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Paper title: *The Brazilian role in Intra-regional Migration Growth*¹

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Abstract: In recent years, international migratory movements have become increasingly intense among Global South countries (Baeninger, 2018; Portela & Schwinn, 2018). Likewise, an increase in intra-regional migrations has been evidenced (Martinez & Orrego, 2016, p. 12 apud Villarreal, 2017a). Following the same trend, the intra-regional immigration growth in South America has risen. The present research has aimed to check if the circumstances regarding immigration in Brazil are following the same changes, but instead analyzing the immigrants' stock, as the International Organization for Migration (2017) did, it is adopting a different methodology. Through data provided by the Brazilian Federal Police, the migratory influx in the country, in recent years (2010-2016), will be analyzed and the main changes in this scenario will be highlighted. Associated with these migratory movements, some of the main causes that motivated the egress of these migrants from their places of origin will be exposed, as well as the causes that drew them to Brazil.

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1. Introduction: South-South migration development and the intra-regional migration

In recent years, international migratory movements have become increasingly intense among the Global South countries and it has caused a reconfiguration in these flows' scenario (Baeninger, 2018; Portela & Schwinn, 2018). Likewise, an increase in intra-regional migrations has been evidenced. In 2010, 63% of the immigrants were intra-regional and only 37% were from other regions, whereas, four decades ago, these numbers were 26% and 74%, respectively (Martinez & Orrego, 2016, p. 12 *apud* Villarreal, 2017a).

Following the same trend, the intra-regional immigration growth in South America has risen. In Brazil, this growth is equivalent to 20%, followed by Chile (18%) and Argentina (16%)³ (OIM, 2017). The International Organization for Migration (OIM, 2017) points out the mortality of immigrants from the 20th century and the recent regional flows as causes of this change. This assumption might be dependent on the fact that the data presented above are relative to immigrant stock and not to their annual arrival.

The present research has aimed to check if the circumstances regarding immigration in Brazil are following the same changes, but instead analyzing the immigrants stock, as the OIM did, it is adopting a different methodology. Through data provided by the Brazilian Federal Police, the migratory influx in the country, in recent years, will be analyzed. Associated with these migratory movements, some of the main causes that motivated the egress of these migrants from their places of origin will be exposed, as well as the causes that drew them to Brazil.

Some authors interpret these transformations of migratory flows through theories such as globalization⁴, transnationalism ⁵ and dependency⁶ ones. However, researchers in

³ Comparing 2010 and 2015. However, it is important to point out that, at a regional level, Argentina and Chile, have a larger share of regional immigrants than Brazil, when we consider the absolute numbers related to their migrants stock (OIM, 2017).

⁴ "With the constant reduction in the transportation costs and the emergence and popularization of new telecommunication technologies, the phenomenon of globalization occurs with a significant increase in mobility at the international level" (FGV, 2012, p. 16).

⁵ "We define transnationalism as the processes through which immigrants construct social fields that connect them to their country of origin and their country of settlement. Immigrants who build social fields are called transmigrants. Transmigrants develop and maintain multiple relationships - with their family, economic, social, organizational, religious, political - which cross borders" (Solé, Parella e Cavalcanti, 2008, p. 13).

⁶ "This theory understood the underdevelopment of the 'Third World' as a result of its resources exploitation (including labor) through colonialism, while in the post-colonial period the dependency has been perpetuated by unfair and unequal terms of trade with powerful developed economies" (PUC, 2014, p. 54).

the field, such as De Hass (2010; 2014), Villarreal (2017b) e Nicolao (2008) corroborate with the idea that there is not a single justification capable of encompassing all spheres of human displacement and that several connected factors contribute to its explanation and transformation. Therefore, we will also see this interweaving of factors throughout this article.

Carrying out a statistical analysis of international migration is a challenge-filled task, we can point out the accessibility, reliability and comparability challenges, among others (Bengochea & Saucedo, 2018). Considering this, two delimitations will be made in the next section of this paper. One of them is temporal and the other one spatial. The first clipping occurs between the years 2010 and 2016⁷, while the latter regards the region of South and Latin America⁸, in particular, the immigration flow to Brazil.

2. Immigration in Brazil and its main causes

In Brazil, in accordance with the international scenario, the characteristics of migratory flows have been changing. As Faria (2015) highlights in his book, until 1980, Brazil was considered a destination country, however from that time on, domestic and international changes have triggered "emigratory flows that continue to the present day" (p. 66). However, "since the 2000s, with a resurgence of the economy, among other aspects, Brazil has progressively become a country of destination". In 2016, Latin American and the Caribbean inflows were predominant in the country. We confirmed this by conducting research based mainly on the data provided by the Brazilian Federal Police (PF)¹⁰, through the Federal Government's Access to Information System ¹¹. With the aim of highlighting the main changes in the inflows of foreigners in Brazil between the years of 2010 and 2016, the situations ongoing in some of the countries, which are the main places of origin of these flows, will be outlined. This will be done in order to identify some of the causes that influenced these specific migratory cases and, simultaneously, the

⁷ It happened because the Brazilian Federal Police was not prepared to provide these data update with the inclusion of the year 2017.

