

# Labour and Education-related Migration in the Age of Globalisation: New Links Between Brazil and Ireland

## Trabalho e Educação Relacionados à Migração na Era da Globalização: Novos Elos entre Brasil e Irlanda

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**Abstract:** International migration over great distances is one expression of increased global connectivity. Migration between Brazil and Ireland since the late 1990s illustrates three well-recognised contemporary flows: recruitment on work permits to fill vacancies in both manual and professional employment and student migration to attain language and higher educational training and skills. The scale and types of labour recruitment changed over time, in association with changing economic conditions and labour availability in Ireland and enlargement of the European Union (EU). Many of the early migrants returned to Brazil but some remain undocumented in Ireland. Migration between Brazil and Ireland provides an interesting example of the establishment of new economic and social relations between previously weakly-connected countries, in a relatively short period of time.

**Keywords:** Brazil; Ireland; Migration; Labour; Education.

**Resumo:** Migração internacional a longa distância é uma expressão do aumento da conectividade global. A migração entre Brasil e Irlanda que ocorre desde fins de 1990 ilustra três fluxos contemporâneos bem reconhecidos: de recrutamento de trabalho que permite preencher vagas tanto de emprego manual quanto de emprego profissional qualificado e migração de estudantes para cursos de línguas e de treinamento e qualificação de nível de educação superior. A escala e os tipos de recrutamento de trabalho mudam no tempo, sendo associados com mudanças em condições econômicas e na disponibilidade de trabalho na Irlanda, ampliada à União Europeia (EU). Muitos dos primeiros imigrantes retornaram ao Brasil, mas alguns permaneceram indocumentados na Irlanda. A migração entre o Brasil e a Irlanda representa um exemplo interessante do estabelecimento de novas relações econômicas e sociais, em relativo curto espaço de tempo, entre países outrora fracamente conectados.

**Palavras-chave:** Brasil; Irlanda; Migração; Trabalho; Educação.

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## Introduction

The aim of this paper is to document the main features of recent immigration from Brazil to Ireland which illustrates three types of contemporary flows: for skilled and less skilled manual employment, for professional employment, and for educational purposes (PIORE, 1979; RUHS and ANDERSON, 2010; FINDLAY et al., 2017). The paper does not theorise these movements in detail because, although skilled and less skilled manual Brazilian workers have been studied in some depth, similar detail is not available for professionals and students. However, reference is made to a number of broad explanatory concepts. At an aggregate level, immigration from Brazil to Ireland since the late 1990s fits within the context of increased global integration, as rapid advances in information and communication technologies (ICTs) have facilitated flows of information about labour market vacancies and societal cultures on an unprecedented scale and the costs of international travel and transport have been reduced significantly (HELD et al., 1999; DICKEN, 2015). Brazilian immigrants in Ireland have contributed human capital in the form of labour and research skills, and gained human (and economic) capital through work, study and research. Their immigration suggests that they are attracted by benefiting from increased income immediately (in the case of those in the workforce) and opportunities for career enhancement in the future through further education, following neoclassical and human capital theories (BORJAS, 1989). Evidence of remitting funds by manual workers points to movement within a family context as explained by the new economics of labour migration (NELM) (STARK, 1991).

Labour and educational migrations between Brazil and Ireland involve state regulation as well as personal agency (CASTLES et al., 2014). Brazilian skilled workers were recruited initially on one-year renewable permits, in the late 1990s, to meet vacancies in abattoirs and meat processing plants, when the Irish economy was growing rapidly (OECD, 2010). Recruitment of males to less skilled work in construction and road building also took place within a short period of time because of the demand that existed. Recruitment of both males and females declined when the Irish economy entered recession between 2008 and 2010. Since economic recovery in 2011, Brazilian professionals, among others, have been recruited on preferential critical skills employment permits issued to fill vacancies in specified sectors, including engineering and ICTs (O'RIAIN, 2014; DBEI, 2017). Trade relations are growing also between Ireland and Brazil, as part of internationalisation strategies, and demand exists for Brazilian-Portuguese language skills in Ireland (ENTERPRISE IRELAND, 2012a, b). Student immigration commenced in the mid-2000s for English language acquisition, as the Brazilian economy improved and, in 2013, Ireland became a partner in the Brazilian government's third level Science Without Borders programme (CLARKE et al., 2018). A Brazilian national does not need to apply in advance for a visa to enter Ireland. A holiday visa for 90 days may be issued at the port of entry upon certain conditions being met (INIS, 2018). Students pursuing a course of more than 90 days' duration must apply for a special residence permit and increased numbers of such permits have been issued.

