

Patterns of remittance behavior among Brazilian migrants in Ireland

Padrões de comportamento de remessas entre migrantes brasileiros na Irlanda

Patrones de comportamiento de remesas entre inmigrantes brasileños en Irlanda



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Abstract: This article analyses remittance behavior among Brazilian migrants between Gort, County Galway, in Ireland, and Anápolis, Goiás, in Brazil. Drawing on data from a four-year research project, the study is grounded in qualitative interviews and a questionnaire survey involving 85 Brazilian migrants. The research identifies various economic and socio-cultural factors influencing remittance behaviors, linking these to established theoretical frameworks, such as altruism, self-interest, portfolio investment, and exchange hypotheses. Key findings suggest that remittance patterns are positively correlated with factors such as income level, employment status, and legal status, as well as the migrants' length of stay and household composition. This nuanced exploration significantly enriches the existing literature on remittance flows to Brazil, providing a unique perspective on how these dynamics unfold at the household level between two distinct communities.

Keywords: Remittances; Brazilian migrants; Anápolis; Goiás; Ireland.

Resumo: Este artigo analisa o comportamento de remessas entre migrantes brasileiros entre Gort, Condado de Galway na Irlanda, e Anápolis, Goiás no Brasil. Com base em dados de um projeto de pesquisa de quatro anos, o estudo é baseado em entrevistas qualitativas e uma pesquisa por questionário envolvendo 85 migrantes brasileiros. A pesquisa identificava vários fatores econômicos e socioculturais que influenciam os comportamentos de remessas, vinculando-os a estruturas teóricas estabelecidas como altruísmo, interesse próprio, investimento de portfólio e hipóteses de troca. As principais descobertas sugerem que os padrões de remessas são positivamente correlacionados com fatores como nível de renda, status de emprego e status legal, bem como com o tempo de permanência dos migrantes e a composição familiar. Essa exploração diferenciada enriquece significativamente a literatura existente sobre fluxos de remessas para o Brasil, oferecendo uma perspectiva única sobre como essas dinâmicas se desenvolvem no nível familiar entre duas comunidades distintas.

Palavras-chave: Remessas; Migrantes brasileiros; Anápolis; Goiás; Irlanda.

Resumen: Este artículo analiza el comportamiento de las remesas entre los migrantes brasileños entre Gort, Condado de Galway, en Irlanda, y Anápolis, Goiás, en Brasil. El estudio, que se basa en datos de un proyecto de investigación de cuatro años de duración, se basa en entrevistas cualitativas y una encuesta por cuestionario en la que participaron 85 migrantes brasileños. La investigación identifica diversos factores económicos y socioculturales que influyen en el comportamiento en relación con las remesas, vinculándolos con marcos teóricos establecidos como el altruismo, el interés propio, la inversión de cartera y las hipótesis de intercambio. Los hallazgos clave sugieren que los patrones de envío de remesas están correlacionados positivamente con factores como el nivel de ingresos, la situación laboral y la situación legal, así como con la duración de la estancia de los migrantes y la composición del hogar. Esta exploración matizada enriquece significativamente la literatura existente sobre los flujos de remesas a Brasil, ofreciendo una perspectiva única sobre cómo se desarrollan estas dinámicas a nivel de los hogares entre dos comunidades distintas.

Palabras clave: Remesas; migrantes brasileños; Anápolis; Goiás; Irlanda.

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Introduction

Immigrant remittances are often used to describe the money migrants abroad send to support their family and friends (Immigrant remittances, 2024). Remittances have become an increasingly important source of external financing for developing countries, often surpassing foreign direct investment (FDI) and official development assistance (ODA). These financial inflows are often sent through formal channels such as banks or informal networks. These remittances have a significant impact on the economies of developing countries, providing a substantial source of foreign exchange, enhancing household welfare, and promoting economic development. As globalization has facilitated labor mobility, the flow of remittances from migrants to their countries of origin has grown significantly. According to the World Bank (2023), the flow of remittances to low- and middle-income countries (LMICs) increased by around 3.8 percent, reaching US\$669 billion in 2023 (World Bank, 2023, p. 1). In particular, remittance flows to Latin America and the Caribbean increased by approximately 8% in 2023, reaching US\$156 billion and surpassing US\$100 billion over the last three years (World Bank, 2023). The improving labor market in the United States also has a positive impact on remittance flows to Mexico, Central America, and South America (World Bank, 2023, p. 30).

Understanding the determinants of these remittances is crucial for policymakers to harness their potential for economic development. Unlike economic growth, which refers strictly to an increase in a country's output of goods and services (usually measured by GDP), economic development encompasses a broader scope. It encompasses improved living standards, reduced poverty and inequality, increased employment, better education and healthcare, and enhanced human capital and institutional quality (Todaro; Smith, 2015). For instance, remittances can have a positive and immediate impact on household income and poverty reduction. For many families in low-income countries, remittances are a vital source of income used to cover basic needs such as

food, housing, healthcare, and education. Studies have shown that countries with high remittance inflows often experience poverty reduction. For instance, Adams Junior and Page (2005) found that a 10% increase in per capita remittances led to a 3.5% decline in the poverty headcount ratio. Remittances can enable recipient households to invest in education and health, two crucial components of human capital development. Improved access to education enhances the employability of individuals, which in turn fosters economic productivity. Furthermore, better health outcomes from remittance-funded healthcare contribute to a more capable and productive labor force (Ratha, 2013). Remittances also play a role in promoting financial inclusion, mainly when channeled through formal banking systems. They can increase savings and investment by improving access to financial services for previously unbanked populations. Additionally, remittances are relatively stable compared to other capital inflows, acting as a counter-cyclical buffer during economic downturns. This stability contributes to macroeconomic stability and can mitigate the effects of economic shocks (Chami *et al.*, 2008). In specific contexts, remittances can also finance small businesses and entrepreneurial ventures. Remittances can spur job creation and economic diversification by providing capital in economies where credit markets are underdeveloped or inaccessible (Woodruff; Zenteno, 2007). This can contribute to structural transformation, a key component of long-term economic development.