⁸ Including the Caribbean region.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ These data are from the National Registration Foreigners System (SINCRE), linked to the Federal Police Department. However, it should be pointed out that this information base also presents some limitations because, among other factors, they have no statistical purposes and were not designed to record the migratory movement. Thus, they do not necessarily reflect the migratory reality of the country, but rather its approximation.

¹¹ Created through Law number 12,527, which allows any citizen to request information from organs and entities of the Federal Executive Power, since these are not confidential: https://esic.cgu.gov.br/sistema/site/acesso_info.html.

possible reasons that have made Brazil the destination for these people.

The intra-regional migration growth in Brazil does not only happen in the immigrants stock, but also in the annual number of arrivals. However, the proportions are remarkably different. Considering South America, while the stock growth from 2010 to 2015 was 20% in the intra-regional immigration to Brazil (OIM, 2017), in the second methodology, this proportion drops to 7% (e-SIC, 2017). In 2010, Brazil received 54 thousand immigrants and, in the following years, this number continued increasing ¹². In 2015, the Brazilian Federal Police recorded, approximately, 117 thousand people and, approximately, 126 thousand in 2016 ¹³. From 2010 to 2015, the majority of the immigrants who arrived in Brazil were classified by the PF as temporary ¹⁴, while in 2016, the main flow received was composed of permanent immigrants ¹⁵, followed by the temporary and border ones ¹⁶.

In 2010, approximately 32% of the immigrants arriving in Brazil were from South America and 34% from Latin America¹⁷ (e-SIC, 2017). In 2015, these proportions were 34% and 49%, respectively, which shows the Latin American and the Caribbean influx grew considerably¹⁸. In 2016, this amount almost doubled, compared to 2010, surpassing 64%¹⁹. In the same year, the five main nationalities of the people who arrived in Brazil were from Latin America²⁰, while from 2010 to 2015, countries in Asia, Europe and North America, such as China, the United States, Portugal and the Philippines, were part of this group. Taking this growth into account, other than the OIM considered years (2010; 2015) and region (South America), this paper will also look at the influx from Latin America and the Caribbean region and the year of 2016.

2.1. Extra-regional immigration

In 2010, a typhoon passed through the Philippines, leaving about 200,000 people displaced (BBC, 2010). This event was probably one of the factors that influenced the Filipinos arrival growth in Brazil. It is a possibility because in the year following this

¹² Ibidem.

¹³ Ibidem.

¹⁴ They have a visa for a maximum of 2 years.

¹⁵ Generally, they have a visa with a minimum duration of 4 years.

¹⁶ They live in foreign municipalities contiguous to Brazilian municipalities, but are authorized to transit, work, study and enjoy public health services, in the contiguous municipality.

¹⁷ Including the Caribbean region.

¹⁸ Ibidem.

¹⁹ Ibidem.

²⁰ Respectively, the Republic of Haiti, Colombia, Bolivia, Argentina and Uruguay.

natural disaster, the archipelago was in the group of the five main nationalities of foreigners who entered the Brazilian territory. Other factors are related to the better economic conditions in Brazil and the labor demand, especially for domestic services, as well as the establishment of Filipino social networks in the country.

Regarding European immigration, specifically from Portugal to Brazil and from Spain to other South American countries, one can correlate it with the crisis of 2008 and with the ease of language, due to the fact that the recipient countries are their former colonies. In addition, as an explanatory factor we can mention ease of entry for these collectives, due to previous migratory agreements and the presence of important communities of descendants from these countries, as well as the important role of Brazil's economic growth, its greater demand for workers and its international position as an emerging power in the Lula era.

The international economic situation and Brazilian internal development brought workers to the country (Pereira, 2011). In 2011, Portuguese, Bolivian and Chinese people were ahead in the "regularization indexes of the Department of Foreigners of the Ministry of Labor"²¹. Concerning the Chinese people, Paulo Abrão, who held the position of National Secretary of Justice from 2011 to 2014, said that the increased presence of this group is "a phenomenon that occurs all over the world, especially in countries that have trade relations with China" (Brasil, 2011). Furthermore, between the year 2004 and 2014, Argentina, Brazil and Chile granted approximately 50,000 residence permits to Chinese migrants (OIM, 2017). Regarding the United States, among the South American countries, the International Organization for Migration verified that Brazil and Ecuador are the countries with the highest numbers of Americans in their territory.

