviour and out-group behaviour. This collective or individual interaction with another group or its members is defined as ‘intergroup interaction’. Comparisons between the in- and out-group are constantly negotiated (Elias & Scotson, 1994). Through this process, the in-group social identity becomes stronger because of the reflection on the social identities of the other groups and their different social identities (Elias & Scotson, 1994). More importantly, these intergroup comparisons often reflect a certain context in which out-group members are seen as a threat to specific group identity (Turner & Pratkanis, 1998; Ellemers et al., 2002). Depending on the nature of the relationship between groups (e.g., competitive or status-ranked), the understanding of the out-group may result in discrimination and can become rather stereotypical (Owens et al., 2010, p. 488).

Additionally, in this study, social identity is strongly interconnected with the concept of ethnicity. Both terms assume the existence of different groups in a society. Social identity is applied interchangeably with the concept of ethnicity to understand in-group and out-group dynamics. From a political perspective, ethnicity is often used as a way to differentiate. Regarding the political understanding of ethnicity, ethnicity has a negative connotation that reflects upon boundary drawing between different groups (Fossett, 2006). Looking at the frame of ethnicity, it is often used from a spatial perspective to show the differences between neighbourhoods (e.g. ethnic residential segregation). This reflects upon spatial exclusion and its impact on, for example, society (Walton, 2009). More socially, the question is how ethnicity can be understood. According to anthropologist Geertz (1963), ethnicity is something pre-social; it is something someone is born into (Geertz, 1963, as cited in De Haas et al., 2020, p. 77). Besides this understanding, in the eyes of other anthropologists, ethnicity can also be situational; members of a specific group 'invoke' ethnicity as a criterion for self-identification (De Haas et al., 2020). On the other hand, some scholars reject the concept of ethnicity and argue that ethnicity can be seen as a myth due to social and economic integration; there is no ethnicity (Steinberg, 1981, as cited in De Haas et al., 2020, p. 77). Considering these different scientific arguments, the question can be asked whether people socially and spatially identify themselves based on ethnicity. This is one of the reasons why in this thesis there is a focus on social identity instead of ethnicity. Ethnicity intersects with the concept of social identity and it is seen as a criterion for self-identification. It helps to identify in space, but it is not something fixed; it can change over time and is even seen as something that is situation-dependent.

In this study, social identity becomes part of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion through belonging to an in-group or out-group. The concept of belonging is a complex one, and I do not aspire to discuss all its facets. In terms of this research, belonging to an in-group enhances the ability to freely create your own social identity (McGinnity & Kingston, 2017; Gilmartin et al., 2018; Owens et al., 2010) and to be valued as an in-group member (Tajfel, 1974). This means that political recognition is not enough to belong to a certain group if the others in a society do not recognise an individual or group as a member and vice versa (Antonsich, 2010). In addition, analysing the concept of belonging through a migration lens means that someone might develop a sense of belonging, for example, based on several societies, cities, and cultural traditions (Baübock, 2006). This results in the fact that people not specifically belonging to a territory, cultural, or ethnic group but belonging 'to a situation' (Amin, 2005, as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 651).

The in-group members, people who belong to the same group, are often referred to as 'we', while out-group members are framed as 'others' (De Haas et al., 2020; Tajfel, 1982; Balibar, 2009). In this sense, the concept of belonging is important to reflect upon the level of inclusion and exclusion in society through social identity. It sets the basis for boundary drawing that separates 'us' from 'them', which is the essence of who belongs and who does not (Yuval-Davis, 2006). In fact, if one feels rejected or not welcomed by the people who live in that place, this immediately harms someone's sense of belonging (Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008, as cited in Antonsich, 2010, p. 649). From an Irish national perspective, there is this construct towards 'others' to maintain an in-group (European) social identity (Loyal, 2011). In addition, this in-group membership reflects a sense of belonging that disguises 'them' from the 'others', by, for example, seeing the 'others' as a 'threat' (Tajfel, 1974). From a political standpoint, this is frequently accomplished by defining who is a legal citizen of a country and who is not (Loyal, 2011).

2.1.3 Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion as a function of social networks

Studying socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion asks for an approach that includes the social networks that exist in space. Social networks reproduce or contribute to individual or group opportunities. Social networks reflect the potential for interaction. Interaction is a key element of inclusion and exclusion. A lack of interaction may result in exclusion, whereas potential interaction increases the ability to become socio-spatially included (Fanning et al., 2010, Cass et al., 2003).

Researchers have examined the importance of relationships that exist among people in a society (Bourdieu, 1986; Putnam, 2020; Siisiäinen, 2000; Mouzelis, 2008). Being a part of a social network allows actors to use their social position in a variety of ways and fields (Siisiäinen, 2000). Within social networks, there are different structures, roles, and hierarchies (Mouzelis, 2008; Gelderblom, 2018). The hierarchies and power structures within social networks can be divided into three different actors: micro, meso, and macro actors. Micro actors are actors on a personal level. The meso level encounters the relational level (e.g. a society), and the macro level includes more socio-structural conditions (governmental level) (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018, p. 153). Micro actors can be seen as the ones with the least power in social hierarchies (Gelderblom, 2018). Briefly, this means that individuals and groups have to take orders from the more powerful actors. The meso level is often seen as a level that is socialised and embedded, which results in habits that are normalised by society (Putnam, 2020; Gelderblom, 2018). Besides micro and meso level actors, macro level actors have the power to change societies on a national and even global level. Macro actors are powerful politicians, political parties, or business people, such as transnational corporations (Gelderblom, 2018). It is important to keep in mind that cooperation between the different actors can intensify or weaken the competition and conflicts (Gelderblom, 2018).

The micro, meso, and macro levels that exist can be seen as social categories that are powerful agents of inclusion and exclusion. For example, micro actors can be part of macro actors. According to this understanding, individuals are linked (either positively or negatively) to the well-being of others. Individuals are highly likely to become targets of exclusion if they are a poor fit to the group (Abrams et al., 2015). In general, the group has more power over the individual than individuals have over one another or over groups. Therefore, social networks reflect upon the in-group and out-group principles and intergroup relations. It seems likely that interpersonal exclusion has a major impact on someone's social network. In this research, there is a special interest in exclusionary networks that apply to: 1) rights and access to space; 2) the adaptation to diversity in space; and 3) stereotyping and framing (Rea et al., 2019, p. 184).

Within social networks, we have to determine the positions and the power structures that increase or reduce competition between groups (Weber, 1978; Weeden, 2002). Groups are using their positions and are trying to use their rewards by closing off opportunities for 'the others'. This might take place on the level of ethnicity, social background, language, religion, and gender (Weber, 1978, as cited in Weeden 2002, p. 58). Some scholars add to this level of exclusion that exclusion can also take place on an individual level, such as educational level, knowledge level or property ownership (Parkin, 1979; Collins, 1979; Murphy, 1988, as cited in Weeden 2002, p. 58). This study specifically focuses on this individual level of inclusion and exclusion by looking at property ownership.

Looking at social networks at the spatial level through a migration lens, there is this hypothesis that migrants tend to settle in neighbourhoods where people with the same social identity reside (Fahey et al., 2019). To what degree a neighbourhood is attractive to move to also depends upon, for example, cultural ties between the newcomers and the existing social networks (Fahey et al., 2019). Apart from existing social networks, other factors contribute to a location's attractiveness, such as housing stock and neighbourhood reputation (Bolt et al., 2010a; Grotti et al., 2018; Permentier et al., 2007). This also reflects upon the previously discussed power structures that can be found in social networks. Social networks reflect asymmetric processes when it comes to inclusion and exclusion (Abrams et al., 2015, p.17). They have an impact on a person's well-being in either a positive or negative sense of belonging. It is not generally assumed that someone can automatically become an in-group member of a social network, as discussed in paragraph 2.1.2. Therefore, social networks are not only a positive outcome of relationships that exist in space; they can also result in tension and friction between individuals and groups (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018; Gelderblom, 2018). According to Putnam (2020), participation in a neighbourhood has a positive effect on someone's social capital and the reputation of the neighbourhood (2.1.5) (Permentier et al., 2007; Abrams et al., 2015, p. 17). However, not everybody wants to optimise

their social capital in their residential area or has the ability to create those ties. Existing (weak) social ties may result in a feeling of security because, for example, people recognise each other in the residential area or go shopping at the same supermarket. Furthermore, even a socially mixed neighbourhood does not automatically result in community cohesion or have a positive impact on people's social capital (Bolt et al., 2010b).

2.1.4 Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion as a function of discrimination and racism

Discrimination and racism are strongly intertwined with social and spatial outcomes. The social environment and the group contrasts that exist within a specific environment determine the dimensions of self-perception, othering, stereotyping, and intergroup competition that ensure that discrimination occurs and even causes disadvantages for specific groups (Owens et al., 2010; Fujita & Maloutas, 2012). Discrimination in this research involves: *"Members of defined groups being denied access to (or made to feel unwelcome in) particular areas"* (Johnston et al., 2007, p. 714). These particular areas reflect upon a neighbourhood level and therewith the housing market (Rogers et al., 2015). There is a particular interest in how discrimination developed in an urban setting because increased urbanisation reproduces inequality and discrimination against vulnerable groups in capitalist societies (Fujita & Maloutas, 2016, p. 10). In addition, in this study, discrimination is valued not only from a spatial perspective but also from a social perspective, which enhances: *"The unfair and differential treatment of a person based on a person's group membership due to interrelated characteristics such as race, ethnicity, skin colour, nationality, migration circumstances, and religion"* (Jary & Jary, 2006, as cited in Ben, 2022, p. 3).

Besides discrimination, the concept of racism is considered. Racism is defined in this thesis as: *"A system of oppression that creates hierarchies of superiority and inferiority based on perceived differences relating to origin and cultural background"* (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Williams, 1997, as cited in Ben, 2022, p. 3). Racism can be found in structural, intuitional, interpersonal, and internalised forms. This may result in stereotypes, prejudice, or discrimination and maintain the occurrence of inequalities (Ben, 2022, p. 3; Berman & Paradies, 2008, p. 217).

Discrimination and racism as a function of inclusion and exclusion is analysed through the lens of place-defending, which may include physical and emotional violence against out-groups (Nelson, 2013). Out-groups can be seen as a threat who want to 'invade' space. Looking at this from a migration perspective, migrants are often seen as a threat who, for example, deprive 'others' of affordable housing (Rogers et al., 2015). According to some classical human ecologists, this competition between social groups in space has increased due to the appearance of more diverse groups in urban settings. Moreover, the intergroup relations that exist may result in social distance because of, for example, different norms and values. Consequently, residential segregation might occur (Fossett, 2006).

Discrimination and racism are not always that clearly visible in society. Discrimination and racism can be visible through negative stereotypical reflections on out-group members. These negative stereotypes maintain social distance towards out-group members (Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991). This stereotypical imagination, then, results in 'othering' and decreases socio-spatial inclusion outcomes (Elfversson & Nilsson, 2022). Stereotypes impact the social understanding of an individual or social group in, for example, a neighbourhood. This stereotypical understanding may limit the ability to stay in a neighbourhood for out-group members (Fossett, 2006). Therefore, some groups have less access to specific parts of an urban area where they can reside. Ultimately, groups can become more vulnerable because they have to live, for instance, in neighbourhoods with little facilities, which can also impact someone's employment opportunities (Massey & Denton, 1988; Poulsen et al., 2002; Grotti et al., 2018). Another outcome of discrimination and racism can be the social distance between individuals and groups. However, social distance is considered something less visible and a subtler form of exclusionism than the expressed negative stereotypes in a society (Hagendoorn & Poppe, 2017, p. 210).

On the other hand, several studies have shown that individuals consistently perceive less discrimination towards themselves than towards their groups (Dunn & Nelson 2011; Ben, 2022). Therefore, research has found that people tend to downplay racism towards themselves. Some have argued that this is done to enhance a sense of control and self-esteem (Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997; Ben, 2022). An example of downplaying racism is by using specific linguistic terms, such as ‘I cannot say’, which suggests that racism is just a personal perception or interpretation (Ben, 2022). In this study, there is a special interest in the experiences regarding downplaying racism. Looking at discrimination and racism as a function of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion helps capture the complexity of the phenomenon, as discussed above.

2.1.5 Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion as a function of the socio-geographical neighbourhood

The residential area can be seen as one of the key mechanisms for socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (Johnston et al., 2002a; Johnston et al., 2002b). It affects individual or group opportunities, for example, in the labour market or becoming involved in political activities (Silver, 2015). Even though (digital) technology helps to overcome spatial issues, it cannot fully reduce all the levels of segregation. For instance, someone who lives in a remote neighbourhood may experience mobility issues and cannot easily travel to work (Bolt et al., 2010b). Therefore, we have to take into consideration the importance of spatial outcomes within the social and economic environment (Silver, 2015).

Initially, spatial exclusion (segregation) indicates: *“The unequal spatial distribution of a population group over a particular area”* (Bolt et al., 2010b, p. 171). This unequal spatial distribution can take place on different geographic levels, as, for example, in cities, municipalities, and neighbourhoods (Massey et al., 2009). One of the problematic aspects of this measurement is that it is mainly focused on the difference or unevenness among specific migrant groups. It ignores the: *“Geography of isolation (potential for interaction), clustering (of ethnic groups relative to each other), concentration (amount of physical space occupied by each group), and centralisation (proximity or otherwise to the city centre)”* (Massey & Denton, 1988, 1989, 1993, as cited in Poulsen et al., 2002, p. 163). To overcome this traditional perspective on residential segregation, the potential for interaction, clustering, concentration, and centralisation are analysed in this research to understand the neighbourhood as an element of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.

In this context, there is a specific interest in the level of clustering of specific groups. Some scholars have argued that the clustering of migrant groups in particular areas weakens social conditions and social networks (Häussermann, 2000; Reingold, 1999, as cited in Ireland, 2008, p. 1334), leads to the stigmatisation of neighbourhoods (Zenou & Boccoard, 2000, as cited in Ireland, 2008, p. 1334), and reduces opportunities and participation in the labour market, educational system, and political and cultural life (van Beckhoven & van Kempen, 2003, as cited in Ireland, 2008, p. 1334). In addition to the understanding of those scholars, from a political perspective, the issue of segregation is often framed as something negative and something that is included in policies that should be overcome (Bolt et al., 2010a, 2010b).

To continue, the social conditions in a neighbourhood might be affected by segregation. In this sense, the neighbourhood reinforces social exclusion and undermines social cohesion at a higher level. As a consequence, it becomes more difficult for some residents to take social and economic advantages outside their neighbourhood network (Kearns & Parkinson, 2001). According to Kearns and Forrest (2000, p. 996), social cohesion enhances: *“Common values and a civic culture; social order and social control; social solidarity and reductions in wealth disparities; social networks and social capital; and territorial belonging and identity”*. This territorial level of belonging and identity can be linked to the neighbourhood. Moreover, social cohesion is an ultimate goal in urban policy thinking at the neighbourhood level, especially in European countries (van Kempen & Bolt, 2009; Bolt et al., 2010a).

Secondly, the stigmatisation and reputation of a neighbourhood due to segregation may result in a negative image of an area. It refers to: *“The meaning and assessment assigned by residents and outsiders to the neighbourhood and it refers more or less to the steady image the neighbourhood has among city residents and to the place it has in that way in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy”* (Permentier et al., 2007, p. 202). These neighbourhood reputations can either be positive or negative. Some argue that a negative neighbourhood reputation has an impact on social contacts and participation. While others suggest that a negative neighbourhood reputation creates stronger relations between the residents of this neighbourhood (Permentier et al., 2007). Stereotypes may emerge as a result of a neighbourhood’s negative reputation. These stereotypes might be based on the social identity of the citizens who live in these polarised and segmented areas (Bauder, 2002). Nevertheless, a polarised area can also be characterised as something positive that contributes to the concept of belonging and community thinking rather than being an area of exclusion (Gilroy, 2013; Phillips, 2007). As a result, the question is: what effect does a neighbourhood’s positive or negative label have on people’s life chances and access to work? (Phillips, 2007).

Thirdly, as argued, segregated neighbourhoods reduce the opportunities people get, which results in high unemployment rates and other socio-economic issues (Bolt et al., 2010b). The assumption is that socially mixed areas result in greater social contact between different groups of people, and social mixing results in more opportunities for productive contact between different types of people (Phillips, 2007). However, it goes beyond just social contacts when it comes to opportunities (Bolt et al., 2010b). Additionally, the period of residence in an area also affects the opportunities someone can get. The assumption is in place that people who reside longer in a specific area are more likely to create greater social connections. In this sense, there are also some formal and informal rules (the “know-how”) of the neighbourhood that have to be considered. It is important to keep in mind that power structures contribute to the ability to maintain an in-group member in the residential area. Someone who does not know the informal ‘rules’ in an area might have limited access to social networks and can become excluded (Loyal, 2011).

On the other hand, some scholars have argued that segregation does not only result in negative outcomes but can also have positive outcomes. Neighbourhoods that have a high concentration of one or multiple similar groups increase the ability to get in contact with like-minded people (Poulsen et al., 2001; Johnston et al., 2007; Fossett, 2006). This can be framed as being embedded in an area (Clark, 2009). It refers to relationships between people who are socially and geographically close. It is important to keep in mind that contacts and activities are not always tied to the neighbourhood. Social networks (paragraph 2.1.3) may also exist at the street level or in other public spaces that are more meaningful for people’s daily practices (Phillips, 2007). In other words, the importance of the neighbourhood is not a factor in the degree of social exclusion and social cohesion for every individual (Bolt et al., 2010b). Some studies have shown that it is possible to get a more socially mixed neighbourhood, but this does not automatically result in higher social interaction. Moreover, people who live spatially close to each other are more likely to interact with each other if they have, for example, a similar level of education or shared interests (Gans, 1961; Bolt et al., 2010b). Moreover, some scholars have even argued that the neighbourhood is not that important in the lives of most people anymore (Bolt et al., 2010b).

In this thesis, the neighbourhood is studied from an urban perspective with a focus on the spatial outcomes of the neighbourhood (Fuijta & Maloutas, 2012). Analysing the neighbourhood through a socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion lens also reflects upon economic competitions (2.1.1 & 2.1.2), social distance dynamics (2.1.2 & 2.1.3), discrimination (paragraph 2.1.4), and community thinking (Fossett, 2006, p.187; Flint, 2010). Community thinking reflects upon a sense of belonging and being an in-group member, for example, in a neighbourhood (Kalra & Kapoor, 2009). The neighbourhood community is dynamic and consists of complex processes (Kenyon, 2000). Moreover, community thinking can be considered both a spatial and social phenomenon (Clark, 2009). From a social perspective, a community can be a form of social support (Phillips, 2007). The physical conditions of a neighbourhood are

fundamental for interactions, and they contribute to inclusion and exclusion in daily practices (Herbert, 2008). However, some scholars have argued that people can engage in a variety of different communities and that this is not just tied to the neighbourhood (Larsen et al., 2005; Sassen, 2000). This can be seen as a result of global social and economic change, such as growing individualisation and increased mobility levels (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2002).

2.2 Conceptual model

The following conceptual model captures, schematically, the five dimensions that explain the concepts of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area (see figure 3). Furthermore, the dimensions have been the basis for my interview manual that was used to conduct the semi-structured interviews. The dimensions and indicators of discrimination, racism, physical violence, verbal violence, and (un)safety, are added after the transcription of the interviews. This demonstrates that social-spatial inclusion and exclusion, as well as belonging, are fluid and context-dependent concepts. The understanding of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion is constantly re-examined through the new experiences of an individual or a group.

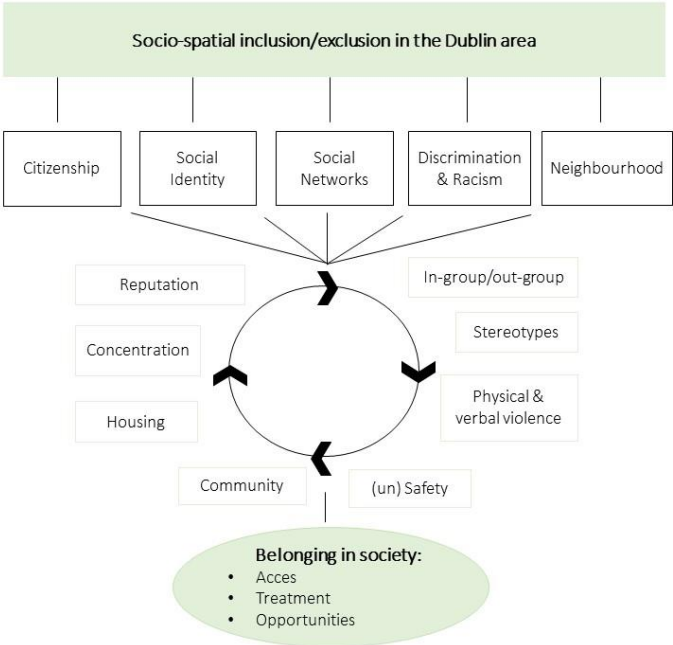


Figure 3: Conceptual model (own production)

The Dublin area is the study field where socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion is analysed. The socio-spatial constructions that exist bring significant insights to the analysis of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the neighbourhood. It enhances the relationship between the residential area and the Dublin area as a whole by analysing the experiences in Irish society. The spatial and the social are used as two separate categories, but in practice the two concepts intersect. The concepts in the conceptual model are dynamic and interrelated to each other. This is also why there are no arrows in the model. In this study, there is no specific cause-and-effect relation between the concepts; it is more of a horizontal and interrelated process.

