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The Determinants of Brazilian Migration to Ireland

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Abstract: This study provides a detailed examination of Brazilian migration from Anápolis in Goiás (Brazil) to Gort in County Galway, Ireland, highlighting the complexity and diversity of motivations behind this movement. Unlike previous research, which primarily focused on middle-class Brazilians moving to Dublin for education, this study broadens the scope to include labour migration to a rural location, incorporating a more varied demographic and a more comprehensive range of determinants. The findings reveal that economic determinants related to (1) unemployment, costs of living (Brazil), and employment opportunities (Ireland), (2) the wish to acquire or buy material goods and funds to open a business, (3) education, and (4) indebtedness play a significant role but are not the sole drivers. The findings also indicate the importance of non-economic sociocultural 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 flawed political system in Brazil, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. The study challenges the common perception that economic factors are the primary motivations for migration. The diverse range of sociocultural factors plays an equally important role. The findings dispute that Brazilian migration to Gort is homogenous and solely labour-related. Migrants have a variety of personal and social reasons influencing their decisions.

Key words: *Determinants of Migration; Neoclassical Economics (NE); New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM); Brazilian Migration; Anápolis; Gort; Ireland.*

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1. Introduction

Brazilian migration since the 1990s has given rise to Ireland's second-largest non-EU immigrant group (CSO, 2022). However, only one study has considered the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland (Dalsin, 2016) and this focused solely on middle-class Brazilians who moved to Dublin primarily for study purposes. This study broadens the scope of migration research by examining practices of labour migration from an urban to a rural location – Anápolis, in Goiás, Brazil, to Gort, in County Galway, Ireland. Brazilian migration to Ireland is curious because, unlike Portugal and other European nations, Ireland lacks strong migration and colonial links with Brazil or historical familiarity with migrants from the region (Marrow, 2012). Although Brazilian migration to Ireland is a relatively recent phenomenon compared to other European nations, the country is home to the seventh-largest Brazilian community in Europe and the tenth-largest in the world (MRE, 2023: 16-25).

The number of Brazilian nationals in Ireland has grown significantly since the beginning of the migratory flow (CSO, 2002, 2006, 2011, 2016, 2022). For instance, in 2002, there were only 1,232 Brazilian nationals in Ireland. By 2006, their number had grown to 4,720. Between the censuses of 2006 and 2011, the Brazilian population doubled in size, and its number stood at 8,704. The growth in the number of Brazilian nationals has continued, and in April 2016, their number stood at 13,640. The number of Brazilians increased significantly in 2022 to 39,556. Since 2006, the number of Brazilians in Ireland has grown more than 8-fold. An interesting emerging pattern is the feminization of the Brazilian migrant group in Ireland over time, with female migrants increasing from the previous 36.28% to 53.27% and male migrants decreasing from 63.71% to 46.73% in 2002 and 2016, respectively.

Brazilian migration to Ireland falls into two primary waves: the first, which arrived in the late 1990s (Healy, 2006), and the second, in the late 2000s, moving to urban locations (de Farias, 2024; 2012; Dalsin, 2016; Cawley, 2018). The first wave were comprised of largely low-skilled and semi-skilled economic migrants from the same region in Brazil (McGrath, 2010). The second (larger) wave were mostly from well-educated middle-class households from across Brazil, typically hold a third-level degree and come to study, travel, and for the cultural and lifestyle experiences (de Farias, 2024, 2012; Dalsin, 2016; Cawley, 2018). While 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, 2016).

This study is focused on the first wave, specifically those that migrated to Gort, which was a destination for migrants from the same Brazilian region (Anápolis, in the state of Goiás) for over two decades. This community is arguably the most famous case of Brazilian migration in Ireland and, over the years, has been featured in both academic scholarship and the media (Mac Cormaic, 2008; RTE, 2011). The meat processing plants of Gort and Roscommon were the first work-provision destination for Brazilian labour migrants arriving from Anápolis in the 1990s. Brazilian workers were first recruited to work in the meat processing sector in Ireland in 1998, through an Irishman who had been

working in meat exports in the state of Goiás, Brazil, since the late 1970s (Maher and Cawley, 2016: 24). In response to requests from acquaintances in Irish meat processing plants, which were experiencing labour shortages, particularly in the slaughterhouses, he employed his Brazilian wife to recruit Brazilian workers (Maher and Cawley, 2016: 24). Most of the workers initially came from Vila Fabril on the outskirts of Anápolis, where in 1999 a meat processing plant had closed, leaving many local people unemployed. This led to many workers migrating to Ireland to undertake similar work (Healy, 2006; 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, so by 2016, almost 13.26% of the population of Gort was Brazilian (CSO, 2016). Gort also became a "first stop" community for many new migrants from Goiás before gradually spreading out in search of employment (McGrath, 2010). Previous studies that analyse the origin of Brazilian immigrants in Ireland and Belgium show the emergence of these countries as an alternative destination to the traditional destination of the USA, at least for immigrants from the state of Goiás (Reyntjens, 2009: 8). This similarity between Ireland and Belgium in the reception of "Goianos" should be considered in future studies to help understand their actual dimensions and the type of networks that promote these connections (Reyntjens, 2009: 8).

