

Academic year 2010-2012

**KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT LEUVEN**

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

MASTER OF SCIENCE IN CULTURES AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

**Brazilian Economic Migrants**

How Do Reintegration Funds Favour Voluntary Returnees as Actors of Development?

Promotor : Prof. Dr. Ch. STALLAERT      MASTER THESIS

Second reader: Prof. Dr. A. CASSIMAN      submitted to obtain the degree of Master of  
Science in Culture and Development Studies

By

**Yaël CHEMIN**

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## ACRONYMS

BH	Belo Horizonte
CNIg	Conselho Nacional de Imigração (Brazil)
EU	European Union
GDP	Growth Domestic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
HR	Human Rights
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migrants
LA	Latin America
MC	Micro-Credits
MG	Minas Gerais
MRE	Ministério das Relações Exteriores (Brazil)
MS	Member States
NIATRE	Núcleo de Informação e Apoio aos Trabalhadores Retornados do Exterior, Brazil
OA	Official Aid
ODA	Official Development Assurances
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores/ Worker Party
RF	Reintegration Funds
REAB	Return and Emigration of Asylum Seekers ex-Belgium
SENAC	Serviço Nacional de Aprendizagem Comercial (Governmental centre offering professional capacity formations, Brazil)
SEBRAI	Serviço Brasileiro de Apoio as Micro e Pequenas Empresas (Governmental centre developing micro-projects, Brazil)
SP	Sao Paulo
SPM	Secretariat for Policies for Women/Secretaria de Policia pelas Mulheres
STAVR	Strengthening Tailor Made Assisted Voluntary Return
UFMG	Universidade Federal Minas Gerais, BH
UFU	Universidade Federal Uberlandia
VR	Voluntary Returns
WW2	World War 2

**Abstract:** This thesis focuses on Brazilian migrants who have resided in Belgium and who returned to Brazil through the system of voluntary return. The thesis investigates if and how these returnees become actors of development in their home region in Brazil. This question is approached through the analyse of the Belgian and European Reintegration Funds allocated to returnees. The migration and development nexus is often analysed through the question of economical remittances. But the way returnees will invest their time and money once they will return, and the way they will present themselves to the local community can also be considered as development.

Methodologically, the research made use of an anthropological approach. After an exploratory ethnographic fieldwork period among Brazilian migrants in Belgium, I conducted ethnographic fieldwork in Uberlandia, Brasilia and Belo Horizonte, three key cities for international Brazilian migration during three months. Here, I have combined narrative interviews with the returnees, official interviews with some key professionals dealing with the question of return, and participative observations.

It offers an anthropological approach through the use of fieldwork by studying reintegration and the self-perceptions that migrants conceive of their migration and return process. It also tries to understand how social and economical factors in both home and host countries have, in turn, influenced these conceptions. It pays particular attention to the way migrants present themselves positively to their local community, even if they have faced difficult situations or have not reached their initial remittance objectives. It finally analyses the different definitions of development given by both the donors and the benefiteres of the funds. The research has demonstrated that even if the two definitions of development diverge, they still present parallel conceptions of development. The Reintegration Funds will therefore orient the priorities of investments of the benefiteres towards these common sectors of development, rather than to other sectors.

**Key words:** Voluntary Returns, Reintegration, Economical migration, Migrants in irregular situations, Migration policy, Brazil, Belgium.

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## Part One : Research Introduction and Outline

### 1. Introduction

*August 26th, 2011, 2 p.m.. I am going to the house of MC, a young pregnant woman who has spent six years in Belgium and has returned to her native city of Uberlandia some months before the interview. I have got her contact thanks to the local partner of Caritas, which allocates the Reintegration Funds to returnees from Belgium. I had contacted her by phone and she had agreed to be interviewed by me. When I arrived at her place, she first apologizes that she couldn't pick up me at the place I was living at because she didn't have a car. After this initial and friendly apology she told me that I was really courageous to come to her house by myself, since I was using public transportation in a country which was not mine, and I was finding my way in around, in another language, even if sometimes people were a bit hostile to see me "in neighbourhoods where I shouldn't go". That was the way she started to introduce her story: "The same thing happened to me, but in Belgium. For me, the different places that I had to find were work places, changing really often, and spread all around Belgium. Sometimes, I was lucky and my boss picked me up at the place where I was cleaning. But generally, even if I was working at five different places only for one or two hours in each place, my boss never cared about how I would return home, not even if I was in another city far from Brussels, working until late at night. Sometimes, the tickets for the train or tram were costing me more than what I was earning in one shift. But I had to pay for it anyway. If I didn't, this could have brought me to the attention of the police. That's why I had to work several jobs simultaneously in order to manage to earn enough money."*<sup>1</sup>

*MC's introductory discourse was quite different from that of most interviewees I met in the Brazilian cities of Uberlandia and Brasilia. Most of them initially tried to show me the "success" of their migration process by showing me the laptop, a vase or the stereo they bought in Belgium or pictures of them in famous touristic places in Paris and Brussels. These 'discourses of successes' seemed quite contradictory to the story of MC. But during my conversations with the other interviewees, they also presented me another, less successful, story of their migration experience, one that I recognized from my fieldwork in Belgium.*

This thesis focuses on Brazilian migrants who have resided in Belgium and who returned to Brazil through the program of voluntary return and who have received the Reintegration Fund for micro-business or for training intuition fees. The main focus of the research hinges on the question

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<sup>1</sup> Interview MCD., August 26th 2011, 2 p.m., Uberlandia.

if and how these returnees become actors of development in their home region of Brazil. This question is of great importance because it tackles both individuals' projects and international interests. Migration is a subject of main concerns nowadays. It is therefore important to understand how these movements take place, why they take certain shapes instead of others, and how the different actors can become beneficiaries of, or trapped inside certain dynamics.

The regional focus of my research lies on the city of Uberlandia, the second largest city in the Brazilian state of Minas Gerais, and Belo Horizonte, the capital city of Minas Gerais. My choice for these research locations is based upon their particularity of having large amount of emigrants: emigrants from Uberlandia often opt for international migration to EU and notably Belgium, while emigrants from Belo-Horizonte often choose to go to US. Uberlandia has a strong history of migration. Since many centuries, internal migration takes place from several border regions to the city of Uberlandia. This internal migration was mainly economically motivated: most migrants hoped to improve their living standards and to gain the possibility of social ascension thanks to the migration process within this already industrially prosperous city.<sup>2</sup> Since the last decade, however, the migration destination has changed. Although the incentive to migrate remained the same, due to economical growth, external migration is now within the reach of many more people. At the same time, better economical circumstances can also serve as a pull factor for migrants to return. Even more, in Belo Horizonte, these rapid-economical circumstances and the new possibilities of finding an interesting job within the city actually could be an element which influences certain local people to rather stay in the city, even if they are familiar with several success models of returnees. In this thesis, I will not so much focus on the Brazilians that are leaving Uberlandia, but rather on those who are returning to this city. I will investigate how this process of returning takes place, and, more specifically, on the role of these returnees as actors of development.

## 1.1. Research Question

My research is precisely concerned with the migration flow of the return process, and, more concretely, with the reintegration process. The research focuses on the question if and how, in their reintegration process, migrants can turn into actors of development.

I have chosen to explore this question through the analysis of a special program offered to returnees: the Reintegration Fund programs 'Strengthening Tailor Made Assisted Voluntary Return'. As part of their migration policies, the European and the Belgian Governments propose the Reintegration Fund (RF) for returnees in more vulnerable situation.<sup>3</sup> The program consists of

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<sup>2</sup> Interview Prof. Dr. Fasio, UFMG, Belo Horizonte (BH), 2011.

<sup>3</sup> Most of EU MS propose to migrants in irregular situation or to Asylum seekers a free return ticket, and a limited

providing material and guidance for these returnees to start a new project in their home community and to reintegrate themselves on the long-term. The proposed projects going from support to a micro-business, to a better access of education or health care.<sup>4</sup>

This special fund was an interesting starting-point because it enables us to perceive the notion of development donors technically implies through their allocation of funds, and the way the receivers adapt themselves or not to this conception of development. I will, through this fund, analyse how migrants could turn into actors of development thanks to their experience and situations linked to their migration course.

## **1.2. Epistemology: Deconstructing Definitions of Development, Reconstructing Life world.**

The problem that I attempt to answer in my research has arisen while I was conducting my interviews is the following question: *How do you perceive yourself as an Actor of Development*. First of they didn't and or couldn't understand the question. The concept of actors of development was simply foreign to them and thus I always had to explain what I meant by "actors of development", with the risk of influencing the path of their answer. In fact, the diversity of answers they gave me was quite surprising. Although researchers and economists such as Castels and Miller, have for many years mainly focused on economical remittances, the return migrants I met also mentioned many other possible contributions to development.<sup>5</sup>

Although economical remittances are of course part of their "mission", returnees also often talked about a large number of other remittances, notably social remittances. These kinds of answers were mentioned more frequently by the interviewees who had faced economical or sexual exploitation during their migration course. These situations have actually damaged their initial economical remittances aims. In most of the cases, they didn't manage to send back home the expected amount of money. For these migrants, however it is not solely the remittances but the whole image, experience and perks that migration offers which matters. In fact, what is most striking and important to these migrants is the way they present themselves to their society in light of their migration.

While conducting my research, I also realised that there was an apparent incongruity between the two conceptions of development: the one given by the donors of the funds and the one given by the benefiteres. I decided to include the consequences of these different ideas on

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amount of money to cover basic costs linked to the travel or to the reinsertion, if the returnee does agree not to come back to EU within 5 years. In EMN, 2011.

<sup>4</sup> EMN, 2011, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> Castels and Miller, NY, 2009.

development in my research as well. I'll go deeper into this matter in part four.

### **1.3. An Overview of the Different Parts of the Thesis**

Before going deeper into the possible role of Brazilian returnees play for development, it is important to first situate their migration to Belgium. The first part consists on giving an overview of the question and goes deeper into the methodology.

The second part will give a brief historical overview of Brazilian migration to Belgium. In addition there will be an analysis of the actual situation of Brazilian migrants in Belgium, especially focusing on how—even if migration stays a choice—irregular situations effects or worsen the vulnerability of these people. The question of irregularity is of great importance since a great majority of Brazilians residing in Belgium are estimated to be in an irregular situation.<sup>6</sup>

After having analysed why do Brazilian economical migrants stay in Belgium, the various reasons for returning and the way the interviewees cope with difficulties upon return in the cities they had left are presented in part three. Reintegration often means difficulties to find back one's place into the local community and into the local job market. For most of my interviewees, the situations they have faced during their migration course haven't enabled them to reach their initial economical remittances aims. This has often accentuated the difficulties linked to reintegration. I will therefore analyse in what sense the Reintegration Fund for micro-business has influenced the reintegration process of the returnees in the short and in the longer-term after their return. Finally, a brief analysis will be given describing to what kind of Development Cooperation the Reintegration Funds correspond to.

The fourth part will explore in what sense return migrants can be considered as actors of development and the role the Reintegration Funds can play in such a process. In order to do so, I will first analyse how migrants perceive themselves as actors of development. Secondly I will look at how return migrants present themselves to the local society as actors of development or how do they manage to still "save face" even if they haven't managed to fulfil their initial remittances aims.

Then there will be a confrontation between two conceptions of development offered by beneficiaries on the one hand and donors of the fund on the other. In addition this part will explore in what sense the combination of these two conceptions of development orients and influences the actions and plans upon return of returnees who have benefited from the funds.

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<sup>6</sup> In 2008, the Brazilian MRE estimated that 936 400 Brazilians were living on European territory. In the same period, Brazilian community representatives estimated the community in Belgium to be between 10 000 and 50 000 people. But only 3 949 Brazilians were registered at Belgium municipalities at that time and 7 000 were resident in Belgium, most of them being in irregular situations. MRE, 2008, pp. 32-33, 401, 410; SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 64-65; IOM, 2009, p.14 and PELLEGRINO, 2004, p. 9, 14, 57-58.

## 1.4. Methodology and Approach

### 1.4.1. Fieldwork Approach and Methodology

Conducting research on irregular situations is often a difficult task since these migrants are often undocumented and illegally living abroad, they are often not in official governmental documents. Migrants are actually often pushed into the category of illegal, or are even considered as non-existing. The analysis of such a subject asks for an ever more careful methodology and requires a combination of different methods which enabled me to start from an ethnological approach with a comprehension of the migrants' points of views, complemented with the written sources.

The aim of this thesis is not to explain migration by the use of elaborate theories of migration. That is why; since I wanted to reflect and understand the returnee's point of view, I thus enriched my research through fieldwork.

The first part of the fieldwork (October 2010-June 2011 and October 2011-January 2012) took place in Belgium, especially in Brussels. I chose Brussels as a research location because most of Brazilian economical migrants and their community activities are located there. Besides participant observation in Brazilian meeting places, I also conducted voluntary work in the Brazilian Migrant Association *Abraço*, an association that aims to help migrants for legislative, administrative or integration questions. This voluntary work has helped me to collect direct and everyday information about the more vulnerable members of the Brazilian migratory scene in Belgium.

The second part of the fieldwork was undertaken in Brazil (June to September 2011). I opted for a geographical restriction, focusing on the city of Uberlandia, an industrial city that my interviewees left some years ago and on the city of Belo Horizonte. Both cities are located in Minas Gerais, the second Brazilian state where most of Brazilian migrants in Belgium come from.<sup>7</sup> In Belo Horizonte, through my fieldwork in the local NGO the AIC specialised in audio-visual training for lower-middle class young people, I found a quite interesting control group having more or less the same profile as Brazilian economical migrants in Belgium, but who didn't migrate.<sup>8</sup> In Uberlandia, I went to homes and into the environment

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<sup>7</sup> IOM, 2009, p. 38.

<sup>8</sup> They were young people coming from the lower-middle class, having, for most of them, family or acquaintances who have migrated (mostly to the USA). However, they had the feeling of having more opportunities in Brazil for social ascension, notably thanks to the professional education they get with the AIC audio-visual classes. During my 2 months internship in the Brazilian NGO AIC, I recorded their visions and feelings about migration notably thanks to the specific inter-disciplinary classes I gave about Migration. I also had the opportunity to interview the second control group thanks to the video report: I led interviews with different people representing other kinds of immigrants from BH: students, people having obtained legal working visas, or who have managed to turn to boss position. They all returned

of Brazilian migrants who were benefiting from the Reintegration Funds.<sup>9</sup> I conducted all first parts of these interviews based on the *Narrative Interviews* model. This methodology consists of *non-directed interviews* and very open questions about migratory strategy characteristics. It enabled me to understand the migrants' *life story*, their vision and their *thought elaboration processes*<sup>10</sup>, their collective psyche of migration<sup>11</sup> and to perceive concrete elements they insisted on their discourse. Often, during these interviews, other information came up spontaneously: if the project of migration was rather more individually driven or rather driven by familial or community level and the time the migration process was expected to take or the kind of networks they used. At the end of these more spontaneous life stories, I always asked more specific questions in order to collect elements which seemed theoretically pertinent to their migration course. These questions covered the following characteristics: demographic and geographic characteristics (sex, age, family and social relationships); socio-economic characteristics (their parents' education, job status, benefits from Brazilian social help); the social integration shapes (what it is, according to them, to live as irregular migrants, rights in Belgium, exploitation, health conditions, religious practices and conversions, frequency and amount of remittances sent); the characterisation of the knowledge about Voluntary Return and Reintegration Fund (how they know about it, how the process was going, principal difficulties when just returned and at the time of the interview, if the amount allocated was sufficient for their needs); and finally, the characterisation of the perception as development actors and their eventual change of identity and mentality through the migration process. I conducted all interviews in Portuguese and took notes in the same language in order to stay as close as possible to their discourse. I also systematically kept a diary in order to stay as close as possible to my observations.

These interviews were accompanied by a third dimension. Going to the migrant's home enabled me to analyse, thanks to *non-participative observations*, the social and economic context of my target population and the evolution of their project. These *non-participative observations* were complemented by *participatory observations*. During these three months, the fact of living in three homes of return migrants or families of returnees, Fernanda, M and M's sister, enabled me to participate in their everyday life. Living with them, enabled me to accompany them to their different social activities and to listen to their spontaneous reflections on how these different activities influenced their decision to migrate and how these influenced their life during their return

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from the USA, other European Countries, or from Belgium with or without the Voluntary Return.

<sup>9</sup> I also interviewed five people living in Brasilia who have benefited from the Reintegration Fund. But I will concentrate my analysis of more detailed "life environments" mainly in Uberlandia.

<sup>10</sup> 'Processus d'élaboration de pensée' in French, in QUIVY, R., VAN CAMPENHOUDT, 2006, pp. 58-68

<sup>11</sup> 'L'imaginaire social' in French, in VAN CAMPENHOUDT, 2001, p.21.

process.<sup>12</sup> This approach has brought me to analyse deeper their *portfolio*<sup>13</sup> of household activities and the impact of this migration strategy. But above all, these particular contacts often brought me new perspectives and new beginning of answers to my questions. For example, I first understood the “secret contract”- a notion that I will explore in part 4- while returning to M's house after the long interview conducted at R's place.

*My first step to R's story had started at a dinner at MA's house. There, I first met R's daughter, who spoke French really well thanks to her studies in Belgium during her father's stay in Belgium. She told me that she was now studying at the university thanks to the money her father earned in Belgium. She then explained to me that her father was quite successful with his migration process because 'he managed to buy fifteen apartments and he now has his own shop selling construction furniture in Uberlandia'. This was a lot surprising for me to hear such a “success story” of a returnee after all the negative experiences the other interviewees were telling me.. The day after, R. began his interview by saying that his second daughter was so happy that they bought a new car, even less than one year after having coming back from Belgium. I conducted my interview with R. exactly the same way than with other interviewees. What I really wanted to know was why and not how) he managed to succeed that way and why, according to him, the other migrants didn't. I also asked him, as I did with other interviewees, what for advice he would give to people that would ask him if it worth to migrate or not. His answers and his confidence towards his migration success were quite different from the other interviewees. I tried, by tailoring my questions, to understand who R was. I actually have managed to answer to that question when I came back at M's house, while he asked me “And now, Yaël, how do you feel after having interviewed a Brazilian boss?”<sup>14</sup>. After sharing this “secret” with me, M told me the other part of the story that R didn't tell me: how R. managed to 'succeed' in that way.*

*But I hadn't understood the whole story -and probably will never really know the ins and outs of this secret. This second part of the secret appeared to my thanks work in Abraço. I continued to heard difficult stories and visited places where migrants where living and working. At the same time, I still kept contact with some of my interviewees through facebook. The image they gave me in the interviews and that they still showed through their facebook pages were so far away from what I saw and heard. This gap between these two incoherent cases concerned me. This is one of the ways which has made me think that behind the “migration secret”, there is really “two faces of migration” : the first one is the reality migrant face while migrating. The other one is the image and the stories migrants and returnees present to those willing to listen.*

Following my research, in order to understand the broader transformation process embodied

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<sup>12</sup> QUIVY, R., VAN CAMPENHOUDT, 2006, pp. 58-68. and BRAGA MARTES, 2003, p. 268.

<sup>13</sup> Term used by Stark, 1991, in de Haas, 2010, p. 246.

<sup>14</sup> Reflection of M., August 28th 2011, Uberlandia

in migrants' decisions, I conducted interviews with people working directly or indirectly with the migration and return topic or which have played a key role in individuals' migration course. These interviews or participative observations were lead with the different competent ministries, the local NGOs, Associations of Migrants, the prefecture, the federal, road and military police, the families of migrants, particular and public professional schools and entities helping to open small and medium businesses such as the SEBRAE, the SENAI, the SENAC<sup>15</sup> or the different churches migrants frequent -which often play an important role in the construction of migration plans and migration networks in Uberlandia, Brasilia, Sao Paulo, but also in Brussels.

Even if my theorisation comes mainly from my ethnographic approach, I have also based my research on theoretical data. The articles, books and interviews studied were in great part from Brazilian authors, particularly Brazilian anthropologists and people working directly with Brazilian migrants. This enabled me to have a theoretical basis and understanding of the Brazilian migration course. This approach has been strengthened by the supervision of my research by Professor D. Fazio. This anthropologist whom is teaching demography classes at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) has offered me a unique vision of the Brazilian culture. His advice as a researcher concerning Brazilian migration in MG brought a further dimension to my thesis.

### **1.4.2. Terminology and Scope of the Research**

According to the specific vocabulary I will use in this thesis, I have chosen to use the term *migrants in an irregular situation* in order to avoid the criminalising connotation of terms such as *illegal* or *undocumented*. I also use the term *target-group* to designate the migrants interviewed in Uberlandia (and the few ones I have interviewed in Brasilia) who have received the RF. Sometimes, when I have designated other migrants interviewed in *Abraço* and in Brussels, I have always specified the location.

For ethical reasons, I have chosen not to show pictures of the migrants I have interviewed. I have also used abbreviation of their names in order to preserve and respect their anonymity.

My analyse has limits because the number of interviewees of the direct target group having received RF by IMDH, Caritas's local partner in Uberlandia and Brasilia between 2007 and 2011 is a small amount (25 in Uberlandia and 5 in Brasilia).<sup>16</sup> All the people I managed to reach agreed to

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<sup>15</sup> SEBRAE, SENAI and SENAC are institutions of the Brazilian government which offers advice and monitors Small and Medium enterprises and professional courses. In SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 132 and Interview SEBRAE, Uberlandia, 2011, SENAI, Uberlandia, 2011, and SENAC, Uberlandia, 2011.

<sup>16</sup> I also managed to interview other returnees who have received the RF assisted by the IOM, thanks to the *snow ball effect*, by asking the interviewees if they know other people in the same situations. Nevertheless, the number of this category is insignificant and this selection was probably biased. So I will carefully use that data only for some points that I was able to confirm thanks to further information or interviews.

grant an interview and have even sometimes involved me deeper in their social life which had influenced their migration process. Nevertheless, I haven't managed to interview all the people mentioned on the IMDH's list: some cancelled their demand for the reintegration fund, others told me they came back to Belgium, and some never answered my phone calls and e-mails. This could be linked to some address or telephone number changes, as can easily happen following a return. But this is also possible that they didn't reintegrate and came back to Belgium some months after their return.

Finally, since migration patterns are rapidly evolving, different trends have appeared during the realisation of my thesis. One of these is the fact that the Reintegration Fund was abolished for Brazilians in irregular situations in Belgium and now the priority of the fund has been given to other categories of migrants. The emergent situation of Brazil currently provides a large panel of services comparable to the ones offered by the RF. The Reintegration Fund was overlapping a large part of these local initiatives.

## Part Two : Brazilian Migrants in Belgium

I always began the interviews guiding question, asking the migrants why they chose to come to Belgium. The beginning of their migration stories all began more or less the same way as I.'s, my first interviewee that I interviewed in Brussels through the association *Abrço*. *Her sister who was already working in Belgium for several months called her with the proposition to come and work in Belgium. She explained to me that she had some lingering debts in Brazil, and that she had four children but that she was divorced. In Brazil, she was living with her children at her mother's, because she could neither afford to have her own house, nor could she finance the proper education of her children. According to her, joining her sister in Belgium was the fastest way she saw to solve these problems. So she left her children at her mother's and took her chances in Belgium. Her sister bought her plane ticket and when she arrived they shared her already crowded apartment in Saint-Gilles. Once she earned and saved enough money to buy her own house and to pay for private education for her children, she planned on returning as soon as possible to Brazil.*<sup>17</sup> In interviews with isolated migrants who were also coming from the new Brazilian lower-middle class but with less familial constraints, their aims were basically the same, but a bit more ambitious: "paying their plane ticket themselves by selling their car or by borrowing money, coming back within 4 to 6 years, the estimated amount of time to earn enough money to buy a house, a new car, and if they still have extra money, to start their own business'.

Even if the initial intentions to migrate and the ways to arrive in Belgium were mainly the same, individual stories began to diverge from one another. However, the factors which had shaped these migration stories, and which have particularly influenced the time of their return decision were often similar.

In order to better understand the migrant's intention and vision of their migration and return course, I will, in this second part, analyse a brief history of Brazilian Migration in Belgium. I will analyse why they come to Belgium and why they stay. It will be shown that Brazilian economical emigration flows, but also the initial decision of return<sup>18</sup>, have been shaped by different push and pull factors, the construction of migrant networks and individual choices.<sup>19</sup> In addition the return decision is also re-shaped depending on the situations migrants face once in Belgium. This initial understanding will therefore enable us to comprehend better the third part: why Brazilian migrants decide to return.

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<sup>17</sup> Interview I., May 2011, Saint Gilles, Brussels.

<sup>18</sup> I examine here the Voluntary Returns, which don't include the forced returns, nor deportations.

<sup>19</sup> SALES and REIS, 1999, p. 125 and Interview Professor Fazio, UFMG.

## 2.1. History of Brazilian Migration and Current Brazilian Migration Dynamics

The historical experience of Brazil regarding international migration began with its colonisation. At that time, colons, slaves coming from Africa<sup>20</sup> and Amer-indigenous people started to mix.<sup>21</sup> However, Professor Fazio, anthropologist and teacher of demography at the UFMG, writes about systematic immigration flows began only from 1836 to 1968. People coming from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Japan, Germany, Lebanon, Ukraine, and other countries started to successively establish themselves in Brazil – the “Land of opportunities” - mainly in the agricultural and industrial sectors which faced a lack of unskilled workers. In Minas Gerais, and especially in Uberlandia, this general international emigration was also accompanied by internal migration flows of people coming from the neighbourhoods in order to find jobs in this industrial city.<sup>22</sup> A tradition of internal and international emigration was therefore already well established in that region. But relatively recently, Brazil has turned into a net-export country of migrants.<sup>23</sup> Actually, between 1930 and 1970, Brazil enforced a closed and restricted policy toward international migration, which led to a significant diminution of new comers through international migrations. In addition to that, the demand for hand workers in certain EU countries and the attraction of American culture in the second part of the twentieth century favoured this emigration phenomenon.<sup>24</sup> Brazil's migration flux was, at that time, near zero<sup>25</sup> changed eventually into a negative migration flow of 1.8 billion people. Brazil transformed therefore from an immigration country to an emigration country.<sup>26</sup>

After the 60's, a new Brazilian international migration flow called the “new migrants”<sup>27</sup> began to appear. According to Siqueira, Campos and Assis, this first emigration wave was not especially related to economic factors, but was rather characterised by a search for adventure and the curiosity of discovering new countries that migrants considered as wealthy and full of new opportunities.<sup>28</sup> An international emigration to Belgium follows somewhat the same movement, starting in the 60's with political refugees, artists, students and football players. But the amount of

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<sup>20</sup> Between 1550 and 1850, three billion African people entered Brazil. SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 61.

<sup>21</sup> Interview FAZIO, UFMG, 2011.

<sup>22</sup> IOM, 2009, p. 11; OECD, 2009, pp. 136-187; IMDH, 2010, pp. 61-63; SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp.61-63; MRE, 2009, pp. 399-400; Prefeitura de Uberlandia, 2011 and July 2011 and Interviews of Dimitriz Fazio, UFMG, Belo Horizonte, 2011; Bertolucci, UFU, Uberlandia, 2011, Interview of ARANHA, Sao Paulo, 2011.

<sup>23</sup> PELLEGRINO, 2004 and DURAND, 2009, in SCHROOTEN, Mieke, 2011, p. 208.

<sup>24</sup> MRE, 2009, p.406.

<sup>25</sup> In the same period, actually, Brazil has seen a more internal migration process, leading to suburban problems. Interview FAZIO, UFMG, 2011. IOM, 2009, p. 11. Brazil has however seen an increase in immigrants coming after the end of WW2. IMDH, 2010, p. 62. and MRE, 2008, p. 448.

<sup>26</sup> Europe had economic growth and labour shortages. PELLEGRINO, May 2004, p.12. Estimations say that 4 billion Brazilian migrants migrated to the USA, EU and Japan. IOM, 2009, p. 11 and MRE, 2009, pp.400-401, 448. Nevertheless, Brazil has received considerable new comers from Korea, Bolivia and other LA countries. In IMDH, 2010, p. 63 and MRE, 2009, p.400.

<sup>27</sup> Interview FAZIO, UFMG, 2011.

<sup>28</sup> SIQUEIRA, CAMPOS and ASSIS, 2010, in IMDH, 2010, p. 66 and MRE, 2008, p. 448.

migrant was quite small.<sup>29</sup> Then, the above mentioned “new migrants” flow began to intensify and became demographically significant in the 70’s.<sup>30</sup>

In the 1980’s, a new important emigration flow from Brazil occurred. But this time, migrants were mainly economical migrants. Brazilians were facing economic difficulties and unemployment caused by the effects of globalization and new technology which decreased the amount of labour required, and decreased at the same time prospects and opportunities in Brazil.<sup>31</sup> If we take the particular case of the MG state, the data from the Legislative Assembly of MG shows that from 1960 to 1985, MG’s GDP per capita and social demographic index had decreased. This economic crisis, the stagnation and the decrease in the standards of living, influenced an increasing number of people in this region, to see migration as an alternative. Emigration perspectives, added to the internal migration which later arrived in MG, therefore began a kind of “tradition of migration” in MG. These migration perspectives can therefore be linked to a popular social notion that economic difficulties can be rapidly overcome thanks to “the adventure of emigration”<sup>32</sup>.

At the beginning of the 1990’s, the level of emigration from Brazil diminished slightly.<sup>33</sup> But from 1996 to 2001, the flow of Brazilian economic migrants to the EU, including Belgium, significantly increased.<sup>34</sup> The effects of globalization such as improved communication, transport, the ability to wire remittances process and information have facilitated intercontinental movements and the special *mobility*<sup>35</sup> of the population.<sup>36</sup> Media also plays a role on the social imagination of migration on a global scale. They are part of the *habitus*<sup>37</sup> of the migrant: they offer a certain amount of possible actions in which individual improvisations are still possible.<sup>38</sup> Therefore these factors additionally shape the project of migration as well as the return.

These effects of globalisation increased the already existing migration networks that have favoured

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<sup>29</sup> Interview Fazio, UFMG, 2011 and IOM, 2009, pp. 13-14.

<sup>30</sup> IOM, 2009, p.11 and IMDH, 2010, pp. 62-63.

