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***Byen venu, Uai!:* An Analysis of the Demographics and Labor Market Integration of
Haitian Migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area**

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ABSTRACT (ENGLISH)

In recent years, Latin America has witnessed ever-increasing intraregional migration flows in the context of growing political and economic integration and the tightening of migration policies in the developed world. Despite the rising importance of Haitian migration to Brazil over the past decade, few studies have explored the characteristics of Haitian migration to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area (RMBH), the third largest urban agglomeration in Brazil. This study seeks to fill these research gaps by: i) providing a comprehensive demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, ii) analyzing the evolution of their labor market integration over the past eight years, and iii) investigating the role and characteristics of their migration motives, routes, connections with their place of origin, and/or employment-related connections and support. This analysis was conducted by triangulating data from three sources: the Centro Zanmi, an NGO that assists Haitian migrants in the RMBH; SINCRE, obtained from the Brazilian Federal Police; and the *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* (RAIS), obtained from the Brazilian Labor Ministry. The results suggest that, large flows of Haitian migrants began to arrive in the RMBH in 2012, and that, through 2016, Haitian migration to the RMBH continued to grow, with migrants primarily falling between the working ages of 20 and 50 years old, and with women composing an increasingly larger percentage of migrants year-on-year. The number of formally employed Haitian migrants also increased from 2011 onward, a trend that continued at least through the end of 2015. Furthermore, this study observed a positive correlation between male Haitian migrants' length of residence and their average monthly salary. These findings are pertinent due to the reemergence of international migration in the Brazilian sociopolitical agenda and the necessity to improve public policies concerning the socioeconomic integration of this new flow of international migrants.

RESUMO (PORTUGUÊS)

Nos anos recentes, a América Latina tem experimentado fluxos migratórios crescentes no contexto de uma integração política e econômica cada vez mais profunda e das crescentes restrições nas políticas migratórias no mundo desenvolvido. Apesar do aumento brusco da migração haitiana ao Brasil durante a década passada, poucos estudos tinham investigado às características deste fluxo migratório na Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte (RMBH), a terceira maior aglomeração urbana do Brasil. Este estudo busca preencher estas lacunas na literatura através de: i) fornecer um perfil demográfico compreensivo da população de migrantes haitianos na RMBH, ii) analisar a integração dos migrantes haitianos no mercado de trabalho nos últimos oito anos e iii) investigar o papel e as características dos seus motivos para migrar-se, as rotas migratórias tomadas, as conexões com os seus lugares de origem, e/ou outros vínculos ou fontes de apoio relacionados à sua inserção no mercado de trabalho. Esta análise foi feita triangulando três fontes de dados: o Centro Zanmi, uma ONG que fornece ajuda aos migrantes na RMBH; SINCRE, obtido da Polícia Federal do Brasil; e a Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS), obtida do Ministério do Trabalho brasileiro. Os resultados preliminares sugerem que os grande fluxos de migrantes haitianos começaram a chegar na RMBH em 2012 e, até o final de 2016, a migração haitiana à RMBH continuou a crescer, com a grande maioria dos migrantes sendo de idade produtiva, tendo entre 20 e 50 anos e com as mulheres compondo uma porcentagem cada vez maior deste fluxo migratório. O número de migrantes haitianos integrados na economia formal seguiu aumentado também, começando em 2011, e continuando, pelo menos, até o final de 2015. Também, existem evidências de uma correlação positiva entre sua duração de residência no Brasil e o seu salário médio mensal para migrantes masculinos. As descobertas deste estudo são extremamente pertinentes em um momento de uma ré-emergência da migração na agenda sociopolítica brasileira e para melhorar as políticas públicas em relação à integração socioeconômica deste fluxo novo de migrantes.

RESUMEN (ESPAÑOL)

En años recientes, América Latina ha visto flujos migratorios crecientes en el contexto de una integración política y económica cada vez más profunda y simultáneamente de crecientes restricciones en las políticas migratorias de los países desarrollados. A pesar del aumento veloz de la migración haitiana en Brasil durante la década pasada, pocos estudios han investigado las características de este flujo migratorio en la Región Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte (RMBH), la tercera aglomeración urbana de Brasil. Esta investigación busca alumbrar estas lagunas en la literatura a través de: i) fornecer un perfil demográfico comprehensivo de la población de migrantes haitianos en la RMBH, ii) analizar la integración de los migrantes haitianos en el mercado laboral en los últimos ocho años y iii) investigar el papel y las características de sus motivos para migrarse, las rutas migratorias tomadas, las conexiones con sus lugares de origen, y/o otros vínculos o fuentes de apoyo relacionados a su inserción en el mercado laboral. Este análisis fue hecho triangulando tres fuentes de datos: el Centro Zanmi, una ONG que fornece ayuda a migrantes en la RMBH; SINCRE, obtenido de la Policía Federal de Brasil; y la Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS), obtenida del Ministerio de Trabajo brasileño. Los resultados preliminares sugieren que desde que grandes olas de migrantes haitianos comenzaron a llegar en la RMBH en 2012 y hasta el final de 2016, la migración haitiana hacia la RMBH continuó a crecer, con la gran mayoría de los migrantes siendo de edad productiva y con las migrantes femeninas componiendo una porcentaje cada vez mayor de este flujo migratorio. El número de migrantes haitianos integrados en la economía formal, siguió aumentado también, comenzando en 2011, y continuando, por lo menos, hasta el final de 2015. También, existen pruebas de una correlación positiva entre su duración de residencia en Brasil y su salario medio mensual, para migrantes masculinos. Los descubrimientos de esta investigación son extremadamente pertinentes en un momento de una reemergencia de migración en la agenda sociopolítica brasileña y para mejorar las políticas públicas que tratan de la integración socioeconómica de este flujo nuevo de migrantes.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BH – Belo Horizonte

CBO – Classificação Brasileira de Ocupações
(Brazilian Classification of Occupations)

CGIg – Coordenação Geral de Imigração
(General Coordination Office of Immigration)

CNAE – Classificação Nacional de Atividades Econômicas
(National Classification of Economic Activities)

CNIg – Conselho Nacional de Imigração
(National Immigration Council)

CONARE - Comitê Nacional para os Refugiados
(National Refugee Committee)

CTPS-CAGED – Carteira de Trabalho e Previdência Social - O Cadastro Geral de
Empregados e Desempregados
(Work Permit and Social Security – General Registry of Employed and Unemployed Persons)

IOM - International Organization for Migration

MG – Minas Gerais

NELM – The New Economics of Labor Migration

RAIS – Relação Anual de Informações Sociais
(Annual Social Information Report)

RMBH – Região Metropolitana de Belo Horizonte
(Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area)

SINCRE – Sistema Nacional de Cadastro e Registro de Estrangeiros
(National Alien Documentation and Registration System)

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CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

Historically, migration flows between Haiti and Brazil have been miniscule, with the 2010 Brazilian Census enumerating just 36 Haitians in the country. However, following the devastating earthquake that struck Haiti in that same year, Haitian migration to Brazil began slowly, before intensifying, especially from 2012 onward. While Haiti is a country with more than a century-long tradition of emigration, the sudden and rapid rise of migration flows from Haiti to Brazil begs the question: Why Brazil? In addition to the array of strong push factors associated with a series of natural disasters and already abysmal standards of living, the sudden appearance of Brazil as a major destination for Haitian migrants is often attributed to Brazil's participation and leadership in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) from 2004 onward (UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING, 2017), the 2004 "Jogo da Paz", a football match between Brazil and Haiti, and President Lula da Silva's February 2010 state visit to Haiti. Brazilian involvement in Haiti via these events also coincided with an economic boom in Brazil and a corresponding increase in the demand for low-skilled labor, particularly in the construction industry. At the same time, more traditional destinations for Haitian emigration, such as the United States, Canada, and France were consistently tightening migration policies, particularly following the September 11th attacks, and were simultaneously experiencing the most profound economic crisis to affect these respective countries since the Great Depression. Furthermore, it is essential to highlight the role that the pragmatic and flexible position adopted by the Conselho Nacional de Imigração (CNIg) from January 2012 onwards played in facilitating the arrival and political integration of Haitians in Brazil, via their policy of granting humanitarian visas to Haitian migrants.

In this light, the goal of this study is threefold. First, I seek to construct a demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area (RMBH). Second, I aim to provide a systematic analysis of Haitian migrants' labor market integration in the RMBH. Finally, this research investigates the reported motives for migration, migration routes, ties with migrants' places of origin, and other forms of social and/or employment-related connections and support of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. While Haitian migrants began to arrive in the RMBH en masse only in 2012, Minas Gerais, and the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area in particular, currently rank as one of the preferred destinations of settlement for Haitian migrants, following the Southern Region of Brazil, composed of the states of Rio Grande do Sul, Santa Catarina, and Paraná, and the state of São

Paulo. By the end of 2016, between 3,000 (CÂMARA, 2016) and 10,000 (ERNESSA AND LAVALLE, 2016) of the estimated over 70,000 Haitian migrants (BORGES, 2017, p. 32; OBMigra, 2017, p. 46) who continue to live in Brazil were thought to reside in the RMBH.

Despite the importance of the RMBH as a destination for Haitian migrants, relatively little is known about this population, greatly warranting further investigation concerning this topic. Furthermore, while migration from Haiti to Brazil has slowed substantially since 2017, likely due to the enhanced visa restrictions implemented by Ecuador two years prior and the intensification of the economic crisis that Brazil has been confronting, from late 2014 onwards, Haitian migrants quickly became the most significant group of migrants to Brazil, surpassing more traditional migration flows from both neighboring countries, such as Bolivia, and from developed countries, such as Portugal.

1.1 Theme and Relevance

Given the novelty of the sizeable migration flow between Haiti and Brazil, this subject has only recently attracted increased attention from migration researchers. As a result, this study makes three important contributions to the understanding of contemporary migration flows. First, this study examines a novel and sizeable South-South international migration flow, whereas the large majority of the international migration literature focuses on North-South migration. Second, the principal theories developed to explain migration flows were created with a focus on either international migration from developing to developed countries or on rural-urban migration within developing countries; thus, this study provides an important case study of the oft-overlooked international migration flows among developing countries. Third, in the international context, relatively few studies have been conducted analyzing international migration, and specifically, Haitian migration, to Brazil. Additionally, even within the migration literature focused on Brazil, a limited number of studies have been conducted regarding Haitian migrants living in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area.

Concerning the importance of this study in regard to the overarching migration literature, the current research discusses Haitian migration to the RMBH in the context of a wide range of migration theories, including the new economics of labor migration (NELM), migration as a livelihood strategy, the segmented (dual) labor market theory, neoclassical theories of migration, including the microeconomic utility maximization theory, the migration-development nexus, and the cumulative causation of migration, in addition to examining the importance of migration networks and organizations among Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Thus, it is important to reassert that the majority of these theories were

conceived to explain either rural-urban domestic migration within developing countries or South-North international migration, and that none of the prominent migration theories discussed was originally created to apply their logic to a South-South migration flow, such as Haitian migration to Brazil. Moreover, while the fact that Haitian migration to Brazil began en masse following the 2010 Haitian Earthquake raises questions concerning the role of environmental changes and natural disasters as push factors for migration and how these factors are intertwined with economic and employment motives in spurring migration, this study's main focus concerns the economic motives and labor market insertion of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH.