The arrival of Brazilians and other migrant groups transformed Gort into one of rural Ireland's most culturally diverse towns (CSO, 2016). From a largely rural homogenous community, the 2016 census found that 105 persons speak Polish, 16 French, 13 Lithuanian and 768 other foreign languages (among these Portuguese) (CSO, 2016). However, since 2008, there has been a decline in net migration; 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 (26.25%) 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 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), still the largest non-national group in Gort. This demographic trend, however, did not affect the overall number of Brazilian nationals in Ireland, which has increased over the years.

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 is a lack of in-depth research examining the determinants of Brazilian migration to this part of Ireland, especially from the perspectives of the original sending community and the migrants themselves. Secondly, combining origin and reception contexts and including multiple social actors (individual, family, and community) is less prominent in studies of Brazilian migration in Ireland, except for five studies (Maher, 2010, 2011; Gouveia, 2015; Maher & Cawley, 2015; 2016). Third,

previous related research has argued that the main determinants of this migration flow 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). While relevant to explaining the onset of this migration flow, these macro-factor dimensions are insufficient to explain the migration of later arrivals and the mechanisms that sustained Brazilian migration to Gort over two decades. This study, therefore, sought to fill these gaps in the literature.

The paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a theoretical framework developed from Neoclassical Economics and the New Economics of Labour Migration. Section 3 describes the methodology and methods applied in the study. Section 4 presents and discusses the research findings. The final section summarizes the study findings and presents the study's theoretical and empirical contributions, areas for future research, and limitations.

2. Theoretical framework

In response to Massey et al.'s (2005) call for more relevant theoretical research on the determinants of international migration, this study draws on a theoretical framework developed from the Neoclassical Economics (NE) and the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM). 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 for understanding migration initiation and perpetuation (Massey *et al.,* 2005: 122). They claimed that the problem was not a lack of research but a need for more theoretically relevant research and a general disarticulation between theory and study design. As a result, they conclude that much of the European research literature is purely descriptive. 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 for this research found that most studies examining the determinants of migration to Ireland were descriptive, and only three papers were explicitly informed by migration theories (Komolafe, 2008; Chiyoko King-O'Riain, 2008; Aptekar, 2009). This shortage of studies informed by migration theories was also observed while reviewing all the literature that examines the determinants of Brazilian migration to European countries. In fact, of the studies reviewed, most were descriptive studies, and only four were informed by migration theories (Jordan & Duvell, 2002; Padilla, 2006; Datta *et al.,* 2009; Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013).

Neoclassical economics (NE) views international migration as a simple sum of individual cost-benefit decisions undertaken to maximise expected income 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). Despite asserting that rational individuals migrate for income-maximisation, income transfers in 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 after that (Massey *et al.,* 1994). According to NE, the only way outmigration influences the local economy is through its effects on prices and incomes, shifting the labour supply and raising or lowering wages (Massey *et al.,* 1994). Numerous studies have empirically supported this theory. For example, Harris and Todaro (1970) demonstrated that expected wage differences between rural and urban areas significantly drive rural-urban migration. Similarly, Borjas (1987) found that immigrants move to countries where they can earn higher wages than their home countries.

The new economics of labour migration (NELM), interprets migration as a livelihood strategy employed by households and families (instead of individuals) to spread income risks and to overcome sending country market 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) may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible (de Haas, 2010); this, in turn, creates barriers to their economic advancement. Without social protection, 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). The lack of social security and income risks also increases the importance of mutual help and risk-sharing among people (de Haas *et al.,* 2019). 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 spreads income risks, increases income, improves living conditions, and enables investments in the origin region. A critical 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 can control risks to their economic wellbeing by diversifying the allocation of household resources (Massey *et al.,* 1993). 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 (Stark and Bloom, 1985: 174-175). Using these theoretical perspectives has allowed for a more integrated understanding of the determinants of Brazil-Ireland migration. This study joins a small but growing number of studies focusing on combining these two theories in migration studies (Constant and Massey, 2002; Massey *et al.,* 2005; de Haas and Fokkema, 2011; de Haas *et al.,* 2015).

