

# **Return migration in Brazil over five-years periods 1986/1991, 1995/2000 and 2005/2010**

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## **Abstract**

The several forms of migration and mobility are factors that historically have played an important role in the socioeconomic development of a country. Among the many types of migration, is one that will be focused in this study: the return migration, one of main events in population dynamics in the last decades. Therefore, the main objective this article will be to discuss some theoretical elements relevant to studies about return migration and, second, examine the direct effect this kind of migration by Units of the Federation (UFs) in Brazil for five-years periods 1986/1991, 1995/2000 e 2005/2010. Thus, it will be possible assess the return of natural to UFs, as well as short-term migration (migration of full return). To this end, the data will be used in the sample Censuses of 1991, 2000 and 2010 and the digital grid Brazilian states.

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## 1 INTRODUCTION

Return migration has represented an important role in the scenario of migration in Brazil, especially in recent decades. States such as Minas Gerais and the nine that make up the Brazilian Northeast, which historically were considered “providers of manpower”, are showing recovery from negative net migration as observed in previous decades. The specific literature on the issue attests that the flow of returned migrants in recent decades was more intense and directed to these states in particular.

A return migrant is the person who left his place of origin to reside in another region for some time and then returned to his birthplace. Economic reason has been considered a major factor why people leave their birthplace for another. That is, going in search for better employment opportunities with the hope of increasing their income. Often times, the migrants get frustrated as a result of their inability to get their desired economic gain mainly because proper assessment of the destination was not done in the first place. On the other hand, migration can still be part of a long-term planning of change of residence when the migrant is well positioned to benefit from his destination at the time of his stay outside home. He then returns to his place of origin when older and thus, enjoys old age with his family.

Sayad (2000 *apud* Fazito, 2005) states that the life cycle of migration closes on return to their birthplace because the return constitutes a symbolic principle that inscribes the circularity in migrations. Thus, the empirical systems migration behave as an essential step: the return, which at one time based symbolically any and all displacement; and plays a structural function in the topology of these systems because streamlines migration process.

This paper aims to discuss some theoretical elements relevant to studies about return migration and, second, to analyze the direct effect this kind of migration by Units of the Federation (UFs) in Brazil for five-years periods 1986/1991, 1995/2000 and 2005/2010. Finally, some considerations are made.

## 2 RETURN MIGRATION

The migration is a complex demographic phenomenon, because at the same time when a migratory flow has universal features and structurally similar to other streams, he develops historically and socially its uniqueness (DAVIS, 1989 *apud* FAZITO, 2005).

Within a broader framework that addresses migratory flows, return migration figure.

[...] the condition of return is always latent in the essence of the emigrant/immigrant. The return is, naturally, the desire and dream of all immigrants, is how to recover the vision, the light is missing the blind, but, as blind,

they know that this is an impossible operation. Remains for them, then, take refuge in uneasy nostalgia or longing of the earth. (SAYAD, 2000).

In the vision Sayad (2000), the feeling of the return is intrinsic to the migrant, once he departs already thinking of his back, which comes to prove the assertion Martins (1986), that the migrant does not feel at home when they migrate, and this is more time consuming than their migration, and for more that do not a return occurs, the feeling of the back, the nostalgia for the birthplace will always be tied to it.

In fact, nostalgia is not evil of the return, because once done, it turns out that he is not the solution: there is no real return (the identical). On the one hand, you can always go back to the starting point, the space lends itself well to this come and go, on the other hand, you can't go back to the time of departure, once again become the one who was at that time, or rediscover the same situation, the places and the men that are left, like if the left (SAYAD, 2000).

It is also given to the return condition of constitutive element of the condition of immigrant a paradox inherent in the constitution of the migratory phenomenon that defines and unifies even because the notion of return “is intrinsically limited to the name and idea of emigration and immigration. There isn't a place in immigration without that there has been emigration from elsewhere; there isn't presence anywhere that does not have the counterpart of an absence elsewhere” (FAZITO, 2005).

The migrant is one who, when moving spatially, is located in a contradictory space of subjective provisionality, where there is the desire to return and of residence real and effective, where there is a need to extend your stay, emerging one sociocultural context specific. A return migrant is the person who left his place of origin to reside in another region for some time and then returned to his birthplace. In general, the reason for leaving the individual is economic, i.e., he goes in search of better employment opportunities and, consequently, in the expectation of increasing their income (COSTA, 2007).

The very spatial change in this context would imply a temporal change, in which the event “migration” would mark the present, past and future. The identity of the migrant would be linked to this temporality, allowing a feeling of familiarity linking these three times. The feeling of temporariness would function as an “anchor” that would allow him to survive away (spatially) in their history, their beliefs, values, customs, in short, everything that was known, familiar, but is now away. Think about the possibility, however remote, of his return allow him to assure individual as in a “strange society” (COSTA, 2007).

According to local conditions, the immigrant can choose between two paths: either return to their society (reintegration), or fixed definitely in place of immigration (inset). Have

contact with a culture, people, habits and environments is always positive, considering the personal development of the immigrant. However, as observed in various situations mentioned by Fazito (2005), acquired skills, can often turn out to be genuine barriers to readaptation of returnees in the societies of origin, and can act as enhancers of conflict with non-migrants. “So both money saved as technical skills acquired not appear to fulfill definite role in the readaptation of the returned communities of origin” (FAZITO, 2005). The author, in this same article, reports that in executed fieldwork in the cities of Governador Valadares and Poços de Caldas had the opportunity to meet some returned successful entrepreneurial that, paradoxically, commented on the remigration of so many acquaintances who returned USA with money and lost it all in bad business in Brazil. The author mentions a conversation held with a return that reports: “... perhaps the biggest problem for Brazilians who have experience of migration is the difficulty to accept wage labor in Brazil. After he returns, the Brazilian “no longer accepts work employee””.

From the point of view of measurement techniques, and by focusing the research done in Brazil (Ribeiro *et al.* 1998; Ribeiro and Carvalho, 1998; Carvalho, 2004), concludes that the return migration exert great impact on the social process of migration, definitely contributing to the strengthening and expansion of migration flows (FAZITO, 2005).

Finally, and a way general and simple, maybe if can say that the return not occurs pure and simply by a “success” or an “failure” economical in labor market of destination, but by issues affective linked the family, friends and/or to own birthplace; by an economic development, cultural, educational and welfare reached by this place, finally, factors often abstract.