2.2. Intra-regional Immigration

In 2016, Haitians, followed by Colombians and Bolivians, represented the largest group of immigrants arriving in Brazil. Since its independence, Haiti has experienced several moments of political instability, such as dictatorships and coups d'état, which have acted as a brake on its development. Conjointly, there is the country's precarious economic conditions (OIM, 2017). For years, these factors have stimulated an outflow of Haitians from the country. However, in 2010, a natural disaster further destabilized Haiti and significantly increased this flow. There was an earthquake in which thousands of people died and, to

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²¹ Ibidem.

this day, the country has not yet been much restructured.

From 2004 until the beginning of the second half of 2017, the Brazilian government led the United Nations Mission for the Stabilization of Haiti. This mission contributed to the rapprochement of these countries and was one of the reasons that made Brazil the destination of many Haitians. This is now the main destination of Haitians in South America and between 2010 and 2016, approximately 70 thousand residence concessions were approved for this group (OIM, 2017)²². Besides the mission, we can also talk about the imaginaries about Brazil as an emerging power, the demand for labor and the relative ease for this group to ingress. Other important elements were the approval of a liberal immigration legislation and low traffic controls towards Brazil in states such as Ecuador and Peru, without which the arrival of this collective would have been very difficult.

On the other hand, Colombians, for decades, experienced "an armed conflict with groups of guerrillas, especially with the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), which caused more than 220,000 deaths [mostly civilians], more than 7 million victims and inhibited the full development of the country" (Lafuente, 2015). This situation and the problems triggered by it, such as hunger and fear, induced several people to leave the country. Between 2010 and 2016, the Brazilian Federal Police registered the entry of 34,225 Colombians into the country.

According to the UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) representative, "the beginning of the peace dialogue [which took place a few years ago] was important, but the Colombians continue to leave the country because they are not confident that the process will work. There is a lot of skepticism and most people think the situation will not change radically" (Voz da Barra, 2014). Among other reasons, Colombians and immigrants from member and associated countries with the Southern Common Market (Mercosur) choose to migrate to Brazil due to the possibility of entering the country without needing a visa and to benefit from the agreement on residence for nationals of Mercosur member states²³.

Bolivia has faced difficulties in its economic, social and political spheres. This situation, along with factors such as the existence of Bolivian social networks and communities in the Brazilian territory stimulate them to come to Brazil. Historically,

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²² "In particular, there is a milestone in the increase number of residences granted since 2010, when Brazil established a humanitarian visa system, emitting more than 40,000 of them in Port-au-Prince" (OIM, 2017). ²³ In force since the beginning of 2009, enacted by Decree number 6975 de 07/10/2009.

Bolivian immigration was predominantly a cross-border kind but, recently, it acquired "new contours in its distribution in Brazil, highlighting its importance in the daily life of the São Paulo metropolis" (Baeninger, 2012).

Currently, the Venezuelan immigration flow has also been highlighted. In recent years, Venezuelans, now under the administration of Nicolás Maduro, have faced a political and economic crisis. This situation is aggravated by the oil prices devaluation, which is considered the greatest Venezuelan wealth (Santos; Vasconcelos, 2016). With the closure of the passage from Venezuela to Colombia, on the orders of the Venezuelan president, the migration alternatives of this population were reduced (Melo, 2016). In order to escape from the chaos that these situations entail, such as "rationing of energy, long queues in supermarkets and high crime rates that have increased social discontent, protests and looting"²⁴, many Venezuelans have come to Brazil. In 2017, more than 40 thousand (EFE, 2018) Venezuelans came to Brazil and in the first four months of 2018, the PF had already registered the arrival of more than 58 thousand people²⁵.

As we can see, several variables that influence the transformations of migratory flows. Among these, we have the ones pointed out by Nicolau (2008), such as the stiffening of the Northern countries' borders ²⁶, as they become more selective in admission procedures for foreigners, changing their migratory routes, the "asymmetry in the levels of economic development between regions and countries" (p. 38), attracting people from the least developed countries to the more developed ones, the aging of the population in certain countries, generating the need of an economically active population, as well as "situations of internal political instability and armed conflicts" (p. 49), "civil wars, ethnic and religious conflicts" (p. 52), natural disasters and others.