Additionally, this research is important on both a national and international scale, due to the fact that it was conducted at a time of extensive public policy debate concerning migration both in Brazil and around the world. In addition, this study examines a migration flow that raises questions concerning how the international community should treat migrants who do not fit the strict definition of refugee, but who still clearly warrant and need the protection of the international community. The importance of this research in an international context and within the framework of the debate over the definition of refugee status is as important as ever, as recent years have witnessed an increase in the number of international refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs), even under the restricted definition of the 1951 Geneva Convention and the subsequent 1967 Protocol.¹ Thus, the debate concerning exactly who qualifies for international protection as a refugee under the currently accepted definition by the international community and whether migrants fleeing natural disasters and the ensuing inhumane living conditions should qualify for refugee status is a topic that is ever-more present in the field of international migration.

In regard to the importance of this study on the national and local level, the most referenced research to date regarding Haitian migration to the RMBH and their labor market integration concerns the studies conducted by Fernandes and Castro (2014), Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014), Sá (2015), and Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016). However, these studies were primarily conducted using qualitative methodologies, principally depending upon interviews, focus groups, surveys, and observations. In regard to Fernandes and Castro's (2014) research, their study also provided a qualitative analysis of Haitian migrants in the

¹ The UNHCR estimates that, as of the end of 2016, there were 65.6 million forcibly displaced persons in the world, of whom 17.2 million were refugees under their jurisdiction, in addition to 5.3 million Palestinian refugees registered by the UNRWA. The number of forcibly displaced persons also includes 36.6 million internally displaced persons (IDPs), and 2.8 million asylum seekers, in addition to 3.2 million stateless persons (UNHCR, 2017).

RMBH, which differs from the current study in that it analyzed data from the Conselho Nacional de Imigração (CNIg) and the Coordenação Geral de Imigração (CGIg), as well as from the Brazilian Foreign Affairs Ministry (Ministério de Relações Exteriores), which provided information from various Brazilian Consulates that issued visas to Haitian migrants.

Notwithstanding the limited prior forays into providing a quantitative analysis of the demographic and labor market characteristics of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, the current study proposes to dive into much greater detail by providing an updated and expanded analysis of the data provided by the Sistema Nacional de Cadastro e Registro de Estrangeiros (SINCRE), in addition to being the first to analyze the demographic makeup and labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area using data provided from the Centro Zanmi, an NGO in Belo Horizonte that works extensively with Haitian migrants. This study will also draw considerably on the Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS) data, furnished by the Brazilian Labor Ministry (Ministério do Trabalho), which encompasses the years 2002-2015, also making this study the first to evaluate the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH using data from this source. In this regard, it is important to point out that the majority of previous studies concerning the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area were not only overwhelmingly qualitative in nature, but they were also published prior to 2016, when the full impacts of the economic crisis in Brazil only began to be felt.

In this regard, the importance of conducting an updated evaluation of both the demographic composition and the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area is compounded by the fact that Brazil has been facing one of the worst economic crises in its history, which began to bear its full force in 2015. Over the course of the previous 3 years, GDP fell by 3.8% in 2015 and 3.6% in 2016, followed by a tepid recuperation in 2017, with the country reporting GDP growth of just 1.0% that year (AGÊNCIA IBGE NOTÍCIAS, 2018). The depression-like collapse in GDP has been accompanied by a drastic increase in the official unemployment rate from 6.8% in January 2015, to 9.5% at the outset of 2016, before peaking at 13.7% in the first quarter of 2017, and subsequently fluctuating between 11.8% in the final quarter of 2017 and 13.1% in the first quarter of 2018 (AGÊNCIA IBGE NOTÍCIAS, 2018). However, despite the relative socioeconomic precariousness faced by Haitian migrants in Brazil, data from CTPS-CAGED show that, due to the fact that a large percentage of Haitian migrants work in positions pertaining to a variety of export-oriented industries, such as meatpacking and food processing, the number of firings among Haitians in Brazil only began to outpace the number of new hires

in December 2015, nearly a year after the native Brazilian workforce as whole (OBMIGRA, 2016, p. 88). Thus, it is also essential that an updated study be conducted, incorporating a wider range of quantitative data, in order to assess the true impact of the economic crisis on the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte.

1.2 Objectives

This research seeks to accomplish three main objectives: 1) to construct a general demographic profile of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH; 2) to evaluate the degree of labor market integration of Haitian migrants living in the RMBH; and 3) to investigate how migration flows from Haiti to the RMBH fit within the existing literature with a particular focus on the reported motives for migration, migration routes, ties with migrants' places of origin, and other forms of social and/or employment-related connections and support.

1.3 Hypotheses

This study investigates the following hypotheses: 1) a longer length of residence in Brazil should be correlated with higher salaries, a greater chance of being employed in an area corresponding to migrants' educational attainment, and a superior probability of possessing both employment and formal employment; 2) higher levels of educational attainment should be associated with greater salaries, an improved likelihood of being employed, an increased probability of possessing formal employment, and an increased chance of being employed in an area corresponding to migrants' educational attainment, and; thus, a greater degree of labor market integration; 3) differences between the employment outcomes of male and female Haitian migrants will be observed, with female Haitian migrants being less likely to be employed and/or to be employed formally, than male Haitian migrants; and 4) more recent migration flows should show a greater percentage of women due to the increased importance of family reunification at the expense of economic motives for migration.

1.4 Methodology

For the purposes of this research, three different data sources were utilized. The first database used was obtained from the Centro Zanmi, the principal NGO that provides assistance to migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. The Centro Zanmi database captures a wide array of information concerning the migrants that it assists, the vast majority of whom are Haitians. The second data source was drawn from the Sistema Nacional de

Cadastro e Registro de Estrangeiros (SINCRE)², a database collected by the Brazilian Federal Police, which provides information on documented migrants in Brazil. Finally, this study will utilize information provided by the *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS)*³, spanning the years from 2002 to 2015. RAIS is a database maintained by the Brazilian Labor Ministry (Ministério de Trabalho) that includes extensive information furnished by employers concerning all formally employed workers during a particular year. Using this data, this study performed a descriptive analysis of the demographic profile variables, the variables concerning labor market insertion, and of select relationships among these variables, in addition to the variables concerning migration motives, connections, social and economic ties, and links between Haitian migrants' destinations and their places of origin.⁴ This research utilized Microsoft Excel and Stata (Version 13) for the purposes of organizing the data and analyzing the relationships between the variables.

1.5 Main Findings

The results concerning the demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH indicate that just fewer than three-quarters of the Haitian migrant population is male, while just over one-quarter is female. The vast majority of migrants are concentrated between the ages of 20 and 50, with the two largest age groups encompassing migrants between the ages of 25 and 29 and 30 and 34. Less conclusive inferences can be drawn concerning Haitian migrants' marital status; however, this study can reasonably conclude that the majority of Haitian migrants' in the RMBH are married. Furthermore, the data allow the researcher to draw broad conclusions regarding the average educational attainment of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, with the vast majority of migrants possessing between a sixth grade and twelfth grade education. Concerning the visa status of Haitian migrants, currently, it is expected that nearly all Haitian migrants in the RMBH possess a humanitarian visa and/or permanent residency authorization, conceded either through the humanitarian visa program for Haitian migrants, or during the large scale regularization of over 40,000 Haitian migrants in October 2015 via the legal procedures outlined in the CNIg Resolution 27, following the rejection of their asylum petitions. Regarding their year of arrival, nearly all male Haitian migrants in the RMBH entered Brazil from 2012 onward, with waves of their female peers beginning to arrive in large quantities in 2013. Finally, Haitian migrants in the RMBH were

² This particular dataset was obtained thanks to the cooperation of Professor Duval Fernandes of PUC-Minas.

³ This particular dataset was obtained thanks to the cooperation of Professor Elaine Vilela of UFMG.

⁴ The particular limitations of these databases will be explained in detail in Chapter 4.

most likely to reside in the city of Contagem, with Belo Horizonte, Esmeraldas, Betim, and Ribeirão das Neves also possessing sizeable communities of Haitian migrants.

Concerning the labor market integration of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH, the existence of a weak positive relationship between male Haitian migrants' length of residence in Brazil and their average monthly salary is observed, while the data concerning female Haitian migrants is inconclusive. In a similar vein, the association between educational attainment and monthly salary is mixed, with the 2013 RAIS data indicating that salary increases along with educational attainment for all formally employed Haitian migrants with a complete secondary education or less. However, the 2015 RAIS data indicates that, in general, higher educated males can expect to earn more than their less educated counterparts, but that, among formally employed female Haitian migrants, those pertaining to the lowest educational attainment groups could expect to earn the most. An analysis of the Centro Zanmi data concerning the relationship between educational attainment and employment status indicates little variance concerning the likelihood of being employed or formally employed among different educational attainment groups. Furthermore, the data provides scant indication that Haitian migrants possessing higher levels of educational attainment have managed to encounter employment in areas corresponding to their education. The principal findings of this study do indicate that female Haitian migrants are less likely to be employed than their male counterparts. However, both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH report very low levels of informal employment, seemingly indicating the lack of a relationship between sex and labor market informality among Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

Finally, the most recent data from the Centro Zanmi for the years 2016 and 2017 indicate that female Haitian migrants make up an ever-increasing proportion of the Haitian migration flow to the RMBH. While more recent female Haitian migrants were more likely to report family reunification as a motive for migration than were earlier arrivals, the percentage of females migrating to Brazil primarily for family reunification purposes continues to be dwarfed by those who report migrating principally for economic motives.

1.6 Outline

This dissertation is structured in the following manner. Chapter 2 will detail the historical background of Haitian emigration, both to more traditional destinations and to Brazil, with the goal of providing a historical context for the discussion of Haitian migration to Brazil and to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Successively, chapter 3 discusses the principal theoretical and subject-specific literature concerning the general overarching

theories of migration, in addition to the most pertinent studies regarding Haitian migration to the RMBH. Chapter 4 presents a detailed explanation of the methodology used by this study, while chapter 5 presents the results and discusses them in relation to the aforementioned objectives, hypotheses, and earlier findings documented in the literature. Finally, chapter 6 presents the final conclusions of this study.

2. Historical Background

2.1 Historical Overview of Haitian Migration

The motives for Haitian outmigration throughout the past decade are numerous, but the most cited push factor is often the string of natural disasters that have struck the island beginning with the January 2010 earthquake. On January 12, 2010, a 7.0 magnitude earthquake struck the city of Léogâne, situated about 29 kilometers to the west of the Haitian capital, Port-au-Prince. The estimated number of deaths varies widely, ranging from a low estimate of 46,190 casualties according to USAID (2013) to a high estimate of 316,000 deaths, as reported by the Haitian Government (O'Connor, 2012). Kolbe et al.'s (2010) study provides an in-depth and methodical investigation of the 2010 Earthquake death count, arriving at a final estimate of 158,679 deaths. Furthermore, an estimated 3 million people (around 30% of the Haitian population) were affected by the 2010 Earthquake in some way, shape, or form, according to the International Federation of the Red Cross. A report by USAID (2011) estimated that as many as 594,811 people were still displaced as a result of the earthquake as of July 31, 2011. In addition, the devastating toll on human life was compounded by the outbreak of a cholera epidemic in the months following the earthquake, which killed over 7,500 people. Expressed in financial terms, total damages were estimated to range from \$8 billion to \$14 billion U.S. Dollars (USAID, 2013, Annex I, p. 2), an immense sum relative to Haiti's GDP, which was approximately \$6.62 billion U.S. Dollars in 2010 (WORLD BANK, 2010).

