

**The Birth Tourism Bubble: The increasing cases of Russian mothers giving birth in
Brazil**

Minerva University

SS111— Modern Economic Thought

Prof. Digby

April 26, 2023

The Birth Tourism Bubble: The increasing cases of Russian mothers giving birth in Brazil

Contextualization

In March 2023, the Brazilian newspapers Globo and Folha de S. Paulo reported on an increasing number of Russian mothers-to-be making the transatlantic journey to Brazil to give birth to Brazilian babies, totaling more than 38 new citizens in just one city since the beginning of the year (Braun, 2023; Mantovani & Lopes, 2022; Friguetto, 2023). As of 2022, 121 children had been born in Florianópolis, which has risen dramatically since 2016, particularly in light of the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian conflict (Friguetto, 2023). Argentina's numbers are also skyrocketing, with officials registering a remarkable 2500 women in the country, which is expected to increase to 10,000 shortly (BAE Negocios, 2023).

The astounding rise of what appeared to be worldwide child trafficking prompted authorities to launch an inquiry, concluding that this activity is legal (Braun, 2023; Mantovani & Lopes, 2023; Friguetto, 2023). It is worth mentioning that the practice is endorsed by the legislation of *jus soli* (by right of soil), a phenomenon widespread in the Americas and Brazil (see Figure 1), as those born in the territory are lawful citizens regardless of their parents' original citizenship (Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2022). Brazil also allows for quick naturalization for the child's parents, who frequently apply for legal residency and citizenship within a year (Ministério da Justiça e Segurança Pública, 2020). There are challenges to this process, however, which led to the supply of packages for support navigating a new continent with a foreign language is projected to start at 5,000 USD, with "first-class" packages reaching 15,000 USD (Braun, 2023; BBC, 2023).

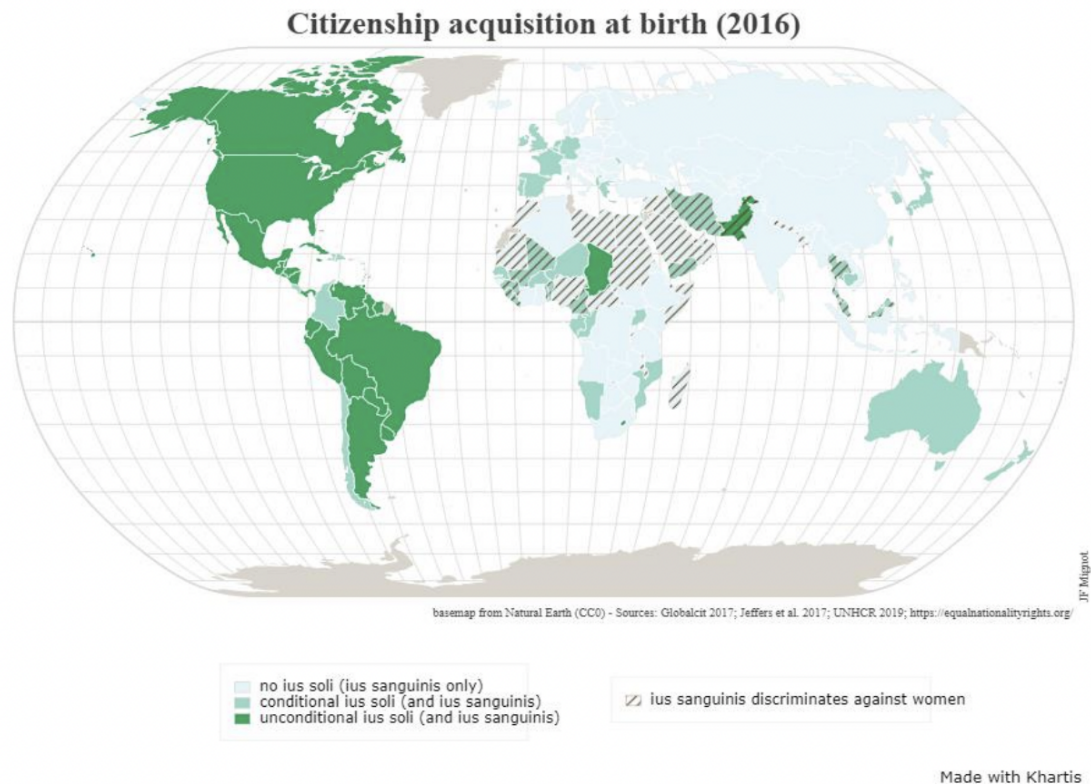


Figure 1. The map depicts countries with unconditional birthright citizenship, or *jus soli*, in dark green (Mignot, 2019). And although the map is from 2016, most countries with *jus soli* are in the Americas.