<sup>31</sup> IMDH, Report 2010, p.4

<sup>32</sup> “Emigration adventure”, in SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 22. Interview Professor Fazio, UFMG, BH, 2011. Emigration from MG reached, in the 60s, 60% of the population, 82% of which consisted of internal-migration to other Brazilian states. Siqueira notes an intensification of the network of international migration from MG to the USA and Portugal (for most of the cases) during the 80s. If we take the case of the MG’s city Governador Valadares, 43% of its population opted for international migration from 1985 to 1990. In SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 20-22.

<sup>33</sup> MRE, 2008, p. 448.

<sup>34</sup> IOM, 2009, p.14. According to Brazil’s MRE, migration for economic reasons has considerably increased between 1996 and 2004. In 1996, Only 18% of people taking part in researches affirmed having migrated for economic reasons, against 60% in 2004. In MRE, 2008, p. 33 and 402.

<sup>35</sup> I will use Jordan’s concept of *Mobility*, which indicates the “capacity to leave and enter organisations, including that for physical movement between jurisdictions. [...] Agents can change allegiance from one fund, firm, brand or club to another, without moving away from their computer screens.”, in JORDAN, 2005, p.4.

<sup>36</sup> HARVEY, 1993, in IMDH, 2010, p. 63, CASTELLS, 1996 in CASTELLS and MILLER, 2009, pp. 50-51 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 33.

<sup>37</sup> According to Bourdieu, the *habitus* are the different sustainable cultural dispositions associated with a social position and resulting from an inculcation process. In VAN CAMPENHOUDT, pp. 135-136 and 250.

<sup>38</sup> They also participate in the production of what Appadurai calls the “neighbourhoods”. APPADURAI, 2005 Appadurai talks about *Neighbourhood structures* as the social shapes which exist nowadays, in which the locality, as dimension or value, is realised under diverse forms. In APPADURAI, 2005, , pp. 63-65, pp. 100-102, p. 257 and p. 279.

the Brazilian migration to certain EU Member States.<sup>39</sup> But these factors have been reinforced by other push and pull factors, which can explain the fact that the EU has turned into the “Preferred destination”<sup>40</sup> for Brazilian migrants. One of these factors is the possibility to stay in EU with a three month passport<sup>41</sup> while there were increased difficulties to enter the US.<sup>42</sup>

## 2.2. Why Belgium?

Since the last decade, this international economical migration of Brazilian migrants to Belgium has intensified. This phenomenon is caused by a combination of different push and pulls factors.

### 2.2.1. Push Factors

The first factor takes place in Brazil. The increase of the lower-middle class has enabled this population to opt largely for international immigration, rather than for other options, as a means to improve their livelihoods. Wets (2007), Castles and Miller (2009), de Haas, (2005) and Matsas (2008) argue that more “development” in the migrant’s countries of origin means more migration. In other words, they explain that development increases the financial means of those who couldn't have migrated before. This theory fits particularly well for Brazilian economical migration to the EU. For example, M. sold his car in order to pay for his plane ticket to Europe. MA. didn't managed to buy her own plane ticket with her savings, but her best friend in Brazil helped her buy the ticket in the hope that MA would earn enough money in Belgium to open a cafeteria with her, once MA returned home. MAR and her husband borrowed money from their parents to buy part of their ticket and were hoping to refund it within a months of working in Belgium.

The improvement of economical means of the lower middle class has significantly increased since 1992<sup>43</sup>. The distribution of per capita household income has been improved in Brazil thanks to the role played by labour market outcomes and institutions, financial orthodoxy, social policies and

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<sup>39</sup> These EU MS countries are mainly Portugal, Italy and Belgium. Other migration networks intensified to Paraguay and Japan, but for other historical and economic reasons that I won't address here. Interview Fazio, UFMG, 2011 and MRE, 2008, p. 31 and 448. RETURNS, 2009, pp. 64-67.

<sup>40</sup> Interview FAZIO, UFMG, 2011.

<sup>41</sup> According to EU Return Directive, Art 2(1)), third-country nationals who are “staying irregularly in the territory of a MS and “illegal stay” is defined as meaning “the presence on the territory of a MS, of a third-country national who does not fulfil, or no longer fulfils the conditions of entry as out in Art 5 of Shengen Border Code, or other conditions for entry, stay or residence in MS”. In ASKOLA, 2010, p. 164.

<sup>42</sup> FUSCO, in MRE, 2008, p. 262. Appadurai talks about the coming-back to the Modern Nation-State as the one to take important decisions about war, social order and peace. In Appadurai, 2007, pp. 31-35.

<sup>43</sup> Brazil has improved its international position and social changes have been pushed under president Cardoso, from the PSDB, and President Luis Inacio Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff, from the PT.

macroeconomic development. In MG, and especially in Uberlandia, the percentage of the population considered poor has decreased from 17,7% in 2003 to 9,3% in 2008 at the benefit of the lower middle class, which has significantly improved (in terms of the Brazil scale, this class has increased from 2003 to 2008, from 37,6% to 49,2% of the total population).<sup>44</sup> This increase of the amount of people in the lower middle class and their increase of purchasing power coincides with the explanation of Wets and others for the increase of international Brazilian lower-middle class migration since 1992 and especially since 2003 to EU.

Moreover, the intensification of Brazilian migration particularly to Belgium can be explained by other economical elements. The difference of salaries between host and home country and the still quite advantageous exchange rate between the Euro and the Brazilian Real plays a part in the economical explanation. Furthermore, the economic crises and unemployment in certain EU Member States<sup>45</sup> where Brazilian migrants used to work began to affect these migrants to a great extent.<sup>46</sup>

*Interviewees who managed to stay in EU a longer time, such as M., MT, MAR, and JA first arrived in Portugal or Italy because they had connections there or because of the facilities of the language at work. They all mentioned that they had to move because of the lack of jobs in these two countries. They came to Belgium because they simply heard inside the community or through the Evangelical churches they frequented, that they “would have more opportunities to find a job, that they could earn quite good money and that they would find great concentration of Brazilians in Belgium”.*<sup>47</sup> But for the other interviewees, we can consider that other push and pull factors have shaped the socio-spatial levels which bring them directly to Belgium.

## 2.2.2. Networks

*A. arrived in Belgium at the age of 13. At first, it was her older sister's husband who had far friends working in Belgium and who first took his chances in Belgium. He was hosted for the first few weeks at his friends' house and managed, thanks to the advice of his friends, to find a boss who*

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<sup>44</sup> Neri (2009) used four fixed lines in real terms to give the proportion of the population in each class (AB, C, D and E), in order to analyse poverty. In 2009, class C was located above the poorest 50% of class D and E, and below the richest 10% of people in the class AB. Class C household income varies between 1 115 to 4 807 BRL. It can be considered as the middle class. Class E corresponds to the definition of poverty (between 0 to 804 BRL). In OECD, 2010, pp. 57-99; PELTIER, 2005, pp. 2-25; MONCLAIRE, 2004, pp. 2-28 and SANTISO, 2004, pp. 103-106.

<sup>45</sup> Especially in certain EU Member States such as Portugal, Spain and Italy, three main entrance countries and first destination countries of Brazilian economical migrants. In Monica Pereira, Brussels, 2011. The Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs estimated in 2001 that 1 887 893 Brazilian people were living in foreign countries. In 2008, this number was estimated at 3.8 billion people. In IOM, 2009, p. 12.

<sup>46</sup> Compared to nationals and European workers. IMDH, 2010, p. 1, STOCKER, European Social Watch, Report 2009, Brussels, p. 5 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 24.

<sup>47</sup> Combination of interviews of M., MT, MAR, and JA, Uberlandia, 2011.

*offered him work in construction and paid him quite frequently. Since things were going well for him, he paid for the plane ticket of A.'s sister -Ja., so that she could come and work in Belgium. She managed to find small cleaning jobs at Belgian "Madams" thanks to some women in the Brazilian church community who gave her their extra-hours. Finding a stable job in construction was quite difficult, but A. and Ja.'s two brothers and her father finally managed to come and work in Brussels. Seeing that A. and her mother were the last ones of the family staying in Uberlandia, the mother finally took her with her after the first 6 months of her father's work in Belgium. Once in Belgium, A. attended a professional school where she encountered problems because of the language barriers. Additionally her study time was reduced due to the fact that she took the extra work hours of her mother and her sister after school and during the weekends. Even if a member of the family couldn't find a job for some months or received only partial or delayed salaries, there were always at least some other members of the family who managed to earn enough money to compensate the loss. Around four years after their arrival in Belgium, the family had managed to save enough money to come back to Brazil. But A. had decided to stay in Belgium by herself. She know exactly the job networks and "was earning too good of money to come back home at that time".<sup>48</sup>*

The migration story of A.'s family illustrates the construction of migration networks. Most of the time, an initial member of the family or of close friends arrives in Belgium "with the head and the courage"<sup>49</sup>, simply knowing a friend or an ex-colleague who was already in Belgium and to who they know they could find a place to sleep for the first weeks and who could give them tips on how and where they could find a job.

In general, the profile of Uberlandese migrants in Belgium since 2000 has taken the shape of both individual migration and family reunification. Professor Fazio and Bruno Deville talk about "emigration in cascade", because each person who comes, plays the role of the entry door, bringing, as circumstances enable it, his or her family or friends to Belgium.<sup>50</sup> In Uberlandia and Brasilia, migration networks to Belgium look informal, working by the word of mouth rather than through organized networks of 'travel agencies' that offered VISA facilitations, transport and even aid the search for a job in their host country.

Migration networks can take place at the beginning of the migration path. These networks facilitate migrants to come to Belgium rather to other countries or continents. Furthermore, other networks facilitate the migration process. For example, Brazilian magazines in Belgium and the EU

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<sup>48</sup> Interviews A. Reintegration fund for university fees and Ja., medical assistance for her baby, August 25th and 27th 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>49</sup> "Com a cara e a coragem", expression used by Fazio, UFMG, 2011 and PEREIRA, 2008, p. 3.

<sup>50</sup> Legally, thanks to family reunification, for example, or illegally, for people who do not have Belgian's staying permit. Interview FAZIO, UFMG, 2011; first interview Deville, Brussels, 2011. None of the interviewees in Uberlandia and Brasilia told about organized 'travel agencies', which are more common in the Goias regio. Interview Deville, Brussels, May 2011.

such as *AB.Classificados* or *Brasil* also play a role as networks and informative sources. Online social-networks such as *Facebook* or *Orkut*, which remains quite popular among Brazilians, also foster Brazilian togetherness, for example the “*Orkut communities*” *Brasileiros na Belgica -or em Bruxellas*.<sup>51</sup> Digital broadcast has become central to global communication, not only for migrants, but also for non-migrants. For example, I., M.'s mother, who is now retired, began to use the internet once her sons went to the EU. She is now using the internet daily.<sup>52</sup> These online networks can affect the nature of migration and the conditions of being a migrant. Furthermore, they enable migrants to meet online, exchange ideas, information and experiences in Brussels. It is also used as a means for more established migrants to help and orient newcomers. At the same time, they facilitate social, political, cultural and personal contacts with the local community, or what Sayad calls the “communication with the absentee”<sup>53</sup>. I will see in the fourth part how these virtual networks offer space for migrants to shape a certain image of their migration path to their local community. I will go deeper into this idea of the image of migration in part 4.

If we theorise these networks, we could say that for Brazilian economical migrants, *personal networks* represent a certain form of *social or migration networks*. In these networks, migrants' behaviours are oriented by the representations of culture and symbolic systems, which make possible informal membership systems. These informal systems are therefore re-conceptualised as “social capital”. This social capital is vital to the migration path because it consists of instrumental, socio-psychological and informative dimensions.<sup>54</sup>

In order to understand the way the social networks work, we have to consider that they depend on two variables: the intensity of links between actors, and the level of reciprocity between these links. The theory of *social networks* considers these personal networks as a conjunction of connections established in origin and destination countries and which make the project of migration accessible.<sup>55</sup> The already-existing *social networks* adapt themselves to, and are reinforced by, the migration process.<sup>56</sup> At the same time, these networks follow the patterns of international job markets. These networks tend to be self-sufficient, thanks to social capital, which enables migrants to find opportunities to establish themselves in a foreign country or to construct authorised financial or solidarity assistance inside the community.

The migration network also enables migrants to enjoy personal contacts within their community.

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<sup>51</sup> FAIST, 2011, pp. 1-26. Observations Uberlandia, 2011.

<sup>52</sup> Participatory observations to M., Uberlandia, 2011.

<sup>53</sup> SAYAD, 1991, p. 145-181. Siqueira talks about migrants showing pictures of them using the “Madame”'s clothes with a *mise en scène*, as if they were living at the place of their “Madames”. In SIQUEIRA, 2009.

<sup>54</sup> JORDAN, 2005, pp. 132-133 and CASTELS and MILLER, pp. 56-57. Social Capital, according to Bourdieu, is all the social ties that can be resources available to persons. Bourdieu, in VAN CAMPENHAUDT, 2001, p. 248. But Social capital can also include a more collective point of view. According to PUTMAN (1993), it can constitute resources, such as reciprocity and solidarity, which are available to groups and thus enable cooperation. In FAIST, 2008, pp. 38-39

<sup>55</sup> Social networks constitute conjunctions of persons, organisations or social institutions.

<sup>56</sup> Massey (1987) and Soares (2003).

The migration process may have been difficult for the first migrant of the chain. But the social capital has become easily available for people in the community of origin since financial and administrative costs of migration are now reduced.<sup>57</sup> Granovetter writes about “the strength of weak links”: Migrants manage to establish themselves and find the means to live in Belgium thanks to people they know indirectly. The “bridging social capital” serves as a bridge between more heterogeneous groups, offering opportunities and integration into the community.<sup>58</sup>

Other specific migration theories can play as general push or pull factors of Brazilian economical migrants. The reader can find these developments of theories in annexe 4.

## **2.3. Why do they Stay in Belgium?**

After having explored the principal factors which have influenced Brazilian economical migrants to come to Belgium, I will now analyse the reasons why these migrants stay in Belgium. In turn, this will enable us to understand the reasons and intentions to return. Understanding the real situation migrants face during their migration path will also give us a key understanding to the question of reintegration. This step is also of vital importance in order to understand the way migrants present themselves to the local community, even if they have faced exploitation in Belgium, and why they don't always reach their initial remittance goals.

### **2.3.1. Pull Factors and How Migrants Perceive the Advantages of Staying in Belgium**

Brazilian economical migrants could be illustrated as a *homo economicus* who chose the best economical opportunities. They come in order to improve their own living conditions and those of they leave behind, via remittances. Migration to the EU represents a “short cut” to social improvement thanks to the salary differences between home and host countries and the exchange rate between the Euro and the Brazilian Real (R\$)<sup>59</sup>. The informal discussion I had with AP. in her car in Brasilia illustrates the feeling migrants can have regarding the fact that they had a higher standard of living in Belgium than in Brazil.

*“In Belgium, you have easy access to luxury food, to luxury goods and to cosmetics which*

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<sup>57</sup> SOARES, in MARTES, 2003, pp. 239-244; SALES, 1999, pp. 7-13 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 46- 49 and 160.

<sup>58</sup> Granovetter talks about the “strength of the weak link”, GRANOVETTER, 2000, in VAN CAMPENHOUDT, 2001, p. 79 and PISSART, 2011, pp. 64-65.

<sup>59</sup> AMORIM and ASSUNCAO, o Popular Newspaper, April 8th 2010; MOSCHELLA, Epoca, June 26th, 2000, pp. 104-106; NASCIMENTO, Veja Newspaper, January 12th 2000, pp. 118-119; SALGADO and CARELLI, Veja Newspaper, July 18th 2001, pp. 94-100.

*are really expensive in Brazil. There, it was quite common for people to have 'Kipling bags', but when I came back with mines in Brazil, everybody was thinking that I became really rich. You get used to these luxuries really quickly. The day you will return to Brazil, you will have to return to normal life.*"<sup>60</sup>

Living in Belgium also represents for them better access to education. Mo., for example, decided to come back to Belgium with her two children even after receiving the reintegration fund, because she realized that *"living and giving a good quality education to your children and acquiring language skills yourself is easier in Belgium than in Brazil"*.<sup>61</sup>

### **2.3.2. Fulfilling their Aims and Duties**

In Minas Gerais, the migration process represents a certain prestige for their local community.<sup>62</sup> Migrants who manage to stay in Belgium fulfil a certain duty for themselves and often for their own family. A *collective or popular imaginary*<sup>63</sup> is actually constructed upon the idea that international migration can be an alternative for improving one's livelihood:

*While I was taking the bus in Uberlandia and during my fieldwork in Belo Horizonte in the AIC NGO, I spontaneously told people about my research concerning returnees from the EU. Most of the time, people were really enthusiasts about the topic. Most of them had some acquaintances abroad or had migrated and 'succeeded there'. They often explained me that to migrate is their dream, but that they didn't make the step for reasons varying from the fact that they were afraid to leave their life, family and friends, or in light of the fact that they already had a good job or good job perspectives in Brazil.*

Migration is valued by the community of origin.<sup>64</sup> But this valuation of the migration path often increases the social pressure, or "big expectations" towards those who migrate.<sup>65</sup> MAR's boyfriends explained these expectations, but also his disappointment towards his friend who *"came back for holidays"* but who was really probably expelled, and in order to "saving face", was pretending that he had earned lots of money in Belgium. But his intention was, according to MAR's boyfriend, to go back to Belgium, as he was wanted by the police. When MAR's boyfriend followed his friend to Belgium, he realised the actual living conditions and the precarious nature of the job he was facing, and was soon left alone, as his friend

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<sup>60</sup> In informal interview of AP., Brasilia, August 17<sup>th</sup> 2011.

<sup>61</sup> Interview Mo., October 2nd 2011, 6 p.m., Flagey, Brussels. G., ED., AL., E., MAT. M., MO., and GI. also mentioned the same aspects in their interviews.

<sup>62</sup> Participative observations in Belo Horizonte and in Uberlandia, June-September 2011.

<sup>63</sup> Assis uses the concept of "imaginario colectivo". SIQUEIRA, for its part, uses the term "imaginario popular".

<sup>64</sup> CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, p. 57 and CALLEGARI, in MRE, 2008, p. 174.

<sup>65</sup> Portes, 1995 in IOM, 2008, pp. 68-69; Assis, 1995, and Melo de Jesus, in MARTES and FLEICHER, 2003, p. 131 and p. 103. and 255; IMDH, 2010, p. 69; SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 22; IOM, 2008, p. 68. Interview MAR and her husband, Uberlandia, 2011.

disappeared<sup>66</sup>.

Actually, by staying in Belgium and sending remittances, even if the amount is limited, the migrant improves the family name and continues his parents' social ascension.<sup>67</sup> Economical remittances are therefore vitally important. In a certain sense, the importance of the consumption of objects and material success gives migrants a *social capital and social power*<sup>68</sup>. But in addition to these economical remittances, migration offers a certain prestige, the *symbolic capital*,<sup>69</sup> to the migrant and his family.<sup>70</sup> Migrants have a moral sentiment of responsibility towards their family or their household. This sentiment is often integrated into a collective strategy and vision of success which is led by logic of commitment.<sup>71</sup>

### **2.3.3. Job Realities for Brazilian Economical Migrants in an Irregular Situation**

When migrants arrive in Belgium, the realities are often different from the ones they were expecting. The reality they face in the receiving country can differ radically from the image migrants receive about migration before they migrated. Their irregular situation exposes them to more precarious economic and social conditions, which increase their vulnerability and in turn can expose Brazilian economical migrants to economic or sexual exploitation.<sup>72</sup>

As seen above, the social network is one aspect which facilitates Brazilian' economical migration process to Belgium. But at the same time, this network can also lock Brazilian economical migrants into a certain path and confine them to jobs in the black market or into specific job sectors. This can be part of the explanation of why Brazilian economical migrants end up in exploited situations. Men are often oriented to Portuguese or Brazilian bosses working in construction while women often find cleaning jobs in various "Madams" or with a boss sub-contracting with a cleaning firm.<sup>73</sup> These closed job networks, where migrants in irregular situation will hardly use official ways to solve

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<sup>66</sup> Interview MAR and her husband, Uberlandia, 2011.

<sup>67</sup> De OLIVEIRA ASSIS, 1999, pp. 161-162.

<sup>68</sup> According to Von Baeloewen, the power of Objects nowadays has gained more and more Social Power.. In Von BAELOEWEN, 2003, 238.

<sup>69</sup> According to Bourdieu, the *symbolic capital* is the social image and rituals associated *with cultural, economic and social capitals*, such as, for example, the prestige brought by the migration process, in this case. In VAN CAMPENHAUDT, 2001, p. 248.

<sup>70</sup> Interviews target-group and De OLIVEIRA ASSIS in SALES, 1999, pp. 153-161.

<sup>71</sup> FUFFIELD, 2006, RAGHURAM and ELLERMAN, 2003, pp. 40-41 and Degenne and Forsé, 1999, in MARTES, 2003, p. 246.

<sup>72</sup> JORDAN, 2005, p. 154 and ILO, 2009, pp. 41-43, OECD, 2009, pp. 146-147. and RODRIGUES LINS, 2010, pp. 22-23. According to OECD, the Latin America region is among the most active in terms of HR protection.

<sup>73</sup> Some Brazilian women also easily find jobs in the prostitution sector. But seeing that I don't have concrete interviews in that sector, I cannot make any conclusion concerning this sector. Nevertheless, I invite the reader to go to annexe 5 to read the findings that I have got so far concerning this subject.

internal conflicts, can actually pack them into vulnerable situations.<sup>74</sup> These vulnerable situations have increased with the economical crisis in the EU. Job offers have decreased, while the numbers of migrants in these sectors have increased. This job scarcity in these sectors has enabled bosses to impose their own conditions of work, making migrants accept job conditions close to economic or even sexual exploitation. They often face long work days, with low (or decreasing-over-time) salaries, with precarious security infrastructures and work on a day-to-day basis.<sup>75</sup>

Exploitation and impossible living conditions (mostly because of scarcity of economical resources) is most of the time the reason invoked by migrants when they came to *Abrço* to ask for the voluntary return. The economical exploitation is often a reason to leave Belgium earlier even if the migrants have not reached their expected remittance aims.

In a nutshell, I will conclude this second part by insisting on the fact that the migration process remains an individual choice. They are shaped by individual, household or familial expectations and by the context at macro-level. These accumulations of factors could explain the increasing number of Brazilian economical migrants in Belgium. Intentions to return once having saved enough money to come back and buy a ‘new house-car-business’ is often part of the initial migration aim. However, this ultimate dream often changes its shape, depending on the reality migrants face during the migration process. After having analysed why Brazilian economical migrants come and stay in Belgium, I will go deeper into the question of why do they return.

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<sup>74</sup> Interviews target-group.

<sup>75</sup> Interview MIC, Brussels, October 2011. Interviews target-group; Deville and IMDH, Report 2010, p. 7.

## Part Three: Return of Brazilian Migrants

I have so far analysed the history, the motivations and the perceptions Brazilian migrants often have about the migration process. I have then examined the reality migrants often face during their migration process. I will now analyse how this combination of elements shapes the migrant's conception and decision of return. The explanations interviewees gave me about their life after return will facilitate the reader to understand in which sense the funds for micro-business entrepreneurs of the Reintegration Funds (RF) can facilitate the reintegration process in the first six months after the return as well as in the longer term. This approach will enable us to answer, in the fourth part, the question of how the RF can turn migrants into actors of development.

### 3.1. Why Do They Return?

Decisions to return depend on the opportunities migrants estimate they can find in both home and host countries. MI explains that *“Returning last year was the right time for me to return. I didn't managed any more to earn good money in Belgium; the real exchange between Euro and the Real R\$ was diminishing, [... and] I know there were looking for caregiver at the municipal hospital of Uberlandia.”*<sup>76</sup> The return process of Brazilian migrants is shaped by pushed factors, depending on the situations they have faced in Belgium. But MI was actually quite sure she could easily get a contract in a quite good sector when she returns. The fast economic improvement of Brazil has become a pull factor to return to Brazil for most of my interviewees.

These push and pull factors to return can be complemented by a third dimension: the shape of the project of migration and its development. Return intention is part of the initial migration project for the Brazilian economical migrants. In other words, the return to the home country would be a “latent” option.<sup>77</sup> Brazilian economic migrants would have, as in the myth of Ulysses, an initial intention to come back to Brazil, after having made their initial project possible. In that way, migrants often live their migration process as if it were a part of their life-process.<sup>78</sup> However, this return intention, or the time when people decide to return often changes, depending on the different situations the migrants will be confronted with during their migration path. I would assume that the Brazilian community staying in Belgium can be characterised by the ones who keep their intention of return and the ones who finally want to stay in Belgium.<sup>79</sup> However, most of the

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<sup>76</sup> Interviews MI, August 31st 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>77</sup> EMN, 2011, p. 56.

<sup>78</sup> SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 59.

<sup>79</sup> In interviews MI, October 2011, Brussels, diverse target-groups at Abraço permanency and IOM, 2008, p. 22 and 60 and interview M. Pereira, Nivelles, December 12th, 2011. Pereira, 2008, p. 38.

interviewees in Brazil who had kept their intention to return have mentioned that they had to leave Belgium before in order to reach their initial objectives. They explain this early decision by economic, familial, or psychological reasons, while some of them had to return without choosing the date at all, simply because they were taken by the police.<sup>80</sup>

Concerning the length of stay, the IOM research made in 2008 about Brazilian economic migrants in Belgium explains that 40% of Brazilians they have interviewed had planned for their migration project to last between 1 and 3 years, compared to 22% who have no plans about the initial period of stay.<sup>81</sup> This tendency was somehow involved when I made my fieldwork. Interviewees explained that they expected to return after some few years of work in EU. But once in Belgium, they realized they couldn't reach their remittances aims within a limited period of time. M, as well as the majority of my interviewees, clearly linked that change of time to return to the exploitation he faced:

*“Your boss first starts to pay you properly the first three months, but after, he starts to tell you that the firm he is sub-contracting for had delays of payments or something like that. The boss always manages to find you arguments to pay you some little 'advances' on your delayed salary. But after some months, you don't have enough money to life in Belgium. But you are continuing to work for him, with the expectations of being paid once. [...] Finding another boss is not easy. And the same story will start again with him. [...] I still managed to survive and send little money to Brazil because I went every week to a food charity shop where I paid half the price than in other normal shops. I actually over-stayed 5 years in Italy, and then in Belgium, in order to still be able to send back some money.”<sup>82</sup>*

In order to overcome the bad economic problems, M had to opt to over-stay in the EU. But other interviewees such as D, EL, F, GI, JO, MC, MCD, and ROS have opted instead to return earlier, because they didn't find any other alternatives in the EU to overcome the salary problems. Often, their early decision to return was justified by other family obligations, a too strong home sickness, medical reasons, or deportation.

Actually, most of interviewees self-defined as temporary migrants (even if they don't use this specific vocabulary).<sup>83</sup> Their irregular situation pushed them towards an incertitude concerning what would happen to them; their staying or return decision always depended on the number of job offers<sup>84</sup>, regularisation, deportation, and other circumstances. That's why this temporary situation

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<sup>80</sup> See annexe 6.2. SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 153.

<sup>81</sup> IOM, 2008, p. 58.

<sup>82</sup> Retranscription of my diary of informal interviews with M., Uberlandia, August 2011.

<sup>83</sup> Interviews target-group and DE OLIVEIRA ASSIS, in SALES, 1999, p. 154.

<sup>84</sup> These kind of returnees are defined as the *returnees of crisis*. In SIQUEIRA, DE OLIVEIRA ASSIS and DIAS, in IMDH, 2010, pp. 68-72 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 87-98. And observations Abraço and interviews target-group.

often turns into an “undetermined temporality”<sup>85</sup>. The length of time of their migration projects are most of the time readjusted. That's why they often elaborate what MO called the “*plan A and plan B*”<sup>86</sup>, depending on what life (or the police) brings to them. This 'undetermined temporality' is often complemented by what Sayad calls a double contradiction. Immigrants don't know if their migration projects are provisional, but they still manage to live tentatively.<sup>87</sup> Even if the return project is postponed, the dream, or even the myth of return is still affirmed by migrants: “One day, still, I will return.”<sup>88</sup>

Furthermore, this return intention is strengthened because the migrants are often reminded of return by the family and community in Brazil. These constant reminders also keep the return project as an aim. The action of reaffirming one's willingness to return will, as it was the case of Ulysses, be one of the elements which will facilitate the “come back as winner” of the migrant<sup>89</sup>.

### **3.2. Explanations of Interviewees' Life after Return.**

The time of return was not always a choice for interviewees. Additionally, interviewees often returned to their departure location. But coming back to the time and the situation of departure is impossible.<sup>90</sup> Reintegration can therefore represent obstacles for the returnees, who sometimes have to face a kind of “Inverse migration,”<sup>91</sup> a readjustment to come back to their initial place, which was often idealised during the migration process.<sup>92</sup> Reintegration can represent difficulties to the returnee to re-discover his place in his family and in society.

The migrant's conception of society has often changed. Women returnees could have re-defined their gender identity and gender position, due notably to the improvement of women's purchasing power which they acquired abroad. A period of adaptation often occurs after the return, during which familial and gender relations in Brazil can be transformed.<sup>93</sup> Many examples have demonstrated this during my fieldwork. G, for example, has openly adopted a critical view of her sisters and cousins who “*got married before 20 and who already had children without having a job because they follow the Church really carefully. [...] When I was in Belgium, I have discovered other cultures, the Belgian one, but I was also staying a lot with the Moroccans. I have also*

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<sup>85</sup> Interview B. Camargo, Abraço, Brussels, second semester 2011.

<sup>86</sup> In Interview MO. October 2nd 2011, Brussels.

<sup>87</sup> SAYAD, 2006, p. 31.

<sup>88</sup> “Um dia ainda vou voltar”, in IMDH, 2010, p. 68 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 93.

<sup>89</sup> For more explanation about how migrants reaffirm this commitment to their community, I invite the reader to go to annexe 8, which deals with the *imagined community*.

<sup>90</sup> SAYAD, 2006, pp. 141-143.

<sup>91</sup> “ Emigração ao inverso”. In SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 96.

<sup>92</sup> MRE, 2007, pp. 41-42 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 165 and PEREIRA PIRES and CAMPOS in ILO, 2009, p. 114.

<sup>93</sup> IMDH, 2010, pp. 75-76.