## **2.1 Return migration in Brazil**

According Cunha and Baeninger (2001), the 1980s represented for Brazilian migratory history a time of important changes, particularly in relation to historical trends of spatial redistribution of the population. Thus, parallel to the drastic reduction of certain migratory flows to the Southeast or the border areas, one could identify the intensification of return movements, processes that configure the new reality of the socioeconomic development of the country, in particular regarding the possibilities insertion of migrants in their urban centers.

Return migration is undoubtedly one of the main phenomena occurring within the Brazilian migration in recent decades. Regions traditionally suppliers of skilled labor, such as Minas Gerais and the Northeast, show a tendency to recover its population of emigrants. In

the first case, for example, it was observed that there was an increase in the proportion of natural miners (those born in MG) living in Minas Gerais and a reduced proportion of natural miners living in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná and Goiás. At the same time, there was a proportional increase among residents in Minas Gerais, the natural Sao Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Paraná and Goiás. The two phenomenon are related and represent, in part, what is known as direct and indirect<sup>1</sup> effects of return migration of miners to the natural birthplace (UF) (GARCIA and RIBEIRO, 2004). Corroborates and complements the information in the record of Cunha and Baeninger (2005) that:

[...] the volume of return migration has increased enormously in the country in the last 30 years; in the 90s there was an increase on the order of 221% in relation to the volume of this migration compared to the 1970s. This very high increment contributed to the number of people returning to their states of birth passed 1,1 million in the years 1970 to almost 3,8 million in 1990; these volumes indicate the importance it, in recent years, this type of mobility – always present, but at a lower intensity – went on to acquire the national scenario of migration.

The census data on *fixed date*<sup>2</sup> showed that in Brazil about 1,130 million individuals have decided to return to their home states between the years 1995-2000 (IBGE, 2000). Number expressive when considered that among the people who have made some movement in this period about 22% are from returned. Of these, the higher flow of return migration is directed to the Northeast, approximately 40% within the universe of returnees. Already between years 2005-2010, the number of returnees was approximately 1 million people, of which 35% were returned Northeasterners (IBGE, 2010).

This is a relatively new phenomenon, although the 1991 Census, according Baeninger (2000), already pointed to this trend in the behavior of Brazilian migration. Just wondering who these individuals are returning and if they represent, in fact, gains for the receiving region. In 2003, the author has ratified this trend:

In the dynamic Brazilian urban network, migratory movements have become a key element of population growth<sup>3</sup>, even though the intensity of incoming and outgoing people do not always materialize in the resulting numerical expressed by growth rates. The sharp spatial mobility of the population can be seized in localities of

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<sup>1</sup> In general terms, it is called direct effect of return migration to a specific UF all natural that has returned to this unit of the federation (UF) in the decade preceding the census date used as the data source. The indirect effect stems from the immigration of non-natural, accompanied by the return of natural; or stems from the birth of the children of returnees (women returned), the UF destination (RIBEIRO, 1997). The basic information for this analysis is the one that records the previous place of residence of the returned, known as question “last step”.

<sup>2</sup> Corresponds for migrants who, five years ago, were not resident at UF where they lived in timing of a census.

<sup>3</sup> With the decline in fertility and the continuous mortality decline, for many localities migration comes answering for a significant portion of the population increase.

different sizes, indicating that the current process of urbanization in Brazil continues to be marked by significant population movements, especially in urban areas, regardless of size, to other urban areas (BAENINGER, 2003).

In Brazil, there is indicative that the “remigration” of young people with medium education is due to frustrations on expectations of employment, income and housing conditions at the destination, which causes these individuals to return to their places birth, where knowledge of the local, network of friends and family may represent facilities in absorption in the same local labor market. However, this scenario also brings the return of seniors, successful that the decision to migrate, are returning to experience old age with their families (COSTA, 2007).

## **2.2 Profile of Brazilian migrants returned**

Studies conducted in Brazil show evidence of positive selectivity in the initial group of migrants (SANTOS JUNIOR *et al.*, 2005 and JUSTO and SILVEIRA NETO, 2006). These studies indicate that migrants are, on average, people with higher educational level, younger, with higher levels of income and hours worked. However, these studies are not concerned to demonstrate the enhancement of selectivity for the group of returnees.

As of 1980 Census is possible to build the profile of return migrants. The data showed evidence that these migrants are on average older than non-returnees. This peculiarity in the Brazilian return migration is a sign that the initial migration, for much of the returnees, was successful, since during its trajectory the migrant return gained better education, returning fittest to the labor market in their birthplace. In this case, it comes back with better quality of life, and can thrive in their place of origin (COSTA, 2007).

Note that, although the profile of Brazilian return migrants is linked to older ages, the frustrations about the materialization of employment and income at the destination forcing some younger individuals to return to their birthplace, even when they are still in full production capacity, when they could be enjoying gains from migration (COSTA, 2007).

According Cunha (2006), migrants do not return from the beginning of this century in Brazil is indeed young, and about 70% have between 15 and 49 years. The ratio of women to men is the thereof presented for the national total population, according to data collected by Cunha (2006) from the National Household Survey 2004. The migrant is slightly more educated than the average, but this is more a reflection of the age of the migrant than a differential relative to non-migrants. Also in relation to education, the profile of migrant also varies from region to region in Brazil. “The states of the Northeast show a very big loss for

people with good education, an estimated 57.000 in eight years. On the other hand, the Midwest received 100 thousand people with good education in the same period” (CUNHA, 2006).

In Brazilian literature, the aspect of “remigration” and migration to backward regions have been little emphasized, except in works that explored the importance of the issue as a concern of spatial distribution (GARCIA and RIBEIRO, 2004 and RIBEIRO, 1997).

The return migration takes more and more importance in the context of interstate migration, given the new dynamics and migration patterns emerging. Ribeiro (1997), analyzing the information to the Brazilian Northeast and referencing Martine (1994) records:

The phenomenon of northeastern return can be analyzed, on the one hand, a sociological perspective, i.e., represent a return to birthplace, where the network of relationships and knowledge would facilitate survive during the crisis years. From the economic point of view, and a further interpretation more optimistic, the return may be linked to the fact that, during the 1980s, the Northeast would have shown positive signs, for example, a public administration more effective, the opening of new sources work, etc., facts that would have encouraged the return.

For Sayad (2000), the return is not always gives a very satisfactory manner, because when they return seek in the space left also the time left, that is, it is expected that everything is the same as was left in its original location, and this fact does not occur, because time also passed at that place, going on not only a physical change, but mainly a change with people from their land.