The five main dimensions set the tone for this research. All of them are looked at from a social and spatial perspective. The notion of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion unfolds the idea of social inclusion in an urban setting. Resulting in experiences regarding: ‘citizenship’, ‘social identity’, ‘social networks’, ‘discrimination and racism’, and ‘the neighbourhood’. As a consequence, eight interrelated indicators occur: in-group/out-group, stereotypes, physical and verbal violence, (un)safety, community, housing, concentration, and reputation. These indicators represent the social and spatial outcomes. The indicators

on the right side of the conceptual model (in-group/out-group, stereotypes, physical and verbal violence, (un)safety) mainly address social outcomes. Whereas the indicators on the left side of the conceptual model address more spatial indicators (community, housing, concentration, and reputation). These indicators are the explainers of the dimensions. It shows that, in practice, the indicators and dimensions are interrelated and that the social and the spatial overlap. This all contributes to the understanding of belonging in society through social and spatial access, treatment, and opportunities regarding personal and group experiences.

Studying these dimensions and indicators coming from a theoretical study and implementing them in the empirical field leads us to a qualitative understanding of the socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion of the Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area. The conceptual model helps me to analyse the conditioned socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in the Dublin area and the sense of belonging in Irish society. This is further discussed in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 of this research.

2.3 Concluding thoughts

The analytical framework enhanced the academic literature that is the basis for my study and explained how socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging are understood in this research. Inclusion and exclusion are comprehensive terms with multiple understandings and are rather dynamic than fixed. By acknowledging the multiplicity of inclusion and exclusion, the concepts are defined and substantiated by theory.

Inclusion and exclusion are frequently studied through a migration lens in order to gain a political understanding of the concepts. In this interpretation, inclusion and exclusion are related to being (il)legally present in space, which is expressed through the issuance of residence permits and passports. This also contributes to or hampers someone's sense of belonging in society. Who can obtain a passport or a residence permit is strongly linked to the country of origin and someone's social identity. Social identity addresses in-group and out-group functions and the intergroup relations that exist. In addition, social identity contributes to the creation of social networks. Social networks are considered as important when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion in urban- and residential areas. When studying socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion from a neighbourhood perspective, the ability to find (affordable) accommodation is seen as one of the key pillars. Moreover, the neighbourhood presents several challenges and opportunities. Besides the political issue concerning socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, the question is whether diverse groups are accepted and are seen as a positive contribution to Irish society. This might also affect the individual sense of belonging in society.

Chapter 3 | Methodology

3.1 Research design

The data of this thesis has been collected through a qualitative research design. One of the main reasons to collect data through qualitative research was to learn about a problem from a participatory perspective and to understand the context and reasons behind a specific issue (Creswell & Poth, 2017). Using a qualitative research method helps to understand the participants' experiences, it includes my reflexivity as a researcher, it gives a complex analysis of the problem, and it contributes to the existing literature (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The goal of this research is to understand the experiences of several Brazilian individuals regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. This is in line with Tuan (1976), who used a specific humanistic geography approach to understand experiences: "*The geographic study of human beings' experiences and understandings of space, place, and the natural world*" (Seamon & Lundberg, 2017, p. 1). And in addition: "*Place is a primary ontological structure that encompasses both human experience and the physical world in which that experience unfolds*" (Seamon & Lundberg, 2017, p. 9-10). The study of experiences helps to answer the main research question in this thesis.

Studying the group of Brazilian migrants asked for awareness regarding heterogeneous processes. In this study there is an interest in a group of individuals, to grasp their individual experiences in the Dublin area, not just the experiences themselves, but also the context in which the experiences occur (Creswell & Poth, 2017). It is important to address the fact that individuals do not always have the free will and ability to overcome the power structures embedded in a society. Capitalism and racism are examples of power structures that are hard to overcome and may limit someone's access or the ability to participate in society (Winchester & Rofe, 2010). This gives the research some limitations that are further discussed in this chapter. Moreover, this study has been focused on an in-depth description and analysis of Brazilian individuals living in the Dublin area, which has been analysed through a case study approach.

3.1.1 The Brazilian experience in the Dublin area as a case study

This research is based on semi-structured interviews, and an explorative analysis of the living conditions of the Brazilian respondents is done. To answer the research question, an in-depth analysis of the situation in the Dublin area of the Brazilian community (a case) is required. In this thesis, the case study is viewed as part of the methodology (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 153). Using a case study approach, a real-life situation can be analysed through detailed, in-depth data that involves multiple sources of information (Creswell & Poth, 2017, p. 153). As a background to the case study, I used statistical data of the Central Statistics Office and governmental documents, such as: the Citizenship Act 1956, the Know Your Rights Guide, the Irish Citizenship Application Form, and the Regularisation Scheme for Long-term Undocumented Migrants in Ireland to discover the governmental approach of migrants in Ireland.

The Brazilian migrant case in the Dublin area has been studied between January 2022 and March 2022. For this case study, fifteen Brazilian individuals have been studied. Examining Brazilian migrants and the issue of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion calls for a single instrumental case study to get a general understanding of the situation (Creswell & Poth, 2017). The case study's findings are applicable to the situation of fifteen Brazilians in the Dublin area. The findings from these fifteen in-depth interviews resulted in five common themes ('citizenship', 'social identity', 'social networks', 'discrimination and racism' and 'the neighbourhood') when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.

The case study has been done in the Dublin area. In this study, the Dublin area comprises Dublin city, Howth, and Bray. Informally, the Liffey river divides the city. There are some exceptions, but generally speaking, the neighbourhoods in the north are historically seen as working- and middle-class areas. The areas on the south side of the river are typically more middle- and upper-class. The neighbourhoods

closer to the coast are more affluent (Clancy, 2020). There is a division made in Dublin city based on a neighbourhood level. When you ask someone where they live, the person will tell you the name of the area and/or the area number. The neighbourhoods that are located on the north side of the Liffey have an odd residential code number, and the south has even numbers (Clancy, 2020). The map below gives an overview of the residential areas of the respondents that were interviewed for this case study. All the red labels on the map show where the respondents are currently residing. The blue label shows a ‘common’ area for Brazilians to live: Mountjoy. The distribution of Brazilians in the Dublin area is further discussed in Chapter 6.

Map of Brazilians' residence in the Dublin area

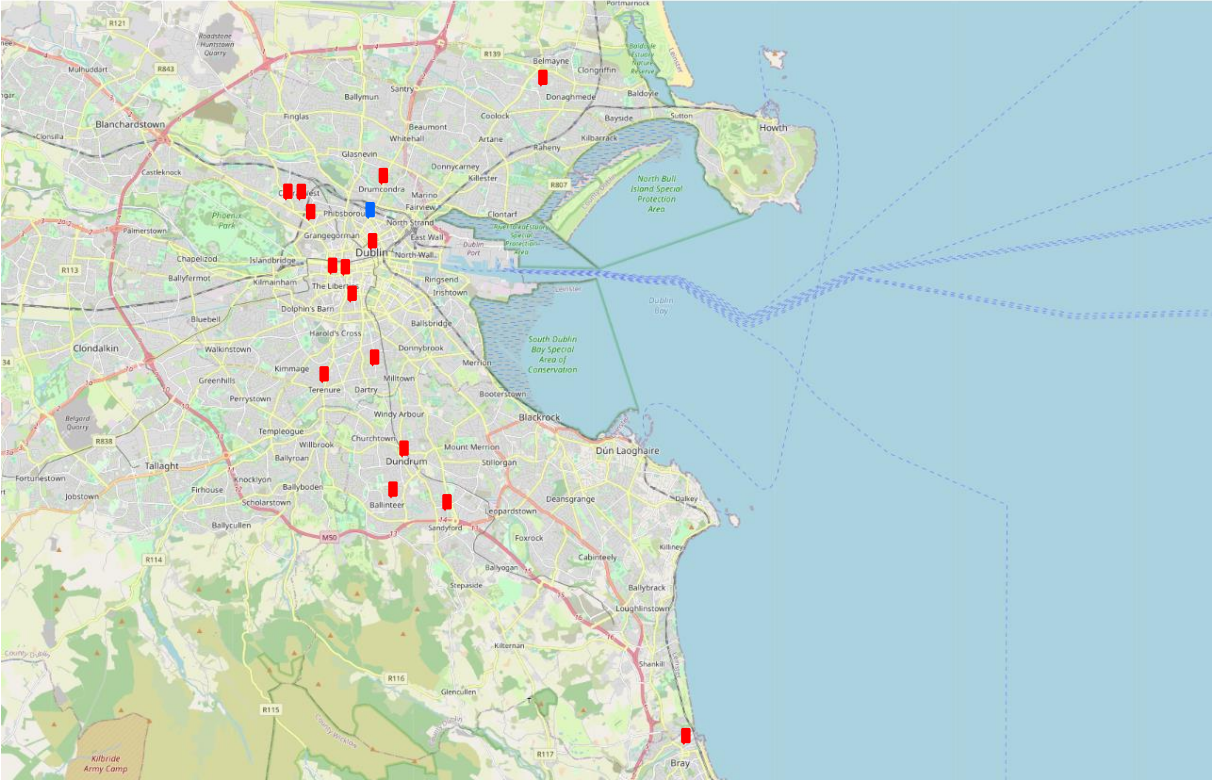
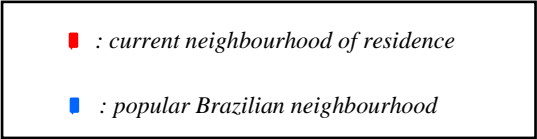


Figure 4: Brazilian distribution over residential areas (Openstreetmap 2022; own additions)



The Dublin area offers a particularly suitable case study to examine the experiences of Brazilian migrants regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. First of all, because of the quite recent notion of Ireland becoming an immigrant destination (Gusciute et al., 2021). Secondly, compared to other capitals in Europe, the housing market is quite different for labour migrants. As an example, in London, migrants were placed in segregated ‘labour neighbourhoods’. In London, they mainly recruited migrants to work in heavy industries; Dublin is not a traditional heavy factory city (Vang, 2010). In London, this resulted in ‘urban slums’. The labour market in Dublin is completely different, which is one of the reasons why ‘urban slums’ have never developed in the same way as in London (Vang, 2010). The migrants that were recruited to work in Dublin often end up in high-tech and financial industries (Garvin, 2005). Seeing the situation in Dublin, we cannot speak of ‘urban slums’. Yet this does not mean that migrants do not experience problems regarding housing. Especially, since there is a shortage of (affordable) housing, which results in a housing crisis in the Dublin area (Clancy, 2020). This housing crisis even

starts to undermine the economy because of the high rents and limited housing availability. This also has an impact on the capacity of the multinationals to recruit talent from abroad (Jarrett, 2021, p. 196).

In addition, the housing market adapted to multinational investments. There is a decline in the availability of social housing because there is an increased interest in commercial developments that mainly invest in one- or two-bedroom apartments rather than family homes (Jarrett, 2021, p.194). The Irish government relies primarily on rent supplements and effectively subsidising private landlords (Clancy, 2020). Consequently, further investments can be found in specific areas, such as the Liberties and the Northside of Dublin. In those areas, rapid gentrification can be found (Clancy, 2020). In 2019, a report that was presented about the rental prices in Dublin reported ‘good news’, saying that the rental prices in Dublin had only increased by 4.5 per cent over the previous 12 months (Lyons, 2019). As a result of this lack of housing and the extremely high rents, homelessness is a big issue in the Dublin area (Clancy, 2020). Briefly, we can argue that the Dublin area is quite expensive to live in.

Lastly, from my own experience living in the Dublin area in Tallaght (Dublin 24 in 2016) and Stoneybatter (Dublin 7 in 2022), I recognised some assumptions and stereotypes that are vivid about specific residential areas. These assumptions were often related to safety issues. This is why I want to investigate the Brazilian experiences in the Dublin area in terms of safety, the facilities available in the area, and mobility in the city. The neighbourhoods in Dublin are mainly connected by buses and the Luas (tram). However, the public transport system in Dublin is not very reliable, which makes it complicated to quickly go from one residential area to another. Either way, the question is whether this affects social-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging.

3.1.2 Study sample

I started with my study by reaching out to people in my own network in Dublin. I lived in Dublin in 2016 and this made it much easier to find participants. I contacted them via Facebook, Instagram, or WhatsApp. Secondly, I used the snowball sampling method to get in contact with Brazilians outside of my own network. Additionally, one of my colleagues at NCP, who works in the field of citizenship, introduced me to his network. I got in contact with several organisations that were interested in my research and helped me with getting in contact with Brazilians. I contacted these organisations via email or WhatsApp. One of the responses I got was that the Brazilian community is quite active on Facebook. To contact Brazilians via Facebook, I used a call for participants (see Appendix 1, p. 73). In addition, an article about my research was published (February 2022) in the *Dublin Inquirer*, a local newspaper in Dublin. The journalist also added a call for participants. This call for participants in the newspaper has resulted in several interviews that I could conduct. People who were interested contacted me via email and I made appointments with them for an interview. Lastly, being in the field, I got a lot of reactions, especially from Irish people who told me, a large group of Brazilians working for Deliveroo or Just Eat. Many Brazilians who have this job are students and are in Ireland for a short period of time. Knowing that the Brazilian community was very active in the food delivery industry, I wanted to include this specific group in my research. However, it was difficult to get in touch with this group. In the first place, I tried to get in contact with this group via the snowball sampling method and by using social media platforms, such as Facebook and Instagram. In the end, I reached out to this specific group by going out on the streets to Deliveroo and Just Eat meeting points (O’Connell Street, Parnell Street and Moore Street) in the city centre of Dublin. Together with my colleague, we got in contact with several Deliveroo drivers. We went inside some Brazilian shops to approach people, and asked them if they were interested in participating in my research.

The study sample of this research is based on fifteen respondents between 23 and 41 years old. In the interviews, seven men and eight women participated. Nine of them are between 31 and 39. To select the participants for my research. The following criteria were in place: firstly, the respondent should speak a certain level of English to make sure that they would understand my interview questions. Secondly, I aimed at Brazilians who moved from Brazil to Dublin. The number of years of residence was not a

restriction. Everyone who moved from Brazil to Dublin could participate. This means I did not include Brazilians who were born in Ireland. Thirdly, there was no requirement to hold an Irish passport to participate in the research. Furthermore, the participants needed to live in the Dublin area, but there was no specific neighbourhood criterion. Lastly, the goal of the research was to get a random sample of people with different backgrounds and to get an equal number of men and women participating in the research. In chronological order of the interviews, the respondents are summarised in Table 2.

Overview of interviewed respondents

<i>Respondent⁴</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>In Ireland for</i>	<i>Area of residency</i>	<i>Passport Status (Citizenship)</i>	<i>Job</i>
Ana	24	3 years	Bray	Italian	Childminder/Montessori school
Nelson	37	7 years	Cabra Dublin 7	Italian	Customer support YouTube
Leandro	31	7 years	Sandyford, Dublin 18	Job visa	IT
Brenda	34	7 years	The Liberties, Dublin 8	Student visa	Pub
Gabriela	23	4 years	City Centre, Dublin 1	Italian	Own cleaning company
Juliana	41	9 years	Portobello, Dublin 8	Stamp 4	Localization translation
Fernanda	37	9 years	Drumcondra, Dublin 9	Stamp 4 (applied for Irish citizenship last year)	Research fellow DCU
Igor	27	4 years	St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin 8	Student visa	Bachelor student, Waiter
Carlos	32	3 years	Cabra, Dublin 7	Critical skills visa (Stamp 4)	In between jobs

⁴ All the names of the respondents are pseudonyms as discussed with the respondents for their anonymity. The official names are known by the researcher.

Paulo	36	8 years	Dundrum, Dublin 14	Applied for Irish citizenship last year	Programmer
Elena	39	13 years	Ballinteer, Dublin 16	Irish citizenship (married)	Childminder
Lara	27	3 years	Terenure, Dublin 6	Italian	Inbound sales department and master student
Luana	32	10 years	Clarehall, Dublin 13	Polish	Consultant for LinkedIn
Lucas	29	4 years	Stoneybatter, Dublin 7	Applied for Italian citizenship still in the process will get it in 2023	Hotel employee
Antonio	38	4 years	Ranelagh, Dublin 6	Stamp 1 (recruited for work)	Technology for Microsoft

Table 2: Overview of interviewed respondents

3.2 Method of data collection

3.2.1 Semi-structured interviews

Interviewing is a common method used in qualitative studies (Mason, 2018). In this study, I used an inductive qualitative method. For this reason, an interview guide was set up that was formulated based on the research problem (van Thiel, 2014). The variables that are used in the research question are used as such ‘sensitising concepts’, which guided me in forming my interview guide (van Thiel, 2014, p. 94). I created an interview manual and did a pilot interview with another student to check if my questions were formulated clearly, to check the duration of the interview, and to practise my interview skills (van Thiel, 2014). I created several main topic themes that I wanted to address and some follow-up questions to make sure all my topics were covered. These themes are: ‘introduction’, ‘physical environment’, ‘social environment’, ‘inclusion/exclusion’, and ‘future’. Almost all the questions were open-ended. When people did not answer the question immediately, I used follow-up questions. Some questions were closed-ended, for example: ‘Does your neighbourhood give you the feeling that you are part of Irish society?’ Automatically, if people answered the question with just yes or no, I asked a follow-up question: ‘Why or why not?’, ‘What can be improved?’, ‘What are your experiences?’ In the process, it was important to me that the respondents felt that the interview setting was a safe environment and that they could give all the answers they wanted to give (Chapter 3.4.1). In addition, to make sure that I asked all the questions I wanted to ask during the interviews, I always had a copy of my interview guide with me on paper. Bringing the interview guide on paper made it easier to take notes during the interviews and to make sure that I did not ask a question twice.

Secondly, I chose semi-structured interviews because, from an ontological perspective, I wanted to explore people’s stories behind the numbers and get a better understanding of the experiences of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area. It gave me the freedom to interact with people, ask them questions,

and listen to them (Mason, 2018). Furthermore, I could easily conduct relatively informal interviews. The interviews were topic-centred but during the interviews, I was quite flexible to switch questions or to start talking about unexpected themes that came up for discussion (Mason, 2018).

I arrived in Dublin in January 2022 and back then there were still some COVID-19 restrictions. These restrictions gave me some limitations in collecting my data. Starting with my interviews, I gave my respondents the option of picking the location because it should be a safe space for them. Additionally, I only went to the office twice a week because of the COVID-19 pandemic. This meant that I was not able to conduct all my interviews face-to-face at the office. Especially, because all my respondents were working during the day and I could not stay at the office after working hours. This resulted in the fact that I had to conduct most of my interviews via Zoom in the evening. In addition, some of my respondents preferred to meet via Zoom because of mobility issues. The office of NCP was based in Upper Dorset Street, Dublin 1. For some of the respondents, this was quite far to travel to, especially since the public transport system in Dublin is not that accurate. Eventually, I conducted two interviews face-to-face: one at the office of NCP and one at the campus of Dublin City University. In the end, I was not able to visit all the residential areas where my respondents resided. I just visited Cabra, the Liberties, Portobello, Stoneybatter, Bray, Drumcondra, the city centre of Dublin (Dublin 1), and St. Patrick's Cathedral.

It was stressed during the interviews that interviewees did not have to answer all of the questions if they did not feel comfortable doing so (Chapter 3.4.1). None of my respondents told me that they did not want to answer one of the questions. Furthermore, the interviewees were asked if they agreed upon recording the interview. All of them were comfortable with me recording the interviews and I never had to explain the reasoning behind the recording. For my online interviews, I used audio and video recording. Conducting the interviews via Zoom with the camera on made it easier to communicate with each other. One interview via Zoom had just been done with audio recording because the participant felt more comfortable talking to me without using the camera. I wanted people to feel safe and they felt comfortable enough to share all their thoughts they wanted to share. As Burgess (1984, as cited in Mason, 2018, p. 110) argues, this way of interviewing was more about having a 'conversation with a purpose' than about a formal question and answer format. Furthermore, during the interviews, the respondents were told that the interviews were fully anonymous. However, not all the respondents had issues with me publishing their names in my thesis. I decided not to use their names because of some very personal and sensitive information that had been discussed during the interviews. While analysing my data, I used pseudonyms and I made sure that the information could not be specifically generated back to the respondent.

While living in Dublin for three months, I had several informal conversations. Mostly with my friends who live in Dublin. Although they are not Brazilian themselves, some of them knew a bit about the situation of Brazilians in the Dublin area. This gave me a good overview of how the Brazilian community is perceived by some of the Irish and other residents in the Dublin area. In particular, I had a lot of contact with one of my colleagues, who knew a lot about the Brazilian community in Dublin. Unfortunately, our day out on the streets did not result in an official interview with Deliveroo drivers, but they already told me a lot about their experiences when I talked with them in the city centre. Eventually, after every informal conversation, I made notes in my research diary on my phone.

3.3 Method of data analysis

All the interviews for this research have been recorded. The records were transcribed with 'O'Transcribe', 'Amberscript', and 'Otter.ai' and read through. I started off with the free software of 'O'Transcribe'. Soon enough, I realised that it was very time-consuming to do it all by hand. Luckily, I could use 'Amberscript' for two of my interviews for free, and afterwards, I bought the transcription programme 'Otter.ai' to transcribe 13 of my interviews. All the interviews are anonymised. The

interviews are transcribed word by word. Only irrelevant data is left out of the transcriptions, such as background information about myself.

