

IDENTIFYING THE DETERMINANTS OF  
BRAZILIAN MIGRATION TO AND FROM IRELAND:  
A MICRO-LEVEL CROSS-COUNTRY ANALYSIS



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**SUMMARY**

Brazilian migration since the 1990s has given rise to what is now the largest non-EU immigrant group residing in Ireland (CSO, 2016). However, the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland have been considered only by one study to date (Dalsin, 2016), which examines the determinants of migration of middle-class Brazilians to Dublin. This study, on the contrary, focuses on and examines practices of labour migration from an urban to a rural location – Anápolis, in Goiás, Brazil, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland. Despite the almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort and a handful of relevant academic studies carried out over this period, there continue to be significant gaps in the literature. Firstly, there exists a lack of in-depth research into why and how Brazilians originally migrated to this part of Ireland, especially from the origin community perspective. Secondly, the determinants of this specific form of labour migration have not been investigated in the literature, neither in Ireland nor elsewhere. Thirdly, the approach of combining origin and receiving contexts in a study and including multiple social actors (individual, family, and community) is limited in migration studies. Fourthly, previous related research has argued that the only main determinants of this migration were (1) the closure of a meat processing plant in Anápolis in the late 1990s, and (2) the demand for labour in the West of Ireland (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher and Cawley, 2016). Although relevant to explain the beginning of this migratory flow, these macro-dimensions cannot explain both the migratory determinants of late arrivals and the mechanisms that perpetuated Brazilian migratory flow to Gort over two decades. In addressing these gaps, this study also explores the processes underpinning the recent dramatic decline in the number of Brazilians in Gort. The literature observes a lack of understanding of this demographic shift (Maher, 2013; Maher and Cawley, 2016). While Ireland's 2008 economic downturn is considered a contributing factor (see Ruhs and Quinn, 2009; Fanning, 2016), this alone does not adequately explain the pace and volume of the Brazilian decline in Gort. It is not yet understood who left and why, where they went, who subsequently returned to Ireland and why. Besides, the impact (economic, social, political, and cultural) of this migration on the original community in Anápolis has never been explored. This study consequently sought to address these gaps.

The methodological design is based on an inductive qualitative approach. In migration research, qualitative research is necessary to provide deeper understandings of both the individuals and communities involved (Castles 2012: 21). This qualitative study was carried out using a case study methodology with a constructivist approach, according to which social phenomena are not produced only through social interaction

but are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008; 2012). The sample was constructed using three non-probabilistic sampling techniques: convenience, snowball and intentional sampling. The study's fieldwork lasted five months, between May and September 2018. During this period, 85 individuals were interviewed, of which 45 were collected in Gort (Ireland) and 40 in Anápolis (Brazil). The study also involved a questionnaire completed by the 85 participants. The study adopted a multi-method qualitative approach, including the use of in-depth interviews, informative questionnaires and participant observation. Data were analysed using a qualitative reflective approach (QRA) (O'Leary, 2010), which requires being as close as possible to the data - from the initial collection to drawing conclusions.

The study drew on a theoretical framework developed from neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network theory, transnationalism and translocal theories to examine the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from Gort. This study revealed that Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort is not only engendered and sustained over time and space by economic determinants related to the labour market, but also by capital and credit market determinants, which is consistent with both NE and NELM. The collected data, however, also evidence that this migration flow is the result of non-economic socio-cultural determinants related to (1) family, relationships, and sexuality, (2) lifestyle dynamics and feelings of nostalgia and longing for Ireland, (3) unsafe urban conditions and a failing political system in Brazil, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. These findings fall partly outside of the theoretical approaches outlined above, except for family migration which is largely in line with NE. Moreover, the results suggest that Brazilian migrants in Gort are heterogeneous in their migration motivations, demonstrating the need for closer attention to other types of migration beyond labour migration. The study also reveals that the return migration of Brazilian migrants from Gort to Anápolis was underpinned by a variety of context-related factors of both the host and origin region contexts and was more heavily influenced by non-economic factors than economic factors. The most important non-economic determinants were related to (1) care needs – both giving and receiving, (2) family and relationships, (3) fear and loss, (4) sense of place, attachment, and identity, (5) legal constraints, and (6) unpleasant climate; whereas the economic determinants were related to (7) the economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil), (8) the accomplishment of migration goals and return for retirement, and (9) difficulties in accessing third-level education in Ireland. Although the findings broadly support previous empirical literature, they were only partially consistent with the migration theories informing the study, thus showing that return migration determinants may be more diverse and complex than previously thought and that competing theories might therefore be partly complementary (see Constant and Massey, 2002; de Haas et al., 2015).

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## Chapter 1 - INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Rationale

Like other European countries, Ireland has experienced a remarkable historical turnaround from emigration to immigration (Quinn, 2007; Fanning, 2009; Gilmartin, 2015). This factor becomes more significant when considering that no other country in Europe has been as affected by emigration as Ireland<sup>1</sup> (Glynn et al., 2013). This turnaround officially occurred in the mid-1990s, when net immigration exceeded net emigration rates for the first time (Quinn, 2007; CSO, 1996). Arguably, this demographic shift was directly related to the Irish economic phenomenon of the Celtic Tiger (CT) in the 1990s (Messina 2009; Loyal, 2011; Munck, 2011); but also influenced by the so-called Open-Labour Policy introduced in 2004 (Krings et al., 2013; Barrell et al., 2010; Barrett, 2009), which allowed free access to Ireland for citizens of the 10 states acceding to EU membership in May 2004<sup>2</sup>. The CT stabilised the Irish economy from 1987 to 1994, despite an international recession in the early 1990s (Ó Riain, 2014). During this period, which lasted until 2007, there was a surge in foreign direct investments (FDI), enabling both national companies to expand and national income to grow, creating an “employment miracle” (Ó Riain, 2014). This led to a great increase in the number of foreign workers coming to Ireland<sup>3</sup> (Messina 2009; Munck, 2011). One of its legacies has been the transformation of Ireland into a multi-ethnic society with a large and permanent immigrant population (Fanning, 2016; Gilmartin, 2013; CSO, 2016). This has led migration researchers to argue that Ireland has joined mainstream Europe and that immigration can no longer be regarded as a short-term issue (MacEinri, 2007a);

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<sup>1</sup> Estimates indicate that around ten million people have emigrated from Ireland since the early nineteenth century; leading Ireland to gain recognition as a “diaspora nation” (Delaney, 2002).

<sup>2</sup> Today, 4 out of the 10 acceding EU states feature among the top 12 foreign residents in the state (CSO, 2017a).

<sup>3</sup> The 2002 census identified 224,261 non-Irish nationals living in Ireland. In 2006, that number increased to 419,733 representing an 87% increase (CSO, 2006). The number of non-Irish nationals was 544,357 in 2011 (CSO, 2012) and 535,475 in 2016 (CSO, 2016e).

others have labelled Ireland a “Migration Nation”<sup>4</sup> (Gilmartin, 2013:92). Despite this demographic change, however, emigration has remained a feature of the Irish labour landscape, with more Irish nationals emigrating during the economic crisis of the last decade than other groups (Munck, 2011; Glynn et al., 2013; CSO, 2017b).

Migrations are indisputably rooted in specific historical conditions that define a particular social and economic context, both in countries of destination and in countries of origin (Massey et al., 2005). However, most previous studies on the determinants of migration to Ireland tended to explain immigration flows through a host-country lens (Grabowska, 2005; Eijorh, 2012; Dalsin, 2016). Also, large-scale immigration was often explained as the result of macro factors related to the CT<sup>5</sup> (Loyal, 2011; Fanning and Munck, 2007) and the 2004 Open-Labour Policy (Krings et al., 2013; Barrell et al., 2010), which provided the regulatory conditions to facilitate the inflow of immigrants from Europe to Ireland. Studies that include both host and origin countries’ social-economic contexts and the perspectives of migrants are often missing, except for a small number of studies (see Komolafe, 2008; Krings et al., 2013).

While the importance of understanding the driving forces behind recent international migration flows has been highlighted in the literature (Jennissen, 2004; de Haas, 2011; Sprenger, 2013; Simpson, 2017; Arif, 2020), a limited amount of empirical research has been devoted to this topic in Ireland. Besides, studies that examine the determinants of specific migrant flows to Ireland have usually been undertaken as a sub-question within broader research projects (Wang and King-O’Riain, 2006; Feldman et al., 2008:63; IOM, 2009a:46-47; Pan, 2011; Marrow, 2012:650; Farias, 2012:31-33;

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<sup>4</sup>“Migration Nation” was the phrase used to describe the consequences of this movement of people, in a policy statement on integration published in 2008 (Office of the Minister for Integration 2008).

<sup>5</sup> The CT also influenced the way immigration was framed in Ireland. As Loyal (2011:14) noted, it “provided the dynamic lived material and ideological conditions within which migration was interpreted and perceived by the host population.” For instance, it influenced social policy responses as immigrants were viewed as “solely economic actors,” and “excluded from social protection” (Fanning and Munck, 2007:3).

Humphries et al., 2014:241; Brugha et al., 2016). Research has rarely been undertaken that focuses solely on the determinants of migration and from the perspective of the migrants themselves (exceptions include Grabowska, 2005; Komolafe, 2008; King-O'Riain, 2008; Fóti, 2009; Aptekar, 2009; Ejorh, 2012; Krings et al., 2013:93; Ralph, 2015; Dalsin, 2016). Furthermore, the vast majority of these studies focus primarily on the determinants of migration of immigrant groups living in Dublin. More studies are needed that specifically focus on the determinants of migration for immigrant groups living in small towns in rural Ireland.

Another limitation detected in the literature is a lack of research on the determinants of return migration and, more pressingly, the determinants of the return of non-EEA nationals<sup>6</sup> living in Ireland (Fong, 2008; Humphries et al., 2009; 2012; Gouveia, 2015; Brugha et al., 2016). Moreover, since 2008 there has been a decline in net immigration and a decrease in certain immigrant groups within the country (CSO, 2016).<sup>7</sup> Changes in migration patterns in the Irish town of Gort in County Galway (especially among Brazilian migrants) represent one of the most prominent cases to date. Gort changed from being one of the fastest-growing towns during the CT era (CSO, 2002, 2006) to representing Ireland's demise after the crisis. For instance, the number of non-nationals in Gort fell from 1,071 (representing 39.17% of the residents) in 2006 to 711 (26.90%) in 2011 (CSO, 2014), increasing slightly to 786 at the time of the 2016 census (CSO, 2016). Brazilian migrants, in particular, represented over 30% of the total population of Gort of 2,734 in 2006 (Hoskins, 2006, Sheringham, 2009: 93), however, their number declined significantly over the years and they represented only 15.77% of

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<sup>6</sup> A non-EEA national is a citizen of a country that is not part of the European Economic Area (EEA). The EEA links the EU member states + Iceland, Liechtenstein, and Norway into an internal market governed by the same basic rules. Brazilians are an example of a non-EEA national in Ireland.

<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the proportion of the population who were non-Irish nationals nationwide fell from 12.2% in 2011 to 11.6% in 2016 (CSO, 2016). Their overall number nationwide fell from 544,357 in 2011 to 535,475 in 2016, a 1.6% decrease (CSO, 2016).

the total population of Gort of 2,644 in 2011 and just 13.26% of Gort's total population of 2,994 in 2016 (CSO, 2011, 2016). This demographic trend, however, did not affect the overall number of Brazilian nationals in Ireland, which has increased over the years.<sup>8</sup>

The majority of research on return migration in the context of Ireland has focused primarily on the returning of Irish emigrants and/or their families (Barrett, 2002; Quinn, 2007; Ni Laoire, 2008, 2011a, 2011b; Ralph, 2009, 2012; Gmelch, 1983), except for some reports on voluntary and forced returns of non-Irish Nationals (IOM, 2009a; Quinn, 2007; 2009), and a handful of papers on the return of foreign nationals living in Ireland (Fong, 2008; Krings et al., 2009; Humphries et al., 2009; Holda et al., 2011; Gouveia, 2015; Brugha et al., 2016). Quinn argues that it is not surprising that existing information on the return to other countries from Ireland is currently disparate since policies are in development and the surrounding issues are often poorly understood (Quinn, 2007; 2009). Indeed, return migration is a relatively neglected aspect of the migration literature, not only in Ireland but also globally (Cassarino, 2004; Baba, 2009; de Haas et al., 2015). Some studies have pointed to unfavourable economic conditions in the host society as the primary cause of return migration. Most studies, however, report non-economic factors as the primary reasons for return migration (Ni Laoire, 2011; McKenzie and Salcedo, 2014; Fernandes and Castro, 2013). The most frequently mentioned are strong family ties and the desire to be in the company of one's kin and long-term friends (Gouveia, 2015).

This chapter provides the rationale for carrying out the study and is broken down into four sections. The first section sets up the scene of the study and briefly analyses the literature on the determinants of migration and return migration in Ireland, punctuating the gaps in this body of literature. The following section provides a detailed

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<sup>8</sup> The number of Brazilians in Ireland increased from 1,087 in 2002 to 4,388 in 2006, and their number stood at 8,704 at the time of the 2011 census (CSO, 2013). The growth in the number of Brazilians has continued, and their number stood at 13,640 in April 2016 (CSO, 2016).

explanation of (1) the topic of the study, that is, the Brazilian migration *between* Anápolis, in Goiás, and Gort, in County Galway, (2) the gaps in this body of literature, (3) and the theoretical and methodological design underpinning the study. The third section describes the research aims of the study, while the final section gives a brief description of the structure of the thesis.

## **1.2. Research topic**

Brazilian migration since the 1990s has given rise to what is now the largest non-EU immigrant group residing in Ireland (CSO, 2016). However, the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland have been considered by only one study to date (Dalsin, 2016), which examines the determinants of migration of middle-class Brazilians to Dublin. The present study, on the contrary, focuses on and examines practices of labour migration from an urban to a rural location – Anápolis, in Goiás, Brazil, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland. The meat processing factories of Gort were the first work-provision destination for Brazilian labour migrants arriving from Anápolis to Ireland in the 1990s. This location remained an important destination for Brazilian migrant communities from the same region for over two decades. The precise determinants of this migration cycle have yet to be explored in detail. This study undertakes this task.

The Brazilian community of Gort is arguably the most famous case of Brazilian migration in Ireland, and over the years, it has been the feature of both academic studies and the media (Mac Cormaic, 2008; Pereira, 2008; RTE, 2011; BBC, 2009). The first Brazilians arrived in Gort in 1999–2000 to work in a local meat processing factory (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010). They were mainly from Vila Fabril, in Anápolis, a middle-sized city in the state of Goiás, in the Midwest of Brazil. The closure of a meat processing plant in Vila Fabril in 1999 coincided with the recruitment of workers in Ireland (McGrath, 2010). The intention was generally to stay for a short time and return to Brazil with the money saved (Healy, 2006), but many settled more permanently. From the initial six

arrivals, the numbers grew in volume so that by 2016, almost 13.26% of the population of Gort was Brazilian (CSO, 2016).

With the arrival of Brazilians, Gort's social landscape was dramatically transformed (as will be discussed in Chapter 4), and it became the "fastest-growing town in Ireland" (O'Shaughnessy, 2007) during a period of unprecedented economic expansion in Ireland. Gort also became a "first stop" community for many new migrants from Goiás, before gradually spreading out in search of employment (McGrath, 2010:149). This led to the emergence of smaller Brazilian communities in other small Irish towns (McGrath, 2010; CSO, 2016). Because of the over-representation of Brazilians, Gort was nicknamed locally and in the national media as "Little Brazil" or "Yellow Town" (Mckeown, 2015). Gort was also portrayed in the media as an example of successful integration (Sheringham, 2009). However, this "integration" has been much more complicated than is popularly presented (Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010).

Ireland presents a new European frontier for Brazilians, who have historically migrated to Portugal and other Western European countries<sup>9</sup> (Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Evans *et al.*, 2007; Torresan, 2012; Schrooten *et al.*, 2016). Unlike Portugal, Ireland lacks strong colonial links to Brazil or historical familiarity with the region's migrants (Marrow, 2012). Brazilian migration to Ireland falls into two main waves: the first, which arrived in the late 1990s and settled in Gort (Healy, 2006); and the second in the late 2000s, comprised predominantly of students and professionals moving to urban locations for study and employment opportunities (Cawley, 2018, Dalsin, 2016; Farias, 2012). While Brazilians in Gort are low-skilled and semi-skilled economic migrants from the same region (McGrath, 2010), those living in Dublin come from different regions, from well-educated middle-class households, typically hold a third level degree and

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<sup>9</sup> In Europe, the UK hosts the largest stock of Brazilian migrants with 120,000, followed by Portugal with 116,271 and Spain with 86,691. Among the top 20 countries hosting Brazilian migrants, 10 are in Europe, with Ireland placed at 18<sup>th</sup> in the global ranking (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil, 2016).



come to study, travel and for the cultural and lifestyle experiences (Dalsin, 2016; Farias, 2012). Whilst the first wave was mainly concentrated in the counties of Galway (8.98%) and Roscommon (2.58%), the second was concentrated in County Dublin (65.27%) (CSO, 2016c). The number of Brazilians in Ireland has grown significantly since the beginning of the migratory flow and today represents the sixth-largest group living in the state (CSO, 2016, 2017a).

Despite the almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort and a handful of relevant academic studies carried out over this period (e.g. Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher, 2010; McGrath & Murray, 2011; Maher, 2011; Mckeown, 2015; Maher & Cawley, 2016; Woods, 2018), there continue to be significant gaps in the literature. Firstly, there exists a lack of in-depth research into why and how the Brazilians originally migrated to this part of Ireland, especially from the perspectives of the original sending community and the migrants themselves. Secondly, the determinants of this specific form of labour migration have not been investigated in the literature, neither in Ireland nor elsewhere. Thirdly, the approach of combining origin-receiving contexts in a study and the inclusion of multiple social actors (individual, family, and community) are limited in migration studies. Fourthly, previous related research has argued that the main determinants of this migration were (1) the closure of a meat processing plant in Anápolis in the late 1990s, and (2) the demand for labour in the West of Ireland (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher and Cawley, 2016). Though relevant to explaining the initiation of this migration flow, these macro factors dimensions fail to explain both the migration determinants of the later arrivals and the mechanisms that sustained the Brazilian migration flow to Gort over decades.

In addressing these gaps, this study also explores the processes underpinning the recent dramatic decline in the number of Brazilian migrants in Gort (CSO, 2011, 2016). The literature observes a lack of understanding of this demographic shift (Maher, 2013; Maher and Cawley, 2016). Although the economic downturn of 2008 in Ireland is

considered a contributing factor (see Ruhs and Quinn, 2009; Fanning, 2016), this alone does not adequately explain the pace and volume of the decline of Brazilians in Gort. It is not yet understood who left and why, where they went, who subsequently returned to Ireland and why. It also challenges the portrayal of Gort as an example of successful integration (Sheringham, 2009). Besides, the impact (economic, social, political, and cultural) of this migration on the original community in Anápolis has never been explored. This study consequently sought to address these gaps.

The combination of the examination of both the determinants of migration and the determinants of return migration is largely absent in migration studies. This makes this research a relevant addition to the international literature. As shown previously, these studies tend to be separated in the literature, thus hampering a deeper understanding of the migration flows and the “migratory process” as a whole. This is unfortunate because, as Castles (1987: 3) notes, migration is not an isolated event or an act that can be analysed separately; rather, migration must be seen as a process that continually permeates the lives of individuals, communities and societies. Therefore, this research intends to make a methodological contribution, in addition to an empirical one. It does this by proposing an integrated research design with two objectives. First, to describe and analyse the determinants engendering both the initiation of migration and return migration flows from the point of view of multiple social actors (individual, families, and communities). Second, to analyse simultaneously the origin and destination regions and consider both historical and contemporary processes. To achieve this, the study draws on a multi-sited approach (Marcus, 1995; Amelia & Faist, 2012). Marcus (1995) argues that multi-sited ethnography defines as its objective the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site.

The study presents further elements of theoretical originality. In their review of the literature on the determinants of international migration, Massey and others argued that, compared to American literature, the scope of European studies provides a limited

basis for judging the efficiency of theoretical explanations put forth for understanding the initiation and perpetuation of migration (Massey et al., 2005: 122). They claimed that the problem was not a lack of research so much as a scarcity of theoretically relevant research and a general disarticulation between theory and study design. They further argue that even when field surveys have been conducted, they have not been systematically guided by theory<sup>10</sup>. As a result, they conclude that “much of the European research literature is purely descriptive<sup>11</sup> and to the extent that data are connected to theory, they tend to be used to illustrate rather than to test and question” (Massey et al., 2005:122). Indeed, a rigorous literature review undertaken for this research found that most studies were descriptive, and only three papers were explicitly informed by theory (Komolafe, 2008; King-O’Riain, 2008; Aptekar, 2009). This shortage of studies informed by theory was also observed while reviewing the literature that examines the determinants of Brazilian migration to European countries. In fact, of the sixteen papers reviewed,<sup>12</sup> most are descriptive studies, and only four were informed by theory (Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Padilla, 2006; Datta et al., 2009; Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013).

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<sup>10</sup> In general terms, theory-guided research is the application or use of a theory, to support a scientific effort (Reeves et al., 2008). According to Reeves et al., (2008: 631) “Theories can be used to help design a research question, guide the selection of relevant data, interpret the data, and propose explanations of causes or influences”.

<sup>11</sup> Descriptive research is also known as statistical research. It is a type of research design (Akhtar, 2016; Van Wyk, 2012; Lambert and Lambert, 2012). According to Akhtar (2016), descriptive research is used to identify and obtain information about the characteristic of a particular subject such as a community, group or people. In other words, it is used to study the current situation (Akhtar, 2016). Likewise, Van Wyk (2012) points out that the main gain of descriptive research is to provide an accurate and valid representation of the factors or variables that belong/are relevant to the research questions. While descriptive research design is widely used in the physical and natural sciences, it is most commonly used in the social sciences (Lambert and Lambert, 2012; Akhtar, 2016).

<sup>12</sup> The papers reviewed were: Jordan & Vogel, 1997; Cwerner, 2001; Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Evans et al., 2005; Padilla, 2006; Datta et al., 2007; Evans et al., 2007; Datta et al., 2008; Reyntjens, 2009; Datta et al., 2009; Wall & Nunes, 2010; Evans et al., 2011; Block et al., 2011; Torresan, 2012; Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013; Schrooten et al., 2016 (see full review of these papers in Chapter 2).

In response to Massey's et al. (2005)'s call for more relevant theoretical research on the determinants of international migration, this study draws on neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network theory, and transnationalism and translocal theories, as the use of these theoretical perspectives allows for a more integrated understanding of the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from Gort. NE migration theory views migrants as individuals, rational and income-maximising actors, who decide to move on the basis of a cost-benefit calculation (de Haas, 2011). NE models largely explain migration by geographical differences in expected incomes and wage levels (Harris and Todaro, 1970). In contrast, NELM conceptualises migration as a collective household strategy to overcome market failures and spread income risks rather than a mere response of income-maximising individuals to expected wage differentials – as assumed by NE (de Haas, 2011; Massey et al., 2015). NELM also argues that income inequality and relative deprivation within sending societies are major drivers of migration (Skeldon, 2002; Stark and Taylor, 1989). According to network theory, the migration of one person within a social network not only creates a potential motivation for reunion among those left behind but also generates social capital that other network members may draw upon to reduce their costs and risks of movement (Massey et al., 2015). Transnationalism, on the other hand, “constitutes an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at a better understanding of the strong social and economic links between migrants’ host and origin countries.” (Cassarino, 2004: 7). For Guarnizo (1997: 287), “the term transnationalism refers to the web of cultural, social, economic, and political relationships, practices, and identities built by migrants across national borders.” In contrast, “the concept of translocality seeks to provide a frame to understand mobility, peoples’ embeddedness while being mobile, and how mobile and immobile actors (re-produce) connectedness and thereby reshape places” (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017: 112). Moreover, translocality “draws attention to multiplying forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in people’s lives” (Brickell and Datta, 2011: 3).

This research project fits within a small but growing number of studies that provide information relevant to the task of examining contemporary theories of international migration (Constant & Massey, 2002; Massey et al., 2005; de Haas and Fokkema, 2011; de Haas et al., 2015). However, like most of the previous studies identified by Massey et al. (2005), this research will use its theoretical framework to examine the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from Gort rather than test and question its theoretical assumptions (this would require quantitative data). Rather than being a deficiency of the design, however, the qualitative data collected in this project can be used to build a broader survey and thus collect the quantitative data needed to test these migration theories hypotheses.

The methodological design is based on an inductive qualitative approach to examining migration practices. Qualitative research can be defined as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” (Shank 2002: 5). In migration research, it is necessary to provide deeper understandings of both the individuals and communities involved (Castles 2012: 21). This qualitative study was carried out using a case study methodology with a constructivist approach. The sample was constructed using three non-probabilistic sampling techniques: convenience, snowball and intentional sampling. The study’s fieldwork lasted five months, between May and September 2018. During this period, 85 individuals were interviewed, of which 45 were collected in Gort (Ireland) and 40 in Anápolis (Brazil). Of these, 14 interviews were with couples, 23 were with individual females, and 34 were with individual male participants. The study also involved a questionnaire completed by the 85 participants.

### **1.3. Research aims**

This thesis is organised around two main research aims, corresponding to each strand of the literature which it brings together: (1) the determinants of migration and (2) the determinants of return migration. As illustrated in the literature review and theoretical framing set out in detail in the next chapter, each strand of literature and each research

aim should be perceived through its interplay with the other rather than separately. In particular, the first research aim will be answered in Chapter 5, whereas the second research aim is discussed in Chapter 6. Below, the research aims that underline the study are outlined (Figure 1).

**Figure 1.** Research aims

- 1. RESEARCH AIM ONE**
  - TO IDENTIFY THE DETERMINANTS OF BRAZILIAN MIGRATION FROM ANÁPOLIS, IN GOIÁS, TO GORT, IN COUNTY GALWAY, IRELAND.
- 2. RESEARCH AIM TWO**
  - TO IDENTIFY THE DETERMINANTS OF RETURN MIGRATION OF BRAZILIAN MIGRANTS FROM GORT TO ANÁPOLIS.

In particular, the first research aim sought to identify the determinants that both initiated and sustained Brazilian migration flow to Gort from the period of 1999 to 2018, while the second research aim sought to explore the processes underpinning the recent dramatic decline in the number of Brazilians in Gort. According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2004), “return” broadly refers to the act or process of going back. However, this could be within the territorial boundaries of a country *or* from a host country (either transit or destination) to the country of origin. Additionally, there are subcategories of return that can describe the way the return is implemented, i.e. voluntary, forced, assisted, or spontaneous (IOM, 2004). By contrast, The United Nations Statistics Division (UNSD, 1998) defines returning migrants as “persons returning to their country of citizenship after having been international migrants (whether short-term or long-term) in another country and who are intending to stay in their own country for at least a year”. This study considers returnees as people (adults and children) who were born in Brazil, lived in Ireland (whether short-term or long-term) and

then returned to Brazil (whether permanently or temporarily). Also, this research was open to all categories of return (voluntary, forced, assisted, or spontaneous) mentioned above (IOM, 2004).

The third aspect of this research provides an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political contexts of both Anápolis and Gort, and a detailed portrayal of Brazilian migrants and their families in both Gort and Anápolis, which its multi-sited qualitative design necessitates. In particular, it details information on gender, age, marital status, family composition, place of familial residency, educational background, religious affiliation, origins in Brazil, types of migration, previous migration experiences, length of residence abroad, deportations, immigration status, working status and sector(s) of employment, social services accessed in Ireland, Irish citizenship, language proficiency, house and land and car ownership, type of accommodation. This data was collected mainly through questionnaires, and its empirical findings are discussed in Chapter 4 (see Tables 15 to 19 and 23 to 27). These two sets of information also fill one of the main gaps in the literature. Chapters 1 and 2 highlight that, despite almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort, there is a lack of in-depth studies that build a better understanding of both contexts in the origin and host regions, and the profile of Brazilians and their families in Anápolis and Gort. These empirical data were used to identify patterns in the determinants of migration (e.g. related to the region of residence, gender, length of time since the first/most recent migration, age, marital status, and types of migration); and the determinants of return migration (e.g. related to gender, the time of return to Anápolis [first/most recent returns], age, marital status, length of stay in Ireland, immigration status at the time of return, and remittances patterns).

As previously mentioned, the findings of this study will be analysed adopting a theoretical framework that draws upon neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics

of labour migration (NELM), network theory, transnational theory and translocal theory, set up in detail in Chapter 2.

#### **1.4. Thesis outline**

This thesis comprises five substantive chapters, plus an introduction and conclusion. The current introductory chapter (Chapter 1) is followed by a review of the literature and theoretical framing, and methodological chapter (Chapters 2, & 3), while the research findings are presented in the second half of the thesis (Chapters 4, 5 & 6) and further discussed in the last part of the thesis (Chapter 7). The content of each chapter is outlined below.

##### ***Chapter 1 - Introduction***

This chapter introduces the thesis by setting the scene and clarifying the rationale, research topic, research questions, and structure. It highlights the main theoretical and empirical gaps that this study aims to address and summarises how the research was carried out.

##### ***Chapter 2 - Review of literature and theoretical framing***

This chapter concerns the review of the empirical literature on the determinants of migration and presents the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The chapter is structured into three main sections. The first section is divided into three parts: the first gives a short overview of the general literature on the determinants of migration, the second provides a thorough review of the determinants of migration and return migration in Ireland, while the third gives a comprehensive review of the determinants of migration and return migration in Brazil. In both reviews, empirical patterns and general trends are summarised, and specific attention is given to a selection of themes of particular relevance to this study. The second section provides an overview of the five migration theories - neoclassical migration (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network, transnational and translocal – and their theoretical



assumptions, regarding both the initiation of international migration and return migration. The study understands that the use of these theoretical perspectives allows for a more integrated understanding of the determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort but also the reasons for return. The third section reviews the literature on circular migration and the migration decision-making process. The last section briefly sums up the chapter.

### ***Chapter 3 - Methods***

Chapter 3 outlines the methodological framework adopted for the study and situates it within methodological debates surrounding research on the determinants of migration. The study adopts a multi-method qualitative approach, including the use of in-depth interviews, informational questionnaires, participant observation and secondary data sources. The chapter argues that a multi-sited qualitative methodology is needed to capture the determinants underpinning both the initiation and return migrations at different stages throughout the migration process. The chapter is structured into five sections. The first discusses the methodology selected, the case study methodology (Marriam, 2009; Yin, 2014; Meyer, 2015), and the constructivist approach (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; Bryman, 2008). The sampling strategy, settings, and the multi-sited approach (Amelia, 2010; Amelia & Faist, 2012) are discussed in the second section. The third section describes both the data collection and data analysis methods applied. The fourth section describes both the ethical procedures used to access sites and participants, to protect the privacy of the participants and the confidentiality of the data and reflects on the researcher's positionality.

### ***Chapter 4 - Research sites and participants' profiles***

The purpose of this chapter is twofold. First, it provides an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political contexts of both research settings, one of the main requirements of the multi-sited qualitative approach underpinning the

design. Secondly, it depicts a detailed portrayal of Brazilian migrants and their families in Gort and Anápolis. In particular, it details information on gender, age, marital status, family composition, children born abroad, place of familial residency, educational background, religious affiliation, origins in Brazil, types of migration (family/individual), types of return migration (family/individual), previous migration experiences, length of residence abroad, deportations, immigration status, working status, sector(s) of employment (Brazil/Ireland), social services accessed in Ireland, Irish citizenship, language proficiency, house and land ownership, car ownership, type of accommodation, and remittance patterns. It demonstrates that the Brazilian community of Gort is heterogeneous concerning their background and migration characteristics. To fill one of the main gaps in the literature on Brazilians in Gort, these two sets of in-depth information were fundamental to the discussion and contextualisation of the research findings.

#### ***Chapter 5 - The determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland***

Chapter 5 is the first discussion chapter and focuses specifically on the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland (research aim 1). The empirical data informing the chapter were collected at both the origin and host communities. In particular, this chapter draws upon the NE, NELM, network, transnational and translocal theoretical models to analyse the study findings. This chapter reveals that Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort is not only engendered and sustained over time and space by economic determinants related to the labour market (unemployment, cost of living and employment opportunities), but also by capital and credit markets (the wish to acquire or buy material goods, funds to open a business, education, and indebtedness). However, the collected data also evidence that this migration flow is the result of non-economic socio-cultural determinants related to (1) family, relationships and sexuality, (2) lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and

longing to Ireland, (3) unsafe urban conditions, and failing political system, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. Although the findings of this study broadly support previous empirical literature, they are only partially consistent with the NE, NELM, network, transnational and translocal theoretical assumptions. Also, the findings suggest heterogeneous dimensions for migrating, demonstrating the need for closer attention to other types of migrations (de Haas, 2011), aside from labour migration.

***Chapter 6 - The determinants of the return migration of Brazilian return migrants from Gort to Anápolis***

Chapter 6 is the second discussion chapter and focuses specifically on the determinants of the return migration of Brazilian migrants who leave Gort for their origin community of Anápolis. The empirical data informing the chapter were collected at both the origin and host communities. In particular, this chapter draws upon the NE, NELM, network, transnational and translocal theoretical models to analyse the study findings. The study reveals that the return migration of Brazilian migrants living in Gort was underpinned by a variety of factors related to both the host and origin region contexts and was heavily influenced by non-economic as well as economic factors. The non-economic determinants were related to (1) care needs – both giving and receiving, (2) family and relationships, (3) fear and loss, (4) sense of place, attachment, and identity, (5) legal constraints, (6) unpleasant climate; whereas the economic determinants were related to (7) the economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil), (8) the accomplishment of migration goals, and return for retirement, and (9) difficulties in accessing third-level education in Ireland. Although the findings of this study broadly support previous empirical literature, they are only partially consistent with NE, NELM, network theory, transnationalism and translocal theory assumptions. Therefore, the findings reveal that return migration determinants may be more diverse and complex

than previously thought and that competing theories might therefore be partly complementary.

### ***Chapter 7 - Conclusion***

The final chapter gives an overview of the study's main findings in light of the theoretical framework to discuss the theoretical contributions of the investigation beyond its empirical value. It then concludes by identifying possible directions for future research and the main limitations of the study.

## **Chapter 2 - REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL FRAMING**

### **2.1. Introduction**

This chapter discusses how the wider field of migration studies addresses the determinants of migration and presents the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The chapter is structured into three main sections. The first section gives a short overview of the general migration literature on the determinants of migration and return migration, followed by a thorough review of the literature on the determinants of migration and return migration to both Ireland and Brazil. In both empirical reviews, patterns and general trends are summarised, and specific attention is given to a selection of themes relevant to analysing the study findings. The second section gives an overview of the five principal migration theories forming the theoretical framework underpinning the study - neoclassical migration theory (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network theory, transnational theory and translocal theory, and their theoretical assumptions regarding both the initiation of international and return migration. The study draws on these theoretical perspectives to allow for a more integrated understanding of the determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort and the processes underpinning the recent significant decline in the number of Brazilian migrants in Gort. The third section reviews the literature on circular migration and the migration decision-making process. Although each strand of literature has been analysed separately, the study aims to take a holistic view to observe the interplay between the different theoretical approaches. The last section briefly sums up the chapter.

### **2.2. The determinants of migration**

There has been long-standing interest and much academic research on the determinants of migration, not only in Geography (Ravenstein, 1885/1889; Mabogunje, 1970; Zelinsky, 1971) but across the social sciences (Sjaastad, 1962; Lee, 1966;

Todaro, 1969/1976; Stark, 1978/1984; Piore, 1979; Massey, 1990b). Yet, examining the reasons why people migrate is still a central question in migration research today (Hazen-Zanker, 2008; Walker, 2010; Loyal, 2011). Why do people migrate? Why do entire families migrate? What are the determinants underpinning these decisions? Finding an answer to what appears to be a simple question is challenging, given the long history and diverse forms of migration (Loyal, 2011; Walker, 2010). It is also difficult because migration is a dynamic social phenomenon that is constantly evolving (de Haas, 2010a; Portes and Böröcz, 1989: 606).

Although migration is related to differentials in wages and employment opportunities between countries, economic disparities alone are not enough to explain why specific populations choose certain destinations (Massey et al., 2005:8). Indeed, previous research has shown that both economic (e.g. high unemployment, poverty, overpopulation) and non-economic (e.g. crime, corruption, discrimination, poor health care) factors are likely to influence the size, origin, and destination of movements (Massey, 1990a; Mayda, 2005; Simpson, 2017). Conversely, migrants are often attracted to destinations (within their own country or other countries) that offer high salaries, good health care, and sound education systems (Simpson, 2017) (see Figure 2). Furthermore, empirical research has also shown that demographic determinants, violent conflict, and the natural environment (scarcity of water and land, conflicts over natural resources, natural hazards and natural disasters) and climate change are important determinants of migration, especially in developing regions (Naudé, 2009: 2010).

Arguably, examining return migration determinants is quite difficult because returnees are generally less able to articulate their reasons for returning than originally emigrating (King et al., 1985; Baba, 2009). Although return migration has been studied by a variety of disciplines (Kunuroglu et al., 2016), it is nevertheless still an under-theorised field (Cassarino, 2004; Dumont and Spielvogel, 2008; Bastia, 2011). Most

attempts to theorise return migration involve its incorporation or application to general migration theories (King et al., 2008). Different migration theories, however, generate competing hypotheses about the determinants of return migration (Cassarino, 2004; de Haas et al., 2015).

Previous empirical studies have found several different reasons that support return migration. For example, de Haas and Fokkema (2010), exploring the causes of return migration in the Todgha valley of southern Morocco, found that almost all returnees stated that they returned to Morocco on their own initiative, that their return was relatively smooth and that they did not regret their decision (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010: 551). A similar study examining the return of Eritreans found that two-thirds of respondents stated that the main reason for returning home was Eritrea's liberation from Ethiopia, followed by its independence (Chirium, 2005: 38). Other crucial reasons included the political situation in the host country, followed by family issues, personal issues, visits, employment and educational opportunities and miscellaneous reasons (ibid.: 38). A similar study based on examples of young Taiwanese returning from Canada and New Zealand found that the reasons for the return were "complex, multifaceted and somewhat difficult to articulate" (Chiang, 2011: 108). The main reasons for the return were divided into family and marriage, employment and personal aspirations. Finally, Macpherson and Macpherson (2009: 22-3), observing returnees from Samoa, found that the return was motivated by serving families or pursuing culture, social idealism, professional or entrepreneurial opportunities or exploration. As expected, return migration is hardly a random process, and these important recent empirical studies have shown the diversity and complexity of the reasons behind it. The following section reviews the literature on the determinants of migration and return migration through the lens of Irish-led research and Brazilian-led research.

**Figure 2.** Push and pull factors of migration

Push factors	Pull factors
<u>Economic</u>	<u>Economic</u>
Poverty / low wages	Demand for labour
High taxes	High wages
High unemployment	Generous welfare benefits
Overpopulation	Good health care and education systems
<u>Non-economic</u>	Strong economic growth
Discrimination	Technology
Poor health care	Low cost of living
War or oppression	<u>Non-economic</u>
Corruption	Family and friends/networks
Crime	Rights and freedoms
Compulsory military service	Property rights
Natural disaster	Law and order
Famine	Amenities

**Source:** Bansak, C., Simpson, N. and Zavodny, M., (2015:1), cited in Simpson (2017).

## 2.2.1. Migration to and from Ireland

### 2.2.1.1. The determinants of migration

While it is important to understand the driving forces behind international migration flows, a limited amount of empirical research has been devoted to this topic in Ireland (Grabowska, 2005; Wang and King-O’Riain, 2006; Feldman et al., 2008; Komolafe, 2008; King-O’Riain, 2008; Fóti, 2009; Aptekar, 2009; IOM, 2009a; Pan, 2011; Marrow, 2012; Farias, 2012; Ejorh, 2012; Krings *et al.*, 2013; Humphries et al., 2014; Ralph, 2015; Dalsin, 2016; Brugha et al., 2016). This body of literature has investigated the determinants of migration of different migrant groups in Ireland. Ralph (2015), for instance, explored the migration motivations of Irish-based Euro-commuters, which fall



into three main categories: (1) select – whose motivations correlate broadly with issues to do with lifestyle; (2) strivers – whose motivations reflect aspirations primarily around social mobility; and (3) survivors – whose motivations reflect complex livelihood strategies (Ralph, 2015: 184-185). In contrast, Fóti (2009: 39-40) explored the reasons for East-European labour migration to Ireland and the UK in the first years of EU enlargement, showing that their migration was mainly due to economic motives, lack of available jobs, and insufficient opportunity for their career advancement in origin countries. Fóti noted that besides macroeconomic conditions, people's perceptions also mattered: the prospect of losing a job; job satisfaction; life satisfaction and satisfaction with salary; emergence of budget airlines; language, especially the cost of investment in learning them (Fóti, 2009: 40-41).

Other researchers focused specifically on Polish migration to Ireland. Grabowska (2005), for instance, reported a variety of push and pull factors among Polish economic migrants in Ireland, including the wish to find a good job and improve their standard of living with higher wages; financial reasons related to improving living conditions, and to expand the level of consumption; to maintain and support a family in Poland; to afford travel and hobbies; local labour market conditions of high unemployment, low wages, and precarity/instability; and Poland's accession to the European Union; working conditions in Ireland; interests in Vikings; to learn more about Ireland, to see, to experience it; access to consumption; and English speaking country and easier to enter than Great Britain (*ibid.*: 36-38). Among young participants, Grabowska (2005: 38) noted the importance of reasons related to economic status, personal achievements, and opportunity to work, learn and travel. In a study carried out in Ireland and the UK, Ciżkowicz et al. (2007) noted that Polish migration to these countries was underpinned by income factors, the situation on the job market, financial/lack of jobs in Poland, more options/easier to live, personal or professional development, financial situation, emigration of relatives or friends and a better job offer in Ireland. Moreover, the study

concluded that the disparity between the level of earnings in Poland and the UK or Ireland seems to be the primary determinant (Ciżkowicz et al., 2007). In turn, Krings et al. (2013) showed that Polish migration to Ireland was related to higher incomes and better employment opportunities. The study also noted that multi-faceted reasons could be identified, including to start a career abroad; to learn English; for travel and adventure; and the desire to escape the dull reality of daily life in Poland (Krings et al., 2013: 94).

Other researchers were interested in migration to Ireland from African countries. In his research carried out in Dublin, Ejorh (2012) identified specific determinants of African migration (from 16 countries) to Ireland: the need to escape life difficulties back home; personal expectations and aspirations related to the quest for a better life and opportunities; enhanced status; better security; desires for occupational or professional progression; interest in travel; ambition to settle abroad; among others, political insecurity; social concerns and social insecurity; cultural factors; economic compulsion; and the strength of Afro-Irish historical and religious connections (Ejorh, 2012: 581-588). In particular, Komolafe (2008) examined the determinants of Nigerian migration to Ireland. He classified his participants into three main groups: refugees, economically displaced persons, and family reunification migrants. He noted that some of the foremost reasons why Nigerians seek refuge in Ireland are religious and ethnic persecution in Nigeria, the desire for freedom, to exercise religious belief, or to freely exist as a member of an ethnic group (ibid.: 233). Economic migrants, on the other hand, were driven to migrate in search of a better life, fleeing from cycles of poverty and searching for more fertile pastures abroad (ibid.: 234). Finally, family reunification was common among those given the right to remain in Ireland based on their Irish-born child, mostly young graduates or older migrants, and they migrated because they had relatives or friends in Ireland (Komolafe, 2008).

The literature has also explored the migration of non-EU migrant doctors in Ireland. Humphries et al. (2014), for instance, showed that the migration of non-EU

migrant doctors in Ireland was related to education and postgraduate training, career progression, salary level or a desire for a better life, the proximity and perceived similarity to the UK and political instability in countries of origin. Similarly, Brugh et al. (2016) noted that non-EU migrant doctors moved to Ireland for post-graduate medical qualifications, a higher salary, family reasons, and safety/security reasons.

Other researchers have examined the migration of mixed migrant groups. For instance, Feldman et al. (2008) explored the determinants of migration of four different immigrant groups in Ireland: Chinese, Indians, Lithuanians, and Nigerians. Their research showed that the migration of these groups was related to educational training, joining the family, job offers or the hope of getting a job, the experience of living in Ireland and the search for new experiences (ibid.). In contrast, Chiyoko King-O'Riain (2008) explored the migration of Polish and Chinese migrants in Ireland, showing the existence of different typologies such as target earning, target learning, and trampolines. Target earning referred primarily to Polish migrants who were attracted to Ireland because of the rapid economic development of the country, flexible employment, work permissions (post-EU accession), and networks; target learning referred mainly to Chinese migrants who came to Ireland not to work but through student, visa programmes to study English or undertake third-level education; while trampolines referred to both Polish and Chinese immigrants who neither wanted to go home nor to settle in Ireland (ibid.).

Some studies have examined student migration to Ireland. Wang and King O'Riain (2006), for instance, examined the motivations of Chinese students, showing that they were attracted to Ireland because it was easier to get a student visa than other English-speaking countries, the cost of living and studying in Ireland was cheaper than in the UK or USA, they were somewhat familiar with the English language and because of an existing network in Ireland (such as a friend or relative). They also noted other personal, political, and social reasons. Pan (2011) also examined Chinese student migration to Dublin, finding that the migrants were curious about living and studying

abroad and for family reunification reasons. She also noted that some changed their migration plan and gave up studying to focus on making money. In turn, Fong (2008) examined the experiences of three young adult Chinese sojourners in Ireland and the UK, noting that they were attracted to migrate because of the desire to see the world or the belief that studying abroad could lead to opportunities to attain high-paying work, prestigious college degrees from developed countries or permanent residency rights.

There is also a body of research on the migration of Russian speakers from the Baltic countries to Ireland. Aptekar (2009), for instance, examined migration from Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania to Ireland, showing that Estonians migrated to Ireland because of their experience as minorities, social stratification along ethnic lines, and a sense of marginalisation; while Latvians and Lithuanians migrated primarily due to economic factors, to escape low wages and irregular employment (Aptekar, 2009). Marrow (2012) explored the migration of young and well-educated Latin Americans in Dublin, noting that participants exhibited economic rather than political motivations for migrating and desired upward mobility rather than economic survival.

Finally, a small number of studies have explored the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland. Dalsin (2016), for instance, examined the determinants of migration of middle-class Brazilians to Dublin, showing that financial prosperity does not appear to function as a primary driver in migration decision-making. Her research draws attention to a variety of non-economic factors underpinning the decision to migrate. An IOM (2009a) study carried out in Ireland, Portugal and Belgium found that Brazilian migration to these countries was underpinned by economic reasons, family reunification, education, and economic difficulties followed by unemployment (IOM, 2009: 46-47). Farias (2012) assessed the determinants of Brazilian student migration

to Dublin, noting that both push and pull factors<sup>13</sup> were decisive in the migration decisions. The push factors were related to enhancing career opportunities, opportunities to improve English skills, enhancing personal development, and personal goals to learn a second language and break away from family or friends to embrace homosexuality. In contrast, pull factors were related to social ties, economic costs, flexible visa regulations, flexible migration laws, visas denied for other countries, and family reunification (Farias, 2012: 31-33). Farias also noted that not all interviewees with previous social ties indicated knowing someone in Ireland as the main reason for choosing Ireland, while among those with no previous social ties, the most common reason for moving to Ireland was cost, flexible visa regulations, and migration laws (Farias: 2012: 33). These empirical patterns and general trends summarised above will be pertinent to analysing the study findings in Chapter 5.

#### **2.2.1.2. The determinants of return migration**

A limitation detected in the literature is a lack of research on the determinants of return migration and, more pressingly, the determinants of the return of non-EEA nationals. In this regard, most research on return migration has focused primarily on the return of Irish migrants and/or their families (Barrett, 2002; Quinn, 2007; Ni Laoire, 2008, 2011a, b; Ralph, 2009, 2012; Gmelch, 1983). Ni Laoire (2011), for instance, drawing on research about returnees to Ireland, found that many expressed a strong sense of belonging to Ireland, or a specific place in Ireland, as the primary reason for returning. This was often articulated in terms of a sense of community, associated with family, social networks, and place (Ni Laoire, 2011: 23). In a study of two North Atlantic societies, Ireland and Newfoundland, assessing the strength of different push and pull factors on their decision to return, Gmelch (1983: 50) noted that the pull factors, or attractions of the homeland,

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<sup>13</sup> According to Krishnakumar and Indumathi (2014, 9), push factors are factors that compel a person, for different reasons, to leave that place and go to some other place; whereas pull factors are those factors in the destination country that attract the individual or group to leave their home.

were decisively more important in the migration decisions of both the Irish and Newfoundland returnees than were push factors. He classified the determinants of return migration into different typologies: patriotic-social category; familial-personal pull factors; economic-occupational pull factors; push-factors (crime and violence); familial-personal push factors; economic-reasons; and non-economic motives (Gmelch, 1983: 50-51). Gmelch's study also noted that the migrant's decision to return involved several considerations; only 11% of the Irish and 80% of the Newfoundlanders indicated a single overriding motive (Gmelch, 1983: 52).

Still referring to return migration, a handful of papers have focused on the return of foreign nationals living in Ireland (Fong, 2008; Krings et al., 2009; Humphries et al., 2009; Holda et al., 2011; Gouveia, 2015; Brugha et al., 2016). Humphries et al. (2009) examined the return migration intentions of migrant nurses, revealing that they want to leave Ireland because of stability and integrity of the family unit, residency, and naturalisation, stability in emigration, opportunities overseas, or retiring back home and revealed mixed feelings about leaving. In a similar study among migrant nurses, Humphries et al. (2012: 48) showed that less than 19% of respondents (65) were interested in remaining in Ireland; while 49% (166) intended to return home; and 23% (79) planned to migrate to another country. The study also noted that non-EU migrant nurses are not alone in their desire to emigrate from Ireland as newly graduated Irish nurses are also seeking to emigrate in search of employment (Humphries et al., 2012: 48). Krings et al. (2009), instead, explored Polish migrants in the post-Celtic Tiger, showing that the recession did not affect all migrants equally in Ireland. The study found only limited evidence to suggest that Polish migrants left Ireland because of the economic crisis; and that those who primarily view their employment as a temporary job to earn money may be more inclined to return to Poland (Krings et al., 2009). In a similar study, Holda et al. (2011) examined the return migration of Polish migrants in both Ireland and the UK in the period 2007-2009. The study noted that the return of Poles

occurred within a specific macroeconomic context, namely the global economic crisis, which probably amplified the role of economic factors in the migrants' decision-making process. In a study examining the reasons why migrant doctors in Ireland plan to stay, return home or migrate onwards to a new destination, Brugha et al. (2016) noted that being from a high-income country or South Africa, experiencing somewhat negative professional experiences, and lack of citizenship were associated to a desire to return home. Conversely, salary, more negative professional experiences, and less satisfaction with life in Ireland stood out in the case of those intending to migrate to a new destination country (Brugha et al., 2016). Finally, in Fong (2008: 632-636)'s study, the research participants returned to China due to health matters, including unexpected pregnancies and family illness and to renew student visas.

Finally, some studies have examined the impact of the 2008 economic recession on the Brazilian migrants in Gort (Maher, 2013; Maher and Cawley, 2016). Maher (2013), for instance, explored attitudes towards Brazilians in both Roscommon and Gort between the late 1990s and the late 2000s, when the Irish economy moved from rapid growth to stagnation. Similarly, Maher and Cawley (2016) explored short-term low-skilled labour migration to Ireland, focusing on the experience of Brazilians in both Roscommon and Gort.

Maher (2013:163) noted that competition in a declining labour market increased during this period due to the opening of Ireland's borders and EU enlargement from April 2004. This factor was also noted in Maher and Cawley (2016)'s study. In particular, Maher (2013) noted that it became more difficult for non-EU citizens such as Brazilians to obtain work permits in Ireland. He noted that the recession from 2008 onwards further reduced informal job opportunities for Brazilians. He found that changing attitudes towards new Brazilian immigrants were noted among both the Brazilian and Irish interviewees (*ibid.*). His study found that younger migrants had begun to arrive from large cities in Brazil who were considered less hard-working than their predecessors.

Consequently, they were not welcomed either by the local community or their compatriots (*ibid.*). Maher concludes that, although this evidence is localised, it suggests that attitudes towards migrant workers in conditions of a recession may be more complex than simply arising from competition in the labour market (Rustenback, 2010 quoted in Maher 2013: 170).

Both Maher (2013) and Maher and Cawley (2016)'s studies noted that in 2008, the economic recession forced the closure of a poultry plant in Roscommon where Brazilian immigrants worked, with the loss of over 50 jobs. In Gort, the meat plant closed in 2007. Also, Maher and Cawley (2016) noted that the recession affected the construction industry and agricultural farms, resulting in the loss of jobs for Brazilian migrants. The study also pointed out that falling disposable household incomes meant that many Brazilian women who worked as house cleaners and childminders and in cafés and shops lost their employment (*ibid.*). As a result, it found that within its sample, a handful of migrants moved away from the two study sites in search of work; the majority of those interviewed in Brazil returned to Brazil voluntarily (*ibid.*: 30). It also noted that in 2008, the Irish Government, in co-operation with the IOM, established a voluntary repatriation programme to assist undocumented migrants to return to their country of origin (*ibid.*). It found that in that year, the highest number of individuals who sought assistance were Brazilians, but only 53 of these were successful (IOM, 2008a: 246–247, cited in Maher and Cawley, 2016: 30). These empirical patterns and general trends will be relevant to the analysis of the findings in Chapter 6.

## **2.2.2. Migration from and to Brazil**

### **2.2.2.1. The determinants of migration**

Despite the significant number of Brazilians abroad (IOM, 2018:81; MRE, 2016), there has been a notable lack of studies exploring the determinants of emigration flows from Brazil. Previous research has shown that the declining socio-economic conditions during



the 1980s and 1990s were in large part responsible for the initiation, development, and expansion of immigrant flows (Margolis, 1994; Goza, 1994). In the second half of the 1990s, the economy stabilised with the implementation of the Real Plan under the Government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso (1994 to 2002); however, unemployment rates remained high (Filho & Paula, 2003). The stabilisation of the economy paved the way for the significant growth of the economy throughout the 2000s under the Labour Government (2002 to 2014), a period sometimes referred to as the Brazilian “new economic miracle” (Amann & Baer, 2012). The betterment of the economy during this period encouraged a significant number of immigrants to return to Brazil, especially immigrants living in European countries and Asia. However, since 2014 the economy has stagnated with unemployment rates rising and national income declining. This has once again fuelled further emigration flows from Brazil, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ latest figures have made clear (MRE, 2016, 2015).

Previous studies have focused on Brazilian migrant communities in the USA (Margolis, 1998; Bianchi et al., 2007; Marcus, 2009), the USA and Canada (Goza, 1994), Canada (Barbosa, 2003, 2009; Magalhaes et al., 2009), Germany and the UK (Jordan & Vogel, 1997), the UK and Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016), the UK (Cwerner, 2001; Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Evans et al., 2005; Evans et al., 2007; Datta et al., 2007; Datta et al., 2008; Datta et al., 2009; Almeida & Corkill, 2010; Evans et al., 2011; Block *et al.*, 2011), Ireland (Dalsin, 2016), Ireland, Portugal and Belgium (IOM, 2009a), Portugal (Padilla, 2006; Torresan, 2012; Wall & Nunes, 2010), Portugal and the Netherlands (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013), Japan (Yamanaka, 1996; Tsuda, 1999; Philips, 2007; Goto, 2007; McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014), and Japan and the USA (Zell & Skop, 2011). Most of these studies explored Brazilian migration from Southeast and South states (Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná and Santa Catarina) (see, for instance, McKenzie and Salcedo, 2014; Van Meeteren and Pereira, 2013; Margolis, 1998; Marcus, 2009; Goza, 1994; Zell and Skop, 2011), with the exception of Padilla (2006) and Marcus (2009) who explored Brazilian migration from Midwest states of Mato Grosso do Sul and

Goiás state, respectively. This study, on the other hand, will explore Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, Midwest of Brazil, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland.

Marcus (2009) examined the determinants of Brazilian migration to the USA, categorising the reasons for leaving Brazil into six categories: financial (37%) (e.g. work, opportunities, money, prosperity); curiosity (18%) (e.g. curiosity, adventure); US influence (16%) (e.g. adoration of US culture); family and other loved ones (15%); education (11%); and escape (4%) (Marcus, 2009: 493-494). In an earlier study among Brazilians in New York, Margolis (1998) reported that push factors (inflation and instability, lack of opportunities for those with professional qualifications or university training), pull factors (jobs in the US paid better, which allowed for higher savings, and an uncertain economic future, the prospect to earn and save abroad), had motivated the participants to leave Brazil. Margolis (1998) also noted that remittances were used to support family, clear debts, buy land or property, and set up and run a small business. In turn, Bianchi et al. (2007: 511-512) examined ways in which the social context influenced the behaviour of Brazilian, Colombian, and Dominican men who have sex with men in New York, reporting that like other Latinos, gay Latino migrants have reported coming to the USA to improve their financial situation, provide monetary support to their families, advance their education or escape from political turmoil.

Barbosa (2009: 216-221) examined the determinants of Brazilian migration to Canada, noting that push factors (the economic crisis of the 1980s and urban violence, the search for a more stable and safe environment, including better access to health care and education, and quality of life) and pull factors (Canadian campaign to attract immigrants, including Brazilians) had motivated the participants to leave Brazil. In contrast, Magalhaes et al. (2009: 17) uncovered a variety of reasons behind Brazilian migration to Toronto, Ontario: better job or academic opportunities, having a partner in Canada, better quality of life, desire to escape violence, corruption, and the "Brazilian mentality", and need to learn English; other reasons mentioned were: easier immigration process than other countries, dream of living outside Brazil or in a "first world" country,

desire to discover different cultures and have new experiences, and greater respect for sexual orientation.

