The Development and Practices of Social Capital Resources among Brazilian Students in Dublin

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1 INTRODUCTION

This paper explores the development of social capital sources among Brazilian students in Dublin, using the concept of social capital as a framework for analysis. It draws on Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) social capital sources, namely: value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity transactions and enforceable trust. Immigration has a hugely disruptive impact, which requires particular social support for immigrants as they attempt to adapt and adjust to new social contexts (HERNANDEZ-PLAZA et al., 2006). In this context, family and community life play an important role in the migrant's adaptation and adjustment to a new country (McGRATH, 2010). For Brazilian students in Ireland, the necessary support for their adaptation will come mainly from non-family relationships and the Brazilian community itself, since many migrated alone. In the case of a minority of students, support comes from relatives living in Ireland. However, researchers have found that the effect of migrant social capital on migration is not necessarily uniform across the various settings and may be shaped by gender relations and sending – or receiving – community contexts (Garip, 2008: 592).

The number of Brazilians in Ireland has grown significantly since the beginning of the migratory flow and today it is the sixth largest group living in the country (CSO, 2016a; Table 1). For instance, in 2002 there were only 1,232 Brazilian nationals in Ireland. By 2006, their number had grown to 4,720. Between the censuses of 2006 and 2011, the Brazilian population doubled in size and their number stood at 8,704. The growth in the number of Brazilian nationals has continued, and in April 2016 their number stood at 13,640. The number of Brazilians increased significantly in 2022, to 39,556. Moreover, since 2006, the Brazilian population has more than trebled in size. Brazilian students represented 26.07% (2,270) and 30.84% (4,207)

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of the total Brazilian population in Ireland in 2011 and 2016 respectively (CSO, 2016a). Of these, 60% had already attained a third-level degree or professional qualification (see Table 2). This supports the claim that the majority of the second wave is comprised of young, college-educated professionals (DALSIN, 2016; FARIAS, 2012).

Table 1. Brazilian population residents in Ireland by gender, size, and census year.

Census Year	Population	Male	Female
2002	1,232	785	447
2006	4,720	2,888	1,832
2011	8,704	4,408	4,296
2016	13,640	6,373	7,267
2022	39,556	-	-

Source: Based on CSO prospectus (2002, 2006, 2011, 2016a, 2022).

Table 2: The highest level of education attained by Brazilians in the state in 2016.

Educational level	Brazilians	State
Lower secondary, primary, no formal education, not stated	198	4,916
Upper secondary, technical, vocational	377	13,723
Third-level degree/professional qualification or both	1,588	23,939
Postgraduate degree	463	7,807

Source: CSO (2016b).

Although the Brazilian community in Ireland is sizeable there is a lack of research surrounding it, especially with regard to the migration of Brazilian students (CAWLEY, 2018; DALSIN, 2016; FARIAS, 2012). By contrast, several studies have been carried out on Brazilians in Gort, a small town in county Galway in the west of Ireland, focusing on the determinants of migration and return migration (de Farias, 2022), social capital and networks (McGRATH, 2008, 2010; McGRATH & MURRAY, 2009, 2011), integration (LEAL, 2004, HEALY, 2006, McKEOWN, 2015), ethnic identity (SHERINGHAM, 2009, 2010), remittances (MEHER, 2010) and transnational religions (MEHER, 2011, SHERINGHAM, 2013).

Despite this only a small number of studies have focused specifically on Brazilians in Dublin (CAWLEY, 2018, DALSIN, 2016; FARIAS, 2012; IOM, 2009). Examples of this focus can be found in Cawley (2018) and Dalsin (2016). An IOM (2009) study also assessed Brazilian migration patterns and assisted voluntary return programmes in Ireland, (Portugal, and Belgium). Finally, Farias (2012) assessed the development and practices of social capital among Brazilian students in Dublin – as part of a one-year research project – for a Master's program in the Department of Sociology at Trinity College Dublin, from which this paper's data has been extracted.

This article seeks to expand current scholarship on Brazilian migration to Ireland, particularly the body of literature relating to Brazilians living in Dublin, by exploring how Brazilian students negotiate social capital resources upon arrival in Ireland. This study also adds to the existing literature on student migration to Ireland. Despite the significant number of international students living in Ireland (CSO, 2011; 2016), a limited amount of empirical research has been devoted to this topic in Ireland (see, for example, GILMARTIN et al., 2016; Pan, 2011; WANG and KING-O'RIAIN, 2006). This research gap is even more evident concerning the migration of students from Latin American countries to Ireland (CAWLEY, 2018, DALSIN, 2016; FARIAS, 2012; MARROW, 2012).