These flows are dynamic, they are also linked to heterogeneous causes and have different characteristics. In the Brazilian context, we can include the country's role as an emerging power and the advertisements related to hosting mega-events, such as the World Cup and the Olympic games, which turned Brazil into an attractive destination for new migratory flows. At the same time, we have the fact that Brazil has borders with some of

policies have strongly focused on the control and security structures development" (FGV, 2012, p. 23)

²⁴ Ibidem.

²⁵ Nonetheless, Brazil is not the main destination of this population. At a regional level, we can think of countries such as Colombia, Ecuador and Chile and, at an extra-regional level, the United States and Spain. ²⁶ The "percentage of developed countries whose governments adopt restricted immigration policies has grown steadily until the end of the 1990s. However, with the aging of the population of developed countries in Europe, there was a significant reduction in this percentage [...]. Although, as a result of the fateful events of 2001, with the terrorist attack on the twin towers of the World Trade Center in New York, immigration

these countries from which the flows originate and participates in regional integration processes or bilateral and multilateral agreements with them, which also creates migratory possibilities.

3. Brazilian legislation in the migratory context

Prior to the adoption of the New Immigration Law (Law number 13.445/2017), what we had was the Foreigners' Statute (Law number 6.815/1980), approved at the end of the dictatorship and considered "an authoritarian law, with a vision of the migrant influenced by the ideology of national security" (Assis, 2018, p. 610). In the last decades, we have made advances such as the regularization of foreigners and progress also related to "humanitarian aspects, protection, and the free movement of Mercosur workers" (Oliveira, 2017). However, these were not able to meet the demands of the current migratory conditions.

In 2013, Senate Bill 288 was proposed. It was elaborated with the assistance of "government agencies' representatives, international institutions, parliamentarians, experts [in the field], invited scholars [...] [and a] broad participation of civil society, through social entities, NGOs [(Non-governmental organizations)]" (Assis, 2018, p.617). In 2017, after 20 embargoes, this Bill was sanctioned by the president, Michel Temer, replacing the Law number 6.815/80 and 818/49²⁷.

It can be considered an advance in the migratory matter (Assis, 2018; Oliveira, 2017). In the progress achieved, Assis (2018) punctuates "the approach of migration from the notion of human rights, the non-criminalization of migrations and the fight against xenophobia"; the simplification of the "process to obtain documents that legalize the immigrant's permanence in Brazil, as well as regularizes the access to the labor market and to public services"; the repudiation of the imprisonment of immigrants "because they are illegal aliens in the country"; the permission "to immigrants manifest themselves politically, for peaceful purposes, by joining political meetings and unions"; and "as it is a migration law, it also addresses Brazilians living abroad"; and the institutionalization of humanitarian visa policy, "which is currently only given extraordinarily, to Haitians and Venezuelans" (p. 619).

However, even with these significant advances, it is necessary to follow up on the implementation of these new rules, to certify that these are in fact put into practice.

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²⁷ Law number 818/49 dealt with the acquisition, loss and reacquisition of Brazilian nationality.

Keeping track of this process will also allow us to perceive what other changes are still desirable. Considering this is a scenario in constant transformation, the mechanisms that deal with it require a constantly updated performance to answer the situation in a feasible way.

Conclusion

The effects of decisions taken by countries in the North, associated with periods of crisis, as well as interconnections between countries, for instance, the integration agreements, the links among the peoples of these countries, such as the cultural ones, the transnational networks and others, stimulated the growth of these horizontal and also intra-regional flows. Nevertheless, in each examined case, these factors were articulated in different ways. These circumstances are in accordance with Nicolao (2008), Hass (2010; 2014) e Villarreal (2017b) writing.

The fact that Brazil shares a border with several countries and participates in regional integration processes, such as Mercosur, has stimulated an increasing number of regional immigrants. Analogously, there were advertisements related to hosting megaevents, such as the World Cup and the Olympic games, conjointly to the Brazilian economic growth and the demand of labor force, which turned Brazil into an attractive destination for new migratory flows.

In analyzing the role of Brazil in this increasing process of intra-regional flows, it is evident that the country's position, as the destination of these flows, has stood out in the last years. The intra-regional migration growth in Brazil, does not only happen in the immigrants stock, but also in the annual number of arrivals. However, the proportions are remarkably different. Regarding this, the paper also highlights the importance of different methodological analysis related to the migratory flows, which is hampered due to the lack of availability and transparency of necessary information.

These new flows confirm a tendency established in the country at the beginning of the century and are changing the image about migrations in Brazil. Now, it has been seen as a country of arrival of people within the framework of South-South intra-regional flows. These migration flow changes bring challenges for the country in terms of welcoming and integrating these new groups, as well as guaranteeing rights coupled with non-discrimination. Considering this, the normative and political spheres of the State have been remodeled, pursuing a better adaptation to the current situation.

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