

Population Review

Volume 56, Number 1, 2017

Type: Article pp. 68-101

International Migrations to Brazil in the 21st Century: Profile, Outlook and Trends

Author: Roberto Rodolfo Georg Uebel

Affiliation: Graduate Program in International Strategic Studies (PPGEEI), LABETER, CESPRI, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Porto Alegre, Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

Corresponding author/address: PPGEEI - Faculdade de Ciências Econômicas - Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul - Av. João Pessoa, 52 - sala 33A - 3º andar - CEP 90040-000 - Centro - Porto Alegre, RS, Brazil

email: roberto.uebel@ufrgs.br

Abstract

This paper analyses immigration flows in Brazil and their dynamics and networks during the first two decades of the 21st century using thematic cartography and quantitative data analysis. Interpreting information obtained through field research in four regions of the country, we infer that Brazil is following the standard routes and global agenda of international migrations. The main findings of the research point to an increase in the flow of non-traditional countries of origin, especially those from the Caribbean, West Africa and Asia. The post-2015 trends of immigration flows point to a sharp fall after two immigration booms, possibly due to worsening economic and political factors. It is inferred that historical migrations from countries from the Iberian Peninsula and Latin America impacted the consolidation of Brazil, which was the main recipient country of these immigrants during the economic crises of 2008 and 2012. An attempt is made to identify the primary migratory flows of economic immigrants and refugees from each continent towards Brazil in the present context.

Keywords

Brazil, international migrations, 21st century

Introduction

The theme presented in this article arises from the transformations and repercussions of the contemporary socio-spatial structure of Brazil within the context of the global demographic, economic and political transformations that have taken place.

Research on international migration to Brazil has gained contemporary prominence since Bacha and Klein (1989) identified the year 1985 as a watershed on relations between Brazil and global scales (networks) in distinct sectorial issues. Such issues cover the re-opening to democracy in the country and the new characterization of the Brazilian territory for the reception of foreign immigrants.

Over the course of three decades, this unfolding scenario led, to significant transformations in the relations of Brazilian citizens and the newly arrived immigrants (Di Méo and Buléon 2005), making it possible in this social space – both in terms of social and territorial conception – to assess the new territorialities of immigrants who are in the country as actors of the immigration process and are replicating in different degrees their specificities and processes.

The displacement of people during the past three decades was heavily influenced by the transformation of the relations and scales at the international level. For example, ethnic and civil conflict, natural disasters and economic and labour conditions have promoted displacement on a global scale (Rosière 2007). At the national level, conditions are related to the use of Brazilian space and government policies on borders and sectoral immigration. At the regional level, conditions are related to issues of labour, social assistance and other factors related to immigration.

With the expansion of international capitalism in the last two decades of the 20th century and its stabilization in central countries, as well as its attractive growth in the peripheral countries in the first decade of the 21st century, numerous specificities took space and gained prominence in the economic, social, political and geographical spheres.

Among the specificities, population growth and demographic expansion, coupled with the growing demand for better working conditions, life and well-being, conjured up a subject that was recurrent between the end of the 19th century and the eruption of the Second World War, and international migration, *a posteriori*, was forgotten or subjugated to restricted national punctualities.

Economic international migrations, however, also occur between different countries, which is another feature of the development of capitalism as it develops differently among countries (Cardoso and Faletto 1979). Recent history cannot be well understood without considering the interaction between countries through their respective populations, especially migratory movements due the expansion of investments, trade and territorial expansion by the State. The identity of many countries is increasingly being linked to the international movement of different people.

Brazil received close to 5 million immigrants between the 9th century and the end of the 1940s (Santos et al. 2010) and subsequently stagnated, then received mostly Jewish, Syrian, Lebanese and Palestinian refugees. Over the past two decades, as revealed by the 2000 and 2010 Censuses

performed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE), a significant increase in the number of authorized and undocumented immigrants and refugees entered the country. These immigrants selected Brazil for different reasons, but a desire to secure better employment was paramount, even though such employment was analogous to slavery in some cases (Ranincheski and Uebel 2014).

The resumption of immigration flows to Brazil in the 21st century was addressed by various authors (Zamberlam et al. 2009; Baeninger 2013; Póvoa Neto et al. 2016), leading to a greater interest by the media and society on new “mass-migrations” to Brazil. As a consequence, the following questions ensued:

- What motivates the great migratory flows towards Brazil that have increased during the last two decades?
- What are the main Brazilian regions that have received these migratory flows?
- What are the main groups of immigrants who chose the Brazilian territory, and what is their relation to labour, refuge, economic development, demographic growth, etc.?
- What have been the repercussions of these immigrant groups on Brazilian society and economy?

With these questions in mind, in this article we present the migratory panorama in Brazil after the year 2000, focusing on the data providedⁱ by the Brazilian Ministry of Labour and Employment, Ministry of Justice, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics and the Federal Police, which were compiled and mapped to obtain a real expression of the Brazilian migratory outlook, which had until the end of 2016 a number of almost two million immigrants, about 1 percent of the total population of Brazil.ⁱⁱ

On methods and data

As shown in footnote 2 at the end of this article, the data used to perform the present analysis were obtained through the Access to Information Act from the three Brazilian official bodies that conduct migratory counting: the Federal Police, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) and the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MTE).

At the time this article was written, the Brazilian Observatory for International Migration (OBMigra), which is linked to MTE, was still in its infancy. In 2015, OBMigra began to compile and clean up the available statistical data on migrations and started to publish a yearbook and periodic reports.ⁱⁱⁱ When the research was completed, however, the first yearbook was not yet available.

We sought to compile our own tables based on the data provided by official bodies without considering other categories of foreigners, such as stateless, naturalized or Brazilian citizens of dual nationality, as well as asylees. At the end of the article, in the aforementioned footnote, a link is provided for consultation to the obtained tabulated and primary data.

Our decision-making and data compilation follow a method used by Patarra (1996) and Baeninger 2012, who pioneered the study of international migrations in Brazil, using statistics from the demographic censuses combined with data on the 20th century from the Federal Police.

The types of maps and figures used to illustrate and translate the quantitative data used herein deserve clarification. We are aware that there are different forms available for cartographic representation of immigrant groups and their countries of origin (as in the case of this research). We chose, however, to follow the “bubble” models used by Réseau MIGREUROP (2012) – models that have been well accepted by the scientific community. The models were originally based on the proposals of Dent (1985) and MacEachren (1994), referential authors in modern thematic cartography. Thus, although there are other ways of mapping the countries of origin and nationalities of immigrants in certain countries, we chose the model that, in our judgment, is more didactic, plain and accessible to most readers. For the lay reader, the use of maps of this type brings the benefit of rapid comprehension by the size (not the colour) of the representative bubbles.

Our descriptive analysis of the data and the maps created with the ArcGIS software emerge as a background for the migratory phenomena that occurred in Brazil’s recent history. The analysis is not limited to pure description. We use contemporary literature as a basis for explaining these phenomena, their trends and repercussions in Brazilian society – a multicultural and unequal society.

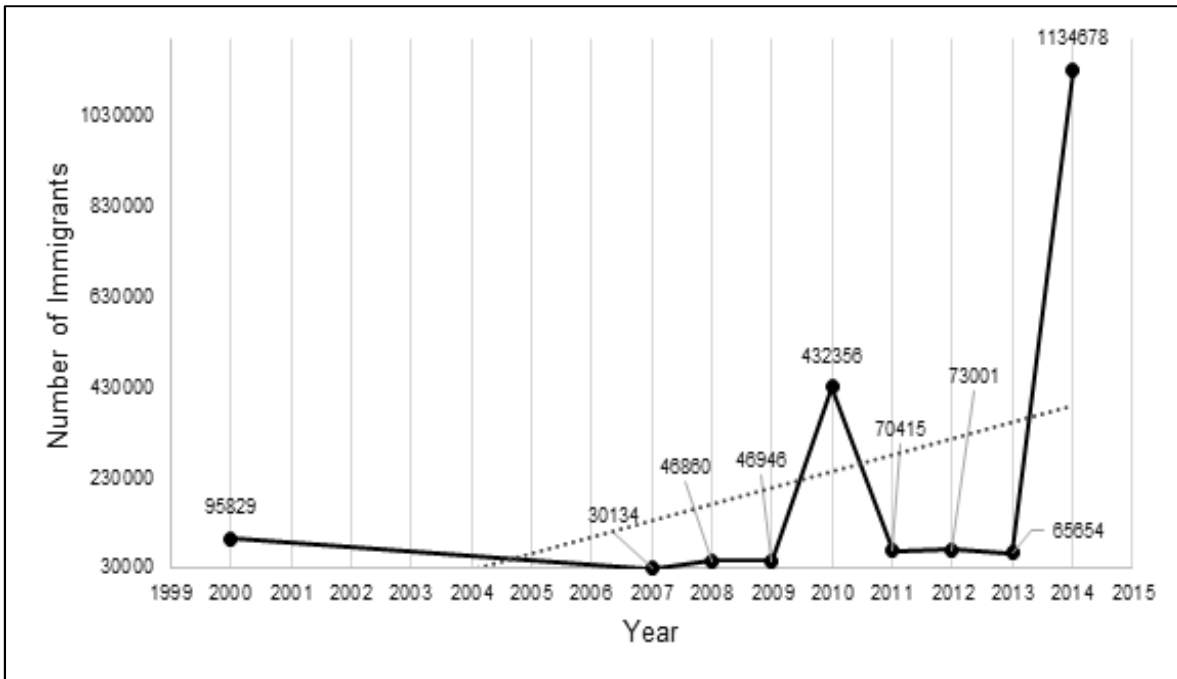
Evolution of international migrations towards Brazil between the years 2000, 2010 and 2015

The graphic and cartographic analysis of the evolution of the number of immigrants and their origin was based on several sources: statistical data from the 2000 and 2010 censuses; annual data (2007-2015) from the Federal Police and General Coordination of Immigration (CGI, a sub-organ of the MTE); and data compiled for the year 2015. The counting of immigrants in Brazil is performed mainly by three federal bodies: the Ministry of Labour and Employment (MTE), the Ministry of Justice (with data from the Federal Police) and IBGE.

In addition, we used the following definition of immigrant: “*Immigrant populations or communities are composed of individuals who have migrated to a state other than the one in which they originate*” (Rosière 2007: 339).

Graph 1 (next page) was constructed using statistical tables from the census for the years 2000 and 2010, and data for 2015. It represents the evolution of the historical series of the number of immigrants in Brazil from the year 2000. Graph 1 shows that instead of following a trend line with continuous growth (dotted line), the country experienced a first immigrant boom from 2010 with a subsequent decline and a second boom between 2013 and 2014. This is far above statistical projections and refutes the hypothesis that the country goes through an immigration “cyclicity” (Massey 1988; Mera 1988; Solimano 2003), that is, immigration cycles such as those that occurred in the first half of the 20th century.

Graph 1. Historical series of the number of immigrants in Brazil, in 2000 and from 2007 to 2015



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Note: The dotted curve is the linear trend.

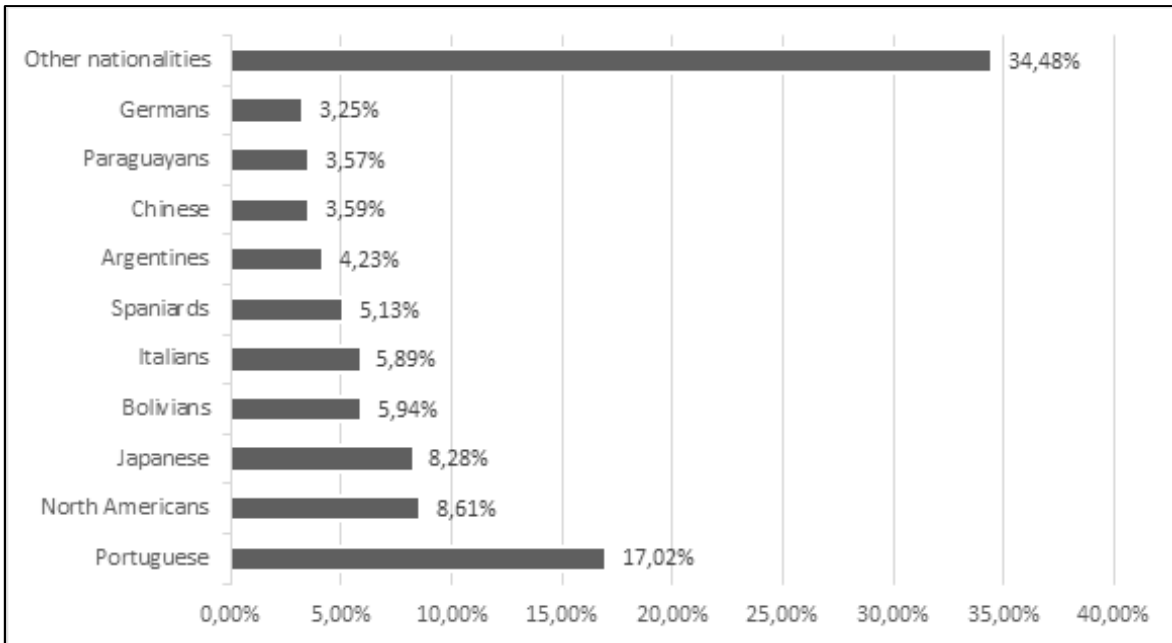
Graph 2 (next page) summarizes the participation of the main immigrant groups in the population composition of the country, showing the 10 largest concentrations of immigrants in Brazil from 2007 to the end of 2015. The total number of immigrants in Brazil between 2007 and 2015 was 1.9 million, surpassing the 600 thousand estimate that was made by the government and the press.

As an instrumental aid to the inference of the statistical variations of immigrants, Graph 3 (next page) was drawn up, depicting the ranking of the 20 main nationalities of immigrants and their evolution, based on the comparison of the year 2015 in relation to the years 2010 and 2000.