This paper is based primarily on census of population data, other official data sources and published research. It is divided into three sections: (i) review of the evolution

of recent Brazilian immigration to Ireland; (ii) discussion of three groups of migrants-workers in skilled and less skilled manual occupations, professionals and students; (iii) concluding comments.

## **Brazilian Immigration to Ireland: Evolution**

Until recent decades, few historical links existed between Ireland and Brazil (E. MURRAY, 2006). It is estimated that, by the end of 2000, less than one thousand Irish citizens, who included Catholic missionaries, were living in Brazil, notably in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Bahia (ibid.). Brazilian immigration to Ireland was limited until the late 1990s when owners of Irish meat plants approached an expatriate involved in beef exporting from Brazil to source workers for them, to fill vacancies (MAHER, 2013). Many of the early immigrants came from Vila Fabril, on the outskirts of the city of Anápolis in Goiás State, where a large meat plant was facing closure, although the relatively higher wages being offered in Ireland are suggested as being the major incentive to migrate, following the neoclassical model (BORJAS, 1989; HEALY, 2006). The expatriate's Brazilian wife acted as an agent and arranged the work permits and travel (MAHER, 2010). Accommodation was usually provided on arrival by the employer. Employers applied for the work permits and they were issued and renewed without difficulty in the late 1990s and the early 2000s (RUHS, 2005). The early migrants were men, both single and married, who were often joined by their wives or partners as soon as the cost of their flight was earned or borrowed in Brazil (MAHER, 2010). Sometimes children remained in Brazil to be cared for by grandparents and funds were repatriated for that purpose and for investment (ibid.), aligning with Stark's (1991) NELM model. In other cases, children joined their parents and attended school in Ireland.

People born in Brazil were first recorded as a distinct group in the Irish census of population in 2002 when 1232 people were registered (Table 1). The numbers increased seven-fold between 2002 and 2011 and by more than 50% between then and 2016. Whilst males were recruited initially, the 2002 census data show that female immigration commenced soon thereafter as part of family reunification and as awareness grew of employment opportunities in Ireland. Women found employment on work permits in catering and elderly health care in particular. Women without work permits were often employed as housekeepers, cleaners and in childcare in private homes, as Garret Maher's research reveals (MAHER and CAWLEY, 2015). Published data are not available for counties in 2006 but a special census report shows that, one-third of 4388 Brazilians (61.5% of whom were male) were living in County Galway, just over 400 in County Kildare, 513 in Dublin City with the remainder being distributed more widely (CENSUS 2006a, 2008: 65) (Figure 1). The main occupations were butchers and meat cutters, builders' labourers and food and drink operatives. By 2011, gender parity was almost reached and, by 2016, females slightly outnumbered males, as relatively larger numbers of female students arrived (Table 1). It is estimated that some 44% of the initial immigrants came from Goiás state but gradually immigration took place from other areas including large cities like São Paulo (IOM, 2009: 8).

Table 1 – Population born in Brazil, usually resident in Ireland and present on census night: gender and % distribution by county of residence 2002, 2011, 2016.

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2011</b>	<b>2016</b>
State	1232	8704	13640
Male	63.7	50.6	46.7
Female	36.3	49.4	53.3
Co Dublin	24.0	51.5	65.3
Co Kildare	14.8	4.4	2.4
Co Meath	7.0	3.0	2.5
Co Cork	7.8	4.8	5.1
Co Galway	9.1	11.4	8.5
Co Roscommon	12.4	5.0	2.6
% total	75.1	80.1	86.4

Sources: CENSUS 2002, Table B0442; CENSUS2016, Table E7002



Figure 1 – Ireland: Counties.