After transcribing the interviews, the data has been analysed with the help of 'Atlas.ti'. This has been done through open coding and group coding. Afterwards, some common themes and sub-themes were discovered that were used to analyse the data. I sorted my codes into five abstract code groups. These groups are: 'introduction/general information', 'physical environment', 'social environment', 'social inclusion', and 'future/recommendations'. These five code groups are based on the structure of my interview guide and my conceptual model. From these five code groups, some requiring themes emerged. The emerged themes that are discussed in this thesis are: 'citizenship', 'social identity', 'social networks', 'discrimination and racism', and 'the neighbourhood'. These themes emerged by studying overlapping patterns and themes in the transcribed data and the use of interpretative codes that describe a data fragment (van Thiel, 2014, p. 146). In addition, I used thematic codes that reflected the research topic. These thematic codes mainly occurred because these were themes that were frequently mentioned during the interviews and in literature (Flick, 2002). After the first time coding, I went through the codes again to merge them and add more specific codes (axial coding) (Scheepers et al., 2016). This made it easier to compare several codes with each other. The sub-themes that I discovered are in-group/out-group, stereotypes, physical and verbal violence, (un)safety, community, housing, concentration, and reputation. Some of the codes overlap, for example, (un)safety and violence were often mentioned together. In other words, we can argue there is an interrelationship between some of the codes (van Thiel, 2014).

In total, I discovered 33 codes. After the coding process, I started to analyse the codes by creating co-occurrence tables in 'Atlas.ti', to get a better overview of all the data. In the end, I combined the analytical framework with the empirical data that I have collected. To make sure that the data that has been collected and coded is integrated into the research, I needed to search for patterns, cause-and-effect relations, and other forms of interconnection (van Thiel, 2014, p. 126). Ultimately, to structure the thesis, I used three main themes that reflect upon the research question and sub-questions and themes that emerged from the collected data: background information, the social, and the spatial.

3.4 Methodological reflections

3.4.1 Ethical statement

“Considering the nature of qualitative studies, the interaction between researchers and participants can be ethically challenging for the former, as they are personally involved in different stages of the study” (Sanjari et al., 2014, p. 1).

Especially in qualitative studies, it is important to keep in mind that: “Ethical decision-making is an ongoing and relational activity that takes place in the context of the situated practice of the research, rather than in advance, in the abstract and relation to supposed universal ethic principles” (Mason, 2018, p. 85). In this research, this has been done by taking into consideration the no-harm principle, anonymity, privacy, and confidentiality of my respondents (Mason, 2018). Researching the group of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area was completely new for me. From the first minute, I started interviewing the Brazilian population, I experienced their openness. All my respondents were very open to me and willing to share things. Sometimes the openness of my respondents made it quite difficult to find a balance between talking to someone as a researcher and not as a friend. Some respondents talked about their mental issues and struggles in their day-to-day life. Because I was an intern at an NGO, I sometimes provided them with information that could help them. Regarding their stories, they were very personal and sometimes quite tough and sad. I felt that it was very important to listen to their stories and collecting data sometimes became less imperative. To resume, I am really grateful people were willing to share their stories with me.

3.4.2 Reflections & limitations

This study comes with limitations, positive and negative experiences, and obstacles that were not foreseen before starting the research. Because the data has just been collected through a qualitative research design based on a case study of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area, this results in limited external validity. Moreover, because I used a case study, the results of the case study are unique, and the results can only be applied to the particular context that has been examined (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Although the external validity is quite limited, the internal validity tends to be high. The internal validity is high because of the comprehensive amount of information that has been collected (Van Thiel, 2014). Regarding the data collection, as illustrated, most of the data was collected via online data collection. One of the downsides of using Zoom for my interviews was that the internet connection was not always that good, which made it hard to follow the conversation sometimes. Nevertheless, I was able to transcribe all the interviews in the end.

Beyond some small challenges, it was quite easy to find respondents for my interviews. Therefore, I am fully aware that I limited myself by just focusing on Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area and that the experiences might be totally different in other places in Ireland. The answers of my respondents just represent their situation and cannot be a blueprint for every Brazilian immigrant in Ireland. Furthermore, from the moment I arrived in Dublin and started talking to Irish friends, Irish people in the pubs, and my colleagues, they immediately addressed the importance of Brazilians in the food delivery industry. During my interviews, I talked to people who were Deliveroo drivers before, however, none of them worked as a food delivery driver anymore. As mentioned, I tried to contact this specific group by going out on the streets; however, it was quite hard to get in contact with them. One of the limitations of this research is that the perspective of the group of current food delivery drivers is missing in the results of the experiences of Brazilian migrants. Second, another significant group of Brazilians in the Dublin area is the English-language student population. I tried to get in contact with some Brazilian students in English. Some of the language schools contacted me back but immediately clarified to me that the people who just arrived might not have a high level of English. If I were to conduct an interview with them, my questions would probably scare them and make them insecure about their level of English. In addition, I am fully aware of the fact that because I cannot speak Portuguese this is a limitation in this study. If I had been able to speak Portuguese, I could have had a much more diverse research population. Luckily, in the end, I managed to talk with one girl who was still in one of these English language schools. However, she already had been living in Ireland for a longer period of time. In general, I talked with people who had already been residing in Ireland for a longer time. This definitely affects the results of the research. Lastly, I got in contact with most of my respondents because they read the article in the Dublin Inquirer about my research. In other words, the respondents who contacted me were already interested in the topic that I am researching. Hence, I have to be aware of the fact that their interest in my research has also influenced it in some way.

Additionally, using semi-structured interviews implicates certain kinds of epistemological assumptions about the interactions between myself as the researcher and the respondents. To minimise biases, a structured interview guide was used (Mason, 2018). In doing so, I was fully aware of the way I asked the questions and my position as a researcher. Moreover, being a white female researcher, moving from the Netherlands to Ireland, and being a European citizen made me aware of my privileges. Some of my respondents also referred to me moving to Ireland. They acknowledged that I was lucky because I did not experience all the hassle of going through the challenging bureaucratic system because of my Dutch passport. Consequently, I frequently asked myself to what extent I could fully empathise with my respondents because I never experienced any difficulties moving around the world due to my nationality. However, I never got the impression that my respondents had any biases against me because I am a European citizen. Altogether, it often resulted in interesting discussions about being ‘born into a passport’. Furthermore, it was valuable and interesting to speak with the participants to understand their

everyday experiences. My respondents were eager to share their stories with me because many told me that the Brazilian community was not being heard and is not often examined in Ireland.

As I mentioned before, most of my interviews took place online. I never felt uncomfortable around people that I interviewed. Most of the people were my age or a bit older, which made it quite easy to have an informal conversation. Moreover, it resulted in some very interesting conversations after the interviews. To continue, using Zoom as an online tool made it sometimes a bit harder to connect. Because there was a screen between the interviewees and myself, it created some distance. Additionally, conducting online interviews had a positive effect on the sense of security. In addition, I contacted most of my respondents via email and made appointments via email and sent them the Zoom link via email or WhatsApp. Since I never met most of my respondents in real life, some of them did not show up, forgot about the interview or showed up hours later. In my opinion, this is one of the other downsides of online interviews besides the screen 'barrier' that I faced. Finally, despite the online difficulties, I always tried to create a safe and amicable atmosphere. This might have contributed to the fact that sometimes interviewees talked about side stories that were not of real interest for my research. Consequently, it was quite difficult to get back to my core questions, but from my point of view, it was worth it.

As a final point, this study has been focussed on qualitative data collection. In the field of migrant segregation and clustering, quantitative data is also necessary to fully understand this issue. Most of the numbers that are used in this research are from the 2016 Census. Nonetheless, in March 2022, the Census of 2022 started. In Ireland, the census is a door-to-door process and every citizen has to participate in the Census. The forms were collected manually between the 4th of April and the 6th of May (Census, 2022). In February 2023, there were just some preliminary results presented, which included one figure about immigrant numbers in Ireland. This figure is used in this research to give a clear overview of the current situation. All the other numbers reflect 2016. The main results will be published from April 2023 onwards (CSO, 2022). Despite the limitations and challenges, this research created an in-depth analysis of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and (residential) segregation of Brazilian migrants in the Dublin area. The following chapters discuss the empirical data that has been collected.

Chapter 4 | I am here – Moving to Ireland and exploring the Dublin area

January 2022, Stoneybatter - When I started with my research in Dublin I did not have a clear understanding of why there was such a big Brazilian community in Ireland. The first question I always got when I introduced my research topic was: why are 'they' there? In January 2022 I moved to Dublin to the neighbourhood Stoneybatter, Dublin 7. On one of my first days in Dublin one of my flatmates told me that I would see Brazilians everywhere, especially as Deliveroo drivers and that I would see the amount of English schools in town. Although I lived in Dublin in 2016 I had never noticed the number of English schools and back then Deliveroo was not a big thing yet. With this in mind, I decided to walk around the city centre to see the situation with my own eyes. One of the first things I noticed was the big group of Deliveroo drivers speaking in Portuguese that were always hanging around Smithfield, the neighbourhood next to Stoneybatter where I walked almost every day. Furthermore, while I was walking up O'Connell Street from the office back home I immediately saw all the English schools. Seeing the situation and also realising that already back in 2016 I met a couple of Brazilians, I was very motivated to start with my interviews.

As the above statement shows, the Brazilian community is acknowledged in space, but the reason behind their movement is not always that clear for other citizens I talked to in the Dublin area. Taking the movement to the Dublin area as a starting point, I intend to examine why Brazilians moved to the Dublin area. Additionally, I discuss the importance of citizenship in this, because citizenship is one of the most important outcomes of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion for Brazilians in the Dublin area. Furthermore, their treatment on arrival and the role of social networks on arrival are studied. These dimensions are discussed to get a clear overview of how the experiences of the respondents are related to the concepts of socio-spatial inclusion and their sense of belonging.

4.1 Background: Moving from Brazil to the Dublin area

To begin with, Antonio⁵ mentioned during the interview, there is no historical linkage between Ireland and Brazil. Therefore, I was interested in the reasons for migrating to Ireland. Understanding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion through a migration lens requires an approach that reflects upon the reasons behind the movement and the first encounters in the Dublin area.

First of all, one of the reasons to move to Ireland is to become a student in English. Because of this great interest of Brazilians to study English abroad, there are some agencies back in Brazil that help students move and find a language school in Ireland. Igor (27), who has been in Ireland for almost four years explained that these exchange agencies are quite important. He mentioned that the idea is to study and move back to Brazil. However, it often turns out that they stay in Ireland because of the opportunities they get. The majority of the respondents came to Ireland to study English.

Secondly, Ireland is a member of the EU, which makes it easier to travel around due to the free movement regulations that are in place between EU member states (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). Consequently, the interviewees often used Ireland as a 'stepping stone'. Being a student in English in Dublin means that someone from outside of the EU is able to get a student or tourist visa and can easily move around, whereas this is way more difficult with just a Brazilian passport. As my first respondent Ana, the girlfriend of my Irish friend explained:

“[...] First of all, it is easier to get a tourist visa. You have three months to stay in Ireland as long as you have some money in [your] bank account. For Ireland, you have to bring a statement saying that you have [a] X amount of money-. Well, and you can

⁵ As presented in Table 2 all the names that are used for the respondents are pseudonyms for their own anonymity.

work, you can do your part-time job. While in England, [...] with a student visa you cannot work at all. [...] Besides that, I will give [you some] figures. It is a long time ago that I [came] to Ireland, but back then I needed to have 12000 Reais⁶ in my own currency to come to Ireland.” (29-01-2022)

This finding shows that Ireland is seen as a quite favourable country to emigrate to. From a macro perspective, Brazilians are included in the first place and they can easily enter Ireland. Brazilian students, travelling on a Brazilian passport do not need a visa to enter Ireland for study purposes, for up to 90 days (Department of Foreign affairs, n.d.). Brazilians who travel to Ireland for other purposes can travel to Ireland and apply for a visa on arrival (McKinney, 2021). However, the first step to enter Ireland is quite favourable, the ability to stay in Ireland for a longer period is hampered by the visa regulations that are in place.

Thirdly, the opportunities and the differences that exist between Ireland and Brazil were addressed by other respondents. For some of my respondents, the political situation and the lack of career options were seen as a threat to their future in Brazil and they decided to move. When I asked Carlos why he decided to move, he immediately responded with the answer ‘Bolsonaro’. I asked him if he could tell me a bit more about the situation back then in Brazil and why Bolsonaro was a reason to move: “[...] *It was a bunch of things. [...] I lost my job. He won the election. I had nothing-*.” (24-02-2022) In terms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, Carlos experienced social and political exclusion while living in Brazil. He did not have the feeling that he was still part of the in-group. Because of the situation back in Brazil, he did not want to live up to the standards of the group’s ‘norms’ and ‘rules’ to maintain an in-group member in Brazil (Tajfel, 1974; Owens, 2010; Tajfel & Billic, 1974).

Whereas moving for Carlos was almost the only solution he saw back then, for Antonio the situation was a bit different. He was one of the few people I talked to who did not come to Ireland to study English. Antonio addressed the different experience he had: “*Actually, I received [...] a job offer. So I work with technology. That is huge stuff here in Ireland. Most of the Brazilians I know [...] actually came [because] they got a job offer as well. [...]. We came with a job like the company brought us.*” (11-03-2022) The experience of Antonio resonates with the ongoing trend that highly skilled migrants and migrants who contribute to the national economy are more likely to become included on a political level (Faist, 2013).

Briefly, there is this general understanding there are many opportunities in the Dublin area when it comes to economic chances compared to Brazil. Entering Ireland as a student of English makes it easier to receive a visa to travel around the EU. In addition, some Brazilians are more likely to become included because they are seen as an addition to the labour market and contribute to the economy of the nation-state. The next paragraph addresses a more social aspect of moving from Brazil to the Dublin area.

4.1.1 Arriving into an existing network and the first encounters

Considering the Brazilian movement, the Dublin area is seen as quite attractive because of the large community of Brazilians that have already settled in the area. People may be more attracted to a specific place because there are like-minded people who have settled there (Johnston et al., 2001, 2007; Fossett, 2006). This network creates a form of attachment to a place. Moreover, the relationships that exist among people in a society are seen as important and may utilise someone’s social position (Siisiäinen, 2000). In practice, almost all my respondents did not know anyone yet or had just a very small network in the Dublin area before migrating to Ireland. However, they were aware of the large Brazilian community in the Dublin area. Paulo, who moved to Dublin eight years ago, was very happy with the presence of the Brazilians:

⁶ Approximately 2000 Euros in February 2023 (Currencyrate.today, 2023)

“[...] Especially here there is such a close community that everyone knows [a] Brazilian here. [...] If you knew somebody in Brazil that is here, you will find them here easily. [...] You do not have to look for them. [...] When I came in that was a great thing because [...] there was sort of like almost a network. I mean, because they are here for a year, they are here for two years, three years, I never had to navigate my way through the system alone.” (25-02-2022)

For Paulo, it was such a positive aspect that so many Brazilians are residing in the Dublin area. It helped him to create a sense of belonging. The Brazilian community is a form of social support that even exists beyond the neighbourhood level (Phillips, 2007; Sassen, 2000). One of the physical outcomes of this sense of belonging was the ability to go to a Brazilian shop. Paulo continued: “*I miss my family and friends, but I never actually miss Brazil per se. [...] If you get one of those very homesick times, you can just go to [...] Australia on Parnell Street, go to one of the 300 Brazilian bars, or if you are lucky you can go to a Brazilian supermarket or Brazilian restaurant. [This helps to] get the feeling of home again.*” (Paulo, 25-02-2022) The fact that the Brazilian community is so visible in space and there is such a big Brazilian community utilises the social position of the Brazilians in the Dublin area and increases the sense of belonging for Brazilians.

These shops, bars, and restaurants are clearly visible in the streets of Dublin, as shown in the pictures below.



Image 1: Parnellstreet, Dublin 1 (own picture)



Image 2: Ryders 's Row, Dublin 1 (own picture)



Image 3: Capelstreet, Dublin 1 (own picture)

This understanding of Paulo was not shared by every respondent. In contrast, Fernanda argued that the social clustering of Brazilians created a distance between the Irish and them. From a more social perspective, the clustering of Brazilians may even result in spatial exclusion and weaker social networks

(Reingold, 1999; Ireland, 2008). In Fernanda's opinion, some Brazilians have weak social networks. She claims that because of their difficult situation, Brazilian students in English, in particular, tend to stay in their Brazilian bubble. They keep on going to Brazilian bars and restaurants and they put absolutely no effort into getting in touch with the Irish citizens. Some are even not able to speak the language, which makes it harder to interact.ⁱ

Fernanda is aware of the weak social conditions and the lack of interaction some Brazilians experience within the Dublin area. Her story illustrates that the Brazilian community for some limits their social position. As a result of this situation, Brazilian individuals might become a poor fit to the in-group, are highly likely to become a target of exclusion, and are hindered to create a potential social network that goes beyond their own social identity (Abrams et al., 2015; Ireland, 2008; Fanning et al., 2010; Siisiäinen, 2000). This is further studied in Chapter 5.1.1.

Discussing social networks, we can distinguish three different levels: micro, meso, and macro actors within social networks (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2018). From a societal perspective (meso), Igor felt that he was accepted because of Irish history. He mentioned that because of their own emigration history, they know why Brazilians left Brazil and that they want to build a better life for themselves. In addition, Fernanda was also positive about her position in society: *"So [it] feels [like] home here. [It] always did. Since the first time that I arrived in Dublin, I felt like this feels right."* (22-02-2022) Being welcomed in the first place helps to belong to a specific place. For Fernanda, the neighbourhood is not that important. It is more about the treatment in society in general that helps to belong in Irish society (Phillips, 2007). She felt embedded in place and was not primarily excluded because of her living circumstances (Clark, 2011).

At a macro level, at a governmental level, Antonio also felt that he was welcomed:

"[We are] really welcomed by the government. Because possibly I will not stay here till I retire. So during the time that we are here, we are making some money for us. Of course, that is convenient for us, but we are paying a lot of taxes, including DPSRI, whatever the name is of that social security part. And this money will stay here because possibly I will never use [it]." (11-03-2022)

In literature, this form of welcoming is considered as: 'someone who is encouraged' (Gilmartin, 2015). According to Gilmartin (2015), skilled migrants are encouraged because they bring economic benefits to a nation-state. Antonio never worried when he entered Ireland, because of his economic status he was a good fit to Irish society. He was more likely to become an in-group member in Ireland. In this sense, we can recognise a distinction between 'skilled' and 'unskilled' migrant workers. From a governmental and social perspective, migrants are framed to what extent they are 'useful'. In the Dublin area, migrant workers often end up in the most important economic sectors in Ireland, such as tourism and IT (Gilmartin, 2015). This issue is further discussed in Chapter 5.3.

When I asked Brenda to describe Dublin in one sentence she already touched upon the concept of being welcomed in Irish society (meso level). She said: *"[...] Dublin is an awkward city because it is a welcome city but not so welcoming."* (08-02-2022) When I asked her to elaborate on this she said:

"[...] It welcomes you at the beginning, people try to be friendly and all that, but they are not really gonna bother or try to help you out. Unless [...] they are deeply involved with you. And I see all my friends having the same problem. [...] Probably there are a lot of [Irish] happy to have us here, but I would say that most of them do not really care. Like even if they are welcoming people they do not really care about what is going on at first." (08-02-2022)

The experience of Brenda not being welcomed negatively impacts her sense of belonging in the Dublin area (Jayaweera & Choudhury 2008). Seeing her experience we can clearly distinguish social

hierarchies (Gelderblom, 2018). Also, other respondents mentioned that they found Irish people very friendly in the first place, but that in the end, they did not really care about them being in the Dublin area (Chapter 5.1.1). This shows some social habits towards out-group members that are quite normalised by society (Putnam, 2020; Gelderblom, 2018). In this sense, Brazilian individuals are connected to the welfare of others on a meso level and Brenda's experience shows that because she was a poor fit for the in-group, she does not become included (Abrams et al., 2015).

The responses above illustrate that the Brazilian community is a massive support for Brazilians when they arrive in the Dublin area. Furthermore, in this process, some experienced some support from Irish society and government, which helped them settle in the Dublin area. However, this is not the case for everyone. Not everyone was successful in building a strong social network at the meso or macro level. In this, a clear distinction can be made between migrants who are encouraged and those who are not.

4.1.2 Ireland as a stepping stone: navigating multiple routes to EU citizenship

In addition to studying English or because of career opportunities, after a couple of interviews I noticed that it is quite common for the Brazilian community to come to Ireland so they can apply for a European passport. Where I thought many of them would apply for a Portuguese passport as a second passport because of the historical ties between Portugal and Brazil, it turned out that this was not the case. Four of my respondents had an Italian passport; one had applied for it; and one other participant had a Polish passport. The reason behind this was explained by Paulo: *"I am not a historian, but like the biggest coffee plantations were in São Paulo. A lot [...] of Italian people [...] went to São Paulo in the 19th century just to work on the coffee plantations. Which means that the descendants of Italians are more concentrated in the state of São Paulo. Where the rest is more Portuguese."* (25-02-2022)

Another interesting fact I immediately noticed was that some of my respondents had German surnames. Lucas was one of the respondents with a German surname: *"Becker⁷ it is German. My father's descendants are German and my mom's are Italian and other stuff. [...]. In my part of Brazil, it is very common because we were colonised by German, Italian, and a bit of Dutch."* (10-03-2022) This history gives a lot of Brazilians the opportunity to apply for an Italian or another European passport. For Brazilians, it is an individual choice if they want to obtain double citizenship. In practice, this helps to obtain legal status in the EU and makes it easier to reside in a European country (Harpaz, 2015; De Haas et al., 2020; Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016; Faist et al., 2016).