These 20 main differences indicate a change in the economic and structural multi-polarization in Brazil, which began to appear earlier at the beginning of the last decade, with a greater projection of the insertion of Brazil into the international agenda. Immigrants were attracted to specialized positions. Skilled labour was in strong demand, which during the decade did not show considerable internal growth to meet this demand.

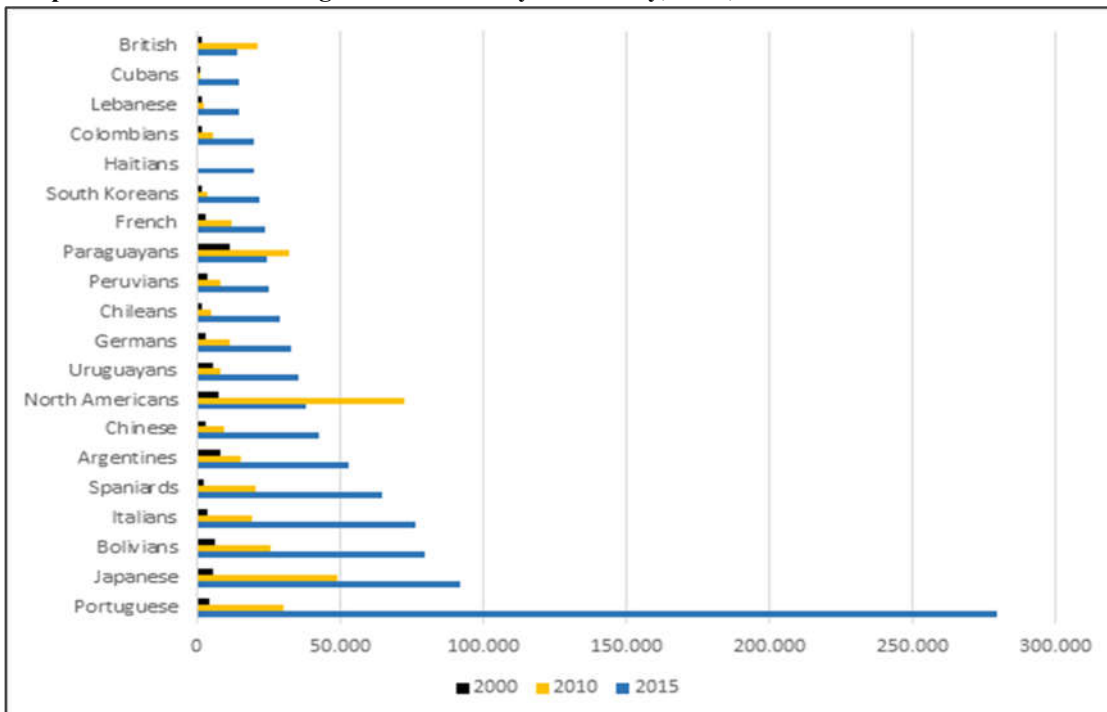
In order to guide the understanding of bubble maps in the following sections, Map 1 (p.52) shows the annual and color-categorized variations of international migratory flows toward Brazil.

Graph 2. Percentage representation of the ten largest immigrant groups in Brazil, between 2007 and 2015



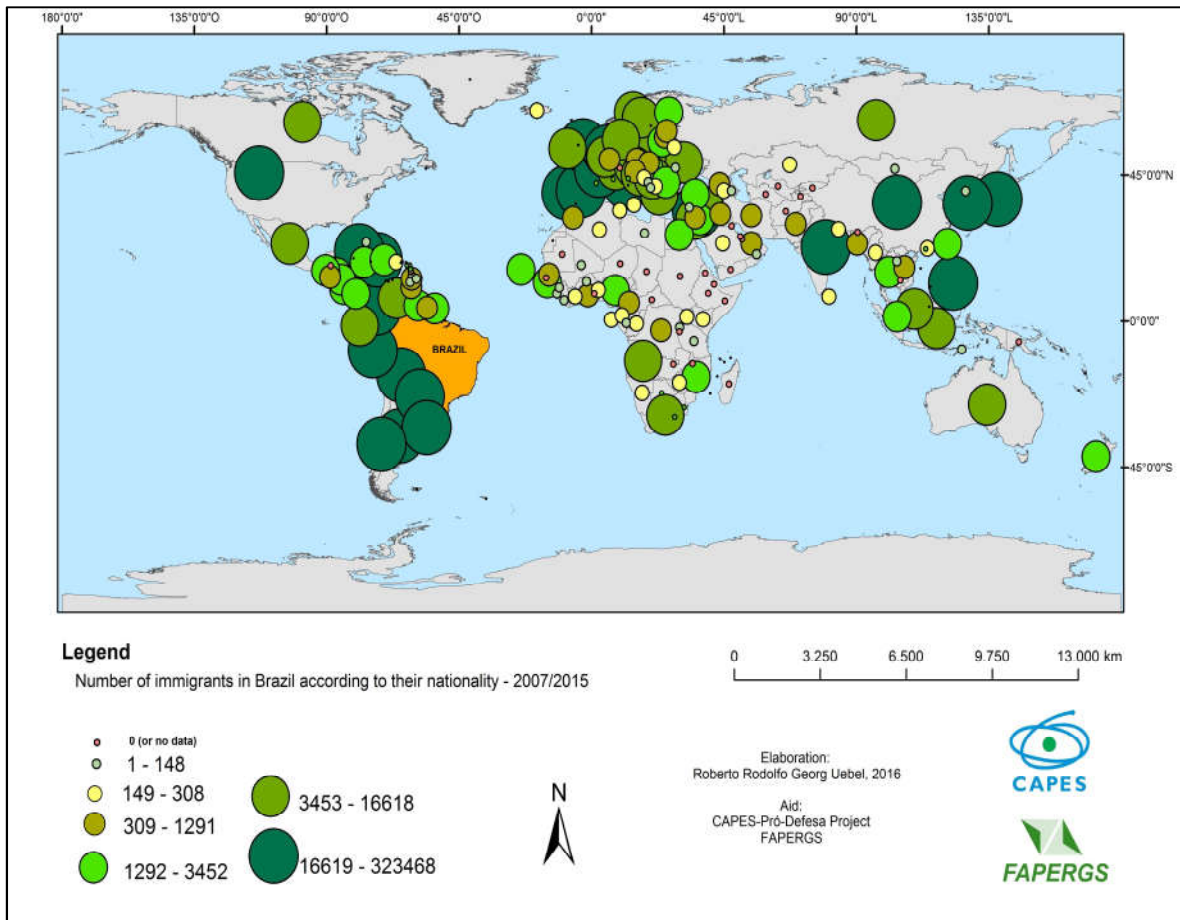
Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Graph 3. Variation of immigrants in Brazil by nationality, 2000, 2012 and 2015



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Map 1. Number of immigrants in Brazil according to their nationality in between the years 2007-2015
(constructed in 2016)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil; elaborated by the author.

These figures account for the significant increase in the number of skilled workers from Portugal, Japan, Italy, USA, UK and Germany who suffered and fled from economic crises and high unemployment rates in their countries of origin during the analyzed period (Alcaraz 2015; Rádio das Nações Unidas 2015).

As explained by Hatton and Williamson (1997), these countries – known for their highly skilled workforce and for hosting large technology and innovation centres – were part of a mass migration phenomenon that saw the export of professionals to rising countries in the developing world. It is not surprising that these nations were identified as those that sent the most economic migrants to Brazil.

Countries geographically close to Brazil, specifically Bolivia, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, Peru, Colombia and Paraguay, were also important in terms of migration outflows. Migrants from these countries typically search for better socio-occupational conditions in Brazil. These migrants are, however, distinguished by different orders, and the border networks are constituted by economic, cultural and political flows of various levels.

The kinds of mobility presented vary according to social classes, products and information (Bárbara 2005). In this sense, even though Paraguay, Argentina and Bolivia are close, the immigration motivations of the citizens from these countries are different in terms of local, regional, international, and geographical scales (Uebel 2014; Souchaud and do Carmo and Fusco 2007).

Such phenomenon is observed in the peculiar situations of the Bolivian and Argentine immigrants in the State of São Paulo (Baeninger 2012), among others. An increasing number of Bolivians – a nationality with the fifth largest growth of immigrants in Brazil – are subject to slave labour conditions in textile firms. In contrast, Argentinian immigrants are increasingly being inserted into jobs demanded by skilled professionals, such as jobs in the education, energy and finance sectors.

A third important group in this decennial evolution is the set of countries comprised by Portugal, Spain and Italy, nations that suffered from strong unemployment crises and economic stagnation during the period in question. Each country has historical ties of immigration to Brazil, especially during phases of economic growth and expansion in Brazil.

As pointed out by Santos (2016), during times of economic growth and expansion, Brazil becomes an attractive destination for qualified and semi-qualified professionals from these countries (Santos 2016). The literature (see Margolis 2013; Vitorio 2015) draws attention to the fact that these are among the countries that also receive the bulk of Brazilian immigrants, mostly undocumented, and that cause a contraposition of situations – situations that are analyzed later in this research.

Finally, the last country to be highlighted in this list is Haiti, which, according to IBGE ratified statistical data, did not have any individual with immigrant status in Brazil in the year 2000, but did have 175 in 2010, and in 2015 had an estimated 50 thousand immigrants. The media outlets estimate higher figures of Haitian immigrants (Handerson 2015). The situation in Haiti differs from the three other groups for two reasons: 1) the country has experienced civil war since the end of the last century, and 2) an earthquake in January of 2010 killed approximately 200 thousand people.

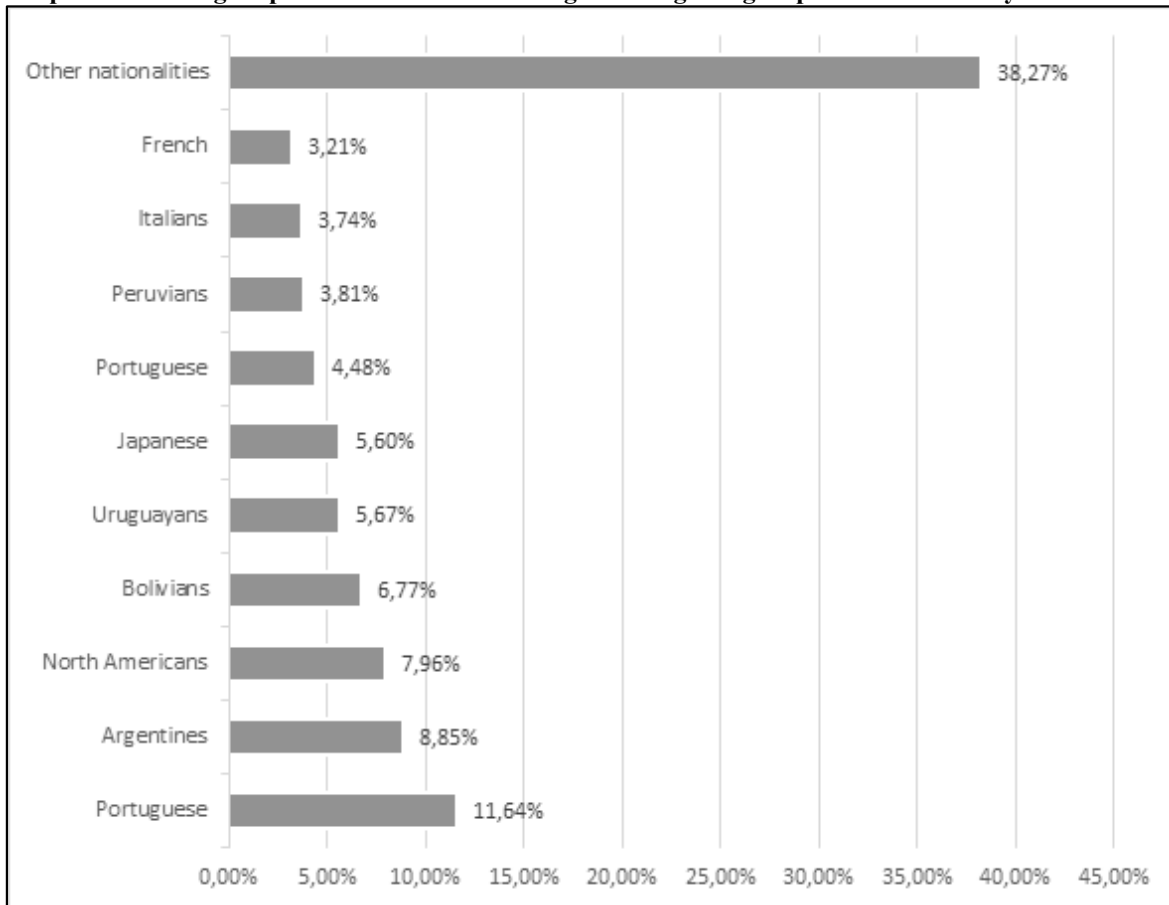
Given that the mass immigration of Haitians began in 2010 (according to unofficial estimates by NGOs, consulates and civil society committees), there should have been around 25 thousand Haitian immigrants in the first half of 2013, largely undocumented and/or without official assistance from the Government of Brazil, and about 50 thousand immigrants in 2015, roughly twice as many immigrants as the official statistics show.

In the next three sections, we present the profile of international migrations to Brazil in three distinct recent periods and provide evidence on the formation of the characteristics, routes and networks of new immigration flows to the country, as well as the demographic, social and economic implications of these migrations, and we attempt to place the discussion within the international context of migrations, the subject of this research.