The number of migrants working abroad determines the volume of remittance flows to the receiving economy. Globally, the number of international Brazilian migrants in 2022 was 4,598,735 (MRE, 2023, p. 3). In terms of reception regions, North America alone hosts around 2,078,170 million (45.19%), 1,490,745 in Europe (32.42%), 646,730 in South America (14.06%), 222,053 in Asia (4.83%), 59,230 in the Middle East (1.29%), 53,430 in Oceania (1.16%), 600,39 in Africa (0.87%) and 8,777 in Central America and the Caribbean combined (0.18%) (MRE, 2023, p. 3). Due to its considerable number of international migrants, Brazil is one of the

largest recipients of inbound remittances in Latin America, with an estimated total of US\$3,566 billion in 2020, increasing to US\$4,102 billion (2021), US\$4,974 billion (2022) and US\$4,400 billion (2023) (World Bank, 2023, p. 30). While the importance of understanding the determinants of remittance flows has been highlighted in the literature (Lucas; Stark, 1985; Orozco, 2023; Chami *et al.*, 2005; de Haas, 2007; Carling, 2008; Bollard *et al.*, 2011; Singh *et al.*, 2011), a limited amount of empirical research has been devoted to the topic in Brazil (World Bank, 2023; Shahzad *et al.*, 2019; Goza; Ryabov, 2012; Meher, 2010; Goza; Marteleto, 1998).

This study aims to help fill this empirical gap by providing an insightful analysis of remittance behavior among Brazilian migrants between Gort, County Galway, in Ireland, and Anápolis, Goiás, in Brazil. The study examines four critical aspects of remittance behavior: the motivations for sending remittances, the frequency with which remittances are sent, the types of investments made in the migrants' regions of origin, and the effects of these remittances on the standard of living for the families receiving them. Ireland represents a new European frontier for Brazilians, who have historically migrated primarily to Portugal and other Western European countries (Jordan; Duvell, 2002; Evans *et al.*, 2007; Torresan, 2012; Schrooten *et al.*, 2016). Brazilian migration to Ireland is notable because, unlike Portugal and other European nations, Ireland lacks strong historical migration and colonial ties with Brazil or a familiarity with migrants from the region (Marrow, 2012). However, Ireland has strong historical and economic relations with the United Kingdom, which is home to the second-largest Brazilian population in Europe, at 230,000, behind only Portugal, with 513,000 (MRE, 2024). As they form the second-largest non-EU immigrant group living in Ireland, Brazilian migration is particularly relevant when examining determinants of remittances in the Irish migration context. Brazilians are the sixth-largest non-Irish population residing in the state (CSO, 2022). Brazilians also represent Ireland's largest immigrant group from Latin America and the Caribbean (CSO, 2022). The number of Brazilians increased

significantly in 2022 to 39,556, representing an eightfold growth since 2006.

At the origin, the research focused on Vila Fabril, a place of historical significance in the Western part of Anápolis. This neighborhood initially became the center of Brazilian migration to Gort as most pioneer migrants were from Vila-Fabril (Healy, 2006; Sheringham, 2009; McGrath, 2010; de Farias, 2022). 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 region's main economic activities for many years. The ceramic and brick factories, as well as the meat processing plants in Vila Fabril, have played an important economic role since the 1930s, employing local families for many years. The context of the meat processing plants is most pertinent to this research, as their economic rise and fall are arguably 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 many skilled workers to migrate to Gort to work similarly in a local meat processing plant (Healy, 2006; McGrath, 2010). Eventually, the industrial site was reopened 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 in certain groups within the country (CSO, 2016). Unfortunately, JBS shut down in 2014, 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 from Anápolis to Gort in Ireland (see de Farias, 2022). Despite the decline of both the meat processing and the ceramic/brick sectors in Vila Fabril, it is possible to see the remains of the industrial past in its geography (de Farias, 2022). More importantly, the industrial past lives in the memories of the

older workers who still live in the village (Bernardes *et al.*, 2015) and those who had to migrate to Ireland due to the decline of these local industries.

Reflecting the arrival of different groups of immigrants in Ireland, research on Brazilian immigrants is only beginning to emerge and is comprised mainly of qualitative, small-scale, and mixed methods studies, except for two large-scale studies (de Farias, 2022; Gouveia, 2015). Most of this academic research was conducted with Brazilian immigrants in Gort, a small town in County Galway, in the west of Ireland. The Brazilian community of Gort is arguably the most famous case of Brazilian migration in Ireland, and over the years, it has been discussed in both academia and the media (O'Shaughnessy, 2007; Mac Cormaic, 2008; Pereira, 2008; RTE, 2011). These studies have focused on the determinants of migration, return migration and migration decision-making (de Farias, 2022, 2024a, 2024b); social capital and networks (McGrath, 2010; McGrath; Murray, 2009, 2011); integration (Leal, 2004; Healy, 2006, McKeown, 2015); ethnic identity (Sheringham, 2009, 2010); transnational religions (Meher, 2011; Sheringham, 2013) and rural cosmopolitanism (Woods, 2018). Only one study (Maher, 2010) has examined remittance behavior among Brazilians in Gort. Maher's findings demonstrated that remittances from Ireland improved the lives of their families in Brazil and their own upon their return. The evidence also suggests that, although there are separate altruistic and non-altruistic motives for migrants to remit, many appear to follow remitting patterns driven by familial reasons. However, as the time spent in the host country increased, many remittances shifted from altruistic to non-altruistic (Maher, 2010). This study aims to contribute to this body of literature.

The paper is organized as follows: the next section provides a theoretical framework developed from economic theories and empirical studies on remittance determinants. The subsequent empirical analysis describes the methods and data and interprets and discusses the results. The final section presents a summary of

the study's main findings, implications, and suggestions for future research areas.

Theorising Remittance Determinants

Economic, Social, and Cultural Theories

Several significant economic theories have been proposed to explain the determinants of migrant remittances. These theories, including the 'altruism hypothesis,' the 'self-interest hypothesis,' 'risk diversification', and the 'portfolio investment hypothesis,' provide a robust framework for understanding the complex nature of remittance behavior. For instance, the altruism hypothesis, as posited by Stark and Lucas (1988), suggests that remittances are motivated by the desire to support family members, particularly in times of need, such as during illness, unemployment, or natural disasters. This theory is supported by empirical evidence, showing that remittances increase when recipients face economic hardships.

In contrast to altruism, the self-interest hypothesis suggests that migrants remit money to serve their interests; this includes maintaining their inheritance rights, investing in assets in their home country, or ensuring their care during old age. Lucas and Stark (1985) argue that remittances can be seen as a form of investment in the migrant's future, with the family acting as trustees of the migrant's assets.