The 2010 Earthquake and the ensuing cholera epidemic were far from the only natural disasters to have affected Haiti, which is extremely prone to damage from tropical cyclones given its geographical location. Prior to the earthquake, Haiti was devastated repeatedly by tropical cyclones, particularly Hurricanes Ivan and Jeanne in 2004 and tropical cyclones Fey, Gustav, Hanna, and Ike in 2008. In the years following the 2010 earthquake, Haiti was subsequently struck by Hurricanes Isaac and Sandy in 2012, in addition to Hurricane Matthew in 2016, all of which had severely negative impacts on agriculture, in addition to aggravating the already precarious socioeconomic conditions that have reigned in the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake.

Even in the absence of the recent aforementioned series of natural disasters, living conditions in Haiti were already extremely difficult, constituting another series of strong push factors behind the long-term trends of historical outmigration from Haiti. Haiti, which is

consistently cited as being the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere, has one of the lowest UN Human Development Index scores in the world, possessing an HDI of 0.493, and ranking 163rd out of the 188 countries assessed. In comparison, in 2016, Brazil was ranked 79th out of 188 countries, with an HDI of .754, which is considered to be a high level of human development, while the United States had an HDI of .920 and was ranked 10th of 188 countries, corresponding to a very high level of human development (UNDP, 2016, p.199-200). In Haiti, a lack of access to basic services is widespread, with half of the population having no access to health services, 45% of the population lacking access to potable water, and 83% of Haitians having no access to sanitation (DUTRA *et al*, 2016, p. 90). Malnourishment is common, with 60% of the population estimated to lack proper nutrition. As a result of the aforementioned socioeconomic challenges, according to the UNDP (2016), life expectancy at birth in Haiti is just 63.1 years. The combination of these difficulties is compounded by the fact that Haiti is still passing through the early stages of the demographic transition with a rural Total Fertility Rate estimated to be around 7 children per woman, while the urban Total Fertility Rate is estimated to fall between 3 and 4 children per woman (DUTRA *et al*, 2016, p. 90).

These socioeconomic and demographic problems are compounded by the small geographic size of Haiti, which is just 27,750 km² in area. For the purposes of comparison, Haiti is similar in size to the state of Alagoas, the third-smallest UF in Brazil, which has an area of 27,848 km², and is also comparable in size to Massachusetts, the seventh-smallest state in the U.S., with an area of 27,336 km². As a result, despite being considerably poorer, Haiti, with an estimated population of 10.85 million people, as of 2016 (WORLD BANK, 2016), is significantly denser than both Massachusetts, which possessed an estimated population 6,811,779 in 2016 (U.S CENSUS BUREAU, 2016) and Alagoas, which had an estimated population of 3,358,963 that same year (IBGE, 2016).

The aforementioned dire socioeconomic conditions are not novel, and a worsening quality of life led Haiti to become a major source of emigrants first to Cuba and the Dominican Republic, and later, to the United States and other destinations, beginning in the early 20th Century. As a result of a more than century-long tradition of emigration, between one and three million Haitians, or 10-30% of the population, are currently estimated to reside outside of their native country (FERNANDES, HADDAD, AND SILVA, 2014, p. 9). This culture of emigration is perpetuated by the fact that emigration is often seen as a lifeline in a country where the value of remittance flows have fluctuated between 20% and 26% of the national GDP over the previous decade (WORLD BANK, 2016).

The first waves of Haitian emigration occurred in the early 1900s. After nearly a century of independence, Haitian economic growth, dependent upon coffee and logwood exports, was unable to keep pace with an increasing population, and, as a result, the value of exports per-capita had been falling continuously since the mid-1800s. By the turn of the 20th century, this process had resulted in an ever-increasingly precarious situation for the Haitian peasantry, creating a situation ripe for emigration (PERUSEK, 1984, p.7). Simultaneously, neighboring Cuba was experiencing an economic boom due to elevated sugar prices. The collapse of European sugar production during World War I intensified the demand for Cuban sugar, allowing Cuba to regain its position as the world's leading sugar producer. This, in turn, caused a massive rural labor shortage, which resulted in a dramatic rise in the wages of plantation workers. When efforts to attract European immigrants to work on Cuban sugar plantations failed, the Cuban government decided to satisfy the sugar industry's demand for cheap, immigrant labor by permitting temporary immigration, principally from Haiti and Jamaica, beginning in 1917 (PERUSEK, 1984, p. 9). Between 1915 and 1921 an estimated 81,000 Haitians entered Cuba to work in sugar harvesting, with the 1931 Cuban Census enumerating 77,575 Haitians, despite the fact that an estimated two-thirds of migrants eventually returned to Haiti (MCLEOD, 1998, p. 601). Haitian migration to the neighboring island nation continued through the 1930s, despite a glut in global sugar production that occurred from the early 1920s onward. Haitian migration flows to Cuba were only halted in 1937, when the Batista government deported thousands of Haitian immigrants and closed Cuba's doors to future migration from Haiti (MCLEOD, 1998, p. 605-606).

In addition to historical Haitian migration to Cuba, the neighboring Dominican Republic is also a principal historical and contemporary destination for Haitian migrants. Currently, between 460,000 (AUDEBERT, 2017, p. 59) and 700,000 (FERGUSON, 2003, p. 8) Haitians are estimated to be living in the Dominican Republic, rendering the Dominican Republic the second most important destination for Haitian emigrants following the United States. When Dominican residents of Haitian descent are taken into account, estimates regarding the population of Haitians living in the Dominican Republic reach as high as 1.5 million (KEYS et al., 2014, p. 3). Historically, the Haitian-Dominican border was loosely patrolled, particularly in the northern border region, allowing for substantial and uncontrolled cross-border interactions and migration (TURITS, 2002, p.594). The U.S. occupation of Haiti in 1915 and of the Dominican Republic in 1916 coincided with the rapid expansion and modernization of the Dominican sugar industry. The lack of control over undocumented immigration exercised by the US, resulted in large numbers of clandestine Haitian migrants

arriving in the Dominican Republic throughout the 1910s and 1920s, with an estimated 100,000 Haitians living in the Dominican Republic as of 1926 (MARTINEZ, 1999, p. 66). Tepid attempts to implement governmental controls on migration occurred under both the U.S. occupational government and under nominally independent Dominican governments, but they were largely unsuccessful until the late-1930s (MARTINEZ, 1999, p. 67-69).

The dynamics of Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic drastically changed in October 1937, when Dominican dictator Rafael Trujillo ordered the beginning of *el corte*, a widespread state-sponsored massacre of Haitian migrants in Dominican border regions. Scholars estimate that between 12,000 (TURITS, 2002, p.591) and 25,000 (MARTINEZ, 1999, p. 70) Haitians were killed in this massacre. State-sponsored violence against Haitian migrants was accompanied by official rhetoric asserting Dominican racial and cultural superiority. However, despite the Trujillo government's virulently anti-Haitian positions, throughout the 1940s off-and-on agreements between both countries, in addition to unilateral laws in both Haiti and the Dominican Republic, were used to regulate labor migration to sugar plantations, while clandestine migration also continued, albeit in a more restricted fashion than in previous decades (MARTINEZ, 1999, p. 72-73). Furthermore, the generalized appropriation of the U.S. dominated sugar industry by the Trujillo family, beginning in 1952, necessitated the signing of a 1952 agreement between Haiti and the Dominican Republic, the first of many *convenios* between the two nations, which was designed to control the flows of Haitian guest workers (*braceros*) to Dominican sugar plantations (FERGUSON, 2003, p. 10). Despite, the supposedly temporary nature of this new Haitian migration flow to the Dominican Republic, under these agreements, many migrants who came under the pretenses of returning to Haiti ended up settling permanently in the Dominican Republic. This permanent population of migrant laborers continued to primarily work on sugar plantations, and their labor was supplemented by a consistent flow of undocumented Haitian migrants between 1952 and 1986, the year in which the last *convenio* between the two nations ended (FERGUSON, 2003, p. 11).

Following 1986, undocumented, and often coerced, Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic once again became the dominant mode of migration between the two nations, with widespread cases of coerced migration and forced or exploitative labor conditions on sugar plantations being reported. This new migration paradigm was accompanied by a host of discriminatory measures that were implemented against Haitian migrants and their descendants in the Dominican Republic. In recent years, hostility towards Haitian migrants and their descendants has taken the form of a 2010 amendment to the

Dominican constitution that denied Dominican citizenship to those born in the Dominican Republic to irregular immigrants. This amendment was later exacerbated by a 2013 Dominican High Court decision, which stripped citizenship from a large number of individuals, particularly Haitians and their descendants, by applying these new citizenship requirements retroactively to 1929 (AMUEDO-DORANTES, et al., 2017, p. 2). These legal setbacks for Haitian migrants resulted in a campaign of mass deportation from 2015 onward, which, by September 2017, had resulted in the voluntary or forced deportation of nearly 230,000 Haitian migrants (IOM Haiti, 2017, p. 1). Finally, a reflection upon both historical and current trends concerning the treatment of Haitian migrants residing in the Dominican Republic provides insights as to why Haitian migrants may seek out other developing country destinations, such as Brazil, given the recent intensification of the already hostile treatment they were subject to in the Dominican Republic.

Historically, the most common destinations of Haitian migrants in the developed world were the United States, Canada, and France. Among these destinations, the U.S. predominates, hosting more Haitian migrants than any other country in the world, including the Dominican Republic, with approximately 600,000 Haitians residing within its borders. Canada and France are home to much smaller numbers of Haitian migrants, with an estimated 86,000 residing in Canada, and 68,000 residing in France, of whom 40,000 reside in Metropolitan France and 28,000 in its overseas territories, principally French Guyana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Saint Martin (AUDEBERT, 2017, p. 59). Given the overwhelming predominance of the U.S. as a destination for Haitian migration, this section will focus on the historical background of this migration flow in particular.

Large scale Haitian migration to the U.S. began in the 1960s, with many migrants at this time fleeing the social and political oppression of the Duvalier regime (SCHILLER, 2005, p. 59). Beginning in the 1970s; however, the dynamics of Haitian migration to the U.S. shifted, with the majority of migrants being comprised of undocumented “boat people”, who risked their lives undertaking a treacherous 1,110km journey to reach the shores of Florida (WASEM, 2011, p. 1). Throughout the 1970s, these migration flows intensified, culminating in the arrival of nearly 25,000 Haitian migrants in South Florida, accompanying much larger flows of Cubans during the 1980 Mariel Boatlift. The Carter Administration opted to grant both nationalities humanitarian parole, under the Cuban-Haitian Entrant Program (CHEP), with Haitians not being given the option to become long-term permanent residents until the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act in 1986 (WASEM, 2011, p. 3). With respect to irregular Haitian migration to the US, the Reagan Administration reversed course in

1981, establishing a policy directing the U.S. Coast Guard and the Immigration and Naturalization Service to interdict Haitian vessels at sea, and to evaluate whether the intercepted migrants were migrating for economic reasons or if they were legitimate asylum seekers. Under this policy, a mere 11 of the 22,940 Haitian migrants stopped at sea between 1981 and 1990 were judged as being legitimate asylum-seekers (WASEM, 2011, p. 4).