The main reasons for relocating to another continent to give birth, according to interviews, are the possibility of obtaining a better passport for their future children and possibly themselves, as well as better care and treatment, warmer weather, and cheaper services — both Brazil and Argentina have public healthcare systems for foreigners (Braun, 2023). It is possible that, given both countries' diversity, there will be less stigma and hurdles to the practice than in the United States (Auvil, 2017; Grant, 2016; Feere, 2010).¹

¹ **#context:** the first section of the essay, the contextualization, serves as an introduction to explain the basics of the topic. I include reasons why birth tourism happens as well as how, providing evidence from laws and societal

This paper examines Brazil's birth-giving market's economics and bubble-like behavior, considering birthright citizenship's legal status (Article 12 of the Constitution). Specifically, the paper will focus on the recent surge in pregnant women traveling to Brazil to give birth and the subsequent demand and supply of unregulated maternity and citizenship services. The Brazilian government will not regulate this market in the short term because it seeks to attract educated and financially stable immigrants through visa policies that favor "more desirable" immigrants from developed countries.²

The economics, commodification, and neoliberalism of the birth tourism industry

In an analogous study, Voigt and Laing (2010) suggest that pregnancy and labor are not simply biological circumstances but also individual and social experiences subject to social and economic forces, frequently culminating in their "commodification" alongside the healthcare system. Healthcare is viewed as a public benefit, and under a consumerist model, individuals transition from "patients" to "clients" and "consumers," and healthcare providers become "suppliers," transforming this interaction into a "market exchange" (Voigt & Laing, 2010). The authors then address whether pregnant women see themselves as consumers and how much this consumer choice and power extend (Voigt & Laing, 2010).

With the rise of reproductive tourism, "babymoons," and birth tourism, one could argue that neoliberalism's commitment to an open and free market result in a frequently poorly regulated birth tourism industry with private corporations providing pregnancy and birth care,

expectations. I also raise multiple perspectives when analyzing rationality and ethics and possible counterarguments later in the essay.

² **#thesis:** I composed thesis that detailed, specific, and defensible relevant to the topic of the essay. I later expanded on why birth tourism can be considered a bubble and why regulating the market is not of interest to the Brazilian government in the following sections.

commodifying citizenship (Ji & Bates, 2017). At least in the United States, it has become profitable for travel firms to offer packages to foreign parents interested in having a child who is a US citizen (Ji & Bates, 2017).

Logically, international trade increases the size of the economic pie, and if importing immigrants is like importing a widget, immigration must also be beneficial (Borjas, 2018). However, Borjas (2018) also argues that calculating the impact of immigration requires understanding human behavior too.

It is bubbling

Malkiel (2010) provides an overall understanding of bubble manias: bubbles deviate from an asset's fundamental value due to its rise above the level justified by efficient economic fundamentals; they frequently begin with an exogenous factor that can be rationally interpreted due to behavioral biases. In other words, a bubble is a mispricing of asset prices that interferes with the efficient allocation of resources and is caused by a speculative mania that is difficult to detect ex-post and ex-ante and frequently results in a reinforcing feedback loop (Malkiel, 2010).

Let us begin with the external factors: the ongoing Russian-Ukrainian war, which has prompted various nations to sanction Russia, allowing Russian passport holders to travel to only 87 of the 195 visa-free countries (Visa Guide, 2023). On the other hand, a Brazilian or Argentine passport allows visa-free entry into 130 and 131 countries, or nearly 67% of the world, respectively. Nomad Capitalist, a YouTube channel, advised prospective parents to have their children in Brazil as part of their "passport portfolio "since "no one hates the Brazilians" (Nomad Capitalist, 2019).

Aside from the ongoing conflict and travel mobility, there is another behavioral bias to consider. Russian moms have also mentioned additional factors that impact their decision to give

birth in another country, including "humanized childbirth," because obstetric violence is frequent in Russia (Braun, 2023).

Regarding mispricing, the service to migrate and give birth can cost up to 15,000 USD (BBC, 2023). However, unlawful activity has been recorded in Argentina, with a criminal organization providing both Russian parents with quick but illegal paperwork allowing residency in the nation, charging 35,000 USD for the service (Braun, 2023). It is worth mentioning that both Argentina and Brazil provide free healthcare to foreigners, considerably lowering the cost of the "service" if they choose to have one. The huge price increase is an indication of an illegality-related bubble.