In a comparative analysis of qualitative interviews, Jordan and Vogel (1997: 07-09) examined the migration determinants of undocumented Brazilian immigrants in London and Berlin, showing the existence of different typologies of reasoning: earners (higher living standard or long term benefits/to save/to build a better future for themselves); learners (to improve their long-term earnings potential, a form of investment in themselves); travellers (migration experiences with the personal growth that comes from adventure, change and the challenge of living in a foreign culture). In contrast, Schrooten et al. (2016) explored the Brazilian migration to Belgium and the UK. The study showed that Brazilians migrated to the UK to search for jobs, for financial return, to save money, improve their life in Brazil; while saving money to finance projects, adventure / personal enrichment, and to escape violence (in Brazil) were the main migration reasons for those in Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016: 1205-1206).

Evans et al. (2007: 08-10) examined Brazilians in London, reporting that a search for better economic prospects, to work and implicitly to save money, to study, to settle or pursue a better life, had motivated them to leave Brazil. In contrast, Cwerner (2001: 16-17) reported that “push” or “pull” factors (transnational immigrant networks), adventure and a desire to “see the world”, and the economic effects of the lost decade had motivated Brazilians to come to London. In turn, Evans et al. (2011) surveyed Brazilians in London, reporting various reasons for their migration to the city. The reasons given included to be with family, to escape urban violence in Brazil, curiosity, culture, and history. Finally, drawing on 68 in-depth interviews with male migrants of 22 different countries (including Brazil), Datta et al. (2008: 10) reported that they had migrated to London for reasons related to risk and adventure, self-betterment, and a desire to provide for their families and, particularly, to care for children.

Torresan (2012) explored some of the reasons why international migration became an alternative strategy for young middle-class Brazilians in Lisbon, who hoped

to maintain their class position. Torresan's (2012: 111-112) study showed that the chaotic Brazilian economy had encouraged them to leave, in addition to lack of opportunities to fulfil their life expectations, a sense that their citizenship was being undermined, and a sense that their own lives and the country's situation would not improve during their working lives, disillusion with the social and political situation in Brazil, an experience/feeling of estrangement, and middle-class ideology that included notions of individualism, citizenship, modernity, and democracy. In a study carried out in Lisbon and Mato Grosso do Sul (Brazil), Padilla (2006: 04) explored the determinants of Brazilian migration to Portugal, showing that their migration was related to push factors in Brazil (poverty, economic instability, unemployment, low salaries, and lack of opportunities, among others) and pull factors in Portugal (booming economy, growing demand of labour for construction and service at restaurants and hotels, among others). Other factors included the consequences of globalisation (including credit facilities to travel, cheaper air fares, fast circulation of information about tourism and employment opportunities), and social networks (ibid.). Wall and Nunes (2010: 401), on the other hand, mapped the new plurality of Brazilian female migration trajectories in Portugal, noting that their migration was underpinned by labour market and financial factors: unemployment, the need to increase their income or pay debts and to save up to achieve a specific goal; an opportunity to find a job with a higher salary or to build a better life for themselves and their families. Van Meeteren and Pereira (2013: 10-12) examined the strategies and routes of Brazilian migration to Portugal and the Netherlands, noting that the migration to these countries was related to opportunities for work, to earn money to send back home, study motivations such as higher education (Portugal) and language (the Netherlands), to seek life experiences and culture, to travel in Europe, sexual freedom (tolerant attitudes towards homosexuality), and migration to join family or loved ones.

Yamanaka (1996: 73) explored the return migration of Japanese-Brazilians to Japan, showing that their migration was related to economic recession in Brazil in the

1980s, demand for labour in Japan, and extensive social networks and recruiters in Japan. Phillips (2007) also examined the determinants of Japanese-Brazilian return migration to Japan, noting the importance of the relationship between sending and receiving countries, economic inducements, cultural diffusion, and Japanese immigration policy. McKenzie and Salcedo (2014: 75-78) also studied Japanese-Brazilians in Japan, noting the importance of economic factors (seeking opportunities to improve one's life, escaping unemployment, and supporting one's family), and cultural factors (getting to know Japan). The study also noted that both the economic and cultural reasons for emigration were weakening (ibid.: 75). Tsuda (1999: 02-05) examined the motivations of Japanese-Brazilians to migrate to Japan, showing that their migration was related to structural economic factors (prolonged economic crisis and declining wages in Brazil and an acute labour shortage in Japan) to maintain their privileged way of life/standard of living, to buy a house, purchase consumer goods, open a business, to support their families and attain the unmet expectations of the relatively well off. Zell and Skop (2011: 480) explored Japanese-Brazilian migration to Japan and the USA, showing the importance of economic motives and family factors (to join family members) in their migration to these countries. These empirical patterns and general trends and themes summarised above will be relevant to the study findings analysed in Chapter 5.

#### **2.2.2.2. The determinants of return migration**

A relatively small body of literature is concerned with the return migration of Brazilians living abroad. Referring to this literature, the previous studies were concerned with the return of Brazilians living in Japan (Baba, 2009; Baba and Sanchez, 2012; Mckenzie and Salcedo, 2014), USA (Marcus, 2009), Portugal (Fernandes and Castro, 2013; Pereira and Siqueira, 2013), the UK (Ornellas and Coutinho, 2017), the UK and Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016), Ireland, Belgium and Portugal (IOM, 2009a), and Ireland (Gouveia, 2015).

Baba and Sanchez (2012) examined the return migration of Japanese-Brazilians in São Paulo, noting the importance of pull factors (in Brazil) and push factors (in Japan). Among pull factors, the personal category had the highest percentage (64.1%), which was followed by social (60%), economic (17.9%), and familial (10.5%) dimensions; while among the push factors, the social category had the highest percentage (30%), followed by personal (10.8%), familial (5.6%), and economic (5%) dimensions (Baba and Sanchez, 2012). In contrast, McKenzie and Salcedo (2014: 75-78) found that Japanese-Brazilians had been motivated to return by homesickness and to be with family members, to be among their own culture, because of the high cost of living in Japan, or because they met their savings target. Return migrants were also asked about the most important difficulties they faced in Japan. The three most important difficulties given were communication, reported by 46% as the main difficulty, adaptation to the habits and customs of Japan, cited by 18% as the main difficulty, and longing for Brazil, reported by 17% as the main difficulty (McKenzie and Salcedo 2014: 75-78). In turn, Baba (2009: 18-19) found that Japanese-Brazilians had been motivated to return by pull factors related to personal (64.1%), social (60%), economic (17.9%), and familial dimensions (10.5%), and push factors related to social (30%), personal (10.8%), familial (5.6%) and economic dimensions (5%).

Among Brazilians in the USA, Marcus (2009: 494) noted that those who said that they had left Brazil for financial and curiosity reasons were the most likely to return to their homeland; their strategy consisted of imagined rapid financial gains in a short time and a return to Brazil after four to six years. Marcus (2009: 494) also noted that those who left Brazil for reasons that included education, family, and escape are more likely to remain in the United States. In contrast, Pereira and Siqueira (2013) examined the actual return migration of Brazilians in the USA and selected European countries (Portugal, the UK, the Netherlands, and Norway). In the USA, Brazilians returned because of the economic crisis, the increase of immigration inspections and deportations, fear of deportation, and rise of the cost of living; while Brazilians in Europe returned mainly

because of the economic crisis and family reasons (Pereira and Siqueira, 2013: 126-131). Fernandes and Castro (2013) examined the return migration of Brazilian migrants in Portugal. Most participants said that they returned due to family reasons (45,2%), while another group (16,6%) said that the economic crisis was the main reason for their return (Fernandes and Castro, 2013: 112).

Ornellas and Coutinho (2017: 73-79) examined the return of Brazilians in the UK, showing that their return to Brazil was related to family reasons, job offers, the economic crisis, and lack of perspective in the country of origin, and search for a certain quality of life. Studies by Schrooten et al. (2016: 1206) and an IOM (2009a) study assessing the return migration intentions of Brazilian migrants from European countries found the main reasons for returning were due to improvements in social and economic conditions in Brazil, accomplishing their migration goals, to rejoin family or due to unemployment, or not earning enough income. The IOM study also noted that the majority of those in an irregular situation were uncertain how long they could stay in their host countries or when they would leave the EU (ibid.: 67). Finally, Gouveia (2015) examined the return of Brazilian immigrants in Naas, Ireland. She found that the will and motivations to return home were visible in a certain unfamiliarity with Ireland, which could be appreciated through the constant references to Brazil, the fact that only Portuguese was spoken at home, the national flag displayed around the house as well as the photographs neatly organised around the fireplace, "The food, the language, the objects, every little thing cried Brazil" (Gouveia, 2015: 8). These empirical patterns and general trends will be relevant to analysing the study findings in Chapter 6.

## **2.3. Theoretical framework**

### **2.3.1. Theorising departure and return**

Since the influential work by the geographer Ravenstein (1885, 1889) and his 'Laws of Migration' was published, a variety of other migration theoretical models have been

proposed to explain why international migration begins.<sup>14</sup> In their multiple detailed reviews of the empirical support for different theories, Massey *et al.* (1993; 1998; 2005) conclude that none of these theoretical perspectives fully explain migration; rather, each of these views leads to different emphases and conclusions. Moreover, different disciplines and theories provide different views on migration, which are often complementary rather than mutually exclusive (Castles *et al.*, 2014; Brettell and Hollifield, 2014). Nevertheless, Massey *et al.* (2005) also argue that the appropriate theoretical approach needs to be chosen according to the particular context in which it is applied and the question under examination. The following subsections discuss the literature on five principal theoretical frameworks - neoclassical economics (NE) theory, the new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory, network theory, transnational theory and translocal theory - that have been used to analyse the determinants of migration and return migration. Although each strand of literature has been analysed separately to allow a better understanding of its theoretical assumptions, the study aims to take a holistic view to observe the interplay between the different theoretical approaches.

### **2.3.1.1. The neoclassical economics (NE) theory**

Neoclassical economics (NE) is arguably the best-known, widely used, and most influential migration theoretical model in contemporary migration research (Arango, 2000:285; Massey *et al.*, 2005:18; Castles *et al.*, 2014). The model was developed originally to explain labour migration in the process of economic development (Lewis, 1954; Ranis and Fei, 1961). It was further advanced and given its classical form by Harris

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<sup>14</sup> Based on an analysis of the literature, it was found that the most influential migration theoretical models are: 'Human Capital Theory' (Sjaastad, 1962), the 'Push-Pull model' (Lee, 1966), the Neoclassical model' (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970), 'Migration Systems Theory' (Mabogunje, 1970), 'Transition Theory' (Zelinsky, 1971), 'World System Theory' or 'WST' (Wallerstein, 1974), the 'New Economics of Labour Migration' (Stark, 1978), 'Dual Labour Market theory' (Piore, 1979), and 'Cumulative Causation Theory' (Massey, 1990b), among others. Despite the long standing history of some of these modules, they are still regarded as classical theoretical works and widely cited in the literature and applied to research.



and Todaro, whose work focused on the causes of rural-urban migration in low-income resource-constrained countries (Todaro, 1969; Harris and Todaro, 1970; Todaro, 1976), but has also been applied to international migration (Castles et al., 2014). This influential “Harris-Todaro model” has remained the basis of neoclassical theory (de Haas, 2008:5). The simple and compelling explanation of migration offered by neoclassical theory strongly shaped public thinking and immigration policies globally (Massey *et al.* 1993:433; Castles, 2004:208). The model has both macro-level and micro-level elaborations (Kurekova, 2011; Massey et al., 2005:18-19). This research will draw on the latter, the micro-model, but before describing it in detail, a general background on the neoclassical migration theory is given below.

At the macro-level, NE explains migration through geographical differences in labour supply and demand; other markets (e.g. insurance, capital, and credit) are assumed to be complete and well-functioning (de Haas, 2008). Less industrialised countries possess surplus-labour, but lack capital; on the other hand, highly industrialised countries have excess capital but require a greater labour force (Chirium, 2005). Therefore, such spatial differences in capital and labour supplies stimulate potential migrants to move across regions to access higher earnings and fill labour gaps (Massey et al., 2005: 18-19). This theoretical assumption informs both the macro and micro-level. Arguably, this was precisely what brought Brazilian labour migrants to Gort in the first place. The closure of a meat processing factory in Anápolis coincided with the recruitment of skilled workers by Irish factory owners who sought to fill the labour shortage in the West of Ireland (McGrath, 2010). Again, it seems that the most prominent reason to move to Ireland was the supply and demand of labour. Still, this logic would not explain the later arrivals since the meat factory, which first attracted workers to Gort, eventually closed in the summer of 2007.

The reason why individuals respond to structural differences between countries and engage in migration is addressed by the micro version of the neoclassical theory

(Todaro, 1976). According to this theory, migration is the result of individual decisions made by rational actors who seek to improve their wellbeing by moving to places where the reward of their labour will be higher (Arango, 2000:285). It is, therefore, an individual, voluntary and rational act, which rests on the comparison between the present situation of the actor and the expected net gain of moving, and results from a cost-benefit calculation (Castles et al., 2014).

Most migration theorists have considered migration from the point of view of the individual actor (Sjaastad, 1962; Lee, 1966; Todaro, 1969), and individual decision models have spawned a vast research literature (de Jong and Garden, 1981). The works of Schultz (1962) and Sjaastad (1962), the founders of Human Capital Theory, are often cited as creating the grounding theoretical structure that views migration as the result of an individual rational cost-benefit calculation. Sjaastad (1962) viewed migration as an investment that increases the productivity of “human capital”, such as knowledge and skills. Human capital theory thus helps to explain the selectivity of migration, the phenomenon that migrants tend to come from a particular sub-section of the population (Castles et al., 2014). This seems to explain what happened in Anápolis initially – only those with skills to work in the meat processing plants were selected by employers in Gort and Roscommon (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010).

NE also assumes that migration becomes a personal investment that will be made only if returns for this behaviour are justified (de Jong and Fawcett, 1981). It suggests that current and future monetary and nonmonetary costs and benefits must be weighed in some fashion before movement will be undertaken (Somers, 1967; de Jong and Fawcett, 1981). Central to this rational-choice approach is the figure of *Homo Economicus*, an “independent individual, with a fixed preference schedule, rationally weighing the costs and benefits of leaving one area to another to maximise his or her utility” (Loyal, 2011:26). The theory assumes that the choice is primarily based on whether the immigrant will gain higher economic returns in the destination country

(Loyal, 2011). In other words, individual rational actors decide to migrate because a cost-benefit calculation leads them to expect a positive net return, usually monetary, from their movement (Massey et al., 1993:434).

Despite asserting that rational individuals migrate for income-maximisation, income transfers in the form of remittances are outside the realm of NE (Massey *et al.*, 1994). This is because the model assumes that the labour market is complete and well-functioning and that production decisions are independent of the household budget and other sources of income (Taylor 1992). Individuals are also assumed to relocate permanently and play a minor role in the economic life of the sending community thereafter (Massey et al., 1994). The only way outmigration influences the local economy, according to NE, is through its effects on prices and incomes, by shifting the supply of labour and by raising or lowering wages (Massey et al., 1994). Unfortunately, there is no research or data available to confirm if the significant diminishment of the number of workers in Anápolis may have caused wage rates to rise, thus halting the tendency to migrate to Ireland. This is a critical point regarding this study since one of the main goals is to understand why this established migrant flow declined (see Chapter 6). From a neoclassical stance, immigrants leaving their host countries to return home are an anomaly in the process and represent a failure of their migration experience (Cassarino, 2004; Binci, 2012). The model thus assumes that returnees did not manage to take advantage of their experience abroad and were obliged to return (Cassarino, 2004; Binci, 2012).

This section will briefly discuss return migration according to the neoclassical theory. Like the initiation of migration, NE views return migration as a cost-benefit decision, with actors deciding to stay or return to maximise expected net lifetime earnings (Constant and Massey, 2002:9-10). In this regard, from a NE point of view, “return occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected” (Cassarino, 2004:255). In other words,

migrants did not successfully maximise their expected earnings. This logic of seeing returning migrants as failures or mistaken migrants, according to Constant and Massey (2002:10), “would explain why the hazard of return migration is greatest just after arrival and falls overtime”. It would also predict “negative selectivity concerning wages, employment, and occupational achievement in the destination country... if migrants were successful on these dimensions why would they return home?” (Constant and Massey, 2002:10). Overall, NE views migrants as individuals who maximise not only their earnings but also the duration of their stay abroad to achieve permanent resettlement and family reunification (Cassarino, 2004). Indeed, although many Brazilians came to Gort as single people or left their spouses and children behind, members of their families have since joined them in Gort (Healy, 2006). The intention was primarily to stay for a short time and return to Brazil with the money saved (Healy, 2006). However, many settled more permanently (CSO, 2006; 2011; 2016). Concerning financial capital, NE assumes that no income or savings from abroad are repatriated. The theory also holds that skills acquired abroad can hardly be transferred to countries of origin because they do not correspond to local needs; human capital is wasted (Cassarino, 2004).

While rigorous and valuable in understanding the selective nature of migration, NE has been subject to considerable criticism (Jackson, 1986; Castles and Miller, 2003; Kurekova, 2011; Loyal, 2011; Castles et al., 2014). In general, NE has been viewed as mechanically reducing migration determinants, ignoring market imperfections, and homogenising migrants and migrant societies (Kurekova, 2011). It has also been accused of ignoring the effects of states, politics, and policies, which are only considered as distortion factors or additional costs (Kurekova, 2011). The role of states is also seen as an aberration that disrupts the “normal” functioning of markets (Castles and Miller, 2003). However, an examination of contemporary migration shows that states (particularly receiving countries) play a significant role in initiating, shaping, and

controlling movements (Castles and Miller, 2003; de Haas, 2011; Van der Brug et al., 2015; Geddes & Scholten, 2016; Loyal, 2018).

Accounting for both the strengths and the criticisms of the neoclassical economics, this theory will be used in this study to examine Brazilian migration to Gort in terms of scale (micro), agent (individuals), reasons for migrating (maximise income or utility; to reap higher lifetime earnings), temporal dimension (permanently), type of migration (individual and family), community concerned (host community) and remittances patterns (anomalous) (Massey et al., 2005; Massey et al., 1993).

### **2.3.1.2. The new economics of labour migration (NELM) theory**

There seems to be a growing consensus in the current literature that migration is part of a subsistence strategy pursued by families and households (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010; de Haan et al., 2000). This perspective has been explored through an economics lens within the NELM, a theory developed by Oded Stark in the 1980s, in cooperation with David Bloom, David Levhavi, and J. Edward Taylor. Primarily, NELM emerged as a critical response to NE that conceptualises migration as the result of a cost-benefit calculation of income-maximising individuals operating under perfect markets (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010). But it also represents an advance over the historical-structural models (Castles and Kosack, 1973, Piore, 1979, Petras, 1981), which suppose a lack of human agency (Abreu, 2012:55).<sup>15</sup>

Unlike the NE model, NELM does not posit complete and well-functioning markets. It recognises that in many countries, especially the less industrialised spaces, capital and insurance markets may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible to the poor (de

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<sup>15</sup> According to Bakewell (2010:1694) human “agency is taken to refer to the capacity for social actors to reflect on their position, devise strategies and take action to achieve their desires”. On the other hand, the notion of social structure is concerned with “any recurring pattern of social behaviour; or, more specifically, to the ordered interrelationships between the different elements of a social system or society” (Scott & Marshall, 2009 quoted in Bakewell, 2010:1695-95).

Haas, 2010b). This, in turn, creates barriers to their economic advancement. In the absence of social protection mechanisms, households send one or more workers to foreign labour markets to self-insure against risks to income, production, and property or gain access to investment capital (Massey et al., 1994). The lack of social security and income risks also increases the importance of mutual help and risk-sharing among people (Castles et al., 2014). This is one of the main reasons that this study draws upon NELM. Previous research has shown that most Brazilians living in Gort are low-skilled migrants<sup>16</sup> from working-class backgrounds (McGrath, 2010). However, NELM seems less relevant to explain the migration of the higher-skilled and relatively well-off classes (Castles et al., 2014).

NELM has strong parallels with the so-called “livelihood approaches”, which evolved from the late 1970s among geographers, anthropologists and sociologists conducting micro-research in developing countries (see Ellis, 2003; Bryceson, 1999). They noted that the poor cannot be reduced to passive victims of global capitalist forces but instead exert human agency by trying to actively improve their livelihoods despite the different conditions in which they live (Lieten and Nieuwenhuys, 1989). Research has shown that under circumstances of uncertainty and economic hardship – especially in low income less industrialised countries –people organise their livelihoods not individually but instead within wider social collectivities (Castles et al., 2014). Therefore, rather than a response to emergencies and crises, NELM argues that migration is often a pro-active, deliberate decision by the family and community to improve their livelihoods and mitigate the risks of income insecurity (de Haan et al., 2000; McDowell and de Haan, 1997).

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<sup>16</sup> According to UN DESA (1998:10) a low-skilled migrant is “A migrant worker whose level of education, occupational experience, or qualifications make them eligible to practice a typically low skilled occupation only.”

A key insight of NELM is that migration decisions are not made by isolated individual actors (as assumed by NE), but by larger units of related people, typically families or households, but sometimes communities too (Stark and Bloom, 1985). Unlike individuals, households are arguably able to control risks to their economic wellbeing by diversifying the allocation of household resources (Massey et al., 1993). Family members migrate not only to maximise expected income but also to minimise risks and loosen constraints associated with a variety of markets. In this context, migration decisions are often made jointly by the migrant and by some groups of non-migrants (Stark and Bloom, 1985). Stark and Bloom argue that “costs and return are shared, with the rule governing the distribution of both spelled out in an implicit contractual arrangement between the two parties” (1985:173). They further argue that this approach “does not view the family as an entity that is split apart as its independence-seeking younger members move away in an attempt to dissociate themselves from familial and traditional bondage, regardless of the negative externalities thereby imposed upon their families” (ibid.: 174). Moreover, this approach shifts the focus of migration from individual independence to mutual interdependence; that is, it views migration as a “calculated strategy” and not as an act of desperation or boundless optimism (ibid.: 174-175).

NELM introduces the notion of family strategy, which highlights the mutual interdependence between migrants, their families, and social networks, and emphasises risk handling and risk pooling (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Cohen, 2011). Migration is analysed at the household level and is seen as a form of social insurance (Piché and Dutreuil, 2013). Households also provide a means of “bridging the gap between social and individual levels of analysis” (Schmink, 1984:87). Goss and Lindquist define households as “the primarily productive and reproductive unit, defined by a single utility function and acting strategically in pursuit of its collective interest” (1995:327). NELM assumes that households rationally allocate capital and labour resources to provide for the productive needs of their members (Goss and Lindquist, 1995). Under this

conception, “migration of individual members or the entire household unit represents a strategy at the household level to achieve a fit between resources such as land or capital, the consumption needs of its members and the alternatives for generating monetary and non-monetary income” (Boyd, 1989:645).

However, Stark (1991) argues that placing the family, rather the individual, at the centre of the migration decision does not mean that the behaviour of individuals should be ignored, but rather that it should be studied in the context of these relationships. For him, the migration of family members underlines the importance of relationships in decision-making. However, migration also implies that the intrafamily exchanges and transfers must be governed by explicit or implicit contractual arrangements (Stark, 1991). As Taylor (1999:75) notes, “migrants and their households of origin are bound together by mutually beneficial, informal contracts, including an agreement to provide income insurance to one another.” However, since arrangements between a migrant and their family are voluntary, they must be self-enforcing (Stark and Bloom, 1985; Stark and Lucas, 1988).<sup>17</sup>

Viewing return migration through the lens of NELM theory, the model assumes that people seek to migrate abroad temporarily for limited periods of paid labour, either to remit earnings or accumulate savings in anticipation of an eventual return home (Constant and Massey, 2002:10). Furthermore, “the processes of safeguarding families from market risks is decided by the whole family, rather than a matter of cost and benefit analysis based on the decision of individual migrants” (Chirium, 2005:28). Moreover, NELM theory views return as the normal outcome of a successful experience abroad during which migrants met their goals (e.g. higher incomes and accumulation of savings) while remitting part of their income to the household (Cassarino, 2004:255). Rather than being a mistake, return migration represents the final stage of a pre-established plan

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<sup>17</sup> For further insights on the determinants of migrant remittances, see Carling (2008b).



(Constant and Massey, 2002). Finally, Stark (1996:26) argues that these “calculated strategies... [are] a way of stressing the fact that migration decision can no longer be viewed as an act of desperation or boundless optimism.” According to the NELM theory, the returnee represents the successful migrant whose goals have been achieved in the destination country; the returnee is a financial intermediary and a target winner. Concerning financial capital, the theory assumes that remittances are insurance against misfortune and a help to family members. The theory also maintains that the acquisition of skills varies with the probability of return (Cassarino, 2004).

Despite a growing consensus that migration is part of various livelihood strategies pursued by households or families (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010:542; de Haan et al., 2000:28; McDowell and de Haan, 1997:18), NELM has been subjected to criticism on conceptual and empirical grounds (Abreu, 2012; de Haas and Fokkema, 2010:543; Goss and Lindquist, 1995:327; Folbre, 1986). One main criticism is that the model was built on the same methodological individualism and rational choice assumptions of NE theory (Abreu, 2012). It has also been criticised for ignoring dynamics at the structural level (except for market incompleteness) and failing to address how an individual migrant’s agency interacts with structural constraints (Abreu, 2012:58). Because of the above shortcomings, the model does not allow for migration to be analytically linked to broader processes of social transformation (Castles, 2010; Van Hear, 2010; Portes, 2010). The model has also been accused of substituting the rational, calculating individual with a rational, calculating household, as Folbre (1986) puts it, “the household as an individual by another name”. This conception “mystifies the social process by which interests are defined and decisions made within the household and repeats the errors of voluntarism in Neoclassical approaches to social explanation” (Goss and Lindquist, 1995: 327). It is a mistake, they argue, to conceive of the household as a necessarily unified strategic actor (ibid.: 327). On the contrary, as the primary

productive unit and resource-allocating mechanism, the household is also a primary point for the exploitation of labour and the transfer of value (ibid.).

Accounting for both the strengths and the criticisms of NELM, this theory will be used to examine Brazilian migration to Gort in terms of scale (micro and meso), agent (households), and reasons for migrating (to diversify sources of income and to overcome market constraints), temporal dimension (temporary), type of migration (individual), community concerned (origin) and remittances (expected) (Massey et al., 2005; Massey et al., 1993).

### **2.3.1.3. Network theory**

Today, many migration scholars emphasise the role of networks and information in starting and sustaining migratory movements (Haug, 2008; de Haas, 2008, 2009; Liu, 2013; Castles et al., 2014; Comola and Mendola, 2015). Usually, the first migrants who leave have no social ties to draw upon in destination regions, and for them, migration is costly (Massey, 1990). This is the main reason why the first international migrants are usually not from the working and lower classes of society, but from the middle range. de Haas (2010a) argues that network dynamics are not immediately set in motion after the departure of the first migrants. If that was the case, he claims, all initial migration moves would evolve into migrant networks and migration systems formation (de Haas, 2010a). Because of the nature of kinship and friendship structures, each new migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination region (Massey, 1990b). Massey et al. (1987) described in some detail the early development of migration network formation. For them, migrant networks evolve gradually, as migrants discover niches in destination regions, and a circular migration pattern develops over time. This process evolves further into highly efficient cost-reducing mechanisms, from which subsequent migrants can draw upon (ibid.). Once this process happens, migration is considered to have developed a momentum that allows it to function independently of originating forces and constraining policies (Gurak and Caces, 1992).

Arguably, the role of migrant networks on the decision to migrate depends on the characteristics of both the individual and the network (Liu, 2013). The literature has focused mainly on the role of strong ties (Coleman, 1988) and weak ties (Granovetter, 1973). Strong ties consist of those in which there is an important emotional linkage and/or frequent, routine interaction, usually among close family and households (Gurak and Caces, 1992). Weak ties are linkages that lack an emotional connection, usually represented by ties among extended family, friends, and acquaintances (Gurak and Caces, 1992). Granovetter (1973) argues that weak ties are more likely to serve the important bridging function of social structuring than strong ties. The line of reasoning for this argument is that “strongly tied networks are inherently limited in scope because their maintenance requires the investment of considerable time and emotional resources” (Gurak and Caces, 1992:162). Consequently, networks depend on weak ties to extend their reach and resources. Indeed, Palloni et al. (2001:1295-1296) found that “networks based on kinship are not necessarily the most efficient or most salient in shaping migration decisions... weaker ties or friendships or acquaintance may be equally or more important than kinship ties.” Another study, analysing migration from Senegal to Europe, found that friendship networks played a key role in male migration, and the weakest weak-ties were more influential than strong-ties (Liu, 2013:1272). Because of the importance of social ties, it is more likely that large-migration diffusion through networks occurs among relatively poor, low-skilled migrant groups, “with a ‘moderate’ level of group identity, cohesion and ‘strong ties’” (de Haas, 2010a: 1610).

Migrant networks are also a mechanism by which migration flows change, leading to less positive or even negative self-selection of migrants (Liu, 2013). The theory alerts us to the distinctive patterns in which groups from certain countries or regions migrate to a specific range of destinations in other countries (Loyal, 2011). For example, the Brazilian workers that once made up over 30% of Gort’s overall population arrived from one village in Brazil, Vila Fabril in Anápolis, where the meat industry went

into decline (Sheringham, 2009). Although kinship networks play an important role in fostering migration, they also tend to exclude other people not belonging to the particular social group, especially in the context of restrictive immigration policies (De Haas 2003). This points to the “downside of social capital”, argued by Portes and Landolt (1996:3, quoted in de Haas, 2008: 20), as “the same strong ties that help members of a group often enable to exclude outsiders”. The theory also assumes that migration selectivity tends to decrease after the initial stages of pioneer migration, leading to a dispersal of migration across communities (de Haas, 2008).

Networks are not normatively defined and they can take on a range of forms, more so than other institutionalised social arrangements such as families and households (Gurak and Caces, 1992). In addition, networks are not spontaneous and ephemeral, as their structures evolve over time and with the nurturing of relationships (Gurak and Caces, 1992). Despite the difficulties around its definition, migration scholars tend to treat networks as sets of kin and friend ties that are always present in migrations, and through which information and other resources are channelled (Gurak and Caces, 1992). In this context, social networks have been defined mainly “as the personal relationships which are accumulated when people interact with each other in families, workplaces, neighbourhoods, local associations and a range of informal and formal meetings places” (Zadeh and Ahmad, 2009:643). In the context of migration, migrant networks “are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas” (Massey et al., 2005:42). Membership in networks includes ties of kinship, community, friends, strong and weak acquaintances that create migration streams and migration chains (Loyal, 2011).

The size and breadth of migrant networks are thought to lead to continued international migration flow, long after changes in the original migration-inducing structural conditions (Liu, 2013; Massey et al., 1993; Boyd, 1989). This is because Network Theory assumes that “acts of migration at one point in time systematically alter

the context within which future migration decisions are made, greatly increasing the likelihood that later decision-makers will choose to migrate” (Massey et al., 1993:449). This means that we need to take into account the impact of migration at both the sending and receiving points (de Haas, 2010a). For instance, one might ask what the factors were engendering Brazilian migration to Gort in 1999 and what are the factors sustaining it today. As the number of immigrants increases, a network of information, assistance, and obligations develop between migrants and non-migrants (Boyd, 1989), further strengthening the process. Every new migrant expands the network further and reduces the risks for later migrants, eventually making the process virtually risk-free and costless (Massey et al., 2005). At a later stage, when migrant networks are well developed, they put a destination job within easy reach of most community members, making migration a reliable source of income (Massey et al., 2005).

The process is perpetuated further because once a critical number of migrants have settled at the destination, it creates the social structure to sustain the process (Castles et al., 2014; Massey et al., 2005; Massey, 1990). In addition, the choices made by pioneer migrants influence the location choices of subsequent migrants. Therefore, the formation of a migrant community at one destination increases the likelihood of more migration to the same place (Castles et al., 2014). It has also been argued that, once a movement is established, the migrants mainly follow “beaten paths” (Stahl, 1993) and are helped by relatives and friends already in the area of immigration (Castles and Miller, 2003). Already settled migrants often function as “Bridge heads” (Bocker, 1994), reducing the risks and costs of subsequent migration and settlement by providing information and assisting in the adaptation process (Castles et al., 2014:40). Thus, one can conclude that networks facilitate migratory processes by “decreasing the risks and costs of moving and offering a support network that provides specific and detailed information and practical knowledge about types and availability of jobs, wages, conditions, and accessing accommodation in the receiving country” (Loyal, 2011:30). It

is most likely that some of the Brazilians working in Gort fell into this category since the meat factory, which first attracted workers to Gort, eventually closed in the summer of 2007. Despite this, later arrivals managed to find work in a wider range of activities (see McGrath, 2010:149). In summary, social networks may facilitate migration in five dimensions:

- 1- Contact with migrants shows individuals that they may be better off in a place other than their current residence.
- 2- Migrant networks reduce travel costs by providing information on safe and cheap routes and reduce emotional costs.
- 3- Assimilation shock is lessened when migrants arrive at a destination where others speak their language.
- 4- Migrant networks also increase the expected benefit of migration, as already settled migrants help new arrivals find jobs.
- 5- Finally, migrant networks help to reduce living expenses and provide financial assistance upon arrival (Curran and Rivero-Fuentes, 2003:290).

Regarding the theorising of return migration, the network theory stipulates that return migration is more likely to occur in the early stages of migration when networks in the host country are not yet well developed (Massey et al., 1990; Gashi and Adnett, 2015). In addition, network theory views returnees as the bearers of tangible and intangible resources (this assumption is also supported by the transnational approach) (Cassarino, 2004). However, as Cassarino (2004) points out, such linkages are not necessarily dependent on Diasporas, as defined by transnationalism. Rather, in a network theoretical stance, linkages reflect an experience of migration that may provide a significant adjunct to the returnees' initiatives back home. Both network theory (and the transnational approach) views returnees as migrants who maintain strong linkages with their former receiving societies (Cassarino, 2004; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Network theory asserts that migrants are more likely to return to their original regions if

they maintain ties with their former place of settlement (Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Furthermore, network theory also constitutes that skills acquired abroad in the form of knowledge, experience, social contacts, and values are the determinants of return migration (Naveeda et al., 2017). Moreover, according to network theory, return migration “is not the end of one’s journey abroad, but rather a piece of the puzzle that completes the picture of the entire migration experience cross borders” (Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017).

Although the evidence that networks shape the composition of migration is fairly strong (Comola and Mendola, 2015; Liu, 2013), there is a tendency to accept the arguments of network theories uncritically (de Haas, 2008:20). For de Haas (2008; 2010a), there remain two fundamental theoretical weaknesses. First, current theories cannot explain why most initial migration moves do not lead to migration networks and systems formation; second, their circular logic, that migration will go on *ad infinitum*, reveals an inability to explain the weakening and crumbling of networks and migration systems (de Haas, 2010a:1596). There has also been the tendency to conflate social networks with migrant networks or the progressive evolution of the former into the latter (Goss and Lindquist, 1995:319)<sup>18</sup>. There is a tendency towards the idealisation of community, with social networks being conceived of as “the result of universal human bonds” (Massey et al., 1987:139), and the presumption that as migrant networks evolve, they provide almost universal access to all members of the community (Goss and Lindquist, 1995:330). However, research has shown the “downside of social capital” in communities (see Portes, 1998) and the selectivity power of social networks around group and gender lines (Liu, 2013; McKenzie and Rapoport, 2010; Curran and Rivero-

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<sup>18</sup> Social networks are generally defined as webs of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origins (Massey et al., 1993:448). Meanwhile, migrant networks “are the mechanisms which link together spatially distant places and connect the different scales of social, economic and political organization” (Goss and Lindquist, 1995:329).

Fuentes, 2003). Finally, there has been little empirical work on how these networks operate, whether and how they vary by ethnic and policy contexts, and on the role of networks in determining the origin and destination sites of migrants (Gurak and Caces, 1992:150-157). Despite these criticisms, however, social networks are a key element in explaining not only the perpetuation of migration flows over time, but also aspects such as the incorporation of migrants into the labour market (Morales, 2016) and adaptation into the social fabric of the new society (Molina et al., 2011:533). Finally, it provides the basis for processes of settlement and community formation in the immigration era (Castles and Miller, 2003)

Accounting for both the strengths and critiques of network theory, this theory will be used to examine the perpetuation of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort over time and space – from 1999 to 2018. Network theory will facilitate an analysis of the case study, considering (1) the clustering of migrants in Gort from a specific region in Brazil, (2) a similar social background among migrants, (3) the persistence of migration long after the end of original migration inducing structural conditions, and (4) new arrivals are mainly people who have lived in Gort previously or have social ties there. These are strong indicators of the importance of social networks on the persistence of migration and the selectivity of migrants in Gort.

#### **2.3.1.4. Transnationalism**

Cassarino (2004:7) points out that “Transnationalism constitutes an attempt to formulate a theoretical and conceptual framework aimed at a better understanding of the strong social and economic links between migrants’ host and origin countries.” Migrants were long thought of as people who needed to cut off most of the ties they had with social networks in their former country of residence (Gielis, 2009). However, research on transnationalism has since challenged this view and has argued that immigrants are increasingly able to maintain and forge new relationships with their home country (Glick Schiller et al., 1992a, 1992b; Portes, 1997, 2001; Faist, 2000; Vertovec, 2001; Carling,



2008a; Tedeschi et al., 2020). This shift in perspective arose through a set of key texts in anthropology (Glick Schiller et al., 1992a, 1992b; Basch et al., 1994). Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992a, 1992b) were the first scholars who felt that migration studies needed new concepts with which to understand the in-between life worlds of migrants. They came to understand that the multiplicity of migrants' involvements in both the home and host societies is a central element in transnationalism (Schiller et al., 1992a: IX). Transnationalism was defined by these authors as "the process by which transmigrants, through their daily activities, forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement, and through which they create transnational social fields that cross national borders" (Basch et al., 1994:6). Similarly, Guarnizo (1997:287), asserts that "the term transnationalism refers to the web of cultural, social, economic, and political relationships, practices, and identities built by migrants across national borders." Guarnizo makes a distinction between group and individual transnationalism. At the group level, "transnationalism is understood as a series of economic, sociocultural, and political practical and discursive relations that transcend the territorially bounded jurisdiction of the nation-state"; while at the individual level, "transnational practices and discourses are those that are a *habitual* part of the *normal* lives of those involved" (Guarnizo, 1997: 288). Thus, according to Guarnizo (1997), transnationalism implies a bidirectional exchange of tangible and intangible resources (such as people, money, ideas, cultural symbols, and others) across national borders. Moreover, according to him, transnational migration includes, but cannot be limited to or equated with, constant spatial mobility of people between nations (Guarnizo, 1997). Studies have shown that the increase in transnational migration has been largely attributed to deteriorating social and economic conditions in both countries of origin and settlement, as well as experiences of discrimination and racism in the receiving country (Negi et al., 2018).

Migrants are understood to be transmigrants when they “develop and maintain multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organisational, religious, and political that span borders. Transmigrants take actions, make decisions and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously” (Schiller et al., 1992b:1-2). However, not all immigrants become transnational (Tedeschi et al., 2020) or can sustain transnational lives. Moreover, migrants need to regularly maintain these transnational relationships and activities, otherwise, they can no longer be considered transnational (Portes et al., 1999). Transnational social spaces (fields) created by transmigrants “are combinations of ties, positions in networks and organizations, and networks of organizations that reach across the borders of multiple states” (Faist, 2000: 191). Similarly, Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004: 1009) define transnational social fields as “a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are exchanged, organised, and transformed.” These spaces, according to Faist (2000), denote dynamic social processes, not static notions of ties and positions. Tedeschi et al. (2020: 3) has a similar understanding, pointing that “This process of meaningful relation-building is not static, but is continuously evolving and becoming, greatly contributing to the forging of people’s dual or plural identities and sense of belonging.” Transnational social spaces have implications for the understanding of migration as it “indicates ... that migration and remigration may not be definite, irrevocable and irreversible decisions – transnational lives in themselves may become a strategy of survival and betterment” (Faist, 2000:191).

Vertovec (2001) argues that heightened attention to these kinds of phenomena and processes has marked, for many scholars, a significant shift in the ways contemporary international migration is understood. As Caglar (2001: 607) puts it, transnationalism represents “a new analytic optic which makes visible the increasing intensity and scope of circular flows of person, goods, information, and symbols triggered by international labour migration.” Furthermore, transnational spaces carry important

implications for the study of settlement and integration of migrant communities in receiving countries (Faist, 1998; de Haas, 2010b). De Haas (2010b: 247), for instance, points out that “[t]his transnationalization of migrants’ lives has challenged assimilationist models of migrant integration, as well as the modernist political construct of the nation-state and citizenship.” The implication is that well-defined dichotomies of “origin” or “destination” and categories such as “permanent”, “temporary”, and “return” migration are increasingly difficult to sustain in a world where migrants’ lives are characterised by simultaneous circulation and engagement with two or more societies or communities (de Haas, 2010b: 247; de Haas, 2005)<sup>19</sup>.

This section will explore the implications of transnationalism for understanding return migration. A growing number of studies assess the effects of transnational ties on return migration (Cassarino, 2004; Horst, 2007; de Bree et al., 2010; de Haas and Fokkema, 2011; Carling and Erdal, 2014; Negi et al., 2018). A methodological problem concerns the overlap of the concept of return migration with the concept of migrant transnationalism (Carling and Erdal, 2014). de Bree *et al.*, (2010:451), for instance, asserts that “the concept of transnationalism challenges the dichotomies of permanent versus temporary settlement by pointing out that migrants are not necessarily oriented towards either origin or destination countries, but can identify with several places, communities and societies at the same time” (see also Vertovec, 2001). Also, the two concepts are not always distinct phenomena, as Carling and Erdal (2014:2) noted, “return migration is sometimes an elusive concept that blurs into sustained transnational mobility”. Furthermore, “since return migration need not be a permanent physical move, but rather something enmeshed in sustained transnational mobility, the two phenomena overlap” (2014:2). However, they acknowledge that most migrants do not have the

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<sup>19</sup> This has fundamental implications for the study of migration and development, according to de Haas (2010b: 247), because this implies that integration in receiving societies and commitment to origin societies are not necessarily substitutes, but can be complements.

opportunity to lead intensively transnational lives, but rather spend most of their time in the destination country or move permanently back home or move elsewhere (Carling and Erdal, 2014).

Unlike advocates of the NELM approach, return does not constitute the end of a migration cycle in the view of transnationalism; the migration story continues (Cassarino, 2004). In fact, according to this perspective, “return migration is part and parcel of a circular system of social and economic relationships and exchanges which facilitates the reintegration of migrants while conveying knowledge, information and memberships” (Cassarino, 2004: 7). Transnationalism draws attention to return migration as a migratory journey in its own right, rather than simply the reversal or end of another one (Hatfield, 2011). From this perspective, returnees prepare their reintegration at home through periodical and regular visits to their home countries (Cassarino, 2004). This perspective also assumes that migrants retain strong links with their home countries and periodically send remittances to their households (Cassarino, 2004).

Despite having been widely applied to migration research, transnationalism, according to Vertovec (2001), does not represent an altogether new theoretical approach but one that inherently builds upon several preceding ones<sup>20</sup>. For Vertovec, “differences and similarities with prior theories of migration and immigrant experience should be elucidated so that we can realise whether theoretical advances are really being achieved, or whether we are merely pouring old wine into new bottles.” (ibid: 576).

Transnational theory will be used in this research to examine patterns of transnational practices (e.g. sending remittances, facilitating migration) (Carling, 2008a; 1992b) and transnational mobility resources (citizenship, residence permits, cultural and linguistic competence) (Carling, 2008a) among Brazilian migrants. This approach will

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<sup>20</sup> Including those of the Chicago School of Sociology and the Manchester School of Anthropology (Vertovec, 2001).

facilitate an examination of the maintenance of transnational relationships and activities (economic, social, cultural, and political) (Portes et al., 1999) and the effects of transnational ties on return migration among the participants.

### **2.3.1.5. Translocal theory**

The application of translocality as a research perspective is currently gaining momentum among an increasing number of scholars from different research traditions (Brickell and Datta, 2011a, 2011b; Smith, 2011; Hatfield, 2011; Greiner, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Sakdapolrak et al., 2016; Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017; Haarman and Langevang, 2020; Djurfeldt, 2021). Contributions come from migration studies (Brickell and Datta, 2011b), area studies (Oakes and Schein, 2006), urban studies (Main and Sandoval, 2015), history (Freitag and Oppen, 2010), economic geography (Lange and Buttner, 2010), development studies (Grillo and Riccio, 2004), cultural anthropology (Appadurai, 1996) and human ecology (Rios and Watkins, 2015, cited in Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017). Most of these scholars are concerned with the dynamics of mobility, migration, and socio-spatial interconnectedness (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). Porst and Sakdapolrak (2017) have framed translocality as an approach to comprehend embeddedness while being mobile. For them (*ibid.*: 112), “the concept of translocality seeks to provide a frame to understand mobility, peoples’ embeddedness while being mobile, and how mobile and immobile actors (re-)produce connectedness and thereby reshape places” (see also Brickell and Datta, 2011a; Freitag and Oppen, 2010). Translocal practices are not only considered multi-sited but also multi-scalar (Brickell and Datta, 2011a). Moreover, according to Brickell and Datta (2011a: 3), “Translocality draws attention to multiplying forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in people’s lives.” As Oakes and Schein (2006: 1) argue, translocality “deliberately confuses the boundaries of the local in an effort to capture the increasingly complicated nature of spatial processes and identities, yet it insists on viewing such processes and identities as place-based rather than exclusively mobile, uprooted or

travelling.” These studies usually build on insights from transnationalism while attempting to overcome some of its limitations (Brickell and Datta, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). Transnationality is seen as a way of situating earlier deterritorialised notions of transnationalism by taking an agency-oriented approach to transnational migrant experiences (Brickell and Datta, 2011a).

The concept of translocality has been critically influenced by research on transnationalism (Brickell and Datta, 2011a; Hatfield, 2011; Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017). Transnationalism accounts for both global interconnectedness and the persistence of nation-states by linking these phenomena to migrants’ practices (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017). Following the shift towards a more “grounded transnationalism” (Brickell and Datta, 2011a: 3), translocality theorists are concerned with local contexts and the situatedness of mobile actors (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013). However, as Hatfield (2011) asserts, these aims are not exclusive to the notion of translocality and do not in themselves distinguish it from transnationality. What translocality offers, she argues, that is different from transnationalism is an emphasis on the local rather than the national (Hatfield, 2011). Thus, extending transnationalism insights, translocality “addresses processes and practices producing local-to-local relations and thereby enunciates the simultaneity of mobility and situatedness in specific places” (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017: 112). Smith (2011: 181) also approached transnationalism from the vantage point of translocal connections, understanding translocality “as a mode of multiple emplacements or situatedness both here and there.”

The term translocality embodies a multitude of definitions and concepts that derive from insights from studies on transnationalism (Basch et al., 1995). Along these lines, Greiner (2011: 610), for example, defines translocality as the emergence of multidirectional and overlapping networks created by migration that facilitate the circulation of resources, practices and ideas and, thus, transform the particular localities

they connect (see also Greiner, 2010). Translocality, thus, according to Greiner (2011), refers to the dynamics, linkages, and interdependencies of the multidimensional social space connecting migrants' areas of origin and destination. Likewise, Freitag and Oppen (2010: 5, cited in Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017: 112) define translocality as "all phenomena which are created by circulations and transfers" of people, goods, ideas, and symbols, spanning spatial and ideological distances across boundaries at different scales. Similarly, Hannerz (1998: 239) views translocalities as sites that are "intensely involved in mobility and in the encounters of various kinds of mobile people...". For Appadurai (1996: 192), translocalities are imagined or virtual neighbourhoods that emerge at the articulation of media and mobility. Translocality thus encompasses the re-shaping of "physical, political, social and cultural spaces and localities by mobility" (Bromber, 2013: 63). Despite the varied definitions and concepts, translocality is widely defined in the literature as an umbrella term to describe mobilities and multiple forms of spatial connectivity (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013).

Common to most writings about translocality is an analytical focus on place as the setting of grounded movements (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Brickell and Datta, 2011a; Sakdapolrak et al., 2016). Brickell and Datta (2011a: 6) argue that an approach to translocality means that we have to take seriously the material, embodied, and corporeal qualities of the local – the places where situatedness is experienced. We must also, they argue, examine the places where this local resides – in other words – a multi-sited approach to migration design (ibid.). Brickell and Datta (2011a: 6) take a place-based rather than place-bound understanding (McKay, 2006: 201) of the local, which means that as people become more mobile, so too do locales become stretched and transformed (Castree, 2004: 135). They also draw on the work of Massey (1999: 22), who asserts that places "may be imagined as particular articulations of social relations, including local relations 'within' the place and those many connections which stretch way beyond it." (Brickell and Datta, 2011a: 6). For Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013: 377), this

approach implies a “transgressing of locally bounded, fixed understandings of place and at the same time emphasises the importance of places as nodes where flows that transcend spatial scales converge.” However, a focus on places and localities does not mean a neglect of global processes, but rather as Marcus (1995: 102) puts it, “the global is collapsed into and made an integral part of parallel, related local situations” and is, therefore, a vital part of the analysis (cited in Sakdapolrak et al., 2016: 89).

Authors have also applied the translocality approach to returning migration (Hatfield, 2011; Haarman and Langevang, 2020). According to Hatfield (2011), the very notion of return migration speaks to the continuing importance of place in the experience of migration. This is because, she argues, “specific locations are integral to the definition of ‘return’ because it occurs when migrants go back to a place of origin – somewhere they are from, or they or others perceive them as being from – in which they may, or may not, have lived before” (Hatfield, 2011: 55). In addition, “the notion of translocality is one way of conceptualizing separations between different migratory journeys, highlighting connectivity between the day-to-day localities that migrants move from, to and between” (Hatfield, 2011: 55). In her empirical research, Hatfield (2011) employed the concept of translocality to analyse the relation between places and return migration of British families returning to the UK. The study highlighted the importance of place in exploring the everyday nature of return migration, especially the small-scale domestic places in which migrating families create a home. It emphasised, in particular, the role of homes in the UK as enduring localities for migrants, even when they were physically absent during their time spent living in Singapore. The study argued that these homes were symbolically and imaginatively incorporated into the temporary homes the participants made in Singapore. Their return “did not mean an end to their translocality, however, as they then transported souvenirs of their home and everyday lives in Singapore back to the UK” (Hatfield, 2011: 56). Furthermore, “these translocal practices highlight the importance of this scale of analysis by illustrating how domestic spaces are central do



migrants' homemaking and experiences of return migration" (ibid.: 56). Haarman and Langevang (2020), on the other hand, examined how returnees in Ghana's creative industries seek to capitalise on translocal affiliations by deploying different forms of capital in their business practices. The study identified three practices – compensating, fusing, and switching - through which returnee entrepreneurs configure capital to seize opportunities and deal with the challenges of running a business. The practice of compensating encompasses efforts to compensate for encountered obstacles in Ghana by taking advantage of unique translocal positions. Fusing involves creatively blending local and foreign aesthetics and business approaches, while switching implies social situations through changing bodily appearances and speech. The study findings demonstrated that using capital back home is not merely a matter of transferring capital from abroad, but a translocal practice where capital is carefully configured (Haarman and Langevang, 2020).

Translocal theory will be adopted in this research to examine the translocal connections (Verne, 2012) between the two regions concerned – Gort in Ireland and Anápolis Brazil. This approach will facilitate an examination of the translocal practices of the participants, which are multi-sited but also multi-scalar (Brickell and Datta, 2011a, 2011b). In other words, drawing on translocal theory, the study will "address processes and practices producing the local-to-local relations and thereby enunciates the simultaneity of mobility and situatedness in specific places" (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017), in this case, in Gort and Anápolis. Finally, the translocality approach will be applied to understand the return migration of Brazilian migrants in Gort.

### **2.3.2. Theorising circular migration**

Circular migration has caught the attention of researchers and policymakers, with a growing body of literature in recent years (Vertovec, 2006; Constant and Zimmermann, 2011; Quinn, 2011; Wickramasekara, 2011; Skeldon, 2012; Constant et al., 2013; Hugo,

2013; Castles and Ozkul, 2014; Constant, 2020). The term circular migration has become fashionable in international migration policy circles (Vertovec, 2006; Castles and Ozkul, 2014: 27), particularly in continental Europe (Skeldon, 2012: 43). However, circular migration is not a new phenomenon or a new form of migration (Constant et al., 2013); rather, it is an old phenomenon, most notably demonstrated in internal or rural-urban migration (Bedford, 2009; Wickramasekara, 2011). Vertovec (2006) argues that much of the interest in circular migration stems from the way migration itself is now widely understood. He pointed out that many scholars and policymakers came to understand migration largely through a paradigm that emphasises the importance of border-crossing social networks (ibid.). Vertovec (2007: 2) argues that this shift to circular migration has come through “a rather sudden realisation that remittances, the transnational flows of many earned by migrants abroad, have become a major global economic resource.” This shift has been reflected in policy documents and debates. For example, the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) in 2005 concluded that “the old paradigm of permanent migrant settlement is progressively giving way to temporary and circular migration” (GCIM, 2005: 31 cited in Castles and Ozkul, 2014: 27). This debate was further stimulated in Europe through the European Commission’s 2007 communication on circular migration and mobility partnership (Quinn, 2011; Castles and Ozkul, 2014). Although a relevant policy debate in Europe, Quinn (2011) argues that Ireland has no formally articulated vision or policy on managed non-EU circular migration. She also pointed out that there is no evidence of seasonal non-EU migration at any significant scale and immigration-related incentives for circular migration do not exist in Ireland (ibid.). However, she pointed out that there is evidence that circular and temporary migration patterns exist within the EU12 population in Ireland (Quinn, 2011).

The principal analytical problem lies in defining just what circular migration might be (Skeldon, 2012; Castles and Ozkul, 2014). Cassarino (2008a) makes three important observations on the dynamics of circular migration: it involves not only legally admitted

migrants; not all migrants are circular migrants; and various patterns of cross-border circularity exist “which are shaped not only by the mobility strategy of migrants but also by state policies in the field of migration management and border controls” (Cassarino, 2008a: 1). It is important to differentiate unregulated systems from regulated systems of circular migration. According to Constant et al. (2013), unregulated systems are established by the migrants themselves, while regulated systems are based on collaborations and diplomatic agreements between states and employers. In addition, studies have shown that circular migration has a self-perpetuating nature, especially in its unregulated form (Massey and Espinora, 1997; Constant and Zimmermann, 2011). In this context, Constant and Zimmermann (2011), Constant et al. (2013) and Constant (2020) describe circular migration as the systematic and regular movement of migrants between their home countries and host countries as they look for work. For Hugo (2013: 2) and Wickramasekara (2011: 9), circular migration refers to repeated migration experiences between an origin and destination country involving more than one migration and return. In other words, it denotes a situation in which migrants can move between an origin country and one or more destination countries repeatedly for stays of varying durations (Castles and Ozkul, 2014). Similarly, according to Newland and Agunias (2007: 4), circular migration “is the fluid movement of people between countries, including temporary or more permanent movement which, when it occurs voluntarily and is linked to the labour needs of countries of origin and destination, can be beneficial to all involved.” A clear definition is important, as Skeldon (2012: 44) asserts, because if circular migration cannot be clearly defined, policymakers are neither going to be able to manage it nor design policies specifically for it. Circular migration should also be differentiated from return migration, which usually refers to a single emigration and return after an extended absence; and commuting, which involves daily movement, returning each night to a single place of residence (Hugo, 2013).

Migrant-rights advocates have typically viewed circular migration with skepticism (Hugo, 2013). However, many experts and policy makers have come to recognise the benefits that well-managed circular migration can bring to destinations, origins, and to migrants themselves (Constant, 2020: 5; Skeldon, 2012: 43-44; Hugo, 2013: 1; Vertovec, 2006: 2). Circular migration is frequently characterised in policy documents as a triple win (Vertovec, 2006; Castles and Ozkul, 2014). It can give destination countries the flexibility to overcome skills shortages – in both skilled and unskilled occupations – while adapting to long-term labour market shifts (Hugo, 2013). Countries of origin can benefit from the inflow of remittances for development (Vertovec, 2006; Castles and Ozkul, 2014; Constant, 2020), relieve labour surpluses, and provide the local economy with an influx of new skills and capital (Hugo, 2013). For the migrants, circular migration offers the opportunity to gain experience, learn skills, access employment and higher wages abroad while retaining valued connections in their origin countries (Hugo, 2013; Skeldon, 2012; Vertovec, 2006). Moreover, circular migration betters the lives of the migrants themselves (Constant, 2020). In addition, it is also thought that the expansion of circular migration programs increases the opportunities for safer, legal migration from the developing world (Agunias and Newland, 2007). However, critics of current policies on circular migration argue that the supposed benefits to origin countries and migrants are often not achieved (Castles and Ozkul, 2014: 28). Such critics see circular migration as attractive to destination countries as it allows these countries to meet their migrant labour shortages but does not allow the migrants to become part of the population (Castles and Ozkul, 2014: 28; Skeldon, 2012). In other words, as Skeldon (2012: 43-44) rightly asserts, “Circular migration is not immigration.” Moreover, according to these critics, circular migration reflects the desire of destination countries to “bring in labour but not people” (Wickramasekara, 2011: 85-86)<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>21</sup> Similar to the intentions of past ‘guest worker policies’ in Europe (Castles, 2006).

This research will analyse the mechanisms engendering circular migration flows in the case study. Although net Brazilian in-migration to Gort has slowed down, circular patterns of migration and exchange are on the increase.

