

Choosing Canada: The Role of Brazilian Immigrant Influencers in Shaping Destination
Reputation and Migration Decisions

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Abstract

Choosing Canada: The Role of Brazilian Immigrant Influencers in Shaping Destination Reputation and Migration Decisions

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The widespread use of Information and Communication Technology (ICTs) has reshaped migration. Individuals with the agency to decide on a migration destination rely on social media platforms to guide their decision-making process. While scholars have highlighted the relevance of online spaces for migrants, there is a gap in exploring which digital actors facilitate migration and the type of information conveyed to aspiring migrants. This thesis studied the role of Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram in building Canada's destination reputation to shape national destination choices to fill this gap. For this purpose, this project relied on the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts from five Brazilian immigrant influencers and ten interviews with Brazilian newcomers residing in Canada. This thesis found that influencers convey an overtly positive representation of Canada, the 'Canadian Paradise,' by sharing partial and exaggerated information that compares life in Brazil and Canada. As a second finding, newcomers shifted their views after migrating and now believe that Brazilian immigrant influencers acted guided by economic motivations. These findings indicate that Brazilian immigrant influencers are digital migration intermediaries who rely on idealized representations of Canada to promote migration-related services, which reveals the emergence of a digital migration industry.

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1. Introduction

Individuals capable of deciding where to migrate choose destinations that will improve their socio-economic standards. This decision-making process involves access to different resources that will help them rank and, ultimately, choose a place of settlement (Harvey 2023). Traditionally, pre-existing social networks – acquaintances, friends, and family – are relevant to shaping migration decisions because they share the experiences accumulated during their migration journeys, which reduces mobility costs (Harvey 2023; Haug 2008). Individuals lacking these resources turn to other actors – formal or informal migration intermediaries - who promote migration-related services (Spaan and Hillman 2013). Throughout this process, individuals accumulate information that helps them build potential host countries' destination reputation – the sum of characteristics that migrants share and recollect throughout their journey - which shapes their migration decisions (Harvey et al. 2018).

In the past, finding these different offline actors and sources represented a challenge for prospective migrants, as information was scattered and inaccessible (Leurs and Smets 2018). With the technological turn, the emergence of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) channels has facilitated information-sharing. More precisely, migrants have become connected actors who actively share their experiences beyond borders and pre-existing social networks (Diminescu 2008). Prospective migrants, then, not only base their destination decisions on social networks or offline migration intermediaries at their reach but on the wide range of migration-related information they find, especially on social media platforms (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Dekker et al. 2018). While scholarship has documented why migrants rely on social media in their destination selection, there is a gap in further exploring which actors facilitate migration in digital spaces and the kind of information provided to migrants.

This thesis contributes to filling this gap by answering this main research question: ***“How do Brazilian immigrant influencers’ construction of Canada’s destination reputation shape the migration destination decision of Brazilian immigrants who ultimately choose to live in Canada?”*** To answer this question, I relied on the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts from five different Brazilian immigrant influencers to explore the content and strategies when conveying information about Canada. I also conducted 10 semi-structured interviews with Brazilian newcomers who arrived between 2022 and 2023 to explore their experiences when accessing migration-related content about Canada on Instagram. Through the content analysis, I found that Brazilian immigrant influencers represent Canada’s destination reputation through comparisons with Brazil. Influencers depict their migration journeys to Canada as accessing a ‘Canadian Paradise’ where they no longer experience the socio-economic hardships found in Brazil. These actors rely on partial and exaggerated information that places Brazil in a negative light while Canada in an overtly positive way (Tseng 1997; Spaan and Hillmann 2013; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). In this process, influencers become reputation builders for Canada and reputation damagers for Brazil (Harvey and Groutsis 2015). Brazilian immigrant influencers then build Canada’s destination reputation as a ‘Canadian Paradise’ where Brazilian migrants will encounter i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure.

A second finding of this thesis is that the 10 interviewees changed their perceptions about the content shared by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram during their journey to Canada. When participants were still in Brazil, they shared that the information accessed was crucial to understanding migration to Canada. The newcomers interviewed lacked information about life in Canada and the bureaucracy involved in migrating. They found in the lived experiences of Brazilian immigrant influencers a source of insider knowledge and services that could help them settle in Canada (Dekker et al. 2018; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). Yet, after migrating, newcomers expressed that those influencers sold them a distorted idea of Canada for personal monetary gain. These contrasting views became visible when participants revealed a gap between what they expected to find – the Canadian Paradise – and the more challenging reality they experience now. The need to create an overtly positive representation of Canada emerges as Brazilian immigrant influencers act as destination sellers for Canada (Tseng 1997). By sharing their migration journeys while linking their profiles to services such as language classes, transfer, housing, and job-seeking assistance - these actors sell the tools to access an ultimate good: life in Canada. Therefore, the commodification of experience-sharing turns Brazilian immigrant influencers into digital migration intermediaries who operate inside the Brazilian-Canadian digital migration industry (Hernandez-Leon 2005).

This thesis explores how the representations of Canada's destination reputation built by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram shape migration decisions among Brazilian migrants. It is worth highlighting that I focus on economic migrants with the agency to choose a migration destination. I acknowledge, especially in the Latin American context, that other variables are also important drivers for emigration – such as the case of Cubans, Colombians, or Venezuelans who emigrated due to political violence or extreme poverty – that shape destination choices (Rothe and Pumariega 2008; Prieto-Rosas and Bengochea 2022). In the following pages, I present my motivations and contributions, the literature, and the conceptual framework that guided my project. I later present my results and analysis of the representations that Brazilian immigrant influencers build about Canada's destination reputation and the interviews with newcomers.

2. Research Puzzle and Contribution

Migrants in the age of ICTs maintain and develop social ties with individuals across the globe (Thulin and Vilhelmson 2014; Burrell and Anderson 2008). This continuous information exchange builds destination reputation or recollection of perceptions about a potential host country, which can contribute to inspiring or deterring future migration (Harvey 2023). These perceptions include different reputation characteristics, such as city or country features related to crime rate, education system, and economic conditions (Harvey et al. 2018; Boyer and Savageau 1981). While prospective economic migrants who can choose a destination will prioritize some features over others when deciding to move, the category of destination reputation condenses the overall value a destination has among migrants (Harvey et al. 2018). Therefore, as Harvey et al. (2018) highlight, destination reputation is important for individuals deciding where to migrate.

However, destination reputation is still an underexplored concept in migration and digital migration studies (Harvey et al. 2018; Preiss 2022). With the widespread information that prospective migrants find in virtual spaces, it is crucial to understand how actors operating in these platforms widen and digitalize the migration industry – the web of entrepreneurs that facilitate mobility in exchange for monetary compensation – by creating destination reputation representations that seek to shape migration decisions (Hernandez-Leon 2008; Dekker et al. 2018; Harvey 2018; Preiss 2022). Previous scholarship has highlighted that the commodification of migration gave rise to the (offline) migration industry and (offline) migration intermediaries, who, differently from social networks that act based on solidarity, facilitate migration for economic compensation (Elrick and Lewandowska 2008; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013). To enhance their business, (offline) intermediaries have developed access to hidden or insider knowledge, which gives them leeway to distort or exaggerate information if necessary (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). As migration aspirations digitalize and increase globally, it is crucial to explore how (digital) migration intermediaries use their online presence to build destination reputation and establish a client base to shape mobility flows across borders (Tseng 1997; Fogelman and Christensen 2022).

Efforts to explore the intersection between media and migration infrastructures have concentrated on the instrumental side of technology, such as increased connectivity and access to different digital applications (Leurs and Seufferling 2022; Leurs and Smets 2018; Dekker et al. 2016). Yet, this focus has left a gap in exploring the emergence of new actors that facilitate and shape migration, such as digital migration intermediaries (Dekker et al. 2016; Fogelman and Christensen 2022; Wanicka 2023). More specifically, the role of immigrant influencers has been underexplored. These influencers use their migrant condition to share their mobility experiences while spreading information about life in their host country on different social media platforms (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). Given that the existing literature has studied immigrant influencers from a sociological and communication studies lens (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021; Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Fogelman and Christensen 2022; Jaramillo-Dent 2023), a political science lens highlights their role as digital migration intermediaries.

The literature on the migration industry has focused on studying offline migration intermediaries as central non-state agents facilitating migration (Spaan and Hillman 2013). Through the online representations immigrant influencers create about their host countries, they shape migration aspirations and direct international mobility flows (Wanicka 2023). From that standpoint, the study of immigrant influencers contributes to political science by exploring i) the expansion of migrant (digital) resources and strategies used to promote destinations to aspiring migrants (Krissman 2005; Harvey et al. 2018); ii) the emergence of a digital migration industry with its own set of actors, one of them being immigrant influencers (Preiss 2022; Hernandez-Leon 2005; Wanicka 2023); and iii) the relevance of non-state actors in activating informal/formal channels of migration intermediation that shape movements across state borders (Lindquist and Xiang 2019; van den Broek et al. 2015; Harvey et al. 2018; Wanicka 2023).

This research focused on the relevance of non-state actors in shaping international migration through the representations of destination reputation in digital spaces. By exploring how immigrant influencers use Instagram to build destination reputation, this project further explored migrant connectivity and the commodification of experience-sharing in digital platforms to inform

migration decisions. The next chapter will introduce the amalgamation of the literature used in this thesis.

3. Literature Review

This thesis explores how Brazilian immigrant influencers build Canada's destination reputation through digital platforms and inform mobility decisions among co-nationals. Long before the emergence of immigrant influencers, Latin Americans saw North America as a preferred migration destination (Pellegrino 2001; Mata 2022; Hanson et al. 2023). The socio-economic constraints in this region, allied with the geographical proximity, have led Latin Americans and, more specifically, Brazilians to see Canada and the United States as reputable destinations to improve living standards (Goza 1994; MRE 2022). For instance, the largest diaspora of Brazilian immigrants resides in North America (MRE 2022). Despite the relevance of this migrant population, most scholarship dates from the 1990s - 2000s and concentrated on the US due to its higher share of Brazilian migrants (Moretto 1991; Margolis 1994; Goza 2004; Zubaran 2008; Magalhães et al. 2009; Barbosa 2009; MRE 2022). Yet, as more Brazilian migrants see Canada as a preferred settlement destination (Magalhães et al. 2009; Barbosa 2009; Molina 2022), it is relevant to explore their migration journeys. More specifically, with the increasing importance of social media platforms for obtaining information about different migration destinations, it is valuable to understand how digital content producers build Canada's destination reputation to prospective migrants (Harvey 2023; Wanicka 2023). Thus, this thesis hopes to fill these gaps by exploring how Brazilian immigrant influencers represent Canada's destination reputation by sharing their migrant experiences on Instagram. The following sections review the research that has covered some of the central concepts explored in this project, notably destination reputation and digital migration(s), while also presenting an overview of the knowledge about Brazilian immigration in North America.

3.1. Destination Reputation

The study of destination reputation has centered on exploring the features individuals consider when migrating. Indicators, such as crime rate, quality of public services, labor market opportunities, and environmental conditions arose as salient reputation features (Boyer and Savageau 1981; Fotheringham et al. 2000). Early studies confirmed that migrants from different backgrounds consider multiple characteristics that comprise destination reputation (Fotheringham et al. 2000; Harvey et al. 2018). However, this part of the literature suggested that destination reputation depended on a fixed destination score or ranking, which comes from national censuses and agencies (Boyer and Savageau 1981; Fotheringham et al. 2000). For example, the crime rating for a destination is determined by the number of crimes per 100,000 people reported to local police, which dismisses migrants' perceptions and experiences (Boyer and Savageau 1981; Fotheringham et al. 2000).

In fact, migrants are crucial actors in shaping destination reputation. Scholars have found that prospective migrants rely on their social networks to obtain information that helps them decide where to settle (Macdonald and Macdonald 1964; Haug 2008; Bertoli 2018; Crawley and Hangen-Zanker 2019). More precisely, migrants can promote chain migration - mobility through social networks – due to the location-specific knowledge shared with them (Haug 2008; Bertoli 2018). This phenomenon is more evident among close social networks or distance-one connections, such as family and friends, because they share similar socio-economic backgrounds and life experiences (Bertoli 2018). Social connections are then relevant even if prospective migrants are not familiar with their network's destinations (Crawley and Hangen-Zanker 2019; Macdonald and Macdonald 1964). For example, Crawley and Hangen-Zanker (2019) found that social networks are crucial in introducing potential host countries to prospective migrants and guiding destination choices. This phenomenon occurs because established migrants share positive or negative experiences acquired throughout their journeys (Harvey and Groutsis 2015). Migrants can become reputation builders when they encourage migration by sharing positive experiences or reputation damagers when migrants discourage migration and decrease migrant retention by sharing negative stories (Harvey and Groutsis 2015). This strand of literature shows that migrant experiences and altruistic social connections are pivotal to shaping destination reputation and guiding future migrants' final destinations.

The focus on the interplay between destination reputation and chain migration through social networks has left the link with the literature on migration industries underexplored. Efforts to fill this gap have centered on the strategies that migration intermediaries – formal and informal actors operating to facilitate migration for economic compensation, such as travel or educational agents, recruiters, and smugglers - use when interacting with prospective migrants (Collins 2012; Mahmud 2013; Kern and Muller-Boker 2015; Beech 2018; Knutsen et al. 2020). Formal and informal migration intermediaries attract prospective migrants due to their specific knowledge about potential host countries that can help individuals access job opportunities or other services that reduce migration costs (Ambrosini 2017; Kern and Muller-Boker 2015).

While migration intermediaries covering Global South-North mobility pathways rely on highlighting host country or socio-economic benefits as a strategy to sell migration, intermediaries that cover the inverse journey stress cosmopolitanism and freedom of mobility as benefits (Bludau 2011; Beech 2018; Knutsen et al. 2020). This behavior shows that intermediaries have agency in molding destination reputation by promoting the most appealing selling point of a destination to prospective migrants (Bludau 2011). Similarly, intermediaries highlight successful migration stories to validate and promote a destination (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). More specifically, the literature has noted that co-ethnic and co-national migration intermediaries are more successful in shaping migration decisions (Beech 2018; Collins 2012). Collins (2012) found that migrants prefer intermediaries with similar ethno-national backgrounds. Given the inherent familiarity and cultural bonding these intermediaries share with prospective migrants, they gain trust rapidly. Therefore, belonging to the same social group is relevant to enhancing migration intermediaries' ability to shape migration destination decisions.

Migration intermediaries can reshape destination reputation to override a negative environment or purposely highlight negative features to promote other destinations (Baas 2019; Hawthorne 2014; Spaan and Hillman 2013; Tseng 1997). For example, when a negative destination reputation becomes salient, intermediaries will shed light on other destination reputation features, such as

academic excellence or economic conditions that allow them to continue attracting migrants (Hawthorne 2014). In cases of restrictive policies that can decrease migrant retention, intermediaries offer additional services to access long-term settlement options to clients (Baas 2019; Hawthorne 2014). Migration intermediaries can actively use the negative features of a destination to exacerbate the benefits of a prospective destination, which can lead to sharing partial and distorted information with prospective migrants (Tseng 1997; Spaan and Hillman 2013). This strategy usually occurs when intermediaries, especially co-nationals, compare home and potential host countries (Tseng 1997). This strand of literature shows that destination reputation is a malleable set of practices molded by migration intermediaries to continue attracting migrants.

The widespread use of media and online technologies has reshaped the tools used by migration intermediaries to spread information about destination reputation (Findlay and Li 1998; Wood and King 2001; Collins 2012; Lindquist and Xiang 2014; Leurs and Seufferling 2022). More precisely, Leurs and Seufferling (2022) introduce the centrality of 'media infrastructures' - the technological affordances and communication channels available in media platforms - for 'migration infrastructures' - information-exchange practices among migrants and migration service providers. Given the vast information digital and media channels can provide and the availability to reach a wide audience, actors inside 'migration infrastructures' benefit from the tools and affordances provided by 'media infrastructures' (Findlay and Li 1998; Leurs and Seufferling 2022). For example, a common practice includes sharing videos or photos to create imaginaries about prospective lives in different places (Wood and King 2001). This diverse and extensive volume of information ultimately contributes to shaping destination reputation, such as migration pathways, socio-economic standards, and political environment (Findlay and Li 1998). This information guides prospective migrants' perceptions while serving as a bridge to connect with migration service providers that will help them fulfill mobility aspirations (Collins 2012; Lindquist and Xiang 2014). Despite media centrality in contributing to framing destination reputation, the literature has overlooked actors and representations that emerged in these platforms. Alternatively, scholarship has focused more on understanding media platforms as an infrastructure used by migrants to gather information about different destinations (Findlay and Li 1998; Lindquist and Xiang 2014; Leurs and Seufferling 2022).

With the rapid enlargement of media platforms available, it becomes relevant to explore how actors operating inside 'media infrastructures' contribute to shaping destination reputation and international mobility flows (Harvey et al. 2018; Leurs and Seufferling 2022). There has been initial work on how migrant online exchange shapes prospective migrants' decisions to choose a particular destination (Montgomery 2008). Montgomery (2008), for example, explored how Indian migrants chose the United States as their final migration destination due to the information they exchanged with established migrants over email. However, as the migration industry expands digitally, it is necessary to understand the roles these migrants occupy in the migration industry, and their agency in shaping home country's reputation and host country's destination reputation, which mold international migration flows (Harvey et al. 2018).

These studies provide a valuable contribution to the literature on destination reputation. The literature has shown that destination reputation is a flexible concept reshaped by migration intermediaries to continue influencing mobility decisions. Migration intermediaries rely on different strategies to reach prospective clients, such as amplifying their presence on media channels, sharing information that benefits the destination they are promoting, and successful

migration stories (Hawthorne 2014; Collins 2012; Mahmud 2013; Tseng 1997; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). Yet, there is a gap in understanding the role of actors operating on social media platforms in shaping destination reputation for prospective migrants (Leurs and Seufferling 2022). This project is interested in contributing to the literature on destination reputation by exploring the representations that Brazilian immigrant influencers, as digital migration intermediaries, build about Canada's destination reputation.

3.2. Digital Migration

The widespread use of Information and Communication Technology (ICT) has reshaped how migrants experience mobility. During the 1990s and 2000s, the literature explored how ICTs played a central role in fostering and maintaining transnational ties among friends and families (Portes et al. 1999; Smith 2002). This new type of bond contributed to the emergence of what Diminescu (2008) calls the connected migrant. By using ICTs to maintain virtual transnational bonds with friends and family, migrants create an online presence that also enables new socialization spaces with individuals outside their social circle. The connected migrant, therefore, is a mobile actor capable of accessing and producing information without geographical constraints.

With the spread of ICTs, migrants have expanded connectivity and choices of migration destinations. Prospective migrants increase ICT connectivity as they solidify migration intentions and plans (Grubanov-Boskovic et al. 2021). A way to explain this phenomenon is that ICTs allow prospective migrants to obtain vast amounts of information related to housing or policies that fulfill the needs of individuals in the different stages of their journeys (Holmes and Janson 2008). Further, migrants no longer base their final decisions only on existing offline social networks but on the diverse migrant experiences and overall information they find in digital spaces (Grubanov-Boskovic et al. 2021; Holmes and Janson 2008; Burrell and Anderson 2008). For example, Burrell and Anderson (2008) found that digital platforms have re-oriented historical places of settlement to open space to new migration corridors. By using defined features, such as 'education system' or 'job opportunities,' or relying on other migrants' stories, individuals can access and rank different prospective destinations (Burrell and Anderson 2008; Thulin and Vilhelmson 2016). Therefore, the expanded migrant connectivity provided by ICTs is relevant to guiding migration aspirations and the decision-making process of choosing a destination.

While ICTs have facilitated migrant connectivity, they also reveal two types of precarity. First, the dissemination of ICTs has highlighted a digital divide - the unequal access to online platforms among migrants depending on their age, nationality, and educational background (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). This digital divide shows that younger and more educated prospective migrants use ICTs to look for information before migrating (Hadler 2006; Dekker et al. 2016). While migrants lacking this type of connectivity resort to pre-existing social networks and traditional communication infrastructures, accessibility to a wider range of information is limited (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Dekker et al. 2016). Digital channels, such as social media platforms, are relevant to finding discrete and unofficial information that helps facilitate migration. Social media is an important tool throughout migration journeys (Dekker et al. 2018). Second, social media platforms can also contribute to the spread of false or distorted information, which increases

migration risks (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). This type of information precarity became a salient topic in the post-2015 literature due to the large flows of forced migrants reaching Europe (Dekker et al. 2018; Leurs and Smets 2018; Şanlıer 2022; Sanchez-Querubin and Rogers 2018). As these migrants became more vulnerable to government surveillance and clandestine actors, they have found ways to triangulate information - such as favoring posts from co-nationals with the most likes, shares, and comments (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). ICT affordances and the strategies migrants use to circumvent information precarity show that digital technology has broadened migration experiences and destination decision-making.

The official/informal informational divide created different channels to experience migration (Sanchez-Querubin and Rogers 2018). While in the official channel migrants are subject to government actors and surveillance, the informal channel allows migrants to reach migration intermediaries that share discrete information to facilitate mobility. These channels show three dynamics. First, ICTs are at the center of international migration flows. While the state and migrants use ICT affordances for different purposes, both actors show that digital connectivity drives the migration and the surveillance industries. Second, this digital turn enhanced migrant agency (Leurs and Smets 2018). The multiple sources of information available in digital spaces gave migrants more capacity to decide which actors they rely on when migrating. Third, migrants occupy multiple roles in digital spaces. While ICTs allow migrants to be social media content consumers, migrants can also become migration experts who produce online content (Palaktoglou et al. 2015; Leurs and Smets 2018; Wanicka 2023). However, the topic of migrants as content producers is underexplored. Efforts to fill this gap show that InstaMigrants (migrants who operate on Instagram) form a transnational public through posts depicting their migration journeys and everyday experiences, which shape migration decisions (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021; Wanicka 2023). Through their stories and experiences, these migrants close informational gaps while creating representations of their host country to their audience.

On the other hand, the literature on migrants as content producers has focused on their journeys related to political activism and mobilization (Şanlıer 2022; Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022). Migrants use social media platforms to share their views on their home country's political climate and create awareness among their audience (Şanlıer 2022). Similarly, immigrant content creators or immigrant influencers also engage in political debates surrounding migration policy in their host countries (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Jaramillo-Dent 2023). As these studies reveal that immigrant influencers have the agency to shape views among their audience, it is worth exploring how these actors can influence preferences beyond migration policies.

The emerging literature on digital migration offers valuable insights into how migrants use online platforms before and during their journeys. Overall, migrants have increased their digital presence to access different types of information that can decrease the costs of moving (Grubanov-Boskovic et al. 2022; Dekker et al. 2018). Moreover, ICTs have allowed migrants to expand their options and tailor their preferences to focus on different features they look for in a destination (Burrell and Anderson 2008; Thulin and Vilhelmson 2015). However, the literature has extensively focused on i) forced migration to Europe, and ii) immigrants as content consumers (Leurs and Smets 2018). The strand of literature on migrants as content consumers has revealed that ICTs have increased migrant vulnerability through the spread of distorted information (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). It thus becomes relevant to explore the content migrants access in digital spaces. Efforts to fill this gap have concentrated on discussing how immigrants engage in political activism on social media

(Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Jaramillo-Dent 2023) without highlighting their role in intermediating migration. Therefore, this thesis contributes to the literature on digital migration by exploring the role of Brazilian immigrant influencers as content producers who shape migration flows through their representations of Canada's destination reputation on Instagram.

3.3. Brazilians in North America

North America has increasingly become a preferred destination among Brazilian migrants. While until the 1940s, Brazil received large immigration flows of Italians, Portuguese, and Eastern Europeans, the stagflation of the 1980s became a crucial pushing emigration factor (Goza 1994; Margolis 1994). In this scenario, North America became a relevant destination due to the potential economic opportunities, along with geographic and bureaucratic accessibility, especially when compared to other destinations, such as Europe and Australia (Moretto 1991; Margolis 1994). For example, Brazilians could enter Canada without a visa until 1987, facilitating settlement in Canada and undocumented entrance to the US (Goza 1999). Despite this established migration corridor, the literature has underestimated the number of Brazilian migrants to North America for two reasons (Goza 1994, 1999, Moretto 1991). First, data collected in censuses focused more on race and ethnicity than nationality (Margolis 1994). Given various migration flows throughout history, Brazil became an ethnically diverse country, which makes the usage of 'Brazilian' as a race or ethnicity category impractical for data collection purposes (Margolis 1994). Second, Brazilians have relied on undocumented migration pathways, which are difficult to record. As a result, Brazilian migrants in North America have been invisibilized as a group and overlooked in the literature (Margolis 1994; Braga and Jouët-Pastré 2008; Zubaran 2008).

Scholars have documented the push factors driving Brazilian emigration to the Global North in three waves. While these three diasporas have similar push factors – economic fragility, violence, political instability, and lack of sufficient access to public services – the literature has identified the saliency of different emigration motives depending on the dominant national socio-economic context. The first wave, which occurred during the 1980s-1990s, had economic fragility as the main push factor driving Brazilian migration (Dias and Junior 2018). The stagflation of the 1980s and the economic instability of the 1990s encouraged Brazilians to see North America and other countries, such as Japan or the United Kingdom, as viable migration destinations (Margolis 2008; Magalhães et al. 2009; Dias and Junior 2018). These migrants mostly came from the South and the Southeast regions – the wealthiest parts of Brazil – and belonged to a middle-class background.

During the early 2000s, the favorable changes in national social welfare and the Brazilian economic boom led to a second migration wave. While scholars have found that violence was an important push factor, the newly gained purchasing power contributed to activating migration aspirations (Dias and Junior 2018). More precisely, this scenario led to the emergence of a new lower-middle-class, which increased consumerism patterns in Brazil (Klein et al. 2018). With the newly gained disposable income and access to credit lines, this group focused on purchasing imported brands and traveling outside Brazil (Klein et al. 2018; Dias and Junior 2018). The new tourist experiences outside Brazil installed migration aspirations once they saw the reduced purchasing power opportunities of imported brands in Brazil, especially compared to other

destinations (Dias and Junior 2018). The decline of this second wave of immigration was marked by the 2008 crisis, which encouraged return migration (Siqueira 2017; Dias and Junior 2018).

The third wave of Brazilian emigration, which started after the mid-2010s, has violence, economic, and political instability as their main push factors. (Siqueira 2017; Millar and Fanini 2022). This wave comprises a 'new type of Brazilian migrant' who belongs to the middle and upper classes and saw their life standards decline throughout the 2010s (Millar and Fanini 2022). With the impeachment of former President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016) and with the election of Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022), Brazil entered a period of social unrest marked by political polarization between Bolsonaro and opposition supporters, which also reflected in an increase in urban violence (Millar and Fanini 2022). Moreover, the decline of the Brazilian economy, allied with national economic policies that cut public spending, turned socio-economic inequality and unemployment into push factors. This environment deteriorated with the COVID-19 pandemic, which led to an increase in extreme poverty and food insecurity (Nowak 2023, 116). In 2022, at least 60% of Brazilians faced food insecurity, and 23% relied on social welfare. The literature shows that the fragile political and economic environment and endemic social disparities are push factors driving Brazilian emigration.

In this vein, North America became a popular destination for two reasons. First, the representations of North America through media created a destination reputation that influenced prospective migrants to choose it as their final migration destination (Marcus 2009; Barbosa 2009; Millar and Fanini 2022). For example, the publicity around Canada being the best destination for achieving quality of life – meaning a less violent and more economically stable environment – is pivotal to continue pulling Brazilian migration (Barbosa 2009; Millar and Fanini 2022). In a similar vein, Millar and Fanini (2022) found that YouTubers sharing their daily experiences in Canada encouraged Brazilians to choose Canada as their final destination. Life in North America, and especially in Canada, is sold as a dream to achieve better socio-economic opportunities that cannot be found in Brazil (Millar and Fanini 2022). Second, established Brazilian migrants in the US encouraged chain migration of pre-existing social ties (Goza 2004). For example, inspired by the experiences of their social networks and media representations, migrants from Governador Valadares, a city in the Southeast of Brazil, have created a salient international migration corridor (Goza 2004; Marcus 2009). As a result, American migration officials have made efforts to restrict visa applications from this region (Goza 2004). Therefore, the literature shows that i) Brazilian migrants have consistent push and pull migration factors that direct them to North America and ii) media and social networks' representations built a positive destination reputation for North America, which continues to pull Brazilian migration.