Moreover, as discussed before, Ireland is sometimes used as a 'stepping stone' to apply for dual citizenship because of the descendants of Brazilians. This means that most of my respondents got a student visa in the first place and were able to go to other European countries with this student visa. This was also the case for Lara. *"I stayed here for five months as a student and then I went to Italy. I got my Italian citizenship and then I came back."* (02-03-2022) In Lara's case and the same applies to some other respondents who obtained a European passport, they do not reside in the country of their second nationality. They all moved back to Ireland after obtaining their European passport. Residing in Ireland with another European passport than an Irish passport means that they are still limited, for example, in voting (Citizenship Information, 2022). However, obtaining this European passport increases their national and even global level of inclusion.

The ability to apply for European citizenship also gave my respondents the feeling that they were treated differently. As argued in the literature, citizenship is something that determines the chances someone gets in life. Therewith, citizenship has a lot of power and plays a significant role in the experiences of Brazilians living in the Dublin area (Macklin 2007; Shachar & Hirschl 2007; Centeno & Cohen 2010). The power of citizenship was something Ana was very much aware of:

⁷ Another surname is used for the privacy of the respondent.

“[...] I knew that from a very early age. [...] I [want to] find an easier way to move around because I knew that as a Brazilian there is a lot of prejudice. [...] It is more difficult to get into countries.[...] So between all situations that I went through as a Brazilian and now that I am Italian, things changed completely. The way I am treated in airports and everything else. [...] So I was like [...] I just need to get this and also to get my ancestors or my roots more. [...]. It is mine.” (29-02-2022)

Ana experienced more justice when she received her Italian passport. Her finding shows that her Brazilian social identity is valued as ‘less’ compared to other nationalities. This difference in treatment based on passport status shows a preference for certain nationalities.

Although not everyone has European descendants, people who are not born in Ireland can get Irish citizenship by naturalisation. Irish citizenship is governed by the Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act 1956 (as amended) (Groarke & Dunbar, 2020). If a person wants to acquire citizenship through naturalisation, this person should apply to the Minister for Justice and Equality for a certificate of naturalisation (Groarke & Dunbar, 2020). Compared to other European countries, the naturalisation conditions in Ireland are seen as quite favourable (e.g., Groarke & Dunbar, 2020; Bauböck et al., 2013). To become an Irish citizen through naturalisation, an applicant does not have to renounce citizenship of their country of origin and does not have to prove a certain level of integration, such as knowledge of the language of the country (Citizens Information, 2021). There are several requirements, but the most important one is the years of residence in Ireland. There are two options, someone can apply for citizenship after five years of residence and in some cases (e.g. marriage to or being the civil partner of an Irish citizen) apply after three years of residence. Although the process is seen as quite good, there are concerns about the naturalisation process. Particularly concerning the decision-making process, which has been hampered by long processing delays exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic (Groarke & Dunbar, 2020; Department of Justice, 2020). Another issue is that the years someone spent in Ireland as a student do not count for the years of residing. Paulo, who applied for Irish citizenship at the beginning of 2021, was still waiting for his result in February 2022. He was looking forward to receiving his Irish citizenship, even though initially he was not even planning on applying for Irish citizenship. He argued that with an Irish passport, he could easily move to the ‘continent’ and he is free to move around in the EU, which made applying for an Irish passport attractive.

Another way for a non-European to stay in Ireland for an extended period of time is through marriage. That being said, someone can apply for Irish citizenship through naturalisation after three years of marriage/civil partnership and residence on the island of Ireland (Department of Foreign Affairs, 2022). Some of my respondents were married to an Irish citizen. Although Carlos had no intention at all of marrying his Irish boyfriend at this early stage, he lost his job, which also meant that he would lose his visa and was not allowed to stay in Ireland any longer. Even though he was already in Ireland for three years, he could not apply for Irish citizenship because the years as a student did not count. In Carlos’s words: “[...] *Marrying was kind of a plan B. So then plan B became a plan A.*” (24-02-2022) For him this was the only way of not becoming illegal in Ireland. In addition, Carlos and I had a very personal conversation about the visa issues and not having the ‘right’ passport in the eyes of the Irish government:

“I am a complete hippy in that sense. I am totally against borders. No one should be illegal. What do you mean, illegal? [...] How can I not have the right to exist? It is just like that and I think the word from 2021 was probably burnout and I think I have [a] burnout, both from work and from immigration issues. Because since I got to Ireland

in 2019, I can never forget about it. I got my stamp⁸ today and tomorrow, I am already thinking how am I going to do [it] the next year?" (24-02-2022)

Carlos mentioned the hassle and visa difficulties that he experienced in the Dublin area. The difficulty of renewing documents to reside in a country is a way to exclude some migrants who are seen as unfavourable by the Irish state (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). This shows that on a macro level, there is a lot of power to close off opportunities for specific groups (Weber, 1978). Carlos experienced this himself; only because he was getting married to an Irish citizen he was able to reside in a place where he wanted to stay. Subsequently, from a macro perspective, the treatment and opportunities for someone who obtained a European passport are completely different. This was also something Lucas was very much aware of. He told me: "*You know how much changes if we become Europeans? [...]. It is a sick postcolonialism thing that we are treated like this.*" (10-03-2022) Also, Ana shared that everything immediately changed when she received her Italian passport: "*They go on and say, these Brazilians, these foreigners are coming to rub are jobs, not you though because you are Italian-. Then I am like... There is a different treatment.*" (29-01-2022) Currently, a European passport is valued in such a way that it symbolises for many Brazilians the ultimate goal for stable settlement in Ireland (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). Ana's Italian passport provided her with more opportunities, demonstrating that citizenship status employs both equality and inequality (Clarke et al., 2014). It demonstrates that people are treated differently not only on a macro level but also on a more social level when they have the 'right' passport in the eyes of society (Balibar, 1991; Centeno & Cohen, 2010; Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016).

At the time I spoke to Lucas (10-03-2022), he also applied for Italian citizenship, but he was still waiting to get the result which he will get in October 2023. In the meantime, Lucas was able to stay in Ireland because he was married to his Portuguese/Brazilian girlfriend which gave him the ability to apply for stamp 4⁹, which basically gave him the same rights as every other European person residing in Ireland. For Lucas and Carlos marriage was a way of becoming included from a governmental perspective. This is a crucial finding since it shows that the current rules that are in place cannot fully exclude people from becoming a member of the nation-state (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016; Lister, 2000). As long as a distinction is made between 'good' nations and 'bad' nation states we can find an unjust treatment to members who are seen as unfavourable by the Irish state. Marrying into a nation-state is a way to avoid becoming illegal. It also provides a more stable life in the Dublin area without having to worry about being deported or going through the bureaucratic system to get your stamp (Gilmartin, 2015; Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016).

As shown, possessing a European passport increases the opportunities that are given and it helps to avoid the bureaucratic system when it comes to the renewal of residence permits and deportation (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). In this regard, European citizenship is concerned with mobility and opportunities. Brazilian-Italians get more opportunities to engage and have greater mobility opportunities compared to Brazilians who cannot apply for a European passport. Being able to obtain a European passport automatically leads to greater socio-spatial inclusion. However, being a European citizen on paper does not automatically mean that someone is socially included and becomes an in-group member. In addition, the ability to apply for a European passport is a privilege not every Brazilian has (Howard, 2005).

⁸ "If a non-EU citizen wants to stay in Ireland for over 90 days, this person has to apply for permission and will receive a residence stamp. The stamp someone receives shows the duration of the stay and to what a person is entitled" (Department of Justice, 2022).

⁹ Stamp 4 indicates: "the permission to stay in Ireland for a specified period, subject to conditions. Stamp 4 is reckonable as residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation" (Department of Justice, 2022).

4.2 Concluding remarks

In this first empirical chapter, I outlined the context behind the Brazilian settlement in the Dublin area. I aimed to take into account the dimensions of citizenship, social identity, and I briefly touched upon the social network dimension.

Studying the first encounters, Ireland is an attractive destination for Brazilians for mobility and economic reasons. Ireland is quite welcoming in the first place when it comes to Brazilians who want to study English in Ireland. This is expressed by the Irish government through the visa regulations that are in place for Brazilians who want to study English. Other Brazilians can also apply for a visa on arrival which helps to feel accepted and welcomed. The same applies to Brazilians who are recruited to come to work for companies in the Dublin area. The Irish government encourages migrants who are recruited to work and provides them easy access to a work permit. However, the visa regulations are quite attractive in the first place, when it comes to a longer stay in Ireland, the visa issues are not that inclusive. Especially for migrants who are seen as unfavourable by the Irish state, the regulations are not so inclusive.

The immense importance of the already established Brazilian community ensures in the first place a sense of belonging. The Brazilian community is seen as a social safety net by many. The Irish government, on the other hand, does not really foster a sense of belonging in space for the majority of respondents. Some are accepted because they are encouraged by the Irish state, but this does not apply to every Brazilian. The same applies to a more social understanding of belonging. Some recounted that they are welcomed because of the Irish emigration history and there is a mutual comprehension for each other because Irish citizens understand why people would emigrate. However, not everyone was welcomed in the first place in Ireland. This contributes to the fact that Brazilians continue to rely on their own community that also exists beyond a neighbourhood level. In some situations, this results in an in-group conflict between Brazilian members themselves because according to some it shows a lack of interest in Irish society.

Studying citizenship as an act of socio-spatial inclusion gives insights into the daily practices of Brazilians and how it is related to mobility issues. Because some Brazilians have roots in European countries, they are able to obtain dual citizenship (Brazilian-European). The ability to apply for a European passport, ensures stability and safety to reside in Europe. In the first place, Brazilians arrive in Ireland because the visa regulations to enter are quite favourable. As long as the study- or tourist visa is valid, Brazilians are able to go to another country in Europe to apply for dual citizenship. In practice, Brazilians often travel from Ireland to Italy to apply for a passport, go back to Ireland and wait for their citizenship result in Ireland. Dual citizenship mainly symbolises a positive outcome. With their European citizenship, they do not have to worry anymore about becoming illegal and other restrictions that are in place for non-European migrants.

In addition, as they move back to Ireland after applying for their dual citizenship, no strong sense of belonging to their non-residential dual citizenship can be found. This, along with the ability to marry an EU citizen, can be linked to the fact that it stabilises Brazilians' lives and ensures their legality to stay. This is one way to bypass the *paper border* because it creates less of a border between them and the Irish. In other words, the citizenship regulations that are in place require the experience that someone who obtains an Italian passport becomes a 'good person' being the same person, but with different papers. Looking at Brazilians who cannot apply for a European passport, they experience less inclusion in Irish society. Nevertheless, the citizenship status of someone does not fully remove the issues Brazilians face when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion in the Dublin area. In the next chapter, I explore how socio-spatial inclusion/outcomes are experienced in their daily life practices and what contributes to or hampers their experiences of being included/excluded in the Dublin area.

Chapter 5 | Am I in? – Navigating the landscapes of socio-economic inclusion/exclusion

Living in Dublin, in particular walking down ‘O Connell street and in Smithfield (Dublin 7), made me really aware of the Brazilian community in the city centre. Being surrounded by my friends in town and introducing them to my topic, I asked them if they knew some Brazilians. As Conor¹⁰ once told me: “you see ‘them’ everywhere but you never go for a beer with ‘them’.” (29-03-2022)

The vignette of Conor shows that he acknowledged the number of Brazilians in the Dublin area, but he never really interacts with Brazilians. This corresponds to Antonio’s experience:

“[...] Something interesting is that everybody that I meet that I say that I am Brazilian people say: I know a lot of Brazilians, I see Brazilians everywhere, I see Brazilians in the coffee shops and restaurants. Usually, it is just more like [they are] impressed related by the number of Brazilians than [they are in] contact.” (11-03-2022)

This chapter allows a more in-depth analysis of the dimensions of, the citizenship status, the social identity of Brazilians, the social networks that exist, and the discrimination and racism Brazilians face in the Dublin area. In the first paragraph, I aim to understand individual experiences including social identity and how this is interconnected with the concept of belonging. In this paragraph, the assumption is formulated that the Irish society is seen as an in-group and the Brazilian social identity is the out-group. Paragraph 5.2 reflects upon the individual and group experiences according to discrimination, racism and violence. In paragraph 5.3, I aim to understand the relationship between the Brazilian social identity and their economic situation. Lastly, in paragraph 5.4 some concluding thoughts are presented.

5.1 Where do I belong?

This part will provide an elaboration on the previously discussed topic of citizenship (paragraph 4.1.2) and how this is linked to social identity and belonging. Citizenship is often linked to social identity; however, not everyone identifies with their citizenship status. Especially, because some of the respondents were able to obtain dual citizenship, the question is whether this impacts their social identity.

To the question: ‘*With which group do you identify in Dublin?*’ Some respondents could respond immediately, whereas others were a bit confused about the question and asked for clarification: ‘*What do you mean with which group?*’ In the first place, they often identified with their nationality being Brazilian. Igor, who has lived in the Dublin area for four years already explained:

“We can all run away from it, it is definitely Brazilians. We live in a niche. I think we know that we are here alone. So we have to support each other. So somehow things happen naturally. We see each other, we help each other because we know there is nobody else there. So we always want to give a hand. We are understood within ourselves because of the same language, same references, same culture, and same habits. [...] So that could be why we get along so well. Even though we are far from home because we have to help each other and we have the same lifestyle.” (23-02-2022)

Paulo has some similar thoughts about his social identity: “*I have to be Brazilian. It is in the way I talk, in the way I look, in the way I walk. [...] I think even [when] the decision comes in and I get the citizenship, I will be a Brazilian with an Irish passport. There are so many Brazilians here with an Italian or Portuguese passport.*” (23-02-2022) Paulo’s understanding shows that even such a powerful

¹⁰ Conor is a pseudonym that is used for his own privacy.

document as a passport cannot easily demarcate someone's social identity. At the time of the interview, Lucas did not have an Italian passport yet, but he mentioned that he would still feel Brazilian even with a European passport.

For Ana, her identity was not something fixed. It was something she had been thinking more about since she had moved to Ireland:

“Lately, I [...] find myself a lot as a Latina or Latino, which for me has been like [...] completely new because even though I am part of Latin America, we Brazilians do not really see ourselves most of the time as Latinos. We see ourselves as Brazilians. [...] My culture is nothing alike most people in South America. Therefore that never really made sense for me when I was in Brazil. But since I am in Ireland, people do not seem to know what I am [...], like I am pale, but I have very curly hair and sort of like different features and [that I have] massive hips. So I am not very easy to classify inside a box and [...] sometimes people come to me and say ‘Hola, ¿cómo estás?’ in Spanish and I am like, I do not speak Spanish. They are like, but it is very similar and I am like, might be but it is not the same. Therefore and to make it easier for other people, I found myself as a Latina.” (29-01-2022)

Furthermore, Ana has a double passport (Brazilian-Italian). I asked Ana if besides Latina she also identifies as Italian. She explained that she does not see herself as Italian in any form because her culture is so mixed. Ana's example shows that the social identity process is constantly in motion and may even become a bit blurry after moving abroad because people may socially identify with multiple groups and cultures (Baübock, 2006). This also reflected Fernanda's understanding of her social identity. Her experiences of living abroad made it complicated to socially identify: *“So I am always a foreigner. [...] I think I feel like I am a Dubliner. [...] I am not Irish yet and I do not think I will ever feel fully Irish because I am still Brazilian as well-.”* (22-02-2022)

The movement from Brazil to Ireland made some of the respondents reflect upon their social identification process. Because of the huge Brazilian community in the Dublin area, which is for many a stable factor, the respondents may determine to identify with the Brazilian nationality (Tajfel, 1974, Ellemers et al., 2002).

Examining the question about social identity, many of the respondents immediately started talking about the concept of belonging concerning their social identity. Gabriela did not have the feeling that she belonged to any group in Dublin. Additionally, Gabriela mentioned that she never had the intention to identify as an Irish person. She never tried to be or to become Irish, mainly because she wants to go back to Brazil to study. For Leandro, belonging was important for him to socially identify:

“I feel like I belong to an open-minded group of people. Through my relationship, it does not matter if you are Brazilian, Irish or Italian or whatever, it is about the people. So I identify with people [...] that are open-minded like me. [...] Usually left-wing kind of political views. So people they are aligned to me in that sense. No, it is not about nationality [...] or something else.” (02-02-2022)

This understanding of Leandro shows how personal the social identification process can be. Additionally, this process is strongly linked to power structures. For instance, socially identifying with a specific group can give you privileges (Owens et al., 2010). As in the case of Lara, she noticed that when she presents herself as Italian she gets more opportunities in the labour market than when she introduces herself as Brazilian:

“[...] I will present myself as Brazilian, but not for a job position. [...] I would say my documentation is from Brazil, but I have Italian citizenship because my grandparents are Italian. For the Irish government, I speak Italian since I was born which is not true.

[...] I do not identify as an Italian citizen. [...] We are immigrants in Brazil. So all the culture that I have from Italy is a bit mixed. When I was living there and I was sharing recipes, sharing what I learned with my family, it was super different. It was not proper Italian. [...] I was an immigrant living in another place. So no, I do see myself as Brazilian.” (02-03-2022)

Lara’s experience shows that citizenship both helps to obtain opportunities and reduces opportunities. Even though Lara lives outside her country of origin and she does not live in the country of her second nationality, she becomes more included with her Italian passport than with her Brazilian passport in the Dublin area. Moreover, the respondents I talked to during the interviews were not interested in settling in Italy. They mainly wanted to get their Italian citizenship because it gives them more opportunities and a stable settlement in the Dublin area. A European passport provides the respondents with a legal status to reside in Ireland (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016; Faist et al., 2016). In addition, even though all my respondents have lived three years or longer in the Dublin area, none of them identifies as fully Irish. Their identity has changed over time, but the majority see themselves as Brazilian. In contrast, depending on the situation, some will present themselves as European citizen because they will get more chances. In general, it is more likely to become socio-spatially included when they present themselves as European than as Brazilians.

As described above, social identity and citizenship are a function of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion. It underlines the continuing relevance of nation-states when it comes to opportunities, access and treatment to become socio-spatially included (Macklin 2007; Shachar & Hirschl 2007; Centeno & Cohen 2010). Specifically, the opportunities, access, and treatment of Brazilians regarding economic outcomes are further discussed in Chapter 5.3.

5.1.1 “I tried for a decade to make friends with Irish people”

Several elements are considered as important in the social inclusion process of which the social network is one. In this paragraph, I discuss the processes of belonging to a certain social network or not. Social networks can be explained as the potential for interaction between individuals and groups (Fanning et al., 2010, Cass et al., 2003). In Chapter 4.1.1, I already briefly touched upon the role of social networks as part of the movement from Brazil to the Dublin area. This paragraph discusses the social networks of Brazilians over time in detail.

Concerning the social network and intergroup relations, it quickly became clear that the interviewees had quite some issues in creating strong ties with Irish people. The majority of them mainly drew support from the Brazilian community in Dublin. Some tried to interact with the Irish but realised soon enough some thresholds that prevented them from becoming really close to each other. An issue that was raised was the way language is used, which creates a bit of a distance:

“[...] They ask you how are you, [but] they answer how are you? Or what is the craic? It is weird, considering that it only takes me 10 minutes to start talking about my life to someone. Then we meet [Irish] people and they avoid even wanting to know how [I am really doing]. It makes it harder to create connections and all that.” (Brenda, 08-02-2022)

Igor, who is a psychology student, was very much aware of his relations with the Irish. He explained there are some cultural differences and political differences between the Irish and the Brazilians. He argued that Brazilians have more liberal imaginaries and the Irish are more conservative. In addition, Brazilians and Irish have completely different lives, which makes it harder to interact.ⁱⁱ In addition, we have to take into consideration different group structures that exist in the Dublin area. Some groups are more powerful than others and may even limit the ability to get in contact with each other (Weber, 1978). Elana and Paulo both explained that it is a two-way process to get in contact with each other. As from Elena’s experience:

“[...] I tried for a decade to make friends with Irish people. They do not seem to be interested. [...] Well, now I stopped trying. [...] I think they do not see me at all. They just ignore me completely. [...] I am not mistreated, but I am not treated well. It is like, I do not really exist. And because I am doing a job that is not something that they would do, I do not affect their lives. Anyhow, I feel indifferent. They treat me [as] if I was not there.” (25-02-2022)

Later on, when I asked Elena what would help her to feel more included in Irish society, she argued that in her eyes it is important that Irish society adapts to the different cultures, which exist in the Dublin area. She proposed a day where people can meet each other and learn more about each other's cultures. The willingness to get to know each other and the hierarchy that exists when it comes to the creation of a social network can hinder or facilitate socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (Gelderblom, 2018). This reflects upon the experience of Elena and her issues to create a strong social network.