Regarding the feedback loop, another non-quantifiable and non-rational variable comes to mind when considering the maternal aspect: the trust involved when counting on the support of other Russians who have been through the same process (see Figure 2).

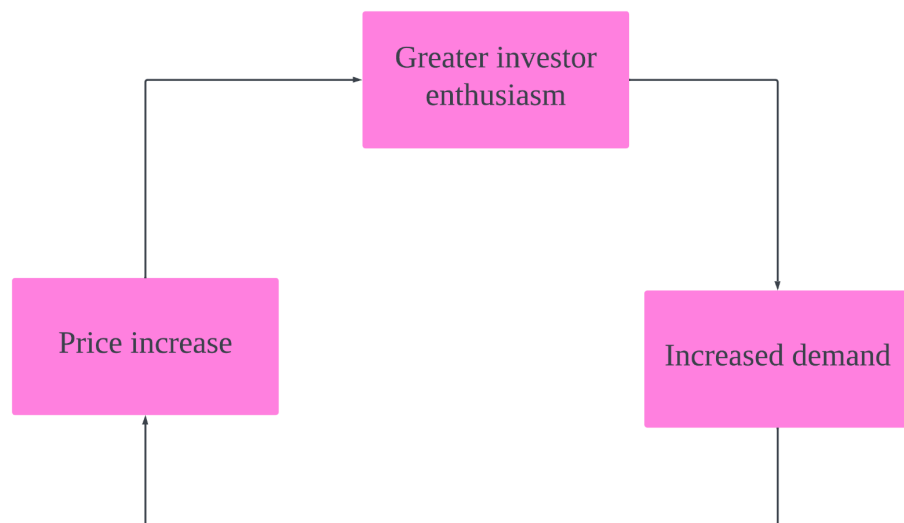


Figure 2. Reinforcing feedback of irrationality that drives bubbles. There is no incentive to leave the loop, especially when there is the trust component with other Russian services in Brazil. This explains why packages prices can go from 5,000 USD to 35,000 USD so quickly,

Ethical considerations and rationality

Because of the nature of the product, ethical concerns must be addressed. How does one calculate the value of something? Ganti (2022) and Lansing (2007) argue that rationality can exist in bubbles due to the expectation of the present value increasing in the future (Brazilian citizenship is an investment for future generations) or that people behave in self-interest, which is not entirely irrational. It is not illogical for parents to want "what is best" for their children in their unique way (Wang et al., 2015).

It is due to self-interest if they choose to pay exorbitant prices for a "better passport" and quality of life. Nevertheless, ethical considerations are crucial given that the topic deals with children. According to Wisor & Perry (2022), Kantianism favors doing what is "best" for your child no matter what, as it is the right thing to do. A case can be made that rational behavior does not always have to be monetary but emotional.

Given that *jus soli* is perfectly legal in both Brazil and Argentina, there are no legal grounds why it should be considered immoral. Utilitarianism maximizes utility for the majority (Wisor & Perry, 2022); the question now is whether awarding citizenship to parents who do not intend to live in these nations benefits the majority. Alternatively, regarding ethical issues for vulnerable children, would it be morally proper to separate a baby from their parents? After all, while a citizen cannot be deported, what about their parents? The Brazilian government supports this ethical concern, as indicated by Article 12 of the Brazilian Constitution, which reduces ordinary naturalization from four years to one based on family requirements (Ministério da Justiça e Segurança Pública, 2020).

Ganti (2022) proposes counterarguments to the assumption that bubbles can be (relatively)