*studied there. [...] I want to have a good job. That's why I am working part time to help my mother, so I can continue to study. I am also learning English and I learned French in Belgium. [...] I have discussed about that with my cousins, but it was too late. [...] They already had their children.*"<sup>94</sup>

Reintegration can also engender other kinds of obstacles in re-adapting oneself in Brazil. R. da Costa works for the Advanced Point of Humanitarian Aid to Migrants at the airport of Sao Paulo. This association receives Brazilian returnees who have faced exploitation or difficulties during their migration path. According to her, women who were working in prostitution encounter specific psychological and medical problems. But they also face difficulties in re-adapting to a salary which is too low compared to the one they used to earn abroad. *"If you are used to buy expensive creams in EU, you will never accept again a lower-skilled job with the minimal salary while you return 'without additional [professional] skills' to Brazil."*<sup>95</sup> To study the special case of reintegration of victims of sexual exploitations, I invite the reader to read further in Annex Seven.

The *reinsertion* of migrants into the labour market can be another obstacle for migrants. The fact of having worked abroad can be valuable for some of them. However, reinsertion in the local labour market can lead to difficulties for others. A and AP talk about the fact that when they came back, they were thinking they could apply for a higher level job. But they realised after the two first months of job research, their experience they acquired abroad was actually an obstacle for them to find out a job in Brazil. AP explained that *"It was as if I was totally out of the labour market for these years, and even worse: if I talked about cleaning, people were seeing that as a 'regression'"*<sup>96</sup>. *They didn't take into account the fact that I have managed to adapt and survived in really different and difficult circumstances. They also didn't care about my knowledge of French, because it is not useful for unqualified jobs"*<sup>97</sup>.

The socio-economical realities of Brazil could as well have changed. These changes can therefore affect the micro-enterprise projects that returnees had before in Brazil and which don't fit with the realities of the local market. During my interviews at the SEBRAE-Uberlandia, a Governmental entity which gives management and juridical supports to new small entrepreneurs, and with P. Sergio, Coordinator General of the Migration at the Ministry of Work in Brasilia, both have

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<sup>94</sup> Interview G., september 2nd 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>95</sup> In interview PAHM, 2011; observations Uberlandia, and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 97.

<sup>96</sup> In Brazil, cleaning work is still considered as a "lower" job. The "fachineiras"/cleaning ladies don't have all the same work advantages that other workers, and are still stigmatised as "domesticas" in the novels, according to the model of domestic living at home, as it was really common still some years ago. Observations in SP, 2005; in BH, 2011 and on Novels on Brazilian national TV broadcasts.

<sup>97</sup> In Interviews AL., Brasilia, 2011; A., Uberlandia 2011; Interviews control group in the NGO AIC, Belo Horizonte, 2011 and Professor DA SANTINI LEANDRO REDE, UFU, Uberlandia, 2011.

mentioned that sometimes, returnees come back home with a great project and money to build it<sup>98</sup>. But the SEBRAE pointed out that most of returnees stayed with their first project idea. These projects are often based on the reality they left some years before, or on really original concepts that they saw in their receiving country, but which are not especially adapted to the actual market demand in Brazil. Their eagerness to start their business without taking time to analyse the current situation of the market, added to the fact that these returnees didn't always have the special skills of an entrepreneur, can “*missed up their all investment of what they have earned during many years abroad, in only some months.*”<sup>99</sup> In the 'euphoria of coming back'<sup>100</sup>, migrants can be tempted to show their prestige and proof that they have succeeded. From this perspective, returnees will sometimes start their business too early. But in my interviews, an even more important aspect which was mentioned was that once they came back, migrants were able to take the boss's place. The projects would, in these cases, represent symbolic capital: having a higher job status. But this attitude is also, according to D and to MIR's husband, a way of “*never being at the lower job place again and to definitely avoid exploitation*”.<sup>101</sup>

Finally, R. Milesi from the NGO IMDH in Brazilia and M. Pereira from the *Abraço* association in Brussels points out another kind of difficulty that returnees are confronted with: the frustration of not having accomplished one's dream, or of having been exploited.<sup>102</sup> However, it is interesting to note that the word or even idea of “frustration” doesn't appear in the interviewees' discourse. This could be attributed to the success of the Fund for the sample of people that I have managed to reach, and who therefore would be more likely to have succeeded in reintegration. But it can also be due to the fact that most of the interviews were done one to four years after the return period. This time period can explain a better re-adaptation than in the first few months after the return. But the fact that interviewees were not mentioning the frustration can also be explained by the fact that migrants want to “save face” and only show a positive image of migration, as we will analyse in part four.

### **3.3. Voluntary Returns and Special Assistance for Reintegration**

In this section, I will analyse how Reintegration Funds work and their impact on the reintegration of my target-population. I will see how the micro-business fund can help returnees to

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<sup>98</sup> See different sectors of investment in annexe 13, from SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 103.

<sup>99</sup> Interview SEBRAE, August 26, 2011, Uberlandia and CESAR BEZERRA DE SOUZA Ministerio do Trabalho, Brasilia, 2011.

<sup>100</sup> Interview SEBRAE, August 26, 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>101</sup> Interview SEBRAE, Uberlandia, 2011 and groups meetings at IOM conference on October 10, 2011, Brussels, and IMDH, 2010, pp. 69-72.

<sup>102</sup> Interview Irma Rosita Milesi, 17th August 2011, IMDH, Brazilia; Interview M. Pereira, October 20th 2011, Brussels; IMDH, 2010, and Pereira, 2008, p. 3.

overcome reintegration obstacles in the first six months after their return, but also the effect this reintegration fund can have on the longer-term. I will therefore discuss which kind of development aid it corresponds to. This analysis will then enable me to explore in my next part, how this fund can facilitate migrants to become actors of development.

### 3.3.1. Overview of the Reintegration Funds and Their Principal Aims

Reintegration Funds are specific funds allocated to more vulnerable returnees, in addition to the voluntary return program.<sup>103</sup> Some of the receivers of the Reintegration Fund haven't managed to improve their standards of living when they came back. Others, like the extreme case of L, have had to return in an even worse economic situation than the one when they left Brazil to migrate. *Once in Belgium, L. hadn't managed to find a job. After some months, he decided to migrate to England, with the hopes to find more job opportunities. But he got taken by the police at his arriving on the England territory and was forced to return to Brazil. The debts he contracted to pay his trip to EU and the months he had to sustain himself in Belgium without any salary has turned his migration course a real economic loss for him.*<sup>104</sup> Actually, migrants who have not managed to collect enough money or experience to make their initial projects possible face considerable additional obstacles to reintegration. Furthermore, the returnee will have even more difficulties in giving a positive image of him if he comes back in a vulnerable situation.<sup>105</sup>

The concept of Voluntary Return and the Reintegration Funds can be tendentious. They are sometimes presented as a humanitarian alternative to forced returns.<sup>106</sup> But Reintegration Funds are also conceived with the intention to be adapted to the particular situations returnees can face. The Funds actually try to anticipate overwhelming difficulties during the return period and give a push to a longer-term reintegration by orienting the investments of returnees into certain kinds of actions.<sup>107</sup>

Reintegration Funds are provided by two donors: The EU through the EU Fund for Return and the Belgian Government. These funds are given upon certain criteria. It evaluates and helps the receiver in two kinds of ways: the development of the project the returnee wants to realise and help

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<sup>103</sup> STOCKER, 2009, pp. 4-5.

<sup>104</sup> Interview L., September 2011 and interviews and participative observations with IA., L and M.'s mother, August-September 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>105</sup> PEREIRA, 2008, p. 38. It can also engender compromises with the family in Brazil, frustration and abdication from the initial dream. The relationships and positions in families have changed, children have grow up, changes of gender position inside the family, new gender conception can have appear in the manner migrant will behave, the distances (or even the difficulties of life in Belgium in case of family reunification) sometimes ends in divorce, etc. First Interview Prof. FAZIO, UFMG, 2011 and DE OLIVEIRA ASSIS, in SALES, 1999, p. 157-161.

<sup>106</sup> [www.sefor.be](http://www.sefor.be); IOM, Brussels, Annual Report 2010 and Fedasil and IOM, Brussels, 2011, pp. 18-33

<sup>107</sup> Interview P. Neelen, Fedasil, Octobre 2011, PEREIRA PIRES OLIVEIRA; CAMPOS, in ILO, 2009, pp. 117-118) and observations and discussions in 2005, 2011 in Brazil, and with Abraço, Second semester 2011.

for specific medical or material resources that the more vulnerable returnees would need once in Brazil. This approach offers a counselling focus based on the individual's needs. The amount of the Reintegration Funds is quite limited, varying from a minimal help up to a maximum of 1500 Euros. This financial aid is not given directly, but is transferred into material aid, given to the receiver only after his project went ahead.<sup>108</sup> For more theoretical explanations of the Reintegration Funds, please refer to Annex Nine.

In Belgium, the number of Brazilians opting for RF has raised questions. During the period of 2003-2011, Brazilians were the most common nationality to use Voluntary Returns from Belgium. Even if the criteria to access the Reintegration Funds has been intensified for Brazilian returnees, Brazil was still in the top five nationalities which have benefited from the fund between January and March 2012.<sup>109</sup> Some readjustments of the criteria for RF have actually been adopted for Brazilian nationals in Belgium: RF for micro-businesses has been suspended since the beginning of the second semester of 2011, in the middle of my research fieldwork.<sup>110</sup> This strengthening of measures is due to demand being too high and because Brazil was not a priority country any more, notably because of the rapid economical improvement of this emergent country. This economical improvement has increased the creation of jobs, but has also enabled local governments to finance infrastructures to facilitate the creation of businesses or various social supports.<sup>111</sup> A certain overlapping can therefore appear between what RF of the Belgian government or EU offer and the already established services the Brazilian government offers.<sup>112</sup>

I have however decided to focus my analysis only on the impacts of the micro-business projects which have been allocated in Uberlandia and Brasilia through Caritas' local partner between 2008 and the first semester of 2011. This fund represents effectively a particular interest for the comprehension of reintegration inside a rapidly changing society. At the same time, this fund is a really interesting point to analyse my research question, because this fund can directly be linked to the notion of actor of development.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Interview Irma Rosita, IMDH, Brasilia, 2011, R. Van Caudenberg, Caritas-International-Belgium, Brussels, 2011; P. Neelens, Fedasil, Brussels, 2011; Pascal Reyntjens, OIM Belgium, Brussels, 2011; RUALTEA, Solidarité socialiste, Brussels, 2011; VAN CAUDENBERG, Caritas, pp. 1-7 and EMN, pp. 1-95.

<sup>109</sup> In [www.retourvolontaire.be](http://www.retourvolontaire.be). In 2010, 1000 Brazilians received the VR. In 2011, the budget only allows 750 VR to Brazilians. In 2011, 40 Brazilian returnees received Reintegration Funds, making Brazil the country with the fifth highest receivers of RF. In Interview Peter Neelen, Fedasil, 2011.

<sup>110</sup> EMN, 2011, p. 32; Interview Reyntjens, OIM and Neelen, Fedasil, Brussels, 2011; Statistics of Conference OIM, Brussels, October 20th 2011 and PEREIRA, 2008, p. 39.

<sup>111</sup> Interviews at the SENAC, Augustus 24 2011; SEBRAI, August 26 2011, Uberlandia, Public Hopital, September 5th 2011, Plano Alto, Uberlandia, Internship observations at the AIC NGO, June-September 2011, BH; Alvoranda, Secretary of Social Access, August 26th 2011, Uberlandia; Das Gacas, Elderly Center, August 29th 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>112</sup> In the case of micro-businesses, regional institutions which provide these services are the SEBRAE, the SENAC the SENAI or the NIATRE. NIATRE is the only institution specifically created for returnees. In interview NIATRE, SP. Interviews NIATRE, SP, SEBAE, SENAC and SENAI, Uberlandia, and Interview Irma Rosita, IMDH, 2011, Brasilia. And SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 104.

<sup>113</sup> For a completed study of the Fund for Vulnerable cases, please consult annexe 9.

### 3.3.2 The Reintegration Fund for Micro-business Entrepreneurs

Nowadays, Brazil offers more job facilitations. But finding a job or creating one's own business still represents important parts of the reintegration process for returnees.<sup>114</sup> RF particularly focuses on these aspects. It can cover vocational training courses which can offer skills to returnees, cover the first months of university fees, or help to set up small businesses (it provides material aid to buy equipment, commodities, materials and pays for registration).<sup>115</sup>

As mentioned above, a great portion of interviewees have dreams of returning to the origin region and opening their own micro or medium-sized businesses if they still have money after buying a house and, or a car.<sup>116</sup> But why does this fund focus and take the risks to invest in micro-businesses activities, which risk a potential collapse if the returnee isn't successful in his business or study project?

This question could be answered by the fact that migrants could be considered as “the most adventurous”<sup>117</sup> of the local community. Furthermore, Lipton, Sachriah, Rayan and De Haas consider, for their part, migrants to be “more entrepreneurial and open-minded”.<sup>118</sup> At the same time, we can expect that the migration course of the returnees would have given them more skills and innovative ideas learned and observed abroad. Finally, the Brazilian economic expansion and MG's “culture of migration” welcome this new capital which is often seen as “empowering [...] the capacities of one's own community”.<sup>119</sup> The combination of these factors can make clear why the RF supports such initiatives for migrants in more vulnerable situations who maybe couldn't have gone through with these projects on their own.

But donors also take the risk in order to reinforce a positive image of migration in the local community. RF would, to some extent, compensate for the expected remittances that migrants were not able to send. RF can therefore bias and favour a certain image that migrants will give to their local community of a “successful migration”.<sup>120</sup> The benefiteres would actually acquire social prestige and symbolic capital through that fund.

At the same time, the fund can also present other ideas. The realization of innovations of businesses in new sectors or in education, for example, can bring new models and incentives to the local community to also invest in new sectors. These innovative ideas, inspired by what migrants may

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<sup>114</sup> Interviews target-group; EMN, 2011, p. 88 and IOM, 2006 a., 1-6 and IOM, 2006 b. pp. 1-11.

<sup>115</sup> In Interview MIC, Brussels, October 2011.

<sup>116</sup> MASSEY 1987, ASSIS, 1995 and SALES, 1999, in SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 1-19.

<sup>117</sup> Interview Prof. Fazio, Professor of Demography, UFMG, August 9th 2011, Belo Horizonte.

<sup>118</sup> Lipton, 1980 and SACHRIAH and RAYAN, 2001, in De HAAS, 2010, p. 236.

<sup>119</sup> MARINUCCI, 2009, pp. 87-88.

<sup>120</sup> In interviews target-group, Uberlandia, August 2011.

have learned abroad, or in other words, the social remittances, and bring new models of investments in the local community.<sup>121</sup> Furthermore, in the long-term, establishing a business can create benefits for the migrant's whole family. The returnee will be able to generate his own earnings, or even give employment to other members of the family, collaborators or friends on the longer term:

*M.'s alarm business has slowly grown, notably thanks to the master in Law he has started thanks to the RF, and that he is still studying. After some years, he has managed to have two employees, notably his brother. MI, for her part, has also increased the size of her business, which served as employment (at home) of her daughter and daughter-in-law when both were pregnant some few months after their return and did not manage to find a job. AP talks about helping her father once she will get a good job "thanks to my good university diploma I will obtain thanks to RF".*

*But sometimes, the business concept has also been based directly on collaboration with other members of the family or some friends. For example, MAP has created herself with the collaboration of a friend of her; the full concept and the implementation of their snack. The idea of J. was also based on the cooperation and the improvement of the ice-cream shop of his father in law.<sup>122</sup>*

But this micro-business fund can also present difficulties when applied to Brazil. For example, financial earnings often take some time before they are sufficient to represent a real salary for the returnee. The project often requires even more investment from the migrants or from their families, in the case of larger projects, for example, or in the form of further university costs.<sup>123</sup> A, for example, explained she was actually thinking of leaving the university classes she had started, thanks to the RF:

*A. has received a RF in order to pay for the first few months of her university fees. But once these first months were expired, she had to start to work in order to pay for university fees. Following university in the morning, studying at night and, in between, working 6 hours on the afternoon in the telemarketing sector has become too heavy for A.. At the time of the interview, A.. She explained me that her family could have help her financially for the intuition fees. But her family first had to finish its own priority projects: finishing to build a house to rent it, thanks to the remittances the family has managed to send while in Belgium. Once this project would have been done, it would have generated profits, which can serve, at their turn, to pay for her university fees, but not before that.<sup>124</sup>*

Actually, the fact that the amount given by the RF is limited and that returnees cannot always

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<sup>121</sup> MARINUCCI, 2009, pp. 87-88.

<sup>122</sup> Interviews M; MI; MAP; AP. and J., Uberlandia and Brasilia, 2011 and Interview Milesi, IMDH, Brasilia, 2011.

<sup>123</sup> The Fund often only covers the first four or five months of the school fees. IOM, 2009, pp. 74 and 83; Interview M, R, AP, AL, and RO.

<sup>124</sup> Interview A. , August 27th 2011, Uberlandia.

continue to invest by themselves in the continuance of their project can therefore represent an impossible investment for the migrant and his family in the short-term. Furthermore, it can even represent a risk for the returnee and his family of losing everything if the project does not work. This can therefore compromise the realisation of the returnee's project. For example, PC's ice cream material seller went bankrupt just after she paid the material without receiving it. That way, she lost the all the money of the RF and her own additional investments.<sup>125</sup>

Overall, for interviewees who have received the Reintegration Funds, return was a "latent" option. In the return decision, the Reintegration Funds would therefore only have a partial impact. But they however represent decisive factors for an early decision to return. RF can realise part of their 'house-car-business' dream. But at the same time, they could have increased or decreased their dependency on their family or acquaintances, depending on the situation. But in successful cases, they can engender a long-term to the migrants, their families or even to their local community.

### 3.3.3. Which Development Cooperation?

The Reintegration Fund has to be understood at a broader level in addition to the local or individual one. Globalization can sometimes cause new socio-cultural preoccupations in the sending and receiving countries about citizenship, culture and identity.<sup>126</sup> The "spatio-temporal (dis)order of globalization" has weakened slowly the so-far established Westfalian territorial characteristics. States therefore face a remodelling of their sovereignty and governance.<sup>127</sup> Concerning migration, states, on the one hand, keep their power of determining the criteria for entry admission, which are often defined by political, economic and national security concerns.<sup>128</sup> But on the other hand, states can also establish instruments and alternatives to facilitate the return of people already on their territory in irregular situations. Voluntary Returns and RF are one of the instruments that the EU and its member states have opted for.<sup>129</sup>

If I refer to Riddels' development analysis, RF doesn't constitute Official Aid<sup>130</sup>, but is rather presented by the EU and national Governments as a program to support people's individual

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<sup>125</sup> In interview PC, August 2<sup>nd</sup> 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>126</sup> MARINUCCI, 2009, pp. 133-134 and JORDAN and DUVELL, 2005, p. 124.

<sup>127</sup> APPADURAI, 2001, pp. 273-276. REGIS and RIOS-NEO, in MRE, 2008, pp. 241-242 and 451-453 and JORDAN, 2005, pp.1-3 and RIOS-NETO, in MRE, 2008, pp. 452-453.

<sup>128</sup> REGIS, in MRE, 2008, p. 249; UNDP, 2010, pp. 2 -32; CLAES Peter, General Consul of Belgium, and his associate, SP, July 1st 2011, 11 a.m., SP, Brazil; REGIS, in MRE, 2008, pp. 252-258 and Interview Policia Federal Uberlandia.

<sup>129</sup> Interview Consulate of Belgium, Brazil, 2011.

<sup>130</sup> OA is the bilateral and multilateral Aid provided by donor governments (official agencies, including state and local government) going to Part II countries (countries which still receive OA, but which also give ODA (Official Development Assistance)) and multilateral institutions. They follow criteria of promoting economic development and welfare. In RIDDELL, 2007, pp. 18-20; 51 and 286-310.

projects.<sup>131</sup> It can, in a certain sense, promote returnees as Actors of Development if the returnees could promote economic development and welfare, for example. Naïr calls this kind of public policy approach for a co-development to the migration-development nexus.<sup>132</sup> RF programmes can be understood as reinforcing or enabling the development<sup>133</sup> of returnees in certain determined sectors in the long-term. In the case of micro-businesses, it notably facilitates transfers of knowledge and skills that migrants could have learned during their migration process.<sup>134</sup>

The bilateral cooperation at national level between Brazil and Belgium is increasingly being developed.<sup>135</sup> However, in the case of Uberlandia, the applications of such collaborations on a local level are still restricted. Returnees remain invisible to local policy-makers and few social strategies address their special needs on a local level. For example, in Uberlandia, returnee women who come back in more vulnerable situations because they were exposed to sexual exploitations, for example, won't find any special local support to address their needs. They will have to undergo the re-adaptation process on their own, keeping specific psychological, social or economical re-acclimatisation problems to themselves.<sup>136</sup> RF could somehow compensate the lack of local infrastructure adapted to the different kinds of difficulties returnees are often confronted to. But at the same time, this approach can reveal a certain patriotism towards the actions of the Brazilian local entities, offering what Brazil would not offer.

In this third part, I first explored how the initial perspectives of migration for the interviewees often consist of an intention to return. This intention to return can then be modified by various elements such as the amount of remittance sent,<sup>137</sup> the evolution of the perceptions of opportunities in both home and host country, as well as familial and psychological factors. In the case of Brazilian economic migrants, RF doesn't really appear to influence directly the decision to return. It rather influences the moment chosen to return because it facilitates (or at least gives to people opting for RF the impression that it facilitates) return and reintegration.

In general, returns and reintegration are not easy for migrants. Migrants are often under social pressure from the family and local community. Coming back without having sent remittances would

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<sup>131</sup> [www.fedasil.be](http://www.fedasil.be) and interviews Reyntens, and Hongenaert, Brussels, 2011.

<sup>132</sup> FAIST, 2008, p. 26. Voluntary return is a thematic Program of the EU for the Cooperation in Migration and Asylum Field. (384 million Euros) Gwendaëlle Corre, DEV Consulting, "La Politique de Développement de l'UE", BTC Infocycle, October 15, 2011, 7. p.m.

<sup>133</sup> Capacity building was more commonly used before the term "capacity development".

<sup>134</sup> RIDDELL, 2007, pp. 196 and 207.

<sup>135</sup> In IOM, 2008, p. 5; "Awareness Raising for Brazilian and Belgian Authorities on Managing Migration from Brazil to Belgium", 2010; the "Meeting on Consular and Migration Affairs" and mails Consul General-Belgium-Sao Paulo, 2011; o Popular, "Belgas Retaliam entrada ilegal", 2010 and interview Peter Claes, Belgian Consul in SP and Ministério da Justícia, Workshop with all insitutional and NGO parties about Human Trafficks, Sao Paulo, 20.09.2011, Sao Paulo.

<sup>136</sup> Observations in Uberlandia, interviews Federal police, Prefeitura of Uberlandia (Social sector, and interviews with two deputies); interview Conselho Tutelar, Uberlandia, 2011; interview Delegação das Mulheres de Uberlandia, Uberlandia, 2011; R. Da Costa, 20th September 2011, Sao Paulo airport and M. Das Gaças, August 29th 2011, Uberlandia.

<sup>137</sup> Interview M, Uberlandia, 2011 and the observations at Abraço's permanency, November 14th 2011.

“blow their cover/make returnees losing face”<sup>138</sup>. However, in most of the interviews, the RF is actually perceived by the recipients as a “compensation” for the lack of significant remittances sent.<sup>139</sup>

Based on these diverse observations, I will now analyse in which sense RF could have compensated for the lack of remittances. I will explain how this compensation process will actually be a key element to understanding how RF can support returnees as potential actors who can influence the development of their sending society. Furthermore, I will explain how this reasoning constitutes a part of the answer to how returnees manage to present themselves to their local community as actors of development.<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> MAUSS, 1997, pp. 205-212.

<sup>139</sup> This aspect is really clear in M, MAB, A, G and AP's discourses.

<sup>140</sup> RIDDELL, 2007, pp. 301-32.

## **Part Four: Do Reintegration Funds Turn Migrants Into Actors of Development?**

Economic models often present migration as an escape to improve one's livelihood. But other models of transformation exist. Ellerman assumes that a well-reintegration after return would consist on one of these models.<sup>141</sup> I will analyse in this part how RF can turn migrants into actors of development. For doing so, it is important to understand what development and development actors mean to the various parties - to the donors and to the benefiteres of the RF. I will then see how these programs, even if they respect the freedom of choice to develop individually tailored reintegration plans, facilitate or rather orient initiatives by following a certain kind of development.

### **4.1. How Can Returns Lead to Development?**

Migrants, their remittances and expertises they bring back home are more and more recognized as significant agents. However, migration impacts on development are heterogeneous. De Haas stresses that migrants can be considered as actors of development and of social changes, but that migration remains an *internal part* of a wider social and developmental process. Concerning research on returns, the first phase of development and migration optimism took place from 1950 to 1973. During this time, returns there were a potential link between migration and development. Expectations of migrants to bring new ideas, knowledge, industrialisation or entrepreneurial attitudes became common. Migrants were seen as *ambassadors of modernity* which could bring back modernization they had experienced during their migration process.<sup>142</sup> Since 2001, new researches have given hope of developmental contribution of migration, thanks to circular and return migration.<sup>143</sup> But returns are less and less easy towards analyse as a separated element, especially because Brazilian migration tends to turn more and more to “undetermined temporal”, where migrants don't always have command of their entire migration course. Moreover, it would be impossible to establish a rational balance to measure the elements that migrants bring to their country of origin, and the lack that their “absences” have created.<sup>144</sup> However, a certain analyse can still be done to understand returnees' socio-cultural and economical impact on the origin society if we understand how returnees present themselves to their local community and the place this community allows them.

#### **4.1.1. Development As...**

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141 ELLERMAN, 2003, pp. 38-40.

142 DE HAAS, 2010, pp. 230- 232 and de HAAS, 2009.

143 DE HAAS, 2010, p 228.

144 SAYAD, 2006, p. 39.

The notion of development is not self-evident. In fact, the concept of Development is historically constructed. But development also doesn't have the same meaning and depends on the perception different actors give to it.<sup>145</sup> In one sense, it can be evaluated by analysing a country's GDP or by the Human Development Index (HDI). Brazil is notably a country in which such a concept has been widely used as a policy tool.<sup>146</sup> But development, according to Wets and Perrin, also depends upon unidirectional processes. It includes elements not easily quantifiable such as recognition and respect of Human Rights, well being, integration, social cohesion, stability, environment, future prospects, security, etc.<sup>147</sup> In this sense, Olivier de Sardan's definition of development could be applied to migrants as agents of development, because migrants can be seen as contributing to development of their community with the aim of "improving the social milieu".<sup>148</sup> For my purposes, it is more interesting to deepen Appadurai's conception of human development, which is far more close to my interviewees' conception of migration. He effectively presents human development as a "process of enlarging peoples choices", which can create opportunities and which grants migrants the "capacity to aspire".<sup>149</sup> In this light, migrants then become actors of development through their own economic, socio-cultural and political contributions.

The fact that migration remains an individual project of Brazilian economical migrants reveals an individualistic logic where migrants try to "escape" their reality and change their own and or their family's situation.<sup>150</sup> The effects of migration, such as the departure of active young people, gender imbalances and financial and social remittances all transform conditions in the local community.<sup>151</sup> But the effects of migration vary depending of certain elements. A Brazilian returnee can bring back financial remittances, which often has a poverty reduction effect and can lead to local investments and improvement of the health and educational standards of the migrant's family. This can directly improve their conditions, productivity and labour force. This capital can enable the construction of businesses in Brazil.<sup>152</sup> However, the amount of financial remittances don't make a great difference on local community since it doesn't represent substantial amount of money, in light of the relative high Brazilian GDP per capita.<sup>153</sup> Moreover, financial remittances are bounded to the

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145 DE HAAS, 2009; ESTEVA, 2010 and SACHS, 2010.

146 This is namely calculated upon the social differentiation, the poverty rate and economical growth. For example, MG's stated goal of the current government is to increase the state's HDI from 0.776 to 0.8. In UNDP, 2009, pp. 15-16.

147 PERRIN, 2011, pp. 67-68 and WET, 2009, p. 2

148 De SARDAN, Oliver, 2005.

149 APPADURAI, 2000.

150 Economical Brazilian migration looks less based on a collective logic, where migrants from certain countries would go to host country and would collectively try to change home country's situation. But these collective actions can lead to a diffuse solidarity, where individuals involved are anonymous to each others. FAIST, 2008, p. 28 and ELLERMAN, 2003, pp. 40-41.

151 CASTLES and MILLERS, 2009, p. 57.

152 SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 127-132; OFCE, pp. 90-91 and COUFFIGNAL, 2008, pp. 60-62.

153 OECD, 2009, pp. 99-100.

individual or limited to the family.<sup>154</sup> Nevertheless, financial and social remittances do play a role on the way the remittances are spent. Migrants sometimes change their investments priorities because of the migration process. RF itself can also influence the orientation of the investments made by returnees. However, the returnees won't profoundly change local structures<sup>155</sup> and the worth off of their local community won't benefit from it.<sup>156</sup>

But returnees can also bring social remittances, such as human and social capital, new ideas, behaviours, language, competences, experience and knowledge, and on-the-job-education. They can also bring back innovative ideas from which members of the various communities can become inspired.<sup>157</sup> To apply Cohen's expression, Brazilian migrants can also be considered as “bridge-builders” because they manage to preserve their local culture as part of their identity. But at the same time, they keep important consciousness of qualities they bring from both home and host cultures. At the same time, migrants can also transfer attitudes and behaviours from their host countries to their home. They can indirectly give rise to new initiatives or reflections amongst the local community. Initiatives can be material aid, as I have elaborated in annex 4. They can also aid the change of mentality, as illustrated with G.'s case in part 3.<sup>158</sup> Returnees women can have attain other statuses and gain social recognition because of their superior incomes. But these gender changes are not very easily to be accepted when the migrant would come back, such as the case of MO. explained earlier. This situation can become problematic, leading to familial difficulties or to a re-migration process.<sup>159</sup>

After having reviewed development from a rather theoretical angle, I will now see how do returnees perceive development and how they conceive of their migration process.