Profile of international migrations to Brazil in 2000: a country of few immigrants

According to IBGE statistics, in the year 2000, prior to the events of September 2001 (Visentini 2015) that transformed international geopolitics in matters of national security and terrorism and witnessed an increase of refugees and immigrants in central countries due to their escape from countries of the Middle East and Northern Africa, Brazil had 95, 829 immigrants, representing only 0.05 percent of the total population of the country (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística 2016). This figure is not very significant considering the proportions of immigrants in other countries and the composition of the Brazilian population of immigrants between the 19th and 20th centuries, where they represented more than 10 percent of the country's total population (Patarra 1996; Becker 1958).

Graph 4. Percentage representation of the ten largest immigrant groups in Brazil in the year 2000



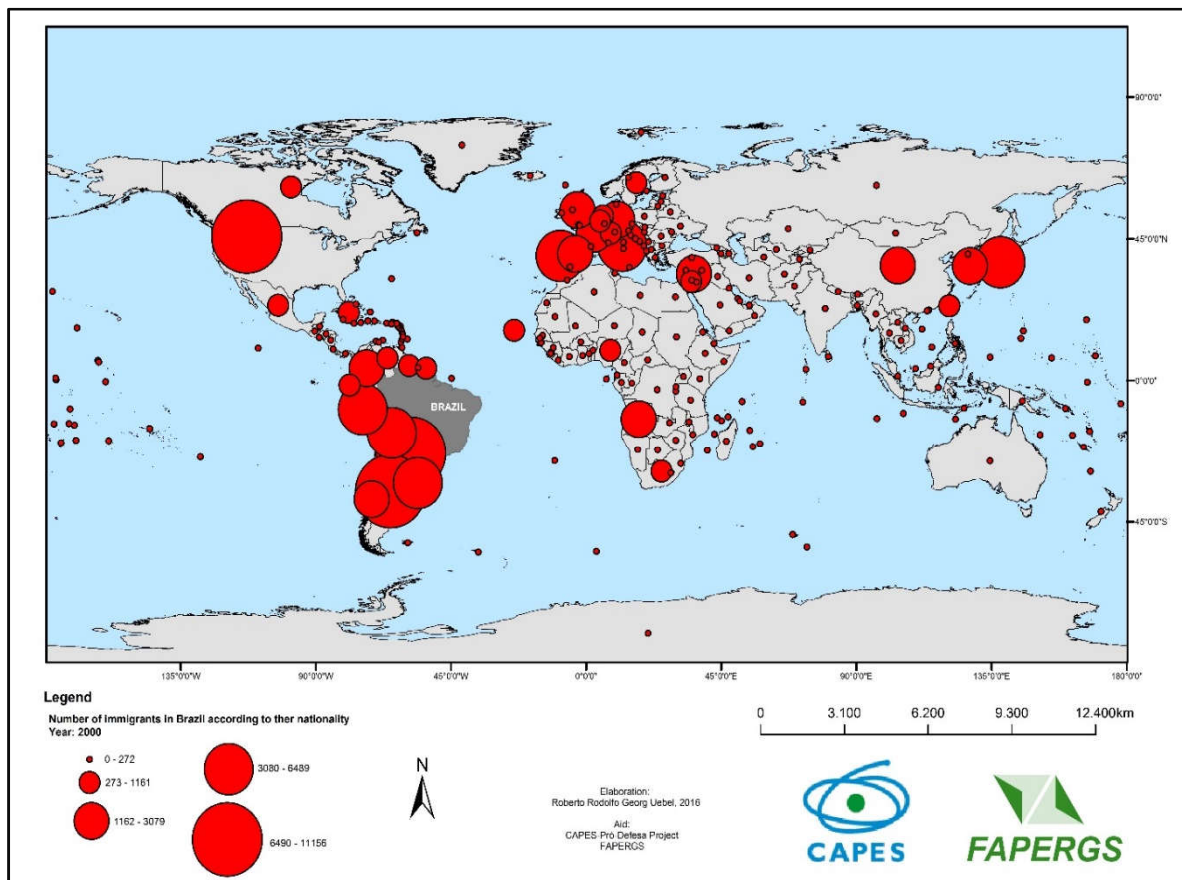
Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Graph 4 shows the composition of the largest groups of immigrants in Brazil in the year 2000. It reveals a strong participation of immigrants from Latin American countries in the total composition. When counting immigrants from Paraguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay and Peru, we have a number representing 38 percent overall, the same percentage of the sum of other nationalities that do not appear in the graph.

It is important to highlight the third-place position of North Americans with 8 percent of immigrants. As will be discussed in the next section, immigrants from North America increased by 10 times their number between 2000 and 2010.

In Map 2, 200 nationalities^{iv} were divided into five categories in order to highlight the main nationalities of each continent.

Map 2. Number of immigrants in Brazil according to their nationality in the year 2000
(constructed in 2016)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

This map shows the significant participation of Paraguayans and Argentines in the first category, allowing the analysis of an average participation of 21 percent of these immigrants in the spatial composition, mainly due to the proximity of the countries to the Brazilian territory.

This was a period of expansion of the trade relations of the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), with strong economic expansion in Brazil and a slowdown in Argentina and Paraguay, favouring the emigration of Argentines to Brazil's financial and labour-qualified sector (Domenech 2007). The migrations of Paraguayans to the border states of Paraná and Mato Grosso do Sul was due to the social and political instability in Paraguay, in addition to the melting pot^v with Brazilian citizens, causing the phenomenon of *brasiguaios* (Wagner 1990).

Map 2 allows other inferences that characterize the international migrations to Brazil in the 21st century: the resumption of Western European, Chinese, and Japanese immigration after a general stagnation since the 1960s, and the growth of South-South migration, an almost contemporary phenomenon that has been refuted by many scholars of international migration.

Regarding the African continent, the focus is on migrants from Angola and Nigeria where the motivation to emigrate to Brazil, according to Petrus (2005), was given by three orders: political refugees, exchange students through bilateral agreements, and refugees that benefited from Brazil's *Amnesty Act of 1998*.^{vi} These were the three major categories of immigrants from Africa at that time.

If the factors (and the facts) that transformed the international geopolitics had not occurred between 2001 and 2010, it is not certain whether Brazil would have changed its immigrant receiver configuration. The analysis of the immigration profile of 2010 in the following section, however, shows that precisely those countries that suffered the most from the impact of wars and economic and humanitarian crises, along with those that were the transforming agents, were the ones that sent the most migrants to Brazil.

As a comparison, it should be noted that Paraguayans comprised the largest number of immigrants in Brazil in 2000, with 11,156 immigrants at the top of the 200 nationalities ranking, followed by Portuguese immigrants, with 8,483 individuals. In the year 2010, however, German immigrants stood in 11th place, with 11,321 immigrants, which was more than the top-ranked country of 10 previous years. In 2015, migrants of British origin in Brazil were in 20th position with 13,901 thousand immigrants, 2,000 more immigrants than the nationality that was in the first place in the ranking of 2000 (the Portuguese). In the 2010s, Brazil was definitely not a “Birds of Passage” country (Piore 1980).

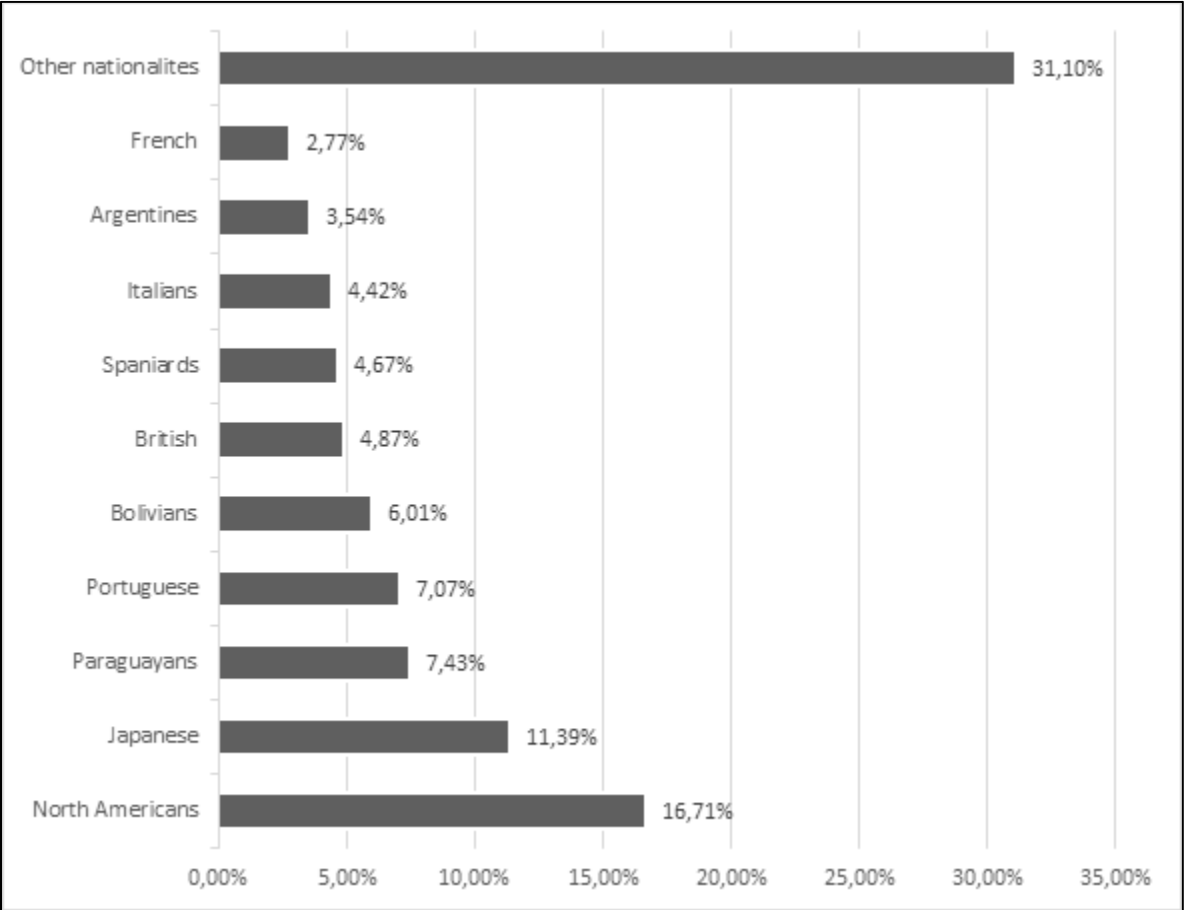
The information presented in this section shows that Brazil – between 2000 and 2015 – underwent a strong transformation in its character as a sending country, becoming a receiver country of international migrants. It is also noteworthy that Brazil's first immigration boom of the 21st century increased immigration to a level that was comparable to flows experienced by traditional receiving countries, such as the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, as well as countries in the European Union.

Profile of international migrations to Brazil in 2010: the country of the immigration boom

After a decade of strong geopolitical, social, economic and cultural transformations in the international scenario, accentuated by terrorist actions (since 2001) and numerous conflicts in different parts of the world and, in agreement with the international economic crisis of the triennium 2008-2009-2010 (Tilly, 2011), there was a considerable change in the panorama of international migration to Brazil, which by 2010 had a total of 432,356 immigrants (about 0.23 percent of the country's total population and 4.5 times larger than the number of registered immigrants in the year 2000).

The number of immigrants residing in Brazil was even more significant when considering the statistics of other countries that historically have received more immigrants than Brazil. For example, between 2000 and 2010 the United States showed an increase in immigrants of only 23.97 percent ^{vii}, while Brazil observed a growth of 451.18 percent. This fact corroborates the hypothesis that the changes in the conjunctural macrostructure of a country in the areas of infrastructure, construction, technology, innovation and services attract foreign immigrants and reconfigure the composition of immigrant groups according to their nationalities, as Graph 5 shows.

Graph 5. Percentage representation of the ten largest immigrant groups in Brazil in the year 2010



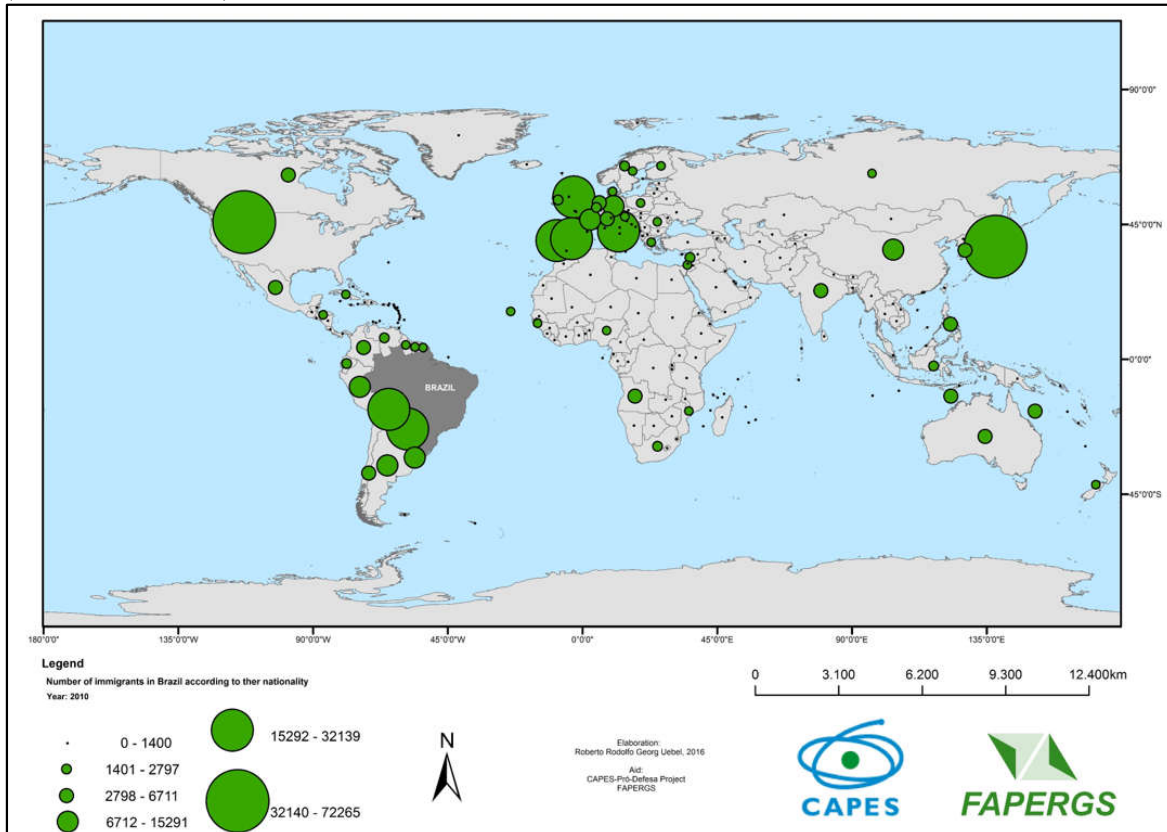
Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Graph 5 shows that the United States and Japan more than doubled the number of their migrants in Brazil, precisely the countries that were affected by the economic crisis that began in 2008 (Baldwin and Allison 2015; Rickards 2014; I-hwan 2011), leading to successive increases in unemployment and a recession characterized by a low supply of jobs and a significant supply of highly skilled labour. In Brazil, this resulted in a growing and prosperous macroeconomic scenario that “vaccinated” the country against the international economic fluctuations of major centres.