3. Methodology

Case study methods were utilised to analyse the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland through the context of Anápolis, a mid-sized city of 386,923 habitants located in the Midwest state of Goiás in Brazil (IBGE, 2019) (see Figure 1), and of Gort, a small town of 2,994 habitants situated in County Galway, Ireland (CSO, 2016). This study draws on data from a four-year research project on migration from Anápolis to Gort (de Farias, 2022). The research fieldwork was conducted in Anápolis and Gort in May-September 2018. During this period, 85 individuals were interviewed, of which 45 were based in Gort and 40 in Anápolis. In particular, the sample comprised 48 males and 37 females.

Participants were recruited using three sampling techniques: convenience sampling, snowball sampling, and purposive sampling. In convenience sampling, researchers 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. 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 study (Montello & Sutton, 2013). In Gort, the participants were recruited mainly through purposive and snowball sampling. A pilot study was carried out from June 19th to 23rd, 2017. This being my 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 churches; and (4) to visit local associations and NGOs. The pilot field trip to Gort was a success. While in Gort, I built 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 me access other, less forthcoming members within the community, thus allowing primary data collection to run smoothly and efficiently. The purposive sampling strategy was initially effective, allowing me to draw from the pool of people I had already encountered. From this initial sample group, I asked for references from other suitable people (a snowball sampling approach). However, convenience sampling became appropriate as I encountered suitable people, especially attending church and social services and going to the market square. The market square is the most important place in Gort for meeting Brazilians (mostly men). The reason for this is that it is the place where most of the unemployed migrants gather every morning during the week looking for work. On the other hand, snowball sampling was initially crucial to increasing the sample size in Anápolis, considering that I had some established connections and recommendations gained from those based in Ireland. From this initial sample group, I asked for references of other suitable people. As I built a small pool of acquaintances through these efforts, I could then apply the purposive sampling method, thus allowing me to select valuable cases for the research deliberately. Additionally, convenience sampling was crucial to identifying participants in Anápolis. I came across suitable people while visiting local churches, the city centre, the municipal market, street fairs,

local businesses, and attending social gatherings. Data collection was more accessible to implement in Gort due to its small population, the clustering of the Brazilian community, and the previous pilot field trip in the town. On the other hand, data collection in Anápolis was more challenging due to the city's size and difficulty accessing the cohort of return migrants. However, my knowledge and cultural ties with the region under examination helped me overcome these data collection challenges. I lived in Goiânia, the capital of Goiás, for fourteen years (from 1994 to 2006) before moving to Ireland in 2006.

The research adopted a multi-method qualitative approach, including the use of questionnaires surveys and semi-structured interviews. The survey was completed by 85 migrants (48 men and 37 women) and was designed to elicit primary demographic and socio-economic data (see Table 1) in both Anápolis and Gort and included questions on gender, age, education, Religion, region of origin, marital status, family composition, place of residency of family, types of migration, immigration status, time in Ireland, working status and sectors of employment. This initial stage of data capture was followed by in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the survey group, to explore the reasons for migrating to Ireland among the participants (see Table 1). The questionnaires and interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the native language of the researcher and the interviewees. All interviews were recorded and translated into English. All first names used are pseudonyms to protect respondents' anonymity.

Table 1. Number of questionnaires and interviews by gender and location.

LOCATION	INDIVIDUAL FEMALE RESPONDENTS	INDIVIDUAL MALE RESPONDENTS
GORT	16	29
ANÁPOLIS	21	19
SUBTOTAL	37	48
TOTAL NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS	**85**	

(**Source:** Authors own construct.)

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Unemployment, cost of living (Brazil) and employment opportunities (Ireland)

Table 2 presents the results of the analysis of data on the determinants of Brazilian migration to Ireland. The data show that unemployment, the cost of living in Brazil, and employment opportunities in Ireland were the most cited reasons for migrating to Gort, as mentioned by 50 participants. This research defines these determinants as labour market forces (Borjas, 2013). The participants expressed various perspectives on