#### **4.1.2. Development from Returnees' Point of View**

The migrant's perception of migration sensitively influences migrant's actions. In order to answer the central question of my thesis, it is important to understand what “development” represents for Brazilian economical migrants themselves. It is interesting to note that during a large

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154 According to OECD, in 2004, Brazilian remittances were used at 46% to consumption, 13% to education, 10% to Commercial Investment, 8% to savings; 7% for housing and 15% to others. In OECD 2009, pp. 220. Intention of investment in certain sectors are not always reached, as other sectors can take more importance on the everyday-life or on the short-term. Financial remittances are also counter-cyclical and can therefore increase in times of crisis, compared to Development Aid. OFCE, pp. 90-91.

155 DE HAAS, 2010, p. 241.

156 This is particularly true since remittances are counter-cyclic to economic recession. In FAIST, 2008, p. 21. In 2004, Brazil was in the top-10 remittance-receiving developing countries, receiving 3.6 billions US\$. In CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 57-63; UNDP 2009 and de HAAS, 2009.

157 LEVITT, 1998, pp. 926-944; IMDH, 2010 p3; MARINUCCI, 2009, p.85 and MAIMBO and RATHA, 2005, in FAIST, 2008, p. 26.

158 Interview G., Uberlandia, 2011. PERRIN, 2002, pp. 67-68 and CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 62-63.

159 In interview MO, Brussels, October 2011. FAIST, 2008; IMDH, 2006, p. 73 and ILO, 2009, p. 22.

majority of the interviews I conducted, many returnees didn't get the point of my question: "Do you consider yourself as an actor of development in Brazil?".<sup>160</sup> In fact, very few of them have spontaneously answered this question.

Actually, fulfilling their family or individual goals was of prime importance, through their interviews. Sending remittances was perceived more by migrants as fulfilling a duty or an aim, rather than an acting of development. The aim to improve ones quality of life was omnipresent in every interview. In that sense, some interviewees even affirmed that quality of life, their purchasing power and the level of security<sup>161</sup> were better in Belgium, even if they faced exploitation. For these interviewees, their aim and migration experience were, according to them, far away from any conception of development.

However, the further reflections the interviewees gave me about them being actors of development could fit with Wets and Perrin's vision of development. Migrants were evoking recognition and respect of Human Rights, well being, integration, social cohesion or stability.

Interviewees who had received the RF for a micro-project mentioned it as an 'act of development'. But this answer was often one of many other answers.

For example, couples with children said they bring back Belgian politeness they found in Belgium, which had become an important value to them. Others talked about languages they or their children have learned. M. also talked about all the didactic pictures he took when he was in Belgium of recycling bins. He put them in a special album on *facebook*, in order to show it to his friends in Brazil, to spark debates. But he soon became disappointed because no one reacted. In addition to these given example, most of the interviewees, especially the ones who have faced great difficulties in Belgium, explained that the migration process had brought them unique experiences and a better understanding of society.<sup>162</sup>

Other kind of answers also popped out. Returnees who particularly had faced economic exploitation insisted on recognition and respect of "acting morally" and had a sentiment of "never letting that happen again". These interviewees explained the different means they have found to realise it. These actions are very varied, and sometimes don't correspond to a more theoretical or European conception of development. For example, J. had started to help the others who are living in "as bad of conditions as the ones we have faced", by entering in NGOs becoming involved with actions of their church in Brazil.<sup>163</sup> M., AP, AL and MIR, for their part, have enrolled in a university

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160 "Actors of development" is actually a really theoretical concept. So, I often had to suggest further propositions, which have actually engendered a certain orientation of the answer. I often completed my question by "Do you consider yourself as someone who have changed his environment thanks to immigration process? Did you bring some traditions, ideas that you appreciated in Belgium culture, and that you tries to bring back to Brazil, for example?"

161 Interviewees told about a higher level of security in Belgium rather than in Brazil, in absolute term, even if there had perpetual fear of the police. In target-group, Brazilia, Uberlandia and Abraço and MARINUCCI, 2009, pp. 96-98.

162 Target-group and MARINUCCI, 2009, p. 69.

163 Interview J and his wife, Brasilia, 2011.

thanks to the money they earned and since they realised it was an opportunity for them to get a better job in Brazil, and therefore, to improve their living standards in the long-term.<sup>164</sup> While M. and MAR have converted themselves to more conservative evangelical churches which “show the right path”.<sup>165</sup>

This last point of conversion to churches that some EU countries classify as “sects” could be taken into question. Could such conversion be included as a development factor? Actually, for my interviewees, can be M., for example, who affirms that his conversion to such a church has tremendously helped him “*not to succumb to bad and obscure lucrative activities [...and now] helps [him] to continue such a 'right life' and he even hopes that 'this church will give [him his] next wife'*”.<sup>166</sup>

## **4.2. How Can Returnees In More Vulnerable Situations Turn Into Actors of Development?**

Development, as just seen above, although not named as such by migrants, is actually seen by migrants and their community more in terms of economical means, symbolic capital, social capital (in the sense of Putnam<sup>167</sup>) or social ascension. The 60's project to “fazer a America” got transformed to a life project for a significant proportion of MG population. Migration and return to the city of origin seems to have become a commonly accepted means to realize both individual and familial projects of social ascension.<sup>168</sup> In that sense, material desires can generate social recognition in MG. The realization of such projects produces a change of social *status* of their entire family.<sup>169</sup> Siqueira explains that the realisation of such aims enables the possibility of return.<sup>170</sup> But in the case of migrants in more vulnerable situations, remittances have often been sporadic or small. The question arises as to migrants can be perceived as actors of development, or as 'having succeeded' even if they have “failed” or not completed their initial aims because they didn't managed to successfully “complete their 'careers' before to come back home”<sup>171</sup>. I will first see how migrants manage to still “saving face” even if they don't manage to bring back expected resources. Secondly, I will analyse what role the RF plays in such a situation.

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164 Interview M., AP, AL and MIR, Brasilia and Uberlandia, 2011.

165 Interview M and interview MAR, Uberlandia, 2011

166 Here, M. means “to find his wife in the church”. In interview after the cult to Igreja Congregação Crista no Brasil.

167 Putnam sees social capital as the reciprocity and solidarity, which are available to groups and thus enable cooperation. In Faist, 2008, p. 39.

168 De OLIVEIRA ASSIS, 1999, pp. 160-162.

169 De OLIVEIRA ASSIS, 1999, pp. 152-154.

170 SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 152-154.

171 ELLERMAN, 2003, p. 14.

### 4.2.1. *Governmentality* and Individual Agency

According to my fieldwork, I would argue that migrants are very pressured to correspond to a certain image. This image would be borrowed from a concept of Foucault, the *governmentality*<sup>172</sup>. This *governmentality* would shape what is acceptable or not, at three different levels. First of all, at society level, an image is shaped by the rules that are inside the migrant's environment, such as the culture of migration in MG or the success stories brought back by previous migrants which shape considerably the expectations from the family of the migrant about, for example, remittances. Media plays an important additional role, as they reinforce these stereotypes. *Governmentality* covers a wider conceptual spectrum of Foucault's notion of *discourse*. The *discourses* will actually shape a structure of what is acceptable and what couldn't happen in migration. These implicit rules not only control the behaviours of migrants, but also govern migrants as such. Secondly, at individual level, this shaped image also has to correspond to all the subjectivities the migrants are in: migrants actually know what they should do and how to govern themselves according to this image. Finally, migrants will adapt their behaviours depending on the *governmentality* of host country. For example, according to their irregular situation, they will hide themselves or will be less apt to complain about the inequitable situation they face. This would actually play as a factor which would increase their vulnerable situation and therefore, would put obstacles to their aims during their migration course.<sup>173</sup>

All aspects of a migrant's life are therefore governed. It is actually a kind of social control, or at least, a social pressure, which presupposes how migrants will enter into the *discourse*. Since actions are highly governed by social pressure, migrants are therefore controlled at the individual level, by the obligation to give a positive image of migration. But they also have to enter a certain discourse in order to correspond to the “migrant status”. The discourse is above them and will shape their *habitus*. In the case they wouldn't offer such a discourse to the community at large, they will be disappointed and could “lose face”. A certain gift or a “reciprocal gift”, according to Mauss'

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172 FOUCAULT, 1991.

173 I could illustrate it by the fact that Brazilians in irregular situation won't for example settle their conflicts to their boss who had a huge duty to them by hard violence, as it is sometimes the case in Brazil. The social norms about violence are less tolerant in Belgium, as it is less common. Furthermore, barriers in Belgium against violence are also different than in Brazil. For example, people in Belgium will act really strongly and in mass after “exceptional” acts of violence in Belgium, such as organising important movements after the death of Joe Van Humbeek. They play a role of social barriers towards violence, and contribute to the shape of what is acceptable about violence and what is not, in Belgium. An other aspect which has to be taken into account is the fact that migrants in irregular situation have fear to complain in cases of exploitation or problems. First of all, Human Treat status is really difficult to obtain in Belgium, requires a long procedures and even don't guarantee the regularisation at the end. Secondly, complaining to the police would often be followed by the risk to receive an order to leave the territory from the Office des Etrangers, as police men are theoretically obliged to point out people who came to them in irregular situation. In Observations in Abraço; Interview of Cristina, and conference PICUM, December 12th 2011, 2 p.m. States' *governmentality* still plays a role of powerful producer of knowledge from above, shaping for example hegemonic discourses, constructing categories of migrants.

concept, has to be performed<sup>174</sup>: migrants' families have given them the possibility to leave. Migrants are therefore supposed to give back what they have received, and even bring back higher benefits than the cost generated by migration. Furthermore, migrants have to prove in turn that migration is effectively a “short cut to success”.

But in spite of these social pressure, and even if migrants realise one time that they wouldn't be able to correspond to what is expected from them, interviewees have always mentioned the fact that migration was a learning process for them. Most of interviewees have affirmed that even the worth experiences were somehow rich for them since they have learned a lot from them. Migration has been, for interviewees, a rich life experience which has brought them what AP. called the “*capacity to rapidly adapt you into a new environment*”<sup>175</sup>. Migrants have managed to adapt their own migration objectives depending on the situation in Belgium in order to be themselves satisfied with their situation. For example, M. has decided, while he realized that he couldn't have manage to send sufficient money to buy a new house in Brazil, to “*live at a level standard that he never could have had in Brazil: having his own apartment, bringing his wife and one of his daughters to live, study and travel around EU. [...] at least, I have enjoyed my time while in Belgium.*”<sup>176</sup> Migrants actually developed knowledge from what both their positive and bad migration experiences have brought to them. These attitudes are actually processes where migrants have given or reshaped the signification of their migration course.

Above these attitudes of escaping individually to the *governmentality*, the migrants have also managed, at more collective level, to give a positive image of migration to their local community. The fact that they will manage to orient the reality into their favour will enable them to ‘save face’ and to reinforce a self-feeling of somehow having succeeded.

#### 4.2.2. Symbolic and Social Capital

According to Assis, even if migrants don't manage to send the expected amount of remittances, they still can bring “something else/qualquer coisinha”<sup>177</sup>, such as their high tech computer, stereo, tourist objects or pictures from Paris, flower vases or luxury biscuits metal boxes.<sup>178</sup> These objects would play as symbolic objects of prestige. These would actually enable returnees to present themselves as if life was going well in the EU. These consumer objects would consist of substitute means to remittances and will manage to demonstrate the migrant's material

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174 VAN CAMPENHOUDT, 2001, pp. 108-120 and IMDH, 2010, p. 69.

175 Informel interview AP., Brasilia, August 17th 2011.

176 Interview M., Uberlandia, August 2011.

177 Interview Prof. Fazio, UFMG, Belo Horizonte, August 11 2011.

178 Examples of objects that migrants showed me during the interviews to their houses. Observations in Brasilia and Uberlandia, 2011 and DE OLIVEIRA ASSIS, in SALES, 1999, pp. 125-162.

success and elevated social mobility when coming back to Brazil. The image they give, showing that they have managed to give good education for their children (compared to the public-and free-one in Brazil which gives few chance of access to federal-and free- universities), or that they have received good and fast health treatment in EU can also consist on substituting elements to the 'standard' remittances they couldn't have bring back home.<sup>179</sup> These acts all consist of “symbolic capital”. In the same way, the attitudes of M. or MI. who presented me to their friends in Brazil as “*a friend from Belgium*”, could also be considered as a kind of “social capital”.<sup>180</sup> Some skills the interviewees have acquired during their migration course have often oriented returnees to a certain shape and management to their businesses. They have often reused their job skills learned in EU, independency, adaptation to new situations or the application of new businesses models. For example, R., M., JO., MIR’s husband and D. have all reused their job skills of the construction sector and have created their own business in construction or home security alarm system.<sup>181</sup> The social ascension and cultural innovations actually have symbolic gratifications.<sup>182</sup> These subterfuges enable migrants not bringing back a negative image of migration. A negative image could actually led people back home to consider the migrant as a “looser”.

This discourse therefore accentuates the image of “migrant-super-hero”. But at the same time, it contributes to the already proposed positive image of migration by reinforcing the image people want to receive about migration.<sup>183</sup> The migrants also have an interest on perpetuating this image. Appearances, according to Sayad, have importance: that way, the migrants can take their 'social revenge' and give a sense to their emigration. In this sense, we can see how the signification and the reasons of their emigration actually depend upon the recognition that the group gives back home.<sup>184</sup> The returnees refuse to loose their face and for this can lie in order to gain social prestige.

### **4.2.3. Secret Contract and Shared Secret**

When returnees are only showing a façade, they enter into a certain form of conducts: the *Secret Contract*. I re-use here Derrida's term which relates to the *Social Contract*. According to Hobbes, power is knowledge. But there is not only one kind of knowledge nor only one power. The

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<sup>179</sup> In Brazil, both services represent a lot of money that the migrant have manage not to invest, and which has offered, according to them, better quality of well-being

<sup>180</sup> Observations in Uberlandia. For example, MI told the two pharmacists of her neighbourhood to pass during the interview. She explained me after that “I told them our encounter in Belgium [...] You see, in this neighbourhood, everybody know everybody. Rich people come to less rich people's home like mine!”, in Interview MI.

<sup>181</sup> Interviews R., M., MIR’s husband, JO. And D., Uberlandia and Brasilia, July and August 2011.

<sup>182</sup> SAYAD, 2006, p. 157.

<sup>183</sup> CHAMADO, 1992; da MASSA, 1982; Interview Professor FAZIO, UFMG, BH, 2011; interviews in BH with returnees or migrants from different countries, in BH for the report about “Migration in BH” for the AIC; and discourse of target-group in Uberlandia, especially the one given by R.

<sup>184</sup> SAYAD, 2006, pp. 153-154.

new regime of the Leviathan, where knowledge equals power, could be extended to another kind of knowledge: the power of knowing the realities migrants face, without revealing it to the local community.<sup>185</sup> Portes explains that power can be conferred by the control and appropriation of knowledge and information.<sup>186</sup> The fact that they know the *secret* about the realities of migration, gives power to the migrants. Not telling the hard reality they have faced, and giving instead a fantasized or a biased image of migration can represent a second means to the fact to bring back “something else/qualquer coisinha”. It will enable migrants to receive a social recognition about their choice to migrate, even if they didn't reach, or reached just in part, their initial objectives. The returnee doesn't create a *social contract*, but rather a *secret contract*, in which power is constructed upon social relations. According to Latour, the Leviathan talks himself, but this is actually the people who have authorized him to talk and who are talking through him. Therefore, the Leviathan can transmit the hopes and expectations of the society. But at the same time, he can betray people who have delegated their voice to him.<sup>187</sup> Migrants can also transmit the hopes and expectations of society's dreams about migration.<sup>188</sup> But the migrant can, as the Leviathan does, betray them by not revealing the reality of the migration. Keeping this knowledge therefore reinforces migrants' *symbolic capital* and can enable those who have faced difficulties during their migration process, “saving their face”. The *secret* guarantees migrants and returnees protection.<sup>189</sup> At the same time, the migrants contribute to a larger construction of the *image of migration*, thanks to their mediation work of perpetuating this image. They give a discourse which corresponds to the hopes of local community and which corresponds to the image given by media and by former migrants. The *secret* is then transmitted from former group to the next migrants. All the new migrants who arrive in Belgium with the hopes of finding a kind of *eldorado* will actually discover the reality of migration. They will understand the *secret*: this false image given by former migrants to the local community in Brazil. Goffman and Laing both talk about the “role played”. In this case, the new migrants would not reveal that they know the reality behind the image of migration.<sup>190</sup>

The fact that all migrants will keep this *secret* will enable them to maintain the stability and a coherency of the image of migration.<sup>191</sup> The secret would actually become a *shared secret*.

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185 LATOUR, Bruno, 1997, pp. 30-33.

186 PORTES, 2010, pp. 1540-1543.

187 LATOUR, 1997, pp. 44-46.

188 SIQUEIRA, 2009.

189 DE BAL, in PETITAT, 2000, pp. 54-56. The power acquired thanks to the secret will therefore necessarily give them symbolic prestige from their communities and status hierarchies. I can refer here to Portes' “Elements of Social Life” graph.

190 PETITAT, 1998, pp. 166-167.

191 Migrant discourse also goes through vocabulary of homologue oppositions when he will compare his home and host country, as I have explained above. According to Sayad, this enables one to express in a diverted way, the contradictions the migrant has discovered between the reality of migration and the “magic image” he had received before. In SAYAD, 1991, pp. 46-48. They will reinforce the image and stereotypes already given about migration, making opposition between “cleanness” or “efficiency” in Belgian and “balgunça/disorder” in Brazil. That way, they reinforce the

What is surprising is the fact that this *shared secret* is often partly revealed.<sup>192</sup> But actually, in these cases, even if the migrants “reveal” a part of the secret by admitting that they “had a hard job”<sup>193</sup>, people still admire them.<sup>194</sup> This can be illustrated by the answer of the returnees to my question “what kind of advice would you give to people who would ask you advice to migrate or not?”. A large majority of them have answered that “I would tell him it is difficult. Some have more luck than others, but it is his own freedom, and he should do it if he wants”.<sup>195</sup> But actually, the local community as well as the future migrants would only listen to what they want to hear.

Actually, migrants take a big risk by perpetuating the *secret*. The perpetuation of this *secret* reinforces the myth of migration and a positive image of migration which is given by “friend or trust people”. It therefore increases the chances that the migrant's friends or neighbours will have more incentive to migrate.

But migrants perpetuate this *secret* because they know that thanks to this secret, their symbolic capital will remain intact. They actually suppose that future migrants would perpetuate the secret in their time, as the previous migrants did, in order not losing their face and have the guarantee of symbolic capital, in turn. Petitat calls this the “social controls of the incertitude”<sup>196</sup>. Migrants will therefore tacitly “agree”<sup>197</sup> on the secret and will perpetuate a similar image, in order to give a coherent image to those left-behind. In fact, migrants won't give a negative image of migration.<sup>198</sup> If this secret effect often works at the community level, there is a dialectic of the different migration elements. Even if migrants will socially ‘save faces’ towards their local community, they also still

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stereotypes, and stay coherent towards their own feelings and the *saudade* they faced. In Interviews Target-group, Uberlandia, 2011.

192 This can be illustrated, borrowing Petitat's concept of *shared secret*, with common and disjointed knowledges, where a partly “unveiling” of the *secret* has taken place. The migrant will often unveil the secret to very limited amount of close people. I, for example, told about her two sons abroad who called her at first, (and not their wife), crying, when they had problems in Europe. The people who will know the secret will often de-blame the migrant. PETITAT, 1998, pp. 13-14; 134-139.

193 Even R., who used to be a boss in Belgium and who had economically 'succeeded' said that if someone asks his about his job in Belgium, he would still argue that. Interview R., August 28 2011, Uberlandia and target-group, Uberlandia and Brasilia, 2011.

194 Interviews MIR, MAR, MI and MA., Uberlandia and Brasilia, 2011 and SAYAD, 1991, pp. 38-39.

195 Target-group, except G. and E., Uberlandia and Brasilia, 2011. That way, they don't lie to their interlocutor. But they omit to say part of the reality. They keep the secret between themselves, among “people who know because they have migrated and have seen it”. In SAYAD, 1991, pp. 40-41.

196 PETITAT, 2000, pp. 25-37.

197 SAYAD, 1996, pp. 84-87.

198 The same phenomenon can be even more obvious if I take the case of “contact” women recruiting for prostitution. The Contact Lady who often used to be a prostitute in EU or US, knows the difficulties of the job. She will sometimes clearly say the purpose of the job, but will present it as an “easy-money job” to the girls she recruits, and will keep secret of the difficult realities and exploitations which can be even worth in the case of prostitution for persons in irregular situations. The Contact Lady knows she doesn't take big risk by hiding this reality, because the “tampon secret security” will even be highest in cases of “dirty jobs”: the girls she is recruiting will never tell the reality to their family or local community, because of really hard taboos about such practices, as analysed above. Contact lady's secret has really high probability to be kept. At the same time, her social success could be even higher, as this secret has turned her key of success in Brazil and enables her to recruit more girls and to turn this recruitment to really lucrative business. Her symbolic capital is here accompanied by her economical capital that she still continues to increase. Interview Federal Police Uberlandia, 2011; Interview GONTIJO, Nucleo de Enfrentamento ao Trafico de Pessoas em MG, BH, 2011 and CATARINO and MOROKVASIC, 2010, pp. 11-21.

have managed to be self-satisfied of their experience because they have managed to give sense to their experiences. Most of the time, while interviewees were elaborating their migration story, they were profoundly proud of their experiences and of what they have managed to do. One of the most illustrative cases could be the one of MCD, who had encountered a accumulation of difficulties in Belgium (economical exploitation, having to leave her first child during one year in Brazil while working in Belgium and the death of her husband in Belgium because of work accident). During the interview, she was quite shy to tell her story in Portuguese in front of one of her colleague she was making her nails to. But once she started to talk in French, she told me that she was actually satisfied to have overcome that as a woman. She actually had adopted an independent women discourse: “*Now, I know that I can live by myself, by working and studying at night in order to have a better job later. [...] I have managed to grow up Caritas' money by re-selling cloths stocks to the next villages. With that money, I have managed to buy by myself after one year, a little motorbike. [...] I learned to be independent. [...] Now, I live again with the father of my first child. But this was only for financial reasons because renting a good apartment is difficult alone.*”<sup>199</sup>

#### **4.2.4. Reinforcement of Migration Success**

Returnees in vulnerable situations seem stuck in this *secret*. In order to “saving face”, they decide to feed the myth of migration, or at least, will disclose the secret to a really limited number of intimate people. Even if they take the risk of losing their friends who would migrate and who would realised that they have been fooled, these migrants are sure they will at least keep their social ascension.

MG actually offers a “culture of migration” in which migration networks are reinforced. In such “culture of migration”, migrants have increased social pressure to boost about their successes in migration. But at the same time, they tend to have a higher guarantee of security in regards to keeping the secret, which enables a social recognition in their home town. Success is therefore guaranteed even if migrants have not reached all their initial projects.<sup>200</sup>

All in all, the image and culture of migration therefore represent important factors as they can improve more vulnerable migrants' symbolic and social capital. The *secret contract* cannot guarantee the success of migrants' initial projects -house-car-business. However, this kind of power will enable, until a certain point, returnees who haven't managed to reach their objectives or who come back in a (more) vulnerable situation, to still obtain *symbolic capital* or symbolic individuality and familial social ascension. This can compensate the unaccomplished initial project, and

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<sup>199</sup> Interview MCD, Uberlandia, August 27th 2011.  
<sup>200</sup> CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 62-63.

perpetuates, at the same time, the myth and reputation of migration. Returnees' aims are therefore somehow fulfilled thanks to the subterfuges of symbolic material objects bring and thanks to the secret contract's effect. However, this social secret doesn't constitute by itself a means to guarantee returnees' success. Other internal dynamics of migration can also facilitate the migration success.<sup>201</sup> RF itself can also influence a certain kind of success of migration process even if returnees haven't managed to reach their initial aims.

The next analyse will deal with how RF orient migrants' action toward a certain kind of development and their impacts in local communities and to the given migration image.

### **4.3. How far do Reintegration Funds Facilitate Migrants as Actors of Development?**

Migrants can have impact in home country. De Haas, Castles and Miller talk about a *reciprocal* relationship between migration and broader development processes. Thanks to migration, development can appear to improve households' living standards and bring cultural diffusions on local-level actions and attitudes. But there is no guarantee of the positive effects of migration on the local community.<sup>202</sup> However, governments may facilitate and increase such development initiatives. RF can partly represent one of them, in the sense it creates a long-term establishment of the person, and in some cases, engender new initiatives or new dynamics in the local community.<sup>203</sup> Furthermore, RF would facilitate people's choices, giving them opportunities and motivations to govern themselves.

Actually, RF introduces a certain “path” of development and contributes to the creation of a certain “knowledge” about issue of how transforming migrants into actors of development. It orients individual actions and individuals' investments of money to a certain kind of “right' orientations, values and norms”<sup>204</sup>. If the returnee wants to receive the RF, he has to accept to orient its individual actions which correspond to what the donors estimate being valuable for him, such as entrepreneurship or the enrolment to university, for example. That way, RF induce a new

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201 DE HAAS, in VAN HEAR, 2010, p. 1533. In MG, migration seems to be one option for success amongst others. Furthermore, other kinds of opportunities increase in Brazil. Reflections amongst members of returnees who have faced difficulties in their migration process would rather review the concept of migration to more options of tourism, or studying abroad. Among M's family, IA and ER have really strong wills to visit EU as tourists. LU really would like to make an exchange student, or to be au-pair, in order to focus all her time at learning English. M's brother has badly experienced migration with irregular status (he lost more money than have earned it. He was deported by having tried to enter to UK in order to earn more money). Participative observations by living to LU's home 1 month and a half, and 3 weeks in M and I's family, Belo Horizonte and Uberlandia, 2011.

202 See DE HAAS' schema in annex 11. CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 50-51 and 57-69. LEVITT, 1998, p. 944; SIQUEIRA, 2009, 127-130.

203 See annexe 14.

204 Portes, 1997, p. 230, in CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, p. 63.

*governmentality*. RF encourage a structure of what is acceptable and how individual's choices should correspond to development. RF effectively links returns and reintegration to migration and development by favouring a “repatriation of funds and human capital formation” by favouring individual returnees to achieve developmental aims in the country of origin.<sup>205</sup> Therefore, RF orient choices sometimes in sectors which weren't the first priority for the migrant. However, it is important to note that in most of the micro-business aids, the project proposed by returnees already corresponded to the initial project-or dreams- they had before migrating, which corresponds for most of the interviewees to the “car-house-business”. In these cases, RF only reinforces and facilitates part the initial individual initiatives.<sup>206</sup>

But the impact of such returnees' actions, have limited impacts, reaching only direct family or friends, since it corresponds to initial family and individual projects.<sup>207</sup> It can create as well new employment and revenue for the family or friends, in the case of micro-business or employment help. RF can also have, in cases of vulnerable migrants, impacts on the family or friends since RF enables more autonomy to the returnee, and thus less dependency of the returnee toward them.<sup>208</sup> It reduces as well the vicious circle in Belgium of vulnerable situations lead by economical exploitations (unemployment or employment with high relay of payments). Migrants wouldn't have to wait more long time in vulnerable situation before to be able to pay the full price of fly back ticket.<sup>209</sup>

Psychologically and socially, RF can also represent an instrument to overcome frustrations engendered by early returns. That way, it can increase returnees' well-being.<sup>210</sup> The RF still enable the realisation of micro-projects, which would have been difficult to be build by migrants themselves. In that sense, RF can compensate the lack of savings the migrants have not managed to accumulate.

De facto, the money granted by RF remains very modest compared to the cost of living in Brazil. It would therefore hardly be this amount of money which will differentiate the migrants to non-migrants, but rather the way returnees will use this money. RF constitute a boost to certain individual projects.<sup>211</sup>

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205 OIM, September 2011 a, p. 1. RF refers to the *European Pact on Immigration and Asylum*, which encourages synergies between migration and development with the countries of origin through the Global Approach to Migration.

206 Interviews AP, G, M (However, M has presented three projects to Caritas in order “to have more guarantee that at least one would be taken”), MAP, A and E.

207 EMN, 2011, p. 88; PERRIN, 2011, p. 70 and Interview P. Reyntjens, OIM, 2011.

208 If I bring back Appadurai's vision of development, this Fund could enable to “enlarge peoples choices”. It reduces costs and dependency towards the family engendered by the disease, the pregnancy or old age. The diminution of the dependency can enable more freedom of choices of both the migrant and the family left-behinds, without necessarily destroying family's solidarity.

209 SIQUEIRA, 3009, p. 106. and observations Abraço.

210 Observations Target-group, Uberlandia and Brasilia and IMDH, 2010, pp. 5-8.

211 For more explanation of the actual tendency, see annexe 12.

All in all, returns and development are linked. But the impact of returnees on development depends on different factors and on how returnees present themselves and manage or not to have impacts through their actions, in home country. At the same time, considering returnees as actors of development raises the question of the signification of development by the different actors at play. According to interviews, there is a gap between the definition of development, given by the donors of the RF (the EU and Belgian Government), and the conception, hopes and initial aims they and their local communities expect from migration.

RF orients returnees' investments towards a certain kind of development, which, most of the time, concurs with the initial aims of migrants. Here, RF contributes to Appadurai's definition of human development as a “process of enlarging people choices” and a “capacity to aspire”.

Even if migrants encounter difficulties and face more vulnerable situations, the existing structure and culture of migration in MG offer them a certain “safeguard”. For example, the *secret contract* or “substitution of material objects” can help migrants to present themselves to their local community as having succeeded. Returnees will then acquire social and symbolic capital.

RF can as well contribute to facilitate returnees' rate of reintegration. Even if returnees' initial aims are not (totally) fulfilled, RF can play a role, helping migrants reintegrate themselves and still showing a positive image of their migration course. It enables returnees in more vulnerable situations to fulfil part of their initial aims, despite the low amount of financial remittance returnees have managed to bring back home. Part of the concept that returnees had of development would therefore be followed. But RF will change the order of priorities migrants had (for example, by promoting first the elaboration of Micro-Business rather than the House and the Car at first) and insisted on certain social remittances rather than others.

## Conclusions

Migration is anything but stable. In fact, it is a phenomenon that is constantly being transformed and renewed. Brazilian economic migrants coming to Belgium are part of this ever shifting migration landscape. The dynamic changes in this migration are increasing with greater and greater intensity. In parallel, the amount of returnees is increasing significantly as well. The research question of the thesis was therefore to understand how, in such a dynamic, migrants would value their migration experience while returning to their local community.