The paper is organized into five sections. The first section briefly reviews the literature on social capital and the Brazilian migration to Ireland, pointing out gaps in this body of literature. The second discusses the theoretical framework underpinning the study while the third section explains the methodology and methods. The fourth section presents and discusses the data and the fifth section offers concluding remarks.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The paper draws specifically on Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) social capital sources. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) identify four critical sources of social capital: value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity transactions, and enforceable trust. The role of social capital in understanding the processes of how migrants adapt and adjust to new cultural environments, as well as explaining migrant social cohesion, has received great attention in recent years (McGRATH, 2010; REYNOLDS, 2006; CHEONG, 2006). In the migration process, social capital is understood as resources developed and held within networks of non-kin and kin relationships (ZADEH & AHMAD, 2009). Migrant social capital is commonly conceptualized as information or assistance resources that individuals obtain through their social ties with previous migrants (GARIP, 2008). It appears that the risks and costs of migration for potential migrants

are minimized by their accessibility to resources possessed by previous migrants (McGRATH, 2010; GARIP, 2008). However, recent debates have also highlighted the limitations of applying healing social capital for community issues and diversity management (CHEONG, 2006, p.368). For example, Cheong (2006), has shown that problems related to building social capital can arise when it comes to 'families in certain ethnic minorities or new immigrant neighbourhoods who may have alternative perceptions of social capital and face daily constraints on their everyday life.'

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, p.1323) suggest that value introjections refer to moral characteristics of economic transactions that are guided by important values learned during the process of socialization. Portes (1998) suggests that people may help charities, pay their debts and obey traffic rules because they feel an obligation to behave in this way. In this regard, the internalized values that make such behaviours possible are then appropriable by others as a resource (ibid.). In other words, the holders of social capital in these value introjections will be other members of the community (ibid.). Regarding this resource, this study was interested in exploring the development of moral obligations among participants towards their fellow countrymen.

The second source of social capital is known as 'bounded solidarity', which 'focuses on those situational circumstances that can lead to the emergence of principled group-oriented behaviour quite apart from any early value introjections' (PORTEs and SENSENBRENNER, 1993, p.1324). In other words, people can find common causes because they are immersed in and face the same conditions of adversity as each other (ibid.). In this regard, it seems that bounded solidarity is a very strong typology of social capital among migrant communities. Regarding this resource, this study in particular proposes to explore the group dynamics in the Brazilian community, the level of group solidarity present and whether solidarity is instead more restricted to smaller circles of friends.

The third source, reciprocity transactions, refers to transactions where favours, information, approval, and other valued items are given and received (PORTES and SENSENBRENNER, 1993). Even though the motivations of donors are 'instrumental', there are no expectations of repayment on behalf of the recipient upon the insertion of both actors in a common social environment (PORTES, 1998, p. 8). The donor returns may come directly from the group as the form of status, honour or approval (ibid.). In terms of 'reciprocity transactions', this study aimed at finding out whether those language students who helped fellow Brazilians also expected to receive, or received, values for their services and what they received for their help.

Finally, 'enforceable trust' means that individual members of a network or community subordinate their present desire to collective expectations. McGrath (2010, p.150) argues that 'enforceable trust occurs where individuals comply with group expectations so that they can benefit from 'good standing' within the wider (group). Maintaining a good reputation is important to maintaining broader norms and acquiring any benefits as a result.' With regard to this last resource of social capital, this study explores the extent to which individuals make sacrifices for the common good, why they do or do not make such sacrifices, and whether individuals are stronger than the group as a whole if they come here to stay temporarily with no long term intentions.

3 METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

This paper draws on data collected as part of a one-year research project on the development of social capital resources among Brazilian language students in Dublin conducted in 2012. Despite the fact that this data was gathered over ten years ago it remains the only dataset of its kind and thus provides an original and important window into the Brazilian migrant experience in Ireland. This qualitative study was performed using case study methodology (CSM) (YIN, 2009). According to Yin (2009, p. 18), a case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not evident. Yin (2009) argues that, in general, case studies are the preferred method when (a) how or why questions are being posed, (b) the investigator has little control over behavioural events, and (c) it focuses on contemporary events. CSM allows investigators to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events such as individual life cycles and small group behaviour (ibid.). This study is aimed at gaining a meaningful and holistic knowledge of the development and practices of social capital resources among the Brazilian student community in Dublin.

The evidence presented below emerges from thirteen semi-structured interviews conducted with Brazilian students living in Dublin, seven of whom had no previous social relations in Dublin (as seen in Table 3), and six of whom had previous relations in Dublin (as seen in Table 4). The average age of the participants was 28, while their ages ranged from 24 to 32. The average length of stay in Ireland was 34 months, while their arrival ranged from September 2005 to August 2011. The level of English on arrival was beginner for two, elementary for nine, and pre-intermediate to intermediate for two. Concerning their background, all stated that they have a third-level education. This means they come from an advantaged socio-economic background.

Table 3. Demographic profile of interviewees (no-previous social relations).

Informants	Sex	Age	Marital status	Date of arrival	Educational background	Level of English on arrival	Current Level of English
Danilo	M	26	Single	Aug 2011	Administration	Elementary	Up-intermediate
Tadeu	M	31	Single	Oct 2006	International business	Elementary	Advanced
Vando	M	31	Married	Oct 2008	Degree in Portuguese	Intermediate	Advanced
Paulo	M	30	Single	Mar 2010	Business	Elementary	Up-Intermediate
Natália	F	24	Single	Jul 2011	Environmental Engineering	Elementary	Up-Intermediate
Mariele	F	24	Single	Jun 2011	Environmental Engineering	Elementary	Intermediate
Karen	F	31	Single	Mar 2011	Business	Elementary	Pre-Intermediate

(Based on self-classification during the interview)

Table 4. Demographic profile of interviewees (with previous social relations).