However, migration patterns and experiences differ between the US and Canada. Brazilian migrants in the US experience more xenophobia and discrimination due to their language skills than in Canada (Barbosa 2009; Goza 2004; Moretto 1991). Moreover, the emphasis on assimilation in the US represents a negative experience for Brazilian migrants as it prevents them from preserving their culture (Barbosa 2009). The accumulation of negative experiences and the post-9/11 restrictive migration environment gave place to two changes in migration patterns to North America. First, Brazilian migrants saw Canada as a more sustainable migration destination (Barbosa 2009). They perceive Canada to be more receptive toward migrants, culturally and policy-wise (Barbosa 2009; Goza 1999; da Costa 2014). For example, Goza (1999) found that

despite a lack of English fluency, Brazilian migrants believe that Canadians do not discriminate. Instead, negative migration experiences are more associated with other migrants, such as the Portuguese (Magalhães et al. 2009). This phenomenon occurs due to the reproduction of the colonial past and the fact that Brazilian immigrants usually perform lower-paying jobs compared to Portuguese.

Second, Brazilian migration to the US is more temporary than migration to Canada (Margolis 2008; Goza 1994). Brazilian migrants see the US as a place where they can access financial opportunities that will allow them to live a comfortable life in Brazil once they return (Goza 1994). They do not aspire to become citizens or improve their level of English. On the contrary, Brazilian migrants see Canada as a permanent destination and aspire to become citizens because i) they see Canada as a place where migrants can integrate their cultural identity into society – multiculturalism – instead of assimilating into the American ‘melting pot’ (Barbosa 2009, 223); and ii) Brazilians see Canada as a destination where they can enhance their socio-economic standards (da Costa 2014).¹ The literature shows how the shared experiences and host country's openness to migration shape the nature of migration patterns among Brazilian migrants.

The literature has also documented the social networks and migration intermediaries that Brazilian migrants rely on during their journey to North America. Before migrating, Brazilians usually rely on family and friends for economic support to finance the costs of flights and documents (Goza 2004). Given the bureaucratic restrictions to obtain visas to North America, these networks also provided the means to obtain false documentation and access alternative routes to cross the Mexican American border (Goza 1999, 2004). Migrants who lacked personal networks relied on travel agencies (Goza 2004). While these migration intermediaries promoted documented migration to North America, the literature has also identified that their services also included arranging undocumented migration in cases of visa denials (Goza 2004). Agencies usually had their network of smugglers located on the Mexican American border. Once Brazilian migrants arrived in North America, they relied on other established Brazilians and the Portuguese community. However, the latter has reinforced negative stereotypes and exploited Brazilian migrants (Goza 1999, 2004; Magalhães 2009). The reproduction of this discriminatory behavior occurs because Brazilians usually occupy unskilled labor positions - such as cleaners or factory workers – which are perceived to be of low socio-economic status (Moretto 1991; Goza 1999). Despite the complexity of navigating social networks and interacting with formal/informal migration intermediaries, Brazilian migrants in North America rely on co-nationals and migrants with cultural affinity to guarantee a sense of familiarity and reassurance throughout their migration journey.

The existing literature on Brazilian migration to North America offers valuable information to understand how North America became a popular migration destination among Brazilians. Moreover, scholars have documented the shift in migration preferences and patterns between the US and Canada and the formal/informal character of migration intermediaries. However, the literature on Brazilian migration to North America and, more precisely, to Canada is still underexplored. This project seeks to contribute to this gap by studying the role of Brazilian

¹ This finding diverges from the assimilation and acculturation migrants go through when they move to Brazil (Seyferth 2000). The process of ‘*abrasileiramento*’ (becoming Brazilian) implies the loss of their native linguistic and cultural traits to blend into Brazilian society and guarantee their economic integration.

immigrant influencers residing in Canada in directing migration flows among their co-nationals through the digital representations of their migrant experiences.

Conclusion

The literature used in this chapter has highlighted the relevance of digital migrant experience-sharing in shaping destination reputation and the trajectory of Brazilian migration to North America to explore the representations that Brazilian immigrant influencers build of Canada's destination reputation and their role in informing decisions among Brazilian migrants. As migrants become more inter-connected beyond their offline social networks, individuals rely on social media platforms to share their journeys and obtain information to choose where to migrate (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021; Collins 2012; Diminescu 2008). This dynamic shows that digital actors sharing their experiences and migration-related knowledge have agency in shaping international migration flows. This phenomenon also opened space to the spread of distorted information, which is usually a strategy attributed to migration intermediaries (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Tseng 1997). Yet, there is a gap in exploring the content migrants access on digital platforms and having more recent accounts of Brazilian migration to Canada. By studying the role of Brazilian immigrant influencers as intermediaries that build representations and shape final migration choices among co-nationals, this thesis seeks to fill gaps in: i) the literature on Brazilian migration to Canada, and ii) exploring the role of immigrants as content producers on digital platforms. As this project will show in the following chapters, this thesis finds that Brazilian immigrant influencers and newcomers continued to depict similar characteristics to define Canada's destination reputation – better socioeconomic conditions and improved access to public services (Moretto 1991; Barbosa 2009). Additionally, this project finds that Brazilian immigrant influencers relied on sharing distorted information about Canada on Instagram as a strategy to continue fostering the monetization of their profiles. The next chapter will introduce the conceptual framework I used in this thesis.

4. Conceptual framework

This thesis explores the representation of Canada's destination reputation by Brazilian immigrant influencers and their role in shaping migration decisions among co-nationals. For this purpose, the following section will introduce and define the concepts mobilized for this research: immigrant influencers, destination reputation, migration intermediaries, and migration industries.

4.1. Immigrant Influencers

Immigrant influencers are content creators centered on discussing migration on digital platforms while residing outside their country of origin (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). Immigrant influencers share these posts to increase information accessibility regarding migration bureaucracy and show their daily experiences in their host countries while benefiting from public visibility and monetary compensation (Bucholtz 2019; Gomez 2019). Immigrant influencers are a unique category of content creators because they place their migrant condition as central to building their digital persona and audience (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022).

These influencers use digital platforms to discuss migration journeys, pathways, policies, and settlement experiences (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). Similarly to other types of content creators, immigrant influencers achieve account monetization by promoting services and products related to migration due to the high digital profile engagement in the form of likes, shares, and followers (Gomez 2019; Wanicka 2023). As this engagement generates more public visibility among their audience, immigrant influencers also position themselves as professional informal migration experts (Wanicka 2023; Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Dolbec et al. 2021).

Immigrant influencers fall into two categories. First, immigrant influencers centered on discussing migration policy (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Jaramillo-Dent 2023). While migrants exert limited political agency in their host countries due to their citizenship status, immigration policy influencers display agency in creating advocacy spaces for issues that directly impact their community and their ability to persuade their audience (Jaramillo-Dent 2023). Second, immigrant influencers focused on sharing their everyday migrant experience (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021; Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022). These immigrant influencers share the migration pathways they took to move, their first resettlement impressions, and their experiences in their host country (Bucholtz 2019; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). Through their social media accounts, these immigrant influencers create representations of migration and life in different destinations for their audiences.

4.2. Destination Reputation

Destination reputation can be defined as the sum of characteristics and experiences migrants share and recollect throughout their migration journey (Harvey et al. 2018; Harvey and Groutsis 2015). Given that migrants usually consider various elements such as city, education, or services when deciding their final migration destination (Harvey and Beaverstock 2016), Harvey et al. (2018) introduced destination reputation as a unifying term. The authors turned to management studies to define reputation as the values and characteristics an audience associates with a brand (Fombrun 1996). For Fombrun (1996), consumers are central to building a reputation because they ensure trust and credibility to potential customers. From a migration studies lens, the experiences that migrants (consumers) have in their host countries are pivotal to shaping destination reputation as prospective migrants rely on established migrants' experiences to consider their final destination (Harvey and Groutsis 2015).

The experiences migrants share create a positive or negative destination reputation, which allows individuals to rank and compare destination preferences (Harvey 2023). Since migrants first use their home country as a point of reference to see prospective destinations, the perceptions shared about their home and host country are relevant for individuals seeking to migrate (Harvey 2023, 43). Migrants can then be positioned as reputation builders – when their experiences are positive, which can encourage migration and talent retention – and reputation damagers – when their experiences are negative (Harvey and Groutsis 2015). By sharing their experiences throughout their migration journeys, individuals can shape destination reputation and mold the perceptions prospective migrants have of potential host countries (Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Harvey and Morris 2012).

The malleable nature of destination reputation turns intermediaries into crucial actors in migrant journeys and international mobility flows (Harvey and Groutsis 2015). In the past, migrants relied on government communication, traditional media channels or infrastructures –such as radio, television, and written media – and personal social networks to collect information about prospective migration destinations (Harvey 2023). However, migrants faced great difficulty in accessing information. With the emergence of digital communication and socialization channels, migrants have access to different intermediaries – such as immigrant influencers, education recruiters, brokers, and smugglers – which increases information availability for prospective migrants (Harvey 2023). These intermediaries represent the informational bridge between prospective migrants and potential host countries, given that they have accumulated first-hand life experience of migration pathways and everyday life (Harvey and Morris 2012; Harvey 2023). This insider knowledge is relevant for prospective migrants who take inspiration from how their lives could be in a given destination (Harvey 2023; Dekker et al. 2016). Therefore, how these intermediaries share information about migration destinations will shape final migration decisions (Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Harvey 2023).

4.3. Migration Intermediaries

Migration studies define migration intermediaries as actors that connect migrants with their future host society for monetary purposes (Hugo 1996; Elrick and Lewandowska 2008; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; van den Broek et al. 2015; Collins 2020; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). Intermediaries can be institutions, businesses, collective actors, or individuals. By being located between the state and aspiring migrants, intermediaries are in the ‘middle space of migration,’ which turns them into gatekeepers of international migration (Lindquist et al. 2012; Collins 2020; Hugo 1996). They detain specific knowledge or promote migration-related services that they exchange for monetary compensation with prospective migrants (Collins 2020; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013). This for-profit position differentiates intermediaries from social networks and other altruistic connections in migration chains (Elrick and Lewandowska 2008; Lindquist and Xiang 2012). Intermediaries then need to continuously foster migration aspirations to maintain and enhance their business (Collins 2020; Lindquist et al. 2012).

For this reason, intermediaries often resort to different strategies to attract prospective migrants that lack accuracy and transparency, which places individuals in precarious situations (van den Broek et al. 2015; Lindquist et al. 2012). A first strategy to validate and popularize migration-related services is using established migrants as a source of inspiration (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). By sharing positive life stories and experiences from other migrants, intermediaries gain credibility before their audience while promoting the life-improvement qualities of a destination. This strategy becomes more relevant when these intermediaries share experiences of co-nationals/co-ethnics or belong to prospective migrants’ social networks, as individuals will tend to see these as more trustworthy (Collins 2012; Beech 2018; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). In this case, intermediaries translate or turn information accessible to prospective migrants, which shapes their destination choices (Folgeman et al. 2022). While this translation helps prospective migrants absorb information, it also introduces them to a potential host country through someone else’s experiences and successes.

This scenario creates risks of mismatch, disappointment, and disillusion once individuals migrate (Fogelman and Christensen 2022; Harvey and Groutsis 2015).

Moreover, intermediaries can also share partial or exaggerated information as a strategy to benefit their business (Tseng 1997; Spaan and Hillman 2013). Intermediaries use this strategy to compare the benefits of a prospective host country over the negative characteristics of home countries (Tseng 1997; Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). These actors adapt their advertisements depending on the socio-economic situation of host and home countries to make information more appealing to prospective migrants (Tseng 1997). Given that individuals usually lack knowledge of potential host countries, the information they receive from intermediaries is crucial to deciding on a migration destination (Tseng 1997; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). This strategy becomes more salient when intermediaries speak the same language as prospective migrants because they create an ‘open’ and accessible communication channel (Tseng 1997, 291). While this type of (mis)advertisement succeeds in directing flows to specific locations, it places migrants in a precarious situation due to the distorted information they access (Spaan and Hillman 2013; Fogelman and Christensen 2022; Hugo 1996). In this sense, the disparity in knowledge creates an unequal relationship between prospective migrants and intermediaries (Lindquist and Xiang 2019; Spaan and Hillman 2013).

Intermediaries foster connections with prospective clients inside ‘spaces of mediation’ (Lindquist and Xiang 2019). Formal spaces of mediation, such as the ones used by recruiters, travel agencies, and government agencies, facilitate documented migration (Spaan and Hillman 2013; Harvey and Groutsis 2015). At the same time, informal migration intermediaries fall into two categories. First, informal migration intermediaries engage in clandestine and illegal activities (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; Lindquist and Xiang 2019). Given the development of tools and policy regulations to control mobility, these actors create hidden information and communication channels to facilitate undocumented migration (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013). Second, migration intermediaries operate within the formal/informal frontier (Harvey et al. 2018; van den Broek et al. 2015). These actors are established migrants who have commodified their (informal) migration knowledge (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; Knutsen et al. 2019). They are in this formal/informal frontier because they share informal migration knowledge by bonding with prospective over a migrant identity while selling formal migration-related services - such as engaging with migration agencies and consultants (Wanicka 2023; van den Broek et al. 2015). Through their migration experiences and the (formal) services they link to their profiles, these intermediaries achieve public trust and visibility, which positions them as migration experts (Palaktoglou et al. 2015; Wanicka 2023). These actors shape migrants' decisions through the representations they create of their lives as migrants while navigating between formal/informal migration facilitation (van den Broek et al. 2015; Harvey et al. 2018; Wanicka 2023).

4.4. Migration Industry

The migration industry represents “the ensemble of entrepreneurs who, motivated by the pursuit of financial gain, provide a variety of services, facilitating human mobility across international borders.” (Hernandez-Leon 2008, 154). These non-state actors or migration intermediaries have built resources that enable them to work alongside the state or independently from it depending on

the type of migration – documented or undocumented – being promoted (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; Hernandez-Leon 2008). Entrepreneurs or migration intermediaries offer resources covering a wide range of areas, such as access to migrant networks, job opportunities, and assistance in choosing migration pathways (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; Lindquist 2010). These services readapt due to changing state regulation policies or the need to find new ways to attract clients (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; McCollum and Findlay 2018). Through the continuous creation of pathways to facilitate movement across borders, the migration industry is at the center of international mobility flows (Hernandez-Leon 2008).

The context-specific characteristics of each migration corridor will create a migration industry with its own set of services, intermediaries, and infrastructures. As technology evolves, the migration industry adjusts to continue fostering migration (Hernandez-Leon 2005). With these changes, new infrastructures and migration intermediaries emerge (Hernandez-Leon 2005; Leurs and Seufferling 2022). The new ‘media infrastructures’ that emerged with ICTs have incorporated new channels of communication and advertisement that aim to facilitate migration (Preiss 2022; Leurs and Seufferling 2022). More precisely, social media platforms have broadened the access to information about different entrepreneurs and services available to prospective migrants (Wanicka 2023; Fogelman and Christensen 2022). The technological turn in migration has also helped new intermediaries to promote new destinations to prospective migrants, which can replace historical migration settlement options (Wanicka 2023; Hernandez-Leon 2005, 2013; Hernandez-Leon and Zuñiga 2003). By adjusting to the emergence of new technologies, the migration industry is flexible and capable of creating new markets to continue fostering and facilitating migration (Hernandez-Leon 2008).

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the theoretical framework used to explore the role of Brazilian immigrant influencers in building Canada’s destination reputation on Instagram to shape migration decisions among co-nationals. Through the promotion of services related to migration to Canada, Brazilian immigrant influencers are digital migration intermediaries operating inside the Brazilian-Canadian digital migration industry (Hernandez-Leon 2005; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013). Moreover, the shared identities of Brazilian immigrant influencers with co-nationals turn the journeys and experiences they post on Instagram into a source of inspiration for prospective migrants and advertisement of Canada’s destination reputation (Harvey et al. 2018; Beech 2018). I use the terms digital migration industry and digital migration intermediary to emphasize Brazilian immigrant influencers’ positionality in migration facilitation and the importance of ICTs in shaping international mobility. This effort can serve to further map the digital migration industry’s architecture, which has been underexplored by migration scholars. After introducing the conceptual framework for this project, the next chapter will introduce the methodology and research design.

5. Methodology and research design

This project aims to explore immigrant influencer representations of Canada's destination reputation in digital platforms and how these shape migration decisions. I chose Brazilian immigrants as the study population for this thesis because they are an understudied group in migration studies. Moreover, there is a gap in providing recent accounts of Brazilian migration to Canada. While some scholars have focused on Brazilian immigrants in Canada in recent years (Millar Fanini 2022; Burnham 2017; da Costa 2014), most literature is still from the 1990s and early 2000s (Goza 1994, 1999, 2004; Magalhães et al. 2009; Barbosa 2009). Yet, as the number of Brazilians increases in Canada (Molina 2022; Millar Fanini 2022), it is relevant to explore how Brazilian immigrants represent Canada's destination reputation. This thesis then contributes to filling the gap of Brazilian migration to Canada by focusing on how the representations created by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram shape destination choice.

To answer the main research question guiding this project: "***How do Brazilian immigrant influencers' construction of Canada's destination reputation shape the migration destination decision of Brazilian immigrants who ultimately choose to live in Canada?***" I relied on two specific research questions:

Research Question 1: *How do Brazilian immigrant influencers represent Canada's destination reputation on Instagram?*

I answer this question by conducting a content analysis of 30 Instagram posts from 5 Brazilian immigrant influencers' accounts on Instagram. I chose content analysis as a research method because it allowed me to study different elements of Instagram posts, such as images/videos and text (Creswell 2014). For this purpose, I created a checklist (see Annex 1) to organize posts while highlighting the key features Brazilian immigrant influencers used to represent Canada's destination reputation. This checklist covered four main themes: i) migration push and pull factors, the reasons for leaving Brazil and choosing/staying in Canada; ii) immigrant influencers as migration experts, the ways influencers create trust and share insider information with their audience; iii) life experiences in home/host country, their representation of life in Brazil and Canada; and iv) home reputation /host country destination reputation, the features they highlight when defining Brazil and Canada's destination reputation. These themes allowed me to report a detailed description of how the posts shared on Instagram convey representations of Canada's destination reputation, Brazil's reputation, and Brazilian migration to North America.

I selected the five most followed Brazilian immigrant influencer accounts under #brasileirosnocanada (353,000 posts) - the most-used hashtag among Brazilian migrants in Canada. I chose the five most followed accounts under this hashtag (@farofademapple, @paulanocanada, @sissi_noquebec, @casalnerdnocanada, and @grudesnocanada) and selected six posts per account, making a total of 30 posts (Annex 2). I chose these posts because they are the most liked – with the most public visibility. This content addresses social, economic, or lifestyle differences between Brazil and Canada or highlights 'why Canada is a good migration destination.' I downloaded all 30 posts to avoid issues accessing this content throughout the project.

I chose Instagram as the social media platform to work with for three reasons. First, Instagram has received less attention from digital migration scholars than other online platforms (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). Despite being one of the most used media platforms, the literature has focused on exploring migrant agencies on Twitter, Facebook, and TikTok (Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021; Borkert et al. 2018; Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022).² Additionally, Instagram is the second most used social media platform in Brazil (Bragado 2024). The study of Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram is then relevant to the emerging literature on digital migration. Second, influencers on Instagram focus on sharing experiences (Santiago and Castelo 2020). Influencers on Instagram have specialized in showing their audience the services or products they consume, which turns branding strategies central to shaping consumer choices. This dynamic will help to understand how immigrant influencers shape prospective migrants' destination decisions through their representations of Canada's destination reputation. Third, influencers on Instagram have commercialized experience-sharing (Santiago and Castelo 2020; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). By building a digital persona and audience, influencers gain recognition, which reflects an increase in followers (audience), engagement (likes, shares, and comments), and especially partnerships with businesses or services, which allows them to monetize their accounts. The commodification of experience-sharing among immigrant influencers becomes relevant because it differentiates the former from altruistic intermediaries and social networks (Elrick and Lewandowska 2008).

This sub-question sought to answer how Brazilian immigrant influencers convey their experiences and migration journeys that ultimately shape Canada's destination reputation to their audience on Instagram. To compare and complement the (online) representations of Canada's destination reputation gathered in the checklist, I had a second specific research question:

Research Question 2: *“How do Brazilian newcomers in Canada perceive migration-related content from Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram they consume during their migration process?”*

For this second part of the project, I conducted 10 semi-structured interviews of around 45 minutes long, with 10 female Brazilian newcomers who arrived between 2022 and 2023 in Canada and reside in Montreal. These interviews were carried out in Portuguese to avoid language barriers and were later transcribed verbatim³. This complements the content analysis of Brazilian immigrant influencers' posts by exploring i) how their perception of Canada and the content accessed unfold throughout their migration journey, ii) social media's centrality as a source of information for migrants' decisions, and iii) immigrant influencers' role as migration intermediaries in international migration. While scholars have focused on understanding how political immigrant influencers shape migrants' opinions, the understanding of immigrant influencers' settlement experiences as a source of information, inspiration, destination reputation building, and promotion for future migrants is incipient (Jaramillo-Dent et al. 2022; Harvey et al. 2018). Therefore, the questions used in the interviews seek to address this gap by

² In Brazil, WhatsApp is the most used social media platform (147.2 million users), followed by Instagram (120.4 million), Facebook (117.1 million), and TikTok (82.2 million) (Bragado 2024; Kemp 2023). The country currently has 181.8 million internet users, which represents 84% of the population.

³ Given that I am a native Portuguese speaker, I chose to conduct interviews in this language.

exploring how migrants perceived migration-related content they consumed during their migration journey (Annex 3).

I recruited participants by making posts on private and public Facebook groups created by or aimed at Brazilian immigrants between January 22, 2024, and March 8, 2024. Before selecting the final participants that called for the interviews, prospective participants had to complete an online survey to signal their interest (see Annex 4). This step allowed me to maintain anonymity within the Facebook groups. Moreover, the online survey served to gather information related to participants' socio-economic backgrounds, which complemented data from interviews. Further, respondents also answered questions about how they used Instagram for migration purposes. By understanding when and the type of migration content respondents accessed on Instagram, I gained more insight into their migration stories and journeys to Canada. The online survey served to explore prospective participants' profiles and migration experiences.

I used all valid entries to randomly select the 10 participants interviewed⁴. Initially, the project sought to maintain a gender balance of five women and five men. However, male engagement remained minimal, with three out of sixteen responses. This behavior falls in line with previous research that signaled i) women significantly use Facebook and Instagram more than men, ii) women are significantly more engaged on Facebook and Instagram by giving more likes, comments, and overall participation than men, iii) women tend to participate more in online surveys than men (Laor 2022; Smith 2008). Moreover, research has shown that women entrepreneurs, especially small-business owners, use Instagram as their main marketing channel to conduct branding awareness strategies and "get closer to other customers" (Almeida Santos et al. 2023, 7). This characteristic also resonates with the Brazilian immigrant influencers selected for this project, as all accounts are female-owned and have small-business/monetizing partnerships attached to their profiles. While future research can strive to focus on a broader audience, this project ultimately chose to focus on interviewing female newcomers due to the predominance of women as an audience and content producers on Instagram and due to time constraints.

Given the small sample of participants, as well as the gender imbalance, I do not aim to create a representative account of the overall Brazilian immigrant population living in Canada or Brazilian women residing in Canada. These interviews aimed to explore the experiences of Brazilian migrants and their journeys to Canada. As my focus is on migration-related content produced on Instagram, these interviews also helped to understand the importance of social media for migrants.

Relying on a small number of interviews is justified for two reasons. First, the time constraints surrounding this project. Given the limited time available to complete this project, and the fact that I needed to translate interviews to English, keeping a small number of participants allowed me to meet my timeline. Second, a small number of interviewees provides the opportunity to gain in-depth insight into peoples' experiences (Creswell 2014). In the case of Brazilian newcomers, I was able to explore their migration stories and experiences during their process of choosing Canada as their destination. With this information, I complemented the content analysis of immigrant influencers' posts by understanding how migrants' perceptions of Canada's destination reputation unfold before and after moving. Since the literature has highlighted that Canada's reputation is a

⁴ To protect participants' confidentiality, I have used pseudonyms for all participants. As part of this thesis, my research protocol has been reviewed by Concordia HREC and has received ethical clearance (certificate 30019022).

main pull migration factor for Brazilian migration (Barbosa 2009), interviewing Brazilian migrants is relevant to explore how they perceive Canada's reputation throughout their migration journey. These interviews also allowed me to explore how migrants' perceptions about Canada's destination reputation coincided (or not) with the representations articulated by immigrant influencers. In this sense, these interviews allowed me to explore the importance of migration-related content on social media for migrants and immigrant influencers' role in promoting a host country by building representations of Canada's destination reputation.

Conclusion

This chapter introduced the methodology and research design used to explore how the digital representations of Canada's destination reputation articulated by Brazilian immigrant influencers shape co-national migration choices. By conducting a content analysis on 30 Instagram posts from the five most followed Brazilian immigrant Influencers, I sought to explore the representations articulated and conveyed about Canada's destination reputation. To complement the content analysis, I also conducted 10 interviews with newcomers who arrived in Canada between 2022 and 2023 to understand their migration journey and the role of social media in informing their migration decisions. The content analysis and interviews sought to contribute to exploring Brazilian immigrant influencers' representations of Canada's destination reputation in digital platforms and their role as migration intermediaries in a digital migration industry. The next chapter will introduce the results from the content analysis, surveys, and interviews.

6. Results

This chapter introduces the representations that Brazilian immigrant influencers create of Canada's destination reputation and the experiences of Brazilian newcomers accessing migration-related content on Instagram. The results obtained from the content analysis show that Brazilian immigrant influencers build their host country's destination reputation by highlighting the comparative advantage of Canada over Brazil. These influencers depict Canada's destination reputation as a 'Canadian Paradise' consisting of i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. The content analysis also highlighted that influencers position themselves as migration experts by sharing knowledge about their experiences and advertising services related to migration to Canada.

At the same time, the results obtained from the interviews with 10 Brazilian newcomers show that these migrants feel that Brazilian immigrant influencers sold them an overtly positive representation of Canada - the 'Canadian Paradise' - for monetary gain. Interviewees reported a stark difference between how life in Canada looked on Instagram and the life they now experience living in this destination. While participants shared that migration-related content on Instagram is more concise, accessible, and language-friendly than other sources – such as YouTube or the government website – they are now more critical of the content Brazilian immigrant influencers share. Now that participants have experienced Canada in real life, they recognize that influencers portrayed an idealistic representation of Canada's destination reputation to promote the migration-related services they linked to their profiles.

The first part of this chapter introduces the results from the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts from 5 different Brazilian influencers' Instagram accounts. First, I provide an overview of each profile chosen for this project. After, I show how these immigrant influencers depict destination reputation and how they position themselves as migration experts to their audience. The second part of this chapter will present the results obtained from the interviews with Brazilian newcomers.

6.1. Brazilian immigrant influencers: who are they?

For this project, I chose the five most followed Brazilian immigrant influencers that post on Instagram: @farofademapple, @paulanocanada, @casalnerdnocanada, @grudesnocanada, and @sissi_noquebec⁵. The table below shows four main preliminary findings about these influencers: i) 3 out of 5 profile owners lived in the Southeast region of Brazil before migrating to Canada, ii) 3 out of 5 profile owners migrated to Canada through a study permit, iii) 3 out of 5 profile owners have businesses related to providing services to migration, and iv) all profile owners have partnerships with formal migration service providers, such as migration consultants.

TABLE 1 AN OVERVIEW OF BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT INFLUENCERS' PROFILES

Brazilian immigrant influencer	Region of residence in Brazil	Province of residence in Canada	Type of first Canadian immigration document	Type of profile monetization
@farofademapple	Southeast	Ontario	Study permit	e-book, partnership with formal migration service providers, informal career advancement for migrants, language courses, and phone services.
@paulanocanada	Northeast	Ontario	Study permit	Business owner, partnership with formal migration service provider, phone service, and money transfer service.
@sissi_noquebec	Southeast	Québec	Work permit	Business owner, partnership with formal migration service provider financial services, and language course.

⁵ I explain how I chose these immigrant influencers in the methodology and research design section, chapter 4.

@casalnerdnocanada	Southeast	British Columbia	Permanent residency	Business owner and partnership with formal migration service provider.
@grudesnocanada	South	Alberta	Study permit	partnership with a formal migration service provider, money transfer, and phone service

A. @farofademaple

This account belongs to the Brazilian immigrant influencer Raquel Gonçalves. She used to live in Rio de Janeiro – the Southeast of Brazil - and resides in Barrie (ON). She moved to Canada in 2019 with her husband, who applied to be a student in Canada to pursue a course in a public college in Barrie. As a result, she received an open work permit while her husband entered Canada under a study permit. She started posting under this account before landing in Canada when she decided to migrate to Canada. In fact, the second post in her account discusses how to choose the best location to migrate to in Canada (Figure 1).

