Return International Migration: a study from Portugal to Brazil at the beginning of the XXI century1

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Abstract

The Brazilian emigration Began is so massive, in the 1990s, ejectors backed by several factors, among them, an economic crisis, which led many Brazilians to migrate abroad, mainly in the United States, United Kingdom and Portugal. At that moment, until the last years of this century, the countries considered receivers offered attractive labor markets with good prospects of increased income. This paper refers to the flow Brazil-Portugal. Portugal, which currently presents a number of factors ejectors as a high unemployment, intensified by the International Crisis began in late 2008. The first hypothesis of this study was the high possibility of return of immigrants to Brazil, since the socio-economic development of the companies involved have been reversed in these different moments. The results indicate a deceleration of the inflow in Portugal and a strong flow of the output stream, not explicit in official data, but clear evidence recorded by the statements. The survey was held in Lisbon from December 2010 to July 2011, supported by the resources CAPES5/CNPq6, as part of data collection for the doctoral thesis of the author.

1- Paper presented at XXVII IUSSP International Population Conference - held in Busan, Korea, from 25 to 30 August 2013.

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 ⁶⁻ CNPq – National Counsel of Technological and Scientific Development, Project 477167/2010-1 – A crise e a migração de retorno-Brazil

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I) Introduction

This study seek to describe and analyze a possible return flow of Brazilian immigrants from Portugal, from an analysis of the economic situation and migration of these two countries and focusing with greater precision in the analysis of the current situation of Brazilians in Portugal.

In general, it is considered that the economic reasons are the most relevant in decision making, both at the time of emigration, and in returning. Advance theories to try to explain the act of migrating, but none of them is able to explain this phenomenon by itself.

This fact is repeated on the return migration. Briefly, the explanations are the neoclassical approach that sees individual effort in the quest for maximizing yields through improved income, the reason for the shifts. One of the criticisms of this approach, advocated by Castles (2005), would be the "new economics of labor migration", in which argues that migration can not be explained simply by differences in performance between the two countries, but also should be considered other factors in the analysis, as the chances of finding employment, the availability of capital to start a business activity and the need to manage long-term risks. Among other criticisms, points primarily the issue of family involvement in a process of collective decision and not individual. In the Theory of Systems Migration, the logic of realities involving two or more countries, taking into account their connections, whether economic, cultural, political or other. Massey et al (1993) says that the World Systems Theory stems from the processes of globalization and penetration of markets beyond national borders. This theory leaves the decision to micro, which is considered as a point in common with the Theory of Dual Labor Market.

However, the latter sees the start of the migratory movement as a result of a modern industrial economy. Authors as Singer analyze the phenomenon of migration as social, considering social classes, which are embedded in social processes, economic and political support to migrate.

This idea is as the base-Structural Theory History, which will exalt said push factors and attraction, also known as "economic opportunities". And thus arises the Theory of Social Networks that will support flows to the extent that contribute to the adaptation of immigrant and that will lead to the "migration industry", called by Castles, consisting of recruitment organizations, agents, coyotes and other intermediaries. The emotional aspects as well as the bonds created in the target region are not indicated in any existing theory, especially when it comes the possibility of return.

Therefore, the importance of seeking to know, in the field, the reasons and justifications that are posed by these actors largest displacements - the migrants themselves and the authorities that are involved in this process. According to Bilsborrow (1988), the best way to capture the phenomenon of migration would be through sample surveys specific, given the constraints inherent in the censuses.

The research methodology relied secondary information, such as literature and documents, and primary gathering information through interviews with Portuguese

authorities and Brazilian immigrants living in the country, which would be the core issues: The return was already being captured by all or not? Reacts as representatives of each of the segments? The international crisis was global and decisive motivating factor for recurrence?

This paper aims to contribute in discussions on the issue of international migration, based on perceptions reported by the authorities for authorities NGOs, academics and researchers, and the immigrants themselves.

2) Development e Methodology

Held in Portugal in the period from December 2010 to July 2011, with funding from CAPES - Coordination of Improvement of Higher Education Personnel, through the process number 391110-1 and CNPq – National Counsel of Technological and Scientific Development, Project 477167/2010-1.

The study area and the distribution of the foreign population in Portugal are shown in Map 1. Considering a resident population of 10,487,289 people in 2012, according to INE (2013), the foreign population is 3.98%.