In addition, Paulo (36) has an Irish girlfriend. He stated that it is a bit easier to interact with Irish people because of his girlfriend. However, he still notices that Irish people his age are not really open to making new friends. He does not have the experience that this is coming from a xenophobic attitude, but they are just not interested, not even in making new Irish friends.ⁱⁱⁱ In addition, Igor's understanding shows that people are in general very polite, but that over time people do not particularly include you: “[...] I noticed that it is just more of a superficial thing of being polite. It is not that [they are trying to] to make you feel that you are part of it or that you belong. It is just really they are polite and that is it.” (23-02-2022) Luana, also thought that Irish people were just very polite, but not opened up to them: “ I am sometimes a bit harsh on it. [...] I am welcome in Ireland, but it does not mean that we will be friends forever. Basically the whole society [treats you] like: [...] you can come, you can leave, you can pay the taxes. Fine, but you will not be one of us.” (08-03-2022) Therefore, Carlos said that he does not even want to become an in-group member: “I do not feel I want to be part of society [...] because you will never be accepted. Or if you are part of this society, you will never be like them. You will always be okay. You are part of Irish society but you never be the let's say the premium man [...].” (24-02-2022)

In sum, this shows that on a meso level, it is hard to overcome the social structures, hierarchies, and roles that exist in the Dublin area (Mouzelis, 1995, 2008). As mentioned before, in this research we assume that the Irish society is seen as an in-group and that the Brazilian social identity is seen as an out-group by some in the Dublin area. Some evidence for this can be found in the experiences of the interviewees. As a side note, most of the respondents experienced that they were seen and treated as out-group members, but they were very cautious with their answers. They mentioned that their thoughts were just based upon their own experiences or the experiences of friends and/or acquaintances. Many of them addressed that the things they heard about Brazilians in Ireland were not thoughts that every Irish citizen has. There might even be a difference between people in the Dublin area and in other place in Ireland. A very common argument that shows that Brazilians are predominantly treated as out-group members are the stereotypical thoughts that are in place, such as ‘immigrants are taking our jobs’.^{iv} Stereotyping is a way to describe the out-group and these negative stereotypes maintain social distance towards others. Therefore, negative stereotypes decrease the opportunity to become socio-spatially included (Ellemers et al., 2002; Hagendoorn & Kleinpenning, 1991). These negative stereotypes result in a tendency to underestimate Brazilians in Irish society. The examples that are given show that the various stereotypes in society hinder the socio-spatial inclusion process.

This paragraph mainly focused on the micro and meso relations that exist in the Dublin area. The responses above illustrate that someone's social network is experienced as important when it comes to the understanding of inclusion. The most important finding is that real issues are faced when it comes to interacting with society. As the experiences above have shown, there is little interest in getting to know each other from a societal point of view. Looking at my respondents, some of them truly wanted to get in contact with others. It is essential to take into account that not everyone makes the same effort. However, the majority kept on trying to get in contact. At some point, the respondents lost their faith in

getting to know others outside their own Brazilian or international social network. In addition, social networks also exist on a macro level. In the following paragraph, I study the experiences of the respondents from a macro perspective.

5.1.2 Intergroup comparisons from a macro perspective

In addition, on a governmental level (macro level), Brazilians are not equally treated compared to the Irish (in-group). One example mentioned several times was the inequality when it comes to driving in Ireland for non-Europeans. Because Brazilians are non-Europeans they have to take driving lessons again, even if they already had a driving licence back in Brazil. Ana and Antonio both felt that this treatment was unfair. Due to this unequal treatment, some Brazilians try to work around the system and obtain a driving licence in Portugal. In Portugal, Brazilians can easily redeem their licence into a European driving licence.^v Another option is to undermine the system by just using GoCar, which is a car sharing company. For these cars, drivers do not need a European driving licence and are therefore frequently used by Brazilians.

The issue of the driving licence is just one example of how Brazilians are treated as out-group members in the Dublin area. Another issue included the migration system that Brazilians have to go through. Initially, it is very easy for Brazilians to come to Ireland because of the visa regulations. However, afterwards, to be able to stay in Ireland, open a bank account and get a PPS card (Personal Public Service card), are things Brazilians struggle with. For some, this is a real disappointment. Especially since Dublin is the heart of IT but there are still no well-functioning online tools available for the registration of migrants:

“At the time [I arrived] this does not happen anymore luckily, but at the time it was the GNIB¹¹ working [with no booking system]. So I [had] to get there at 3.30 in the morning. They open the line so you just come with your like your duvet or whatever, you are seated there in the middle throughout the night. [...] That was just to get a little stamp to say you can stay here. How can you ever feel welcome?” (Paulo, 25-02-2022)

Even though the system to renew legal documents changed, the process to be able to reside in Ireland is still seen as very stressful and not convenient at all.

Another issue that Brazilians face is that because they are non-Europeans, they pay different fees than Irish or other European migrants in Ireland. Brenda explained that the extremely high fees that are in place for Brazilians are a way of the Irish government to differentiate. Because the Irish government does not want people to come over to Ireland who do not have money or who cannot contribute to the Irish economic market.^{vi} For Lara, this was also a big frustration when it comes to the treatment of Brazilians in Ireland. The Irish system does not differentiate migrants coming from different backgrounds. She was frustrated about the fact that the Irish government assumes that when you move to Ireland as a non-European student you probably have a lot of money behind you, which is not the case for everyone. Ana summed it up well:

“There is a distinguished difference in how you treat someone that is from your country and someone who is not. So I think that it should change. The world is more and more globalised. [...] As much as you love travelling around the world, people are wanting to come here too and maybe establish a nice life and they should be fully able to feel included and feel at least good to be here.” (29-01-2022)

This illustrates that Irish society is still unprepared to include diverse individuals and social groups. In this understanding, the intergroup comparisons reflect upon a general understanding that the Brazilian

¹¹ Garda National Immigration Bureau which is now run by the Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (INIS). (Garda.ie, n.d.).

social identity is seen as a threat to the Irish in-group members (Turner & Pratkanis, 1998; Ellemers, 2012).

5.2 Social issues of discrimination and racism and safety

Discrimination endangers the ability of equal treatment and adversely affects equality in general. It is manifested on an individual level and consequently also in societies in which people live. Discrimination on a societal level decreases trust in institutions, creates a division in society, and a decline of social cohesion (De Vroome et al., 2014, as cited in McGinnity et al., 2017, p. 44). The topic of discrimination and racism was something that was frequently mentioned by the respondents: *“Part of it thinks that we are trying to steal their jobs. We are the reason that the rents are crazy, that there are no houses to buy or to rent and that we are taking their places of sight. Especially when you are not European. They can be as bad as let's say in America in terms of discrimination.”* (Juliana, 18-02-2022) As argued by Michael (2019), in general there is an increasingly normalised range of racist discourses presented within Ireland today.

Previously stereotypes were discussed as a function of social identity. Stereotyping is also an outcome of discrimination and racism against out-groups. In the eyes of Michael (2021), the Irish state has failed to address discrimination effectively and therefore limits the opportunities for out-group members (Soysal, 1994; Bauböck, 2006). A negative stereotypical imagination almost automatically results in seeing out-group members as ‘others’ (Elfversson & Nilsson, 2022): *“They think I am exotic because I have very black eyes and very dark hair. [...] So if they do not know me, they go straight, she is not Irish-.”* (Fernanda, 22-02-2022) And Ana said: *“I guess the word that I most heard throughout this two years was exotic. They literally describe that in my face [...] It is very bad, it is bad.”* (29-01-2022) This stereotype impacts the social understanding of individuals, but also of Brazilians as a social group living in the Dublin area (Owens et al., 2010).

For Lucas it was a completely new experience that he was judged by his origin:

“It was funny to hear here in Ireland was the first time I think I suffered prejudice against me. [...] I never experienced it in Brazil because I am white. Brazil is a racist country even though half of the population is black. [...] Two old Irish people, they just screamed at me and said send me back to my country. I just laughed because it was funny to me and I never experienced that before. It was so weird.” (10-03-2022)

Carlos had a similar experience to Lucas and also felt discriminated against for the first time in Ireland. He mentioned that especially people treat him in such a way because of his origin: *“[They say] I love [Carlos] he is from this third world country and blah, blah, blah.”* (24-02-2022) By the way of contrast, Paulo and Leandro noticed that the comments of some Irish were not always as nice when it comes to the understanding of Brazilians in Ireland, but both never experienced real issues with the Irish. They never had the feeling that the Irish people were coming from a bad place but that it was more out of clumsiness or curiosity that they asked questions.

From the examples given, there are some clear issues when it comes to discrimination and racism towards the Brazilian community. Attempts have been made by some NGOs and public authorities to improve the situation. However, this has not provided any solutions yet (Fanning & Michael, 2018; McGinnity et al., 2017). Studying discrimination as a function of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, we can acknowledge some fundamental negative stereotypes that affect the experiences of Brazilians. In addition, discrimination and racism do not only have a social notion but also a more spatial understanding that is further discussed in Chapter 6.

5.3 Getting opportunities versus not being considered

Besides just social outcomes of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion Brazilian migrants are also confronted with more economic outcomes that reflect upon inclusion/exclusion. A frequently mentioned topic was the labour market. Studying the labour market, Brazilians are often seen as a workforce and simultaneously as a threat to the labour market. This comprehends the experience of Juliana: *“On the one hand, they do not want us here but they need us here.”* (18-02-2022)

Especially in the labour market, we can find power structures that reduce opportunities for Brazilians (Weber, 1978). The majority of the respondents pointed out that they experienced a gap between the Irish and them: *“It is not exactly the same opportunity, but we have opportunit[ies] anyway. Of course, the best opportunities go to Irish but [...] I would be a few centimetres behind them, but I am not forgotten. [...] That is why I am still here and we have many people from everywhere here.”* (Nelson, 01-02-2022)

To begin with, the limited working hours for Brazilian students in English make it harder to become included in the Dublin area. Brazilians who study English are allowed to work 20 hours besides their studies. The ability to work as a student is seen as a very positive aspect of moving to the Dublin area. However, Ireland is one of the most expensive countries in Europe (Murray, 2022) and the living expenses cannot be covered with just 20 hours of work: *“Hypocrites should think that some people are living under 20 hours-.”* (Igor, 23-02-2022). Concerning this Lara said: *“You are a student and you can technically just work for 20 hours, you will get paid like 800 euros per month. That is nothing.”* (02-03-2022) She said that the payment for immigrants is definitely less than for an Irish person. She encountered the fact that the minimum salary is one of the highest in Europe, however, it is still very little for the lifestyle and the costs in the Dublin area. In other words, it means that Brazilians who study English are often forced to work illegally besides their legal 20 hours.

Gabriela, who is still a student in English, was able to bypass this system because she has an Italian passport and was able to start her own cleaning company in Dublin:

“[...] I started my [own] business. [...] I do not waste [their] place and apply for [their] jobs or something like that. [...] But I think [there are these] differences. One day [I saw on] the internet the minimum salary for everybody is ten half per hour and for Irish, it is 12 half. I said oh, it is different. For me, it is okay. I do not mind.” (16-02-2022)

In contrast, many interviewees were a bit frustrated about the career options they get:

“I feel that I am really welcome in places that I go to. But it is just weird that it does not apply for professional experience. [...] It is just frustrating, because [they are] people that work really hard. They are usually working in weird jobs because they are not able to do what they can do and they studied for.” (Lara, 02-03-2022)

As illustrated in the quote above, one of the issues Lara experienced in the labour market was the ability to find a job in the sector she studied for. She has a bachelor’s degree in ecology and worked in environmental consultancy back in Brazil. However, she was never able to get a job in ecology in Ireland. All the time she got back that she did not have enough experience or proof of European documentation to work in ecology. She was very frustrated about the fact that every time she wanted to apply for a job her visa status got involved. Every time she applied for a job she was told:

“[...] I can see that all your documentation is from Brazil, but it says that you are an Italian citizen, [what] is your visa status? [...] I literally put [in] my first line of the CV that I am a European citizen, and even though I put that there [they ask what] is your visa status like? I am not recently graduated. I do have important jobs [on my CV] that I did in Brazil. How come it does not count?” (02-03-2022)

This also affects her experience regarding belonging: “[...] I do feel that I do not belong at all, talking about professional experience, because I have not worked with ecology once here.” At the moment Lara does a master’s degree in GIS and she hopes it changes her opportunities in the labour market. Lara’s experience also reflects upon the situation of the majority of my respondents. They are highly educated and have a bachelor’s or master’s degree from a university in Brazil. Nevertheless, their degree is often not accepted in Ireland, which creates a distance to the labour market: “I think there is a lot of people that come over, like me, they are graduated, they have some degree like some important degrees in Brazil and they do not have the chance to work here. [...] If you are not European they do not consider [you] that much as other countries.”^{vii} (Juliana, 18-02-2022)

Consequently, Brazilians often end up in the hospitality branch or in other branches where they do not need a degree. Lucas described the situation in the following manner: “[...] I would say that most of us, at least I can speak for myself and my closest friends, we never did this kind of work in Brazil, cleaning stuff for cafes or hotels. We always had office jobs in Brazil. But once you are here and you receive your payment, you see you can go to France or Italy or travel and pay [your] rent it is good (10-03-2022). Lucas was quite happy with his current job even though it was not a job he aimed for. He also described Dublin as a: ‘very multicultural city with a lot of opportunities.’ He has the feeling that he gets opportunities on a social level as well as job opportunities.

In addition, the importance of Brazilians in the labour market, particularly in the hospitality sector, became clear during the COVID-19 pandemic. Igor recognised an enormous staff crisis in hospitality services. This was one of the reasons why the Irish government opened up the Regularisation of Long-Term Undocumented Migrants Scheme in 2022. This scheme allowed people without immigration status in Ireland to apply for legal residence (Citizens Information, 2022c). This shows that the Irish government as a macro actor is a powerful institute that hinders or allows inclusion and exclusion of individuals and groups.

Furthermore, the visa status of some of the respondents limits their opportunities in the labour market. Igor addressed that the visa status separates him from others in the Dublin area. He explained that you need a sponsorship from a company to be able to legally reside in the Dublin area and as long as you have the right stamp you can get opportunities in the labour market unless you are a student. For students, the opportunities in the labour market are hardly there. Paulo acknowledged the fact that recruiters do not consider Brazilians because there is always the hassle of work permits, which makes finding a job more difficult for Brazilians. Also, Elena experienced a lot of difficulties and a distance to the labour market, even now she is married to an Irish citizen and has an Irish passport:

“Right now I am a childminder. Unfortunately, still there. It was very hard now that I am an Irish citizen, I am trying to do a bit more about my profession, I am an occupational therapist, but [I] could not work as an occupational therapist before because [I was] just a student and as a student, you cannot be a professional.” (25-02-2022)

In contrast, Antonio had no issues at all entering the labour market because he was recruited by an Irish company. He is seen as a highly skilled migrant. Highly skilled migrants often receive residence or citizenship rights in return for a specific investment in the country. However, we have to keep in mind that these privileged migrants still experience difficulties while they migrate (Gilmartin, 2015).

Once in the labour market, the interviewees struggled with some unjust treatment. Carlos encountered that for him, it feels like he has to work twice as hard to be half valued. Brenda also experiences a lot of issues in the labour market:

[...] “Maybe we do not speak proper English. [...] [Which results in the fact that] certain people think that they can trick us, that we are idiots, maybe stupid. I remember even in my first job in Ireland I was told that I did not have the right to get holidays. [...] Only after a certain while I learned that actually I [may have] holidays [...] based on the amount of hours that I work [...]. Your life is in your own hands in terms of rights and all that.” (08-02-2022)

The same applies to Elena, when she arrived in Dublin her professional experience was quite bad. She worked as an au pair at an Irish family: “*I was mistreated a lot, especially in work as well. I was treated like a slave. They treat me really badly. [...] Like you do your job, [but] it is never good enough.*” (25-02-2022) In line with Gilmartin (2015), Elena’s experience shows that migrants who work in low-paid and precarious jobs and sectors are more likely to encounter exploitation. As the account shows, on an economic level she is treated as an out-group member. It complements the power structures that are hard to overcome for individuals (Abrams et al., 2015).

As described above one of the issues is the unjust treatment of Brazilians in the labour market. A reason that was given for this situation was that immigrants do not hold high positions in organisations. Antonio, who works for Microsoft, recognised that looking at organograms of different companies in Ireland, you do not see any migrants in the top positions: “[...] *I mean, not saying that I have all the competencies to be there. But I am pretty sure that other people have the same competencies and they are not there.*” (11-03-2022) Antonio was not the only respondent who experienced a different treatment. Luana who works for LinkedIn but worked at a different organisation before acknowledged that her capabilities were valued in a different way:

“ [...] I knew I was really good at what I was doing. But it was always like, she is a foreigner. [...] [There was a] difference in celebrating achievements. It was not like ‘you are amazing’ it was more like you are cute. Could be because I am a woman, could be because I am younger than people, could be because I am Brazilian, could be this everything together.”^{viii} (08-03-2022)

On the other hand, Luana also had some good experiences in the labour market. Especially, at her first job where she only had Irish colleagues, they treated her nicely and helped her to improve her English.

Altogether, Brazilians are not valued in the same way as the Irish when it comes to the labour market. They often end up in particular sectors because these sectors are easier to access without a European degree. In advance, even European citizenship does not automatically guarantee recognition of a bachelor’s or master’s degree. Brazilians struggle to find their position in the labour market. Leandro even saw that some of his friends had to move back to Brazil because they were not able to find a job. This shows that the ability to get a job has a major impact on socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Subsequently, the opportunities they get in the labour market affect where people can reside, how they are valued in the Dublin area, and the ability to become part of the in-group. This is further discussed in Chapter 6.

5.4 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has mainly focused on the dimensions of social identity, social networks, and discrimination and racism. Emigrating from Brazil to the Dublin area contributes to the fact that the respondents more actively thought about their social identity. In their identification process, the country of origin plays an important role. Identifying as Brazilian gives a feeling of familiarity and support. For the respondents who could apply for a dual passport, this did not change anything about their social identity. However, because of the social and spatial consequences, the respondents sometimes presented themselves as Europeans in the Dublin area, not as Irish but rather as Italian or European. They used their dual citizenship to get more chances in the Dublin area, even if they do not socially identify with

this status. In addition, studying social identity showed that this dimension is highly connected to their sense of belonging in Irish society.

Once settled in the Dublin area, my respondents were negatively surprised by how they are treated as 'others' by some. From their perspective, this creates certain barriers to even getting to know the in-group members (people with an Irish social identity in this study). Consequently, it is hard to create a strong social network that goes beyond their Brazilian social identity. Social network practices are complex due to some social and cultural thresholds that create limitations. In Irish society, Brazilians are quite vulnerable because they have to deal with discrimination and racism in their daily lives, which also has an impact on their social network. Social networks are a form of inclusion, but as shown social networks challenge who is included and who is not. Social networks help to belong in society. On the other hand, social networks have a very exclusionist character and in this, a form of hierarchy can be found. The creation of social networks depends on the effort of two or more actors. If there is no mutual interest it becomes hard to become an in-group member. The respondents tried to interact with others in Irish society, but their experiences show that their willingness and effort do not always turn out in increased social contact. It displays that people, even if they are willing to participate, are hindered to engage within Irish society. In addition, active contribution to society is motivated by the Irish government, however in practice due to the rules that are in place active contribution is limited. Brazilians are obliged to deal with the regulations that are in place. Moreover, the current rules that are in place neglect the diversity within the group of Brazilians that arrive in the Dublin area. Mainly, the opportunities that students in English get are fewer compared to others. A main issue in this is that students in English often have fewer financial resources, which results in other issues, such as paying bills and other living costs.

In the labour market, Brazilians are tolerated to a certain extent. As acknowledged, the Irish government has a strong preference for highly skilled labour migrants. However, this is contradicting the fact that the (high) degrees of Brazilians are often not recognised. Consequently, Brazilians frequently end up in jobs 'others' do not want to do, which makes them more vulnerable to exploitation. The respondents had certain strategies to improve their position in the labour market. Brazilian inclusion becomes narrowly tied to the labour market because it has such an impact on other outcomes. The construction of the labour market undermines in a variety of ways the equal treatment of Brazilians. The situation in the labour market constructs exclusion and a sense of non-belonging. Additionally, this sense of non-belonging is also due to the lack of recognition of Brazilians and other migrants in senior positions in the work field. This situation underlies an exclusionary practice in which the labour market does not fully include migrants.

Chapter 6 | Am I part of your social space? – Brazilian experiences in the neighbourhood

This last empirical chapter deals with more spatial outcomes and gives an overview of the importance of the neighbourhood when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, but also the dimensions of citizenship, social identity, social networks and discrimination and racism, are taken into consideration to show how these dimensions intersect in daily practices.

The first question I asked in every interview was to describe Dublin in a sentence. This question gave me some very interesting insights into how Dublin is experienced by the Brazilian respondents. It often turned out that they described Dublin in a contradictory way, as the title of this research; ‘cold’ as something negative, which might reflect upon space, but can also be related to the attitude of people. The understanding of Dublin being ‘lively’ has a more positive notion and also reflects upon social and spatial perspectives. Since the concepts of the social and the spatial are interconnected both are analysed in this chapter. To give a clear overview, I start with a spatial analysis in paragraph 6.1 by studying the housing situation in the Dublin area. Afterwards, in paragraph 6.2, I discuss how the social and the spatial aspects intersect in the residential area and in paragraph 6.3 I analyse the social composition on a neighbourhood level. In paragraph 6.4 some concluding thoughts are provided.

6.1 Our house in the middle of our street¹²

14-03-2022 O’Connellstreet, Dublin – I met a Brazilian Deliveroo driver at one of the Deliveroo hotspots in the city. He said: “The housing situation is just not good here. Who can afford to live here? The city centre became too expensive and the government they do not care about us. They do not care about the homeless and the addicted. The city centre became unsafe. I have been robbed so many times.”

The Brazilian Deliveroo driver had a clear opinion about the housing situation in Dublin. His understanding of the housing situation in Dublin is very common. The housing crisis is frequently discussed in Irish society and not in a positive way. Especially when it comes to finding an affordable place to live. Dublin is the sixth most expensive capital in the world for renters. In practice, this means that a one-bed unit has an average cost of €1,643 a month in the centre of Dublin city (Burke-Kennedy, 2021). Moreover, the situation in the Dublin area has dramatically changed over time. Juliana arrived in Dublin city nine years ago. She explained that she saw how the housing market changed: “*When I first arrived [...] you would find an apartment in a day. Well you could not get a job. Like totally the opposite.*” (18-02-2022).

