# Homecoming: assimilation of returning international migrants into the labour market and composition of their income, Brazil - 2000

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#### 1) Introduction

As far as international migration is concerned, the Brazilian historical experience is typically that of an immigration country. Groups of immigrants have landed along the Brazilian coast taking part of its colonization and have contributed to the country's formation. At first, migration flows came under auspices of the Portuguese Crown so as to guarantee the country's territorial occupation. Later on, in the nineteenth century and until the first quarter of the twentieth century, a new migration wave was forwarded to Brazil. Such a migration move was intended to meet an increasing demand for labour in agriculture and also for an incipient industrialization. More than 800,000 Italian immigrants arrived in Brazil and until the middle of the twentieth century more than 200,000 Japanese also did. In addition to these migrants, other countries have also send immigrants in the period and approximately 4.4 million people from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Japan, and Germany were estimated to have landed in Brazil from the last quarter of the nineteenth century until the 1930s (LEVY, 1973). Nowadays, 683,830 foreigners lived in Brazil in the year 2000, most of them (213,203) from Portugal.

Such a migratory flow tended to decrease in the post-war period, and the country had its population practically closed to international migration in the 1970s. In the 1980s, another process took place in Brazil for the first time – negative migratory flows. In this way, Brazil has turned to be an emigration country.

Estimating the volume of such a new migration flow is practically impossible as data both on exit from Brazil and entrance in places of destination of emigrants are not available. Carvalho (1996) estimated the migration balance for the country in the 1980s based on the 1991 demographic census for the population aged 10 years and over, the result of which indicated a negative balance of approximately 1,800,000 people. As for the second half of the decade, such a negative flow for people aged 5 and over was estimated to amount to 9,272,740 (Carvalho et al, 2001). Taking the geographic distribution into account, more than a half of this flow was from the south-eastern states and 508,507 people were counted. In view of improvements in the 2000 census, applying the same indirect techniques for more recent periods, as for the 1990s for example, is quite reckless as they may overestimate the negative balance (Carvalho-2004)

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Other data sources may also contribute to estimating the numbers of Brazilians living abroad. Data from the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs show that 1.5 million Brazilians lived abroad in 1997, and this figure increased to 2.0 million in 2000 (Azevedo-2004; Amaral-2005). According to such records, the major Brazilian immigrant contingent is in the United States (799,203), followed by those in Paraguay (442,104) Japan (224,970), and Europe (174,994). Except for Japan, where data from the Brazilian consulates and those from local official agencies are symmetrical, official data in other countries do not reveal the extension of the Brazilian immigration, which indicate that such immigrants are mostly non-documented. Based on the official statistics, Goza (2004), for example, found that the number of Brazilians living in the US amounts to about 30% (247,020) of the volume registered in the Brazilian consulates in that country. As for Europe, sources of the Spanish government estimate that the number of Brazilian immigrants reaches approximately 53,000 people. This figure would indicate Spain as the second destination for Brazilians in Europe. (GCIM-2005).

Despite the precariousness of the information on Brazilian emigrants, isolated studies that have been carried out in places of destination allow us to trace some characteristics of this migration flow. Martes(2004), in an article on Brazilians living in the American state of Massachusetts, compared the evolution of some characteristics of these flows in two different moments - 1996 and 2004. As for age, most Brazilians living in that state were below 35. When schooling is considered, the number of people with higher education, i. e., those who have completed college or university, increased from 1996 to 2004.

According to the author, this is a clear indication that Brazilian immigrants are well qualified for the activities performed in the US. Their emigration was linked to financial reasons and search for better salaries. In 1996, 18% of the immigrants surveyed elected such problems as their most important reasons for leaving their country. In 2004, these same reasons were asserted by 60% of those interviewed. Income accumulation for acquiring property in Brazil was an explicit objective of emigrating for 13% of the interviewed people in both periods studied. A possible return to Brazil was aimed for by the majority - above 80% - of those interviewed in both periods. A great number of them, however, were not able to precise when they would be back. According to the author, "such a return is conditioned to the economic objectives to be accomplished as well as to obtaining legal migrant status that guarantees their eventual return to the US" (Martes-2004p.10). Thus, the time of return would be conditioned to the local situation (legal status in the US, work opportunities) and expectations related to opportunities in Brazil.

Especial outlines can be depicted as for migration to Japan. A significant majority is of Japanese descent and their life goal is to search for a better employment and a possible accumulation capital. As soon as the latter is achieved, returning to Brazil is started off (Rossini-2000). The reason for this lies on the kind of tasks performed by the Brazilian immigrants<sup>2</sup> in addition to a cultural shock, which are both factors favouring their return (Kawamura-2001).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The work taks are known as the 3K's –Kitanai (dirty), Kitsui (heavy) and Kiken (dangerous)

According to Palau (2001), the Brazilian migration to Paraguay was more intensive during the 1970s, and rural areas were its destination. Such immigrant groups combine small and medium family businesses, peasants and also landless rural workers. Most of them do not possess the required personal documents and the Brazilians compose the major group of illegal immigrants in Paraguay. The participation of Brazilian workers in the Paraguayan labour market should also be mentioned. Most of them, however, are cross-border commuters who live in Brazilian towns along the border. More recently, political events in this neighbour country have contributed to improve the return of immigrants to Brazil.