The next large wave of Haitian arrivals began in late 1991, following the deposal of Haiti's democratically elected president, Jean Bertrand Aristide. The following three years witnessed a mass exodus of Haitian migrants to the U.S., provoking multiple abrupt policy shifts by both the George H.W. Bush and Clinton administrations in response to this crisis. In 1992 alone, 37,618 Haitian migrants were intercepted at sea, with another 25,302 being interdicted in 1994. In 1991 and 1992, the George H.W. Bush administration attempted to resettle Haitian migrants who claimed to be asylum seekers in third-country safe-havens; however, none of Haiti's Caribbean neighbors were willing to take in more than a few hundred migrants (WASEM, 2011, p. 2) As a result, the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba was converted into a temporary detention center used for pre-screening asylum-seekers, with 10,490 Haitian migrants being granted permission to settle in the U.S. after passing through this process. This policy was reversed in late May 1992, with then President Bush ordering all new arrivals to be turned back to Haiti by the U.S. Coast Guard (WASEM, 2011, p. 4). President Clinton attempted to revive a similar third-country resettlement policy for Haitian asylum seekers in 1994, even creating locations for in-country refugee processing. However, this policy faced many of the same obstacles as those implemented by his predecessor, and, in the end, few Haitian migrants were resettled as asylum-seekers.

In order to address the large numbers of Haitian migrants seeking asylum in the U.S., the U.S. Congress passed the Haitian Refugee Immigration Fairness Act in 1998, providing many Haitian asylum-seekers with the opportunity to gain long-term permanent residency if they were paroled on or before Dec. 31, 1995 (U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE, 2000, p. 3). Later, the devastating 2010 Haitian earthquake prompted the U.S. Department of Homeland Security to grant Haitians Temporary Protected Status (TPS), under the authorization of section 302 of the Immigration Act of 1990. Section 302 outlined various circumstances in which TPS could be granted; however, three clauses are of particular interest regarding the context of migrants fleeing disaster-stricken nations that lack the means to ensure that their citizens' basic needs are met. Two clauses contained in Section 302 originally authorized the U.S. Attorney General (later legal changes granted this power to the

Secretary of Homeland Security) to grant a TPS designation to migrants from countries where:

- “(i) there has been an earthquake, flood, drought, epidemic, or other environmental disaster in the state resulting in a substantial, but temporary, disruption of living conditions in the area affected,
- (ii) the foreign state is unable, temporarily, to handle adequately the return to the state of aliens who are nationals of the state, and
- (iii) the foreign state officially has requested designation under this subparagraph” (USCIS, 2017).

Historical examples of the use of a TPS designation to grant temporary residency to migrants fleeing natural disasters and the ensuing inadequate living conditions include the cases of Honduras and Nicaragua, whose nationals were awarded a TPS designation following the devastation wrought by Hurricane Mitch in 1998. In addition, citizens from their Central American neighbor, El Salvador, were also granted a TPS designation following a devastating 2001 Earthquake. However, residency granted to migrants via the TPS program is just that – temporary. Eligibility for a TPS designation was recently terminated for Hondurans and altered for Nicaraguans. In the case of Haiti, its nationals were granted TPS authorization beginning on January 21, 2010, immediately following the 2010 earthquake; however, the current Secretary of Homeland Security announced on November 20, 2017, that that TPS designation for Haitian migrants would be phased out by July 22, 2019. The use of TPS to protect Haitian migrants fleeing the destruction left in the wake of the string of natural disasters that have struck the country since 2010 draws interesting parallels with the concession of humanitarian visas to Haitian migrants coming to Brazil. However, it is important to highlight that the temporary nature of TPS, the bureaucratic and other difficulties involved in qualifying for the program, and TPS’s vulnerability to political winds of change, are a sharp contrast to the facility, scale, and permanent nature of the Brazilian humanitarian visa program for Haitian migrants.

2.2 Haitian Migration to Brazil

Despite possessing a long history of emigration, before 2010, Haitian migration flows to Brazil were practically nonexistent, with only a few dozen Haitians being documented as living in Brazil by each Brazilian Census since 1940 (IBGE CENSOS DEMOGRÁFICOS, 1940, 1950, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1991, 2000, 2010). However, beginning in 2010, small groups of Haitian migrants began arriving at the Brazilian-Peruvian border. Within the span of a year, this migration flow increased from a trickle to a torrent, with 4,000 Haitian migrants estimated to have arrived in Brazil by the end of 2011 (FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014, p. 2). The pace of arrival of new Haitian migrants accelerated so

quickly that, by the end of 2016, according to Borges (2017), more than 70,000 Haitian migrants were formally living in Brazil. Regarding the RMBH, it is estimated that between 3,000 (CÂMARA, 2016) and 10,000 (ERNESSA, LAVALLE, 2016) Haitian migrants resided in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area during that same year, with the recent influx of Haitian migrants to the RMBH beginning in 2011, and drastically accelerating from the following year onward. Despite variations between the data sources, the general consensus is that approximately half of the Haitian population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area resides in Contagem, the second most populous city in the RMBH, with Esmeraldas, Belo Horizonte, Betim, Riberão das Neves, and Santa Luzia comprising the other principal municipalities in which the vast majority of Haitians reside.

Concerning the labor market, Minas Gerais was the sixth most important state in terms of hiring Haitian migrants in both 2014 and 2015, after Santa Catarina, Paraná, Rio Grande do Sul, São Paulo, and Mato Grosso (OBMIGRA, 2015, p. 89-90; OBMIGRA, 2016, p. 89). In addition, Contagem was the 10th most important Brazilian city in terms of the volume of Haitian migrants hired, both in 2014 and in 2015 (OBMIGRA, 2015, p. 91; OBMIGRA 2016, p. 90). According to the most recent annual OBMigra reports (2015, 2016, 2017), in general, the most common occupations exercised by Haitian migrants are in civil construction, meatpacking, food processing, and general services. Interestingly, even though an estimated 80% of workers in Haiti are employed informally (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 138), among the Haitian migrants living in Greater Belo Horizonte, the overwhelming majority of them claim to work in the formal labor market (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 62)

Despite the convincing historical and recent aforementioned motives for emigration, the sudden and rapid rise of migration flows from Haiti to Brazil raises many questions, given the lack of any previous significant migration between the two countries. As previously mentioned, various explanations have been proposed to explain the sudden appearance of Brazil as a major destination for Haitian emigrants. Many Haitians' first contact with Brazilians was via Brazil's participation and leadership in the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) from 2004 onward (UNITED NATIONS PEACEKEEPING, 2017). Another reported source of early contact between the two nations was the 2004 "Jogo da Paz", a football match between Brazil and Haiti that occurred in Port-Au-Prince in 2004 (FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014, p. 2). Additionally, these events coincided with a rapidly expanding Brazilian economy that was experiencing full employment and a shortage of unskilled labor, particularly in the construction industry. Simultaneously, more traditional destinations for Haitian emigration, such as the United States and the Dominican Republic

were strengthening migration restrictions, while traditional developed country destinations, particularly the U.S., Canada, and France were passing through the Great Recession, and were plagued by high rates of unemployment and slow economic growth. Thus, given the conjuncture of the aforementioned factors, Brazil appeared to be every-increasingly attractive in comparison to more traditional destinations for Haitian migration. Finally, several sources, including the study by Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014, p. 2) mention the geopolitical impact of a reported invitation made by former President Lula da Silva during his February 2010 state visit to Haiti, as another possible pull factor attracting Haitian migrants to Brazil.

Despite the various potential motives behind mass Haitian migration flows to Brazil, one unique aspect of this process that has likely aided in the perpetuation of this migration flow is the concession of humanitarian visas to Haitian migrants by the Conselho Nacional de Imigração (CNIg) from January 2012 onward. As the number of migrants from Haiti arriving in Brazil intensified throughout 2010 and 2011, it quickly became clear that some sort of policy mechanism would be necessary in order to regularize and manage this increasingly irregular, chaotic, and perilous migration flow. To make matters worse, the majority of migrants in the early stages of Haitian migration to Brazil arrived at the Brazilian border in some of the poorest Brazilian states, particularly Acre and Amazonas, which lacked the resources and infrastructure to cope with such a massive influx on their own.

In the early stages of this migration flow, the majority of Haitian migrants filed asylum requests upon reaching the Brazilian border. As a signatory to the 1951 Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and the amendments to it included in the 1967 Protocol, the National Refugee Committee (Comitê Nacional para os Refugiados [CONARE]) was required to process their asylum requests, and; meanwhile, Haitian migrants were given a temporary CPF (Brazilian taxpayer identification number) and formal work documentation (carteira de trabalho). According to Silva (2013), despite the fact that CONARE considered the asylum petitions of Haitian migrants, in the vast majority of cases, CONARE denied refugee status to Haitian migrants claiming that they could not prove “a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, or membership of a particular social group or political opinion,” the traditional definition used to identify refugees, as outlined by the UNHCR’s 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees.

In more recent decades, broader definitions of refugee status, as defined by the Cartagena Declaration of 1984⁵ – of which Brazil is also a signatory – and the Brazilian

⁵ “...La definición o concepto de refugiado recomendable para su utilización en la región es aquella que además de contener los elementos de la Convención de 1951 y el Protocolo de 1967, considere

National Refugee Law 9.474/97 of 1997,⁶ have expanded the definition utilized to determine whether to grant asylum seekers refugee status; however, neither of these legal frameworks has been previously applied to a situation similar to that of Haitian migrants, who are fleeing intolerable living conditions and the inability of the state to guarantee their basic human rights in their homeland. In Brazil, the CNIg Resolution 8 allows for CONARE to deny refugee status to migrants not fitting the definition of a refugee as outlined by the 1951 Convention and 1967 Protocol, while simultaneously allowing CONARE to recognize that the denied asylum seeker deserves to stay in Brazil for humanitarian reasons. In this situation, CONARE must forward the asylum seeker's case to the CNIg, which will examine the circumstances under the guidance of the CNIg Resolution 27 and evaluate if the denied asylum seeker merits humanitarian protection and, if so, grant them permanent residency authorization.⁷⁸ In the case of Haitian migration flows to Brazil, this legal process was first utilized in March 2011, when the CNIg granted humanitarian visas to 199 Haitian migrants (FERNANDES, FARIA, 2017, p. 153). However, the effects of this decision by the CNIg were limited, as Haitian migration flows to Brazil continued to intensify over the course of that same year. In the early and unregulated stage of migration from Haiti to Brazil, the majority of Haitian migrants undertook the journey clandestinely, with the aid of smugglers, who often charged fees in excess of \$2,000 U.S. Dollars. Using Ecuador and Peru as transit countries, which previously did not require entry visas for Haitians, the bulk of Haitian migrants made their way primarily to the border cities of Tabatinga in Amazonas or Brasiléia in Acre (SILVA, 2013, p. 10-11).

también como refugiados a las personas que han huido de sus países porque su vida, seguridad o libertad han sido amenazadas por la violencia generalizada, la agresión extranjera, los conflictos internos, la violación masiva de los derechos humanos u otras circunstancias que hayan perturbado gravemente el orden público” (Declaración de Cartagena, 1984).

⁶ “Art. 1º Será reconhecido como refugiado todo indivíduo que:

I - devido a fundados temores de perseguição por motivos de raça, religião, nacionalidade, grupo social ou opiniões políticas encontre-se fora de seu país de nacionalidade e não possa ou não queira acolher-se à proteção de tal país;

II - não tendo nacionalidade e estando fora do país onde antes teve sua residência habitual, não possa ou não queira regressar a ele, em função das circunstâncias descritas no inciso anterior;

III - devido a grave e generalizada violação de direitos humanos, é obrigado a deixar seu país de nacionalidade para buscar refúgio em outro país.”