It is important to note that the growth of the oil, gas, mining and high technology industries resulted in the importation to Brazil of skilled labour from the United States, Japan, the United Kingdom and France. In terms of the number of immigrants sent to Brazil per country, British immigrants occupied

the 16th position in 2000. By 2010, they had moved to the 6th position. A similar trend was evident for the United States and Japan.

Map 3. Number of immigrants in Brazil according to their nationality in the year 2010
(constructed in 2016)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

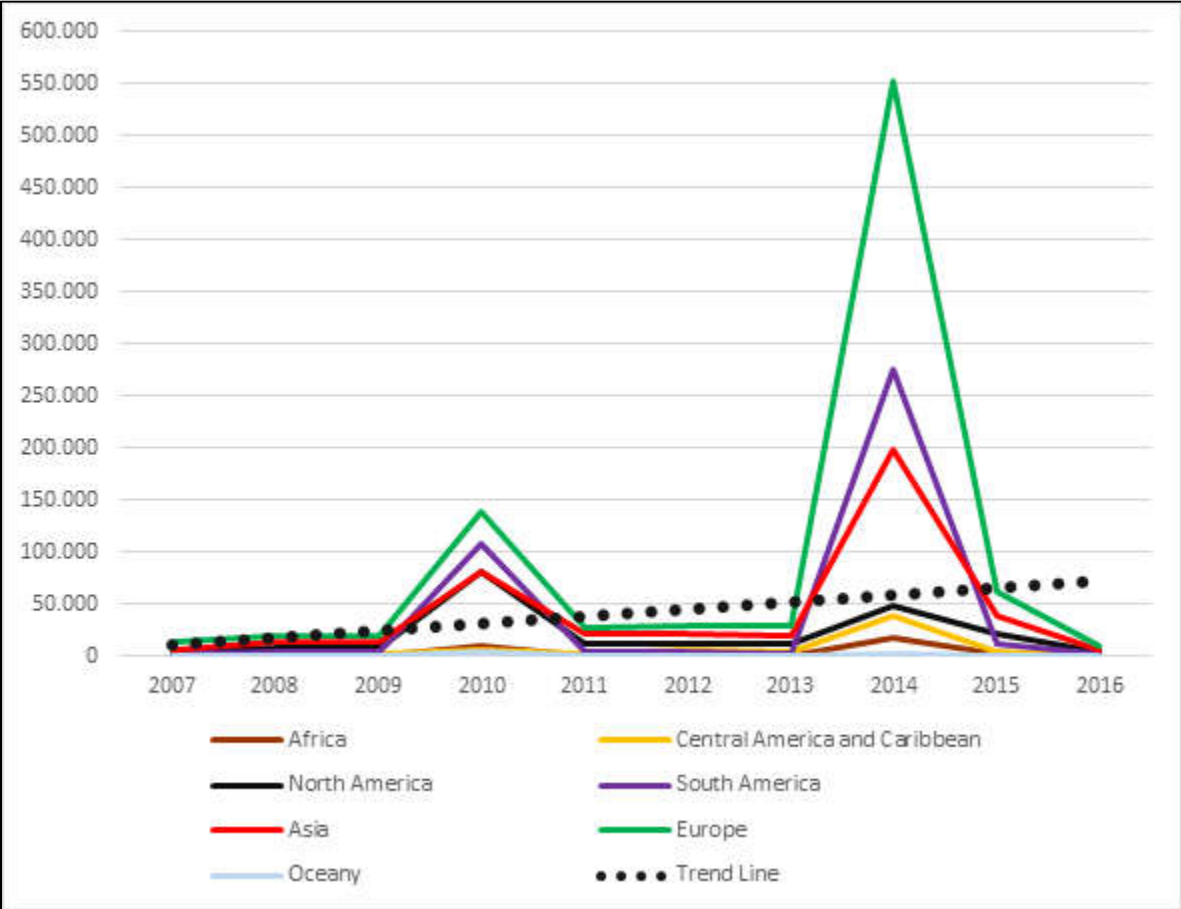
Three other nationalities are worth mentioning: the Spanish, Portuguese and Italians. Immigration from Spain, Portugal and Italy increased over time due to the economic and social crises that occurred in Western Europe in early 2009, with high unemployment. This caused European immigration to Brazil to increase, which had been stagnant since the 1960s. Paraguay and Bolivia also had great participation, as can be seen in Map 3, which shows the origin of immigrants in Brazil in 2010.

Paraguay and Bolivia, Brazil's two neighbours, followed a trend of territorial and demographic insertion that was distinct from Japan, the United States and Western Europe, since they operated in a medium- to long-term scenario of settlement with linkages to networks in Brazil, particularly labour networks.

While the immigrants from those nations should follow a cyclical tendency of expansion, stabilization and decline of immigration to Brazil, in strict observance of the economic and employment conditions in their countries, Bolivian and Paraguayan immigrants were being fully integrated into the society, economy and networks in Brazil.

Between 2010 and 2015, there was no indication that dire economic and political events in both Bolivia and Paraguay would improve. Many of these immigrants were undocumented and could not return easily to their countries because of bureaucratic and legal issues.

Graph 6. Trend line of migratory flows towards Brazil in the 21st century
(constructed in 2017)



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

Haiti also deserves attention. As previously mentioned, in the aftermath of the civil crisis that was becoming more pronounced in the country and the earthquake in 2010, Haiti showed indications of a strong participation in the immigration profile of Brazil. In 2000, it held the 149th position. In 2010, it took the 75th position. Now, it is in 16th place, representing a very significant increase and drawing the attention of scholars (Da Silva 2013; Pacífico and Ramos 2015) due to its economic and social impact on Brazilian society.

According to unofficial statistics, Haitian immigration (still not subject to cyclical or non-cyclical classification) was predicted to consolidate in the first positions of composition of the Brazilian migratory profile because it represented the largest and most concentrated mass immigration since the arrival of the Italians, Germans and Japanese in the early 20th century. The Brazilian economic

crisis of 2015 and associated increase in unemployment and reduction in economic activity negated that prediction (Machado 2016).

Graph 6 (above) presents the hypothesis of the two immigration booms. A linear forecast was calculated in the chart for the year 2016. The fall in immigration flows is due mainly to the economic and labour crises in Brazil at that time.

The trend lines deconstruct the hypothesis of some authors that migrations to non-traditional receiving countries (e.g. Brazil) would be sporadic or cyclical, since it is possible to perceive two expansions or booms in a short time period. In this sense, population geography presents itself as an important science to interpret rapid transformations in the international migration scene in Brazil.

Data from the decade of the 2000s reject the notion that the spatial mobility of a population inside a national territory is inserted in a wider context of global changes. The different historical, economic, social, demographic and political contexts will be the most significant features of internal migrations in Brazil in the 21st century (Baeninger 2013, my translation). That is, the internal migrations of foreigners in the Brazilian territory are more related to national scales than to a global movement.

It can be seen that the year 2010, together with the global economic motivations, international conflicts and the economic, social and labour attractiveness of Brazil, was a turning point in the international network of migrations. Brazil received the most (proportionally) immigrants in that year, surpassing even the United States and European Union.

As Mekary (2014) wrote (and corroborated by this research), between the years 2005 and 2010 the total number of international immigrants – including foreigners and Brazilians who lived abroad and returned to Brazil – was 268,486 people, almost 87 percent higher than the number registered between 1995 and 2000 (i.e. 143, 644).

The global economic crisis of 2008 generated a great complexity in the shifting axes of South American migrations. In addition, the economic and social development of Brazil and its geopolitical repositioning in recent years made the migratory phenomenon more diverse and multicultural, despite the unequal character (i.e. societal stratification) of Brazilian society, which is still strong and noticeable.

The basis of understanding contemporary international migration processes is embedded in the specific period between the 2000s and the 2010s, which is dominated by the transition to an urban-industrial society. Events during this time frame allow us to understand migratory types as they pass through specific stages of Brazil's economic dynamic (Baeninger 2012). Historical reconstruction allows us to observe types and characteristics of migratory movements that are related to various evolutionary stages of the economy.

This perspective allows members of society to perceive immigrants as a “necessary population” at certain times and a “surplus population” at other times (Pérez 1978). A case example is the status of North Americans, Europeans, Africans and Haitians in Brazil. All cohabit the same temporal and

territorial space, however, society perceives them differently, often expressing aversion and xenophobia towards certain groups and acceptance and assimilation towards others.

Although it is not possible to establish a linear relationship between types of migratory movements and stages of the economy, until the years 2000/2010 there was simultaneity in these processes. Since then, there has been a lag between the processes, indicating a greater complexity of the migratory phenomenon, in particular the issues of industrialization, economic crises and unemployment. Separating these phenomena allows us to envisage reciprocities of economic dynamics over migratory processes and migratory movements in relation to the evolution of the economy (Zimmermann and Bauer 2002).

The historical reconstruction of internal migrations in Brazil and its theoretical contributions were until the end of the 20th century grounded in internal processes. These processes were linked to economic dynamics and the penetration of capitalism at the national level, rural-urban migration, industrialization, economic de-concentration, productive restructuring and urbanization (Martins 1973). All of these events comprise and explain the migratory processes until the end of the 1990s.

The insertion of Brazil into the international economy, particularly during the decade of the 2000s, points to some specific issues in the regional context through migrations towards the country. It is clear that the international migratory movements reflect a new international economic order. The migratory movements to Brazil reflect the new global economic order characterized by human mobility.

As it approached the 21st century, the scenario for the understanding of international migrations towards Brazil widened, as can be seen in the previous cartographic representations as well as the trend lines of these international flows. In addition to the national context, it is necessary to incorporate the transformations arising from the new international order into the social division of labour in the world (Harvey 1989; Sassen 1988).

The explanations of internal migrations in Brazil are sometimes limited only by the structural or conjunctural movements of the dynamics of the Brazilian economy. The peripheral insertion of nations within the framework of globalization includes the local dynamics to the world system (Wallerstein 1976). The penetration and expansion of capitalism offers new arrangements of internal migrations that respond to an external logic – one that is redesigned by the international and territorial division of labour, which coincides with the two previously mentioned immigration booms.

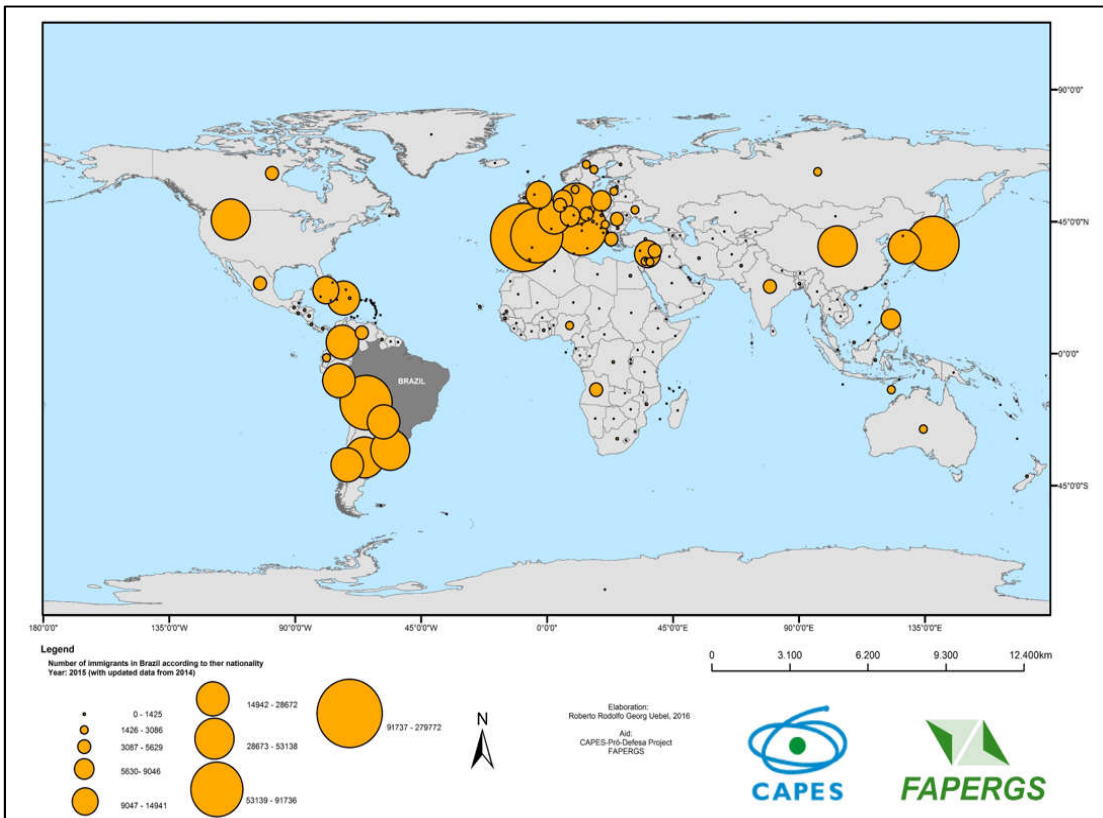
The new international division of labour offers an axis of economic restructuring, with articulations at the international, national and local levels, which requires the emergence of new spatial forms and the redesign of social phenomena that have historically been built at the national level (Sassen 2007). The system of cities at the national level and their connections with the international urban hierarchy brings reflexes at the national level with regard to international migrations. As Sassen (1988) pointed out, considering the different scalar levels, part of the migrations to Brazil should be linked to transformations on a global scope and in a constant way.