### 2) Returning Migration

According to Pressat (1976), migration is defined as a demographic phenomenon that is characterised by the shift of a person's local of residence to a new one. The 4th UN Manual (1972, p.2) defines migration as "... a transfer from a defined migration zone to another (the transfer to a minimum specified distance) that has been performed in a determined migration interval and an implied change of residence as well".

In the case of international migration, such a change of residence also implies a change of country.

Since 1940, migration has been given an especial treatment in census surveys carried out in Brazil, which have included questions on international migration. At first, concern with the place of birth of foreigners arriving to Brazil was highlighted. The census evolution, however, has permitted the refinement of such data and 13 questions related to migration were included in the 2000 census. Specifically in the case of international migration and for the purpose of this article, information related to fixed date migration are used, i.e., the answers given by residents in Brazil in 2000 on the country of residence 5 years before, i.e., in 1995. A returning migration is taken for granted when the answer comes from a native Brazilian immigrant. Conversely, the respondent is taken as an international migrant when the answer comes from a foreigner or a naturalised Brazilian.

Data on labour market assimilation will be surveyed for heads of households. The immigrants' countries of origin will be grouped so as to assure a better representation of some regions. Comparing results found for immigrants (native Brazilians and foreigners/ naturalised with those obtained for resident household heads in the agglomerations of metropolitan areas and in the whole set of non-metropolitan areas.

By using data on local of residence in the 5 years before the census date, which were available in the 1991 and 2000 censuses, Carvalho (2004) showed that the number of international immigrants in Brazil between the quinquenial intervals of 1986/1991 and 1995/2000 increased over 100% from 66,217 to 143,644. Out of these totals, 31,123 (47%) in 1986/1991 and 87,886 (61%) in 1995/2000 corresponded to returning migration of native Brazilians.

 $Tabela\ 1.\ Brasil:\ 1991.\ Internationals\ Immigrants,\ by\ nationality,\ according\ origin-1986/1991$ 

	_		]	Nationality		Tota	al
		Native B	azilian	Foreigne Naturaliz			
	_	N	%	N	%	N	%
Residence in 1986	Europe	6914	45.5	8289	54.5	15203	100.0
	Paraguay	8657	80.7	2069	19.3	10726	100.0
	Argentina	1780	32.1	3756	67.9	5535	100.0
	Others countries L.A and Caribbean	4026	27.4	10671	72.6	14698	100.0
	United States	6267	68.1	2932	31.9	9199	100.0
	Japan	161	8.8	1666	91.2	1827	100.0
	Others countries	2976	35.0	5524	65.0	8500	100.0
	Ignored	342	64.7	187	35.3	529	100.0
Total		31123	47.0	35093	53.0	66217	100.0

Tabela 2. Brasil: 1991. Internationals Immigrants, by nationality, according origin - 1995/2000.

			Natitio	nality		Tota	1
		Native I	Brazilian	Foreign Natural			
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Residence in 1995	Europe	14762	54.1	12545	45.9	27307	100.0
1775	Paraguay	28419	80.2	7027	19.8	35446	100.0
	Argentina	2682	34.4	5115	65.6	7797	100.0
	Others countries L.A and Caribbean	9351	38.4	14972	61.6	24323	100.0
	United States	12384	74.2	4311	25.8	16695	100.0
	Japan	17196	87.3	2496	12.7	19692	100.0
	Others countries	2804	23.6	9068	76.4	11872	100.0
	Ignored	287	56.2	224	43.8	511	100.0
Total		87886	61.2	55758	38.8	143644	100.0

In 1986/1991, 23% of international immigrants declared previous European residence. The other Latin American and Caribbean countries - considered as regions - contributed with 22.2%. As for the selected countries, most immigrants lived in Paraguay followed by the US. It is worth noting that it was precisely in these two countries where returning migration was stronger. Out of the total of immigrants resident in Paraguay, 80.7% were native Brazilians, while this proportion amounted to 68.1% in the US. It is worth mentioning the small participation of migration flows from Japan to Brazil in that quinquenial interval.

As for the second period studied, 1995/2000, most international immigrants have declared Paraguay as their previous local of residence (24.7%) followed by Europe (19.0%). As for the participation of (returning) native Brazilians in total migration by country or region, the major participation in return was that from Japan (87.3%), followed by those from Paraguay (80.2%) and the US (74.2%).