⁷ Art. 1º Recomendar ao Comitê Nacional para os Refugiados - CONARE, Órgão vinculado ao Ministério da Justiça, o encaminhamento ao Conselho Nacional de Imigração – CNIg dos pedidos de refúgio que não sejam passíveis de concessão, mas que, a critério do CONARE, possam os estrangeiros permanecer no país por razões humanitárias.

Parágrafo único. A situação de estada no país dos estrangeiros, cujos pedidos sejam encaminhados pelo CONARE ao CNIg, será examinada ao amparo da Resolução Normativa nº 27, de 25 de novembro de 1998, que dispõe sobre situações especiais e casos omissos.

⁸ “Art. 1º Serão submetidas ao Conselho Nacional de Imigração as situações especiais e os casos omissos, a partir de análise individual.”

With the stated goal of combatting people smuggling and regularizing migration flows from Haiti to Brazil, the CNIg issued Resolution 97 in January 2012, which allowed for the concession of 1,200 5-year humanitarian visas per year, to be granted at the Brazilian Consulate in Port-Au-Prince.⁹ However, the limited number of visas granted proved to be insufficient to match the number of Haitians seeking to migrate to Brazil. As a result, the CNIg passed Resolution 102 in April 2013, eliminating all numerical restrictions on the number of visas that could be granted,¹⁰ while also allowing for these humanitarian visas to be granted to Haitians at Brazilian consulates in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Peru. This occurred in conjunction with new Peruvian requirements demanding visas for Haitians in 2012, followed by tightened restrictions on the visa-free travel of Haitians to Ecuador in 2015. Furthermore, in September 2015 the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in conjunction with the Brazilian Embassy in Port-au-Prince, opened the Brazilian Humanitarian Visa Application Center, charged with emitting both humanitarian and family reunification visas to Haitian migrants to help cope with the high volumes of visa applicants and to facilitate the visa application procedure. The combination of increased travel restrictions to Ecuador, along with the amplification of the Brazilian humanitarian visa policy and the creation of the Brazilian Humanitarian Visa Application Center were the primary motives behind the dramatic 96% reduction in the number of Haitian migrants arriving at the Brazilian-Peruvian border in Acre over the course of 2015 (Fulgêncio, 2016). As a result, by the end of 2015, the majority of migrants were leaving Haiti with their humanitarian visas in hand, and air travel became Haitians' preferred mode of transportation for migrating to Brazil (FERNANDES, HADDAD, SILVA, 2014, p. 14). Thus, via the use of the humanitarian visa authorized by the CNIg Resolutions 97 and 102, the Brazilian government managed to recognize that Haitian migrants fleeing desperate conditions in their homeland warranted humanitarian protection, even if they did not explicitly fit the stringent definition of refugee status, as outlined by 1951 Convention and Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol's amendments.

In summary, the large-scale use of humanitarian visas in Brazil to grant residency to Haitian migrants seeking refuge from desperate conditions in Haiti was innovative in the Brazilian context, given the sheer number of migrants that it assisted. In addition, this visa policy was also groundbreaking on a global scale, due to the pathway to permanent residency that the humanitarian visas entailed, rather than a more limited, temporary nature of

⁹ Resolução Normativa CNIg nº 97 de 12/01/2012

¹⁰ Resolução Normativa CNIg Nº 102 de 26/04/2013

protection. While, other traditional destinations for Haitian migrants, such as the United States, have conceded humanitarian visas of a temporary nature to Haitian migrants who do not meet the definition of a refugee, as outlined by the UNHCR's 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol, the facility, scale, and the permanent nature of the humanitarian visas granted by Brazil to Haitian migrants is unprecedented, in comparison with both the TPS designation in the U.S., and to other similar visa schemes worldwide.

In addition to the aforementioned historical background, the subsequent chapter will discuss the importance of this research in the context of both the overarching theoretical and subject-specific literature. Chapter 3 will begin with a discussion of the various theories developed to understand international migration flows and how this case study of Haitian migration to the RMBH, a primarily economically motivated South-South migration flow, fits within these theories, despite the fact that they were not originally postulated with South-South migration flows in mind. Subsequently, chapter 3 will examine the previous literature specifically concerning Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH, with a particular focus on the prior research that investigated their demographic profile, degree of labor market integration, and migration routes, connections, and ties.

3. Theoretical and Subject-Specific Literature Review

In order to contextualize Haitian migration flows to Brazil and to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, both a theoretical and subject-specific literature review were conducted, drawing upon the research of influential migration theorists, such as Da Vanzo, De Haas, Guilmoto and Sandron, Massey, Massey et al., Portes, Piore, Stark and Bloom, and Tilly. The works examined encompass several prominent migration theories including the Neoclassical Economics migration theories, the New Economics of Labor Migration and the Theory of Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy, the debates concerning the Migration-Development Nexus, and the Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory, in addition to discussing the key role of migration networks and institutions in shaping migration flows in developing countries. However it is essential to highlight that the aforementioned theories focus primarily on the economic explanations behind migration, rather than being exclusively theories of migration and, that, despite the variety of migration theories that will be discussed, none of the authors focus explicitly on South-South international migration, but rather on South-North international migration or rural-urban migration within developing countries. To address these shortcomings, this study also examines Massey's (1990) cumulative causation of migration approach, as a possible solution to synthesizing the explanatory capabilities of each of the aforementioned theories in the context of Haitian migration to Brazil. Regardless, given their theoretical restrictions, the limitations of these theories in understanding the case study being examined will be highlighted throughout the document. Finally, this chapter examines a variety of other works from the literature that specifically examine Haitian migration to Brazil and to the RMBH, with a particular focus on studies that researched the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area.

3.1 Theoretical Literature Review

Massey et al. (1993) outline various contemporary and competing theories to explain international migration. While no single theory is able to entirely explain Haitian migration flows to Brazil, Massey et al.'s work provides a general overview of a variety of theoretical viewpoints from which this particular migration flow can be analyzed and contextualized. Massey et al. begin by discussing both the Macro and Microeconomic perspectives of the Neoclassical Economics Theory of Migration. According to the Macroeconomic approach, migration is essentially caused by wage differentials between poor and rich countries, with

workers from impoverished nations with large labor forces and little capital being attracted to migrate to wealthier nations with labor force shortages and high levels of capital, in order to earn higher pay (MASSEY, et. al., 1993, p. 433-434).

While maintaining earnings differentials as the core motivating factor for migration, the Microeconomic perspective of the Neoclassical Economics Theory of Migration views migration decisions as a cost-benefit analysis, with potential migrants undertaking a move when the potential returns of migrating exceed the costs. According to DaVanzo (1980), the potential net benefits of migration are defined as the difference between a migrant's expected earnings at their potential migration destination and their expected earnings at their place of origin, from which potential migrants must then subtract all migration costs, which are not restricted solely to economic factors. Thus, possible migrants will not inherently migrate to the destination with the highest pay, but rather, to the destination that offers them the greatest net gains, if said benefits are more attractive than remaining in their place of origin (DaVanzo, 1980, p. 5). According to DaVanzo (1980), migration costs include, but are not limited to, factors such as the probability of finding a job at the migrant's destination, the earnings foregone at the migrant's place of origin during the migration process, the difficulty of reaching the destination due to legal, geographical, or other barriers, and the psychological costs of being far away from one's family and friends (DaVanzo, 1980, p. 4).

However, it is important to point out that Neoclassical Economics Migration theorists did not originally envision their theory as being applicable to South-South international migration flows, but rather developed their theories with migration from developing to developed countries in mind, which tend to demonstrate greater differentials in potential monetary earnings. Regardless, while the choice of Brazil as a migration destination for Haitian migrants appears improbable when thinking along purely Macroeconomic lines, the Microeconomic perspective provides a partial explanation behind the choice of Brazil as a migration destination. Given the lower costs related to legal and geographical barriers, as well as lower levels of observed xenophobia, the perceived net benefits of migrating to Brazil may outweigh those offered by traditional developed country destinations, even though wealthier countries generally offer migrants higher average wages, a line of thinking that is corroborated by the findings of Fernandes and Castro (2014) and Sá (2015).

De Haas's (2010) work and Portes' (2009) research will be used to help provide the theoretical framework concerning the structure and agency of Haitian migrants to Brazil, in addition to how this migration flow fits within the discourse linking migration and development. De Haas (2010) provides an overview of the historical evolution of the

predominating migration theories and how these prominent theories have shifted back and forth between optimistic and pessimistic viewpoints concerning migration. In this context, De Haas discusses the focus on Neoclassical Economic Theory and Developmentalist Theory in the 1950s and 1960s, which viewed migration in a positive light, as migrants were seen as important agents of change and innovation, who would bring back both financial and human capital to their origin countries. However, in practice, this early optimism failed to bear fruit, and, beginning in the late 1960s, migration theorists began to view migration as a product of the international capitalist structure, with increasing migration locking-in poor countries to an ever-greater state of dependence and underdevelopment. From the 1990s onward, migration came to be viewed in a more nuanced light, with pluralist theories, such as the New Economics of Labor Migration (NELM), livelihood approaches, and transnationalism comprising three of the principal conceptualizations of the migration-development nexus that came to dominate the general scholarly thinking regarding migration. Finally, De Haas (2010) highlights the rising prominence of the importance of remittances in migration research from the 2000s onward.

Portes (2009) frames the contradictions of mass emigration in the context of the Declaration of Cuernavaca (PORTES, 2009)¹¹. In this regard, migrant-exporting nations, such as Haiti, face a structural conundrum, as their economies and government revenues desperately depend on migrant remittances, which, in the case of Haiti, are consistently equal to over 20% of its annual GDP (WORLD BANK, 2016). Simultaneously, these massive and sustained outflows of human capital hamper these nations' long-term development. While significant human capital outflows, a.k.a. the "Brain Drain", have been noted in Haitian emigration trends over the decades (SCHILLER, 2005), Portes also examines the oft-overlooked negative effects of the permanent emigration of unskilled laborers – the "Brawn Drain" – particularly in rural areas. He argues that while often viewed as beneficial in the short-term, as unskilled migration can provide an escape valve for excess labor in countries with high or moderate levels of fertility and an incapacity to absorb young workers into the formal labor market, over the long-term, high levels of unskilled migration can result in the depopulation and economic overdependence on remittances in migrant-sending communities (PORTES, 2009).

¹¹According to the declaration, "The development model adopted in the immense majority of labor exporting American countries has not generated opportunities for growth nor economic or social development. On the contrary, it has meant the emergence of regressive dynamics; unemployment and job precarization; loss of qualified workers; productive disarticulation and stagnation; inflation and greater economic dependency. As a consequence, we experience a convergence between depopulation and the abandonment of productive activities in areas of high emigration" (cited in Portes, 2009, p. 7).

Portes and De Haas' focus on households as the primary migration decision-making unit warrants a discussion of Stark and Bloom's (1985) *New Economics of Labor Migration* (NELM). According to the NELM, families and households, rather than individuals are the primary migration decision-making unit. Furthermore, in developing countries, particularly those with weak or non-existent social safety nets, such as Haiti, migration is caused by a household's desire to not only maximize its income, but also to minimize and diversify risks. In this sense, migration is seen as a type of insurance designed to guarantee a minimum household income in the event that disaster strikes. Given the generalized absence of well-developed credit and capital markets, crop insurance markets, particularly for migrants from rural areas, and unemployment insurance, particularly for migrants from urban areas, households in less developed countries tend to be much more vulnerable to tragic life events, such as natural disasters, disablement, job loss, etc. (GUILMOTO; SANDRON, 2001, p. 141). As a result, events such as the 2010 Haitian Earthquake and the string of natural disasters that followed, are likely to have a negative impact on the household income of potential migrants, and; thus, given the absence of any meaningful social safety net, these households are more likely to view migration as a relatively secure household income diversification strategy.