Informants	Sex	Age	Marital status	Date of arrival	Educational background	Level of English on arrival	Current Level of English
Tiago	M	24	Single	Jun 2011	Engineering	Beginner	Lower-Intermediate
Caio	M	32	Single	Apr 2010	Tourism	Elementary	Up-intermediate
João	M	25	Single	Jul 2010	Physic Education	Pre-Intermediate	Advanced
Tania	F	32	Married	Feb 2010	Accountancy	Beginner	Lower-Intermediate
Paula	F	31	Single	Jan 2008	Physiotherapy	Elementary	Advanced
Tamara	F	31	Single	Sep 2005	Physic Education	Elementary	Advanced

(Based on self-classification during the interview)

All interviews took place between March and May 2012 in Dublin City. Interviews lasted thirty minutes and were conducted in Portuguese, the interviewees' native language. Even though some of them would be perfectly able to speak English, others did not have the necessary level of English to do so, thus it was easier to explain the intentions of this study in Portuguese. Each interview was recorded with the respondents' consent, then transcribed and translated into English. The data were turned into fragments through coding (SANCHEZ-AYALA, 2012) to identify the key themes. The paper's discussion emerges from these themes. All first names used are pseudonyms, to protect the respondents' anonymity.

4 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Actions driven by internalized values

Several themes related to the introjection of values emerged from the data, including housing problems, illness, unemployment, financial and emotional problems, community problems and support for new Brazilians. The themes of these value introjections did not vary by gender and age among participants. There was little evidence to support differences between those with prior social ties and those without prior social ties, or according to length of stay in Ireland. The results indicated that men were more likely than women to help with financial support. All participants who claimed to have helped someone with financial support were male. Some participants who helped someone with financial support claimed that their goodwill was appropriated by the recipient in their interest. The testimony of **Tadeu**, a 31-year-old single man who migrated to Ireland in 2006, exemplifies this theme among the participants:

> I have a friend who always borrowed money. I lent money because I was embarrassed to say no, but it had a downside because the more I lent money, the more freedom he had to ask me for more money […]. He will have to renew school soon […] but this time I will not be able to help him with money, because I spent my savings on my college. I do not know what he'll do.

Similarly, **Tania**, a 32-year-old married woman who migrated to Ireland in 2010 to join her husband, also claimed that her internalized values were appropriated by her friends' interests:

> I am a person who cannot see a friend in trouble and do nothing to help. I have a friend that when she arrived in Ireland went through a huge cultural shock… she did not get a job, had difficulty learning English and making friends, she was very weak […]. The people approached her to gain an advantage and it was leaving her depressed and very needy. My husband and I felt very sorry for her, we felt the obligation to help her somehow […]. In the first week, she slept in our house because she did not like the house of students organized by the school […] but over time, we felt that she began to abuse our goodwill […]. In the end, she already wanted to move into our home. In other words, she was abusing our goodwill. It was not easy, but we showed her that she would have to walk with her legs […]. There was a point when she no longer left the room and fell into a deep depression. She had to return to Brazil…Until the end, she had our support.

Tania confirms Khawaja and Stallman's (2011, p. 204) point of view that international students experience a range of adjustment problems such as culture shock, isolation and loneliness, homesickness, and communication/ language difficulties.

In comparison between the two statements, both situations demonstrate that 'internalized values' were appropriated 'by others as a resource' in their interests (Portes, 1998). In the first statement, it was appropriated as a financial resource, as **Tadeu**'s goodwill and his inability to say no made him a reliable source of money for his friend. It also demonstrates the negative side of value introjections, not only for donors who are abused but also for recipients who do not enable themselves to seek solutions to problems on their own. In the second statement, the recipient appropriated **Tania**'s goodwill as an emotional resource which eventually escalated to a financial resource. **Tania** and her husband were initially only willing to help their friend with emotional support, as she was depressed and in serious need of friends and family. However, as things went on, her problems started to take over **Tania**'s family life. **Tania** said: 'It was not easy, but we showed her that she would have to walk with her legs.' Finally, we can see in both cases the negative side of social capital through 'excess claims on group members' and 'restriction on individual freedom' (LEWICKI and BRINSFIELD, 2009: 277, PORTES, 1998). Graeff (2009, p.143) holds that these 'negative consequences are inherently part of special bonds' between people.

In analysing the statements related to value introjections, social capital can be broken down into two elements: first, 'the social relationship itself that allows individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates and second, the amount and quality of those resources' (PORTES, 1998, p. 04). In both examples, the friends accessed social capital resources through their relationships with **Tadeu** and **Tania**. However, there are further complications. Portes (1998) holds that in exchanges mediated by social capital, the distinction between the motivation of recipients and donors is equally important. '(The) recipients' desire to gain access to valuable assets is readily understandable,' yet 'more complex are the motivations of the donors, who are requested to make these assets available without any immediate return.' It appears that both **Tadeu** and **Tania**'s motivations to help their friends were based purely on moral obligation. However, Portes (1998: 06) argues that such motivations are pluralist and deserve analysis because they are the core processes that the concept of social capital seeks to capture.