### **2.3.3. Theorising the migration decision-making process**

Decision-making is a universal concern among people seeking to migrate (Cairns, 2021). According to Baláž et al. (2016), migration decisions are complex, involving both economic and non-economic considerations, and are often made in conditions that depart significantly from the idealised information assumptions of many models (see DeJong and Fawcett, 1981; DeJong, 2000; Judson, 1990; Chi and Voss, 2005). Migration decisions are also multifaceted because migration has diversified into various forms, including work, education, training, lifestyle, leisure, among others (Cairns, 2021). According to DeJong and Gardner (2013: 2), the concept of decision-making “refers to the formation of an intention or disposition that results in a migration behaviour – the decision itself is sometimes conceptualized as composed of two parts: the decision to move or stay and the choice of one destination among various alternatives.” Cairns (2021) asserts that “while it is not impossible that decisions will be impulsive, a large degree of premeditation is more likely considering the need to plan and make provision for departures and arrivals.” In addition, people planning to migrate need to accumulate sufficient levels of social and economic capital before departure (Cairns, 2021).

According to Baláž et al. (2016: 36), existing migration research provides limited insights into many aspects of complex migration decision-making processes. Moreover, migration decision-making processes have been explored through migration theories (DeJong, 2000; Haug, 2008), theoretical decision-making models (DeJong and Gardner, 1981; DeJong, 2000; Chi and Voss, 2005; Bushin, 2009; Thompson, 2017; Baláž et al., 2016) and empirically (Tabor et al., 2015). Within this body of literature, there is considerable debate regarding the units of analysis for proper migration decision studies

(Chi and Voss, 2005). Neoclassical (NE) migration theory, for instance, argues that it is the individual and individual-level characteristics that drive migration decisions (Chi and Voss, 2005). This model assumes that a cost-benefit approach underlies the decision-making process (Haug, 2008). NE also assumes that “human capital is a determining factor in migration decisions, as the qualification level correlates with the probability of finding a job and with the wage level at the place of destination” (Haug, 2008: 587). The new economics of labour migration (NELM), on the other hand, argues that the family is the reasonable decision-making unit (Da Vanzo, 198). NELM theorists such as Mincer (1978) have suggested that migration decision studies should be conducted at the family level rather than the individual level because it is the net family gain rather than net personal gain that drives migration of households (quoted in Chi and Voss, 2005: 13). Migration decision-making processes have also been explored through network frameworks. Network frameworks seek to explain the dynamics of migration decision-making in the process of pioneer and subsequent chain migration and the embedding of networks in migration systems (DeJong, 2000). Researchers have also explored migration decision-making processes through theoretical decision-making models. DeJong (2000), for instance, drew on the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1988) to propose a migration decision-making model of planned behaviour. The theory, which comes from social psychology, states “that intention are the primary determinant of behaviour, and are a product of social norms – perceptions of what significant others think about the behaviour – and expectations that one will attain valued goals as a consequence of the behaviour” (DeJong, 2000: 309). In adapting and applying the theory of planned behaviour to migration decision-making, DeJong (1999; 2000) argues that the major proposition is that intentions to move are the primary determinant of migration behaviour along with direct behavioural constraints and facilitator factors – the primary one being prior migration behaviour. On the other hand, Chi and Voss (2005) propose a hierarchical regression approach to migration decision-making. They argued that while migration decision-making has long been studied using mover-stayer models (Blumen,

Kogan and McCarthy, 1955) and standard regression models (Shaw, 1975), they are not well suited to small- and large-scale heterogeneities (migration propensities) (Chi and Voss, 2005: 11). Instead, they argue that the advantage of the hierarchical regression models is that: (1) it can include spatial analysis; (2) the variations across groups can be estimated; (3) the variations within and across groups and the reliability of the coefficients can be estimated; and (4) it combines both individual characteristics and aggregate-level characteristics in the model, thus allowing researchers to avoid both ecological and atomistic fallacies in the interpretation of results (Chi and Voss, 2005: 13). Another author, Bushin (2009), proposes a children-in-families approach to researching family migration decision-making. She argues that a children-in-families approach requires that researchers include children in their research frameworks and allow children to be active research participants. She further argued that using a children-in-families approach to researching family migration decision-making within a qualitative research framework allows for an exploration of children's agency in making migration decisions (ibid.: 432). Moreover, she argues this approach "enables the plurality of family contexts to be acknowledged, the perspectives of parents and children to be documented, and the possibility of children's agency in family contexts to be considered" in migration decisions (ibid.: 439). Her findings showed that in almost half of the families who participated in the study, children were either consulted or participated in the family migration decision-making process (ibid: 439). Thompson (2017) proposed a geographical imagination<sup>22</sup> approach that can account for the complexities of culture and place on migration decision-making processes. According to Thompson (2017), a geographical imagination approach can account for the impacts of culture and place on migration decision-making in four interlinked ways: "it is sensitive to the influence of geographical scales, to ideas of culture and place, to understandings

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<sup>22</sup> According to Thompson (2017: 79) geographical imaginations are the mental images people hold of different places and of the people living there.

of both home and away, and is able to account for non-migration” (ibid.: 78). He also pointed out that this approach is flexible and wide-reaching in nature and does not overlook the importance of economic, social, and political influences (ibid.). Finally, researchers have explored migration decision-making processes empirically. Tabor et al. (2015), for instance, explored migration decision-making of skilled, self-selected migrants to New Zealand from the United Kingdom, India, and South Africa. The study showed that for nearly all participants, the initial step in the decision process was to assess whether or not to leave their country of origin. Nearly all participants considered where they would move to as the second major decision in the process. And finally, after the decision of where to settle was made, migrants usually focused on selecting the right time to go (ibid.: 32-33).

#### **2.4. Conclusion**

This chapter has reviewed the existing empirical and theoretical literature on the determinants of migration and return migration within both the Irish and Brazilian contexts. Empirical patterns and general trends are identified, and specific attention is given to a selection of themes of particular relevance to the case study. It discussed the determinants of migration and return migration through the lens of five migration theories: neoclassical migration (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network, transnational and translocal. These theories form the theoretical framework underpinning the study. In particular, the NE and NELM theories are used to examine Brazilian migration to Gort in terms of its scale (micro vs. meso), agent (individuals vs. households), reasons for migrating (maximise income or utility; to reap higher lifetime earnings vs. to diversify sources of income and to overcome market constraints), temporal dimension (permanent vs. temporary), type of migration (individual vs. family), community concerned (host vs. origin) and remittances patterns (anomalous vs. expected) (Massey et al., 2005:20-21; Massey et al., 1993:435-436). Network theory is used to examine the perpetuation of Brazilian migration to Gort, considering (1) the



clustering of migrants in Gort from a specific region in Brazil, (2) a similar social background among migrants, (3) the persistence of migration long after the end of original migration inducing structural conditions, and (4) new arrivals are mainly people who lived or have social ties in Gort. Drawing on transnationalism, on the other hand, facilitates an examination of transnational practices patterns and transnational mobility resources and the maintenance of transnational relationships and activities among the participants. The research draws on translocal theory to examine the translocal connections between the two regions concerned and the translocal practices of the participants. Finally, the study will draw on these theoretical approaches to examine the determinants of the return migration of Brazilian return migrants leaving Gort, as well as the literature on circular migration and the migration decision-making process. This chapter has provided an overview of the literature on the determinants of migration and return migration and explained the choice of the theoretical framework applied in this study. The next chapter will describe the methodology and methods used to collect the necessary data to accomplish the research aims.

## **Chapter 3 - METHODS**

### **3.1. Introduction**

This chapter outlines the methodological framework adopted for the study and situates it within methodological debates surrounding research on the determinants of migration. The study adopts a multi-method qualitative approach, including the use of in-depth interviews, informational questionnaires, and participant observation. Also, it draws upon other secondary public access data sources from both the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in Ireland and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in Brazil. The chapter is structured into five main sections. The first discusses the methodology selected - case study methodology and the constructivist approach. The sampling strategy, settings, and the multi-sited approach are discussed in the second section. The third describes both the data collection and data analysis methods applied. The fourth section outlines the ethical procedures used to access sites and participants, to protect the privacy of the participants and the confidentiality of the data, and provides an analysis of the positionality of the researcher. The last section sums up the chapter.

### **3.2. Methodology selected**

The research design is based upon an inductive qualitative approach to examine practices of migration. Qualitative research can be defined as “a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning” (Shank 2002:5). It is applied to gain insight into people’s attitudes, behaviours, value systems, concerns, motivations, aspirations, culture, or lifestyles (Duvell, 2012), notably the interactions on the micro-level (Blumer 1969). In migration research, qualitative research is needed to provide deeper understandings of both the individuals and communities involved in migration (Castles 2012:21). Moreover, it recognises “the value of depth over quantity and works at delving into social complexities to truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, lived experiences, and belief systems that are a part of individuals, institutions, cultural

groups, and even the everyday” (O’Leary 2010:113). Furthermore, the “goal is to gain an intimate understanding of people, places, cultures, and situations through rich engagement and even immersion into the reality being studied” (O’Leary 2010:114). A qualitative approach allows for a more profound understanding about “how social experience is created and given meaning” (Denzin and Lincoln 2008:14), two critical factors in migration. Since the purpose of this study was to examine the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from Gort in Ireland from the migrant population perspective, a qualitative approach was selected as the most appropriate choice.

### **3.2.1. Case study methodology**

This qualitative study was performed using case study methodology (CSM). CSM is an increasingly popular approach among qualitative researchers (Thomas, 2011) and has been widely used in the social sciences in general (Stake, 1995; Simons, 2009; Marriam, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Tight, 2015). CSM has a strong historical tradition in the study of migrant populations; for example, the Chicago School used it extensively to study immigrant groups in the USA (Tellis, 1997). Recently, CSM has been widely applied to examine the migration of nurses (Zucker, 2001; McGloin, 2008; Anthony & Jack, 2009; Freeman et al., 2012; Cope, 2015).

CSM contains both positivist and constructivist inclinations (Stake, 2005; Marriam, 2009; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Yin, 2014). Scholarship within these two schools has contributed to the theoretical and methodological advancement of CSM and its popularity across disciplines (Tight, 2015; Creswell, 2013; Thomas, 2011; Simons, 2009; Gomm et al., 2000). Bryman explained that a positivist philosophical position in research advocates the application of the methods of the natural sciences to the study of social reality, whilst a constructivist philosophical position asserts that social actors are continuously forming social phenomena and their meanings (Bryman, 2008; 2012).

This study was conducted using CSM with a constructivist approach, according to which social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction, but they

are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008; 2012). A constructivist perspective in qualitative inquiry also focuses on the socially constructed character of living realities and the interactional constitution of meaning in everyday life (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; 2011:341). Within this tradition, CSM draws together “naturalistic, holistic, ethnographic, phenomenological, and biographic research methods” (Stake, 1995: XI-XII). Moreover, the constructivist paradigm “assumes a relativist ontology (there are multiple realities), a subjectivist epistemology (knower and respondent co-create understandings), and a naturalistic (in the natural world) set of methodological procedures” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011: 13). Thus, “[t]erms like credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability, and objectivity” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011:13). By contrast, a positivist approach to defining a case study involves developing a clear research protocol (plan) with careful consideration of validity, bias, and measurement (Hyett *et al.*, 2014:2).

CSM has a level of flexibility that is not readily offered by other research approaches (Yin, 2014:9). For instance, it allows in-depth empirical inquiry into contemporary phenomena and within their real-life contexts, especially when the boundaries between the phenomenon and the context are not evident (Yin, 2009). It has the power to be descriptive, yields explanatory insights and a holistic understanding of the studied phenomenon (Babbie, 2008), rendering it ideal for exploring migration processes. More importantly, it is open to the use of theoretical and conceptual categories (Meyer, 2015). In other words, CSM allows researchers to apply theoretical frameworks to research. Furthermore, CSM’s unique strength lies in its ability to deal with a wider variety of data sources (Yin, 2014: 12). Understanding the logic inherent in these strengths was important in helping to clarify the suitability of the CSM approach for this study.

Stake defines a case as “a specific, a complex, functioning thing” (1995: 2). He elaborates further, “case study is the study of the particularity and complexity of a single

case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (ibid.: XI). Therefore, “[t]he qualitative researcher emphasizes episodes of nuance, the sequentiality of happenings in context, the wholeness of the individual” (ibid.: XII). Similarly, Marriam (2009: 46) sees CSM as “particularistic, descriptive and heuristic.” For Thomas (2011: 512), the “analytical eclecticism” of qualitative CSM is a defining factor. Likewise, Creswell (2013: 97) argues that a qualitative case study approach “explores a real-life, contemporary bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in depth data collection involving multiple sources of information... and reports a case description and case themes.”

The classification of the type of case is important as it informs the methodological design and clarifies the research questions (Hyett et al., 2014; Stake, 1995). However, there is no agreement in the literature on the types of cases and methodological procedures (see below) (Yin, 2014). Stake (1995:4), for instance, proposes three types of cases:

- (1) Intrinsic Case Studies that are used to understand the particulars of a single case;
- (2) Instrumental Case Studies that provide insight on an issue or can be used to refine theory;
- (3) Collective Instrumental Case Studies is when several cases are studied to form a collective understanding of a broader issue.

Stake argues that it is important to make this distinction, as the methods used will be different depending upon intrinsic or instrumental interests (Stake, 1995: 4). On the other hand, Yin (2003) argues that there are three types of case studies:

- (1) Explanatory Case Studies that test existing theories;
- (2) Descriptive Case Studies that provide narrative accounts;
- (3) Exploratory case studies that can be used to help generate new theories.

Finally, Thomas (2011:11-18) distinguishes between:

- (1) Theory-Building case study; and
- (2) Theory-Testing case study.

With a theory-building case study, the aim is to develop ideas, starting in much the same way as with an exploratory case (Yin, 2003) but taking the process much further (Thomas, 2011:112). On the other hand, with a theory-testing case study, there is the assumption that there is some sort of explanatory framework available and that researchers have made a few theoretical assumptions (Thomas, 2011:115). Considering the theoretical insights above and considering the constructivist tradition, this research was designed as an instrumental case study, which, according to Stake (1995), is used to provide insight on an issue - in this case, Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland - or can be used to refine theory.

Traditionally, case study research has not used formal designs, as might be the case for survey or experimental research, for instance (Yin, 2014:49). As a consequence, there are virtually no specific requirements guiding case study research, as opposed to other qualitative or quantitative research strategies, such as grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) or surveys (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1981) (Meyer, 2015:17). Prominent commentators such as Yin (2014), Stake (1995), and Eisenhardt (1989) give useful insights into the case study as a research strategy; however, they leave most of the design decisions to the researcher. This is both a strength and a weakness of CSM. It is a strength because it allows researchers to tailor their design and data collection procedures to their case study; however, this flexibility has resulted in many poor case studies, further adding to the criticism of the CSM (Meyer, 2015:17). The fact that CSM is a rather loose approach does not mean that researchers are not required to follow sound methodological procedures in their case studies (Meyer, 2015:17). On the contrary, despite the type of case study chosen, investigators must exercise great care in designing and following case studies to overcome the traditional criticisms of the method (Yin, 1994). As Yin reminds us, case study “remains one of the

most challenging of all social science methodologies” (2014:3). Yin (2014:56) insists that before a total commitment to the case is made, researchers must define the unit of analysis, draw an operational definition, and exercise caution. This, in turn, will ensure the case is relevant to the issues and questions of interest (Yin, 2014).

### **3.3. Sampling and setting**

#### **3.3.1. Sampling design**

There are many known strategies for recruiting participants for semi-structured interviews (Longhurst, 2003:149). In this study, for instance, the researcher recruited the participants himself in both research sites, using three non-probability sampling techniques: convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and purposive sampling. In convenience sampling, researchers simply accept every case they can conveniently access, up to the point where the sample is large enough. In snowball sampling, researchers use a case (already within the sample) to assess further cases that could be included (Montello & Sutton, 2013). In purposive sampling, the sample is “handpicked” for the research; this technique is applied when the researcher already knows something about the specific people, thus allowing them to deliberately select valuable cases for their research (Denscombe, 2003). These three techniques were applied in both communities – Gort (Ireland) and Anápolis (Brazil). The collection of data was more easily implemented in Gort due to its small population (about 2,994 people) and the clustering of the Brazilian community. On the other hand, interviews in Anápolis were more challenging to collect due to the size of the city (about 365,000 people) and access difficulties.

In Gort, the participants were recruited mainly through purposive and snowball sampling. A pilot study was carried out from June 19<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017. This being the first visit to Gort, the primary aims of this pilot field trip were: (1) to build trust and interpersonal relations with key members of the Brazilian community; (2) to develop an understanding of the region, city landscape, social and cultural life; (3) to visit the

Brazilian Pentecostal Congregation churches; and (4) to visit local associations and NGOs. The field trip to Gort was a success, with the vast majority of the objectives being met. While in Gort, the researcher was able to build trust and interpersonal relations with a significant number of Brazilians, especially among the Pentecostal community, who were very welcoming and open. These initial contacts were vital because they helped the researcher access other, less forthcoming members within the community, thus allowing the collection of primary data to run smoothly and efficiently. The researcher also had the chance to observe the everyday experiences and activities of the Brazilian community and how they interact with locals. Finally, the researcher gained an understanding of the Brazilians living in Gort, i.e. their immigration status, familial and employment situations, and region of origin in Brazil. Having a clearer conception of their group profile was very important for the development and writing of the study methodology and in designing the interview and informational questionnaires guidelines (see Chapter 3).

The purposive sampling strategy was initially effective, as it allowed the researcher to draw from the pool of people he had already encountered. From this initial sample group, he then asked for references of other suitable people (a snowball sampling approach). However, convenience sampling became appropriate as the researcher came across suitable people, especially while attending church and social services and going to the market square. The market square is by far the most important place in Gort for meeting Brazilians (mostly men). The reason for this is because it is the place where most of the unemployed migrants gather every morning during the week looking for work (see Figure 10, Chapter 4). They stand there waiting for employers (primarily local farmers) to come over and select them for casual labour. The researcher was aware of the market square and its significance due to media reports and an RTE documentary (Mac Cormaic, 2008; Pereira, 2008; RTE, 2009; BBC, 2009), and thanks to the pilot field trip to the town.



On the other hand, purposive sampling was initially crucial to building up the sample in Anápolis, considering that the researcher already knew something about the specific people, the region under investigation and had some established connections and recommendations gained from those based in Ireland, thus allowing him to deliberately select valuable cases for the research. Additionally, convenience sampling was crucial to identifying participants in Anápolis as the researcher came across suitable people. Initially, the researcher's tactic was to build a social group of friends and learn about the local context and way of life. This was achieved by applying the same logic as in Gort (i.e. visiting Vila Fabril, local churches, the city centre, the municipal market, street fairs, local business, and attending social gatherings). As the researcher built a small pool of acquaintances through these efforts, he was then able to apply the snowball sampling method.

### **3.3.2. Sample**

The research fieldwork lasted for five months, between May and September 2018. During this period, 85 individuals were interviewed, of which 45 were based in Gort (Ireland) and 40 in Anápolis (Brazil). Of these, 14 interviews were with couples, 23 were with individual females, and 34 were with individual male participants (Table 1). Couples were interviewed together; however, the questions were posed individually to capture the account and experiences of each participant.

The interview topics and themes were structured around the two main aims of the research: (1) the determinants of migration and (2) the determinants of return migration. (See more details in the interview section below). To build a richer understanding of their background, family dynamics, and migration experiences, the study also carried out a questionnaire completed by all 85 participants (Table 2). The sample was relatively larger than what is usually required in qualitative research due to the need to identify patterns in the determinants of migration and return migration among Brazilian migrants across the two communities (Table 3). The sample was drawn from two primary target populations: target population 1 is the entire current Brazilian

population of Gort; target population 2 is the whole Brazilian population that *once* lived in Gort. The sampling frame of this research encompassed all adults covered in target populations 1 & 2. Young people under 18 and children were not included due to research ethics constraints and special permissions required to work with this population.<sup>23</sup>

**Table 1.** Number of interviewees by location, couple/individual and gender

LOCATION	COUPLE INTERVIEWS	INDIVIDUAL FEMALE INTERVIEWS	INDIVIDUAL MALE INTERVIEWS
GORT	06	10	23
ANÁPOLIS	08	13	11
<u>SUBTOTAL</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>34</u>
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS INTERVIEWED</b>	<b>85</b>		

**Table 2.** Number of questionnaire respondents by gender and location

LOCATION	INDIVIDUAL FEMALE QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS	INDIVIDUAL MALE QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS
GORT	16	29
ANÁPOLIS	21	19
<u>SUBTOTAL</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>48</u>
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS</b>	<b>85</b>	

**Table 3.** Number of research participants by gender and location

	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL
GORT	16	29	45

<sup>23</sup> However, children represent a significant part of the community, as previous research has shown that approximately 40% of children in primary school and 10% of children in secondary school in Gort are Brazilian (Sheringham, 2009).

ANÁPOLIS	21	19	40
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>85</b>

Although a more detailed profile of the participants' backgrounds in each community is provided in Chapter 4 [see Tables 15 to 19 and 23 to 27] and Appendices A and B, this section summarises some key information about the overall sample. In particular, the sample was comprised of 48 males (56.47%) and 37 females (43.53%). Participants were aged between 18-70 (average age 44 years). Among the sample, 18 were less than 35 years old, 40 were aged between 35 to 50, 22 were aged 51 to 60 and 5 were aged 61 to 70. The majority were mature people, middle-aged or older, a notable indicator of labour migration flows. In terms of marital status, 58 participants were married, 16 were single, 9 were separated or divorced, and 2 were cohabiting. The ages, gender, and marital patterns of participants are displayed in Table 4 below.

Regarding the sector of employment and occupation, the empirical evidence showed that most participants were immersed in a variety of sectors: cleaning and housekeeping, construction, meat-processing, farming/agriculture, commerce, babysitting/care work, gardening/landscaping, painting, hairdressing/salon/barber, churches, factory work, accountancy, and mechanics. Most of the women worked in cleaning/housekeeping, babysitting/elderly care, hairdressing/salon, and factory work, while most of the men worked in construction, carpentry, mechanical work, and painting/gardening.

**Table 4.** Gender, age, and marital status of the study participants

GENDER	AGE		MARITAL STATUS		
Male	48	Less than 35	18	Married	58
Female	37	Aged 35 to 50	40	Single	16
Other genders	0	Aged 51 to 60	22	Separated or divorced	9

### **3.3.3. Setting**

#### **3.3.3.1. A multi-site approach**

While migration involves, by definition, places of origin and destination, research has been dominated by studies that focus on the countries of destination and, concomitantly, studies of immigrants within recipient nations (Beauchemin, 2014). Acknowledging the shortcomings of previous migration studies, this research examines the determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort from the perspective of both the sending and receiving communities. To achieve this, the study drew on a multi-sited approach (MSA) (Amelia, 2010; Amelia & Faist, 2012; Beauchemin, 2014; Fauser, 2018; King, 2018), also known as multi-sited ethnography (Marcus, 1995). Multi-sited approaches are currently one of the most popular methodological tools among migration researchers, especially among those carrying out transnational research (Levitt, 2001; Horst, 2009; Fauser, 2018).

Multi-sited ethnography defines as its objective the study of social phenomena that cannot be accounted for by focusing on a single site (Marcus, 1995). The essence of multi-sited research is to follow people, connections, associations, and relationships across space (Falzon, 2016). According to Amelia & Faist (2012:1716), the advantage of the multi-sited approach is its capacity to “de-nationalize the construction of the empirical field” by including both the origin and receiving contexts. This approach also “avoids a residual ethnocentrism in which it is implied that an immigrant’s life begins when he enters the nation” and “avoids yielding to a problematic in which the adaptation of the migrant to the host society is prioritized” (Loyal, 2011:32-33).

King (2018: 35) argues that “As a phenomenon which considers human mobility between places, across spaces, and through time, migration is inevitably

context-dependent.” He points that “the two basic contexts which frame migration (and other forms of human mobility) are the geographical/spatial context and the historical/temporal one. Both the geographical and temporal contexts are multiple, given the essential character of migration as a form of mobility or ‘moving’ process” (ibid.: 2018: 35). Likewise, Abdelmalek Sayad (2004) argues that to have a greater understanding of migration, we need to understand the contradictions and schisms of the sending societies. Similarly, Beauchemin (2014) argues that to analysing the causes of migration requires comparing those who migrated with those who did not.

Although researchers recognise the value of studying migration in both places, resource constraints limit the implementation of a transnational approach (Asis and Piper, 2008). However, the researcher’s position as a Brazilian in Ireland, with cultural ties to Brazil and the region under examination (Anápolis in the Goiás state), and being fluent in Portuguese and English allowed him to overcome such constraints and implement the multi-sited approach successfully. Studies that have adopted a multi-country approach have yielded rich data sets and insights into international labour migration (Padilla, 2006; Komolafe, 2008; Reyntjens, 2009; Marcus, 2009; Zell & Skop, 2011; Schrooten et al., 2016). Below, a brief discussion of each region will be presented, focusing specifically on the geographic location and demographic composition. Chapter 4 will give a more in-depth discussion of these regions more broadly, focusing on social, economic, political, and immigration aspects.

- ***Setting 1. Gort, Ireland.***

In Ireland, the fieldwork took place in Gort, a small town in south County Galway in the West region of the country (see Map 1). Gort has become one of the most interesting recent cases of immigration in rural Ireland with the arrival of a significant number of Brazilians. The first Brazilian workers arrived in the town in April 1999 to work at Seán Duffy Meat Export Ltd., a local meat processing plant (Healy, 2006). Eventually, the meat plant, which first attracted Brazilians to the town, closed in the summer of 2007; however,

most of the later arrivals managed to find work in a wider range of activities (McGrath, 2010). Because of the over-representation of Brazilians, the town was nicknamed locally and by national media as “Little Brazil”.

As Table 5 shows, the population of Gort in 2002 was 1,729, of which 234 were non-nationals. By 2006, it had grown to 2,734, of which 1,071 were non-nationals (39.17% of the residents), a massive majority of these being Brazilians. By 2011, the number of non-nationals had fallen to 711 - still representing 26.90% of the total population of 2,644 – with an outward net migration of 360. The largest group (417 people) were Brazilians, followed by UK nationals (81), Polish (66), and Lithuanians (11) (CSO, 2014). More recently, according to the 2016 census, the overall number of migrants in Gort increased to 786, representing 26.25% of the total population of 2,994. The number of Brazilians decreased to 397, although still representing the largest group in Gort (CSO, 2016).

**Table 5.** The resident population in the fieldwork area in Ireland.

	GORT TOWN Resident population	COUNTY GALWAY Resident population
2002	1,729	143,245
2006	2,734	159,256
2011	2,644	173,004
2016	2,994	179,390

**Source:** CSO (2002, 2006, 2011, 2016)

- **Setting 2. Anápolis, Brazil.**

In Brazil, the fieldwork took place in Anápolis, a mid-sized city in the state of Goiás in the Midwest region of the country (see Map 2). Research has indicated that most of the Brazilian migrants living in Gort come from Anápolis (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010). Anápolis is the third-largest city in the state of Goiás, with an estimated population of about 386,923 (IBGE, 2019). It lies in the centre of a rich agricultural region and has

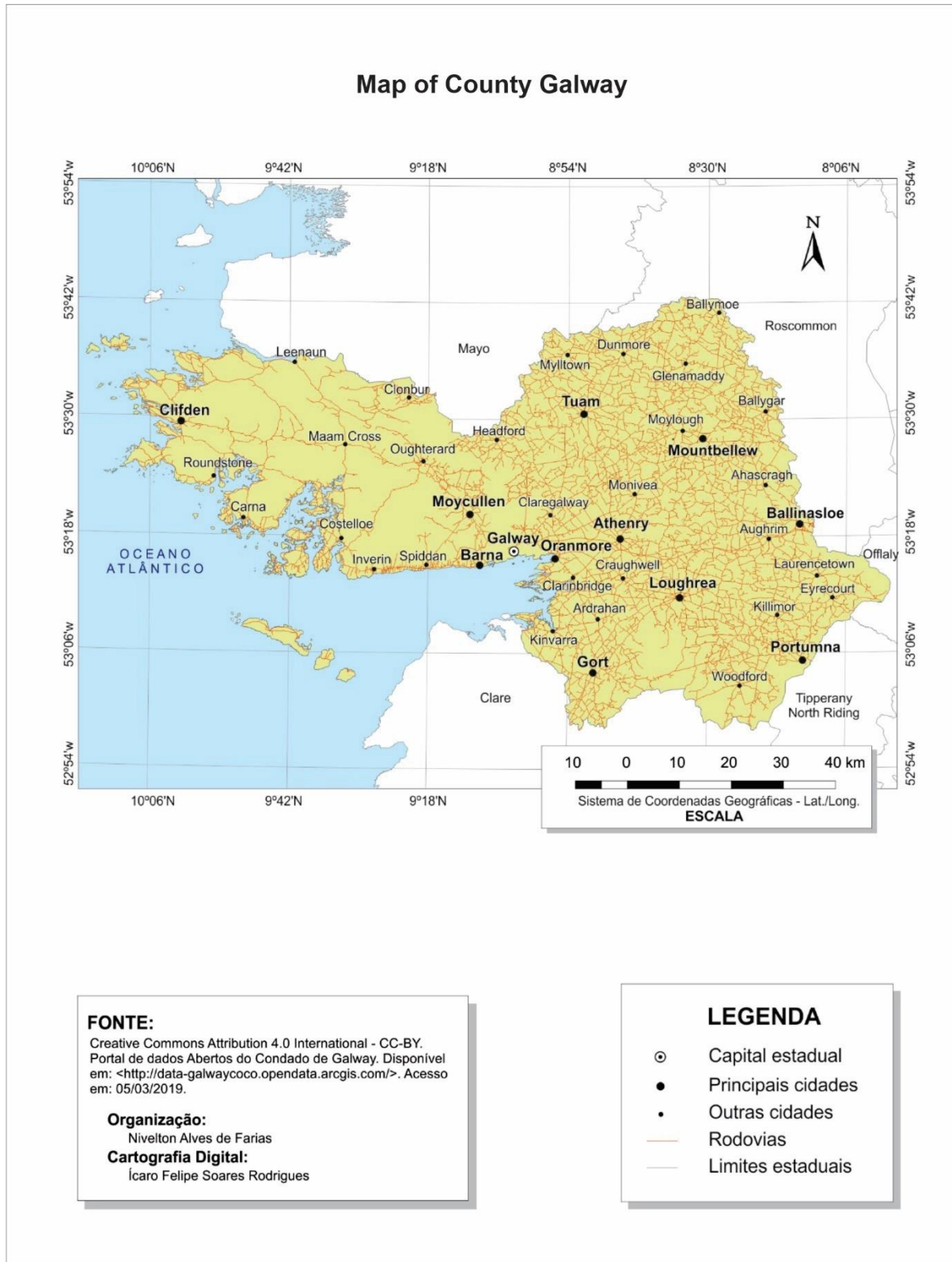
become a leader in food processing and pharmaceutical plants. As Table 6 shows, the population of Anápolis in 1996 (three years before the first Anapolinos started migrating to Gort in Ireland) was 264,975, representing 5.9% of the state's total population. The population has grown from 288,085 in 2000, to 334,613 in 2010, and 386,923 in 2017, representing 5.5% of the state population.

**Table 6.** The resident population in the fieldwork area in Brazil.

	ANÁPOLIS CITY Resident population	GOIÁS STATE Resident population
1996	264,975	4,478,143
2000	288,085	5,003,228
2010	334,613	6,003,788
2017	386,923	7,018,354

**Source:** IBGE (1996, 2000, 2010, 2019).

Map 1. Map of County Galway







### **3.4. Data collection and data analysis methods**

The choice of data collection procedures used in this study was guided by the research aims and the choice of design (Meyer, 2015). CSM typically requires a combination of data collection methods (Yin, 1989), which varies according to the case study. This study adopts a multi-method qualitative approach, including the use of in-depth interviews (see Appendix C), informational questionnaires (see Appendix D), and participant observation. These data collection instruments were piloted in the host region only whilst the researcher was conducting a pilot study in Gort from June 19<sup>th</sup> to 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2017. Additionally, the research drew upon other secondary public access data sources from both the Central Statistics Office (CSO) in Ireland and the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in Brazil. These sources provided demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political information for the context analysis of both Gort and Anápolis conducted in Chapter 4. The descriptive statistics are helpful in setting the macro picture of migration flows in both countries under examination. A detailed description of each data collection method and its distinction in the research design, implementation and analysis phases is provided below.

#### **3.4.1. Interviews**

The interview can be defined as a method of data collection that involves researchers seeking open-ended answers related to questions, topics, or themes (O'Leary, 2010). Others simply define it as a conversation with a purpose (Lune & Berg, 2012). Its methodology "begins from the assumption that it is possible to investigate elements of the social by asking people to talk and to gather or construct knowledge by listening to and interpreting what they say to how they say it" (Mason, 2002:225). It is important to acknowledge and understand its methodological underpinning as it validates both the research method choice and the research findings (Mason, 2002). The main dispute in interviewing concerns the opposition between positivist and constructivist paradigms. The former puts most of the emphasis on the role of the researcher in the interview

process, while the latter advocates that an interview is a collaborative, meaning-making experience involving both the interviewer and the interviewee (Hiller & DiLuzio, 2004:1-2; Denzin, 2001; Jarvinen, 2000). This research is carried out within a constructivist paradigm, which emphasises the dialogic nature of the interview and the mutuality of the research experience (Hiller & DiLuzio, 2004). This perspective involves the interviewer and interviewee both elucidating and presenting an interpretative relationship of the world (Denzin, 2001).

Most migration research requires the kind of detailed information that interviews supply, for instance, data on migrants' motivations, emotions, experiences, and feelings<sup>24</sup>. However, researchers conducting interviews should be aware that migrants may change their perceptions due to their post-migration experience, whilst others may not articulate their decision process due to time and life circumstances (Lauby and Stark, 1988).

Despite the apparent proliferation of terms describing types of interview in qualitative research, e.g. "the active interview" (Holstein & Gubrium, 1995), "the reflexive interview" (Denzin, 2001), and "biographical interview" (Jarvinen, 2000) – the two main types according to Bryman are the structured interview and the semi-structured interview (2008:436). This research relates to the latter. Semi-structured interviews are the most commonly used style of interview arrangement in most small-scale social studies (Thomas, 2011). This type of interview has a flexible structure which allows questions to be more general in their frame of reference from those typically found in a structured interview (O'Leary, 2010). It also allows the researcher to ask further questions in response to what is being said, yet these further questions do not need to be specified

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<sup>24</sup> Migration researchers have used interviews to collect data on a diverse range of subjects, as varied as the determinants of migration (Marcus, 2009; Torresan, 2012; Dalsin, 2016), return migration (de Haas and Fokkema, 2010; de Bree *et al.* 2010; Kunuroglu *et al.* 2015), remittances (Maher, 2010), integration (Sheringahm, 2009), social networks (McGrath, 2010; Maher & Cawley, 2015), sense of place and belonging (Gilmartin, 2004, 2008; 2010; Gilmartin & Migge, 2016), among others.

in the interview guide (Bryman, 2008). This allows the researcher to collect all the data they intended, plus data that emerges during the process (O'Leary, 2010). Furthermore, what separates semi-structured from structural interviews is their willingness to allow participants to use their own words, and develop their thoughts (Denscombe, 2003). Allowing participants to speak their minds is the best way to discover richer and more complex issues (Denscombe, 2003), rendering this technique a fundamental one in qualitative migration studies (such as this one). This in turn allows for gathering unique and in-depth data, particularly to each individual's situation. However, semi-structured interviews take time, especially when unanticipated issues arise within them. Usually, the length of time varies depending on the availability of interviewees, the precise purpose of the interview, and the nature of the topic (Simons, 2009).

The interviews were implemented in the study as follows. All the interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the interviewees' native language, and each interview was recorded electronically using a Philips voice recorder. The audio recording has several advantages over note-taking. First, it ensures the accuracy of reportage and adds to the veracity of reporting; secondly, it frees researchers from having to write everything down, so they can concentrate on the social, interpersonal nature of the interview process; thirdly, audio-recording allows researchers to check their recall, recording skills and hearing (Simons, 2009). It offers a reliable record and one that is complete in terms of the speech that occurred (Denscombe, 2003). However, the audio recording does have some negative aspects: it can lull the researcher into a false sense of security and lead them to not paying enough attention; it is also time-consuming to transcribe (Simons, 2009). Finally, it captures only speech and misses any non-verbal communication and other contextual factors (Denscombe, 2003). To overcome some of these issues, the researcher was attentive to body language and surrounding contexts while interviewing participants. Most importantly, the researcher made additional notes as part of the participant observation approach, which he used to write an in-depth description of each

participant's background and their immigration and family situation, in both of the communities under investigation in the study (see Chapter 4).

The researcher aimed to conduct each interview over an hour to two hours. However, in most cases, the interviews were longer than expected, since a significant amount of time was spent with the individuals and families. This allowed the researcher to create interpersonal networks and to generate an in-depth understanding of those interviewed. This was also a good opportunity for the researcher to observe the context and write notes. The themes on the interview guideline (found in Appendix C), were drawn from a close reading of the relevant literature and the research aims: (1) the determinants of migration and (2) the determinants of return migration. First, through the combination of individual and couple interviews, the study could access the lived experiences of the Brazilian migrants and the determinants which influenced their migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, Galway. Also, interviews allowed the researcher to explore other important aspects of the migration process, namely, the migration decision-making process, the finance of migration, the choice of migration destination, the knowledge of labour market, and return migration decisions from both returnees and settled migrants. They also provided space for participants to share their stories and highlight factors relevant to them in their migration experiences in Ireland, as shown in Appendix C.

Regarding the analysis phase, the researcher used the qualitative data collected through the interviews to answer to the study aims: (1) the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, Galway, and (2) the determinants of return migration of Brazilian return migrants leaving Gort. Chapter 5 describes the main reasons given by individuals and families for migrating to Gort, while Chapter 6 describes the main reasons for their return to Anápolis. The empirical findings of a specific interview theme, namely, the remittance behaviour of the participants, are reported in Chapter 4. In addition, the researcher drew on the interview data to provide compelling examples

to illustrate the themes described in chapters 5 and 6, thereby recognising the voices of participants in the knowledge-building and migration process. Indeed, a constructivist approach involves the interviewer and interviewee both elucidating and presenting an interpretive relationship to the world (Denzin, 2001). The next section describes the second data collection method used in the study, namely, questionnaires.

### **3.4.2. Questionnaires**

To complement the semi-structured interviews and to collect information on the migrants' personal life, family situations and background, informational questionnaires were carried out with the participants in both communities. Questionnaires are one of the most widely employed methods of data collection in qualitative research (Denscombe, 2003:144; Lauby & Stark, 1988; Evans et al., 2007). Migration researchers, for instance, have used questionnaires to collect data on a diverse range of subjects, such as the determinants of migration (Lauby & Stark, 1988), return migration (Baba & Sanchez, 2012; de Haas & Fokkema, 2015; Massey *et al.*, 2015), ethnic identity and integration (Sheringham, 2009) and labour migration (Maher & Cawley, 2016).

There are some advantages of the questionnaire over the structured interview: it is economical, supplying a significant amount of data for a relatively low cost; it is easy to arrange and generates standardised and pre-coded answers (Denscombe, 2003:159). However, there are some disadvantages: pre-coded questions can be frustrating and deter participants from answering; pre-coded questions can bias the findings towards the researchers', rather than the respondents' way of seeing things and finally, it offers few opportunities for checking the truthfulness of the answer given by the respondents (Denscombe, 2003; Bryman, 2008:217). In this study, for instance, this method was essential to collect in-depth information regarding the characteristics in terms of family composition, social-economic background, employment, and types of migrations of both current Brazilians in Gort and returnees in Anápolis. In turn, this micro information was essential so that the study could better understand the factors that led

these individuals and families to migrate to Gort (aim 1), and better understand the factors that led many to return to Anápolis (aim 2).

Regarding the implementation, the questionnaires were administered after the interviews were carried out and when the participants were more at ease. The researcher opted for a face-to-face clipboard type approach instead of a self-completion questionnaire (Denscombe, 2003). The researcher asked all the questions himself and wrote down the answers. The questionnaire guideline was structured around five themes and explored only “facts”<sup>25</sup> (found in Appendix D). Factual information does not require much in the way of judgment or personal attitudes on the part of respondents. It just requires respondents to reveal (accurately and honestly) information (Denscombe, 2003). In this research, respondents were required to reveal information about their feelings, to express values, to weigh up alternatives during the interviews only, as shown in Appendix C.

The questionnaire guideline was structured into five themes, exploring the individual and household characteristics of the participants. See the description of the themes below:

Theme 1: Gender, age, marital status, family composition and place of residency, children born abroad, schooling, religious affiliation, and place of origin of the participants;

Theme 2: Types of migration, previous migration experiences, time in Ireland, immigration status, deportations, working status, sectors of employment (Ireland and Brazil), and payment of taxes;

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<sup>25</sup> However, opinions, attitudes, views, beliefs, preferences can also be investigated using questionnaires (Denscombe, 2003).

Theme 3: Access to services, social services (PPS, bank account, driving license, medical card, social welfare benefits), NGO support, citizenship, and language training;

Theme 4: Neighbourhood and region of residency, house, land and car ownership, and accommodation arrangements;

Theme 5: Types of emigration and types of return migration.

The empirical findings from the questionnaires are reported in Chapter 4 (see Tables 15 to 19 and 23 to 27). Chapter 5 provides an in-depth description of the participants and family background characteristics in both communities. The empirical data from the questionnaires were also used to identify patterns in the determinants of migration (Chapter 5) and the determinants of return migration (Chapter 6). The aim here was to provide a better and more thorough analysis of the empirical data. The next section describes the third data collection method used in the study, namely, participant observation.

### **3.4.3. Participant observation**

Participant observation was used as both an instrument to build a richer understanding of the context in each community, and as a data-collection strategy, with the main emphasis on the former. This was necessary, considering that micro migration studies primarily rely on individual, family, and community characteristics (Davanzo, 1981; Krumm, 1983). Characteristics are important as they may help us contextualise the reasons for migrating (Lauby and Stark, 1988). The choice of this method was also part of the qualitative approach underlining this research, which advocates for “an intimate understanding of people, places [and] cultures” (O’Leary, 2010:114); and the case study methodology, which requires a combination of data collection methods (Yin, 1989).

Participant observation should be distinguished from pure observation – which seeks to remove researchers as much as possible from the phenomenon they investigate – and from pure participation – which has also been described as “going



native” (see DeWalt and DeWalt, 2002; Jorgensen, 1989, quoted in Boccagni and Schrooten, 2018). Rather than choosing one of these two extremes, participant observation aims to find a balance between them (Boccagni and Schrooten, 2018). Despite the numerous variations used in research, essentially, the notion of participant observation resolves around four possibilities: complete participation, participation as an observer, observer as a participant, and complete observer (see Bryman, 2008: 203; Lune & Berge, 2012: 83-84). This research applied the “participation as an observer”, where the researcher is openly recognised – and his or her presence and intentions are known to the group being studied (Lune & Berg, 2012: 83). It also allows informed consent from those involved and “takes the form of ‘shadowing’ a person or group through normal life, witnessing first hand and in intimate detail the culture/events of interest” (Bryman, 2008: 203).

Moreover, participant observation can be defined as a “method in which the observer participates in the daily life of the people under study, either openly in the role of researcher or covertly in some disguised role, observing things that happen, listening to what is said, and questioning people, over some length of time” (Becker and Geer, 1957: 28). More than any other qualitative method, in participant observation “it becomes crucial to gain as far as possible an internal perspective on the studied field” (Flick, 2002: 142). It involves spending time, being and living with people or communities to understand them (Laurier, 2010).

One of the strengths of this method is that it is easy to do and provides more direct access to the phenomena than other more complex methods of social science (Laurier, 2010). However, the researcher was also mindful of the limitations and ethical issues surrounding participant observation. One limitation is that researchers are confronted with the problem of a “limited observational perspective, as not all aspects of a situation can be grasped” (Flick, 2002: 141). In fact, according to Bergmann (1985: 308), “We have only a very limited competence of remembering and reproducing amorphous incidents of an actual social event. The participant observer thus has no

other choice than to note the social occurrences which he was witness to mainly in a typifying, resuming, reconstructive fashion.” Participant observation can pose ethical problems for the researcher as well. For instance, if total participation is used, then those being studied will not be aware of the research, making it difficult to give informed consent (Denscombe, 2003). Because researchers must spend a considerable period in a research setting, issues of trust and confidentiality inevitably arise (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). In this study, however, no participant had a direct relationship with the researcher that may have imparted bias on the research or represented a conflict of interest. Also, personal feelings and emotional ties may evolve, although they can be positive or negative, they can also interfere with the research process or make leaving difficult (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002). Indeed, in both communities, the researcher became close to the families that hosted him during the fieldwork, making leaving difficult. However, no members of these families participated in the study.

Observation and interviewing employ different approaches to collect and analyse data. Participant observation focuses the analysis on groups, collectivizations and patterns of interaction; interviews, in contrast, focus attention on individual biographies (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). However, in participant observation, data collection and analysis are inseparably intertwined as the findings emerge from observations as they are gathered (Gerson and Horowitz, 2002). The observations (and field notes) were an important tool to build an understanding of the social, cultural, and economic context at both research sites. This is important as migration decisions are not taken outside of the structural contexts. They are rooted in specific historical conditions that define a particular social and economic context, at both receiving and origin countries (Massey, 1990; Massey *et al.*, 2005:3). This, in turn, affects individuals and their ability to migrate; in fact, “individuals are subject to various socio-economic determinations so that they embody specific roles and statuses in society that provide them with different forms of power... and capabilities shaping whether or not they migrate, and the modality of their migration” (Loyal, 2011:27).

The researcher lived for two months in Gort, from May to June, and three months in Anápolis, from July to September 2018. While on fieldwork, the researcher spent a significant portion of time familiarising himself with the towns, visiting local places, local businesses, and observing daily activities. This provided an excellent opportunity to meet people, introduce himself, explain the purpose of the study, engage in conversations, and build working relations with members of the Brazilian community in both regions. Most importantly, this tactic helped to develop an understanding of the economic, political, social, cultural, historical, and environmental aspects of Gort, Anápolis and Vila Fabril in particular, as shown in Chapter 4 in more detail. Thirdly, participant observations added non-verbal and context information on both participants and the communities involved. Contextual understanding of both participants and communities was extremely important considering that the research applied a qualitative multi-sited approach. Finally, contextual information also provided the opportunity to enrich the narrative accounts of the participants during the interview encounters and beyond, especially during the analysis and reporting of findings. The next section describes the data analysis process.

#### **3.4.4. Qualitative reflexive approach**

Qualitative research produces large volumes of data in a non-standard format, which poses a challenge for the researcher in terms of how to interpret the data (Denscombe, 2003:270). Indeed, through this research project, a relatively large amount of qualitative data was collected. The data were quite messy and comprised mainly observational notes, in-depth audio-recorded interviews, and informational questionnaire forms. The data collected from the field were complemented by secondary data such as academic articles and descriptive statistical census data.

Bryman (2008: 539) argues that a general strategy of qualitative data analysis is simply a framework that is meant to guide the analysis of data. The data were analysed through a qualitative reflexive approach (QRA) (O'Leary, 2010), which requires staying

as close to the data as possible – from initial collection to the drawing of conclusions. As outlined by O’Leary (2010), a QRA requires the researcher to: (1) organise their raw data, (2) enter and code that data, (3) search for meaning through thematic analysis, (4) interpret meanings, and (5) draw conclusions. QRA also urges researchers to keep the bigger picture in mind, i.e. framework, methodology, aims, and research questions. In fact, O’Leary (2010:257) argues that “no matter how reflexive and interactive you intend your analysis to be, you still need to approach the management of your data with methodological rigour.” These principles underpinned the data analysis process of this study; see the steps undertaken below:

*Step One:* During fieldwork, all data collected through the informational questionnaires were typed and organised into files (one for each community). This was done in a way that allowed the researcher’s notes and comments to be added alongside the data. Upon returning to Ireland, data were compiled into tables.

*Step Two:* All data collected through the interviews were transcribed and translated from Portuguese into English. Regarding the former, the researcher used the programme VLC media player, and for the latter, he used Google Translate and Collins Dictionary Translation, the translations all being re-checked by the researcher and re-adjusted when necessary. The initial intention was to transcribe part of the interviews whilst on fieldwork, however, due to time constraints, this was instead carried out after completing the fieldwork. This phase was the most difficult and longest part of the data analysis process. Likewise, all data were organised into files (two for each community, one for each language). Furthermore, each piece of raw data was identified by a unique code for reference purposes and all participants’ names were anonymised with pseudonyms. This, in turn, enabled each separate piece of data to be located within each file. A back-up copy of all original material was made. The originals were stored safely in a separate location from the backup copies, which became the working copies that were used in the next phase of the data analysis process.

*Step Three:* The data were turned into fragments through coding (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012). Coding is a way of evaluating and organizing data to understand the meanings in a text (Cope, 2010). This process involves (1) breaking the data down into units for analysis, and (2) categorizing the units (Denscombe, 2003:271). Coding helps the researcher to identify patterns and categories and to start the process of making sense of the data (Cope, 2010). It aimed to transform the raw data obtained from the interviews into a standardised form that facilitates its understanding and analysis (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012). However, coding is not an easy process. Despite the challenges of coding, the researcher did not use computer software programmes such as NVivo, instead, he coded the data himself. Manually coding processes usually take longer, however, it offers the researcher the opportunity “to get a ‘feel’ for the data, to cycle between that data and existing theory, and to follow the hunches that can lead to significant findings” (O’Leary (2010:231). This in turn allows researchers to keep a keen sense of their overall project. Indeed, even though it was a process that required many hours of work, it gave the researcher the chance to read the interviews one by one again, however, this time with greater calm than during the transcription and translation process. The result was an individualised analysis where each participant was heard and their views considered. This process was as follows: (1) reading question by question in each interview, highlighting answers and coding the data; (2) the next task was to transcribe all codes found into a file.

*Step Four:* Once all data were coded and an attempt was made to identify “patterns and processes, commonalities and differences” (Miles & Huberman, 1994:9). Reducing and coding the data into themes usually requires the qualitative researcher to undertake a line-by-line examination of all data sources (Denscombe, 2003:272). This process needs to be repeated time and time again to refine the explanation to which the researcher is working (Denscombe, 2003). Themes can be understood as categories of understanding. They might be alluded to in several ways, that is, through the words that

are used, the concepts that are discussed, the linguistic devices that are called upon, and the non-verbal cues (O'Leary, 2010:264). To a lesser extent, the researcher also used some of the themes and topics within the interview guide to guide him through this process, for example, the themes related to the determinants of migration and the determinants of return migration, among other themes. Once all texts were explored for relevant themes, the researcher then looked for patterns and interconnections between and among various themes, the process mentioned by Miles & Huberman (1994) above.

*Step Five: Concluding.* This stage entailed pulling together all the important findings and to analyse it through the lens of current pieces of literature and the theoretical framework, considering the study's methodological constraints and to write up an overarching argument, which is presented in Chapters 5, 6 and 7.

### **3.5. Ethics and reflexivity**

#### **3.5.1. Ethics**

Ethical issues arise at different stages in social research and cannot be ignored, as they directly affect the integrity of the research (Bryman, 2012; Van Liempt and Bilger, 2012). To mitigate and minimise the risks related to ethics, the research project was designed and carried out following Ireland's Data Protection Act (DPA) 2018<sup>26</sup>, the School of Natural Science Research Ethics Policy, and the Trinity College Policy on Good Research Practice. Most of the ethical issues concerning this research (ethics, access, prejudice/legal implications, security, and data storage) and the mitigating strategies

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<sup>26</sup> The Irish DPA 2018 (Data Protection Act 2018) was enacted in May 2018 to supplement the EU's GDPR (General Data Protection Regulation) by filling in sections of the Regulation that are left to individual member states to interpret and implement. Under the GDPR, data subjects [in this case the Brazilian participants] have the right to lodge a complaint with the supervisory authority, the DPC (Data Protection Commission), if they consider that the processing of their personal data infringes the Regulation, and the right to an effective judicial remedy against data controllers and processors if they consider their rights to have been infringed by processing that does not comply with the Regulation. Details online at: <https://www.itgovernance.eu/en-ie/data-protection-ie>

were thoroughly discussed during the Research Ethics application process. The following section outlines the steps undertaken to gain access to communities.

Initially, the researcher started to build community access and interpersonal relationships with Brazilian migrants in Gort during the pilot visit. The establishment of these relationships enabled the researcher to build an initial network of contacts and starting points to proceed to the main fieldwork research. These initial contacts were also important because they helped the researcher to access other, less forthcoming members within the community, allowing the collection of primary data from May to June 2018 to run smoothly and efficiently. Furthermore, during the pilot visit and main phase of fieldwork, the researcher had the chance to observe the everyday experiences and activities of the Brazilian community and how they interact with the locals. For instance, he visited a significant number of Brazilian local businesses, attended church services at three Brazilian Pentecostal Churches, and went to the aforementioned market square. Finally, he gained an initial understanding of their identities, immigration status, family and employment situations, and region of origin in Brazil. This first experience of being in the community proved to be of great importance for developing and writing the methodology, designing the in-depth interview and questionnaire guidelines, and choosing a multi-method qualitative approach for this study.

In Anápolis, initially, the researcher's tactic was also to lay the foundations for interpersonal relationships with some Brazilians (especially among those who had lived in Ireland), to build a social network with a group of friends and learn about the local context and way of life. This was achieved by applying the same logic as in Gort (i.e. visiting local churches, local businesses, attending social gatherings, etc.). As the researcher built a small pool of acquaintances through these efforts, he was then able to apply the snowball sampling method. Besides, the researcher had a great knowledge of the region as he lived in Goiás for over 13 years, so this was an advantage in terms of access to and collection of data.

To mitigate prejudice and legal implications (for both the participants and the researcher), participation was entirely voluntary and anonymity and confidentiality were guaranteed. Also, an informed consent form, as shown in Appendix E, was signed by each participant before participating in the study. Furthermore, participants were assured that the data from their interviews were for this research only and that the researcher wouldn't share anything with the authorities in Ireland and Brazil. The data collection instruments were set up to avoid any leading/incriminating questions. Also, all names were changed, and participants will not be recognised in any publications. These measures ensured that all research was conducted within the requirements of Trinity's Good Research Practice Policies so that no participants would be expected/permitted to incriminate themselves. The guiding principle, to avoid harm at all stages of the research, was followed. Regarding vulnerable participants in the research, it is important to note that the research population does not fall into the definition of "vulnerable" as outlined in the research ethics process. The researcher was aware of the requirements of this process and that the purpose of the research was to examine the determinants of migration and return migration. Regarding data collection, storage, and management – the study adhered to the data protection, legal requirements and research ethics requirements at all times. There were no apparent legal implications involving the research sample since the study conducted interviews with adult Brazilian returnees from Ireland and did not interview returnee children. Finally, regarding security, fieldwork risk assessment forms were submitted before fieldwork, and taking personal risks was avoided.

### **3.5.2. Reflexivity**

The dynamic between researcher and participant has become a key focus of academic attention over recent decades (Ganga & Scott, 2006; Mohammad, 2001; Limb & Dwyer, 2001). The positionality literature is now vast and variegated, emanating from a range of disciplinary fields, including geography (Mohammad, 2001; Limb & Dwyer, 2001).



Sanchez-Ayala (2012:117-118) argues that positionality is a concept that requires close examination before engaging in research, especially for those applying qualitative methods. A failure to do so, he argues, can lead to misrepresentation of the potential results of the research. Positionality is the notion that peoples' location in the social structure and the institutions they belong to affect how they understand the world (Johnston *et al.*, 2000:64). Positionality is also a matter of representation in research, in other words, how the interviewer sees and perceives the interviewee (Sanchez-Ayala, 2012). For Sanchez-Ayala (2012), how the interviewer constructs and represents "others" responds in great part to their situation and positionality. Therefore, it is important to acknowledge any criticisms and ethical issues in the interviewing process (Mason, 2002; Longhurst, 2010). Indeed, considerations of positionality allow researchers to be aware of its potential to influence the interviews and thus the results (Vargas-Silva, 2012). Valentine (2005:113), for instance, makes the important point that "when you are thinking about who you want to interview it is important to reflect on who you are and how your own identity will shape the interactions that you have with others."

Positionality can be especially problematic if one holds an "insider position" in the research process. Indeed, Ganga and Scott (2006) noted that "interviewing within one's cultural community – as an insider – affords the researcher a degree of social proximity that, paradoxically, increases awareness amongst both researcher and participant of the social divisions that exist between them." Ganga & Scott (2006) posit that 'insider' means research conducted between researchers and participants who share a similar cultural, linguistic, ethnic, national, and religious heritage. They argue that as insiders, we are better able to recognise both the ties that bind us and the social fissures that divide us. Besides, it facilitates the development of a rapport between interviewer and interviewee, thus producing rich, detailed conversation based on empathy and mutual respect and understanding (Valentine, 1997:113). This is partially the case in this study. The researcher is a Brazilian national who has been immersed in the Brazilian community of

Ireland and Dublin specifically since 2006. In this respect, the researcher is an insider within the main research group, but not an insider of the Brazilian community of Gort, as his first contact with this community took place in 2017 during pilot fieldwork. Another element that contributed to creating familiarity with participants was the fact that the researcher is from the area where the fieldwork was conducted in Brazil. The researcher lived in Goiânia, the capital of the State of Goiás, for 13 years, from 1993 to 2006, when he migrated to Ireland. During this period living in the state, the researcher completed his secondary studies and entered the Federal University of Goiás (UFG) to study Geography. This provided the researcher with privileged background information to understand the place of origin and settlement of the participants in the State of Goiás. Most importantly, it gave the researcher some familiarity with the local cultural, social, way of speaking, food habits, thus allowing him to be further identified as an insider. Following Ganga & Scott (2006), the study argues that the researcher's situation both in Ireland and the origin region was advantageous in that it helped him to understand the various issues and topics at stake to design this research study. Also, no participant had a direct relationship with the researcher that represented a conflict of interest or may have imparted bias on the study.