Martine, cited by Brito (2003), demonstrates the hypothesis that migrants, traversing its trajectories, pass through a set of steps, a sort of progressive socialization, to reach a final destination, where they would be fully absorbed by the economy and society. In addition to this possibility, the emigrant, once at their final destination, and after a certain residence time, tend to increase their capacity for integration at the destination, improving their level of education and occupation and, consequently, their income, what to feed a return to their place of origin.

In an attempt to analyze the role recent of return migration, it is commented like the censuses can assist this task and then discusses the relevance and evolution of this type of mobility for the Brazilian case.

### **3 METHODS**

In this article, we used direct techniques of migration to calculate the number of immigrants and emigrants in units of the federation, and consequently, the net migration.

The direct techniques of migration estimation procedures can be done through the use of census questions related to migrants (RIGOTTI, 1999). The direct technique highlights the use of the variable *place of last residence*, which corresponds to people who resided in another municipality before moving to their present place where they are registered. This information, combined with the *residence time*, allows the definition of the last step of migration<sup>4</sup>, this information that combines the dimension temporal and spatial<sup>5</sup> (RIGOTTI, 1999).

In turn, the question of fixed date allows for the calculation of net migration and population flow from the combination between the place of residence 5 years ago and the place of current residence, although nothing is known about the stages intermediate. Thus, net migration can be defined as “the difference between the volume of not living in the region at the start of the period and beyond migrated (immigrants) and those who resided there at the beginning of the period and it came out (emigrants)” (RIGOTTI, 1999).

With the goal of, first, contextualize interstate migration in Brazil and second, identifying and contextualizing the current frame and the main migration trends (which becomes important, given the recent availability of microdata from the Census 2010), the questions of fixed date were used to calculate and mapping of net migration, the net migration rates<sup>6</sup> and flows to the units of the federation in five-year periods 1986/1991, 1995/2000 and 2005/2010. Last step migration, was calculated from the emigrants and immigrants with residence time less than 5 years and age less than 5 years. This criterion was adopted for the construction of short-term migration, which will be discussed later.

Regarding return migration, Carvalho and Rigotti (1998) state that it should be considered like return of a period where all immigrants of that period, sometime in the past, had resided in the study area. With the introduction of item fixed date in the 1991 Census, there are new possibilities for measuring return migration. Based on Carvalho and Rigotti (1998), one can calculate the return occurred within each of the five-year periods considered, whether or not the migrant returned to his natural geographical unit. In this context, we calculate the return immigrants of fixed date, the relative proportion of this group in relation to the total number of immigrants and flow quinquennial this portion of the migrant

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<sup>4</sup> Correspond to migrants less than five years of residence at UF, with five or more years old.

<sup>5</sup> The data developed in this article correspond to internal migrations, i.e., excluded international migrations.

<sup>6</sup> The NMR represents “the proportion of the population observed in the second census resulting from the migration process, when the rate is positive, and the proportion in which the population would be increased in the absence of migration, if negative” (CARVALHO; RIGOTTI, 1998).



#### 4 RESULTS

The data in Table 1 show that the total population has grown in the last three censuses in all UFs, to a greater or lesser proportion. Regarding the net migration, these oscillated in each state. In the North region, e.g., the Acre presented net migratory and net rates negative in the three five-year periods analyzed. Note that, besides the net migration are near zero for this state, mobility is also low, given that in the whole period analyzed, both immigrants and emigrants circled around 15,000 people; unlike other states in the region, which also showed lower net migration but with population flows and higher order, as shown in Table 1. Besides Acre, Pará only in the North region revealed population loss in the last two five-year periods (1995/2000 and 2005/2010), due to the significant loss of population to the Amazonas, especially the five-year period 1995/2000, as can be seen in Figure 2a. Moreover, the other states of this region exhibited net migration and positive net rates in all analyzed periods, being that immigrants have origins mainly in the state of Maranhão, bound for, mainly, to the state of Pará (Figure 2a). Still in relation to the net gains population, deserves the state of Roraima, which showed higher net migration rates for the first two five-year periods, 13.17% and 10.29%, respectively.

In the Northeast region, with the exception of Rio Grande do Norte in the last two five-year periods, and Sergipe in five-year periods 1986/1991 and 2005/2010, all other states had net migration and negative net rates. Although there is a decrease in migratory losses in the Northeast region over the past 25 years, with net migration rates of -2.06%, -1.60% and -1.32%, respectively in the three five-year periods, this loss is considerable, because it checks a negative net migration of 701.078 people in the five-year period 2005/2010. Although migrants from the Northeast have as main destiny the state of São Paulo, the three five-year periods under analysis, the maps in Figure 2 allow us to observe that the configuration of these flows of emigrants has been changing in recent decades. In five-year periods 1986/1991 and 1995/2000, the states of Bahia and Pernambuco were primarily responsible for the emigration towards São Paulo (with flows greater than 70.000 people, for each period and state). Bahia and Pernambuco were the two northeastern states with the highest net loss of population in the period 1986/1991 (282.477 and 145.555, respectively). In the period 1995/2000 notes a reduction of negative net migration in Bahia and Pernambuco, although with significant losses and high emigration to São Paulo, and the loss of the second position

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<sup>7</sup> See (RIGOTTI, 1999).

of Pernambuco in relation to negative net migration for the state of Maranhão. In the period 2005/2010, it is interesting to note the continuous reduction of negative net migration in Bahia and Pernambuco, the latter at a faster pace, which reflects the reduction of flows to São Paulo originated in Pernambuco. Bahia remains not only the main source of emigrants to São Paulo, but as the main responsible for the negative net migration northeast, accompanied by the state of Maranhão. However, São Paulo remains the main destination for emigrants northeasterners, in a context of continuing population losses, with the exception for Sergipe and Rio Grande do Norte, which showed positive net migration in the five-year period 2005/2010. Also worth mentioning the state of Maranhão, which after an increase of population losses in five-year periods 1986/1991 and 1995/2000, mainly for the Northern Region (Pará and Amazonas), and negative net migration rates in 2,73% and 3,07%, respectively, began to observe the period 2005/2010 a slight reduction of the deficit, even with the net migration rates representative (negative 2,51%). Similarly, the states of Piauí and Alagoas also exhibit in this last period negative and high net migration rates, on the order of 2,26% and 2,46%, respectively.