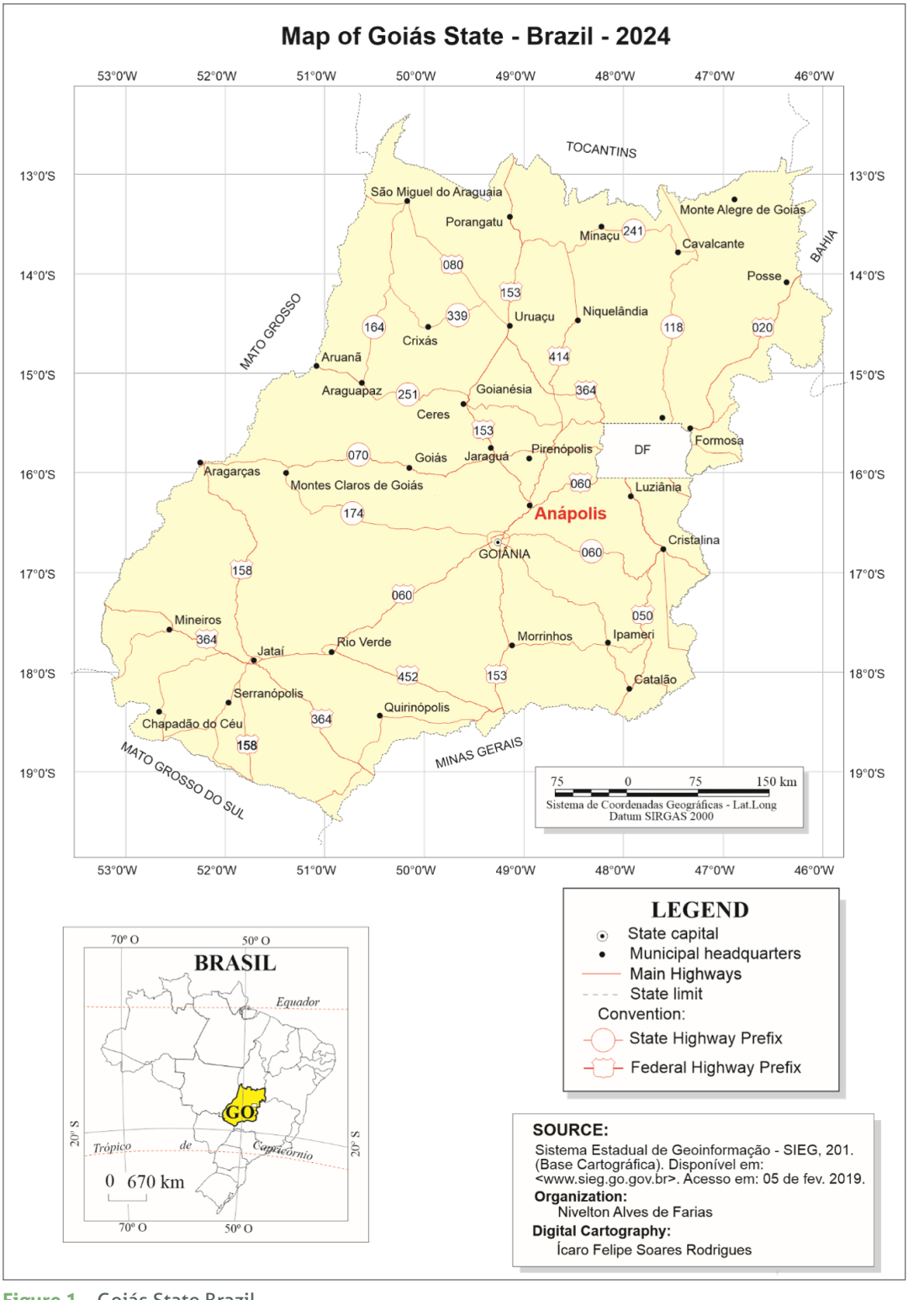

Figure 1 – Goiás State Brazil

this broad theme as one of their main reasons for migrating to Ireland. For instance, 26 participants mentioned searching for work, making money, and improving their financial lives. Financial difficulties in Brazil, unemployment, and difficulty finding a job (partly 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. In comparison, three 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 out, then I stayed there to seek a better life for my family, to make a better financial foundation for my family.*

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, explains migration by geographical differences in the supply and demand of labour (de Haas, 2008; 2011). Less industrialized countries possess surplus labour but lack capital; on the other hand, highly industrialized 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 (Massey *et al.,* 2005). Unlike the NE model, NELM does not posit complete and well-functioning markets. It recognizes that in many countries, especially the less industrialized spaces, labour, capital, credit, and insurance markets may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible to the poor (de Haas, 2010). NELM recognizes that in many countries, especially the less industrialized spaces, labour, capital, credit, and insurance markets may be absent, imperfect, or inaccessible to working-class people (de Haas, 2010); this, in turn, creates barriers to their economic advancement. The lack of social security and income risks also increases the importance of mutual help and risk-sharing among people (de Haas *et al.,* 2019).