Another element that contributed to creating representation in this research was a consideration of gender issues. Gender is a key category in the understanding of migration processes (Boyle, 2002; Mahler & Pessar, 2006; Lutz, 2010); especially in the context of a global segmented labour market (Castles and Miller, 2003; Piper, 2005). In light of the gendered division of labour, gendered nature of market-based productive and non-market-based productive activities, the reasons for their migration may also be different (Eviota & Smith, 1984; Lauby & Stark, 1988). Castles and Miller (2003:185) argue that new labour divisions have reinforced traditional gender divisions, which concentrate women in low-paid and low-status work. In Ireland, for example, Barrett and McCarthy (2007) found that migrant women have generally experienced a double

disadvantage in terms of earnings. Besides, labour market segmentation causes the long-term marginalisation of certain groups (Castles and Miller, 2003). Moreover, “gender-differentiated population movements deserve particular attention because they act as a mirror for how gender divisions of labour are incorporated into spatially uneven processes of economic development” (Piper, 2005:1). In this research, for instance, the questions for the interviews and questionnaires were thought out and structured so that gender differences could be identified. Also, it sought to obtain a similar number of men and women and thus have a better understanding of Brazilian migration to and from Gort in Ireland. Finally, the study offers a thorough gender and region perspective, where relevant, in addition to describing the main findings.

Another element concerns the consideration of the researcher’s values on research. Simplistically, values can be understood as the personal beliefs and feelings of a researcher (Bryman, 2012). From a traditional scientific stance, research that simply reflects the personal biases of its practitioners cannot be considered valid and scientific (Bryman, 2012). Blaikie (2005:52) defined this as the “detached observer”; the researcher is seen as an impartial spectator of the process. However, this position has been challenged with the growing recognition that no researcher can abstract themselves from their value sets and world views (Bryman, 2012; Denscombe, 2003). Denscombe (2003:268), for instance, asserts that the researcher’s identity, values, and beliefs cannot be eliminated from the process – again in stark contrast to the ambitions of a positivistic approach to social research (Clark, 1998). Similarly, Limb & Dwyer (2001:8) suggested that research is shaped by both the actions and values of the researcher. In this context, researchers must “recognize and acknowledge that research cannot be value-free, but to ensure that there is no untrammelled incursion of values in the research process and to be self-reflective and so exhibit reflexivity”. In both research sites, the researcher stayed attentive to personal characteristics such as his educational level, class, and social status that could affect how he could be seen by the participants.

In this regard, the researcher tried to balance proximity and distance with each of the participants. But that was not always possible. For instance, during fieldwork, the researcher felt that initially, and understandably, the Brazilians in Gort were slightly suspicious of him. He felt out of place, and his appearance was out of the ordinary. However, he soon found that the majority were willing to talk and tell him their stories. For instance, he met a 55-year-old Brazilian man looking for work and talked to him a great deal. He asked the researcher if he could accompany him to the Gort Resource Centre (GRC)<sup>27</sup> to inquire about support. Despite living in Ireland many years before, neither he nor his family spoke English fully. The researcher also accompanied him to the Society of St. Vincent de Paul local office. This case shows us that it is not always possible to maintain distance, impartiality and not to feel empathy for and connection with the participants. However, as Bryman (2012:39) posits, “researchers are increasingly prepared to forewarn readers of their biases and assumptions and how these may have influenced the subsequent findings.” In this study, the researcher was reflective about the implications of his values and personal positions throughout the execution of the study and presentation of findings.

A final note concerns the reception of this research study among the participants. During fieldwork, the researcher had the opportunity to explain the study aims to both individuals and groups of people, especially when attending church services. Overall, most participants welcomed this study and were excited that a Brazilian national was executing it (previously, only non-Brazilian academics had researched Brazilians in Gort). Among the participants in Gort in particular, some were curious about educational opportunities in Ireland, especially those who grew up and attended schools in the

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<sup>27</sup> The Gort Resource Centre (GRC), provides support and services to the people of Gort and the surrounding area. It works closely with specific groups in the community, including youth, older people, men, the Brazilian community and people parenting alone. It also provides professional assistance, through its Citizens Information Clinic and Employment Mediation Programmes. <http://www.gortfrc.com/> (see further detail in Chapter 4).

country; whilst other participants asked questions about the outcome of the study and whether it would bring changes to the lives of members of the Brazilian community. This last point has further been discussed in the conclusion chapter (Chapter 7) on the policy recommendations.

### **3.6. Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the research methods used to answer the research questions. It discussed the methodology, sampling design and setting, data collection and data analysis, and ethics and reflexivity to explain how the study was conducted, and which communities and participants were involved.

The study draws upon a constructivist case study methodology, according to which social phenomena are not only produced through social interaction but they are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2008). A constructivist perspective to qualitative inquiry also focuses on the socially constructed character of living realities and the interactional constitution of meaning in everyday life (Holstein & Gubrium, 2008; 2011: 341). The next chapter has two main objectives: first, it provides an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of the research communities – Gort in Ireland and Anápolis in Brazil; second, it presents the empirical results related to the socio-economic characteristics of the participants and their families.

## **Chapter 4 - RESEARCH SITES AND PARTICIPANT PROFILES**

### **4.1. Introduction**

This chapter aims to develop a deep understanding of both the communities involved in this research, as well as the participants and their families. These two sets of information were fundamental for both the implementation of the qualitative multi-sited approach underpinning the study (Chapter 3) and for the contextualisation of the research findings (Chapters 5 - 6). In particular, these two sets of information fill one of the gaps in the literature. Chapters 1 and 2 illustrated that, despite the almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort, there continue to be significant gaps in the literature. For example, there is a lack of in-depth studies that build a better understanding of the context of the origin and host regions and the profile of the Brazilians who have chosen Gort as their migration destination in Ireland. The latter is even more pressing regarding the significant decline in the overall number of Brazilians in Gort. Unfortunately, the CSO census data only allow us to examine the volume of the flow, stock, and changes in patterns over the year; the IBGE data are even less useful, as they only describe the overall number of Brazilians in Ireland. This deficiency is even greater concerning the profile of returning migrants since neither Ireland nor Brazil has mechanisms to collect personal information. The census data only point to a decrease or increase in the flow of return migrants. By examining these two gaps, this chapter aspires to contribute to understanding the community contexts and the profile of Brazilians in Gort and Ireland.

The ensuing paragraphs are structured into two sections. The first section provides an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of Gort and the West region of Ireland, situating the Brazilian community in that regional context. It also presents an in-depth description of the individual and household characteristics of the research sample in Gort. Similarly, the second section provides an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of Anápolis, Goiás, and the Midwest region of Brazil. This is followed by

a description of the individual characteristics and the household characteristics of the research sample in Anápolis.

#### 4.2. Research sites

The fieldwork took place in Gort in the West region of Ireland and Anápolis, in the Midwest region of Brazil. Although located in different countries that do not have long historical ties, the two regions have some characteristics in common. In particular, both regions have strong links with the agricultural sector, especially the meat processing sector, which was largely responsible for the arrival of the first Brazilians from Anápolis to Gort in 1999 (Healy, 2006). Despite having a strong link to the agricultural sector, Anápolis is one of the most industrialised municipalities in the State of Goiás, a national reference in pharmaceuticals and higher education, with two of the largest universities in the state of Goiás<sup>28</sup>.

Although Anápolis and Gort differ in terms of the size of the resident population, with 381,970 to 2,994 people, respectively, the two regions share similarities along religious lines. For instance, the IBGE data found that Catholics were the largest religious group (49.74%) in Anápolis, followed by Evangelicals (30.10%) and Spiritists (1.04%) (IBGE, 2010)<sup>29</sup>. The CSO data found that Roman Catholics were the majority (73.58%) in Gort, followed by other stated religions (16.42%), no-religion (10%), and not stated or counted for 5.3% (CSO, 2016).<sup>30</sup>

The regions also share similarities along migration lines, both having received migratory flows at different periods; Gort since the 2000s (CSO, 2006, 2011, 2016) and Anápolis at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century with Syrian-Lebanese migrants (Nunes,

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<sup>28</sup> The Goiás State University (UEG) and the Evangelical University of Anápolis.

<sup>29</sup> Source: IBGE (2010) Cidades e Municípios: Anápolis. [Online] available at <https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/brasil/go/anapolis/panorama> [accessed 03 March 2019].

<sup>30</sup> Source: Census 2016 Sapmap area: Settlements Gort - Theme 2: Migration, Ethnicity, Religion and Foreign language [online] available at <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/> [accessed 01 Mar 2019].

2000), and in recent years, with the arrival of Haitians and other migrant groups (Sousa, 2018).

#### **4.3. Site 1. Gort in County Galway, Ireland**

Gort is the seventh-largest urban centre in County Galway, in the West of Ireland (Table 7). It lies just north of the border with County Clare in south County Galway (see Map 3). According to the CSO data for the 2016 census, the resident population in Gort consisted of 2,994 people, while the overall population of County Galway corresponded to 177,215 people (CSO, 2016). Non-nationals represented 9.36% of this number (16,590) (CSO, 2016).

Until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, Gort was a bustling market town and a commercial centre for the surrounding agricultural region. By the 1990s, however, the town had become quiet and sparsely populated as the agricultural industry was in decline and people began moving away (Sheringham, 2010:65). However, this situation of stagnation changed with the arrival of the Celtic Tiger (CT) economic cycle, which stabilised and expanded the Irish economy. The CT cycle attracted large numbers of foreign workers into the country, and Brazilians were among the first ones to arrive in Gort specifically to work in the local meat industry (Healy, 2006).

The population of Gort in 1996, before the first Brazilians arrived, was 1,182 people, representing a growth of only 89 people or 8.1% compared with the previous census (CSO, 1996). However, by 2002 the population of Gort reached 1,729, representing a growth of 547 people or a staggering 46.2%; of which 234 were non-nationals (13.53% of the residents). By 2006, it had grown to 2,734, representing a growth of 1,005 people or 58.1%, of which 1,071 were non-nationals (39.17% of the residents). Between the censuses of 2006 and 2011, Gort showed a drop in both the population and the number of non-nationals, from 2,734 to 2,644 and 1,071 to 711 respectively (an outward net migration of 360) (see Table 7). However, the percentage



of foreigners with respect to the total population was still large, around 26.90%, the largest percentage among the key centres in County Galway (see Table 8 below). More recently, the overall number of non-nationals increased, and their number stood at 786 at the time of the 2016 census – representing 26.25% of the total population of 2,994. Despite the changing demographics of the decade under examination, the Brazilian population remains the largest number of non-Irish nationals in the area, 397 according to the 2016 census, followed by Polish, British, and Lithuanian (see Table 9 below).

**Table 7.** The resident population in Gort, census years 1996, 2002, 2006, 2011 and 2016.

Census years	Total resident population	Non-nationals	% of non-nationals
1996	1,182	-	-
2002	1,729	234	13.53%
2006	2,734	1,071	39.17%
2011	2,644	711	26.90%
2016	2,994	786	26.25%

**Source:** Census 1996, 2002, 2006, 2011 and 2016

According to the 2016 census, the resident population in the West of Ireland was 369,609 people, of which non-nationals represented 10.24% of this amount, close to the national average (11.24%). Galway has the highest population, with 177,215, whilst Mayo and Roscommon had a population of 128,394 and 64,000, respectively.<sup>31</sup> Regarding the incidence of migration, County Galway has the largest number of non-nationals in the West (16,590), followed by County Mayo (14,086) and County Roscommon (7,193) (see Table 10 below).

The western region is largely rural, with only 33.8% of its population living in urban areas. The rural population of the three counties varies from almost 73.2% in

<sup>31</sup> CSO Census of Population 2016.

Roscommon to 71.4% in Mayo and 54.0% in Galway.<sup>32</sup> Each county and the west region itself (66.2%) has a significantly higher proportion of people living in rural areas than the state as a whole (37.3%). Another key indicator of rurality in the West region is its population density; Galway for instance has the highest density of 42.04 people per sq km, whilst Roscommon and Mayo had 25.33 and 23.35 people per sq km, respectively (WDC, 2019).

The area taken into consideration broadly reflects national patterns related to the Brazilian population in Ireland. Gort is the primary Irish site where migrants settled during the original wave of Brazilian migration in the early 2000s into the West region (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010). County Galway has the largest number of Brazilians in the western region (53.09%) and the second nationally (5.72%) (after County Dublin (65.27%) (see Table 10).

**Table 8.** Usually resident population of key urban centres in County Galway with populations over 2,000 in 2016.

COUNTRY OF NATIONALITY	Galway	Tuam	Ballinasloe	Loughrea	Oranmore	Athenry	<b>Gort</b>
Ireland	60,065	6,877	5,539	4,585	3,965	3,549	<b>2,118</b>
UK	1,481	184	149	143	117	118	<b>68</b>
Poland	3,872	648	384	227	404	342	<b>91</b>
Lithuania	747	120	119	30	20	33	<b>18</b>
Other EU 28	3,853	387	134	198	215	137	<b>138</b>
Rest of world	3,794	362	203	217	150	157	<b>471</b>

<sup>32</sup> Source: CSO census 2016 Profile 2 E2008: Population percentage in the aggregate town areas and aggregate rural areas.

Not stated	1,879	109	81	105	49	37	<b>33</b>
TOTAL	79,934	8,767	6,662	5,556	4,990	4,445	<b>2,994</b>
% of non-nationals	17,19%	19,40%	14,84%	14,66%	18,15%	17,70%	<b>26,25%</b>

**Source:** Census 2016 Sapmap Area – Theme 2: Migration [online] Available at <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

**Table 9.** The non-national resident population in Gort, census 2002, 2006, 2011 and 2016.

COUNTRY OF NATIONALITY	2002	2006	2011	2016
<b>Brazil<sup>33</sup></b>	-	-	<b>417</b>	<b>397</b>
UK	69	58	81	68
Poland	-	40	66	91
Lithuania	-	-	11	18
Other EU 28	-	30	68	138
Rest of the World	165	943	68	74
Not stated	-	13	53	33
Total	234	1,084	764	819

**Source:** Census 2002, 2006, 2011 and 2016 – Small Area Population Statistics – Settlement of Gort [online]

Available at <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

<sup>33</sup> The census years 2002 and 2006 do not give the specific total Brazilian migrant stock in Gort; rather the Brazilian migrant stock for these census years are included in the category 'Rest of the World'. Only from the census year 2011 onward are the total Brazilian migrant stock in Gort included in a separate migrant category.

**Table 10.** The non-national resident population in the West region of Ireland by county, census year 2016

COUNTRY OF NATIONALITY	Galway	Mayo	Roscommon
IRELAND	160,625	114,308	56,807
UK	4,622	5,165	2,590
Poland	3,635	2,806	1,364
Lithuania	643	972	377
<b>Brazil</b>	<b>781</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>353</b>
Other EU	3,070	2,194	1,141
Rest of world	2,161	1,616	771
Not stated	1,678	1,242	597
Total non-nationals	16,590	14,086	7,193
% of non-nationals	9.36%	10.97%	11.23%
Total population	177,215	128,394	64,000

**Source:** Census 2016 – Theme 2: Migration [online] Available at <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

#### 4.3.1. Gort's urban, social and cultural landscape

The arrival of Brazilians and other migrant groups transformed Gort into one of the most culturally diverse towns in deep rural Ireland. From a largely rural homogenous community, the 2016 census found that 105 persons speak Polish, 16 French, 13 Lithuanian and 768 other languages (among these Portuguese), with a total of 902 persons who speak other foreign languages (CSO, 2016).<sup>34</sup> Regarding the

<sup>34</sup> Source: Census 2016 Sapmap area: Settlements Gort - Theme 2: Migration, Ethnicity, Religion and Foreign language [online] available at <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/> [accessed 06 12 2019].

ethnic/cultural background of Gort's population, the 2016 census found that it was made up of 1,820 White Irish, 63 White Irish Travellers, 482 Other White, 112 Black or Black Irish, 59 Asian or Asian Irish, 267 other ethnic groups. Regarding the speaker of foreign language's ability to speak English, 341 persons could speak the language very well, 331 well, 178 not well, 37 not at all, and 15 not stated (CSO, 2016). These ethnic and cultural aspects of Gort are further displayed in Table 11.

Regarding the social class of the population, the 2016 census found that 141 persons were professional workers, 554 were managerial and technical, 429 were non-manual, 496 were skilled manual, 516 were semi-skilled, 156 were unskilled, 702 were all others gainful occupied and unknown. For economic status, the 2016 census found that 1,253 persons were at work, 42 were looking for a first regular job, 235 were unemployed, having lost or given up the previous job, 196 were students, 184 were looking after home/family, 325 were retired and 110 were unable to work due to permanent sickness or disability. These social and economic aspects of the population of Gort are further displayed in Tables 12 and 13.

**Table 11.** Population by the ethnic or cultural background in Gort in 2016

ETHNIC OR CULTURAL BACKGROUND	PERSONS
White Irish	1,820
White Irish Travelers	63
Other White	482
Black or Black Irish	112
Asian or Asian Irish	59
Other	267
Not stated	134
Total	2,937

**Source:** Census 2016 Sapmap area: Settlements Gort. Theme 2: Migration, Ethnicity, Religion and Foreign languages <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

**Table 12.** Population by sex and social class in Gort in 2016

SOCIAL CLASS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
Professional workers	79	62	141
Managerial and technical	231	323	554
Non-manual	179	250	429
Skilled manual	303	193	496
Semi-skilled	239	277	516
Unskilled	78	78	156
All others gainfully occupied and unknown	334	368	702
Total	1,443	1,551	2,994

**Source:** Census 2016 Sapmap area: Settlements Gort. Theme 9: Social Class and Socio-Economic group <http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

**Table 13.** Population by principal economic status and sex in Gort in 2016

PRINCIPAL ECONOMIC STATUS	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
At work	654	599	1,253
Looking for first regular job	16	26	42
Unemployed having lost or give up a previous job	132	103	235
Student	88	108	196
Looking after home/family	13	171	184

Retired	150	175	325
Unable to work due to permanent sickness or disability	61	49	110
Other	4	2	6
Total	1,118	1,233	2,351

**Source:** Census 2016 Sapmap area: Settlements Gort. Theme 8: Principal Status  
<http://census.cso.ie/sapmap/>

This section provides insights from a researcher-participant observation perspective. Whilst in Gort, the researcher spent a significant portion of time familiarising himself with the town's urban landscapes, visiting local places, and observing daily activities. A significant number of local Brazilian businesses, hairdressers, money transfer agents, and internet services were visited. The researcher also visited the community centre, education & training centre, public library, the Coole Park nature reserve, and the market square. The Coole Park is a public nature reserve within walking distance from Gort, where locals (including Brazilians) go for walks, fishing, and entertainment activities. The Gort community centre is a place of recreation for local community members, equipped with a gym and facilities for playing a variety of sports, such as football, boxing and basketball. Some of these cultural, recreational, and urban settings are portrayed in Map 4 below.

These visits provided the researcher an excellent opportunity to meet people, introduce himself, explain the purpose of the study, engage in conversations, and build working interpersonal relations with both gatekeepers and members of the Brazilian community. It was also an opportunity to observe their daily experiences, habits, and activities. The market square is by far the most important place in the city centre for meeting Brazilians (mostly men). This is because it is the place where most of the unemployed migrants gather every morning during the week to look for work. They stand

there waiting for employers (primarily local farmers) to come over and select them for casual labour. During the researcher's time there, he found that only a handful of individuals received daily offers of work. The plight of the Brazilian migrant workers in Gort during the economic downturn of 2008 was extensively reported in the national and international media (Mac Cormaic, 2008; Pereira, 2008; RTE, 2011; BBC, 2009) (see Figure 3, below).

**Figure 3.** Brazilian migrant workers looking for work in Gort's market square in 2009.



(Photo by Adam Blenford BBC News: In Pictures: Brazilians in Ireland, 2009.)

One of the fieldwork objectives was to visit local NGOs. The initial idea was to build interpersonal relations, get to know people involved with these organisations, and to find out if they were still active in offering support to the Brazilian community in Gort. The researcher visited and spent time at the Gort Resource Centre (GRC), which provides support and services to the people of Gort and surrounding areas. One of the most important GRC initiatives to date has been the Gort Justice for Undocumented Group (JFU).<sup>35</sup> Most importantly, the GRC offers guidance and support for the

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<sup>35</sup> The JFU group calls for a fair and humane response to people who are immigrants and living in the community; most importantly, they call on the government to introduce a regulation scheme for undocumented workers and their families. This initiative can certainly have a positive impact among the Brazilian families living in Gort, considering the high level of undocumented persons. Available online at <https://www.mrci.ie/justice-for-the-undocumented/>



International Organization for Migration (IOM)'s voluntary return programme (IOM, 2019a). However, the overall engagement of Brazilians within the GRC initiatives has been low, according to one staff member. This may be due to their difficulties with English or fear of exposing their legal situations. While visiting the GRC, the researcher also learned that the Associação Brasileira de Gort (the Brazilian Association of Gort) and the Brazilian Women's Group "Amizade em Ação" (Friendship in Action), the two associations he was most interested in engaging with, are sadly no longer active<sup>36</sup>. Members of the Brazilian community also confirmed this, and some had never even heard about these associations.

The researcher attended church services at four Brazilian Pentecostal Churches in Gort and one at the African Pentecostal Church (the one that his landlady's family used to attend). There are five Brazilian Pentecostal Churches in total in the town (see Table 14 below). This proved to be a great opportunity to meet the pastors and other members of the local community first-hand; overall, they were welcoming and approachable. It was learned that, in addition to offering religious services, these Pentecostal churches also offer support for members in need and organise activities such as recreational events and barbecues<sup>37</sup>. In turn, this has helped to create a sense of community among them. Most of the meetings the researcher attended were full of families with children and young teenagers.

**Table 14.** The Brazilian Pentecostal Christian Churches in Gort

<b>Congregations</b>	<b>Religion leader</b>	<b>Address and phone numbers</b>
Assembly Mission of God	Pastor Mauri Miguel Feitosa	Unit 1, the Grove, Crowe St Gort
Church Revelation Promises	Pastor Hodevar de Souza	Georges St Gort

<sup>36</sup> The Associação Brasileira de Gort, was founded in October 2005, and during its operating time, it provided assistance, advice, health promotion and translation services to the Brazilian community two days per week (Healy, 2006:152). Similarly, the Brazilian Womens' Group offered once a week a programme of talks, art, aerobics and group dynamics (Healy, 2006:152).

<sup>37</sup> Aspects that have also been observed among the Brazilian community of London (Sheringham, 2011).

Assembléia de Deus (Assembly of God)	Pastor Claudir Braz	
Way of life assembly of God	Pastor Marcus	The Crowe st Gort
Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (Universal Church of the Kingdom of God).	-	Georges Street, Gort

(Source: Information Gathered During Pilot and Core Fieldwork)

Concerning Brazilian cultural events in the town, unfortunately, the Brazilian community no longer celebrates Carnival (Healy, 2006; O'Shaughnessy, 2007) or St. John's Day (Sheringham, 2009) (see Figure 4 below). According to one member the researcher spoke with who has lived in Gort for a decade and a half, the cessation of cultural celebrations might be linked to the overall demographic decline of Brazilians in Gort. Another possible reason may be linked to the growth of the Pentecostal Church in Gort, which sees Carnival as a secular celebration, and St. John's day as a Catholic tradition. However, it was observed that the community has found new ways to preserve their cultural identity, especially through their participation with the Pentecostal Churches, but also through recreational activities and the local businesses specialised in meeting the needs of the Brazilian community, thereby creating a sense of community for themselves.

**Figure 4.** Brazilian quadrilha festival in Gort, 2008

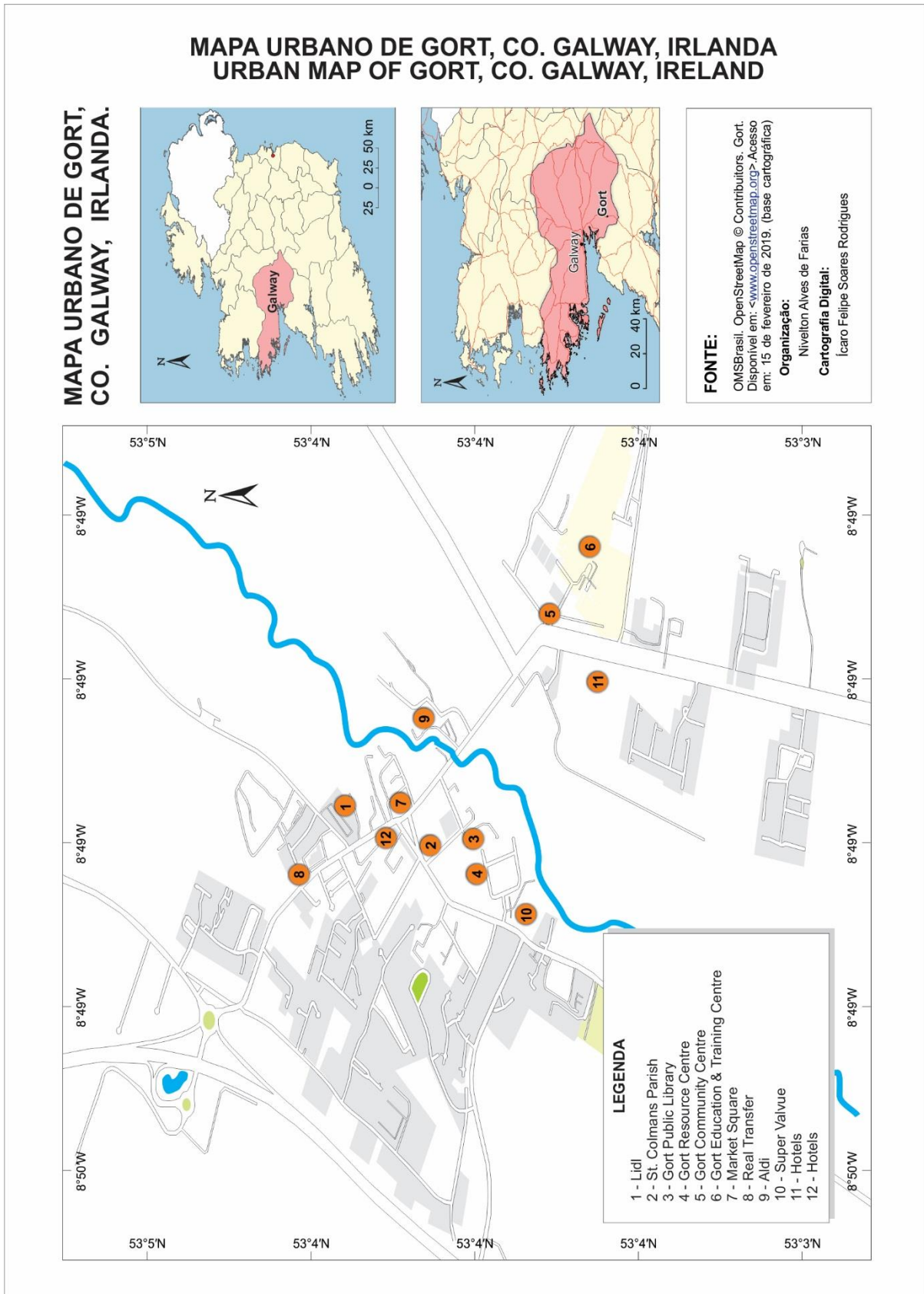


(Photo by Olivia Sheringham, 2008)

**Map 3.** County map of Ireland



Map 4. Urban Map of Gort



### 4.3.2. Participant profiles in Gort

#### 4.3.2.1. Individual characteristics

##### 4.3.2.1.1. Gender and age

The sample of 45 interviewees in Gort was comprised of 29 males and 16 females, no other genders. Of these, 6 interviews were with couples, however, they were interviewed separately. This was done for methodological reasons, as the researcher wanted to capture the account and experience of each one individually.

In terms of the age of participants, 13 were less than 35 years old, 20 were aged 35 to 50, 11 were aged 51 to 60, and one was aged 61 to 70 (Table 15). Most of the participants were mature people, however, overall, they were much younger than the sample in Anápolis.

**Table 15.** Gender and age of participants in Gort.

GENDER		AGE	
Male	29	Less than 35	13
Female	16	Aged 35 to 50	20
Other genders	0	Aged 51 to 60	11
		Aged 61 to 70	1

##### 4.3.2.1.2. Education, religious affiliation, and region of origin in Brazil

The level of educational attainment among participants was diverse. Among the 13 participants whose the highest level of education was primary education, 7 had completed this level of education and 6 had dropped out with an average of 4 years of schooling. A further 21 participants underwent secondary education; of these, 20 completed this level of education, and 1 had dropped out. Regarding further and higher

education, 2 participants had a technical qualification and 9 had completed higher education, with 1 participant having a specialization in financial management.

As for the respondents' religious affiliation, 25 were Christian Pentecostals, 15 were Roman Catholics, while 1 followed Spiritism and 4 had no religious affiliation. Regarding the region of origin in Brazil, unsurprisingly 29 participants were originally from the state of Goiás; of these, 14 were from Anápolis and 15 were from other cities within the state of Goiás (see Map 2). The other 16 participants were from different states; i.e. 5 were from Paraná-PR, 3 were from Brasília-DF, a further 3 were from São Paulo-SP, and the remaining 5 participants were from four different states (Minas Gerais-MG, Bahia-BA, Piauí-PI, Tocantins-TO, and Rio de Janeiro-RJ) (see Map 5). Although some were from other states and regions of Brazil, they were all based in Anápolis city and other cities within the state of Goiás before migrating to Ireland.

#### **4.3.2.2. Household characteristics**

##### **4.3.2.2.1. Marital status, family composition, and place of residency of family**

Regarding marital status, 30 participants were married, 10 were single, 4 were separated or divorced, and 1 was cohabiting. In relation to family composition, 37 participants stated they have children, although family sizes overall were small, with a total of 83 children, an average of 1.84 children per family, which was higher than Gort's average of 1.35 children per family. Fourteen participants declared they had children born abroad (outside Brazil); 16 children were born abroad in total. Of these, 3 were born in Portugal, while the rest were born in Ireland. Regarding citizenship, only 9 children have either Irish or Portuguese citizenship. The other 7 children did not hold Irish citizenship despite having been born in the state, primarily because of the legal immigration status of their

parents. Currently, no legislation allows the granting of citizenship to undocumented children who are born and live in Ireland.<sup>38</sup>

In terms of the place of residence of the family, 24 participants stated that their immediate families were based only in Gort, while 5 had family members based in both Gort and Anápolis, and a further 5 were based at both Gort and other cities within the state of Goiás. Others were based solely in Jesupolis-GO, Goiânia -GO, São Paulo-SP, Paraná-PR, and Brasília –DF (see Map 2 & 5).

#### **4.3.2.2.2. Types of migration, previous migrations, and time in Ireland**

To examine the different stages of the migration process, the study also classified the sample into family migration (migration among close family and households), and individual migration (migration among extended family, friends and acquaintances). Family migration formed the majority, with 33 participants stating that they migrated with their families to Gort, whilst 12 participants fell into the category of individual migration. For those who migrated alone and were married, with their spouse staying in Brazil, the migratory process was more difficult as they were not able to reunite with their families while in Ireland.

In terms of previous migration experiences, 8 participants had previous migration experiences, mainly to countries in Europe and Latin America. Some had lived in multiple countries; for example, 1 participant had lived in five different countries and another in four. Portugal was by far the most cited destination, mentioned by 7 participants, while 3 participants had lived in Spain, and 2 had lived in Italy. Belgium, Holland, England, and Chile were mentioned one time each. The experience of the participants is marked by ongoing mobility consisting of a multiplicity of potential routes and destinations.

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<sup>38</sup> Recently, the government agreed to work with the Labour Party to improve its citizenship law for undocumented children. The legislation proposes to grant citizenship to about 2,000 children who were born and live in Ireland but are stateless and at risk of deportation due to their parents' illegal status (O'Halloran, 2020).

However, only 2 out of 45 participants have EU citizenship, which makes mobility much easier. The remaining participants moved to Ireland on tourist visas and overstayed their permissions. Overall, 30 out of 45 participants were undocumented at the time of this research. Nevertheless, they were able to find and sustain employment in Ireland. This might indicate their resilience, commitment to their migration goals, and it may point towards emerging settlement patterns among Brazilians in Gort. Moreover, this reveals a far more diverse picture in terms of previous migration experiences than the sample in Anápolis.

Concerning the length of their stay, 12 participants been living in Ireland for less than 2 years; 11 for 2-4 years; 2 for 6-7 years; 2 for 8-9 years; 2 for 10-11 years; 6 for 12-13 years; 4 for 14-15 years; and 6 for 16 or more years. The average length of stay of the sample was much longer than among the sample in Anápolis and would fall along the lines of long-term migration. The figures relating to types of migration, previous migration experiences, and time in Ireland are further displayed in Table 16.

**Table 16.** Types of migration, previous migration experience, and time in Ireland<sup>39</sup> of participants in Gort.

Types of migration		Previous migration experience		Time in Ireland	
Family	33	Portugal	7	Less than 2 years	12
Individual	12	Spain	3	2 to 3 years	11
		Italy	2	4 to 5 years	-
		Belgian	1	6 to 7 years	2
		Holland	1	8 to 9 years	2

<sup>39</sup> Regarding time in Ireland, this study considered the participants current migration stay in Ireland, however, some participants had a previous migration history to Ireland, see Table 17 for further details on the types of emigration experienced by research participants in Gort.



England	1	10 to 11 years	2
Chile	1	12 to 13 years	6
		14 to 15 years	4
		Equal or above 16 years	6

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#### 4.3.2.2.3. Legal immigration status and deportations

Regarding legal immigration status<sup>40</sup>, 30 out of 45 people were undocumented, representing 66.66%. Of those undocumented, 26 people entered the country with a tourist visa, while 4 people entered the country with a student visa (Stamp 2). Of those who entered the country with a tourist visa, 6 people managed to change their status to a work permit (Stamp 1), while 2 people changed their status to a Residency Stamp 3. However, none of them was able to sustain their new statuses over time, thus becoming undocumented again.

Interestingly, 6 people were able to acquire Irish citizenship despite entering the country initially on a tourist visa. Here is how their path to citizenship unfolded: participants **Heítor** and **Gabriel** were able to get a work permit; participants **Joaquim** and **Gustavo** changed first to a work permit and then to a Stamp 4; participant **Cecília** changed first to a work permit and then to a Stamp 3; participant **Heloísa** changed to a

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<sup>40</sup> Immigration status is the status of a migrant under the immigration law of the country of destination (IOM, 2019:104). There are several types of immigration stamps in Ireland issued by the Irish Naturalisation & Immigration Service (INIS), apart from those relating to asylum applications, which are dealt with by the International Protection Office (IPO) <http://www.ipd.gov.ie/>. Each one indicates a type of permission, including the (a) activities one can and cannot do in Ireland and (b) the time period one is allowed to stay in the state. The time accumulated on certain stamps may be used to calculate citizenship by naturalization, however, the majority of stamps do not count towards citizenship rights. These immigration status types in the Republic of Ireland are further displayed in Appendix F.

Stamp 3 only. Some participants were able to acquire other EU citizenships while living in Ireland (see citizenship section below).

For work permits, only 2 participants (out of the 45) (**Théo** and **Samuel**) had a work permit. They entered the country on a tourist visa but were able to change their status over time. Regarding residency status, 3 participants (**Helena**, **Valentina**, and **Benício**) have a Stamp 4 permit; of these, 2 entered the country with a tourist visa and the third entered with a student visa. Lastly, 1 participant (**Júlia**) had Stamp 3 permission.

Regarding deportations, none of the participants were deported while living in the state but 5 reported having been deported once at the entry point (airport in Ireland). Of these deportations, 3 participants (**Théo**, **Luíza**, and **Enzo Gabriel**) had previous migration histories in the state, whilst 2 participants (**Murilo** and **Heloísa**) had not. All of them were able to re-enter the state again; of these, 3 participants (**Murilo**, **Luíza**, and **Enzo Gabriel**) remained undocumented, 2 participants (**Théo** and **Heloísa**) changed their status to a work permit permission and **Heloísa** was granted Irish citizenship (she also went on to get a degree in Accountancy). These immigration status types in the Republic of Ireland are further displayed in Appendix F.

#### 4.3.2.2.4. Types of emigration

The research relied on King's (1986) classification of return migration patterns to categorise the sample of 45 participants in Gort. The data demonstrated a circular migration pattern between Anápolis and Gort:

- 23 participants were classified as first-time migrants (when people emigrate for a significant period elsewhere for the first time),
- 15 were classified as re-emigration migrants (when people emigrate again, to the same destination after having returned once),
- 4 were transient migrants (a migrant going to A to B to C without returning to his place of origin),

- 2 were second-time migrants (when people emigrate to a new destination C after having returned from B),
- 3 were third-time migrants (when people emigrate to a new destination D after having returned from C),
- 2 were fourth-time emigrants (when people emigrate to a new destination E after having returned from D), and
- 1 was of circular migration (when to-and-from movements become repetitious).

It is important to note that some of these categories can overlap with one another; for instance, a participant (**Lorenzo**) was both a circular and third-time migrant, participants **Pedro** and **Lívia** were both fourth time and transient migrants, whilst participants **Alice** and **Valentina** were both second time and transient migrants (see. King, 1986).

#### **4.3.2.2.5. Working status and sector(s) of employment**

Regarding working status, 38 out of 45 were actively working; of these, 26 were formally employed, 10 were doing casual work and 2 were self-employed. For those in employment, 25 pay income taxes (PAYE/PRSI) and 20 do not pay income taxes. It is interesting to note the positive contribution of the majority of people engaged in employment and contributing to the tax system. Of those paying income taxes, 14 were undocumented and 11 were legally working in the state. The reason why undocumented participants pay income tax is that they were able to register for the PPS number before they lost their legal residence in the country. Regarding unemployment, 7 participants (15.55%) were out of work, much higher than the sample in Anápolis, where only 1 participant (2.5%) was out of work. The reasons mentioned were receiving social welfare benefits (**Heitor**), sickness (**Lorenzo** and **Valentina**), retirement (**Laura**), study (**Lívia** and **Isaac**), and new arrival (**Giovanna**).

Most participants were immersed in a variety of sectors. Among the interviewees, 11 participants were employed in construction, 7 in cleaning and housekeeping, 6 in

farming, 6 in gardening and landscaping, 4 in restaurant/catering, 3 in meat processing, 3 in barber and beauty, 3 in care and babysitting, 3 in metal welding, 2 in church, 2 in commerce, with 1 person each were employed in mechanic services, event promotion, accountancy, factory, and recycling. Some participants held down multiple jobs, alternating or working in parallel within different sectors. For instance, those employed in farming or agriculture usually must find other employment during the winter months and the majority become casual workers. The data also point to the gendered division of labour. For instance, it was primarily women working in cleaning/housekeeping, babysitter/care and hairdressing/salon roles, whilst it was mostly men working in construction, meat processing, farming/agricultural, and painting/gardening.

The study also collected data on their former employment sector in Brazil (Table 17). The data show a variety of sectors and professions among the participants. Eight participants were formally employed in commerce and sales, 6 in metal welding, 5 in barber and beauty, 4 in construction, 4 in farming, 3 in delivery/driving, 3 in teaching, researching, and trainee, 2 in church, 2 in meat processing, 2 in security, with 1 person each formally employed in mechanic services, nursing, entertainment, the army, factory, childcare, finance, cleaning, photography, and gardening. Those who were self-employed in Brazil had set up businesses in the area of clothing, events, and beauty.

Table 17 also shows the differences between what people do in Brazil and Ireland. The data showed significant differences in employment among the participants in some sectors. In Ireland, for example, participants were more immersed in construction, agriculture, cleaning/housekeeping, gardening/landscape, restaurant/catering, care/babysitting; in Brazil, the participants were immersed in the sectors of commerce and sales, metal welding, barber/beautician, delivery/driving, teaching/research/internship, security, nursing, entertainment/music, army, finance and photography. Some sectors employed people in a similar way in the two regions: the meat processing sector, religious/church, mechanic and the manufacturing sector.

**Table 17.** Sectors of employment of participants in Gort.

Sectors of employment	Ireland	Brazil	Total
Construction	11	4	15
Commerce and Sales	2	8	10
Farming	6	4	10
Metal welding	3	6	9
Cleaning/housekeeping	7	1	8
Barber/beautician	3	5	8
Gardening/landscaping	6	1	7
Meat processing	3	2	5
Restaurant/catering	4	-	4
Care, Babysitting	3	1	4
Religious/Church	2	2	4
Delivering/driving	-	3	3
Teaching/researching/trainee	-	3	3
Mechanic	1	1	2
Factory	1	1	2
Security	-	2	2
Event promotion	1	-	1
Accountancy	1	-	1
Recycling	1	-	1
Nursing	-	1	1
Entertainment/music	-	1	1
Army	-	1	1
Finance	-	1	1
Photography	-	1	1

#### **4.3.2.2.6. Access to services, social benefits, citizenship, and language training**

The analysis showed that 44 out of 45 participants were able to acquire the personal public service (PPS) number. However, for those who have recently arrived in Ireland, getting the PPS number has been much more complicated as they must travel to Galway and prove that they are legally in the country. They reported that many are afraid to do

this because there have been cases of staff in the social welfare in Galway calling the police. The personal public service number allows its holder to access other social services and more importantly to access the labour market. Regarding other social services, 30 participants were able to open a bank account; the other 15 did not. Opening a Post Office account is the only option for those who cannot prove legal residence in the country. Only 13 participants were able to apply for a driving license, which is only available to those with residency or work permits and able to speak the language. The lack of a driver's license led many to seek other options, for instance, driving without a valid driving license. Indeed, while attending court hearings in Gort, the researcher observed that most of the Brazilians who found themselves with legal problems were linked to driving without a valid license. Also, not having a driver's license makes it difficult to access job opportunities in farming outside the town and jobs in nearby towns. Regarding medical cards, only 10 participants were able to access this service, whilst only 11 were able to access the social welfare system. Not surprisingly, the majority accessing the social welfare system were legally in the state, only one couple was undocumented, but they accessed child benefits only. In terms of NGO support, 7 participants stated that they had received or were currently receiving support from NGOs based in Gort such as St. Vincent de Paul and Gort Resource Centre, and NGOs based in Galway such as the Legal Aid Board and Disable Ireland.

Regarding citizenship, 6 participants managed to become Irish citizens and 3 other participants were able to acquire other EU citizenships while living in Ireland - 2 had Portuguese and 1 had Italian citizenship. Finally, for language skills, 22 participants declared having a basic level of English, 17 an intermediate level and 9 an advanced level. Language proficiency among participants in Gort was higher than those in Anápolis, which might be due to their length of stay. Nevertheless, some participants had a very low language level despite been living in Ireland for over ten years. When asked why they had such a low level of English, most of them replied that it was because

of lack of time, fatigue after work, and lack of opportunity to learn. In the town, only the Gort Further Education & Community Centre offers English language lessons for non-native speakers; however, the attendance of Brazilian nationals is low. Table 18 displays data on access to services, social benefits, and citizenship patterns among Brazilian migrants in Gort.

**Table 18.** Access to services and social benefits among participants in Gort

TYPES OF SERVICES AND BENEFITS	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS AVAILING OF SERVICES AND BENEFITS
PPS number	44
Bank account	13
Driving license	13
Medical card	10
Social welfare benefits	11
Citizenship <sup>41</sup>	9
NGOs support	7

#### 4.3.2.2.7. House and land ownership and accommodation

In terms of house ownership, 22 participants stated they own a house in Brazil, while 15 own land (referring to urban allotments or in some cases small farms). Not surprisingly, none of the participants own either a house or land in Ireland. However, some participants are saving up to buy a house in Ireland (**Helena, Joaquim, Benício, and Luíza**).

<sup>41</sup> Citizenship refers to the position or status of being a citizen of a particular country. The Oxford English Dictionary as defines citizenship as “the legal right to belong to a particular country”. In this study, in particular, citizenship refers to the multiple nationalities held by the participants.

The study also examined their accommodation arrangements, for instance, 25 participants were renting their accommodation (usually those with family and those settled for a longer time), while 20 were sharing their accommodation (usually those with no family and those that are single). However, in both arrangements, the houses were rented from private landlords only. None were able to apply for council or social housing.

#### **4.3.2.2.8. Remittance patterns**

The data indicate that 16 participants do/did send remittances home during their time in Ireland. Male participants (n=13) were more likely to send remittances home than female (n=3). The reason why they do send remittances home will be discussed more broadly in the send part of this section. Interestingly, 17 participants (10 male and 7 female) said they do not send remittances. The reasons for not sending remittances home were diverse. The most interesting theme to emerge was that most participants feel that their life is now in Ireland (n=9). In addition to settling in Ireland, some participants (n=8) felt disenfranchised with Brazil, especially with its corruption, politics and the difficulties encountered in running a business. Others stopped sending remittances because they had settled and decided to buy a house and raise their children in the country. Some participants have expressed regret that they have invested in the originating region, some have lost money or time and today they pay expensive rent in Ireland because of that. Some have decided to sell their assets in Brazil to invest in Ireland. Others had also stopped sending remittances because they decided to invest in themselves, for example by buying new clothes, a car and investing in their wellbeing.

Another interesting theme to emerge was that some participants stopped sending remittances home because of the recession, salary stagnation, and cost of living and because of children's education. Both unemployment and sickness were cited as reasons for no longer being able to send remittances home. Others were no longer able to send the same amount of money because they were working less due to old age or ill health. One participant in particular, **Lorenzo**, is unable to work because of his diabetes



and having had some of his toes recently amputated. Another participant, **Henrique**, is no longer able to work in his professional area (welding) because of an acute vision problem and he did not have access to treatment in Ireland despite having lived in the country since 2006. Both are undocumented, making access to government support difficult; however, some have been assisted by the Brazilian community (especially churches) and NGOs. Others are unable to send remittances home because they just arrived in the country and have spent money settling in; however, they also want to invest in the future. Further reasons cited are debts (in the origin community) and the high cost of supporting a family in Ireland. A further 7 participants said that they do still send remittances home, but only sometimes, of which 4 were male and 3 female. Five participants said they do not send remittances but may do in the future for various reasons. Participant **Benjamin**, for instance, has plans to invest in both Ireland and Brazil in case one option fails. However, he is unable to now because he is currently unemployed and living with relatives. Three participants said they still do send remittances, but only rarely. Finally, 2 participants said they do send remittances home, but very little.

Regarding the reasons for sending remittances to Brazil, the data indicate that 10 participants did send remittances home to support an extended family member in need (someone from the broader family or household). Nine other participants did send remittances home to support their immediate families (with house bills, food and medicine). Interestingly, a further 7 participants did send remittances home to pay back debts. Other participants did send remittances home for investment reasons, for instance, to buy or build a house (those who owned land) (n=6), to make investments (n=4), to purchase a motor vehicle, mainly cars and trucks (n=3) (the former for family use only, while the latter were used for two reasons: work and livelihood for the family), to buy land (n=2), to renovate a house/apartment (n=2), to save for the future (n=2), and to invest in the family farm (making a sty for pigs and new fences) (n=1). Not surprisingly,

sending remittances home to fund children's education (primary, secondary and third level) was mentioned by 4 participants. Finally, the other aspects mentioned was to send remittances home to pay for property maintenance (n=2), to support children left behind (n=1), to pay for health treatment (n=1), to help friends in need (n=1), and to pay for college of a relative (n=2).

#### **4.4. Site 2. Anápolis in Goiás, Brazil**

Anápolis is the third largest city in the state of Goiás. According to the IBGE data, the resident population in Anápolis consisted of 381,970 people, while the overall resident population of Goiás corresponding to 6,921,161 people (IBGE, 2018a). The state of Goiás is located in the Midwest region of the country (see Map 5). The Midwest region is one of the five main regions in Brazil defined by the IBGE in 1969.<sup>42</sup> It is made up of three federal states: Goiás-GO (this case study), Mato Grosso-MT and Mato Grosso do Sul-MS, plus the Federal District-DF, where Brasília is located. Goiás has the smallest territorial area (340.106,492 km<sup>2</sup>) (apart from the DF), and the second-highest demographic density in the region (17.65 people per km<sup>2</sup>).

Considering the resident population, Goiás has the largest population in the Midwest region (6,921,161), more than double its rival, the State of Mato Grosso (3,441,998), making it the 12<sup>th</sup> most populous state in the country. Goiás has 246 municipalities, the largest number in the region; Goiânia (the capital) is the largest city, with an estimated population of 1,495,705, followed by Aparecida de Goiânia (565,957) and Anápolis (381,970).

Regarding the economic context, Anápolis has the second-highest GDP (R\$ 13,118,758.94) and annual per capita income (R\$ 35,372) in the state of Goiás after the capital Goiania (R\$ 46,659,222.76) (IBGE, 2019b, 2016a, 2016b). The municipality has

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<sup>42</sup> IBGE - Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics [online] available at <https://www.ibge.gov.br/>

a diversified economy with the service sector being the largest (R\$5,874,020.40), followed by industry (R\$3,712,360.96), public sector (R\$1,426,500.30), and agriculture (R\$54,164,91.00) (IBGE, 2016a). Anápolis has a literacy rate of 96.3 (6 to 14 years) and a Human Development Index of 0.737 (the 5<sup>th</sup> highest among key centres in the state) (IBGE, 2010b, 2010c).

Moreover, Anápolis is characterised as an industrial municipality; besides the 657 industries distributed in its territory, it houses the largest industrial pole of the state of Goiás: the Agribusiness District of Anápolis (DAIA), comprised of 102 active industries (Castro, 2012:16). The establishment of the DAIA in 1970 has allowed the municipality to develop into the fastest industrial sector within the state, and to attract several pharmaceutical plants and large companies (Lucio, 2009). One example is the first Hyundai vehicle manufacturer in the country, the result of an investment of R\$ 1.2 billion.<sup>43</sup> The DAIA has also been linked to the creation of a pool of educated professionals (Ribeiro, 2008), trained by the several higher education and training institutions in the city. Another interesting economic aspect of Anápolis is that it hosts one of the most important bases of the Brazilian Air Force in the Midwest region of the country.<sup>44</sup> These demographic, territorial, political, social, and economic patterns of the broader region are further displayed in Tables 19 and 20.

**Table 19.** Population, territorial area, and density of the central-west region states + DF<sup>45</sup>

STATES + DF	POPULATION	TERRITORIAL AREA	DENSITY
<b>Goiás</b>	<b>6,921,161</b>	<b>340,106.492 km<sup>2</sup></b>	<b>17.65 people per km<sup>2</sup></b>
Mato Grosso	3,441,998	903,202.446 km <sup>2</sup>	3.36 people per km <sup>2</sup>
Federal District-DF	2,974,703	5,779.997 km <sup>2</sup>	444.07 people per km <sup>2</sup>

<sup>43</sup> <https://caoa.com.br/noticia/fabrica-anapolis>

<sup>44</sup> Força Aérea Brasileira [online] available at <http://www.fab.mil.br/index.php>

<sup>45</sup> IBGE (2018) Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística: Cidade e Estados [online] Available at <https://www.ibge.gov.br/cidades-e-estados/go.html>? [accessed 02 March 2019].

Mato Grosso do Sul	2,748,023	357,145.531 km <sup>2</sup>	6.86 people per km <sup>2</sup>
<b>Source:</b>	IBGE (2018a)	IBGE (2017)	IBGE (2010a)

**Table 20.** The population of key centres in the state of Goiás, with populations over 120,000

CITIES	POPULATION	LITERACY	HUMAN DEVELOPMENT INDEX	GROSS DOMESTIC PRODUCT	GDP per capita
Goiânia	1.495.705	96,4	0,799	46.659.222,76	32.209,01
Aparecida de Goiânia	565.957	95,3	0,718	11.980.984,94	22.514,94
<b>Anápolis</b>	<b>381.970</b>	<b>96,3</b>	<b>0,737</b>	<b>13.118.758,94</b>	<b>35.372,45</b>
Rio Verde	229.651	97	0,754	8.338.518,13	39.288,71
ÁguasLindas	207.070	96,6	0,686	1.629.818,67	8.510,85
Luziânia	205.023	97	0,701	3.439.432,77	17.471,11
<b>Source:</b>	IBGE (2018a)	IBGE (2010c)	IBGE (2010b)	IBGE (2016a)	IBGE (2016b)

Map 5. Political map of Federative Republic of Brazil



#### **4.4.1. Vila Fabril**

The research was focused on Vila Fabril, located in the Western part of Anápolis. This neighbourhood initially became the centre of Brazilian migration to Gort as most of the pioneer migrants were from Vila-Fabril (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010). The western region of Anápolis is principally comprised of the neighborhoods of Vila Fabril, Jardim das Oliveiras, Bairro Lapa, Vila Brasil, Jardim Silveira, Vila Gonçalves, Jardim Petrópolis, Jardim Suíço, and Vila Gonçalves. These are the neighbourhoods from which most of the participants came (see Map 6, below).

The first houses in Vila Fabril were industrial, built around ceramic and brick factories in the 1930s. Further sets of industrial houses were built with the arrival of the first meat processing plant in the 1950s (Bernardes et al., 2015). They were built mainly to house the workers of these industries. Meat processing, ceramic, and brick kilns were the main economic activities of the region for many years. Usually, industrial villages were constructed on the initiative of entrepreneurs; however, in the case of Vila Fabril, the houses were built and owned by the workers themselves (Bernardes et al., 2015). Initially, the houses were scattered, but over time they grew in number and size and eventually formed Vila Fabril. At the time of its creation, Vila Fabril was in the rural area of the municipality, approximately 6 km from the centre of the city. However, with the passage of time and the growth of the city, it became incorporated with the rest of the city, as shown on Map 6.

The ceramic and brick factories and meat processing plants in Vila Fabril since the 1930s, listed in Table 21 below, played an important economic role, employing local families for many years. However, they have brought environmental problems to the region as well (Castro, 2012). For instance, participants reported to me that in the past, the smell coming from the meat plants was very strong; the ceramic factories also caused environmental problems with the extraction of clay on the outskirts of the village; the ditches left behind are still visible from the village today.

**Table 21.** Meat processing plants and ceramic factories in Vila Fabril since the 1930s.

<b>Types of Industries</b>	<b>Period(s)</b>
<b>Ceramic and brick kiln factories</b>	
Cerâmica São Joao	1930
Cerâmica São Vicente	1948
Cerâmica Induspina	1930
Cerâmica Mioto	1947
Cerâmica Santa Maria	1950
Olaria Lagoinha Ltda	1983 to present
<b>Meat processing plants</b>	
Frigorífico de Goiás	1950 to 1970
Frigorífico Bordon	1970 to 1991
Frigorífico Mourão	1992 to 1994
Frigorífico Fri-Boi	1994 to 1999
Frigorífico JBS	2009 to 2014
<b>Source:</b> Bernardes et al., 2015:153; participants' interviews.	

The context of the meat processing plants is most pertinent to this research, as arguably, their economic rise and fall are directly related to the initial migration of Anapolinos to Ireland. In 1999, the penultimate meat plant to occupy the industrial site closed, leaving many local people unemployed. This led a small number of skilled workers to migrate to Gort to undertake similar work in a local meat processing plant (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010). Eventually, the industrial site was reopened again in 2009. It was renamed from the previous Frigorífico Friboi to Frigorífico JBS. The reopening coincided with the 2008 economic downturn in Ireland, which devastated the country's economy and led to a decrease of certain groups within the country (CSO, 2016).

The success of JBS begins in Anápolis in the 1940s. The acronym gathers the initials of the name of its founder, Jose Batista Sobrinho. The family opened its first meat business in 1953 in Anápolis and their first meat processing plant 1970, named Friboi, in Formosa (another municipality in Goiás). Eventually, Friboi became the largest meat processing producer company in the country; however, in 2007 the company changed its name to JBS. The group JBS started to receive billions in incentives from the Brazilian public bank BNDS, which allowed the company to acquire meat companies in both Brazil and abroad (Victor, 2017). Eventually, the company reached the position of largest producer of animal protein in the world with exports to 150 countries (Nogueira, 2017).

Unfortunately, JBS shut down in 2014, once again leaving many local people unemployed. As in 1999 (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010), the closure may have been one of the factors leading to the re-emergence of new flows of Brazilian workers to Gort. Whilst conducting fieldwork in Gort, it was discovered that most of the people who were at the market square looking for work were either migrants who lived in Ireland before and re-migrated recently. This is interesting in two ways; in that it may signal a pattern of circular migration or a re-emergence of the factors that were once responsible for the initial Brazilian migration to Gort.

Despite the decline of both the meat processing and the ceramic/brick sectors in Vila Fabril, it is still possible to see the remains of the industrial past in its geography. As shown in Map 7 and Figures 5 and 6, below, the sites of both the meat processing industrial plant and the last ceramic and brick kilns factory - which still functions and employs a small number of locals - are both still there. More importantly, the industrial past is still alive in the memories of the older workers who still live in the village (Bernardes et al., 2015), as well as those who had to migrate to Ireland due to the decline of these local industries.



**Figure 5.** Site of JBS industrial meat processing plant in Vila Fabril



Photo by Marcelo Ferreira (2017) [online] De Anapolis para o mundo: como a JBS virou uma gigante do setor de carnes. CorreioBraziliense, May 17, 2017. Available at <https://www.correio braziliense.com.br> [accessed 25 February 2019]

**Figure 6.** Site of a ceramic and brick kiln factory in Vila-Fabril



Photo by Marcus Vinicius Isaac (2019) Ceramicas em Anapolis comecam a ter liberacao de argila para extracao. Goiasem tempo [online] Available at <https://goiasemtempo.com.br/home/?p=39240> [accessed 25 Feb 2019].

#### **4.4.1.1. Vila Fabril and Anápolis' urban, social and cultural landscapes**

This section provides insights from a researcher-participant observation perspective. Whilst in Anápolis, the researcher spent a significant portion of time familiarising himself with the city and its many neighbourhoods, especially those located in the western part of the city (see Map 6). Like in the case of Gort, the researcher also visited local places and observed daily cultural activities. This provided an excellent opportunity to meet people, talk about the research, and find potential participants. Most importantly, it helped the researcher to build up an understanding of the economic, political, social, cultural, historical, and environmental aspects of the city and Vila Fabril in particular, which this section reflects on. This understanding was also developed through the researcher's engagement with academic literature on the area (Soares et al., 1999; Polonial, 2000; Luz, 2001; Ribeiro, 2008; Bernades et al., 2015).