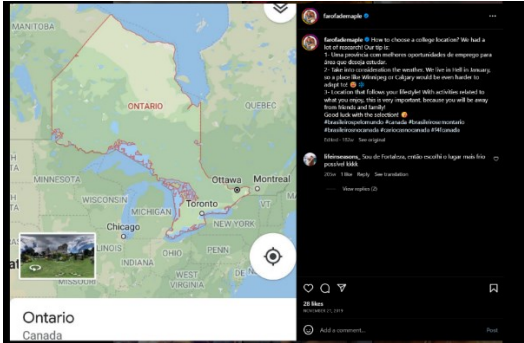


Figure 1. @farofademaple shows how to choose a destination within Canada.⁶

Raquel’s content covers her life in Canada, her impressions of Canada, dicas, or tips on how to move to Canada. In her Instagram biography, she describes her account as “Realidade no Canadá com muito humor” (Life as it is in Canada with a lot of humor) (Figure 2). Her username combines the word farofa – a traditional Brazilian side dish made from cassava flour – and maple syrup, two staple Brazilian and Canadian foods. Overall, she has reached more than 100 thousand followers, and she has released an e-book entitled “Primeiros Passos do Plano Canadá” (First Steps of the Canada Plan) (Figure 3). This e-book is available on her profile as a highlight and on her Linktree on her biography – a page in which influencers can share links with their audience on Instagram.

⁶ Source: Instagram account by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), *How to choose a college location?* November 21, 2019, Instagram: <https://www.instagram.com/p/B5IsaUKD-wF/>

The link advertised leads to her website (farofademapple.com), where she sells her e-book for 29,95 BRL (Brazilian Reais) (about CAD\$ 8) (Figure 4).

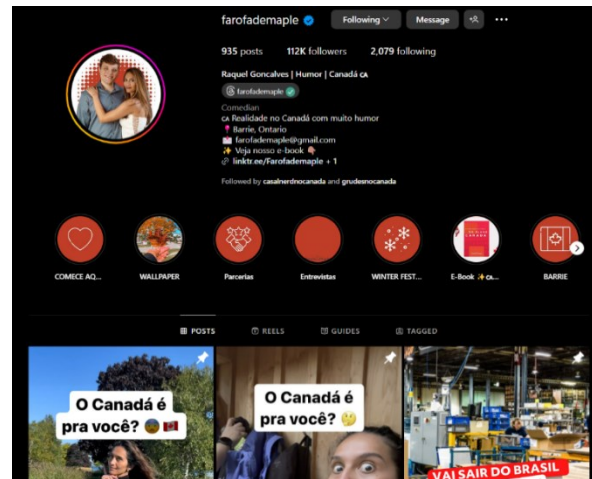


Figure 2. @farofademapple's profile on Instagram.⁷



Figure 3. @farofademapple's e-book on her Instagram story's highlights⁸.

⁷ Source: Instagram account by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademapple), *Raquel Gonçalves | Humor | Canadá, filha do Porteiro no Canadá*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/farofademapple/>

⁸ Source: Instagram story by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademapple), *E-book já disponível para compra*, November 17, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/stories/highlights/18333243949017535/>

As she advertises, the e-book seeks to answer recurring questions from her followers about migration to Canada. More precisely, she mainly addresses the following questions: Why did she choose Canada over other destinations, the different types of migration pathways offered by Canada, how to apply for different visas, how to plan financially to migrate to Canada, and how to choose the best province and city to migrate (Figure 5). The e-book also provides a list of partners that readers can access in case they need assistance in certified migration consultancy, official document translations, financial planning, and finding housing in Canada (Figure 6).

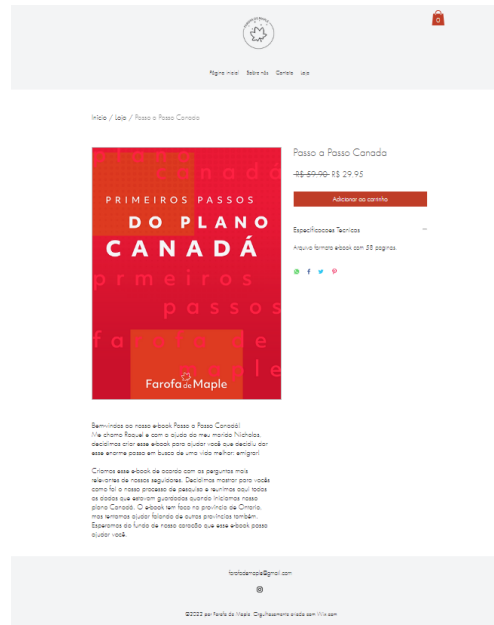


Figure 4. @farofademapple's e-book is listed on her website.⁹

⁹ Source: Website by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademapple), *Primeiros passos do plano Canadá*, December 7, 2023 <https://www.farofademapple.com/passo-a-passo-canada>

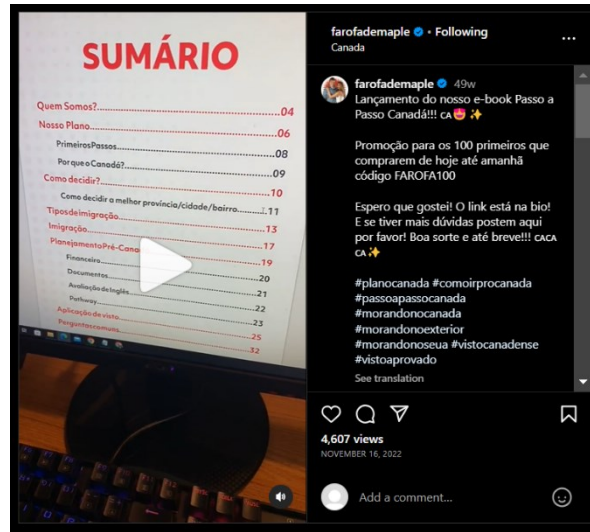


Figure 5. @farofademaple's e-book index.¹⁰

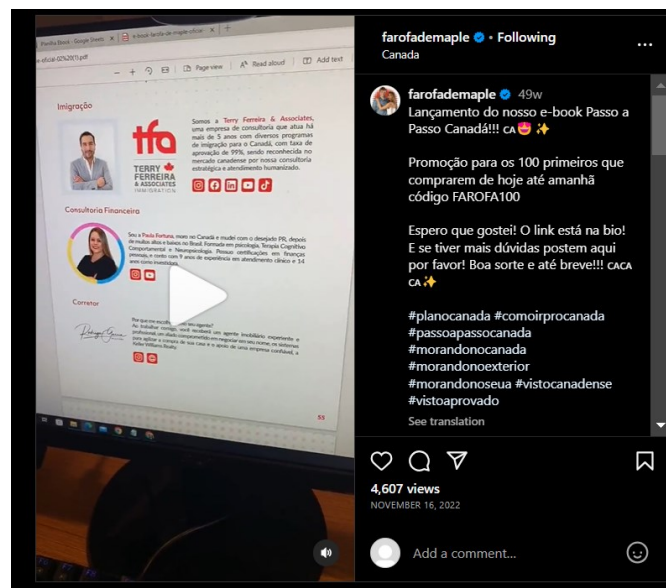


Figure 6 @farofademaple's e-book partners.¹¹

The Linktree section of her profile provides a series of links that range from career, language, and money transfer service companies (Figure 7). More specifically, she partnered with JM Learning, a company founded by two Brazilian migrants that helps other Brazilians integrate into the Canadian job market. For this purpose, they have created “*Canadá: O caminho para uma Carreira de Sucesso*” (Canada: The path to a successful career). The course - which costs CAD\$ 289.90

¹⁰ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), *Lançamento do nosso e-book. Passo a passo Canadá*, November 16, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/C1CqF10pw6p/>

¹¹ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), *Lançamento do nosso e-book. Passo a passo Canadá*, November 16, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/C1CqF10pw6p/>

- helps migrants prepare a CV, cover letter, and LinkedIn profile tailored to the Canadian job market (Figure 8).

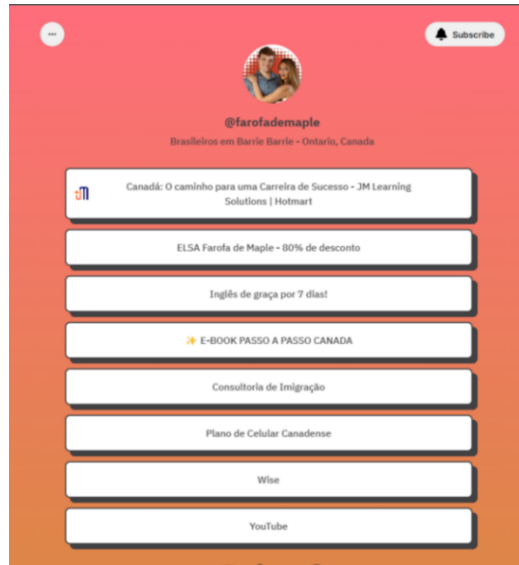


Figure 7. @farofademaple’s Linktree shows partnerships.¹²

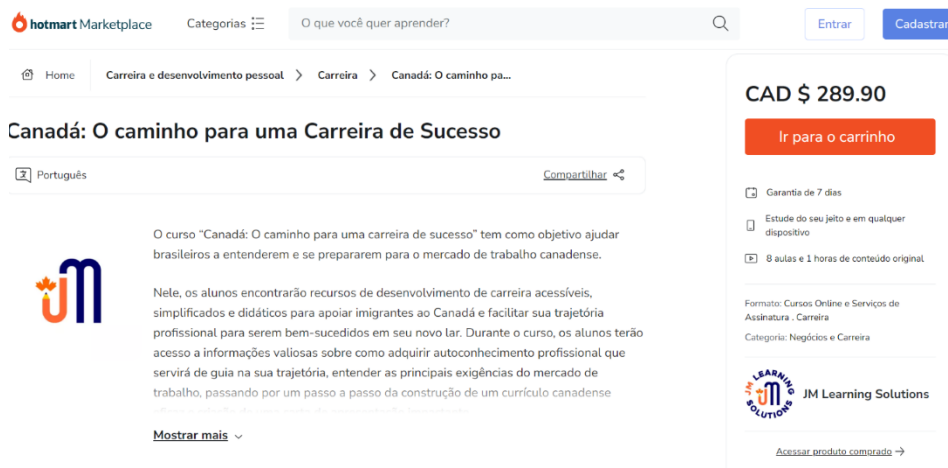


Figure 8. JM Learning’s course on how to enter the Canadian job market.¹³

Overall, @farofademaple shares content related to migration to Canada. While some of her posts feature her and her husband’s personal life, her account mainly shows how their lives changed after moving to Canada compared to what they experienced in Brazil. The life improvement she and her husband gained after immigrating to Canada inspired her to create @farofademaple to help

¹² Source: Linktree by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), @farofademaple *Brasileiros em Barrie – Ontario Canada*, December 7, 2023, Linktree, <https://linktr.ee/Farofademaple>

¹³ Source: Website by JM Learning Solutions, *Canadá: O caminho para uma carreira de sucesso*, December 5, 2023. <https://hotmart.com/pt-br/marketplace/produtos/canada-o-caminho-para-uma-carreira-de-sucesso/B83857548H>

other Brazilians achieve a better future. As a result, aside from the Instagram posts, Raquel’s account has multiple Instagram highlights, links, and partnerships. She also uses her Instagram account to sell an e-book that provides migration-related information.

B. @paulanocanada

This account belongs to the Brazilian immigrant influencer Paula Affonso. She used to live in Pernambuco (PE) – the Northeast of Brazil – and resides in London (ON). She moved to Canada in 2018 with her family of four to study at a public college in London. As a result, her husband received an open work permit, and her children, ages 5 and 14, attended public school. She started posting under this account before planning to move to Canada. Paula's posts from before 2018 portray her life in Brazil and do not offer any migration-related information. Soon after she migrated with her family, Paula started dedicating her account to discussing migration to Canada and her routine in her new host country (Figure 9). In her first post about migration to Canada, Paula announced she would share a video explaining how to study and migrate to Canada.



Figure 9. The first post the influencer shared after migrating to Canada in 2018.¹⁴

Paula’s content covers her family’s life in Canada, their experiences living in London, and information targeting Brazilian migration to Canada (Figure 10). Paula's Instagram biography describes her account as “*Vida no Canadá*” (Life in Canada). Her username “*Paula no Canadá*” means Paula in Canada. Overall, Paula has around 33 thousand followers, hosts a podcast in which she speaks more broadly about her migration journey, and provides more information about migrating to Canada (Figure 11). Paula acts as an educational migration consultant for HiBonjour – a Brazilian-Canadian exchange agency founded in 2013 that focuses on attracting migrants to Canada.

¹⁴ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *No one knows the sacrifices it takes to gain a victory*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/BmULI2g1VqC/?img_index=1

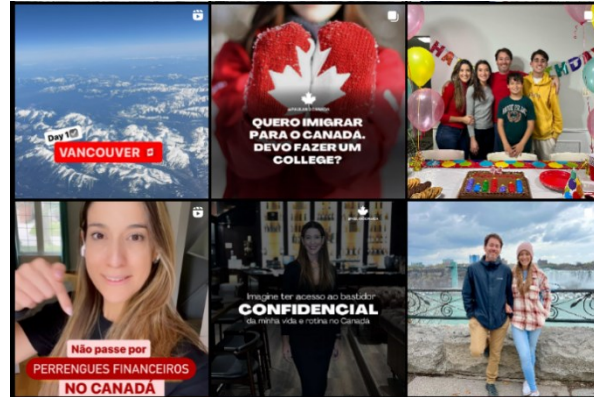


Figure 10. @paulanocanada’s posts show her migration journey to Canada.¹⁵

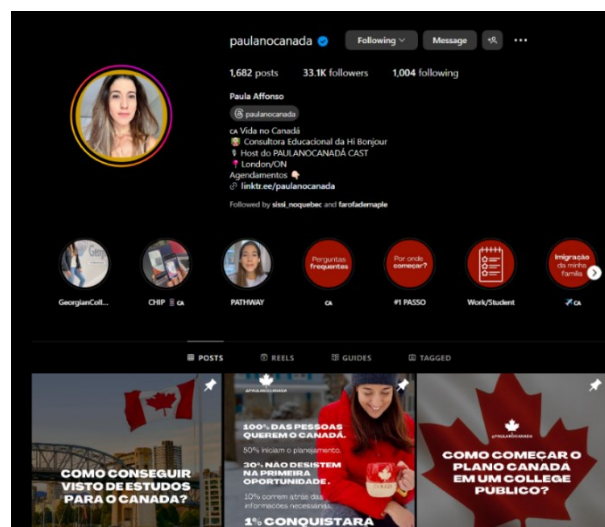


Figure 11. @paulanocanada’s profile on Instagram.

Paula uses her Instagram profile to share snippets of her podcast episodes, which provide tips for migrating to Canada. For example, the image below shows one of her podcast episodes, entitled “*A verdade sobre job offer no Canadá*” (The reality about job offers in Canada), in which she explains how to obtain a job offer to migrate (Figure 12).

¹⁵ Source: Instagram account by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *Paula Affonso | Te mostro como é possível estudar no exterior*, Instagram account, December 7, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/paulanocanada/>

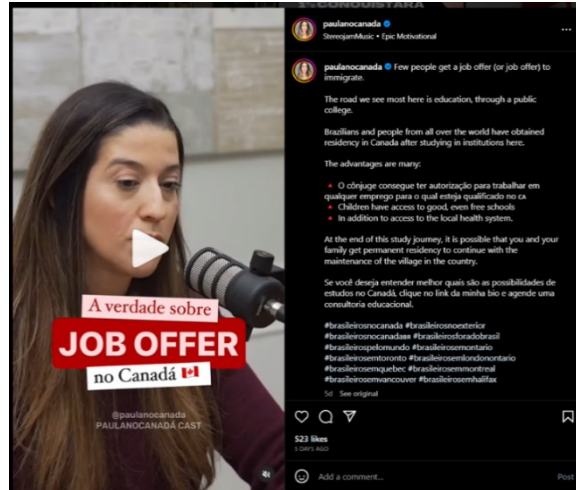


Figure 12. @paulanocanada’s post showing a snippet of one of her podcast episodes.¹⁶

As seen in her Instagram biography, Paula also works for HiBonjour as an educational consultant.¹⁷ The influencer shares on her HiBonjour profile that she used their services to migrate back in 2018 (Figure 13). She started working for this company in 2019 after sharing Instagram posts covering her journey to Canada.

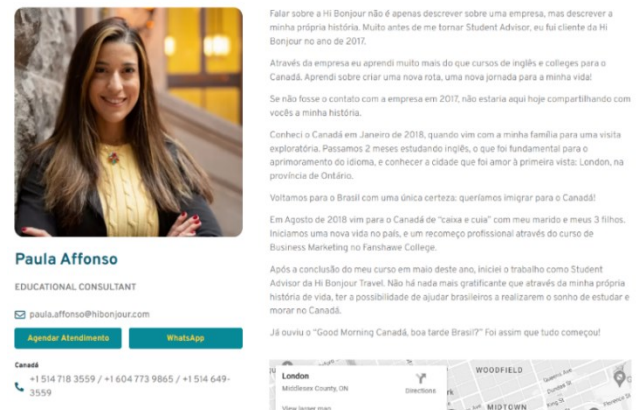


Figure 13. Paula’s profile on HiBonjour.¹⁸

The Linktree section on her profile shows different partnerships she has obtained with a phone (Fido), money transfer services (Remessa Online and Wise), HiBonjour, and her own business called Easy2London, which has a dedicated Instagram profile (Figure 14). Eas2London provides private resettlement assistance to newcomers. It offers services related to transportation from the

¹⁶ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *A verdade sobre job offer no Canadá*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cy4Fg8AOd03/>

¹⁷ Educational consultants are agents that connect prospective students with study destinations (Collins 2012).

¹⁸ Source: Website by HiBonjour, *Paula Affonso, Educational Consultant*, December 5, 2023, <https://hibonjour.com/equipe/paula-affonso/>

airport, personal shopping, finding accommodation, and Day use – a service in which Easy2London assists newcomers in opening a bank account or finding winter clothes. The price for these services ranges from CAD\$ 50 to CAD\$ 700 (Figure 15).

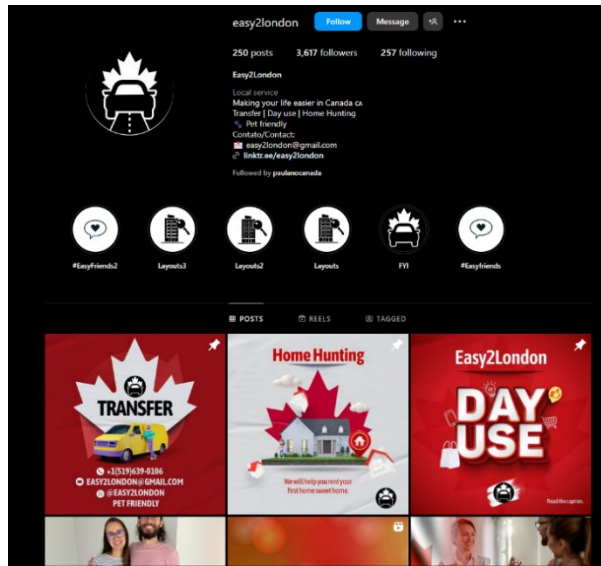


Figure 14. Paula’s business on Instagram @Easy2London.¹⁹



Figure 15. @Easy2London prices for different services.

Paula Affonso’s Instagram profile @paulanocanada covers content related to her family’s experience in London while sharing how Canada is a desirable destination to migrate for students and workers, which connects to her job at HiBonjour and her own business @Easy2London.

¹⁹ Source: Instagram account by Easy2London (@easy2london), Easy2London, *Making your life easier in Canada*, Instagram, December 7, 2023, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/easy2london/>

C. @casalnerdnocanada

This account belongs to the Brazilian immigrant influencer Giovanna Barino. Her username ‘*Casal nerd no Canadá*’ means nerd couple in Canada. She used to live in Espírito Santo – the Southeast of Brazil – and resides in Vancouver (BC). She moved to Canada in 2017 with her husband through the Express Entry program, which gave them direct Permanent Residency (PR) in Canada. Giovanna started posting under this account after she migrated to Canada. One of her first posts on @casalnerdnocanada discusses the Landing process – the formalization of PR status when arriving in Canada – and the documents needed for this on her blog. (Figure 16).



Figure 16. @casalnerdnocanada’s blog entry about the Landing process for Permanent Residents.²⁰

Giovanna’s content covers her work as an English teacher, her migration journey to Canada, and general information about Canada for aspiring migrants (Figure 17). In the image below, for example, her posts address topics related to life as a college student, job opportunities in Canada for Brazilians, and English tips for migration purposes. Giovanna specializes in English classes oriented to international examinations to migrate or study, such as IELTS, CELPIP, DET, and TOEFL. In her Instagram biography, Giovanna describes her account as “*Aprenda inglês para morar fora*” (Learn English to live abroad). Overall, she has around 60 thousand followers and has had more than 4500 students (Figure 18).

²⁰ Source: Instagram post by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *When you are so in love with the layout and new notes that you go the blog just to admire*, May 13, 2017, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/BUCCSptBK1m/>



Figure 17. @casalnerdnocanada's posts on Instagram.²¹

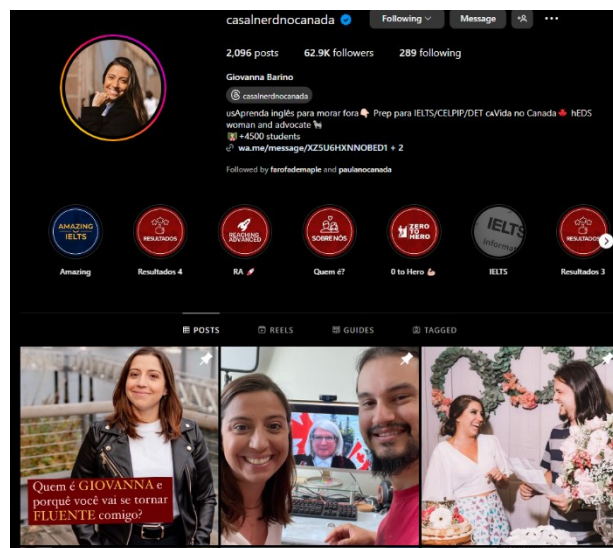


Figure 18. @casalnerdnocanada's Instagram profile.

Giovanna's Instagram biography also connects her profile to her Linktree, which displays partnerships and links to her products (Figure 19). More specifically, she has partnered with EveryStep – a migration consulting firm. Her followers can get exclusive discounts in online consulting sessions with EveryStep. The price range for this service is between CAD\$ 110 for a 25-minute session and CAD\$ 180 for 75 minutes (Figure 20).

²¹ Source: Instagram account by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *Giovanna Barino | Aprenda inglês para morar fora*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/casalnerdnocanada/>



Figure 19. @casalnerdnocanada’s Linktree.²²

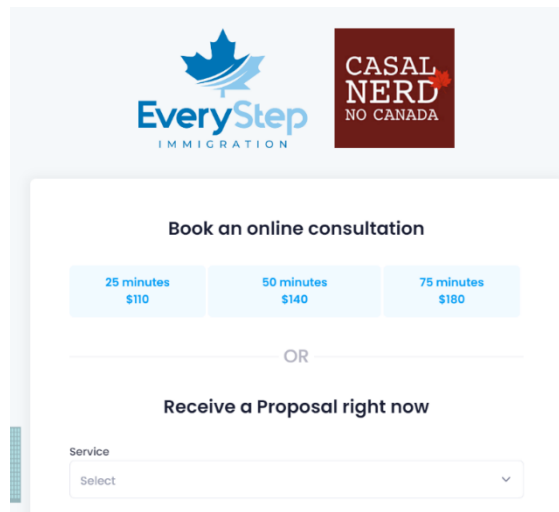


Figure 20. @casalnerdnocanada partnership website with EveryStep.²³

Giovanna’s Instagram biography shows a link to a website dedicated to her English courses. The website advertises that ‘the dream to migrate or study in Canada should not be shut down because of one’s English level’ (Figure 21). Below, she offers different English courses, such as “Amazing IELTS,” “*Saindo do Básico Plus*” (Getting out of a basic level in English Plus), “*Intensivão de*

²² Source: Linktree by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *Giovanna Barino | Aprenda inglês para morar fora*, December 7, 2023, Linktree, <https://linkpop.com/casalnerdnocanada>

²³ Source: Website by Every Step Immigration, *Book an online consultation*, December 5, 2023, <https://app.everystepimmigration.ca/r/casalnerd>

CELPIP” (Intensive course for CELPIP), Reaching Advanced, and Zero to Hero (Figure 22). These courses range from 1206 BRL (around CAD\$ 300) to 2265 BRL (around CAD\$ 600) (Figure 23) - depending on the level of access to content, one-on-one sessions with Giovanna, and extra preparation materials.



Figure 21. @casalnerdnocanada’s English course website.²⁴

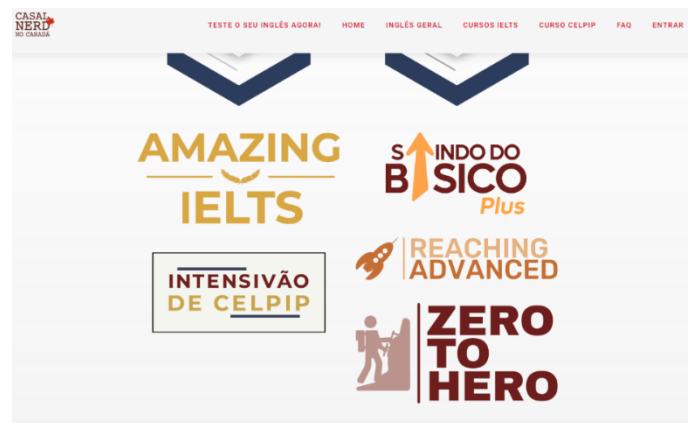


Figure 22. @casalnerdnocanada different English courses.

²⁴ Source: Website by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *Você sonha imigrar ou estudar no Canadá o inglês está empacando o seu sonho?* December 7, 2023 <https://loja.ieltscanada.com.br/>

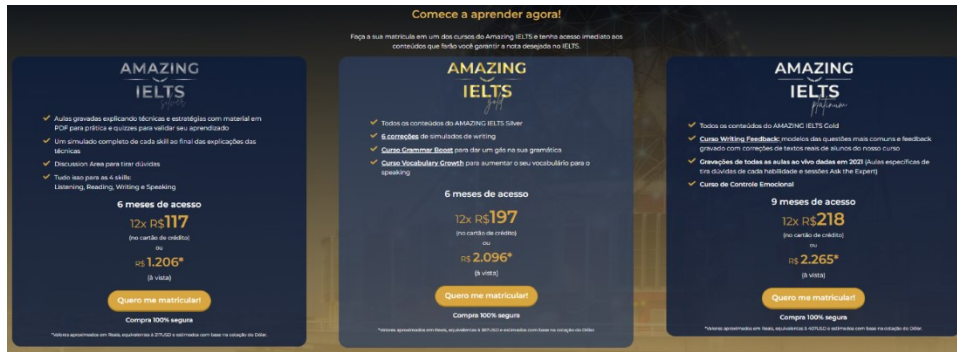


Figure 23. @casalnerdnocanada’s Amazing IELTS prices.²⁵

Overall, Giovanna Barino’s Instagram profile @casalnerdnocanada covers migration tips, her journey to Canada, and the benefits of learning English to open permanent migration pathways. Her profile does not have a personal focus, rather it connects her migration experience with her job as an English teacher and business owner.

D. @sissi_noquebec

This account belongs to the Brazilian immigrant influencer Siandra Cavalcanti. She is originally from Pernambuco – the Northeast of Brazil – and resides in Québec City (QC). Before migrating to Canada, Siandra and her family lived in São Paulo – the Southeast of Brazil. She moved to Canada in 2019 with her husband and two children through a recruitment session with Québec en tête.²⁶ Her husband obtained a job offer, which gave him a closed work permit – this occurs when the visa is linked to the company that has hired a worker – and as a result, Siandra obtained an open work permit. Before migrating, Siandra’s Instagram account only shared her personal life in Brazil. After moving, Siandra started posting about her adaptation process and her life in Canada (Figure 24). For example, in one of her first posts about Canada, she discusses how much she spent grocery shopping at Costco.

²⁵ Source: Website by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *Você sonha imigrar ou estudar no Canadá o o inglês está empacando o seu sonho?* December 7, 2023 <https://loja.ieltscanada.com.br/>

²⁶ Québec en tête is a portal that provides information on study and work opportunities in Québec City. It is a program from Québec International, an agency that promotes economic development in the Québec City region (Québec en tête 2024).