Although labour market determinants are recognised in both the NE and the NELM frameworks, this study's findings are more consistent with the latter, as identified determinants are more related to overcoming constraints rather than maximising income. The only variables mentioned by respondents that fit NE assumptions more than NELM are the currency's value and employment rates. However, the data evidenced 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 complete information before migrating.

4.2 The wish to acquire or buy material goods, and funds to open a business

The data show that 19 participants mentioned the wish to make 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 aligns with the NELM model. 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 for coming 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 […].*

These findings are in line with the NELM theory. 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 without access to the credit mechanisms that make mass consumption possible in other regions. 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).

4.3 Education

Education-related "issues" were another significant theme, mentioned by 15 participants as one of their main reasons for migrating to Ireland. Within this broad theme, the wish to study and learn another language was expressed by 6 participants. International student migration to Ireland has received increased attention (Cawley, 2018; Gilmartin *et al.,* 2016; Dalsin, 2016; de Farias, 2024, 2012; Pan, 2011; Wang and King-O'Riain, 2006), as Ireland has become a global player in international education; student migration is one of the visible outcomes of this (Gilmartin *et al.,* 2016). Brazilian students, especially those taking language courses, are one of the most prominent student groups living in Ireland and the largest group of non-EEA nationals. The results here on educational determinants support the findings of Dalsin (2016:172), who found that the intention to learn English was the primary motivation for migrating but that some participants were already fluent and needed a clear vision of how English would impact their careers in Brazil. Similarly, de Farias's (2012:31-32) research on Brazilians in Dublin identified a desire to develop their English language skills to enhance their career opportunities, to meet the requirements of their profession, and to enhance personal development. Another study focusing on Brazilians 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 (Reyntjens, 2009: 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 educational systems, improved career opportunities, personal development, and the experience of different/new cultures and environments.

In comparison, 5 other participants cited the wish to access a good education system abroad for their children. Two other participants mentioned the need to finance their children's third level of education in Brazil. In contrast, 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 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 at home and abroad was also a significant priority among participants. The testimony of **Júlia,** a 35-year-old single mother who migrated to Ireland in 2010 with her teenage daughter, exemplifies 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 return 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 […].*

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 that 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 and learning a different language. […] Besides, I also intended to make money. These were the reasons that led me to migrate to Ireland without my family in 2004. Unfortunately, things did not happen as planned, and I ended up returning to Brazil a year later.*

Investments in education and training are also related to individuals' human capital. Becker (2002) states that human capital refers to individuals' knowledge, information, ideas, skills, and health. Furthermore, explanations of the concept of human capital suggest that there is investment in people (e.g., education, training, health) and that these investments have increased workers' productivity (Woodhall, 1987; Goldin, 2016). For example, migration and health care can increase earning capacity and be considered an investment in human capital (Woodhall, 1987). Both 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 (experience, training, and language skills) will increase the likelihood of international migration (Massey *et al.,* 1993; Massey *et al.,* 2005). 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 remuneration and employment prospects in the destination. Indeed, this was the case for Brazilian migration 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.

4.4 Indebtedness

The data reveal further capital market constraints related to indebtedness and financial difficulties, as expressed by 10 participants. 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, Emanuelly,** 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 2011 for the same reason—the need to pay debts and send one of his sons to college.

Other contributors revealed how owing money to and being harassed by loan sharks made them want to migrate to Ireland. Their testimonies revealed the pressure to send remittances home to pay debts and their difficulties in understanding 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, reveal 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".

A similar picture emerges from studies on migrants in other countries. Stoll (2010, p.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." These "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". The research here found evidence that participants and their families fell into debt during their migration to Ireland. However, there was no 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).

Financial difficulties and migrant indebtedness are in line with the NELM theory, which predicts that market constraints and market failure (insurance, capital, and credit) create pressures for people to migrate (Massey *et al.,*2005). Usually, developing countries need these markets; when they do exist, poor households generally have little access to them. NELM asserts that people, households, and families act not only to maximize income (as predicted by NE) but also to minimize and spread risks (de Haas, 2010). Moreover, migration is not only perceived as a household risk-spreading strategy but also as a way to overcome various market constraints (de Haas, 2010).

4.5 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 (Table 2). Various 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 hoping to build 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 **Antonella,** a 66-year-old civil servant in Anápolis migrated to Ireland: "The reason was to reunite with my daughter; she lived in Ireland with her husband and 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. In contrast, two others wanted to avoid family and family problems, and one participant came as a carer for an elderly relative who migrated to Gort. 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."