Overall, migrants in Ireland are over-represented within the private rental sector and under-represented in the owner-occupied- and social housing sector (Grotti et al., 2018). As argued by McGinnitty et al., (2020), there are several reasons why migrants often end up in the private rental sector. For example, it might be more difficult to get a mortgage because of their ‘lack’ of credit and employment history in Ireland. Other issues that may arise include the temporary nature of migrants in Ireland, the ability to obtain a residence permit, and affordability. Additionally, non-European nationals do not easily qualify for social housing. The requirements for non-European citizens are often based on condition and residency rules that include at least five years of residence in the country to apply for social housing (Murray, 2012). In this, we can recognise power structures on a macro level and the Irish state provides very limited support to immigrants when it comes to affordable and secure housing. Moreover, it is not even mentioned in the Irish government’s integration strategy (Gilmartin & Dapp, 2021). The difficulty

¹² Madness – Our House (1983)

of getting into social housing for non-EU citizens is also faced by my respondents. None of them is living in social housing.

As illustrated, the current housing regulation limits access to housing. Therefore the next paragraph highlights the struggles the current housing market brings as a function of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion.

6.1.1 Competition and struggles at the housing market

Regarding the Irish housing situation, there are a lot of issues faced within the Brazilian community looking at secure and affordable housing and their reliance on the private rental sector. Therewith, private rentals have a large effect on the diversity of a neighbourhood and immigrant-Irish segregation (Vang, 2010). Because non-Irish nationals rely on the private sector, this results in difficulties, such as the lack of long-term leases and the power of the landlord to increase the rent at any time. This may even be problematic in terms of socio-spatial inclusion, due to the high competition between tenants and a lack of housing. Moreover, some landlords discriminate against minorities (Grotti et al, 2018; Rich, 2014; McGinnitty et al., 2017). Although discrimination based on someone's social identity is outlawed in Ireland (Equal Status Acts 2000-2015), discrimination still takes place within the housing market (Fahey et al., 2019). Paulo's experiences with housing have left him very disappointed. Because of a lacking housing market, it is hard to become included:

“[...] Because [when you arrive in] a windowless room with four other people in Mountjoy Square and then mould is [on] the ceiling. You cannot ever feel welcome here. It is a very harsh place. [And] welcome by Irish people no, like people might be nice to you. But at the end of the day, you still have the harsh reality-.” (25-02-2022)

Mountjoy is a very common area for Brazilians to move to because it is known for 'cheaper' flat shares and it is located quite close to the city centre of Dublin. Living in these flat shares in Mountjoy is a commonly noted stereotype about Brazilians in the Dublin area. I encountered this myself talking to some citizens in the Dublin area and also some interviewees mentioned that other citizens assume that they live in Mountjoy. One of the stereotypes that was addressed was that Brazilians tend to live together because of cultural preferences. However, people often end up in Mountjoy because it is one of the cheaper renting options they have in the city. Secondly, because of tenant discrimination that takes place in the housing market, it is easier to move to Mountjoy. In Mountjoy they face less tenure discrimination when it comes to getting a place. Thirdly, there is already a large population of Brazilians living in Mountjoy. For some, this creates a sense of community and support. In other words, the assumption is that it is just a cultural thing to live together with people from the same national background. However, this process is not so straightforward. The clustering in Mountjoy is mainly an outcome of other principles, such as extremely high rents in other parts of the city and tenant discrimination.

People are nearly always forced into flat shares because of the high rents (Residential Tenancies Board, 2018). Lara described the place where she lived in Mountjoy as horrendous. She had to share her bedroom with two other girls and they paid €410 each. In her opinion, the place was so incredibly expensive and the conditions were really bad.^{ix} Brenda had a similar experience, she lived in one of those flat shares in the Dublin area before with 23 people. She had to share her bedroom with four other girls and there were just two toilets for the whole house. This experience resulted in the fact that Brenda did not feel that she was included in the Dublin area. In addition, Carlos mentioned that for him these extremely flat shares was one of the main issues in the Dublin area: “[...] *When did house sharing become a rule and not yet an option? Everyone has to share a house [even] people [who are] making thirty grand or thirty-two grand have to share.*” (24-02-2022)

This inhuman situation was also something that Carlos and I extensively discussed after the interview. Carlos was super frustrated about the housing situation: “*When I moved to Dublin I talked to a guy who*

said, sharing one bedroom is normal here and I was shocked. Because it is not normal to do this. Also, Irish people do not do this. It is just the Brazilian.” (NCP Office- Dublin 1, 24-02-2022) Carlos mentioned that he only sees Brazilians who live in these extreme house shares. Paulo confirmed his understanding. He felt that Brazilians are more likely to get discriminated against when it comes to finding an affordable place to live:

“If you are new here you are not going to live with an Irish person or an English-speaking person. [...] At best, you are going to meet another Latin American in your school and then you might live with them. But the reality is 99% of the time you are just going to live with Brazilians [...] and you are probably [going to] pay more than you would pay if you were able to live with an Irish person. Because obviously there is a whole industry around that.”^x (25-02-2022)

The same applies to Lara and Fernanda, who discussed their experiences of finding accommodation in Dublin:

“It is super hard. [...] Every time that I was sending a message to a place I tend to talk to people that I am a European citizen first, then Brazilian, to try to avoid some sort of questions. Because once you say you are Brazilian the visa status just becomes [integrated]. [...] Sometimes they just do not accept your documents. So I tend to hide this when I was looking for places and I asked my boyfriend [who] is Irish to send the message as well because I was always afraid of doing something wrong. [...] Landlords should care more about your income than your nationality.” (Lara, 02-02-2022)

This means that being Italian ‘on paper’ sometimes helps to constitute a sufficient condition to escape discrimination in the housing market (Della Puppa & Scredanovic, 2016). This is also reflected in the statement of Fernanda. She argued that she was only able to get the apartment where she is currently living because of her ex-boyfriend who is Irish. In addition, Fernanda lives in Drumcondra, which in general is seen as a safe area. She often gets questions about her living conditions because people assume that she lives in a house with ten other people in the city centre and that her English is not good at all.^{xi} In this sense, exclusionist reactions are seen in the housing market and Fernanda's experience indicates that stereotypical thinking arises from this. Discrimination is clearly found in the housing market and causes disadvantages for Brazilians when it comes to affordable accommodation (Owens et al., 2010; Fuijta & Maloutas, 2012). This stereotypical imagination almost automatically results in ‘othering’ and decreases socio-spatial inclusion outcomes (Elfversson & Nilsson, 2022). These negative stereotypes create a negative understanding of individuals or social groups in a neighbourhood. Therefore, stereotypes limit the ability to stay in a neighbourhood (Fossett, 2006).

Seeing these experiences house sharing is the norm in the Dublin area. Luana was one of the few respondents who was able to move in with someone she knew when she arrived in Dublin. Her situation is quite unique if we compare it with the experiences of the other respondents. People often have to share a house with someone because of the enormous demand for housing. This results in a lot of competition in the housing market. Especially, when it comes to the private rental market. Juliana addressed her concerns about the high rents: “*The city is so expensive and has such little to offer. [...] I think in a close future, Ireland is either going to crash and everybody is going to leave or is going to like be very busy but only rich people will come to Ireland.*” (18-02-2022) It is the question whether the housing situation in the near future will ensure a situation in which only specific (wealthy) groups are able to reside in the Dublin area.

Seeing the current situation, according to Lucas, the bad living conditions are more generally accepted by Brazilians because finding affordable accommodation is one of the main problems for newcomers. They pay top prices for bad conditions because there is nothing else. In other words, the competition in the housing markets reduces individual outcomes when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion (Fossett,

2006). In addition, Lucas mentioned that the situation is even worse for students. Brazilians who study English have a limit of 20 working hours per week besides their studies. People are not able to make enough money to afford a single room for themselves. This is in contrast with the idea that people tend to settle in areas just regarding social preferences. This is a crucial finding since it shows that exclusion takes place on an individual level and limits the rights and access to space (Rea et al., 2019). This issue of spatial competition even goes beyond the neighbourhood level. The housing crisis in the Dublin area causes so many issues that it makes the situation even more complex. In the Dublin area, we cannot just speak of segregation through social clustering and cultural preferences, but in this case, segregation occurs because of housing injustice (Slater, 2020).

As a result of the current housing crisis, the ability to buy a house is quite low for migrants and decreases the potential for diversity in a residential area (Vang, 2010). In addition, in the Dublin area, we can speak of an unregulated housing market, which causes a lot of mutual competition between groups with different backgrounds (Fossett, 2006; Grotti et al., 2018). This is also seen in the housing stock market, people are excluded on an individual level because they are not able to buy their own property (Parkin, 1979; Collins, 1979; Murphy, 1988 as cited in Weeden 2002, p. 58). This also reflects the situation of the respondents. Just one of the respondents had bought an apartment. Luana, Brenda and Fernanda all wanted to stay in the neighbourhood they were currently living in, and move from a rental apartment to an owner-occupied house. However, they faced issues with getting a mortgage. In Luana's words, she was stuck in this middle-class trap, which meant she cannot get secure housing. She even said: *"Just give me a shed I am okay with it."* (08-03-2022) Brenda and Fernanda have some similar thoughts. Brenda addressed that she is not able to afford a house because of the high costs and the same applies to Fernanda. The cost of buying a house is something she could not live up to, even though she works as an academic at Dublin City University. The question is if the situation is going to change for the Brazilian community and if they will be able in the future to become included in the housing stock market.

Addressing current housing market competition and a lack of available social housing for Brazilian immigrants in the Dublin area forces them to rent privately (Byrne & McArdle, 2020). Therefore, we can argue that the housing market in the Dublin area creates an unjust situation for Brazilians (Slater, 2020).

6.1.2 Lack of tenant protection

Another issue related to the housing market is tenant protection. In the eyes of Igor, the housing situation is very bad for students in general so not just for Brazilian students. This is also due to the treatment of tenants by landlords. Landlords just ask you to leave the house out of the blue, which in practice means that they have to move a lot. Carlos had the same experience as Igor:

"It is shocking. And the support and how abusive landlords are is an understatement. It is a whole other level of absurdity in Ireland. [...] I know a Brazilian girl that works in [a rental] agency and their speciality is taken advantage of Brazilians." (24-02-2022)

Newcomers and also other people in Dublin are obliged to deal with housing injustice. Due to the contemporary struggles to find a home, increasing rents, dispossession, insecurity of tenure lack and lack of affordable housing have become a battleground (Lima, 2021, p. 3). Moreover, tenants in Ireland have considerably less protection in the housing market than in many other European countries (Gilmartin & Dapp, 2021). The housing market in Ireland is even described as 'dysfunctional'. This dysfunctionality of the housing market means that migrants face issues with affordability, tenure security and discrimination (Fahey et al., 2019). The lack of tenant protection is something that Brenda and Elena

both experienced, which turned out in the fact that both of them were homeless at some point: *“I also had a period that I lived in a theatre here for a month. Like I could not find a house, [...] I worked as a cleaner in this theatre during the night. I did not make a decision, it was just something that happened.”* (Brenda, 08-02-2022). Elena became homeless because the family she was working for as a childminder just gave up her room one day: *“[...] I was homeless and jobless. It was incredible, that was my first experience in Dublin.”* (25-02-2022)

These experiences show that since housing became a commodity over time, landlords have a lot of power in the housing market today (Fields & Uffer, 2016). Mainly because realtors, estate agents, financial institutions, and private landlords provide access to tenants in the private sector, tenants depended on these actors. Furthermore, previous research has shown that non-natives face more restrictions in accessing the housing market than the native majority. Seeing this situation institutional racism and segregation on a social identity level can be recognised (Phillips, 2007). Lucas was not satisfied with the current construction of the housing market. As a positive aspect, Lucas mentioned an organisation that helps tenants to fight against irregular rents. Because it is hard to find support at a governmental level, this organisation is a good alternative to be heard in society. Hence, in the current situation, there is a need for regulation and monitoring in the private rental sector to tackle the issues that exist (Grotti et al., 2018).

The experiences of Brazilians regarding the competition in the labour market and the lack of protection are mainly expressed through the out-group formulation of Brazilians. Consequently, stereotypical and discriminative behaviour towards Brazilians can be found. In this all, we recognise a strong correlation between spatial and social outcomes. The housing situation is one of the outcomes of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. The next subchapter covers a study of the intersecting social and spatial concepts and elaborates on how the concepts of citizenship, social identity, social networks, and discrimination and racism are linked to space and in particular, are embedded in the neighbourhood.

6.2 Navigating through the residential area

“Dublin is small but [a] nice city to live. [...] It has problems but it is quite fun to live here.” (02-02-2022)

Leandro, who was generally speaking very positively about living in the Dublin area, acknowledged there are some issues when it comes to living in the Dublin area. Therefore, in this subchapter, I explore the experiences of the respondents residing in the Dublin area. From an exclusionary spatial perspective, the participants in this study mainly live in the city centre of the Dublin area but are equally distributed. As the map (Figure 4, p. 21) showed, we can conclude that no evidence is found for the clustering of Brazilians in a specific neighbourhood. However, the outcome does not automatically mean that Brazilians do not experience spatial exclusion in the Dublin area in the residential area. As a matter of fact, the housing conditions were not experienced as favourable by the respondents, which affects their understanding of the neighbourhood.

In this subchapter I explain the role of the location of the neighbourhood. Moreover, studying spatial outcomes automatically reflects upon social outcomes as well. In this study, spatial exclusion does not only enhance clustering, it also encounters the potential for interaction, the distribution of individuals, and to what extent we can recognise an inner city focus (Massey & Denton, 1988). In addition, I explore the impact of communities and social networks predominately on a neighbourhood level. The social outcomes of the community in space are also used while studying community thinking from a neighbourhood perspective (Clark, 2009). Therefore, this paragraph touches upon social and spatial outcomes.

6.2.1 Facilities

The ability to use facilities in your residential area contributes to socio-spatial inclusion (Massey & Denton, 1988). Overall, the respondents were quite satisfied with the facilities in their neighbourhood, looking at shops, pubs, restaurants, parks, and pharmacies. As discussed in paragraph 4.1.1, for some of the respondents the appearance of Brazilian shops, bars, and restaurants gave them the feeling of being at home. In contrast, Ana who lives in Bray and Carlos who lived in Howth before, both experienced a lack of facilities in these remote places. In other words, to some extent there is an inner-city focus looking at Howth and Bray, but in all the other areas there are enough facilities around.

Public transport was a facility with which respondents were less satisfied. This issue even goes beyond their residential area. Some of them already adapted to the situation and bought a bike or an electric scooter to avoid the issues they had before with public transport. Ana (29-01-2022) described the public transport system in Ireland as ‘miserable’. Because of the lack of public transportation, it is harder to move further outside of the city and commute to the city every day, which can be seen as an outcome of segregation (Bolt et al., 2010b). As a result, people are almost forced to live close to the city centre and pay more rent. Considering this issue some of the respondents addressed that this is a society-wide problem and something that cannot easily be changed by the Brazilian community: “[...] *When it [comes] to decisions [about] public transport or health care, [yes] it is lacking, but there is not much more, [this] is not something that I can control especially because I cannot vote here.*” (Leandro, 02-02-2022) For some, the facility issues are even a reason to leave Ireland in the future.

6.2.2 Challenges of spatial safety issues

To begin with, safety issues are quite normalised and seen as part of living in Dublin by the Brazilian community: *“I do not feel safe there, but I am also kind of used to it, I suppose in a sense.”* (Ana, 29-01-2022) Also, Paulo pointed out some issues he had regarding safety. He described it in a way as if it was such a normal thing that he got robbed: *“[...] I have not experienced any issues like well, you have stuff robbed every now and then. I had my bicycle robbed. I have had my bicycle vandalised a number of times. No, other than that, I never had any problem.”* (25-02-2022)

Safety is a recurring topic for the Brazilian community and was even given as a reason why they left Brazil. Returning to the case of the Brazilian community in the Dublin area, we can argue that the Brazilian community faces a lot of prejudice against them. The safety issues that are experienced are on a neighbourhood level and even beyond the neighbourhood. This affects their safety in the Dublin area in general and even makes them feel unsafe. Although, some of them pointed out that they are coming from a very unsafe background in Brazil, which makes it hard to say that Dublin is an unsafe place: *“Well, I am from Rio. Come on. [But] it is a bit dangerous here. But like if a person tried to rob me, I am probably going to punch them in the face.”* (Ana, 29-01-2022) In addition, Igor said: *“Overall within the four years that I have been living here coming from Brazil that it is already dangerous. It is not easy to say that [it] is dangerous [here]. Because I do not feel that I am in danger at all. [...] I consider Ireland generally safe.”* (22-02-2022)

Because many of them compared the situation in Dublin back to how it was in Brazil, it was clear that the situation in Dublin was not as bad as in Brazil. Still, being unsafe is an issue for Brazilians, which has a major impact on being socio-spatial included in the Dublin area. When I asked Elena to describe Dublin in one sentence, she told me: *“Dublin is a nice city. That has become a bit dangerous now, [but] it is a nice place.”* (25-02-2022)

Just like Elena, Lucas does not always feel safe in the Dublin area. However, for Lucas, it depends on the area if he feels safe. This relates to the intergroup comparisons that are made. Out-group members are not welcomed in a particular area, which for instance, results in discrimination and violence against a group (Johnston et al., 2007). Currently, Lucas lives in Stoneybatter. Stoneybatter (Dublin 7) is located in the northside of Dublin quite close to the city centre and has a good reputation: [...] *“I feel safer in*

comparison to other neighbourhoods close[r] to the city centre which can be very unsafe like especially during the night you know, and especially if they see you if you are not Irish for some reason.” In addition, he said: *“I have seen like loads beating up. Never happened to me for some reason, maybe I am just lucky. Of course, they mess with you and they tried to take your bike, but I think that is it.”* (10-03-2022)

Seeing the situation of Lucas, discrimination as a function of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion reflects upon the concept of place-defending. Physical and emotional violence against out-groups is part of place-defending. Out-groups can be seen as a threat who want to ‘invade’ space (e.g. Nelson, 2013; Rogers et al., 2015). Looking at the experiences of the Brazilians in the Dublin area, this results in a physical notion of place-defending, and it manifests in violent attacks: *“Like a few months ago, I was in town and there was this teenage girl she just came in, and she tried to punch me out of nowhere. I had never seen her before. She just tried to punch me. I was like, these are things that we would not happen like 10 years ago.”* (Elena, 25-02-2022) Furthermore, Elena encountered that people get attacked: [...] *“There were lots of people in the Brazilian community and the groups that every now and then they tell their story they [say], I [was] attacked, I got punched, somebody pulled my hair.”* (25-02-2022) Both stories of Lucas and Elena show that they experience issues in their community because of their social identity. It shows an extreme out-group treatment towards Brazilians. These physical attacks distinguish who belongs and who does not belong that can be found beyond a neighbourhood level (Yuval-Davis, 2006; Larsen et al., 2005; Sassen, 2000)

Hence, these safety issues determine a person’s well-being and contribute to the quality of life in a specific place and the feeling of safety in society (Ferretti et al., 2019). One other extreme example was of Antonio: *“I was in Talbot Street. I was leaving a [store], it was around 6 pm [...] Some kids had some bikes, and they threw an iron bar at me and some other people walking there. [...] And my wife [in] the beginning of the pandemic, she was already wearing a facemask. She was around Westmoreland, waiting for the bus and those kids they robbed her started pushing and coughing.”* (11-03-2022) Furthermore, he said: *“I know a lot of guys that received some eggs at their heads. [...] I would say I miss some safety. Literally like I think the Garda is not doing their job properly, using good words here.”* Antonio, addressed the difficulties he had with some Irish citizens and the lack of protection by the Garda (Police). This shows that he experiences a lack of trust between the Brazilian community and the Irish state. He encounters difficulties in being equally treated compared to others and notices that his Brazilian relatives are experiencing the same issues. This experience does reflect negatively on the concept of belonging. Lucas, Elena, and Antonio shared their concerns about the current situation and how this complicates willingness and the ability to create relationships with others on a meso and macro level (Mason et al., 2013; Maruthaveeran & Konijnendijk van den Bosch, 2014; Jayaweera & Choudhury, 2008)

Altogether, we can argue that Brazilians are struggling with safety issues. Literature has shown that people tend to downplay racism on an individual level but experience more discrimination, racism and violence against them as a group (Dunn & Nelson 2011; Ben, 2022). Within the Brazilian community there is this consensus that the situation is even worse for Deliveroo drivers. As discussed before, many Brazilians work as Deliveroo drivers. None of the respondents was working as a Deliveroo driver anymore but some of them worked as a driver in the past. Lucas, who was a Deliveroo driver before, described:

“[...] I would feel a bit scared or afraid of going to work because you never know. Especially [during] weekends. [...] I am very positive that all Deliveroo riders feel that way. [...] All the teenagers are very scary, [and you know] that they are not going to be punished. [...] I actually talked with other delivery riders, we are always very scared and which makes them very united. [...] You have group chats and everything to call everybody and so they will help you.”

Lucas' remark does not come out of nowhere. Especially during the COVID-19 pandemic, there was a lot of harassment against Deliveroo drivers. Violent attacks took place against Deliveroo drivers and some situations got out of control; Deliveroo drivers were killed and an Irish boy was killed by a Deliveroo driver who tried to defend himself. After this, the situation of Deliveroo drivers got more attention from the Irish- media and society. These accidents have had a huge impact on the community and show the vulnerability of Brazilians and even racism in some cases. Mr Bento, a Brazilian Deliveroo driver, who was accused of killing the Irish boy, was concerned that his ethnicity would even work against him during the trial process (Pollak, 2022; O'Riordan & Kavanagh, 2022). Using someone's ethnicity against someone in court is illegal, still, Brazilians have the feeling that it could happen. This shows no complete trust in (governmental) organisations because they are treated differently from Irish nationals. Also, Ana described that when they act out of self-defence they face a massive risk of being deported, which creates a very fragile situation for Brazilians if they want to defend themselves when they get attacked.