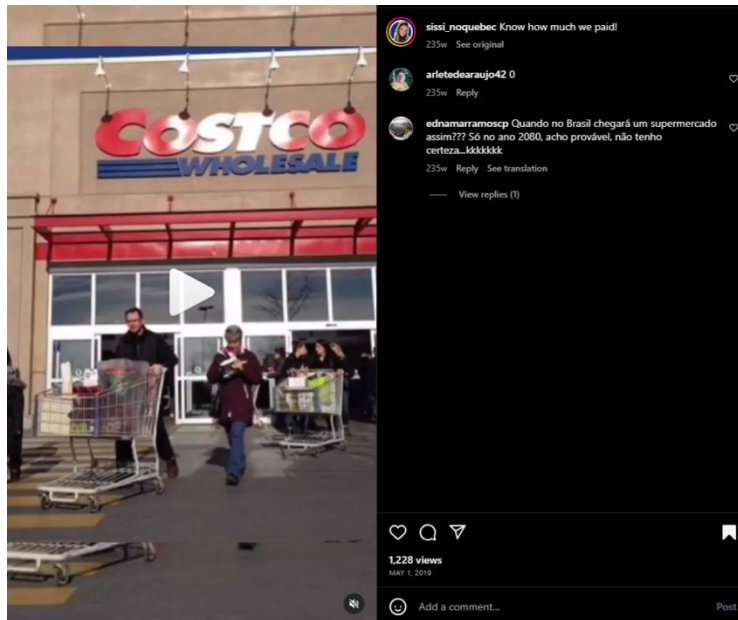


Figure 24. @sissi_noquebec’s first post about Canada.²⁷

Siandra’s content covers her family’s life in Canada, their experiences adapting to a new country, and migration-related information for aspiring migrants (Figure 25). Some of her posts, for example, offer tips for creating a CV oriented to the Canadian job market, traveling around Canada, and different digital events with other influencers to discuss their experiences in Canada. Her username, “*Sissi no Quebec*,” means Sissi in Québec. Overall, she has more than 15 thousand followers (Figure 26).



Figure 25. @sissi_noquebec’s posts on Instagram.²⁸

²⁷ Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Know how much we paid!* May 1, 2019, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Bw7crVwhON/>

²⁸ Source: Instagram account by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Siandra Cavalcanti | Imigração Canadá/Québec*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/sissi_noquebec/

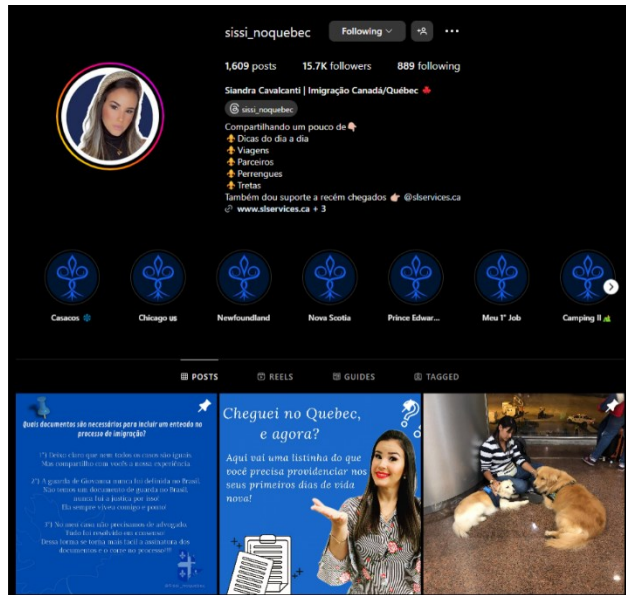


Figure 26. @sissi_noquebec’s Instagram profile.

Siandra’s Instagram biography also connects her profile to different links, which display services and her business (Figure 27). More specifically, she partnered with the bank Desjardins to help future migrants open a bank account (Figure 28). According to her Linktree profile, she has also partnered with a phone service company (Fido), two language service providers (Pantoufle and Inglês Aplicado), and a money transfer service (Wise) (Figure 29).

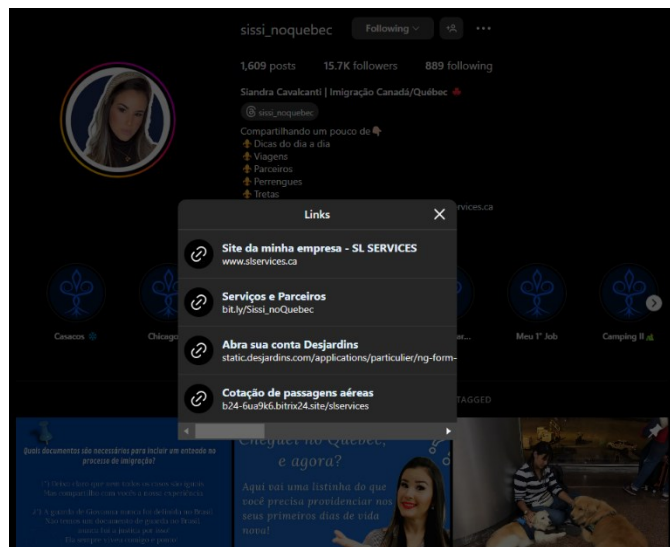


Figure 27. @sissi_noquebec’s links on her Instagram profile.²⁹

²⁹ Source: Instagram account by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Siandra Cavalcanti | Imigração Canadá/Québec*, December 7, 2023, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/sissi_noquebec/.

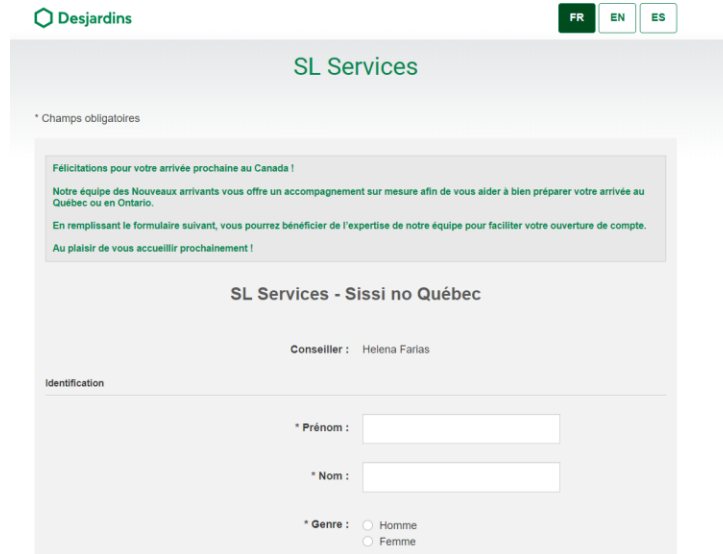


Figure 28. @sissi_noquebec's partnership with the bank Desjardins.³⁰

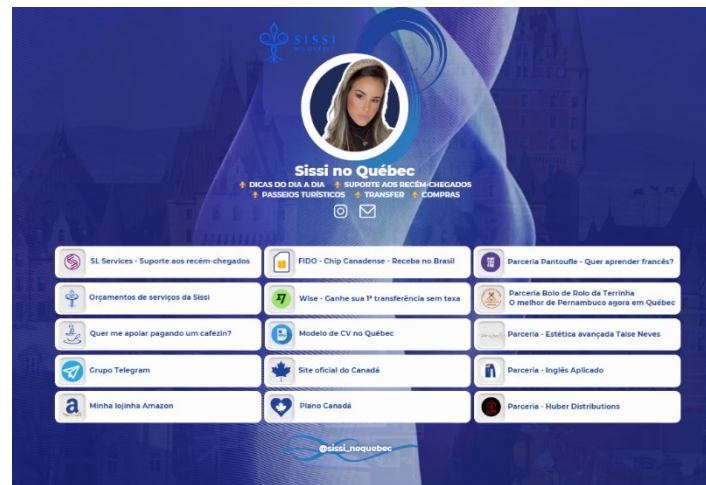


Figure 29. @sissi_noquebec's Linktree shows different partnerships and links with migration-related information.³¹

Siandra is the owner of SL Services, a private company dedicated to giving support to newcomers in Québec (Figure 30). Her company offers cleaning, transfer, cover letter and CV, migration

³⁰ Source: Website by Desjardins and SL Services, *SL Services – Sissi no Québec*, Last modified December 7, 2023. <https://static.desjardins.com/applications/particulier/ng-form-dyn/index.html#/fr?pe=leadCC&partenaire=EA8BB5408A7C503B852589470059D31B&conseiller=2B7DC7B0F5B80B0385258951005A9C2E&titre=SL%20Services>).

³¹ Source: Linktree by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Siandra Cavalcanti | Imigração Canadá/Québec*, December 7, 2023, Linktree <https://biolinkplus.my.canva.site/sissinoquebec>

consulting services, and “Day Use” - a type of assistance that helps newcomers buy winter clothes, open a bank account, go grocery shopping, and get documentation after arrival (Figure 31). Siandra partnered with Neway For You, which offers – a migration consulting firm dedicated to helping Brazilians who want to migrate to Canada as students or workers (Figure 32). While Siandra does not share how much she charges per service, she does offer an *orçamento* (budget) form in which prospective clients can inquire about prices.

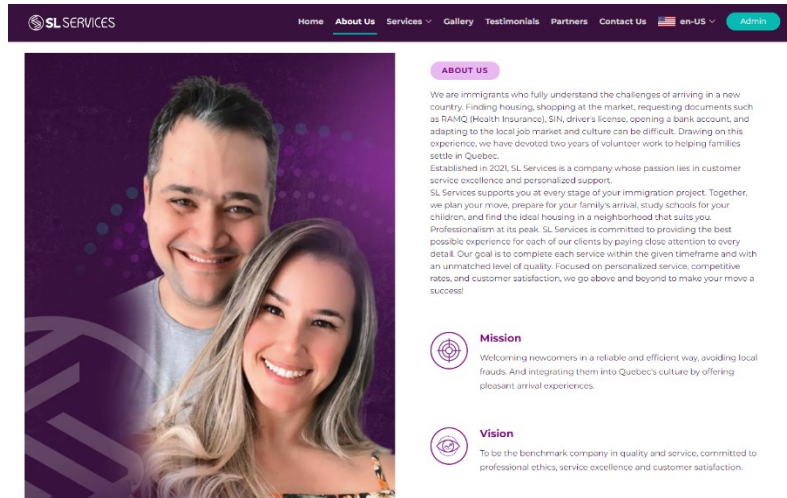


Figure 30. SL Services website.³²

³² Source: Website by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Opção de acompanhamento confiável e eficaz para os recém-chegados*, December 7, 2023, <https://www.slservices.ca/>

Figure 31. SL Services budget form with detailed services provided.³³

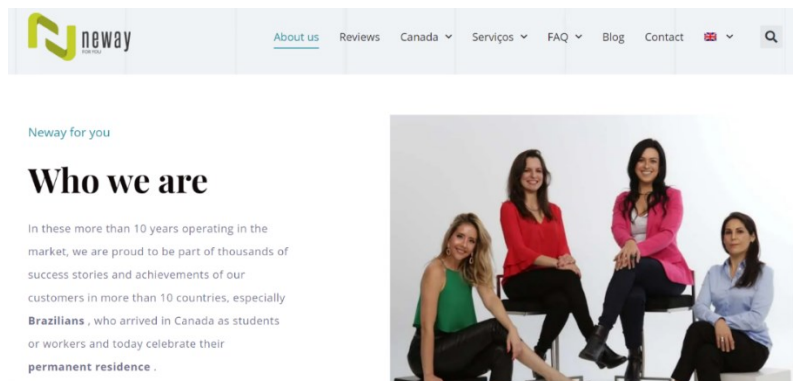


Figure 32. Newway For You website.³⁴

Overall, Siandra Cavalcanti’s Instagram profile @sissi_noquebec shares her family’s experiences in Canada and relevant information for aspiring migrants and newcomers, such as how to submit a CV and cover letter or find accommodation – which connects to her business.

E. @grudesnocanada

This account belongs to the Brazilian immigrant influencers Fernanda and Leonardo. They used to live in Paraná - the South of Brazil – and reside in Calgary (AB). They moved to Canada in 2020 with their four-year-old daughter. Leonardo applied to a public college, which gave him a study permit and an open work permit to Fernanda. They started posting under this account after choosing Canada as their migration destination (Figure 33). One of their first posts explains their family’s visa process.

³³ (Linktree by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Orçamento de Serviços da Sissi*, December 7, 2023, Linktree <https://biolinkplus.my.canva.site/sissinoquebec>).

³⁴ Source: Website by New Way For You, Who we are, December 7, 2023, <https://newwayforyou.com/en/on/>

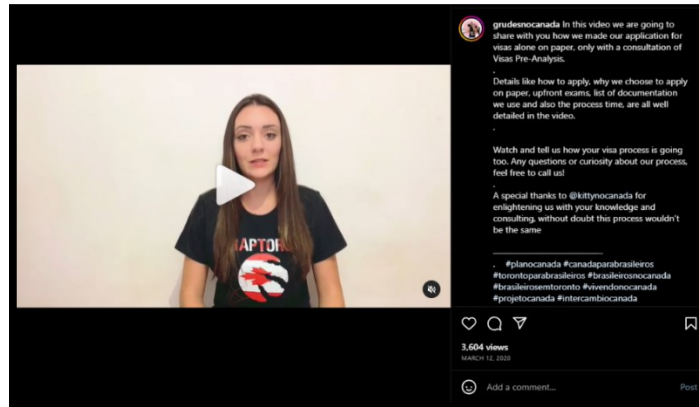


Figure 33. @grudesnocanada’s shared her visa process to Canada.³⁵

Fernanda and Leonardo’s content shares their adaptation process as migrants, employment opportunities, and the cost of living in Canada (Figure 34). In the image below, for example, their posts address how much they spent decorating their house, how the elementary school their daughter attends looks like, the new car they bought, and their experiences in Canada since they arrived. Fernanda, who used to be a dentist in Brazil, works as a cleaner and a store coordinator in Canada. Leonardo continues to work as a personal trainer. In their Instagram biography, the influencers say their account shares life in Canada. Their username, “*Grudes no Canadá*,” means couple in Canada. Overall, they have more than 60 thousand followers (Figure 35).

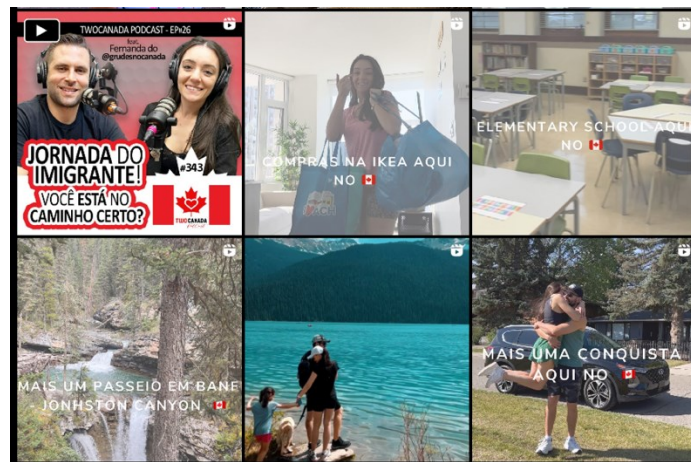


Figure 34. @grudesnocanada’s posts on Instagram.³⁶

³⁵ Source: Instagram post by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *In this video we are going to share with you how we made our application for visas alone on paper*, March 12, 2019, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/B9pa7d-JOZV/>

³⁶ Source: Instagram account by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *Fer e Leo | Vida no Canadá*, December 7, 2023, <https://www.instagram.com/grudesnocanada/>

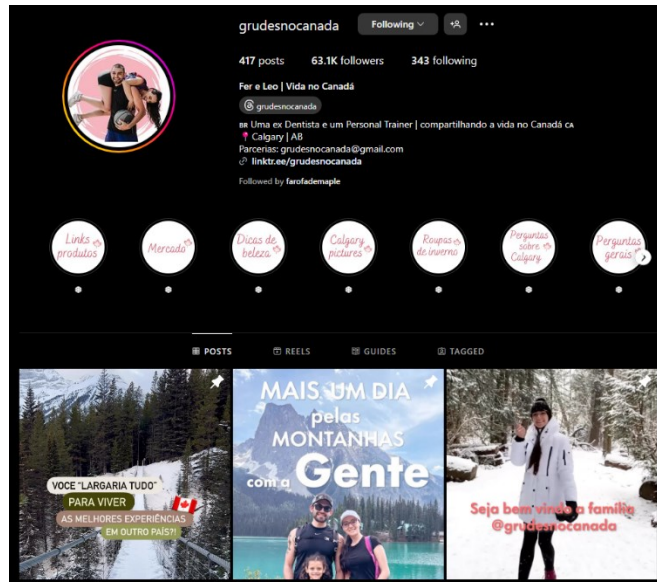


Figure 35. @grudesnocanada's Instagram profile.

Fernanda and Leonardo's Linktree section on their profile offers links to their partnerships, including a phone (Fido), money transfer (Wise and Remessa Online), and migration consulting services (E-Visa). With E-Visa, they offer a discount code for any consulting profile evaluation session that ranges from CAD\$ 100 to CAD\$ 250 (Figure 36).

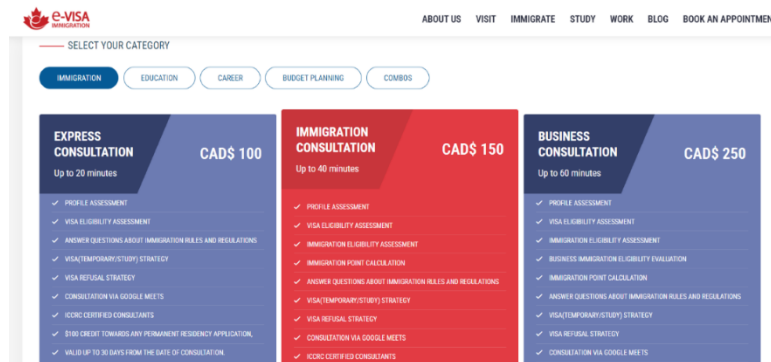


Figure 36. E-Visa's website shows different prices for immigration consultancy appointments.³⁷

Overall, Fernanda and Leonardo's Instagram profile @grudesnocanada covers their family's experience in Canada, their migration journey, and their daily expenses in Canada. Although they do not have a business related to migration, they have created partnerships with different services aimed at aspiring migrants and newcomers.

³⁷ Source: Website by E-Visa Immigration, *Comece seu processo de imigração para o Canadá*, December 7, 2023, <https://www.evisaimmigration.com/pt/appointment/immigration>

This section has provided an overview of the Instagram profiles of the five Brazilian immigrant influencers selected for this project. This overview has found three common characteristics among these influencers: i) shortly after moving to Canada, they started sharing their experiences and migration journeys, ii) they have created their own business or partnerships with a wide range of service providers related to migration – such as money transfer and phone services -, and iii) they have partnered with certified migration consultants. These immigrant influencers have, therefore, professionalized their experiences by promoting a wide range of migration-related services and products to their audience. The following section will show how they depict destination reputation in the posts analyzed for this project.

6.2. Paradise in the making: Brazil versus Canada

This section presents how Brazilian immigrant influencers depict destination reputation for Brazil and Canada. From the results obtained from the content analysis of 30 posts³⁸, the 5 Brazilian immigrant influencers chosen for this project showcase three main areas to build Canada’s destination reputation i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. Among these three indicators, the most salient topic is ‘economic conditions’ (28 posts), followed by ‘public infrastructure’ (16 posts), and ‘social conditions’ (14 posts). These indicators reflect the results obtained in the “Migration push and pull factors,” “Life experiences in home and host country,” and “Home reputation and host country's destination reputation” sections in the checklist. While the “Migration push and pull factors” provide the reasons for leaving (push) Brazil and choosing and staying (pull) in Canada, the “Life experiences in home and host country,” and “Home reputation and host country's destination reputation” sections address how these influencers depict life in both destinations. Therefore, by sharing destination characteristics and their experiences in both destinations, Brazilian immigrant influencers share their perceptions of life in Brazil and Canada with their audience. The main purpose of this section is to show how these influencers present Brazil's reputation and Canada’s destination reputation to their audience.

TABLE 2 BRAZIL’S REPUTATION AND CANADA’S DESTINATION REPUTATION INDICATORS

Brazilian immigrant influencers	Public infrastructure: (number of times appeared in the 30 posts)	Economic conditions (number of times appeared in the 30 posts)	Social conditions (number of times appeared in the 30 posts)
@farofademaple	4	6	1
@paulanocanada	3	4	2
@sissi_noquebec	6	6	9

³⁸ I chose these posts because they were the most liked, with more public visibility, on the accounts selected for the project.

@casalnerdnocanada	3	3	1
@grudesnocanada	-	9	1
Total	16	28	14

A. Public infrastructure

Brazilian immigrant influencers referring to public infrastructure discuss i) the state of public services and ii) public security. Influencers referred to the first topic 6 times and 10 times to the second topic. As shown in Table 2, the only profile that did not discuss this indicator was @grudesnocanada.

When addressing the quality of public services, Brazilian immigrant influencers focus on advertising the first-class quality of public services in Canada versus showcasing precarity in Brazil. From this reasoning, influencers articulate migration push and pull factors that ultimately mold Canada's destination reputation and Brazil's reputation. For example, in the post “How is a hospital in Canada?” from June 2022, @farofademapple compares public hospital facilities in Brazil and Canada (Figure 37). The influencer describes Brazilian public hospitals and healthcare systems (*Sistema Único de Saúde* (SUS), Unified Health System) as precarious since they “lack materials, equipment, and infrastructure.” At the same time, when describing the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP), she uses words such as “clean, organized, no missing equipment or materials.” The contrast created between the SUS and OHIP by using this language sets the migration push factors from Brazil and pull factors to Canada (Figure 38).



Figure 37. @farofademaple's showing the difference between hospitals in Brazil and Canada.³⁹

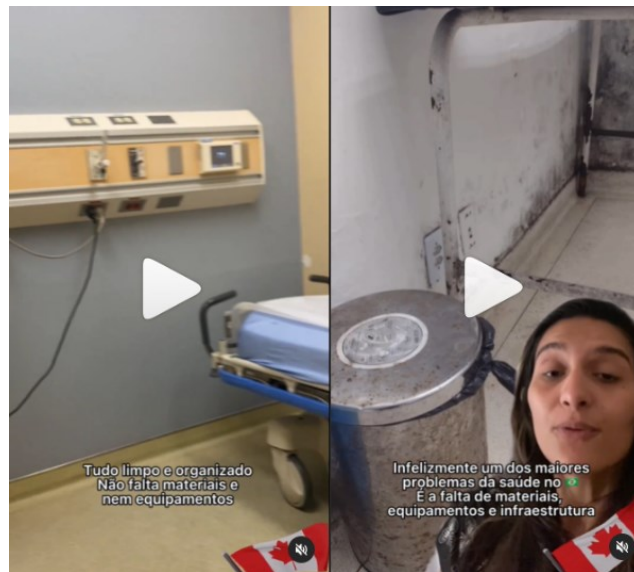


Figure 38. @farofademaple showing the difference between infrastructure and equipment in Brazilian and Canadian hospitals.

As the video proceeds, the influencer shows that living in Brazil means not having access to good quality services. From her example of how a hospital in Brazil looks like, she demonstrates that residents in Brazil live in a state of neglect. At the same time, @farofademaple shows that good quality of services is a given in Canada. While she does mention negative aspects of the Canadian healthcare system, such as healthcare providers' work overload and long waiting hours, she mentions the same characteristics when talking about Brazil. Yet, according to her, the differential between both destinations is the excellent quality of infrastructure in Canada and the lack of thereof in Brazil. In fact, in the post entitled “How much does a medical exam cost in Canada,” published in May 2023, @farofademaple states that after relying on the SUS her entire life and not on private healthcare services, Canadian hospitals seem to her luxurious (Figure 39). In a similar post, @sissi_noquebec and @paulanocanada referred to the quality of the public Canadian education system as a relevant pull factor. Compared to when they lived in Brazil and had to rely on the private education system for their children. In this sense, these influencers highlight Brazil’s reputation as neglected while placing Canada’s destination reputation as first-class.

³⁹ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), *How is a hospital in Canada?* June 2, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CeUgXtypZcQ/>



Figure 39. @farofademapple showing how the Canadian healthcare system.⁴⁰

The contrast mentioned by Brazilian immigrant influencers is the product of two strategies. First, the immigrant influencers focus more on Canada. For example, in @farofademapple’s video, she shows the entrance of the hospital, footage of how the inside looks, and the equipment available in each room. The last part of the video ends with the question: “Which service do you prefer, the SUS or OHIP?” while continuing to show images of a Canadian hospital. The audiovisual she shares when describing a Brazilian hospital is brief and limited. @farofademapple shared one picture that zooms in to show a deteriorated garbage bin, a corner of a room taken by what appears to be dirt and mold, and some metal structures with white paint fading due to oxidation. The influencer does not show other parts of the hospital she visited in Rio de Janeiro, as she did with the Canadian example.

Second, @farofademapple addresses negative perceptions of the Brazilian and Canadian healthcare systems differently. When referring to the SUS, she only focuses on negative remarks. Although the influencer mentions she will address positive and negative perceptions of both destinations, there are only negative features about Brazil. The opposite is true for the Canadian example. She focuses on addressing positive features - such as the fact that the healthcare system is a free service for OHIP holders - and the availability of equipment and materials. The only part in which she addressed a negative feature about the Canadian example – when discussing healthcare providers' workload and shortage – was brief and counterbalanced by sharing that Brazil faces a similar situation while quickly showing a positive image of a Canadian hospital (Figure 40). Overall, these two strategies depict Canada as a destination able to fulfill residents' expectations and Brazil as a have-not country.

⁴⁰ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademapple), *How much does a medical exam cost in Canada?* May 19, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CscHGA5pV5v/>

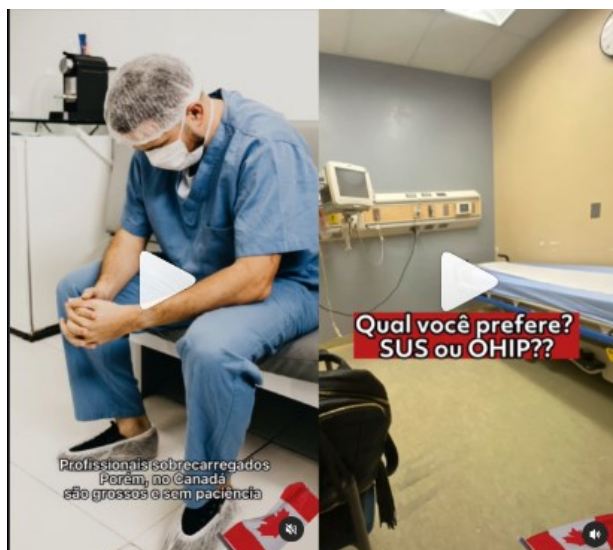


Figure 40. @farofademaple asks her audience if they prefer SUS or OHIP.⁴¹

Similarly, when Brazilian immigrant influencers discuss public security, they focus on showing a state of endemic crisis in Brazil and a newly found solution when referring to Canada. For example, in the post entitled “What does quality of life mean?” from September 2022, @casalnerdnocanada presents to her followers her definition of quality of life (Figure 41). For her, quality of life means having public security. In this post, the migration push factors that shape Brazil's reputation are “insecurity,” and “being in a constant state of alert.” She gives concrete examples of how and in which circumstances she experienced insecurity. @casalnerdnocanada mentions that “when going to be beach one needs to leave valuable belongings home or take turns with other people to take care of one’s belongings in fear of *arrastões*⁴².” She represents life in Brazil as constantly being alert because “everything is potentially suspicious” and therefore, a place without quality of life.

⁴¹ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademaple), *How is a hospital in Canada?* June 2, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CeUgXtypZcQ/>

⁴² *Arrastões* or dragnets are a form of crime in which a group of individuals surround an area, usually a beach, and rob everyone there (Freeman 2002).

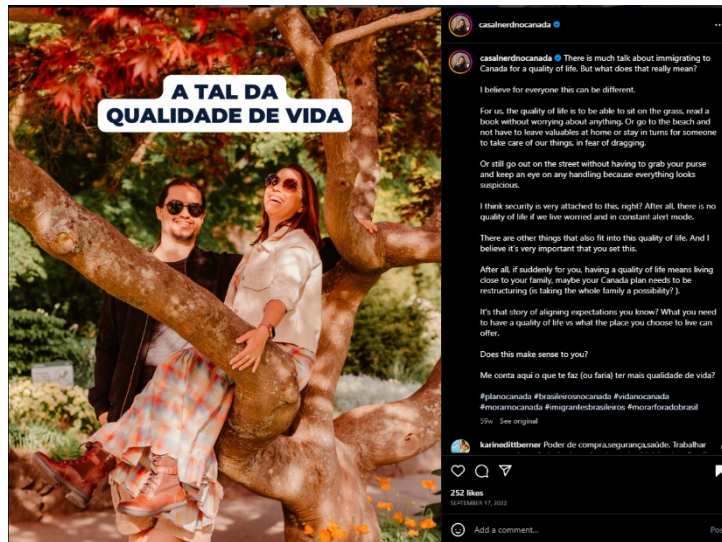


Figure 41. @casalnerdnocanada explains to her audience her definition of quality of life.⁴³

In the post, “What do you love the most about Canada?” Giovanna follows this dichotomy when depicting Brazil and Canada (Figure 42). For her, Brazil is a “corrosive” environment where people have naturalized the need to stay alert. The influencers also share that as a woman, there is an additional layer of awareness in public spaces. On the contrary, Canada gives her “peace.” She ends the post by reinforcing this difference when asking: “Are you still in Brazil? Tell me what peace you seek outside the country?” and “Are you in Canada yet? Tell me, what is the greatest peace that being here brings you?” Here, @casalnerdnocanada continues to highlight that Brazil cannot provide “peace,” which is why people need to look for it outside the country, while Canada provides a peaceful environment.