The case of Japan should be highlighted, which showed a reduced number of immigrants headed to Brazil (1,827 people) in the previous period (1986/1991), mainly composed of foreigners (91.2%). In the following period, this figure reaches 19,692 people with a significant participation of returned migrants. This can be partially explained by changes in the Japanese legislation concerning entrance of foreigners in that country. These changes have allowed local business companies to legally hire foreign workers with Japanese descent (Rossini-2000).

Carvalho (2004) studied the characteristics of returning immigrants as to income and education. By studying immigrant heads of household, this author indicates a clear distinction among immigrants by country of origin. Those residing in Europe, Japan, and the US showed to have higher income and education levels, even if compared with those people living in the Brazilian metropolitan areas. As for the returned population who declared Paraguay as the place of residence in the five-year period previous to the census date, average income (in terms of minimum wage) and education (in terms of years of study) were lower than those of residents in non-metropolitan areas. Such a scenario indicates some selectivity in terms of the immigrants' working skills, taking the country of origin into account. More educated people tend to have better opportunities and, for this reason, higher income.

# 3) International migration and labour market

The Brazilian labour market is regulated by a specific legislation, the major rules of which is called *Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho* - CLT (literally, the consolidation of labour laws), which regulates all aspects of employment. As to foreigners, the legislation in force is that of Law nº 6, 8515/80, called *Estatuto do Estrangeiro* (literally, the foreigner statute), passed well before enactment of the new Federal Constitution of 1988. For this reason, the legal apparatus is undergoing a reform by which an attempt is made to adapt and modernise the text regulating the permanence of foreigners in Brazil as well as their insertion the national labour market (Freitas, 2001; Baeninger and Leoncy, 2001; and Rios-Neto, 2005).

Except for cases of refuge and exile, international migration is strictly linked to labour market questions. The search for new labour opportunities, knowledge improvement or even an objective of one's life is a constant in the universe of labour. In the case of returning migration, there is always an expectation that being abroad for some time may bring improved living conditions, and hence a more advantageous assimilation in the local labour market than that of the time emigrants have left their own country.

#### 3.1) Occupation

Tables 3.1 and 3.2 present data on labour remuneration in the reference week of the 2000 census. As can be seen, among the native Brazilian male heads of households immigrants, the proportion of those having a paid activity in the reference week varies in accordance with countries and regions of residence in 1995. For those who declared Europe as their place of residence in 1995, 83.2% had performed a paid activity. For those returned from Japan, only 66.3% have worked in paid activity in the reference week.

As for the foreign/naturalised male heads of household, the proportion of those having a paid activity in the reference week varies - according to country or region - from 83.1% for those residing in Paraguay in 1995 to 67.7% for those coming from Japan.

By comparing such results with those obtained for males living in metropolitan and non-metropolitan regions, one can note that, except for those coming from Japan, all other immigrants have showed a proportion of remunerated work greater than that surveyed for residents in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas.

As for females, by comparing the Brazilian and foreign/naturalised immigrant heads of household, one can note that only in the cases of residence in Europe and Paraguay in 1995, the proportion of Brazilian immigrants exceeded the proportion of foreign/naturalised immigrants. When comparing female heads of household in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, one may concluded that, for the Brazilian immigrants coming from Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, and the US, the proportion of those having paid activity is greater vis-à-vis those females residing in the metropolitan areas. Such a proportion is lower for foreign/naturalised immigrants only in the case of those residing in Paraguay in 1995.

Despite this scenario in some cases more favourable to females, it is quite clear that the number of those showing some remunerated work is well lower than that found for males. Among native Brazilian heads of household, only 50.6% - corresponding to 4,220 females - have declared to perform remunerated activities in the reference week. For this reason, the following analyses will take into account the whole set of immigrant heads of household irrespective of sex.

Table 3.1. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrants Heads of Household Native Brazilian by Occupation and sex, according origin.

							Sex					
			Male	0					Female	Je		
Residence in 1995	Rem. Ac	tivitie	No Rem Activitie	em itie	Total		Rem. Activitie	ctivitie	No Rem Activitie	em tie	Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Europe	3181	83,2	644	16,8	3850 1	100	1388	61,7	098	38,3	2248	100
Argentina	587	78,5	161	21,5	748 1	100	104	38,7	165	61,3	569	100
Paraguay	5319	75,4	1732	24,6	7051	100	695	42,1	783	57,9	1352	100
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>3</sup>	876	74,7	297	25,3	1173	100	206	38,6	328	61,4	534	100
Others Countries Latin America and Caribbean	1063	80,9	251	19,1	1314	100	240	61,2	152	38,8	392	100
United States	3502	82,5	741	17,5	4243 1	100	852	52,9	758	47,1	1610	100
Japan	3927	66,3	1992	33,7	5919	100	699	42,8	894	57,2	1563	100
Otners Coutries	191	88,7	86	11,3	865 1	100	180	55,4	145	44,6	325	100
Ignored	109	89,3	13	10,7	122	100	12	30,8	27	69,2	39	100
Total	19331	76,5	5929	23,5	25260 1	100	4220	9,09	4112	49,4	8332	100

<sup>3</sup> Bolívia, Chile and Uruguay

Table 3.2. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrants Head of Household Foreign/Naturalized by Occupation and sex, according origin.