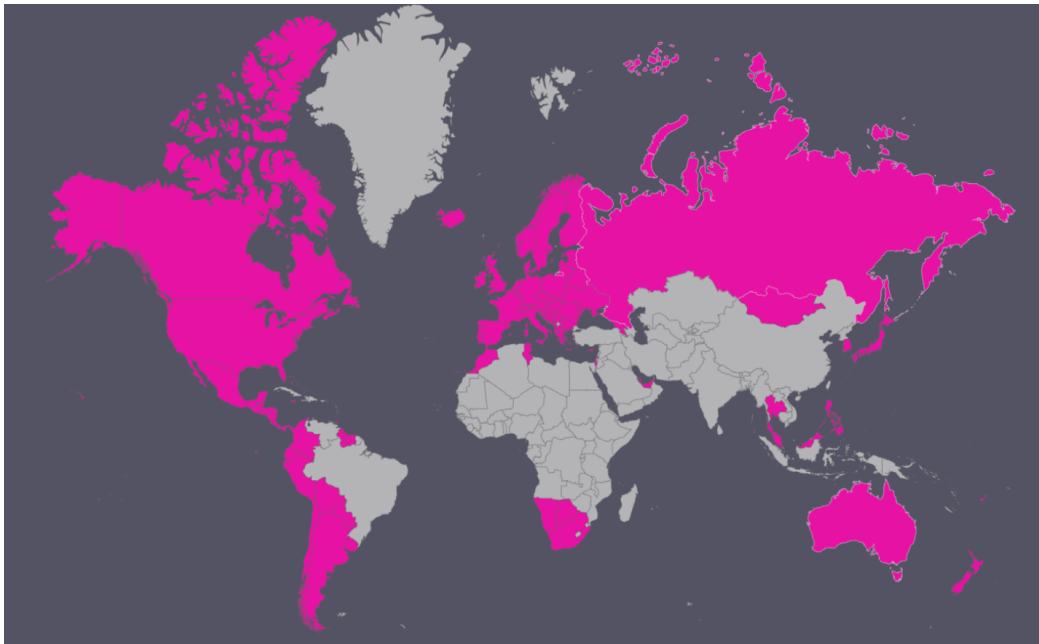
reasonable, particularly in the context of humans not always rational. Like neoclassicism critics, humans are not rational machines that compute the utility of every decision because they do not always know what they want, and perfect information is practically impossible to obtain (Ganti, 2022).

Another dilemma of rationality and ethics concerns whom the Brazilian government permits to engage in this practice. Yes, *jus soli* are universal regarding parentage, but who can enter Brazil is filtered. Russians can stay in Brazil for 90 days without a visa (Ministry of External Relations, 2023); the profile of individuals engaging in the practice, according to Braun (2023), is medium and upper-class educated Russian ladies who can afford the voyage. What about Venezuela's millions of refugees and Angolan immigrants (Nemitz, 2022)? Brazil's filter is not about who can be naturalized but about who can enter the nation in the first place. The maps below are a list of countries that can enter Brazil without a visa for up to 90 days³ (see Figure 3) (Ministry of External Relations, 2023); notice that most countries are either Mercosur countries or considered "developed" and European countries (World Population Review, 2023). This is a self-interested, racist, and xenophobic immigration policy.⁴

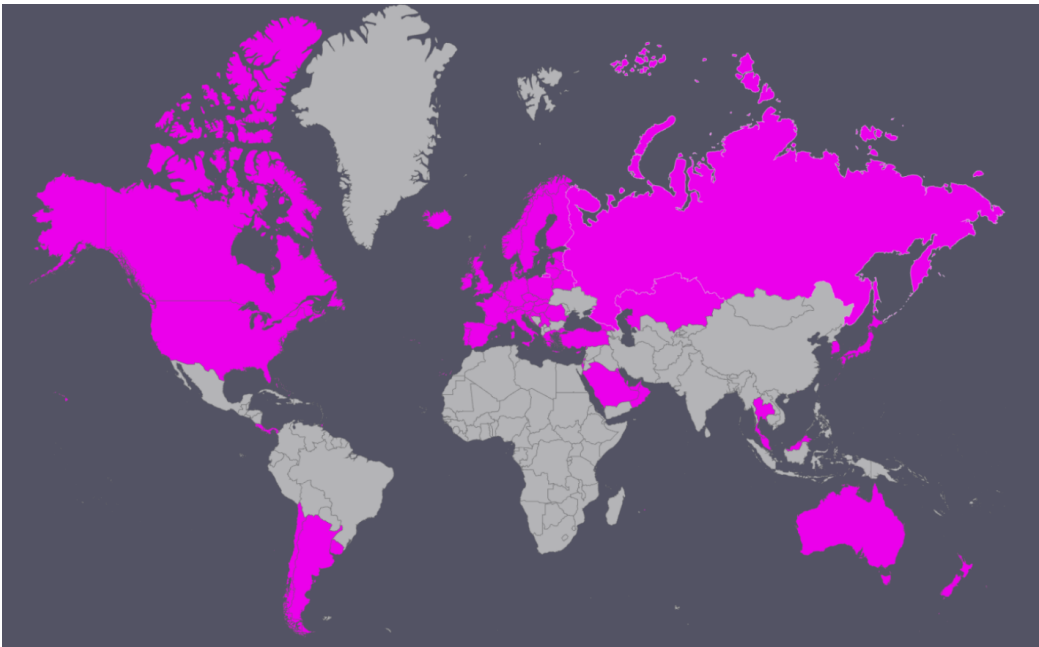
³ I opted to analyze only visa-free entrances up to 90 days due to the common knowledge that pregnant women should not travel by plane in the last month of the pregnancy due to health concerns, excluding passports that allow visa-free entrances for 30 days (ex: Singapore).