Regarding the Southeast region, it is observed net migration and positive net rates throughout the period analyzed, although these gains, in absolute terms, are diminished considerably. São Paulo and Espírito Santo showed positive net migration in the three five-year periods. However, in the period 1986/1991 to 1995/2000, São Paulo, reduced its positive net migration at around 55%. By analyzing the columns of immigrants and emigrants in Table 1, it appears that this is due mainly to increased emigration, partly consisting of return migration. The five-year period 1986/1991, São Paulo received mostly immigrants from the states of Bahia and Pernambuco (as already observed), and Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Paraná. In the next five-year period, there is a sharp reduction in immigrants originating from these last three states (Figure 2). However, Figure 3, corresponding to return migration of fixed date, shows the high emigration of São Paulo due to the strong increase in return migration among the first two five-year periods analyzed, largely on returned of São Paulo to Paraná, Minas Gerais and several northeastern states, the periods 1986/1991 and 1995/2000. In the period 2005/2010, a decrease of immigrants in São Paulo originating from Pernambuco is somehow compensated by the increase of immigrants originating in Piauí and Ceará (states that have shown variations in net migration, in both cases negative, in three five-year periods analyzed). Minas Gerais, which had reversed their net migration from negative to positive in the first two five-year periods, largely due to the reduction of population losses, mostly for São Paulo, back to lose population in the last reporting period, although this loss was only

14.105 people. The Rio de Janeiro, which, like Minas Gerais, reversed its net migration from negative to positive between the first two five-year periods, maintained a positive net migration in the last five-years, even lower than the previous period.

The South region had negative net migration in periods 1986/1991 and 1995/2000, and started to show positive net migration and positive net rate in the period 2005/2010. Santa Catarina is the only state in the South region that shows positive net migration for the whole period analyzed, and in the last period can observe a considerable increase. The maps in Figure 2 show that the increase in net migration of 45.303 and 59.986 in the periods 1986/1991 and 1995/2000 to 172.455 persons in 2005/2010 (Table 1), occurs due to the significant increase of immigrants, in order of 51% between the last two five-year periods, originating largely from neighboring states (Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul). On the other hand, Rio Grande do Sul and Paraná states that are traditionally lose population, although this trend has been decreasing in the case of Paraná, due to the reduction of net losses of population to São Paulo and with the increase of immigrants returned this state.

Finally, all states of the Midwest in the last 25 years, with the exception of Mato Grosso do Sul in the second five-year period, showed positive net migration and positive net rates. Goiás has excelled between the states of this region show net migration rates slightly higher than the others in the last two five-year periods, and increasing the number origins, in relation to flows of greater intensity, in five-year periods 1995/2000 and 2005/2010, highlighting the increase in immigrants from Maranhão and the Distrito Federal. In turn, Mato Grosso faces a substantial reduction in immigration, with relative maintenance of the number of emigrants in the periods under analysis. Already the Distrito Federal showed positive net migration, while declining, in the three five-year periods analyzed, largely by increasing the number of emigrants, mainly between 1986/1991 and 1995/2000.

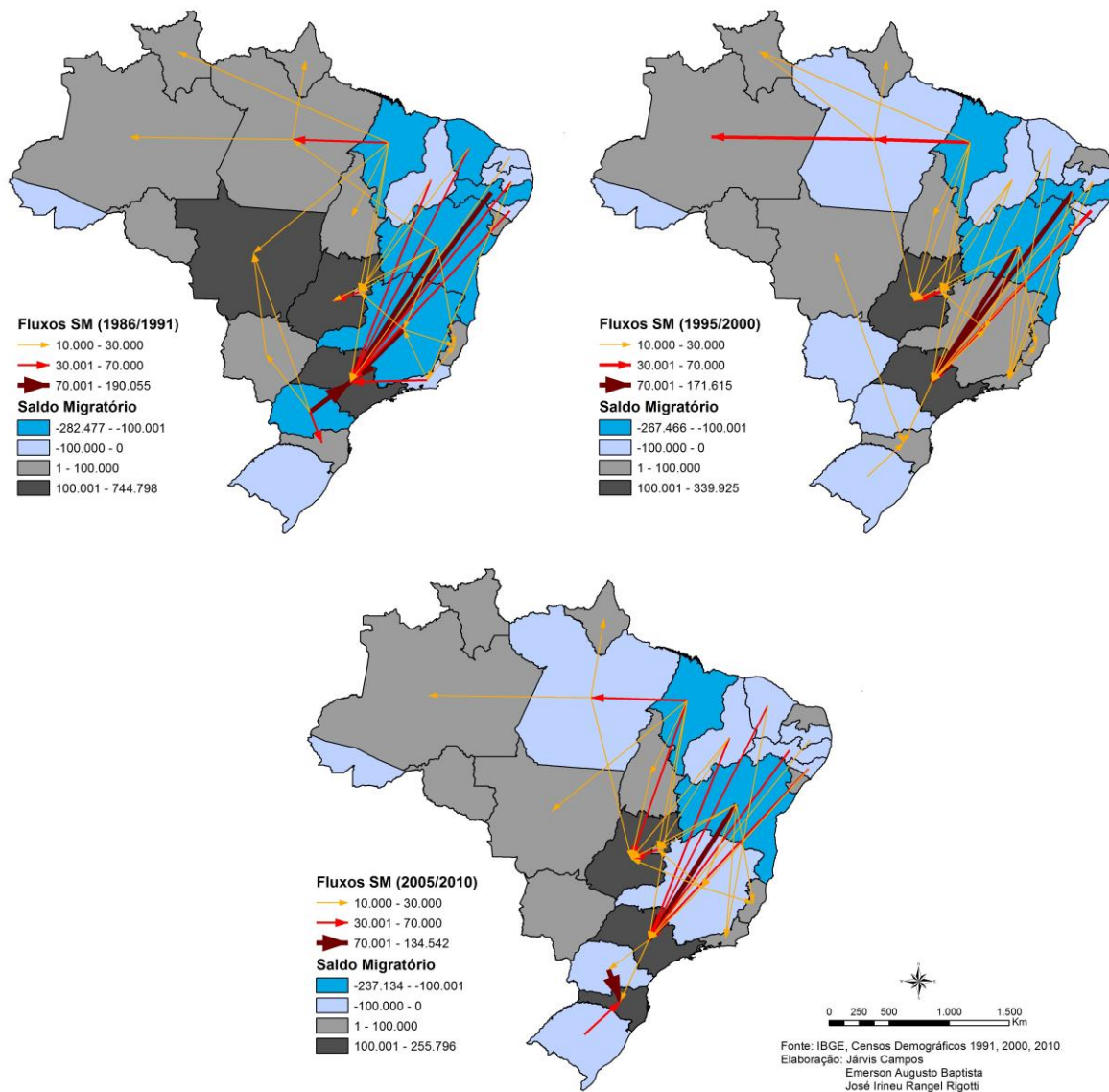
Therefore, it is worth asking if the same units of the federation with constant migratory gains continue with these standards in the future. Past experience has shown that even spatial units with highlighted net gain of population tend, over time, to experience a reduction in their net migration.