This thesis has contributed to the urgent need for understanding this phenomenon by researching the problematic of Brazilian economic migrants coming to Belgium in a multifaceted manner. The second part of the thesis provided a history of Brazilian migration to Belgium I discussed the both pull and push factors of migration. It is remarkable that the last-decades' improvement of economical purchasing power has enabled the lower middle class in Minas-Gerais to enlarge its migration tradition to external migration. The fact that the EU only requires a tourist visa upon entry, allowed migrants to enter into Europe. Furthermore, the tradition of migration, as well as the perpetuation of the migration network from MG to EU countries, and particularly from Uberlandia to Belgium can mainly explain the link between this region and Belgium as host country. At the same time, return migration to Brazil is also increasing, as developed in part 3. Most interviewees declared that return was part of their initial intention of migration path. Their initial aim was to come back home with sufficient economical remittances in order to acquire a house, a car, and if they still have enough money, to start their own business.

But the estimated time of the return was often changed during the migration course. These early decisions to return can be linked to two main factors.

The first one is the fact that the irregular situation of Brazilian economical migrants often pushed them into jobs which could easily lead these migrants into a higher level of economical or sexual exploitation. Migrants who faced too high a level of economical exploitation, often opted for an earlier return.

The second main factor is the rapid economical improvement in Brazil. Many migrants calculate the pros and cons in regards to opportunities they have in Belgium and the new ones which could open up for them in Brazil upon returning from Belgium.

In addition to these two main factors, the interviewees who had benefited from the Reintegration Funds often also talk about other factors which have influenced their reasons to return even if they had not necessarily reached their expected economical aims. These reasons can vary from psychological to familial or home sickness factors.

Most of the interviewees in my target-group, who have all benefited from the reintegration

fund and returned to their home city after 2008, have faced vulnerable situations in Belgium and difficulties to send their expected amount of economical remittances. Protecting their esteemed image of migration as they return is therefore more and more a necessity in avoiding stigmatization. Even if each of the interviewees still followed his initial idea of coming back home to the city they left before to migrate, they have not managed to reach their initial remittances goals. But migrants still have managed to present themselves to their local community as having succeeded. This process was possible thanks to the common positive idea towards migration which exists in MG. But at the same time, most of interviewees have always managed individually to reorient their goals towards their migration course and to give a sense to it. These elements have, in a sense, facilitated the reintegration process.

However, reintegration has remained a very difficult time for the target-group which demanded a sustained effort and a great deal of craftiness in order to re-find their place and a job in their country of origin. Returnees notably faced difficulties reintegrating into the job market because they have placed themselves out of the current job market's network or have not followed the evolution of the local market demands whilst abroad.

This brings us to the question of how Reintegration Funds for micro-business or for training fees orient the beneficiaries' actions. The research question was aimed at understanding how this orientation could turn migrants into actors of development during their return process. I couldn't have answered this question without having analysed, in the part 4, the notion of development, and particularly how both the donors and the beneficiaries of the fund define this concept. For migrants who haven't managed to bring back the expected amount of remittances, their definitions of development were often really nuanced. Even if they didn't grasp the notion of "actors of development" directly, they referred to other things they brought to their local community: their micro-business, the other vision they acquired thanks to their migration, the valuation of some symbolical objects, the adoption of certain attitudes, their conversion to more conservative churches in order to 'follow the right path'<sup>212</sup> or their wishes to change their role, passing from a position in which they were exploited, to a higher position with prestige, such as a boss or supervisor who wouldn't exploit his workers.

Not all of these examples which were exposed by the interviewees correspond to the more theoretical definition of development denoted by the donors. In order to understand this gap between both given definitions of development, I have attempted to develop a specific and nuanced theoretical framework. This framework enables us to understand how migrants see themselves as actors of development and how the combination of definitions of development influence the way migrants present themselves and the way they orient their investments in their local community.

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<sup>212</sup> Interview M and interview MAR, Uberlandia, 2011

Migrants have often presented a vast amount of different ways in which they considered they have “helped themselves or their local community or things they have brought to their local community and which would have improved it”<sup>213</sup>.

These various attitudes could also have, in a certain sense, helped them to “save face” in the case where they didn’t manage to fulfil their initial economical remittance goals. I have realised, through my fieldwork, that the ways in which the returnees have presented these other ‘ways of development,’ often enabled migrants to present their migration course to their local community in a positive way. This framework included Foucault’s concept of *Governmentality* applied to the world and social imagination of the Brazilian migrants. This was a necessary concept in order to grasp the limits, self-imposed or externally imposed, upon the migrant. These *discourses* shape a structure of what is acceptable, and therefore, what is expected of the migrants. Migrants have even more difficulties reintegrating in the home society because of social pressures. The concepts of symbolic and social capital proved to be essential in detailing the motivations and possible rewards in the realm of the migrant. Both the family of the migrants, as well as the migrants themselves, give the migrant a mandate to improve their social and economic prestige. Migrants therefore insist on different kinds of ways to fulfil these expectations and to enter into the image demanded by societal pressures. However, migrants also often reshape these expectations. Even if the returnees didn’t manage to fulfil their initial aims, nevertheless they often manage to “save face” or re-orient their goals and therefore have reintegrated more easily into their local community.

First of all, beneficiaries of the Reintegration Funds are in fact, not the only ones who haven't completely reached their aim. Collective action appears among migrants. I have explained this with what I have called the “social -and by extension the shared-contract”. I have developed this concept so that one may understand the psychological motivations and restrictions for why many Brazilian migrants often chose to mis-portray their migration journey and perpetuate false interpretations of their situation abroad. In the course of my fieldwork, I realized that migrants work on giving a positive image of migration when they come back, and already construct it during their stay in the host country. The construction of the migration network and the common interest of all migrants when they will realize the reality in host country, allows such a “secret” to be perpetuated and enable migrants to save face even if they haven’t reached their aims.

Secondly, the returnees will also refer to other subterfuges. These subterfuges enable migrants to keep their cover, even when they come back in more vulnerable situation than the one they were in before to migrate. This contributes to the facilitation of reintegration of migrants inside their own community. It can therefore *a priori* facilitate the success of migration.

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<sup>213</sup>Discussion with M. about how to make my questions of interviews clearer to the interviewees, August 2011, Uberlandia.

Thirdly, another way which enables returnees to improve their social conditions can be the creation of their own business. In this way, they express their social and economic success once they return to Brazil. In this sense, Reintegration Fund for Micro-business can be comprehended as an indirect form of Development Cooperation, which helps returnees in this process.

Therefore defining migrants as actors of development depends on the definition of development at hand, the perception of the various actors and the local community have of the successes or failures of the migration, as well as the meanings and values migrants give to the evolution of their migration course.

In my analysis, I have shown that Reintegration Funds for Micro-business can facilitate the reintegration of returnees in more vulnerable situations and facilitates returnees on a long-term basis. At the same time, it limits continued returns of migrants who opt to migrate again if they haven't yet managed to reintegrate themselves.<sup>214</sup>

From the point of view of development, my fieldwork has revealed that the way migrants chose to spend their remittances and their social capital in one sector rather than in another is quite telling in regards to the role they play as actors in their home country. This is true even if the migrants themselves never referred to themselves, in any manner, as actors of development.

Reintegration Funds for micro-businesses are programs which influence returnees to make certain kinds of investments rather than others. The RF changes the initial logic of migrants which often consist of buying a house, a car and then, a business. The priority is rather placed on starting a business and then, buying a car and a house, thanks to the profit generated by the business in home country. The priority of the logic transforms from “house-car-business” to “business-car-house”. These investments orient beneficiaries towards a certain type of development which is more oriented in accordance with the criteria of development implicated by EU and Belgian Government<sup>215</sup>. Such a definition of development insists on longer-term reintegration criteria, job reinsertion, the after-care of the treatments the migrants had received in home country, and diminishing obstacles created by the vulnerable situation of returnees in order to aid their new start in their home community.

The definitions of development given by both donors and benefiteres of the fund are similar on certain aspects. Return migrants who don't benefit the RF often chose priorities that are determined by his more direct needs and shaped by the *governmentality* which frames returnees. But with the RF, migrants re-orient their priorities towards investments in sectors corresponding to the similar aspects of the definition of development for both donors and benefiteres of the fund.

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<sup>214</sup> ACOSTA, 2009, pp. 22-24; IOM, 2006b. pp. 1-11; WEBBER, 2011, p. 99; Interview Peter Neelen, Fedasil, 2011 and EMN, 2011, p. 54, 66 and 78.

<sup>215</sup> Through the Belgian Agency Fedasil which coordinates Voluntary Returns from Belgium.

Development implicated by Reintegration Funds, and especially the one for Micro-business corresponds to the initial vision migrants had of their migratory project. But it inverts the order of the priorities migrants initially had. Reintegration Funds favour longer-term development, based on investments, which can generate durable benefits.

As such, Reintegration Funds contribute to Appadurai's definition of human development as a "process of enlarging people choices" and a "capacity to aspire"<sup>216</sup> since they can supplement individual initiatives while giving priorities to a certain conception of development. But this conception of development, at the same time, does not always correspond to the idea the migrant had of its migration path.

My analysis has shown that Reintegration Funds can play a real and important role and contribute to a certain orientation of the priorities in which migrants invest their time and their money. However, in the case of misuse of the Reintegration Funds, the initial aims of longer-term reintegration can even turn into the opposite of the was expected. The Reintegration Funds can, for example, potentially contribute to the image of "no risks immigration" or to reinforce the *secret contract*, by favouring the existing positive image of migration. This positive image of migration can therefore increase the number of new migrants who follow the path of the existing migration network.

It is important to note that this analysis is based on a research with a limited scope, due to time restrictions. Therefore, it is not possible to generalize these results to all Brazilian migrants who make use of the migration network described in the thesis, nor to all of receivers of the Reintegration Funds. What can be generalized, however, is that the number of both Brazilian migrants to Belgium and return migration to Brazil are increasing. What will turn return migrants into actors of development will depend on their place of residence, the reaction of the home community to the return migrant and the self-presentation of the return migrant. This research has contributed to a limited understanding of migrants' conceptions and construction of their migration project. It has replaced these individual choices and periods of lives into a broader context of international migration. It has shown how this context can have offered opportunities or difficulties to migrants to become actors of development.

All in all, Brazilian economical migrants that come to Belgium, but also these who return to Brazil is an increasing phenomenon. The fact that some migrants opt for or achieve a longer-term reintegration depends on different factors that evolved and are shaped in function with the obstacles or opportunities the migrant encounters during his migration path. This depends as well of the opportunities and difficulties returnees find while coming back to their home city. Even if returning

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<sup>216</sup> APPADURAI, 2000.

and playing or acquiring a role in the local community on the longer-term is one of the common objectives of both the donors and the receivers of the funds, the reintegration, other alternatives exist for migrants to be actors of development.

The factors that turn them into actors of development essentially depends more on the place and the considerations of the home community or the host country and shapes the different ways the migrant will present himself to this community. Reintegration Funds contribute to Appadurai's definition of human development as a “process of enlarging people choices” and a “capacity to aspire” since they can offer an accompaniment to the individual initiatives while giving priorities to a certain conception of development. But at the same time this conception of development thinly corresponds to the conception the migrant has of his migration path. In the case of the Reintegration Fund, the order of the initial migrant's priorities will actually be inverted. This order therefore leads to a theoretically longer-term reintegration in the home country. This so because the investment in micro-business generates, on the long-term, new incomes that enable the migrant to invest in other priority sectors. Furthermore, these kinds of investments can also have impacts on the local community, by giving it new models of investments and innovative models of micro-business such as innovating small-businesses or university studies. In this sense, migrants can potentially cause further development which corresponds to the conceptions of “development” in both host and home societies.

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CESAR BEZERRA DE SOUZA, Paulo, Coordenador Geral, Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego, MTE, August 19th 2011, Brasilia

CLAES Peter, General Consul of Belgium, SP, July 1st 2011, 11 a.m., SP, Brazil

DA COSTA, Rejane Alexandre, Posto Avançado de Atendimento Humanizado aos migrantes, September 20th 2011, 3 p.m., Aeroporto International de Guarulhos, SP

DAS GACAS, Maria, Centro de Atendimento 3, Center for elderly people in Uberlandia for free, paid by the prefecture, August 29th 2011, 8.30 a.m., Uberlandia

DA SANTINI LEANDRO REDE, Raquel, Professor and Director of International Relations, UFU, August 29th, 10.a.m., Uberlandia

Delegação das Mulheres de Uberlandia, September 15th, 2011, 11 a.m., Uberlandia

DELFINO, Vereador, Camara de Uberlandia, August 26th 2011, 11 a.m. Uberlandia

DEVILLE, Bruno, contrôleur auprès de l'Inspection sociale de Bruxelles et membre de la cellule traite des êtres humains, May 2011 and September 28th 2011, 4 p.m. Brussels

ELS, Social Assistant in Archipel VZW, Center voor Algemeen Welzijnheid, October 7th 2011, 10a.m., Anderlecht, Brussels

ERIKA, Concelho Tutelar, August 4th 2011, 3 p.m., Uberlandia

FAZIO, Dimitriz, Professor of Demography (with Anthropological background), Faculty of Economics, UFMG, August 9th, 2011, 10 a.m. AND August 11 2011, 9.30 a.m., Belo Horizonte, Brazil

FRANSISCO, Policia Federal Uberlandia, August 24th 2011, 2 p.m., Uberlandia

GIOVANI SOSA DA MIACENIO, Faculdade do Trabalho Uberlandia, August 24th 2011, 6 p.m., Uberlandia

GONTIJO, Ariane, Nucleo de Enfrentamento ao Trafico de Pessoas em MG, BH, September 12th 2011, 4 p.m., BH, Brazil

HALIMI, Valon, IOM, March 15th 2011, 10.30 a.m., Brussels

HAYDU, Marcelo, Director Executivo, Instituto de Reintegração do Refugiado, September 17th 2011, 2 p.m., SP

HONGENAERT, Johan, Administratif Manager, Federal Public Service Interior, Office des Etrangers, May 27th 2011, 2 p.m., Brussels

Hospital public Plano Alto, September 3rd 2011, 10 p.m. And September 5th 2011, 11 a.m. (visit with social assistant) Uberlandia

Igreja Congregação Crista no Brasil, September 8th 2011, 6 p.m., Uberlandia

Igreja Espirita, August 27th and September 4th, 6 p.m., Uberlandia

ILLES, Paulo, Centro de Direitos Humanos e Cidadania do Imigrante (CPHIC), September 17th 2011, 11 a.m., Tatuapé, SP

JIPOCHI, Natar, Núcleo de Informação e Apoio aos Trabalhadores Retornados do Exterior (NIATRE), September 17th 2011 4 p.m., Bairro Liberdade, SP

MATOS, Irinea, Serviço de Migrassoes aos povos AT, Igreja Assembleia do Deus, September 2nd 2011, 10 a.m., Uberlandia

MOUREAU, Géraldine, Raizmirim Brazilian Organisation, May 11th 2011, 2 p.m., Brussels

MILESI Irma Rosita, Director of the Instituto Migração e Direitos Humanos (IMDH), August 17th 2011, 8.30 a.m., Vargao, Brasilia, Brazil

Militar Police, August 22th 2011, 11 a.m., Uberlandia

NEELEN, Peter, Coordinator of Voluntary Return Sector, Fedasil, October 24th 2011, 3p.m., Brussels

NEGRE, Mario, Eupean Parliament, External Policy Department, April 6th 2011, 11 a.m., Brussels

PEREIRA, Monica, Coordinator of Abraço ASBL, Master in International Humanitarian Aid, Post-Graduated in European Journalism, May 20th 2011, 2.30 and October 20th 2011, Brussels

REYNTJENS, Pascal, Manager of the IOM Office Belgium and Luxembourg, October 7th 2011, 2p.m., Brussels

RODRIGUES LINS, Ricardo, Coordenação de Enfrentamento ao Tráfico de Pessoas, Secretaria Nacional da Justiça, Ministério da Justiça, August 16th 2011, 2.30p.m., Brasilia, Brazil

Prefeitura Uberlandia, Social department, August 26th 2011, 3 p.m., Uberlandia

RUALTEA, Rosa, Solidarité Socialiste, May 12th 2011, 3.30 p.m., Brussels

DELFINO, Vereador, 28th 2011, 2 p.m., Uberlandia

SENAC (Governmental centre offering professional capacity formations), PAULO, August 24th 2011, 4 p.m., Uberlandia

SEBRAI (Governmental centre developing micro-projects), August 26 2011, 12 p.m., Uberlandia

SERGIO Paulo, Ministério do Trabalho, Coordenação Geral de Imigração, Conselho Nacional da Imigração, August 19th 2011, 3 p.m. Brasilia

SINE (Governmental center to offer formations to future workers under the demand of firms), PINHEIRO, Sandoval, September 1st 2011, 4 p.m., Uberlandia

VAN CAUDENBERG, Rut, FERNANDEZ, Sandra, and Marc, Voluntary Return Sector, Caritas International-Belgium, April 1st 2011, 11 a.m. and October 10th 2011, 9.30 a.m., Brussels

ZAVATARO, Bruno, Brazilian PhD student in Criminology section at ULB, diverse discussions between October 2010 and August 2012

**Interviews with migrants (Interview lead during work at Abraço organisation to fulfil documents for Voluntary Returns (October 2011-February 2012) are not listed here, nor interviews made during leading de workshop about migration at Oi Kabum!, BH (July 2011-September 2011) )**

AJ, translator, went to study and to become pastor in UK with his Baptist church, 1st of August 2011, Municipal library, Praça da Liberdade, BH

A, Reintegration Fund for university fees, August 27th 2011, 11 a.m., Uberlandia

AL, Voluntary Return, R's daughter, August 27th 2011 10 a.m., Uberlandia

AP, Reintegration Fund for university, August 17th 2011, 11 a.m, Vargao, Brasilia

B, Returnee from Switzerland, 18th June 2011, 8 p.m., BH

C, Brazilian worker at AIC who has his two brothers in law how have migrated to Belgium, July 6th 2011, 9 a.m., BH,

D, ex-migrant who was deported 3 times from Belgium, then went to work with work permit in Angola, now has his own little business of construction, August 29th, 2011, 8 p.m., Uberlandia

E, Brazilian having studied History in UCL and then has tried to find a job in Belgium, September 9th, 2011, 3 p.m., BH

EL, Reintegration Fund for Micro-business in material for children party, August 28th 2011, 12.30 p.m., Uberlandia

ED, ex-student of history at UFMG having worked in UK in a hotel, there, met a Belgian girlfriend and now living with her in BH, September 9th 2011, 2 p.m., BH

ER, M's sister and P, M's brother, 3 week August-September 2011, Uberlandia

F, decision for Voluntary Return, June 24th 2011, 9 p.m., Saint Gilels, Brussels

G, Reintegration Fund for English classes, IOM, September 2nd 2011, Uberlandia

GI, Reintegration Fund for MENA (Unaccompanied Minors) for French classes, August 25th 2011, Uberlandia

I, Decision for Voluntary Returns, May 13th 2011, 6 p.m., Saint Gilles, Brussels

IA, M.'s mother, 3 weeks of participative observation by living with her, August-September 2011, Uberlandia

J, Reintegration Fund for Micro-Business for his father-in-law's ice cream shop, but has sold everything to his father-in-law 2 months after, August 17th 2011, 3 p.m., Brasilia

JA, Reintegration Fund for medical help for medical problems of her baby borned in Belgium with deformations, August 25th 2011, 2 p.m., Uberlandia

JF, Returnee from USA, July 18 2011, BH

JO, Went two times in Belgium as his Brazilian brother-in-law who works with work permit in Belgium call him and offered him a job for the *Zinneke Parade*. Both time, he came back to Brazil without the Voluntary Return help, as he didn't known its existence, July 6th 2011, 10 a.m., BH

L., M.'s brother, forced return while tenting to pass English border from Belgium, September 2<sup>nd</sup> 2011, Uberlandia

LI, Works in communication sector in BH and tries to work abroad thanks to AIESEC organisation, July 29th 2011, 12.30 p.m., Praça da Liberdade, BH

LU, M's niece, 1 month participative observations by living to her place, August and end September 2011, BH

M, Reintegration Fund for university, Diverse interviews and discussions plus living to his place 3 weeks, August 2011, Uberlandia

MA, Reintegration Fund for pregnant women, August 17th 2011, 6 p.m., Brasilia

MAP, Reintegration Fund for Micro-Business to open a lanchonete/snack, August 14th 2011, Sao Sebastao, Brasilia

MAR, Reintegration Fund for pregnant women, August 25th 2011, 6 p.m., Uberlandia

MC, Reintegration Fund for medical help, August 26th 2011, 2 p.m., Uberlandia

MCD, Reintegration Fund for housing, August 27th 2011, 3 p.m., Uberlandia

MAT, Ex-student in Belgium to study music, Brazilian from BH, July 20th 2011, 3 p.m., BH

MI, Reintegration Fund for Micro-business to make cakes at home and sell them, April 28<sup>th</sup> 2011, Saint Gilles, Brussels and August 28th 2011, 9 a.m., and go to the Igreja Assembleia do Deus with her on 31th August 2011, Plano Alto, Uberlandia

MIR and her husband, Voluntary Returns, have now open their own businesses and MIR has followed formations to learn hair-dresser job, August 29th 2011, 5.30 p.m., Uberlandia

MO, Reintegration Fund for school, October 2nd, 2011, 6 p.m., Flagey, Brussels

MUHAMED (his own pseudonym), Poetry, studied architectures, July 7th 2011, 10p.m., Centro Cultural for the event "Roda de Samba", BH

N, has a Flamish boyfriend that she met on the net. She is trying to do international business between Brazil and Belgium to sell her Cachaça and travel to see her boyfriend at the same time. July 26th 2011, 9.30 a.m., BH

PCA, Reintegration Fund for micro-business for ice-cream shop but project collapsed because of financial problems, and her mother MAN, Reintegration Fund for home-micro-business of selling underwear, August 2nd 2011, 3 p.m., Uberlandia

R., Ex-boss in Belgium, August 28th 2011, 8.30 p.m., Uberlandia

RE, Reintegration Fund for micro-business of agronomia (but project stopped because of the Movimento Sem Teras which have invaded the farm), AND ROS, his wife, having received Reintegration Fund for Pregnant women, August 28th 2011, 10.30 a.m., Uberlandia

REG, Voluntary Return, pregnant women during return but haven't received the Reintegration Fund for pregnant women, August 26th, 2011, 7 p.m., Uberlandia

RI, Voluntary Return, June 5th 2011, 8 p.m., Braine-l'Alleud, Belgium

RO, Business Plan from Forced Returns Funds with IOM, August 28th 2011, 10 p.m., Uberlandia

ROS, decision for Voluntary Returns, May 6th 2011, 7 p.m., Saint Gilles, Brussels

RS, Sister of A who has emigrated and lives in Belgium, July 12th July, Andrequisé, MG, Brazil

V, Reintegration Fund for cow insemination classes, August 23th 2011, 6 p.m., Uberlandia

### **Official Discourses and Publications**

Arrêté Royal visant l'octroi de subventions par le Fonds européen pour le retour dans le cadre du programme général "Solidarité et gestion des Flux Migratoires"-Programme annuel 2010, M. Wathelet, Secrétaire d'Etat à la Politique de Migration et d'Asile, Brussels, March 22nd 2011, Published on April

08th 2011.

“BRASIL-BELGIUM-Meeting on Consular and Migration Affairs”, July 14th and 15th July 2011, Brasilia

COUNCIL OF EUROPEAN UNION, “Towards a New Stage in the Bi-Regional Partnership: Innovation and Technology for Sustainable Development and Social Inclusion, Madrid Action Plan 2010-2020”, EU-LAC SUMMIT, Madrid, May 18th 2010

da SILVA, Lula Luiz Inacio, “Discurso do Presidente Lula por Ocasiao da III Conferência Brasileiros no Mundo”, Ceremônia de posse solene do Conselho de Representantes de Brasileiros no Exterior, Rio de Janeiro, December 3th 2010

Déclaration Universelle des Droits de l'Homme; Convention Européenne des Droits de l'Homme et Convention Internationale Relative au Statut des Réfugiés-Convention de Genève (extraits), Textes fondamentaux, De la démocratie, Brussels, Septembre 1994

Discourse to the Brazilian Delegation at Ministerial Conference of EU October 19 and 20 2009, Brussels, Belgium

EU (2004). Europea Council. The Hague Programme: Strengthening Freedom, Security and Justice in the European Union. 13 December 2004, 2005/C 53/01

EU (2008). European Pact on Immigration and Asylum. Council of the European Union, 24 September 2008. Brussels.

EU (2008). DIRECTIVE 2008/115/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL

of 16 December 2008 on common standards and procedures in Member States for returning illegally staying third-country nationals , Official Journal of the European Union , L 348/98 , 24.12.2008

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT, “Migracion en el Contexto de las Relaciones entre la Union Europea- America Latina y El Caribe”, Direccion General de Politicas Exteriores de la Union, Direccion B, Departamento Tematico, November 23rd 2009

### **Movies, documentaries and other audio-visual supports**

IOM, “Raising Awareness on Unaccompanied Minors Rights in Europe: Fighting Disappearances”, Editor in Chief: Pascal Reyntjens, IOM Belgium, 2010

IOM, “Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration from Belgium”, Editor in Chief Pascal Reyntjens, IOM Belgium, 2010

Long-documentary of ROSSBERG, Susana, “Brasileiro como eu”, Brussels, 2008

Pictures of KRUMAS, Simone, Brazilian journalist, Brussels.

## ANNEXES

### Annexe 1: 1.1. Religion as an Important network for Brazilian Economical Migrants

Religion, and especially “Mega Churches” commonly called in the Brazilian community the *Igrejas Evangelicas* with their Brazilian *Pastores/Pastors*, take a great place in the migration process and the construction of Brazilian migrants' community identity. It represents a considerable specific network for a large part of this community. It constitutes a considerable space of sociability<sup>1</sup>, to find a job (thanks to the “bouche à oreille” or through the well-known “Pastor dos cheques service”<sup>2</sup>). It is also a place where people can affirm themselves as “Brazilians”, to feel like part of a community or a “big family”, to find a spiritual or psychological refuge<sup>3</sup>, to “follow the right path”<sup>4</sup> in this “espaco seguro [com] contole social interno”<sup>5</sup>, or to get back their “cultura religiosa”<sup>6</sup> in their own language. Furthermore, these churches often represent a kind of security, a substitute for the social security that migrants in irregular situations are excluded from, thanks to the material support churches and the faithful can provide if necessary.<sup>7</sup> It is also interesting to note that this network adapts itself to the migrants' projects and to the capitalism *ethos*<sup>8</sup> and shapes migrants' dreams of improving their standard of living<sup>9</sup>. These churches' discourse fits the individual's projects by extolling “success” concepts and the material improvement, and give values and incentives to social ascension in everybody's lives.<sup>10</sup> These churches don't however attract people that easily. These churches can actually enter into competition with the migrant's first foal of migrating: earn and keep money. Migrants face a dilemma. If they practise or convert, they would have to give a relatively high amount of money to the church as a duty of being a member.<sup>11</sup> Such a decision can slow down their initial project but can compensate by

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1 It can be a figurative, but also sometimes a concrete, space. In some churches, a special room is dedicated to drinking coffee or eating together after or during (in the case of Evangelical churches) the cult and discussion. This space gives people the impression of having a place “specially constructed for them”. Participative observations in Assembleia do Deus and Espiritos, Uberlandia, August 2011. And Martes, in Sales, 1999, pp. 102-103.

2 This pastor gave jobs to more than one hundred Brazilians, but also people of other nationalities, with the cheques services, without any ONSS registration number, and took a commission both from the employees and from the subsidies of Belgian State.

3 Marinucci, 2009, p. 110 and p. 164.

4 M. talks for example about his conversion when he was in Europe. He presents it as a means of not falling into the “confucao”, the bad behaviours, the exploitation of others, or even the prostitution he has so commonly seen inside “illegal” migrant communities. In interview M., Uberlandia, 2011.

5 “Secure space [with] internal social control”, in Martes, in Sales, 1999, p. 115. For some people, these churches can represent one of the only public places where they can meet the community without any competition, commercialisation, etc. For others, like R or X, two Brazilian patrons, going to church enables them to find “trustful hand-workers”, but also gives themselves a façade, showing they are “good people”. I can illustrate this with R's wife's discourse. She began the interview by telling me, “We are good people. We are good Christians. We never have made anything wrong”. In interview R, Uberlandia, August 2011.

6 Martes, in Sales, p. 92.

7 Interviews target-group; GARRARD-BURNETT in STEIGENGA, CLEARY, 2007, pp. 218-238 and SIQUEIRA, 2009, pp. 84-85.

8 Martes, in Sales, 1999, pp. 110-111.

9 In most interviews, migrants affirm they have a better life in Belgium than in Brazil. They say their purchasing power has improved, that they can eat a lot better, have better education for their children (for free, not having to pay for good [particular] schools), and even sometimes, travel on holidays (even if the risk of being deported increases). In interviews target-group.

10 For example, one of the most pronounced [uttered] words during Assembleia do Deus' cult is “vitoria/success”. The rich buildings where these churches are located can also participate to the expectations of material improvement that the believers can have, or it can at least reinforce the feeling to be part of this community which has managed to build such a building for their cults. Participatory observation of [also below]the Assembleia do Deus and Igreja Congregaçao Crista no Brasil. And Lins Ribeiro and Martes in SALES, 1999, pp. 50-51; pp. 90-92 and p. 108 and Lussi, in MRE, 2009, p. 357.