The importance of agency, particularly from the viewpoint of Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy, is key, given the fact that, despite the rigidities of international migration structures, potential migrants and their households continue to be strategic thinkers who see migration as a path to improve their livelihoods (DE HAAS, 2010; PORTES, 2009). In the context of the perspective of Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy, migrants' livelihoods are conceptualized as their "capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources), and activities required for a means of living" (DE HAAS, 2010, p. 244). In this sense, the theory of Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy is similar to that of the NELM, in that migrants attempt to diversify their income sources in order to improve their overall wellbeing. Furthermore, like the NELM, while migrants are constrained by the overarching global capitalist structure, the Migration as a Livelihood Strategy Theory still affords a certain degree of agency to migrants, viewing them and their families as agents who make calculated decisions to improve their socioeconomic standing. However, it is important to point out, once more, that both the NELM and the Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy theories were conceived primarily with rural-urban intra-developing country migration and South-North international migration flows in mind, and;

thus, their application to Haitian migration flows to Brazil must be interpreted within the differing constructs of South-South international migration flows.

Moreover, Portes (2009) and De Haas (2010) also contribute to the growing discussion regarding the rise of transnational migrant communities. The transnational perspective on migration and development asserts that, facilitated by technological advances and growing global interconnectedness, permanently settled migrants are increasingly defying the traditional concepts of citizenship and are cultivating their own transnational identities that bridge the cultural and physical distance between their countries of settlement and origin, respectively. While pluralist approaches to the migration-development nexus take into account the influences of both structure and migrants' agency on migration flows, they still tend to view the permanent settlement of migrants in their destination country as detrimental to the role of migration as a force for development, stressing the importance of return and circular migration. In this light the formation of transnational organizations is seen as a method of harnessing the economic clout of migrant communities at their destinations, in order to promote development at their places of origin, via strategic remittance-sending, often channeled through civic or cultural organizations, in addition to minimizing the injurious impacts of the "brain drain" and the "brawn drain". While both De Haas (2010) and Portes (2009) recognize the importance of transnational communities, Portes (2009) views their long-term potential to minimize the negative effects of permanent out-migration on migrants' origin communities as modest, citing the continued depopulation of migrant-sending communities, the migrant diasporas' limited financial resources for development, and the trend of transnational activism to diminish among second and third-generation migrants. However, the focus on transnational migrant communities hailing from developing countries and that have settled in the developed world raises questions regarding how the formation of these communities will differ among migrant flows between the countries that comprise the Global South.

Massey et al. (1993) and Portes (2009) also mention the importance of unskilled migration from developing to developed countries in the context of Piore's Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory (1972). Piore (1972) was the first to address the relationship between labor market stratification and migration in developed countries, emphasizing the idea that, in developed economies, certain undesirable and low-paying jobs are increasingly being reserved for migrants, due to their low social status and employers' need for cheap labor. Other studies also examined the opposite end of the social pyramid, focusing on the role of well-trained migrants in meeting the labor market demand for the highest-skilled occupations,

particularly in developed countries (PORTES, 2009). Portes uses the classic example of H-1B visas¹² in the US to illustrate this point, contrasting these highly skilled migrants with the much larger group of unskilled migrants who typically are employed in positions that require manual labor or in the service sector. An investigation into the top fields of H-1B visa holders shows that the vast majority of them are occupied in highly skilled professions, particularly the IT and consulting sectors (USCIS, 2016).

Interestingly, more recent studies (PATARRA, 2005) indicate that in the past two decades, migration to developing countries, such as Brazil, has also acquired several of the characteristics described by the Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory, despite the structural deficiencies and divisions inherent to the Brazilian labor market. According to Patarra (2005), by the 2000s, Brazil had evolved into both a migrant-sending and migrant-receiving country with low levels of net migration, in contrast with the 1980s and 1990s when Brazil experienced negative net migration, and prior to the 1970s when Brazil experienced positive net migration. However, the changing composition of migration flows to Brazil, including the arrival of highly skilled migrants from developed countries is evidenced by the fact that, as early as the year 2000, nearly half of all migrant work authorizations in Brazil were granted to European, U.S., or Canadian citizens (PATARRA, 2005, p. 28).

The most recent OBMigra (2017) report, which examines the labor market integration of migrants in Brazil, shows that this trend has continued throughout the first two decades of the 21st Century, with an increased bifurcation in the professions and salaries of migrants working in the Brazilian labor market being witnessed.¹³ Thus, the trend towards the bifurcation of migrant employment in the Brazilian labor market that was first identified by Patarra (2005) at the turn of the 21st Century, based upon migrants' countries of origin, can be said to be continuing. As a result, despite the fact that the main theorists who discuss the Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory focus on South-North international migration, one can conclude that, within the Brazilian labor market, a trend toward the segmentation of

¹² The H-1B Visa program was established by the 1965 Immigration and Nationality Act to allow the admission of "an alien... who is coming temporarily to the United States to perform services... in a specialty occupation described in section 214(i)(1)...", which defines the specialty occupation as, "an occupation that requires - (A) theoretical and practical application of a body of specialized knowledge; and (B) attainment of a bachelor's or higher degree in the specific specialty (or its equivalent) as a minimum for entry into the occupation in the United States" (USCIS, 1965).

¹³ In 2016, there were 112,681 formally employed migrants in Brazil, with Haiti being by far the largest contributor, followed by various Mercosur/Mercosul members and associate states. An examination into the salaries earned and professions exercised by migrants from Haiti and Mercosur/Mercosul indicates that they are primarily employed in low-skilled and low-paying occupations (OBMigra, 2017, p. 123). Conversely, formally employed migrants from the largest developed country sources of migrants, which included the U.S., Japan, and several EU Member states, were overwhelmingly likely to be employed in high-skilled and high-paying positions (OBMigra, 2017, p. 92).

migrant employment opportunities is increasingly being witnessed. In this regard, migrants from neighboring and regional developing nations being more likely to be employed in low-skilled and low-paying professions, lacking global mobility rights, while those from developed countries tend to occupy high-skilled and well-remunerated positions that are integrated into the global economy and which are at the top of the occupational pyramid. However, despite the data indicating a bifurcation among migrant workers in the Brazilian labor market, it is important to reassert the inherent differences of the Brazilian labor market in comparison with the labor markets of advanced economies, in addition to the fact that local labor markets in Brazil are not uniform, with the RMBH's labor market possessing its own peculiarities within the Brazilian context.

Furthermore, Tilly (1986) provides a theoretical analysis of the role of networks in migration decision-making. Tilly emphasizes the role of networks and categories, envisioning migration as a “continuous process of collective transformation” with old social networks and categories transforming into new ones. According to Tilly, categories encompass characteristics, such as nationality or ethnicity. Interestingly, these categories can shift once migrants arrive in their destination. These new categories are formed by migrant networks, which, according to Tilly, are composed of “sets of people linked by acquaintance, kinship, and work experience who somehow incorporated American [U.S.] destinations into the mobility alternatives they considered when they reached critical decision-points in their individual or collective lives” (p. 3). These networks play many crucial roles throughout the migration process by facilitating information gathering and via the provision of both mutual aid and opportunities among migrants, with earlier migrants often assisting new migrants by furnishing information, accommodation, employment opportunities, and/or remittances.

Guilmoto and Sandron (2001) expand on Tilly's analysis, examining the role of networks and institutions in rural-urban migration within developing countries shaped by the overarching context of the NELM, an analysis that is arguably more applicable to the South-South migration flow between Haiti and Brazil that is the subject of the current research. The authors challenge the applicability of the Neoclassical Economics Migration theories, particularly in the context of developing countries where multiple barriers to migration exist, such as a lack of information on migration routes, costs, and employment and housing opportunities at the destination, in addition to the ability to maintain family links. Both Tilly (1986) and Guilmoto and Sandron (2001), highlight the importance of sending networks at migrants' places of origin, as well as receiving networks at the migration destination, both of which play a key part in determining migrants' destination choice, employment opportunities

at their destination, and their defining category/categories at their destination. Tilly (1986) highlights the fact that migrants to the U.S. from specific national or ethnic groups exhibited high levels of occupational specialization; however, these occupations often differed between metropolitan areas, with Guilmoto and Sandron (2001) also noting similar trends in the occupational specialization of rural-urban migrants in several countries in the developing world. Interestingly, similar trends in regional occupational specialization have been observed among Haitian migrants to Brazil, with work in the meatpacking sector predominating in the Southern Region of Brazil, while the construction and wholesale sectors employ large numbers of Haitian migrants in the Southeastern Region of the country (OBMigra, 2015; OBMigra, 2016; OBMigra, 2017).

Moreover, Guilmoto and Sandron (2001) extensively detail the role of migration institutions in facilitating migration within the developing world. While the exact definition of migration institutions varies by author, Guilmoto and Sandron broadly define them as “a set of rules that allow formal or informal organizations to function” (p. 142). Moreover, according to the authors, organizations are comprised of “groups of persons sharing a common objective”, which, in the context of migration, would most likely be exemplified by families, households, clans, ethnic groups, or other similar groups of people. These institutions and organizations work to lower migration costs over time, facilitating future migration. They are guided by an implicit migration contract, which seeks to curtail opportunism on the part of the migrant via rules, norms, conventions, etc., which obligate the migrant to send remittances and/or support family members who remain at the origin.

In addition to Guilmoto and Sandron’s (2001) focus on organizations and institutions that depend upon the mutual obligations among migrants and their sending and receiving communities, they also briefly discuss the role of market-based institutions, both legal and illegal, that often arise in conjunction with the intensification of migrations flows. Massey et al. (1993) also discuss the role of these market-based institutions, as well as the role that non-profit institutions play in facilitating migration flows. In the context of Haitian migration to Brazil and to the RMBH, both for-profit and non-profit institutions have played critical roles at different stages of this migration flow. Fernandes and Castro’s (2014) various interviews with Haitian migrants around Brazil, highlight the role played by people smugglers in coordinating Haitian migration to Brazil via neighboring countries in the early stages of this migration flow. These clandestine migration flows were later limited by the passage of the CNIg Resolutions 97 and 102 and the implementation of heightened travel restrictions imposed by Ecuador on Haitian migrants. Furthermore, in response to the mass arrival of

Haitian migrants in Brazil, many prime destination cities began to see NGOs, such as the Centro Zanmi in Belo Horizonte and the Missão Paz in São Paulo, fill the gap left by the Brazilian state in facilitating the socioeconomic integration of Haitian migrants at their destinations.

While a profound analysis of Haitian migration networks and institutions is beyond the scope of this research, Tilly (1986) and Guilmoto and Sandron's (2001) works serve as excellent points of departure for the targeted discussion of this topic concerning the various links and connections between Haitian migrants and their localities of origin, such as their migration routes and points of entry into Brazil, the presence of children and family at their origins and destinations, migrants' primary motives for migration, and their social and employment connections in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, and, more broadly, in Brazil as a whole.