**Table 1**  
**Brazil (UFs), total population, immigrants, emigrants, net migration (SM) and net migration rate (TLM) of Fixed Date – 1986/1991, 1995/2000 and 2005/2010**

Unidades da Federação (Ufs)	1986/1991					1995/2000					2005/2010				
	Pop. (1991)	IMIG.	EMIG.	SM	TLM	Pop. (2000)	IMIG.	EMIG.	SM	TLM	Pop. (2010)	IMIG.	EMIG.	SM	TLM
Rondônia	1.132.692	127.061	94.462	32.599	2,88	1.380.952	83.325	72.734	10.591	0,77	1.562.409	65.865	53.639	12.226	0,78
Acre	417.718	12.981	14.344	-1.363	-0,33	557.882	13.635	16.069	-2.434	-0,44	733.559	13.879	14.747	-868	-0,12
Amazonas	2.103.243	59.366	44.287	15.079	0,72	2.817.252	89.626	58.658	30.968	1,10	3.483.985	71.450	51.302	20.148	0,58
Roraima	217.583	35.346	6.693	28.653	13,17	324.397	47.750	14.380	33.370	10,29	450.479	25.555	11.207	14.348	3,19
Pará	4.950.060	212.437	183.197	29.240	0,59	6.195.965	182.045	234.235	-52.190	-0,84	7.581.051	162.005	201.832	-39.827	-0,53
Amapá	289.397	23.641	7.149	16.492	5,70	477.032	44.582	15.113	29.469	6,18	669.526	37.026	15.226	21.800	3,26
Tocantins	919.863	82.327	71.804	10.523	1,14	1.157.690	95.430	82.513	12.917	1,12	1.383.445	85.704	77.052	8.652	0,63
<b>Norte</b>	<b>10.030.556</b>	<b>553.159</b>	<b>421.936</b>	<b>131.223</b>	<b>1,31</b>	<b>12.911.170</b>	<b>556.393</b>	<b>493.702</b>	<b>62.691</b>	<b>0,49</b>	<b>15.864.454</b>	<b>461.484</b>	<b>425.005</b>	<b>36.479</b>	<b>0,23</b>
Maranhão	4.930.253	103.447	237.929	-134.482	-2,73	5.657.552	100.820	274.470	-173.650	-3,07	6.574.789	105.682	270.663	-164.981	-2,51
Piauí	2.582.137	72.949	139.447	-66.498	-2,58	2.843.428	88.736	140.815	-52.079	-1,83	3.118.360	73.614	144.036	-70.422	-2,26
Ceará	6.366.647	121.649	245.166	-123.517	-1,94	7.431.597	162.926	186.709	-23.783	-0,32	8.452.381	112.372	181.223	-68.851	-0,81
Rio Grande do Norte	2.415.567	75.570	76.443	-873	-0,04	2.777.509	77.917	71.286	6.631	0,24	3.168.027	67.728	54.014	13.714	0,43
Paraíba	3.201.114	88.903	174.058	-85.155	-2,66	3.444.794	102.005	163.485	-61.480	-1,78	3.766.528	96.028	125.523	-29.495	-0,78
Pernambuco	7.127.855	171.677	317.232	-145.555	-2,04	7.929.154	164.872	280.289	-115.417	-1,46	8.796.448	148.498	223.586	-75.088	-0,85
Alagoas	2.514.100	60.881	112.632	-51.751	-2,06	2.827.856	55.967	127.949	-71.982	-2,55	3.120.494	53.591	130.307	-76.716	-2,46
Sergipe	1.491.876	55.976	42.213	13.763	0,92	1.784.829	52.109	56.931	-4.822	-0,27	2.068.017	53.038	45.143	7.895	0,38
Bahia	11.867.991	186.614	469.091	-282.477	-2,38	13.085.769	250.572	518.038	-267.466	-2,04	14.016.906	229.226	466.360	-237.134	-1,69
<b>Nordeste</b>	<b>42.497.540</b>	<b>937.666</b>	<b>1.814.211</b>	<b>-876.545</b>	<b>-2,06</b>	<b>47.782.488</b>	<b>1.055.924</b>	<b>1.819.972</b>	<b>-764.048</b>	<b>-1,60</b>	<b>53.081.950</b>	<b>939.777</b>	<b>1.640.855</b>	<b>-701.078</b>	<b>-1,32</b>
Minas Gerais	15.743.152	371.888	479.398	-107.510	-0,68	17.905.134	447.781	408.659	39.122	0,22	19.597.330	376.519	390.624	-14.105	-0,07
Espírito Santo	2.600.618	135.421	90.908	44.513	1,71	3.097.498	129.169	95.166	34.003	1,10	3.514.952	130.820	70.120	60.700	1,73
Rio de Janeiro	12.807.706	253.402	295.071	-41.669	-0,33	14.392.106	319.749	274.212	45.537	0,32	15.989.929	270.412	247.308	23.104	0,14
São Paulo	31.588.925	1.392.792	647.994	744.798	2,36	37.035.456	1.223.809	883.884	339.925	0,92	41.262.199	991.313	735.517	255.796	0,62
<b>Sudeste</b>	<b>62.740.401</b>	<b>2.153.503</b>	<b>1.513.371</b>	<b>640.132</b>	<b>1,02</b>	<b>72.430.194</b>	<b>2.120.508</b>	<b>1.661.921</b>	<b>458.587</b>	<b>0,63</b>	<b>80.364.410</b>	<b>1.769.064</b>	<b>1.443.569</b>	<b>325.495</b>	<b>0,41</b>
Paraná	8.448.713	269.080	475.190	-206.110	-2,44	9.564.643	297.308	336.998	-39.690	-0,41	10.444.526	272.181	293.694	-21.513	-0,21
Santa Catarina	4.541.994	170.304	125.001	45.303	1,00	5.357.864	199.651	139.665	59.986	1,12	6.248.436	301.343	128.888	172.455	2,76
Rio Grande do Sul	9.138.670	114.295	138.857	-24.562	-0,27	10.187.842	113.395	152.891	-39.496	-0,39	10.693.929	102.613	177.262	-74.649	-0,70
<b>Sul</b>	<b>22.129.377</b>	<b>553.679</b>	<b>739.048</b>	<b>-185.369</b>	<b>-0,84</b>	<b>25.110.349</b>	<b>610.354</b>	<b>629.554</b>	<b>-19.200</b>	<b>-0,08</b>	<b>27.386.891</b>	<b>676.137</b>	<b>599.844</b>	<b>76.293</b>	<b>0,28</b>
Mato Grosso do Sul	1.780.373	124.046	105.021	19.025	1,07	2.078.070	97.709	108.738	-11.029	-0,53	2.449.024	98.972	80.907	18.065	0,74
Mato Grosso	2.027.231	226.905	118.332	108.573	5,36	2.505.245	166.297	123.726	42.571	1,70	3.035.122	143.956	121.589	22.367	0,74
Goiás	4.018.903	268.063	156.665	111.398	2,77	5.004.197	372.702	169.898	202.804	4,05	6.003.788	363.933	156.104	207.829	3,46
Distrito Federal	1.601.094	195.233	143.670	51.563	3,22	2.051.146	216.200	188.576	27.624	1,35	2.570.160	190.422	175.872	14.550	0,57
<b>Centro-Oeste</b>	<b>9.427.601</b>	<b>814.247</b>	<b>523.688</b>	<b>290.559</b>	<b>3,08</b>	<b>11.638.658</b>	<b>852.908</b>	<b>590.938</b>	<b>261.970</b>	<b>2,25</b>	<b>14.058.094</b>	<b>797.283</b>	<b>534.472</b>	<b>262.811</b>	<b>1,87</b>