11 Some churches ask for the “dime”, which corresponds to 1/10th of their salaries. Others let the faithful give what he wants publicly or not. In interviews and participation to Igreja Assembleia do Deus and Igreja Congregaçao Crista no Brasil, Igreja Espirita, Interview Assembleia do Deus, interview MI. and M., Uberlandia, 2011.

offering the above-mentioned aspects.<sup>12</sup> Finally, I would also call these churches transnational networks, as they maintain connections between Brazil and the Brazilian communities in the EU.<sup>13</sup>

## 1.2. Conversion to Evangelical Churches

Martes explains the high number of conversions and the increase of participation to Evangelical churches by the fact that helpless people and lower middle class are often the target-public of the pentecostal churches. I can also illustrate this by my participative observation in Assembleia do Deus, at the Espiritos cults in Uberlandia, but also at the Ubanda's cults in BH, that the pastor or the "Meistre" asked me and to new comers, what was our problem, and what are our hopes. Furthermore, the two pastors of the Assembleia do Deus and the Espiritos both claimed during the cult, empowering discourses, not accepting the reality, and telling people there are strong, thanks to God, to turn the reality positive to them. Or, in the Espiritos cults, making "purification" sessions, by "talking with the spirits", in the "sala de passe", or in special sessions, or even solving some diseases to the Espirita church in Uberlandia, where "this German Surgery makes operations without anaesthesia He just works with spirits. And the scars he makes are done really fast. And you soon don't see anything". Discussion with M., who wanted to pass in front of this clinic, to show me how big it was.<sup>14</sup> The IOM notes a higher number of Brazilian faithful to evangelical churches than in other EU destination countries.<sup>15</sup> Once migrants perceive their situation as foreigners or more vulnerable and having difficulties because of their de-localisation, are more marked to be marked to join these networks. An other argument which often appears in interviews with the target-group about migrant's higher participation to cults in host country, is that there, they "had more time to go to church". I can illustrate the lower social contacts migrant face once they migrate, but also the unemployment periods migrants have faced, which have often push them to choose for the Returns.<sup>16</sup>

## 1.3. Cults: Cost-benefits

Participation to cults of Evangelical churches somehow rises the same dilemma than for the high costs of phone communications with the left-overs in Brazil, which is really expensive, but at the same time, which sometimes constitute important needs for the migrant to continue his jobs abroad.<sup>17</sup> Different Evangelical Churches, such as the Igreja do Rei do Deus, also called the pantecostal churches, ask for example, the "dime", which correspond to 1/10th of people's salary. Others, such as the Assembleia do Deus or the Igreja Congregaçao Crista no Brasil, push really strongly the donations of money. I can illustrate that by the richness of the churches build in BH and Uberlandia. The head-churches of the main churches occupy in both cities some of the most prestigious buildings, sometimes looking like palaces, at really central and more visible places of the cities. The money come from donations of the faithful.

During cults I have assisted at the Assembleia do Deus, the collect of money is also really present. Even if the Wednesday cult is really short (about 30 minutes with the pastor. But 20 minutes before, people already start to pray à aloud individually and greet themselves). The collect of money takes proportionally a big time. Already 5 minutes before the collect of money, the man susceptible to this task already moves the money basket. He goes to everybody. As MI and myself hadn't give money on

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12 The same dilemma appears with the high costs of phone communications with the people left behind in Brazil, which is really expensive, but at the same time, sometimes constitute an important need for the migrant in continuing his jobs abroad. In Assis, in Sales, 1999, pp. 144-146. See annexe 16.

13 For more details, see annexe 17.

14 Discussion with M., Uberlandia, August 2011.

15 IOM, 2008, p. 46.

16 MARTES, in Sales, 1999, pp. 87-121 and interviews target-group.

17 In Assis, in Sales, 1999, pp. 144-146. Interview Irma and Fatima, Brussels, May and June 2011.

the first round (I was following what MI was doing), the man came back a second time, agitating the basket in front of us. At the end of the cult, the man susceptible to the administration of the Planalto's neighbourhood Assembleia do Deus Church came to me, asking me directly my address, and with a paper to subscribe money to them. After Igreja Congregação Crista no Brasil cult I had assisted with him, he told me that they didn't collect money on Wednesday "because this church is not based on money collection", but that "our neighbour church is really beautiful because people make hidden donation when they can do so. You put an envelope with money, without writing your name on it. Nobody knows who give money, and how much they give." When I asked him later how much he was giving, he didn't answer directly, but told me that he was first giving money to his daughters.<sup>18</sup>

## **Annexe 2: Profile of migrants reflecting the evolution of push and pull factors**

Brazilian economical migrants are mostly young people from 20 to 40 years old, from the lower middle class. They can earn up to three Brazilian minimum salaries before deciding to migrate and have often finished secondary school. Women represent a bit more than half of the migrants in Belgium. The principal reason invoked to migrate is to earn money, acquire goods in Brazil, and to improve their lifestyle. Most of the time, in the interviews, people will explain that other reasons such as the desire to know another country or to pay off their debts also pushed them to such a choice.<sup>19</sup> Brazilian economical migrants work principally in two different "unskilled"<sup>20</sup> sectors, construction and house cleaning, depending on their gender. These work sectors are really different from the ones migrants occupy in Brazil (often the commerce sector). 76% of the interviewees for IOM's 2008 research affirm having professional activities in Belgium which represent an number of hours high above the nationals. Economic, but also sexual exploitation often affect Brazilian economical migrants. Prostitution is present in this community, but remains really hidden and difficult to quantify. Even though individual migration remains, a new pattern of migrants has appeared over the last few years: the familial migration. It is characterised by an older average age population bringing their children and other member of the family.<sup>21</sup> These changes could be directly linked to the hopes given by the 2008 wave of legalisations which was quite open to the Brazilian community. According to Pascal Reyntjens, this family migration tendency could indicate a turn from temporary migration to circular migration, which would signify that for these families, the project to return would be re-taken into question.<sup>22</sup> As mentioned above, women represent an important proportion of migrants. This can be related to the reputation among migrants that it would be easier for women than for men to find jobs in the two job

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18 Participative observations of different cults in Uberlandia, August 2011.

19 I can compare here this target-group with the reflections made by the other target-group at the Oi Kabum school. These young people corresponded in most aspects to the Brazilian economical migrants (except that the Oi Kabum school offered them other future social and professional, and so economic, perspectives), and explained really clearly that their very first aim of migrating would be to know another culture and learn another language. They saw the economic problems of paying for the trip and the stay as secondary, and said that if they did manage to migrate, they would have to work to sustain themselves there, in order to come back with a diploma, or another language, and in that way improve their life in Brazil. Only students who already had family in the USA saw the remittance aspects as more important. In target-group Oi Kabum, BH, July-August 2011.

20 Ellerman, D., *Policy Research on Migration and Development*, Paper n. 3117, The World Bank Policy Research Working, Washington DC, 2003, p. 14.

21 SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 161, OECD, 2009, pp. 217-220. and IOM, 2008, pp. 37-41.

22 According to the Nex Economics school, these migrants would produce positive developmental outcomes. In other words, these families' consumptions would generate spin-off effects and their savings could be used productively in local economies. In PORTES, Alejandro, "Migration and Development: Reconciling Opposite Views", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, Vol. 32, n.1. Routledge, January 2009, pp. 8-9; UNDP, 2009, p. 26 and Interviews of Reyntjens and Deville.

If this tendency were to be achieved, it could be interesting to go deeper into the analyse of transnational migrants, in which migrants could act deeply on the transnational dimension as actors of development.

sectors dedicated to Brazilian migrants<sup>23</sup>. Furthermore, some female interviewees also affirmed that they migrated in order to improve their social status, encounter better life conditions and above all, saw migration as a survival strategy for their family.<sup>24</sup> These women often already have children who they leave to the grandparents in Brazil. Some of them have explained the economic and social difficulties for a single women with children in Brazil. They therefore have chosen to migrate in order to come back with money, restart their life with more comfort and change the social status they were confined in. They often explain that when they got married, they were quite young, and so, had not had time to study. Women, in this case, have to wait until their children are older before they start to have time to study. Migration had therefore facilitated this path, as they got money more or less quickly.<sup>25</sup> Migration can also change gender social constructions, the meaning of private and public workplace and the place these returnee women adopted once they came back.<sup>26</sup> The education of their children also takes up a great proportion of the remittances they send. The ones who manage to, sometimes call their children to join them in order to get education in Belgium. But at the same time, migrant women are more easily to work in special working “niches”<sup>27</sup>, such as cleaning, prostitution or works of “entertainment”, which correspond to a specific demand of the segmented job market of the hosting country. These sectors are more directed to the vulnerability of these women.<sup>28</sup>

### **Annexe 3: Churches as transnational networks**

The intensity of these links depends from one church to the other. They can be really strong, such as in the case of Gl. or K. in BH for who their church have found them jobs (before or during the migration process), language classes and skills inside the church themselves. Other degrees of transnationality of these churches can be the exchanges or shipments of Pastors or “missionaries”, or even the declaration of migrants as pastors, opening their church in a place where the Brazilian community is big. I can illustrate this by Gi's uncle and aunt who opened their own church in Belgium. “It was almost one more salary that they were earning there, every months, thanks to the church. We has almost 40 faithful.” Interview of Gi, 12 years old, Uberlandia, August 2011. And Interview Gl, BH..., Administrative sector for abroad relation of Assembleia do Deus church, Uberlandia. Even if administration of churches seems autonomous and locally managed, links between the “head church in Uberlandia” and the branches which have opened in Belgium are quite strong. According to M., GI and random conversations with two Brazilian people coming to ask help in Abraço, these links do exist. For example, in November, one of the two Brazilian people invited me to come and see the main pastor of the Assembleia do Deus (AD) from Uberlandia coming to the Belgian branch. However, M. during her interview as the representative of the AD' international sector, has certified me that they couldn't control the opening of new churches abroad.<sup>29</sup> M. has also found a branch of his church in Belgium. He told me that he bought a book edited by his church giving all address of this church around the world, and even the time schedules. He told me he bought this book before to go, even if he wasn't really practising, and started to practice really once in Italy.

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23 53% of interviewed person from IOM's target group in Belgium were women. IOM, 2009, p. 35. And first interview Deville, Interview J, MIR and SIQUEIRA, 2009, p. 45 and OECD, 2009, pp. 137-145.

24 LUTZ, 2010, pp. 1648-1650; PEREIRA PIRES OLIVEIRA, Marina and PINCOWSCA CAEDOSO CAMPOS, Barbara, “Trafico Internacional de Pessoas e Trafico de Migrantes entre Deportados(as) e nao admitidos(as) que regressam ao Brasil via o Aeroporto International de Sao-Paulo”, Secretaria Nacional de Justiça do Ministério da Justiça and Organização International do Trabalho (OIT), Brasília, February 2007, pp. 47 and 117.

25 Interviews MIR, E, MI, MAP, MI and Rita and OECD, 2010, pp. 140-146..

26 FITZ, 2010, pp. 1650-1651 and CATARINO and MOROKVASIC, 2005, pp. 8-20.

27 ANTHIAS and LAZARDIS, 2000, in Fondation Roi Baudouin, 2011, pp. 65-66.

28 Idem.

29 In interview M. MATOS, Assembleia do Deus, Uberlandia.

#### **Annexe 4: Macro-Context and Local Development**

According to de Haas, the macro-context determines the local development context. That way, it offers more opportunities for the people who have aspirations and capability, to migrate.<sup>30</sup> Development has effects on migration. And reciprocally, more development in origin country, created by migration, or by Brazil itself, would actually represent an important element enabling migration for a higher amount of people. One element can reinforce the other. But other elements can reinforce these flows, as I have analysed in point 4.1.2.. In De HAAS, 2010, p. 254.

#### **Annexe 5: Sexual exploitation**

Sexual exploitation remains hidden in the Brazilian community. Different channels exist for the prostitution of Brazilian women in Belgium. However, the phenomenon doesn't look as important as is the case in Spain or Italy, where Brazilian prostitution would be more organized at a macro-level for women, but also for transvestites. Different interviewees affirm that teenagers and women migrate with the awareness that they will prostitute themselves. The principle is as follows: A Brazilian woman (often an ex-prostitute in the EU or USA) would serve as the “confidence contact”, recruiting in the neighbourhood, family, or sometimes in schools. She will explain how she got rich, and how it's “easy money”. She will hold the auditions often in her house. Then, an EU man will come to cross the border, travel with the girl, and tell her where to go. The man will not necessarily keep the passport, since girls are consenting, and so will go by themselves to the indicated place. Another international subsidiary company is the recruitment of women already in the prostitution sector in Brazil, who are invited to auditions in other capital cities such as BH, Sao Paulo or Rio and who are then send to the EU. In these cases, ILO talk about Human Being traffic, as a third party facilitates the prostitution and receives remuneration.<sup>31</sup> In some cases, we can also talk about smuggling, if pressure is put on the person, for example in the case of the “local contact confidence women” who knows the family. So, the girl could receive threats that the women will tell her family what she is doing in the EU or that bad things will happen to her family if she does not do what people want.<sup>32</sup> Gontijo talks about actual research that the new MG's nucleus is doing in order to confirm or deny the assumptions that MG is acting as a prostitution turntable.<sup>33</sup> In Belgium, private prostitution takes place more and more in “salons de massage” and Portuguese bars.<sup>34</sup> Other kinds of sexual traffic appear in the shape of a promise or offer of a job to take care of elderly people or children, or even the promise of marriage in the EU accompanied by the promise of regularisation.<sup>35</sup>

The kind of prostitution the interviewees told me about consists of recruitment in Belgium, during the migration process itself. They often talk about the really humiliating and stereotypical offers

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30 De HAAS, 2010, pp. 250-261; WET, 2007 and CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 73-75.

31 For definition of people trafficking, see annexe 5.1. In ILO, 2007, pp. 5-7, 42-43; ILO, Marques, 2007, 24-26 and Interview GONTIJO, Ariane, Nucleo de Enfrentamento ao Trafico de Pessoas em MG, BH, and Interview Reytjens, OIM, 2011; Interview Rodrigues Lins, and RODRIGUES LINS, 2010, p. 23, ALVES FERREIRA, UFU, the federal police of Uberlandia, Ponto de Atendimento Humanizado aos Migrates, SP.

32 The Federal and Military Police of Uberlandia have both told me about a search they made in 2002 in a “motel” in Uberlandia, after a denunciation of prostitutes who were going to give interviews, auditions and pictures in BH. Interview Federal Police Uberlandia, Militar Police Uberlandia; Ministério da Justicia, 2011, pp. 19-22; “Meeting on Consular and Migration Affairs” of July 14th and 15th 2011 in Brasilia and Secretaria Nacional de Justicia do Ministério da Justicia, 2007, p. 13. Interview ALVES FERREIRA, UFU, also talks about international networks operating in big parties/events or in Motels, recruiting girls already involved in or close to prostitution, sending them to other LA countries, and then send them to EU countries. Then, these prostitutes can change from one EU country to another.

33 Interview Gontijo, Nucleo de Enfrentamento ao Trafico de Pessoas em MG, BH.

34 But the proportion of Brazilians is difficult to estimate seeing that more and more girls are presented as Brazilians, as they correspond to a certain demand. Second Interview Deville and Newsletter n.6, Belgian Police, June 2011, p.3

35 Discussion with Bruno Zavataro and Secretaria Nacional da Justicia do Ministerio da Justiça, 2007, p. 115 and Pereira Pires Oliveira and Cardoso Campos, ILO, 2009, p. 115.

that they have received from *patroes* when they speak Portuguese in the public spaces of certain Brazilian neighbourhoods in Brussels. They talk about *patroes* asking them about their actual situation in Belgium, asking about the difficulties in finding a job, and then offering them “easy jobs” in particular Portuguese pubs.<sup>36</sup> Other kinds of recruitment also take place thanks to advertisements for some pubs with “docile girls” inside Brazilian reviews published in Belgium and the EU. The phone number and address are mentioned so girls know where they can go without telling anybody.<sup>37</sup> Prostitution of women working in Portuguese pubs and drinking with clients are also really difficult to detect. They often get a percentage on the drinks consumed; some stop there. Others go further, using a room given by the *patrao* or going to an apartment specially rented for that. They will often then come back home. It is therefore really easy for them not to tell their families. But at the same time, it is really difficult to see the line between consent and traffic, because there are intermediary persons. However, this practice of letting women act voluntarily, reproduces the more common prostitution patterns which take place in Brazil.<sup>38</sup> Another case is male prostitution, with men waiting for their customers in determined parks of the city.<sup>39</sup>

A central element, which appears particularly in relation to prostitution, is the hiding of the practice by the women from their families, and the “non-dits”, particularly present in the quite traditional culture and mentality in Minas Gerais.<sup>40</sup> This can lead to even bigger psychological, medical or reintegration consequences for these women when they come back home, as they will have to keep their secret to themselves. No infrastructure exists for such cases in Uberlandia.<sup>41</sup> There is also the risk that these returnees would return to the prostitution sector in Brazil in order to be able to continue to have a quite high salary.<sup>42</sup>

## Annexe 6 : Push Factors to Return

### 6.1. Main difficulties encountered by Brazilian users of organizations (note from 0 to 5)-

Source: CSEM (2007-2008), transcription and translation from Marinucci, 2009, p. 103

1.	“Saudade”/ Home sickness	3.91
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36 Interviews ROS, AP and A, Uberlandia and Brasilia, 2011. After their interviews, they also told me about the really common prejudices toward Brazilian women. They told me about the high demand for Brazilian prostitutes. They were sometimes stopped in the streets or in pubs by men asking them how much they would ask for even if they were really against this kind of job.

37 PAHM, 2009, p.41 and Pereira Pires Oliveira and Cardoso Campos, ILO, 2009, p. 115.

38 Reflection based on observations in Uberlandia and BH, conformed [confirmed?]after discussion with Bruno Zavataro and with M. and Secretaria Nacional da Justicia do Ministerio da Justiça, 2007, p. 115.

39 Interview Rut Van Cauwenber, October 11th 2011. Finally, a last category of sexual exploitation consists of the case of women living as girlfriends of men, and turning into sexual slaves. PAHM, 2009, p. 43.

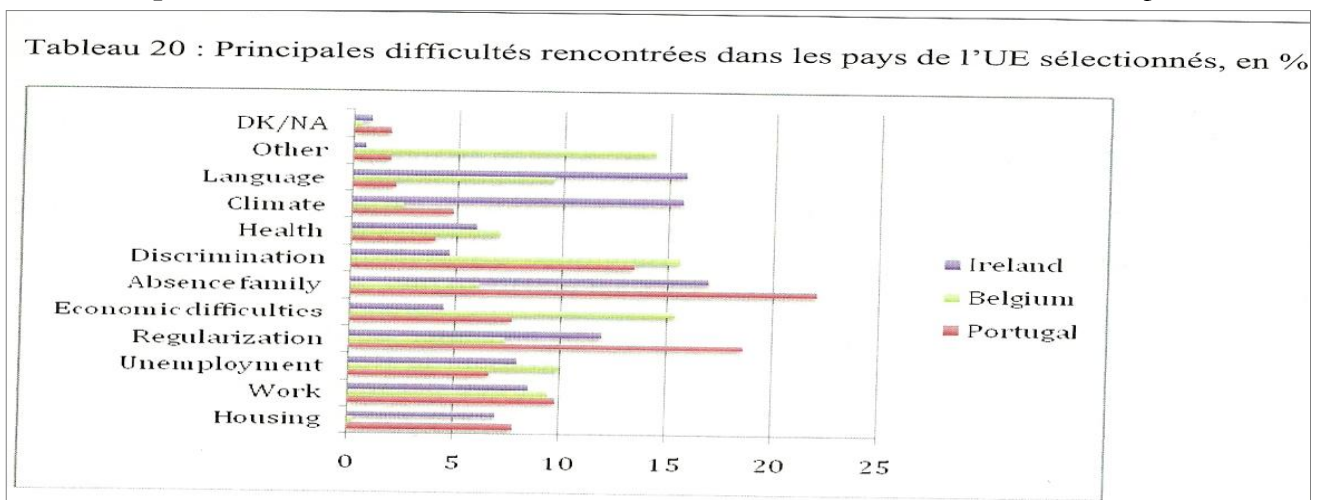
40 Observations and discussions during internship at AIC NGO in BH and interview RUALTEA, Rosa, Solidarité Socialiste, Brussem[s?]. I can take the example of E. and I. who came to Abraço and were really confusing in the description of their situation in Belgium since 2008. They were really incoherent discourses for the first form that Abraço fulfils [undertakes/fills out]for all new “atendidos”, and the social report for the Voluntary Return. They first say that they were not working at all since 2008 (or just the first few months as babysitters), and were living with their respective babies. They said that they were living together with only the money from the CPAS. I think this would have been impossible because of their irregular situation (they can only receive urgent medical help, but nothing for food, clothes nor housing). One was also pregnant with her second child and was really on the defensive when talking about the father from the beginning and finally said she was only the tutor of the child (she said she would come back with the birth certificate which mentions that there is no father. Without that paper, she wouldn't be allowed to receive the Voluntary Return to travel alone with her child.).

41 See diary Uberlandia.

42 The Ponto de Atendimento, SP, talks about the difficulties of the reintegration of ex-prostitutes in EU. She talks about an “escondido/Hidden” practice. She also mentions the fact that these women got used to having quite high salaries, and to using “imported beauty products”. Coming back to Brazil with only a minimal salary is really difficult to accept for them. In Interview DA COSTA, Ponto de Atendimento, SP.

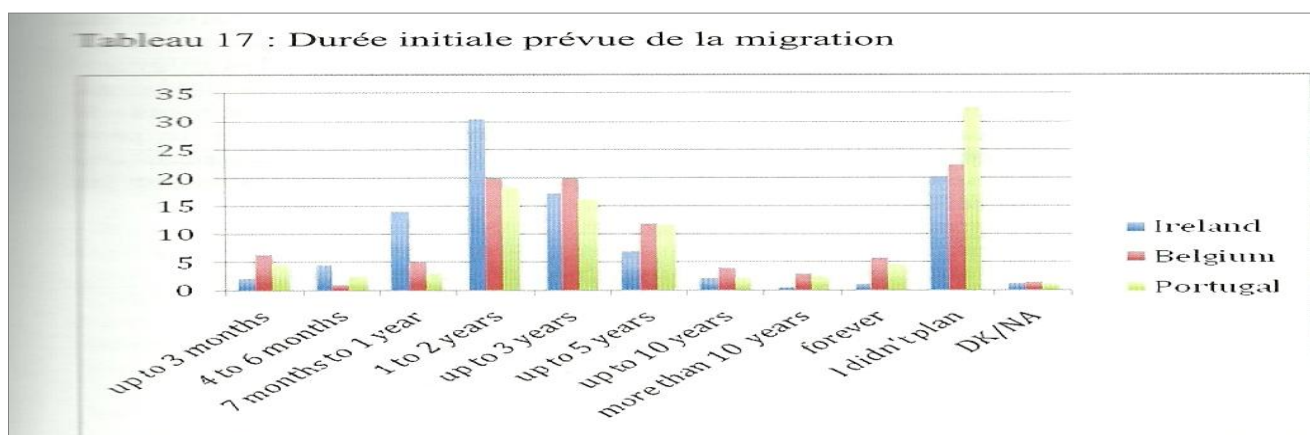
2.	Documentação (falta de)/Documentation (lack of)	3.80
3.	Falta de orientação sobre os proprios direitos/Lack of orientation about their own rights	3.65
4.	Exploração trabalhista/Labor exploitation	3.25
5.	Discriminação étnica/Ethnical discrimination	3.10
6.	Insegurança quanto ao proprio futuro/Insecurity about their own future	3.05
7.	Trabalho excessivo/Overwork	3.05
8.	Tristeza/Sadness	3.03
9.	Problemas financeiros/Financial problems	3.01
10.	Problemas de moradia/Housing problems	3.00
11.	Idioma/Language	2.98
12.	Dificuldade de adaptação/Difficulties of adaptation	2.91

## 6.2. Principal difficulties encountered in EU selected countries, in %, in IOM, 2008, p. 62



## Annexe 6.3.: Returns: Initial Planed Time of Migration and Amount of Voluntary Returns from Belgium

### 7.1. Initial planed time of migration, transcription and translation of a part of table, IOM, 2008, p. 58



**7.2. Voluntary Returns of Brazilians from Belgium, since 1984.** Transcription and translation from internal statistics of IOM:

<b>Brazil</b>	
<b>Year</b>	<b>Departed</b>
<b>1984</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1985</b>	
<b>1986</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1987</b>	
<b>1988</b>	
<b>1989</b>	
<b>1990</b>	
<b>1991</b>	
<b>1992</b>	<b>4</b>
<b>1993</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1994</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>1995</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>1996</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>1997</b>	<b>8</b>
<b>1998</b>	<b>28</b>
<b>1999</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2000</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>2001</b>	<b>77</b>
<b>2002</b>	<b>120</b>
<b>2003</b>	<b>365</b>
<b>2004</b>	<b>637</b>
<b>2005</b>	<b>714</b>
<b>2006</b>	<b>708</b>
<b>2007</b>	<b>805</b>
<b>2008</b>	<b>697</b>
<b>2009</b>	<b>886</b>
<b>2010</b>	<b>915</b>
<b>2011*</b>	<b>554</b>
	<b>6582</b>

**\*End September**

Brazil

Year	Departed
1984	1
1985	
1986	4
1987	
1988	
1989	
1990	
1991	
1992	4
1993	1
1994	1
1995	2
1996	18
1997	8
1998	28
1999	23
2000	14
2001	77
2002	120
2003	365

2004	637
2005	714
2006	708
2007	805
2008	697
2009	886
2010	915
2011*	554
	6582

\*End September

**6.4. Number of Brazilian benefiteres of RF by Caritas-International Belgium (with subsidises of Fedasil, not with STAVR), transcription and translation from Fedasil statistics, 2011.**

Zoals beloofd de cijfers van het aantal Brazilianen dat beroep gedaan heeft op reïntegratiesteun.  
Caritas:

	Total (persons)	Total cases	Fedasil (cases)	ETF (cases)
2007	18	10	10	
2008	34	24	24	
2009	65	20	20	
2010	72	46	29	17
2011	28	22	11	11
	217	142		

Number of person who have benefited from the Reintegration Fund with Caritas

	Total (persons)	Total cases	Fedasil (cases)	ETF (cases)
2007	18	10	10	
2008	34	24	24	
2009	65	20	20	
2010	72	46	29	17
2011	28	22	11	11
	217	142		

**6.5. Number of Brazilian benefiteres of RF by IOM-Belgium (with subsidises of Fedasil, not with STAVR), transcription and translation from Fedasil statistics, 2011**

Number of person who have benefited from the Reintegration Fund with IOM

Year	National program	Additional Support (ERF)	Total assisted persons reintegration support
2007	1		1
2008	50		50
2009	43		43
2010	25	14	39
2011 (until end of October)	28	12	40
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>173</b>

IOM

**Aantal personen**

Year	National program	Additional support (ERF)	Total assisted persons reintegration support
2007	1		1
2008	50		50
2009	43		43
2010	25	14	39
2011 (until end of October)	28	12	40
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>147</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>173</b>

**6.6. Total Number of Brazilian beneficiaries of Retintegration Fund with Fedasil, transcription and translation from Fedasil statistics, 2011**

Year	National program	Additional support (ERF)	Total assisted files reintegration support
2007	1		1
2008	34		34
2009	22		22
2010	17	7	24
2011 (until end of October)	24	9	33
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>114</b>

**Aantal dossiers**

Year	National program	Additional support (ERF)	Total assisted files reintegration support
2007	1		1
2008	34		34
2009	22		22
2010	17	7	24
2011 (until end of October)	24	9	33
<b>Grand Total</b>	<b>98</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>114</b>

**7. Reintegration of victims of sexual exploitation.**

With the reintegration of victims of sexual exploitation, difficulties of return can be important. It can have psychological or medical aspects, but also financial aspects. Da Costa notes the very low number of women ready to come back and earn a minimum salary in cases where they had experienced a much higher salary in the prostitution sector in the EU. Brazil offers protection of identity and private life, psychological, medical and even micro-credit help. But seeing that victims do not often present themselves as such when they return, they are not directly oriented to these specific services.<sup>43</sup> Actually, the Posto Avançado de Atendimento Humanizado aos Migrantes or the NGO ASBRAD at the Brazilian international airport receive and orient returnees who were victims of human trafficking. But these services only reach persons who come directly to them when they arrive in Brazil. They do not have local nor regional branch, which limits the giving of specific personal psychological, medical and reinsertion help. They would rather call professionals in the city of the returnee, depending on their specific needs.<sup>44</sup> But prevention and protection are improving really fast. For example, in order to increase prevention of more vulnerable people from human trafficking, the EU has proposed for Brazil

43 ILO, Marques, 2007, pp. 59-61. At the moment, this is still the PAHM, which calls for specific assistance locally, depending on the case. Interview PAHM, September 2011.

44 In Uberlandia, NGOs or institutional organisations exist that deal with domestic violence. Participative observations in Uberlandia at Prefeitura de Uberlandia during interview with the Socio-economic sector, interview with Erika, at the Conselho Tutelar, and the Delegação das Mulheres de Uberlandia, and interview PAHM, September 2011.

to improve socio-economical conditions of social groups as a starting point to limiting the (re)introduction of these people into these paths. Different discussion amongst Foreign affairs ministries and the federal police of both countries also work on it.<sup>45</sup>

### **Annexe 8: Feeling of Being Mistaken by “trust people or friends”: consequences of Secret Contract**

A big feeling of being mistaken by one's friend or even one's society is really present about the explanations of the first months in Belgium or in EU. MAR's husband talks for example about his “friend” who let them some weeks after they arrived in Brussels because he actually had financial or housing problems.<sup>46</sup> Some interviewees even evoked arguments which could sometimes be unfounded or not, but fully of resentment about their “friend or trust person”. I can illustrate it by “He was just returning from Belgium because he was deported, and went back there after some weeks because we was escaping Brazil, because here, Police is looking for him.”<sup>47</sup> M talks for example, with contemptuously and jealousy, about “The” migrants who have succeeded in Uberlandia. He says that only “they”/migrants know how do these rich returnees have get all this money. “How do you want to succeed and come back rich here? There are only the one who have “succeeded” to turn patrons who can come back here and buy ten houses and now, don't have to work any more”. “How do you think a lady became rich thanks to immigration? Only migrants know it was possible only if they were prostituting themselves, or if they were there for a really long time. We despise them. They got rich dealing with bad things, or exploring ourselves. But we are the only ones who know that. How do you want to get so much money if you are exploited. There is only people who have decided to go in the bad side who can manage to come back with so much money. They earned that because they were exploiting us. [...] And what do you think about women who come back only after few year with so much money, who have two lands, a house and apartments? Only prostitutes are able to earn so much money.”<sup>48</sup> I could also use the discourse of an interviewee of Sayad, who relates that when he comes back to his village, he let migrants who migrated in other cities that where he did talking about there “exploits” as migrants. And then, he “pique” them, he tease them, telling “That I was also there”. He that way, the migrant don't reveal the secret to the local community, but makes the ones who indirectly cause him into such a bad story, because of the image they have and are still giving, realising that he knows now the situation of migration, and that he now dispraise them of about the way they were presenting themselves and the image they gave about migration.<sup>49</sup>

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45 In Discourse of EU October 19-20, 2009, Brussels, Belgium; RODRIGUES LINS, 2010, pp. 203-222, Interview PAHM, Guarulhos, September 2011 and Conference Ministerio da Justiça, SP, September 2011; JORDAN, p. 156. Brazil has also approved a national plan about Human Being traffics in his decree n. 6.347, of January 8th 2008. ILO, de Almeida, 2009, pp. 162-176. More and more prevention actions are made in Brazil. In ILO, 2007, pp. 9-12. Prostitution in Brazil is not a crime but an administrative infraction. In Belgium, regional organisations such as the PAG-ASA host, protect and help migrants who want to denounce their exploiter, helping Belgian police to fight against exploitation. These migrants can receive legalisation in exchange. But this process is really long and not guaranteed. It explains the really low use of this procedure. In Interview Hongenaard; Interview Deville and ILO, Marques, 2007, p. 37 and RODRIGUES LINS, 2010, p.21-37.

