

INTERNATIONAL RETURN MIGRATION IN BRAZIL: A NEW CHALLENGE?

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The growth and stability of the Brazilian economy in the last two decades, combined with the recent crisis in Europe and in the United States, have increased the amount of international Brazilian return immigrants. This situation makes the question of the return of the Brazilians a demographic element which demands more attention from researchers. From this, the present article dialogues with some savants, who deal with the international migration studies, in order to substantiate the analysis of the return immigration to Brazil. Concomitantly, it describes the research instruments used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE) in 2000 and 2010 censuses to assess the population of Brazilian immigrants who returned (returnees), with the objective to identify the vulnerabilities and potentialities of those tools. From these observations, our aim is to compare the results of the 2000 and 2010 censuses related to the international return migration in order to verify the hypothesis about the increasing number of Brazilians who have returned.

Keywords: Geography; Population; International Migration; Returnees.

Introduction

International migration made history and is related to the occupations of the most diverse places on the planet. Its effects are always felt at least in two places: the place of origin and the destination. As stated Sayad (1998), the migrant manages the feat of occupying two positions at the same time: immigrant and emigrant. Due to the impacts and especially the uncertainty about migration the theme has been occupying the minds of many researchers interested in unravel it.

All the scholars' concerns, which have become researches, contributed to the development of a theoretical framework on the issue of international migration. Since the early contributions of Ravenstein with its laws on migration, several authors have presented theorization proposals about that issue.

Today theories describe the migration process as a rational decision based solely on the individual, who analyzes the economic aspect and tend to move to areas that offer higher income, or characterize him as a resulting from the dependence of the individual in relation to structural and social conditions in which he is inserted – thus the decision is still individual, but becomes strongly influenced by the socioeconomic context of the migrants – or still, those theories bring the individual as a victim of the capitalist system that tends to turn him into a commodity

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subjected to the law of supply and demand. There are, also, those theorists who devote special attention to the social relations of the migrants, for them, the migratory process is motivated and possible by the individuals' network of contacts.

Analyzing these theories quite quickly, we can say that none of them is about international return migration. All of them are concerned with the migration process, without delving into the return movements. This is easily understood by simply relating the theories mentioned with the historical context in which they were developed. During the preparation of these theories the return have already existed, but was not seen as a research question, since it was relatively a small movement with few impacts.

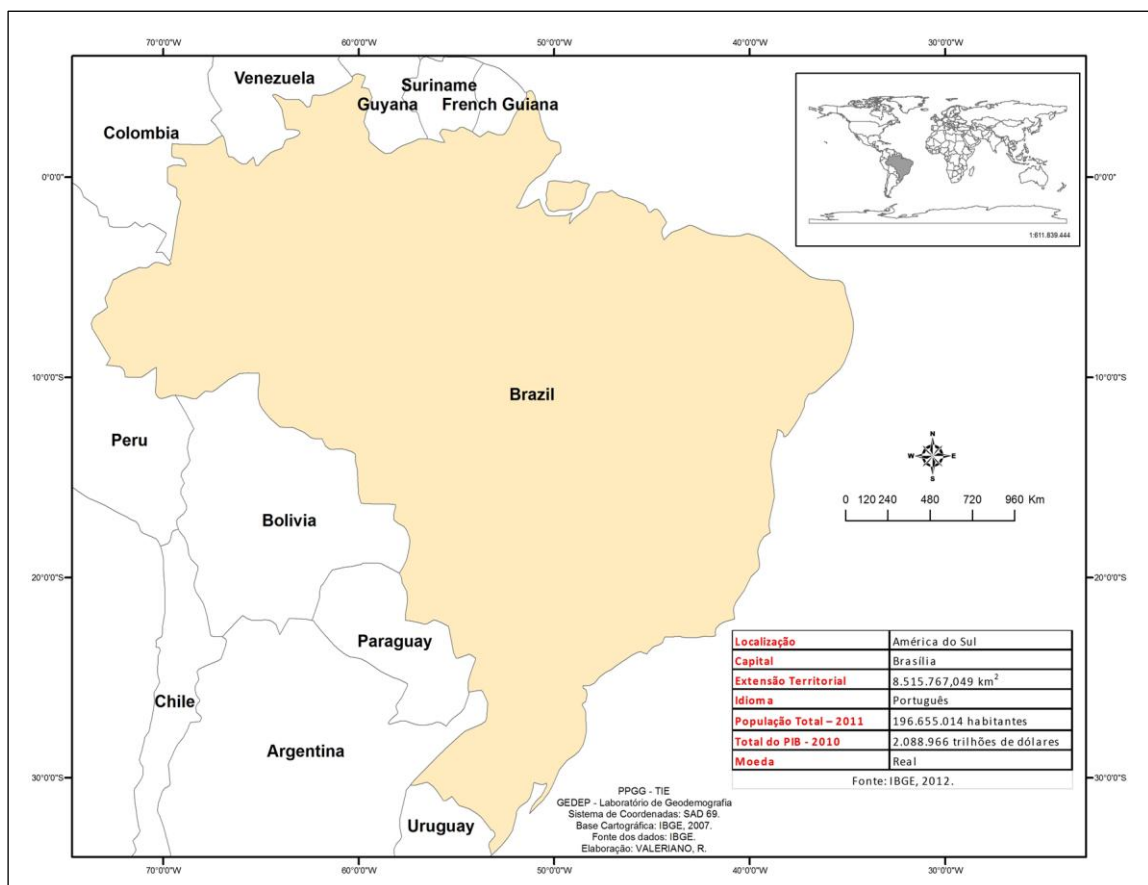
The economic changes of recent decades have altered the international division of labor (Divisão Internacional do Trabalho – DIT) and such changes have impacted migration. Hitherto, peripheral countries, traditional exporters of workers, began to stand out in the global economic scenario. The financial crisis that hit the American economy in 2008 and spread out to the rest of the world in the following years, has further accentuated the effects of changes in the international division of labor. The countries that are now considered semi peripheral become known as emerging and also, were less affected by that crisis and this affects directly the dynamic of the international migrations.