Brazilians are now widely distributed throughout the Irish state but a majority reside in a limited number of counties, notably Dublin, where the capital city is located, and counties which contain meat processing facilities (Table 1; Figure 1). Gort, County Galway (population 1776 in 2002), received national and international media and research attention because Brazilians comprised some 30% of the total population in the early 2000s (HEALY, 2006; McGRATH and MURRAY, 2009; SHERINGHAM, 2010; MAHER and CAWLEY, 2015). Most worked in a meat plant which closed in 2007, following insurance-related difficulties arising from a fire in 2004 (Figure 2). As the numbers of migrants increased, shops selling Brazilian foods and clothing were opened, as was a money transfer office which offered cheaper rates than Irish banks or a Western Union service (Figure 3). The growing importance of County Dublin as a destination over time reflects increased immigration of students to English language schools and to universities and institutes of higher education in Dublin City and of professionals in the ICT sector, to work in international companies such as Google and Facebook located there.



Figure 2 – Bilingual notice relating to searching of workers at former meat plant, Gort, Co. Galway, Ireland.  
Source: M. Cawley, August 2011.



Figure 3 – Currency transfer office and shop, Gort, Co. Galway, Ireland.  
Source: M. Cawley, August 2007.

The total Brazilian population in Ireland increased by more than 250% between 2002 and 2006 (Table 2) although, a relatively low base and potential underreporting in 2002, must be considered. The total almost doubled between 2006 and 2011 and grew by 56.7% in 2011-2016. Growth was most marked in the 15-24 and 25-44 year age groups, particularly the latter between 2011 and 2016. The increased importance of student immigration to English language schools during 2006-2011 (when the Irish economy was in recession and labour demand had fallen) and to universities and institutes of higher education during 2011-2016 are important contributory factors, as discussed below.



Table 2 – Brazilian Nationals: age groups and % change 2002-2016.

Age-group	2002	2006	Change 2002-2006	2011	Change 2006-2011	2016	Change 2011-2016
	N	N	%	N	%	N	%
0-14	107	446	316.8	709	59.0	553	-22.0
15-24	257	980	281.3	2133	117.6	2782	30.4
25-44	798	2706	239.1	5371	98.5	9583	78.4
45-64	67	248	270.1	476	91.9	681	43.1
65+	3	8	166.7	35	337.5	41	17.1
Total	1232	4388	256.2	8704	98.4	13640	56.7

Sources: CENSUS 2002, Table B0443; CENSUS 2006b, Table C0441;  
CENSUS 2016, Table E7003.

Brazilian immigrants in Ireland are actively involved in employment but they are more vulnerable to unemployment than the total population (GJUG, 2017). Of those aged 15 years and over, the proportions at work were broadly similar to the total population in 2011 and a little less in 2016 (Table 3). In both years, the proportions unemployed and looking for their first regular job exceeded those for the total population where increased numbers of Irish students continued in education (CONEFREY, 2011). Unemployment, having lost or given up a job, was slightly higher among Brazilians. The presence of Brazilian students attending school or college was marked in both years and reflects the increased presence of English language and third level immigrant students. Resident Brazilian school leavers in Ireland experienced difficulties in accessing free fees at third level, because of not meeting conditions relating to period of residence in the EEA (European Economic Area- the countries of the EU [European Union] plus Iceland, Liechtenstein and Norway), nationality and immigration status, as well as course requirements (CITIZEN INFORMATION, 2018). Between 2011 and 2016, the numbers aged 0-14 also declined. Smaller proportions of Brazilians were engaged in home duties and the proportions unable to work due to illness or disability was one tenth that of the total population. Relatively small proportions were retired.

Table 3 – Brazilian nationals and total state population aged 15 years and over, usually resident and present in the state, 2011 and 2016, by principal economic status.