							Sex					
			Male	e					Female	le		
Residence in 1995	Rem. Activitie	tivitie	No Rem Activitie	tem vitie	Total		Rem. Activitie	ctivitie	No Rem Activitie	em tie	Total	
	Ν	%	Z	%	Z	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Europe	3872	75,3	1271	24,7	5143	100	324	55,9	256	44,1	580	100
Argentina	1276	82,5	271	17,5	1547	100	128	51,6	120	48,4	248	100
Paraguay	870	83,1	177	16,9	1047	100	85	38,1	138	61,9	223	100
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>4</sup>	1893	82,1	414	17,9	2307	100	228	55,3	184	7,44	412	100
Others Countries Latin America and Caribbean	1358	72,5	514	27,5	1872	100	208	61,2	132	38,8	340	100
United States	961	68,1	451	31,9	1412	100	120	58,3	98	41,7	206	100
Japan	619	67,7	296	32,3	915	100	52	55,9	41	44,1	93	100
Otners Coutries	1682	6,99	832	33,1	2514	100	163	55,1	133	44,9	296	100
Ignored	61	100			61	100	∞	25,8	23	74,2	31	100
Total	12592	74,9	4226	25,1	16818	100	1316	54,2	1113	45,8	2429	100

<sup>4</sup> Bolívia, Chile and Uruguay

Table 3.3. Brazil: 2000. Head of Household by occupation and sex, according place of residence

							Sex					
			Male						Female	•		
Place of Residence Rem. Activitie	Rem. Activit	ie	No Rem Activitie	ivitie	Total		Rem. Activitie	ritie -	No Rem Activitie	n e	Total	
	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%
Metropolitan areas	7580466 72,9	72,9	2813838	27,1	2813838 27,1 10394304 100 2202241 46,8 2508191 53,2	100	2202241	46,8	2508191	53,2	4710432 100	100
Non-metropolitan areas	17712791	9,07	7375017	29,4	7375017 29,4 25087808 100 3263092 40,2 4856621 59,8	100	3263092	40,2	4856621	8,65	8119713 100	100
Total	25293257 71,3	71,3	10188855	28,7	28,7 35482112 100 5465333 42,6 7364812 57,4 12830145 100	100	5465333	42,6	7364812	57,4	12830145	100

#### 3.2) Position in Occupation

Data on position in occupation for immigrant heads of household – shown in tables 4.1 and 4.2 – allow us to distinguish some characteristics of the labour market assimilation for these immigrants. To be registered means that a worker can count on minimal social welfare guarantees. On the other hand, the reverse situation allows us to estimate the informality degree in the economy. Taking native Brazilian immigrants into account; one can observe that it is among those who declared to live in Paraguay in 1995 that a higher proportion of unregistered workers (33.2%) can be found. Conversely, such a proportion is the lowest among those coming from Japan (16.1%). The immigrant heads of household with the highest proportion of registered workers are those coming from Europe (42.5%), followed by the ones indicating the US as their country of origin (38%). As for own-account workers, those immigrants coming from Japan (38.9%) and Paraguay (32.4%) are worth mentioning.

As for foreign/naturalised workers, almost half of immigrants coming from Paraguay performing some activity are not registered (46.3%), followed by the whole set of immigrants of the other Latin American and the Caribbean countries. It is also in this country and this region that a significant own-account immigrants – 30.8% in Paraguay and 20.4% in Latin America and the Caribbean – can be found. The set of these two categories of position in occupation can not only indicate the informality aspects, but also the situation of clandestine labour.

As these results are compared to those for metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas – table 4.3 –, the proportion of unregistered workers is smaller than that found for countries and regions (except for Japan) both for immigrant native Brazilian heads of household and foreigners/naturalised.