⁴ **#ethicalconsiderations:** I effectively and clearly explain the ethical considerations associated with birth tourism as well how different schools of thought would perceive the matter (ex: utilitarianism). I used ethics to further explain my analysis of rationality in bubble-like behavior.

a)



b)



***Figure 3.** The world maps using the Mercator projections are visual representations of the allowed a visa-free entry to Brazil up to 90 days ((a) top) and the 2023 list of developed countries ((b) bottom). Apart from the slightly different color, the maps are too similar to be considered a coincidence. It is worth noting that not all Mercosur countries (Argentina, Brazil, Paraguay, and Uruguay) which allow visa-free entrance for 90 days are included in the list of developed countries.⁵*

Regulation is a risky move

The risks are still unknown since birth tourism in Brazil and Argentina is a speculative bubble. However, traveling north and analyzing the analogous consequences in healthcare in the United States and Canada is possible.

The OECD (2003) defines *risk* as a combination of the probability of a crisis and its potential damage; a systemic risk affects the system on which a society depends, in this case, health. Mass migration in a globalized world increases the risks of infectious diseases (OECD, 2003), as with Covid-19. Travel restrictions in Canada due to the pandemic are correlated with a decrease of almost 8% compared to 2020-21 and almost 52% compared to 2016-20 in the number of "non-resident self-pay" birth in Canada (Griffith, 2022).

⁵ **#dataviz:** Although I applied this HC throughout the paper (ex: figure 1), this is my strongest application. I originally intended to include the countries as a list, but opted for a more visual representation using a Mercator projection. This was intended to visually compare both lists and realize that the maps are quite similar.

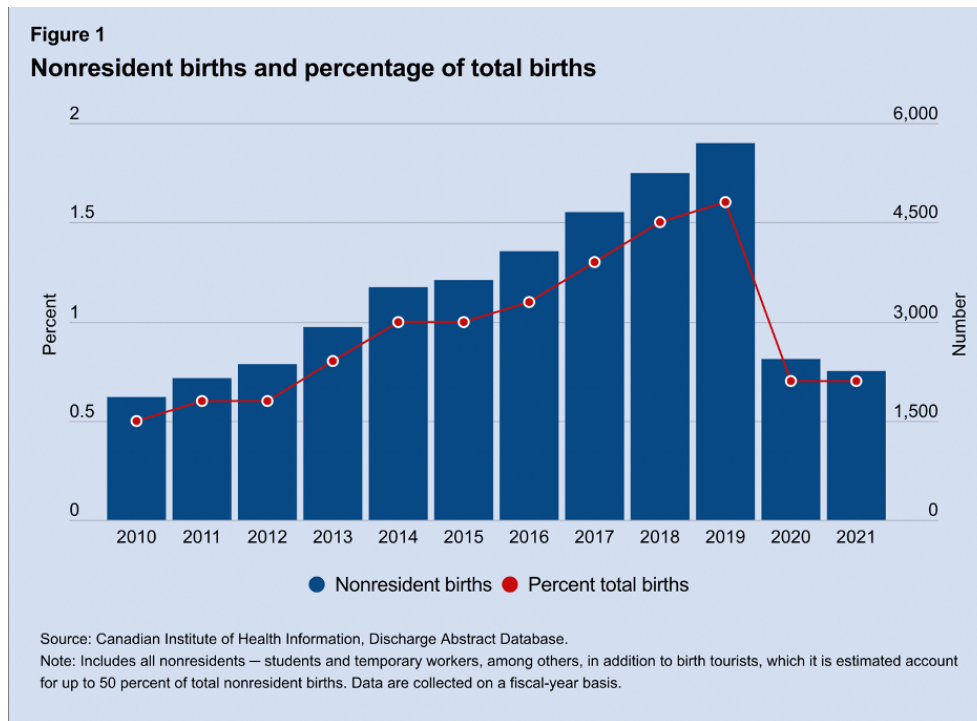


Figure 4. Graph provided by Griffith (2022) on how visa and immigration regulation during the pandemic drastically reduced birth tourism in Canada.