Map 1 – Geographical distribution of foreign population resident in Portugal (2010)



Distribuição Espacial dos Estrangeiros em Portugal

Were used to document research and interviews, they had to support a semi-structured. For documentary research, we tried to obtain literature on international migration and important documents relating to the insertion of immigrants in Portuguese society. We used the following documents:

• Legislation for Foreigners provided by SEF - Foreigners and Borders;

• Report of the Voluntary Return Programme developed by IOM - International Organization for Migration;

• Magazines and theses published by ACIDI - High Commissioner for Immigration and Intercultural Dialogue;

• Annual statistical reports prepared by the SEF - Foreigners and Borders;

• Report of the quantitative survey conducted in 2009 on the profile of the Brazilian community in Portugal;

• Television program displayed by RTP channel on February 2, 2011, called "Civil Society", titled: "The immigrants are giving up Portugal?".

As the interviews were conducted twelve interviews with public and private entities and civil society, related to migration, thirty-seven registered with immigrants, in addition to contact with academics and researchers. The time and place of the interviews varied widely and, in the case of immigrants, some were divided in parts, according to the availability of the interviewee.

Rocha-Trindade (1995) notes the use of interviews in the exploratory phase of research as a particular relevance in the overall process of gathering information on the ground.

The exploratory interview is designed primarily to provide ideas, ways of thinking and approach to the study to be achieved. Is, therefore, an attempt to exploit hypotheses and to discover new ways of solving the object of study. (ROCHA-TRINDADE, 1995, p.118)

For the identification of the state and private portugueses bodies respondents relied on the guidance of researchers from ISEG - School of Economics and Management, Technical University of Lisbon. What about interviews with Brazilian immigrants, was used non-probability sampling accessibility or convenience. This type of sample, according to Gil (1999) is devoid of any statistical rigor. The researcher selects the elements that have access, assuming that they may, in some way, represent the universe.

In some cases, the snowball method was also used, focusing on the variation of the occupation, which was characterized as an important analytical tool.

For registration information, some interviews were recorded and others were recorded in the field notebook. The main information collected are: name, gender, age, marital status, occupation in Portugal, level of education, duration of stay in Portugal; influence of crisis in his life; intention to return to Brazil.

3) Analysis and Results

Going through by the effects of the global crisis that started in 2008, Portugal is showing a negative GDP in recent years, reaching -3.2% in 2012, and an unemployment rate of 16.4%, which implies a strong recession and reduced jobs.

On the other hand, Brazil has a thriving scene, showing the rise in GDP from the 80s and the unemployment rate 5.5% in 2012, according to IBGE (2011), highlighting the shortage of skilled labor in various sectors of the economy, especially in the areas of construction, services and tourism.

Therefore, when analyzing the socio-economic development of the companies involved and considering the premise that the economic factor is relevant in the decision to migrate, it is assumed that there is a heavy flow of Brazilian immigrants returned to Portugal.

Corroborating with the premise, the results of the 2010 Brazilian Census indicate that residents of less than ten years in the country, which have declared the last house a foreign country, 65% had Brazilian citizenship.

In 2012, the number of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal was about 105,000, with 52,000 men and 67,000 women, showing a decrease of 5.22% compared to 2011.

The interviews were analyzed according to the following topics: inflow and legislation; labor market; surveillance SEF; social support of government, public policy and immigrant associations, return flow and prospects.

The survey results point to a slowdown, but not a disappearance from the input flow. There is also evidence of their permanence, which can be confirmed by the statistics of the Portuguese state bodies, based on the issuance of residence permits. Factors that go beyond the economic factor as sentimental relationships, quality of life, violence and costs of living in Brazil were cited in interviews as motivational factors to stay in Portugal.

The uncertainty reigns about the economic future of Portugal aggravates the situation, as the design of long-term plans can be changed at any time. The economic recession has affected very strongly, the Brazilian community. As observed in the interviews, conducted in both in Portugal and in the made in Brazil, the economic crisis has encouraged a rethinking about the migratory project.

What can be observed is that the crisis and its effects encourage the return, but not characteristic of the primary motivator. The intentions of returning going through reflections involving:

- The personal ties in the destination society. Those immigrants who were in a relationship with Portuguese (as) or European (EIAs) in general, even in complicated economic situation, sometimes with low or even no income, do not intend to return. Unless the project includes the spouse of return and the return is made by the couple.
- Mission accomplished. To emigrate, most emigrants proposes to meet goals in improving life in the country of origin. The polls show the main

destination for remittances, aid and investments in real estate family and small business. What was realized in Portugal is that trusted person responsible for receiving the value of the shipment and use it, had a paramount importance when analyzing this variable. Castles(2005) advocates the maintenance of social networks in the country of origin is crucial for a return with good results. Therefore, from the perspective of those who remained in Portugal once met the targets, which in many cases it is found as a source of income to the immigrant society of origin, the crisis becomes a pretext to go, reason many sometimes found with the phrase "... here, not worth getting more ... "