There is evidence to support the fact that value introjections transactions are more likely to happen at the household level than the community level, as the majority of my interviewees mentioned situations at the former and only one quarter described situations at the latter. All situations at the household level were mediated by social relationships as the donors knew the recipients. The findings confirm what Portes (1998) asserts, that social relationships allow individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates. At the community level, one-sixth of respondents claimed to not have any kind of friendship with the recipients, even though they felt moved to help. In the following quotation, **Vando**, a 31-year-old married man who migrated to Ireland in 2008, makes this point clear:

> Through the internet, I found out that a Brazilian couple was experiencing serious difficulties, primarily because they were illegal and could not work. They had a new-born baby […]. All Brazilians were invited to make donations of money or material things, especially for the newly born child […]. Then I helped financially and also with materials for the newly born child […] materials that actually would be used.

Surprisingly, all participants who helped someone at the community level referred to the same case. This was the case of **Karen**, a 31-year-old single woman, who migrated to Ireland in 2011: 'Recently, the Brazilian community has organized to help a Brazilian couple who were jobless and with a new-born son […]. I felt the obligation to cooperate in any way […]. I

did a charity event and managed to gather a good amount of money.' Value introjections also emerged outside the Brazilian community. However, the donor acknowledged having a close relationship with the recipient. A similar example came from 31-year-old **Paula**, who migrated to Ireland in 2008:

> A colleague of mine from work had a major problem and had to be hospitalized for a few days, and the hospital bill was quite expensive for a person who could not pay, so we worked on it as a group. I feel a duty to help this person, not only me but also the other co-workers got together and helped this friend to pay the hospital bill.

The most commonly mentioned situations relating to value introjections were housing problems. All participants referred to the same situation, that of having helped a friend with no place to stay. However, the reasons for these housing issues varied from financial problems, moving house or going back to Brazil, to arriving in Dublin or being evicted. An example of this can be seen in the story of **Danilo**, a 26-year-old single man who migrated to Ireland in 2011:

> A friend of mine from Brazil was experiencing a serious financial problem because he had lost his job. I just talked to my flatmates and all agreed that he could sleep in the living room for two weeks, while the situation improved.

In school settings, value introjections also emerged. Here is what **Danilo** described: 'I got my first job in Dublin with the help of students from my school. They were giving me tips such as, go somewhere because they need people… They knew I was looking for jobs and that my money was short.' This suggests that value introjections can also appear among outsiders in various settings. In **Danilo**'s case, even though people did not have close social ties with him they felt compelled to help because he had no job and his money was running out.

Among the participants who claimed to have helped someone with a health problem, one-quarter were at the household level and one-twelfth were at the community level. The findings suggest that value introjections related to health problems were more likely to occur among Brazilians themselves than outsiders. Only one case was related to outsiders. The experience of **Danilo** illustrates this well: 'A friend of mine from school who was from Japan became very ill. Instead of asking for help, he disappeared from school for a few days. I got worried and went up to his house near the school. I took medicine and also I brought him to my house to eat real food.'

4.2 Actions emerging from principled group-oriented behaviour

Several themes relating to bounded solidarity emerged from the data among the participants, including housing problems, immigration, bank access, PPS and tax office bureaucracy, communication problems, community problems, employment issues and emotional problems. It is not surprising that bounded solidarity appeared in several settings among the interviewees, as Marger explains:

> For immigrants […] the collectivising force is a set of shared adversities that ordinarily arise from the immigration experience: a shortage of information, day-to-day problems of housing and transportation, language ineptitude, financial need, negative perceptions by the host society, and blatant or subtle discrimination in various spheres of social and economic life. (MARGER, 2001, p.440)

Among the participants, those bounded solidarity themes did not vary by gender or age. However, it appears that bounded solidarity varied according to length of stay, as the majority of my interviewees argued that bounded solidarity among them was stronger when they arrived in Dublin. The findings suggest that it was because they knew little about the city, had no social ties, low proficiency levels of English and difficulties solving important initial problems such as immigration paperwork, housing, and jobs. This point confirms what McGrath's position. In attempting to explain social capital in community and family among Brazilian migrant parents in Ireland he found that 'the absence of language competencies, cultural distance (and the urgency to solve important initial problems) makes bounded solidarity an important survival strategy' among migrants.' (McGRATH, 2010, p.151) However, as life went on and their knowledge of Dublin increased and their proficiency level in English improved, it appears that bounded solidarity among them decreased. McGrath (2010: 152) holds that bounded solidarity should not be viewed as a consequence of migration purely among Brazilians, as 'it along kinship derives from the importance of family-kinship in Brazilian culture, where members of large extended families are part of everyday fabric of support.'