46 In interview MAR's husband, Uberlandia, 2011. Interview MAR and her husband; MC; CA; MC; J; and interviews target-group in Abraço.

47 MAR's husband Interview.

48 Discussions with M, Uberlandia, 2011.

49 In SAYAD, 1996, pp. 41-42.

## Annexe 9: Explanation of the Reintegration Funds

Reintegration Funds are given upon certain criteria. In its specific Return Directive of 2008, which includes Voluntary Returns<sup>50</sup>, the EU established two specific Reintegration Funds. The EU has created a definition of “vulnerability” and has proposed another special fund for micro-businesses, for paying a part of education fees and for job placement. Each country is to implement it, and can create their own program of reintegration. Belgium has transferred these criteria over to its own Reintegration Funds programs of Fedasil.<sup>51</sup> The EU has established its own program STAVR which provides RF to a greater number of returnees. The EU Act of January 12, 2007, the 'Asylum Reception Act', defines the legal obligations of Fedasil, the Belgian Federal Agency, to coordinate and set the details of this program in Belgium.<sup>52</sup> IOM Belgium is responsible for the practical organisation of Voluntary Returns and coordinates the network of REAB partners.<sup>53</sup> Since 2006, returnees in vulnerable situations or who have interesting initiatives can receive, after having asked for the “simple” Voluntary Return<sup>54</sup>, supplementary Funds for reintegration: the RF from Caritas-International Belgium or IOM.<sup>55</sup> These NGOs and International Organisations, in the *Pre-return stage*, will evaluate the situation of the migrants. They will evaluate and help the migrant in the development of the project he wants to realise or the different medical or material help he will need once in Brazil. This approach offers a counselling focus based on the individual's needs. Reintegration Funds are divided into two branches, for the two vulnerable target-groups. Firstly, the reintegration Fund of Fedasil and STARV can offer up to 700 Euros per person (the funds are not cumulative). Secondly, the reintegration Funds for Vulnerable people can be up to two times 700 Euros with Fedasil, and up to 1500 Euros from STAVR. RF's aims are “to support individual projects on little scales, in order to enable people to pick up the thread of one's life”. This financial aid is not given directly, but is transferred into material aid, given only after the fact that the project went ahead. Fedasil recognises the certain paternalist attitude generated by this kind of aid, but argues that that way, people will ask for the Funds to achieve personal

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50 The Directive 2008/115/EC, section 4.2. Since the Tampere Programme, Return has been part of the EU and MS's migration policy. Already in 2005, the Hague Programme and the Commission [of/for?]Communication were linking migration and development. They were also already tackling problems of returns and had created EU Funds for Reintegration and ten priorities for the next five years. One of these priorities is to define a balanced approach to migration. The Stockholm Programme (December 2009) re-elaborated Voluntary Return. In Belgium, Voluntary Returns exists since 1984. IN STOCKER, 2009, pp. 8-10 and EMN, 2011, pp. 12-98.

51 Vulnerable persons are defined in Art 3(i) of Returns Directive, in ASKOLA, 2010, p. 169 and Interview Peter Neelens, FEDASIL, 2011.

52 The “Framework programme on solidarity and management of migration flows for the period 2007-2013” established the EU Return Fund for the period 2008-2013 with a total budget in order to support MS's efforts and to improve the management of return. In EMN, 2011, p. 46 and [www.fedasil.be](http://www.fedasil.be).

53 REAB: Return and Emigration of Asylum Seekers Ex Belgium. These partners (often NGO or migrants associations; Abraço is one of them) have the first contact with migrants.

54 The term Voluntary Returns has been used in Belgium since 1984 (VR was first elaborated [established?]in Germany in 1979, initially for Asylum seekers of whose demand was rejected) to designate the specific Assisted Voluntary Departure (EU designation), and can be made through the migrants' own decision. Migrants in irregular situations would receive, after evaluation of their case by IOM, the flight ticket to their home country and an amount of 250 Euros per adult and 125 Euros per minor in order to cover the basic needs of their return or first reintegration. This amount of money really depends on the EU country. The Netherlands give up to 500 Euro, while Portugal, for example, only gives 50 Euros per returnee. Migrants have to address themselves to competent organisation to ask for it. But Voluntary Returns can also apply to migrants who taken by authorities. They have 7 to 30 days to leave the EU territory with such an option. Voluntary decision is therefore taken into question. Otherwise, national authorities can issue a removal order or detain them for a period of up to 18 months. The Office des Etrangers is in charge of the following and controls first line projects. In Interview Reyntjens, OIM, 2011; STOCKER, 2009, pp. 27-28; Arrêté Royal March 22nd 2011 and EMN, 2011, p. 18 and 70.

55 Belgium is one of the sixteen EU MS offering migrants the opportunity to develop their own business in their home country. In 2010, there were 915 Voluntary Returns by Brazilian economical migrants, 111 with RF. In Conference IOM October 20th 2011. In 2010, IMDH accompanied 62 cases of returnees who received Reintegration Funds (including 106 people). In IMDH, Report 2010 and Fedasil, 2010.

projects or for specified needs, and not because of the attraction of the money.<sup>56</sup> Once in Brazil, the returnee will have to achieve his project with or without a business consultant, depending on the project.<sup>57</sup> The local partners, the IMDH for Caritas, and OIM Argentina for IOM Belgium, serve as intermediaries in this *Transition stage*. These Focal Points also serve to provide specific information about the home country. They send the money to the returnee. They are also supposed to make an evaluation and monitor return measures in the *Post-return stage*, after one, three and six months<sup>58</sup>. However, the procedure adopted by IMDH and IOM Argentina differ significantly.<sup>59</sup>

Brazilians were the most common nationality to use Voluntary Returns from Belgium during period 2003-2008. In 2011<sup>60</sup>, Brazil still reached quite a high place, with 553 VR.<sup>61</sup> In September 2011, 40 Brazilian returnees received Reintegration Funds, making Brazil the country with the fifth highest receivers of RF. Actually, readjustment of the criteria for RF have been adopted for Brazilian nationals in Belgium due to demand being too high. Restricting criteria based on common sense with partners working with VR has been put in place for Brazilian, Mongolian and Ukrainian nationals. Only RF for vulnerable people are allowed for Brazilian returnees, and only in limited circumstances. RF for micro-businesses have been temporarily suspended. IOM explains that such criteria have been put in place in order to help more proportionally the different nationalities of workers in irregular situations.<sup>62</sup>

### **Annexe 10.1: Bilateral relations between Belgium and Brazil**

Thinking about immigration and emigration consists on thinking the State. The State constitutes itself by the way it thinks about migration. The principles of status of the migrants, and therefore, the return policies, are questions which incumbent to the State. Migration alone cannot lead to development. However, policies represent actual factors to improve the benefits of migration in home countries.<sup>63</sup> Belgium and EU both opt for voluntary returns as a program which backs development by favouring positive social remittances as it can transfer or reinforce new attitudes, behaviours and capabilities. At the same time, EU see VR as an alternative to forced returns and “raise VR to the level of a credible and feasible alternative migration project”.<sup>64</sup>

Since 2010, bilateral cooperation between Belgium and Brazil have increased. It notably focuses on prevention campaigns, making people aware of the real migration situation and their rights. It could somehow lead to development, or at least, diminish the negative effects engendered by vulnerability of migrants in irregular situation.<sup>65</sup> Belgian part hopes it would lead to a shift from irregular migration to

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56 [www.fedasil.be](http://www.fedasil.be) ; Interviews Peter Neelen, Fedasil, 2011; Caritas International, pp. 1-7 and Rut Van Caudenberg, Caritas, 2011.

57 This practice is now no longer used because of the already small amount of money available to open a small business. Interviews Irma Rosita, IMDH, Brasilia and Rut Van Caudenberg, Caritas, Brussels, 2011.

58 A complete file for each case contains an Intake (within one month). If the returnee does not enters into a contact with a local partner, his file will be deleted. There are further an intermediary Report (after 3 months) and a Final Report (after 6 months) In IOM, 2006b., p. 6 and Interview Irma Rosita, Brasilia, 2011.

59 Interview Irma Rosita, IMDH; Rut Van Caudenberg, Caritas-International-Belgium; Peter Neelens, Fedasil; Pascal Reyntjens, OIM Belgium; RUALTEA, Rosa, Solidarité socialiste; Van Caudenberg, Caritas, pp. 1-7 and EMN, pp. 1-95.

60 Statistics including year 2011 until end of September.

61 In 2010, 1000 Brazilians received the VR. In 2011, the budget only allows 750 VR to Brazilians. In Interview Peter Neelen, Fedasil, 2011.

62 The second destination country for VR is Kosovo-UNSC 1244, with only 349 VR in the same time period. Regarding Reintegration Funds, the number of Brazilian returnees represent one third of the number of Russian returnees. EMN, 2011, p. 32; Interview Reyntjens, OIM and Neelen, Fedasil; Statistics of Conference OIM October 20th 2011 and Pereira, 2008, p. 39..

63 CASTLES and MILLER, 2009, pp. 62-63 and pp. 75-77.

64 In EMN, 2011, p. 39.

65 Interview P. Reyntjens, IOM, October 7<sup>th</sup> 2011, Brussels

regular ways.<sup>66</sup> In these cases, migrants would have more rights, and would less easily be afraid to make them respected. Furthermore, according to Siqueira, migrants in regular situation are more marked to adopt transnational patterns, which can increase the impacts of migration to development on both micro and macro levels.<sup>67</sup> Portes talks about a “win-win” process, in which governments would take active steps to organise and manage labour-transfer programmes, for example.<sup>68</sup> This would also enable cyclical labour flows, for which returns could also be voluntary, not coerced, and migrant would have conditions to come back with dignity, and would have more propensity to be able to pay the fly back.

## **10.2. Predestined Places for Returnees**

Lula and the Brazilian MRE use the increasing tendency of return as a “proof” that Brazil has changed and now offers new opportunities, so that Brazilians want to come back.<sup>69</sup> Migrants are therefore seen as potential investors for who it is the right time to come back. Such an appeal puts migrants into a success system to which they would have to answer positively and push these returnees into this predestined place of investor. But exploitation faced in Belgium often diminishes the potential remittances which would have ensure such a success. RF for micro-business would as well put migrants in more vulnerable situation to such predestined places of investors. Policies of Reintegration would increase the gap between the left-behinds and the migrants.

## **Annexe 11: Illustrative interviews**

### **11.1. Interviews of target-group**

#### **11.1.1. Summary of MA's interview, 14 August 2011,, 11 a.m. Sao Sebastiao, Brazilia**

I went directly to Sao Sebastiao, a satellite city of Brasilia to interview MA and her husband. Her husband went to Belgium during 2 years and 4 months because he had his sister in law there. He immigrated for money, the main reason. Then, her wife joined him during 1 year and 3 months. She already had the project, before to immigrate, to open a lanchonette with her friend. She told her friend that she will go to Belgium to earn money to open the lanchonette. In exchange, the friend offer her a room in her house during 3 months (during that time, the husband was already working as an assistant in building sector in Belgium, and the two daughters to the grand parents in Minas Gerais as they had to start school at the beginning of the year, in January). In Belgium, one week after MA arrived, her husband had a problem with his back because of the cement bags he had to put in the lift. He was hospitalized and had an surgery in emergency. He went to the St Pierre clinic and received visits and financial coverings from the CPAS of Anderlecht commune.

He was unable to work in heavy jobs, and didn't found any other jobs in Belgium. MA continued to work, but it was not sufficient. At the beginning, she only found works for 2 or 3 hours a day for cleaning houses for 6 euros an hour. Thanks to Brazilians friend, he went to the free judicial services in the “Rue de la Regance 165”. He know it was risky for him, but took the risk to know his right. He took an African advocate and made the process of regulation, following the law 9 ter de la loi du 15 dec 1980 “sur l' acces au territoire, le sejour, l' hebergement et l' eloignement des etrangers”. He could got the nationality, because of his accident during his work. But as it took too much time and as the work of her wife wasn't sufficient, they came back thanks to the help of Caritas ( they met Ruth in the Church of Jesus trabalhador) and she managed to received an help of 2000 Euros from STRAV to

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66 “BRASIL-BELGIUM-Meeting on Consular and Migration Affairs”, July 14th and 15yh July 2011, Brasilia.

67 De HAAS, 2010, pp. 254-256 and Siqueira, 2009.

68 PORTES, 2009, pp. 18-19. See annexe 7.a.

69 Discourse Lula, 2010 and Interview, CARDOSO SANTOS SILVA, MRE, Brasilia, 2011 and Brazil Government and media also openly critics at the same time EU Return Directive, talking about “criminalization, penalisation, or even “perseguição odiosa/odious persecution” towards LA emigrants to EU. MARINUCCI, 2009, pp. 140-151.

open her lanchonette/sandwich. She says thanks to this help, it accelerated the process. Without it, it would have took much more time to be able to keep money to pay the way back for both of them. Now, she has her lanchonette/sandwich. He works as a telemarketing worker. As they had to make some loan at the bank and that here, you have to have movements on your bank account during 1 year and that there were abroad, the friend's husband made the loan. They managed, after 1 year, to stop the loan, and now, since 2 months, and again for 2 or 3 months, still have to reuse all the money of the lanchonette/sandwich shop to pay the loan back. After that, only, they will manage to use the money for themselves.

**11.1.2. Summery of AP's interview, 17 August 2011, 10 am, Livraria Cultura, Iguatemy, Brasilia**

AP is a young girl of 25 who received reintegration assistance to start to study to enter in administration. After the interview, she dropped me to the rodoviaria/bus station. We spend 30 minutes in the car to talk. She told me that speaking French didn't help her to find a job when she came back. And that it took 7 month before she found a real job at night (she had to find a job which would allow her to follow classes during the day) because at the beginning, when she came back, she was thinking she could get a better job thanks to her French. But actually, she faced the opposite. People were "discriminating" her because she was working in cleaning sector, which is still devalued and de-considered here. People were judging her. She told she tried to put first the fact that she had the capacity to adapt and that she managed to stay there 4 years. But she speaks about discrimination.

**11.1.3. Summery of M.'s interview, 17 August 2011, 2 p.m., in her home, Brasilia**

She is pregnant and they have just bought, with her husband, a terrain in Goias where it s cheapest to live. Now, they are living with their daughter and the family of her sister in low in the familial home, in a favella/shanty town. Her husband works, as he used to do before to migrate , in black in construction sector. She is pregnat of 6months and just came back in July to Brazil. She will receive the money to buy things for the baby. But she is afraid of the moment to give birth in public hospital. Emergencies are only open to pregnant women who will give birth and have high pressure or problems.

**11.1.4. Summery of V. and his wife's interview, 23 August 2011, 6p.m. At his house, Uberlandia, MG.**

He received reintegration found in order to study Cow implements (one week formation). He followed it, but doesn' t work in this sector because they realized so when they came back how much Brazil had changed and how easy it was to find jobs. Working to Cow implants would have signify to live in the field and there were no work for his wife there (she wanted to study it too, but they managed to receive so one scholarship). She has found a job really easily in Uberlandia, and when he has finished his formation, V. also found job really easily in construction and painting. He is now buying material to work for his own in this painting sector.

**11.1.5. Summery of Gi.'s interview, 25 August, 9am, at her house, Uberlandia, MG.**

Gi. was 12 years when she went to study to her aunt in Belgium(13 years old now). Family really poor, but full of dignity. I made the interview with Gi. with a bit a different attitude. I started all the interview and the questions the same way, but when she finished to answer some of the questions that I think it was important for her to know a bit about the reality and the experiences of other persons I have interviewed, I told her what I know and what I was afraid for her, like traveling alone to take the plane, the traffic of women, but also the higher controls of young women traveling alone at the gates of EU. The family invited me to have dinner with them. This was the father who cooked because the mother was traveling to see the family this week. Her older sister came to eat too. She lives in the same neighborhood and works from 7 pm to 2 am in a telemarketing for credit card. She told me she likes her job because she has contact with lots of people and that s important to love what you do. The brother (more or less 15) already works and go to school during the afternoon. There is also a smaller

brother. Gi. knows she will also work in telemarketing when she will have 15 and will practice that way her French and continue to study.

She showed me her room. She was really proud and then, showed me her parents room. She told me look, it s incredible, I have a new room, and they not, this is incredible.

After lunch, the father told to me. He told me her live. He was growing in the interior in a “ranch”. Parents really poor and had to work early. He says education is really the most important thing. He managed to live without, but now, if his children don't have it, they wont grow up. But the Brazil puts education in a very low place. It doesn't invest like in Belgium. It makes the rich keeping rich and the poor have to work really hard to reach it. His nephew (who studies medicine in Belgium) was studying always really hard, and working at the same time because parents hadn't conditions to pay for it. And now, he managed to go to university in Belgium with his parents. He really admires it.

When he told me good buy, he told me sorry because he received me and I have seen they are a poor family but that he wants to best for his children. He had the eyes red with a beginning of tear but lots of dignity.

Gi. took the bus with me to go to school. On the way, she offered me a picture of her in Belgium and a CD of *Sertanese* songs.

#### **11.1.6. Summery of Ji.'s interview, 25th August, 2.p.m. To her parents' house, Uberlandia, MG**

Ji. came back one week ago and was in her mother home for some few time. He baby had an important lung problem when she was born.

At the beginning of interview, her mother was participating to the interview, but then, when Ji. told about the details of the birth and transfer to St Luc hospital, she left the room. Notes of all interviews on papers written by hand.

#### **11.1.7. Summery of Ma. And her husband's interview, 25th August, 6 p.m., to her house, Uberlandia, MG**

Preinterview with grand parents when I was waiting for M and her husband. They live in a nice home next to the grand parents. Home of a friend of the father. 1500 reals of rent per mes. Really good situation.

I had to make them completing the document for Irma Rosita at the end of the interview. Ma. wrote she received the *Bolsa Familia*. When she gave me the paper and had a really quick look, I have seen that and asked her with astonishment. And she told me yes, but no, ah, but it s not *Bolsa Familia* but the 19 R\$ that families receive for each children per months. And she has barre it, a bit embarrassed.

#### **11.1.8. Summery of A.'s interview, 27 August, 11 a.m., to her parents' house, Uberlandia, MG**

A. is Ja.'s sister. As the bus took too long and that she had to live soon to go to work, I haven t asked her all the little questions. But the interview was really interesting. She came to Belgium at the age of 13. She came to Belgium with her mother because her father was already working there since 6 months. She studied there, but it gave her less opportunities today, according to her because when she came back here, she was out of the job market, without qualifications, and just with a certificate that she made in Brazil (she came back one year when she was there to pass the basic certificate which enables her to go to university here, but which has no recognition in Belgium). She said that the fact of not knowing the language good there and the fact she was also working (when she arrived to Belgium at 13, she already took the jobs of her sister and mother when they couldn't work) offered her a bad quality of education and that here, now, at her university classes, she has the problems of not having the level, plus lacunae in Portuguese and mathematics.

She asked, as other interviewees (Reg.and Ja.) asked, if it could be possible to have a more long term assistance. Because she doesn't manage to accomplish all the things she has to do in the week. She

studies in the morning, works until 9 pm in a telemarketing agency to pay her studies and her car to go to university and to work and doesn't manage to pay the 450 R\$ a month for university and the other costs of life. (she already had a discount on the 600 R\$ a month from the government because she works). Her father is not able to help her at the moment because he has to finish to build a house he bought with her money of immigration and will rent it. But before the rent, it is really difficult. The house will be ready in 6 months. She also didn't manage to pass the vestibular of the federal university (which is for free) because her level of studies she had in Belgium was not good (she was in technical school of draw).

Then, her mother invited me to eat with them. The all family was there. They were eating together and waited the last brother to come back before to start to eat. I have met the only brother who haven't migrated to Belgium. He just came to visit there. He studied at university in Uberlandia to become an engineer but he haven't finished because of the money. But the mother said that maybe later he can start again. He didn't migrate because he had his own business here who works good, he has a house, now a baby and a wife. The mother told me that in Belgium, her brother died because of an accident of bike in Brussels. It was really difficult because his mother had to come from Brazil to make the funerals.

#### **11.1.9. Summary of MC's interview, 27 August 2011, 3 p.m., to her apartment, Uberlandia, MG**

MC has 2 children and her husband died of a rupture of aneurysm when there were in Belgium. She received a help from Caritas to buy a home in Brazil after her husband died. But when she came back, she realized the reality was impossible. The salaries are really low and the live costs are high. She didn't managed to follow her project and so, resettled cloths that she bought cheaper in other towns. She always managed to give value to the money of her house to buy cloths for her business, then to buy a motorcycle to improve her business, then sell the motorcycle to buy furniture when she managed to get a better job and now, studies at night administration classes at the SENAC. She works during the day, studies at night, and makes nails during the WE (I made the all interview with a lady (one of her colleague) and her two daughters making their nails in Mar's home). Her mother in law helps her a lot buy taking care of her children. She also came back with her first husband, because its easier, she told me. She made almost all the interview in French. She speaks really good, without any faults. The 2 girls wanted to hear speaking French, but at the same time, it was a way to preserve her not to tell all her live in front of her colleague.

I have also talk with her older son (9 years), who intervned sometimes during the interview. It was interesting also to hear his point of view about Belgium. He would like to come back because his live was better there. He really preferred the school there, he learned more, there were more disciplines, and "he had everything".

#### **11.1.10. Summary of MI's interview, 28th August 2011, 9 a.m., at her home, Uberlandia, MG**

MI had a skin cancer, is already nearly to the retreat. She has received help from Caritas to make *palmonias and pao de queijo/cakes* at home. She has some of the infrastructure at home, but most of the material and all the 1st material are to her daughter who is pregnant. There, there are more space and her daughter who is pregnant sell them on the afternoons. MI works at hospital as help because she has to have a pension and have a *plano de saude/health insurance that is offered to employees*. The help of Caritas helps herself but also her daughter who cannot works in a firm at the moment as she came back already pregnant (see interview above). This project also could help Ros., Reg.'s wife who is also pregnant and was fired as she realized she was pregnant during her "testing period of new job". (see interview of Ros.).

#### **11.1.11. Summary of Reg. And Ros.'s interview, 28th and 30th August 2011, 10.30 a.m., at**

### **their home (they live in an separate part of MI's house), Uberlandia, MG**

Reg. Is MI's son. Ros., his wife received also a help for her first son when she was pregnant. Reg.'s project is really spectacular. It is to grow up vegetables to his friend's farm, next to his father's farm (which has no water). But his project is momentarily stopped for the 2nd time as the Movimento Sem Terra has invaded the farm (see notes).

**30th August:** I came back to Reg., Ros. and MI's home. MI had prepared me some cake she normally make to sell. She told me that this week, she couldn't make it because her daughter (who sells the things because MI works on afternoon) is pregnant and doesn't feel good as she is already at 8 months. Then, I went with Reg., Ros. and one neighbor to Reg.'s friends farm, where he made his project of growing vegetables. He normally hire the land to them (the parcel where he grows up his vegetables.). But as the succession of his friends' home take time and so, that his friend doesn't pay regularly the cadastre, the Movimento Sem Terra has invaded already for the second time the farm. His friend has to come with us in order that the MST would let us enter. He came with his wife and his daughter of 6 years old. When we arrived in the farm, there were a check point at the entrance of the farm where a guard of the MST used to sleep and live in order not letting them enter. People who had invaded the farm also put their flag of MST at the entrance. It used to be 60 families. But the justice told them they were going to lost. So, there are only 7 families still there today. The lady of the fazenda (farm) told me that last time, the group of MST was really bad. They took everything to eat, also all the caws, goats and the pork. They also stole the truck to sell and used water and deviated the electricity. They had to pay all the bills, and when they left, they left the wood houses like that in the fields. They also had to clean them all by themselves. Sometime, it happen that the people from the MST also destroy the all fields of fruits trees because they thing it is better to plant rise or something else.

They lady of the farm told me that this time, the MST group was already better. They are evangelical (her too) and so, according to her, they are more pacifists and they negotiate better. They won t use violence to enter in the farm (the MST group invaded it at night and when they wake up, they had to live). This group just take the electricity and didn't let them to replant. They let the caws alive.

On the way back, Reg. told me that this group has more influence and more rights now because Lula comes from this group. So, it is really difficult for the farmers to fight against. They always have to wait a lot. There is a law which say that farms which doesn't pay the cadastre (most of the time, as the families were big, the succession takes time and they cannot pay the cadastre during that time). Or it happens to farms which doesn't produce. MST group can see on the internet which farms are in this situation and can live there until the justice will take the decision. Some times, they won, and so, they can take the farm, divide it and receive some help from the government to produce and plant on the fields. But Reg. told me that sometimes, the leader receive the help and don t redistribute, buy a big car, and the problem is not resolved. He told me that the same kind of movement exists for houses: Movimento Sem Teto.

Those laws help the worth off, but at the same time, the farmers who are in difficult period (succession which takes time or period when they don t manage to invest a lot in production) are target to loose everything. So, people who are vulnerable can fall in society at that moment. The couple of the farm told me that they had a bit of money before the invasion, so, they have manage to open a little restaurant in the city and they live there during that time, and will continue the farm and the restaurant when they will be able to come back. But it is not the case of everybody. They are not rich. They live in modest conditions (see pictures inside the farm).

On the way back, he also show me some "cites" : little houses all equal made by the government for people of MST. But it is really insufficient. And the way it is made doesn't give incentive to people to go further or let the possibility of living there for a time of stabilization and then, let it for people who need it more, as they receive the home forever (they don't hire it).

On the way to go there by car, we were speaking a lot. Ros. told me that she would know tomorrow if her patron of telemarketing will continue the contract or not. She is really anxious, because it is quite impossible for pregnant women to find again a job when they are pregnant because if they has to leave the job, the patron has to continue to pay her salary. I have ask her if there would be some alternatives to work by herself. She told me it is really difficult. I have asked if she could help to sell the *palmonas* and the *pao de queijo*, two kind of cakes with MI and her sister in law (see interview above). She told me that she could, but the revenue is already really small for 2 persons (MI and her pregnant daughter). I have asked her if it could be possible to make babysitting at home, but she told me that most of people put the children to the nursery who are for free from the government. So, few people let their children to a “baba/nanny”.

**11.1.12. Summery of El.'s interview, 28th August 2011, 12.30 a.m., at their work place, Uberlandia, MG**

El. has received help to reintegrate and invested that money to buy material for balloons, etc for children's party. It helped her to find a job to an enterprises who hires material for children's parties.

**11.1.13. Summery of Gab.'s interview (M.'s daughter of 16 years old), 2 September 2011, 4 p.m., at M.'s house, Uberlandia, MG**

Gab. had received some help from IOM in order to follow some classes (photoshop and English). She didn't really know how to proceed. Her project was not really clear before to come back to Brazil. Then, once there, she was alone to make all the administrative things (Marco was still in Belgium, and her mother didn't know how to do it). Furthermore, she said her mother hadn't a bank account which could receive money from abroad. Finally, when Marco came back, he managed to find a school of his friend. The IOM send the money directly to the school back account (M. confirmed me that the school has received it); but during all this time, Gab. was obliged to work in telemarketing after her classes (secondary school) as her mother couldn't afford anymore for all the budget of the family as Gab. came back. She has no more time to devote to the extra-classes of the photoshop and English courses). The money was spend for nothing. She never had time to assist to any of the classes.

In Belgium, Gab. just went to school. She learned French really well. And traveled a lot. You can see in her discourse that he grow up a lot thanks to this experience. But when she came back to Brazil, she didn't managed to make the equivalence of her 2 years of school abroad. She had to remake 2 further years of school. The re-adaptation was really difficult to her. She really would like to live in Belgium. “Belgium is part of myself. In all my discussions with my friends, with my family, etc, I always make reference to Belgium”.

**11.1.14. Summery of Mab. and her daughter.'s interview , 3 September 2011, 2 p.m., at their house, Uberlandia, MG**

Mab. has receive the help to open her little business at home to sell underwear. Her daughter also has received further helps to open a “sorveteria/ice-cream shop”, ice cream shop. But it took really lots of time to her to have all the “orcamentos/tenders”. She didn't know really how to do it. During that time, the amount of money that she was supposed to receive has decreased (she doesn't know if it was Caritas which had decreased the amount because she spend too much time, or if it is the devaluation of the Euro). And when the IMDH has payed the equipment and that she had invested her own money to buy the rest of the equipment, the seller of all her equipment disappeared and she never received anything. It was impossible to find the guy anymore.

**11.1.15. Transcripts of M.'s official interview, 4 September 2011, 1 p.m., at his house, Uberlandia, MG**

Primeiro, estava na Italia. Nao estava bem. Mas amigo Mirza na Belgica me deo trabalho la. Embora da Belgica depois que sem services. Plus irmao morto no Brazil plus filha nene, nao valea a pena. Hora de

voltar. Longe da família. Tem coisas que valem mais que os sacrifícios. Não tinha trabalho. Um serviço, um outro. Patron português só pagava do jeito que ele queria. Tudo mundo parou com ele no mesmo tempo.

3 meses depois Itália, Marcia foi. Depois de 2 anos e meia: Gabrielle. 2 anos na Itália plus 1 ano e meia na Itália.