- Level of education. Although the unemployment rate in Brazil is low, around 6%, compared to 16% in Portugal, immigrants know that the college degree is the minimum to get a good position in the Brazilian market, whether in public or private companies. There is a conflict since studies show how prevalent the secondary level.
- Occupation There are some occupations in Brazil, both low and highskilled, who are demanding for labor and are highly valued. If the immigrant has experience in these occupations, such as construction professionals, caregivers, maids, engineers and analysts in Information Technology, you know you will find jobs with good salary level, in Brazil.
- Cost of living The cost of living in some Brazilian cities have been compared to large international centers such as New York. This variable is closely related to income. Several immigrants interviewed cited this variable as a factor of repentance, disappointment and surprise, as in the case of returnees and those who remained in Portugal, as a factor inhibiting the return.
- Nationality The facilities for the acquisition of Portuguese nationality expressed in the law of 2006 encourage immigrants to remain in Portugal for at least five years to apply for this title. However, it can also be seen as a factor encouraging the return, as it ensures the return of immigrants to Portugal if their plans in the country of origin fail or be unable to readjust to society of origin.
- Security The high rates of violence in Brazil, especially in large cities are largely covered by Rede Record Internacional in Portugal. Events of everyday life, such as bank and shopping malls in the afternoon burglaries, have a considerable impact for those who attend these programs. The issue of violence was widely quoted in the polls and is characterized as a motivating factor of remain. What is questioned in this variable is the source of news, it is known that the keeper of this station holds the largest evangelical church in Brazil and as can be observed in the field research, the Brazilian faithful are leaving and maintenance of evangelical churches in Portugal, there is a need for financial intervention by the Brazilian headquarters.
- Freedom This variable was cited by respondents as well as representing various points of view. One of them, related to the issue of violence, means able to move at any time, safely. Another would be from the point of view of the sexual orientation of the immigrant. Although Portugal is a

conservative country in relation to traditions, respondents said that Brazil is a country biased and society in general do not accept. These would be the reflections that would encourage staying in Portugal. Rather, it would be discrimination by the "Brazilian way of being" often manifested in social events, mode of dress and prejudice. Freedom, this angle, would be a reason to leave Portugal, reported by many returned immigrants.

• Minimum Wage - The minimum wage in Portugal is around 500 euros. In Brazil, from January 2012, went to 672 reais, approximately 220 euros. By earning a minimum wage, the immigrant in Portugal has better quality of life, especially if you are located in smaller towns or in the peripheral regions of the major centers. Even with the increase in taxes, rent, food, public transportation and recreation options come at a price much more affordable than that practiced in Brazil. Therefore, consider your work experience acquired abroad, their level of education and region of residence in Brazil, even if you can not keep sending remittances, it is more convenient to stay in Portugal, as you find work in Brazil, but with a pay less than expected and not be able to maintain their standard of living.

• Family ties - This variable is the ratio of the highest incidence in the polls pointed as the main reason for the return. The presence of children, parents, illnesses, spouses and longing of family life are considerable factors. However, this variable will never appear alone. Usually accompanied by another factor analysis as the occupation of the immigrant, because he knows that when he returned, will be close to the family and will not be without work, since it has experience in areas currently valued, such as construction, for instance. It would also be linked to the factor "mission accomplished." The immigrant satisfies their desire to be close to loved ones, but would not go back if it had a form of income, built up over years in which he resided abroad, which guarantees the permanence in Brazil.

The results should be considered preliminary because it is a very recent dynamics in the migratory flows and projects are unstable. And as stated Sayad (2000), the return is naturally desire and dream of all immigrants, the idea is that the study should be extended and derive other new research on this subject, necessary in the short term to monitor flow so unstable.

The issue of return - which can be a real object of study, since it is mainly the order of the ghost that haunts the conscience - is one of the limitations of anthropology, in that it necessarily involves various modes of relationship: a relationship with time the last time and the time of the future, the representation of a projection and the other, being highly dependent on the domain that has the present time [...] (Sayad, 2000, p. 12).

Considering the limitations of a field survey, we highlight the research of small groups and / or communities of limited size.

Another limitation relates to the first and relates to the difficulty in constructing generalizations that is based on a single investigation. (Giddens, 1989).

The fact is that some return will thus taking shape and becoming effective. Based on the findings obtained, it is believed that this thesis has contributed to the analysis of this recent phenomenon surrounding international migration. It is a fact that return migration has recently renewed attention in research and policy.

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