Source: IBGE, Sidra, Censuses of 1991, 2000 e 2010.

**Figure 2**  
Streams interstate referring to net migration: periods 1986/1991(a), 1995/2000(b) e 2005/2010(c)



Source: IBGE, Censuses of 1991, 2000 e 2010.

Table 2 shows the return immigrants of *fixed date* for five-year periods studied and their percentage contribution, in view of the total immigrant of *fixed date*. In the North region, for example, there was an increase in the number of returned migrants, as well as increased the relative share of the same between the total migrants in five-year periods analyzed. Mainly in the states of Acre, Tocantins and Pará that over the periods analyzed showed higher proportion of returnees of the North region, and that the five-year period 2005/2010 this percentage was approximately 15%. It is important to note that this region is not observed (Figure 3) substantial return flows originating from a single UF, based on the

adopted cutting 10.000 people (this value set for all periods, as from the distribution analysis the data).

Regarding the Northeastern states, the recovery over the past 25 years has been more expressive than the Northern states, both in absolute and percentage terms. Five-year periods between 1986/1991 and 1995/2000 it is noticed through Figure 3, a significant increase in return migration, especially for the states of Bahia, Pernambuco and Ceará, originated in São Paulo. As an example one takes the state of Bahia, which in the period of 1986/1991 had 61.005 return immigrants, what amounted to 32,69% of all immigrants to the state. In the second five-year period, however, these values were 108.094 and 43,14%, respectively, i.e., a considerable increase, but with a decrease in the 2005/2010 (Table 2). In the last five years, it is observed that, with the exception of the states of Sergipe and Rio Grande do Norte, the other northeastern states show a proportion of returnees in relation to flows of fixed date above 35%. This may be related to net migration observed to be positive in these two UF's, the five-year period 2005/2010.

In the case of the Southeast region, the main highlight is the state of Minas Gerais, whose reversal of negative net migration in previous decades shows strong relationship with the increase in return migration, derived largely from the state of São Paulo. In turn, the other states in the region have a lower proportion of returnees in the five-year flows. While the Espírito Santo has reduced the proportion of returnees, São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro walk in the opposite direction. In the state of São Paulo return migration is originated from the states of Paraná and Minas Gerais in the five-year period 1995/2000. In addition to these two states, the Bahia contributes significantly in the period 2005/2010 to an increase of returnees in São Paulo.

In the South region the state of Paraná, that in the three five-year periods analyzed was "benefited" by the returned state of São Paulo, has shown a steady reduction of returnees throughout the period, although it is the state with the largest number of returnees. In turn, Santa Catarina remained relatively constant the absolute number of returnees, although the proportion of these have reduced in relation to flows of *fixed date*. Finally, the state of Rio Grande do Sul presents, for the whole period, the highest proportion of returnees *fixed date*, although there is a reduction in absolute terms.