Sobre Caritas: Proprietários Brasileiros falam entre eles. Filha na IOM mas não ele. Porque através de amigos que apresentam ir para IOM. Marci também na IOM. Monica Pereira indicou Caritas para ele. Ainda não sabia problemas de pagamentos com IOM. Gabrielle: outubro. Ele: Novembro. Gabrielle demora e não correu atrás do dinheiro IOM. Gabrielle sabia que ela direito de pegar o dinheiro. Não sabia que fazer. Só, went to a school aqui, fez orçamento, e IOM pagou dinheiro para escola. IOM não perguntava na Bélgica de fazer um projeto. IOM dizem que se ela conseguiu fazer orçamento, eles vão ver se aproveitam. Mas ela chegou e não correu atrás. Escola recebeu dinheiro. Quanto, ele não sei.

Sobre Caritas: tratam muito bem. Me ouviam. Assistência social. Diz eu não tenho forma para voltar. Pegou ajuda. Perguntei ajuda maior. Eu cheguei com 3 projetos. Projeto 1: Com mesmo trabalho do jiprok. Abrir uma empresa, com conhecimento que ele tinha na Bélgica. 2: Estudar. 3. Fazer empresa.

Não é eles que escalham o projeto. Ele escolheu escola porque ele não tinha in off dinheiro para abrir empresa. Mas Irma Rosita diz: você precisa começar rapidamente, senão, vai perder o dinheiro. Ele pensei: vou estudar. Caritas aceita. Ele mandei faturas. 5 parcelas (meses) que Caritas pagou. Ele voltei na Faculdade. Ele sabia que ele tinha condição de continuar pagar depois. Eles não perguntei se ele tinha condição. Eles não procurei saber como eu estava. Não tem controle.

Caritas dizer: 3 meses para arrumar tudo. Ele gastei 6 ou 8 meses. Mas eles deixam porque eles sabiam que ele precisava. Ele diz: não quero gastar dinheiro para nada. Ele não ia diretamente pela Caritas porque precisava resolver coisas aqui: prisão com polícia um mês. Não poderia fazer nada um mês. E não poderia antes na Bélgica porque precisava voltar pelo serviço na polícia, tem prova que ele trabalha para tem desconto de 50 por cento. E depois fazer orçamento.

Mesmo demorando, ajuda vi no tempo certo. A gente pensa bastante coisas na Bélgica, mas quando volta para aqui, as coisas são diferentes. Mas dinheiro sempre bem vindo. Na Bélgica, não tem infraestrutura para ajudar fazer projeto. Plus, aqui, não tem infraestrutura para ajudar fazer projeto, não tem orientação.

No Brasil, tem alguma ajuda SEBRAE, etc, mas quando volta, você quer trabalhar diretamente. Prioridade, senão passa dificuldades. Não tem tempo. Outros não vão para conta própria. Se tem uma entidade que chama estas pessoas. Senão, voltam pela Bélgica porque não tem entidades que orientam aqui. Só, difícil de mais, não conseguem achar as coisas propalmente e voltam. Seria melhor ter OIM aqui que lá.

-Não tinha ideia e nem antes. Quando cheguei, polícia, depois, entro no projeto de entrar em contacto da segurança e montar o negócio. E nem grande de mais para me ajudar da Caritas. Dia popular “ eu não tenho dinheiro, então, eu vendo hoje o que eu tenho para investir depois. Cresso divagarzinho.”

-Dificuldade maior: Voltar a trabalhar e produzir. Para ele, não tão difícil porque já tinha emprego. Recomeçar vida sem nada. Sem dinheiro. Tudo mundo achava que eu tinha dinheiro. E achavam absurdo que eu voltei sem nada. Não é fácil. Mandava dinheiro para mãe das meninas. 2 meses parado.

Eu não optei viver com outras pessoas com muito pouco dinheiro. Eu optei com qualidade de vida melhor: apartamento próprio, boa comida, filha e mulher não trabalhavam na Bélgica. Dona da casa pagou facturas dele para o prédio inteiro. Fui na electrabel. E ela disse: vou chamar a polícia.

-Dificuldades agora: Menter as contas em dia. Faculdade consome muito. Consegui passar todas as provas. Ainda 1 ano e meia para apagar. Prioridade: faculdade. Fora faculdade, não estudo. Tem dias que folto por coisa do serviço. Polícia só ajuda para arrumar horário melhor para poder ir na Faculdade mas só isso. Não deam dia para fazer provas.

-Policial militar. Estou militar. Foi embora desertor ou desaparecida. Mas familia nao fiz declaracao desaparecida. Entao, sabiam que estava desertador. Crimi no mundo para militar. Se eu para, eu vou perder emprgo garentido. Senao, quando volta, sem emprego. Tem milihar de militars que fazem isso para trabalhar for a. Ele fiz concurso para entrar na Policia. Entao, ele foi na justicia militar que dize qudo voltar para ver se pode voltar na Policia ou nao. Mas antes de ir, ele sabia que nao tem lei para expulsar. Entoa, tudo bom. Quando irmao foi, nao era policial. Se deserte uma segunda vez, vai ser excluido. 5 ou 6 amigos da policia que fazem a mesma coisa. Tudo mundo sabe que e facil fazer isso. Mas agora, nao pode crescer na Policia por coisa da dezertacao, ainda se tem diplome de direito.

-Visao Brazil: Grande perspectives de oportunidades de imprego. Consturcao, turisme, industria. Quando foi pela Belgica, nao percebia que tinha estas oportunidades como agora.

-Identidade: troce experiencia da Belgica e conhecimento. Madurecei muito. Cultura diferente, puco lingua.

Ajuda caritas: me deu 5 meses de estudar tranquilo, foi muito importante para mim. Sem ajuda, nao ia voltar pela faculdade.

-Actor of Dvpmnt no Brazil: muitas coisas que eu vi la, possuiu usar aqui: orcutch: sessao de photo para mostrar como e la e como poderia ser aqui. Lixo, como valorisar o rio que estava la e como poderia ser aqui, limpeza da cidade, etc. Mas recebe pucas respostas/ comentarios, por coisas de disenterese, divulgar mais. So Gabrielle desenvolve muito depois que volto. Mas para autras crianacas, nao traze nada. Mas Gabrielle transfero a experiencia dela para irmas dela.

-Parentes: Estudo: Pai estudo puco. Incino medio e mai. Mas mai puco mais porque mais inteligente: acabou segundo gral. Pai fiz contabilidade. Pai trabalhavo area de contabilidade num escritorio.

-Agencia de viagem normal. Tem agencia de viagem que ajudam para ir na Inglaterra mas nao em Uberlandia. Bastente pessoas na Belgica porque nao conseguem ir para Inglaterra. Belgica mais facil de entrar. UK: Pessoas pensao mais facil ganhar dinheiro. E livre e melhor.

## **11.2. Selection of interviews of control-group**

### **11.2. 1. Summery of Re.'s interview, 26 August 2011, 7 p.m., at Re.'s house, Uberlandia,**

**MG**

Re. Is Mar. and Reg.'s sister and MI's daughter (they all received the Reintegration fund, except Re.). Re. didn' t received any help of the Caritas. It was an interesting case to see the reality of people who come back without this help, and have to assume at the same time a supplementary difficulty: the baby. She realized a bit before to live that she was pregnant, but Caritas told she has good financial help. There were some points of the 2hours interview which not concord really well. For example, she told me she couldn't pay the last 3 months of rent of her apartment and that the owner (a lady) came today and told her she had to leave the apartment (she told me it was the same scenario in Belgium, before she left). But then, after the interview, her husband pick up us to go to Re.'s home and just before to leave, the husband went to close the garage down their apartment. She told me that he works here and that his employer employ him and has the apartment that he rent to them. But if such is the case, the risk of being hired from the enterprise and of loosing the apartment at the same time is really high. Furthermore, the patron could also easily take the amount of the rent directly from his salary. She also told me they didn't managed to send money to Brazil when there were immigrants, just to by the 3 plane tickets of the husband when he was deported the 3 times. But they have good furniture, a big new plasma screen, a renault scenic car, etc. It looks like they have good live. There were no direct reason to have these confusions because I was really clear I wasn't from Caritas and I could n help them to get help now after their return as she was pregnant. Quite her all family went to Belgium and Reg. (her brother), Ros.(Reg.'s wife), Mar. (her sister)and MI (her mother)all had received help from Caritas.

They drove me to M.'s home as it was already 10 p.m.. On the way, they picked up Re.'s Mum out of her job at the hospital. I had actually interviewed her in Belgium and the phone number she had give to me was wrong. She also told me she was living in Belo Horizonte, but actually, she lives here. I have asked her if I could make an interview on Monday. I will have to ask her why she told me wrong informations that time. Maybe because of the fear she had of giving exact informations as she was still in Belgium.

#### **11.2.2. Summery of Ro. And his women.'s interview, 28th August 2011, 8.30 p.m., at their house, Uberlandia, MG**

R. was a patron in Belgium. According to his daughter (see interview Ali, who also came back with the basic help of the Caritas), he also received once the basic help of the Caritas to come back to Brazil. This interview was really interesting as I have pretended that I didn't know he was a patron there. It helped me a lot to see how his case of “immigrant who has managed to succeed in EU”, as he has now 12 houses, one building of 4 apartments that he has build when he came back to Brazil, one big shop of construction material, and don t need to work anymore, nor his wife. He has a big house and has already changed car in 1 year, etc. It was interesting to anaylze his discourse and his wife discourse about their experience and the image they give to people who would like to go there. It was also really interesting to see that the first answer to the wife, was that they are evangelical, and they never did anything wrong to Belgium. This “facade” discourse was really interesting. They also explained that they managed to succeed and not Ro's brother because they managed to learn French really fast. They also told that it was because “we had more chance. We encountered the good person at the good time.” M. also told me this was because he managed to have rapidly a false passport of Portuguese. Then, he continued to make the “artist work”, according to Marco: the change of the pictures of the passports, or other manipulations of the papers. Ro.'s wife also told that if people ask them their advice to migrate or not, they will let them go, it is people's right. But they will say that it depends of the chance and that it is really hard at the beginning.

#### **11.2.3. Summery of Rom.'s interview, 28th August 2011, 10.30 p.m., at his house, Uberlandia, MG**

Rom. Was Ro.'s ex- employee. He made the demand of regularization, but was refused. So, the day after, the police came to his apartment in Brussels to take his wife and his 2 children. He was not there during that time. In order to make him going back too with his family, the IOM has proposed him the further help of reintegration for him and for his wife, plus some Euro for the firsts months of rents and food. He finally has accepted, but it was considerate as “forced return” as he took one week before to accept it. The same story happened to his friend Dilom. They both were supposed to received the help, but only have received the amount for the rent of the house and the food. It looks like it is a problem due to the IOM local agency in Argentina.

At the end of the Rom.'s interview, Ro. came back to pick up me to M.'s home, where I was sleeping. On the way back, I told a bit about what Rom. told me about the IOM's help. Ro. told me that “anyway, with 2000 Euro, it is impossible to start a business here. If you want to succeed when you come back, you have to come back with at least 100 000 Euros. This help would n help him to restart something here”.

#### **11.2.4. Summery of Mir. And her husband's interview, 29th August 2011, 4 p.m., at their work and home place, Uberlandia, MG**

Mir. and her husband have received the basic help for the voluntary return (only plane and 250 Euros each). They have invested the money they have earned in Belgium to open a hear and beauty center for her and her daughter, and an enterprise of building houses for him. The two businesses work pretty well. But they still have in their head to come back one day to Belgium. The most difficult thing when they came back and still now is the violence and the insecurity that you have here, as they have

experienced other society.

#### **11.2.5. Summary of Deu.'s interview, 29th August 2011, 8 p.m., at the bus station, Uberlandia, MG**

Deu. went to work in Belgium alone, just by knowing a friend of him. He was deported 3 times to Brazil. He came back the 2 first time. Then, stayed a bit after the 3rd deportation, then, a friend of him offered him to work legally to his construction in Angola, as his friend “knew the quality of his job”. He accepted and his friend's enterprise made him the papers. He received a good salary and was responsible for a team of workers. There, he met his wife and had 3 children. Now, they all came back to Brazil and she opened an African hair dresser office and he has now his own enterprise of construction with 2 persons working for him from time to time. He hopes that his enterprise will grow up in the next 2 years. When you talk to Deu., you really feel a great maturity. He told that there are all his experiences abroad which always make him learning much more things and that he bring back now all these experiences and all the positive aspects of European and African culture to Brazil.

#### **11.2.6. Summary of Jo.'s interview, Clebin's brother in law, at Clebin's house, 18th June 2011, 11 a.m., Favella norte do e Belo Horizonte, BH, MG**

Joao went to Belgium when he was 18. He doesn't know about Voluntary Return option. His brother lives there and invited him to work in Belgium for the *Zineke parade* and to help him to give capoeira classes in Belgium. His brother went there a long time ago because his teacher of capoeira called him to help him. There, he got married with a Belgian women who is stylist. He now has 2 children, the double nationality, and work as sport educator (his formation) in a school, as *meistre* de capoeira, and as organizing the *Zineke parade* at the prefecture. He lives in Bois fort.

Joao came in Belgium for 2 or 3 months. He even managed to get selected for the 3rd division of Anderlech. But unfortunately, he had to come back to Brazil because he had to do his military work. His return was really brutal and still difficult to him. He explains that his brother once came back home on a Saturday night and told him he had flight tickets for him for the day after. He loved a women in Belgium, but couldn't tell her see you because of the hurry. This hurry still remains a mystery for him, he said.

His brother also sometimes calls his other brother to live and work for the *zineke parade* from time to time.

Joao returned to Belgium a second time for 8 months. His brother actually wanted him to go to work in Congo, to give Capoeira classes with his capoeira group. But finely, seeing the situation, the all group came back to Belgium. Joao came back some fews days after to Belgium and finely came back to Brazil as his project to work in Congo didn't succeed and that he didn't found a job (he was mostly looking for a job in sport area). He really would like to come back to Belgium, again to try to find a job in sport. He things that if he would have the opportunity to find a job (I asked him that “supposed” you would find a job, ect), he would stay there. Here, he works in the “fiscalisaçao/fiscality”, to take and sort the rubbish in the streets. He things that there, if he could find a job in his dream sector, it would be perfect. But he knows really few people manage to do so. His brother is an exception for him. And he knows, when he looks at his brother, that if he would succeed in Belgium, he wouldn't come back, because here, even if he would get new skills in Belgium, he would just come back to simple and not nice jobs.

#### **11.2.7. Transcripts of Gl.'s interview, 26 setembro 2011, Buenos Aires (interview on skype).**

Sai do Brasil direto a Suica, com intencao de ir estudar inglês na Inglaterra. No dia 29.09.08 cheguei em Zürich, onde uma senhora brasileira que estava certo em mim receber. A pessoa me recebeu no aeroporto, mas o quarto que ele tinha para alugar me nao estava mais disponivel, entao ela

ficou na obrigação de me arrumar um lugar. No final fiquei morando de favor na casa de uma prima da mesma senhora, passei uma semana, depois fui para a casa de outra prima, que era casada com suíço italiano.

Meus planos de ir para a Inglaterra foram adiados por um tempo. O italiano que tinha me hospedado me arrumou um emprego na fábrica que ele trabalhava. Trabalhei por um tempo limpando mato e tirando lixo que se acumulava em todo o terreno da fábrica. Depois da experiência, arrumei um emprego num espaço de eventos muito importante na Suíça, trabalhava pela madrugada e pela manhã ia para casa do casal que abriu suas portas para mim, mesmo sem me conhecer.

Juntei um certo dinheiro trabalhando na limpeza, viajei por dentro da Suíça, fiz muitos amigos e resolvi que estava na hora de ir para Inglaterra. Fiz uma pesquisa pela internet de uma escola de idioma que tivesse uma boa referência, fiz minha matrícula online na escola inglesa e entrei em contato com uma pessoa que alugava quartos para estrangeiros, fechei o valor do aluguel semanal de um quarto compartilhado por três meses.

No dia 9 janeiro de 2009 fui para Inglaterra com o objetivo de estudar inglês por três meses, depois voltaria para o Brasil. Comprei minha passagem de Zurich de volta para o Brasil, minha passagem para a Inglaterra e uma passagem de volta para Suíça. Então, estudaria na Inglaterra por um período aproximado de 3 meses, depois voltaria para Suíça só para voltar para o Brasil. Quando chego na Inglaterra, mesmo com os papéis da escola que ia estudar, com o endereço de onde ia ficar, dinheiro, passagem de volta, não me deixaram entrar na Inglaterra. Não pude ficar na Inglaterra, porque eles não sabiam se eu ia ficar morando em seu país. As minhas palavras para a polícia inglesa foram; Não tenho interesse de morar aqui, só necessito aprender o idioma. Me mandaram estudar inglês no Brasil. Pela manhã fui deportado para Suíça. Para mim foi muito constrangedor. Chegando no aeroporto de Geneve os policiais me perguntaram porque eu não fui aceito na Inglaterra, eu disse que não sabia e me questionaram se eu tinha onde ficar na Suíça, respondi que em toda a Suíça tinha onde ficar e me deixaram entrar no país.

Estava emocionalmente abalado, confuso, cansado e muito triste, porque meu objetivo era estudar inglês. Liguei para uma amiga em Niederdipp, falei que a Inglaterra não me aceitou, ela achava que era brincadeira da minha parte e no final viu que eu falava sério, me chamou para a sua casa e que eu ficasse lá até o dia de voltar para o Brasil. No período que estava na casa de minha amiga um pastor de uma igreja metodista me fez um convite para ser músico na sua igreja, então passei a tocar violão em igrejas Metodistas na Suíça. A igreja principal que eu tocava era em Solothurn, também parte alemã da Suíça e em outras partes francesas. Quando, estava indo para a parte francesa da Suíça me despertou o interesse pelo idioma e quis estudar francês, sendo que no período que estava não encontrava cursos rápidos abertos para o período. Estava próximo minha volta para o Brasil, mas tinha vergonha de voltar, por não ter estudado. Então minha amiga me aconselhou a não voltar para o Brasil e me indicou para uma igreja evangélica na Alemanha. Falei com o pastor da metodista minha decisão, ele não concordava, me falou que se eu permanecesse na Europa estava ilegal. Mas enquanto o pastor da metodista queria que eu voltasse para o Brasil, todos os membros da igreja metodista onde eu estava, me pediram para continuar tocando na igreja, me fizeram proposta de emprego numa empresa de turismo e que iam resolver meus documentos para que eu ficasse legal na Suíça. Mas não quis ficar em um lugar aonde ia contrariar o líder, mesmo que todos os membros foram muito simpáticos comigo.

Resolvi ir para Alemanha tocar numa igreja evangélica, minha ida foi financiada pelos membros da metodista. Assim como fui para Suíça sem conhecer ninguém estava indo para Alemanha sem conhecer quem ia me receber. Ao chegar na estação de trem de Nuremberg o pastor me recebeu e me levou para sua casa, fiquei hospedado no quarto dos dois filhos pequenos deles. Fui apresentado naquela igreja como o novo músico e em pouco tempo caí em graça aos olhos dos membros daquela igreja e também do pastor. Comecei a viajar por várias partes da Alemanha, tocando e conheci muitas pessoas. Estava

quase tres meses na Alemanha e já queria voltar para o Brasil, anunciei para meus amigos que estava voltando e muitos nao queria que eu voltasse, recebi varias proposta de casamento para poder ter documento europeu, pessoas que queria de maneira ilegal me oferecer documentos, pessoas que queriao pagar para mim ficar, mas o mais bonito de todos foi no dia que o pastor me chamou na frente da igreja e anunciou que queria me adotar como filho, perguntou aos membros se alguem podia auxiliá-lo a me adotar.

Precisava voltar a estudar, nao me interessava pelo alemão, então um dia uma colega me falou, antes de eu voltar para o Brasil por que nao ia estudar na Belgica, ja que eu estava ilegal mesmo eu nao tinha o que perder , ela me falou da ULB que eu poderia estudar frances lá. Depois dos tres meses na Alemanha, comprei minha passagem para o Brasil, eu já estava cerca de uns 9 meses na europa, sem estudar, apenas viajando com pastores de igreja e fazendo trabalhos informais. Estava na casa de um amigo meu angolano e anoite sonhei que viajava para um outro país e no sonho intendia que era a Belgica, no dia seguinte pesquisei bastante sobre o país e vi que poderia estudar em Bruxelas mesmo que meu periodo de visto na europa estava vencido. Falei com o pastor da igreja que eu tocava, falei que queria ir para Belgica, ele me apoiou e disse que tinha o contato de uma pessoa que tambem era pastora na Belgica, entrou em contato com esta pessoa para me receber na Belgica e depois de umas tres semanas fui para a Belgica, perder mais uma vez minha passagem para voltar para o Brasil. Quando chego na Belgica a pessoa que me recebeu na Gare du Midi em Bruxelas me falou que nao tinha como me receber lá que eu tinha que voltar para a Alemanha, mas antes me levou para uma pitaria e depois me levou na casa de uma amiga a qual estavam combinando uma viagem para Suíça. Quando estava na casa desta amiga da pastora ela me ofereceu ficar na casa dela, pelo fim de semana, porque ela estava indo passar o fim de semana na Suíça com o noivo dela. Fiquei hospedado na casa de uma estranha um fim de semana sem conhecer a ninguem, sem saber me locomover na Belgica. Tive uma crise de gastrite, estava muito nervoso, passei o fim de semana só e muito mal. Quando a senhora voltou da Suíça, me falou que eu poderia passar uma semana na sua casa, sem pagar nada, mas na sexta feira teria que ir embora porque seu noivo chegava da Suíça, todos os fins de semana ele ia para lá, mas para resumo da historia ele passou um mes sem ir. A senhora me permitiu ficar na casa dela o mes que o noivo nao ia para lá. Todos os dias pela manha saia a busca de trabalho e voltava para a casa da senhora só para dormir. Estava no park Foret e escutei dos homens falando no meu idioma, me aproximei e me apresentei a eles e perguntei se eles nao sabia de um trabalho.

Eles me pediram meu celular, eu disse que nao tinha. Aqueles me homens me convidaram para casa de um deles e lá conheci sua família, fiquei para almoçar e depois me presentearam com um aparelho celular, com credito. Voltei para casa da senhora onde eu dormia e no outro dia bem cedo me ligaram de uma construção, fui trabalhar com construção como assistente, nunca tinha feito isto. Trabalhei uns dias na construção, mas os patroes nao me pagavam e um certo dia estava angustiado, estava sem dinheiro, todo dinheiro que tinha era cinco euros, com os quais entrei numa lan house. Queria falar com minha família no Brasil com amigos e quando estava falando com uma amiga no Brasil, meu celular toca, era um pastor de uma igreja evangelica, ele queria me conhecer e tinha uma proposta de trabalho. Me encontrei com o pastor e comecei a trabalhar para igreja dele com produção de videos.

Um dos meus primeiros trabalhos foi para um projeto na Africa, para tres países africanos. Fiz varias produções e comecei receber convite de outras igrejas e de pessoas para fazer filmagem de casamento de festa de aniversario de inauguração de empresas. Cada video que ia fazendo ia adquirindo mais habilidade. Então fui conhecendo muitas pessoas na Belgica, viajando muito, conhecendo varios lugares na Belgica e fora da Belgica.

Depois de um tempo que estava produzindo videos, recebi uma proposta para fazer videos para um grupo de igrejas em Antwerpen. A proposta era para fazer um projeto de uma emissora televisiva, eles pagavam uma ajuda de custo, alimentação basica e o local onde estava hospedado. Escrevia o projeto e

ia trabalhar nesta igreja, fiz amigos e gostava da qualidade de vida em Antwerpen. Pelo dia trabalhava na igreja, a noite trabalhava em casa no projeto e depois estudava inglês pela internet, num site chamado Livemocha. Depois de um tempo conheci pelo site de estudo minha esposa, estava namorando com ela quase 6 meses, pela internet. Minha namorada vivia na Argentina, tinha duas filhas do seu primeiro matrimônio e eu nunca tinha visto ela pessoalmente, mas estava disposto a renunciar a minha nova vida por ela, porque sempre sonhei em constituir uma família. Depois dos seis meses falei com o meu chefe, que eu estava indo para a Argentina para casar, ele me apoiou. Parei com o projeto da televisão e parei o processo de naturalização italiana que meu chefe estava me ajudando a fazer. Enfim voltei para Bruxelas para poder de lá voltar para o Brasil, em Bruxelas eu tinha muitos amigos e podia morar na casa de uma senhora que me adotou como filho. Neste período recebi uma proposta da emissora de televisão Rede Record para fazer filmagens para eles, fiquei fazendo mas sem compromisso, porque estava indo para a Argentina a produtora me pediu para não contar que eu tinha pretensões de ir para Argentina, depois não quis mais fazer filmagens para eles, daí recebi uma proposta de um grupo africano, eles precisavam de alguém para montar uma emissora de televisão para eles, estavam para comprar o satélite e já tinha comprado alguns equipamentos cerca 300 mil euros. Enfim me convidaram para elaborar o projeto, eu neguei porque estava vindo para Argentina para casar me deram uma semana para dar a resposta.

No período que estava em Bruxelas, escrevi um projeto simples, para montar uma pequena produtora de vídeos para jovens que não tem muita perspectiva de vida. Quero ensinar a jovens algo que possa ajudá-los a ter um futuro, a ter um valor, ensinar algo que eles possam a sonhar em um futuro mais digno. Quero motivar a estudar por mais que o estudo seja básico, mas tenha um certificado para apresentar aos homens.

Fiz o projeto para a Associação, não pensando apenas em mim, queria voltar para América do Sul e contribuir para outros jovens. A associação belga falou que não poderia me ajudar com o dinheiro para comprar a câmera e o computador, mas poderia me ajudar com o valor para fazer um curso. Fiquei feliz por saber que se interessaram por meu projeto e que estaria enviando o dinheiro para uma instituição no Brasil a qual me repassaria a importância. Ao chegar no Brasil entrei em contato com esta instituição religiosa e contei o meu caso para elas e falei que estava vindo para Argentina para casa já que minha noiva não poderia sair do país por causa de suas filhas pequenas. A instituição me falou que eu poderia vir para a Argentina que me repassariam o dinheiro, só necessitava do recibo em dólar para prestar contas com a associação belga. Quando chego na Argentina recebo um e-mail me informando que eu não tinha direito a nada, que eu tinha quebrado o acordo com a associação belga e que o dinheiro ia ficar com a instituição religiosa para outros fins. Me senti enganado por pessoas que me passavam confiança, mas deixei para lá, porque sei que posso atingir objetivos que favorecem a terceiros, porque aprendi na Europa que eu era dependente e sei que muitos outros podem depender de mim. No dia 12 de setembro de 2010 cheguei em Buenos Aires, depois de 6 meses me casei com a minha noiva que conheci pela internet assumi as filhas dela como minhas filhas e as pequenas me tem como pai de coração. Meu pai esteve no meu casamento, me casei no jardim da minha casa, com meus novos amigos conquistados na Argentina. Trabalho numa agência de turismo online, chamada Despegar.com no Brasil se chama Decolar.com ainda ganho pouco, mas sei que posso crescer na empresa, esta semana recebi uma proposta numa emissora de televisão argentina. Tenho uma família linda e este dia 12 de setembro, faz um ano que estamos juntos. Dia 1 de dezembro de 2011 nasce meu filho aqui na Argentina o nome dele vai ser Maximo e minha mãe vem para o nascimento do meu filho. Depois de 3 anos que não vejo minha mãe, ela vai me ver, conhecer suas netas a minha esposa e meu filho.

Meu pai é artista plástico, estudou na escola de belas artes em São Paulo, minha mãe é teóloga, estudou teologia na UFRJ e jornalismo UFPB. Meu irmão mais novo trabalha num banco em Goiânia e é formado em administração de empresa e está fazendo sua especialização.

Eu sou Lic. em Turismo pela Faculdade de Maceio, trabalhei para empresas de eventos, hotelaria, cias aereas, limpeza, construcao... Trabalhei para o governo do meu estado com Museus. E tenho um curso basico de frances em Bruxelas Belgica.

Se eu acredito em Deus, por onde andei por ver pessoas que nao conhecia me abrir a porta de suas casas, de me sentir cuidado de sentir paz quando em momentos dificias. Sim acredito em Deus, nao num deus criado pelos homens, mas um Deus criador de todo o sistema de todo o homem. Eu nao só acredito em Deus como eu o amo.

#### **11.2.8. Summery of J.F's interview (Uncle of Garcielle), 21 July 2011, BH, 2.30 p.m..**

He went to work during 9 years in US with his wife. He already had his business here and his apartment that he kept and his brother took care of it. there, he did lots of different jobs, pizzeria, etc, and principally painting. His wife worked in Laudery. He left Brazil because his wife's sister already worked there. He used to work a lot here and hard. There, he managed to have the working permit for 2 years, then forever and has to renew it every 10 years but wont come back to US because his life now is really here. He managed to stay there legally because he received the paper in 1984 in US to work. At that time, there were an accord with Brazil and US to give working permit to Brazilian farmers. He wasn t, but he got it because he payed false paper of 500 (0) dollars. I came back to AIC to make the translation. At night, i have discussed a lot with Fernanda, my friend who I am sleeping. She studied law, is looking to do a doctorate in Paris, and is at the moment working to the minsistry of health in BH. She works a lot about demands of african people who come to Brazil to get a health treatment. We were talking a lot about women in Brazil. She told me that lots of divorces appear now. Women start to work and be more independent. This work of women only appear to her generation. Her mother s generation is not like this and had to stay married as otherwise, they had no other mean to live. Now, women take really high level positions at work. But she told a lot about still machiasm in Brazil. She took the example of BH, where there are really more women than men. So, the 'market' is really big for men, 'who can stay sitting, smoke and drink bear and wait that women come to them'. They don t get involved in the relationship. They just 'ficam' (opposed to the serious relationship 'namorar'). "They invite you to drink something at night, then bring you to their bed, and the day after, they even won t answer the phone. They just 'consume' you. And even if they are 'namorando', they cheat on you really easily." People have the stereotype that Brazilian women are easy. That s true that some agree with this relationships, or other who don t have real esteem of themselves, but a lot don t like this situation and suffer from it. Women would like to be more involved in the relationship and to build something. ( Fernanda is 29, she is really brilliant in everything, and still didn t found a boyfriend) So, that s why there are so many women here who want to find an European to have a true relationship since the begining).