Evolving from its industrial past, Vila Fabril today has the same characteristics as any other poor working-class neighbourhood on the outskirts of Anápolis city, i.e. a lack of infrastructure, leisure activities and employment opportunities. Not surprisingly, during fieldwork visits to Vila Fabril, people commented on the lack of infrastructure in the village, mainly in terms of leisure and sports options. The only leisure options in the village are bars, ice cream shops, and a rough pitch where local people play football. Shopping malls, a typical leisure place for families in Brazil, are far from the village, in the city centre.

Furthermore, Vila Fabril suffers from a lack of quality in public transport. This is not very different from the situation faced by Brazilians and local people in Gort, as the town also faces irregular transport services, a reality of many small towns in rural Ireland. Therefore, for those families who do not own cars (i.e. the majority), it is difficult to access leisure activities and to visit the city centre. Moreover, Vila Fabril has only one public school, one public crèche, one public medical clinic, one petrol station, two pharmacies, and two medium-size supermarkets; some of these infrastructures are shown on Map 7.

During fieldwork at Vila Fabril, besides visiting the sites of both the meat processing plant and the ceramic and brick kiln factory (figure 5 and 6, shown above), the researcher also visited the municipal school – Colégio Estadual Adolpho Batista - where most of the local children study, including the children of returning families. During the visit, the researcher had the opportunity to talk to some teachers, including one who was a returnee migrant himself and who agreed to participate in the research. He lived in Ireland from 1999 to 2008. After returning, he went on to obtain his college degree in Physical Education.

Local churches were also visited; there are eight congregations in total in Vila Fabril, one Catholic, and seven Pentecostals. Like in the case of Gort, the researcher had the opportunity to meet the pastors, who are gatekeepers in the community, and other locals. Most of the people that comprised the study sample were accessed through these contacts. As the previous work in Gort has shown, it was learned that, in addition to offering religious services, these Pentecostal churches also offer support for members in need and organise various activities.

In the greater Anápolis area, one of the places visited most was the Municipal Central Market, Carlos de Pina, in the centre of Anápolis (see figure 7, below), the oldest commercial market in the city, where people can shop, talk and eat together. This was an excellent opportunity to meet people and observe their daily activities. The centre is the busiest part of the city. Besides the central market, you also find most of the city's commerce taking place there, attracting many people. The city centre is also where most of the informal economy takes place, with lots of people selling everything from sweets and ice creams to clothes and watches. The researcher had the opportunity to visit street fairs, where locally produced food was sold, as well as clothing and a little bit of everything. Street fairs are a great place not only to meet local people, to shop and eat, but also to observe the cultural habits of the Anapolino people and their daily lives. Street

fairs are very common in the state of Goiás and throughout Brazil (Nunes *et al.*, 2017; Azevedo and Queiroz, 2013).

**Figure 7.** Municipal central market, Carlos de Pina, in Anápolis.



Photo by: Victor Salustrino Bezerra, Dec 2018

The researcher also visited the Goiás State University (UEG)<sup>46</sup> and the Evangelical University of Anápolis.<sup>47</sup> The objective was to create a network among academics and to access information on regional scientific research. One interesting

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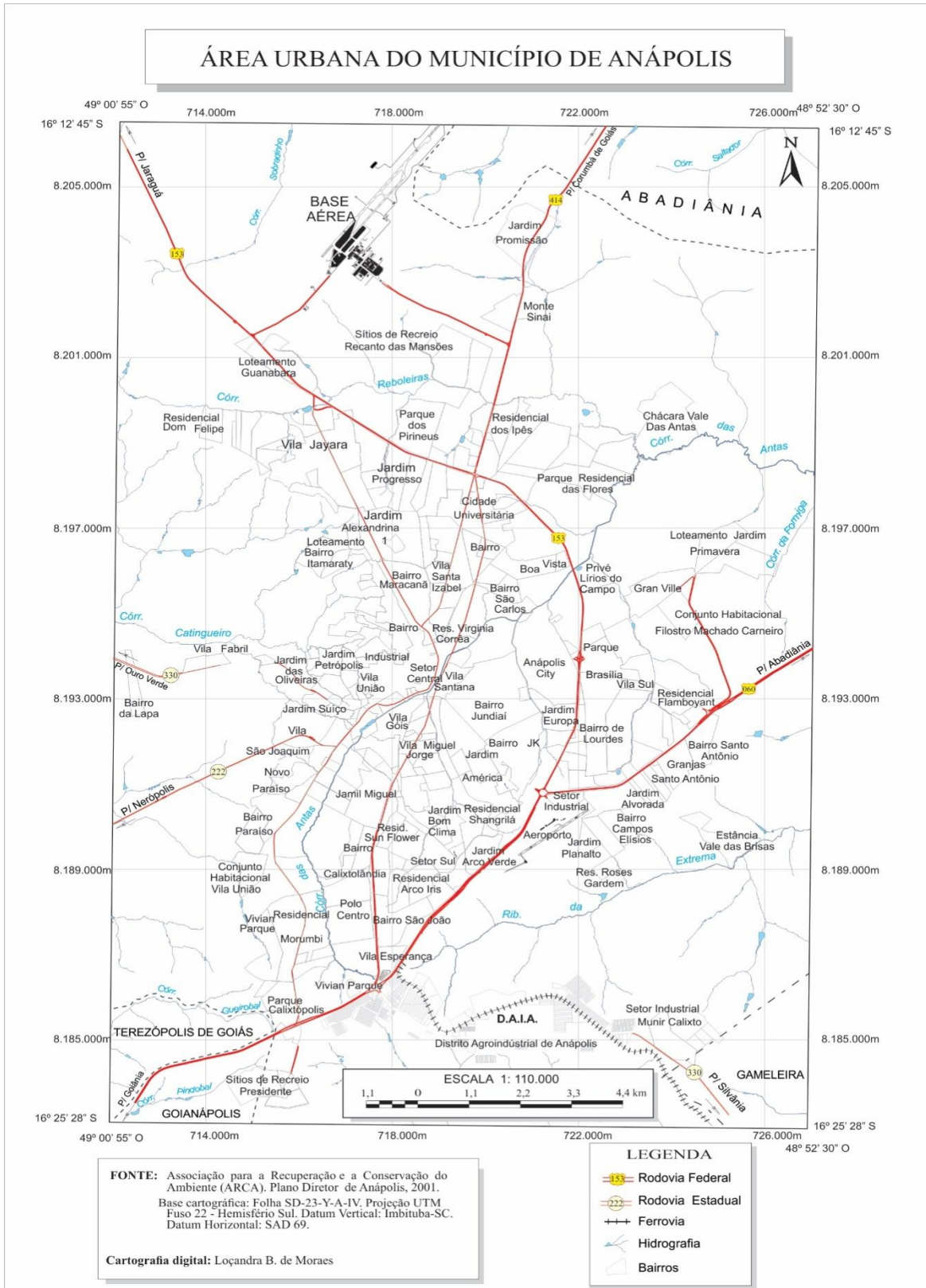
<sup>46</sup> The State University of Goiás (Portuguese: Universidade Estadual de Goiás, UEG) is a publicly funded university located in the Brazilian state of Goiás, headed in Anápolis with campuses in forty-two cities. The university was founded in 1999, and it is one of the three public universities of Goiás (besides the Federal University of Goiás and Rio Verde University). <http://www.ueg.br/>

<sup>47</sup> The University of Anápolis – UniEVANGÉLICA is a private higher education institution, located in the city of Anápolis, Goiás, founded on March 31<sup>st</sup>, 1947. <http://www.unievangelica.edu.br/novo/index.php>

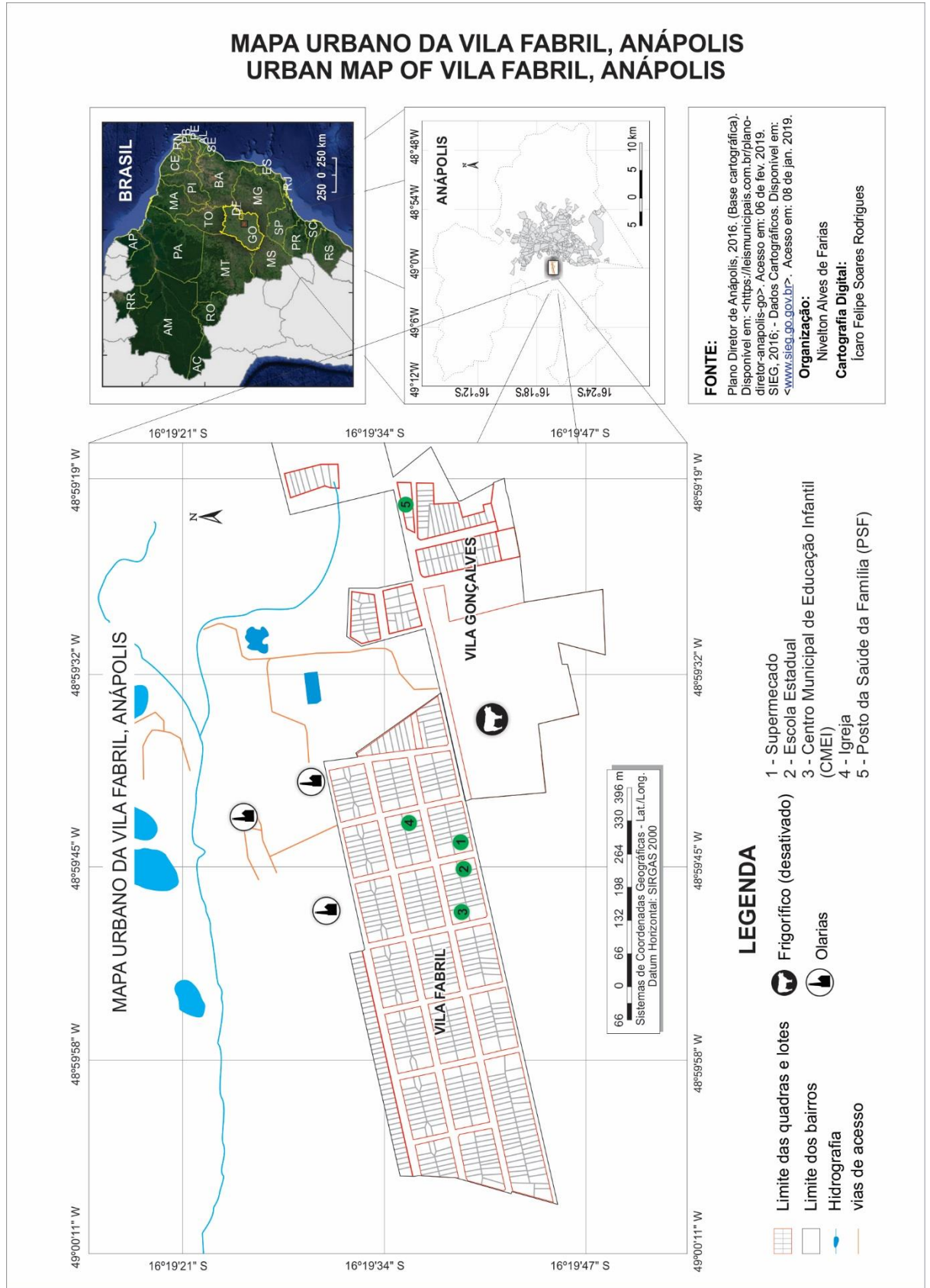
aspect that was discovered while talking to academics and through travels around the city is that there is a new wave of international migrants in Anápolis, the majority being from Haiti and Venezuela. The migration of Haitians and Venezuelans is a recent phenomenon in Brazil (IBGE, 2018; Silva, 2013). According to estimates published by the IBGE, over thirty thousand Venezuelan immigrants are living in Brazil; about ten thousand entered the country in 2018 alone (IBGE, 2018c). The flow of Haitians to Latin America is directly linked to both the civil unrest that engulfed Haiti in 2004 and the earthquake in January 2010, both of which devastated the country's economy. By contrast, the immigration of Venezuelans is linked to the economic and humanitarian crisis that has been ravaging the country more recently.

It was observed that the majority of Haitians work as informal street vendors in the city centre. This is interesting in two ways, that is, whilst Anapolinos are eager to migrate to Ireland and other countries if they have the chance, other international immigrants from Latin America are coming and find new economic opportunities in the city. However, international immigration is not new in Anápolis as the city received a significant number of Lebanese, Syrians, and Turks in the early 1920s. The arrival of immigrants from the Middle East was of extreme importance for the economic development of Anápolis (Soares *et al.*, 1999). Today, their descendants are fully integrated and part of the Anapolina society.

Map 6. The urban Area of the Municipality of Anápolis



Map 7. Urban area of Vila Fabril in Anápolis.



#### 4.4.2. Participant profiles in Anápolis

##### 4.4.2.1. Individual characteristics

###### 4.4.2.1.1. Gender and age

Table 22 below illustrates some of the main gender and age characteristics of the participants in Anápolis. The sample of 40 participants was comprised of 19 males (47.55%) and 21 females (52.5%). Of these, 8 interviews were with couples; however, they were interviewed separately (but mostly in the presence of each other). This was for methodological reasons, as the study aimed to capture the lived experiences and voices of all participants.

In terms of the age of the participants, 5 were less than 35 years old, 20 were aged 35 to 50, 11 were aged 51 to 60 and 4 were aged 61 to 70. The majority were mature people middle-aged or older; this is a noticeable indicator of labour migration flows.

**Table 22.** Gender and age of participants in Anápolis

GENDER	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	AGE	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS
Male	19	Less than 35	5
Female	21	Aged 35 to 50	20
Other genders	0	Aged 51 to 60	11
		Aged 61 to 70	4

###### 4.4.2.1.2. Education, religion affiliation, and region of origin in Brazil

The participants in Anápolis had diverse educational backgrounds. Twenty participants attended primary education, however, only 6 had finished this level of education, whilst 14 had dropped out. Those who dropped out of primary education had an average of 5.3



years of schooling, while those who finished had an average of 8 years of schooling. Furthermore, 14 participants had attended secondary education, however, 4 dropped out. Finally, 2 participants had technical education, 1 had an incomplete higher education, and 3 had completed higher education.

As to the participants' religious affiliation, the majority were Evangelicals (45%), followed by Catholics (37.5%), no religion (12.5%), and Spiritists (5%). Regarding origin region, unsurprisingly 35 out of 40 participants were originally from the state of Goiás – of these, 21 were specific to Anápolis, whilst 14 were from other cities within the state of Goiás (see Map 2). The other 5 participants were from different Brazilian states, among these, 2 were from Minas Gerais-MG, 2 from Ceará-CE, and 1 from Mato Grosso-MT (Map 5). This is interesting because it shows patterns of internal migration to the state of Goiás.

#### **4.4.2.2. Household characteristics**

##### **4.4.2.2.1. Marital status, family composition, and place of residence of family**

Regarding marital status, 28 participants were married, while 6 were single, 5 were divorced or separated, and 1 was cohabiting. In terms of family composition, 34 participants stated they had children, although family sizes were relatively small, with a total of 69 children, an average of 1.72 children per family. Eight participants stated they had children born abroad; 12 children were born in Ireland. Of those born abroad, only 1 child, the daughter of the participant **Emanuel** acquired Irish citizenship (her father held a Residency Stamp 4 at the time of her birth). However, the other children did not acquire Irish citizenship, mainly for two reasons: the irregular status of their families (i.e. **Maria Eduarda, Mariana, Beatriz, Pietro, and Catarina**); or because their parents did not apply for citizenship before returning, despite having a work permit or a stamp 3 (**João and Isabelly**).

In terms of place of residence of the family members, 30 participants declared that their families were based only in Anápolis, 6 were based in both Anápolis and Gort, 2 based at both Anápolis and Bristol, UK, and 2 based at both Anápolis and Brasilia. The vast majority of the participants' families were based in Anápolis, a much less diverse picture in terms of residency than the current sample in Gort. This shows that the pioneer migrants were mostly from Anápolis. The data show that over time the flow diversified, not only with migrants from other cities in the state of Goiás but also from other states in Brazil, as the sample in Gort shows.

#### **4.4.2.2.2. Types of migration, previous migrations, and time in Ireland**

Table 23 below illustrates the types of migration, previous migration experience, and time in Ireland. Family migration formed the majority, with 25 participants declaring that they migrated with their families to Gort. However, the majority migrated alone initially but were able to reunite with their families in a later stage; only 1 participant (**Beatriz**) migrated with her partner initially. Fifteen participants migrated individually. For those who migrated alone and were married (25%), the migratory process was harder as they were not able to reunite with their families while in Ireland. Although the difficulties of entry and high financial cost were the main barriers to family reunification, some participants mentioned not wanting to bring their family to Ireland, while others expressed regret having not tried it. In terms of previous migration experiences, surprisingly, only 1 participant (**Antônio**) reported a prior migration to the USA.

Regarding the length of stay, 4 participants stayed in Ireland for less than 2 years; 11 for 2-3 years; 8 for 4-5 years; 9 for 6-7 years; 3 for 8-9 years; 3 for 10-11 years; and 2 for 12-13 years. The average length of stay of the sample would fall into the category of long-term migration. This is interesting considering that 32 out of 45 participants (representing 80% of the sample) were undocumented during their time in Ireland, but somehow they were able to find and sustain employment over a long period; this might

also indicate resilience, community support, and commitment to migration goals (Table 23).

**Table 23.** Types of migration, previous migration experience, and time in Ireland of participants in Anápolis.

Types of migration		Previous migration experience		Time in Ireland	
Family	25	USA	1	Less than 2 years	4
Individual	15			2 to 3 years	11
				4 to 5 years	8
				6 to 7 years	9
				8 to 9 years	3
				10 to 11 years	3
				12 to 13 years	2
			Equal or above 13 years	0	

#### 4.4.2.2.3. Legal immigration status and deportation

In terms of immigration status, 31 out of 40 people were undocumented during most of their time in Ireland, representing 80% of the total sample. Of these undocumented migrants, 25 people entered the country with a tourist visa and overstayed their permission and 6 people held a work permit but became undocumented later. A further 13 people held a work permit at some point during their time in Ireland; of those initially holding a work permit, 6 people lost their permission over time, 2 people changed their permission to a Stamp 3 and a Stamp 4, while 5 people were able to keep their work permit throughout their time in Ireland. None of the participants acquired Irish citizenship, even those with a work permit who were entitled to this benefit. The current threshold for

citizenship in Ireland is five years holding a residency status, that is, a Stamp 1 work permit, a Stamp 3 or a Stamp 4 residency. Furthermore, for those who held a work permit whilst living in Ireland, only 4 people entered the country holding the permit, while 9 entered the country with a tourist visa but managed to secure a work permit at a later stage. For those entering the country with a permit, the expenses were lowered as the meat processing plant in Gort paid for the flight tickets; however, they were obliged to pay the money back to the company through weekly instalments.

In terms of deportations, 4 participants (**Felipe**, **Antonella**, **Ana Clara**, and **Esther**) reported being deported once at the entrance point in Ireland (airport). Interestingly, none of them were deported while living in the state. Of those deported, 2 participants (Felipe and Esther) had a previous migration history in the state, whilst participants Antonella and Ana Clara were deported on their first attempt to enter the state. Three of those deported successfully re-entered the state on their second attempt; of these, the participant **Antonella** remained in the state undocumented, whilst participants **Ana Clara** and **Esther** managed to change their status from undocumented to a work permit and a Residency Stamp 4, respectively. The immigration statuses in the Republic of Ireland are further displayed in Appendix F.

#### **4.4.2.2.4. Types of return migrations**

The research relied on King's (1986) classification of return migration patterns to categorize the sample of 40 participants in Anápolis. The data showed that:

- 29 participants were classified as first-time return migration (when people return to their place of origin after a significant period elsewhere),
- 7 were classified as re-emigration return (when people immigrate again, to the same destination after having returned once),
- 2 were classified as second-time emigration (when people immigrate to a new destination C after having returned from B), and

- 2 others were classified as circular migration (when to-and-from movements become repetitious).

None of the participants were repatriated (when migrants do not return voluntarily but are forced to by external events). Seasonal migration (regular movements dictated by the season or climate) were not mentioned (see King, 1986).

#### **4.4.2.2.5. Working status and sector(s) of employment**

Regarding the working status of the participants, Table 24 shows that 31 out of 40 were actively working; 16 were formally employed and 15 were self-employed. A further 5 were retired, 4 were looking after home/family (i.e. neither at work nor retired), while 2 were unemployed over a long period (**Maria Eduarda** and **Vinícios**).

The majority of the participants in Brazil were immersed in a variety of different sectors and occupations: 14 participants were self-employed, 6 were employed in commerce, 4 in the public sector, 3 in health care, 2 in education, and 1 participant each in cleaning/housekeeping mechanical and security sectors. Those who were self-employed set up businesses in a variety of sectors i.e. car mechanics, furniture, hair salon, restaurant, garden landscaping carpentry, housing, and street food (barbecue). In terms of the former sector of employment of participants in Ireland, the empirical data shows that the majority were immersed in a variety of sectors and occupations. Twenty-one participants were formally employed in the cleaning and housekeeping sector, 13 were employed in meat processing and commerce (hotel, restaurant, bakery, supermarket), 10 in babysitting and elderly care, 8 in farming and agriculture, 7 in painting and gardening, 5 in construction and carpentry, 2 in hairdressing and salon, whilst 1 was employed in the factory sector. Concerning gender, it is not surprising to find a similar gendered division of the workforce - mostly women worked in cleaning/housekeeping, babysitter/elderly care, hairdressing/salon, and factory sectors, whilst mostly men worked in the construction, carpentry, mechanical and the

painting/gardening sectors. With both men and women employed in the meat processing and farming/agriculture sectors, men were, however, the majority in the former sector.

**Table 24.** Sectors of employment of participants in Anápolis.

BRAZIL		IRELAND	
Self-employment	14	Cleaning and housekeeping	21
Commerce	6	Meat processing and commerce	13
Public sector	4	Babysitting and elderly care	10
Health care	3	Farming and agriculture	8
Education	2	Painting and gardening	7
Domestic service	1	Construction and carpentry	5
Mechanical	1	Hairdressing and salon	2
Security	1	Factory	1

#### 4.4.2.2.6. Access to services, social benefits, and language training

Table 25 below provides an overview of the social services participants accessed while living in Ireland. 36 out of 40 were able to acquire the PPS number. Regarding other social services, 27 participants were able to open a bank account, 10 had access to the medical card, and whilst only 3 had access to a driving license. A further 5 participants had accessed social welfare benefits, whilst 9 received NGO support, mainly from the IOM voluntary return programme.<sup>48</sup> Surprisingly, none of the participants acquired Irish citizenship, even though some of them (**Eduardo, Ana Luíza, Esther, João, Emanuel,**

<sup>48</sup> Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) is an indispensable part of a comprehensive approach to migration management aiming at the orderly and humane return and reintegration of migrants who are unable or unwilling to remain in host or transit countries and wish to return voluntarily to their countries of origin (IOM, 2019). Available online at: <https://www.iom.int/assisted-voluntary-return-and-reintegration>

**João**, and **Isabelly**) had lived legally in the state more than twice the necessary time period, that is, five years holding either a working permit or a Residency Stamp 3 or 4. In terms of language proficiency, 22 participants acquired only the basic level of English during their time in Ireland, 2 acquired an elementary level, 16 an intermediate level, and 2 an advanced level. Again, the lack of language proficiency was due to lack of time, fatigue after work, and a lack of learning opportunities.

**Table 25.** Access to services, social benefits, and citizenship

TYPES OF SERVICES AND BENEFITS	
PPS number	36
Bank account	27
Medical card	10
Driving license	3
Social welfare benefits	5
NGOs support	9
Citizenship <sup>49</sup>	0

#### **4.4.2.2.7. Residential neighbourhood, house, land, and car ownership, and accommodation**

In terms of the neighbourhood of residency, most of the participants came from neighbourhoods located in the western part of Anápolis city. The west of the city (especially around Vila Fabril) was where historically the meat processing plants and the ceramic and brick kilns factories were based. 12 participants reside in Jardim das Oliveiras, 11 in Vila Fabril; these two neighbourhoods are connected to one another (see

<sup>49</sup> Citizenship refers to the position or status of being a citizen of a particular country.

Map 6). A further 5 participants reside in the northern part of the city, while 4 reside in the central area, and 2 in the south of the city.

Regarding house ownership, 30 participants stated having their own houses, whilst 10 possessed land only (urban allotments). For those not owning a house, the researcher asked questions regarding their accommodation arrangements, for instance, 7 participants were renting, whilst 3 were sharing accommodation. In terms of car ownership, 31 participants declared owning a car.

#### **4.4.2.2.8. Remittance patterns**

The data indicate that 36 participants did send remittances regularly home during their time in Ireland. Other 2 participants said they did send remittances, but only rarely. Finally, 1 participant said he did send remittances home, but only sometimes, while 1 only said he did send remittances home, however, very little. It appears that females participants (n=21) were more likely to send remittances home than males participants (n=19).

Regarding the reasons for sending remittances to Brazil, the data indicate that 24 participants did send remittances home to support their families (with house expenses, food and medicine). Other participants did send remittances home for investment reasons, for instance, to purchase a motor vehicle (cars or trucks) (n=15), to buy or build a house (n=13), to buy land (n=9), to renovate a house/apartment (n=7), to buy new furniture and TV (n=4), to make investments (n=3), and to open a business (n=1). Other 14 participants said they sent remittances home to support children left behind (any expenses). The other reasons for sending remittances home were diverse, for instance, to pay for health treatment (n=8), to support family members in need (n=7), to pay back debts (n=6), to fund children's education (n=4), to finance family members migration (n=2), to pay for flights (n=1), to pay for the funeral of a relative (n=1), to go on vacation in Brazil (n=1), and to solve few things/problems (n=1).



#### **4.5. Conclusion**

This chapter aimed to develop rich descriptive insights of both the communities – in Gort and Anápolis - as well as the participants and their families involved in this research. First, it provided an in-depth description of the demographic, social, economic, cultural, and political aspects of the research communities. It noted that Gort became one of the most celebrated, vibrant, multi-lingual, multi-cultural towns in deep rural Ireland (at least during the CT era), just a few years after the arrival of Brazilians and other immigrants. The previous situation of stagnation changed, with the arrival of the CT economic cycle, which stabilised and expanded the Irish economy (Chapter 1). Gort is the seventh-largest urban centre in County Galway, with a total population of 2,994. Anápolis, by contrast, is the third-largest city in Goiás with an estimated population of 381,970 people (IBGE, 2018a). More specifically, the focus of the research was concentrated on Vila Fabril. This neighbourhood initially became the centre of Brazilian migration to Gort as most of the pioneer migrants were from Vila-Fabril (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010). Since the 1930s, there have been many ceramic and brick factories and meat processing plants in Vila Fabril. They played an important economic role, employing local families for many years. The chapter showed that the context of the meat processing plants is more important to this research, as arguably their economic rise and fall is directly related to the migration of Anapolinos to Ireland (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010).

Secondly, the chapter provided a broad and detailed description of the socioeconomic characteristics of the participants and their families in both communities. In particular, it details information on gender, age, marital status, family composition, place of familial residency, educational background, religious affiliation, origins in Brazil, types of migration, previous migration experiences, length of residence abroad, deportations, immigration status, working status, sector(s) of employment (Brazil/Ireland), social services access in Ireland, Irish citizenship, language proficiency,

house and land ownership, car ownership, type of accommodation, and remittance patterns. It demonstrates that the Brazilian community of Gort is heterogeneous concerning their background and migration characteristics.

Together these results provide important insights into both the communities as well as the participants and their families involved in this research. Besides, to fill one of the main gaps in the literature on Brazilians in Gort, these two sets of in-depth information were fundamental to the process of discussion and contextualisation of the research findings (Chapter 5 and 6). The next chapter, therefore, goes on to discuss the results on the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, in Ireland (study aim 1).

## **CHAPTER 5 - THE DETERMINANTS OF BRAZILIAN MIGRATION FROM ANÁPOLIS, IN GOIÁS, TO GORT, IN COUNTY GALWAY, IRELAND**

### **5.1. Introduction**

This is the first discussion chapter of this study focusing specifically on the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland (study aim 1). The chapter also seeks to identify patterns in the determinants of migration (e.g. related to the region of residence, gender, length of time since first/most recent migration, age, marital status, and type of migration). The chapter draws on in-depth multi-method empirical data collected at both the origin and host communities. In order to examine the determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort, the chapter draws on neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network, transnational and translocal theoretical models, as well as theoretical arguments and concepts in the Irish and Brazilian empirical literatures on the determinants of migration.

This study revealed that Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort is not only engendered and sustained over time and space by economic determinants related to the labour market (unemployment, cost of living and employment opportunities), but also by capital and credit market determinants (the wish to acquire or buy material goods, and funds to open a business, education and indebtedness), which is consistent with both NE and NELM. The collected data, however, also evidence that this migration flow is the result of non-economic socio-cultural determinants - related to (1) family, relationships, and sexuality, (2) lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland, (3) unsafe urban conditions and failing political system in Brazil, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. These findings fall partly outside of the theoretical approaches outlined above (and in Chapter 2) except for family migration which is largely in line with NE, suggesting the need for other non-market-dependent theoretical models that consider human-development and wellbeing aspects, and social-

cultural dimensions. Although not hypothesised by many classical economic accounts, evidence of non-economic determinants has been widely founded on empirical studies on the initiation of migration of various groups (Chapter 2). Moreover, the findings suggest Brazilian migrants in Gort are heterogeneous concerning their migration motivations, thus, demonstrating the need for closer attention to other types of migration (de Haas, 2011:14) beyond labour migration.

The chapter is structured into two sections: the first analyses the economic determinants, whilst the second analyses the non-economic determinants. This is followed by concluding remarks.

## **5.2. The empirical findings**

### **5.2.1. Economic determinants**

#### **5.2.1.1. Unemployment, cost of living (Brazil) and employment opportunities (Ireland).**

The data show that unemployment and the cost of living in Brazil, together with employment opportunities in Ireland, were the most cited reasons for migrating to Gort, mentioned by 50 participants<sup>50</sup>. This research defines these determinants as labour market<sup>51</sup> forces (Borjas, 2013). A labour market is a structure that allows labour services to be bought and sold (Fields and Andalon, 2008). In a labour market, those who seek to employ workers are the “buyers” and those who seek employment are the “sellers” (McPake et al., 2013). A special feature of labour markets is that labour cannot be sold but only rented (McPake et al., 2013). The literature review in Chapter 2 showed that labour market determinants are important drivers of migration to Ireland (Grabowska,

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<sup>50</sup> Note: number of participants are calculated on the basis of 85 persons. The themes presented in this chapter do not sum to 100% because some respondents mentioned more than one reason for migrating to Gort.

<sup>51</sup> According to McPake et al., (2013) a market is any structure that allows buyers and sellers to exchange goods, services or information of any type.

2005; Ciżkowicz et al., 2007; Fóti, 2009) and emigration from Brazil (Yamanaka, 1996; Margolis, 1998; McKenzie and Salcedo, 2014).

A variety of perspectives were expressed by the participants under this broad theme as one of their main reasons for migrating to Ireland. For instance, to search for work, make money and improve their financial life was mentioned by 26 participants. Financial difficulties in Brazil and unemployment/difficulty in finding a job (in part due to the economic crisis) were cited by 16 and 14 participants, respectively. Another 10 participants mentioned the lack of professional opportunities as their main reason for migrating, while 3 other participants mentioned professional stagnation, the value of the currency in Ireland and the cost of living in Brazil as one of their main reasons for migrating.

For example, 37-year-old **Bernardo**, a single father, migrated to Gort in 2001 in search of work: “As I said at the end of the ‘90s, a meat processing plant closed its doors in Anápolis, leaving many people unemployed. At the same time, Ireland was hiring experienced people in this area, so my mother and I moved to Ireland in search of work and a better life.” A similar example came from 40-year-old **Emanuel**, a former meat processing factory worker who also migrated to Ireland in 2001, hoping to make money:

“I think it was the need for money, our suffering here, which led me to go. I worked a lot on bad work; I did not earn any money, you know? When I had the opportunity to go through my father-in-law, I accepted the invitation. [...] It was the need for money; most who go there want to improve their family life, which was my case too [...].”

Other participants migrated to improve their finances; this is the case of 62-year-old **Paulo**, who lived in Ireland between 2005 and 2011:

“I migrated to Ireland to improve our life, which was very difficult. I was unemployed at the time, there we went, and I was not working, no. I went to Ireland to risk my luck, to see if I would like it, then I went, and thank God, it worked, then I stayed

there to seek a better life for my family, to make a better financial foundation for my family.”

The number of those citing unemployment, cost of living and employment opportunities was significantly higher among participants in Anápolis (n=30) than Gort (n=20). However, the economic crises were more likely to affect those still living in Gort than those in Anápolis. Regarding gender, male participants (n=30) were more likely to be affected by unemployment/difficulty to find a job and lack of opportunities than female participants (n=20). Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland<sup>52</sup>, 39 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, that is, some of these participants were the first ones to arrive in this region of Ireland; while 11 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 9 were less than 35 years, 13 were aged 35-45, 20 were aged 46-55, and 8 were aged 56 and over<sup>53</sup>. Regarding marital status, 36 participants were married, while 6 were single, 6 were divorced, and 2 were cohabiting. For types of migration, 34 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 16 participants. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among men, the first arrivals (1999-2009), and the mature and among the married.

These migration determinants fit within both the NE and the NELM theory. In chapter 2, we saw that labour market determinants are consistent with both the NE and the NELM frameworks. However, the reasoning underpinning migration differs under the two models. The NE theory, for instance, largely explains migration by geographical

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<sup>52</sup> The study divided the time period of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort into two periods of analysis – from 1999 to 2009 – during the Celtic Tiger era – and from 2010 to 2018 – after the Celtic Tiger era. In this way, the study can draw insights on the determinants of migration of the first arrivals to the most recent arrivals.

differences in the supply and demand of labour (de Haas, 2008; 2011)<sup>54</sup>. Therefore, such spatial differences in capital and labour supplies stimulate potential migrants to move across regions to access higher earnings (Massey et al., 2005). NELM, on the other hand, does not postulate complete, well-functioning markets. This model recognizes that in many less industrialized countries, markets for labour, capital, credit and insurance may be absent, imperfect or inaccessible to poor households (de Haas, 2010b). This, in turn, creates barriers to their economic advancement. If public social protection is also limited, households has no means of insuring itself against income, production and property risks, or gaining access to investment capital (Massey et al., 1994; Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Migration is therefore, according to NELM, a way to overcome these market failures (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). Although labour market determinants are recognised in both the NE and the NELM frameworks, the findings of this study are more consistent with the latter, as identified determinants are more related to the overcoming of constraints rather than the maximisation of income. The only variables mentioned by respondents which fit NE assumptions more than NELM are the value of the currency and employment rates. However, the data evidence that the Brazilian migrants' prior knowledge of these factors before arriving in Ireland was at best vague – this contradicts the NE assumption that people have access to full information before migrating.

This finding is consistent with previous research into Brazilian migration to Ireland. Sheringham (2010: 66), for instance, found that while the experiences of the Brazilian interviewees varied considerably, all cited economic reasons for coming to Ireland. Similarly, another study in Ireland, Belgium, and Portugal found that, given the low incomes in Brazil, the majority of respondents mentioned economic reasons for migrating (IOM, 2009a: 46-47). The same study found that reasons that related to the economy, unemployment, or professional opportunities were given by nearly half of the

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<sup>54</sup> Other markets (e.g. insurance, capital, and credit) are assumed to be complete and well-functioning (de Haas, 2008).

respondents, regardless of the country of destination (*ibid.*: 46). In Ireland specifically, over 50% of the interviewees stated that their decision to emigrate was mainly due to economic difficulties, followed by unemployment (*ibid.*: 47)<sup>55</sup>. The next section looks at another economic determinant of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort identified in this research.

#### **5.2.1.2. The wish to acquire or buy material goods, and funds to open a business**

The data show that 19 participants mentioned the wish to acquire larger purchases and open a business but lack of access to credit was one of their main reasons for migrating. This research defines these determinants as credit market constraints (Massey et al., 2005), which is in line with the NELM model (see further discussion below). The Cambridge English Dictionary defines credit markets as “the business of lending money” (Cambridge Dictionary, 2021). The Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2021) extended this definition and defines credit market as “a market for borrowing money in the form of bank loans, bonds etc.” Bolton and Rosenthal (2005) argue that poor and minority borrowers (especially in developing countries) are sometimes excluded from formal credit markets even when they are just as creditworthy as other borrowers. For these authors, the exclusion of poor borrowers can indicate inefficiency in credit markets and the existence of credit rationing<sup>56</sup> (*ibid.*).

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<sup>55</sup> A positive association between labour market determinants and migration has also been found among Brazilians living in Portugal (Padilla, 2006:04; Wall & Nunes, 2010:397-401), Portugal and the UK (Torres, 2044; 2012:111); the UK (Jordan & Duvell, 2002:100; Evans et al., 2007:08); Japan (Yamanaka, 1996:72-73; Phillips, 2007:15-20; McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014:75); Japan and the USA (Zell & Skop, 2011), and the USA (Margolis, 1998:11-12; Bianchi et al., 2007:511; Marcus, 2009:493). But also among other immigrant groups living in Ireland; for instance, Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerians (Feldman et al., 2008:63); Nigerians (Komolafe, 2008:233-236; Ejorh, 2012:587); Latinos (Marrow, 2013:653); Polish (Grabowska, 2005:36; Krings et al., 2013:94; Fóti, 2009:39; Cizkowicz et al., 2007:08); Polish and Chinese (Chiyoko King-O’Riain, 2008:215-218); Estonian, Latvian and Lithuanians (Aptekar, 2009:508) (see Chapter 2 for a full description of these studies findings).

<sup>56</sup> According to Bolton and Rosenthal (2005) the key assumption underlying ideas of credit rationing is that lenders are imperfectly informed about borrowers’ creditworthiness, coupled with the assumption that, “with



Within this theme, buying a house or a better house was mentioned by 15 participants. This is the case for **Vicente**, a 48-year-old married father who migrated to Ireland without his family in 1999, with the dream to buy his own house and thus not pay more rent: “The reason was financial; I had a dream of buying my house and a car. The dream of all Brazilians is to buy their own house and get out of rent, which is the biggest reason that led me to go to Ireland.” A similar example came from 40-year-old **Isabelly**, who lived in Ireland with her family from 2001 to 2010: “I migrated to Ireland because of financial factors, because here in Brazil things were very difficult right. [...]. The idea was to go to be able to buy my own house because I will not have my parents forever to support me.” A further 6 participants cited their wish to buy a car or truck for work or leisure, as one of their reasons to come to Ireland; and 1 participant mentioned the wish to renovate a house. The case of **Miguel**, a 51-year-old married father who migrated to Ireland for the second time is very telling. He had his truck stolen, on which his livelihood depended: “The reason I moved to Ireland was that they stole my truck, [...]. I tried to buy another truck, but I could not. I came back to Ireland a second time, try to buy another truck and try to improve our situation.” The final theme to emerge was “the wish to acquire funds to open a business upon returning”. This was one of the main reasons that led both **Isadora** and her husband to migrate, besides of course, “the desire to buy a home of their own”, which she said would bring a sense of pride and a better life: “We went to Ireland to find a better life alternative, one day we would go back to Brazil and have our own business, to have our own house, to have the feeling that you have something of your own [...].”

A further level of analysis to determine the achievement of these migration goals and the usage of remittances<sup>57</sup> among the participants showed that a variety of material

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rising interest rates, the risk pool of credit applicants worsens, because only riskier and more desperate borrowers are willing to borrow at the more onerous terms” (Bolton and Rosenthal, 2005: 1).

<sup>57</sup> Although not discussed in depth here, the study recognises that remittances are an essential element of labour migration. According to Carling (2008b:581) “Not only does migration fuel remittance flows once it

goods and assets were indeed acquired in the origin region<sup>58</sup>. Moreover, investing in the housing sector was seen by many as being the most secure investment. This is very interesting as only this study and its dual-site analysis could expose this for the specific participants. Indeed, respondents in this study who felt a sense of failure were more likely to be those who did not invest in real estate back home. The data further reveal that 9 participants (10%) said that they did not buy anything yet, but they are planning to acquire material goods in the future in Anápolis. Two others (2%) are saving money in the bank and are intending to pursue investments upon their return.

Among those citing the wish to acquire or buy material goods and the wish to open a business, 11 participants were based in Anápolis, while 9 were based in Gort. Regarding gender, however, male participants (n=11) were more likely to migrate due to this reason than females (n=8). Male participants were also more likely to cite the wish to buy a car or truck than female participants. However, it seems that female participants were more likely than males to cite the wish to buy a house or a better house. Finally, only female participants mentioned the wish to renovate the house. Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 15 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, whereas 4 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of age, 2 were less than 35 years, 6 were aged 35-45, 8 were aged 46-55 and 3 were aged 56 and over. Again, the majority were mature people in their middle-age or above. Regarding marital status, 15 participants were married, 2 were divorced, while 1 was single and 1 was cohabiting. For types of migration, 12 migrated with family, while

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occurs, but the prospect of remitting is often a key element in the motivation to migrate in the first place." Motivation to remit is one of the main drivers of migration according to NELM (Lucas & Stark, 1985).

<sup>58</sup> For instance, "real estate" [n=34, 40%], "land" (mainly urban allotments, to build a house for family use, but in some cases, for commercial reasons) [n=23, 27%], "car" [n=22, 25.8%], "truck" (for work and securing the family livelihood) [n=6, 7%], "motorbike" [n=5, 5.8%], "farm and cattle" [n=5, 5.8%], "house furniture" [n=1, 1.1%].

individual migration was the type of migration of 7 participants. Likewise, this theme was most prevalent among men, the first arrivals, and the mature and the married.

These findings are in line with the NELM theory. NELM theorists argue that whenever households lack access to both credit and capital markets, they not only lose the ability to capitalise on new productive activities, but also their ability to finance large consumer purchases such as appliances, cars and homes (Massey et al., 2005). In many low- and middle-income countries, however, banking institutions are underdeveloped or inaccessible to poor families (Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 2005)<sup>59</sup>. Massey et al., (2005) highlight that the absence of consumer credit can create a strong motivation for short-term migration, given a sudden need to buy a home, land and cars. They further argue that in addition to household needs, the demand for credit also arises from market expansion into domains formerly governed by non-market or pre-market mechanisms. This penetration creates new material aspirations among consumers in developing countries but without access to the credit mechanisms that make mass consumption possible in other regions (ibid.). Furthermore, NELM argues that income is not a homogeneous good, as neoclassical economics presupposes<sup>60</sup> (Massey et al., 1993). For NELM, “the source of the income really matters, and households have significant incentives to invest scarce family resources in activities and projects that provide access to new income sources, even if these activities do not necessarily increase total income” (Massey et al., 1993: 438).

Migration engendered by credit market determinants in Brazil is interesting considering that the country has one of the most modern and efficient banking systems

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<sup>59</sup> However, in developed countries, such investments are funded either through savings or loans, both of which are greatly assisted by the banking system (Massey et al., 1993:438).

<sup>60</sup> The NELM challenges the NE’s assumption that income has a constant effect on utility for an actor across all socio-economic settings - that an actual \$100 increase in income means the same thing to a person regardless of local community conditions and regardless of their position in the income distribution (Massey et al., 1993: 438).

in the world (Frischtak, 1992)<sup>61</sup>. However, 70% of its banking sector is controlled by the four largest banks (Banco do Brasil, Itaú Unibanco Holding, Caixa Economica Federal, and Banco Bradesco) (Montanez, 2020), which makes competition and provision of services limited. This process has been further exacerbated in recent years because “large banks have been buying small specialised banks, that operate on a more local basis and niche markets” and thus monopolising even further the sector and provision of services (Staub et al., 2010:1617). Besides, the country has one of the highest banking interest rates in the world (Favero & Giavazzi, 2002). Favero & Giavazzi (2002:2-3) posit that “two factors contribute to the level of Brazilian interest rates. (i) monetary policy, and the way it affects and reacts to inflation and exchange rate expectations; (ii) term premia.” Furthermore, high-interest rates in Brazil have also been related to the “inexistence of a local long-term domestic credit market,” which is the result of “jurisdictional uncertainty” (Arida et al., 2004:1). Arida et al. (2004:4) argue that “there is, however, a long-term credit market to Brazilians when the jurisdiction is foreign.” However, “access to this market is restricted to the government, large companies and large banks – firms the size of which justifies the cost of verification of credit quality” (Arida et al., 2004:4).

Moreover, Brazil has a problem with housing shortages, largely due to overpopulation in major urban areas and the lack of government housing policies. Brazil has a very large urban population of around 160,925,792 people, representing 84.4% of the total population of 190,755,799 (IBGE, 2010). This creates a constant demand for adequate housing and land. The 2010 Census showed that the country had about 11.4 million people living in “disorderly occupations”, the term used by the IBGE to designate slums (Bello, 2017). Moreover, government programmes for social housing have been limited. Valenca and Bonates (2010) examined the trajectory of social housing policies

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<sup>61</sup> Frischtak (1992:1769) posits that “the extent of banking automation in Brazil, especially the integration of branch-level transactions into on-line systems, is possibly unparalleled in developing economies.”

in Brazil and concluded that the country has failed to constitute a comprehensive housing policy with the clear aim of enhancing housing conditions and access in the country. Instead, they argued that these policies have sought to consolidate financial instruments in line with global markets and restructured the way interests operate within the system (ibid.:1). The failure of social housing policies and the lack of access to credit in Brazil may explain why, within this theme, the purchase of a house or a better house was mentioned by most participants.

This finding confirms Maher's (2010) previous findings on remittance motivations among Brazilians in Gort. He found that once a certain level of income was achieved and they were no longer in debt, more durable consumer goods were purchased<sup>62</sup>. Maher also found that the aspiration for many who worked in Ireland, but especially those without housing or property, was to either purchase land for further development or purchase a house (ibid.: 190)<sup>63</sup>. Also, studies in the UK have found that the dream of buying a house or a flat is significant among Brazilians (Evans et al., 2007:08; Datta et al., 2007:54). Tsuda (1999:04) found that the purchasing of homes, cars, and luxury items such as video and audio equipment, home appliances, to be significant in determining the migration of Japanese-Brazilians in Japan<sup>64</sup>. The investment of remittances into properties has been found in studies with Nigerian migrants (Osili, 2004), Greek migrants (Papademetriou and Emke-Poupoloupos, (1991), and Morocco

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<sup>62</sup> For instance, many participants re-decorated their homes, bought furniture as well as electrical goods such as fridges, microwave ovens, and televisions (Maher, 2010:189). Others bought cars and/or motorbikes, although usually not until they had returned to Brazil when the remittances they had saved could be used to purchase such items (ibid.:189).

<sup>63</sup> Although the target for many was to purchase property, others used the remittances to renovate and/or extend the property they already owned before migrating to Ireland (Maher, 2010:190).

<sup>64</sup> He also found the urge to maintain a privileged way of life/standard of living, unmet expectations of the relatively well-off, declining wages in Brazil, and the acute shortage of unskilled labour in Japan to be significant (Tsuda, 1999:04).

migrants (Lazaar, 1987). The following section looks at another economic determinant of Brazilian migration to Anápolis to Gort identified in this research: education.

### **5.2.1.3. Education**

Education-related issues were another significant theme to emerge, being mentioned by 15 participants as one of their main reasons for migrating to Ireland. This research defines these determinants as capital market constraints (Massey et al., 2005) (see discussion below). Capital market is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as “the part of a financial system that is concerned with raising money by dealing in stocks (= shares that somebody has bought in a business) and bonds (= agreements to pay somebody interest on money they have lent).” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021). According to Stiglitz (1985: 133), one distinct function of capital markets is that they allocate scarce capital among competing users and uses, and they provide signals to guide managers (and people) in making their investment decisions. Furthermore, capital markets are also (1) “mechanisms which facilitate the transfer of investible funds from economic agents in financial surplus to those in financial deficit”<sup>65</sup>, and (2) it “allows owners of shares of bonds to sell their holdings readily of liquidity that otherwise would not be feasible” (Foley, 1991: 6). Education and training investments are also related to the human capital of individuals. Rosen (1989) and Goldin (2016) define human capital as the stock of productive skills and knowledge that the workforce possesses. Likewise, Becher (2002) states that human capital refers to the knowledge, information, ideas, skills, and health of individuals. Moreover, explanations of the human capital concept suggest that there is investment in people (e.g. education, training, health) and that these investments have increased worker productivity (Woodhall, 1987; Galdin, 2016). For example, migration, as well as health care, can all increase earning capacity, and can therefore

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<sup>65</sup> “As a result companies, governments, local authorities, supranational organizations and so on (ordinary people) have access to a larger pool of capital than would be available if they had to rely exclusively on generating their own resources” (Foley, 1991: 6).

be regarded as investment in human capital (Woodhall, 1987). The returns to these skills is private, however, in the sense that an individual's productive capacity increases with more of them (Goldin, 2016).

Within this broad theme, the wish to study and learn another language was expressed by 6 participants, while 5 other participants cited the wish to access a good education system abroad for their children. Two other participants mention the need to finance the third level of education of their children in Brazil, while 1 participant cited the wish to send their children to better schools in Brazil. Finally, 1 participant mentioned the wish to finance third level education for themselves in Brazil and another participant cited the wish to attend third-level education in Ireland. This is the case for **Arthur**, a 26-year-old single man who migrated to Ireland in 2007 to join his father. His family decided to send him to Ireland to study when he was only 14 years old. Here is what he said:

The first time I came to Ireland was more to study. My father had lived in Ireland for some time, as I was the youngest of the brothers, they decided to send me to study, [...], I was 14. So the idea was for me to have a better education than I would have in Brazil. Learning another language would allow me to have a better life, especially when I returned to Brazil, to have better opportunities.

Unsurprisingly, "access to good education for children" both at home and abroad were also significant priorities among participants. The testimony of **Júlia**, a 35-year-old single mother who migrated to Ireland in 2010 with her teenage daughter exemplify well this theme among participants:

My life project was always to give a good education to my daughter; this was the dream of her father before dying, that his daughter had access to a good education. So when he died, that responsibility fell on my shoulders, of educating my daughter alone. It was there that I had the idea of leaving the country, but this was already a longing of mine, to seek new cultures.

Interestingly, the wish to access good education for their children played a role in the decision of some participants to re-migrate to Ireland a second time around. For

example, **Lucca**, a 48-year-old evangelical pastor, talks about how schools for their children played a role in their returning to Ireland:

The motives that brought us back to Ireland in 2017 are others; today there is no longer that abundance of jobs and money that existed in 2004. We decided to return to Ireland for quality of life, schools for our children. Here, we can feed ourselves better, have access to fruits that we did not have in Brazil. With all the difficulties faced here, we still managed to save a little money to pay off some of our debts in Brazil.

In addition to accessing education, **Lucca's** testimony reveals people's wishes for "a better quality of life and access to more and better-quality food". The reason which brought him to Ireland the first time (2004) was his dream of learning another language and making money:

I always dreamed of leaving my country, of knowing a different language, especially English. I tried to go to the United States, but I could not. Ireland ended up being the most viable option for having friends living there. Besides, I also intended to make money. These were the reasons that led me to migrate to Ireland in 2004, without my family. Unfortunately, the thing did not happen as planned and I ended up returning a year later to Brazil.

Further examination of the data showed that indeed sending remittances home to fund a child's education was mentioned by 8 participants (9%), of which 5.8% were to fund primary or secondary education and 1.1% to fund the third level. Other participants were unable to acquire a larger estate because they invested in their own education and that of their children while living in Ireland; however, some used this human capital and became English teachers upon returning to Anápolis (Chapter 6).

Those citing education-related issues were more likely to be based in Gort (n=11) than Anápolis (n=4). Of those based in Gort, 5 were returning migrants (**Miguel, Arthur, Benjamin, Isabella, Lucca, and Giovanna**). Two of them (**Arthur and Benjamin**) emigrated for the first time while still very young and attended part of primary and secondary schooling in Ireland. They both dream of being able to attend third-level



education; however, their undocumented status makes this possibility very unlikely. In addition to education, it seems that lifestyle also played a role in the return of **Benjamin**, a 20-year-old man currently living with his sister's family in Gort:

I first came as a dependent of my parents, who had migrated before us, my sister and I stayed in Brazil, but after a while, they brought us too, I was six at the time. This second time, I have come for reasons of my own; Ireland is a country that offers you a much better lifestyle than Brazil. And also, for the sake of study, I want to go to college here in Ireland.

Regarding gender, female participants seem more likely to cite education-related issues than male participants across the two regions. This was most visible among the sample in Anápolis, where all those citing education-related issues were female (**Ana Clara, Melissa, Meire, and Catarina**). For instance, the case of 48-year-old **Meire**, illustrates this type of trajectory; she lived in Ireland with her husband and two children between 2003 and 2009; the English skills learned in Ireland allowed one of their children to apply for a master's degree in England upon their return. Moreover, female participants (n=9) were more likely to migrate to Ireland for education-related reasons than males (n=6). This was most visible, especially among those citing access to good education for their children. Also, all participants in Anápolis who cited education-related reasons were females. Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 6 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, whereas 9 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 9 were less than 35 years, 1 was aged 35-45, while 5 were aged 46-55. Moreover, most of those who cited education-related reasons were young compared to the overall sample average age (44 years). Regarding marital status, 11 participants were married, while 4 were single. Regarding types of migration, 13 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 2 participants. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, recent arrivals (2010-2018), the young and the married.

These findings are in line with the NELM theory. NELM argues that the absence of well-functioning capital markets in developing countries creates strong pressures for international migration (Massey et al., 1993). According to Stiglitz (1990: 351), “Difficulties in obtaining capital, and the high cost of capital when it can be obtained may act as important impediments to improvements in productivity.” Households may desire to increase the productivity of their assets, but to do so they may need to acquire capital (Massey et al., 2005). Farmer families, for instance, may seek to acquire new machinery, while non-farm families may seek to invest in the education and training of household members (Massey et al., 1993). However, they both lack the money to purchase these inputs and cover these costs. Besides, poor families in these regions usually lack the collateral to qualify for bank loans. Hence the only option available is to borrow money from local moneylenders at very high interest rates, making this option prohibitive for many (Massey et al., 2005; Massey et al., 1993).

Furthermore, NE and NELM models have also acknowledged the role of human capital characteristics in the initiation of migration. NE, for instance, assumes that individual human capital characteristics such as their education (and experience, training, language skills) will increase the likelihood of international migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993:435-436; Massey *et al.*, 2005:20). While NELM assumes that the household will choose the most suitable individuals to migrate, it does not explicitly mention human capital characteristics as NE does. In both cases, one can assume that individual human capital characteristics will increase the likely rate of remuneration and employment in the destination. Indeed, this was the case in the Brazilian emigration from Anápolis to Gort initially, as only those qualified and with experience in slaughterhouses were selected. However, this selectivity has diminished over time and today the Brazilian community of Gort is very diverse in terms of the migrants’ backgrounds, as explored in Chapter 4.

The study results on education determinants corroborate the findings of Dalsin (2016:172), who found among her sample that the intention to learn English was the

main motivation to migrate to Ireland. Although acquiring fluency seems to be a reasonable justification, she found that some participants were already fluent, while others did not have a clear view of how English would impact their careers back in Brazil (ibid.: 173). Farias (2012:31-32) found similar patterns among his participants in Dublin including the opportunities to improve their English skills, and the personal goal to learn a second language. The reason for learning English was related to enhancing career opportunities, being a necessity for their profession, and enhancing personal development (ibid.: 31-32). Another study focusing on Brazilian communities in Ireland, Belgium and Portugal found that around 8% in Ireland left Brazil due to educational motivations, compared to 7% in Belgium and less than 10% in Portugal (IOM, 2009a:46-47). Overall, 18% said that the main reason for leaving Brazil was to study (ibid.: 46-47). Jaramillo and de Wit (2011) found similar patterns among Latin American students, including the need to improve their English skills, the quality of foreign education systems, enhancing career opportunities and personal development; but also experiencing different/new cultures and environments<sup>66</sup>. The next section looks at the final economic determinant of Brazilian migration to Gort identified in this research, namely, indebtedness.

#### **5.2.1.4. Indebtedness**

The data reveal further capital market constraints related to both indebtedness and financial difficulties, expressed by 10 participants. These capital market restrictions are also a reflection of income inequality among participants. Income inequality is the

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<sup>66</sup> Other studies have also found evidence of study-related determinants among Brazilians living in the UK (Jordan & Duvell, 2002:105; Block et al., 2011:1291; Evans et al., 2011:12; Evans et al., 2005:14), the USA (Marcus, 2009:493-94; Bianchi et al., 2007:511), Canada (Barbosa, 2009:217; Magalhaes et al., 2009:17), Portugal and Netherlands (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013:10). Education-related determinants have also been observed among other groups in Ireland: i.e. Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerias (Feldman et al., 2008:63), Chinese (Wang & Chiyoko King-O'Riain, 2006:24; Chiyoko King-O'Riain 2008:216; Pan, 2011:277), Polish (Fóti, 2009:41; Kringset al., 2013:94), and migrant doctors (Humphries et al., 2014:241; Brupha et al., 2016). (See Chapter 2 for a full description of these studies findings). For a more thorough review on study led migration see King and Raghuram (2013) and Abbott and Silles (2016)

unequal distribution of income across the population (Keeby, 2015). The OECD defines income as household disposable income in a particular year (OECD, 2021). It consists of earnings, self-employment, and capital income, and public cash transfers; income taxes and social security contributions paid by households are deducted (OECD, 2021). Inequality, on the other hand, is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as “the unfair difference between groups of people in society, when some have more wealth, status or opportunities than others” (Oxford English Dictionary, 2021). Studies have shown that income inequality has risen globally (Keeley, 2015: 13) and that the gap between rich and poor keeps widening (OECD, 2015).