Table 4.1. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household Native Brazilian by position in occupation according

							Pos	ition in	Position in Occupation	ion						
	Doi	mestic	Domestic employee	ė		Employee	oyee		Employer	•	Own-account	Count .	Other	<u>,                                    </u>	Total	[2]
Residence in 1995	Registred	p;	Not registred	istred	Regitred	p;	Not registred	istred	ordina		OWIT US	11100		1		181
	Ν	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	Ν	%
Europe	19	0,4	22	0,4	2084	42,5	1137	23,2	363	7,4	1207	24,6	89	1,4	4900	100,0
Argentina			23	3,1	270	36,1	161	21,5	99	7,5	219	29,3	19	2,6	748	100,0
Paraguay	105	1,6	227	3,6	1541	24,1	2118	33,2	85	1,3	2069	32,4	238	3,8	6383	100,0
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>5</sup>	16	1,4	19	1,6	368	31,9	347	30	49	4,2	311	26,9	45	3,9	1155	100,0
Others Countries Latin America and Caribbean					909	36,5	431	31,1	94	8,9	317	22,9	37	2,7	1385	100,0
United States					1740	38,0	1036	22,6	502	11	1271	27,7	33	0,7	4582	100,0
Japan	18	0,4	∞	0,2	1220	25,1	784	16,1	850	17,5	1890	38,9	93	1,9	4863	100,0
Otners Coutries			17	1,8	330	34	261	26,9	92	9,5	253	26,1	18	1,8	971	100,0
Ignored					51	42,5	28	23,3	10	8,3	31	25,8	0	0	120	100,0
Total	158		0,6 316	1,3	8110	32,3	6303	25,1	2101	8,4	7568	30,1	551	2,2	25107	100,0

<sup>5</sup> Bolívia, Chile and Uruguay

Table 4.2. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household Foreing/Naturalised by position in occupation according

							Po	Position in	Occpation	ion						
	Doi	mestic	Domestic employee	è		Employee	oyee		Employer		Own-account	Count	Other	<u> </u>	Total	[e <sup>†</sup>
Residence in 1995	Registred	ρ <sub>έ</sub>	Not registred	istred	Regitred	ρ <sub>ε</sub>	Not registred	istred	Marin		200	11100				3
	N	%	N	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	N	%
Europe					2357	52,5	656	21,4	401	6,8	703	15,7	71	1,6	4491	100,0
Argentina			7	0,5	448	31,5	397	27,9	160	11,2	412	28,9			1424	100,0
Paraguay			26	2,6	59	5,9	460	46,3	119	12,0	306	30,8	24	2,4	994	100,0
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>6</sup>	14	9,0	63	2,9	421	19,4	791	36,4	122	5,6	749	34,5	11	0,5	2171	100,0
Others Countries Latin America and			28	1,7	467	27,7	748	44,3	29	1,7	345	20,4	71	4,3	1688	100,0
United States			7	9,0	556	48,7	217	19,0	101	8,8	241	21,1	20	1,8	1142	100,0
Japan					254	34,2	177	23,9	138	18,6	162	21,8	11	1,5	742	100,0
Otners Coutries			6	0,5	447	22,4	418	21,0	265	13,3	773	38,8	08	4,1	1992	100,0
Ignored					9	6,5	32	34,8	∞	8,7	46	50			92	100,0
Total	14	0,1	14 0,1 140		1,0 5015	34,0	4199	28,5	1343	9,1	3737	25,4	288	2,0	14736	100,0

<sup>6</sup> Bolívia, Chile and Uruguay

Tabela 4.2. Brasil: 2000. Head of Household, by position in occupation according place of residence

							Posi	ition in	Position in Occpation	J						
	Dom	estic (	Domestic employee			Employee	yee							•		
Place of residence	Registered	ρε	Not registered	red	Registered	ed	Not registered	pa.	Employer		Own-account	ount	Other		Total	
	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%	Z	%
Metropolitan areas	204001	2,0	204001 2,0 332224 3,3	3,3	4654793	46,1	654793 46,1 1899939 18,8	18,8	443184	4,4	443184 4,4 2518089 24,9	24,9	52071	6,0	52071 0,3 10104301	100,0
Non-metropolitan areas	300215 1,3	1,3	653575 2,8	2,8	7285656	31,3	7285656 31,3 5412206 23,3	23,3	921944	4,0	921944 4,0 7519932 32,3	32,3	11654650	5,1	11654650 5,1 23258993	100,0
Total	504216	1,5	504216 1,5 985799 3,0	3,0	11940449	35,8	940449 35,8 7312145 21,9	21,9	1365128	4,1	1365128 4,1 10038021 30,1	30,1	1217536	3,7	1217536 3,7 33363294 100,0	100,0

#### 3.3) The occupational group

As far as the occupational group in which the immigrant heads of household were included (tables 5.1 and 5.2) is concerned, it is worth noting that most native Brazilians declaring to have lived in the US and Europe were higher public servants or professionals of arts and science (professors). As for those coming from Europe, such occupational groups accounted for 62.7% and 58.7% for those coming from the US. In relation to those coming from Japan, the following three occupational groups are the most significant ones: sales and trade services (21.0%), high-ranked public servants and managers(18.7%); and industrial services (14.9%). Those native Brazilian immigrants coming from Paraguay had been occupied in agriculture (38.4%), industrial services (29.0%), and sales and trade services (17.6%).