Remittance can also be viewed as a strategy for risk diversification. Migrants remit to diversify their income sources and secure support in times of need. According to Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo (2006), remittances act as a form of insurance. Migrants remit more during economic downturns in their home country to ensure their families' financial stability.

Similarly, the portfolio investment hypothesis views remittances as part of a broader portfolio diversification strategy. Migrants

remit funds to invest in different assets in their home countries, including real estate, businesses, and financial instruments. This approach allows migrants to mitigate risks and optimize the returns on their investments. Research by Glytsos (2002) supports this theory by showing that migrants remit more when favorable investment opportunities exist in their home countries.

While economic theories provide a solid foundation for understanding remittance behavior, it is essential to acknowledge the significant role that social and cultural factors play in shaping this behavior. Migrants often remit due to social norms and obligations deeply rooted in their cultural backgrounds. In many cultures, there is a strong expectation for migrants to support their families financially. This is particularly evident in extended family systems, where remittances are viewed as fulfilling familial obligations. Studies by Carling (2008) highlight how social pressures and the desire to maintain social status influence remittance behavior. Migrants with strong cultural ties and a sense of identity connected to their home country are more likely to remit. This is because remittances serve as a means of maintaining these connections and supporting cultural practices. Research by Levitt (2001) indicates that migrants who are culturally active and participate in diaspora communities remit more frequently.

Within this body of research, gender differences in remittance motivations have garnered specific attention. While traditional economic theories often assume a gender-neutral sender motivated by altruism or self-interest, a growing body of literature highlights that men and women may remit for different reasons, shaped by distinct social roles, expectations, and migratory experiences (Parreñas, 2001; Orozco, 2002; Asis, 2006; Holst *et al.*, 2012). Many studies highlight women's remittances as deeply rooted in altruism and emotional obligations. Parreñas (2001) introduced the concept of "emotional remittances," noting that women maintain their caregiving roles across borders. Their remittances often show care, affection, and guilt over family separation. These patterns reflect broader gender roles and inequalities in sending

and receiving countries. Future research must continue to explore these dynamics through intersectional and context-sensitive lenses to inform policy and practice.

Empirical Studies

Empirical studies offer valuable insights into the various factors that influence migrant remittances. These studies typically focus on individual, household, macroeconomic, policy, and institutional factors. Income level and employment status are the primary determinants of migrants' remittance behavior, with higher income and employment stability enabling migrants to remit larger amounts. Studies by Adams Junior (2011) reveal a positive correlation between migrants' earnings and the amount they remit. The educational background and skill level of migrants can impact their earning potential and, consequently, their remittance capacity. Migrants with a higher education and specialized skills often secure better-paying jobs, resulting in higher remittances. Bollard *et al.* (2011) found that skilled migrants remit more than their less-skilled counterparts, partly due to higher incomes and better employment opportunities. However, some studies suggest that highly educated migrants may remit less if they integrate more into the host country's economy and social system (Faini, 2007). The duration of stay in the host country and the legal status of migrants both impact remittance patterns. Longer stays and a secured legal status often result in lower remittances as migrants become more settled in the host country; conversely, temporary or undocumented migrants tend to remit more to secure their future back home (Amuedo-Dorantes; Pozo, 2006). The number and type of dependents in the home country affect remittance behavior. Migrants with more dependents, such as children and elderly parents, will likely remit more. Additionally, migrants who are the primary breadwinners for their families also tend to send more significant remittances (Osilli, 2007).

While individual and household factors provide a solid foundation for understanding remittance behavior, it is essential to acknowledge the significant role of macroeconomics. For example, exchange rate fluctuations can significantly influence remittance flows. Favorable exchange rates in the home country can increase the value of remittances and encourage migrants to send more money. Studies by Freund and Spatafora (2008) highlight the sensitivity of remittances to exchange rate changes. The inflation rate and cost of living in both the host and home countries also impact remittance behavior. High inflation in the home country may lead to increased remittances as migrants try to compensate for the loss of purchasing power. Conversely, high living costs in the host country can reduce remittance disposable income (Sayan, 2006). Similarly, economic conditions, such as GDP growth and employment rates in home and host countries, are crucial in determining remittances. Economic downturns in the home country often lead to increased remittances as migrants support their families during tough times. Similarly, economic growth in the host country can boost migrants' earnings and remittance capacity (Vargas-Silva; Huang, 2006).

Policy and institutional factors play a significant role in determining remittance behavior. For example, the availability and efficiency of financial services in the home country, such as banking and money transfer services, have a significant impact on remittance flows. Improved financial infrastructure reduces transaction costs and encourages higher remittance volumes. Research by Orozco (2023) shows that countries with better-developed financial systems receive more remittances. Furthermore, the regulatory environment in both the home and host countries, including policies on migration, remittance transfer, and taxation, influences remittance behavior. Restrictive immigration policies in the host country can reduce remittances by creating uncertainty and limiting migrants' ability to earn and send money. Conversely, favorable policies, such as tax incentives and support for diaspora investment, can boost remittance flows

(Chami *et al.*, 2005). Political stability and good governance in the home country are also crucial for attracting remittances. Migrants are more likely to remit if they have confidence in the stability and governance of their home country. Studies by Singh *et al.* (2011) indicate that countries with lower corruption and political risk levels receive higher remittance flows.

Research Methods

This article draws on data from a four-year research project on the determinants of Brazilian migration from Anápolis, Goiás, to Gort, County Galway, Ireland (de Farias, 2022). The fieldwork was conducted in Anápolis and Gort from May to September 2018. The research adopted a multi-method qualitative approach, including questionnaire surveys, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. The sample consisted of 85 participants (48 men and 37 women), of whom 45 were based in Gort and 40 in Anápolis. Regarding the sample in Anápolis, 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) (King, 1986).

Initially, I administered a questionnaire survey to the 85 participants to obtain primary demographic and socioeconomic data aimed to capture as far as possible the diversity of the Brazilian migrants in both research sites about factors such as 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. The questionnaire has advantages 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 standardized and pre-coded answers (Denscombe, 2003). 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).

This initial stage of data capture was followed by in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the survey group to capture patterns of remittance behaviors among the participants; this included asking fundamental questions relating to their reasons for sending remittances, frequency of remittances sent home, investments made in the origin region and improvement in the standard of living of families receiving remittances. 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 that allows questions to be more general in their frame of reference than 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; however, these follow-up questions do not need to be specified in the interview guide (Bryman, 2008). This allows the researcher to collect all the intended data and any additional data that emerge during the process (O'Leary, 2010). Most migration research requires the kind of detailed information that interviews supply, for instance, data on migrants' motivations, emotions, experiences, and feelings. 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; Stark, 1988).