Thus, the issue of international migrations to Brazil acquires increasing importance in population studies in the 21st century. On the one hand, long-distance migrations redraw their paths and meanings and, on the other hand, regional dynamics give specificities to the urban-urban migrations of these international immigrants.

The acceleration of recent migration processes, particularly for the years 2013, 2014 and 2015 (see the next section), had its roots in transformations that took place since the 1980s. The national migratory processes, immersed in a new national and global socioeconomic context, have produced

Map 4. Number of immigrants in Brazil according to their nationality in the year 2015, with updated data from 2014 and 2016

(constructed in 2016)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

migration spaces marked by different migratory conditions – spaces that include areas of population retention, areas of migratory losses and areas of migratory turnover (Baeninger 2013). The following analysis of the immigration flows to Brazil over the last three years makes this point clear.

Profile of the current international migrations to Brazil: the new immigration boom and the country of new migrations

As discussed in the previous section, 2010 saw a significant increase in immigration flows toward Brazil. The biennium 2013-2014, however, recorded the largest admission of immigrants since the 1930s, albeit smaller than the largest flow in Brazilian history, which took place from 1870 to 1930.

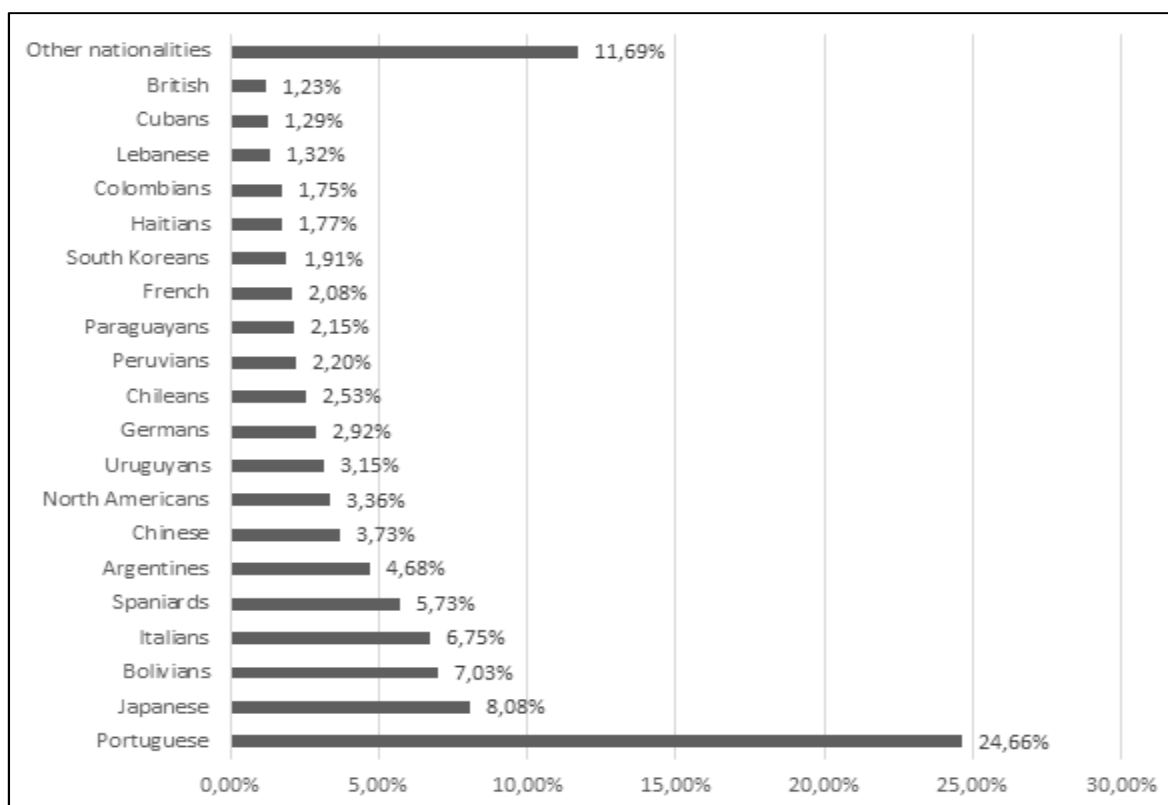
According to Brito (2014), from 1870 to 1930 roughly 2.5 million immigrants, mostly Germans, Italians and Japanese, entered Brazil (Brito 2014).

In 2013, there were 65,654 immigrants. In 2014, there were 1.13 million immigrants. In 2015, however, the number of immigrants decreased by 50 percent, representing a number that exceeds the sum of the last ten years. The current number of immigrants in Brazil is 2.1 million, higher than the population of 90 percent of Brazilian state capitals.

Brazil's contemporary immigrant panorama is clear: immigrants represent 1 percent of Brazil's total population, the highest figure since the Brazilian colonial period dating back to the 16th to 18th centuries (Holanda 2012; Ribeiro 2000). Large numbers represent broadened panoramas and a reconfiguration of the immigrant groups that arrived in Brazil in the last decade. Map 4 (previous page) depicts the origins of immigrants in the year 2015, with updated data for 2014.

If until the year 2010 the nationalities that represented the largest immigrant contingents in Brazil were those that came from countries in economic crisis or with social and labour instability, then the situation between 2014 and 2015 presents a different and challenging scenario (Graph 7).

Graph 7. Percentage representation of the ten largest immigrant groups in Brazil in the year 2015



Source: Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics, Federal Police, Ministry of Labour and Employment. Data compiled and tabulated by the author.

We can group and consider the fall of immigration of certain nationalities regarding the international scenario and its political and economic changes in recent years. For example, observing the ranking and the change in positions – but not in the relative number of immigrants to other years – of American and British immigrants, we can argue this due to the economic and labour recovery verified in those countries of origin after the year 2010, although the flows remain stable towards Brazil

Immigration flows to Brazil from Portugal, Italy and Spain accounted for 38 percent of the total number of immigrants over the past two years. Unlike to the patterns of immigration from the UK and USA, immigrants from Portugal, Italy and Spain experienced a continuous unemployment situation that led to mass migration to countries such as Brazil and Argentina (Boggio 2015; Bologna 2016).

During the period under analysis (2010-2015), the immigrant composition in Brazil saw a rise in the number of immigrants from Bolivia and Japan. In the case of the Bolivians, agreements of cooperation between Brazil and Bolivia were established in the areas of immigration and labour. Bolivia could not, at that time, meet its internal demand for jobs and exported most of its immigrants to Brazil and to a lesser extent Argentina and Paraguay.

The considerable increase in Japanese immigrants was due to the return of those who had emigrated to Japan. Another two aspects defined this immigration: the international economic and labour crisis in 2008 and the earthquake of 2011. However, we cannot ignore the environmental motivations^{viii} for an increase in Japanese immigration – in this case, a return migration or even a remigration.

In the new immigration configuration of Brazil, the considerable growth of new flows, among them Haitians, Lebanese, Colombians and Cubans stands out. Despite the program of importation of Cuban health professionals from the Brazilian government^{ix} that increased the population of this nationality in Brazil, the number of Cubans has grown in the last four years due to the easing of immigration laws in Cuba under the rule of Raul Castro.

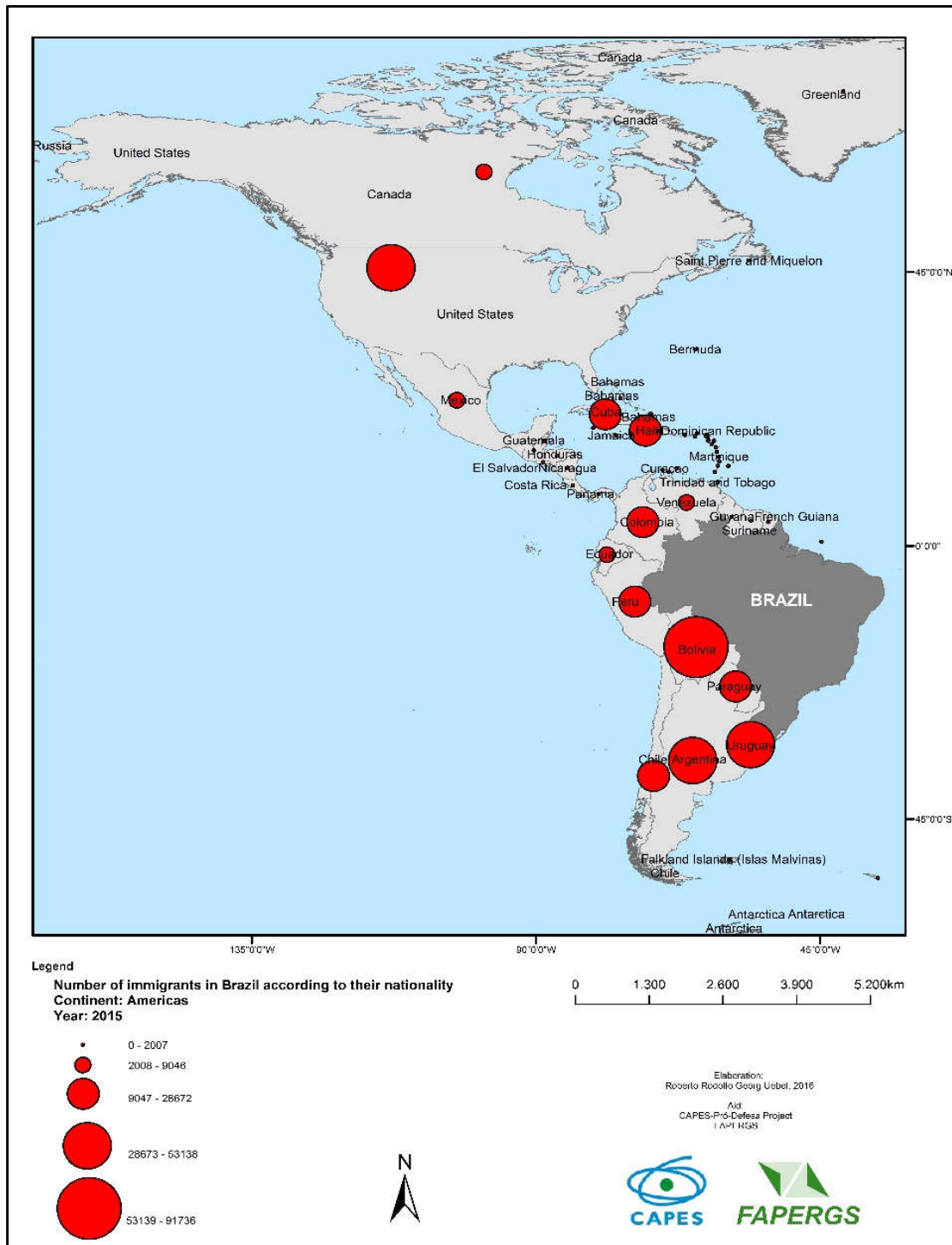
This period configures and consolidates Brazil on the international scene as a receiver of all the major immigrant nationalities that migrated in the past solely to the countries of the northern hemisphere. Thus, Brazil was one of the most attractive poles of immigration during the 2010s, surpassing traditional destination countries such as Australia, New Zealand and Canada. Of the 203 nationalities surveyed, only nine low-expression countries did not have immigrants in Brazilian territory. In 2000, there were 63 nationalities not represented, and in 2010 there were only 23.

The second immigrant boom is surprising because it is exponentially larger than immigration booms that took place in traditional immigrant recipient countries. The second boom surpassed Brazil's indicators and records, attracting 91 percent of all nationalities. It was, therefore, not restricted to a geographical region or continent.

Map 5 (next page) shows that most migratory groups in Brazil that came from the American continent were Bolivians, Argentines, Uruguayans, Haitians, Cubans and Americans. Immigrants from

countries in Central America and the Caribbean were attracted mainly to the United States and Mexico.

Map 5. Map of the nationality of immigrants in Brazil from the American continent and the Caribbean (constructed in 2015)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

As previously mentioned, Brazil has seen immigration flows from four different groups that have been interpreted according to motivations:

Group 1: *Bolivians* migrated to Brazil because of economic, labour and social instabilities in Bolivia. They also migrated because of their skills in the textile industry and the presence of cheap labour industries in Brazil (often in the form of slavery and clandestine/irregular labour).

Group 2: *Argentines, Uruguayans* and to a lesser extent the *Andeans* (i.e. *Chileans, Peruvians* and *Colombians*) migrated to Brazil because of the country's economic attractiveness, especially between 2010 and 2015. Weak economic performance and low employment rates in their countries pushed them in the direction of Brazil. These immigrants worked exclusively in the industrial, finance and education fields – areas that demand a more qualified workforce.