Many emigrants from emerging countries began to see the return as a new option fronts the difficulties they are facing. Such a context designed by the international crisis compels researchers to reflect on the international return migration aspect carefully, especially for what is happening to Brazil: an emerging country, which, as it was one of the least affected by the financial crisis, may be experiencing the effects of the return of many Brazilians who were trying “a new” life abroad.

Ergo this, the present article seeks to dialogue with some scholars who deal with the issue of international return migration in order to build an analysis of the situation of the return immigrants to Brazil. Concurrently, the aim is to describe critically the research tools used by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) in 2000 and 2010 censuses to assess the population of Brazilian return immigrants in this period. And with all these points this article also intends to identify the vulnerabilities and potentialities of these instruments. From these observations we shall seek to compare the results of the census in 2000 and 2010 related to international return migration, according to the fixed date, to check if the hypothesis about the increase in the number of returnees to Brazil is confirmed.

Spatial Delimitation

Brazil is one of the largest countries of the world in different criteria, and therefore it is considered by many a continent country. It has the fifth largest territory (Map 1), behind only Russia, Canada, China and The United States, the fifth-largest population, behind China, India, The United States and Indonesia, and in the last year started to count with the sixth largest GDP (Gross Domestic Product), being surpassed only by the United States, China, Japan, Germany and France. As you can see, this is a country that occupies a prominent position in the international scenario.



MAP 1: Brazilian Spatial Delimitation³

The Brazilian prominent position is becoming more noticeable in the last few decades because of the democratization and financial restructure, which ensured a situation of political and economic stability to the country. The stabilization has become more evident from the

³ In the box on the right it is read: Localization: South America / Capital: Brasília D.F. (D.C.) / Territorial Extension: 8.515.767,049 square kilometers / Language: Portuguese / Total Population – 2010 : 196.655.014 habitants / Total of GDP – 2010: 2.088.966 trillion dollars / Currency: Real

international crisis of 2008, because it was clear that Brazil was one of the countries which was less affected, especially because it has strengthened its internal market in recent years.

This nation presents, in the formation of its population, a strong relationship with the international migration. It was, until the second half of the 20th century, a country of immigrants. The financial crisis that has affected it in the 1980s has led to a situation of strong international emigration, although, currently, it has been showing a tendency to increase the international immigration.

Due to the leading role that the country has been taking on the international scene, it is crucial to understand the international migratory processes that occur nowadays in its territory, because this is an indication of changes in larger geographical scales.

Development

A little bit about the main migratory theories

Several authors treat the migratory issue and all of them are unanimous in pointing out the lack of a theory of migration that encompasses the entire complexity of the phenomenon. Therefore you must know the various proposals of migratory theories in order to, through their analysis and combination, find a theoretical foundation that at least indicates paths for the understanding of this phenomenon.

According to Massey *et.al.* (2008), the various proposals of theories seek to explain the same phenomenon, but by different perspectives. In this respect, the neoclassical theories are those which focus on the income differential and in terms of employability among the countries as determinant factors of migration. They conceive the migratory movement as a result of an individual decision based on the possibility of maximizing income. On the other hand the theories of new economy consider the conditions in different markets (financial, etc.) and not just in the labor market. In this way, migration is seen as a family decision taken to minimize the risks of family production or consumption attributed to credit problems in developing countries and the insecurities of markets in these areas (MASSEY *et.al.*, 2008).

The perception presented by these theories dominates the common sense on migration. For many people, the act of migrating is the result of an individual decision based on differences in income between one region and another. For another group, it is a decision shared with the family, which is based on the possibilities of improving the migrants and their families' quality of life. In addition to these perceptions, academic studies on this subject have sought theoretical alternatives to overcome the neoclassical theories.

In this respect, the Labor Market Segmentation and World-Systems theories usually ignore the individual decision-making process (micro level), focusing on the forces that operate at the macro level. Such theories associate the immigration process to the structural characteristics of modern industrial economies and conceive the phenomenon as a natural consequence of the entrance of the capitalist system in the national borders (MASSEY *et.al.*, 2008).