	Brazilian population				State population	
	2011	2016	2011	2016	2011	2016
	N	N	%	%	N	N
All persons	7995	13087	100.0	100.0	3551289	3687585
Persons at work	4011	6568	50.2	50.2	50.1	53.4
Unemployed looking for first regular job	311	472	3.9	3.6	0.9	0.8
Unemployed having lost or given up previous job	796	1090	10.0	8.3	10.9	7.1
Student or pupil	2270	4207	28.4	32.1	11.2	11.3
Looking after home/family	527	629	6.6	4.8	9.5	8.2
Retired	25	23	0.3	0.2	12.6	14.4
Unable to work due to sickness or disability	28	54	0.4	0.4	4.4	4.3
Others not in labour force	27	44	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4

Source: CENSUS 2016, Table EB005.

Note: comparable information is not published for earlier census years

Of those at work in 2011 and 2016, the main industries engaged in (those accounting for 1% or more of the total are referred to) are presented in Table 4. The total numbers at work increased substantially over the five years but some changes took place in the relative distribution between types of industry. Accommodation and food service activities remained the single most important source of employment and the numbers involved almost doubled. The numbers not stating the industry in which they were engaged doubled also and undoubtedly relates, in part, to undocumented workers who may move between jobs frequently or do not wish to convey this information. Manufacturing which includes meat processing declined overall. The numbers in the retail and wholesale trade increased but the sector's proportionate importance declined. The growing relative importance of ICT, finance and insurance, professional, scientific and technical employment is apparent. These are sectors which include critical skills needed by the growing economy since 2011 for which special permits are available, which include a spousal/partner work permit and provision to apply for naturalisation and permanent residence once the conditions of the permit are satisfied (DBEI, 2017).



Table 4 – Brazilian nationals, aged 15 years and over, usually resident and present:  
% distribution by broad industrial grouping, 2011 and 2016.

	2011	2016	% of total	% of total
Total at work	4011	6568		
Agriculture, forestry and fishing	111	70	2.8	1.1
Manufacturing	628	586	15.7	8.9
Construction	144	133	3.6	2.0
Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles	611	759	15.2	11.6
Transportation and storage	47	83	1.2	1.3
Accommodation and food service activities	750	1452	18.7	22.1
Information and communication	107	511	2.7	7.8
Financial and insurance activities	62	153	1.5	2.3
Professional, scientific and technical activities	80	232	2.0	3.5
Administrative and support service activities	358	580	8.9	8.8
Education	201	312	5.0	4.8
Human health and social work activities	138	203	3.4	3.1
Arts, entertainment and recreation	57	107	1.4	1.6
Other service activities	58	119	1.4	1.8
Activities of households as employers producing activities of households for own use	75	128	1.9	1.9
Industry not stated	523	1058	13.0	16.1

Source: CENSUS 2016, Table E7019.

Note: industrial groupings that accounted for less than 1% of the total are omitted from the table, so the numbers do not add to the totals at work.

## Brazilian Labour and Education-Related Immigration to Ireland

### *From Meeting Labour Market Deficits to Undocumented Status*

The first Brazilian migrants were recruited for meat plants in counties Meath, Roscommon and Galway (MAHER and CAWLEY, 2016) (Figure 1). The number of work permits issued to Brazilians increased substantially until 2007 as the Irish economy grew

rapidly (Table 5). They applied to both skilled and less skilled jobs where severe deficits existed. However, the impending admission of ten central and eastern Europe states to the EU meant that their citizens had some priority access to the Irish labour market from the early 2000s. They had immediate access from the accession date of 1 May 2004 because of the demand for labour (Sweden and the United Kingdom also permitted immediate access to their labour markets). In August 2004, the issue of work permits to non-EEA nationals for low-skill jobs ceased (RUHS, 2005). Substantial numbers of permits continued to be renewed for Brazilians until 2007 but, in 2008, renewal of permits declined markedly and the number of deportation orders increased (Table 5) (QUINN, 2009). In 2008 also, the Irish immigration authorities were reported as “restricting entry to a large number of Brazilians who are suspected of landing to gain illegal employment” (PILLINGER, 2008, p. 160). ‘Illegal employment’ relates to a practice of overstaying a holiday visa issued for 90 days, at the port of entry, and gaining undocumented employment.

Table 5 – Work permits issued for Brazilian nationals, for various years 1999-2017.