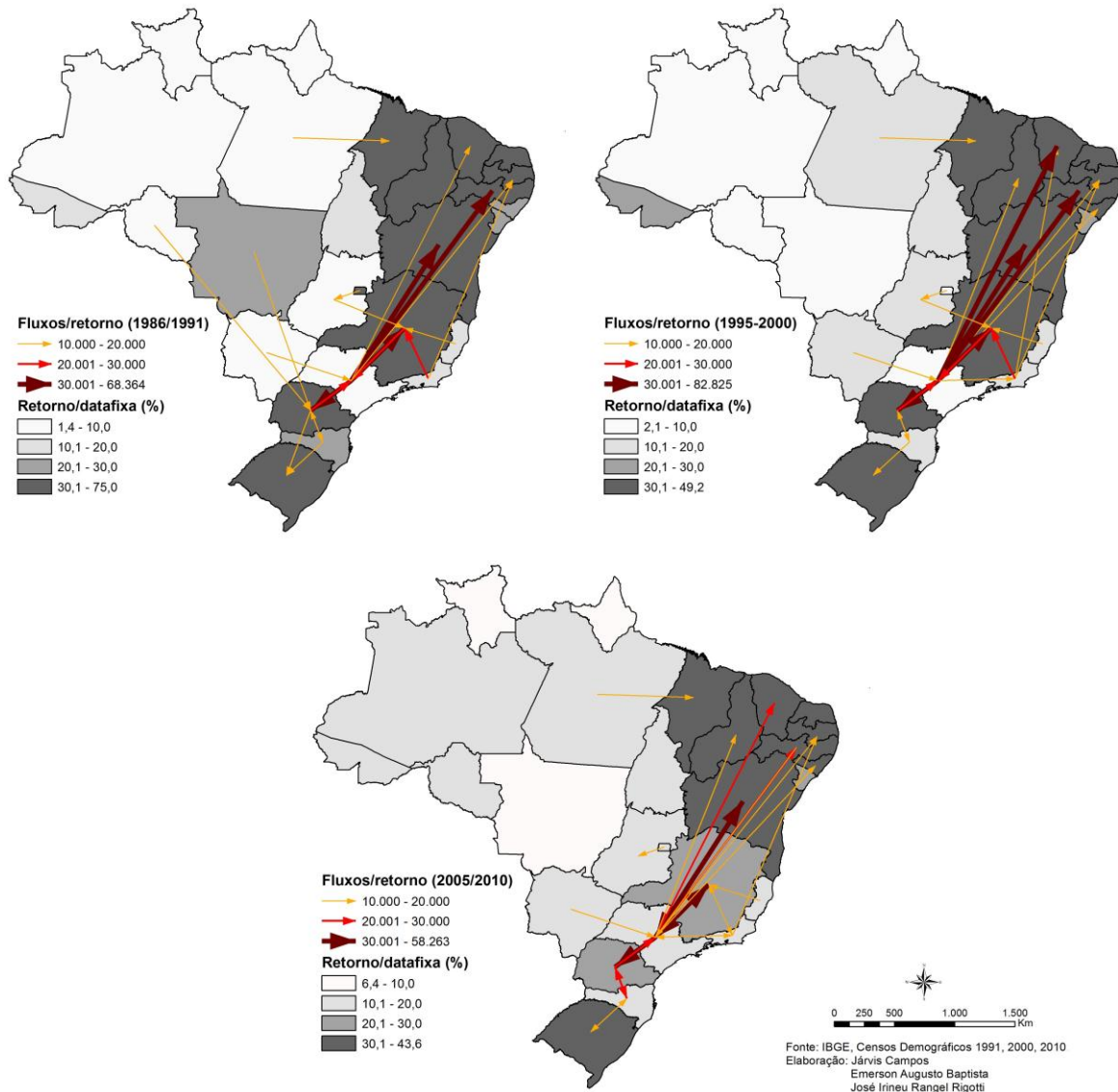
Regarding the Midwest region, the contribution of return migration, although it has grown in the last three decades, was not significant compared to other regions of Brazil. This can evidenced by the absence of return migration flows above 20.000 people, seen in Figure 3.

**Table 2**  
**Brazil (UFs), return immigrants of *Fixed Date* – 1986/1991, 1995/2000 e 2005/2010**

Unidades da Federação (Ufs)	1986/1991		1995/2000		2005/2010	
	Imig. de retorno	Imig. total %	Imig. de retorno	Imig. total %	Imig. de retorno	Imig. total %
Rondônia	2.093	1,65	6.091	7,31	6.760	10,26
Acre	2.195	16,91	2.784	20,42	2.125	15,31
Amazonas	3.712	6,25	8.620	9,62	7.280	10,19
Roraima	498	1,41	1.007	2,11	1.620	6,34
Pará	17.491	8,23	27.797	15,27	26.127	16,13
Amapá	1.555	6,58	2.326	5,22	2.530	6,83
Tocantins	10.764	13,07	14.271	14,95	12.970	15,13
Maranhão	34.997	33,83	43.187	42,84	40.915	38,72
Piauí	28.236	38,71	40.998	46,20	28.695	38,98
Ceará	63.058	51,84	78.469	48,16	49.004	43,61
Rio Grande do Norte	27.658	36,60	27.749	35,61	20.435	30,17
Paraíba	43.050	48,42	50.154	49,17	39.223	40,85
Pernambuco	73.555	42,84	73.557	44,61	54.050	36,40
Alagoas	17.006	27,93	23.239	41,52	20.274	37,83
Sergipe	14.296	25,54	13.512	25,93	13.502	25,46
Bahia	61.005	32,69	108.094	43,14	86.640	37,80
Minas Gerais	155.323	41,77	161.044	35,96	111.447	29,60
Espírito Santo	24.954	18,43	21.832	16,90	18.744	14,33
Rio de Janeiro	37.667	14,86	49.351	15,43	47.114	17,42
São Paulo	130.838	9,39	116.430	9,51	156.873	15,82
Paraná	93.544	34,76	94.652	31,84	79.042	29,04
Santa Catarina	36.462	21,41	34.961	17,51	39.013	12,95
Rio Grande do Sul	49.312	43,14	40.434	35,66	39.922	38,91
Mato Grosso do Sul	15.930	12,84	14.998	15,35	16.136	16,30
Mato Grosso	8.062	3,55	10.364	6,23	11.497	7,99
Goiás	48.400	18,06	54.292	14,57	47.785	13,13
Distrito Federal	6.376	3,27	9.481	4,39	19.939	10,47
<b>Brasil</b>	<b>1.008.037</b>	<b>20,11</b>	<b>1.129.694</b>	<b>21,74</b>	<b>999.662</b>	<b>21,53</b>

Source: IBGE, Censuses of 1991, 2000 e 2010.

**Figure 3**  
**Streams interstate referring to returnees immigrants of *Fixed Date*: periods 1986/1991(a), 1995/2000(b) e 2005/2010(c)**



Source: IBGE, Censuses of 1991, 2000 e 2010.

As discussed in the methodological section, the introduction of the questions of fixed date starting from 1991 census allowed calculating the return migration of short-term, which correspond to individuals who emigrated and returned within the five-year period. This definition characterizes the migration of full return.

Although recent studies indicate a decrease in interstate flows, given the current Brazilian migratory pattern, Table 3 shows a significant increase in short-term movements, especially between 1986/1991 and 1995/2000, both in absolute and relative terms.

In the five-year period 1986/1991, the volume of interstates immigrants of return of short-term totaled little less than 580.000 people in Brazil, i.e., 10,4% of total migrants last

step, with less than five years of residence. This quota increased 156,9% (to nearly 1,5 million people) in the next period, corresponding to 22,3% of the total. Noteworthy is the fact that all units of the federation, without exception, have experienced percentage increases substantial this kind of mobility, with the largest occurred in those states whose participation was lower in the first five-year period considered. Some highlights are: the states of the Northern region, the area of most recent occupation; as well as the state of São Paulo, with the largest volume among all units of the federation and relative increase of 289,7% between the two periods; and also Mato Grosso, with the largest relative increase, if we disregard the states of the North. Therefore, there is strong evidence that the beginning of this new century has been marked by the intensification of interstates migration of back and forth, in a short period of time.