This study´s findings are consistent with a previous IOM report on Brazilian communities in Ireland, Belgium, and Portugal (Reyntjens, 2009). 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 to Portugal and Belgium. It found that the low rate of family reunification in Ireland was due to the undocumented status of immigrants (at least in the Gort community), migration costs (which were expressed by participants) and finally the much more advanced flows to Portugal and Belgium (Reyntjens, 2009). Evidence of family-related determinants, especially family reunification, have also been found among Brazilians living in Dublin (de Farias, 2012: 31-32), and Portugal and the Netherlands (Van Meeteren & Pereira, 2013: 12). Similar findings have also been observed among other immigrant groups living in Ireland. Komolafe (2008: 236), for example, in his study on Nigerian migration to Ireland, found that family reunification was also common among those who were granted the right to remain in Ireland based on their child being born in Ireland; these migrants moved to Ireland under the Irish family reunification scheme. Similarly, Brugha et al. (2016), in their study on the migration of migrant doctors in Ireland, found that 47% of participants cited family reasons for migrating to Ireland.

The NE theory broadly supports family-related migration. 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. 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 willing to work in the destination region (Baizán *et al.,* 2014). However, the two theoretical models predict different long-term outcomes based on the presence of a spouse and children in the host country (Baizán *et al.,* 2014). According to NE, the presence of a spouse lowers the costs of remaining abroad and thus increases the likelihood of permanent settlement, while under NELM, it increases the family's ability to meet the given income goal and a greater chances of return (Constant & Massey, 2002; Baizán *et al.,*2014). Furthermore, under the NE model, the presence of children detracts from the mother's work effort and thus reduces the odds of return; NELM, however, does not hypothesize any particular outcome, unless this variable is somehow associated with a larger earning target (Constant & Massey, 2002:12).

This section explores how family relationships and sexuality influenced Brazilian migration to Gort. Relationship issues 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), as well as 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 under pressure to support her children and has no 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 affected by relationships, and some felt worn out after divorcing their wives and losing material assets, such as **Murílo,** 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 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 of "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 and "suggest that those who are indeed 'escaping' are more motivated not to return to their sending community, to avoid contact with an abusive former spouse or boyfriend or being unhappy again".

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 had a friend of mine living in Ireland, it was because of her, and through her that I ended up going to Ireland.*

Since moving to Ireland, **Manuela** acquired Italian citizenship, settled, and established a business in Gort. This study here supports previous work on Brazilian migrants; for example, Farias' (2012: 32) work on Brazilian migrants in Dublin included a participant who moved to Ireland to get away from family/friends and embrace his homosexuality. Ireland has become an interesting case in Europe and the world, considering the recent essential changes in the country regarding LGBT rights, with the legalisation of same-sex marriage in 2015 (Murphy, 2016). Similarly, a study carried out among Brazilians living in Portugal and the Netherlands 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.,* 2010:17). Although these examples illustrate primarily 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.

4.6 Lifestyle dynamics and a feeling of nostalgia and longing for Ireland.

Lifestyle dynamics, nostalgia, and longing for Ireland represent an additional, prominent non-economic theme expressed by 12 participants. Five participants cited the dream they had to live abroad, to leave Brazil (to have a new life, new opportunities), three others cited their desire to visit other countries and learn new cultures, two others cited the excitement, adventure, adrenaline, and a better lifestyle, while one 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, 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.*

Although lifestyle dynamics are not in line with the migration theories informing the study (NE and NELM), there is a significant body of literature in this area of migration research (Huete *et al.,* 2013; Janoschka and Haas, 2013; 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). 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 more resources (Huete *et al.,*2013: 333).

4.7 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 points to an expectation of Ireland as a safe, stable country suitable for families and with opportunities 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. In contrast, one participant cited the wish to be away from bad influences and drugs (in this case, this was a family decision). Another participant cited Brazil's disillusionment and failing political and (economic) systems. Their testimonies below tell 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.*

Another similar example is 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 emphasized "security": "There were many reasons, the first one was for security, of course, because Brazil is very dangerous, [...]". In contrast, being "away from drugs and bad influences" was one of the main reasons **Bernardo,** a 37-year-old single father, came to Ireland. He also mentioned the wish to get a job; here is how he puts it:

> *I thought, first to get a job, and then to escape the drugs and evil influences in 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 access to security 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 accessing 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 Brazilian economy's mismanagement and downfall.

The NE theory has been criticized for ignoring the effects of states, politics, and policies, which are only considered distortion factors or additional costs (Kurekova, 2011). NE also considers the states' role an aberration that disrupts markets' "normal" functioning (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 (de Haas, 2011; Van der Brug *et al.,* 2015; Geddes

& Scholten, 2016; Loyal, 2018). NELM has also been criticized for ignoring dynamics at the structural level (except for market incompleteness) and for failing to address how individual migrant agency interacts with structural constraints (Abreu, 2012). Because of the above shortcomings, Castles (2010) argues that NELM does not allow 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.