This much, it is perceived that the Marxism and his disciples have inserted in the most diverse branches of society and scientific studies, and it was not different in the researches about migration. The historical structural perception that bases the Labor Market Segmentation and World-Systems theories is a confirmation of this insertion. It is an approach that sees the inequalities of the capitalist system as fuel for migratory movements.

Massey *et.al.* (2008) highlights that, despite these theories bring different causes and levels of analysis (individual, family, national and international), they are not completely incompatible between themselves. In this respect, according to the authors, the individual can migrate to maximize their income while his family organizes itself to minimize the risks, and both decisions are taken on influence of structural forces that operate at the national and international levels.

In addition to dealing with these theories based on the causes of international migration, Massey *et.al.* (2008) also deals with theories related to the perpetuation of international movements. In this case, the authors claim that the migration may begin for several reasons, but the conditions that initiate the movement may be different from those that perpetuate it. Among the theories that explain the perpetuation of movements, the authors present the Social Capital and the Cumulative Causation. The first is based on social networks that would motivate and become viable the migratory process, the second is based on the argument that over time the international migration tends to be self-sustained.

From these propositions, Massey *et.al.* (2008) emphasizes that the migratory theories must be combined to provide a more appropriated analysis of a complex issue as it is the international migration. In total agreement with this proposition, of Massey *et.al.* (2008), follows the analysis of one of the aspects of international migratory movements, the return, taking as reference the migratory theories presented.

A look at the return movement

With the goal of making the discussion as consistent as possible, it is worth checking how some authors, who discuss the international migration theme, refer to the return phenomenon.

This may elucidate an aspect relatively obscured in migration studies and that is the basic theme of this article. The return of migrants is a fact which marks the countries of origin and of entrance. It is also possible to consider the return as a new migratory phase, which as the first, demands a project which may take years to be elaborated and even more to be implemented.

In the same way that the migratory theories vary, so do the conceptions about the return movement of migrants. The theories of neoclassical perspectives allow us to think about the return migration as a result of a migration plan that didn't work, since for the theoreticians of this line, migration has a definitive nature.

Contrary to the classical design, you can check the definition of Piore (1979). According to this author, the immigrant is seen as temporary and wants to return, but in the majority of cases cannot make this plan come true and never returns, or even emigrates several other times, as soon as the failure is not in the return movement, but in settling down in the country of destination. In this way, it is possible to state that, for Piore (1979), the return is not a sign of failure, but rather a consequence of success in the migratory process. The design of return for the author can be framed in those new economy theories, which, in the opposite direction of the neoclassical, conceive the return as a logical successful consequence in the migration project (KOOLHAAS, 2012).

The theoretical approaches based on transnationalization and on social networks, considered by Massey *et.al.* (2008) as factors of perpetuation of migratory flows, visualize the return not as an end of the migration cycle, but rather as a phase of this process that also does not mean a final rebound to country of origin (KOOLHAAS, 2012). The immigrant does not want to return nor to settle down, he just gets used to the condition of migrant (the one who moves) and what defines the migrant is no longer the place of origin or the place of destination, but rather the condition of no place. In this context, the return (not definitive) is just one more element of confirmation of the condition of migrant.

Siqueira (2009, p. 87) considers that there are four categories of migrants who return:

Migrants who do not manage to readapt and return only on vacation and to see the family and their friends, in holiday periods; the emigrants who return and manage to overcome all the economic difficulties, social and cultural, and settle down their native land; those who live trying to return, but they cannot, either for economic reasons or cultural, and another that, it might be said, is configuring as the ones from the transmigrant communities.

The most interesting thing about these categories presented by Siqueira (2009) is that the same migrant can be identified in all of them, and it may only vary the time and the context in

which he will behave in a particular way. Therefore, it is possible to find among those who return to Brazil both those who come back on vacation, such as those who are able to lay down on their hometown and still others that remain themselves in the two places, returning and not returning at the same time, as well as those who behave in all these, depending on how and when they return.

For Sayad (2000, p.11), "the return is, of course, the desire and the dream of all immigrants, it is how to recover the vision, the light that lack the blind man, but, as blind people, they know that this is an impossible operation. Then, they can only take refuge in a restless nostalgia or the feeling of being far from home." (Free Translation) Perhaps it is such a little generalist to say that the desire of returning is inside every immigrant, but it is agreed that it is the desire of the vast majority of those who are afraid of leaving their country of birth to try a new life. When Sayad (2000) affirms that the return is an impossible operation, he is referring to the fact that the returnees never go back to the same place and at the same time. Time passes and the place changes, the return will always be to an unknown place and time for immigrant, hence the analogy with the blind, the immigrant will be a blind in this "new" place of return.

It is with this whole complexity of return that Brazil begins to have to deal with these emigrants who are looking for the country as a light in the midst of the darkness of the international economic crisis. So as to elucidate this question, we seek to verify the next item to check as the Brazilian census identifies and treats the return theme.

The migrations and the return in the Brazilian censuses questionnaires

In order to make the analysis of the questionnaires from the censuses of 2000 and 2010, with respect to the theme of return, more coherent, it is imperative that we check how the migration in a general way and the international migration in a specific form are being treated by the census. In accordance with Rigotti (2011), the census of 1960 was one of the first to raise the data on migration, because it tried to access information that clarify the large influx of people to São Paulo in that period and the strong rural-urban migration that marked the 1950's.