⁴³ Source: Instagram post by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *What does quality of life mean?* September 17, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CinLNsINW71/>

Figure 42. @casalnerdnocanada explains to her audience the reasons that made her choose Canada as a place to settle. ⁴⁴

As a result, @casalnerdnocanada highlights 'quality of life' - meaning no public insecurity - as Canada's main migration pull factor. Life in Canada then means having peace and security. She mobilizes this dichotomy by implementing two strategies that are also present in other posts under this category. First, the immigrant influencer equals her definition of quality of life to public (in)security. Throughout the post: "What does quality of life mean?" @casalnerdnocada starts by signaling that quality of life was the main reason to move to Canada. She then provides her definition by using examples of how public insecurity manifests in Brazil and the strategies people use to protect themselves from these situations. She reinforces Canada as a synonym for quality of life by sharing a positive picture of her and her husband in a public space. Additionally, she does not share any negative destination reputation features about Canada, and she does not share any positive features about Brazil. When addressing that individuals may provide different meanings to 'quality of life,' such as having family close, she advises "restructuring one's Canada Project" to include more family members in their migration project.

Second, the Brazilian immigrant influencers also show their followers what they can (and cannot) achieve in Brazil and Canada as destinations. In the post, "What do you love more about Canada?" @casalnerdnocanada emphasizes that Canada provides her 'peace.' While Giovanna mentions that "Canada also has its problems," she does not address them. These issues are seemingly not relevant as they do not compromise her newly gained state of peace. Instead, she continues providing examples of Brazil as a 'corrosive' destination. At the end of her post, the influencer concludes by telling her followers that peace is outside Brazil, whereas in Canada peace is inside the country.

This sub-section addressed how Brazilian immigrant influencers refer to public infrastructure to emphasize the migration push and pull factors that define Brazil's reputation and Canada's destination reputation. By posting about the state of public services and (in)security, these influencers depict destination reputation based on showing public infrastructure haves (for Canada) and have-nots reputation (for Brazil). In this sense, they depict migration to Canada as a personal solution to the lack of security and quality of public services they experienced in Brazil. The following section will address the results from the posts discussing economic conditions.

B. Economic conditions

Brazilian immigrant influencers made this topic the most salient in their posts. They referred to economic conditions by emphasizing i) the price of goods and ii) the employment environment. In this first sub-indicator, influencers cover different products, such as grocery items and technological devices. The second topic addresses employment opportunities, conditions, and

⁴⁴ Source: Instagram post by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *What do you love more about Canada?* August 30, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cwka4weuv0o/>

salaries. Overall, influencers discussed the price of goods 11 times and 17 times the employment environment.

When describing the price of goods, Brazilian immigrant influencers emphasize the stark price difference between both destinations. For example, in the post “The price of sunscreen in Canada,” from April 2022, by @grudesnocanada (Figure 43). Here, the influencers show sunscreen brands available in Brazil and Canada. The main point of discussion is the massive price difference between both destinations. While in Canada, a bottle of sunscreen costs CAD\$ 13.37, the same brand in Brazil costs 175 BRL (approximately CAD\$ 49) for adults and 199 BRL (approximately CAD\$ 56) for children (Figure 44). In sum, Brazilian immigrant influencers referring to the price of goods in both destinations discuss price (in)accessibility in Canada vis-à-vis Brazil. This price difference also reaches personal care products, which portrays a positive destination reputation for Canada and a negative reputation for Brazil.



Figure 43. @grudesnocanada shows to her audience the price difference of beauty products.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ Source: Instagram post by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *The price of sunscreen in Canada*, April 27, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cc2zVHzJYJ2/>



Figure 44. @grudesnocanada’s post shows the price difference between specific beauty product brands in Brazil and Canada.

Brazilian immigrant influencers also use this strategy to refer to food prices in both destinations. For example, the post “The price of groceries in Canada,” posted in May 2022 by @grudesnocanada, shows better purchasing power in Canada than in Brazil (Figure 45). In the video, she shows that it is necessary to work 12:20 hours to buy grocery items in Brazil and 1:36 hours in Canada. What is interesting about this post is that @grudesnocanada finds differences in packaging sizes in both countries (for example, she only found 1L of milk in Brazil while in Canada, she bought the 4L package). She compensated for the packaging difference by buying the equivalent in a Brazilian supermarket (for example, buying four boxes of 1L in Brazil). Another example is the post “Is it possible to buy healthy food for 20 dollars in Canada?” from October 2022 by @paulanocanada. What is interesting to highlight about this post is that the influencer asks her followers if they could buy the same amount of food she bought with CAD\$ 20 in a Brazilian supermarket for 20 BRL.

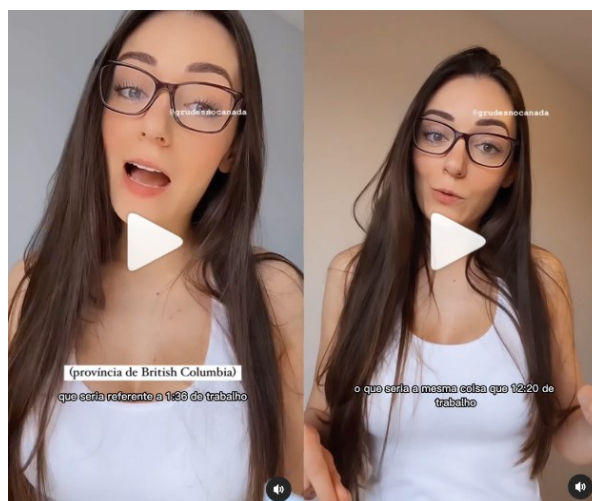
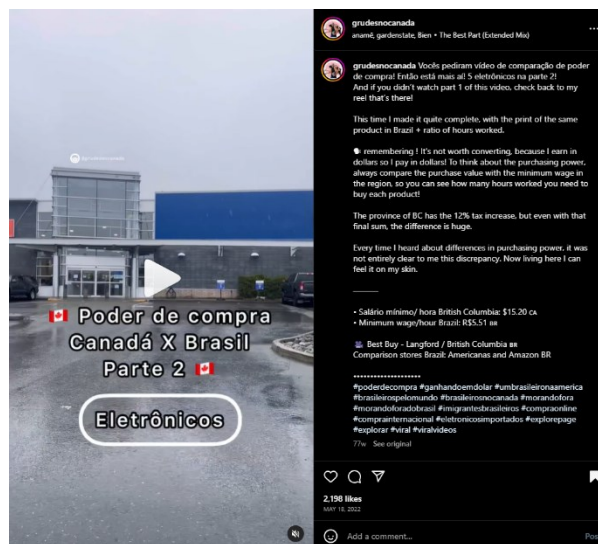


Figure 45. @grudesnocanada shows the purchasing power difference between Brazil and Canada to buy groceries.⁴⁶

The post “Purchasing power difference between Brazil and Canada,” published in May 2022 by @grudesnocanada, shows a similar logic (Figure 46). When comparing the prices of electronics, the influencers highlight how many hours residents from each destination would need to work to obtain different products (Figure 47). They found that buying an instant photo printer in Canada costs CAD\$ 129.99, the equivalent of 8 hours and 30 minutes of working hours. In Brazil, this product costs 839 BRL (approximately CAD\$ 230) and takes 152 hours (or 19 working days). A camera in Canada costs CAD\$ 779.99 and takes 51 hours and 30 minutes (or 6 working days). In Brazil, this product costs 13,227.32 (approximately CAD\$ 3600), the equivalent of 2400 working hours (or 10 months). The video also shows a home automation system that in Canada costs CAD\$ 69.99 and takes 4 hours and 40 minutes of working hours. In Brazil, this product costs 328.96 BRL (approximately CAD\$ 90) and takes 60 working hours (7 and a half days). In both these posts, the influencers articulate a reputation for Brazil centered on highlighting low salaries and elevated prices, which makes life in Brazil economically unfeasible. At the same time, when compared to Brazil, Canada enjoys a positive destination reputation as it provides its residents with migration pull factors related to high salaries and inexpensive products. Influencers demonstrate the prevalence of this dichotomic reality by comparing different types of products, such as cars, food, hygiene products, and electronics. As a result, they show that Canada provides better purchasing power to residents than Brazil.



⁴⁶ Source: Instagram post by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *The price of groceries in Canada*, May 2, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CdD1VYsIGTx/>

Figure 46. @grudesnocanada shows to her audience the price difference of electronics in Brazil and Canada.⁴⁷

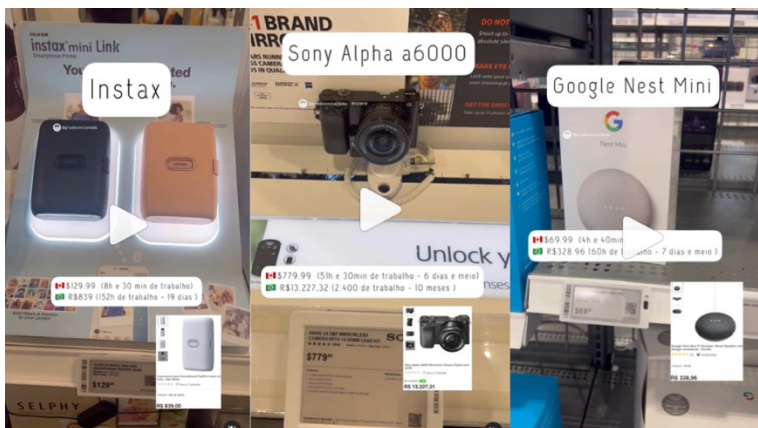


Figure 47. @grudesnocanada shows the purchasing power difference between Brazil and Canada.

The last point Brazilian immigrant influencers refer to in the topic of national economic conditions is the employment environment. Influencers emphasize the economic gains after their career change in Canada as a strategy in this category. For example, in the post “Is it better to be a factory worker in Canada than a designer in Brazil?” published in May 2023, @farofademapple draws attention to the benefits of being a construction worker in Canada than a university graduate in Brazil (Figure 48). The influencer signals how she had to work in different professional and unskilled domains because she could not find a job in her area when living in Brazil. After migrating to Canada, despite her limited language skills, she found a job and became financially stable. This opportunity allowed her to improve her English and opened the doors to better professional opportunities. Overall, after coming to Canada, while these influencers had to continue working in different areas, as was the case for @farofademapple, @paulanocanada, @sissi_noquebec, and @grudesnocanada, they see it as a benefit due to the economic gain they experienced in Canada⁴⁸.

⁴⁷ Source: Instagram post by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *Purchasing power difference between Brazil and Canada*, May 18, 2022, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cds5LaUlug/>

⁴⁸ From all Brazilian immigrant influencers chosen for this project, only @casalnerdnocanada did not have to change career paths. Instead, she continued being an English teacher and now a business owner in Canada.

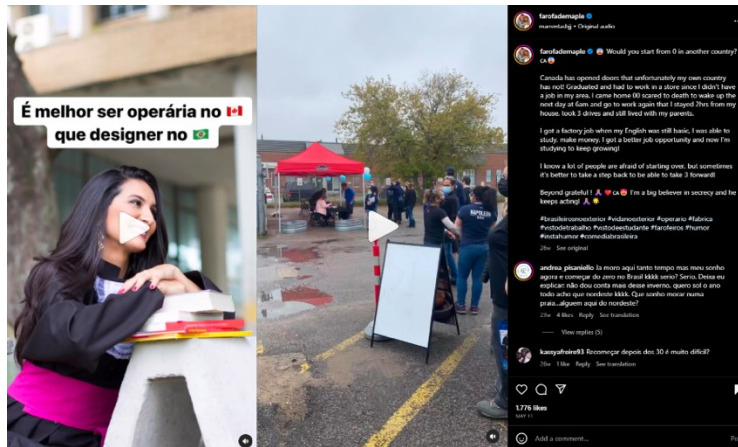


Figure 48. @farofademaple shows her lifestyle differences in Brazil and Canada.⁴⁹

In this vein, the reputation articulated for Brazil is one of economic scarcity and distress. These characteristics manifest when Brazilian immigrant influencers describe they had to rely on 2 or 3 jobs and work long hours to live in Brazil without enjoying good employment conditions and the expected economic return. At the same time, Canada's destination reputation displays an economic bonanza. Brazilian immigrant influencers highlight that employment opportunities with fair economic rewards are the rule in Canada. While one of these influencers - @grudesnocanada - works two jobs to enjoy the Canadian economic abundance, she dismisses this apparent negative destination reputation trait by arguing that she earns more than she did in Brazil.

This sub-section addressed how Brazilian immigrant influencers refer to economic conditions to emphasize the migration push and pull factors that define Canada's destination reputation. Through posts highlighting stark price differences of a wide range of goods, purchasing power, and employment conditions, these influencers articulate Canada's destination reputation based on the economic unfeasibility of life in Brazil while stressing cheap products and favorable employment conditions in Canada. In this sense, they depict migration to Canada as a personal solution to the economic hardships they encountered in Brazil. The following section will address the results from the posts discussing social conditions.

C. Social conditions

Brazilian immigrant influencers emphasize social conditions in two ways: i) by referring to the (dis)parity between people from different socio-economic backgrounds, and ii) the political and social rights scenarios in both destinations. Overall, the first sub-topic appeared 9 times. Only

⁴⁹ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@faforademaple), *It's better to be a factory worker in Canada than a designer in Brazil*, May 11, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CsHxbd-pPML/>

@sissi_noquebec referred to the second sub-topic in the posts: “Bye, I’m going to Canada,” “I’m leaving Brazil after this election,” and “4 years in Canada.”

When addressing the (dis)parity between people from different socio-economic backgrounds, immigrant influencers focus on advertising acceptance in Canada versus showcasing discrimination in Brazil. An example is the post by @paulanocanada: “Do you regret moving to Canada?” from March 2023 (Figure 49). One of the reasons @paulanocanada highlights as a pull factor to Canada is the sense of social equality: “People can be whatever they want to be, any profession they want [...] They are free and treated equally.” At the same time, influencers depict discrimination and fewer opportunities for people from lower socio-economic backgrounds as push factors from Brazil.

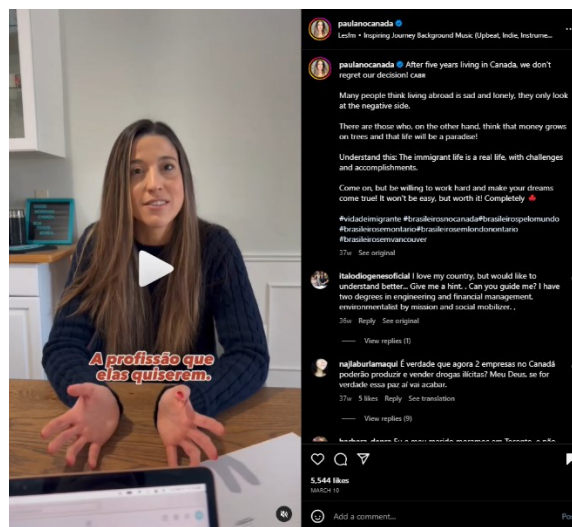


Figure 49. @paulanocanada asks her family if they regret moving to Canada.⁵⁰

Influencers focus on showing what individuals from lower socio-economic backgrounds can achieve in both destinations. In the post, “Having a car in Canada,” @paulanocanada highlights that her husband bought what is considered an expensive car in Brazil while working as a construction worker in Canada (Figure 50). It is relevant to note that she emphasizes his occupation because, in Brazil, construction workers cannot aspire to obtain this type of car. Yet, these achievements are possible in Canada. Brazil immigrant influencers then portray life in Canada as socio-economically equal and the opposite for Brazil.

⁵⁰ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *Do you regret moving to Canada?* March 10, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cpn2rALQqbk/>



Figure 50. @paulanocanada explains how her family bought a car in Canada.⁵¹

This difference derives from the type of social safety net available in these two destinations. In the post “I’m leaving Brazil after this election,” @sissi_noquebec highlights that Canada has social equality and policies that work (Figure 51). More prominently, the influencer argues that ‘the government takes away [money] from those that have to give it to those lacking support.’ She also addresses the social rights and acceptance of minorities, such as the LGBTQIA+ community, women, and indigenous populations, which act as pull factors to Canada. According to this influencer, gender inequality and the marginalization of indigenous peoples are not social issues in Canada. In this sense, Canada offers a harmonious life in society, whereas Brazil lacks this social safety net.



Figure 51. @sissi_noquebec explains the social environment in Canada.⁵²

⁵¹ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *Having a car in Canada*, February 26, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CpIxi3MJm65/>

⁵² Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *I'm leaving Brazil after this election*, November 1, 2022, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cb-OzepMHIU/>

This section highlighted how Brazilian immigrant influencers represent and the strategies used to articulate Canada's destination reputation on Instagram. Overall, these influencers represent Canada's destination reputation as a 'Canadian Paradise' with i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. Brazilian immigrant influencers show the stark difference between Brazil and Canada when building these representations. They depict Canada with a destination reputation of haves (security, quality of public services, low prices, high salaries, employment opportunities, and equal society) while articulating a have-nots reputation for Brazil. By emphasizing this difference, Brazilian immigrant influencers show that Canada is a solution for other Brazilians looking for a better future. Having shown the kind of information aspiring migrants consume on Instagram access, the next section will address how these influencers position themselves as migration experts.

6.3. Immigrant influencers as immigration experts

This section shows how Brazilian immigrant influencers position themselves as immigration experts through their Instagram content. The results from the content analysis highlight that these influencers act as migration experts in two ways: i) by portraying stories of personal success and ii) by offering insider knowledge or services related to migration to Canada. Overall, the first indicator appeared 23 times, and the second indicator appeared in all 30 posts.

When Brazilian immigrant influencers share stories of personal success, they emphasize how migrating to Canada improved their living conditions, which helps to build trust with their audience. For example, in the post, "It's difficult to talk about leaving or staying," @sissi_noquebec compared her life in Brazil and Canada (Figure 52). After moving to Canada, the influencer has access to public security, better economic conditions, and quality of life. She builds public trust by showing that migrants can be successful in the early stages of their migration journey – four months in her case. While the influencer shares some negative aspects of migrating, such as missing her family, friends, and culture, the improvements she listed outweigh these downsides. Overall, @sissi_noquebec finds her migration experience positive.

Similarly, to this influencer, @farofademaple, @grudesnocanada, and @paulanocanada had to change careers after moving to Canada⁵³. It is important to note that despite career changes that involve having more than one job to live in Canada or working in marginalized occupations in Brazilian society, these influencers do not portray any negative story that would make them return to Brazil. They highlight the success of their journey by labeling their life in Canada as a 'restart' or *recomeço*. These positive stories reinforce the pull migration factors while showing aspiring migrants the life they could have in Canada.

⁵³ Only @casalnerdnocanada continued working in the same field as she did in Brazil.



Figure 52. @sissi_noquebec comparing life in Brazil and Canada.⁵⁴

Brazilian immigrant influencers also position themselves as migration experts by i) sharing knowledge about life in Canada and ii) advertising services related to migration to Canada. The first highlights a wide range of information, such as where to go grocery shopping, prices of different goods, how to access public services, salaries, and job opportunities. Brazilian immigrant influencers share this information for free, as their followers and other Instagram users can access it by entering their profiles. At the same time, these influencers also dedicate their accounts to promoting services related to migration to Canada. Influencers advertise it on their post, when sharing insider information, or in the main section of their profiles, as shown in the first section of their chapter. These services cover three main areas: i) guides on how to apply for different types of visas, ii) education/language services, and iii) access to certified migration consultants (see Figures 39, 56, 57, 61).

An example is @paulanocanada, who used the post “How much do I spend on my kids? Brazil x Canada,” from May 10, 2023, to show the advantages of pursuing a college degree in Canada (Figure 53). By showing her monthly expenses with one of her three children in Brazil, @paulanocanada argues that, in Canada, children can access free education. She encourages aspiring migrants with children to use the funds allocated for private education in Brazil to apply for a college to obtain a Canadian diploma because, at the time, it gave the other parent a work permit while authorizing children to study in Canada.⁵⁵ This influencer focused on promoting college services because she has partnered with HiBonjour – a company that partners with colleges to attract international students - as an educational consultant. Depending on the post, @paulanocanada chooses to actively share links to her products or indirectly promote their benefits by focusing on the benefits of life in Canada. Four other Brazilian immigrant influencers chosen for this project follow a similar strategy.

⁵⁴ Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *It's difficult to talk about leaving or staying*, August 9, 2019, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/p/B068sIAFsNS/>

⁵⁵ This policy changed on January 22, 2024. International students intending to study in private or public-private colleges will not be able to obtain an open work permit for their spouse and a postgraduate work permit. All participants in this project arrived before this policy was implemented and benefited from the previous policy (CBC 2024).



Figure 53. @paulanocanada’s monthly expenses in education in Brazil.⁵⁶

This section showed how the representations Brazilian immigrant influencers build about Canada’s destination reputation places them as migration experts in front of their audience on Instagram. Influencers share stories of personal success that help them build Canada’s destination reputation as one with i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure while introducing life in Canada. These posts also share insider knowledge acquired from living in Canada, which becomes valuable information for prospective migrants trying to see the type of life they could have. At the same time, these actors also use their digital presence to promote services that seek to attract aspiring migrants to Canada – such as education/language classes, migration guides, consultants, and informational events. As a result, Brazilian immigrant influencers demonstrate that they benefit economically from promoting migration services to their public. The next section of this chapter will introduce the results obtained from the interviews with Brazilian newcomers.

6.4. Brazilian immigrants in Canada

This section will present the results of the interviews carried out with female Brazilian immigrants living in Canada. For this project, I interviewed 10 female immigrants to explore their perceptions when accessing content from Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram and understand their migration journey to Canada. These interviews yielded the following main results: i) participants reported having used Instagram because it was a user-friendly and accessible way of collecting information about migration destinations, ii) participants reported a mismatch in terms of what they expected life in Canada to be like based on the migration-related content they consumed on Instagram, and what they experience as immigrants in Canada now, and iii) participants became

⁵⁶ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *How much do I spend on my kids? Brazil x Canada*, May 10, 2023, Instagram, https://www.instagram.com/p/CsE7HMfJ_OQ/?img_index=1

critical about the type of information, services, and products promoted by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram, after migrating to Canada. This section will be divided into two parts. First, I will briefly present the results obtained from the survey, and second, I will introduce the results obtained from the 10 interviews with female Brazilian immigrants living in Canada.

A. Survey Results

I first conducted an online survey as part of my recruitment process. This tool allowed me to pre-screen individuals interested in being interviewed to make sure they matched the inclusion criteria set out by the project – having migrated to Canada between 2022 and 2023 and having accessed migration-related content on Instagram – and ethical considerations – being over 18 years old. I also used the survey tool to gather general information about the population of interest.

The online survey became available in December 2023 until March 2024 on Facebook. I posted the call for participants in different public and private Facebook groups created by or aimed at Brazilian immigrants living in Montreal⁵⁷. The survey had 11 questions, related to individuals' socio-economic background and use of Instagram for immigration purposes (Annex 4). To avoid language restrictions, respondents answered all questions in Portuguese. Additionally, I included two questions to verify the eligibility of survey respondents and prospective interviewees⁵⁸. In total 13 women completed the survey⁵⁹.

Of course, this survey is not probabilistic and thus, it cannot be used to make any inference about the characteristics or preferences of the whole population of Brazilians in Montréal, in Québec, or in Canada, nor about the populations of the Facebook groups users. Instead, given that 76.7% of survey takers ended up participating in subsequent interviews, the data stemming from the survey instrument is used to complement the information gathered during the interviews.

The online survey provided an overview of respondents' socio-economic backgrounds, including those not selected for the interview. This group shares four common characteristics: i) they belong to the 18-29 and 30-39 age groups, ii) they are educated, as they have completed a bachelor's or master's degree level of study, iii) they, mostly, self-identify as white, and iv) they resided in Southern regions in Brazil. While this project worked with a small sample of participants, respondents' socio-economic backgrounds fall in line with previous findings highlighted by Millar and Fanini (2022), who refer to the third wave of Brazilian migration to North America as a 'new Brazilian migrant' given their privileged position in Brazil due to their high education attainment.

The second part of the survey focused on respondents' social media usage to access migration-related information. Overall, respondents shared four common characteristics: i) Canada was in their destination list before accessing migration-related content online, ii) they started looking for

⁵⁷ I chose to recruit participants residing in Montreal to facilitate the interview process.

⁵⁸ These first two questions addressed: i) the year they immigrated to Canada, 2022 or 2023, and ii) a verification that they used Instagram as a platform to access migration-related content. This screening is important to be consistent with this project's research objectives.

⁵⁹ Additionally, three male participants answered the survey between January 22 and Mars 8 2024. Given the lack of male survey participant engagement, the project focused on the survey responses and interviewed female Brazilian newcomers to avoid comparison limitations (see Methodology chapter).

information 2+ years before deciding to immigrate, iii) they looked for information that introduced them to life in Canada, and iv) they did not rely on non-Brazilian immigrant influencers during their search.

This survey served as a tool to pre-screen individuals interested in participating in this project to ensure they matched the inclusion criteria and ethical considerations. While this tool did not create a representative account of the socio-economic backgrounds of Brazilian immigrants living in Canada and Brazilian women in Canada, it can serve as a basis for future research to map the demographics of this group. More specifically, it is worth exploring if a representative sample will share the same characteristics: self-declared white Brazilians between 18-39 years who have at least a bachelor's degree and resided in Southern regions in Brazil before moving to Canada. Further, a larger sample can also help to highlight if Brazilian newcomers access migration-related content on Instagram in the same way as survey respondents in this project. Overall, i) respondents already had Canada on their migration destination list, and ii) started looking for migration-related content on Instagram from other Brazilians 2+ years before emigrating to understand how life looked like in Canada. The following section shows the results obtained from the 10 interviewees who participated in this project.

B. Interviews with Brazilian immigrants in Canada

This sub-section introduces the results obtained from the interviews with 10 Brazilian immigrants residing in Canada. These interviews contributed to exploring social media's centrality in informing migration decisions among Brazilian migrants. More specifically, these interviews answer the second specific research question: *"How do Brazilian newcomers in Canada perceive migration-related content from Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram they consume during their migration process?"* Overall, the interviews confirm that Brazilian immigrants have changed their perceptions about the content accessed on Instagram. Before migrating, participants found the content from influencers relevant and reported an overtly positive idea of Canada. After moving to Canada, they now see that influencers acted for economic motivation and have a critical opinion about life in Canada. Participants then reported that Brazilian immigrant influencers *sold* Canada as a destination where they would excel in socio-economic standards to fulfill personal economic gain, which led participants to see these actors in a negative light.

To better understand how migration-related content on Instagram shaped respondents' perceptions during the different stages of their journey, I have divided this sub-section into four categories related to the questions asked during the interviews. The first theme will provide insight into the reasons to emigrate from Brazil and their migration destination decision-making. The second theme will introduce the results obtained from how participants perceived Instagram as a service and informational tool for immigrants. Lastly, the third and fourth theme will explore their perceptions of Canada during their migration journey and their views on the ideas Brazilian immigrant influencers convey about Canada on Instagram.

i. Theme 1: Leaving Brazil, Choosing Canada

Participants highlighted three motivations for leaving Brazil: i) access to better academic and professional opportunities, ii) improved purchasing power, and iii) access to public security. From this last group, interviewees also reported suffering episodes of public insecurity. An example is Leticia⁶⁰, who moved to Canada in 2022 to work:

Well, I think there were several reasons and I think the most important one for me was safety. Not that I, at some point, thought that Canada didn't have a security problem, but I come from a Brazilian capital, and I've already been robbed and, well, I had a lot of problems with the security issue. I think I still have it, right? Because we leave Brazil, but Brazil doesn't leave us. We become suspicious of everything. (Leticia, March 6, 2024, my translation).⁶¹

At the same time, interviewees also noted access to better academic and professional opportunities, as a driving point to leave Brazil. For example, Camila, who moved to Canada in 2022, explains that she wanted to improve her English and learn another language: “I need to have English on the tip of my tongue and, of course, the more language I have, the better for my area, especially, you know, professionally.” (Camila, March 6, 2024, my translation).⁶²

Another point worth highlighting is that eight out of ten interviewees mentioned either having lived abroad over a short period or knowing someone close to them who lived abroad. Participants referred to destinations in North America, Europe, and Asia. For example, Jenniffer highlighted:

Well, when I was little, I watched my brother come to Canada, he won a Science Without Borders scholarship, and he spent a year and a half here. It was interesting to observe how it was an enriching experience for him. He lived in a hotel, then he stayed with a family, studied at university, lived in the university dormitory, saw snow, came back [to Brazil], graduated, and got a more exclusive place in the job market. He accessed several other opportunities, partly because of the experience, partly because of his English, and because of how much he grew from this experience. (Jenniffer, 2024, my translation).⁶³

⁶⁰ All the names used to reference interviewees are pseudonyms.