The immigrant foreign/naturalized heads of household had also been more concentrated in the occupations of higher government ranks and arts and sciences: 69.3% of those coming from Europe, 78.3% of those coming from the US, 50.9%, from Argentina, and 56.5%, from Japan, had been employed in these two categories. As for the foreign/naturalized immigrants who had declared Paraguay as their place of origin, their occupations are distributed as such: sales and trade sector (29.7%); industrial services (22.9%); and agriculture (15.7%).

Table 5.3 presents results of occupational categories for heads of household according to place of residence in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas. As can be seen, most of those living in metropolitan areas had been employed in sales and trade (31.4%), followed by those in industrial services (26%). Those residing in non-metropolitan areas had been concentrated in three groups, as follows: agriculture (26.1%); industrial services (23.2%); and sales and trade services (22.9%).

By comparing the results for the international household head groups with those for residents in metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas, it becomes clear that migrants coming from Europe, the US, and Japan had occupied higher positions than those living in metropolitan areas. However, the native Brazilian immigrants living in Paraguay in 1995 have had their occupations concentrated in categories requiring less-skilled labour than those for the residents in non-metropolitan areas.

Table 5.1. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household Native Brazilian by occupational group according origin.

							Occ	Occupational	nal Group	dn									
Residence in 1995	Higher publ servant and manager	pub  F and a	Profession als of arts and science	Technical level	ical	Administration	ation	Sales and Trade	and de	Agriculture	ture	Industrial Service		Service and goods produ-ction	spo	Others	S	Total	la la
	N	%		N	%	Ν	%	N	%	Ν	%	N	%	Ν	%	Z	%	N	%
Europe	696	19,7 2	2105 43,0	572	11,7	262	5,3	449	9,2	63	1,3	288	5,9	10	0,2	187	3,8	4899	100,0
Argentina	80	10,7	136 16,2	99	8,8	35	4,7	147	19,7	32	4,3	187	25,0	24	3,2	40	5,3	747	100,0
Paraguay	116	1,8	54 0,8	123	1,9	135	2,1	1126	17,6	2454	38,4	1849	29,0	232	3,5	294	4,6	6383	100,0
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>7</sup>	227	19,6	209 18,1	113	8,6	54	4,7	200	17,3	130	11,2	158	13,7	10	6,0	55	4,8	1156	100,0
Others Countries Latin America and	347	25,0	185 13,3	157	11,3	64	4,6	247	17,8	111	8,0	155	11,2	19	1,4	101	7,5	1386	100,0
Coribboon United States	1015	22,2	1673 36,5	474	10,3	187	4,1	581	12,7	116	2,5	296	6,5	57	1,2	92	7	4581	100,0
Japan	206	18,7	369 7,6	989	13,1	375	7,7	1019	21,0	613	12,6	725	14,9	∞	0,2	211	4,3	4863	100,0
Otners Coutries	174 17,9		319 32,8	86	10,1	65	6,1	109	11,2	14	1,4	153	15,7			46	4,7	972	100,0
Ignored	31	25,4	43 35,2					10	8,2			30	24,6			∞	9,9	122	100,0
Total	3860 15,4		5093 20,3	2239	8,9	1171	4,7	3888	15,5	3533	14,1	3841	15,3	360	1,4	1124	4,5	25109	100,0

<sup>7</sup> Bolívia, Chile and Uruguay

Table 5.2. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household Foreigner/Naturalised by occupational group according origin.

							Occ	upatio	Occupational Group	dn									
Residence in 1995	Higher publ servant and manager	publalalaland	Profession als of arts and science	Technical level	ical	Administration	tion	Sales and Trade	s and	Agriculture	lture	Industrial Service		Service and goods production	pue	Others	S	Total	II.
	N	%		Z	%	Ν	%	Z	%	N	%	Z	%	Z	%	N	%	Z	%
Europe	1660 37,0		1449 32,3	494	494 11,0	124	2,8	364	8,1	37	8,0	153	3,4	41	6,0	168	3,8	4490	100,0
Argentina	377 2	36,5	362 25,4	167	11,7	61	4,3	160	11,2	21	1,5	187	13,1	15	1,1	74	52,2	1424	100,0
Paraguay	177 17,8		52 5,2			41	4,1	295	29,7	156	15,7	228	22,9	4	0,4	41	4,1	994	100,0
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>8</sup>	265 1	12,2	247 11,4	111	5,1	9	0,3	486	22,4	167	7,7	699	30,8	68	4,1	134	6,2	2174	100,0
Others Countries Latin America and Caribbean	243 1	8(14,4	801 47,4	163	9,6	49	2,9	198	11,7	62	3,7	82	4,9	16	6,0	92	4,5	1690	100,0
United States	359 3	31,5 5.	534 46,8	79	6,9	31	2,7	58	5,1	20	1,8	35	3,1			25	2,2	1141	100,0
Japan	238 3	32,2	180 24,3	72	7,6	50	8,9	62	8,4	92	10,3	53	7,2			6	1,2	740	100,0
Otners Coutries	593 2	29,8 3	342 17,2	161	8,1	19	1,0	720	36,1	6	6,0	83	4,2			99	3,3	1993	100,0
Ignored		-	33 36,3	14	15,4			22	24,2	$\kappa$	3,3					19	20,9	91	100,0
Total	3912 2	26,5 400	4000 27,1	1261	8,6	381	2,6	2365	16,0	551	3,7	1490	10,1	165	1,1	612	4,2	14737	100,0