In this respect, the questionnaire of the census in 1960 collected the data on migration through questions about the person's place of birth, taking as reference the state (in Brazil also called *federation unit*) or the birth-foreign country, and also questioned where the non-natives are from, the migration time and the place of the previous residence delimited by the state or foreign country (RIGOTTI, 2011). These questions were very interesting, because it allowed us to reach, in part, the objectives in relation to the identification of the migratory processes. The higher

vulnerability of this questionnaire was the fact of only the non-native people answered the questions. Rigotti (2011) suggests a further vulnerability: the questions relating to the place of birth and last residence had no temporal reference, which prevented it to differ the people who had migrated long ago from those who migrated more recently.

In the census of 1970, the definition about who would answer the questions related to migration has continued the same of in 1960: only the county non-native answered them. Despite the permanence of this shortcoming, it was a little bit better since it raised information about the time of residence in the state and in the town. This solved, in part, the problem of lack of temporal information on migration pointed out in the questionnaire of 1960 (RIGOTTI, 2011).

In 1980 more innovations on the migration theme were inserted in the questionnaire. The main one was the question about whether the person had performed intra-town migration between urban and rural sectors. This question allowed the identification of a migratory movement that have been marking the history of Brazil and that occurred within the same county, but that could not be proven through previous data.

Another innovation of this questionnaire was the name of the county of previous residence for all those who have lived for, at least, 10 years in the location in which the questionnaire was being applied. This innovation guaranteed a survey of temporal migration, but it hid information about where the person lived at the beginning of the period, as it showed only the last migration. In spite of this, the most relevant aspect of this questionnaire, related to the migration, is that everybody answered the questions on this topic and not only the non-native. In addition to all this, there was still the problem of data collection about the return: as it was based on the last migration, the questionnaire did not allow capturing the person who had previously lived in a county, emigrated to another and immigrated to the origin-county again. This item would only be partially solved in 1991 census (RIGOTTI, 2011).

For Rigotti (2011), the 1991 census has maintained, for migration, all aspects of the previous census and has presented some advances. The largest of them, according to the author, was the questions about the name of the county, the situation of the domicile and the state (or country) of residence on September 1st, 1986. These questions, combined with the other information about migration, created the possibility of collecting data on this subject from two ways: last stage and fixed date. The information of migration about fixed date allowed partially the solution of the problem of capturing information on the return, because when comparing the data of the last migration with the place where the immigrant was in 1986, it would identify individuals who had migrated in the last five years and returned to the county of origin.

In the case of the 2000 census (IBGE, 2012), the questions about migrations were 4.23, 4.24 and 4.26. The question 4.23 ("What is the state or foreign country of previous residence? ") identifies the migration of last stage. With the questions 4.24 ("Where did you reside on July 31st 1995?") e 4.26 ("In what state or foreign country did you reside on July 31st 1995?") it was possible to capture the information on immigration in fixed date. In this case, it is worth highlighting the problem of being the immigrant himself who answered the question. Thus, if the international emigrant did not return to Brazil he is not counted by the census. This has meant that a good part of the Brazilian migratory flows in the period between 1991 and 2000 would be obscured. As it can be seen, in the same way that the history is not necessarily evolutionary, the Brazilian censuses also are not. In 2000 there was a step backwards, because the questionnaire did not contain the question about the last town of residence anymore, forcing the aggregation by states of information about the last stage.

This problem was corrected in the questionnaire of 2010, which showed a great advance in relation to international migration, because it included in the basic questionnaire questions about whether any person from the house was living abroad by July 31st, 2010; the date of birth of this person; the year of the last departure and the country of residence (RIGOTTI, 2011). These new questions shed light on a part of the Brazilian migratory flow that did not appear in previous censuses, which can assist several researches that have as reference this group of emigrants who remain in foreign countries or who returned after the completion of the census. In spite of this, if the emigrant was with his whole family or if all his relatives who stayed in Brazil have died, he still will not be counted by the census. This is a gap that needs to be completed for the next questionnaire in order to leave the data as close as possible to the reality.