From a socio-spatial perspective, Brazilians struggle with safety. Discrimination and racism are not only verbally expressed, in some situations it resulted in physical violence attacks. Above all, some tend to downplay the situation because they are used to unsafe situations back in Brazil. The illustrations above showed that the safety issues are not just limited to a neighbourhood level, but even go beyond the neighbourhood on a more societal level. This in combination with the positive experiences regarding facilities shows that several elements denote the situation of Brazilians and their sense of belonging in society. Following their experiences, it clearly shows that the concepts of the social and the spatial are interconnected. This brings me to a more comprehensive analysis of the social composition and social networks that exist in the neighbourhood and beyond.

6.3 Social composition of the neighbourhood

As encountered by Massey & Denton (1988), to understand spatial exclusion, we should focus on 1) the distribution of individuals and 2) the potential for interaction.

Overall, the participants in this study argued that their residential area is quite mixed. Lucas is currently living in Stoneybatter but lived in the 'Brazilian quarter' Mountjoy before. He described Mountjoy as a very mixed neighbourhood. In Juliana's opinion, her neighbourhood is also quite mixed: *"I would not say it is a full Irish neighbourhood there [are] of course Irish households. [...] When I first arrived to work as an au pair I used to live in fully Irish neighbourhoods, and I was clearly the foreigner there. Here we do not have that, you can see [a] more frequency [of] Irish people and foreigners."* (18-02-2022) She lives in Portobello, a neighbourhood located in the southern part of the city, which is seen as an upcoming and gentrified area.

Additionally, Paulo who recently moved to Dundrum told me that he immediately noticed the differences between the neighbourhoods where he lived before and Dundrum. He explains: *"[...] Dundrum is like the whitest as white can be; there are only shades of white of Irish. I do not think there [are] even like European professionals here-."* (25-02-2022) Therefore, Paulo has the feeling that he cannot be himself in Dundrum: *"I stand out a lot. So I could not possibly feel part of it. It is not their fault again, it is just how those neighbourhoods are composed."* (25-02-2022) Previously, he lived in Crumlin and the Liberties. These neighbourhoods were quite gentrified in his opinion and much more diverse than Dundrum. In those mixed neighbourhoods, Paulo had a greater sense of belonging.

According to Fernanda's observations of the neighbourhood, the rental properties are mostly occupied by internationals, while the purchased houses are mostly occupied by Irish:

"[...] I have heard there are Indian people, Polish people, and there are so many Brazilians. So like in my building I know that it is very mixed. But in the houses when I walk around [in] the neighbourhood [in the houses] it is mostly Irish people. Which makes sense because if you are here for a few years, you are not going to buy a house

and so on. I do not think the houses around the neighbourhood are for rent, it is more people who bought it some time ago.” (22-02-2022)

The composition of the residential area can also be explained through the housing market (paragraph 6.1) (Grotti et al., 2018). In addition, the attractiveness of a place is not only ensured by the availability of houses, but also through the reputation of an area (Permentier et al., 2007). Antonio lives in Ranelagh, which is an area where a lot of expats are residing and it has a good reputation: “*The neighbourhood in general is a rich area. So I know that possibly their voting is quite different from mine. So that it is even a barrier to get to know them, to meet them [...] Just a lot of people that are [here] possibly [have the] same social status.*” In this sense, the reputation of Ranelagh attracts a certain type of people and living there comes with certain (cultural) values (Firey, 1945). Next to it, it refers more or less to the image the neighbourhood has among other city residents and to the position it has in the urban neighbourhood hierarchy (Permentier et al., 2007, p. 202). Whereas Ranelagh has a very good reputation, a neighbourhood, such as Cabra does not have a very good reputation in the eyes of the Irish because of for example safety issues. However, this does not mean everyone experiences the neighbourhood in the same way: “*[It is] very peaceful and full of kids and all of them are Irish. I am the only Brazilian person here and they are very good to me.*” (Nelson, 01-02-2022)

This finding shows that a more general negative reputation of the neighbourhood can create stronger relations between residents (Permentier et al., 2007). Nelson does not experience a form of exclusion because he lives in Cabra. He feels safe and welcomed in the area:

“[...] When I arrived from my work in the evening, [the kids] would come to me and ask how was my day and things like this. We became friends here [...] during the lockdown. For instance, we used to have beer on the street, at least they invite me. Sometimes there are parties here on the street and they always invite me as well. It is nice.” (01-02-2022)

For Nelson, the neighbourhood he resides contributes to his feeling of belonging in society. To explore the relationships that exist in the residential area a bit further, in the next paragraph the potential for interaction and the creation of social networks are analysed.

6.3.1 Potential for interaction and social capital

People can be socially excluded because a ‘distance’ has been created between groups. This makes it harder to interact with other groups. The term ‘distance’ does not only refer to the spatial distance that may exist but also a ‘distance’ that can occur because of the neighbourhood design and composition (Bolt et al., 2010b). Juliana, who lives in a Georgian building in Portobello, explains that because there are mainly apartments, you barely see each other, which makes it harder to interact. In contrast, she feels part of the neighbourhood because it is an area where you can be yourself: “*You are not on the spot all the time.*” In addition, Paulo said that because of the design of Dundrum, he cannot easily interact with others. There is a lot of distance between the houses and you can barely see your neighbours: “[...] *Here it looks like small islands.*” (25-02-2022)

Paulo’s experience illustrates that in Dundrum the potential for interaction is limited because of physical barriers (Flint, 2010). As a consequence, it limits strong attachments to the neighbourhood (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Therefore, a certain level of segregation occurs because the situation leads to a decreased level of strong cohesion in a geographical context (Rea et al., 2019). In a residential area, various activities take place that contribute to community thinking (e.g. going to the supermarket or taking out the garbage) (Hendriksen & Tjora, 2014). However, as in the case of Paulo due to the design of the neighbourhood, these informal meetings and greetings between neighbours are not happening. In this sense, the physical conditions of a neighbourhood are fundamental for interactions and it contributes to inclusion and exclusion daily (Herbert, 2008).

The networks that exist in the neighbourhood were seen as quite favourable by the majority of the interviewees. Lara and Luana both had a very good relationship with the neighbours. Luana indicated there was even a community feeling in her neighbourhood. In contrast, Elena was struggling a lot with the lack of interaction she has in her current neighbourhood:

“[...] I notice people but people do not notice me. They just walk by and they do their business and they carry on their lives. There is no integration. We do not mix up really [...] they just ignore you. [...] Sometimes they just say good morning, just to be polite and they hold the door, but not anything like it. You move in, you move out and nobody knows you could die and nobody would notice.” (25-02-2022)

Corresponding with Elena, Brenda who lives in the Liberties, has no idea who lives around here:

“[...] If I have to compare it to the neighbourhood I was brought up in Brazil, I knew everybody, like I know the neighbourhood. I know the guy in the bakery, I know the guy in the small shops around. Here: no.” (08-02-2022)

Both do not experience any socio-spatial inclusion in their neighbourhood mainly because there is a lack of a neighbourhood community. This finding shows there is no form of support or recognition in the neighbourhood (Phillips, 2007). Even though they both live in quite mixed neighbourhoods, community cohesion is not experienced and it does not have a positive impact on their social capital (Bolt et al., 2010b).

For Lara, the time of residence in an area makes it easier to create a network with the neighbours. As she said, living in Mountjoy made it very difficult to create strong ties because people were moving all the time. Fernanda who has lived in Drumcondra for nine years already mentioned that living in the same neighbourhood for a longer period makes it easier to create connections as a foreigner in a big city. This contradicts the idea that social networks are just based on people who have the same interest. Therefore, it is also about the potential for interaction (Fanning et al., 2010, Cass et al., 2003). Lucas had the same understanding: *“Because here you move a lot. [...] like I lived in four houses in four years, so you do not really settle. [...] Probably the neighbourhoods [where] Irish people live [for a] long time, maybe their whole life, they have this relationship [with each other].”* (10-03-2022) In their understanding, not everyone gets equal opportunities when it comes to creating social networks in the residential area.

Another issue that was mentioned when it comes to the interaction with people in the residential area is that Dublin is an urban area. Fernanda addresses that because the Dublin area is an urban space it is harder to interact and people tend to have less contact with their neighbours. In her eyes it is not an Irish thing that getting in contact with your neighbours is sometimes a bit difficult, but more a big city thing. Also, Ana acknowledged the difficulty of residing in the Dublin area. In her understanding, the urban character and the increased number of internationals living in the Dublin area make it harder to become socio-spatially included compared to other cities and villages in Ireland. She joked about the fact that some people in the Dublin area complain about being ‘exhausted’ of foreigners: *“I suppose it could be very exhausting you know... <sarcastic>.”* (Ana, 29-01-2022) Igor also encountered that when he lived in an Irish neighbourhood people did not interact with each other. He assumed that in the countryside people would interact more. This data shows that someone’s social capital could increase because of living in a mixed neighbourhood. However, it just denotes that the importance of neighbourhoods for their social capital is rather losing ground. People’s social networks become constructed over a larger geographical area (Hendriksen & Tjora, 2013). In this sense, living in an urban neighbourhood may complicate the potential for interaction. It sets boundaries to create strong ties. Even people who live spatially close to each other do not necessarily mean that they interact more with each other (Gans, 1961).

In the neighbourhood, we can also recognise intergroup relations. From a neighbourhood perspective, the experiences of the respondents are quite mixed when it comes to their treatment. Studying intergroup relations, the respondents frequently referred to the concept of belonging. Juliana addressed that her sense of belonging to the neighbourhood and Irish society is 50/50, especially because she lives in the 'city centre bubble'. She feels that she belongs there because it is a diverse area. However, if we look at it from a city-wide perspective and even from a societal perspective, she does not have the feeling that she belongs in Irish society. She argues that she is not seen and treated as an in-group member. This results in exclusionary tendencies and a sense of not belonging.

Some other respondents argued that the neighbourhood is not that important when we look at intergroup relations and the formation of a social network. The findings have shown that only a few respondents have actual friends living in the same neighbourhood. However, variations can be found on an individual and neighbourhood level. In Luana's opinion, living in a particular area does not affect her experiences regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, but if it has an effect it has a positive impact. Luana resides in Clarendon. In Clarendon there are a lot of Irish people around. She explained that she does not have a very intimate relationship with them but they are friendly and receptive. In addition, Lucas believes that the neighbourhood is not that important to become an in-group member in the Dublin area: *"I do not think the neighbourhood has an impact on Irish society. I think it is more about how easy it is to commute, if it is safe or if it is a good area are not. I think it does not apply for being part of Irish society."* (10-03-2022) He continued, that he does not know what would make him feel part of Irish society: *"[...] Maybe because we pay taxes. [...] Because we struggle so much [...] to pay and to do whatever. We need to be stable with [our] visa and everything-."* (10-03-2022) In addition, Leandro was a bit more neutral about the impact of the neighbourhood, he connected being included in the neighbourhood to the relationship he has with his neighbours. In his words: *"I do not feel threatened like I am living here and do not have any communication with my neighbours or anything. So it is not even good or bad, it is like mwah."* (02-02-2022)

The examples given above demonstrate that the neighbourhood might even not be that important for all the respondents in their daily practices if we look at socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion (Bolt et al., 2010b). These findings show that social networks mainly occur over neighbourhood levels. In other words, the importance of the neighbourhood is not a factor in the degree of social exclusion and social cohesion for every individual (Bolt et al., 2010b).

6.4 Concluding remarks

The housing market has a major impact when it comes to exclusionary outcomes. The current housing situation symbolises a level of segregation. Brazilians are forced to deal with the construction of the housing market in the Dublin area. Significantly, some hierarchies dominate the housing market. In addition, due to a general lack of support from the Irish- government and society, they face some issues. However, it has been discovered that the housing situation, in general, is bad for anyone not only for Brazilians. Moreover, the citizenship status of Brazilians almost always becomes negatively involved while they are looking for accommodation. Since their Brazilian citizenship is valued as 'less' compared to others. In addition, the current housing market is a battleground for investors and tenants, which is not in favour of Brazilians.

Once in the Dublin area, clustering in residential areas primarily does not take place because of cultural preference, but mainly because there is no other option. Moreover, following the experiences of the Brazilians, this clustering just takes place in Mountjoy. Especially, Brazilians move to Mountjoy when they arrive because this is one of the only places where they are more likely to become included. Subsequently, respondents had several strategies to move out of Mountjoy to find better accommodation. The inclusion of newcomers is therefore closely related to the housing market. This provided evidence that segregation involves more than just clustering. Due to the lack of housing and

spatial competition, segregation mainly reflects social issues for Brazilians in the Dublin area. As a result of the current situation, Brazilians are subjected to an increased level of inequity. Moreover, this affects their thoughts of staying in Dublin in the future.

Zooming in on a neighbourhood level and linking the segregation components to the current situation, we observed that the neighbourhoods are generally socially mixed and the physical locations are seen as quite favourable. Furthermore, the time of residence, urban structure and (negative) reputation contributed to the neighbourhood understanding. In general, the respondents experience more issues in the full Irish residential areas than in the mixed neighbourhoods. Moreover, in the more mixed social areas, the respondents have a greater sense of belonging. Navigating within the neighbourhood, exclusionist behaviour is mainly seen when it comes to unsafe situations. This includes physical and verbal attacks towards Brazilians. These experiences gave insights into how Brazilians are treated and by some framed as outsiders. Moreover, there is a lack of recognition of those safety issues by society and from a governmental perspective. This also negatively reflects upon the willingness to belong. It contributes to the concept of 'othering' and not being one of 'them'. These issues even go beyond the neighbourhood level. However, whether or not you can become an in-group member and thus be included is highly neighbourhood dependent.

This chapter clearly showed the importance of the spatial and social levels of segregation and how both intertwine. Brazilians are not segregated because of their neighbourhood, but mainly because of social conditions. As encountered, the neighbourhood does not affect their experiences regarding socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion; it is more about facilities, mobility and access to the housing market; and less about the community cohesion in the neighbourhood. The majority of the respondents had some social connections at a basic level in the residential area. They would talk to their neighbours if they needed something or if they had to go to the hospital, but a very deep connection was harder to make. Apart from that, they described that they were fine with the other people living there, but were not really hanging out with their neighbours. Furthermore, because the neighbourhood was not regarded as important in terms of social capital, their social network was primarily built across neighbourhood boundaries. This also reflects the general understanding of the neighbourhood; following the experiences of the respondents, they were quite optimistic about their residential area and they expressed a greater sense of belonging to the neighbourhood than to Irish society. However, the neighbourhood was not experienced as an important factor when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion. They encountered that it is more a combination of treatment, access and opportunities in society in general, to help to create a sense of belonging.

Chapter 7 | Conclusion

The shift from an emigration to an immigration country asks for an approach that reflects different understandings of migrants in various situations. This also denotes the debates that are going on about migrant treatment in Ireland. The discourse that currently determines the perspective on migrants has changed from a welcoming point of view to the argument that migrants steal the jobs of the Irish and are a threat to Irish culture. Given Ireland's long history of emigration, it is an intriguing point of view that they see immigration as a threat. We can recognise a commonality in Brazilian and Irish history: Irish people tend to emigrate in economic bad times; the ancestors of the Brazilian respondents moved from European countries to Brazil; and currently, Brazilians are emigrating to European countries. This all shows a long history of emigration and settling in a new state.

The purpose of this study was to better understand the experiences of Brazilians in the Dublin area in terms of socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion to provide clear insights into how this affects their sense of belonging in society. Belonging in society is examined in this study through the opportunities people are given, how they are treated, and their access to, for example, the labour and housing market. I studied the experiences of fifteen Brazilians, who reside in the Dublin area and how those stories relate to existing literature and contribute to the knowledge about Brazilian migrants settling in the Dublin area. I addressed the experiences on a personal level. Every experience is unique, which means that the results can only be applied to the particular context that has been examined.

Over the last 30 years, an increased number of Brazilians settled in Ireland. In this study, several reasons were given by the respondents for why they moved to the Dublin area. A key reason to move to the Dublin area mentioned was: 1) to study English; 2) which allows for easy access to visa regulations to enter Ireland because Brazilians are non-visa required on arrival; 3) and a student visa, which allows easy access to other European countries. On top of that, Dublin is the tech capital of Europe, and companies are actively recruiting labour migrants to work for their companies. Primarily, these companies, but also the Irish government, are looking for highly skilled migrants who can contribute to the Irish economy. Therefore, Brazilians are confronted with attempts to determine who can stay and who cannot stay. The respondents took various steps to fulfil the requirements of the Irish government and to improve their position from a more global perspective.

Besides a preference for highly skilled migrants, the Irish government and society have a preference for European migrants. Some of the respondents were able to apply for dual citizenship in another European country because of their ancestors. This experience of receiving dual citizenship has proven that citizenship denotes a high level of importance from a migration perspective. Yet, based on the narratives of the respondents, their citizenship status is crucial when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion on certain levels, such as their treatment at the airport. Therefore, we can argue that citizenship does not only determine the legal relationship with a nation-state but also affects more social and economic outcomes. Citizenship is one of the most important factors in the lives of Brazilians. However, the citizenship status does not always have a positive contribution to belonging in Irish society. Someone's citizenship status does not automatically remove all social and spatial issues.

The experiences of the respondents highlight the importance of the nation-state when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, for example, their Brazilian nationality is valued as 'less' compared to someone with a European passport. This also reflects their social identity process. Since Irish society and the Irish government are welcoming Brazilians to a certain extent, the respondents described that they do not socially identify with their European nationality but sometimes use this European nationality as their social identity for more favourable outcomes. This social identity process is primarily based on mutual recognition. Because of their social and geographical situation, the respondents see few similarities between themselves and Irish society. Moreover, their unjust treatment ensures that they do not socially identify with Irish society.

Settling in the Dublin area highlights some exclusionist behaviour towards Brazilian migrants. This research differentiates in-group members from out-group members. In Irish society, Brazilians are seen as out-group members, which complicates the interactions with in-group members. Therefore, the in-group dynamics within the Brazilian community itself are strengthened, while the Irish society is not very welcoming and opening up to them over time. The first interactions are seen as positive, but this does not result in a strong relationship after a while. In addition, in their interactions, we can find some discriminatory, racist, and stereotypical behaviour, that ensures that becoming an in-group member is not easy or not even aspired. Consequently, the social network of the respondents consists largely of Brazilians and other internationals because they experience equal treatment in these social groups. This Brazilian and international community is often seen as an important factor to settle in the Dublin area. They help each other navigate through Irish society. However, it also has some negative consequences, such as the fact that these Brazilian in-group preferences might even strengthen the negative attitudes towards them in Irish society. For some, it is a conscious choice to stay in their Brazilian or international bubble. Others want to 'break out' of their social network and get in contact with 'others' in society, but they are hampered by, for example, existing negative stereotypes. This limits their ability to get in contact with in-group members of Irish society.

These social conditions also reflect on economic outcomes. In this, we can denote a more hierarchical perspective in which the government hampers the opportunities and access of Brazilians in the labour market. Students in English have the most disadvantageous position in the labour market. From the Brazilian perspective, there is a strong preference of the Irish government for highly skilled migrants. This contradicts the fact that almost all the respondents already had a bachelor's or master's degree from a university in Brazil, but they were limited in using their degree. Additionally, they faced issues in the labour market because their visa status became involved or because they were told that they did not have enough experience in the European work field. Due to this bureaucratic system, they often end up in more vulnerable jobs, which also result in other issues in other situations, such as finding affordable accommodation. More generally speaking, Brazilians did not experience full inclusion in the labour market because the labour market did not really reflect the diverse population of Ireland.

This research has shown that the spatial and social components intertwine. This was clearly visible while studying the residential area. It has been demonstrated that the dysfunctional housing market in the Dublin area is something we cannot ignore when it comes to segregation. The housing market encourages segregation. The housing market is a battleground, which results in unequal treatment of Brazilians. This results in negative outcomes for the future of Brazilians in the Dublin area and their ability to stay. However, it became clear that the situation at the housing market was quite bad for other people in Ireland as well but even worse for migrants. Unlike traditional segregation literature, which assumes that people live in the same area because of cultural preferences; we can argue that respondents were limited in settling in areas of their cultural preferences, mainly due to a lack of housing. They did not have much of a free choice of where to reside. Nevertheless, we could find some clustering of Brazilians in Mountjoy when they arrived in the Dublin area. However, this clustering is not a result of cultural preferences, it is primarily a result of discrimination and a lack of affordable housing in the Dublin area. Nonetheless, Mountjoy is seen as a favourable place for segregation in the first place. However, the living conditions are horrendous. In the end, people tend to leave Mountjoy to improve their living conditions.

Though the respondents had some unfavourable experiences regarding finding affordable accommodation and experiencing bad living conditions, all the respondents were quite optimistic about their neighbourhood. Based on their narratives, they felt more included in the mixed areas than in the less mixed neighbourhoods. Nevertheless, some experienced an outsider's treatment, mainly because of safety issues. Thereby, the potential for interaction in the neighbourhood was quite low. Yet, social networks mainly exist beyond the neighbourhood and the same applies to other exclusionist treatments. In addition, the experiences of the respondents made it clear that they felt a greater sense of belonging

in their neighbourhood than in society. Nevertheless, they said that the neighbourhood is not that important for them when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion and exclusion and belonging in Irish society.

7.1 Discussion & recommendations

Studying the Brazilian community in the Dublin area in terms of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, some limitations have to be considered and can be included in follow-up research. There remains much to be understood about socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and belonging in society, which is discussed in this paragraph.