These stages were complemented further by other ethnographic methods, including participant observation.

Participant observation was used to build a richer understanding of the context in each community; this was necessary, considering that micro migration studies primarily rely on individual, family, and community characteristics (Davanzo, 1981; Krumm, 1983). The questionnaires and in-depth interviews were conducted in Portuguese, the interviewees' native language. All interviews were tape-recorded and translated into English. All first names used are pseudonyms to protect respondents' anonymity.

Results and discussion

Motivations for sending remittances

The data show that 33 participants sent remittances home to support their families with household bills, food, and medicine. Consistent with the literature, this research found that male participants were more likely than females to send remittances home to support their family, with a proportion of 23 to 10, respectively. There was also a significant difference between the two communities, with 27 of those living in Anápolis having sent remittances while living in Ireland, while only 8 currently residing in Gort were in the habit of sending remittances. In many cultural contexts, men are expected to be the financial providers. Thus, remitting fulfills this social role, reinforcing masculinity and social status (Connell; Messerschmidt, 2005).

Seventeen participants mentioned sending remittances home to support a family member in need (someone in the extended family or household). Women were more likely than men to send remittances to support a needy family member by a ratio of 10 to 7, respectively. No significant differences were evident between the two communities. This finding is consistent with the literature. Numerous studies indicate that women are more likely than men to send remittances home to support family members due to their stronger sense of familial obligation, caregiving roles, and gendered social expectations. This tendency is often shaped by

social norms that assign women the role of caretakers, even across transnational spaces (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2001).

One interesting theme that emerged was the practice of sending remittances home to cover the health treatment costs of a relative, as mentioned by nine participants. Not surprisingly, sending remittances home to fund children's education was mentioned by 8 participants, of whom 7 were to fund primary or secondary education and 1 to fund tertiary education. Interestingly, male participants were more likely to fund children's education than females, at a proportion of 7 to 1, respectively. However, caution is warranted because of the small sample size. Indeed, this finding contradicts previous studies, which have suggested that women often allocate remittances toward education, healthcare, and daily subsistence. Their remittance behavior reflects a commitment to social reproduction, ensuring the survival and well-being of the household (Yeates, 2005). Studies in the Philippines and Latin America confirm that female migrants prioritize remitting for basic needs and child-related expenses (Asis, 2006).

These findings support the altruism hypothesis. Altruistic motives involve sending money out of concern for the well-being of family members. The migrant is concerned about family poverty and unforeseen events and consequently sends remittances (Hagen-Zanker; Siegel, 2007). This model posits that the migrant derives a positive utility from the well-being and consumption level of the family left behind (Lucas; Stark, 1985; Stark, 1991). Based on this, the altruism model predicts a positive relationship between the immigrant's earnings and the adverse conditions of the host family but an inverse relationship with the host family's income (Piracha; Saraogi, 2011; Funkhouser, 1995).

Another 19 participants sent remittances home *for investment reasons*, such as buying or building a house (those who owned land). Again, males were more likely to send remittances home to buy/or build a house than females, with a proportion of 13 to 6, respectively. The return migrants in Anápolis were the most significant group buying or building a house, numbering 13, while only 6 of those

living in Gort mentioned this reason. This finding broadly supports the work of other studies. Carling (2008), for instance, found that men are likelier to remit for investment purposes, including land, housing, and business ventures. These actions are often tied to long-term plans for return and inheritance. Male migrants often use remittances to improve their social standing within the community. Public displays of success, such as building houses or sponsoring events, can affirm their identity as successful migrants (Osella; Osella, 2000).

The other 18 participants sent remittances home to purchase a motor vehicle, mainly cars and *trucks*, the former for family use only. In contrast, the latter were used for two purposes: work and supporting the family's livelihood. Again, the return migrants were the largest group to buy a car or a truck, with a difference of 15 compared to participants in Gort. Sending remittances home to *buy land* was mentioned by 11 participants; of these, 10 participants bought urban allotments, and 1 participant bought a farm. Contrary to previous studies, female participants were the most significant group in buying land, 7, while males numbered only 4.

A further 9 participants sent remittances home *to renovate the family house*, while 4 did so *to buy new furniture and a better TV*. Seven participants mentioned sending remittances home to make investments. A small minority of participants ($n = 2$) sent remittances *to save money for the future*.

These findings align with both the self-interest hypothesis and the portfolio investment hypothesis. Self-interested remittances are involved when migrants buy and hold assets for themselves, expanding social networks that are potentially useful to them upon their return home or securing their share of the family inheritance (Mahmud, 2020). If a migrant wants to invest at home, the family can be a reliable and knowledgeable agent. If a migrant intends to return home, he/she may invest in housing and livestock and will ask the family to be the agent (Hagen-Zanker; Siegel, 2007). On the other hand, the portfolio investment hypothesis views

migrant remittances as part of a broader portfolio diversification strategy. Migrants remit to diversify their sources of income and secure support in times of need. This approach enables migrants to mitigate risks and optimize their investment returns. Empirical studies have shown that migrants remit more when favorable investment opportunities exist in their home countries (Glytsos, 2002).

Another significant theme that emerged was the support of children left behind, mentioned by 15 participants, including 8 females and 7 males. Return migrants were the largest group supporting children back home, numbering 14, while only 1 participant in Gort mentioned this motivation.

Interestingly, 13 participants sent remittances home to repay debts. Not surprisingly, males comprised the majority of those sending remittances to pay debts, with proportions of 10 and 3, respectively. This aligns with previous studies showing that reciprocity is prominent among remitters, as men repay their families for migration support (Carling, 2008). No significant differences were detected between the two communities. Remittances were also used to finance the migration of a relative, as mentioned by a small number of participants ($n = 3$).