There is evidence to support the fact that, among the participants, bounded solidarity transactions were more likely to happen at the household level than the community level. The majority of my interviewees

mentioned situations at the household level and only one at the community level. However, bounded solidarity was viewed as something very strong and common among Brazilians in Dublin. The testimony of **Paulo** exemplifies this view:

> These situations are very common among Brazilians. When they arrive in Ireland, they do not dominate the English language. They need support to open a bank account, communicate at school, or even for shopping. So it happens every day, […]. But sometimes some Brazilians help other Brazilians for vanity, just to say that they speak English and can solve problems. But most of the time they help with good intentions.

There is evidence to support that bounded solidarity varied according to social ties and level of English. For those with previous social ties, the initial problems and day-to-day life problems were attenuated. The comments of **Caio**, a 32-year-old single man who migrated to Ireland in 2010, exemplify this theme well:

> I had a person in Ireland – the sister of my girlfriend – who helped me a lot. She guided me through every step, from immigration to even small problems [...]. After organizing my visa, I started to run after my interests in Ireland [...] the same way I already helped several people in school, people who I did not know, giving tips on how to get the visa the PPS number, etc.

Similarly, **Tania** was dependent on her husband: 'Because of my little experience with the English language […] it was him who took me to immigration, bank, and PPS. Even in my first job, he told my supervisor to be patient with me because I did not speak the language very well.'

When comparing **Caio's** and **Tania's** statements, it confirms what McGrath (2010: 152) has founded among Brazilians in Gort. He found that for those who follow in the footsteps of others, the transaction costs of somewhere to live and the general lay of the land were reduced (ibid.: p,152). However, as Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993, p. 1325) point out, bounded solidarity 'does not arise out of the introjections of established values or from individual reciprocity exchanges, but out of the situational reaction of a class of people (or group) faced with common adversities.' This study's findings support Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) point of view relating to reciprocity exchanges, because the donors – in this case, sister-in-law and

husband – weren't expecting repayment on behalf of the recipients. On the other hand, this study's findings do not support Portes and Sensenbrenner's (1993) first point, as the actions of the two donors were motivated also by introjections of established values. In both cases, they hold family ties.

Among those with no previous social ties and with low levels of English, two themes emerged. For those who addressed the initial and day-to-day life problems themselves, initially there was no bounded solidarity. But for those who grouped themselves with other people in different settings 'faced with common adversities' to solve their initial problems, strong bounded solidarity ties emerged among them (PORTES and SENSENBRENNER, 1993). This can be seen in the stories of **Mariele** and **Vando**. In the following quote, **Mariele**, a 24-year-old single woman who moved to Ireland in 201, explains that she has to solve all the problems herself:

> To be honest, I did not know anyone in Ireland. I came through an exchange travel agency. It was not easy because I had to solve all the problems alone such as visa, bank, and PPS. That was not an easy task because I did not speak English. Anyway, I ended up getting lost in the city centre of Dublin. But in the end, everything worked out. But it was my new classmates who helped me find a house and get a job too.

On the other hand, the testimony of **Vando** exemplifies an example of someone who had the help of other Brazilian students in a similar situation:

> I remember one situation that happened early in my history in Ireland. I found other Brazilians at my school and we decided to live together here in Ireland. We only had two weeks with a host family and had to get a house soon. We found that the school had a group of people who were willing to rent a house. We rented this house and we were all living together. They considered my level of English better than theirs. In this sense, at the beginning, I had to solve all problems. But with the improvement of the level of their English, they learned to stand on their legs.

For those Brazilians with no previous social ties and with low proficiency levels in English, bounded solidarity in school settings was strong and vital. In **Vando's** case not only did he help to solve their housing issues, but they also relied on his linguistic capital to help with minor problems such as taking calls

for job interviews, etc. However, as **Vando** stated, over time their proficiency level in English improved and they became more independent. It was the opposite case with **Mariele**, as even with a low proficiency level in English, she solved all the initial problems herself. However, it was through social bonding that she found her first job and permanent accommodation. Linguistic capital played an important role in both cases. In the first, it was appropriated by others in their pursuits, whereas in the second its lack negatively influenced the way problems were addressed. As **Mariele's** experience demonstrates: 'It was not an easy task because I did not speak English. Anyway, I ended up getting lost in the city centre of Dublin.'

The study's findings (as related to linguistic capital and bounded solidarity among the participants) confirm McGrath´s (2010) findings among Brazilian labour migration in Gort. He concluded that 'migrants' settlement and adaptation experiences of family, work, and community life are influenced significantly' not only by social capital but also cultural capital (ibid.: 148). However, this study found that among the participants, the linking between bounded solidarity and linguistic capital has had a negative impact on their adaptation experiences. Again, this find corroborates what McGrath has found among Brazilians in Gort:

> Given the importance of linguistic capital and communication as a means to obtaining the best from social capital sources, a paradoxical situation for many migrants is the fact that their embeddedness in social networks further prevents the opportunity for developing their linguistic skills. (McGRATH, 2010, p.154).