⁶¹ “Bom, acho que foram várias razões e eu acho que a mais importante delas para mim foi a segurança. Não que eu, em algum momento, achei que o Canadá não tivesse problema de segurança, mas eu venho de uma capital brasileira e eu já fui assaltada e, enfim, eu tinha muito problema com a questão da segurança. Acho que eu ainda tenho, né? Porque a gente sai do Brasil, mas o Brasil meio que não sai da gente, a gente fica desconfiado de tudo.” (Leticia, March 6, 2024).

⁶² “o inglês eu preciso ter na ponta da língua e, claro, quanto mais idioma tiver, melhor pra a minha área principalmente, né, profissionalmente.” (Camila, March 6, 2024).

⁶³ “Bom, quando eu era pequena, eu assisti meu irmão, vindo pro Canadá, ele ganhou uma bolsa de ciências em Fronteiras, ele passou um ano e meio aqui e foi muito interessante observar uma experiência tão enriquecedora como foi pra ele. Ele morou num hotel uma época, depois ele foi pra uma casa de família, estudou na universidade, morou no dormitório da universidade, viu neve, voltou, se formou e conseguiu um lugar mais exclusivo de certa forma no mercado de trabalho. Ele conseguiu acessar diversas outras oportunidades, em parte pela experiência, em parte pelo inglês, e pelo quanto ele cresceu com essa vivência.” (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

These experiences guided the choice of potential host countries. While Canada was not their top migration destination in most cases, participants considered it their second or third choice. Except for Catarina, who had Canada as her first choice, other participants thought of Europe as their top migration destination. Only two participants, Camila and Helena, mentioned having the US as a migration destination. However, Camila found the process to immigrate to the US more complex due to stricter immigration policies, and Helena had her US visa denied, which made her think of Canada as a more feasible migration destination. Other non-European possible migration destinations that appeared during interviews were New Zealand and Australia. However, some participants argued that it became unfeasible due to distance, as Maria Isabel explains “We also thought about New Zealand, but because of the distance, not only from Brazil, but from everything [we didn’t choose this destination]” (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024, my translation).⁶⁴

Moreover, a common reason for not choosing European countries was linked to perceptions of anti-immigration sentiments as Elisa describes it: “There are certain French customs [...] there are many things that I... Ah, they are a bit arrogant, they are closed to immigrants.” (Elisa, January 22, 2024, my translation).⁶⁵ Similarly, Maria Isabel, who had no prior experience or knowledge of life abroad, mentioned that Europe was initially at the top of her list because she holds European citizenship, yet she highlighted that strong anti-immigration sentiments made her look for other options:

For us, I think, the most obvious choice initially would be Europe because I have dual citizenship. We even considered Spain and Portugal and looked at the job market there. But for us, xenophobia seemed very strong to me in these countries (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024, my translation).⁶⁶

When interviewees decided to have Canada as their final migration destination, they shared that quality of life, related to security and purchasing power are at the top of their list for a good migration destination:

[We chose Canada] for its quality of life and [public] security, I think that’s at the top of the list, security. And purchasing power, right? Like it or not, we think about a country where we can work, and where we can find good purchasing power. (Flora, January 23, 2024, my translation).⁶⁷

In fact, participants also highlighted that Canada seemed more open to migration than other destinations: “Quebecers are more open to migration than France, Canada in general” (Elisa, January 22, 2024, my translation).⁶⁸ Leticia also shared the same sentiment about Canada: “We

⁶⁴ “A gente chegou a pensar também em Nova Zelândia, mas aí pela distância, não só do Brasil, mas com uma distância de tudo.” (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024).

⁶⁵ “Tem certos costumes franceses [...] tem muitas coisas que eu... Ah, eles são meio arrogantes, eles são fechados pros imigrantes.” (Elisa, January 22, 2024).

⁶⁶ “Eu acho que pra gente a escolha mais óbvia inicialmente seria a Europa, porque eu tenho dupla cidadania. E que a gente chegou a pensar em Espanha, em Portugal e chegamos a dar uma olhada também no mercado de trabalho. Mas pra gente pegou a questão da xenofobia, que me parecia muito forte nesses países.” (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024).

⁶⁷ “[Escolhemos o Canadá] pela qualidade de vida e pela segurança, acho que o topo da lista é isso, é a segurança. E o poder de compra, né? Querendo ou não, a gente pensa aí para um país que a gente consiga trabalhar e ter um poder de compra bom.” (Flora, January 23, 2024).

⁶⁸ “O quebecois é bem mais aberto pra imigrantes do que a França, né, o Canadá, no geral, né” (Elisa, January 22, 2024).

considered Holland, Sweden, Denmark. But I was afraid of xenophobia, and I thought that Canada was very plural, in terms of culture and multiculturalism, and that we would feel more at home." (Leticia, March 6, 2024, my translation).⁶⁹ Despite having other destinations in mind, participants highlighted that Canada became their top choice due to its openness to migration, lifestyle, public security, and economic opportunities.

This section has provided an overview of the findings from the first theme – reasons for leaving Brazil while exploring the different destinations considered before deciding on Canada. According to interviewees, improved purchasing power, access to academic and professional opportunities, and fear of public insecurity are the main reasons driving their decision to leave Brazil. At the same time, Canada became a top choice in their list because it was perceived as more open to migration while offering a safe environment and a place full of economic and professional opportunities. The following section will introduce how Instagram was a relevant informational tool in their decision-making.

ii. Theme 2: Instagram as a source of information and services for immigrants

When asked about the choice of Instagram as a source of information, all participants highlighted that migration-related profiles on Instagram provided fast, concise, and accessible information. For example, Flora highlighted that “Instagram is super short videos and stories for a maximum of one minute, and you get an inch of information. So, I think Instagram is more about practicality, so to speak.” (Flora, January 23, 2024, my translation).⁷⁰

Interviewees also noted that they looked for information related to lifestyle and bureaucratic procedures for newcomers, as Jenniffer shares:

I felt then that Instagram was rawer, so if I wanted to know what the supermarket prices were like at that moment to understand how much I needed to save to come to Canada, I would go on Instagram. If I wanted to know how people got their SIN Number, I would look on Instagram. I could see that people who applied online did not receive the SIN Number after two months, while the one who did it in person received it right away. So, I knew I had to do it in person. (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024, my translation).⁷¹

While all participants used other social media platforms, such as YouTube, or accessed blogs to gather information, they still appreciated Instagram’s sense of immediacy. As Nina shared:

⁶⁹ “A gente considerou Holanda, Suécia, Dinamarca. Então, eu fiquei com medo da xenofobia e eu achei que o Canadá era muito plural, em termos de cultura e multiculturalidade mesmo, e que a gente fosse se sentir mais em casa.” (Leticia, March 6, 2024).

⁷⁰ “O Instagram são vídeos super curtos e stories ali no máximo, um minuto, e você consegue uma polegada de informação. Então, acho que o Instagram é mais para praticidade, digamos assim.” (Flora, January 23, 2024).

⁷¹ “Eu senti então que o Instagram é mais cru. Então era se eu quisesse saber como é que é o preço do supermercado naquele momento, pra eu poder fazer o meu budget pra entender quanto que eu precisava ter de reserva pra vir pro Canadá, eu entrava no Instagram. Se eu quisesse saber a dica de como é que as pessoas fizeram o SIN Number delas, eu via no Instagram, porque eu consegui entender que por exemplo a que fez online não recebeu o Sim Number depois de dois meses, enquanto que a que foi presencial recebeu na hora, então eu vou presencial.” (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

I don't like YouTube. I don't like it. I think the videos there are too long. I like things that are shorter and more objective and, I don't know, a post that catches attention is short [...] And YouTube, I think it's all too long, people talk, talk, talk, talk. So, I like the way Instagram works. (Nina, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁷²

Furthermore, all interviewees highlighted that they used the government website as an informational source but found it complex and not user-friendly, as Flora shared:

I find the government website extremely complicated. You need a manual to access that site, as it looks like a maze. So, sometimes, you end up with something completely different from what you want. That's why we go after the easiest things, such as consultants, Instagram, or YouTube because it already gives you the information you can't find on the [government] website. (Flora, Zoom conversation, January 23, 2024, my translation).⁷³

Of the 10 interviewees, 9 purchased services promoted by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram. These services ranged from transfer services, finding accommodation, language classes, career counseling, and educational consultants that helped with visa applications and deciding where to study. Nina, for example, attended a language course before immigrating to Canada and communicated with a HiBonjour educational consultant to select a college course:

The French course I was taking in Brazil was online, I signed up for it because I started following the person [on Instagram], and I didn't like the face-to-face course I was taking. This online French course focused on migration, so people enrolled would also be in the same situation as me. I signed up because of Instagram [...] [In terms of my college enrollment] they [HiBonjour] were the ones who did the college part. It was all of them. After we moved to Canada and immigration policies changed, they helped a lot too. (Nina, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁷⁴

Interviewees also highlighted negative experiences with the services promoted by Brazilian immigrant influencers. Nina and Jenniffer reached out to a housing and consulting service they found through an influencer but did not finalize the purchase due to its elevated prices. More precisely, Jenniffer also contacted HiBonjour to inquire about graduate programs available in Canada. Yet, differently from Nina, who found their services helpful in finding a course, Jenniffer did not find HiBonjour supportive:

⁷² "Eu não gosto do YouTube. Eu não gosto. Eu acho que os vídeos lá são muito longos. Eu gosto de coisas mais curtas e objetivas e que, sei lá, um post que chama a atenção, seja curtinho [...] E o YouTube, eu acho que é tudo muito longo, o pessoal fala, fala, fala, fala. Então, eu gosto dessa maneira que funciona o Instagram. (Nina, February 3, 2024).

⁷³ "O site do governo daqui, eu acho extremamente complicado. Você tem que ter um manual para acessar aquele site, porque ele parece um labirinto. Então, às vezes, você chega numa coisa completamente diferente da que você quer. Por isso, a gente vai atrás das coisas mais fáceis, que é consultor, que é Instagram, que é o Youtube, porque ele já te dá aquela informação mastigada, que você já não conseguiu encontrar no site" (Flora, January 23, 2024).

⁷⁴ "O curso de francês que eu fazia no Brasil foi online, eu fechei porque eu comecei a seguir a pessoa [no Instagram] e eu não estava gostando do presencial que eu fazia, e aí esse Instagram era muito voltado para francês para migração, então quem estudaria lá também estaria na mesma situação que eu, essa foi, eu fechei por causa do Instagram [...] [Em relação ao college] foram elas [HiBonjour] que fizeram a parte de college. Foram tudo elas. Quando nós estava aqui e mudou toda a imigração de novo. Elas ajudaram bastante também." (Nina, February 3, 2024).

So, for example, a person on Instagram with a profile similar to mine, because she migrated alone, is Leticia Santos in Canada. When she came to Canada, she mentioned that HiBonjour helped her migrate. So, I contacted HiBonjour and when I said I wanted to do a master's degree, they had no interest in following up with me. They were only interested in promoting colleges. [...] I got the feeling that they didn't have much interest in helping me, or that their help was superficial. (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024, my translation).⁷⁵

Helena also shares regretting buying services promoted by or offered by Brazilian immigrant influencers due to lack of service accuracy and being overcharged:

[I] deeply regret it. I enrolled and chose a specific college and province, because of that [Instagram] too. [As well as] the health insurance I bought, the apartment I rented [...] the phone chip I purchased. The educational consultancy company I was in touch with recommended another Brazilian company that helps with visa application, and they applied [on my behalf] [...] I used a transfer service, and I later discovered that Uber XL exists here in Canada, which does not exist in Brazil, I paid 150 dollars, and my house is 5 minutes from the airport. If I had taken Uber XL, I would have paid like 30, 40 dollars, [...] In this [visa] application, they [IRCC] approved mine and didn't approve my husband's because they [service providers] didn't include all the necessary documents. For my visa and my husband's, I was charged \$450 (Helena, March 9, 2024, my translation).⁷⁶

This section has introduced the findings from the second theme – Instagram as a service and information source for migrants. According to interviewees, Brazilian immigrant influencers operating on Instagram provide fast, concise, and language-friendly information. Interviewees relied on other Brazilian Instagram profiles to look for information related to life in Canada and services for newcomers because it was more relatable. Participants described other sources, such as the government website or social media platforms, as complex or slower to provide information. While almost all participants used services promoted by Brazilian immigrant influencers, they found these inaccurate, overpriced, or superficial. Having introduced these results, the following section will introduce how participants perceive Canada's destination reputation before and after migrating.

⁷⁵ “Então, por exemplo, uma pessoa que está no Instagram que tem um perfil parecido com o meu, na questão de ter vindo sozinha and solteira é a Leticia Santos no Canadá. E ela, numa época em que ela estava vindo, ela falava muito que ela tinha vindo com a ajuda da HiBonjour Então, eu contatei a HiBonjour e no momento em que eu falei que eu queria ver para mestrado, eles não tiveram nenhum interesse em seguir o contato. Eles só queriam se fosse para college [...] Eu fui entendendo que ou eles não tinham muito interesse em me ajudar, ou era superficial.” (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

⁷⁶ “[Eu] me arrependo profundamente. Eu fiz a matrícula, a escolha do college, a escolha da província, foi por conta disso também. O seguro-saúde que eu fiz [...] o aluguel do apartamento, o chip do telefone. A própria empresa da consultoria educacional indicou uma outra empresa de uma brasileira que aplica visto, e elas fizeram a aplicação [...] Eu fiz o transfer, que depois eu descobri que existe aqui no Canadá Uber XL, que no Brasil não existe, e eu testei o transfer por 150 dólares, sendo que minha casa está a 5 minutos do aeroporto. Se eu tivesse pego o Uber XL, eu teria pago tipo 30, 40 dólares, [...] Nessa aplicação [do visto], aprovou o meu e não aprovou o do meu marido porque não botaram todos os documentos necessários. Aí esse serviço eu paguei, foi o meu visto e o do meu marido, foi 450 dólares a taxa dessa empresa.” (Helena, March 9, 2024).

iii. Theme 3: Canada before and after migrating

Most participants discussed a significant mismatch between what they associated with Canada's destination reputation before and after migrating.⁷⁷ Before settling in Canada, interviewees mentioned public security, job opportunities, good salaries, and a welcoming environment as the main traits of Canada's destination reputation. For example, Catarina thought that finding a job would be easier. She based these expectations on the messages Brazilian immigrant influencers transmitted through their Instagram accounts. Now Catarina sees a stark contrast between what influencers showed as the image of Canada and the reality immigrants, including herself, experience:

That was what shocked me the most when I arrived here. It's been two months since I arrived in Montreal and Canada, and I really expected that I would arrive and on the same day I would get a job because it's what everyone says [on Instagram], you'll get here and get a job the same day. (Catarina, March 7, 2024, my translation).⁷⁸

Interviewees also highlighted they thought Canada was more welcoming to immigrants. Flora, for example, described Canada as a country prepared to receive everyone, because it is a country of immigrants, as she explains:

Look, I still think that Canada is a country for everyone. I think Canada is a country that... is ready to welcome anyone, like that. I think... That's it, I think it's a country for anyone (Flora, January 23, 2024, my translation).⁷⁹

Nina, who initially described Canada's destination reputation as welcoming, now sees Canada as a country that only wants "Canada needs rich, qualified and young people. That's it. Basically, that's it. That's what they want. The qualified, the young and the ones with money" (Nina, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁸⁰ She explained that this shift in perception came after living in Canada and experiencing many changes in immigration policy. At the same time, Julianna, who mentioned that she continues to think the same of Canada's destination reputation after immigrating, finds that Canada's behavior is 'unstable' in terms of immigration policy:

I think Canada is very unstable now because they are open to refugees. They are closing programs, for example, thinking of a Brazilian, right? The change they made to colleges

⁷⁷ The only participants that did not change their views about Canada's destination reputation were Leticia and Julianna. They both expressed concerns about insecurity in Brazil, and wanted to immigrate to a destination where one could "walk alone at night." (Leticia, March 7, 2024, my translation). It is also worth highlighting that Leticia is the only that one who immigrated from Brazil with a job in her professional area. For Julianna, purchasing power was a central aspect for immigrating and so far, she has been able to fulfill this expectation. Still, Julianna sees Canada's destination reputation as unstable since she migrated.

⁷⁸ "Para mim foi o que mais me chocou, quando eu cheguei aqui. Tem dois meses que eu cheguei a Montreal e ao Canadá, e eu tinha muito a expectativa de que eu iria chegar e no mesmo dia eu iria arranjar um trabalho, porque é o que todo mundo fala [no Instagram], você vai chegar aqui e vai arranjar um emprego no mesmo dia." (Catarina, March 7, 2024).

⁷⁹ "Olha, eu ainda acho que o Canadá é um país para todo mundo. Eu acho que o Canadá é um país que... que está pronto para receber qualquer pessoa, assim. Eu acho... É isso, acho que é um país para qualquer pessoa. O Canadá está aberto para todo mundo" (Flora, January 23, 2024).

⁸⁰ "O Canadá precisa de gente rica, qualificada e nova. É isso. Basicamente, é isso. É isso que eles querem. O qualificado, o novo e o com dinheiro". (Nina, February 3, 2024).

now, in January. And that impacted many Brazilians who wanted to come here. At the same time, they are opening channels for refugees to come in, ok? I understand that this is good, but at the same time I say, wow, it's a bit unfair, because we invested a lot of money to be here paying for this college, right? And now they're not even opening this possibility for Brazilians to arrive, right? (Giulianna, March 7, 2024, my translation).⁸¹

Interviewees saw a mismatch between the salaries and purchasing power they expected to find. For example, Elisa used to think that by living in Canada “You will be able to travel anywhere. You will be happy. You won't work overtime like you do in Brazil. Your salary will allow you to buy whatever you want.” (Elisa, in-person conversation January 22, 2024, my translation).⁸² After settling in Canada, she sees these representations as problematic and highlights that Brazilian immigrant influencers depict an idealized version of Canada.

The difference between expectations and reality was a shocking experience in terms of social inequality, as Camila shares:

I still think it's an opportunity to be here, but I would say [Canada's destination reputation is], like, not confusing, but, it's like a clash of realities, [...] I think here I see much more of this, like, the difference between, oh, it's a more, more upscale neighborhood, right, like Westmount, which is close to where I live, so there, the mansions, everything, but in the same [metro] station, Atwater, which is closer, there are a lot of beggars, a lot of homeless people.”(Camila, in-person conversation, March 6, 2024, my translation).⁸³

A last point worth highlighting is the topic of public (in)security. Only one participant, Catarina, thought that Canada was not as safe as it is shown on Instagram:

I still think it [Canada] is a good migratory destination, but not everything that is being sold about Canada is really true. Mainly because I see that Canada needs to improve, in terms of health, even safety, because those were the points that I focused on the most, quality of life related to safety you have and the health that you, theoretically, have here. (Catarina, March 7, 2024, my translation).⁸⁴

⁸¹ "Eu acho que o Canadá está muito inconstante agora, porque eles estão abrindo pra muitos refugiados. Eles estão fechando programas, por exemplo, pensando como brasileira, né? A mudança que eles fizeram dos colleges agora, em janeiro. E isso impactou muitos brasileiros que queriam vir pra cá. E ao mesmo tempo eles estão abrindo mais a questão de refugiados entrar, ok? Eu entendo que isso é bom, mas ao mesmo tempo eu falo, poxa, chega a ser um pouco injusto, porque nós investimos muito dinheiro para estar aqui pagando esse college, né? Para, e agora eles nem estão abrindo mais essa possibilidade pra brasileiro chegar, né?"

⁸² "Você vai poder viajar pra tudo que é lugar. Você vai ser feliz. Não vai fazer hora extra que nem faz no Brasil. O seu salário vai dar pra você comprar o que você quiser". (Elisa, January 22, 2024).

⁸³ "Eu ainda acho que ele é, assim, uma oportunidade de estar aqui, mas eu diria, tipo, não confuso, mas assim, é um choque de realidades, [...] eu acho que aqui eu vejo muito mais essa, tipo, a diferença entre, ah, é que ele é um bairro mais, mais chique, né, que seja o Westmount, que tá próximo da onde eu vivo, então lá, os casarões, tudo, mas na mesma estação, Atwater, que tá mais perto, tem muito pedinte, muito morador de rua." (Camila, March 6, 2024).

⁸⁴ "Eu ainda acho que é um bom destino migratório, mas eu acho que nem tudo que está sendo vendido como Canadá é realmente, principalmente porque, em relação a alguns pontos, eu vejo que está tendo uma deficiência no Canadá, que ele precisa melhorar, em termos de saúde, até segurança, porque eram os pontos em que eu mais me prendi, a qualidade de vida com base na segurança que você tem, na saúde que você, teoricamente, tem aqui." (Catarina, March 7, 2024).

This section has introduced the findings related to interviewees' perceptions of Canada's destination reputation before and after migrating. The main result obtained is the stark difference between the idea of Canada they built from seeing content shared by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram to experiencing Canada in real life. More precisely, interviewees referred to Canada as an idealistic representation destination versus the real Canada, which they described as a more challenging reality. The following section will show participants' perceptions of the content Brazilian immigrant influencers share about Canada on Instagram.

iv. Theme 4: Selling Canada as a migration destination

Participants shared that these profiles *sell* an unrealistic idea of Canada when asked about their perceptions of the content they saw from Brazilian immigrant influencers. Participants built this perception after immigrating to Canada and saw how Brazilian immigrant influencers direct their profiles to achieve more online engagement and profit:

They [Influencers] won't grow on Instagram if they really show reality. Even more so, because some, as they grow, I've seen, become linked to colleges, so they have to sell the college entrance fee, right? So, if you go there and say that the rent is expensive, the food is expensive, the snow is dirty, you keep falling in the street, how are you going to sell your product, you know? (Elisa, January 22, 2024, my translation).⁸⁵

Only Nina and Maria Isabel remarked seeing content on Instagram depicting realistic posts. For example, Nina shared two specific profiles she finds trustworthy, "Kitty in Canada" and "Migrate Canada," that belong to IRCC-certified consultants. Besides these two profiles, Nina criticized other Brazilian immigrant influencers' posts: "Look, I bought a new car six months ago here in Canada, you can come and get it too, but I don't agree with that kind of thing [way of portraying life in Canada]." (Nina, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁸⁶ Yet, Maria Isabel highlighted seeing more profiles that "sell something too idealistic" (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024, my translation), as she shares in the following excerpt⁸⁷

Some people paint a beautiful world. Everything is great, everything works very well. You shop at Costco, you go on trips, you ski. Everything is beautiful. And there are people on the opposite extreme, who are people where everything is bad. The adaptation is bad, the job is bad, the desire for life is bad. (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024, my translation).⁸⁸

⁸⁵ "Eles não vão crescer no Instagram, se eles ficam realmente mostrando a realidade. Ainda mais, porque alguns depois que vão crescendo, eu já vi, vão se vinculando com o college, então eles têm que vender a entrada do college, né? Então, se você vai lá e fala que o aluguel tá caro, a comida tá cara, a neve fica suja, você fica caindo na rua, como você vai vender o seu produto, sabe?" (Elisa, January 22, 2024)

⁸⁶ "Olha, eu comprei um carro zero com seis meses aqui no Canadá, tu também pode vir e pode conseguir, mas não concordo com esse tipo de coisa." (Nina, February 3, 2024).

⁸⁷ "vendem uma coisa muito incrível" (Maria Isabel, February 1, 2024).

⁸⁸ "Existem pessoas que pintam um mundo muito bonito e muito maravilhoso. Tudo é ótimo, tudo funciona muito bem. Você faz compras no Costco, passeia, esquia e é tudo lindo. E existem pessoas que são extremo oposto, que são pessoas onde tudo é ruim. A adaptação é ruim, o emprego é ruim, a vontade de vida é ruim." (Maria Isabel, February, 1, 2024).

Interviewees also shared that Brazilian immigrant influencers actively promoted co-national migration to Canada. Elisa mentioned that influencers share the idea that “Canada needs Brazilians” as their tagline.

These people [Brazilian immigrant influencers], the ones who exaggerate, are the ones who are going to gain media. They are the ones who are going to be successful for people in Brazil. Then you get a person in Brazil who has no conditions at all. You know, he doesn't speak English. He doesn't speak anything and sees ‘Canada needs Brazilians.’ It's a person who will want to sell everything. They come here illegally. Because Canada needs Brazilians. It's not true, understand? (Elisa, January 22, 2024, my translation).⁸⁹

This last section has shown participants’ perceptions of the content Brazilian immigrant influencers share about Canada. Overall, interviewees became more critical about the migration-related content on Instagram. Interviewees now differentiate between profiles that share unrealistic and a more accurate image of Canada. While some participants highlighted trustworthy Instagram accounts they follow, these profiles belong to certified IRCC consultants. This condition can shape the content shared online. Still, participants perceived that profiles transmitting unrealistic expectations about Canada are more prevalent on Instagram. More specifically, interviewees expressed that Brazilian immigrant influencers work around the idea that ‘Canada needs Brazilians’ to promote services and products related to migration. Brazilian immigrant influencers then profit by promoting a destination and selling all the necessary tools to achieve the dream of immigrating to the ‘Canada’ they created for their audience. The next chapter will analyze the results introduced above.

Conclusion

These results sought to explore the representations of Canada’s destination reputation built by Brazilian immigrant influencers to shape final migration decisions among co-nationals. The content analysis of 30 Instagram posts from five different accounts showed that influencers build Canada’s destination reputation as one with i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. For this purpose, Brazilian immigrant influencers resort to highlighting the negative features of Brazil and the positive characteristics of Canada as their main strategy. These representations also demonstrate to their audience they are migration experts who acquired relevant insider knowledge about life in Canada and have access to migration-related services capable of helping individuals materialize their aspirations. Therefore, Brazilian immigrant influencers become Canada’s reputation builders who have monetized the experiences shared on Instagram (Harvey and Groutsis 2015).

The interview with 10 Brazilian newcomers who arrived between 2022 and 2023 highlighted the relevance of Brazilian immigrant influencers as information sources and in shaping the perceptions of prospective migrants about Canada. Before migrating, newcomers perceived Canada in an overtly positive way and found the content on Instagram made by Brazilian immigrant influencers

⁸⁹ "Essas pessoas quando falam esses exageros são que vão ganhar mídia. Quem vai estar fazendo sucesso para as pessoas do Brasil. Aí você pega uma pessoa no Brasil que não tem condições nenhuma. Sabe, ela não fala inglês. Não fala nada e vê ‘O Canadá precisa de brasileiros’ É uma pessoa que vai querer vender tudo. Vem para cá ilegal. Porque o Canadá precisa de brasileiros. Não é verdade, entendeu?" (Elisa, January 22, 2024).

to be crucial to understanding life in Canada. This scenario becomes salient when participants compare the content on Instagram to other sources, such as the government website or other social media platforms. Now that these individuals live in Canada, newcomers think that Canada is a more challenging destination to settle in and believe influencers sold them an unrealistic destination for personal gain. Most participants also reported using products by these influencers, such as language classes, migration consultancies, or housing services. Overall, interviewees shared that these products were overpriced and lacked accuracy. By portraying an overtly positive image of Canada and monetizing their profiles around migration-related services, Brazilian immigrant influencers become digital migration intermediaries operating in the Brazilian-Canadian digital migration industry (Hernandez-Leon 2005). The following chapter will analyze the representations that Brazilian immigrant influencers build about Canada's destination reputation that contribute to shaping co-national migration decisions.

7. Discussion

This chapter will discuss the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts by five Brazilian immigrant influencers and the interviews with 10 Brazilian newcomers that accessed migration-related content on Instagram and arrived between 2022-2023. The results introduced that Brazilian immigrant influencers represent Canada as a 'Canadian Paradise' to their audience by focusing on three aspects: i) public infrastructure, ii) economic conditions, and iii) social conditions. Moreover, interviewees changed their perceptions of the content accessed on Instagram before and after migrating. Before migrating, participants shared an overtly positive view of Canada and found information from influencers relevant to understanding life in Canada. Yet, they now see that influencers conveyed a distorted representation of Canada for personal gain. As a result, this chapter concludes that the 'Canadian Paradise' built by Brazilian immigrant influencers was a product used to promote migration-related services that ultimately shaped the migration destination decisions of Brazilian newcomers interviewed for this thesis (Bozkurt and Gligor 2019; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013)

This chapter has two sections. The first section of this chapter analyzes the representations created by Brazilian immigrant influencers about Canada's destination reputation on Instagram. The second part of this chapter analyzes newcomers' perceptions when accessing migration-related content from Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram during their journey.