Year	New permits	Renewals	Total	Refusals
1998	16	18	34	2
2000	543	93	638	0
2004	188	1324	1512	39
2005-April 2007	480	2266	2746	137
2008	358	226	584	136
2009	74	269	343	59
2012	65	121	186	61
2014	143	24	167	34
2015	287	22	309	71
2017	635	40	675	201

Sources: DBEI, 2010, 2013, 2015, 2016, 2018;  
OIREACHTAS 1999, 2001, 2005, 2007, 2008a.

Following the NELM model, some of the early Brazilian immigrants planned to spend a defined period of time in Ireland, earn funds to support their families and save for investment (home improvements, for example) and in businesses on their return (STARK, 1991; MAHER, 2010). They often held more than one job. As noted, in addition to Western Union facilities, a money transfer office was established by a Brazilian in Gort, so great was the repatriation of funds. They financed their own return and that of family members, if they had been joined by them (MAHER, 2010). Others who became unemployed and undocumented obtained repatriation support from the International Organisation for Migration (PILLINGER, 2008; IOM, 2009). In 2010, the Irish government sought funds from

the European Return Fund for repatriation purposes (KRINGS, 2010). When funding for repatriation became exhausted, increasing numbers of undocumented people became dependent on precarious short-term, often day, employment, as Garret Maher's research illustrates (MAHER and CAWLEY, 2015). Some immigrants did not wish to avail of repatriation funds because of a restriction on re-entering Ireland. They became dependent on support from churches and the local community, in Gort, for example, where their undocumented status was overlooked by the authorities because of positive relationships with the local community (MAHER, 2011). Men queuing to obtain employment as day labourers was common outside a Brazilian-owned Internet café in Gort (Figure 4).



Figure 4 – Brazilian men wait for employment as day labourers, Gort, Co, Galway, Ireland  
Source: M. Cawley, August 2011

The experience of the early immigrants to Gort is well documented and reveals both positive features and difficulties associated with adapting to a new environment. Much attention was given to good inter-community relations, the celebration of Brazilian festivals on the square and the expertise acquired by one Brazilian boy in the Irish sport of hurling (HEALY, 2006). However, lack of adequate English language skills created difficulties in accessing medical and other services and some women were isolated in their homes (McGRATH and F. MURRAY, 2009; McGRATH, 2010). Some of Garret Maher's respondents reported being exploitation by employers, arising from poor knowledge of English, although other employers were praised for their support (MAHER and CAWLEY, 2016). Special English language supports were provided in primary and secondary schools for children who did not know the language, although additional resources we-

re required (OECD, 2009; SHERINGHAM, 2009). Access to free third level education was problematic for most immigrant students. Some Brazilian immigrants in Gort and elsewhere obtained residency rights, however: through attaining Irish citizenship (INIS, 2018), having a parent or grandparent from an EU country, through marriage to an Irish person or through the birth of a child in Ireland before January 2003. A Supreme Court Judgement in January 2003 removed the latter right for an immigrant parent (LENTIN, 2007). Arising from a referendum result in 2004, the automatic right to citizenship for a child born in Ireland to an immigrant parent was also lost (ibid.).

A Gort Justice for the Undocumented Campaign Group (GJUG, 2017), which includes Brazilian and Irish people who are campaigning for the granting of residency rights to undocumented migrants, has reported current difficulties experienced. Among 70 undocumented people who were surveyed (61% male and 31% female), most were of working age, 58% were married and 51% had children. Fifty percent were living in Ireland for more than ten years. Good levels of education were reported: 51% had completed secondary education and 27% had a third level qualification. However, without residency status they are not entitled to access training and further education, resulting in employment in insecure, low-paying jobs with little prospect of advancement. Almost one-quarter were receiving less than the minimum wage and cases of workplace exploitation were reported. Some families were fearful of seeking medical treatment in case their undocumented status was detected and they were subject to deportation. They had difficulty in obtaining a medical card which provides access to free medical treatment. Some migrants lacked sufficient knowledge of English to become informed about the social supports that may be available to them. Being undocumented, even if paying social insurance, they are not eligible to claim social protection from the state.