The data show that participants owed money to banks, loan sharks, friends, and family members. Most individuals emphasised a strong sense of duty and an obligation to pay off debts. A representation of this could be seen in the story of the participants **Enzo Gabriel, Emanually, and Bento**. In the following quotation, **Enzo Gabriel**, a 59-year-old married migrant describes his fear of nearly losing his farm to loan sharks: “The first time I migrated to Ireland between 2003 and 2006, it was because of debt. It got to the point that if I did not migrate, I would have to sell my farm, an inheritance from my father, to pay off the debts.” After working in Ireland from 2003 to 2006, he eventually returned home with the money earned. However, he re-migrated to Ireland once again around the year 2011 for the same reason – the need to pay debts and send one of his sons to college: “The second time was because I got to the point of owing money again. I made two loans at the bank, but I could not pay them back, which created a snowball that only grew. I feel the moral obligation to pay them, though they have never charged me with this debt.”

Other contributors revealed how owing money to and being harassed by loan sharks made them want to migrate to Ireland. Their testimonies revealed both the pressure to send remittances home to pay debts and their difficulties to understand how they accrued such debts considering they did not owe much before migrating to Ireland.

The testimonies of **Emanuelly**, a 52-year-old single woman, reveals the burden of debt on her decision to migrate to Ireland: “I had a huge debt here in Brazil, they did not leave my parents alone, and they called all the time asking for the money. With my job in Ireland, I was able to pay off my debt, thank God, [...]”. This is also the case for **Bento**, a 54-year-old single man who lived in Ireland between 2005 and 2012: “To be honest, what made me migrate was money; I owed money, too much... It was the desperation of my debts that led me to go to Ireland”.

Furthermore, financial difficulties and debt affected their ability to finance their migration to Ireland. While 35 participants paid the migration costs themselves, another 29 financed their migration through loans. Again, most individuals emphasised a strong sense of duty and obligation to pay off debts. Indeed, further examination of the empirical data on remittance behaviours showed that some participants did send money back to pay off their debts.

Of the 10 participants who claimed that debts played a role in their migration decision, 6 were based in Anápolis, and 4 were based in Gort. Male participants (n=9) were more likely to be affected by debts than female participants (n=1). This was most visible among the sample in Gort, where all those citing debts as one of their main reasons to migrate were males (**Gabriel, Rafael, Guilherme, Lucca, Enzo, and Enzo Gabriel**). Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 5 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, whereas 5 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of age, 3 were aged 35 to 45, 5 were aged 46 to 55, while 2 were aged 56 and over. Regarding marital status, 8 participants were married, while 2 were single. For types of migration, 4 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 6 participants. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among men, the mature and the married, and among both the first and most recent arrivals.

Financial difficulties and migrant indebtedness are in line with the NELM theory. As previously noted, NELM predicts that market constraints and market failure

(insurance, capital and credit) create strong pressures for people to migrate (Massey et al., 2005). Usually, developing countries lack these markets, and when they do exist, poor households generally have little access to them. NELM asserts that people, households and families act not only to maximise income (as predicted by NE), but also to minimise and spread risks (de Haas, 2010b). Moreover, migration is not only perceived as a household risk-spreading strategy, but also as a way to overcome various market constraints (de Haas, 2010b).

A similar picture emerges from studies carried out on other groups and countries. Stoll (2010:124), for instance, found that the migration of Guatemalans to the USA was “a process that runs on debt, with migrants’ indebting themselves and their relatives to the migration stream in ways that many are unable to repay, resulting in the loss of homes and productive assets.” He also noted that “the debts not only enable migration but require more people to migrate north, in a chain of exploitation that may suck more value from the sending population than it returns” (ibid.: 124). This research did find evidence that participants indebted themselves and relatives in their migration to Ireland, however, it did not find evidence of loss of homes and productive assets in Anápolis. Similar findings on debt-related migration were also found among Brazilians in the USA (Margolis, 1998:12), Portugal (Wall & Nunes, 2010:401), the UK (Evans et al., 2007:08; Datta et al., 2007:55)<sup>67</sup>. Now that we have discussed all economic determinants underpinning Brazilian migration to Gort, the next section moves on to discuss the non-economic determinants. It starts with an appreciation of the influence of familial, relationships, and sexuality on engendering this migrant flow.

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<sup>67</sup> For further insights into the role of debt in contemporary practices of mobility, see Lont and Hospes (eds.) (2004); Stoll (2010); O’Connell and Davidson (2013).

## 5.2.2. Non-economic determinants

### 5.2.2.1. Family, relationships, and sexuality

The second most important theme to emerge from the data was family, relationship and sexuality-related issues, mentioned by 49 participants. A variety of perspectives were expressed under the broad theme of families driving migration. For instance, 30 participants cited the hope to build a better life for their family and children (aspirations), while another 18 participants mentioned family reunification. The case of **Lorenzo** illustrates this type of reasoning for migration. **Lorenzo** is a 55-year-old married man who migrated in the hope of building a better life for his family: “My coming to Ireland was because my life in Brazil was very difficult, I thought of giving a better life for my family. [...]” “Family reunification” was the main reason given by **Antonella**, a 66-year-old civil servant in Anápolis to migrate to Ireland: “The reason was to reunite with my daughter; she lived in Ireland with her husband and her three daughters. Unfortunately, I did not know my granddaughters because they were born in Ireland. [...], I cried a lot for missing them, so the same reason was to visit them in Ireland.” A similar example came from 53-year-old **Ana Luíza**, a former meat processing factory worker, who came to reunite with her husband: “The first reason was to go to Ireland to stay with my husband, he had lived there for some time, I quit my job and went. It was also for the financial issue, to go for a better life for ourselves here in Brazil.” A further 5 participants cited their wish to raise children abroad as one of their family reasons to migrate to Ireland, while 2 others wanted to stay away from family and family problems and 1 participant came as a carer for an elderly relative who migrated to Gort. All these participants were still based in Gort, except for the last one, who returned to Anápolis in 2009. The testimony of **Lucas**, a 33-year-old married man who migrated to Ireland in 2016 with his wife and two children, exemplifies the wish to raise children abroad: “It was not so much because of financial issues, to tell you the truth [...]. I also thought about raising my children abroad, learning another language, having knowledge of other

things. The financing was not so important, of course, the money we want, but I came more for the family.” On the other hand, the case of **Valentina**, a 39-year-old who came to Ireland from Portugal in 2004 exemplifies those wanting to stay away from family: “Before I came to Ireland I lived in Portugal with my mother. [...]. I migrated to Ireland to stay away from my mother for a while, for personal reasons, which is why I migrated to Ireland alone.”

Among those citing family, relationships, and sexuality issues, 26 were based in Anápolis, while 23 were based in Gort. For gender, female participants (n=28) were more likely to migrate to Ireland due to family, relationships, and sexuality reasons than males (n=21). Those citing family reunification, staying away from family for a while, distancing themselves from family problems, and accompanying an elderly relative were all female. Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 34 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, whereas 15 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 13 were less than 35 years, 8 were aged 35-45, 18 were aged 46-55 and 10 were aged 56 and over; the majority were middle-aged or older. Regarding marital status, 31 participants were married, while 9 were single and 8 were divorced. For types of migration, 36 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 13 participants. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, early arrivals (1999-2009), the mature and the married.

Arguably, family related migration has become the major source of new immigration to most Western receiving countries as family reunification has become the leading legal mode of entry into Europe today (Baizán et al., 2014; Baizán et al., 2012). However, the legislation in Ireland does not provide an explicit legal right to family



reunification or to reside in the state based on existing family relationships<sup>68</sup> (Strik et al., 2013; Arnold and Quinn, 2017). Family reunification in Ireland operates on the basis of ministerial discretion in all cases (Arnold and Quinn, 2017)<sup>69</sup>. Moreover, the academic literature has focused largely on the legislative and law context, misuse of reunification rights, and integration (Ryan, 2008; Kenny, 2011; Joyce, 2012; Strik et al., 2013; Becker, 2014; Arnold and Quinn, 2017).

Family related migration is largely supported by the NE theory. While the migrants hypothesised by NE may have left a family at home, their goal is ultimately to achieve lifetime earnings through permanent resettlement abroad (Constant & Massey, 2002). Thus, under NE, migrants are expected to endure relatively long periods of separation from their relatives, until proper arrangements can be made for family reunification (ibid.). In contrast, the migrants envisaged by NELM are “target earner” migrants who will return to the origin region as soon as their targets are met (Constant & Massey, 2002). Accordingly, partner reunification in the context of NELM makes little sense, unless the partner is also willing to work in the destination region (Baizán et al., 2014). Furthermore, the two theoretical models carry opposite predictions concerning the presence of a spouse and children in the host country along the lines of opposing residential intentions (Baizán et al., 2014). Under NE, the presence of a spouse in the destination lowers the costs of remaining abroad and thus increases the likelihood of permanent settlement; while under NELM, the presence of a spouse increases the family’s ability to meet the given income goal and therefore promotes shorter trips and greater chances of return (Constant & Massey, 2002; Baizán et al., 2014). Furthermore, under the NE model the presence of children detracts the mother’s work effort and thus

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<sup>68</sup> However, INIS published a policy document in December 2013 with a view to providing more detail on family reunification policy and how discretion is applied (INIS, 2016a) (quoted in Arnold and Quinn, 2017: 6).

<sup>69</sup> Except those concerning nuclear family members of beneficiaries of international protection (Arnold and Quinn, 2017: 6).

reduces the odds of return; NELM, however, does not hypothesise any particular effect, unless this variable is somehow associated with a larger earning target (Constant & Massey, 2002:12).

If the NE insights are correct, we can assume that most of those who have had their families reunified are likely to stay longer or settle permanently in Ireland; on the other hand, if NELM's insights are correct, we can assume that these reunified families are more likely to achieve their migration goals more quickly and, consequently, return home. A further level of analysis to determine both settlement and return migration intentions revealed that 33 (out of 45) participants, the great majority, expressed that they want to settle in Ireland. Of those, 22 said the family agrees, 5 said the family is divided, 11 said they want to return to Brazil, 5 said they want to migrate to other EU countries in the future. Thus, this finding supports NE assumptions, as most of those who had their families re-unite decided to settle in Ireland or move to other EU countries. On the other hand, those who said they want to return to Brazil (n=11, 24.4%) were also more likely to make this decision due to a family issue. The data reveal that the majority could not bring the family to Ireland, whilst others want to reunite with the family and see the loved ones after many years in Ireland (among other returning reasons, see further patterns in Chapter 6). Thus, this finding supports the NELM assumption that people return to be re-united with families once they have achieved their migration targets. Moreover, the findings revealed that family was both a reason for migrating and a reason for returning home, the former was agent/individual-based reasoning, and whilst the latter was for structural reasons, related to difficulties bringing families to Ireland.

The findings are consistent with a previous IOM report on Brazilian communities in Ireland, Belgium, and Portugal (2009a). It found that around 17% in Belgium, 15% in Portugal, and only 7% in Ireland gave family reunification as their main reason for leaving Brazil, showing that family networks had comparatively little influence on migration in Ireland compared with Portugal and Belgium (*ibid.*: 46). It found that the low rate of family

reunification in Ireland was due to the undocumented status of the immigrants<sup>70</sup> (at least in the Gort community), migration costs (which have been expressed by participants), and finally, the flows to Portugal and Belgium are much more advanced<sup>71</sup> (ibid.: 47).

Evidence of family-related determinants, especially family reunification, have also been found among Brazilians living in Dublin (Farias, 2012), Portugal and the Netherlands (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013:12), Japan and the USA (Zell & Skop, 2011), the USA (Marcus, 2009:493; Bianchi et al., 2007:511), Canada (Magalhaes et al., 2009:17), the UK (Evans et al., 2011:12; Bloch et al., 2011:1290; Evans et al., 2005:14). Research has also found evidence of family reunification determinants among other immigrant groups in Ireland, for instance; Chinese, Indian, Lithuanian and Nigerians (Feldman et al., 2008:63); Nigerians (Komolafe, 2008:234-36) and Polish (Radiukiewicz et al., 2006:19); foreign doctors (Brugha et al., 2016); and Chinese (Pan, 2011:280) (see Chapter 2 for a description of these studies).

Keeping the focus on family, this part of the section continues by exploring how family relationships and sexuality influenced Brazilian migration to Gort. Relationship issues, in particular, were mentioned by 4 participants, in the context of a broken heart and finding a new plan for their lives after their long-term relationships ended. Others mentioned the wish to rebuild their financial stability after divorcing their wives and losing assets (mainly the house), and the difficulty in supporting their children after the marriage broke up (mainly women). The example of **Rebeca**, a 46-year-old divorcee is very telling. After divorcing her husband, she finds herself with the pressure to support her children and had no other choice but to migrate to Ireland: "I went because I had no way to support my children after the end of my fourteen-year marriage. [...]". Men were also

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<sup>70</sup> It may also "indicate a de facto (not necessarily de jure) restrictive migration policy with regard to family reunification and could also indicate a situation of economic instability and job insecurity in this specific destination country that does not allow families to be reunited easily." (ibid.:47).

<sup>71</sup> Brazilian migration to Ireland is a recent phenomenon, compared to other European countries, such as Portugal and Belgium.

affected by relationships and some felt worn out after divorcing their wives and losing material assets, such as **Murilo**, a 57-year-old divorcee: “[...] The main purpose was to work in Ireland to get money to buy a house, I had a house before, but I lost it during the separation, I wanted to rebuild my financial stability after my divorce”. However, he was also affected by the feeling of professional stagnation and the need to make money and rebuild his financial life after divorcing his wife.

Previous research among Brazilians in Dublin found similar evidence of relationship determinants. Dalsin’ (2016:175), for instance, found evidence among her sample related to “a broken heart, pressure to commit to a relationship or have children, excessive control and constraint exercised by the family”. In turn, Marcus (2009:493) found that some participants cited “escaping” as a reason for moving to the USA. His findings “suggest that those who are indeed ‘escaping’ are all the more motivated not to return to their sending community, to avoid contact with an abusive former spouse or boyfriend or being unhappy again” (ibid.: 493).

Only one female participant, however, was affected by both family relationships and sexuality. This was the case of 37-year-old **Manuela** who came to Ireland in 2002:

My motive was very simple, at 18 I told my mother that I liked women, that I was a lesbian, but they did not accept it, I already knew the problem, so from 18 to 21 I left home and started to have an independent life. [...] My initial focus was the United States, but unfortunately, it was not possible to migrate there. At the same time, I had a friend of mine living in Ireland, it was because of her, and through her that I ended up going to Ireland instead of the United States.

Since moving to Ireland, **Manuela** has acquired Italian citizenship, has settled down and runs her own business in Gort. Farias (2012:32) also found a similar case among Brazilian participants in Dublin, with one stating that he moved to Ireland to break away from family/friends to embrace his homosexuality. Ireland has become an interesting case in Europe and the world, considering the recent important changes in the country regarding both LGBT and women’s rights, with referendums on legalising

same-sex marriage and abortion (Murphy, 2016). Although these examples illustrate mainly family members and friends' rejection, LGBT people in Brazil are subject to intense discrimination (Costa et al., 2015) and homophobic violence (Mountian, 2014:6). Therefore, it is not surprising that many have left for more tolerant places. A study carried out among Brazilians living in Portugal and the Netherlands, for instance, found that "in the Netherlands, there are also some respondents who were especially attracted by the tolerant attitudes towards homosexuality" (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013:11). Another study among Brazilians in Canada found that some participants mentioned "greater respect for sexual orientation" as a reason for emigrating (Magalhaes et al., 2009:17). Similarly, Bianchi et al. (2007:511-12)'s study examining how the social context in the home country may be related to the migration of gay Latino men (Brazilian, Colombian and Dominican) to New York City, found that "some of the participants, however, reported that they came for reasons arising from their sexuality". Another non-economic determinant identified in this research - lifestyle dynamics – is discussed in the next section.

#### **5.2.2.2. Lifestyle dynamics, and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland**

Lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland represent an additional prominent non-economic theme to emerge, expressed by around 12 participants. Five participants cited the dream they had to live abroad, to leave Brazil (to have a new life, new opportunities), 3 others cited their desire to visit other countries and learn new cultures, 2 others cited the excitement, adventure, adrenaline, and a better lifestyle, while 1 cited the wish to seek a new life after retirement. This is the case of **Maria Alice**, a 40-year-old single mother who migrated alone to Ireland with the dream of new life and opportunities and getting to know another country: "I wanted to have a new life, to know another country, to have new opportunities. I enjoyed living in Ireland." A similar example came from **Maria Cecília**, a 49-year-old married woman who migrated with her husband to Ireland in 2007: "I always dreamed of living out of the country, going

to Ireland was a dream come true.” It seems that “the desire to have an adventure, to get to know other countries” led even the well-off and people with businesses to migrate to Ireland; this is the case for **Enzo**, a 42-year-old married man who migrated to Ireland for the first time in 2007: “When I first migrated in 2007, it was more for excitement, adventure, adrenaline, than for economic reasons to speak the truth. [...]” Finally, a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland was mentioned by a young female participant only, who was based in Gort. This was one of the main reasons which led **Luíza**, a 25-year-old woman to return to Ireland:

The first time I migrated to Ireland was in 2007 because my father was living there. [...]. I lived there for two years, from 2007 to 2009. I returned in 2016 by myself, I missed Ireland a lot, [...], I cried every day to return to Ireland. When I turned eighteen, I promised myself that I would go back to Ireland. When I made the decision, I started working to raise the money needed.

Of the 12 participants who claimed that lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland played a role in their migration decision, 6 were based in Anápolis, and 6 were based in Gort. Regarding gender, it seems that female participants were more likely to cite lifestyle themes than male participants, for instance, all participants who cited the desire to visit other countries and to learn new cultures were female (**Júlia, Melissa, and Catarina**). Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 7 participants arrived between the years of 1999 and 2009, whereas 5 participants arrived more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 4 were less than 35 years, 4 were aged 35-45 and 4 were aged 46-55. Regarding marital status, 8 participants were married and 4 were single. For types of migration, 10 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 2 participants. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, early and recent arrivals, the mature and the married.

These results echo the findings of earlier research into Brazilians in Ireland. Dalsin (2016:173)’s participants, for instance, expressed a willingness to have an

experience abroad, whilst Farias (2012)'s participants expressed a desire to experience different/new cultures and environments. It is important to emphasise that both these studies were undertaken in an urban setting, focusing mainly on Brazilian students and young IT professionals. Similarly, Block et al. (2011: 1291) found among his participants in the UK a desire to have an adventure, fulfilling a long-held dream to travel and allowing exposure to another culture; whilst Evans et al. (2011: 12)'s participants were driven by the culture and history, and because the UK was a good base from which to explore Europe (see Cwerner, 2001; Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Datta et al., 2009; Datta et al., 2008 for similar findings among Brazilians in the UK). Among Brazilians in the USA and Canada, Magalhaes et al., 2009 found evidence of a desire to discover other cultures and have new experiences; whilst Marcus (2009)'s participants expressed a feeling of curiosity and adventure<sup>72</sup>.

Similar findings have also been observed among other immigrant groups living in Ireland. Kring et al. (2013:94), for instance, found evidence that Polish migrants deploy similar mobility strategies to other young Europeans for whom the migration experience is not confined to work and career matters but also includes the search for excitement and adventure (see Kennedy, 2010; King, 2002). However, one must consider that such a mobile lifestyle is facilitated by the EU freedom-of-movement policy (Kring et al., 2013:94). Similarly, Grabowska (2005:36-37)'s participants expressed their reasoning for coming to Ireland as a way to afford/have the opportunity to travel, indulge in hobbies, to see/experience Ireland. Other studies in Ireland have found evidence of lifestyle determinants among Euro-commuters (Ralph, 2005:184-185), Africans (Ejorh,

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<sup>72</sup> Similar findings have also been found among Brazilians in Portugal (Wall & Nunes, 2010:401), Portugal and the Netherlands (Van Meeteren and Pereira, 2013:11), the UK, and Germany (Jordan & Voguel, 1997:09); the UK and Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016:1206) (see Chapter 2 for a description of these studies).

2012:581-582), and Chinese, India, Lithuania, Nigeria (Feldman et al., 2008:63), Russians (Aptekar, 2009:519).

Although lifestyle dynamics are not in line with the migration theories informing the study (NE, NELM, network theory, transnationalism and translocal theory), there is a significant body of literature in this area of migration research (Huete et al., 2013; Janoschka and Haas, 2013; Hoey, 2014; Benson and Osbaldison, 2014; Benson and O'Reilly, 2016). Arguably, lifestyle migration is a broad conceptual framework that attempts to overcome the limits of terms such as "retirement migration", "elderly or later-life migration", "leisure migration", "amenity migration", "seasonal migration", "consumption-led migration", or "residential tourism" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a; 2009b, cited in Huete et al., 2013: 332). This framework "is based on the motivation for moving reported by the migrants themselves. It diminishes the actual importance of economic factors and has an underlying ideological element associated with the categorization of people according to their nationality" (Huete et al., 2013:331). Previous research has established that 'lifestyle migrants' are usually individuals from countries with higher levels of economic development than the host country (Haas, 2013; Benson & O'Reilly, 2009a; 2009b). However, this could be disputed in the case of Brazilians in Gort in particular<sup>73</sup>; this study and previous studies (McGrath, 2010) have found that the majority of participants were mostly working-class Brazilians from Anápolis. Moreover, lifestyle migrants have been defined as "relatively affluent individuals of all ages, moving either part-time or full-time to places that, for various reasons, signify, for the migrant, a better quality of life" (Benson & O'Reilly, 2009b:609). Although both lifestyle and labour migrants move intending to improve their lives, the former is supposed to have a comparatively higher purchasing power than the latter, thus enabling them to access

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<sup>73</sup> This could not be applied to Brazilians in Dublin, as the stock of this group is predominantly composed of middle-class students and young professionals, who migrate alone and have higher education (Dalsin, 2016; Farias, 2012).



more resources (Huete et al., 2013:333). The next section discusses unsafe urban conditions and failing political system in Brazil as a non-economic determinant identified in this research.

### 5.2.2.3. Unsafe urban conditions and failing political system in Brazil

Less frequently mentioned were the reasons related to fleeing urban violence and the failing political system in Brazil, mentioned by 6 participants. The data point to an expectation of Ireland as a safe, stable country suitable for families, and with opportunity for good incomes. Within this theme, 4 participants cited the wish to flee violence and live in a peaceful country as one of their main reasons for migrating to Ireland, while 1 participant cited the wish to be away from bad influences and drugs (in this case, this was a family decision), and another participant cited the disillusionment and failing political and (economic)<sup>74</sup> systems in Brazil. Their testimonies below are very telling on how these factors were crucial in their migration decisions. See, for instance, the case of **Théo**, a 43-year-old married man who came to Ireland with his wife and four children:

My reason for migrating to Ireland was quality of life for my children. These were the reasons, to have security, the right to live in peace; I had concluded that it was very dangerous for my children in Brazil. Having already lived in Ireland before, I knew that here they would have a quality of life, they would live, have the right to go to school and return home safely.

This is also the case of **Sophia**, a 36-year-old married woman who came to Ireland with her husband and two children. Among the many reasons for wanting to migrate she emphasised “security”: “There were many reasons, the first one was for security, of course, because Brazil is very dangerous, [...]”. Being “away from drugs and bad influences” was one of the main reasons given by **Bernardo**, a 37-year-old single father, for coming to Ireland. He also mentioned the wish to get a job, here’s how he puts it: “I thought, first to get a job, and then to escape the drugs and evil influences in

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<sup>74</sup> The economic determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort are discussed extensively in section one of this chapter.

Anápolis. At the time, I was involved with drugs, if I had stayed maybe today, I would be dead, I came to get away from it too". It appears that "having security access" and "living in a peaceful country" was synonymous with "quality of life for the family and children"; this was most visible within the reasons given by **Théo** and **Sophia**. Quality of life was also linked to the right of "accessing a good education for their children" (one of the main themes mentioned previously). The final theme could be linked to the disillusionment and failing political and (economic) systems in Brazil, which led 41-year-old **Samuel** to migrate before the downfall of the economy: "I had a vision of Brazilian politics, and this led me to realise that the economic crisis was approaching." **Samuel's** comments exemplify the feeling that politics were blamed for the mismanagement and the downfall of the Brazilian economy.

All 6 participants citing reasons related to unsafe urban conditions and the failing political (and economic) systems in Brazil were based in Gort. Male participants (n=4) were more likely to be affected by unsafe urban conditions and the failing political and economic systems in Brazil than female participants (n=2). Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 1 participant arrived between 1999 and 2009, whereas 5 participants arrived more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of age, 1 was less than 35 years, 4 were aged 35-45, while 1 was aged 46-55. Regarding marital status, 3 were married, 1 was single, while 1 was divorced and another was cohabiting. For types of migration, 5 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 1 participant. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among men, recent arrivals, the mature and the married.

The NE theory has been accused of ignoring the effects of states, politics, and policies, which are only considered as distortion factors or additional costs (Kurekova, 2011). The role of states is also seen as an aberration that disrupts the "normal" functioning of markets (Castles and Miller, 2003). However, an examination of contemporary migration shows that states (particularly receiving countries) play a major

role in initiating, shaping, and controlling movements (de Haas, 2011; Van der Brug et al., 2015; Geddes & Scholten, 2016; Loyal, 2018). NELM has been criticised also for ignoring dynamics at the structural level (except for market incompleteness) and for failing to address how individual migrant's agency interacts with structural constraints (Abreu, 2012). Because of the above shortcomings, Castles (2010) argues that the model does not allow for migration to be analytically linked to broader processes of social transformation; for example, the role of urban dynamics (violence, overpopulation) and the failure of political systems in generating migratory flows.

There is a considerable amount of literature on migration driven by violence. These studies tend to focus primarily on the role of the state, conflict, and wars/violence (Jones, 1989; Lozano-Gracia et al., 2010; Clemens, 2017). However, only a relatively small body of literature is devoted to examining the causal relationship between urban violence and migration (Boehm, 2011). "Violence is a slippery concept" which, according to Scheper-Hughes and Bourgois (2004:1-2),

defies easy categorization. [...] Violence can never be understood solely in terms of its physicality – force, assault, or the infliction of pain – alone. Violence also includes assaults on the personhood, dignity, sense of worth, or value of the victim. [...] The social and cultural dimensions of violence are what gives violence its power and meaning.

Jones (1989) argues that political violence produces emigration only indirectly, through economic setbacks – sabotage, land dispute, strikes, abandonment, and disinvestment. In Brazil, politics have been an important driver of migration since the 1960s. The political situation during the military dictatorship (1964 -1985) pushed many Brazilians (especially the well-educated and intellectuals) to leave the country<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> Although during the 'military dictatorship' Brazil was able to boast the so-called 'Economic Miracle'. "Not all sectors of Brazilian society benefited from military years, however. Hundreds of thousands of rural workers, urban migrants, factory workers, domestic workers as well as suspect intellectuals and political dissidents suffered from economic exclusions, political repression or both" (Scheper-Hughes, 1996:893).

(Azevedo & Sanjurjo, 2014). The more recent relationship between urban violence and emigration, however, is less well understood (McIlwaine & Evans, 2020). Nonetheless, empirical studies on Brazilian communities abroad (USA, Canada, Portugal) have found scattered evidence of migration driven by violence (Bianchi et al., 2007; Barbosa, 2009; Torresan, 2012).

Although Anápolis is located in an agricultural region and most of Vila Fabril's inhabitants come from rural areas, these places have become urban, with all the problems that urban areas bring, unsafe urban conditions, overpopulation, and unemployment (see Chapter 4). In this regard, it is not surprising that the nature of these urban conditions was expressed through reasons such as the wish to flee violence and live in a peaceful country and the wish to be away from bad influences and drugs. These results corroborate the findings of previous studies on Brazilians elsewhere. Torresan (2012:111), for instance, found evidence of disillusionment with the social and political situation in Brazil between her participants in Portugal. Bianchi et al. (2007:111)'s participants expressed their wish to escape political instability in the country of origin (Brazil, Colombia and the Dominican Republic) as a reason for moving to the USA. Studies in Canada have also found similar evidence. Barbosa (2009:216-17), for instance, argued that "although there is no denying that the economic crisis created disillusionment within the middle class, the sharp increase in the violent crime rate in the large urban centres has also been a determining factor in influencing individuals to emigrate" (see also Ripardo, 2003 and Barbosa, 2003:209). Similarly, Magalhaes et al. (2009: 17)'s participants expressed a desire to "escape violence, and corruption and the 'Brazilian mentality'". Evidence of politics and violence determinants has also been found among Brazilians living in the UK and Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016:1206) and the UK (Evans et al., 2011:12; Block et al., 2011:1290; Evans et al., 2005:14).

Similar findings have been observed among African migrants in Ireland (Komolafe, 2008; Ejorh, 2012). Ejorh (2012), for example, argues that empirical evidence

suggests that political insecurity is a key catalyst for current African mobility to Ireland<sup>76</sup>. Indeed, his participants' anecdotes "evoked scatological images of political decay and human rights violations in their home countries" (Ejorh, 2012:584, see also Koroma, 2004). He argues that similarly "many Africans in Ireland sustain similar feelings of estrangement and despair about their home countries. For them, emigration provided a solution to this disillusionment (ibid.: 585). Komolafe (2008) also pointed "to the outbreak of hostilities and economic crisis in Nigeria as the reason for the increase in the number of displaced migrants. They had moved in search of a better life, fleeing from cycles of poverty, to search for more fertile pastures abroad. They would do anything in order to get to Ireland." (ibid.: 234-35). Studies in Ireland have also pointed out reasons related to "political upheaval" (Humphries et al., 2014:243) and "safety and security" (Brugha et al., 2016) among non-EU migrant doctors; and "political and social reasons" among Chinese immigrants (Wang & King O'Riain, 2006:25). Politics have also influenced the migration of Russian-speaking migrants from Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania to Dublin (Aptekar, 2009). Aptekar found that the "government and its minority policies were mentioned as push factors for migration by Russian-speaking respondents from Estonia and Latvia. In particular, language policies mandating mastery of Estonian and Latvian for employment were described as problematic for socioeconomic wellbeing" (ibid.: 519). He concludes that "unfavourable state policies toward minorities, societal polarization along ethnic lines can also serve as a push factor for migration." (ibid.: 520). These studies bring interesting perspectives from other immigrant groups in Ireland, although some of these cases are not comparable to the Brazilian one, which is a regular and planned migration (since no visa required for entry as a tourist), while some of these

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<sup>76</sup> This is mainly because "many Africans in Ireland have come from societies where there is a strong sense of social insecurity. Instances of failed education and health systems and deteriorated infrastructures were cited by research participants. Such situations are often a direct result of bad governance, maladministration, political turmoil, or lack of financial resources to provide necessary social services or regenerate existing ones." (Ejorh, 2012:484).

other cases requires a more elaborate strategy to migrate to Ireland, nevertheless these insights are useful for the study data analysis.

Although only a small number of participants in this study migrated to Ireland due to unsafe urban conditions and the failing political system in Brazil, this study argues that these dynamics are likely to become relevant factors for emigration in Brazil. The former is likely to increase due to unemployment, disorderly urban growth, and the rise of social inequality; while the latter will be affected by the surge of extreme-right politics and the rise to power of President Bolsonaro. These factors have already been linked to the soaring number of Brazilians in Portugal, 2018 saw an increase of 23.4% on the previous year (Miranda, 2019). Religion and religious missions, another non-economic determinant identified in this research, is discussed below.

#### **5.2.2.4. Religion and religious missions**

Religion and religious missions was an interesting theme to emerge from the data, mentioned by 4 participants. A variety of religion-related issues were expressed by participants. For instance, some participants came from Brazil and Portugal to work as religious leaders (pastors), others came to do a religious mission in Ireland, while others wished to open a Pentecostal church in Ireland. Interestingly, all of those who cited religion as one of the reasons for migrating brought their whole families to Ireland as well. An example of this influence can be seen in the story of **João Miguel**, a 43-year-old evangelical pastor who went to Ireland with his wife and three children:

I came to Gort for the first time in 2008, for a call from God, to do a missionary job, after ten months of missionary work, I returned to Brazil. In 2016, I returned to Gort again, now with my entire family, to continue our missionary work and to open an evangelical church in Gort. I came back with the certainty that God had work for me here in Gort.

A similar example came from **Adelice**, a 30-year-old who came to Ireland for a second time with her husband (a Pentecostal pastor) and their two children, to undertake religious missions, "It was a set of factors, in search for a quality of life, to do the health

treatment of my daughter Beatriz [...] and do the will of the Lord Jesus Christ, do missions, bring the word of God to the country, these were the reasons why my family migrated to Ireland. [...].” Religion played a role in their decision to migrate, however, other factors were also important, the search for a better quality of life and better treatment for their sick daughter. These cases are really interesting as they exemplify a type of social/cultural migration that occurs in parallel with labour migration processes.

All the participants who mentioned religious and missionary reasons were based in Gort. Male participants (n=3) were more likely to migrate due to religion and missionary reasons than females (n=1). All three male participants were Pentecostal pastors and each was head of a church in Gort. Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, all 4 participants arrived more recently between the years 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 2 were less than 35 years, while 2 were aged 35-45. Regarding marital status, 3 were married, while 1 was single. For types of migration, all 4 participants migrated with family. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among men, recent arrivals, the middle-aged, and the married.

Unlike other groups in Ireland (Komolafe, 2008), Brazilians were not fleeing religious and ethnic persecution, but migrating under their own will and to address the spiritual needs of Brazilians abroad. Furthermore, these religious leaders and missionaries came to Ireland during the second and third Brazilian migration waves, when there was already an established community in Gort. It seems that they sought to bring more conservative values to Brazilians in Ireland (e.g. the end of Carnival, see Chapter 4), and to restore religious values of all in Ireland (as this coincides with the sharp decline in the influence of the Catholic Church). These determinants of migration do not fit into a traditional rational choice model of migration.

Religion plays a central role in the Brazilian community of Gort. As described in Chapter 4, there are 5 Brazilian Pentecostal Churches in Gort in total<sup>77</sup>, which offer support for members in need and organise activities, in addition to religious services, which has helped to create a sense of community. The churches have also helped the community to preserve their cultural identity, although these are conservative influences. Indeed, a previous study found that “The Churches represent key sites for enabling migrants to maintain direct links with Brazil. This included inviting priests or pastors from their home communities, or celebrating traditional Brazilian religious festivals in parallel to their friends and relatives back home” (Sheringham, 2010:71). Others have argued that the Pentecostal Churches have played a role in the integration of Brazilians in Gort but may have led to the segregation of Brazilian immigrants and Irish people (Maher, 2011:04).<sup>78</sup>

Religion is also important in the origin region of Anápolis. During fieldwork, the researcher visited local churches and attended services in both the city centre and Vila Fabril. For returnees, being part of a Church community was crucial to their reintegration and creating a sense of community, especially among older and retired returnees.

Other studies have found evidence of religious-related determinants among African immigrants in Ireland. Ejorah (2012:588), for instance, found that “Many African immigrants had directly or tangentially benefited from... [Afro-Irish historical and religions connections] or have had some spiritual ties with Irish missionaries in their countries.”

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<sup>77</sup> Assembly Mission of God; Church Revelation Promises; Assembly of God Gort; Way of life assembly of God; Igreja Universal do Reino de Deus (see Chapter 4).

<sup>78</sup> Maher (2011:04) argues that “The establishment of a number of Evangelical Churches in Gort and Roscommon played an influential part in integrating some of the Brazilian immigrants with each other, but may have led to segregation of Brazilian immigrants and Irish people.” Similarly, Sheringham (2010:71-72) argues that “while religious practices reflect the importance of faith among Gort Brazilians, church-going and participation in church-related activities can also represent an individual strategy for coping with the challenges of adapting to such a different setting and for keeping in touch with ‘home.’”



He also pointed out that many were “from countries where English is the official language, as in Ireland. Given this linguistic advantage, such individuals envision a less difficult adaptation to the host society” (ibid.: 588). Similarly, Komolafe (2008: 233) found that “one of the foremost reasons why Nigerians seek refuge in Ireland is religious and ethnic persecution in Nigeria. The desire for freedom, to exercise religious belief, or to freely exist as a member of an ethnic group was considered an overwhelming reason. [...]” (ibid.: 233). Likewise, this may also be linked to Irish religious missionaries in Nigeria, as such, there is a cultural and spiritual connection and driver of migration. The next section moves on to discuss the final non-economic determinant identified in this research - health and wellbeing.

#### **5.2.2.5. Health and wellbeing**

The data show that 3 participants moved to Gort due to health factors and wellbeing. Although not a significant determinant among the participants, interestingly, access to health care was one of the reasons most cited by those who want to settle in Ireland. The health determinants were diverse; seeking better health treatment in Ireland for a sick child, to make money to pay for a relative’s health treatment in Brazil, and to escape stress-related problems (i.e. mental health issues), and seeking wellbeing. An example of this is the story of **Laura**, a 57-year-old divorced woman. She talks about her mental distress after retiring and the overwhelming relationship with her family and her dependency on medicines, which led her to migrate first to Portugal and then Ireland: “In Brazil, I only had one problem, after I retired, I had no more mental health, [...]. I could not sleep anymore; I could only sleep with medicines... [I was] overwhelmed with family problems... I ended up getting overwhelmed, I’m going to tell the truth, it seems that I went crazy, [...]” **Laura’s** comments also illustrate a desire to search for personal wellbeing. A second participant, 62-year-old **Antônio**, describes how being unemployed and not being able to pay for the health treatment (surgery) of his partner led him to

migrate to Ireland. However, his testimony also shows that migrants create new reasons to stay abroad after achieving their main goal:

My wife was very sick and she needed to have surgery but we did not have money, [...]. I went to Ireland and thank God everything went well and then I sent the money, and things were getting organised. Then after some time, my reasons for staying there changed, I decided to stay to make money to renovate our house.

Of the 3 participants who mentioned a health-related reason for migrating, 2 were based in Gort while 1 was based in Anápolis. Regarding gender, 2 were females while 1 was male. Regarding the time of arrival in Ireland, 1 participant arrived between 1999 and 2009, while 2 participants arrived more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 1 was less than 35 years, while 2 were aged 56-70. Regarding the marital status of the participants, 2 were married, while 1 was divorced. For types of migration, 2 migrated with family, while individual migration was the type of migration of 1 participant. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, recent arrivals, the mature, and the married.

In recent years, health-related migration has attracted increasing attention. Arguably, health-related migration is the type of migration one usually has in mind when referring to people who migrate for health reasons, however, the term is much broader. Within this literature, scholars have focused on assessing the use of health services among cross-border (Van der Stuyft et al., 1989; Isarabhakdi, 2004) and international migrants (Dias et al., 2008; Fassaert et al., 2009); medical tourism (Beladi et al., 2015); the migration of health workers to high-income countries (Humphries et al., 2014; Brugha et al., 2016), and how migration influences migrants' mental state (Bhugra, 2004).

Although only a small number of participants mentioned a health issue as a reason for migrating to Ireland, earlier studies on Brazilians in other countries have found stronger findings. Among Brazilians living in Canada, for instance, Barbosa (2009:217) found that "the majority— 52 out of 119 respondents—had left Brazil in search of a more

stable and safe environment, including better access to health care and education”. Similarly, Jordan and Duvell (2002:100) found that Brazilians had been motivated to go to London for economic gain as well as “access to public infrastructure such as benefits and services” [which may include access to the National Health Service (NHS)], and the desire to acquire knowledge or gain experience.

Together, these results provide important insights into health care provision in Brazil. Although health care in Brazil is a constitutional right<sup>79</sup> and public health care is provided to all Brazilians through the National Healthcare System (Sistema Único de Saúde, SUS)<sup>80</sup>, most of it is controlled by the private sector. In 2012, for instance, 66% of the country’s hospitals, 70% of its 485,000 hospital beds, and 87% of its 723 specialised hospitals belonged to the private sector; also, 95% of the 7,318 establishments in the area of diagnostic support and therapy were private<sup>81</sup>. Health care access in Brazil is strongly related to both socioeconomic background and region of residence. A survey conducted in 2011 found that the poorest households “presented a risk that was more than 7 times greater of experiencing catastrophic health spending” (Barros et al., 2011:257). It found that “among the poorest 20%, 71.6% of households spent 5% less [on health care], compared to 54.2% among the richest 20%” (ibid.: 256). It showed “that socioeconomic position, sex of the head of household, presence of an elderly person and health insurance were associated with catastrophic health spending” (ibid.: 258-9). Regarding regions, the south region showed the lowest proportions of catastrophic spending among the 20% poorest (3%); whilst the north, northeast, and

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<sup>79</sup> Ministerio do Planejamento website, “Constituição Federal (Artigos 196 a 2000). <http://www.conselho.saude.gov.br/14cns/docs/constituicaofederal.pdf>

<sup>80</sup> The Unified Health System (SUS) is one of the largest and most complex public health systems in the world, ranging from simple care for blood pressure assessment, through Primary Care, to organ transplantation, ensuring comprehensive, universal access and free for the entire population of the country. <https://www.saude.gov.br/sistema-unico-de-saude>

<sup>81</sup> Ministry of Health; Registry of healthcare facilities and their installations, “Ministry of Health: Registry of healthcare facilities and their installations”.

southeast were similar in this respect (around 4%). The Midwest region - where Goiás state is located - showed a much higher proportion of catastrophic spending on health care (ibid.: 258). Regarding Vila Fabril specifically, there is only the community health centre – Posto de Saúde da Família (PSF) – with a limited capacity to offer adequate health services to the community (see Map 7, Chapter 4, for a better view of the amenities available in Vila Fabril).

### **5.3. Conclusion**

This chapter has described the main findings regarding the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis in Goiás, Brazil, to Gort in County Galway, Ireland. It demonstrates empirically that the economic foundations of Brazilian migration to Gort lie not simply in the labour market, but also in the capital and the credit markets – which are consistent with NE and NELM. It also demonstrates the importance of non-economic determinants – (1) related to family, relationships, and sexuality, (2) lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland, (3) unsafe urban conditions, and failing political system, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. Moreover, the study's findings show that decisions to migrate are based on a variety of interrelated reasons that are not just economic, but involve a host of other intricate non-economic determinants, underpinned by both kinship and social networks that generate and sustain these migration processes. The results also show that these migration processes are fluid and complex and are shaped by various forces at the destination and origin locations. Moreover, the findings suggest that Brazilian migrants in Gort are heterogeneous concerning their migration motivations, thus, demonstrating the need for closer attention to other types of migration (de Haas, 2011:14) beyond labour migration.

Although the findings of this study largely support the previous empirical literature, they were only partially consistent with the theoretical assumptions of the NE and the NELM models. These conventional theories of migration tend to focus on income, wage levels and income inequalities; thus resulting in a research focus on labour

migration and an almost complete separation from other types of migration (de Haas, 2011:14). The findings reported in this chapter were also largely outside the assumptions of network theory, transnationalism, and translocal theory, suggesting the need for other non-market-dependent theoretical models that consider aspects of human development and well-being and sociocultural dimensions. Despite the theoretical fragmentation within the field and the shortening of current migration theories to fully explain the determinants of migration, Portes (1997) and Castles (2010) argue, however, that it does not seem very useful to develop a grand theory of migration (see further discussion in Chapter 7). This chapter has discussed the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort. The next chapter, therefore, goes on to discuss the determinants of return migration of Brazilian migrants from Gort to Anápolis.

## **Chapter 6 - THE DETERMINANTS OF THE RETURN MIGRATION OF BRAZILIAN MIGRANTS FROM GORT TO ANÁPOLIS.**

### **6.1. Introduction**

Following the presentation of the results in Chapter 5, this chapter goes on to present key findings of the determinants of return migration of Brazilian migrants from Gort to their originating community of Anápolis (study aim 2). The chapter also seeks to identify patterns in the determinants of return migration (e.g. related to gender, the time of return to Anápolis, age, marital status, length of stay in Ireland, immigration status at the time of return, and remittance patterns). The chapter draws on in-depth multi-method empirical data collected at both the origin and host communities. In order to examine the determinants of Brazilian return migrants from Gort, the chapter draws on neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network theory, transnationalism, and translocal theoretical models, but also, on other theoretical arguments and concepts from Irish and Brazilian empirical literature on the determinants of return migration.

This study reveals that the return migration of Brazilian migrants from Gort (Ireland) to Anápolis (Brazil) was underpinned by a variety of context-related factors of both the host and origin region contexts and that it was more heavily influenced by non-economic factors than economic factors. The most important non-economic determinants were related to (1) care needs – both giving and receiving, (2) family and relationships, (3) fear and the feeling of death, (4) sense of place, attachment, and identity, (5) legal constraints, and (6) unpleasant climate; whereas the economic determinants were related to (7) the economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil), (8) the accomplishment of migration goals and return for retirement, and (9) difficulties in accessing third-level education in Ireland. A variety of dimensions were mentioned under each of these broader determinant domains, which are extensively

discussed in the following sections. Although the findings of this study broadly support previous empirical literature, they were only partially consistent with the migration theories informing the study (described in Chapter 2), thus showing that return migration determinants may be more diverse and complex than previously thought and that competing theories might therefore be partly complementary (see, Constant and Massey, 2002; de Haas et al., 2015).

The chapter is structured into two sections: the first analyses the non-economic determinants of return migration; while the second analyses the economic determinants. This is followed by concluding remarks and a summary of the determinants of return migration of Brazilian migrants from Gort to Anápolis.

## **6.2. The empirical findings**

### **6.2.1. Non-economic determinants**

#### **6.2.1.1. Care needs – both giving and receiving**

The most important theme to emerge from the data was care needs – both giving and receiving, mentioned by 26 participants<sup>82</sup>. Participants mentioned varying care needs as to why they returned to Anápolis. Having a personal health issue was the reason for 6 participants. The two examples below reveal how having a serious personal illness was a strong factor pushing them to return to Anápolis. The first one is **Maria Clara**, a 60-year-old returnee who stated:

I came back because of the health problem in my arm, I took medicines, [but] nothing in the arm improved, I knew I was hurting more. For you to have an idea when I came back, I could not even raise my arm, even today, after 5 or 6 years

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<sup>82</sup> Note: number of participants are calculated on the basis of 40 persons. The themes presented in this chapter do not sum to 100% because some respondents mentioned more than one reason for returning to Anápolis.

that I came back, I do not remember anymore, it's a shame, but I still feel pain, if it were not for this problem we would have stayed a little longer there.

Similarly, 58-year-old **Mariana**, who suffered from a health problem, explains: "I also had a health reason, I had a serious heart problem in Ireland, which led me to put in a pacemaker; after that, could not work. [...], I love Ireland, all my children live there, and so do my brothers, but it is no longer possible to return. [...]"

The illness of a close relative in Brazil (usually children) was the reason to return for 4 participants. Also, a mental health issue of a relative in Brazil (in most cases, depression) was the reason given by 3 participants. The testimony of 49-year-old **Maria Cecília** exemplifies this. She moved to Ireland, leaving her children in Anápolis with her grandparents, and returned when one of her children suddenly took ill: "Because my son went into depression, and we decided to go back together to take care of him. [...]. However, after I got here, I got sick, arriving in Brazil, I locked myself in the house when I arrived, I was very sad, I did not want to be here." A similar example came from 35-year-old **Lara**, who also had an ill child. Her mother was tired of taking care of two little children, she explained:

my daughter had become ill and spent a week in the ICU. After that, I concluded that there was no way I could stay, I had no way to take my children to Ireland, [...], so I decided to go back. So it was a decision that I made on my own, but there was my mother's pressure too, so I could go back, she was tired of taking care of two little children, so what made me go back were these two things, the lack of employment in Ireland and I need to take care of my children.

**Lara's** case demonstrates how structural barriers generate the need for intergenerational care chains, and these are often not sustainable over time, in particular, in times of a health crisis.

Other health-related issues to emerge were a partner's health condition and unhappiness in Ireland, mentioned by 4 participants. See, for instance, the testimony of 62-year-old **Paulo** as an example of someone who returned due to a partner's illness:



We returned to Brazil because of my wife's health, her health, she had an arm problem that she never improved. [...], so she was afraid of dying there, and then having to bring the body. The movement of her arm stopped, until today she does not lift her arm anymore, she already had treatment in Brazil, she did physiotherapy many times, but it did not help much.

The testimony of 48-year-old **Pietro** is an example of someone who returned due to both a personal health problem and unhappiness, which according to him was putting his marriage at risk:

The urge to return began when I got sick in Ireland, I had a hernia problem, I started health treatment in Ireland, but the treatment was not working [...]. Another reason was that I also had a little depression, I was not happy there. This puts at risk even my marriage, this happened to many couples there.

A further level of analysis shows that although health-related issues were the second most cited reasons for returning among those in Anápolis, health access in Ireland was also a factor underpinning settlement aspirations. Of the 33 (73.3%) participants who expressed that they wanted to settle in Ireland, 5 said that it was because of access to a good health care system and health care assistance to children with disabilities.

Ten participants mentioned varying psychological issues as the reason for returning to their country. For instance, suffering psychological pressure from a partner to return was mentioned by 4 participants, such as 34-year-old **Beatriz**: "So, I did not want to go back, it was my husband who persuaded me to go back. He wanted to return because of his grandparents, who were very old, he had a great affection for them, [...]. It was not a unanimous decision; it was a decision made by my husband." Another example is 50-year-old **Melissa**, who also felt pressure from her husband to return home: "Look, I just came back because my husband did not want to stay in Ireland anymore, [...]. Anyway, I just came back because of him, I was afraid to stay in Ireland and that he would not let me see my daughters anymore [...]. I felt like talking to him,

'please go back alone, I'm going to stay here in Gort', I wanted to, but in the end, his will prevailed and we both returned."

A further 4 participants returned due to fatigue, tiredness, and saturation. See, for instance, the testimony of **Isadora**, a 54-year-old divorcee: "Look, I think it was our fatigue, during our time there, we worked hard [...]. There was also the matter that I was very weak, very sick, very tired, I had several health problems. Also, I was already a little depressed, worried, for us, the time had come to return, we felt that we already had enough to live in Brazil." The final themes cited by the participants were suffering psychological pressure from relatives in Brazil to return (especially from child caregivers), feeling stressed and exploited by work and loneliness, solitude and not being able to find a partner in Ireland, mentioned by 1 participant each. While some of the words and behaviour of respondents could be indicative of psychological issues, respondents did not report being clinically diagnosed with any mental disorders or seeking professional treatment while living in Ireland or after returning to Anápolis.

Regarding gender, females (n=14) were more likely than males (n=9) to have returned due to a health and psychological issue. This was most visible among those citing a personal health problem, an illness of a close relative in Brazil, and psychological pressure from husband/partner to return. However, men were the majority of those who felt unhappy, lonely and suffered stress and exploitation in Ireland. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 10 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 13 participants returned more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 4 were less than 35 years, 3 were aged 35-45, while 13 were aged 46-55 and 3 were aged 56 and over. Regarding marital status, 15 were married, 4 were divorced, while 3 were single and 1 was cohabiting. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, 17 participants were undocumented, 4 participants held a work permit, while 1 participant held a residency Stamp 3 and another held a residency Stamp 4. In terms of remittances patterns, 21 participants said that they did send remittances

while living in Ireland, 1 participant did send remittances but very rarely, while another participant did send remittances but sometimes only. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, recent returnees, mature, married, and undocumented.

While migration in itself is not necessarily a health risk, the conditions surrounding the process can increase the health vulnerabilities of migrants (Davies et al., 2011:1; IOM, 2008b). According to Davies et al. (2010), factors related to the migration process such as reasons for migrating, type of travel, length of stay, and legal status can all act as determinants of migrant health. Also, the nature of working conditions, especially among non-status individuals (Magalhaes et al., 2010:146) plays a role. Previous studies have shown that migrants return home with a wide range of health needs (Davies et al., 2011:1).

Although research on the impact of immigration on Irish society has increased in recent years, authors have argued that comparatively little is known about the health status of immigrants, access of labour migrants to health systems, and the implications of immigration for the health and social care system (Villarroel et al., 2019; Nolan, 2012:343).<sup>83</sup> Previous discussions on the impact of immigration on the health sector in Ireland have concentrated mainly on immigrants as providers of health services, rather than as users (Hughes *et al.*, 2007 cited in Nolan, 2012:346). Others have argued that since the long-established pattern had been emigration, Ireland is poorly equipped to meet the health needs of migrants, especially those in need of mental health support, including immigrant children (Skokauskas & Clarke, 2009). Indeed, in this study, those who were affected by a personal health issue and unhappiness were not able to access the help they needed in Ireland.

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<sup>83</sup> Villarroel et al., (2019:3) argue that “it is important to strengthen the evidence based in Ireland on migrant health in order to develop knowledge about any such differences between migrants and the Irish-born population”.

Furthermore, although the mortality rates of migrants are sometimes below those of the host population (Roura, 2017; Bhopal et al., 2018), data show that they tend to be vulnerable to certain occupational health hazards, injuries, poor mental health, diabetes, and maternal and child health problems (Rechel et al., 2013; quoted in Villarroel et al., 2019). One of the participants in this study returned due to a problem with her arm caused by an occupational hazard and despite taking medicine, her arm did not improve. Another participant returned due to a serious heart problem in Ireland, although in this case, it is not possible to know if it was caused by occupational health hazards, however, this participant lived and worked in Ireland for 12 years. Moreover, the findings call attention to the physically demanding and precarious labour conditions in Ireland for these migrants.

Although there exists a body of literature examining the relationship between immigration and health (at least in the USA, Canada, and Australia),<sup>84</sup> little attention has been paid to the relationship between return migration and health (Davies et al., 2011). That might be linked to the overall difficulties surrounding research into return migration. Davies et al. (2011:1) call our attention to the importance of policy, arguing that “to maintain and improve the health of returning migrants, multi-sectoral policies (at both global and national levels) should facilitate access to appropriate and equitable health services, social services, and continuity of care across and within borders.” Unfortunately, such an agreement does not exist between Brazil and Ireland nor other countries. Nine participants (22.5%), however, did receive support from the IOM<sup>85</sup>. Of these, 3 (7.5%) did receive additional financial support (which did not include health care) besides the airline tickets. Moreover, the findings in this study call attention to how the types of labour give rise to certain health issues and how access to health services

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<sup>84</sup> For a review see McDonald (2006), Chiswick et al., 2006, Antecol & Bedard, 2005.

<sup>85</sup> Through the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) (IOM, 2019a). Available online at: <https://www.iom.int/assisted-voluntary-return-and-reintegration>

acts as a structural barrier to living in Ireland, as opposed to merely working there. For some, returning did not solve the problem either, as health care services in Brazil face many challenges as discussed previously in Chapter 5. It is unlikely that those who returned home due to a health issue and who did not have either insurance or money to pay for private doctors accessed the health care they needed in Brazil.

Davies et al. (2011) argue that although some return home with health issues, others return healthy, especially those who were able to get good jobs and had access to appropriate health and social services while abroad. Unfortunately, that was not the case in this study sample. Only a low number of participants had access to a medical card (25%) and social welfare benefits (12.5%), which might be because 31 (77.5%) were undocumented during most of their time in Ireland (as described in Chapter 4). Besides, the great majority worked in manual jobs in the service, farming, and construction sectors. Keeping the focus on health, the rest of this section focuses on the literature on the link between migration and psychological issues.

The findings among Brazilians in Gort are consistent with psychological issues identified in other studies (Yehuda-Sternfeld & Mirsky, 2014; Chobanyan, 2013). Research on the link between migration and psychological wellbeing maintains that different stages of migration entail different mental health outcomes for those involved (Vathi, 2017). According to Vathi (2017), adolescents, females, and visible minorities are found to be more at risk of developing psychological problems because of migration. Most of the Brazilians who cited psychological issues were, however, labour migrants. The majority of the literature has focused on the psychological issues underpinning both forced and refugee migrations (Portes & Haslam, 2005; Siriwardhana & Stewart, 2013; Ryan et al., 2008). Siriwardhana & Stewart (2013) assert that it is highly likely that the risk of developing mental disorders such as depression, anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), and psychoses are greater among displaced populations. Migration also brings psychological issues for those left behind, especially children (Battistella &

Conaco, 1998). In this study, many of the Brazilian participants had left their children behind (see Chapter 4). Less significant attention, however, has been given to the relationship between psychological issues and return migration (Yehuda-Sternfeld & Mirsky, 2014; Vathi, 2017). Vathi (2017:2) writes that only recently has the literature on return migration acknowledged the problematic aspects of the simplistic idea of “returning home” and started to document the emotional complexities of the return journey (Boccagni & Baldassar, 2015; Svašek, 2010; Gray, 2008).

Empirical research has shown that mental health affects return migration intentions, even among those migrants who had the option to stay in the host country (Lietaert, 2016). For example, a study among Armenian and Georgian migrants who lived in Belgium found evidence that even those who had a permit to reside in the host country chose to return because of mental health problems (Lietaert, 2016:122). Some participants postponed the return as long as possible, but after several years the emotional burden was only getting worse, so they saw no other option than to return (*ibid.*). However, that was not the case among the Brazilians in Gort; 9 out of 10 who cited psychological issues as a reason to return had no legal status to reside in the country. Indeed, empirical studies have shown that undocumented migrants are vulnerable to developing psychological issues due to their migration status (Joseph, 2011; Teunissen et al., 2014; Teunissen et al., 2015). Joseph (2011)’s qualitative study of Brazilians who returned to Brazil from the USA, for instance, found that the burden of being undocumented created a poor quality of life for the respondents, expressed with the words “suffering”, “anguish”, “not feeling at home”, “difficulty”, “imprisoned”, “longing for family and Brazil”, and “depression”. Joseph also writes that each of these terms symbolises stressors in their daily lives as undocumented migrants that directly and indirectly influenced their mental health. Another qualitative study exploring the health-seeking behaviour of undocumented migrants in the Netherlands found that participants considered their mental health problems to be directly related to their precarious living

conditions (Teunissen et al., 2014). Regarding support, the same study revealed that participants turn to friends and religion first, whilst general practitioners were their last resort. It concluded that barriers to seeking help were related to a taboo around mental health problems, lack of knowledge, and lack of trust in GPs' competencies, and general barriers in accessing health care (ibid.).