Overall, bounded solidarity was stronger at the household level than community level. A possible explanation would be the increase in the number of Brazilians in Ireland and of students among that Brazilian population. According to the Irish Census of 2011 and 2016, the Brazilian population numbered 8,704 and 13,640, respectively. Of these, students represented 26.07% (2,270), then 30.84% (4,207). Moreover, since 2006, the Brazilian population has more than trebled in size. There has been also an overconcentration of Brazilian nationals in Dublin - the research site of this study – compared to other regions in Ireland. The most recent CSO data shows that 72% of the total Brazilian population lived in cities and suburbs. Of these, 65.27% were living in County Dublin (i.e. South Dublin, Fingal, and Dun Laoghaire) (CSO, 2016c). This represents the highest concentration of all profiled nationalities . McGrath (2010) found similar findings among

Brazilians living in Gort. His participants claimed that the arrival of more of their compatriots over time had eroded the initial sense of obligation towards others, where people knew each other more personally and engaged with one another more frequently (ibid.: 159). Population increases might affect not only bounded solidarity among migrants as discussed above, but can also erode reciprocity transactions such as the exchange of information, favours, and approval.

4.3 Transactions where favours, information, and approval were given and received

Several situations characterized as reciprocity transactions emerged from the data. The situations were related to information, favour, and approval. The transactions relating to information varied, including information for jobs, housing, Brazilian stores and restaurants, money transfer services, schools, leisure, holiday destinations, immigration, bank, PPS and tax offices. Favours varied, including referrals to jobs, distribution of CVs, lending of money, accommodation, help with language problems, bringing friends to immigration offices, banks, PPS, and tax offices. Approval was the least commonly mentioned type of reciprocity transaction, including referral for jobs and approval for housing sharing. The most commonly mentioned situations related to reciprocity transactions for both groups were: information and referral for jobs, immigration, bank and PPS, and tax office bureaucracy. It is not surprising that reciprocity transactions appeared in several settings among my interviewees. Portes (1998) holds that among migrant communities it refers to any information, favour, or approval given or received without any expectations of repayment on behalf of the recipient. In those various situations, the donor returns may come directly from the group in the form of status, honour, or approval (ibid.).

While these reciprocity transactions did not vary by gender and age, there is evidence to support differences between social ties, proficiency level of English, and length of stay. For those with previous social ties, it was easier than for those without to access important general information, favours, and approval, at least at the beginning of their life in Dublin. However, this initial advantage changed as those with no previous social ties started building up networks of their own. This can be seen in the story of the participant **Danilo**:

> My first job in Ireland was as a kitchen porter, but the salary was little and the work condition was horrible… I never stopped looking for a better opportunity. After a while, I managed to get another job…at that time a

> close friend of mine was looking for a job. I talked to my former manager about him, and we set up a meeting. Through my referral, my friend got the job.

A similar example came from 30-year-old **Paulo**, who demonstrated how important social ties were when it came to referrals for job opportunities:

> My second job in Ireland was through the recommendation of a classmate. He referred me to the company that he worked [...] my current job was also through a recommendation from the brother of my best friend. All my jobs were through recommendations from friends. These recommendations were positive attitudes of these people. Of course, when you get a job through a recommendation, you have to be very careful with expectations, and also to maintain certain behaviour, because it is the name of the person who referred you that is on the line. Deep down, I do not think it is cool, I prefer to enter independently into those jobs because when people suggest you, sometimes you have to follow two rules: the rule of the company and also the rules of the person who referred you.

The two extracts illustrate that social ties have a positive aspect. For those students immersed in networks, it was easier to access important assets such as information for jobs. This point confirms Bourdieu's definition of social capital: 'The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possessions of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships.' Social networks, however, are not a natural given, they must be constructed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalization of group relations, usable as a reliable source of other benefits (BOURDIEU, 1985, p. 248). This mirrors what the respondents of this study had to go through; i.e., they had to build up social relations to gain or access social capital resources in Dublin.

On the other hand, it also illustrates the negative aspect of bounded solidarity, as those who were referred for jobs felt that they had to behave in certain ways to preserve the referee's reputation. The desire not to disappoint was encapsulated by **Paulo** in the quote below:

> I never had much problem referring my friends in my workplaces. However, I have avoided referring my friends in the past. The main reason is because I am gay

> and most of my friends are gay too. I have two jobs, and sometimes my friends ask me to suggest them. For one of my jobs, I do not see any problem with referring them because it is a gay-friendly environment. However, at my second job, I do not suggest them because it is a very heavy environment for gays. I do not want this person to get hurt, and also it is a very hard job, they may not be up to the task and end up messing with my reputation. And in this regard, I would not be able to refer people anymore. That is why I always analyse the type of person and work environment before making a referral.

The desire for approval emerged not only in relation to job referrals but also in house sharing. The majority of participants mentioned situations where they or their friends were rejected for house sharing. Some of them mentioned seeing advertisements on *Daft* for house sharing, stating 'no Brazilians need to apply,' 'no students need to apply,' or 'only people with fluent English please.' This raises the issue of the integration/acceptance of Brazilian students, or indeed any foreign student who may not speak English, into Irish society. Sheringham (2009) found that the majority of respondents did not have Irish friends with whom they socialize, yet they have many acquaintances made through work or day-to-day activities. Alesina and La Ferrara (2000) argue that more homogeneous communities have a higher level of interaction, leading to more social capital. In this regard, heterogeneity could be a problem for immigrants when it comes to the development or exchange of these resources. Finally, Putnam (2007) suggests that people living in ethnically diverse places seem to generate social isolation and anonymity. However, this study did not further investigate exactly who was refusing to share accommodation with Brazilian citizens.