Group 3: *Haitians and Cubans* migrated to Brazil because of the insertion of the country in these two nations, and the propaganda and actions taken by the country through its Peace Mission in Haiti and the Program Mais Médicos, which involved the hiring of Cuban health professionals. Brazil became a viable alternative to the traditional destinations for these immigrants, such as Canada, Mexico and the United States. Other factors at play included the formation of a consolidated Brazil-Haiti immigration network and the relaxation of emigration laws in Cuba (Juventud Rebelde 2012; Diversent 2014).

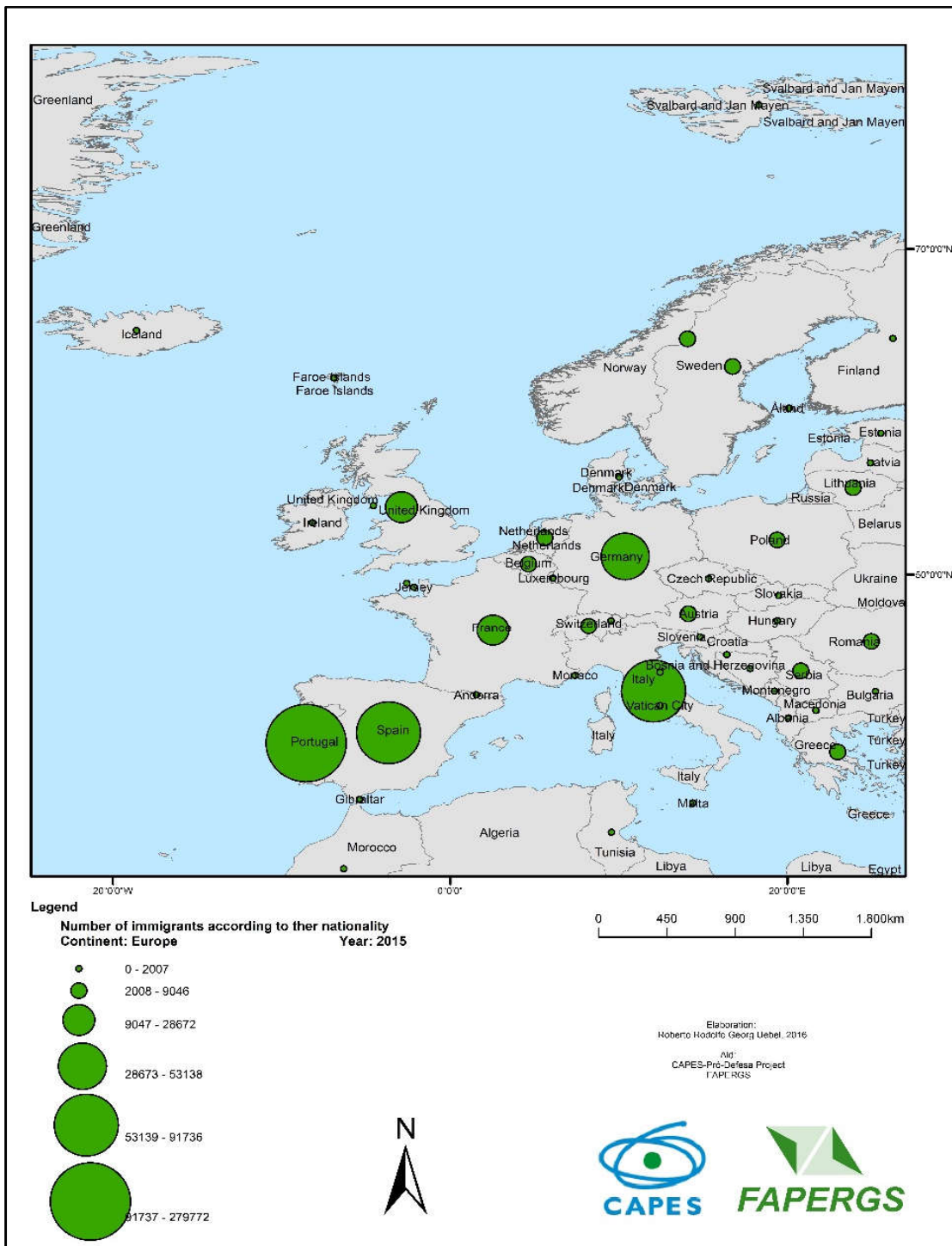
Group 4: *North Americans* migrated to Brazil because of the unemployment rates in USA and the available skilled jobs during the Brazilian economic boom from 2000 to 2010. It is noteworthy that this group has been decreasing its flows in relation to the other nationalities, mainly due to the economic recovery and consequent creation of jobs in the United States – demonstrating the greatest remigration process of the Brazilian-American history.

Map 6 (next page) presents the proportion of immigrants in Brazilian territory according to their origin from the European continent. European immigrants in Brazil continue to represent an active and considerable population contingent, especially when we observe the countries that suffered greatly from economic and labour crises, that is, Portugal, Spain and Italy, and to a lesser extent France, Germany, UK and Cyprus.

Nevertheless, socioeconomic data show a decrease in the immigration of Europeans and indicate that they are returning to Europe or to other countries, such as Canada and Chile. This is no doubt due to Brazil's deepening economic crisis, making the country an unattractive destination for many immigrants (see Fundação Getulio Vargas 2012; Carneiro 2015).

Another interesting point of immigration flows from the European continent is the fact that Brazil has not absorbed or attracted immigrants from Eastern Europe, the Balkans and the Caucasus. These immigrants continue to move to the core of the European Union, specifically Germany, France and UK, which is deepening the immigration crisis there.

Map 6. Map of the nationality of immigrants in Brazil from Europe
(constructed in 2015)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

Immigrants of Ukrainian origin, however, appear to be repeating prior flows to Brazil that occurred after the Crimean War. Flows of Ukrainians toward Brazil increased considerably after the tensions between Kiev and Moscow in early 2014 (Fonseca and Esteves and McGarrigle 2016; Adamczyk 2014).

Map 7 (next page) presents the conjuncture and migratory flows of individuals from the Middle East and Africa towards Brazil. Due to geopolitical and economic tensions, these two regions have shown considerable growth in emigration flows in recent years, mainly towards Brazil and Europe.

It can be affirmed that, in terms of immigration growth and relative to other countries, Africa has been – at least over the past two decades – the main sending/pole country of migrants to Brazil. The African continent presents opposing and questioning situations about the origin of immigrants. Apart from Mozambique and South Africa, the countries in Africa that send the most immigrants to Brazil are located on the west coast (i.e. those facing the Atlantic) and that traditionally emigrate to the European Union and in smaller numbers to the United States and Canada.

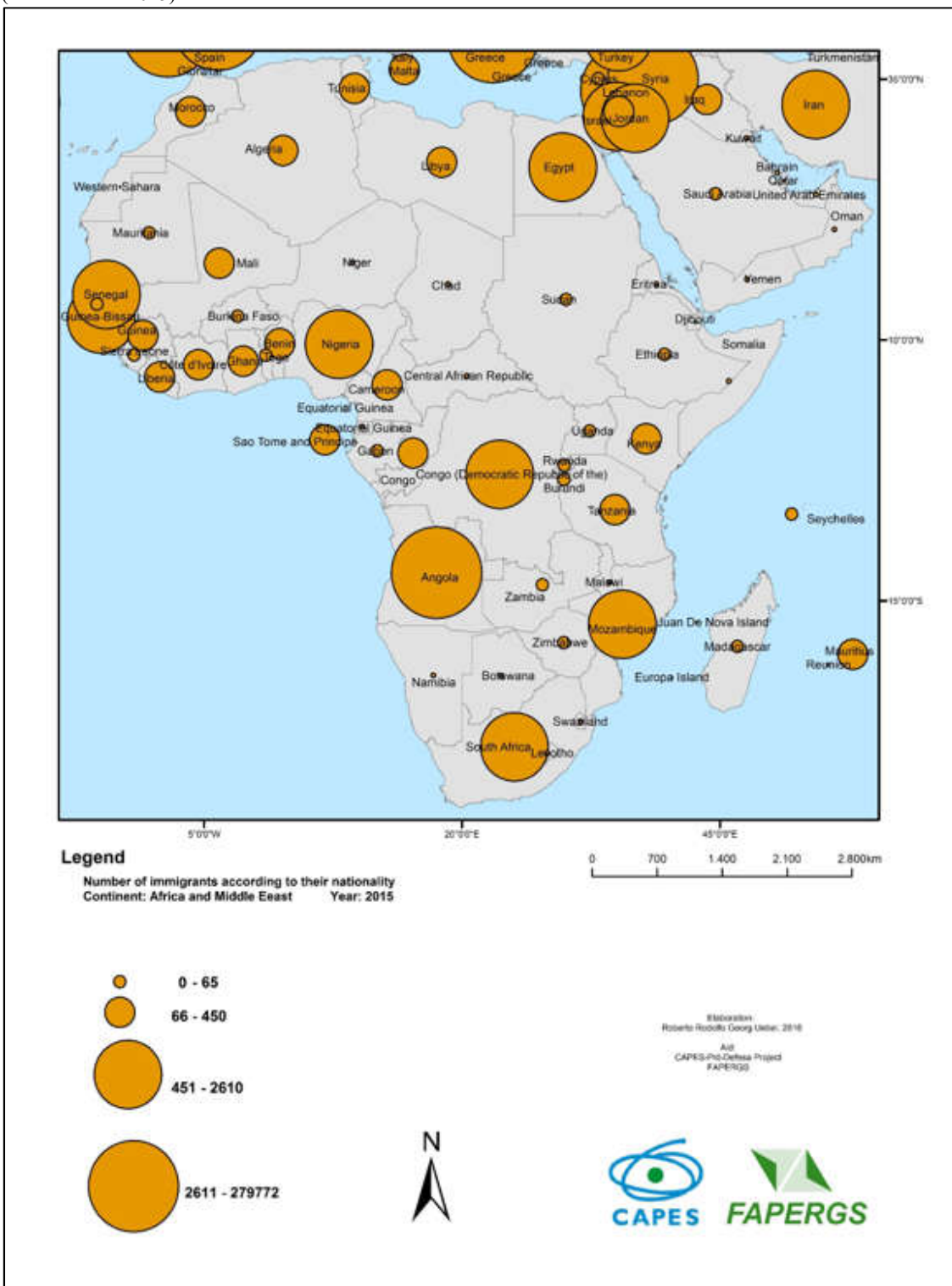
In addition to the linguistic similarities between Brazil and the countries on the west coast of Africa, where Portuguese and French are the official languages, the reason for this increase in African immigrant flows is the formation of networks that are facilitated by direct air links with Brazil.

The majority of these immigrants have a higher education and knowledge of more than two languages. They tend to be professionals who are seeking a mix of work in Brazil with all the legal and social security guarantees, which is difficult for them to secure in their countries of origin. They are also seeking free education and health care, and many believe that Brazil will be a temporary destination that will eventually allow them to migrate to the United States or Canada.

Given the above, a specific term is proposed to define the mass immigration of Africans, even though it is numerically smaller than the other continents: the *Brazilian dream*. It is a dream with three main objectives: achieving better working conditions; enhancing personal and academic development; and improving financial stability. Many immigrants from Africa engage in informal activities, such as working as street vendors. Others are employed in heavy industries, commerce, services, and some are hired by small entrepreneurs.

From this map, one can also see that the migration from the Middle East is mainly due to forced migration and the general instability in the region. Immigrants from Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Iran and Lebanon have already integrated into Brazilian society, with large communities in the southern and south-eastern states (Khatlab 2011; Jardim 2000). In the wake of a pattern of perpetual conflict in the region, the number of immigrants from the Middle East has no doubt grown in recent years.

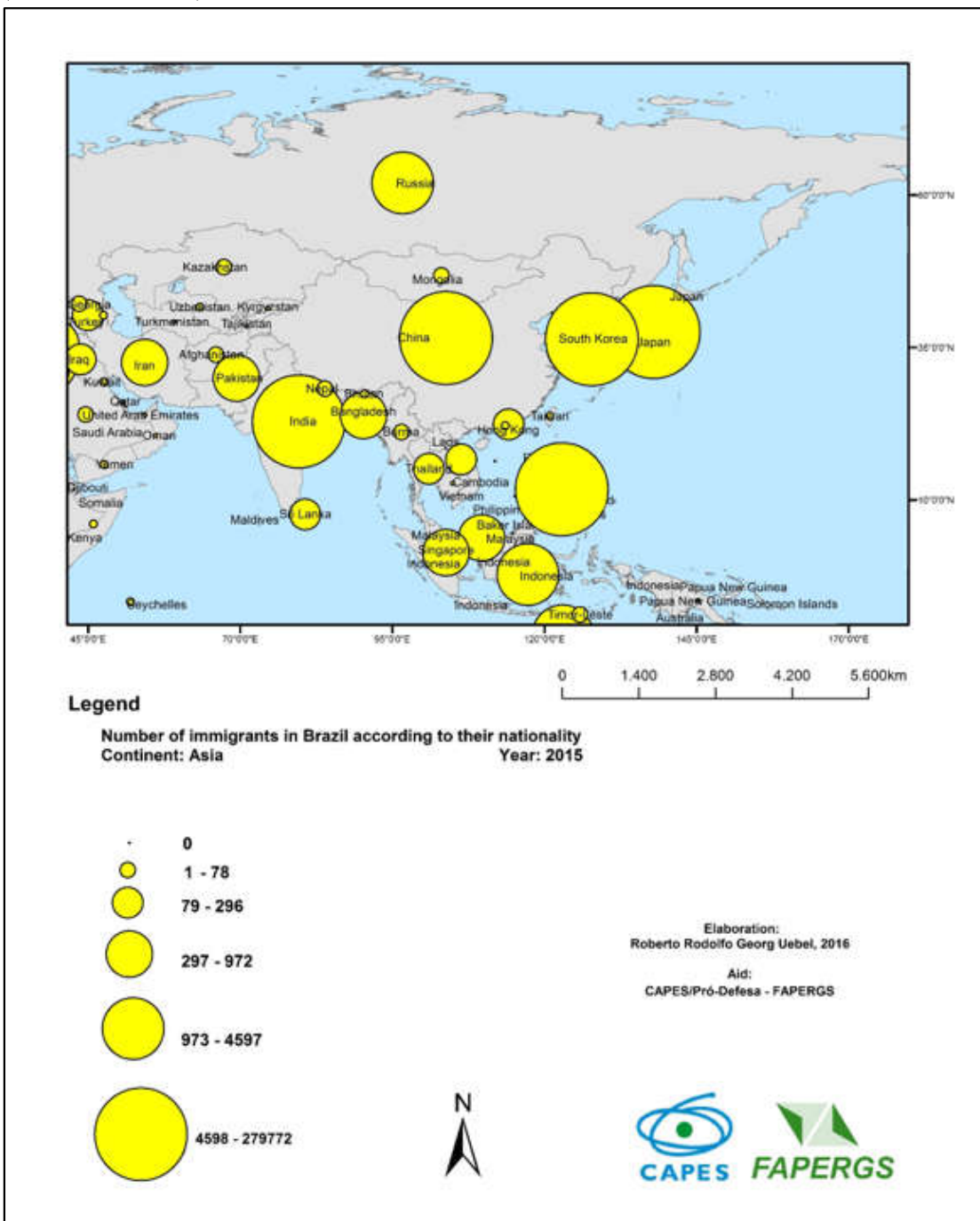
Map 7. Map of the nationality of immigrants in Brazil from Africa and Middle East
(constructed in 2015)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