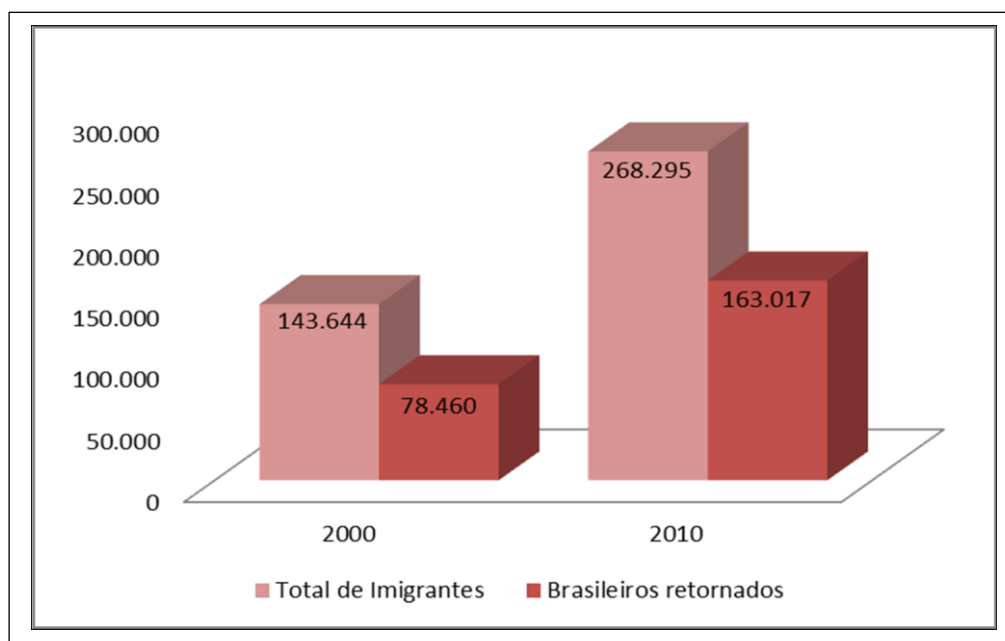
Within all this information about the questionnaires, it is possible to move on now to the analysis of the results that the last two censuses (2000 and 2010) pointed on the return immigration to Brazil aspect. Would Brazil be turning into a real alternative for the Brazilians who were trying a new life outside it? Is the international crisis influencing in this? We shall try to answer these and other questions further ahead.

Results: presentation and discussion

Among the census' data that allow us to identify the population of returnees to Brazil, there are those tied to fixed date. These data, as described previously, ask the interviewee where he resided on July 31st, five years before the reference date of the census, in other words, for the census of 2000, the fixed date was July 31st, 1995, and for the 2010 one, July 31st, 2005. In this

article, we chose to analyze the results of the return taking as a basis the fixed date, since it is believed that such information is sufficient to realize the growth trends of international return migration to Brazil. However, as it is considered in the fixed-date data all the people who answered the survey and did not live in Brazil on July 31st, 1995 nor July 31st, 2005, including the foreign people and naturalized Brazilian, to restrict the study to Brazilians returnees it was considered only the native Brazilians who answered these questions.

Thus, it was possible to confirm that there was a considerable growth in the number of Brazilians who have returned to the country between the years of 1995 and 2005. As it can be seen in Graph 1, the population of returnees in Brazil in 2010 was 105.1 percent higher than in 2000. This is even more prominent when it is compared with the growth of the Brazilian population, which was only 12.3% in the same period.



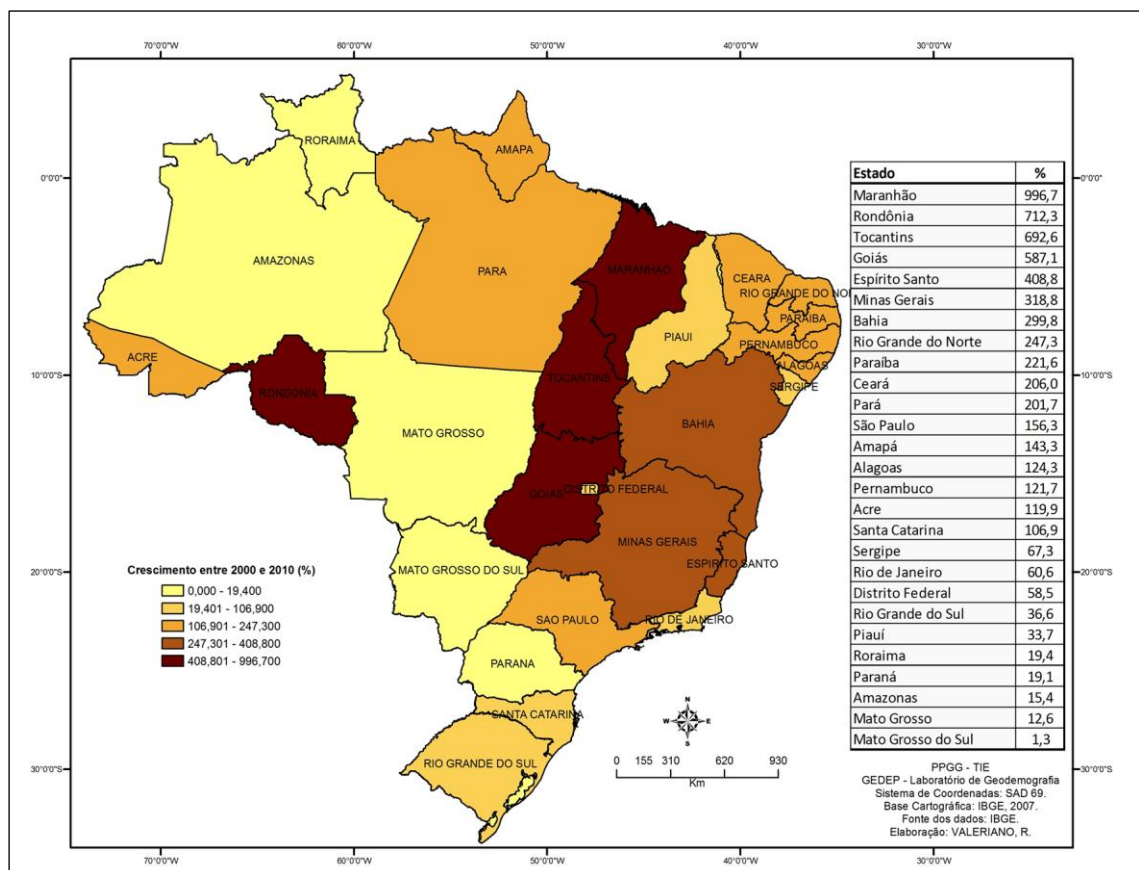
GRAPH 1 – Brazilians of 5 years old or older who lived abroad on July 31st, 1995 and July 31st, 2005 and proportion of returnees among the total of immigrants who entered in Brazil in 2000 and 2010.⁴
Source: Demographic Census, IBGE (2000 and 2010).