### *Non-Manual and Professional wWorkers*

Recent professional Brazilian immigration to Ireland is less-well documented than that of meat plant and other manual workers, whose presence was so marked in some small towns from the late 1990s. Published research is not available, as yet. Census data illustrate growth in the number of Brazilians engaged in information and communication, administrative and support services, professional, scientific and technical activities to which critical skills permits may apply (Table 4). Demand exists for these occupations as the economy grows and vacancies are advertised widely internationally (DBEI, 2017). Also, as educational and trade links develop between Ireland and Brazil, there is increased demand for speakers of Brazilian Portuguese by Irish companies. Critical skills work permits are issued for an initial period of two years. The immigration of Brazilian professionals is reflected in the establishment of a professional network in 2017 to provide information and social support (BPNI, 2018). Brazilian students, on completion of a graduate course of study, as discussed below, may apply for a work permit for two years also and are another source of professional and high-skilled employees (EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 2016; INIS, 2018). The recent growth in the recruitment of higher status employees on two year permits helps to explain the increase in the number of new permits issued since 2014 (Table 5).

## *Students*

Whilst the number of work permits issued to Brazilians fell in Ireland during the mid-2000s, a new immigration stream of students who came to learn English emerged. An improved economy in Brazil enabled parents or individuals to fund English language acquisition overseas, which was considered necessary as new international trading relations were established (DALSIN, 2006). Ireland had been developing English language programmes in a targeted way since 2004 and this initiative gained momentum as part of the government's programme to aid recovery from recession (CLARKE et al., 2018). In 2008, 4828 Stamp 2 residence permissions were granted to Brazilian students (OIREACHTAS, 2008b). A residence permit certifies that the holder is registered with the immigration service and is required if a non-EEA citizen wishes to remain longer than 90 days in Ireland. A Stamp 2 residence permit allows a student to study a full-time course on an official list for a specified period of time (INIS, 2018); the standard immigration permission available for the purposes of pursuing an English language programme on the interim list of eligible programmes is eight months. Three consecutive language courses may be pursued. A Stamp 2 permit confers a right to work in casual employment for a maximum of 20 hours per week during the school or college term and 40 hours per week during the summer and Christmas vacations. If a graduate course of study is followed, on its completion, a holder of a Stamp 2 permit may apply to remain resident in Ireland for up to 24 months to seek employment (EDUCATION IN IRELAND, 2016). Applications from graduates is one of the factors contributing to the growth in first time permits issued since 2014 (Table 5).

The potential to work part-time as an English language student is documented as an attraction of Ireland for Brazilians. Professionals whom DALSIN (2006) interviewed, who left careers in Brazil, reported four reasons for coming to Ireland to learn or improve their English language skills: a location in Europe, potential to travel within Europe at relatively low cost, being a country where English is spoken, and having a student visa scheme which permits work for defined periods of time. Some professionals who are former students of English may return to Brazil and later succeed in obtaining employment in Ireland (POLLAK, 2016).

Separate from English language acquisition, the Brazilian government introduced a Science Without Borders programme in 2011 which provided scholarships for graduate and postgraduate study abroad, to meet needs of Brazilian industry (HENNIGAN, 2015; CLARKE et al., 2018). In 2013, eight memoranda of understanding were signed between universities and institutes of technology in Ireland and Brazil (HENNIGAN, 2015). By 2014, 26 Irish third level institutions were involved in the programme. The main areas of study are science, engineering, technology and mathematics. Some 973 students applied in 2014 and 1,084 in 2015 (ibid.). The opportunities provided for gaining experience of working with Irish industry were cited by some students as advantages of study in Ireland (CLARKE et al., 2018). It is estimated that Irish institutions received some €50 million from Brazil in tuition and accommodation fees and that the students spent an additional €20 million from other scholarship and private sources up to 2015 (HENNIGAN, 2015). The funding of undergraduate study abroad for one year, by the Brazilian government, effectively ended in late 2015; since then, only postgraduate, postdoctoral and senior internships have been

funded (ICEF, 2017). Since 2015, the Irish government, universities and institutes of technology have made available R\$4 million for scholarships for Brazilian students to study in Ireland (O'SULLIVAN, 2015). In 2015, 10,955 first-residence permits were issued to Brazilians in Ireland, 28.5% of the total issued, mainly for education reasons (EUROSTAT, 2017).