7.1. Building the Canadian Paradise

It's [Canada is] paradise, right? There are plenty of jobs, everyone is happy, rent is cheap, you buy 3 iPhones a month, earning minimum wage you will be a millionaire [...] Oh, because they [Canadians] are super open to immigrants, you will come here and meet a lot of people. You will be able to travel anywhere. You will be happy. You won't work overtime like you do in Brazil. Your salary will allow you to buy whatever you want [...]

You earn minimum wage and manage to maintain a great life, there are jobs for everyone. You get here and find a job whenever you want (Elisa, January 22, 2024, my translation).⁹⁰

Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram represented Canada's destination reputation as one with i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. As Elisa expressed above, these representations introduced participants to a 'Canadian Paradise' where Brazilian migrants would greatly improve the lives they had in Brazil. This section will analyze Brazilian immigrant influencers' posts introduced in Chapter 5 to unveil strategies and types of information shared with prospective migrants on Instagram, which contributed to building Canada's destination reputation as a 'Canadian Paradise.'

Brazilian immigrant influencers rely on three main strategies to build the 'Canadian Paradise.' The first strategy was to compare Brazil and Canada – home and potential host countries for their audience on Instagram. As found during the content analysis, influencers center their posts showing different indicators –such as public infrastructure and socio-economic conditions – that prospective Brazilian migrants seek to change through migration. These indicators reflect previous findings about the main migration push factors for Brazilians after the mid-2010s (Siqueira 2017; Millar and Fanini 2022; Nowak 2023). The bonanza of the early 2000s brought socio-economic improvements (Elver 2019). Yet, subsequent cuts in poverty alleviation programs, an increase in food insecurity tied to the economic outcomes of the 2008 crisis in Brazil, and the elevated public spending to prepare for the World Cup of 2014 and Summer Olympics of 2016 also contributed to decreasing the improvements seen in previous years (Nowak 2023; Wan et al. 2019; Elver 2019). The decline of local living standards, which coincided with these mega-events, reflects the end of the Brazilian socio-economic boom. Nina, for example, illustrates this scenario:

In the post-World Cup in Brazil, in 2014, things started to go downhill. With the pandemic, we saw that it was... It fell drastically, but yes, it's all over the world, it wouldn't just be in our place, right? But there is also the issue of violence. We had already suffered three armed robberies, so we... Our first thought was security. (Nina, Zoom conversation, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁹¹

For example, @sissi_noquebec explains in the post “Was migrating worth it?” how her life improved after migrating to Canada (Figure 54). More specifically, the influencer argues that she now enjoys public security, access to free education for her children, and improved purchasing power. While @sissi_noquebec shares some negative aspects about Canada – such as missing her family, the winter, and even the public healthcare system – the influencer still argues that her life ‘is much better here [in Canada].’

⁹⁰ “É o paraíso, né? O emprego a rodo, todo mundo é feliz, aluguel é barato, você compra 3 Iphones por mês, com o salário mínimo você vai ser milionário. Ah, porque eles [os canadenses] são super abertos, imigrantes, você vai vir aqui e vai conhecer um monte de gente. Você vai poder viajar pra tudo que é lugar. Você vai ser feliz. Não vai fazer hora extra que nem faz no Brasil. O seu salário vai dar pra você comprar o que você quiser [...] Você ganha um salário mínimo e consegue manter uma vida ótima, tem emprego pra todo mundo. Você chega aqui e acha emprego na hora que quiser” (Elisa, January 22, 2024).

⁹¹ “No Pós-copa do mundo ali no Brasil, ali em 2014, a coisa começou a decair bastante. Com a pandemia, a gente viu que foi... Caiu drasticamente, mas sim, aí é no mundo inteiro, não seria só no nosso local, né? Só que também tem a questão da violência. A gente tinha sofrido já três assaltos à mão armada, então, a gente... O nosso primeiro pensamento era a segurança.” (Nina, February 3, 2024).



Figure 54. @sissi_noquebec sharing how her life changed after migrating to Canada.⁹²

For her, choosing to stay in Canada is a matter of prioritizing some aspects over others. Earlier studies on how migrants decide on a destination revealed that individuals with children prioritize features related to their well-being (Fotheringham et al. 2000; van Riemsdijk 2016). More precisely, migrants use ‘education’ and ‘safety’ as decisive criteria to decide where to settle (van Riemsdijk 2016). This preference also translated to @sissi_noquebec’s list of priorities or features that led her to migrate to Canada – public security and access to free education for her children. While the influencer argues that it is normal for migrants to decide to go back to Brazil, she highlights that ‘each family knows their pain and things they are willing to give up.’ For her, returning to Brazil would mean losing access to public safety and free education.

The example above showed that Brazilian immigrant influencers show the comparative advantage of life in Canada vis-à-vis Brazil. The choice of this home-host country comparison arises because migrants usually rely on their home country as a point of reference to share changes in their lives since moving (Harvey 2023). Still, the information they convey to prospective migrants is crucial to building a reputation that can discourage or encourage migration, which turns them into reputation builders or damagers (Harvey and Morris 2012; Harvey and Groutsis 2015). In the case of Brazilian immigrant influencers, the need to depict Brazil’s reputation negatively represents a way to build and stress a positive destination reputation for Canada to their audience, who is mainly based in Brazil and have historically preferred the US and European countries as a migration destination (Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Goza 2004; Marcus 2009; MRE 2022).

This preference appeared during the interviews with Brazilian newcomers who had Canada as a second or third choice. Participants shared that destinations in Europe and the US were more salient. Yet, restrictive migration policies, growing xenophobia, and economic instability in the US and Europe have started to shift destination preferences (Molina 2022; Hein et al. 2018). For example, Nina, who has European citizenship, eliminated the possibility of migrating to European destinations due to economic issues and negative perceptions of migrants:

⁹² Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Was migrating worth it?* May 26, 2021, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/p/CPWzXUvMleC/>

We thought of Italy because we are Italians, you know? But then there is the issue that we knew, we had friends who came from Italy and said that the job [market] was bad, the issue of employability. I think Europe is more for visiting, I think this issue of migration, refuge, territory, I think it's very complicated there, which made me apprehensive. So, it [Europe] was discarded because of that. (Nina, February 3, 2024, my translation).⁹³

Similarly, Camila, who emigrated from Brazil to improve foreign languages, had the US at the top of her list. Yet, she shared that restrictive migration policies re-oriented her migration preferences: “The first country I think of is the United States, for English, but it's very complex to get there, straight away” (Camila, March 6, 2024, my translation).⁹⁴

This home-host comparison to build Canada’s destination reputation led to the emergence of partial and exaggerated information as two other underlying strategies. These strategies confirm previous findings exploring how actors share migration-related information with prospective migrants (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; Spaan and Hillmann 2013; Tseng 1997). A first example of partial information is “A video showing what we can find in Dollarama” in which @sissi_noquebec compared the prices of different products in Brazil and Canada (Figure 55). The influencer shares that products in Brazil are considerably more expensive than in Canada. While the price of a given product is CAD 3\$ (around 11 BRL), in Brazil, the same product is BRL 69 (around CAD 18\$). The same applies to hygiene products, such as shampoos that in Canada cost CAD 4\$ while in Brazil, this product costs 315 BRL (around CAD 88\$). These comparisons elevate the appeal of a possible migration destination – Canada – by highlighting their home country - Brazil - in a negative light (Tseng 1997). While the prices are extremely cheap in Canada and overtly expensive in Brazil, the influencer fails to signal that she is showing imported products from the Brazilian side, which contributes to manipulating information for her audience (Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). This information is relevant because, by law, imported products in Brazil receive a tax label that increases prices by at least 20% (Bueno 2024). An accurate and complete comparison would entail products produced in Canada and Brazil or comparing the cheapest brands available in each market.

⁹³ “A gente pensou na Itália porque somos italianos, entende? Só que aí tem a questão que a gente conhecia, tinha amigos que vieram da Itália e diziam que o emprego estava muito ruim, a questão da empregabilidade. E eu tenho um receio, acho que a Europa é mais para visitar, eu acho que essa questão migratória, refúgio, território, eu acho muito complicado lá. Então, foi descartado em função disso.” (Nina, February 3, 2024).

⁹⁴ “O primeiro país que eu penso é os Estados Unidos, pra inglês, mas é muito complexo pra entrar lá, de cara” (Camila, March 6, 2024).

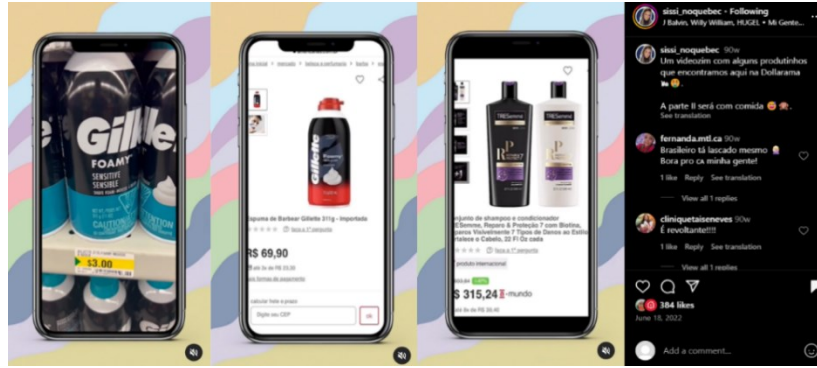


Figure 55. @sissi_noquebec highlighting that products are cheaper in Canada.⁹⁵

Another example of “partial” information is the post “The average salaries in Canada will leave you astonished” in which @paulanocanada shares how occupations with low salaries in Brazil receive high wages in Canada (Figure 56). More precisely, in the video, she shares information about nurses, who earn CAD 57\$/hour, and industrial electricians, who receive CAD 35\$/hour. While these salaries are considerably higher than the minimum wage in Canada and Brazil, the influencer misses signaling that these are regulated careers in Canada – meaning that individuals with foreign certifications must first validate or fulfill specific requirements to work in these industries (Canada 2024a, 2024b). In other words, Brazilian newcomers who do not have the required paperwork will not be able to perform these professions. By choosing not to address these prerequisites, the influencer shapes (distorted) expectations of potential salaries and job opportunities to her audience, which contributes to building the ‘Canadian Paradise’ (Spaan and Hillmann 2013). A more realistic and complete comparison would be with unregulated professions or occupations that do not demand specific certifications from Brazilian newcomers.



Figure 56. @paulanocanada shows salaries in Canada.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *A video showing what we can find in Dollarama*, June 18, 2022, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/p/Ce9wG2rVTw/>

⁹⁶ Source: Instagram post by Paula Affonso (@paulanocanada), *The average salaries in Canada will leave you astonished!* March 13, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CpvIBY8OnNO/>

A last example of “partial” information is the post “How much does my car cost in Canada and Brazil?” in which @farofademapple compares the prices of her car and the minimum wage in both destinations (Figure 57). The influencer highlights the price difference in both destinations. Her hybrid car costs more than 200,000 BRL (around CAD 54,000\$) in Brazil, whereas in Canada, it costs CAD 29,000\$ (around BRL 100,000 BRL). Additionally, she shares that the minimum wage in Ontario is CAD 2400\$ per month, while in Brazil, it is BRL 1302 (around CAD 300\$)⁹⁷. However, the video fails to address that, in Brazil, electric and hybrid cars represent less than 2% of sales and are mostly imported (ANFAVEA 2022, 13), which explains the elevated prices. In other words, there is not enough market demand or local production that could reduce said prices. At the same time, with the growing national demand in Canada and government incentives, these vehicles tend to have a lower price (CTV 2023). A more relevant comparison would be between cars that receive public incentives or the most popular vehicles sold at both destinations. The video also connects minimum wages in both destinations to the prices of cars. This association can lead the audience to believe that there is an automatic link between earning minimum wage and access to this type of car in Canada, which ultimately contributes to building expectations about the opportunities that the ‘Canadian Paradise’ has to offer to residents, as Elisa shared at the beginning of this chapter.⁹⁸

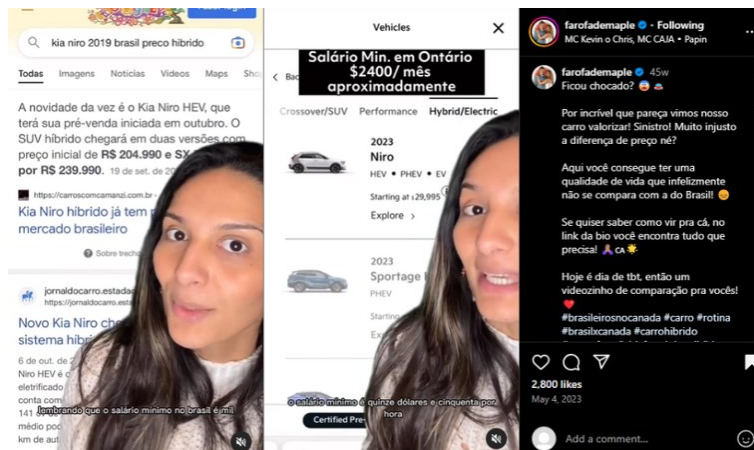


Figure 57. @farofademapple shows the price of her car relative to the minimum wage in Brazil and Canada.⁹⁹

As a second strategy, Brazilian immigrant influencers exaggerate the information shared about Brazil and Canada. A first example is the post “Brazilians arriving in Canada and seeing job offers to work as cleaners” in which @grudesnocanada addresses the social difference of being a cleaner in both destinations (Figure 58). The influencer highlights that cleaning jobs in Canada are not perceived as “immigrant” jobs, as she is the only immigrant working with Canadians. Moreover, the influencer shares that she has chosen this job as a second occupation because she 'likes it, it is

⁹⁷ Minimum wage in Brazil increased to BRL 1412 (around CAD 370\$) in 2024 (Brazil 2023).

⁹⁸ [...] There are plenty of jobs, everyone is happy, rent is cheap, you buy 3 iPhones a month, with the minimum wage you will be a millionaire [...]

⁹⁹ Source: Instagram account by Raquel Gonçalves (@farofademapple), *How much does my car cost in Canada?* May 4, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr1quQYJcAz/>

easy,' and it resembles 'going to the gym.' She also stresses the career opportunities that come with the job and the chance of permanent settlement in Canada. When referring to jobs in cleaning in Brazil, the influencer highlights that people discriminate against this profession and judge others who work in the sector. She explains that the difference in how both jobs are perceived relies on the fact that Canada is a first-world country.

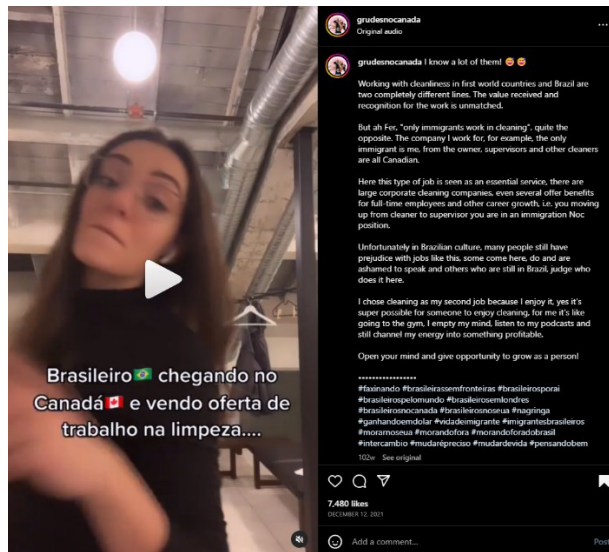


Figure 58. @grudesnocanada discusses her job as a cleaner and the differences in societal perceptions in Brazil and Canada.¹⁰⁰

The post seeks to exaggerate the benefits of working as a cleaner in Canada. As previous findings in Brazilian immigration to North America highlight, Brazilian immigrants usually perform non-skilled or lower-paying jobs – such as cleaning (Goza 1999). At the same time, cleaning jobs in Brazil have a history of being performed by Afro-Brazilians, mostly women, who continue to endure discrimination and unfair economic compensation (Avila and Ferreira 2020). By emphasizing that i) working as a cleaner is not an immigrant job and ii) it is a choice she made because she enjoys working in this area, this influencer is re-shaping what could be perceived as a negative outcome by some prospective migrants into a positive and successful story. In other words, @grudesnocanada turns her experience into a positive destination reputation feature for Canada while showing how working as a cleaner is a viable economic and career-wise solution, contributing to building the ‘Canadian Paradise’ (Hawthorne 2014; Baas 2019). The idea that Canada is accepting of all types of jobs appeared as a destination reputation feature was also present among interviewees, as Giulianna shared:

What stood out most there was ‘job security.’ [...] For example, if I’m unemployed, I can be anything, you know, in Canada. I remember thinking that because I saw bloggers [...] I chose Canada because work is really dignifying here. Regardless of your job, you won’t be

¹⁰⁰ Source: Instagram post by Grudes no Canadá (@grudesnocanada), *Brazilians arriving in Canada and seeing job offers in cleaning*, December 12, 2021, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CXZbSCfFPYz/>

judged by others here, right? Because you're working, you're earning your money (Giulianna, March 7, 2024, my translation).¹⁰¹

This quote also reveals a broader socio-economic dynamic in Brazil. Being marked by deep socio-economic inequalities, Brazil has a defined class stratification (Salata and Scalon 2020). In practice, the income and living standards available to the middle and upper class are almost unattainable for those at the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid (Salata and Scalon 2020, 654). This stratification enables the reproduction of meritocratic discourses that deepen social prejudice and stigmatization against the poor (Moura et al. 2019). As mentioned above, cleaning jobs are perceived as marginalized due to racial discrimination, but also because these occupations belong to the end of the socio-economic pyramid (Avila and Ferreira 2020; Salata and Scalon 2020). When Giovanna remarks on 'job security' as a positive trait in Canada's destination reputation, she also refers to the smaller gaps in class stratification and stigmatization in Canadian society.

A second example of how influencers exaggerate information is the post "Bye, I'm going to Canada" in which @sissi_noquebec discusses the reasons for leaving Brazil and choosing Canada as a migration to settle with her family (Figure 59). The post highlights that she left Brazil due to the political environment, economic crisis, unemployment, and lack of opportunities for her and her family. The influencer centers on depicting the negative features of her home country to legitimize and show the comparative advantage of life in Canada (Tseng 1997). While the post does not directly address Canadian destination reputation features, it shows that the unbearable environment she experienced in Brazil motivated her to pursue what the influencer calls her 'Canadian Project.'

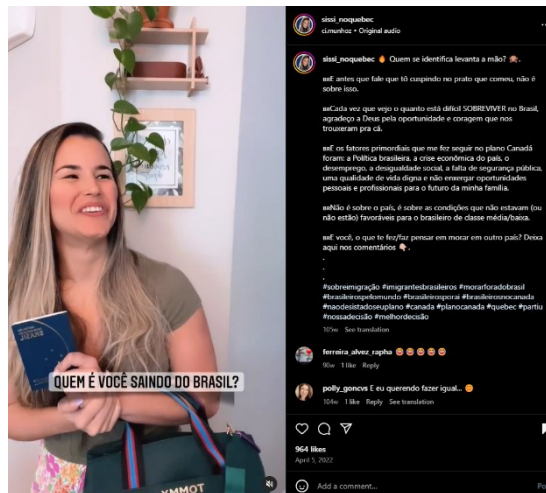


Figure 59. @sissi_noquebec shares why she emigrated from Brazil and chose Canada.¹⁰²

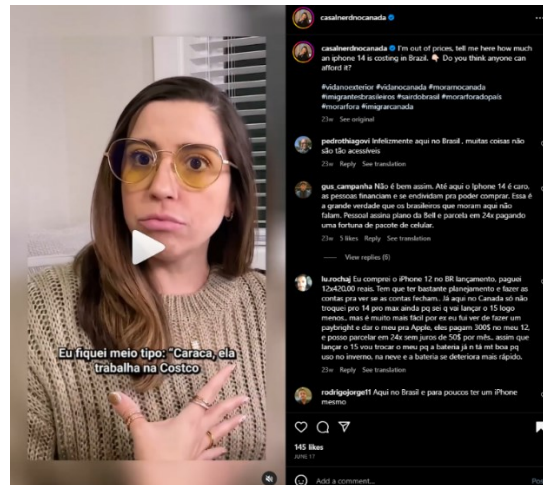
¹⁰¹ “O que mais chamou ali foi ‘segurança de trabalho.’ [...] por exemplo, se eu ficar desempregada, eu posso ser qualquer coisa, sabe, no Canadá. Eu lembro que eu pensava isso porque eu via os blogueiros [...] eu escolhi o Canadá foi essa questão de o trabalho dignificar realmente ... Qualquer coisa que você faça não é mal visto, vamos dizer aqui, entendeu? Porque você tá trabalhando, tá ganhando teu dinheiro” (Giulianna, March 7, 2024).

¹⁰² Source: Instagram post by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *Bye, I'm going to Canada*, April 5, 2022, Instagram <https://www.instagram.com/p/Cb-OzepMHIU/>

More specifically, the post emphasizes that ‘surviving’ in Brazil has become difficult for middle/lower socio-economic classes in Brazil. While previous waves of Brazilian migration were mainly composed of individuals who were from the bottom of the socio-economic pyramid, recent scholarship has highlighted the emergence of a ‘new type of Brazilian migrant’ – educated individuals with stable careers who migrate to improve their economic opportunities and access to better public infrastructure (Millar and Fanini 2022). This post then contributes to building the ‘Canadian Paradise’ as a destination that ‘solved’ the deteriorating socio-economic situation of the middle class in Brazil while creating an overtly positive image of Canada (Spaan and Hillmann 2013; Millar and Fanini 2022). This perception appeared during the interviews, as Giulianna shared:

I earned well. I didn't because of violence. Normally people say that, right? But I saw that for me to continue, the amount of work I had within the area as a project manager and the salary I earned, although good, the quality of life was not good. My purchasing power was not good. So, if I wanted to buy a wine that I liked, it was absurd, and expensive. So, I believe that more purchasing power accessibility (Giulianna, March 7, 2024, my translation).¹⁰³

A last example of how Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram exaggerated information about Canada’s destination reputation is the post “I would not buy this in Brazil” by @casalnerdnocanada, which discusses the types of products she can aspire to buy in Brazil and Canada (Figure 60). She shares that owning an iPhone or a MacBook in Brazil was 'extremely inaccessible' for her. Yet, in Canada, the video emphasizes that someone working at a retail store and performing a low-skilled job can buy an iPhone. While the video continues to exaggerate the differences between Brazil and Canada in terms of purchasing power, it also conveys to her audience the type of products individuals in her position have access to in Canada.



¹⁰³ “Eu ganhava bem. Eu não fui por violência por causa da minha cidade. Normalmente as pessoas falam, né? Mas eu vi que pra eu continuar, a quantidade de trabalho que eu tinha dentro da área como gerente de projetos e o salário que eu ganhava, mesmo bom, a qualidade de vida não era boa. Meu poder de compra não era bom. Então, assim, se eu quisesse comprar um vinho que eu gostava, era, tipo, absurdo e caro. Então, eu acredito que mais a acessibilidade de poder de compra” (Giulianna, March 7, 2024).

Figure 60. @casalnerdnocanada discusses social inequalities in Brazil and Canada.¹⁰⁴

This section sought to answer the first specific research question guiding this thesis, which explored how Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram built Canada's destination reputation. Overall, these influencers represent Canada as a paradise destination where prospective Brazilian migrants will find i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. To build the 'Canadian Paradise,' Brazilian immigrant influencers rely on home-host country comparisons that seek to exacerbate the benefits of migrating to Canada while highlighting the negative side of living in Brazil (Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Tseng 1997). This strategy served to exaggerate the benefits of a newer migration destination. Yet, in this process, influencers became reputation builders for Canada at the expense of conveying partial and exaggerated information to their audience (Barbosa 2009; Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018; Spaan and Hillmann 2013). The representation of Canada's destination reputation as a 'Canadian Paradise' contributed then to shaping the perceptions and expectations that prospective migrants had about Canada, which ultimately encouraged their migration choices. The following section will show that Brazilian newcomers interviewed for this thesis became critical of the migration-related content accessed on Instagram as they saw that influencers sold them a paradise destination that did not materialize.

7.2. Selling the Canadian Paradise

So, basically, I wanted to understand how they came [to Canada], what the arrival process was like, if they [influencers] had tips on how to apply, all the processes, from applying for a master's degree, the visa application; and after coming, how everything looked like in the airport. I was very curious to understand everything. I wanted to get all possible information that would help and facilitate this process. So, I started following every type of influencer and Instagram personality possible at that time (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024, my translation).¹⁰⁵

I think I don't really agree with the influencer marketing that exists around the promotion of a country as a means of personal enrichment and attracting engagement from followers. I think that a country is full of many nuances for them to use in advertising, basically, [they are] promoting the arrival of immigrants here (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024, my translation).¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Source: Instagram post by Giovanna Barino (@casalnerdnocanada), *I would not buy this in Brazil*, June 17, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CtmsQIjJ4Ot/>

¹⁰⁵ "Então, basicamente, eu queria entender como que elas vieram, como foi o processo da chegada, se elas tinham dicas de como aplicar, de todos os processos, desde a aplicação do mestrado, a aplicação do visto e depois a vinda, o processo de como foi no aeroporto. Eu tinha muita curiosidade pra entender e, de certa forma, pegar todo tipo de informação possível que me auxiliasse e facilitasse nesse processo. Então, comecei a seguir todo tipo de influencer e personalidades do Instagram possível nesse tempo" (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024)

¹⁰⁶ "Eu acho que eu não concordo muito com o marketing de influência que existe em relação a promover um país como meio de enriquecimento pessoal e de atração de engajamentos de seguidores. Eu acho que um país, ele é cheio de muitas nuances para eles se usarem de forma publicitária, basicamente, promovendo a vinda de imigrantes para cá." (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

The 10 Brazilian newcomers interviewed for this thesis now report that Brazilian immigrant influencers sold them an idealistic version of Canada for personal monetary gain. The quotes above exemplify that while Jenniffer was still in Brazil, influencers were relevant to understanding life in Canada. Now, she thinks that the experiences shared on Instagram were done so for financial motives.¹⁰⁷ This idea became visible when interviewees showed a gap between the Canada accessed on Instagram and the real Canada they experience daily. While interviewees were only able to become more critical about the content they saw from influencers once they settled in Canada, their experiences fall in line with previous studies that highlighted the centrality of migrant experience-sharing to acquire information and in shaping perceptions of destination reputation (Harvey 2023; Collins 2021; Crawley and Hangen-Zanker 2018; Leurs and Smets 2018; Burrell and Anderson 2008). This section will then rely on the interviews with Brazilian newcomers to explore how their perceptions unfold throughout their migration process.

Before migrating, interviewees found the content on Instagram decisive in building knowledge about Canada. Since influencers on Instagram focus on experience-sharing, their audiences engage in influencers' daily experiences (Santiago and Castelo 2020). Scholarship has shown that prospective migrants rely on established migrants to look for discrete or unofficial information that introduces them to an insider's perspective about potential host countries (Dekker et al. 2016; Dekker and Engbersen 2014). By having accumulated insider knowledge through their journeys, established migrants are then relevant to reducing migration to prospective migrants (Dekker et al. 2016). In the case of interviewees, information about winter, where to shop, how public services work, and how to solve migration-related bureaucratic hurdles were the type of insider information they looked for in the posts of Brazilian immigrant influencers:

We wanted to understand what this migration process would be like. How could we come? How were we going to do it? What was Permanent Residency? How did all these things work? More details about the city, about the climate. Because the winter is harsh, we knew the winter was harsh, but how are the people there seeing this and talking about it? To get to know the city a little more, because when we come as tourists, I think it is a little different. (Leticia, March 6, 2024, my translation).¹⁰⁸

More precisely, the online survey and interviewees indicated preferring content from Brazilian immigrant influencers over government sources, highlighting the relevance of co-ethnic and national experience for prospective migrants (Beech 2018; Collins 2012; Dekker and Engbersen 2014). Prospective migrants prefer accessing insider knowledge from co-ethnic/nationals due to their common local understanding (Collins 2012). Coming from the same culture and home country, interviewees found in Brazilian immigrant influencers a reflection of how their journeys could look like in Canada. Also, sharing the same national/ethnic identity makes information

¹⁰⁷ Jenniffer only agrees with Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram when they refer to public security in Canada and bureaucratic procedures, such as creating a SIN. Still, she believes that influencers "build a product out of the content they share [on Instagram]" (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

¹⁰⁸ "A gente queria entender como é que seria esse processo de migração, né, de imigrar para cá. Como é que a gente poderia vir? Como é que a gente ia fazer? O que era residência permanente? Como é que funcionava essas coisas todas? Mais detalhes sobre a cidade, sobre o clima. O inverno é rigoroso, a gente sabia que o inverno era rigoroso, mas como é que as pessoas que estão lá estão vendo isso e estão falando sobre isso? Para conhecer um pouco mais da cidade, porque quando a gente vem como turista eu acho que é um pouco diferente." (Leticia, March 6, 2024).

providers trustful in the eyes of prospective migrants (Beech 2018). This trustful relation became visible when participants reported finding the same conditions influencers described on Instagram:

When I got here, I thought it would be easier, and that I would get the job much faster. Because on Instagram, what do people show [...] You will be walking on the sidewalk and employers have a rope to pull you, so you can work. (Flora, January 23, 2024, my translation).¹⁰⁹

During the early stages of respondents' migration process, Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram enjoyed a unique positionality vis-à-vis other sources of information. Instagram's format of shorter posts was decisive in conveying concise, relevant, and accessible information about Canada. This dynamism allowed influencers on Instagram to share information in no more than two or three minutes, which set an advantage over Brazilian immigrant influencers on YouTube, for example. While interviewees reinforced previous findings on the centrality of social media platforms for prospective migrants (Dekker et al. 2018; Leurs and Smets 2018), their experiences highlighted differences among digital platforms:

YouTube can't even compare. So, for me, it was trying two or three times. I gave up and said no, it's not the best way. Instagram was good because I was able to get summarized information on what was new. (Giulianna, March 7, 2024, my translation).¹¹⁰

An example of the dynamism found on Instagram is the post "Is it better to be poor in Brazil or Canada?" by @farofademaple. The influencer introduces to her public in less than three minutes to a wide range of information about Canada vis-à-vis Brazil, such as i) public security, ii) public transport, iii) prices of different products, iv) positive job opportunities, and v) options of leisure. @farofademaple also used the post to promote her e-book (see Figures 5 and 6), containing different migration pathways to Canada. While the influencer shares her insider (informal) knowledge, her e-book also advertises the services of formal migration service providers, such as consultants, which open an informal/formal line of intermediation (Dekker et al. 2018; Spaan and Hillmann). The type of content shared, allied with Instagram's dynamism, allows the influencer to inform – while monetizing – her audience on how to access life in Canada.