Returnee migrants also face social-psychological issues after the return migration process. The few studies that have addressed returnees' psychological reactions after they returned have found considerable adjustment problems, especially around the re-integration process (Yehuda-Sternfeld & Mirsky, 2014). Reintegration can be defined as a re-inclusion of a person in a group and society of his/her country of origin (IOM, 2011:82). According to Cassarino (2008b), reintegration includes social-psychological, economic, and cultural aspects, which are interrelated and mutually affect one another. Chobanyan (2013) asserts that usually return migrants find themselves in a difficult psychological situation due to social insecurity, loss of networks, and because some are not ready for the return. Indeed, the data show that most participants faced a multitude of problems after returning to Anápolis, which overlapped and intertwined with each other. Psychological issues were the fourth most cited theme, mentioned by 13 participants (32.5%). Females were more likely than males to have faced a psychological issue after returning to Anápolis. Most participants mentioned feelings of regret and blame regarding their decision to return, others felt depressed, whilst some felt nostalgia and longing for both Ireland and friends left behind. The other psychological issues mentioned were dealing with a divorce, being left and feeling betrayed by the husband, weight gain and loss, isolation and not leaving the house, feeling sad, sleeping problems, and living with the regret of not having applied to Irish citizenship before returning to Anápolis. Interestingly, more people reported having had psychological issues during the return re-integration process than during their period in Ireland. Together, these findings demonstrate that immigrants are vulnerable to developing psychological issues

during and after migration. The next section, therefore, moves on to discuss another non-economic determinant of Brazilian return migration identified in this research, namely, family and relationships.

### **6.2.1.2. Family and relationships**

Family/relationships was second most-cited reason for returning to Anápolis, mentioned by 22 participants. This theme emerged at both sites as a key factor for varying reasons. For example, the wish to reunite with their families (or family members) at the origin region was mentioned by 12 participants. For example, **Enrico**, a 45-year-old married man who lived in Ireland without his family from 2002 to 2003 and worked in the construction sector, said, “It was my family that took me to return, [...], they were not there with me, my children were growing distant from me, I was losing their childhood, it was all that that got me back.” Similarly, 41-year-old **Cláudio**, a married man who lived in Ireland without his family from 2006 to 2009 and worked in the construction and farming sectors, said, “It was the homesickness of my family, my children, my mother, my father, I missed them, and it was all that that brought me back to Brazil.”

The second most cited reason within this theme was missing people (family and relatives) and grieving being away from their children, mentioned by 5 participants. This theme also points to the care chains among the families. For instance, research participant **Elisa**, a 46-year-old married woman who lived in Ireland from 2004 to 2005 without her children, stated: “I missed Brazil a lot, but what made me return was to see my three children, who stayed in Brazil. And, the death of my mother, she was the person who took care of my children while I was in Ireland, the loss of her was very sad, I could not stay there anymore, I was very worried, very homesick. [...]” **Rebeca**, a 46-year-old divorced woman who also lived in the country without her children from 2005 and 2007 explains: “What made me return to Brazil were my children, they stayed with my mother, I stayed there as much as I could, but there came a time when I could not stay, and they needed me. Especially my son, he had some problems, he got very sick, first with the



loss of the father with the separation, and second with my absence, it was not easy for him.” **Rebeca**’s case indicates the theme of care chains among the Brazilian families, mentioned above.

Not being able to bring their families to Ireland was the reason cited by 4 participants for returning to Brazil. This aspect of the data indicates structural barriers faced by Brazilians, especially the difficulties in reuniting families. These family aspects were clear in the two examples quoted below, both of which were married and were not able to bring their families to Ireland. The first is **João Paulo**, a 50-year-old married man, who expressed his reasons for returning:

[For me] there are two things that hold people in Ireland, money, and family. There comes a time when you have to choose one of the two. [...]. I had a stable life there, I had my own business, and I made a lot of money. However, after a certain time, and with the impossibility of taking my family to Ireland, I disappointed myself and decided to drop everything and return to Brazil.

The second is 62-year-old **Antônio**, who lived from 2004 to 2007 in Ireland without his wife and two children: “I came back because I could not take my wife and my little son. Then I thought to myself, I am going to go home and find a job. However, if I had the opportunity to take my family, I would be there today.”

The need to look after older relatives (parents and grandparents) was the reason given by 4 participants. Again, the data point to the care chains among the families. Child caregivers (usually grandparents) being too old and tired to look after the children was the reason given by 3 participants. See, for instance, the case of 46-year-old **Leonardo**, who moved with his wife to Ireland, leaving their daughters with their grandmother: “Concerned about our daughters, who stayed in Brazil, my mother-in-law had been already very tired and old to take care of two teenagers; [...]. There was my mother too, my father, my sister, my heart was tightening, squeezing, and then I decided to come back.”

The other family reasons mentioned by 2 participants each were concerned with the welfare of children left behind, and the need to attend a wedding of a close relative. The other family-related reasons, each one mentioned by 1 participant, were: to introduce their children born in Ireland to family in Brazil, a child custody issue, being pregnant and ashamed to tell the parents in Brazil, duty to family and children, did not want to bring their wives to Ireland to wash other people's toilets, did not want to miss their children's childhoods, the whole family decided to return, were afraid of giving birth in Ireland and afraid of not being able to see their children anymore (in the case of not following the husband's order to return).

Returning due to a relationship issue or abandonment of a partner was the reason mentioned by 2 participants (**Lara** and **João**). One participant, for instance, mentioned that being abandoned by her son's father while she was pregnant was her main reason to return (**Lara**, 35, single); while the other returned after divorcing his wife and the need to look after his children and because his former wife decided to migrate to Ireland herself: "The main reason for my return was the end of my marriage, after our divorce, my ex-wife decided to migrate to Ireland too, I came back to take care of my children, I came back for family matters." [**João**, 49, married].

Overall, females (n=13) were more likely than males (n=9) to cite family and relationship related issues. This was most visible among those returning due to the need to look after older relatives (parents and grandparents). Male participants were the majority among those returning to reunite with family left behind. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 18 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 4 participants returned more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 4 were less than 35 years, 6 were aged 35-45, while 9 were aged 46-55 and 3 were aged 56-70. Regarding marital status, 14 were married, 4 were divorced, while 4 were single. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, 18 participants were undocumented, 2 participants held a work permit, while 1 participant

held a residency Stamp 3 and another held a residency Stamp 4. In terms of remittances patterns, 19 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland, 2 participants did send remittances but very rarely, while another participant did send remittances sometimes only. Moreover, this theme was most prevalent among women, first returnees, mature, married, and undocumented.

Returning due to family and relationships is in line with the network theory and transnational and translocal approaches. As previously mentioned in Chapter 2, these approaches view returnees as migrants who maintain strong ties with families and their originating community while abroad. These approaches assert that migrants are more likely to return to their originating regions if they maintain ties with their former place of settlement (Cassarino, 2004; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). This finding is also in agreement with the NELM theory. Under NELM, attachment of the migrant to his or her household (or family) is a valid return migration determinant (Cassarino, 2004:269) because it interprets migration as a livelihood strategy employed by households and families instead of individuals. The central NELM idea is that households send out best-suited individuals to gain an income abroad (de Haas *et al.*, 2015). The model assumes that the attachment between the individual chosen and his or her household will be maintained over time and space. This contractual arrangement between the parts explains why under NELM migrants are supposed to send remittances (Taylor, 1999; Carling, 2008b) (see Chapter 4). Therefore, within a NELM perspective, households, families (and sometimes communities) play an important role in engendering both the initiation and return migration flows.

The results of this research echo the findings of earlier research into Brazilians in Ireland. Gouveia (2015), for instance, examining the return migration of Brazilians from Naas in Ireland to Presidente Epitácio, in São Paulo, found patterns of return relating to family circumstances among her sample. Gouveia explains that she could see the suffering as she saw “the tears in the eyes of mothers and fathers when they spoke of

their children, and the sadness of adult men and women when they spoke about their families in Brazil.” She saw an unquestionable wish to return to Brazil. Similar findings have also been found among Brazilians who returned from other international countries, for example, Japan (Baba, 2009:17-18; McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014; Baba & Sanchez, 2012:11), Portugal (Fernandes & Castro, 2013; Fernandes et al., 2015:129), Portugal and Spain (ICMPD, 2013), England (Ornellas & Coutinho, 2017:77-78) and Europe & USA (Pereira & Siqueira, 2013:128-130). Family issue patterns have also been observed among internal return Brazilian migrants, who returned to the Northeast region (Oliveira & Jannuzzi, 2005:141) and the state of Minas Gerais (Lisboa, 2008:91). Similar family patterns have also been observed among other returnee groups in other countries such as Eritrea (Chirium, 2005:38), Taiwan (Chiang, 2011:108-109), Samoa (Macpherson & Macpherson, 2009:22-23), and El Salvador (Estrella Vega, 2013). Among Irish returnees, a 2002 household survey in County Mayo (cited in Jones, 2003) revealed the predominance of family and quality of life reasons over the economic reasons in the decision to return to Ireland (Corcoran, 2002).<sup>86</sup> Although the studies cited above found that family issues played a role in the return of their migration groups, they did not describe which family issues were relevant. On the other hand, this study gives an in-depth description of the family circumstances which led Brazilians from Gort to return to Anápolis in Brazil. Taken together, these findings show that family determinants do not only play an important role in the initiation of migration (Chapter 5) but also in determining return migration of both international and internal flows. Moreover, some authors have pointed out that the family dimension of the return of Brazilian migrants has been insufficiently explored in the literature, although it is considered important and recognised in studies with Brazilians in the United States (Pereira & Siqueira, 2013:77). The next section, therefore, goes on to discuss another non-economic determinant of

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<sup>86</sup> Jones (2003) argues that although they did not mention economic reasons explicitly, “however, the improving Irish economy very likely unable returnees to meet their career aspirations in Ireland, regardless of the primary reasons they stated for return[ing]” to Ireland.

Brazilian return migration identified in the study, namely, fear and the feeling of death relate reasons.

### 6.2.1.3. Fear and loss

One of the most surprising themes to emerge from the data was fear and loss, mentioned by 12 participants as the reason for returning to Anápolis. The death of a close family member was the reason given by 8 participants. A representation of the impact of losing a close relative on return decisions could be seen in the story of **Davi Lucca**, who returned mainly because of the loss of his brother and his mother-in-law's illness: "The reason for returning to Brazil was family. I lost my brother when I was there, it was sad to know that my brother was being buried and I could not give comfort to the family. After that happened, I was crazy to return to Brazil. [...]." The loss of both her father-in-law and grandmother led 40-year-old **Isabelly** and her family to return. She stated, "When my husband lost his father, it was very hard for him, and three months later I also lost my beloved grandmother. So, I told my husband we're leaving, what else will we lose as long as we live in Ireland? I do not want to lose my parents while I am living in Ireland, I am a daughter very attached to my parents, very much."

Fear of losing a loved one while in Ireland was mentioned by 4 participants. See, for instance, the testimony of 52-year-old **Emanuelly**, who felt tormented with the idea of losing her parents while she was in Ireland: "I was very afraid of my parents dying and I am in Ireland away from them. This was something that tormented me a lot, one day I thought, 'my God, I'm running here for money, for what?' I thought, 'how many marriages, how many families were destroyed for that reason, to go there in search of money only'. [...]." **João Lucas**, a 40-year-old returnee, also felt afraid of losing more loved ones while in Ireland: "In fact, my wife and I always loved Ireland, we had no intention of returning, but the loss of my father left me very shaken, also the death of my wife's grandmother, [...]. So, losing people you love when you are away is very painful, we both went through it there. [...], that was a joint decision between us." Finally, 1 participant mentioned the

death of their partner in Brazil as the reason for returning while another participant returned because the person caring for her children while she was in Ireland died; again pointing to the intergenerational care chains among the families.

Regarding gender, interestingly, females (n=8) were more likely than males (n=4) to return due to fear and loss. For instance, those citing the death of a partner in Brazil and the death of the children's carer were all female; women were also the majority among those citing the fear of losing a loved one while in Ireland, the death of a close family member. Whereas, the male participants only cited the fear of dying in Ireland. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 5 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 7 participants returned more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of age, 2 were less than 35 years, 3 were aged 35-45, while 4 were aged 46-55 and 3 were aged 56-70. Regarding marital status, 8 were married, 2 were divorced, while 2 were single. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, 8 participants were undocumented, 2 participants held a work permit, while 1 participant held a residency Stamp 3 and another held a residency Stamp 4. In terms of remittances patterns, 10 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland, 1 participant did send remittances but very rarely, while another participant did send remittances sometimes only. Moreover, this theme was more prominent among women, recent returnees, the mature, the married, and the undocumented.

These findings among Brazilians in Gort are consistent with death-related issues identified in other studies. Gardner (1998:507), for instance, writes that "as the most profound of all rites of passage, death is not solely a matter of individual experience and emotion, but is also inherently social" also, its means and practices are the products of particular social, cultural, and historical circumstances (Gardner, 1998). Gardner also points out that "since these rituals are central to the identities and meanings which groups construct for themselves, they can be viewed as windows, which open out to the ways societies view themselves and the world around them" However, death can also

be a lonely and isolating experience (Feder, 1976). Moore and Williamson (2003:3) argue that it is because humans are social beings and it is our interactions with other humans that complete our existence and give our lives meaning. For Gordon (2000), the loss of a loved one to death is often one of the most emotionally painful experiences that a human can have. This pain can be even greater among immigrants that are away from their families. Taking all this into consideration, it should be no surprise that the pain of losing a loved one was the most cited reason within this theme.

Widowhood was also another reason underpinning the return of one of the participants, whose husband died whilst she was in Ireland. Evidence of the influence of widowhood on the likelihood of returning in later life has been found across studies (Klinthall, 2013). Other empirical studies on return migration have produced similar findings. For example, Tezcan (2019:7)'s study on return migration intentions among Turkish immigrants in Germany found that one of the biggest fears that Turks have is dying in Germany, and any mention of this particular fear seemed to reinforce their return migration intention. Tezcan also found that the desire to die in the homeland was so natural to respondents that questioning it was unexpected. Almost half of the respondents agreed with the statement, "you feel sorry for the deceased, but the sorrow doubles for the ones that die in Germany". Thus, according to his participants, the absolute worst thing that can happen to a Turk is to die in Germany. Death appears to gain a mythical form in their discourses (Tezcan, 2019:7). Another study among Turkish migrants in Germany found that traditionally-oriented participants expressed the opinion that they would have returned to Turkey in the case of a fatal disease, stressing the importance of "dying at home" (Razum et al., 2005:730)

Studies focusing on elderly migrants have shed light on the symbolism of death and burial rituals among transnational communities across the globe (Percival, 2013; Mbiba, 2010; Becker, 2002; Gardner, 1998; 2002). Although prevalent in the literature on return migration, age and burial issues did not arise among the present study's cohort

of participants. This may be related to the fact that the Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort started in 1999 and is therefore a relatively recent community, compared to other more established Brazilian migrant communities in Portugal and other Western European countries (Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Evans et al., 2007; Torresan, 2012; Schrooten et al., 2016). This may also be linked to the average age among Brazilians in this particular community. Moreover, the Brazilian population was the youngest of the 12 largest non-Irish nationalities usually resident in Ireland according to the 2016 census, with an average age of 29.9 (CSO, 2017a). This study also reviewed a significant number of empirical studies on Brazilians both in Ireland (Gouveia, 2015; IOM, 2009), and other countries such as Japan (Baba, 2009; McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014; Baba & Sanchez, 2012), Portugal and Spain (ICMPD, 2013), USA (Marcus, 2009) and UK and Belgium (Schrooten et al., 2016). However, it did find evidence that fear or death related issues underpin actual and return migration intentions, despite some of these Brazilian communities being much older and established than the one in Gort. The next section moves on to discuss an additional non-economic determinant of Brazilian return migration identified in this research, namely, a sense of place, attachment, and identity.

#### **6.2.1.4. Sense of place, attachment, and identity**

One interesting theme to emerge from the data was that people were returning due to a sense of place to both the origin community of Anápolis and to Brazil, mentioned by 3 participants. Among the reasons mentioned, 2 participants returned because they were feeling homesick, another participant felt that Brazil was his place and another felt it was part of his identity. For example, 70-year-old **José**, who lived in Ireland for over 12 years, described how he never forgot that Brazil was his home:

I came back because here it is my place, I do not give up here for nothing, I lived there for 12 years, but always with the desire to leave, I spoke to the Brazilians there to save money for the day of return. During my time there, I built a good house, I bought a good car, I bought a pickup truck to work here, anyway, I built



a structure for my return. I came back because I had already conquered everything I went there for.

Whilst some participants returned due to feelings of attachment, sense of place and identity linked to Anápolis, others (among those who expressed the wish to settle) appeared to nourish the same feelings of attachment to Gort and Ireland. For example, of the 33 (73.3%) who expressed that they want to stay in Ireland, 9 said it was because their life and that of their families were now in Ireland, whilst 2 others cited the integration of their children in the community of Gort as the reason they want to settle in Ireland.

Regarding gender, of the 3 participants who cited a sense of place, attachment, and identity, 2 were males, while 1 was female. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 2 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 1 participant returned more recently between 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 1 was aged 35-45, while 1 was aged 46-55 and 1 was aged 56-70. Regarding marital status, all 3 participants were married. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, all 3 participants were undocumented. In terms of remittances patterns, all 3 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland. Moreover, this theme was most prominent among men, the first returnees, the mature, the married, and the undocumented.

In recent decades, there has been notable growing interest in the study of relationships between migration processes and place (Phillips & Robinson, 2015; Mendoza & Moren-Alegret, 2012; Ni Laoire *et al.*, 2010; Ehrkamp, 2005; Armstrong, 2004). Pascual-de-sans (2004) writes that it is essential to look at the role of place in migration, as it offers an overall understanding of the bonds established by people – both individually and collectively – within the places where they live and have lived. Much of this discussion has taken place within transnational migration research. This body of literature offers a new perspective on people's relations to place, in that transmigrants create fluid and multiple identities grounded both in the place of origin and in the place

of settlement (Glick Schiller *et al.*, 1992a; 1992b; 1995). Pollini (2005), for instance, believes that place attachment is not incompatible with spatial mobility, in the sense that mobility can multiply local attachment, thus concluding that globalization tends to transform place attachment and belonging instead of erasing them. In a similar vein, Ehrkamp (2005) asserts that transnational ties enable immigrants to forge local attachment through the production of place. However, she argues, a focus on place rather than on community does not gloss over existing differences and conflicts. “Rather, conceptualising immigrants’ attachments through the production of place teases out the complexities of multiple and sometimes conflicting attachments of contemporary migrants, and their engagement with the receiving society” (Ehrkamp, 2005:362).

This finding is in line with the transnational approach. Guarnizo (1997:287) asserts that “the term transnationalism refers to the web of cultural, social, economic, and political relationships, practices, and *identities* built by migrants across national borders.” Indeed, these participants were able to sustain their sense of identity and belonging to their originating community of Anápolis while living in Ireland. However, NE and NELM posit different interpretations regarding attachments of migrants to host and origin societies. NE perceives migration as an individual cost-benefit behaviour to maximise lifelong earnings and utility (Harris and Todaro, 1970). Thus, under this model, it makes little sense for successful migrants to maintain economic and social ties with people living in origin societies, as this would raise the financial and psychological costs of staying abroad (de Haas *et al.*, 2015). Conversely, economic and social ties at the destination societies will decrease the costs of staying and increase the cost of returning (de Haas *et al.*, 2015). However, not all migrants are “successfully” integrated into host country societies as assumed by NE (see de Haas and Fokkema, 2011). Empirical studies have shown that some migrants do fail to feel at home, whilst others suffer from a lack of a sense of belongingness (Holmes & Burrows, 2012). On the other hand, NELM assumes that “attachment to home and household” (and achievement of migration goals)

are the main motives underpinning return migration (Cassarino, 2004:269). Therefore, the model predicts that migrants maintain economic and social ties with the people living in origin societies. This assumption derives from the position that migration decisions are not made by isolated individuals, but by larger units of relatives, typically families or households (Stark and Bloom, 1985:173). NELM introduces the notion of family strategy, which highlights the mutual interdependence between migrants and their families (at the origin regions), emphasizing risk handling and risk pooling (Stark and Bloom, 1985).

These findings among Brazilian return migrants from Gort are consistent with the findings of other empirical studies. Ni Laoire (2011b:23), drawing from research on Irish returnees in Ireland, found that “many expressed a strong sense of belonging to Ireland, or a specific place in Ireland” as the primary reason for returning. Ni Laoire explains that this was often articulated in terms of a sense of community, associated with family, social networks, and place (2011b:23). However, the study pointed out problems related to the “conditionality of belonging [...] it seems that being accepted as one of ‘us’ or in other words as ‘fully Irish,’ is conditional on a number of factors.” These included “not complaining about Ireland; not talking too much about one’s time outside Ireland; having an Irish accent.” Thus, the study concluded, “return migrants become complicit in the denial of their own migrancy, so that they can be accepted as Irish” (Ni Laoire, 2011b:27-28). Similarly, Kunuroglu et al. (2016:16)’s study of Turkish migrants returning from Western Europe found that participants felt emotionally and ethnically connected to Turkey and expressed deep loyalty to their family and home. It also found that the failure to feel belonging to the immigrated context and not feeling connected to host members were described as reasons for serious concern for the future of their children (Kunuroglu et al., 2016:16). Taken together, these results suggest that there is an association between migration and people’s sense of place, attachment and identity and that this attachment to places affects people’s migration decision behaviours, as the results in the case of Brazilian return migrants from Gort demonstrate. A further category of non-

economic determinants of Brazilian return migration identified in this research is legal/political, as explored below.

#### **6.2.1.5. Legal constraints**

The data show that legal (political) constraints faced by Brazilians in Gort were related to their irregular status – at a personal level – and the structural barriers to settling and living in Ireland, rather than only working in Ireland – at a macro level. The nature of these legal constraints was related to problems with the justice system (in both Ireland and Brazil), which was cited by 2 participants. One participant returned because her former husband had sued her over their son's custody, whilst another returned with her family because her husband had a problem with the justice system in Ireland and they were in danger of being deported from the country.

Regarding gender, both participants who cited political reasons for returning to Anápolis were female. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 1 participant returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 1 participant returned more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 1 was less than 35 years, while 1 was aged 35-45. Regarding marital status, 1 was married, while 1 was single. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, all 2 participants were undocumented. In terms of remittances patterns, 1 participant said that he did send remittances while living in Ireland, while the other participant did send remittances but very rarely.

Although one participant (and her family) returned due to the danger of being deported from Ireland, none of the participants were deported or repatriated once inside the state; nevertheless, the threat is clear. That may be related to what Sheringham (2009:101) has called a "tolerant attitude of the Gardaí" and to the fact that "the local community may well turn a blind eye to immigration status, and a large number of Brazilians in the town, as currently, the situation is beneficial to all." However, she argues that as immigration policies become increasingly restrictive, the sustainability of this

situation is doubtful (ibid.). Thus, it “remains to be seen whether this extremely positive example of ‘integration’ will continue or whether these predominantly happy, hardworking... migrants will be the first to bear the brunt of future economic, political and legislative shifts” (ibid.: 101). This shift might have already occurred. Recent figures showed that the number of people deported<sup>87</sup> from Ireland rose significantly in 2019 to 293 cases, compared to 163 in 2018 and 140 in 2017 (Fuxe, 2020). Of the 596 deportations that took place in the past three years, the largest group were from Pakistan (118), followed by China (87), Nigeria (75), Albania (40), Georgia (34), Brazil (33), Bangladesh (25), Algeria (19), and India (17) and Malaysia (16) (Fuxe, 2020).

Although none of the research participants in this study were deported while living in Ireland, some had a history of deportations at the entrance point (see a full discussion of this topic in Chapter 4). Among the sample in Anápolis, 4 participants (10%) reported being deported once at the airport in Ireland. Of those deported, 2 had a previous migration history in Ireland, while 2 were deported on their first attempt to enter the country. Three of those that were deported successfully re-entered Ireland on their second attempt. Of these, one remained in Ireland undocumented, while 2 participants managed to change their status from undocumented to a work permit and a residency stamp 4. Regarding the sample in Gort, 5 participants (11.1%) reported having been deported once on entry. Again, none of them were deported while living in Ireland. Of these deported, 3 had previous migration histories in Ireland, whilst 2 had not. All of them were able to re-enter Ireland again; of these, 3 remained undocumented, 2 changed their status to a work permit permission, whilst 1 was granted Irish citizenship (Chapter 4). These examples of perseverance among the Brazilians of Gort demonstrate the ability of immigrants to overcome political barriers that prevent them from legally entering the country. This situation brings uncertainty, separation from families, and decreases the

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<sup>87</sup> These included people who were illegally or who had failed in their asylum application (Fuxe, 2020).

transformative capacity that immigration brings to both the receiving and the home regions.

The second case scenario among Brazilians in Gort is more common in the literature, that is, the legal and political barriers for the legalization of undocumented migrants. Indeed, evidence of fear of deportation and insecurity has been found among Brazilian returnees from the USA (Pereira & Siqueira, 2013:126). Among Mexican returnees, Medina & Menjivar (2015) found evidence that their return was related to the tightening of US borders, surveillance, deportations, and problems with permanent residency applications. Moreover, they found that over two-thirds returned in connection to US enforcement practices. Together, these results provide important insights into how states' legal political barrier affects the way and conditions in which people migrate, as well as the integration of these people into host regions. The results also demonstrate people's ability to overcome these difficulties and to put their migratory projects into practice as these Brazilian migrants' migratory trajectories illustrate.

As previously discussed in Chapter 2, NE has been accused of ignoring the effects of states, politics, and policies, which are only considered as distortion factors or additional costs (Kurekova, 2011). The role of states is also seen as an aberration that disrupts the "normal" functioning of markets (Castles and Miller, 2003:24). NELM has also been criticised for neither considering dynamics at the structural level (except for market incompleteness), nor addressing how the individual migrant agency interacts with structural constraints (Abreu, 2012:58), such as strict immigration laws, and the lack of access to legalization (in Ireland). The next section, therefore, moves on to discuss the final non-economic determinant of Brazilian return migration identified in this research, namely, climatic determinants.

#### **6.2.1.6. Unpleasant climate**

Difficulties with the weather in Ireland was cited as a reason for returning by 2 participants. Although the climate and weather conditions in Ireland led some

participants to return to Anápolis, these same climate factors have been cited by others as a reason they want to settle in Ireland. This shows that climate factors affect people in different ways during migration. Indeed, the data reveal that climatic factors were one of the main challenges facing returnees in Anápolis. The weather was the third most cited problem, mentioned by 40% of the participants that returned to Brazil, all of whom spoke of having difficulties re-adapting to the heat in Brazil, while two participants (5%) mentioned having skin problems due to the heat (burns, blisters, and allergies).

Regarding gender, both participants who cited climatic reasons were male. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, all 2 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009. In terms of the age of the participants, all 2 were aged 46-55 years. Regarding marital status, all 2 participants were married. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, 1 participant was undocumented, while the other participants held a work permit. In terms of remittances patterns, all 2 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland.

These findings support the empirical findings of previous studies that report an influence of climate factors on return migration (Setrana & Tonah, 2014; Conway et al., 2013; Razum et al., 2005). Conway et al., (2013:102), for instance, found similar evidence among Caribbean returnees from the USA and the UK. It found that with their ancestral roots and family in tropical Trinidad, a few of its return respondents mentioned Trinidad's favourable and warm environment as an incentive to quit the cold of the USA and the UK and join their families (ibid.: 102). Razum et al. (2005:730)'s study among Turkish returnees from Germany found that "there prevailed [among the participants] a strong feeling that life in Germany was generally bad for Turkish people. This was often articulated indirectly, through complaints about the weather, the high workload, or loneliness." Finally, a qualitative study among Ghanaian returnees from the UK, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany, and the USA, found that the participants returned "because they were tired of their jobs, frustrated by their underprivileged status

and could not cope well with the weather [of the host countries], they had to pressurize the family to return” (Setrana & Tonah, 2014:121). Similar to the Brazilians in Ireland, all these return migrants lived in cold weather countries and the majority of them came from tropical regions. The next section, therefore, moves on to discuss the first economic determinant of Brazilian return migration identified in this research, namely, the economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil).

## 6.2.2. Economic determinants

### 6.2.2.1. The economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil)

The economic recession in Ireland and job opportunities in the origin region were cited as reasons to return to Brazil by 11 participants. For instance, 9 participants mentioned losing their jobs during the recession and going through financial hardships in Ireland. Emblematic of this is **Meire**, a 48-year-old returnee, who lived in Ireland with her family: “My husband and I decided to go back because of the economic crisis in Ireland, we both lost our jobs there, and also because my eldest son had finished high school in Gort, but he couldn’t go to college there because of our legal situation in the country, [...]” This was also the case for 33-year-old **Maria Júlia**, who decided to return after her husband lost his job and she fell pregnant: “There was also the issue of the economic crisis, my husband lost his job, he was not receiving a salary for 2 months, and all this led us to decide to return. So, pregnant and out of money, we find it easier to have the child in Brazil, on the side of my mother, my father.” Both cases demonstrate structural barriers to progress in Ireland – related to status as economic migrants without the rights of citizens (despite their role as tax-payers).

Another aspect related to the economic recession was that 4 participants were no longer able to support their families in Ireland. The quote below reveals how the recession affected the ability of migrants to support themselves and their families in Ireland. This was the case for 66-year-old **Antonella**, who returned to Brazil with her



extended family as they were no longer able to support themselves in Ireland: “I came back because my daughter decided to come back too, but the reason was that the country was in crisis, could not stay there, we were having financial difficulties to pay the bills, mainly rent and food for six people. However, I was very happy with the decision to return, [...]” Two other participants mentioned that they were no longer able to support themselves in Ireland, while 1 had no access to government support when unemployed and another was no longer able to send remittances and finally, the low monetary rates of the Euro. See, for instance, the testimony of 42-year-old **Vinicius**, who said that he could hardly work to pay the bills and eat during his final years in Ireland: “The first time I returned was because I missed the family [...]. The second time, it was because of a health problem with my foot, and because I had no job, it was during the economic crisis, I could hardly work to pay the bills and eat there, this happened to many there. [...]. The return was not planned, but I had no choice.”

Most of the participants were affected by more than one impact linked to economic recession. But surprisingly, none of the participants mentioned the improvement of the Brazilian economy as a reason to return home. Other studies, however, have found support for this. Schrooten et al. (2016:1201), for instance, examining trajectories of Brazilians in Belgium and the UK, found that return intentions were influenced by the improvement of social and economic conditions in Brazil, but also, by reaching and finalizing migration goals, to re-join family, and due to unemployment and not earning enough income.

Regarding gender, females (n=7) were more likely than males (n=4) to return due to the economic recession in Ireland. This was most visible among those not able to support the family in Ireland, whereas men only cited that they were no longer able to support themselves in Ireland, and no longer able to send money to Brazil. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 5 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 6 participants returned more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018.

In terms of the age of the participants, 4 were less than 35 years, 3 were aged 35 to 45, 2 were aged 46 to 55, while 2 were aged 56 to 70. Regarding marital status, 8 were married, while 3 were divorced. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, all 11 participants were undocumented. In terms of remittances patterns, all 9 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland, while 1 participant did send remittances very rarely, and another did send but very little. Moreover, this theme was most prominent among women, equally among first and recent returnees, the mature, the married, and the undocumented.

This finding is in line with the NE theory. NE assumes that international movement stems from international differentials in both earnings and employment rates, whose product determines expected earnings (Massey et al., 1993:435-436). In this case, a negative earnings differential may be necessary to halt migration between countries (Massey et al., 2005:20). This NE assumption may occur when expected earnings (the product of earnings and employment rates) have been equalised internationally (net of the costs of movement), and movement does not stop until this product has been equalised (Massey et al., 2005:20-21; Massey et al., 1993:435-436). However, this has not been the case between the Irish and Brazilian economies. Furthermore, this NE assumption is also likely to occur during economic recessions, during which migrant populations are those affected the most (Martin, 2009; Bastia, 2011). Empirical research has found that many lose their jobs,<sup>88</sup> are unable to support themselves and their families abroad and are unable to send remittances home. These consequences increase the migration costs to the point that staying abroad is impossible for many. In contrast, NELM argues that international movement does not necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries (Massey

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<sup>88</sup> The 2016 Census revealed that the unemployment rate for non-Irish nationals were nearly 3 per cent higher than the Irish (12.5%) and stood at 15.4 %.

et al., 1993). Incentives for migration may continue to exist if other markets within sending countries are absent, imperfect, or in disequilibria (Massey et al., 2005:27-28). That might explain why so many Brazilian families decided to settle in Ireland despite the economic downturn of 2008.

NELM assumes that government policies and economic changes that shape income distributions (at origin regions) will change the relative deprivation of some households and thus alter their incentives to migrate (Massey et al., 1993; Massey et al., 2005). In this regard, the findings mentioned above are not surprising, considering that the stabilization of the Brazilian economy paved the way for the significant growth of the economy throughout the 2000s, under the Labour Government (2002 to 2014); a period sometimes referred to as the Brazilian “new economic miracle” (Amann & Baer, 2012). The betterment of the economy during this period encouraged a significant number of Brazilian migrants to return to Brazil (IBGE, 2010), thus, supporting NELM insights. However, since 2014 the Brazilian economy has stagnated with unemployment rates rising and national income declining (Nagy and Ricz, 2018). This has once again fuelled further emigration flows in Brazil, as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ latest figures have made clear (MRE, 2015, 2016).

The findings also corroborate the findings of previous studies on Brazilians elsewhere. Fernandes & Castro (2013:112), for instance, found that 43.6% of their sample confirmed that they considered the economic crisis in Portugal as a reason for returning to Brazil. Pereira & Siqueira (2013) found similar findings among their samples from the EEA and Europe (Portugal, the UK, the Netherlands, and Norway). Among the former, they found that the effect of the crisis was felt especially in the construction and domestic services sectors, which led to a reduction of jobs and salaries earned in the USA (ibid.: 125-126). For the latter, they argued that “as in the United States, the economic crisis in Europe has largely contributed to the failure of the economic project, but other factors also influence the material success of migration” (ibid.: 131). Similar

findings have been found among other Brazilian returnee migrant groups from England (Ornellas & Coutinho, 2017:78), Japan (Baba & Sanchez, 2012), and Portugal and Spain (Fernandes et al., 2015:129).

Similar findings have been found among other immigrant groups. Medina & Menjivar, 2015:2128, for instance, examining the return migration determinants among Mexicans from the USA found evidence of the high cost of living and unemployment. Although the recession has indeed affected immigrant groups throughout the world, some groups express the wish to remain in the receiving countries. Similarly, a study examining return migration intentions among Brazilians in Portugal and Spain found that “despite the economic crisis and the usually precarious entry into the labour market, only a minority of Brazilian immigrants... expressed the wish to return to Brazil” (ICMPD, 2013:21). Among those who wished to return were those with children back home, or those who envision better income opportunities in Brazil, and those who find obstacles to their regularization (ibid.).

Further studies have examined the effect of the economic recession among other groups in Ireland. Humphries et al., (2012:48), for instance, examined plans among nurse migrants in Ireland. The study revealed that less than one-fifth of respondents were intent on remaining in Ireland whilst many were quite uncertain about their future long-term plans, which appear to be compounded by the downturn (ibid.: 48). They concluded that this “‘intentional unpredictability’ (Eade et al., 2006) makes it quite difficult to forecast how they will respond to changing economic circumstances” (ibid.: 48). Zaiceva & Zimmermann (2016), on the other hand, examined the return migration of EU enlargement migrants in both Ireland and England. They argue that although the recent economic crisis and deterioration of the economic situation suggest a possible slowdown in migration flows from the new EU members and an increase in return migration, one must also consider that the crisis has affected both receiving and sending countries. They point out that if the conditions at home are persistently worse than those in the

destination, return migration may be delayed (ibid.: 12). This appears to be the case for many of the participants in this study, who decided to settle in Ireland or delay their return to Brazil, despite going through some hardships during the recent economic crisis in the country. Further examination of the data reveals that 33 participants (73.3%), the great majority, expressed that they want to settle in Ireland. However, 5 of those indicated that they want to move to other EU countries in the future. A further level of analysis to determine the reasons for not wanting to return showed that violence in Brazil was the most significant factor, followed by politics, the high cost of living, the poor quality of life, the corruption of the politicians, high taxes, the impossibility to improve life despite working hard, life being too difficult for those earning minimum wages and finally, the climate. Most of the reasons given to remain in Ireland were related to the economic situation in Brazil. These findings shed light on the fact that despite the effects of the economic crisis in receiving countries, some immigrant groups still find it better than the situation back home. Despite the impact on migrants' lives in Ireland, Fanning (2016: 9) argues that there has been no evidence that the recession of 2008 had caused a political backlash, even though evidence suggests that opposition to immigration has increased in Ireland. Nor did the continuation of emigration of Irish national's triggered political hostility to migrants (Fanning, 2016: 9). The next section moves on to discuss another economic determinant of return migration identified in the study, namely, the accomplishment of migration goals and retirement.

#### **6.2.2.2. The accomplishment of migration goals, and return for retirement**

The accomplishment of migration goals was the reason to return for 10 participants. Among the many reasons mentioned, 4 participants said that they returned because they achieved their migration goals, all of which were males. The example of participant **Antônio**, a 62-year-old man exemplifies this. He returned after achieving his migration goal of renovating the family house: "It was discussed with my wife, yes, we made a pact

that the day the house was ready I would come back, and that is exactly what happened, the day the house was ready I came back [...].”

A further 4 participants decided to set up a business in the origin region while on holiday in Brazil. Another 4 participants said that they felt they had amassed enough money (or assets) to live in Brazil. However, in both cases, the returns to Anápolis were somehow not planned. An example of this can be seen in the stories of **Eduardo**, a 51-year-old man who lived in Ireland with his wife: “What happened was this, during our vacation, we decided to open a snack bar, [...]. That’s the reason we did not come back to Ireland. There was a health issue too, my wife got sick in Brazil, which made us stay too. [...].” And for 40-year-old **Emanuel**, who lived in Ireland with his wife and two daughters: “It was not planned, my wife came on vacation and decided to stay in Brazil. We concluded that the money we had made in Ireland was enough to start a new life in Brazil. There was also the question of me being very stressed with my work at that time in Ireland [...].” Meanwhile, one participant returned to Anápolis for retirement and the need to apply for a pension after her partner’s sudden death.

Male (n=6) participants were more likely than females (n=4) to mention the accomplishment of migration goals and retirement. For instance, all those who cited achieving their migration goals as a reason to return were male, whereas, returning for retirement was mentioned by females only. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, 3 participants returned between the years of 1999 and 2009, while 7 participants returned more recently between the years of 2010 and 2018. In terms of the age of the participants, 2 were aged 35 to 45, 5 were aged 46 to 55, while 3 were aged 56 to 70. Regarding marital status, 7 were married, 2 were divorced, while 1 was single. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, 6 participants were undocumented, 2 held a work permit, while 1 held a residency Stamp 3 and another held a residency Stamp 4. In terms of remittances patterns, all 10 participants said that they

did send remittances while living in Ireland. Moreover, this theme was most prominent among men, the recent returnees, the mature, the married, and the undocumented.

This finding is in line with the NELM theory. Achievement of migration goals is the main return migration assumption under NELM theory (Cassarino, 2004:269). As previously observed, NELM assumes that migrants seek to migrate temporarily, either to remit earnings or accumulate savings in anticipation of an eventual return (Constant and Massey, 2002:10). Thus, it views return migration as the logical outcome of a calculated strategy, which results from the achievement of migration goals abroad (Cassarino, 2004:255). Rather than being a mistake, return represents the final stage of a pre-established plan (Constant and Massey, 2002). In contrast, the migrants envisaged by NE are those who move permanently abroad, to achieve lifetime earnings. Thus, under NE, migrants are expected to invest their earnings in host regions only. The two theoretical models carry opposite predictions concerning the achievement of migration goals and investment of migration earnings.

Together, these findings show that economic success may play a role in the actual and return intentions of those migrants considered “target earners” - thus supporting NELM return migration assumptions. On the other hand, economic success may inhibit or prevent the return of those with secured employment and income – thus supporting NE assumptions. This model assumes that only those who failed to integrate or find a place in the host society returns (de Haas et al., 2015). Why would someone with a stable situation abroad, return to underdeveloped regions where usually unemployment and income uncertainties prevail?

Return for retirement is not supported by NELM assumptions, however. This model predicts that people migrate temporarily and that they will return once the migration goals are accomplished (de Haas et al., 2015). However, NELM does not predict how long migrants will stay abroad. On the other hand, the return for retirement can be partly supported by NE insights. Under this model, people migrate permanently

for life-long earnings and utility. Once these aims are accomplished, for example, citizenship, savings, and a pension, the model predicts that some migrants might consider returning to their origin regions, joining their families, and enjoying better socio-economic conditions (de Bree et al., 2010:499).

Previous empirical studies have found evidence of the accomplishment of migration goals of Brazilian communities in Europe and elsewhere and among other immigrant groups. Fernandes et al., (2015:134), for instance, examining the return migration intentions of Brazilians in both Portugal and Spain, found that 53.8% of their sample think of returning. Of these, 22% stated that they would return after acquiring Portuguese citizenship, whilst 15% stated that they would return after achieving their migration goals.<sup>89</sup> Another report assessing patterns and assisted voluntary<sup>90</sup> return among Brazilians in Ireland (Portugal and Belgium), found that among the possible reasons for return include issues linked to finalizing the migratory process and reaching the goals and the improvement of social and economic conditions in Brazil (IOM, 2009a:67). Evidence of the role of accomplishment of migration goals on return has been also found among Brazilians in Belgium and the UK (Schrooten et al., 2016:1206) and Japan (McKenzie & Salcedo, 2014).

Similar to this study's findings, other studies have revealed contradictory findings regarding the link between economic success and return migration. Carling & Petterson (2014:21), for instance, drawing on survey data among immigrants in Norway found that economic resources had no clear effect on return intentions. They argue that the relationship between economic resources and return migration intentions is ambiguous

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<sup>89</sup> They also found evidence of the role of economics on their decisions, as some stated that they would return in the case they lose their jobs and after withdrawing their social security benefits (Fernandes et al., 2015). More interestingly, they also argued that it seems that a 'culture of return' has arisen among Brazilians living in Portugal. However, some postpone their return (1) due to fear of violence in Brazil, (2) while others are influenced by the return of former Brazilian migrants who previously lived in Portugal (Fernandes et al., 2015:134-135).

<sup>90</sup> For further information on assisted return programmes in Ireland see Quinn (2009).



for two main reasons. On the one hand, economic success could inspire or be a prerequisite for return, especially among those who are “target savers.” On the other hand, it could also inhibit return intentions, especially among those with secure employment and income, who may have more to lose by returning (ibid.: 21). That was not the case with the Brazilians who cited the accomplishment of migration goals. On the contrary, 5 out of 9 were undocumented whilst living in Ireland. Also, the majority worked on casual low-skilled jobs in the farming, construction, commerce (restaurant, cafes, supermarkets), and domestic sector. Other studies, however, have found mixed results. Razum et al., (2005:734) study among Turkish migrants in Germany, for instance, found contradictory results regarding the role of economic success on their decision to return to Turkey. Whilst some respondents claimed to have returned because they could not achieve their expected economic success, others claimed to have returned because they had achieved their migration goals (ibid.; see also Massey & Constant, 2001). Another qualitative study examining the determinant of the return migration of Ghanaians from the UK, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany, and the USA found that two major factors influenced their return: the accomplishment of the purpose of migration; and the expiration of residence permits.

Previous research on return migration has shown that those returning home after retirement make up a significant component of total elderly migration streams, but not of the aggregate migration stream for the population at large (Serow & Charity, 1988; Rogers, 1990; Klinthall, 2006; Ramji, 2006; De Bree *et al.*, 2010; de Haas & Fokkema, 2010). This is exactly the scenario among the Brazilians in this research who returned from Ireland. Of the 40 participants, only one returned for retirement and the need to apply for a pension after her partner’s sudden death. This characteristic must be related to the fact that Brazilian migratory flow to Gort started very recently, in 1999. Further research will be needed to explore if those who have settled permanently in Ireland would return to Brazil after their retirement in Ireland.

Although only one participant returned for retirement, previous studies have found support for this assumption. In his study dealing with return migration among immigrants in Sweden who are between 51 and 80 years old, Klinthall (2006:154) found that when reaching the age of 65, the legal retirement age in Sweden, the probability of return migration increases, in particular for men. It also found that the probability of return migration declines beyond the age of 65, indicating a conscious plan to return to the home country when the labour market career is over (ibid.: 154). Similarly, de Haas & Fokkema (2010: 551)'s study among Moroccan returnees, found that after their working life ended, there was no reason for those who did not reunify their family to stay in Europe. The study also found that participants had longed to return to Morocco and expressed happiness at being home to enjoy their retirement and reunite with their family (ibid.: 551). In another study of Moroccan returnees, De Bree et al. (2010: 499) found that retired men always intended to return to Morocco after fulfilling their "labour duty" and/or obtaining their pensions in the Netherlands. They prepared for their return by maintaining intensive transnational practices throughout their stay abroad, such as constructing houses and maintaining social relations (ibid.: 499). That was also the case for this study's participant, 50 - 60-year-old Mariana, who during her 12 years in Ireland maintained social relations and built her house in Anápolis. However, unlike the example mentioned above in which the participants retired in Europe, Dona **Mariana** retired in Brazil. Even though she lived and worked in Ireland for 12 years, however, much of that time she was undocumented, and because of this, she probably would not be entitled to retirement if she had stayed in the country. Also, it was not possible to verify that she and all the other returnees received back all the taxes paid while living and working in Ireland.

The issue of retirement benefit is a problem that will affect many members of the Brazilian community of Gort in the future. Based on the current situation, we can assume that even though many have lived and worked in the country for many years, they will

not be entitled to retirement. This is regrettable considering that of those 45 interviewed in Gort, 25 pay taxes, whilst 20 do not pay taxes (see further discussion in Chapter 4). It is interesting to note the positive contribution of the majority of people engaged in employment and contributing to the tax system. Of those paying taxes, 14 were undocumented, whilst 11 were legal in Ireland. The reason why undocumented participants pay taxes is that they were able to register for the PPS number before they lost their legal residence in the country. These experiences also speak to the wider issue experienced by Brazilians in Gort who move for one reason but chose to stay for another and the legal challenges entailed in this. Together, these results provide important insights into another facet of the migration cycle, namely, the accomplishment of migration goals and return for retirement. The next section, therefore, goes on to discuss the final economic determinant of return migration identified in the study, namely, education.

#### **6.2.2.3. Difficulties in accessing third-level education in Ireland**

Difficulty in accessing third-level education in Ireland was one of the main reasons which led the couple **Meire** and **Cauã** to return to Anápolis. The main reason was that they were not able to send their two sons to university in Ireland after they had finished school due to their irregular status in the country and the high cost of non-EU tuition fees in Irish universities. After their return, both of their sons went on to attend college, and today the eldest is undertaking a master's degree in England. **Meire** and **Cauã**'s case demonstrate yet another type of structural barrier faced by Brazilians in Gort. It appears that many others will face the same uncertainty and stress in the years to come regarding access to third-level education, considering that the majority of these Brazilian families in Gort are in an irregular situation. Indeed, a previous study noted that approximately 40% of children in the main primary school and 10% of children at the secondary school in Gort are Brazilian (Sheringham, 2009). It noted that this has undoubtedly had a major impact

on the educational environments, however, on the whole, the new pupils have been welcomed (*ibid.*).

Regarding gender, of the 2 participants who mentioned education as a reason to return, 1 was male and 1 was female. Regarding the time of return to Anápolis, both participants returned between the years 1999 and 2009. In terms of age, both participants were aged 46-55 years. Regarding marital status, both participants were married. Regarding their immigration status at the time of return, all 2 participants were undocumented. In terms of remittances patterns, all 2 participants said that they did send remittances while living in Ireland. Moreover, this theme was prominent among both men and women, the recent returnees, the mature, the married, and the undocumented.

A further level of analysis revealed that although education was a factor underpinning the return of some families, education was also a key factor contributing to the decision of many Brazilians to stay longer. It found that access to a good education system was another reason for people wanting to settle, mentioned by 6 participants. Another 2 participants wanted to settle because they want to undertake third-level education in Ireland. This finding has also been noted among Sheringham's (2009:100) participants. This finding is unsurprising considering that public education in Brazil is underfunded and considered low quality (Ferreira, 2013), whilst an education in Ireland is one of the best in the world. Although valuing the educational system in Ireland, these parents were more concerned with their children's primary and secondary education (these levels are easier to access and lower cost)<sup>91</sup> than with higher education. Third level appears to be a key site of educational inequality in Ireland since it is much more expensive and excluding, especially for non-EEA families.

The findings of this study among Brazilians in Gort exemplify one of the main problems affecting "undocumented families" in Ireland (MRCI, 2013; ICI, 2016; 2020;

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<sup>91</sup> In addition, participation in full-time education is compulsory until the age of 16 (Faas et al., 2015).

PICUM, 2018). That is, the inability of these families to send their children to third-level education, despite being in Ireland for many years. Like this study case, these young people could be described as the “1.5 generation”: they are the children of the first generation of migrants who have made Ireland home (MRCI, 2013). This is a generation of young people that are born outside of Ireland but have grown up here. Moreover, many have spent longer in Ireland than the home country in which they were born; however, because they were not born in Ireland they do not enjoy the same rights as their Irish classmates and their Irish-born siblings (MRCI, 2013).

According to research undertaken by Katie Mannion (2016) and published by the Immigrant Council of Ireland (ICI), children remain largely invisible in Ireland’s immigration system and policy (see also MRCI, 2013).<sup>92</sup> Considered silent dependents of their parents until the age of 16, children’s rights are often neglected, as they are not granted independent residence permissions or stamps, and cannot access any confirmation that they have permission to reside in Ireland (Mannion, 2016:122; PICUM, 2018:38-39). Their right to reside derives from the residence status of their parents and they may still be deemed “undocumented” and subject to deportation with the parents (PICUM, 2018:38-39).

An Irish Times article (which drew on an MRCI report) stated that undocumented children in Ireland spend an average of 5 years in the Irish school system, while nearly 10% have spent a decade in Irish education (Pollak, 2020). It highlighted that these young people find it difficult to move on to third-level education, primarily for financial

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<sup>92</sup> Mannion (2016:122) argues that “the absence of a child-rights approach has meant that the specific, individual rights and needs of children are not given adequate consideration in Irish immigration legislation or policy.” In fact, policies were not constructed to deal with the needs and realities of child dependents coming from outside the EU (which is the case of Brazilians) to join their parents (MRCI, 2013:2). As a result of this lack of clarity, “a patchwork of existing temporary immigration visas has been administered often in an ad hoc and inconsistent fashion” (MRCI, 2013:2).

reasons, but also because they do not want to declare their status (Pollak, 2020).<sup>93</sup> This is a serious problem, according to an MRCI spokesperson Mairéad McDevitt: “All these young people want to progress and study, they are valuable. This is not even about citizenship. This is recognising that children and young people are growing up here, but cannot study and work” (quoted in Pollak, 2020). Moreover, according to the Immigrant Council of Ireland, the failure to consider the individual rights and needs of children in Ireland’s immigration system is having a devastating impact (ICI, 2020). For the ICI, these children face unacceptable and unnecessary challenges, are left in limbo because their immigration status is unclear and are likely to face a series of barriers if they “age out” before their situation is sorted (ICI, 2020).

For children and young people whose parents are in an irregular situation in Ireland, however, there are no clear, formal pathways to regularization (PICUM, 2018). Usually, for those individuals that cannot apply under a specific immigration scheme, they can make a written application to the Minister of Justice based on their circumstances (PICUM, 2018:39). However, if the application is unsuccessful, a deportation order will be likely to be issued against the applicant (PICUM, 2018). This might explain why so many undocumented people throughout Ireland (including Brazilian families in Gort) are reluctant to apply for regularization as that might provoke their deportation from the state.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

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<sup>93</sup> Moreover, there are three key barriers that impact on these young people progressing to third level in Ireland: (1) If children of non-EU migrants have not secured citizenship by the time they start third level they will either be categorized under “EU” or “non-EU” fees, resulting in excessively high tuition fees; (2) they will not be deemed eligible for any financial assistance at third level in the form of access to the “free fees scheme” or higher education grants<sup>93</sup>; (3) most will be unable to reverse their fee status upon obtaining citizenship during their third level education and will be forced to continue to pay excessively high fees (MRCI, 2013).

This chapter discussed the determinants of the return migration of Brazilian returning migrants from Gort to their originating community of Anápolis. The empirical data showed that the return was underpinned by a variety of factors related to both the host and origin region. The most important determinants were related to (1) care needs – both giving and receiving, (2) family and relationships, (3) fear and loss, (4) sense of place, attachment, and identity, (5) legal constraints, and (6) unpleasant climate; whereas the economic determinants were related to (7) the economic recession (Ireland) and job opportunities (Brazil), (8) the accomplishment of migration goals and return for retirement, and (9) difficulties in accessing third-level education in Ireland. It concluded that although the findings of this study broadly support previous empirical literature, they were only partially consistent with the migration theories informing the study, thus showing that return migration determinants may be more diverse and complex than previously thought and that competing theories might therefore be partly complementary (see Constant and Massey, 2002; de Haas et al., 2015). Moreover, the findings suggest that new theorization is needed to grasp the full complexity of contemporary return migration patterns (see Cassarino, 2004; Dumont and Spielvogel, 2008).

The participants' accounts provide insights into the complex of these return migration determinants, but also on the return migration decision-making process. The data show that families were involved and consulted during the return migration decision-making process. However, in other cases, the return decision was made by individuals, or male participants, without consulting families or seeking family consent. These findings together demonstrate that return migration decisions in Gort were made typically by families and that family members were consulted and sought consent – thus supporting NELM insights (Stark, 1996: 26).

The participant's accounts also provide insights into the condition in which return migration decisions were taken. The data show that 14 (out of 40) participants decided to return from the beginning and that the return was anticipated - thus partially supporting

NELM insights – although in these cases the migration goals might not have been achieved, as assumed by NELM. Another group of 10 participants said that the decision to return emerged over time; while another participant said that initially, the plan was to stay in Ireland, however, they returned to Brazil suddenly – thus supporting NE insights. A further 3 participants said that the decision to return was taken from the beginning; however, the return was delayed, again, supporting NELM insights. NELM assumes that people delay their returns to achieve their migration goals, which might have been the case for those participants. A further 3 participants said that the decision to return was neither planned nor sudden, rather a decision was taken because of the recession in Ireland; whilst two others said that the decision to return was neither planned nor sudden, rather a decision taken because of a health issue. Both cases support NE insights as these decisions were not planned, but rather a consequence of the recession in Ireland and a health issue. Finally, one participant said that the decision was taken from the beginning, however, he only returned when the migration goals were achieved, again, supporting NELM insights. This chapter discussed the determinants of return migration of Brazilian return migrants from Gort to Anápolis, the next chapter gives an overview of the main conclusions of the study in light of the theoretical framework – which has brought together the literature of five migration theoretical frameworks - the neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network theory, and the transnational and translocal theories – to discuss the theoretical contributions of the study beyond its empirical value. It then concludes by identifying possible directions for future research and the main limitations of the study.



## Chapter 7 - CONCLUSION

### 7.1. Catching up

This final chapter gives an overview of the main findings of the study in the light of the theoretical framework – which has brought together the literature of five migration theoretical frameworks - neoclassical economics (NE), the new economics of labour migration (NELM), network, transnational and translocal theories – to discuss the theoretical contributions of the study beyond its empirical value. It then concludes by identifying possible directions for future research and the main limitations of the study.