Map 8 presents curiosities and interesting issues on the migration of Asians to Brazil; migrations that

Map 8. Map of the nationality of immigrants in Brazil from Asia
(constructed in 2015)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

were already massive in the 20th century, such as those from China and Japan (Arai and Hirasaki 2008; Verás 2008). Recent immigration statistics and trends for Brazil reveal something unexpected with regard to Asian (and African) immigration. In addition to the Chinese and Japanese who are considered to be traditional expatriates and have dozens of communities throughout Brazil, such as Chinatown and Japanese colonies, new nationalities – Indians, Bengalis, Filipinos, Malaysians, Indonesians and South Koreans – draw attention when analyzing the map of the new Brazilian immigration profile.

These types of migrations to Brazil are changing and replacing the traditional receivers, such as Japan, Singapore, Australia and New Zealand, despite the fact that Brazil is thousands of kilometers away from the source countries. What explains this phenomenon is what contemporary literature (Wiesbrock and Arcarazo 2015) describes as an opportunity to employ semi-skilled professionals, as in the case of these groups. They migrate to developing countries (e.g. Brazil) that have similar economies, instead of migrating to countries that have already exhausted jobs for immigrants or prefer their own nationals, such as the other BRICS.

Migration of Africans to Brazil is mostly motivated by social guarantees coupled with labour and social security laws of the country. A critical factor is also the ease of insertion of these immigrants into Brazilian society compared to other traditional receiving countries, such as Canada and Australia, who demand a lot of procedures and documents to meet the process of legal immigration.

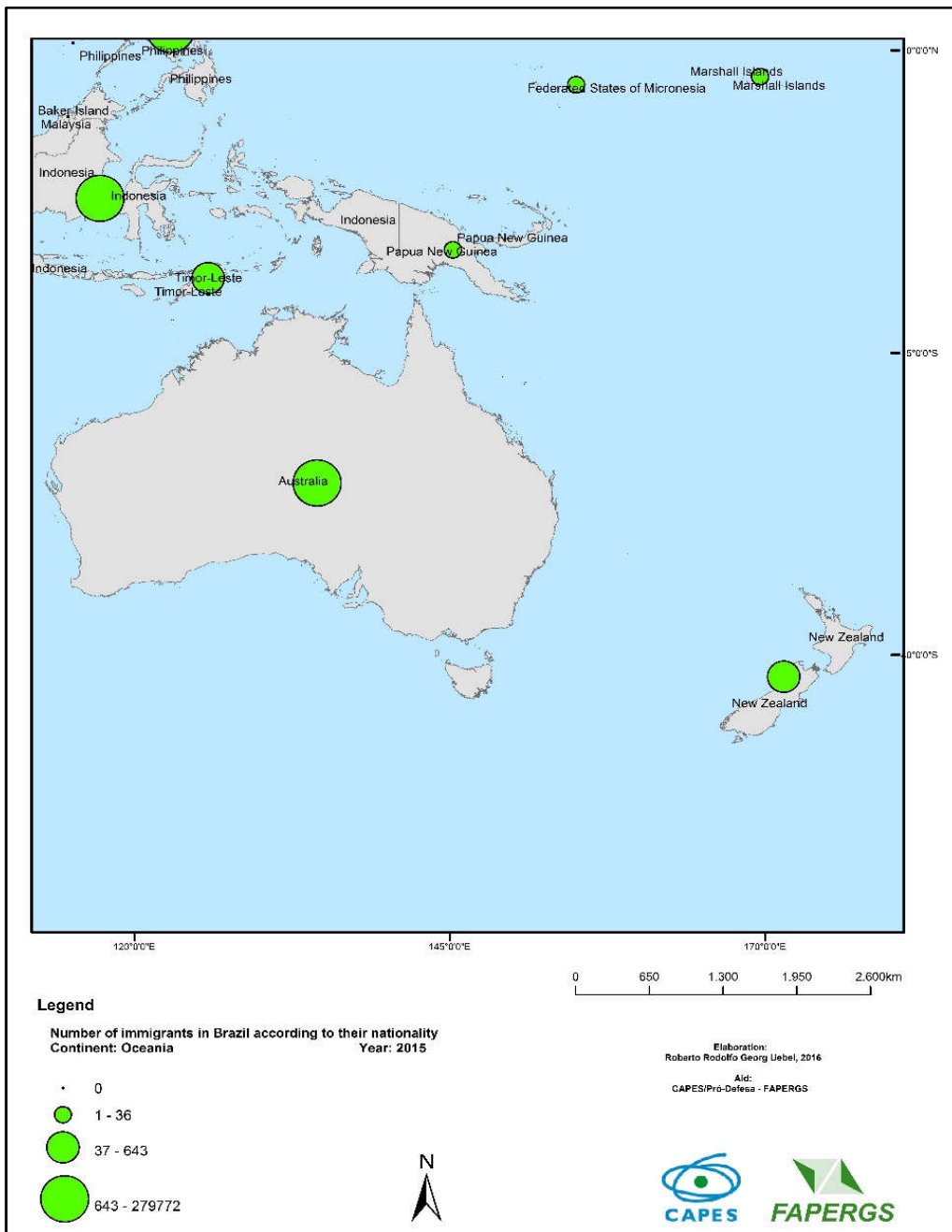
Also, the insertion of Brazil through the BRICS bloc in Asia explains the considerable number of Indians, Chinese and Russians who migrated to the country in the last two decades. Thus, it is a hypothesis that cannot be ignored: the role of BRICS as a mechanism that stimulates migrations inside the bloc, as the number of Brazilians who migrate to other BRICS member states, especially China and Russia, is high (Korobkov 2015; Nóbrega 2016).

It is noteworthy that immigration to Brazil from most Asian countries follows a similar pattern that involves non-traditional or non-direct routes, such as through the United Arab Emirates or Peru, or using the river and terrestrial borders in the Amazon to cross into Brazil illegally. Most of these illegal migrants/refugees are arrested by the migration enforcement forces and ask for refuge, which is usually granted. The government defines them as economic or labour refugees (Harris 1993; The Rockridge Institute 2006).

To conclude this analysis, we present Map 9 (next page) with the origin of the immigrants from Oceania (i.e. Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia), which has the smallest participation in terms of sending migrants to Brazil.

From a global perspective, Australia and New Zealand are countries with little expression in sending migrants to Brazil because they are natural centers of attraction for international immigrants, including Brazilians (Community Relations Section of DIAC 2014). Immigrant numbers from these countries is reflected in the occupation of jobs that require skilled labour, especially in industry, universities and multinationals. Many of these immigrants have dual nationality, which leads to the inference that they are returned Brazilians – a hypothesis raised by Irigaray and Freitas (2014).

Map 9. Map of the nationality of immigrants in Brazil from Oceania
(constructed in 2015)



Source: Federal Police of Brazil (elaborated by the author).

Conclusions and perspectives of international migrations to Brazil

During the 19th and early 20th century, immigrants from the northern hemisphere were wanted in Brazil because they occupied unexplored territories. Today, however, Brazil shows an ambivalence

towards immigrants from Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and Africa. It places Brazil in the geopolitical arena of countries that receive immigrant flows and, consequently, demand State action. The unexpected immigration boom, and the failure of the main models of immigrant integration – the West-French assimilationism and the multicultural model of the Anglo-Saxon countries – provoke awareness on both the positive and negative aspects of the government's approach to immigrants.

In Brazil, the increasing presence of immigrants in the country at the beginning of the 21st century demands a unique and creative model that is detached from the repressive positions that reduce immigration to a legal or police phenomenon that is susceptible to repression or fear. What is needed is an agenda that moves beyond a humanitarian approach. Such an agenda must simplify and illuminate migratory issues, leading to action that will mitigate (ideally eliminate) the conditions of economic slavery that trap many immigrants (e.g. those from Bolivia, Haiti and Senegal).

After the end of the European migrations and the establishment of the Foreigner Act during the dictatorship period, the Brazilian government virtually ignored migratory issues, which can be partially explained by the decrease of immigration flows and refugees at that time. In 2013, however, a new profile of immigration flows to Brazil surfaced. In response, the Brazilian government proposed regional conferences on immigration and refugees with the aim of drafting a new immigration policy and agenda. These events were opportunities for all civil and government stakeholders to find solutions to the immigration/refugee challenge.

This research concludes that Brazil is part of a new wave of international migration – one that demands that representatives of academia and government engage in a constructive debate about what can be done to positively integrate immigrants into Brazilian society. Proper integration is imperative in order to avoid slave labour, prejudice and xenophobia. The cartographic analysis presented in this research reveals a plurality of migrants and nationalities that chose Brazil to recommence their lives and their families.

The consequent relations of immigrations are in this scope reciprocal, positive and enriching for both immigrants and society, despite negative issues, such as racism and xenophobia that are still prevalent. Brazil must overcome the negative issues associated with immigration if it is going to move forward as a regional power, as desired by the legitimate governments of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff.

We doubt that the current “illegitimate” government of President Michel Temer, whose public positions on refugees and the immigration boom from Venezuela are more restrictive than past administrations, will maintain continuity with past immigration policies. This seems evident given the nature of the proposed “new immigration law”, which does not embrace suggestions of previous governments and disregards the national security component of prior Brazilian migratory legislation. Foreign Minister Aloysio Nunes Ferreira (a non-diplomat politician who took office in March of 2017), was responsible for the new migration law. Unlike President Temer, Foreign Minister Ferreira does not want to place restrictions on migratory flows. On the outside looking in, it seems as though both President Temer and Foreign Minister Ferreira are unaware of the Brazilian migratory reality and of Brazil's own interests on the international agenda.

Finally, from the second half of 2015 onwards, new immigration flows towards Brazil have been reducing in intensity and remigration to other countries has been increasing (e.g. those from African countries and Haiti). The studied groups in this article should face remigration processes to countries where employability and integration levels are attractive to these individuals and their families.

As for Brazil, international immigration is expected to decrease, especially given the exposed motives/scenarios of instability and the reduction of economic activity. It remains to be seen as to whether or not Brazil will be a country of remigrations from this point forward.