Given the fact that the most prominent migration theories in the earlier literature focus exclusively on international migration between developing and developed countries or domestic migration within developing countries, one possible solution that allows researchers to use the existing theoretical framework to help contextualize Haitian migration to Brazil is to combine the contributions of each of the aforementioned migration theories. Massey's (1990) work does just that, synthesizing how the most influential existing migration theories interact with one another and the role of feedback mechanisms in these interactions, examining them in terms of time, the role of individual agency versus overarching structures, the importance of individuals and/or families/households in migration decision making, and the causes and effects of migration in explaining the cumulative causation of migration.

In summary, Massey (1990) concludes that migrants are logical decision makers who evaluate potential migration opportunities using a cost-benefit analysis. However, he finds strong evidence that migration decisions tend to be made more frequently by families and households, rather than individuals, and that this cost-benefit analysis is often viewed as a trade-off between maximizing household income and minimizing risks. As highlighted by Tilly (1986) and Guilmoto and Sandron (2001), and as affirmed by Massey (1990), over time, increasing migration flows expand upon kinship, friendship, and common origin networks, reducing migration costs and increasing the probability of future migration. Guilmoto and Sandron (2001) concur with Massey (1990) in that these informal networks are governed by a system of reciprocal obligations, mutual expectations, and self-interest. Furthermore, the importance of risk diversification among migrant-sending households contributes to the expansion of migrations networks, which, in turn, continually decrease the costs and risks

associated with migration. Massey (1990) affirms the far-reaching impacts that migration has on community structures at the origin in terms of landholding, agricultural production, and income distribution. These fundamental socioeconomic changes resulting from migration can exacerbate relative disparities in migrant-sending communities, acting as further motivation for future migration, a finding that is also highlighted by the key assertions proposed by the NELM. Regarding the importance of structure versus individual agency, the cumulative causation of migration takes into account both, concluding that while migrant-sending families and households are rational decision makers who actively seek to improve their lives via migration, migration decisions are strongly impacted by the local, regional, national, and international political, social, and economic context. In this regard, Massey (1990) underlines the importance of these relationships between sending regions in the developing world and receiving regions in the developed world, as framed by Piore's (1972) Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory. In this regard, the cumulative causation of migration views these relationships as being strongly influenced by the overarching global political and economic structures that disrupt labor markets in developing countries, creating surplus labor, which, simultaneously, is necessary to fill the cyclical, but constant demand for unskilled labor in developed economies.

Finally, it is important to reassert that, given the aforementioned lack of a completely adequate theoretical context to explain South-South international migration flows, any application of the aforementioned theories in an explanatory capacity concerning Haitian migration flows to Brazil must be undertaken with caution, constantly keeping in mind their theoretical limitations.

3.2 Subject-Specific Literature Review

Beginning in 2012, approximately two years after the onset of substantial Haitian migration flows to Brazil, migration scholars started to examine this topic in more detail. One of the first studies focused on the early impacts of Haitian migration in Manaus, a popular destination for Haitian migrants in the early stages of Haitian migration flows to Brazil (COSTA, 2012). However, as documented by Silva's (2015) study, and corroborated by various others (SILVA, Sidney, 2013; FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; MORÃES, SILVA, C., 2016), for the majority of Haitian migrants, the Amazonian metropolis was usually just a stopover on their journey to urban areas in the South and Southeast of Brazil.

By 2013, migration researchers had begun to pay more attention to Haitian migration to Brazil, and, in 2014, Fernandes and Castro published their qualitative and quantitative study, “Estudos sobre a Migração Haitiana ao Brasil e Diálogo Bilateral” (2014), while Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro published “Migração Haitiana para o Brasil: Minas Gerais como destino, a fala dos haitianos” (2014), a study focused on the results of Fernandes and Castro’s (2014) research that specifically concerned Minas Gerais and the RMBH. More recent studies concerning Haitian Migration to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area include Sá’s (2015) qualitative analysis of the social networks and labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Even more recently, Castro, Dayrell, and Silva’s (2016) qualitative study provides a comprehensive investigation into the socioeconomic realities of Haitians residing in the RMBH, including a limited analysis of their labor market integration.

Given the relative importance of the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area as a destination for Haitian migrants to Brazil, it is surprising that comparatively few studies have examined the Haitian migrant population in the region, with several key characteristics of this population having yet to be explored. Furthermore, while the current study also makes use of the data supplied by the Brazilian Federal Police, similar to Fernandes and Castro’s (2014) research, it also draws upon data supplied by the Centro Zanmi and RAIS, two databases that have not yet been utilized for the purposes of analyzing the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Additionally, the use of RAIS allows for a much broader and more detailed analysis of the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, particularly in comparison with previous studies.

Regarding the three objectives of this study, an analysis of the previously conducted research provides various insights, in addition to furnishing guidance when contextualizing and interpreting the results of this study. Concerning the objective of constructing an updated and comprehensive demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, the aforementioned studies (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016) all furnish information regarding the demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH. Results regarding the sex and age structure of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area indicate that it is overwhelmingly comprised of working-age males between the ages of 20 and 50. Concerning marital status, the vast majority of Haitian migrants in these studies claimed to be single (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). Regarding the educational attainment of Haitian migrants

residing in the RMBH, earlier studies (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016) portray a Haitian migrant population with diverse levels of educational attainment, with the majority of migrants possessing a middle school or high school education, but also with significant numbers of migrants concentrated at the lowest and highest ends of the educational spectrum.

Fernandes and Castro (2014), Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014), and Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016), all discuss, to a certain extent, the types of visas held by Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH and their migration status, mentioning the important role of the CNIg Resolutions 27, 97, and 102 in the changing volume of composition of visa concessions to Haitian migrants. Both Fernandes and Castro (2014), Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014), and Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016) find that, as early as 2014, a large majority of Haitian migrants arriving in Brazil and in the RMBH were arriving with humanitarian visas in hand, a sizeable portion of which were obtained at the Brazilian consulate in Port-au-Prince, before migrating to Brazil. Concerning Haitian migrants' year of arrival, all of the aforementioned studies concerning the RMBH corroborate the fact that, through 2015, Haitian migration to the RMBH continued to accelerate, with each year witnessing larger migration flows than the last. Finally, concerning Haitian migrants' place of settlement upon their arrival in the RMBH, Fernandes and Castro (2014) highlight the importance of the cities of Contagem and Esmeraldas as the primary places of settlement of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area.

Concerning this study's second and principal objective of evaluating the labor market insertion of Haitian migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte, the aforementioned studies all touch upon some of the variables in question, without entering into a profound analysis of these variables in the context of the RMBH. Fernandes and Castro (2014), Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014), Sá (2015) and Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016), all research and discuss the occupations and professional aspects of Haitian migrants in both Haiti and in Brazil and/or in the RMBH. However, these studies primarily focus on self-reported information gathered from migrant surveys applied by the researchers. While Fernandes and Castro (2014) examine employment data obtained by the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Ministério de Relações Exteriores), the categories are quite limited and concern migrants' previous professions in Haiti. As a result, the present study aims to expand upon the previous research, by examining the relationship between Haitian migrants' professions in Brazil and their educational attainment, in addition to the relationship between a variety of additional

professional characteristics of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH and their average monthly salaries.

Concerning the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, high levels of employment turnover and temporary stints of unemployment were reported, a finding also supported by Fernandes and Castro (2014). These studies' results also coincided in regard to the labor market status of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, with the vast majority of employed migrants claiming to be formally employed. Language difficulties were a common complaint regarding Haitian migrants' insertion into the labor market, with highly skilled migrants also complaining about underemployment and problems in having their diplomas and credentials recognized in Brazil (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015). As a result of these findings, this study seeks to analyze the labor market status of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, in addition to investigating the existence of any relationship between Haitian migrants' labor market status and their educational attainment and/or their length of residence in Brazil.

The aforementioned studies provide information concerning the salaries of Haitian migrants, obtained through surveys, focus groups, and interviews. These studies shed light on the generally low salaries earned by Haitian migrants in Brazil and in the RMBH, which tended to be the primary complaint voiced by Haitian migrants in regards to their labor market integration (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015). This study seeks to expand upon and qualify these oft-reported claims by examining the average monthly salaries of Haitian migrants in the RMBH using RAIS data. Furthermore, various studies point out the difficulties faced by Haitian migrants in advancing professionally, highlighting the frustration of migrants who have been in their jobs for longer spans of time, those who have lived in Brazil for longer lengths of time, and those who possess advanced educational or professional qualifications (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015). As a result, this study seeks to analyze not only the mean monthly salaries earned by formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH, but also aims to contextualize the most commonly reported problems concerning professional advancement by examining the relationship between migrants' average monthly salaries and their professions, educational attainment, length of residence in Brazil, and length of employment in their current position.

Finally, the literature also provides limited, but essential, insights concerning this study's third objective, which is to examine Haitian migrants' motives, social ties, and links with their place of origin, in addition to other social or economic connections present among

Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH. Concerning Haitian migrants' primary reasons for migrating, Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016) corroborate the previous findings of Sá (2015), Fernandes and Castro (2014), and Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014), asserting that economic motives were the predominant reason behind Haitian migration to Brazil. Given the short time span between the publication dates of the few studies that examine Haitian migration to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, it is interesting to compare the shift in migration routes documented by earlier and later studies. While Fernandes and Castro (2014), highlighted the importance of Acre, Amazonas, and São Paulo as points of entry into Brazil, often after undertaking a circuitous and clandestine migration route through Ecuador and/or Peru, Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016) find that the vast majority of migrants that they interviewed arrived directly in Brazil by plane, with 80% coming to Brazil after having acquired a humanitarian visa at the Brazilian Consulate in Port-au-Prince. This study seeks to further qualify these findings by analyzing data concerning migrants' previous destination or places of residence, as well the temporal evolution of Haitian migrants' UFs of entry into Brazil. Finally, through their interviews with Haitian migrants in Brazil, Fernandes and Castro (2014) provide a reasonable illustration of the difficulties faced by migrants who have left family members behind in Haiti, in addition to touching upon these links in the context of family reunification and remittance-sending behaviors. In this light, the current study seeks to examine the transnational family links of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH, by examining the data regarding the number of reported children that Haitian migrants have both in Haiti and in Brazil. Finally, this study seeks to update and expand upon Fernandes and Castro's (2014) analysis of Haitian migrants' birthplaces, via an analysis of the corresponding data furnished by the Centro Zanmi.

In light of the theoretical contextualization provided by the aforementioned migration theorists, in addition to the findings and omissions of prior studies that investigated Haitian migration to the RMBH, the following chapter will provide a methodological outline of how this study analyzes three distinct databases in order to further build-upon the earlier findings and close key gaps in the existing literature concerning Haitian migration to the RMBH.

CHAPTER 4

4. Methodology

4.1 Data Sources

As previously mentioned in Section 1.4, this research utilizes three different data sources obtained from the Centro Zanmi, SINCRE, and RAIS. Table 1 displays how each database was partially or completely utilized in the analysis conducted in order to accomplish the three objectives of this study.