Another fact that deserves attention in the graph is that the Brazilian immigrants represented more than 50% of the total number of immigrants who arrived in Brazil in these two periods, since instead, in 2010, they represented more than 60% of the total number of immigrants. This is a further indication of the increase in the number of Brazilians who returned to the country. In addition, it is still possible to realize that almost doubled the amount of people that

⁴ The light pink color represents the Total os immigrants and the dark pink color represents the Brazilian returnees.

lived abroad and were living in Brazil during the census of 2010 in comparison to the 2000 census. All this reinforces the hypothesis that Brazil is entering into a new phase of international migration, in which the country attracts many immigrants back again, especially Brazilians returnees.

In pursuance of trying to understand the spatial behavior of this growing population of returnees, it is viable to identify what were the states in which there was greater growth in the number of returnees. This information is displayed on the map below:



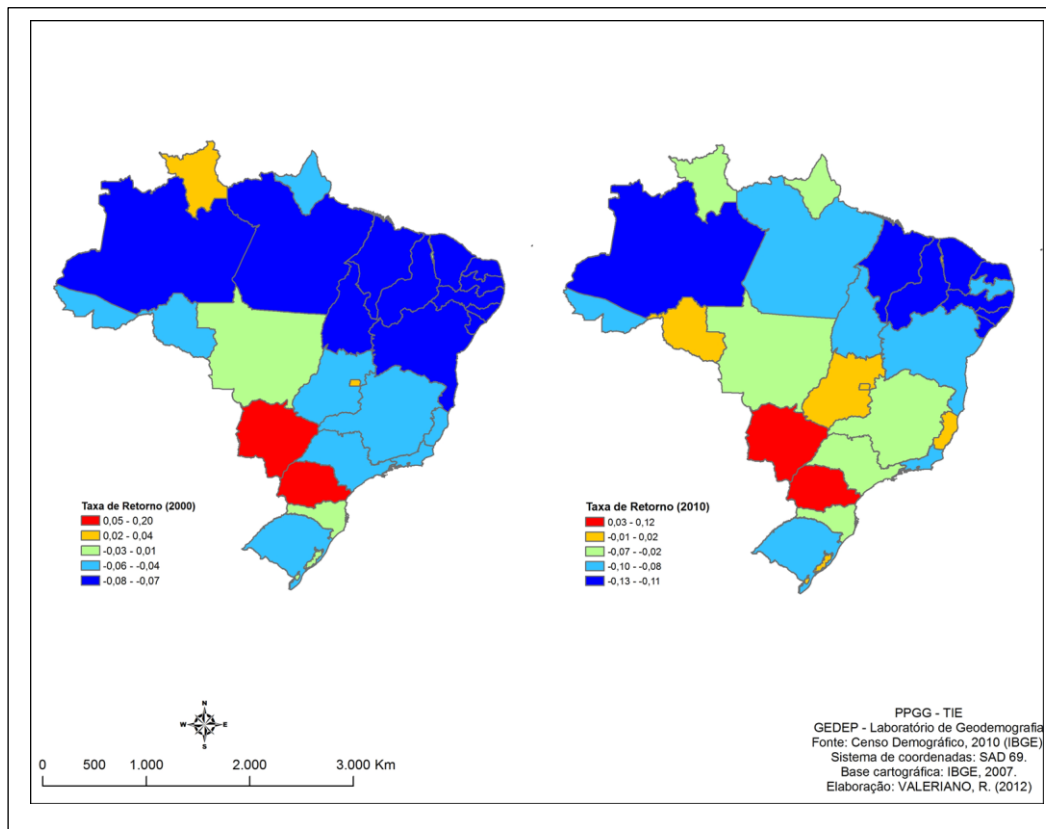
MAP 2 - Growth in the number of Brazilians of 5 years old or more who lived abroad between July 31st, 1995 and July 31st, 2005 per state.⁵
Source: Demographic Census, IBGE (2000 and 2010).