First, this research has been conducted from a single-sited perspective. Only the Brazilian viewpoint is addressed. The data that is collected cannot be generalised for all other migrant groups in the Dublin area. A multi-sited approach that includes e.g. Irish comprehension could add value to the study. A multi-sited research setup could provide insights into other migrant groups in Ireland and a comparison between migrant groups can be made. I decided to follow a single-sited approach because of the limited time I spent in the Dublin area. The single-sited approach is also used because this helped me to fully focus on one specific group and to get a very clear picture of their experiences. Using this single-sited perspective, my selection criteria was not very specific. Brazilians that moved from Brazil to the Dublin area could participate. I did not distinguish their reason for migrating or their time of residence in Ireland. Therewith, the fact that all my respondents spoke English made it possible for me to interview them, which limits this research. Even though some of the respondents pointed out that some people in Irish society try to take advantage of them because their level of English is not sufficient, their level of English was good enough to navigate through Irish society. Their ability to speak English benefits the creation of social networks, among other things. To give this study a different point of view, in future research respondents could be included that are not able to speak English or who have a beginner level of English. The interviews could be conducted in Portuguese for a more diverse study group. In addition, this might provide less of a barrier between the researcher and respondents. Moreover, the importance of the English schools in the Dublin area was addressed. The majority of Brazilians come to Ireland to study English. It would be interesting to particularly focus on Brazilians that are students in English.

Second, this study was focused on Brazilians that moved from Brazil to the Dublin area. It would be interesting to study the Brazilian migrant group from a different perspective, such as Brazilians that are in Ireland for less than a year or to study the second generation of Brazilians in Ireland. In addition, a larger research population, consisting of people from various backgrounds and different social positions can be included in future research (van Thiel, 2014, p. 100). In this study, there was a good ratio of male and female participants. However, as one of the respondents addressed during the interviews, her different treatment might be based on her nationality but could also be because of her gender. Adding a gender perspective to this study might give different insights into the understanding of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and the sense of belonging. In the past decade there has been a rise of studies that include the ‘feminisation of migration’ and include global gender inequalities (Kambouri, 2008; Bayes, 2002). In mainstream migration literature, the male perspective is often taken for granted, whereas a female perspective is just added as complementary. Research that includes gender perspectives does not only acknowledge gender inequality but also helps to escape from dominant gender structures (Kofman et al., 2000; Phizacklea, 1998 as cited in Kambouri, 2008, p. 8). In addition, female migrants are often studied from a ‘victim perspective’. Although, it is impossible to ignore the gendered aspects of migrant exploitation that is faced by some migrant women and men; “*victimisation*’ stands in curious complicity with the negative perceptions of migration as a ‘threat’ to the security and to the social cohesion of host societies” (Andrijasevic, 2003; Waever, 1993 as cited in Kambouri, 2008, p. 8).

Third, it could be an addition to use a variety of research methods. In this study, I just used semi-structured interviews, which results in a quite low level of external validity. To increase internal and external levels of validity, triangulation could help. A mixed method design can be used, which in future research may include, observations and a comprehensive content analysis of a variety of documents and

other materials in addition to semi-structured interviews (van Thiel, 2014). Further, it became clear that the Brazilian community is quite active on social media platforms e.g. Facebook. An analysis of the use of digital media could be an addition. Also because digital media observations might give a good representation of the situation because respondents do not feel obligated to give the 'right' answer (van Thiel, 2014). Another addition that contributes to (internal) validity is the representation of the findings to other researchers and asking independent experts for their opinion. Moreover, this study includes some ethnographic elements. However, an extended ethnographic study has not been done. Observations could be an addition to this ethnographic study to fully grasp in- and out-group understandings (van Thiel, 2014).

During the analysis of the data, some answers to my questions provided topics for follow-up studies. These topics were: healthcare, public transport, housing, and the labour market. The labour market and housing market are discussed in the study. However, when I started with this research I did not mainly focus on these topics. These topics are important when it comes to immigration in the Dublin area. Future research may include these topics as one of its focus points, especially in the field of migration. Another topic that was frequently mentioned and very shortly discussed in this study was the importance of Brazilians in the food delivery industry. A large number of Brazilians work in the food delivery industry and this asks for research that specifically focuses on this group in Irish society. Mainly because this group might even be more vulnerable to specific exclusion issues.

Regarding the spatial focus of this study, some respondents mentioned that their experiences might be affected by the urban conditions of the Dublin area. It would be interesting to study other places in Ireland and also consider more rural areas. In a follow-up study, a comparison could be made. To continue with the spatial element, this study has been focussed on all neighbourhoods that exist in the Dublin area. Further research, could include a specific neighbourhood focus and compare multiple neighbourhoods in the end. Although some indicated that the residential area is not that important when it comes to socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion and their sense of belonging, it was mentioned that it is very neighbourhood dependent if you experience inclusion, exclusion, and a sense of belonging. It would be of interest to focus specifically on one or multiple neighbourhoods and take into account the geographical location of the residential area.

In addition, I included some quantitative data in this qualitative study. In this research, there was no specific interest in the number of Brazilians but mainly in their experiences behind the numbers. Currently, not all the data of the latest census (2022) is presented yet. This will be presented from April 2023 onwards. Follow-up research should include the latest figures from the census to get a good picture of the current situation. Furthermore, based on the new figures, a comparison between 2016 and 2023 can be made. This comparison could also include the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. In addition, from a segregation perspective, a quantitative study can be conducted that addresses the level of segregation, mainly based on figures that show the clustering of specific groups in particular neighbourhoods. As the report of the ESRI initiated, there was an interest in the levels of segregation of ethnic groups, further studies might include the level of segregation from a quantitative perspective (Fahey et al., 2019).

Socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion can be studied in different ways. In this study, I decided to focus on the five key dimensions: 'citizenship', 'social identity', 'social networks', 'discrimination and racism', and 'the neighbourhood'. This understanding of socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion needs a critical reflection. I think that it could be valuable to focus on different elements that explain socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion. Although there are other ways to substantiate socio-spatial inclusion/exclusion, a fundamental approach is necessary for the field of migration studies in Ireland because migration studies in Ireland lack enough qualitative data to understand socio-spatial inclusion-exclusion on an individual level (Fahey et al., 2019). Additionally, in the process, there was less interest in immigrant policies that are in place. Therefore, I believe future research should include policy analysis. This could help to provide clear policy recommendations regarding immigration in Ireland. In particular, it might be

valuable to study the housing policy that is in place in Ireland and apply this to the situation of immigrants in Ireland. Alternatively, the research mainly addresses the current situation of Brazilian migrants. Their experiences can be used by policymakers to look at the policies that are in place and to pursue a more inclusive policy character in Ireland.

Lastly, I consider it as important to address that the study of the Brazilian community was not considered an interesting topic by everyone I talked to. Even during my internship, it was acknowledged that the Brazilian immigrant group is not the top priority for NGOs. There is a preference for studies that focus on Roma, Afghan, and other minorities in Irish society. However, studying the experiences of the Brazilians in the Dublin area showed that the Brazilian population should also receive more attention within migration research and should be prioritised by NGOs. From my understanding, there is a crucial role for NGOs to actively approach the Brazilian group and provide help where needed. Regarding the experiences of the respondents, they were not aware of the possibilities and support they can get from NGOs in the Dublin area. Therefore, I would recommend research that examines to what extent NGOs encounter the issues of Brazilians in Ireland and to what extent migrant support organisations are well-known to Brazilians.

7.2 Final thoughts

Lastly, I was very much inspired by the Brazilian community and the stories they shared with me. All the stories were very interesting and I was deeply touched by their stories. Ireland already stole my heart back in 2016 and after my interviews, my heart is also filled with love for the Brazilian community. Ana, who expressed her concerns but desired to stay in Ireland as long as possible, came up with the following statement, which concludes this research: *“Just to make it clear, I love Ireland.”* (29-01-2022).

Chapter 8 | Bibliography

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Appendix 1: Call for participants

Call for participants

HEY YOU.

My name is Babette Geurink and I am a master student Human Geography at the Radboud University in the Netherlands. Currently, I am writing my master thesis about Brazilians in Dublin.

- I would like to interview you about how you experience the neighbourhood you are living in and how this might affect the opportunity to become socially included in Dublin.
- Have you moved from Brazil to Dublin? You are welcome to participate in this research.
- The interviews will take place between the 28th of January and 25th of March.
- The location of the interview is open for discussion, as it should be a safe place for you as my participant. Interviews can take place online or offline due to the COVID-19 pandemic.

If you are interested please send me an email for any further information. Please don't hesitate to contact me and feel free to ask any questions.

Contact:
Babette.geurink@ru.nl

Appendix 2: Interview Guide

Interview guide

Welcome,

Thank you for participating in this interview. This is an interview that will be conducted as part of my master thesis. I am a Human Geography master student at the Radboud University in the Netherlands. Currently, I am an intern at New Communities Partnership in Dublin.

This interview is designed to study the role of ethnic residential segregation and how and if this is affecting the opportunity to become socially included within Dublin and surroundings. Briefly, I would like to interview you about how you experience the neighbourhood you are living in and how this might affect the opportunity to become socially included in Dublin/surroundings (feeling of belonging/being part of Irish society). In this research I especially focus on the group of Brazilians in Dublin and surroundings. That is why you are one of the participants in this research.

This interview is based upon three themes. I will start with some general questions about your own background and history of moving to Ireland. To continue with questions about the neighbourhood you are living and to finish with the theme of being part Irish society. The interview will last around an hour.

One important question before we start, is it okay for you to record the interview? It will be fully anonymous. This means I will not use your personal details (such as your name) in my results chapter. I will use pseudonyms within my results chapter. The data will be used in my research to answer the research question. After transcribing the interview the data will be deleted. In other words, the record of the interview is only for my own records. If you are interested I can share the results with you.

If a question is not clear please do not hesitate to ask for any clarification. If you do not feel like answering a question please tell me and I will continue with the next question. Do you have any questions before we start?

Introduction/immigration history

To start off: Can you describe Dublin in a sentence?

1. How old are you?
2. Where were you born?
3. How long have you been in Ireland?
4. Why did you decide to move to Dublin?
5. Was it easy for you to enter Ireland? How did it work out with your visa?
- Did you apply for Irish citizenship? Or are planning to apply? Did you apply via another European country for Citizenship (e.g. Italy because of ancestors) → depending on how long they are residing in Ireland.
6. Did you already have some contacts in Dublin before moving here?
7. Which languages do you speak?
- Which language do you speak at home?
8. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
9. What's your profession? (job, student etc). What kind of job?

problem analyses : society

It is important to understand what role a neighbourhood means for your social contacts. This part will be about the neighbourhood you are living in.

Own property

1. In which neighbourhood do you live in Dublin?
 - How did you end up in this neighbourhood?
 - Did you experience a lot of difficulties finding a house?
 - Was it a free choice or forced?
 - Are there organisations that helped you to find a place to stay?
 - What do you experience of the housing crisis that is going especially in Dublin?
- **Is your work/university in this neighbourhood?**
- **Do you have to travel to your work/study?** (how far)
2. What is your living condition/housing situation (private rent, social housing).
 - Do you live with flatmates/family etc?
3. How would you describe the neighbourhood you live in? What is your experience (e.g. is it spatial, are there a lot of playgrounds, are people friendly?)
 - Do you have a lot of contact with your other neighbourhood members?
5. Are there shops around in the neighbourhood?
6. Are there any other facilities in your neighbourhood? Doctor, Library?
 - Is it easy to access these facilities? Are they close? Are you happy with this distance?
 - What kind of facilities do you miss?
 - What mode of transport do you use most often within your neighbourhood if you want to make use of these facilities (car, bike, Luas, walk etc)?
7. Do you experience any problems regarding living in your neighbourhood? What can be improved? The problems you experience in your neighbourhood, what would you like to see differently?

Social neighbourhood

1. How ethnically mixed is your neighbourhood?
 - Would you prefer another mixture of the neighbourhood?
2. Is it easy for you to get contact with other English speakers? Or do you prefer to be in contact with Portuguese speakers?
 - Do you face any language barriers living in Dublin right now?
 - How often do you have informal contact with a native 'Irish person' in your neighbourhood?
3. Do you feel included/you belong within your neighbourhood? Do you feel welcome in the neighbourhood, do you have friends/colleagues living there etc.
 - Do you trust the others in your neighbourhood?
 - Do you feel safe in your neighbourhood?
4. Are you a group member of any society in your neighbourhood? Or even in another area in the city?
 - Do you use any social facilities in your neighbourhood, like library etc?
 - Would you like to be more involved in your neighbourhood? Would you like to be more active? E.g. becoming a member of a society?
5. Does your neighbourhood give you the feeling that you are part of Irish society?
6. Do you have the feeling that you have the some opportunities as others in your neighbourhood? Like is it easy to find a job, can you easily access facilities? Can you make use of social welfare, use the library?
7. Would you prefer to live somewhere else in the city and why?
8. Do you experience any difficulties living in Ireland?

Analysing problem: Inclusion

This part is about inclusion. Inclusion is something that might be different for you than for another person living in the same area. You are free to answer what is coming up in your mind. There is no wrong or right. It is about you as an individual being part of Irish society/your

feeling of belonging. This part is not specifically focused on the neighbourhood but the city and Irish people in general.

1. With which group do you identify in Dublin?
2. When you arrived did you feel welcome within Irish society? Did this change over time, do you feel welcome now? Or still the case?
 - Do you feel that you are being trusted?
 - Do you feel you are treated in a different way than others in Dublin because of your ethnicity?
4. In your eyes how does the 'Irish' society see you? So what does having a Brazilian background and living in Dublin mean?
5. Do you feel based on where your neighbourhood is located it is more difficult to become part of 'the' Irish society? Or other reasons why it is difficult to feel part of Irish society?

Future

In this last part I want to ask about some improvements if necessary.

2. **(If there are)** as you addressed you experienced some problems with moving to Dublin, what can be improved according to you to make it easier to for newcomers, what kind of support is necessary?
3. According to you, what is the most ideal living situation in Dublin? Like would you prefer to buy a house, to live in a different neighbourhood, to live with different people etc?

Is there something that was not mentioned and you would think is relevant for my research? Would you like to add something?

Thank you for your time! I really appreciate that you wanted to participate in my research. If I have any further questions might it be possible to contact you again?

Appendix 3: Additional quotes

ⁱ “I think that there is a big difference [between] Brazilians who come here to do an English course because they want to come to Europe or they are saving money to try to get their Italian citizenship. Most people [are] from São Paulo. That is what they are trying to do and a fair play to them like do what you have to do. But different types of Brazilians come here. Like [those] who come here and are already aligned like to a PhD or a master's or a job in some industry. So I think the situation is worse for Brazilians that come with little money, and they have to be a student because that is the condition for them to be here. And then they [go] for low-paid jobs. [...] But I am going, to be honest about some Brazilians. [...] When I arrived here [nine years ago] there were not as many Brazilians as there are now, but there were some and you would see Brazilians that would make absolutely no effort. They just hang out with other Brazilians. They do not want to study English to the point that they go to the supermarket and they do not even go to the cashier because they cannot even speak [English] numbers. They are the [ones] that take pictures to post on Instagram to say that they are in Europe. [...] Some people come here because they say if I have six months in Europe, come back to Brazil, and [they] get a better job because [they] were in Europe makes sense. But why are you not trying to use the most of you that you can? Why are you hanging out with Brazilians? Okay, I understand the living situation is hard and sometimes you have to share with Brazilians. Fine. But get one foreigner. So then you have to speak English. Why do you have to keep going to Brazilian bars all the time? Why do you have to keep going to Brazilian restaurants all the time? Like they come here and they want it to be Brazil. So they do not make much effort. And then their English does not get better. [...] People try to talk to them, but they do not understand each other. And then they stop talking because it makes sense. Like, how are you going to have a conversation if we are not speaking the same language? So some of the complaints that I hear some Brazilians [of] Irish people are mostly [that] the Brazilians are not making an effort.” (22-02-22)

ⁱⁱ “[...] I would say we are more liberals and then coming to a Catholic country [where people] I'd say [they are] more conservative. That could be another major wall within this relationship. [...] We look down on it. It is an unconscious thing that humans do. If something is too different from you, you are [going to] look down on it, and then they are gonna build some sort of prejudice and be judgmental about it. [...] It is not only really about [...] speaking English or not, it is also about cultural references. [...] You watch some TV shows, and you see comedy in a way you see everything around us. It is different since you were born. So Brazilians are very Americanised. Everything we watch is very American and Europe has a very different media than what we are used to. So probably that also could be a potential source of us not connecting. Because then we do not have the same references.” (23-02-2022)

ⁱⁱⁱ “[...] [For example] when I am a night out with [my Irish] friends and we are in this circle of friends, what I see is a fortress. [...] They are not in the market for new friends. They made their friends 20 years ago and they are grown up with them. [...] Again I feel like I keep coming up with excuses but I do not think it is xenophobic attitudes or anything like that. Like if another Irish person walked up to them and try to make friends with them first they would say: ‘what is this weirdo doing’, but they would not be open to friendships with an Irish person either. [When you meet them] they will talk to you for this 30 seconds to two minutes [...] to be friendly and to be polite. [Before I met my Irish girlfriend] I met a lot of people from different nationalities. Because they were in Dublin and as an immigrant yourself, you are more open to other people because like you are not around your traditional group of friends. [...] It seems every Irish person has the same, especially if they are from Dublin. They have the same group of friends instantly from preschool. [...] Well, [I wonder if I did not meet my girlfriend] at this point, I will be maybe out more, but certainly would not have an Irish friend [...] That is 100% sure. I wonder if I would have met any other Irish person. Like, match the level of having a normal conversation, [...] that is not about the weather.” (25-02-2022)

^{iv} “[...] If I could make a bet. I would say based on impressions, I never got that confirmation and I must say I am very paranoid. So I would think people would say I am bold sometimes, taking their jobs or not being able to articulate as [well] as them. Even though it is not my first language [I am able] to give back [to them] because sometimes they use language, their language against you to humiliate and put you at your place and that never happened. That happened, but that does not happen to me anymore. Because I am able [now] and I know it is a privilege that I can speak English well enough to give back to them.” (24-02-2022)

^v “20 years I have my driving licence. [...] Create something else, some other type of bureaucracy. Maybe ask us to get a document from Brazil saying that I did not have tickets and stuff [back in Brazil]. [...] But just do not make me go through the one-year process to get the licence. [...] A lot of people find out another way. They work around [it]. Some people go to Portugal and stay for like 1/2 months there, whatever, to have a home address. In Portugal they accept Brazilians and you can transform [your licence] into a Portuguese licence. And with the Portuguese [licence] they can drive here without going through all the process.” (11-03-2022)

^{vi} “[...] I remember having this talk with a man saying: I do not understand, why foreigners like non-European people pay such high fees in Ireland. Like, because this is for me Ireland trying to choose the people that they want in you know. They do not want people that do not have money. [...] Cause like what is the other reason behind it. Like there is no single explanation for us to be paying so high for fees in Ireland. We getting the same types of learning like we do not have any special benefit (08-02-2022)

^{vii} “[...] There are a lot of people that come over like me, they are graduated, they have some degree. Some important degrees in Brazil and they do not have the chance to work here so if there could be a way to apply with your expertise. [...] I have heard of one or two [Brazilians], who managed to get their diploma recognised here because it is a [difficult] process. [I understand that it has to be difficult], but I think they should be a bit more flexible for non-Europeans. Because they have degrees as well and to be honest sometimes our degrees in our colleges can be harder than let’s say [the] American system or English system. If you are not European they do not consider it that much as other countries.” (18-02-2022)

viii “ I had bad experiences with a clear difference in treatment. Like acknowledgement of my capabilities, even though like I was, let's say in a high position, and I was training people. [...] Somehow I still had the feeling of like; she's so cute, she has an accent. [...] I felt like [this] a lot in my previous work. Because [it] was a more Irish-based team [and] there was a big difference in treatment. [...] I knew I was really good at what I was doing. But it was always like, she is a foreigner. [...] It was a difference in like, celebrating achievements. It was not like you are amazing it was more like you are cute. Could be because I am a woman, could be because I am younger than people, could be because I am Brazilian, could be this everything together.” (08-03-2022)

ix “The first place that I moved [was] in Mountjoy, which is [a] really common neighbourhood for Brazilians to go to because it is cheaper. [...] And then I found this place, it was a basement. There [were] like six people living there. I was sharing the room with two more girls and I was paying, I do not know, 410 euros. It was incredibly expensive. Like 120 to 1200 for a room to shower with three people basically, it was just horrendous-.” (02-03-2022)

x “If you are new here you are not going to live with an Irish person or an English-speaking person. [...] At best you are going to meet another Latin American in your school, and then you might live with them. But the reality is 99% of the time, you are just going to live with Brazilians. [...] You are probably [going to] pay more than you would pay if you were able to live with an Irish person. Because obviously there is a whole industry around that. [...] Especially for [someone who works in] child care. [You have] people that take advantage of someone who does not know the ropes. Who knows they cannot get a place with an Irish person. [They say like]: I will take you but you [have] to pay for it.” (25-02-2022)

xi “When I meet new people, and as they say, where do you live? And I say in Drumcondra, they say, okay, that is nice because like [...] if they do not know what I do and I just say I am Brazilian, they assume that I live in a house with ten other people in the city centre and that my English is not very good. [...] People ask so you are Brazilian, what are you doing here? Are you an au pair or something? And I was like, no, I work in the university, and then the conversation changed. Anyway, so when I say I live in Drumcondra, they say that is a nice area. They see that I am established here. I am not just coming in for a few months to learn English.” (22-02-2022)