**Table 3**  
**Brazil (UFs), short-term immigrants, percentage of short-term immigrants to total of immigrants from last step, by units of the federation – 1986/1991, 1995/2000 and 2005/2010**

Unidades da Federação (Ufs)	1986/1991		1995/2000		2005/2010	
	imigrantes de curto prazo		imigrantes de curto prazo		imigrantes de curto prazo	
	total	% imig.	total	% imig.	total	% imig.
Rondônia	4.326	3,29	27.633	24,90	22.236	25,24
Acre	926	6,66	3.918	22,32	5.531	28,50
Amazonas	6.595	10,00	12.588	12,32	29.324	29,10
Roraima	1.492	4,05	4.820	9,17	7.331	22,29
Pará	9.768	4,40	63.142	25,75	68.230	29,63
Amapá	1.064	4,31	6.715	13,09	9.524	20,46
Tocantins	6.756	7,58	25.423	21,04	21.964	20,40
Maranhão	15.667	13,15	39.916	28,36	46.553	30,58
Piauí	16.801	18,72	29.500	24,95	26.713	26,63
Ceará	40.479	24,97	60.999	27,24	60.854	35,13
Rio Grande do Norte	10.406	12,10	24.227	23,72	24.013	26,17
Paraíba	22.569	20,25	40.146	28,24	33.194	25,69
Pernambuco	31.998	15,71	60.011	26,69	66.527	30,94
Alagoas	8.451	12,19	22.442	28,62	24.768	31,61
Sergipe	9.362	14,33	16.454	24,00	18.652	26,02
Bahia	48.412	20,60	93.087	27,09	113.903	33,20
Minas Gerais	60.324	13,96	123.896	21,67	166.775	30,70
Espírito Santo	8.233	5,73	32.871	20,29	42.639	24,58
Rio de Janeiro	43.841	14,75	93.687	22,66	128.001	32,13
São Paulo	91.993	6,20	358.539	22,66	421.794	29,85
Paraná	61.391	18,58	91.018	23,44	109.797	28,74
Santa Catarina	13.653	7,42	47.426	19,19	74.789	19,88
Rio Grande do Sul	13.850	10,81	47.395	29,48	72.049	41,25
Mato Grosso do Sul	8.744	6,58	24.639	20,14	33.360	25,21
Mato Grosso	11.790	4,94	52.607	24,03	51.169	26,22
Goiás	19.586	6,81	65.395	14,93	106.633	22,66
Distrito Federal	10.264	4,99	18.331	7,82	50.041	20,81
<b>Brasil</b>	<b>578.741</b>	<b>10,35</b>	<b>1.486.826</b>	<b>22,25</b>	<b>1.836.364</b>	<b>28,34</b>

Source: IBGE, Censuses of 1991, 2000 e 2010.

Data from the 2010 Census show that there was an increase of almost 350.000 immigrants returned short-term, when comparing the period 2005/2010 with the previous 1995/2000. Relatively more modest than the increase seen between the two first five-year periods, the data for the period 2005/2010, however, show that the proportion of short-term return in Brazil on the total migrants from the five-year (28,3%) is even higher than in 1995/2000.

In terms of relative increase, stand out from the Distrito Federal (173,0%) and Amazonas (133,0%), while in absolute numbers, São Paulo again stands out, with increase of 63 thousand people, followed by Minas Gerais (43.000 people), Goiás (41.000 people), Rio de Janeiro (34.000 people) and the Distrito Federal (32.000 people). In contrast, there were also cases of decrease in the number of returnees short-term, as in Rondônia, Tocantins, Piauí, Paraíba and Mato Grosso. It is worth noting that in the whole country, just in Tocantins and Paraíba there was a decrease relative of migrants of return of short-term. In other words, the intensification of this type of migration was very consistent, although its great leap has taken place in the last five years of the last century.

There seems to be an inverse relationship between the participation of returnees short-term and history of net migration, that is, where there were large net losses of population in the past, this participation is higher, and vice versa. While the three highest percentages of short-term migrants are found in Rio Grande do Sul, Ceará and Bahia, the lower three are located in Santa Catarina, Tocantins and Amapá.

In summary, the information analyzed to make clear downward trend in the volume of interstate net migration, both positive and negative, a fact also accompanied by regionalization of streams and the emergence of new forms of mobility, as has been highlighting various authors (CUNHA and BAENINGER, 2005; BAENINGER, 2008; RIGOTTI, 2006 and 2008; among others). Paradoxically, everything suggests that population mobility has intensified, becoming a trend in the beginning of this century.

## **5 CONCLUSION**

In the last decade of the last century, scholars of migration in Brazil encountered new forms of mobility that are still far from being fully elucidated. Briefly, at the beginning of the millennium, the set of net migration rate presented in this paper shows that, proportionally, the Midwest was more attracted people from other regions, followed by the North and then the South. In the South, the state of Santa Catarina, attracting people of Paraná and Rio

Grande do Sul, has seen virtually zero net migration in the region as a whole. Continuing the historical inability to retain population in their regional boundaries, the Northeast continued with net losses, though all indicate that some of its states are attracting migrants from the same region.

From the standpoint of population flows, the inability of the destination areas to retain migrants for long periods, as the phase of rapid urbanization, migration to higher turnover changes in metropolitan areas and the emergence of new areas of retention of migrants mark turn of the millennium.

This paper attempted shed lights to some of these aspects, raising latest information, that point to a likely recrudescence of spatial mobility of migrants, paradoxically accompanied by a decrease in interstate net migration, especially those of longer distance.

Many of the issues raised and analyzed here need to be deepened, with new studies based on sample results from the 2010 Census. Certainly many of the unanswered questions will be analyzed more thoroughly in the coming years, but the apparent decrease in population mobility between units of the federation who many attribute the cooling of net migration has not been confirmed, on the contrary, the evidence suggests that it has increased, even with new contours.

View of the above and researched works, some of which are referenced in this text, it is concluded that the complexity of migration studies causes a big challenge for scholars of the theme. So for them to deal with this increasing difficulty is necessary to expand their conceptual categories, their referential frameworks and also their measuring instruments and data sources.

As seen, return migration is undoubtedly one of the main phenomena occurring within the Brazilian migration in recent decades. It seems evident, according to studies of Fazito (2005) that the returned perform essential functions to all natural and social process of migration. Be as to the symbolic aspects and of social legitimation of the displacements, either as to the operational aspects of the flows. Furthermore, the returnees have the primordial function to “close” the system migration and confer decisive direction to the displacement projects, ensuring the circularity of the population movements and the legitimacy of the events in the life cycles of individuals and groups.

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