The visualization of the return migration growth in the Brazilian states shows some cases that deserve to be emphasized. The states that had the biggest Brazilians return-immigrant population growth were Maranhão, Rondônia, Tocantins and Goiás. Although the states that had a smaller growth were Mato Grosso do Sul, Mato Grosso, Amazonas, Paraná and Roraima. It

⁵ The title of the map captions on the left is: Growth between 2000 and 2010 (%)

draws attention to the situation of the state of Mato Grosso do Sul, this was the Brazilian state that had the smallest growth of returnees in the period, only 1.3 %.

With regard to better understand the behavior of such data per Brazilian state it was created a rate of return. This rate is the difference between the ratio of return for each Brazilian state (quantity of returnees from each state divided by the population of the state) and the rate of return of Brazil (quantity of returnees in Brazil divided by total population of the country). When the state presents its rate of return equal to zero, means that it has a similar return situation of Brazil. If the rates are positive, which indicates that the state has a return ratio which surpasses the reality of the country, thus it demonstrates an atypical situation. Now when rates are negative, it is an indication that the state has a return ratio smaller than that of Brazil, which can also be considered an atypical situation. These rates were elaborated for the periods of 2000 and 2010 and can be analyzed on the following maps:



MAP 3 – Return ratio from the states related to the return ratio from Brazil.⁶

Source: Demographic Census, IBGE (2000 and 2010).

⁶ The map captions on the left says: Return rate (2000)
The map captions on the right says: Return rate (2010)

It is possible to notice that the same states that had a return ratio greater than the one in Brazil in 2000 maintained the behavior in 2010: Mato Grosso do Sul and Paraná. The fact that these two states do border with one of the main destinations of Brazilians who go abroad may be the reason that leads them to have a higher rate of returnees than Brazil. It is famous the story of the 'Brasiguaios', Brazilians who emigrated to Paraguay and became big rural producers in that country, turning Paraguay into the third main destination for Brazilians who decided to live abroad. The election of Fernando Lugo as President of Paraguay and the discussions about the legitimacy of the possession of Paraguayan land by Brazilians may have contributed to the fact of many Brazilians returned to Brazil in the period under analysis.

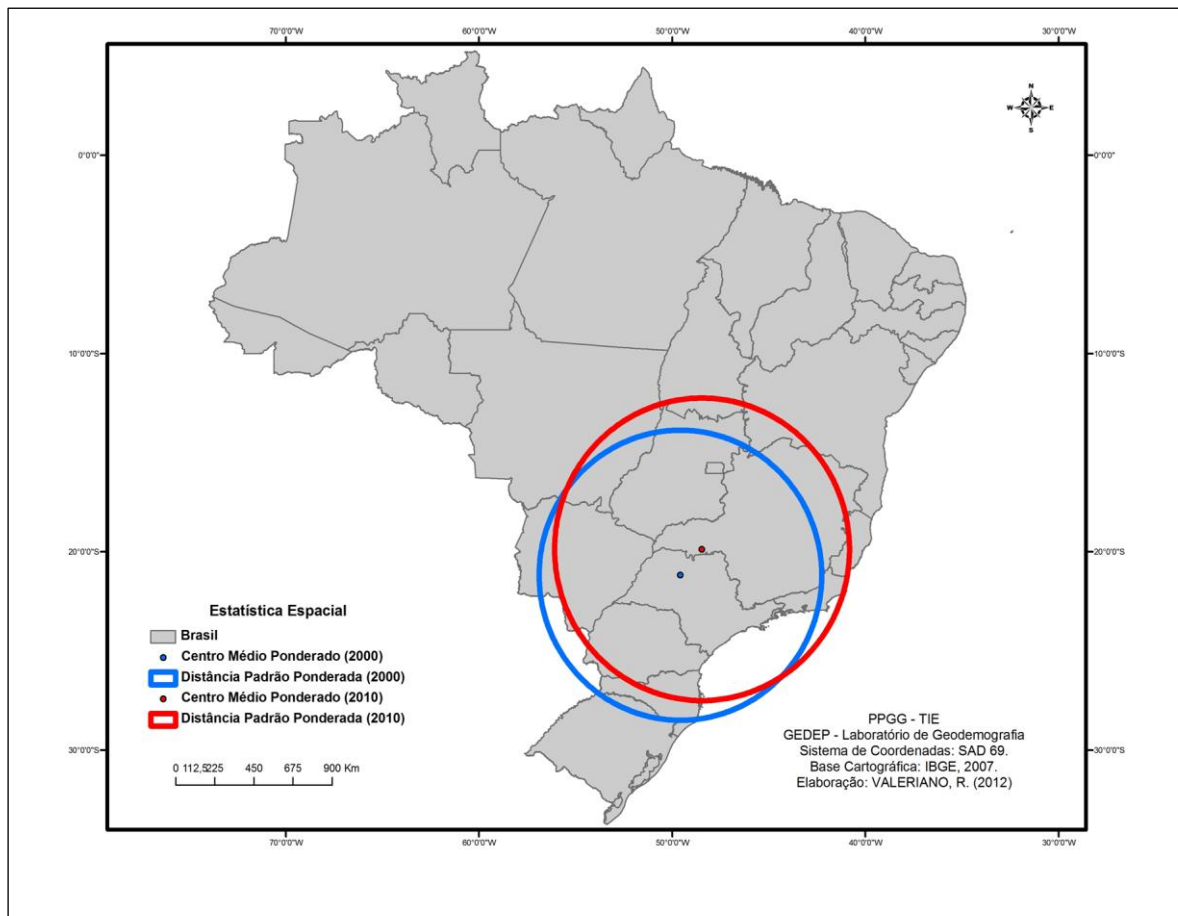
At the same time, it can be seen changes in the migratory patterns of some Brazilian states. In 2000, the majority of states in the North and Northeast presented a return rate smaller than the one in Brazil, however in 2010, these were the regions that had more states with a variation, for more, in their rate of return, in spite of this, a large number of them still present a rate of return lower than the one in Brazil. It is also interesting to observe the situation of Rondônia, Goiás, Minas Gerais and Espírito Santo. These states left the position of a lower rate of return then the one in Brazil in 2000 and started to present in 2010 a rate of return slightly greater than that of the country. The opposite happened with the states of Roraima and Mato Grosso.