Whilst not all visiting students will be present in Ireland at the time of a census, it is nevertheless possible to identify the increased presence of such students from census data (Table 6). As noted already, the children of immigrant parents must satisfy residence and citizenship criteria, as well as meeting educational requirements, in order to progress to free third level education. The large proportion of students aged 19 years and over, and their growth between 2011 and 2016, therefore reflects the immigration of students from Brazil, instead of a major increase in progression from second level to third level education in Ireland. By contrast, the number of students attending primary schools declined, as the number of younger children of Brazilian nationality declined (see Table 2).

Table 6 – Students of Brazilian nationality, 2011 and 2016.

	2011		2016		% change 2011-2016
	N	%	N	%	
All Students (Number)	2831	100,0	4632	100,0	63,6
At school aged 5 -12 years	412	14,5	294	6,4	-28,6
At school or college aged 13 – 18 years	404	14,3	433	9,3	7,2
At school or college aged 19 years and over	2015	71,2	3905	84,3	93,8

Source: CENSUS 2016, Table E7033

In 2017, a new organisation, Research Brazil Ireland (RBI), was established by Irish third-level institutions and research centres as a consortium to drive a coordinated national approach to promote Ireland's scientific and technological reputation in Brazil and its attractiveness as an international research partner. The programme develops research and educational links across five thematic areas: ICTs; environmental science and technologies; advanced materials and nanotechnology; biopharmaceuticals, biotechnology and health; sustainable energy and agro production. This strategic cooperation is being financed by the state research funding agency, Science Foundation Ireland (RBI, 2017). The programme has longer term commercial objectives to the benefit of both countries.

## Discussion and Conclusion

Increased migration over long distances is a feature of recent globalization trends and includes growing links between Brazil and Ireland since the late 1990s which



involve state regulation as well as personal agency (HELD et al., 1999; CASTLES et al., 2014). Much of the migration has been from Brazil to Ireland, although movement in the opposite direction has occurred also associated with investment, employment and through marriage and other social relationships. Three groups of migrants may be identified. First, skilled workers were recruited on work permits for the meat processing sector, in the late 1990s, followed by less skilled labour in other sectors, and their immigration may be explained within the context of neo-classical economic, human capital and NELM theories (PIORE, 1979; BORJAS, 1989; STARK, 1991). They were attracted by relatively higher wages and remittances took place for family support and family reunification but also for future business developments on their return to Brazil (MAHER, 2010). Changing migration policy, associated with enlargement of the EU in 2004, had negative implications for the recruitment of Brazilians, as had recession from 2008 to 2011. Legislative changes in 2003 and 2004 also reduced the residency rights of non-nationals in Ireland. Some Brazilian migrants who remain are undocumented and are dependent on precarious employment. Second, since Ireland's recovery from recession in 2011, Brazilian professionals have been recruited, among others, to meet specialist requirements in, e.g., ICTs, engineering and professional language skills. It is likely that their numbers will increase in future as commercial relationships between Ireland and Brazil are developed further. Third, Ireland became a destination for Brazilian students wishing to improve their English language skills from the mid-2000. In 2013, Irish higher education institutions became involved as hosts in the Brazilian Science without Borders international scholarship programme and have funded scholarships since 2015.

The links established between Ireland and Brazil through labour and education related migration since the late 1990s illustrate broader international trends. They assume particular interest because of limited existing relationships between the two countries. However, those limited relationships facilitated the initial recruitment of meat plant workers to Ireland. The towns where the early migrants worked and lived have established transnational links with Brazil; Brazilians still live there and have formed conjugal relationships with Irish people, members of the communities have moved to live in Brazil and cultural transfers have taken place. The recent arrival of sizable numbers of Brazilian students to study the English language and smaller numbers of researchers and graduate students to study in Ireland will also, undoubtedly, have future impacts on long-term social and economic relations between the two countries.

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Mary Cawley

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Mary Cawley

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