The majority of interviewees mentioned situations at the household level. They knew the recipient of the information, favour or approval. In this regard, among the participants, reciprocity transactions were more likely to happen at the household level than the community level. On the other hand, reciprocity transactions also appeared among outsiders at the household level. In the following quote, **Tadeu** shows this point:

> Last week, two Koreans, newly arrived in Dublin, moved into my house and they needed to get the PPS. I not only told them what they should do, but I also went with them. I have other examples. I already did favours for friends to pick up people at the airport, and also information for friends like going to hospitals too.

Some interviewees also mentioned having helped outsiders whom they did not know with information and favours, especially in school settings. The following statement about **Caio's** experiences highlights this theme:

> In the same way, I was helped in Ireland with information or favours from friends, I already helped several people at school, people I do not know, giving tips on how to get a visa, the PPS number, etc.

When participants were asked who helped them the most with reciprocity transactions, (i.e. Brazilians or other nationalities), the majority stated Brazilians. It is not surprising that reciprocity transactions were strong among the participants if we consider that immigration has a hugely disruptive impact which requires particular social support for immigrants as they attempt to adapt and adjust to new social contexts (HERNANDEZ-PLAZA et al., 2006). The exchange of information, favours, and approval among the interviewees proved to be fundamental in their adaptation process and negotiation of social capital.

4.4 Situations where personal desires were subordinated to collective expectations

The majority of the interviewees claimed to have experienced situations where they had subordinated their desires or wishes in favour of group expectations. The majority of the situations mentioned were at the household level, mainly related to house-sharing problems. The situations varied, including house cleaning, food sharing, cooking, use of toilets, sharing of energy, internet, and TV bills. Enforceable trust was stronger among those who were sharing houses with a large number of people. The following statement by **Danilo** demonstrates this:

> When I started living in my first house, my flatmates decided to put cable TV and internet even though I disagreed. I ended up succumbing because it was a joint decision. I do not like TV, even in Brazil, but I have no choice and pay the bill. Today I do not have this problem because I live with my girlfriend in our flat. Of course, sometimes we come into conflict, but that's nothing compared with the problems that I faced when I lived with other people. For example, before I got this flat, I was living with Italians. I had many problems with

> parties. They used to bring their friends to our house all the time. I could not sleep. […]. I had to adjust to that house and situation, even not enjoying the parties and mess. But at the first opportunity, I rented my flat.

Tiago, a 24-year-old single man, had a similar experience:

> Here in Ireland, when you are living with other people, you have to follow the rules. For example, in my first house, they stipulated a rule to bathe only at night. I like to bathe in the morning, but I had to adapt to that rule. My girlfriend and I had problems in our first home concerning house cleaning. In our week, we used to clean the house very well, but when it was the turn of the other flatmates, they did not clean and when they did, it was poorly done.

In these two extracts the personal desires of both interviewees were subordinated to group expectations i.e. housemates. Despite not liking the rules or how their flatmates behaved, they ended up complying. The findings confirm McGrath's (2010, p. 150) arguments that 'enforceable trust occurs where individuals comply with group expectations so that they can benefit from good standing' and that, maintaining a good reputation is important to maintaining broader norms and acquiring any benefits as a result (ibid.).

The analysis shows that they complied with their flatmates' desires to maintain good standing and broader norms only within the house because they did not gain any benefit, as McGrath (2010) argued above. On the contrary, they all had to move out after a few months of house-sharing. It demonstrates the negative side of enforceable trust for, while they complied with the group's expectation, they could not bear the stress and eventually had to move out. The findings indicate that enforceable trust is closely related to personal needs. They complied because they had no choice. However, as time went on and they became more confident and independent, they went against the rules. This point is well described by **Paulo**:

> These situations are quite common because when we arrived in Ireland, everything was different. As a result, we needed someone who we could play politics with. But after a period here, we got a little more power and independence. Today, I share a two-bedroom house with only one person. I have my room. […]. Living in a collective house, everything is more difficult to negotiate. Take, for

> example, the internet and cable TV. If two people want it and the others do not use it, ultimately everyone ends up paying because the collective decided. It is much more difficult to negotiate your position when you're in a large group of people. So when we arrived in Ireland, we always went through this, people complying with other people's or the group's desires.

When they were asked Brazilians or other nationalities were easier to befriend the majority chose Brazilians, mainly because of linguistic capital and cultural similarities. Among the participants, enforceable trust situations did not vary by gender and age. There was no evidence of differences between those with previous social ties and those with no previous social ties. However, there was evidence of differences according to length of stay in Ireland. As for those who were living in their bedroom or flat, there was less subordination of personal desires as the above statement of **Paulo** demonstrates.

5 FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

This study explores the development and practices of social capital among Brazilian language students in Dublin. Its interpretations draw upon Portes and Sensenbrenner´s (1993) sources of social capital: value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity transactions, and enforceable trust. However they also constitute an original contribution to the scholarship in this field, focussing on the often overlooked case studies of Brazilian migrants in Ireland.