The states that had a return ratio greater than the Brazilian one show a strong return tendency, and this may be an indication that these states are the ones which many Brazilians left to live abroad or that these are areas that currently attract many Brazilians who returned to the country in search of opportunities, and they also see in these new frontiers of development the path to their reintegration in the labor market. The opposite situation occurs with the states that had a return ratio smaller than the Brazilian one.

In order to visualize in a spatial way if there had been any change in the distribution of the return population between the years of 2000 and 2010, it was applied a spatial statistical technique that focus attention on the quota of return population of each state. They are the weighted average centers and weighted standard distances_by the return population in the studied periods.

The Weighted Average Center is an average distances of the centroids of each weighted state by the Brazilian immigrant-return population in these areas. And the Weighted Standard Distance is the average of the standard deviations of the distances of the centroids of the states in relation to the average center, having as weight also the immigrant-return population. These data, when observed at different moments, may indicate the area that presents greater centrality

in relation to the variables under study, as well as the region of greatest attraction for the phenomenon (Gerardi and Silva, 1981). This can be checked on the map below:



Map 4: Spatial statistic about the returnees to Brazil between the 2000 and 2010 census.⁷
Source: Demographic Census, IBGE (2000 and 2010).

The map reveals that the South-Center region of Brazil is the region that received most Brazilian return immigrants from abroad in both periods. It is also possible to notice a small displacement to the north and northeast of the circle corresponding to the weighted standard distance, indicating that there was a higher growth of the participation of the states more to the north and northeast in total of the Brazilian return immigrants from 2010. Just remember that the state that showed the greatest growth in the number of Brazilian returnees in that period was the state of Maranhão, with a growth of more than 900%.

⁷ The map captions on the left brings: Spatial statistic // Brazil (in gray) // Weighted Average Center 2000 (blue dot) // Weighted Standard Distance 2000 (in blue) // Weighted Average Center 2010 (red dot) // Weighted Standard Distance 2010 (in red).

This fact demonstrated in previous map is a further indication of the changes in the distribution of socioeconomic phenomena in Brazil. The amount of Brazilian return immigrants is tracking the path trodden by the industries that begin to leave the old industrial axis of Brazil and seek new areas of investment in the North East. Even so, the South-Center region is still a crowded region, such as indicate Santos and Silveira (1986), but these authors refer to the production of technology, economic development, etc. The results shown here make it possible to add that this is a region where it is found many Brazilian return immigrants from abroad, but also demonstrate a new trend in the spatial distribution of this group.

Final Considerations

The study held here allowed us to confirm some aspects mentioned previously and it has pointed out new questions that deserve to be more deeply investigated. A brief presentation of some migratory theories demonstrated shortcomings in relation to the return, which indicates the necessity of more researchers to look carefully to this theme, which has been transforming into a dilemma for emerging countries such as Brazil.

It became clear that there has been an evolution in the research instruments used by the Brazilian demographic census to capture data on the international migration; however, it was possible to realize the retrogressive risks between a census and another, which requires a constant vigilance of the researchers to avoid them. The questionnaire of the 2010 census added musings on the international migration for the entire researched universe, which can be considered a great achievement for the scholars of this subject, it is only necessary to improve them for the next census.

The data compared on the return migration between the periods of 2000 and 2010, even with the limitations of using as reference only the migration of fixed date, clearly demonstrated a considerable growth of return migration to Brazil. This situation confirms the hypothesis that Brazil is moving to a new stage, and it could be called migratory transition. The country starts slowly to be a country of immigration again, not for the foreigners, but, above all, for their own Brazilians, who are seeking refuge in their own country face the uncertainties of the international crisis.

The information about the return spatialized by the states have revealed some trends such as the growth in the number of returnees in the North and Northeast regions, which deserve to be researched with greater zeal. Specific studies on this issue may point out paths for the development of regional public policies which comprehends the demands that the return of Brazilians represents for each area of the country.

The present article does not claim to exhaust all the possibilities of study of the theme "Brazilian return immigrants", but seeks only to identify new paths of research and, in this sense, partially achieved its objective.

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