4.8 Religion and religious missions

Four participants mentioned religion and religious missions, an interesting theme emerging from the data. Participants expressed a variety of religion-related issues. For instance, two participants came from Brazil and Portugal to work as religious leaders (pastors), one came to do a religious mission in Ireland, while the other wished to open a Pentecostal church in Ireland. Interestingly, all four participants 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. […]." These cases exemplify a social/cultural migration that parallels labour migration processes.

Other studies have found evidence of religious determinants among other migrants to Ireland. For example, Ejorh (2012: 588) 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." Ejorh also highlighted 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". 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. […]." Komolafe points out that this may also be linked to Irish religious missionaries in Nigeria; as such, there is a cultural and spiritual connection and a driver of migration.

Unlike other groups in Ireland, Brazilians did not flee religious and ethnic persecution; instead, they migrated of their own free will to meet the spiritual needs of Brazilians abroad. Furthermore, these religious leaders and missionaries came to Ireland during the second and third waves of Brazilian migration, when there was already an established community in Gort. These social and cultural drivers of migration do not fit into traditional economic rational choice migration models.

The five Brazilian Pentecostal churches in Gort offer support for members in need and organise activities, as well as religious services, which has helped create a sense of community. The churches have also helped the community to preserve their cultural identity, although these are conservative influences (de Farias, 2022: 198). Indeed, a previous study in Gort by Sheringham (2010:71) 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 (2011) found similar patterns in her study exploring the role of religion in the lives of Brazilian migrants in London and their families in Brazil. She discovered that religion enabled them to create and maintain links between the two communities. 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). Religion is also vital for communities in the city of Anápolis. For instance, during the fieldwork for this study, it was discovered that for returnees from Ireland, being part of a church community was crucial to their reintegration and creating a sense of community, especially among older and retired returnees (de Farias, 2022).

4.9 Health and well-being

The data show that 3 participants moved to Gort due to health factors and well-being. Interestingly, although not a significant determinant among the participants, 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, making money to pay for a relative's health treatment in Brazil, escaping stress-related problems (after retirement), and seeking well-being. An example is the story of **Laura,** a 57-year-old divorced woman. She talks about her mental distress after retiring, 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 am going to tell the truth, it seems that I went crazy, [...]." **Laura's** comments also illustrate a desire to search for personal well-being. A second participant, 62-year-old **Antônio,** describes how being unemployed and unable to pay for his partner's health treatment (surgery) led him to migrate to Ireland. However, his testimony also shows that migrants create new reasons to stay abroad after achieving their primary 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 […]. Then after some time, my reasons for staying there changed, I decided to stay to make money to renovate our house.

Although only a few participants mentioned a health issue as a reason for migrating to Ireland, other studies on Brazilian migrants in other countries have found more robust 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 healthcare provision in Brazil. Although health care in Brazil is a constitutional right and public health care is provided to all Brazilians through the NHS, most of it is controlled by the private sector.

Table 2. Main reasons for migrating to Ireland.

Reasons	Participants	Percentage
Economic determinants		
Unemployment, costs of living (Brazil) and employment opportunities (Ireland)	50	42.5
The wish to acquire or buy material goods, and funds to open a business	19	16.15
Education	15	12.75
Indebtedness	10	8.5
Non-economic determinants		
Family, relationships, and sexuality	49	41.65
Lifestyle dynamics, and feelings of nostalgia and longing for Ireland	12	10.2
Unsafe urban conditions and failing political system in Brazil	6	5.1
Religion and religious missions	4	3.4
Health and wellbeing	3	2.55

Note: N exceeds 85 because of multiple responses.
Source: Fieldwork, 2018.

5. Conclusion

This study provides a comprehensive understanding of Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort, highlighting the complexity and diversity of motivations behind this movement. Unlike previous research (Dalsin, 2016), which primarily focused on middle-class Brazilians moving to Dublin for education, this study broadens the scope to include labour migration to a rural location, incorporating a more varied demographic and a more comprehensive range of determinants. The findings reveal that economic determinants related to (1) unemployment, costs of living (Brazil), and employment opportunities (Ireland), (2) the wish to acquire or buy material goods and funds to open a business, (3) education, and (4) indebtedness play a significant role but are not the sole drivers. The findings also indicate the importance of non-economic sociocultural 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 flawed political system in Brazil, (4) religion and religious missions, and (5) health and wellbeing. Although economic factors played an essential role in initiating Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort, the study challenges the common perception that economic factors are the primary motivations for migration. The diverse range of sociocultural factors plays an equally important role. The findings dispute that Brazilian migration to Gort is homogenous and solely labour-related. Migrants have a variety of personal and social reasons influencing their decisions. The study underscores the multifaceted nature of migration, illustrating that a combination of economic and sociocultural factors drives the movement of Brazilians from Anápolis to Gort. This nuanced understanding can inform more effective migration policies and support services that consider the varied needs and motivations of migrants.