Table 5.3. Brazil: 2000. Head of Household, by Occupational Group according place of residence(a)

					Occupational Group	l Group				
Place of Residence	Higher public and manager	servant	ic servant Professionals of arts r and science		Technical level	level	Administration	ation	Sales and Trade	Frade
	Z	%			N	%	Z	%	Z	%
Metropolitan area	868989	8,9	841495	8,3	909294	0,6	9,0 778320	7,7	7,7 3175146	31,4
No-metropolitan area	1152368	5,0	981942	4,2	1369886	5,9	5,9 967209	4,2	4,2 5328190	22,9
Total	1838766	5,5	1823437	5,5	2279180	8,9	6,8 1745529	5,2	5,2 8503336	25,5

Tabela 5.3. Brazil: 2000. Head of Household, by Occupational Group according place of residence(b)

					Grupo Ocupaciona	aciona	1			
Place of Residence	Agriculture	re	Industrial Service	rvice	Service and goods	spoos	Others		Total	
					production					
	Z	%			Z	%	Z	%	Z	%
Metropolitan area	137670	1,4	1,4 2632140	26,0	310664	3,1	3,1 633173	6,5	6,2 10104300	100
No-metropolitan area	6890909	26,1	5388626	23,2	752755	3,2	3,2 1257328	5,5	5,5 23258993	100
Total	6198359	18,6	8020766	24,0	1063419	3,2	3,2 1890501	5,6	5,6 33363293	100

#### 4) Income structure

Using data from the 2000 census, Carvalho (2004) showed that there was a significant difference in earnings among immigrant heads of household according to place of residence in the 5 years before the census date. As for the native Brazilian immigrants coming from Europe, their average monthly earnings amounted to 23.39 minimum wages; for those coming from the US, this figure was equal to 19.92; and for those from Japan, it amounted to 7,90 minimum wages. The smallest income was that for those coming from Paraguay, which only amounted to 2.21 minimum wages. In the case of foreign/naturalised immigrants, such a distribution was quite similar to the previous one, although with higher values. Immigrants from Europe had shown an average monthly income of 26.6 minimum wages, while 25.08 was the figure for those coming from Japan and 23.52 was the value for those coming from the US. Again, as previously seen, the smallest earnings were those for foreign/naturalised immigrants coming from Paraguay – 6.15 minimum wages.

Table 6.1 shows the total earnings structure declared in the 2000 census. In addition to labour earnings, information also cover the participation in total income of government transfers<sup>9</sup>, rents, pensions, and other earnings, such as interest from financial investments, dividends, etc.

As far as the situation of immigrant heads of household is concerned, native Brazilians' income is exclusively composed of wages and salaries. The participation of foreign/naturalised immigrants amounts to 75% of the total. In the first group, the immigrants coming from Japan show the smallest earnings participation in the income structure (44.5%). On the other hand, immigrants from Paraguay are those who had mostly depended on wages and salaries (83.9%). The same was true for the group of foreign/naturalised immigrants coming from Paraguay, i.e., 81.3% of them had depended exclusively on their wages.

The income structure of heads of household in the metropolitan and non-metropolitan areas revealed a similar profile. Remuneration from labour had been the sole component of total income for 84.9% of those living in metropolitan areas, while 85.45%, the corresponding figures for those living in non-metropolitan areas.

Table 6.2 presents those immigrants who had declared other earnings as part of their income structure. As for the native Brazilian heads of household, 38.84% had declared rents as part of their income, followed by government transfers (28.3%). If such transfers are considered, such earnings had constituted a significant component of the income of those immigrants coming from Paraguay (57.4%) and a less important one for those coming from Japan (11.4%). As for the latter, rents (55.6%) and other earnings (20.5%) had been the most significant components of their income earned out of the labour market.

In the case of foreign/naturalized immigrants, it is worth mentioning that government transfers had been the major component of income other than that of wages and salaries, mainly for those who had declared Japan as their place of residence in 1995 (62.0%). Such a situation is probably explained by that this specific group was comprised of aged people.