These findings are consistent with the exchange motive hypothesis (Cox, 1987). The exchange motive involves a contractual agreement between the migrant and the family receiving the remittance (Piracha; Saraogi, 2011). Under this motive, remittances represent payments to the family back home for services they have provided (e.g., childcare, managing the migrant's assets, or handling other financial arrangements) (Cox, 1987). The theory can also be applied to remittances, whereby remittances enable the purchase of various services, usually by temporary migrants (Rapoport; Docquier, 2005). The data showed that participants received many exchange support services before and after migrating to Ireland. Accommodation and food upon arrival were the most frequently mentioned support by 39 participants. Another 39 participants mentioned having received help in finding

a job, and only 1 participant had received help with the work permit application. Thirty participants received information before traveling, and an additional 26 received it after arriving. A further 18 participants were picked up at the airport (by a relative or a friend); however, in some cases, this service was used to exploit new migrants by charging exorbitant rates. Regarding financial support, 10 participants reported receiving help with money and financial support, while 6 others stated they had received help with emotional support (friendship). Another 6 participants received an invitation letter to enter the country; however, most had to pay for this service.

Other motivations for sending remittances home mentioned were investing in the family farm, i.e., building a pigsty and new fences (n=1); helping a friend in need (n=1); starting a new business (n=1); solving problems (n=1); paying a relative's funeral expenses (n=1); and saving for a vacation in Brazil upon returning (n=1).

The frequency with which remittances are sent

The data show that 51 participants consistently remitted significant amounts of money to their families while living in Ireland. Male participants were more likely to consistently send remittances home than female participants, with a general proportion of 31 and 20. A significant difference was found between those living in Gort, with males more likely to send remittances home than females (13 and 3). This finding contradicts previous studies, which have suggested that women are more likely to remit regularly and allocate a larger proportion of their income, even though they typically earn less (Orozco, 2002; Holst *et al.*, 2012). For example, in Latin America, women are prominent remitters due to the prevalence of female-dominated migration. In contrast, male-dominated migration in parts of South Asia results in different remittance dynamics, with a stronger focus on investments and status-building (Rahman, 2009).

Another 9 participants said they do not send remittances home because their lives are now in Ireland. Among this group, there were 5 males and 4 females. This finding is consistent with the literature. As migrants integrate into host societies, their emotional and identity-based ties to their countries of origin may erode. Portes and Rumbaut (2001) highlight that long-settled first-generation or second-generation migrants are less likely to maintain transnational commitments, including remittances. This is partly explained by assimilation theory, which posits that greater acculturation and structural integration lead to declining homeland attachments (Alba; Nee, 2003). However, many in this group initially sent remittances home with the dream of building something and returning home. The case of Nicolas, a 52-year-old undocumented married man who migrated to Ireland in 2002, is very telling. His testimony exemplifies how remittance behavior changes over time as migrants start to create roots in Ireland:

In the beginning, I sent a lot of money to Brazil. I intended to do something in Brazil so that I could return one day. However, it is the same as I told you: you start to take root here, discover new things and conviviality, and then rethink your idea of returning to Brazil. In addition, I do not see why investing in a country that is not progressing, that is regressing, has a lot of corruption. Entrepreneurs do not have the opportunity to grow, there is high unemployment, widespread banditry in the country, and significant theft, which means you do not have security.

In addition to *settling in Ireland*, some participants in this group, such as interviewee Nicolas above, also felt disenfranchised with Brazil, particularly due to its corruption, politics, and challenges *in running a business*. Others stopped sending remittances because they also had settled and decided to buy a house and raise their children in the country; this is the case with Helena, a 37-year-old undocumented married woman who migrated to Ireland in 2004:

I will talk from the beginning; in our first years here, we lived with our heads in Brazil. We lived here and raised our children here, but with the vision of one day returning to Brazil, our dreams were applied there, but not with success. Recently, we changed plans and decided to invest and buy a house here. We regret having invested in Brazil instead of Ireland. Today, we pay expensive rent in Ireland because of our mistake, but let us fix this; we are putting together money to get funding from the bank.

A similar example was found in 43-year-old Joaquim, an undocumented married man who migrated to Ireland in 2003: "So, in the beginning, we sent money to Brazil, yes, and we bought some things, but for lack of control, we lost those investments. Today, basically, what we can save is right here in Ireland." He also intends to buy a house in Ireland: "Yes, so much that we decided to sell our house in Brazil to invest here in Ireland, to buy a house here."

Some participants expressed regret that they had invested in the originating region of Anápolis and had lost money over time. Currently, they pay an 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, e.g., by buying new clothes and a car and investing in their well-being; this is the case with Benício, a 31-year-old undocumented married man who migrated to Ireland in 2012:

In my first year in Ireland, I thought I would return to Brazil. After I decided to stay, I started investing in myself. I bought clothes, books, and a car, investing in my well-being here. This is my current plan. So far, I have not considered investing in Brazil. My wife and I plan to save money to buy a house in Ireland.

Another theme that emerged from the data was that eight other participants used to send remittances home but no longer do so

due to the recession, wage stagnation, the cost of living, and their children's education. This finding is consistent with the literature. One of the most immediate and observable reasons migrants stop sending remittances is economic hardship or job instability in the host country. Remittance behavior often depends on the migrant's ability to secure a stable income and manage living expenses. As Borjas (1999) and Amuedo-Dorantes and Pozo (2006) note, employment precarity, underemployment, or wage stagnation significantly decrease remitting behavior. A representation of this could be seen in the story of the participant Cecília, a 47-year-old undocumented married woman who migrated to Ireland in 2002. She stopped sending remittances home due to the economic recession, the cost of living, children's education, and living in their own house in Ireland. Here is what she said:

Today is different; the good time to make money in Ireland has passed, and saving money is no longer possible. Besides, our lives are here in Ireland now. We decided to live in our own house, have a car, and put our daughter in a good school, which generates many expenses. In addition, we spend money on vacations in Brazil. Our cost of living has increased dramatically, but I still earn ten euros an hour, the same salary I earned years ago. That is, our wages stagnated, while the cost of living increased. It has the question of my age too; today, I cannot work the same number of hours I worked before. So all of this made our earnings go down a lot. I will wait for my daughters to grow up start work, [laughs] so we will have fewer expenses.

A similar example came from Rafael, a 52-year-old undocumented married man who migrated to Ireland in 2002. He sent money to Brazil for many years. However, he stopped due to the high cost of living in Ireland:

I sent a lot of money to Brazil for many years, especially during the first five years of Ireland. Some of that money

was used to help people in my family, and some was used to make investments. Unfortunately, today, our salary here in Ireland is not much. After we pay the bills here, there is not much money left. This is the reality of most of the Brazilian families living here.