References

- Adamczyk, Anita. (2014). "Ukrainian immigration to Poland during the political crisis in Ukraine." *Środkowoeuropejskie Studia Polityczne* (3): 29–44.
- Alcaraz, R.C. (2015). *Dinámicas migratorias en América Latina y el Caribe (ALC), y entre ALC y la Unión Europea*. Brussels: International Organization for Migration.
- Arai, J. and Cesar Hirasaki. (2008). *Hyakunen Burajiru Nihon imin no kiseki = 100 anos da imigração Japonesa no Brasil*. São Paulo: Bunkyo.
- Bacha, E. and Herbert S. Klein. (1989). *Social change in Brazil: 1945-1985 The Incomplete Transition*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Baeninger, R. (2013). "Migrações internas no Brasil no século 21: entre o local e o global" (pp. 193-214) in *Processos migratórios no Estado de São Paulo: estudos temáticos*, edited by R. Baeninger and C. Dedecca. Campinas: Núcleo de Estudos de População - Nepo/Unicamp.
- Baeninger, R. (2012). *Fases e faces da migração em São Paulo*. Campinas: Núcleo de Estudos de População - Nepo/Unicamp.
- Baldwin, Allison, ed. (2015). *Japan: The precarious future*. New York: New York University Press.
- Bárbara, M. (2005). "Brasiguaios: território e jogos de identidades" (pp. 333-348) in *Cruzando fronteiras disciplinares: um panorama dos estudos migratórios*, edited by H. Póvoa Neto and A. Ferreira. Rio de Janeiro: Revan.
- Becker, ed. (1958). *Enciclopédia Rio-grandense: Imigração*. Canoas: Editora Regional.
- Boggio, Laura. (2015). *Crisis internacional y migraciones: Los flujos migratorios entre España y Argentina entre 2007 y 2012*. [<http://rephip.unr.edu.ar/handle/2133/5305>, accessed November 20, 2016]
- Bologna, Eduardo. (2016). "Comunidades transnacionales entre países del sur, una aproximación para el caso de los bolivianos en Argentina." *Revista Estudios* (14): 9-20.
- Brito, Gisele. (2014). *Fluxos migratórios recentes já somam novos traços a São Paulo*. [<http://www.redebrasilatual.com.br/cidadania/2014/01/fluxos-migratorios-recentes-ja-somam-novos-tracos-a-sao-paulo-2184.html>, accessed November 20, 2016]
- Brown, O. (2008). *Migration and climate change*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Cardoso, F.H. and Enzo Faletto. (1979). *Dependency and development in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Carneiro, Júlia. (2015). *Cai entrada de imigrantes no Brasil, aponta pesquisa*. [http://www.bbc.com/portuguese/noticias/2015/12/151201_imigracao_brasil_jc, accessed November 20, 2016]
- Community Relations Section of DIAC. (2014). *The Brazil-born Community*. [https://www.dss.gov.au/sites/default/files/documents/02_2014/brazil.pdf, accessed November 21, 2016]
- Da Silva, Sidney Antonio. (2013). "Brazil, a new Eldorado for Immigrants?: The Case of Haitians and the Brazilian Immigration Policy." *Urbanities* (2): 3-18.
- De Carvalho, Ulisses Wehby. (2010). *MELTING POT: o que significa essa expressão?* [<http://www.teclasap.com.br/curiosidades-melting-pot/>, accessed September 7, 2016]

- Dent, B.D. (1985). *Principles of Thematic Map Design*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.
- Di Méo, G. and Pascal Buléon. (2005). *L'espace social: Lecture géographique des sociétés*. Paris: Armand Colin.
- Diversent, Laritza. (2014). *Cambios en la política migratoria del gobierno cubano, ¿Nuevas reformas?* [<https://centrocubalex.com/2014/06/16/cambios-en-la-politica-migratoria-del-gobierno-cubano-nuevas-reformas/>, accessed November 20, 2016]
- Domenech, E. (2007). “Migraciones contemporáneas y pluralismo cultural en la Argentina: el discurso oficial y las prácticas escolares” (pp. 19-46) in *Cartografias da imigração: interculturalidade e políticas públicas*, edited by D. Jardim. Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS.
- Fonseca, M.L., Esteves, A. and Jennifer McGarrigle. (2016). “The economic crisis as a feedback-generating mechanism? Brazilian and Ukrainian migration to Portugal” (pp. 113-133) in *Beyond Networks*, edited by O. Bakewell et al. London: Palgrave Macmillan UK.
- Fundação Getulio Vargas. (2012). *Imigração como vetor estratégico do desenvolvimento socioeconômico e institucional do Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV Projetos.
- Handerson, Joseph. (2015). *Diaspora. As dinâmicas da mobilidade haitiana no Brasil, no Suriname e na Guiana Francesa*. [<https://laemicceppac.files.wordpress.com/2015/06/tese-de-joseph-handerson.pdf> accessed January 03, 2017]
- Harris, Elizabeth Kay. (1993). “Economic refugees: Unprotected in the United States by virtue of an inaccurate label.” *American University International Law Review*, (1): 269–307.
- Harvey, D. (1989). *The condition of postmodernity: An enquiry into the origins of cultural change*. Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers.
- Hatton, T.J. and Jeffrey G. Williamson. (1997). *The age of mass migration: Causes and economic impact*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Holanda, S.B. (2012). *Roots of Brazil*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.
- I-hwan, C. (2011). *Kyŏngje wigi wa koyong ch'eje: Han'guk kwa Ilbon ũi pigyo = economic crisis and employment systems: A comparison of Korea and Japan*. Paju: Hanul Ak'ademi.
- Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. (2016). *Censo Demográfico 2000: Características da População e dos Domicílios: Resultados do universo*. [ftp://ftp.ibge.gov.br/Censos/Censo_Demografico_2000/Dados_do_Universo/, accessed November 16, 2016]
- Irigaray, H.A.R and Maria Ester de Freitas. (2015). “Diáspora brasileira e os trabalhadores retornados do exterior: quando a fantasia encontra a realidade.” *Gestão and Planejamento - GandP*, (3): 628–641.
- Jardim, Denise. (2000). *Palestinos no Extremo Sul do Brasil: Identidade Étnica e os Mecanismos Sociais de Produção da Etnicidade - Chui/RS*. [<https://www.lume.ufrgs.br/bitstream/handle/10183/5249/000298770.pdf?sequence=1> accessed November 21, 2016]
- Juventud Rebelde. (2012). *Preguntas que tal vez usted se hace*. [<http://www.juventudrebelde.cu/cuba/2012-10-20/preguntas-que-tal-vez-usted-se-hace/>, accessed November 20, 2016]
- Khatlab, R. (2011). *Imigração libanesa, há mais de 130 anos no Brasil*. São Paulo: Ed. ACBL.

- Korobkov, Andrei. (2015). "Brics members and the migration challenge." *Tractus aevorum: эволюция социокультурных и политических пространств*, (2): 190–203.
- MacEachren, A.M. (1994). *Some Truth with Maps: A Primer on Symbolization & Design*. Washington, DC: Association of American Geographers.
- Machado, Altino. (2016). *Crise econômica transforma o acre em porta de saída de imigrantes haitianos*. [http://www.altinomachado.com.br/2016/03/crise-economica-transforma-o-acre-em.html, accessed November 18, 2016]
- Margolis, M.L. (2013). *Goodbye, Brazil: Émigrés from the land of soccer and samba*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press.
- Martins, J.S. (1973). *A imigração e a crise do Brasil agrário*. São Paulo: Pioneira.
- Massey, Douglas. (1988). "Economic Development and International Migration in Comparative Perspective." *Population and Development Review* (3): 383-413.
- Mekari, Danilo. (2014). *Observatório pretende estudar a crescente migração ao Brasil*. [http://portal.aprendiz.uol.com.br/arquivo/2014/01/09/observatorio-pretende-estudar-a-crescente-migracao-ao-brasil, accessed November 18, 2016]
- Mera, Koichi. (1988). "The Emergence of Migration Cycles?" *International Regional Science Review* (3): 269-275.
- Nóbrega, Rodolfo C. (2016). *Migração de estudantes universitários entre os países do BRICS: Ensino superior e expansão econômica*. [http://bdm.unb.br/handle/10483/12829, accessed November 21, 2016]
- Pacífico, A.P. and Érika Pires Ramos. (2015). "Humanitarian asylum for forced migrants: The case of Haitians' arrival in Brazil" (pp. 218-239) in *Exploring the Boundaries of Refugee Law*, edited by J-P Gauci. Leiden: Brill.
- Patarra, N. (1996). *Migrações internacionais: Herança XX, agenda XXI*. Campinas: FNUAP.
- Pérez, S.J.P. (1978). *Peripheral accumulation, labour power absorption and relative surplus-population: Some basic remarks*. The Hague: Institute of Social Studies.
- Petrus, R. (2005). "Jovens imigrantes angolanos no Rio de Janeiro: redes sociais, identidade, segregação e estigma" (pp. 311-332) in *Cruzando fronteiras disciplinares: um panorama dos estudos migratórios*, edited by H. Póvoa Neto and A. Ferreira. Rio de Janeiro: Revan.
- Piore, M. (1980). *Birds of passage: Migrant labour and industrial societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Popp, K. and Daniel Salmon. (2012). *Climate change, environmental degradation and migration*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Póvoa Neto, H. and Santos, M.O. and Regina Petrus. (2016). *Migrações: rumos, tendências e desafios*. Rio de Janeiro: PoloBooks.
- Rádio das Nações Unidas. (2015). *OIM afirma que mais europeus estão migrando para a América Latina*. [http://www.unmultimedia.org/radio/portuguese/2015/06/oim-afirma-que-mais-europeus-estao-migrando-para-a-america-latina/#.WCtFtSRpG2E, accessed November 15, 2016]
- Ranincheski, S. and Roberto Rodolfo Georg Uebel. (2014). "La acción del Estado brasileño en relación a los migrantes bolivianos en Brasil: la cuestión del trabajo (in)documentado, refugio e inmigración económica." *Si Somos Americanos* 14(2): 47-79.

- Réseau MIGREUROP. (2012). *Atlas des migrants en Europe: Géographie critique des politiques migratoires*. Paris: Armand Collin.
- Ribeiro, D. (2000). *The Brazilian people: The formation and meaning of Brazil*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.
- Rickards, J. (2014). *The death of money: The coming collapse of the international monetary system*. New York : Portfolio Hardcover.
- Rosière S. (2007). *Géographie politique et Géopolitique: Une grammaire de l'espace politique*. Paris: Ellipses.
- Santos, Mauro Augusto dos et al. (2010). "Migração: uma revisão sobre algumas das principais teorias." *Texto para discussão* 1(138): 1-18.
- Santos, Aline Lima. (2016). *Sistema migratório Brasil-Portugal: hierarquias geográficas e dinâmicas dos fluxos e contrafluxos populacionais no limiar do século XXI*. [http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8136/tde-06062016-114150/, accessed January 04, 2017]
- Sassen, S. (1988). *The mobility of labour and capital: A study in international investment and labour flow*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Sassen, S. (2007). *Sociology of globalization*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Solimano, A. (2003). *Development cycles, political regimes and international migration: Argentina in the twentieth century*. Santiago de Chile: ECLAC, Economic Development Division.
- Souchaud, S. and Fusco, W. and Roberto Luiz do Carmo. (2007). "Mobilidade Populacional e Migração no Mercosul: A fronteira do Brasil com Bolívia e Paraguai." *Teoria e Pesquisa* 16(1): 39–60.
- The Rockridge Institute. (2006). *What are economic refugees?* [http://www.economicrefugee.net/what-does-economic-refugee-mean, accessed November 21, 2016]
- Tilly, Chris. (2011). "The impact of the economic crisis on international migration: A review." *Work, Employment and Society* 25(4): 675–692.
- Uebel, Roberto. (2014). "O uso das escalas geográficas no estudo do processo de imigração contemporânea no Brasil." *GOT - Geography and Spatial Planning Journal* 5: 259–276.
- Véras, Daniel. (2008). *As diásporas chinesas e o Brasil: A comunidade sino-brasileira em São Paulo*. [https://tede2.pucsp.br/handle/handle/3954, accessed November 21]
- Visentini, P. (2015). *O Caótico Século XXI*. Rio de Janeiro: Alta Books.
- Vitorio, B. (2015). *Imigrantes brasileiros e a crise em Portugal*. Santos: Editora Universitária Leopoldianum.
- Wagner, C. (1990). *Brasiguaios: Homens sem pátria*. Petrópolis: Vozes.
- Wallerstein, Immanuel. (1976). "A world-system perspective on the social sciences." *The British Journal of Sociology* 27(3): 343-352.
- Wiesbrock, Arcarazo, ed. (2015). Santa Barbara: *Global migration: Old assumptions, new dynamics*. ABC-CLIO.
- Zamberlam, Jurandir et al. (2009). *Desafios das migrações: buscando caminhos*. Porto Alegre: Sólidus.

Zimmermann, Bauer, ed. (2002). *The economics of migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing.

ⁱ It should be emphasized that immigration data are constantly changing in institutional and methodological areas, and this work is, therefore, not exempt from future variations in the way of measuring migratory flows in Brazil. In addition, due to the troubled political situation in Brazil, which led to the removal of the democratically elected president, Dilma Rousseff and the rise of Michel Temer's contested government - temporarily in May 2016 and definitively on August 31st of the same year - many institutions underwent changes in their names and duties, including the Ministry of Labour. As the period of analysis of this article comprises the last two democratic governments, it was chosen to keep the names of these intuitions as they prevailed at the time.

ⁱⁱ These data were obtained from the federal official bodies through the *Access to Information Act* (Law 12.527, of November 18th, 2011, retrieved from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/ato2011-2014/2011/lei/112527.htm). All data were tabulated and compiled by the author, and are available for a free consultation and download at this link: <http://tinyurl.com/migrationdatauebel>.

ⁱⁱⁱ OBMigra's yearbooks and reports can be accessed on this page: <http://obmigra.mte.gov.br/index.php/relatorio-anual>

^{iv} In this article, we used the classification of nationality adopted by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics and by the Federal Police, so considering all the United Nations members and other non-recognized sovereign States.

^v It is understood by melting pot the places where there are several people, with different lifestyles, cultures, religions and ethnic groups. The expression comes from the original meaning of melting pot, which is where various metals or other substances are melted. In a melting pot, cultural and ethnic mixtures would be "melted" and assimilated by all (De Carvalho, 2010).

^{vi} Law 9.675, of June 29th, 1998. Retrieved from: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/leis/L9675.htm.

^{vii} Based on the statistics of the Department of Homeland Security's Yearbook of Immigration Statistics 2012, which can be found on the website: <https://www.dhs.gov/immigration-statistics/yearbook/2012> on the table "Persons Obtaining Legal Permanent Resident Status: Fiscal Years 1820 to 2012".

^{viii} There is a great contemporary debate in the academy about the extent to which environmental, ecological and natural forces can be considered as a motivation to emigrate or request refuge in another country. In order to take a position in this research, we argue that such motivations from the environment and nature can be considered as an argument for emigration or for refuge. The books, *Climate change, environmental degradation and migration*, by Karoline Popp and Daniel Salmon (2012), and *Migration and climate change*, by Oli Brown (2008), are a reference in environmental immigration issues.

^{ix} On July 2013 President Dilma Rousseff created the *Mais Médicos* program (More Doctors), an initiative of the federal government to import doctors to insert them in cities lacking medical care in the interior of Brazil and middle urban centres. These professionals were incorporated into the Brazilian universal health system (SUS) and worked with poor and indigenous communities. In the illegitimate government of Michel Temer the program was extended, however, with the determination to be occupied predominantly by Brazilians. Most Cubans have returned to their country of origin or migrated to other Latin American countries.