This study makes several contributions to the current literature on the determinants of migration. Firstly, the evidence here on labour market factors as a key determinant for migration, is consistent with both NE and NELM approaches (de Haas, 2011). Secondly, the evidence on capital and credit markets factors, particularly supports NELM (Massey *et al.,* 1993). NELM theorists argue that whenever households lack access to credit and capital markets, they lose the ability to capitalise on new productive activities and finance large consumer purchases (Massey *et al.,* 2005). Thirdly, the findings reported here shed new light on the significance of non-economic determinants in engendering and sustaining migration flows. Fourthly, the data show a significant change in the migration-inducing structural conditions of both communities. 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 and other determinants are needed to explain how Brazilian migration to this town is sustained over time. Significantly, the evidence indicates a shift from economic to non-economic determinants among the later and most recent arrivals. Fifthly, although the majority of those who made up the study sample was 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 over time. This exemplifies the deepening

and embedding of links within the community of Gort beyond the labour-oriented lens of meat processing factory opportunities. Although the findings broadly support previous empirical literature, they were only partially consistent with the migration theories informing the study, thus showing that migration determinants may be more diverse and complex than previously considered and that competing theories might, therefore, be partly complementary (see Brettell and Hollifield, 2014; Smith and King, 2012).

In addition to the theoretical contribution, this research provides a valuable empirical contribution. In the introduction, it was noted that despite almost 20 years of Brazilian migration to Gort and some relevant academic studies carried out over the years (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; Maher, 2010; Maher, 2011; Mckeown, 2015; Maher & Cawley, 2016), there is a lack of in-depth research examining the determinants of Brazilian migration to this part of Ireland, especially from a multi-sited perspective. This study is the first comprehensive investigation to undertake this task, bringing a fresh perspective to the field. This study also contributes to the limited literature available on the determinants of migration to Ireland and constitutes an original contribution to the field of the determinants of migration in Europe (Massey *et al.,* 2005). 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 the lack of studies particularly focused on the determinants of Latin migration to Ireland (Marrow, 2012). Finally, this study makes an original contribution to the body of literature examining the determinants of Brazilian migration. Despite the large number of Brazilians abroad (MRE, 2023), there has been a particular lack of studies that explore the determinants of emigration flows in Brazil. This study makes an original contribution to this body of literature, shedding new light on the complex factors driving migration.

Future research must strive for a more comprehensive understanding of Brazilian migration to Ireland; this can be achieved by including a more representative sample of the Brazilian community across Ireland, incorporating migrants from diverse towns and regions. Additionally, examining the impact of Irish government migration policies and labour market regulations (Ruhs, 2005) on migration decisions could provide valuable insights, not only for Brazilian migrants but also for other migrant groups. Future research should also aim to include more comparative studies to understand the similarities and differences in determinants of migration and migration decision-making processes among various migrant groups. For instance, comparing the determinants of migration and migration decision-making processes of Brazilian migrants with those of other nationalities migrating to Ireland could highlight unique and common factors influencing the migration of these migrant groups. Such comparative research would also significantly broaden the literature on the determinants of migration and migration decision-making in the Irish context.

Before concluding, it is essential to mention what can be seen as the limitations of the present study. The first refers to the study methodology. While it was possible to collect the necessary data and understand the participants' experiences through interviews and questionnaires, it was not possible to incorporate participatory methods (Ozkul, 2020).

As a result, it was impossible to discuss the study data with either the participants or the communities involved during the research's collection, analysis, and writing phase. This was mainly due to time constraints and a lack of resources. However, this would have also involved longer or multiple periods of fieldwork. The second limitation is that this study focused only on the migrants. It would have been interesting to have also engaged with the residents in both 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 explore the locals' opinions on the sudden Brazilian migration to the town and the significant decline in the overall number of Brazilian immigrants more recently. A more diverse sample enhances representativeness and reduces bias in a study (Gobo, 2004). However, due to time and resource constraints, this study focused solely on migrants from two communities. To compensate, it employed a larger sample than typically required in qualitative research, enabling a deeper understanding of the patterns shaping migration and return migration among Brazilian migrants in Anápolis in Goiás (Brazil) and Gort in County Galway (Ireland).

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