Several themes emerged from the data relating to value introjections. The analysis showed that those value introjections did not vary by gender and age, nor was there evidence to support differences between those with or without previous social ties, or regarding varying lengths of stay in Ireland. However the data does support the hypothesis that value introjections are more likely to happen at the household level than the community level. Situations at the household level were intermediated by social relationships, as the donors knew the recipients.

With regard to themes of bounded solidarity, the analysis demonstrates that they did not vary by gender and age; however, they did vary according to length of stay, and bounded solidarity appears more likely to happen at the household level than the community level. There is also evidence to suggest that bounded solidarity varies according to social ties and level of English. For those with previous social ties, initial problems and day-to-day

life problems were attenuated. Among those with no previous social ties and with low levels of English, two themes emerged: those who solved the initial and day-to-day problems themselves, and those who gathered with others, in different settings but faced with common adversities, to solve their initial problems. Bounded solidarity in school settings for those Brazilians with no previous social ties and with low proficiency levels in English was strong and vital. Overall, bounded solidarity was stronger at the household level than the community level among the participants.

Regarding reciprocity transactions, several situations related to information, favours and approval emerged. Those reciprocity transactions did not vary by gender and age; however, there was evidence to support differences between social ties, proficiency level of English, and length of stay. For those with previous social ties, it was easier than for those without to access important general information, favours, and approval; at least upon their arrival to Dublin. The sentiment of approval emerged not only in situations related to job referral but also related to house sharing. Reciprocity transactions were more likely to happen at the household level than the community level.

Concerning enforceable trust, the majority of the interviewees stated having experienced situations where they had subordinated their desires or wishes to group expectations. The situations mentioned were at the household level, mainly related to house-sharing problems. The situations varied, from house cleaning, food sharing, cooking, use of toilets, and sharing of energy to internet and TV bills. Enforceable trust was stronger among those who were sharing houses with large numbers of people but did not vary by gender and age. There was no evidence of differences between those with or without previous social ties, or varying lengths of stay in Ireland.

Moreover, the analysis suggests that the necessary support for the development and practices of social capital resources among the majority of Brazilian students in Dublin comes mainly from non-family relationships and from the Brazilian community itself, since many migrated alone. However it cannot be ignored that a minority draw on support from relatives already living in Ireland.

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The development and practices of social capital resources among Brazilian students in Dublin.

ABSTRACT

The paper explores the development and practices of social capital resources among Brazilian students in Dublin, using the concept of social capital as a framework for analysis. The paper draws on the social capital framework developed by Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), which helps explain four social capital sources, namely: value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity transactions, and enforceable trust. The evidence presented below emerges from thirteen semi-structured interviews conducted with Brazilian students living in Dublin. This qualitative study used a case study methodology (YIN, 2009). Several themes related to value introjections, bounded solidarity, reciprocity transactions, and enforceable trust emerged from the data. These themes did not vary by gender or age, however, they were more likely to occur at the household level than the community level. Reciprocity transactions and bounded solidarity varied according to social ties, level of English, and length of stay. However, there was little evidence to support the idea that value introjections and enforceable trust varied by social ties or length of stay. This article offers both original empirical and theoretical contributions to the field of social capital studies in the context of international student migration.

Keywords: Brazilian Student Migration; Ireland; Social Capital Resources; Value Introjections, Bounded Solidarity; Reciprocity Transactions; Enforceable Trust.

O desenvolvimento e as práticas de recursos de capital social entre estudantes brasileiros em Dublin.

RESUMO

O artigo explora o desenvolvimento e as práticas de recursos de capital social entre estudantes brasileiros em Dublin, usando o conceito de capital social como estrutura de análise. O artigo baseia-se no quadro teórico do capital social desenvolvido por Portes e Sensenbrenner (1993), que ajuda a explicar quatro fontes de capital social, nomeadamente: introjeções de valor, solidariedade limitada, transações de reciprocidade e confiança executória. As evidências apresentadas a seguir emergem de treze entrevistas semiestruturadas realizadas com estudantes brasileiros residentes em Dublin. Este estudo qualitativo utilizou uma metodologia de estudo de caso (YIN, 2009). Vários temas relacionados com introjeções de valor, solidariedade limitada, transações de reciprocidade e confiança obrigatória emergiram dos dados. Estes temas não variaram por género ou idade, no entanto, eram mais prováveis de ocorrer ao nível do agregado familiar do que ao nível da comunidade. As transações de reciprocidade e a solidariedade limitada variaram de acordo com os laços sociais, o nível de inglês e o tempo de permanência. No entanto, havia poucas evidências para apoiar a ideia de que as introjeções de valor e a confiança aplicável variavam de acordo com os laços sociais ou o tempo de permanência. Este artigo oferece contribuições empíricas e teóricas originais para o campo dos estudos de capital social no contexto da migração internacional de estudantes.

Palavras-chave: Migração Estudantil Brasileira; Irlanda; Recursos de Capital Social; Introjeções de Valor; Solidariedade Limitada; Transações de Reciprocidade; Confiança Executável.