Table 6.1. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household by Income structure according origin.

					, ,	Nationality	nality					
-		V	Native Brazilian	razilian				Fo	Foreign/Naturalised	ıturalise	ρç	
Residence in 1995	T I	ncome s	Income structure		Total		Ir	s amoat	Income structure			
	Only wa	nly wages ar	Others	SIS			Only wages	iges ar	Others	rs	Total	la L
	sala	salaries	earnings	ngs			salaries	ries	earnings	ıgs		
	Ν	%	N	%	Ν	%	N	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
Europe	2932	2,09	1899	39,3	4831	100	3484	78,8	936	21,2	4420	100
Argentina	486	2,99	243	33,3	729	100	1069	75,0	356	25,0	1425	100
Paraguay	5159	83,9	984	16,9	6143	100	862	81,3	181	18,7	970	100
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>10</sup>	809	54,7	503	45,3	1111	100	1783	82,5	377	17,5	2160	100
Others Countries Latin America and Caribbean	795	59,0	552	41,0	1347	100	1055	65,5	557	34,5	1612	100
United States	2678	58,8	1879	41,2	4557	100	289	61,4	432	38,6	11119	100
Japan	2121	44,5	2648	55,5	4769	100	510	8,69	221	30,2	731	100
Otners Coutries	526	55,1	429	44,9	955	100	1368	72,1	530	27,9	1898	100
Ignored	63	52,0	58	48,0	121	100	84	91,3	∞	8,7	92	100
Total	15368	62,5	9195	37,4	24563	100	10829	75,0	3598	25,0	25,0 14427	100

Table 6.1. Brazil: 2000. International Immigrant Head of Household by Others earnings structure according origin.

										Nationality	ality									
				Na	tive B	Native Brazilian								Forei	Foreign /Naturalised	uralis	ed			
			Incc	me st	Income structure	e			Total	al			Ince	Income structure	ıcture				Total	al
Residence in 1995	Government transfers	ent	Rents	ts	Pension	ion	Others	ırs			Government transfers	nent	Re	Rents	Pension	uo	Others	ers		
	N	%			N	%	Ν	%	Z	%	Ν	%	Ν	%	Z	%	Ν	%	Ν	%
Europe	628	30,2	671	32,3	546	26,2	235	11,3	2080	100	412	41,6	227	23,0	77	7,8	274	27,7	066	100,0
Argentina	127	51,4	48	19,4	46	18,6	26	10,5	247	100	182	48,3	106	28,1	38	10,1	51	13,6	377	100,0
Paraguay	009	57,4	192	18,4	116	11,1	138	13,2	1046	100	59	32,4	72	39,6	18	6,6	33	18,3	182	100,0
Other Countries Mercosul <sup>11</sup>	222	37,5	163	27,5	1111	18,7	96	16,2	592	100	151	38,8	45	13,9	74	19,0	110	28,3	389	100,0
Others Countries Latin America and	257	41,2	193	31,0	52	8,3	122	19,5	624	100	281	47,1	54	9,1	160	26,8	101	16,9	969	100,0
Caribbean United States	556	25,7	098	39,8	429	19,9	315	14,6	2160	100	162	33,2	51	10,4	203	41,6	72	14,7	488	100,0
Japan	336	11,4	11,4 1646 55,6	55,6	369	12,5	209	20,5	2958	100	163	62,0	43	16,3	38	14,4	19	7,2	263	100,0
Otners Coutries	146	30,7	191	40,1	83	17,4	99	11,8	476	100	197	37,1	70	13,2	75	14,1	189	35,6	531	100,0
Ignored	29	39,2	20	27,0	21	28,4	4	5,4	74	100	∞	100	0	0	0	0	0	0	∞	100,0
Total	2901	28,3	3984	38,8	1773	17,3	1599	15,6	10257	100	1615	42,2	<i>LL</i> 9	17,7	683	17,9	849	22,2	3824	100,0

#### 5) Final remarks

The present study aimed at exploring some possible analyses stemming from the 2000 Brazilian census data, by focusing the returning international migration. The results found, though inconclusive, indicate that there is still a long way to follow. However, some aspects, already observed by Carvalho (2004), are now clearer.

The returning migration is surely of crucial importance in the Brazilian case, as international migration is to be analysed. Variations – which have occurred in the international scenario since the 2000 census was carried out – may have contributed for changes in the background shown here. Anyway, a direct relation between the place of destination of Brazilian immigrants and job opportunities as well as their income structure on their return is clearly established.

If concern with social security is added to the findings of this brief diagnosis, then the need for public sector intervention in solving issues related to those mostly dependant of government transfers is undeniably clear. Additionally, depending on the country of destination chosen by the Brazilian immigrants, a possible generation of savings and investments that may contribute to income diversification and insertion in the labour market on their return to Brazil should also be considered.

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