This is all speculative, and there are no indications in Argentina, Canada, or the US that this increase in birth tourism will systematically impact the economy to require a monetary or fiscal policy. Griffith (2018), in the table below, outlines three main ways Canada and Brazil, by proxy, can control birth tourism:

Idea	Explanation	Cons
Refusing visas on the grounds of birth tourism	Including a question of intent to give birth or not. Discretion of officers could include a	It is possible for officers to misinterpret intent and the short stay of birth tourists

	<p>requirement of a pregnancy test.</p> <p>Lying would result in fraudulent activity and not allowing citizenship for the baby.</p>	<p>challenge the enforcement of the law.</p>
Qualified birthright citizenship	<p>Specifying that at least one of the parents must be a Canadian citizen or permanent resident for a child to be granted citizenship and they have lived in Canada for 10 years after birth.</p>	<p>Legislative change would require a revision of provincial birth registration with significant operational and financial costs.</p>
Nonlegislative regulatory and financial approaches	<p>Taking financial action against nonresidents who give birth in Canada to discourage birth tourism and address the cases of tourists not paying their hospital bills.</p>	<p>Not addressing objections to birth tourism in principle but simply discouraging it.</p>

Figure 5. Table summarizing Griffith's (2018) ideas to reduce birth tourism in Canada. Notice that the ideas are context-oriented and that this paper only summarizes the main ideas without discussing, for example, the ethics of the ideas. Most suggestions are regulatory and fiscal, but mostly related to immigration policy.

Another suggestion would be to rethink visa policies to reduce the time Russians can remain in Brazil or even require a visa, as the current government recently did for US tourists

(Hughes, 2023). However, although this seems advantageous, regulation sparks anti-immigration sentiment explained by group conflict theory and intergroup dynamics (Gusciute et al., 2021).

Given the risks and challenges, the most dangerous aspect of regulating birth tourism in Brazil is that giving birth in the country is legal. Furthermore, mechanisms are in place to control criminal activity (e.g., the 1990 Child and Adolescent Act).

Moreover, Malkiel (2010) believes arbitrage is as risky as bubbles since the feedback loop reverses when the bubble bursts (see Figure 3). Not only that, but it is impossible to target one sector in the economy.

Although the cons for regulations are extensive, the pros list is shorter: the main advantage of regulation is the prevention of human rights violations, especially with anti-immigration laws.

Counterargument

Since bubbles are highly challenging to predict before they burst (Malkiel, 2010), arguments can be made that this new modern migration is not a bubble. Three main points apply:

- Birth tourism is controversial and could trouble the relationship between both countries, mainly due to Russia's involvement in the war and Brazil's effort to remain neutral.
- A rise in the demand for birth tourism services may or may not be sustainable or long-lasting, and it may even spark an economic bubble that eventually bursts on its own.
- Any potential birth tourism industry would be quickly eliminated if the Brazilian government tightened its citizenship laws or restricted access to citizenship for children born to foreign parents.

In conclusion

Finally, Brazil's immigration laws filter out people based on nationality, raising issues about discrimination and justice. Furthermore, the birth tourism market fuelled by Russians has grown significantly, increasing demand for increasingly expensive maternity and citizenship services. These facts suggest that until this market raises some eyebrows, the government will allow the bubble to inflate.

Word count: 2016

Use of AI

I only used ChatGPT to generate a structure of the essay (ex: introduction, bubbles, etc.), which I later changed to better apply the LOs (bubbles -> risk -> regulation). All of my work is backed up by research and sources.

References

- Allotey, A. A., Anarfi, J. K., & Kandilige, L. (2023). Birth Tourism to the United States of America and its Perceived Implications for Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 15(1), 1–34.
- BAE Negocios. (2023). *Turismo de parto: Argentina es el destino elegido por miles de mujeres rusas para tener a sus hijos*. BAE Negocios. Retrieved April 24, 2023, from <https://www.baenegocios.com/sociedad/Turismo-de-parto-Argentina-es-el-destino-elegido-por-miles-de-mujeres-rusas-para-tener-a-sus-hijos-20230103-0031.html>
- BBC. (2023, February 12). *Mais de 5 mil Russas Grávidas foram para Argentina em Busca de cidadania, dizem Autoridades*. G1. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2023/02/12/mais-de-5-mil-russas-gravidas-foram-para-argentina-em-busca-de-cidadania-dizem-autoridades.ghtml>
- Borjas, G. J. (2018). Lessons from Immigration Economics. *The Independent Review*, 22(3), 329–340. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/26314769>
- BowTiedMara. (2023, March 2). *Birth tourism industry: Most popular countries*. SovSpot. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.sovspot.com/blog/birth-tourism-popular-countries/>
- Brar, S., Kale, M., Birch, C., Mattatall, F., & Vaze, M. (2022). Impact of birth tourism on Health Care Systems in Calgary, Alberta. *BMC Health Services Research*, 22(1). <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12913-022-07522-4>
- Braun, J. (2023, March 25). *Por que cada vez mais russas viajam ao brasil para dar à luz*. G1.

- Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://g1.globo.com/mundo/noticia/2023/03/25/por-que-cada-vez-mais-russas-viajam-ao-brasil-para-dar-a-luz.ghtml>
- Burton G. Malkiel, 2010. "Bubbles in Asset Prices," Working Papers 1204, Princeton University, Department of Economics, Center for Economic Policy Studies.
- Choi, S. Y., & Lai, R. Y. (2020). Birth tourism and Migrant Children's Agency: The 'double not' in post-handover Hong Kong. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 48(5), 1193–1209. <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183x.2020.1839397>
- Donchin, A. (2010). Articles: Reproductive tourism and the quest for global gender justice. *Bioethics*, 24(7), 323–332. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8519.2010.01833.x>
- Feere, J. (2010). (rep.). *Birthright Citizenship in the United States: A Global Comparison* . Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://cis.org/Report/Birthright-Citizenship-United-States>.
- Folse, B. (2021). Strategic Citizenship in China: Birth Tourism and the “American Hukou. *Social Problems*, 70(1), 238–255. <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spab038>
- Frighetto, M. (2023, March 27). *Por Que Grávidas Russas Optam por dar à luz em Florianópolis* . dw.com. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.dw.com/pt-br/por-que-gr%C3%A1vidas-russas-optam-por-dar-%C3%A0-luz-em-florian%C3%B3polis/a-65107768>
- Gabinete do Ministro, & Ministério da Justiça e Segurança Pública, PORTARIA Nº 623, DE 13 DE NOVEMBRO DE 2020 (2020). Diário Oficial da União. Retrieved April 25, 2023,

from <https://www.in.gov.br/en/web/dou/-/portaria-n-623-de-13-de-novembro-de-2020-288547519>.

Ganti, A. (2023, January 11). *Rational choice theory: What it is in economics, with examples*. Investopedia. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.investopedia.com/terms/r/rational-choice-theory.asp>

Gonzales, A. R. (2012). An Immigration Crisis in a Nation of Immigrants: Why Amending the Fourteenth Amendment Won't Solve Our Problems. Minneapolis; Minnesota Law Review.

Grant, T. (2015). Made In America: Medical Tourism and Birth Tourism Leading to a Larger Base of Transient Citizenship. Charlottesville; University of Virginia School of Law.

Griffith, A. (2022, December 13). *Is birth tourism about to return now that travel restrictions have been lifted?* Policy Options. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/december-2022/birth-tourism-may-rise-again/>

Gusciute, E., Mühlau, P., & Layte, R. (2021). One hundred thousand welcomes? Economic threat and anti-immigration sentiment in Ireland. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 45(5), 829–850. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01419870.2021.1887910>

Huang, T.-yi M., Woo, C.-kai, & Lai, Y.-fu. (2019). Imagining accidental fetal citizens: Pregnant mainland women and the Cultural Politics of Birthright Citizenship. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 20(1), 73–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2019.1576398>

- Huang, T.-yi M., Woo, C.-kai, & Lai, Y.-fu. (2019). Imagining accidental fetal citizens: Pregnant mainland women and the Cultural Politics of Birthright Citizenship. *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 20(1), 73–90. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649373.2019.1576398>
- Hughes, E. (2023, March 15). *Brazil reintroduces visa requirement for US tourists, others*. AP NEWS. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://apnews.com/article/brazil-us-tourism-visas-lula-bolsonaro-e206025994b64fa5695484b99a807971>
- Ji, Y., & Bates, B. R. (2017). “Better than bank robbery”: Yuezi Centers and neoliberal appeals to market birth tourism to pregnant Chinese women. *Health Communication*, 33(4), 443–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2016.1278494>
- Ji, Y., & Bates, B. R. (2017). “Better than bank robbery”: Yuezi Centers and neoliberal appeals to market birth tourism to pregnant Chinese women. *Health Communication*, 33(4), 443–452. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2016.1278494>
- Kang, T. (2018). New media, expectant motherhood, and Transnational Families: Power and resistance in birth tourism from Taiwan to the United States. *Media, Culture & Society*, 40(7), 1070–1085. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0163443718782002>
- Lansing, K. J. (2007, October 26). *Asset price bubbles*. San Francisco Fed. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.frbsf.org/economic-research/publications/economic-letter/2007/october/asset-price-bubbles/#subhead2>
- Li, S. N., & Song, H. (2013). Economic impacts of visa restrictions on tourism: A case of two events in China. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 43, 251–271. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.annals.2013.07.007>