Some participants were unable to send remittances home due to unemployment and illness. In contrast, others could no longer send the same amount of money because they were working less due to old age or ill health. One participant in particular, Lorenzo, a 55-year-old undocumented married man who has migrated to Ireland many times (i.e., 2006 to 2008, 2008 to 2009, 2009 to 2010, and 2016 to 2018), is unable to work because of his diabetes and has had some of his toes recently amputated. Another participant, Henrique, a 56-year-old undocumented single man who migrated to Ireland in 2006, is no longer able to work in his professional area (welding) because of an acute vision problem; he did not have access to treatment in Ireland despite having lived in the country since 2006. Both participants are undocumented, making access to government support difficult. However, the Brazilian community (especially churches) and NGOs such as the Gort Resource Centre (GRC) have assisted others in irregular situations. The Brazilian Pentecostal churches, in particular, offer religious services and support for needy members and organize activities such as recreational events and barbecues; this has helped create a sense of community (de Farias, 2022). Sheringham (2011) found similar patterns in her study, which explored 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 integrating Brazilians in Gort but may have led to the segregation of Brazilian immigrants and Irish people (Maher, 2011). 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).

A further 8 participants reported that they still send remittances home, but only occasionally, with 4 males and 4 females. Another 6 participants reported that they still send remittances, but only rarely, with 2 being male and 4 female. Five participants stated that they do not send remittances but may do so for various reasons. Benjamim, a 20-year-old undocumented single man, plans to invest in Ireland and Brazil in case one option fails. However, he cannot now because he is unemployed and living with relatives: "I have plans to invest money both in Ireland and Brazil. The reason would be precautionary; I have the other option in case one of the options fails. As my grandmother says, it's better to be safe than sorry. [laughs]"

Five other participants do not currently send remittances but may do so in the future. Among this group, some are unable to send remittances home because they have recently arrived in the country and have spent their money settling in. However, they want to invest in the future; this is the case with Matheus, a 30-year-old undocumented single man who arrived in the country in 2018 as a student. In addition to making investments, he also wants to invest money in his Italian citizenship application:

I arrived in Ireland now, so I have been unable to save money because I had to invest in clothes due to the cold. However, I intend to save money and put some goals into practice. First, I will save money to pay for my Italian citizenship, and then I will save money to send to Brazil. [Mainly] I want to open a coffee shop, buy a house, and have a good car there in case I return to Brazil and have that structure waiting for me.

Others have not been able to invest money yet due to both debts (in the origin community) and the high cost of supporting the family in Ireland; this is the case for Lucca, a 48-year-old married

undocumented migrant who migrated to Ireland between 2004 and 2005 and 2017 and 2018:

In our case, it is a very different situation because we have a debt in Brazil. So, after we have settled our obligations here, we have sent the remainder of the money to pay off these debts. That is why saving money was impossible after we paid our debts in Brazil. Yes, we will start saving money here in Ireland. That money will be used in the process of my wife's Italian citizenship, but it will take a while.

Finally, 3 participants stated they still send remittances home, but not in significant amounts. The participants below are settled migrants; however, they still need to send a small amount of money for the maintenance of properties, in this case, houses and a small farm; this is the case with Lourenço, a 55-year-old married undocumented migrant who moved to Ireland in 2004: "Yes, I save money for our expenses here, in case of an eventuality, I send very little money to Brazil, and most of our money is saved in Ireland." A similar example came from Alice, a 65-year-old married undocumented woman who moved to Ireland in 2005: "I send very little money to Brazil, only what is necessary to maintain our farm in João Pinheiro, Minas Gerais. However, most of my money stays in Ireland to pay rent, buy food, and pay taxes. After I had paid all this, there was not much money left." These results indicate that remittance patterns have shifted as the Brazilian community in Gort experiences more complex migration paths and increasingly settles long-term. This shift also reflects changes in their personal, economic, and social lives in Ireland.

Types of investments made in the migrants' regions of origin

The data shows that 60 participants, the great majority, invested money in Brazil while living in Ireland, while 24 participants did not. Twelve themes emerged from the data analysis regarding material

goods or assets acquired. Most participants ($n = 34$) reported acquiring real estate properties; however, some participants already possessed a house before migrating to Ireland. Male participants were likelier to invest in real estate than females (22 to 12). Investing money in the housing sector was seen by many as being the most secure form of investment.

Notably, those who did not return were more likely not to invest in the real estate sector in Brazil. The testimony of Meire, a 48-year-old married woman who lived in Ireland between 2003 and 2005 and 2005 and 2009, exemplifies this belief among the participants. Like other participants, Meire also remained undocumented during her two stays in Ireland:

We invest in homes because, here in Brazil, if you leave money in the bank, it disappears with time; you spend the money on nonsense. However, investing in homes with your money boosts over time [sic]. That was the mistake of many who came back; they did not invest in houses, and today they live on rent and have nothing. We do not; we have our house, thank God. It is a poor house, but it is ours. [laughs]

The second-largest group ($n=23$) purchased land (mainly urban allotments) to build a house for family use, but in some cases, it was for commercial purposes. Interestingly, women were more likely to invest inland than men (12 to 11). Unsurprisingly, over one-fourth of the participants ($n = 22$) purchased a car, with 13 being male and 9 being female. Many participants ($n = 9$) have not purchased anything yet but plan to acquire material goods. A small number of participants ($n = 6$) bought a truck to secure the family's livelihood, while five purchased a motorbike. The same percentage of the participants ($n=5$) bought a farm and cattle. Others sent money back home ($n = 2$) but saved it in the bank to invest upon their return. Finally, 1 participant bought furniture for their house.

Some participants failed to acquire a more significant real estate portfolio because they decided to invest in the quality of family life in Ireland. Most were migrants living in Gort with their families and children. Quality of life means having a family-only house (i.e., not sharing with others), having a car (and paying insurance), eating better, and having access to leisure activities; this is the case for Isabelly, a 40-year-old married woman, who lived in Ireland with her family from the years of 2001 to 2010:

I invested in my family, in benefits for my family; we did not acquire more material goods because we had decided to live our lives there. We made that decision when our daughters were born there; we no longer planned to return. So, from the moment we decided to live there, we decided to live in a bigger house, so the rent was more expensive, we changed cars [...]. All that we earned, we invested in our welfare and the benefit of our family, so we did not acquire a greater patrimony in Brazil.

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A similar example came from 30-year-old Maria Eduarda, a divorced woman who lived in Ireland from 2006 to 2008: "Yes, it worked well, it was very good, we got a good life there, we got a car, everyone could have a good life, and we even sent money to pay some bills that we had in Brazil. Nevertheless, as I only stayed two years and had a child, there was not enough to make money really, but we live well." Both participants remained undocumented during their stay in Ireland.