¹⁰⁹ O que eu achava de trabalho também, eu achava que era... Quando eu cheguei aqui, eu achava que seria mais fácil, que eu ia arrumar o emprego muito mais rápido. Porque no Instagram, o que é que as pessoas mostram [...] Você vai estar andando na calçada, os empregadores estão com uma corda e te puxam para você trabalhar. (Flora, January 23, 2024).

¹¹⁰ "O YouTube nem tem como comparar, assim, pra mim foi tentar umas duas, três vezes e já desistir assim, e falar não, não é o melhor caminho. O Instagram foi bom, porque eu consegui ter um resumo ali do que é a notícia." (Giulianna, March 7, 2024).

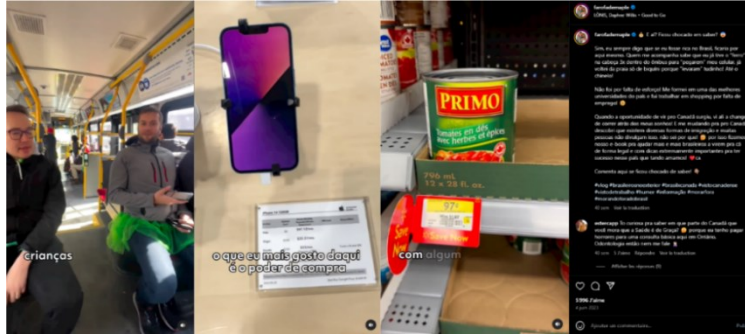


Figure 61. @farofademaple showing the benefits of living in Canada.¹¹¹

This advantage becomes even more prominent when individuals try to find official or local information. Prospective migrants usually face language barriers that make official sources and government websites, for example, difficult to access. This situation creates a form of information precarity that ultimately restricts individuals’ abilities to migrate (Dekker et al. 2018). By speaking the same language and having already migrated to Canada, Brazilian immigrant influencers ‘translated’ information and, most importantly, experiences for their audiences on Instagram (Collins 2012; Folgeman and Christensen 2022):

What I felt, specifically, when I was applying for my visa, was that the government website was very broad and unclear regarding certain documents that it wanted me to put there in the system. For example, there were some parts that I had to fill in, which were not clear as to what information was required, in a way, the information on the government website was ambiguous. But the people on Instagram, who had already applied, had already managed to get their visa approved, had this information a little more clearly at that moment. (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024, my translation).¹¹²

The translation of their experiences, as shown in the previous section, distorted Canada's destination reputation into the ‘Canadian Paradise.’ (Harvey et al. 2018; Folgeman and Christensen 2022; Spaan and Hillmann 2013). By accessing content that depicted a manipulated version of Canada, Brazilian newcomers experienced other forms of information precarity while trying to circumvent it. Scholars found that migrants prefer social media content made by co-nationals to minimize exposure to distorted information (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). However, the mismatch between the representation of Canada, Brazilian newcomers saw on Instagram, and the Canada these migrants experience every day shows that this strategy to triangulate information was not entirely effective:

It was sold a lot on social media, that it was just a matter of arriving, because even without English, without French, you can get a job, eat, and everything else. And my husband didn't

¹¹¹ Source: Instagram post by Raquel Gonçalves (@faforademaple), *Is it better to be poor in Brazil or Canada?* June 4, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CtFdoFAPFqE/>

¹¹² “O que eu senti, especificamente, no momento em que eu tava aplicando com meu visto, foi que o site do governo era muito aberto e pouco claro em relação a certos documentos que ele queria que eu colocasse lá no sistema. Por exemplo, tinha umas partes que tinha que preencher, que não era claro que tinha que preencher, de certa forma, ficava ambígua a informação pelo site do governo. Mas a galera do Instagram, que já tinha aplicado, já tinha conseguido ter o visto aprovado, tinha essa informação com um pouquinho de mais clareza nesse momento.” (Jenniffer, February 1, 2024).

have English or French, and we came here counting on the hope of him getting the job to provide financial support [...] My husband was fired and now that he's unemployed, we are going through a more complicated situation. (Helena, March 9, 2024, my translation).¹¹³

Instead of favoring these prospective migrants, the shared identities and home-host country insider knowledge worked as a tool for influencers to generate trust while promoting a migration destination and services (Spaan and Hillmann 2013; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). The co-national trust acquired was reinforced by showing their personal lives and journeys to Canada, which reassures the content's veracity to their audience (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Santiago and Castelo 2020; Atiq et al. 2022). Moreover, Instagram's dynamic format allows experience-sharing through photos, videos, and text. An example is the post "4 years in Canada" by @sissi_noquebec (Figure 62). The influencer shares and shows pictures of proof that her life has improved after moving to Canada. Now, she can access public security and quality services, travel around Canada, find job opportunities, and buy two cars.



Figure 62. @sissi_noquebec shows her achievements since migrating to Canada.¹¹⁴

The constant sharing of personal and daily life information leads the audience to believe they have developed a trustful bond with the influencers (Atiq et al. 2022). Users can go as far as to feel they *know* the influencer and belong to their social circle. This trustworthy relationship with their audience allows influencers to successfully sell and promote products. One example is Flora, who purchased an education consultancy service from a Brazilian immigrant influencer because of their similar backgrounds:

I found her on Instagram because my research was mainly in the health sector in Québec. So, it was focused. And then, as she was from Recife, she was someone I would communicate and I would have something in common. So, I consulted with her two, almost three years ago. (Flora, Zoom conversation, January 23, 2024, my translation).¹¹⁵

¹¹³ “Foi muito vendido em redes sociais, que era só chegar, porque mesmo sem inglês, sem francês, você consegue trabalho, comer e tudo mais. E meu marido não tinha inglês nem francês, e a gente veio contando com a esperança dele conseguir o trabalho para fazer o suporte financeiro [...] A gente passou, o meu marido, por um aviso prévio, agora ele está sem trabalho, então a gente está passando por uma situação mais complicada.” (Helena, March 9, 2024).

¹¹⁴ Source: Instagram account by Siandra Cavalcanti (@sissi_noquebec), *4 years in Canada*, April 20, 2023, Instagram, <https://www.instagram.com/p/CrQmnpPY/>

¹¹⁵ “Encontrei ela no Instagram, porque a minha pesquisa era basicamente área de saúde no Québec. Então, era um foco. E aí, como ela era de Recife, era uma pessoa que me comunicaria de maneira mais fácil, acho que teria uma coisa em comum. Então, eu fiz uma consultoria com ela há dois, quase três anos atrás.” (Flora, January 23, 2024).

By constantly promoting their journeys and migration-related services, Brazilian immigrant influencers built a seller-customer relationship with their audience on Instagram (Tseng 1997; Fombrun 1996). The overtly positive representations of life in Canada articulated through the comparisons with life in Brazil introduced prospective migrants to a consumption good – the Canadian Paradise (Fombrun 1996; Harvey et al. 2018). The creation of this product became possible due to the insider perspective accumulated by influencers and the lack of knowledge that prospective migrants had about Canada as a migration destination information (Dekker et al. 2018). Through the representations mobilized on Instagram, prospective migrants started associating life in Canada with specific values and characteristics, such as i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure that depicted Canada in an overtly positive way. This scenario is put into evidence when interviewees what they thought of Canada before migrating:

Everything is more incredible, [...] if you were to compare it [Canada] with Brazil, it's a first world country. The health is incredible, the education is incredible, right, everything is organized [...] It's a very organized country, everyone is very polite [...] and [purchasing power], you can buy things of the same quality and everything. So, I thought, oh, my daily life will improve (Camila, March 6, 2024, my translation).¹¹⁶

After engaging in their migration journeys, interviewees showed a different perception of migration to Canada. Similarly to dissatisfied customers who buy a product guided by a seller's recommendations, which later fail to materialize, these newcomers describe a different – yet more real – Canada after migrating. This experience Canada does not have the distorted qualities promoted by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram (Darke et al. 2010; Bozkurt and Gligor 2019):

If someone says, oh, I want to go to Canada. Yes, you can come. But know that, you will go through difficulties, just like I think in any country you're in. Don't come thinking, oh, it's a first-world country, everything here is easy, oh, wow, I need to go to the hospital, I'm going to be treated right away. (Camila, March 6, 2024, my translation).¹¹⁷

This mismatch creates dissatisfaction and translates to how respondents perceive the content shared by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram. Participants now see influencers as sellers that promote services to access the main product advertised: Canada. While this reinforces the idea of the 'Canadian Paradise' as a consumption good, the perception that influencers *sold* Canada through idealist representations and services introduces the notion of economic gain, which pertains to the migration industry (Hernandez-Leon 2005). This finding places Brazilian immigrant influencers as digital migration intermediaries who found in their migration journeys to Canada a way to monetize it (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013):

¹¹⁶ “Tudo mais incrível, assim, né, se fosse comparar também com o Brasil. É um país de primeiro mundo, a saúde é incrível, a educação é incrível, tudo é organizado [...] é um país muito organizado, todo mundo é muito educado [...] Então, [...] [o poder de compra] você consegue o que você ganha, você consegue comprar coisas de igual qualidade e tudo, então, assim, eu pensei, ah, vou ter uma melhora, uma melhoria no meu dia a dia” (Camila, March 6, 2024).

¹¹⁷ “Se alguém falar, ah, eu quero ir pro Canadá, tipo, sim, pode vir, mas saiba que você vai passar por dificuldades, assim, como eu acho que em qualquer país que você esteja. Mas não vem pensando, ah, é um país de primeiro mundo, tudo aqui é fácil, ah, nossa, preciso ir no hospital, vou ser atendido de cara.” (Camila, March 6, 2024).

I disagree a lot, but I understand why they [influencers] do this, there is a very large financial network in social media, when you work [...] on Instagram, [...] you start to receive partnerships, you receive a commission for this type of thing. So I see that influencers are nothing more than companies, where people are the face, but as a human being I think it's very dangerous for you to deceive certain things and not be completely sincere because you're messing with people's reality, [...] I am very, very disappointed with the lack of humanity of influencers who do not have social responsibility when talking about certain things, to have clickbait, to have numbers, and thus support themselves on the internet here in Canada. (Helena, Zoom conversation, March 9, 2024, my translation).¹¹⁸

This section sought to answer the second specific research question guiding this thesis, which explores how Brazilian newcomers perceive the migration-related content from Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram they accessed during their migration journeys to Canada. Overall, the 10 newcomers interviewed for this thesis expressed to have changed their views about this type of content. While during the early stages of their migration journeys, participants found in influencers a valuable source of insider knowledge to understand life in Canada, they now see that these actors were financially motivated (Dekker et al. 2018; Beech 2018; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013). These different views arose when participants did not experience ‘the Canada’ they saw on Instagram after migrating. Participants also understand that influencers are destination sellers or digital migration intermediaries that need to rely on an overtly positive representation of Canada as an advertisement strategy to promote migration-related services (Tseng 1997). Further, this section has shown that these digital migration intermediaries engage in informal/formal facilitation by joining their insider knowledge with more formal migration service providers, which contributes to breaking the binary understanding of migration intermediaries (Spaan and Hillman 2013). While participants now see a more realistic Canada and highlight the economic motivations guiding Brazilian immigrant influencers, these actors were able to shape their destination choices through the representation built around the ‘Canadian Paradise.’

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts by five Brazilian immigrant influencers and the interviews with 10 Brazilian newcomers who accessed migration-related content on Instagram and arrived between 2022 and 2023 to answer the main research question guiding this thesis: ***“How do Brazilian immigrant influencers’ construction of Canada’s destination reputation shape the migration destination decision of Brazilian immigrants who ultimately choose to live in Canada?”*** This thesis found that Brazilian immigrant influencers depict Canada’s destination reputation as a ‘Canadian Paradise’ containing i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. Influencers rely on home-host comparisons that exacerbate the benefits of Canada

¹¹⁸ “Eu discordo muito, mas eu entendo porque eles fazem isso, existe uma rede financeira muito grande em rede social, onde quando você trabalha [...] no Instagram, [...] você começa a receber parceria, você recebe comissão por esse tipo de coisa. Então eu vejo que os influenciadores nada mais são do que empresas, onde a cara são as pessoas. Só que como ser humano eu acho muito perigoso você ludibriar determinadas coisas e não ser completamente sincero, porque você está mexendo com a realidade das pessoas, [...] então fico muito, muito decepcionada com a falta de humanidade de influenciadores que não têm a responsabilidade social ao falar de certas coisas, pra ter clickbait, pra ter números, e com isso se sustentarem de internet aqui no Canadá”. (Helena, March 9, 2024).

vis-à-vis Brazil to build these representations (Harvey and Groutsis 2015; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). Yet, these comparisons emphasized the benefits of a newer migration for economic gain, which contributed to building a distorted view of Canada for their audience (Barbosa 2009; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). At the same time, participants saw Brazilian immigrant influencers as a valuable source of information due to their shared identities and experience in migrating to Canada (Dekker et al. 2018; Beech 2018). This scenario contributed to building expectations about life in Canada that did not materialize, which led to a change in how they now perceive migration-related content on Instagram. Still, the ‘Canadian Paradise’ was relevant in shaping migration decisions among the Brazilian newcomers interviewed for this thesis.

8. Conclusion

Choosing a migration destination is a complex process that requires access to a wide range of information. During the decision-making process, individuals rely on different online and offline connections to understand the socio-economic conditions of possible destinations, which will help them rank and ultimately decide where to migrate (Harvey 2023). The importance of these digital and offline social networks in shaping destination reputation and guiding migration decisions is well documented in the literature (Thulin and Vilhelmson 2016; Bertoli 2018; Crawley and Hagen-Zanker 2019). Moreover, the literature has widely explored the relevance of financially motivated offline actors – migration intermediaries – in building destination reputation to promote services (Hugo 1996; Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). However, there is a gap in understanding the role of digital migration intermediaries in shaping aspirations and choices through the information they convey to prospective migrants about different destinations (Wanicka 2023). This thesis has sought to fill this gap by exploring immigrant influencers as digital migration intermediaries who use online platforms to build destination reputation representations of their host country that ultimately shape the migration destination choices of their audiences.

This thesis focused on understanding the representations Brazilian immigrant influencers built of Canada’s destination reputation on Instagram and how these shaped migration decisions among co-nationals. For this purpose, I relied on the literature on destination reputation and digital migration to highlight the role of the ‘connected migrant’ in creating representations about different destinations (Diminescu 2008; Grubanov-Boskovic et al. 2021). I also chose an understudied migrant group and social media platform to further contribute to scholarship (Barbosa 2009; Smoliarova and Bodrunova 2021). This thesis then highlighted the relevance of Brazilian immigrant influencers in building Canada’s destination reputation and shaping destination choices among Brazilian newcomers.

The main finding I obtained from the content analysis of 30 Instagram posts made by five Brazilian immigrant influencers and the interviews with 10 Brazilian newcomers that arrived between 2022-2023 is that Canada’s destination reputation is represented as a ‘Canadian Paradise’ consisting of i) solid social conditions, ii) prosperous economic opportunities, and iii) quality public infrastructure. By highlighting these aspects as relevant points in their migration journeys,

Brazilian immigrant influencers depicted the ‘Canadian Paradise’ as a destination where Brazilian migrants would no longer experience the socio-economic hardships found in their home country. Influencers then built the ‘Canadian Paradise’ through home-host country comparisons as their main strategy to showcase the comparative advantage of life in Canada vis-à-vis Brazil (Harvey and Groutsis; Tseng 1997). The need to introduce the benefits of this newer migration destination led to the use of partial and exaggerated information as two underlying strategies that contributed to distorting life in Canada to their audience (Barbosa 2009; Spaan and Hillman 2013; Spaan and van Naerssen 2018). Through these comparisons, Brazilian immigrant influencers became reputation builders for Canada and reputation damagers for Brazil (Harvey and Groutsis 2015).

My second finding revealed that the 10 interviewees changed their perceptions about the migration-related content accessed during their migration process. It is worth saying that during interviews, only one interviewee noted that being a woman in Brazil was a decisive point in emigrating and choosing Canada. These interviewees expressed that while they were in the early stages of their journeys, they found the information conveyed by Brazilian immigrant influencers on Instagram to be a crucial source of information to understand life in Canada. Participants found in influencers an informational bridge that connected them to an insider perspective about Canada, which was useful throughout their decision-making process (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Dekker et al. 2016). Yet, this migration-related content introduced participants to an idealized idea of Canada that, after migrating, did not materialize. This difference between expectations and reality reshaped their perceptions of the representations built by influencers. Now, Brazilian newcomers interviewed expressed that influencers on Instagram sold them an idealistic Canada – the ‘Canadian Paradise’ – for personal monetary enrichment (Dekker et al. 2018). By building Canada’s destination reputation to promote migration-related services, Brazilian immigrant influencers mobilized their insider and informal knowledge about Canada to act as destination sellers to their public on Instagram (Dekker et al. 2018; Fombrun 1996; Harvey et al. 2018). The commodification of this informal knowledge, through the promotion of migration-related services, contributed to placing Brazilian immigrants as digital migration intermediaries that shaped migration final choices among co-nationals by representing a ‘Canadian Paradise’ (Sorensen and Gammeltoft-Hansen 2013).

The construction of the ‘Canadian Paradise’ reveals two phenomena. First, actors disseminating content on social media platforms continue to reproduce narratives that portray an idealized version of the Global North vis-à-vis the Global South (Jandric and Kuzmanic 2015). This type of ‘digital colonialism’ became evident in the mismatch participants reported about life in Canada (Jandric and Kuzmanic 2015, 41). While the mismatch was guided by the limited information participants had about this destination, the articulation of the ‘Canadian Paradise’ by influencers, allied with the idealized perceptions participants shared about Canada, highlights the prevalence and the digitalization of a long-standing colonial discourse that continues to place the Global North as an advanced and developed destination.

Second, immigrant influencers facilitate migration across state borders. By using social media affordances to spread information and build destination representations of their host country, these influencers show that media and migration infrastructures are intertwined (Leurs and Seufferling 2022). The outcome of this dynamic is the digital migration industry, a space where

immigrant influencers activate mobility aspirations to a wider and online audience for economic purposes (Hernandez 2008; Burrell and Anderson 2008). As influencers, they center their digital personas on selling and promoting products through their experiences, which, in their case, place their migration journeys at the center of the content shared on social media (Santiago and Castelo 2020; Almeida Santos et al. 2023). The commodification of their journeys, alongside the partnerships with formal migration facilitators, opens a formal/informal channel of intermediation that exposes migrants to a wide range of actors and different types of migration risks (Dekker and Engbersen 2014). While the ‘Canadian Paradise’ is the end product of the commodification of a destination through the mobilization of this digital migration industry, it is also the result of a new type of migration risk (Dekker and Engbersen 2014; Hernandez-Leon 2005).

With this thesis, I hoped to contribute to highlighting the relevance of non-state actors that shape international migration while shedding light on the emergence of a digital migration industry (Hugo 1996; Hernandez-Leon 2005; Preiss 2022). The choice of an underexplored migrant group and non-traditional migration infrastructures for this project reflected the aim to bring forward new experiences and ways of conducting migration beyond the traditional state-centric approach in migration studies. At the same time, by focusing on a small sample of participants, this thesis offered a limited account of Brazilian migration to Canada and the role of immigrant influencers in intermediating migration. Moving forward, I suggest that future research explore other actors inside the digital migration industry, different digital migration intermediaries, and map the socio-economic characteristics of Brazilians choosing to migrate to Canada.

9. References

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10. Appendix

Annex 1

Immigrant Influencer
Post Title
Date of publication
Province of residence
Migration push and pull factors <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the push factors that motivated emigration from Brazil? 2. What are the pull factors that attracted migration to Canada?
Immigration Influencers as migration experts <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How do these immigrant influencers build public trust and visibility? 2. What type of hidden/special information do they share with their audience? How is this information relevant to shape Canada’s destination reputation?
Life experiences in home/host country <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How is life in Canada represented in this post? 2. How is life in Brazil represented in this post? 3. How do immigrant influencers compare life in Brazil and Canada?
Destination reputation in home/host country <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How is Canada's destination reputation articulated in this post? How do they highlight positive/negative destination reputation features? 2. How is Brazil’s reputation articulated in this post? How do they highlight positive/negative reputation features? 3. How is Canada depicted as a desirable destination to live in? What are the strategies they mobilize and how do they do that? 4. How is Brazil depicted as a less desirable country to live in? What are the strategies they mobilize and how do they do that?

Annex 2

Immigrant Influencer	Post	Link
farofademaple	“Is it better to be poor in Brazil or Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtFdoFApFqE/
	“How much does my car cost in Canada and Brazil?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cr1quQYJcAz/
	“It’s better to be a factory worker in Canada than a designer in Brazil”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsHxbd-pPML/
	“Expensive things in Brazil but really cheap in Canada”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CnfhNxkhM9M/
	“How is a hospital in Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CeUgXtypZcQ/
	“How much does a medical exam cost in Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CscHGA5pV5v/
paulanocanada	“Is Canada safe?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cw74mZ9ulhG/
	“How much do I spend on my kids? Brazil x Canada”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CsE7HMfJ_OQ/?img_index=1
	“Do you regret moving to Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cpn2rALOQbk/
	“Is it possible to buy healthy food for 20 dollars in Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CkJqRJRJ5Oi/
	“Having a car in Canada”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpIxi3MjM65/
	“The average salaries in Canada will leave you astonished!”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CpvlBY8OnNO/
casalnerdnocanada	“I would not buy this in Brazil”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CtmsQIjJ4Ot/
	“I cried because I had to go back to Brazil”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CqA9lOWuBgc/
	“What does quality of life mean?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CinLNslNW71/
	“How would you feel if this happened to you in Brazil?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ch8BPSfpHdL/
	“What do you love the most about Canada?”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cwka4weuv0o/
	“The price of groceries and hours worked”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CvQWaTOJlei/
grudesnocanada	“Purchasing power difference between Brazil and Canada”	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cds5LaUlusg/
	“In Brazil, I worked as a dentist. In Canada, I work as an office cleaner”	https://www.instagram.com/p/CWLC-popKJa/

	"The price of sunscreen in Canada."	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cc2zVHzJYJ2/
	"Are you going to validate your dentist diploma?"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CO_ZHY0Jz8y/
	"The price of groceries in Canada"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CdD1VySlGTx/
	"Brazilians arriving in Canada and seeing job offers to work as cleaners."	https://www.instagram.com/p/CXZbSCfFPYz/
sissi_noquebec	"Was migrating worth it?"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CPWzxUvMleC/
	"A video showing what we can find in Dollarama"	https://www.instagram.com/p/Ce9wG2TrVTw/
	"I am leaving Brazil after this election"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CkbXhD6O6vS/?img_index=1
	"Bye, I'm going to Canada"	https://www.instagram.com/p/Cb-OzepMHIU/
	"It's difficult to talk about leaving or staying"	https://www.instagram.com/p/B068sIAFsNS/
	"4 years in Canada"	https://www.instagram.com/p/CrQmnipmPY/

Annex 3

Questions (English and Portuguese)

1. Why did you decide to leave Brazil? (*Por que você decidiu deixar o Brasil?*)
2. Did you have other countries besides Canada on your migration destination list? If so, why did you decide to choose Canada over these other destinations? (*Você considerou outros países além do Canadá como possíveis destinos migratórios? Se sim, por que você decidiu escolher o Canadá e não esses outros lugares?*)
3. Why did you choose Instagram (a social media platform) to gain information about migration? Did you consult other sources? If so, which sources and how do the information they provide compare to the content you found on Instagram? (*Por que você escolheu o Instagram (uma rede social) para obter informações sobre migração? Você consultou outras fontes? Se sim, quais fontes e como elas se comparam ao conteúdo que você achou no Instagram?*)
4. Did you use any of the services offered by Brazilian immigrant influencers? If so, which services and what made you choose them over other service providers? (migration consultant discounts/sessions, English/French classes, e-books, CV/cover letter assistance, etc) (*Você utilizou algum dos serviços oferecidos por influenciadores imigrantes*)

brasileiros? Se sim, quais serviços e o que fez você escolhê-los em lugar de outros prestadores de serviços? (serviços como: descontos/sessões de consultoria de migração, aulas de inglês/francês, e-books, assistência em fazer CVs/cartas de apresentação, etc.)

5. How did you perceive Canada's destination reputation before arriving in Canada? And how do you perceive Canada's destination reputation now that you live here? *(Como você percebia a reputação do Canadá como destino migratório antes você chegar no Canadá? E agora que você mora no Canadá, como você percebe a reputação do Canadá como destino migratório?)*
6. How do you perceive the image immigrant influencers give of Canada's destination reputation? In which ways do you agree or disagree with these representations? *(Como você percebe a imagem que os influenciadores migrantes passam sobre o Canadá como destino migratório? De que forma você concorda ou discorda dessas representações?)*

Annex 4

Survey questions in Portuguese.

Influenciadores migrantes brasileiros e migração para o Canadá

Olá!
Sou mestranda do curso de Ciências Políticas da Concordia. Estou começando a trabalhar na minha tese que trata sobre o papel dos influenciadores migrantes na promoção do Canadá como destino migratório.

Obrigada por participar!

Os participantes serão selecionados por meio de um sorteio aleatório entre todas as inscrições recebidas. As pessoas selecionadas serão contatadas para explicar o processo de entrevista.

Email *

Your email _____

Uso do Instagram como ferramenta para acessar conteúdo relacionado à migração *

Eu usei o Instagram para acessar conteúdo relacionado à migração

Não usei o Instagram para acessar conteúdo relacionado à migração

Quando você imigrou para o Canadá? *

2022

2023

Gênero *

- Feminino
 - Masculino
 - Outro
 - Prefiro não dizer
-

Idade *

- 18-29
 - 30-39
 - 40-49
 - 50-59
 - 60-69
 - 70+
-

Nível de escolaridade *

- Ensino Médio incompleto
- Ensino Médio completo
- Ensino superior incompleto
- Graduação completa
- Mestrado
- Doutorado
- Prefiro não dizer

Qual é a sua cor ou raça/etnia? *

- Amarelo
- Indígena
- Branco
- Pardo
- Preta
- Prefer not to say

Em que região você morava antes de ir para o Canadá? *

- Norte
- Nordeste
- Sudeste
- Sul
- Centro-Oeste

O Canadá já estava na sua lista de destinos antes de acessar conteúdo relacionado à migração nas redes sociais? *

- Sim
- Não

Quando você começou a acessar conteúdo relacionado à migração no Instagram? *

- 6 meses antes de decidir que iria migrar
- 1 ano - 6 meses antes de decidir que iria migrar
- 2+ anos antes de decidir que iria migrar

Que tipo de informação te motivou a procurar conteúdo relacionado à migração no Instagram? *

- Vida no Canadá (custo de vida, serviços para recém chegados, achar moradia, acesso ao sistema de saúde, etc)
- Formas de migrar para o Canadá (entender melhor a burocracia, documentos necessários para migrar, tipos de programas de migração, tipos de visto, etc)
- Oportunidades de trabalho e estudo

Você acessou conteúdo de influenciadores migrantes não brasileiros nas redes sociais? *

- Sim
- Não

Contato (telefone/email) *

Your answer

Submit

Clear form