Mantovani, F., & Lopes, R. (2022, April 9). *Turismo de Parto Traz russas ao Brasil em Busca de Cidadania Para Filhos*. Folha de São Paulo. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2022/04/turismo-de-parto-traz-russas-ao-brasil-em-busca-de-cidadania-para-filhos.shtml>

Mignot, J.-F. (2019). *By soil and blood: Citizenship laws in the world*. Paris; Books & Ideas.

Ministry of External Relations. (2023). Entry Visas to Brazil . Brasilia; Ministry of External Relations.

Murillo, C. (2023, February 17). *El Círculo Rojo. de rusia a Argentina. ¿Qué es el turismo de Parto?* La Izquierda Diario - Red internacional. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.laizquierdadiario.com/De-Rusia-a-Argentina-Que-es-el-turismo-de-parto>

Nemitz, E. (2022, June 21). *African migrants in Brazil speak out*. FairPlanet. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.fairplanet.org/story/african-migrants-in-brazil-speak-out/>

OECD Publications Service, & OECD, oecd.org (2003). Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.oecd.org/futures/globalprospects/37944611.pdf>.

Pedroza, L., & Palop-García, P. (2017). The grey area between nationality and citizenship: An analysis of external citizenship policies in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Citizenship Studies*, 21(5), 587–605. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1316701>

Serviços Consulares, & Ministério das Relações Exteriores, Gov.br (2022). Gov.br. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br/embaixada-moscou/servicos-consulares/nacionalidade-brasileira-1>.

- Smink, V. (2023, February 13). *Por qué tantas mujeres Rusas viajaron a Argentina para dar a Luz en el último Año*. BBC News Mundo. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.bbc.com/mundo/noticias-america-latina-64671589>
- Spiro, P. J. (2020). Citizenship through birth. *Citizenship*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/wentk/9780190917302.003.0001>
- Thorup, M. (2023, March 13). *Top countries for birth tourism*. Expat Money TM. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://expatmoney.com/blog/top-countries-for-birth-tourism>
- Visa Guide. (2023). *Countries Argentinian citizens can visit visa free in 2023*. VisaGuide.World. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://visaguide.world/visa-free-countries/argentinian-passport/>
- Visa Guide. (2023). *Countries Russian citizens can visit visa free in 2023*. VisaGuide.World. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://visaguide.world/visa-free-countries/russian-passport/>
- Voigt, C., & Laing, J. H. (2010). Journey into parenthood: Commodification of reproduction as a new tourism niche market. *Journal of Travel & Tourism Marketing*, 27(3), 252–268. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10548401003744685>
- Wang, E., Baras, Y., & Buttenheim, A. M. (2015). “Everybody just wants to do what's best for their child”: Understanding how pro-vaccine parents can support a culture of vaccine hesitancy. *Vaccine*, 33(48), 6703–6709. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.vaccine.2015.10.090>
- Wang, S. H. (2016). Fetal citizens? birthright citizenship, Reproductive Futurism, and the “panic”

over Chinese birth tourism in Southern California. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 35(2), 263–280. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775816679832>

Wisor, S., & Perry, T. J. (2022). *Ethics and Justice in Complex Systems*. San Francisco; Minerva University.

Yam, S.-yin S. (2016). Affective economies and alienizing discourse: Citizenship and Maternity Tourism in Hong Kong. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 46(5), 410–433. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02773945.2016.1159721>

YouTube. (2019). *Giving Birth in Brazil for Second Citizenship*. YouTube. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-qxAUj9rmQ>.

YouTube. (n.d.). *Birth Tourism In Brazil - Mikkel Thorup & Sergio Von Facchin*. Retrieved April 25, 2023, from https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S_k5yy7UU00.