Other participants could not acquire a more significant real estate portfolio (or anything at all) because they decided to invest in consumption in Ireland, i.e., buying things they did not have access to in Brazil, eating things they could not eat before, or going out and having fun. Some felt dazzled by the ease of buying things in Ireland. See, for instance, the experiences of participant Maria Alice, a 40-year-old single undocumented woman who lived in Ireland between 2006 and 2008: "I sent [a] little money to Brazil, I did not send too much, because there [Ireland] I went out a lot, I

liked to buy many clothes, shoes; I liked to have a life that I did not have in Brazil.” When asked if she bought any material goods, she answered: “No, you mean a house or car? Unfortunately, it was not possible, just a bed. [laughs] However, I brought a lot of things, clothes, shoes, but it all ends, right?”

A similar example came from 32-year-old Catarina, a married woman who lived in Ireland with her family between 2005 and 2011. Although her family managed to build some assets back home, she feels that they did not value their time in Ireland correctly and that she was dazzled by material things too much:

We bought two pieces of land, and my husband bought a farm, which we exchanged for a house we live in today. I also sent money to my mother; this money was for the expenses of our children. [However], we should have gotten a better house and car; we could have our own business today, but unfortunately, we did not value our time in Ireland. My mistake was to dazzle things too much; things there were very cheap, so that made me spend lots of money on bullshit, superfluous things. Many people there eat the same basic food they eat in Brazil to save money, but we did not. We ate very well, and we did some shopping in Galway. We could have much more today for our children; that was our mistake.

Other participants could not acquire a more significant real estate portfolio because they invested in their education and their children’s education while living in Ireland; some became English teachers upon returning to their community of origin. This was the case for Pietro, a 48-year-old undocumented migrant:

So I bought a house and a car, but I tried to give my family, especially my children, what I never had: a good school and a good life. Precisely, I knew people there who said they were happy because they had bought another house, more material goods, etc. This was their happiness, but it

was not for me; my happiness was being well and happy with my family there. We do not have many houses, but today, my children have a good education. We speak English, and my wife, for example, works as an English language teacher here in Anápolis. Hence, this is wealth for me [...].

The example of Pietro shows that some participants did not acquire substantial material goods because they prioritized their education and their children's education while living in Ireland. Upon returning to Anápolis, they used the skills and educational qualifications they obtained in Ireland to assess the job market, particularly the education sector, as English teachers.

Effects of remittances on the standard of living of families

Some participants felt that the living standards of their families improved compared to before. Others maintained the same standard of living but with occasional treats. However, others felt that their lives improved; they could achieve things they would not have been able to if they had stayed in Brazil. For instance, some bought new cars, trucks, and houses or opened a business upon their return, thereby improving the living standards of their families. The remittances from Ireland have also improved the standard of living for families; as mentioned before, most of that money has been used to support the family or children left behind with healthcare and food, thus improving their living standards. A representation of how living standards were improved could be seen in the story of Felipe, a 57-year-old divorced undocumented migrant who lived in Ireland between 2004 and 2009:

Our lives have improved a lot. I can tell you the following: I told you in the beginning that the standard of living for my family was already high. Most of it was from my wife's salary, so we kept our standard of living from before with some treats.

A similar example came from Enrico, a 45-year-old married undocumented migrant who lived in Ireland between 2002 and 2003:

Yes, a lot, because if I had stayed here, I would not have bought our land in cash; in Brazil, I would have to work for at least six years for this, and there is still money left to buy a truck. With the money from Ireland, you advance your life, you improve your life, to tell you the truth, the time I lived in Ireland was the time I had fewer financial worries. Every time my wife or kids needed something, I had the money. It was when I rested the most on financial matters and was earning minimum wage that I breathed in relief. Not here, you cannot breathe; there is always a bill you must always pay.

Some participants felt it was worth the sacrifice because they had realized their dream of living abroad. For others they will carry a good experience for the rest of their lives; this is the case for Maria Cecília, a 49-year-old married woman who lived in Ireland from 2007 to 2010: "Yes, because we managed to realize a dream, a good experience, for me, it was very good." Others felt it was worth the sacrifice financially, but many missed living with their families who had stayed behind; many could not see their children grow up and had to stay away from their family and friends for many years. Many also regretted returning to Brazil; this was the case for João and Emanuel. João, a 49-year-old married migrant, described his regret of not seeing his children grow up: "In material terms, yes, but about my family, I did not see my children grow up; they grew up almost without me here, but the biggest loss was the end of my marriage." On the other hand, the participant Emanuel, a 40-year-old married migrant, describes his regret of returning home: "Yes, a lot, everything that our family has today came from Ireland, I liked the country, I regretted to have come back, it was good, it was an excellent experience, if I could do it all over again I would, I enjoyed the country." Despite the challenges of living abroad, away from

their families, and the regret of having to return home soon, both participants seem happy with what they have financially acquired in Ireland.

Other participants associate the family's quality of life and the ability to send their children to better schools with their migration to Ireland. The testimony of João Lucas, a 40-year-old married father who lived in Ireland between 2001 and 2011, demonstrates this sentiment: "I do not regret it, our life has improved a lot in financial terms, today we have a simple but comfortable life, my daughters study in good schools, we have our own house, we do not pay rent, we have our car so that we can push life forward."

Others say that the house and car that the family owns today were thanks to Ireland, things that seem small, but in Brazil, they might take a lifetime to obtain; this is the case for Isabelly, a 40-year-old married woman who lived in Ireland between 2001 and 2010:

Thanks to Ireland, it was worthwhile to migrate because we have our own house today. These things seem minor, like a house or a car, but here in Brazil, it is a lot because you take your whole life to get it, and many take a lifetime. They cannot get anything; this seems a little, but it is a lot for Brazil. Who has a good house the size of mine? Today, it is not easy to acquire, so it was worth a lot to have gone.

A similar example came from 52-year-old Cauã, a married man who lived in Ireland between 2003 and 2009. Here is what he had to say: "It was worth it, yes, because we would not have the things we have today, not even fifteen years of work in Brazil, so it was worth it. Yes, we live in a highly-prized area, and it is close to colleges, near a shopping mall."