The thesis approached the initiation of migration through the lens of NE, NELM, network, transnational and translocal theories. NE views international migration as a simple sum of individual cost-benefit decisions undertaken to maximise expected income<sup>94</sup> and lifetime earnings through migration (Massey, 2015; Massey et al., 1994). Individuals assess the money they can expect to earn locally and compare it to what they anticipate earning at various locations (Massey, 2015). Thus, migration becomes a personal investment that will be made only if returns for this behaviour are justified (de Jong and Fawcett, 1981). The model also assumes that migration “occurs until expected earnings (the product of earnings and employment rates) have been equalized internationally (net of the costs of movement), and movement does not stop until this product has been equalized” (Massey et al., 2005:20-21). NELM, by contrast, interprets migration as a livelihood strategy employed by households and families (instead of individuals) to spread income risks and to overcome sending country markets constraints (de Haas et al., 2015; Arango, 2018). Unlike NE, NELM does not posit complete and well-functioning markets (Massey et al., 1994). Indeed, it recognises that in many settings, particularly in the developing world, markets (for capital, credit, and insurance)

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<sup>94</sup> Expected income is defined “as the probability of employment (one minus the employment rate) times the mean income in whatever economic sector a rational actor contemplates working” (Massey et al., 1994: 701).

may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible (de Haas, 2010b). The central NELM idea is that households send one or more workers to foreign labour markets to self-insure against risks to income, production, and property, or to gain access to scarce investment capital (de Haas et al., 2015; Massey et al., 1994). This co-insurance model is a radical departure from NE which conceptualises migration as income or utility-maximising behaviour by individuals (de Haas et al., 2015). The money they remit serves to spread income risks, increase income, improve living conditions, and enable investments in the origin region (de Haas et al., 2015). Network theory, on the other hand, holds that the existence of social networks of information and assistance significantly increases the likelihood of continued international migration between places of origin and destination (Morawska, 2007). Arango (2000: 291) defines migration networks “as a set of interpersonal ties that connects migrants with relatives, friends or fellow countrymen at home” and destination areas. Migrant networks convey information, provide financial assistance, facilitate employment and accommodation, and give support in various forms (Arango, 2000). The existence of these ties is hypothesised to increase the likelihood of emigration by lowering the costs, raising the benefits, and mitigating the risks of international movement (Massey et al., 1994; Massey et al., 1993). Network connections constitute a valuable form of social capital<sup>95</sup> that people draw upon to gain access to foreign employment and high wages (Boyd, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992; Massey et al., 1993: 448). Once the number of networks connections in an origin region reaches a critical threshold, migration becomes self-perpetuating because each act of migration itself creates the social structure needed to sustain it (Massey et al., 1993). Transnationalism is an emerging approach in migration theory that describes how

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<sup>95</sup> According to Coleman (1988: S98) “Social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure.”

contemporary migrants live in transnational communities<sup>96</sup> (Vertovec, 2001). Transnationalism is defined as “the process by which immigrants build social fields that link their country of origin and their country of settlement” (Glick Schiller et al., 1992a: 1). The theorizing of transnationalism is analytically different from classical migration theories (Levitt and Nyberg-Sørensen, 2004: 3). Studies of transnationalism, for example, start with the understanding that migrants must be studied within transnational social fields that may or may not overlap with national borders (Ho, 2008). Furthermore, research on transnationalism has also shown that newer, cheaper, and more efficient models of communication and transport have enabled migrants to transnationally maintain their original home-based relationships and interests (Vertovec, 2001). Moreover, according to Guarnizo (1997: 288) “Transnational migration (transmigration) includes, but cannot be limited to or equated with, a constant spatial mobility of people between nations.” Like transnationalism, translocality is also another emerging approach in migration theory. Brickell and Datta (2011a) understand translocality as “groundedness” during movement, including those everyday movements that are not necessarily transnational. They call these translocal geographies because they feel that these spaces and places need to be examined both through their situatedness and their connectedness to a variety of other locales (Brickell and Datta, 2011a). Translocality scholars conceptualise mobility and emplacement as simultaneous processes (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017; Brickell and Datta, 2011a; 2011b). Central to the notion of translocality is a holistic perspective on mobilities, movements, and flows, and how these dynamics produce connectedness between different scales (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013).

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<sup>96</sup> Such types of migrant community, according to Portes (1997: 812) comprise “dense networks across political borders created by immigrants in their quest for economic advancement and social recognition. Through these networks, an increasing number of people are able to live dual lives.”

Return migration was also approached through the combination of NE, NELM, network theory, and the transnational and translocal models. Because of the implicit assumption that migrants have access to complete information about overseas opportunities before migration, NE theory has difficulty explaining return migration (de Haas et al., 2015). In this sense, from a NE point of view, “the return occurs as a consequence of their failed experiences abroad or because their human capital was not rewarded as expected” (Cassarino, 2004: 255). In other words, migrants did not successfully maximise their expected earnings. Overall, NE views migrants as individuals who maximise not only their earnings but also the duration of their stay abroad to achieve permanent resettlement and family reunification (Cassarino, 2004). In contrast to the permanent migration hypothesised by NE, the NELM model predicts circular movement and the repatriation of earnings in the form of remittances (Massey, 2015). Rather than moving abroad permanently, people move temporarily to diversify family income and accumulate money, and then return home with the means to solve specific domestic economic problems that originally prompted them to move (Massey, 2015). However, as the main reason for migration is the improvement of the situation at the origin, migrants will only return after they have managed to accumulate, save and remit sufficient financial and human capital to carry out their investment plans (de Haas et al., 2015). This turns the NE assumptions of return migration upside down, i.e. from an indication or result of integration failure to a measure of success (according to NELM) (de Haas et al., 2015). Rather than being a mistake, return migration represents the final stage of a pre-established plan (Constant and Massey, 2002).

According to network theory, migrants are more likely to return to their home regions if they maintain ties with their former settlement location (Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Network theory also stipulates that return migration is more likely to occur in the early stages of migration, when host country networks are not yet well developed (Massey et al., 1990; Gashi and Adnett, 2015). Both network theory (and the

transnational approach) see returnees as migrants who maintain strong ties to their former host societies (Cassarino, 2004; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). In network theory, the return is not the end of a trip abroad, but a piece of the puzzle that completes the picture of the entire migration experience (Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Transnationalism draws attention to return migration as a migration journey in its own right, rather than simply the reversal or the end of another (Hatfield, 2011). From this perspective, returnees prepare their reintegration at home through periodic and regular visits to their countries of origin (Cassarino, 2004). It also assumes that migrants maintain strong ties with their countries of origin and periodically send remittances to their families (Cassarino, 2004). Like network theory, return does not constitute the end of a migration cycle; in the view of transnationalism, the migration story continues (Cassarino, 2004). In fact, from this perspective, return migration is an integral part of a circular system of social and economic relations and exchanges that facilitate the reintegration of migrants while transmitting knowledge, information, and adherence (Cassarino, 2004: 7). The translocality approach has also been applied to return migration research (Hatfield, 2011). This perspective draws attention to the importance of place both during migration and return migration. The central idea of translocality is aptly synthesised by Brickell and Datta (2011a: 3) as “situatedness during mobility”. Indeed, Hatfield (2011) argues that the very notion of return migration speaks to the continuing importance of place in the migration experience. This is because, she argues, “specific locations are integral to the definition of ‘return’ because it occurs when migrants go back to a place of origin – somewhere they are from, or they or others perceive them as being from – in which they may, or may not, have lived before” (Hatfield, 2011: 55). After summarizing the theories underpinning the study - NE, NELM, network theory, transnationalism, and translocal theory – and their hypotheses for the initiation of migration and return migration, the next section goes on to discuss the original theoretical and empirical contributions of study.

## **7.2. The theoretical and empirical contributions**

Focusing on one national group (Brazilians), two specific migration typologies - the initiation of migration and return migration - and two settings - Gort, in Ireland, and in Anápolis, Brazil - made it possible to delve into the complexity of migration within an increasingly diverse global space, gaining an in-depth understanding of this phenomenon beyond the perspective of NE, NELM, network theory, and the transnational and translocal models. Moreover, the research design adopted in this study has enabled a multi-sited analysis linking the communities, the individuals, and the families. As a result, this methodological approach has appeared as an ideal vantage point for understanding both the determinants of migration and return migration, in this case, to investigate the state of and the change patterns of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort, 20 years after the first Brazilians arrived to work in a local meat processing plant in this town (Healy, 2006).

In Chapter 1 we saw that Massey et al. (2005) called for more relevant theoretical research on the determinants of international migration to Europe. Massey and his colleagues claim that “the scope of European studies provides a limited basis for judging the efficiency of theoretical explanations put forth for understanding the initiation and perpetuation of migration (Massey et al., 2005: 122). They concluded that “much of the European research literature is purely descriptive and to the extent that data are connected to theory, they tend to be used to illustrate rather than to test and question” (Massey et al., 2005:122). This shortage of studies informed by theory was also observed while reviewing the literature that examined the determinants of Brazilian migration to other European countries. This research, however, approached Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort both empirically and theoretically. The latter has allowed this research to make six theoretical contributions to the current literature on the determinants of migration.

Firstly, one significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on one of the main economic determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort, namely, labour market factors, is consistent with both NE and NELM approaches (de Haas, 2011). The reasoning behind migration, however, differs in the two models (Massey et al., 1994). NE, for instance, explains migration by geographic differences in labour supply and demand (de Haas, 2008; 2011). It assumes that spatial differences in the supply of capital and labour encourage potential migrants to migrate between regions (Massey et al., 2005). NELM, on the other hand, recognises that in less industrialised countries, labour, capital, credit and insurance markets may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible (de Haas, 2010b). This, in turn, creates barriers to people's economic advancement. Although the determinants of the labour market are recognised in both NE and NELM, the results of this study are more consistent with the latter, since the determinants of Brazilian migration to Gort identified are more related to the overcoming of constraints rather than the maximisation of income.

Secondly, a further significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on another economic determinant of Brazilian migration to Gort, namely, capital and credit markets factors, is particularly supportive of NELM (Massey et al., 1993). NELM theorists argue that whenever households lack access to credit and capital markets, they not only lose the ability to capitalise on new productive activities, but also the ability to finance large consumer purchases (Massey et al., 2005). For example, households may wish to increase the productivity of their assets, but to do so they may need to acquire capital (Massey et al., 2005). Therefore, according to NELM, the absence of capital and credit can create a strong motivation for migration, given the sudden need to buy a house, land and cars (Massey et al., 2005).

Thirdly, another significant contribution of this study is that the findings reported here shed new light on the significance of non-economic determinants (i.e. family, relationships, and sexuality; lifestyle; unsafe urban conditions, and failing political

system; religion and religious missions; and health and wellbeing) on engendering and sustaining migration flows. These findings fall partially outside the theoretical approaches underpinned in the study, except for family migration which is largely in line with NE. NE hypothesises that while migrants may have left their families at home, their aim is ultimately to make lifelong earnings through permanent resettlement abroad (Constant & Massey, 2002). Viewed through NELM, partner reunification makes little sense unless the partner is also willing to work in the destination region (Baizán et al., 2014).

Fourthly, the data evidence a significant change in the original migration-inducing structural conditions in both communities, as explored in Chapter 4. The data show that the determinants that initiated this migration flow (1) the closure of meat processing plants in Anápolis, and (2) the demand for labour in the meat processing sector in Gort, are no longer relevant to explain both the migration determinants of the later and recent arrivals and the mechanisms which sustained Brazilian migration to this town over time. Significantly, the data point to a shift from economic determinants to non-economic determinants – especially among the later and most recent arrivals. This is in line with network theory (Liu, 2013; Massey et al., 1993; Boyd, 1989). Network theory assumes that “[a]cts of migration at one point in time systematically alter the context within which future migration decisions are made” (Massey et al., 1993: 449).

Fifthly, although the participants did not mention migrant networks as a determinant per se, the data evidence the significance of migrant networks in facilitating and financing their migration to Gort, in the choice of the migration destination, and in giving support to the participants before and after migrating to Ireland. The data collected also show that the multidirectional and overlapping networks created by Brazilian migrants have facilitated the circulation of people, resources, practices, and ideas across the two communities. These network support patterns among Brazilians in Gort are largely in line with network, transnational and translocal theories. As previously noted in



Chapter 2, network theory asserts that migration is costly for the first migrants because they have no social ties to draw upon in destination regions (Massey, 1990). However, over time, each new migrant creates a set of people with social ties to the destination region (Massey, 1990)<sup>97</sup>, as the data in this study has shown. Similarly, transnationalism asserts that the multiplicity of migrants' involvement in both home and host societies is a central element in transnationalism (Schiller et al., 1992a). Indeed, some of the participants in this study can be defined as transmigrants as they “developed and maintained multiple relations – familial, economic, social, organisational, religious... that span borders” (Schiller et al., 1992b). Moreover, the lives of some participants were characterised by simultaneous engagement with the communities in both Gort and Anápolis. This is in line with transnational theory (de Haas, 2010b: 247).

Similarly, translocality draws attention to multiplying forms of mobility without losing sight of the importance of localities in people's lives (Brickell and Data, 2011a). Thus, extending transnationalism insights, translocality “addresses processes and practices producing local-to-local relations and thereby enunciates the simultaneity of mobility and situatedness in specific places” (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017: 112). Furthermore, according to Brickell and Datta (2011a: 6) “an approach to translocality means that we have to take seriously the material, embodied, and corporeal qualities of the local – the places where situatedness is experienced”. This research has emphasised the local contexts and the embeddedness of the participants in the communities. In order to achieve this, the study applied a multi-sited approach and drew on in-depth information of the economic, social, cultural, and political local contextual factors in both Anápolis and Gort. This in turn allowed the study to link these phenomena and changes to the Brazilian migrants' practices in both communities.

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<sup>97</sup> Once this process happens, migration is considered to have developed a momentum that allows it to function independently of originating forces and constraining policies (Gurak and Caces, 1992).

Sixthly, although the majority of those who made up the study sample were from Anápolis and Vila Fabril – the places where most of the first arrivals were from – the data reveal that the makeup of the overall Brazilian community of Gort has diversified overtime – from the initial labour migrants to a more diverse cohort of migrants. This exemplifies the deepening and embedding of links within the community of Gort, beyond the labour-oriented lens of meat processing factory opportunities. This is in line with network theory (Liu, 2013). Network theory assumes that migrant networks are also a mechanism by which migration flows change, leading to less positive or even negative self-selection of migrants (Liu, 2013). This theory also assumes that migration selectivity tends to decrease after the initial stages of pioneer migration, leading to a dispersal of migration across communities (de Haas, 2008). This has also been the case in the receiving region, as initially, Brazilian migration to the west of Ireland was mainly concentrated in Gort, however, this migration has expanded and diversified to other cities in the region, such as Galway, Roscommon and other small towns (CSO, 2016).

This study also makes several theoretical contributions to the current literature on return migration. Firstly, a significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on one of the main non-economic determinants of Brazilian return migration from Gort to Anápolis, namely, family and relationships, is particularly supportive of network theory and the transnational and translocal approaches. These approaches view returnees as migrants who maintain strong ties with families and their originating community. These approaches also assert that migrants are more likely to return to their originating regions if they maintain ties with their former place of settlement (Cassarino, 2004; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). The attachment of migrants to their families is also a valid return migration determinant according to the NELM model (Cassarino, 2004: 269). This is because NELM interprets migration as a livelihood strategy employed by families rather than individuals. The model assumes that the link between the chosen individual and his family will be maintained over time and space.

Secondly, a further significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on one of the main non-economic determinants of Brazilian return migration from Gort to Anápolis, namely, sense of place, attachment, and identity, is particularly supportive of both the transnational and NELM approaches. Guarnizo (1997:287), asserts that “the term transnationalism refers to the web of cultural, social, economic, and political relationships, practices, and *identities* built by migrants across national borders.” Likewise, NELM assumes that attachment to home and household (and achievement of migration goals) are the main motives underpinning return migration (Cassarino, 2004:269). Therefore, the model predicts that migrants maintain economic and social ties with their origin societies. By contrast, the NE model posits different interpretations regarding attachments of migrants to host and origin societies. Under NE, it makes little sense for successful migrants to maintain economic and social ties with origin societies, as this would raise the financial and psychological costs of staying abroad (de Haas et al., 2015). Conversely, economic and social ties at the destinations will decrease the costs of staying and increase the cost of returning (de Haas et al., 2015).

Thirdly, another significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on one of the main economic determinants of Brazilian return migration from Gort to Anápolis, namely, the economic recession in Ireland, is in line with the NE theory. NE assumes a negative earnings differential may be necessary to halt migration between countries (Massey et al., 2005:20). This NE assumption is likely to occur during economic recessions, during which migrant populations are those affected the most (Martin, 2009; Bastia, 2011). This NE assumption may also occur when expected earnings have been equalised or eliminated internationally (Massey et al., 2005). However, this has not been the case between the Irish and Brazilian economies. In contrast, NELM argues that international movement does not necessarily stop when wage differentials have been eliminated across national boundaries (Massey et al., 1993). Incentives for migration

may continue to exist if other markets within sending countries are absent, imperfect, or in disequilibria (Massey et al., 2005:27-28).

Fourthly, another significant contribution of this study is that the evidence on one of the main economic determinants of Brazilian return migration from Gort to Anápolis, namely, the accomplishment of migration goals (and return for retirement) is in line with the NELM theory. Achievement of migration goals is the main return migration assumption under NELM theory (Cassarino, 2004). NELM views return migration as the logical outcome of a calculated strategy, which resulted from the achievement of migration goals abroad (Cassarino, 2004). Return for retirement, on the other hand, can be partly supported by NE insights. Under this model, people migrate permanently for long-life earnings and utility. Once these aims are accomplished, for example, citizenship, savings, and a pension, the model predicts that some migrants might consider returning to their origin regions, joining their families, and enjoying better socio-economic conditions (de Bree et al., 2010:499; de Haas et al., 2015).

Fifthly, the data also reveal that most participants who returned to Anápolis were long term migrants. Moreover, the average length of stay of the sample would fall into the category of long-term migration. This finding is in line with the NELM theory. This theory argues that a motivation behind migration may be relative deprivation (Massey et al., 1993). According to NELM theorists, "households send workers abroad not only to improve income in absolute terms, but also to increase income relative to other households, and hence, to reduce their relative deprivation compared with some reference group"<sup>98</sup> (Massey et al., 1993: 438-439). From this theoretical point of view, it can be expected that the longer the stay abroad, the longer the period of income gain, contributing to narrowing this gap (Gashi and Adnetti, 2015). On the other hand,

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<sup>98</sup> A household's feeling of relative deprivation depends on the incomes it is deprived of in the reference group's income distribution (Massey et al., 1993: 439).

according to network theory, return migration is more likely to occur in the early stages of migration, when networks are not yet well developed (Massey et al., 1990).

Sixthly, the data also show that Brazilian returnees retained strong links with their families and the local community in Brazil and that they periodically send remittances to their households while living in Ireland, confirming one of the propositions of NELM, the transnational and translocal approaches. Furthermore, unlike advocates of the NELM approach, the return to Anápolis did not constitute the end of their migration cycle. Indeed, the collected data show that some participants maintained ties with other (relatives, friends, and acquaintances) in Gort, while other participants would consider re-migrate to Ireland again in the future. This finding is in line with both network theory and the transnational approach (Cassarino, 2004; Paparusso and Ambrosetti, 2017). Finally, the data also demonstrate that social relationships maintained in Anápolis (with family and friends) were essential for building up financial assets and paving the way for the return of some participants. These findings are in line with both network theory and the transnational approach. Both approaches view returnees as being the bearers of tangible and intangible resources (Cassarino, 2004). However, being away in Ireland also led some participants to lose social network connections in Anápolis and thus making the reintegration process more complicated. For instance, 3 participants mentioned that they faced friendship and networks problems. Among the problems faced, they mentioned the loss of friendships while in Ireland, the loss of contact with many people, and the loss of old business clients.

The results of this study show that decisions to migrate and return are based on a variety of interrelated reasons that are not only economic in nature, but involve a number of other intricate non-economic determinants - linked to kinship and networks that generate and sustain these migration processes. Although the empirical findings of this study on both the determinants of migration (Chapter 5) and return migration (Chapter 6) were largely in line with previous empirical literature, these findings were

only partially in line with the migration approaches underpinning the study (Chapter 2). Moreover, the migration theoretical models underpinned in this study cannot account for the diversity of reasons in the case of migration and return migration. In fact, the findings of this study push the understanding of migration and return migration beyond the NE, NELM, network theory, and the transnational and translocal theories and point to the richer relational understandings of migration decision-making, where people are embedded in transnational relationships of care and connection. Moreover, the findings of this study challenge these accounts and point to their shortcomings and why it is necessary to think about migration in a more holistic sense, exploring not only economic factors but full human lives, embedded in relationships of care and connection. The findings also show a kind of social/cultural migration that happens in parallel with labour migration processes. Furthermore, the findings also suggest migrants are heterogeneous concerning their migration motivations, thus, demonstrating the need for closer attention to other types of migrations (de Haas, 2011:14) beyond labour migration.

While defining the theoretical framework a priori can be useful for design and data collection, this can, in turn, limit a more complete understanding of other types of migrations and determinants which fall outside of these models. This is especially true among the labour-based migration theories, which tend to focus on income, wage levels, and income inequalities; thus resulting in a research focus on labour migration and near-total separation of other types of migrations (de Haas, 2011:14). Despite the theoretical fragmentation within the field and the shortening of current migration theories, it does not seem very useful to develop a grand theory of migration, according to Portes, (1997:810) “as this kind of endeavour would be futile”. For Portes, “the reason is that the different areas that compose this field are so disparate that they can only be unified at a highly abstract and probably vacuous level.” Regarding the claim to integrating microstructural and macrostructural theories, he claims that two levels are not mutually interchangeable (Portes, 1997:810). Similarly, Castles argues that a general theory of

migration is neither possible nor desirable. He suggests, however, that significant progress can be made “by re-embedding migration research in a more general understanding of contemporary society, and linking it to broader theories of social change across a range of social scientific disciplines” (Castles, 2010:1565; see Van Hear, 2010:1532). de Haas (2011), on the other hand, argues that the main challenge for advancing migration theory is how to synthesise the different migration theories developed in a range of social science disciplines – ranging from economics to anthropology (see Brettell and Hollifield, 2014). He continues, “although it is indeed naïve to assume that a one-size-fits-all theory explaining migration at all places and at all times will ever arise, there is undoubtedly more for theorizing on migration processes and how they reciprocally connect to broader processes of social and economic change” (de Haas, 2011: 15), the point of view defended by Castles (2010: 1565) above.

Geography researchers have also contributed to this debate (King, 2012; Smith and King, 2012). Russel King, for example, one of the most influential geographers in migration research, argues that “Geographers, with their broad-ranging subject matter, epistemological pluralism, and varied research methods, are ideally placed to carry out migration research and advance migration theory” (King, 2012: 134). Within geography in particular, he points to the recent shift in geographic study of migration from population geography to cultural geography through the 'cultural turn' (Ibid). In a special issue: *Remaking migration theory: transitions, intersections and cross-fertilization*, Smith and King (2012), for example, pointed out that the intersectionality of migration processes should never be studied in isolation from various social, economic and political phenomena in which they are inserted. They also drew attention to the growing diversity of migration, which poses a challenge to ongoing attempts at new theorization. Within geography, in particular, they predicted that “it is highly probable that the need for the development of new migration theories will be intensified, as more geographically specific forms of migration unfold because of different processes of urban socio-

economic change” (Smith and King, 2012: 130, see Kabisch and Haase, 2011). This will require, they argued, “the synthesis of rigorous empirical studies of the changing processes and patterns of migration, together with new inputs from social theories<sup>99</sup>, in part framed by broader theories of space and place<sup>100</sup>” (Smith and King, 2012: 130; see Smith, 2012). Finally, they insist that establishing robust theoretical frameworks and migration theories that effectively capture the growing diversity of migration should be a major concern for migration scholars (Smith and King, 2012: 127), across social science disciplines (see Brettell and Hollifield, 2014).

Besides the theoretical contribution, this research provides a valuable empirical contribution. In the introduction, it was noted that despite the almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort and a handful of relevant academic studies carried out over the years (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher, 2010; McGrath & Murray, 2011; Maher, 2011; Mckeown, 2015; Maher & Cawley, 2016), significant gaps still exist in the literature. Firstly, there exists a lack of in-depth research into why and how Brazilians originally migrated to this part of Ireland. Secondly, the determinants of this specific form of labour migration have not been investigated in the literature, neither in Ireland nor elsewhere. Thirdly, the approach of combining origin-receiving contexts in a study and the inclusion of multiple social actors (individual, family, and community) are completely absent in migration studies. Fourthly, previous related research has argued that the only main determinants of this migration were (1) the closure of a meat

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<sup>99</sup> Smith and King (2012: 128) adopted an encompassing perspective of theory, in line with Graham (2000: 258), who argues that “A theory, then, will be taken to be any set of ideas, or conceptualisation, which goes beyond the particularities of individual cases and offers some more general framework, or account of the nature of certain circumstances, relationships or events. In addition, a theory must have explanatory force, which is to say that it must contribute to make these circumstances, relationships or events intelligible.”

<sup>100</sup> Smith and King (2012: 130) cited Findlay’s (2005) pioneering discussion of “vulnerable spatialities” and “relational understandings” within population geography as an example on how theories of migration can be finessed, via a fuller engagement with theories of space and place; whereby “spatial context” need to be “conceptualised as contingent... and that population researchers maintain a pluralistic vision of research praxis” (Findlay, 2005: 429).



processing plant in Anapolis in the late 90s, and (2) the demand for labour in the West of Ireland (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher and Cawley, 2016). Although relevant to explain the initiation of this migration, these macro factors dimensions fail however to explain the later arrivals and the mechanisms which sustained the Brazilian migration flow to Gort over decades. Therefore, this thesis is the first comprehensive investigation of this topic.

This study also adds to the limited literature available on the determinants of migration to Ireland and makes an original contribution to the field of determinants of migration in Europe (Massey et al., 2005). It is particularly significant and pressing to understand this in the Irish context given Ireland's relatively new status as a destination of choice for migrants and Ireland's long standing history of emigration. Most previous studies on the determinants of migration to Ireland, however, tended to explain immigration flows through a host-country lens (Grabowska, 2005; Ejorh, 2012; Dalsin, 2016). Also, immigration was often explained as the result of macro factors related to the Celtic Tiger (CT) (Loyal, 2011; Fanning and Munck, 2007), and the 2004 Open-Labour Policy (Krings et al., 2013; Barrell et al., 2010). Furthermore, studies that eventually examined the determinants of specific migration flows were usually undertaken as a sub-question within broader research projects (see: Wang and King-O'Riain, 2006; Feldman et al., 2008:63; IOM, 2009:46-47; Pan, 2011; Marrow, 2012:650; Farias, 2012:31-33; Humphries et al., 2014:241; Brugha et al., 2016). Rarely has research has been undertaken that focuses solely on the determinants of migration (Grabowska, 2005; Komolafe, 2008; King-O'Riain, 2008; Fóti, 2009; Aptekar, 2009; Ejorh, 2012; Krings et al., 2013:93; Ralph, 2015; Dalsin, 2016); except for a small number of studies (see. Komolafe, 2008; Krings et al., 2013). Furthermore, the vast majority of these studies focused primarily on the determinants of migration of immigrant groups living in Dublin. More studies are needed that specifically focus on the determinants of migration for immigrant groups living in small towns in rural Ireland. This

study, on the contrary, focuses on and examines the determinants of labour migration from an urban to a rural location – Anápolis, in Goiás, Brazil to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland - from the point of view of communities and migrants themselves - which is often lacking in the literature.

This study adds further elements of originality to the literature on migration in the Irish context. One of the main gaps in this body of literature is a lack of studies particularly focused on the determinants of Latino migration to Ireland (see, Marrow, 2013). Brazilians are the largest group of immigrants (13,640) of Latin American and Caribbean nationalities, followed by Venezuelans (1,180), Mexicans (1,083), Argentines (594), Chileans (238) and Colombians (236) (CSO, 2016d)<sup>101</sup>. Another gap in this body of literature is that the phenomenon of Portuguese-speaking migrations (which includes Portugal as well as other African countries) to Ireland is still not well understood (see, Beswick & Dinneen, 2010: 5). Again, Brazilian nationals are the largest Portuguese-speaking group residing in Ireland (over 10,000), followed by Portuguese (1,001 – 10,000), Angolans (201 – 1,000), East Timorese (11 – 50), Mozambicans (1 – 10), Macauians (1 – 10), Guinea Bissauans (1 – 10) and Cape Verdeans (1 – 10) (CSO, 2016).

This study adds to the literature on the determinants of return migration from Ireland and makes an original contribution to the field of the determinants of return migration in Europe. In the introduction, the study also noted the lack of literature on the recent dramatic decline in the number of Brazilians in Gort. Little to no investigation has been carried out examining this demographic shift. The economic downturn of 2008 in Ireland was an important factor. However, this alone does not adequately explain the

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<sup>101</sup> Brazilians are the sixth-largest group of non-nationals living in Ireland whilst Polish are the largest, followed by the UK, Lithuanian, Romanian and Latvian (CSO, 2017a). However, Brazilians are the largest immigrant group among the EEA-nationalities, followed by Indians, Americans (US), Chinese, and Pakistani (CSO, 2016a).

pace and volume of the decline. Yet, it was not clear who left and why, and where they went. Further, any changes (economic, social, political, and cultural) within the original community in Anápolis have yet to be explored and taken into account. More broadly, the study adds to the limited literature available on the determinants of return migration and, more pressingly, the determinants of the return of non-EEA nationals living in Ireland (Fong, 2008; Humphries et al., 2009; 2012; Gouveia, 2015; Brugha et al., 2016). The existing literature is rather focused on the returning of Irish emigrants and/or their families (Quinn, 2007; Ni Laoire, 2008, 2011a,b; Ralph, 2009,2012; Gmelch, 1983), except for some reports on voluntary and forced returns of non-Irish Nationals (IOM, 2009; Quinn, 2007; 2009), and a handful of papers on the return of foreign nationals living in Ireland (Fong, 2008; Krings et al., 2009; Humphries et al., 2009; Holda et al., 2011; Gouveia, 2015; Brugha et al., 2016). Quinn argues that it is not surprising that existing information on the return from Ireland is currently disparate, that policies are in the process of development, and that the surrounding issues are often poorly understood (2007; 2009). Indeed, return migration is a relatively neglected aspect of the migration literature not only in Ireland but also globally (Iredale et al., 2003; Cassarino, 2004; Chirium, 2005; Dumont & Spielvogel, 2008; Baba, 2009; Bastia, 2011; King, 2015). Furthermore, the combination of the examination of both the determinants of migration and the determinants of return migration is largely absent in migration studies and this makes the study relevant also within the international literature. As shown previously, these studies tend to be separated in the literature, thus hampering a deeper understanding of these migration flows, and of the “migratory process” as a whole.

This study makes an original contribution to the Brazilian empirical literature on the determinants of migration. Despite the significant number of Brazilians abroad (IOM, 2018:81; MRE, 2016), there has been a particular lack of studies exploring the determinants of emigration flows in Brazil. In addition, current literature tends to explore Brazilian emigration from the Southeast and South states (Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Rio

de Janeiro, Paraná, and Santa Catarina) (i.e. McKenzie and Salcedo, 2014; Van Meeteren and Pereira, 2013; Margolis, 1998; Marcus, 2009; Goza, 1994; Zell and Skop, 2011), except for Padilla (2006) and Marcus (2009) who explored Brazilian emigration from Midwest states of Mato Grosso do Sul and Goiás, respectively. This study, on the other hand, explores Brazilian migration from Anápolis, in Goiás, Midwest of Brazil to Gort, in Ireland. Furthermore, there is also limited studies exploring the transition from being a destination state to being a sending / emigrant state is relatively new in Brazil's history; and very few studies exploring the relationships between Brazil and Ireland – which is a new destination for Brazilian in Europe - why Brazilians would select Ireland and how relationships have evolved from a focus on labour movements to establish deeper cultural and social connections over the last two decades? This study makes an original contribution to this body of literature.

### **7.3. Moving forward**

The study believes that the research design, based on the combination of the determinants of migration and return migration from the point of view of multiple social actors (individual, families, communities) and a multi-sited approach can be applied to other immigrant communities and with references to other immigrant groups; for instance, other immigrant communities in rural Ireland and elsewhere. It could apply to Ballyhaunis in Mayo and Edgeworthstown in Longford, for example, the towns with the highest proportion of non-Irish nationals in Ireland – with 39.5% and 32.3% respectively. But it could also apply to Anápolis itself (the case study in Brazil explored in this research) and its recent Latin-American immigrant groups: Haitians and Venezuelans.

This thesis has contributed to developing the understudied field of return migration. A lot can be done in this direction in Europe and beyond. This will require not only thinking of recent immigrant societies but also historical immigrant societies. In addition to examining return migration from both the host-origin region perspectives, future research designs would also benefit from including the reintegration challenges

facing returnees on their originating communities (Arowolo, 2000). This fact fell outside the scope of this study but did emerge as a very important factor influencing the returnees and their decisions to re-settle or to move again. It is interesting as it points to experiences of dislocation that can occur as mobile populations struggle to re-connect and to find acceptance on return.

A further element that could be explored in future research would be the impact of return migration on both the families left behind and the communities involved. Furthermore, future research is also needed to examine the relationship between integration and return migration (see: Klinthäll, 2006; de Haas, and Fokkema, 2011; Carling, and Pettersen, 2014), especially within recent immigrant societies. In Ireland, for instance, research on this area would be extremely valuable. Previous research has argued that “the accommodation of socially and culturally distinct migrants into Irish society has become a major political, media, and populist concern” (Loyal, 2011:249). Because immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon, Coakley and MacEinri argue that Ireland “lacks the cultural and experiential background needed to best address the challenges posed by the presence of a multi-ethnic and multicultural society” (2007:21). Also, it lacks “the landscape of ideology, policy, legislation, services, support structures and existing migrant and ethnic communities compared to those which have been in place for decades in core European receiving societies” (MacEinri, 2007a:214)<sup>102</sup>. The results of this study, on the one hand, point to the deepening and embedding of networks, transnational cultural connections and practices over time; on the other hand, it also points to the gaps in policy and legislation that remain that act as significant structural constraints on the actions and engagements of migrants in Ireland. From an

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<sup>102</sup> Moreover, the concept of integration is relatively new to Irish policymakers and consequently has not yet generated a significant body of specific policy documentation (Murphy, 2013). It has been argued that the Irish integration policy is still “chronically undeveloped” (Fanning and Munck, 2007:5), and “has been mostly fairly abstract” (Fanning, 2009:273).

educational perspective, for example, Ireland has developed highly inclusive policies and practices for children of migrant families at primary and secondary level, but highly exclusionary at third level and beyond. Finally, the return migration behaviour of both the Brazilian and other immigrant groups' second generations, born and raised in Ireland, will be another avenue to explore in the years to come. A limited but valuable number of studies have examined this relationship in other more established immigrant societies (Crul and Vermeulen, 2003; Tsuda, 2004; 2009; Górný and Osipoviéc, 2006; Christou and King, 2010; Bettin et al., 2018).

This may in turn lead to a deeper discussion on the complex influence of a sense of place, identity, and belongingness (or lack of it), to both the host and origin societies, of migrants' children. This thesis has generally focused on the migration behaviours of the first-generation rather than 1.5 and second generations, but the latter is, of course, significant, especially among long-term and diaspora immigrant communities. It has shown the importance of looking at the migration behaviour of the Brazilian first generation in Gort as a way of understanding both the determinants of migration and return migration of this particular community in Ireland. When it comes to the family (at both the origin-host regions), the role of children is especially interesting and yet understudied; and this avenue of inquiry could be relevant for future research on both the initiation of and return migrations.

Additional elements that emerged in this study and which could be further developed in migration studies are the interlinked dimensions of remittances and development (see. Raghuram, 2009; de Haas, 2010b; Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz, 2009). This thesis has shown that wishes to acquire material goods were one of the main reasons for migrating to Gort (Chapter 5); and that the accomplishment of migration goals was indeed one of the reasons for returning to Anápolis (Chapter 6). However, these dimensions are linked to the individuals and families only, which are the two units of analysis of the study. Future research would benefit by exploring the impact of

remittances - sent from Ireland from 1999 onward - on the wider community of Vila Fabril and Anápolis. For example, if remittances have had any impact on the development of this region outside of the families involved. Similarly, also a more diverse sample in terms of participants would be important. This thesis focused only on those individuals and families who migrated to Ireland, which may also prevent the researcher from understanding further immobility within the community (those who do not participate in migration) and the impact of migration outside of those who participate in it.

Finally, gender may be the basis of specific migration patterns, not simply because of the gendered segmented labour markets (Castles and Miller, 2003), but also concerning a range of other family dynamics – including the exertion of power, the distribution of capital, expectation relating to care and education and residency patterns. As a consequence, there may be patterns of migration more related to gender than to the labour market or other markets (capital, credit, insurance) as assumed by both the neoclassical economics and the new economics of labour migration theories (see Chapter 2). This thesis has shown that gender mattered, especially in the migration decision-making processes for both the initiation of and return migrations. Significantly, the thesis also demonstrated that some of the reasons that led some Brazilian women to migrate to Gort were different from those mentioned by men (Chapter 5). Future research should also pay more attention to the role of gender in settlement patterns among Brazilian families in Gort who have decided to live in the country.

Before concluding, it is important to mention what can be seen as the limitations of the present study. The first refers to the positionality of the researcher; being a Brazilian national himself, but not belonging to the researched communities, led some participants, mainly in Gort, not to trust the researcher at first; this also led others not to participate in the research. However, after these initial difficulties of access, the researcher managed to create interpersonal relations in the community, mainly through the strategy of attending churches and community events and visiting people. However,

the researcher also thinks that his positionality helped him to carry out this project. In fact, as a Brazilian living in Ireland for over 12 years, it helped him understand the participants' voices, their reasons for migrating to Ireland, and their plans. The researcher also lived 13 years in Goiânia, the capital of the State of Goiás, the region of origin of most of the participants; this was essential to understand the economic, cultural, and social factors of both Anápolis city and the broader region (see Chapter 4).

The second limitation refers to the study methodology. While it was possible to collect the necessary data and understand the experiences of the participants through interviews and questionnaires, it was not possible to incorporate participatory methods (see Torres & Carte, 2014; Ozkul, 2020). As a result, it was not possible to discuss the study data with either the participants or the communities involved during the collection, analysis and writing phase of the research. This was mainly due to time constraints and lack of resources, however, this would have also involved a longer or multiple periods of fieldwork. The researcher hopes that after submitting this project, he will have the opportunity to return to these communities to present the results of this project, and thus, have another opportunity to thank them personally for their valuable contributions. It will also be an opportunity for dissemination and benefit sharing of research.

The third limitation is the fact that this study focused only on the migrants. It would have been interesting to have also engaged with the residents in both the communities and thus have their perspectives on the many issues involving Brazilian migration. In Anápolis, it would have been interesting to have explored the locals' views on the determinants driving migration in the region. In Gort, it would have been interesting to have explored the locals' views on both the sudden Brazilian migration to the town and also their views on the significant decline in the overall number of Brazilian immigrants more recently. Fourth, while focusing on one town in the West of Ireland and its rural context enabled the study to examine the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from



Gort, it would have been interesting to extend this study to other regions in Ireland, which was not possible due to time constraints and financial costs.

Lastly, although this study does not specifically aim to provide policy recommendations, the findings of this study could help demystify the stereotype around “labour migration” as being solely driven by economic factors. The findings of this study showed that people are also driven to migrate by non-economic factors - related to lifestyle, urban violence, politics, religion, health, relationships, sexuality, and social networks (Chapters 5). Additionally, the findings on both the determinants of return migration (Chapter 6) and the characteristics of returnees (Chapter 4) can be useful to inform the development of migration policies. Indeed, while many countries have registration procedures in place that allow an assessment of the number of incoming immigrants, estimating the outflows of immigrants is less straightforward. In fact, according to Dustmann and Weiss (2007:239), there are typically no procedures in place that register immigrants who leave a country. That is also the case in Ireland, and return migration has been largely overlooked in Brazil, despite the extensive emigration of Brazilians since the 1980s (IOM, 2009). The lack of reliable data on international return migration brings consequences. As Constant and Massey (2002:8) note, if researchers are unsure about the rate by which immigrants return home, they are even less confident about the characteristics of those who leave. A further consequence is related to policy. As Dumont and Spielvogel (2008:162) suggest, “developing sound policies will require a good knowledge of return migration as well as a deeper understanding of the factors that determine it” and “in the absence of suitable data, some of these aspects have been overlooked, especially in the economic literature on international migration”. This last point leads us, as researchers, to think more about how social science research informs policy development, but also how this knowledge is being used and the different ways in which researchers (especially those working in the field of migration) exercise influence (Blewden et al., 2010).

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## APPENDICES

**Appendix A.** List of participants in Gort: Gender, age, marital/family status, sectors of employment/occupation, years in Ireland.

Participant(s)	Demographics					
	Gender	Age	Marital status	Family composition	Sector(s) of employment/occupation	Years in Ireland
<b>Miguel</b>	M	51	Married	2 adult children	Construction, farming (current), meat-processing sector (former)	2002 to 2006 2018 to now
<b>Arthur</b>	M	26	Single	-	Construction, farming (current), meat-processing sector (former)	2007 to 2012 2012 to 2018
<b>Heitor</b>	M	52	Married	4 adult children	Meat-processing sector, casual sector (former)	2001 to 2018
<b>Bernardo</b>	M	37	Divorced	7 mix-aged children	Construction, farming, gardening (current, former), meat-processing sector (former)	2001 to 2005 2005 to 2018
<b>Davi</b>	M	38	Married	2 young children	Barber	2005 to 2018
<b>Lorenzo</b>	M	55	Married	2 adult children	Tractor/car mechanic, gardener, horse keeper, construction (former)	2006 to 2008 2008 to 2009 2009 to 2010 2016 to 2018
<b>Gabriel</b>	M	42	Married	3 mix-aged children	Owns a print/internet shop (current), hotel sector, waiter (former)	2002 to 2014 2018 to now
<b>Maria</b>	F	40	Married	2 young children	School cleaner (current), baby sitter, manicure technician (former)	2008 to 2018
<b>Lourenço</b>	M	55	Married	2 adult children	Stone quarry (current), gardener, construction, painter (former)	2004 to 2018
<b>Pedro</b>	M	41	Married	3 young children	Church pastor (current)	2017 to 2018
<b>Théo</b>	M	43	Married	4 mix-aged children	Meat-processing worker (current), construction, farming, factory (former)	2005 to 2009 2015 to 2018
<b>Benjamin</b>	M	20	Single	-	Baby sitter (current)	2003 to 2008 2018 to now
<b>Matheus</b>	M	30	Single	-	Metal welder (current)	2018 to now
<b>Lucas</b>	M	33	Married	3 mix-aged children	Painter	2016 to 2018
<b>Nicolas</b>	M	52	Married	7 adult children	Plaster/painter/building servant (current, former)	2002 to 2018
<b>Helena</b>	F	37	Married	3 teenager children	Cleaner, care assistant (current, former)	2004 to 2018
<b>Joaquim</b>	M	43	Married	5 mix-aged children	Metal welder (current, former)	2003 to 2018
<b>Samuel</b>	M	50	Divorced	2 adult children	Meat-processing worker (current), farm worker (former)	2005 to 2018

<b>Alice</b>	F	65	Married	1 adult child	Restaurant assistant (current)	2005 to 2018
<b>Laura</b>	F	57	Divorced	3 adult children		2018 to now
<b>Manuela</b>	F	37	Single	-	Owens a painting company (current), meat-processing sector, painting, farming, bar/restaurant sector (former)	2002 to 2018
<b>Samuel</b>	M	41	Cohabiting	7 mix-aged children	Gardening and landscaping (current)	2015 to 2018
<b>Henrique</b>	M	56	Single	2 adult children	General services, gardening, painting, construction (current, former)	2006 to 2018
<b>Valentina</b>	F	39	Married	1 young child	Meat-processing sector, recycling sector, café attendant, food distributor sector (former)	2004 to 2018
<b>Rafael</b>	M	52	Married	2 adult children	Vegetables/fruits distributor worker (current), metal welder (former)	2002 to 2018
<b>Sophia</b>	F	36	Married	3 mix-aged children	Cleaner, baby sitter	2018 to now
<b>Guilherme</b>	M	38	Married	1 adult child	Barber (current), meat-processing worker (former)	2005 to 2009 2018 to now
<b>Enzo</b>	M	42	Married	1 adult child	Metal welder (current, former)	2007 to 2014 2016 to 2018
<b>Adelice</b>	F	30	Married	2 young children	Events promoter (current), decorator, cleaner, baby sitter (former)	2011 to 2012 2016 to 2018
<b>Murilo</b>	M	57	Divorced	2 adult children	Gardening, landscaping, cleaning (current, former)	2005 to 2018
<b>Heloísa</b>	F	23	Married	1 young child	Accountant (current), childcare assistant (former)	2006 to 2018
<b>Benício</b>	M	31	Married	1 young child	Factory administrative assistant (current), rickshaw clerk, cleaner (former)	2012 to 2018
<b>Luíza</b>	F	25	Single	-	Cleaner (current, former)	2007 to 2009 2016 to 2018
<b>Júlia</b>	F	35	Single	1 teenager child	Beautician (current, former)	2010 to 2018
<b>Lorena</b>	F	34	Single	-	Kitchen porter (current), cleaner (former)	2016 to 2018
<b>Lívia</b>	F	51	Single	1 teenager child	Restaurant assistant, baby sitter, cleaner (former)	2016 to 2018
<b>Maria Luíza</b>	F	31	Married	-	Restaurant assistant (current), baby sitter, cleaner (former)	2017 to 2018
<b>Cecília</b>	F	47	Married	2 mix-aged children	Waste/recycling company worker (current), cleaner (former)	2002 to 2018
<b>Gustavo</b>	M	45	Married	1 teenager child	Landscaping/gardener (current), construction (former)	2005 to 2008 2009 to 2018
<b>Isaac</b>	M	18	Single	-	Casual cleaner (former)	2010 to 2011 2015 to 2018
<b>João Miguel</b>	M	43	Married	3 mix-aged children	Pastor (current, former)	2008 to 2008 2016 to 2018



<b>Lucca</b>	M	48	Married	2 young children	Construction worker (current, former)	2004 to 2005 2017 to 2018
<b>Enzo Gabriel</b>	M	59	Married	3 adult children	Farm worker (current), construction worker, gardener (former)	2003 to 2006 2011 to 2018
<b>Pedro Henrique</b>	M	30	Married	2 young children	Painter (current)	2018 to now
<b>Giovanna</b>	F	24	Married	2 young children	-	2018 to now

Source: Authors own construct

**Appendix B.** List of participants in Anápolis: Gender, age, marital/family status, sectors of employment/occupation, years in Ireland.

Participant(s)	Demographics					
	Gender	Age	Marital status	Family composition	Sector(s) of employment/occupation	Years in Ireland
<b>Felipe</b>	M	57	Divorced	3 grown children	Public civil servant (current), bar owner, car parking owner, restaurant assistant	2004 to 2009
<b>Paulo</b>	M	62	Married	2 grown children	Meat-processing worker	2005 to 2011
<b>Maria Clara</b>	F	60	Married	2 grown children	Housewife (current), housekeeper	2005 to 2011
<b>Maria Eduarda</b>	F	30	Divorced	2 young children	Kitchen assistant	2006 to 2008
<b>Mariana</b>	F	58	Married	3 grown children	Meat-processing worker	2000 to 2012
<b>João Paulo</b>	M	50	Married	2 grown children	Owens a car mechanic business	2001 to 2007
<b>Lara</b>	F	35	Single	3 mix-aged children	Supermarket assistant (current), cleaner, restaurant assistant, college assistant	2003 to 2004 2005 to 2009
<b>Beatriz</b>	F	34	Married	3 young children	Owens a planned furniture manufacturing company	2005 to 2010
<b>Antonella</b>	F	66	Single	1 grown children	Public civil servant	2009 to 2010
<b>Pietro</b>	M	48	Cohabiting	3 mix-aged children	Physical education teacher (current), meat-processing worker	1999 to 2000 2002 to 2004 2007 to 2008
<b>Maria Júlia</b>	F	33	Married	3 young children	Owens a hairdresser salon	2007 to 2009
<b>Emanuelly</b>	F	52	Single	-	Owens a restaurant bar	2001 to 2001 2002 to 2003 2005 to 2008
<b>Isadora</b>	F	54	Divorced	-	Portuguese and English teacher (current and past).	2001 to 2003 2003 to 2005
<b>Ana Clara</b>	F	50	Married	2 grown children	Housewife (current), clothes seller, meat-processing worker	2001 to 2002 2002 to 2003
<b>Davi Lucca</b>	M	59	Married	2 grown children	Meat-processing worker, ceramic worker	2002 to 2003

<b>Melissa</b>	F	50	Married	2 teenager children	Owns a garden grass company (current), beauty salon owner, beautician	2007 to 2009
<b>Leonardo</b>	M	46	Married	2 teenager children	Owns a garden grass company (current), truck driver	2006 to 2009
<b>Vicente</b>	M	48	Married	2 grown children	Meat-processing worker	1999 to 2002
<b>Eduardo</b>	M	51	Married	-	Owns a snack bar (current), meat-processing worker, truck driver, ceramic worker	2000 to 2012
<b>Ana Luíza</b>	F	53	Married	-	Owns a snack bar (current), medical laboratory technician, meat-processing worker, cleaner	2003 to 2010
<b>Antônio</b>	M	62	Married	2 grown children	Public civil servant (current) graphic company worker, sales supervisor	2004 to 2007
<b>Ana Júlia</b>	F	46	Married	5 grown children	House wife (current), meat-processing worker	2003 to 2008
<b>Esther</b>	F	44	Divorced	2 grown children	Nursing technician (current and past), owned a snack bar (selling sweet corn desserts)	2004 to 2004 2005 to 2014
<b>Maria Cecília</b>	F	49	Married	2 grown children	Owns a cooking pots shop (current), sales assistant	2007 to 2010
<b>Vitor</b>	M	54	Married	2 grown children	Carpenter (current), meat-processing worker, owned business	2006 to 2010
<b>Maria Alice</b>	F	40	Single	2 teenager children	Pharmacy assistant (current), cashier, saleswoman	2006 to 2008
<b>Elisa</b>	F	46	Married	2 grown children	Health care agent (a public civil servant)	2004 to 2005
<b>João</b>	M	49	Married	3 grown children	Vigilant/guard (current), meat-processing worker	1999 to 2008
<b>Emanuel</b>	M	40	Married	2 teenager children	Owns few rental houses	2001 to 2010
<b>João Lucas</b>	M	40	Married	4 mix-aged children	Car mechanic turner (current and past), bakery assistant	2001 to 2011
<b>Isabelly</b>	F	40	Married	4 mix-aged children	Surgical thread technician (current), secretary	2001 to 2010
<b>Meire</b>	F	48	Married	2 grown children	Housewife (current), supermarket cashier, saleswoman	2003 to 2005 2005 to 2009
<b>Cauã</b>	M	52	Married	2 grown children	Car tire retreader (current), tire seller, businessman	2003 to 2005 2005 to 2009
<b>Rebeca</b>	F	46	Divorced	2 grown children	Bakery chef, (current), owns a street barbecue tent (current)	2005 to 2007
<b>Enrico</b>	M	45	Married	2 grown children	Owns a supermarket (current), meat-processing worker, truck driver	2002 to 2003
<b>Vinicius</b>	M	42	Single	-	Ceramic factory worker (former)	2004 to 2005 2007 to 2011
<b>José</b>	M	70	Married	2 grown children	Construction worker, bricklayer worker	2000 to 2012
<b>Catarina</b>	F	32	Married	4 mix-aged children	Domestic worker (current, former)	2005 to 2011
<b>Bento</b>	M	54	Single	-	Owns a pan repair shop (current), owned a	2005 to 2012

					cassava flour manufacture, salesman	
<b>Claudio</b>	M	41	Married	2 children	Courier (current, former), driver	2006 to 2009

**Source:** Authors own construct

### Appendix C. Interviews guideline.

<p><b>Part I: THE DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION</b></p> <p><i>The theme I: the migration decision-making process</i></p> <p>Tell me about the reasons, which led you to migrate to Ireland?</p> <p>Were you pursuing your interests or family interests?</p> <p>Has your family migrated to Ireland as well?</p> <p>What were the reasons for bringing them to Ireland?</p> <p>Did you make this decision alone or did you consult family members?</p> <p>Has your family agreed with your decision to come to Ireland or not?</p> <p><i>Theme II: the finance of the migration process</i></p> <p>How did you fund the trip?</p> <p>Did you have to sell material goods to pay for the trip?</p> <p><i>Theme III: the migration destination</i></p> <p>Why did you choose Ireland?</p> <p>How did you discover job opportunities there?</p> <p>Did you know anyone in Ireland?</p> <p>Did they help you, if so, in what capacity?</p> <p>What did you know about Gort / Ireland before you migrated?</p> <p>Have you migrated internationally before?</p> <p><i>Theme IV: the labour market</i></p> <p>What did you know about the job market? Type of jobs, salaries, opportunities?</p> <p>Did you compare the two labour markets in economic terms, before you came?</p> <p><i>Theme V: legal obligations</i></p> <p>Were you aware of the legal obligations to live in Ireland?</p>
--

Have you received a work permit before traveling? What kind of contract was that?

Did you acquire Irish citizenship?

*Theme VI: remittances behaviour*

Do you save money in Ireland? What are the reasons?

Do you send money to Brazil? What are the reasons?

Did you invest in Brazil?

Have you acquired or purchased any assets?

*Theme VII: plans*

Do you want to live here in Ireland or return to Brazil?

What is your family's position?

Has the decision to stay/ or return been taken from the beginning or overtime?

If it emerged over time, what prompted you to change your plans?

In his opinion, what led many Brazilians to return to Brazil?

*Theme VIII: integration*

Do you feel integrated?

How is your day-to-day life?

Does your family feel integrated?

What could be done to ensure better integration between the two communities?

Have you been able to learn the language?

Do you participate in any community activity?

## Part II: THE DETERMINANTS OF INTERNATIONAL RETURN MIGRATION

*The theme I: the return decision-making process*

What were the reasons that led you and your family to return to Brazil?

Did you make this decision alone or did you consult family members?

Did you achieve your migration goals?

Did you plan your return from the beginning? Alternatively, was that a sudden decision?

Did you return voluntarily?

*Theme II: the challenges facing returnees*

What were the main challenges faced after returning?

Do you regret going back home? If yes, why?

Theme III: financial support on the return

Did you have any financial government support, from either Ireland or Brazil?

Did you return through the IOM programme?

If not, were you aware of this kind of returning programme?

If yes, why did you not apply?

*Theme IV: maintenance of network*

Do you still keep in touch with people in Ireland?

Theme V: plans

Tell me about your plans; do you want to migrate to Ireland or somewhere else in the future?

If yes, why do you want to migrate internationally again?

Part I was applied at both host and origin communities, whereas part II was applied only at the latter.

**Appendix D.** Questionnaire guideline.

Name	
Demographics:	Gender:                      Age:                      Marital status:
Contact details	Location:                      Address: Phone:                      Email:
Types of migration	Family migration:                      Individual migration: Previous migration experiences:                      Deportation(S):
Family dynamics/profile	Wife/husband:                      Children: Children born abroad:                      Place of residency of the family:
Individual background	Schooling: Religious affiliation: Region of origin:
Assets owned	House:                      (Accommodation arrangements):

	Land: Car:
Length of residence	
Immigration status held/hold	
Job position(s) held/hold (Ireland)	
Working status	At work: Unemployed: Retired: Looking after family/house: Paying taxes :
Job position(s) held/hold (Brazil)	
Social services access in Ireland	Work permits: PPS: Bank Account: Driver licence: Medical card: Social welfare: Citizenship: NGO support:
Language proficiency:	Basic: Elementary: Intermediate: Advanced:
Personal reflexive notes:	

**Appendix E.** Informed consent form.

**Template for Informed Consent Form**

**School of Natural Sciences, Trinity College Dublin**

**Title of research study:**

Identifying the determinants of Brazilian migration to and from Ireland: a micro-level cross-country analysis.

This study and this consent form have been explained to me. I believe I understand what will happen if I agree to be part of this study.

I have read or had read to me, this consent form. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I freely and voluntarily agree to be part of this research study, though without prejudice to my legal and ethical rights. I have received a copy of this agreement and I understand that, if there is a sponsoring company, a signed copy will be sent to that sponsor.

**Name of sponsor:**

**PARTICIPANT'S NAME:**

**PARTICIPANT'S SIGNATURE:**

**Date:**

**The date on which the participant was first furnished with this form:**

**Participants with literacy difficulties:**

I have witnessed the accurate reading of the consent form to the potential participant, and the individual has had the opportunity to ask questions. I confirm that the individual has given consent freely and understands that they have the right to refuse or withdraw from the study at any time.

**Print name of witness:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Signature of witness:** \_\_\_\_\_

**Date (Day/month/year)** \_\_\_\_\_ **Thumbprint of participant:**

**Statement of the investigator's responsibility:**

I have explained the nature, purpose, procedures, benefits, risks of, or alternatives to, this research study. I have offered to answer any questions and fully answered such questions. I believe that the participant understands my explanation and has freely given informed consent.

**Researcher's signature:**

**Date:**

(Keep the original of this form in the project records, give one copy to the participant, and send one copy to the sponsor (if there is a sponsor).)

**Appendix F. Types of immigration statuses in the Republic of Ireland.**

Stamps	Conditions
Stamp 0	Indicates permission to stay in Ireland for a temporary period, subject to conditions.
Stamp 1	Indicates permission to work or operate a business in Ireland, subject to conditions. It is reckonable as a residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation.
Stamp 1A Stamp 1G	The former indicates permission in full time, paid accountancy training. While the latter indicates you have finished your studies in Ireland and have permission to look for employment here under the Third Level Graduate Programme. Both stamps are not reckonable as a residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation.

Stamp 2 Stamp 2A	The former indicates permission to study a full-time course on the official Interim List of Eligible Programmes (ILEP) for a specified period, subject to conditions. While the latter indicates permission for full-time study in Ireland for a course that is not on the official Interim List of Eligible Programmes (ILEP), for a specified period. Both stamps are not reckonable as a residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation.
Stamp 3	Indicates permission to stay in Ireland for a specified period, subject to conditions. One may be given stamp 3 in the following circumstances: volunteer, e.g. with a charity or non-profit; be a minister of religion; join your non-EEA/EU/Swiss spouse/civil partner or family member who is here base on a work permit (stamp 1 above). Stamp 3 is reckonable as a residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation.
Stamp 4	Indicates permission to stay in Ireland for a specified period, subject to conditions. One may be given Stamp 4 in the following circumstances: with a valid Critical Skills employment permit for 2 years; with a valid employment permit for 5 years; as a researcher with a valid Hosting Agreement for 2 years; to join your Irish spouse, civil partner or de-facto partner; to join your EU/EEA or Swiss family member; to join a family member who has immigration permission based on Stamp 4EUFAM; to remain with your child who is an Irish citizen; under the Investor and Entrepreneur Programme; for Long Term Residence. Stamp 4 is reckonable as a residence when applying for citizenship by naturalization.
Stamp 5	Indicates permission to stay in Ireland without limits on the time you can remain here, subject to other conditions. Stamp 5 is reckonable as residence when applying for citizenship by naturalisation. The stamp will be valid up to the expiry date on your passport.
Stamp 6	This indicates you are an Irish citizen with dual-citizenship. You may be given stamp 6 in your non-Irish passport if you have applied for permission to: remain in Ireland 'Without condition.'
Source: INIS (2019) available online at <a href="http://www.inis.gov.ie/">http://www.inis.gov.ie/</a>	