Finally, some participants felt it was worth migrating to Ireland in terms of economics. However, many lost in terms of health because they came back with serious problems such as arm pain, back pain, and depression. This was the case for Meire, a 48-year-old married mother who lived in Ireland between 2003 and 2009:

It was very worthwhile in economic terms, but I came back very sick because I developed several health problems there. The problem was that I did not know what my rights were, and because of this, I avoided going to the doctor. I had a problem in my knee, in my arm, and a serious problem in my spine. Even so, apart from the pros and cons, I think it made up for it. Because if my husband and I had stayed here in Brazil and worked all our lives, we would not have bought what we have today [...].

Others felt it was worth migrating because they had paid off debts they would not have been able to pay if they had stayed in Brazil. The testimony of Bento, a 54-year-old single man who lived in Ireland between 2005 and 2012, demonstrates this:

Yes, it was worth migrating to Ireland. How could I have paid a hundred thousand Reais debt here in Brazil? With the low salary I earned then, it would be impossible. If I had stayed, maybe I would be dead today; you know how dangerous it is here in Brazil when you owe money to moneylenders. I thank God first and then my brother for helping me to go to Ireland.

A previous study (de Farias, 2022, 2024a) among Brazilians in Gort found that indebtedness and financial difficulties were the leading causes of migration for 10 participants. The study showed that participants owed money to banks, loan sharks, friends, and family members. Most individuals emphasized a strong sense of duty and an obligation to pay off debts. A representation of this could be seen in the story of the participant, Enzo Gabriel, a 59-year-old married migrant, who 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 reached 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." Other participants 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.

Conclusion

This article analyzed remittance behavior among Brazilian migrants between Gort, County Galway, in Ireland, and Anápolis, Goiás, in Brazil. The study examined four critical aspects of remittance behavior: the motivations for sending remittances, the frequency with which remittances are sent, the types of investments made in the migrants' regions of origin, and the effects of these remittances on the standard of living for the families receiving them. It drew on data from a four-year research project examining Brazilian migration from Anápolis to Gort in Ireland (de Farias, 2022).

The results show that 51 participants sent remittances home while living in Ireland. Male participants were more likely to send remittances home than females, with a proportion of 31 and 20, respectively. A significant difference was found between those living in Gort, with males being more likely to send remittances home than females (13 and 3). The reasons for sending remittances home were diverse. The study found that both economic and social/cultural factors significantly influenced remittance behaviors among Brazilian migrants in Ireland. These remittance determinants align with the altruism, self-interest, portfolio investment, and exchange hypotheses. Interestingly, 9 participants said they do not send remittances. The reasons for not sending remittances home were diverse: participants *felt their lives were now in Ireland*; some felt disenfranchised with Brazil, especially with its corruption, politics, and the difficulties encountered in running a business; some participants have expressed regret that they have invested in the originating region; others stopped send remittances because of the recession, salary stagnation, and cost of living and because of children education, unemployment, and sickness. At the same

time, others could no longer send the same amount of money because they were working less due to old age or ill health.

The results also indicate a significant positive correlation between participants' income level, employment status, and remittance patterns; the income level and employment status of migrants are primary determinants of remittance behavior. Higher-income and stable employment enable migrants to remit more significant amounts (Adams Junior, 2006). The data showed a high employability rate among the participants in Gort, with 38 out of 45 actively working. Of these, 26 were formally employed, 10 were doing casual work, and 2 were self-employed. The great majority of participants had a secure job in Ireland; this meant they earned more money, which impacted the size and frequency of remittances they could send home.

The results also show that participants' length of stay and legal status impacted remittance patterns. Empirical studies have demonstrated that the duration of stay in the host country and the legal status of migrants impact remittance patterns, with more extended stays and secure legal status often resulting in lower remittances as migrants become more settled in the host country. Conversely, temporary or undocumented migrants tend to remit more to secure their future back home (Amuedo-Dorantes; Pozo, 2006); this is precisely the case among Brazilian migrants in Gort, and the data showed that the majority of participants were temporary, short-term labor migrants with a short duration of stay in Ireland. However, some participants stayed long despite needing regular legal status in Ireland, possibly due to their inability to leave the country and return. Regarding legal immigration status, 61 of the 85 participants were undocumented for most of their time in Ireland, representing 71.76% of the sample.

The results also reveal that participant household composition affected remittance behavior. Empirical studies have shown that the number and type of dependents in the home country affect remittance behavior. Migrants with more dependents, such as children and elderly parents, will likely remit more. Additionally,

migrants who are the primary breadwinners for their families tend to send more significant remittances (Osili, 2007). The data showed that 30 of the 45 participants in Gort were married, with 37 reporting having children, although the family size was small, with 83 children. Regarding the Anápolis sample, 28 of the 40 participants were married, with 34 reporting having children. However, the family size was relatively small, with 69 children and an average of 1.72 children per family.

This nuanced exploration significantly enriches the existing literature on remittance flows to Brazil, offering a unique perspective on how these dynamics play out at the household level between two distinct communities: Gort in Ireland and Anápolis in Brazil. The study's contribution lies in its detailed exploration of these determinants within a relatively under-researched migratory corridor. It highlights the complex interplay between economic motivations and socio-cultural obligations in shaping remittance behaviors among Brazilian migrants in Ireland.

The study also identifies potential areas for further development in migration studies, such as the interconnected dimensions of remittances and development. The previous study (from which this article draws its data) has shown that the desire to acquire material goods was one of the main reasons for migrating to Gort and that the accomplishment of migration goals was one of the reasons for returning to Anápolis (de Farias, 2022). However, these dimensions are only linked to the individuals and families, the two units of analysis of the study. Furthermore, the study's findings also underscore the importance of exploring the impact of remittances (sent from Ireland from 1999 onward) in the broader community of Vila Fabril and Anápolis (de Farias, 2022). Did remittances significantly impact the development of this region outside of the families involved? A more diverse sample of participants would be crucial for such research. This study focused only on those individuals and families who migrated to Ireland, which may limit a comprehensive understanding of further immobility within the community (i.e., those who do not participate in migration) and

the impact of migration outside those who actively participate. A more diverse sample could provide a more comprehensive understanding of migration dynamics. One area that could be further explored in future research is the social expectation of remittances among the broader communities of Anápolis. On that note, the data of this study revealed that the arrival of remittances in the originating community of Anápolis appeared to have created social expectations among locals regarding the currency, salary values, and the possibility of making more money in Ireland than in Brazil. That may have been a decisive factor among those involved in later reunification migrations.

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