Table 1: Utilization of Databases by Objective

Database	Objectives		
	1. Demographic Profile	2. Labor Market Integration	3. Motives, Social Ties, and Links with Origin
SINCRE	✓	✓	✓
Centro Zanmi	✓	✓	✓
RAIS	✓	✓	✓

These three distinct databases were utilized for a variety of reasons. First, these data sources measure many of the same variables allowing for comparisons among them, in addition to facilitating the consistency checking of the data provided from each source. Given that the data correspond to different periods of time, any differences found were subsequently investigated to see if they were due to temporal or other possible changes in the composition of Haitian migration flows to the RMBH. Furthermore, a comparison among three different populations of migrants, encompassing Haitian migrants who sought help at the Centro Zanmi, those who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte, and those who are formally employed in the RMBH, facilitates comparisons and contrasts among these groups and attempts to contextualize any differences between them. Moreover, it is important to highlight that this study was the first to research the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH utilizing both the Centro Zanmi and RAIS databases, providing a unique and enhanced assessment of the Haitian migrant population living in Greater Belo Horizonte.

The first database utilized by this study was obtained from the Centro Zanmi, the leading NGO that furnishes aid to migrants in the RMBH. One major advantage of the Centro Zanmi data is its ability to capture a wide-range of variables that are not included in formal,

government-collected databases, such as employment status (formal, informal, unemployed, etc.) and motives for migration, among others.

The second source of data was taken from the Sistema Nacional de Cadastro e Registro de Estrangeiros (SINCRE). The advantages of this database are the relatively large number of migrants that it encompasses, and the fact that it contains information that aided in the investigation and the construction of a demographic profile of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, while also assisting in research regarding their social connections and links with other migrants and to their places of origin. In addition, due to the fact that, in Brazil, all documented migrants are required to register with the Brazilian Federal Police within 30 days of their arrival in the country, this database should provide a representative sample of Haitian migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte, given that the overwhelming majority of Haitian migrants in Brazil are documented.

In addition to the previously mentioned databases, this study utilized information provided by the Relação Anual de Informações Sociais (RAIS), spanning the years from 2002 to 2015. RAIS includes extensive information, provided by employers, on all formally employed workers during a particular year, containing various indicators concerning workers' salaries, while also providing information regarding the length of time in their current position, hire and firing dates, occupational category and sub-category classifications, as well as other types of labor market data. In addition, RAIS provides a range of demographic information, such as age, sex, educational attainment, and nationality.

Concerning the general composition of the three data sources, the vast majority of migrants living in the RMBH who have sought help at the Centro Zanmi are Haitians (88.2%). The Centro Zanmi data acquired by this study was collected between late 2013, when the Centro Zanmi opened its doors, and April 18, 2017. During this time period, 1,638 individual Haitian migrants residing in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area were registered as seeking assistance at the Centro Zanmi, and, of these migrants, 1,190 were men and 448 were women. The SINCRE data consists of an accumulated stock of all migrants who have registered with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte between January 2000 and November 2015. Its data entries include 1,499 individual Haitian migrants, of whom 1,102 are males and 397 are females. Finally, it is important to highlight that RAIS is a database maintained by the Brazilian Labor Ministry (Ministério de Trabalho), which contains information furnished annually by all employers, persons, and entities holding a CNPJ (Brazilian corporate taxpayer identification number). All persons with an active CNPJ, in addition to all establishments which possess a Cadastro de Empresa Individual (CEI) and

which also have employees, must provide an extensive array of employment-related data to RAIS each year.

4.2 Methods

Concerning the first objective, the SINCRE database, the Centro Zanmi database, and the RAIS databases from 2013 and 2015, were utilized as the principal sources of information. Data obtained from SINCRE was analyzed to develop a socio-demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. The variables analyzed included sex, age, marital status, migration/visa status, date of registration with the Brazilian Federal Police (a proxy for migrants' length of residence in Brazil), and Haitian migrants' city of residence in the RMBH. Similar key demographic information is provided by the data obtained from the Centro Zanmi, with one of the key differences being that, in addition to the information provided by SINCRE, the Centro Zanmi data also furnishes information on migrants' neighborhood of residence, allowing for a more accurate mapping of the exact areas in Greater Belo Horizonte in which Haitian migrants reside. In addition, the Centro Zanmi database also contains information on migrants' self-reported educational attainment and, instead of their date of registration with the Brazilian Federal Police, possesses information on migrants' year of entry into Brazil. Finally, the information supplied by the 2013 and 2015 RAIS databases provides a demographic portrait of the sex, age, year of entry (2015 data only), and educational attainment of Haitian migrants who work in the formal economy in the RMBH.

Regarding this dissertation's second objective, Haitian migrants' degree of labor market integration was measured using a comprehensive interpretation, incorporating data that provides information on mean monthly salary levels, the degree of participation in the labor market, the percentage of migrants employed in the formal labor market, labor market turnover (the amount of time in the same position), and the probability of possessing employment in an area corresponding to a migrant's educational attainment. In order to thoroughly explore this central objective, the principal data source was the *Relação Anual de Informações Sociais* (RAIS). However, given that the RAIS data only encompasses migrants working in the formal labor market, data from the Centro Zanmi, which asks about migrants' employment status and profession, as well as self-reported data concerning migrants' professions drawn from SINCRE, were also be used to paint at least a partial picture of the labor market characteristics of the entire Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, including

those employed in the informal labor market, as well as those who are unemployed or who are not currently economically active.

Concerning the data furnished by RAIS, the 2015 dataset obtained by the researcher provides information on 76 separate variables, with select variables providing information on 10 of the 12 labor market relationships being analyzed by this study, in order to evaluate the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The main advantage of this database is that it is the most complete and accurate of the three in regards to the detailed information that it provides on Haitian migrants participating in the formal labor market in the RMBH. In addition, it furnishes information on variables such as salary and standardized employment classification information, including the *Classificação Brasileira de Ocupações* (Brazilian Classification of Occupations) employment categories and the *Classificação Nacional de Atividades Econômicas* (National Classification of Economic Activities) sub-categories, which are not provided by the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases.

The bulk of the RAIS data analysis was conducted using data from 2013 and 2015. The 2015 data was chosen given that it is the most recent year available and that it also contains information on migrants' year of arrival in Brazil, a critical piece of information for analyzing Haitian migrants' labor market insertion based upon their length of residence in the country. Although the first Haitian migrants to the RMBH appear in the 2011 RAIS database, 2013 was chosen as the second reference year, given that the number of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH was rather small in 2011 and 2012, with just 59 Haitian migrants working in the formal labor market in 2011 and 156 in 2012. The RAIS data for 2013 contain 599 formally employed Haitian migrants, of whom 516 are males and 83 are females. The RAIS data for 2015 include information on 1,447 formally employed Haitian migrants living in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, of whom 1,238 are men and 209 are women. An analysis of the data for the years 2011, 2012, and 2014 was conducted only for the purposes of comparing the annual evolution of formally employed Haitian migrants' salaries.

Regarding the objective of analyzing Haitian migrants' labor market insertion, data supplied by RAIS was used to elaborate upon the most common professions held by Haitian migrants in the RMBH, utilizing the CNAE occupational divisions. RAIS data was also used to assess the relationship between educational attainment and profession, as well as the association between salary level and profession. An overall evaluation of the educational attainment of migrants contained in the RAIS database who participate in the formal labor market was also conducted. A descriptive analysis of salary levels, in addition to the

associations between mean monthly salary and educational attainment, and migrants' average monthly salaries and their length of residence in Brazil was also made possible by the information furnished by RAIS. Furthermore, this study utilized RAIS data to investigate the average number of hours worked per week by formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Finally, data from RAIS was used to detail migrants' average length of employment, in addition to analyzing the association between their average monthly salary and their mean length of employment.

The information provided by RAIS was useful in testing the hypothesis that a longer length of residence in Brazil should be correlated with higher salaries and a more elevated chance of being employed in an area corresponding to migrants' educational attainment levels. Furthermore, the data furnished by RAIS aided in testing if higher levels of educational attainment are indeed associated with greater salaries, an increased probability of possessing formal employment, and a greater chance of being employed in an area corresponding to migrants' educational attainment. Finally, these data also assisted in testing the differences in the employment outcomes between male and female Haitian migrants employed in the formal labor market.

Furthermore, the data provided by the Centro Zanmi were used to contextualize the data provided by RAIS, in addition to providing a (albeit more limited) labor market analysis of all Haitian migrants in the RMBH, including those working in the informal sector, unemployed migrants, and migrants not currently participating in the labor market. This database is the primary source of information for the sections of this dissertation that describe migrants' labor market status, as well as the relationship between their labor market status and their year of entry into Brazil. Moreover, data from the Centro Zanmi was used in conjunction with information furnished by RAIS to evaluate the relationship between Haitian migrants' educational attainment and their labor market status. The data provided by the Centro Zanmi, also contains self-declared data on migrants' professions, allowing for a descriptive assessment of this variable, in addition to permitting a comparison with the occupational data supplied by RAIS and SINCRE. Finally, it is important to note that, in this subsection, data from SINCRE is solely utilized to examine migrants' self-reported professions.

The third objective of this study is to analyze how migration flows from Haiti to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area fit within the existing literature, with a particular focus on Haitian migrants' reported motives for migration, migration routes, ties with their places of origin, and other forms of social and/or employment connections and support. The principal data sources regarding this information were SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi.

The data obtained from the Centro Zanmi provide information concerning migrants' birthplaces, their previous destinations or places of residence (before the RMBH), their primary motives for migration, and the number of children they have in Brazil and/or in Haiti. Information on migrants' birthplaces was used for the same purpose as the corresponding data provided by the SINCRE database, with the additional benefit of allowing a comparison between the two databases to evaluate their consistency. Data regarding migrants' primary motive for migration, allowed this study to test its final hypothesis, which asserts that more recent migration flows should indicate a greater percentage of women due to the increased importance of family reunification at the expense of economic motives for migration. While the Centro Zanmi data on migrants' previous destinations or places of residence contains a large percentage of missing responses, it could be used to supplement the information provided by other variables in regard to the interactions among Haitian migrants and how their migration pathways have shifted over time. Finally, the data concerning migrants' number of children in Haiti and/or in Brazil provides essential information regarding the profoundness of Haitian migrants' family ties both to their country of origin and to their destination country.

The data provided by SINCRE contain two key variables for fulfilling this objective. The first concerns the birthplace of each individual migrant, allowing for this study to map the origin of Haitian migrants residing in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. The second essential variable concerns information on Haitian migrants' UF of entry into Brazil, which provides insight into how the routes of Haitian migration to the RMBH have evolved over time, particularly in response to changing migration policies. Furthermore, the SINCRE data concerning Haitian migrants' UF of entry into Brazil, also furnishes information regarding the expansion of social connections both among migrants and with their places of origin.

Finally, it is important to highlight the fact that these data sources also have their limitations. For example, while certain variables are similar across the databases, many are not identical, curbing the ability for conclusive comparisons among the data sources. In this regard, variables such as marital status, profession, and educational attainment contain different response options in each database, and; thus, any comparisons of the results must be made cautiously. Despite the richness and diversity of the information provided by the Centro Zanmi, one main limitation of this database is that it is composed of information gathered from an accumulated stock of all migrants who have sought assistance at the Centro Zanmi since late 2013, with individual entries only being updated if and when a migrant returns to the Centro Zanmi. Moreover, a few select data categories, such as migrants' previous

destinations or places of residence (before the RMBH), are comprised of more than 30% missing entries, complicating the representativeness of their analysis.

Additionally, the data provided by SINCRE only encompass migrants who have registered with the Brazilian Federal Police specifically in Belo Horizonte. Although migrants are required to report any change of address to the Brazilian Federal Police, there are few controls over this process; thus, migrants who had previously settled in another destination in Brazil and then re-migrated to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area are not guaranteed to be included in this dataset. The data is also limited by the fact that, in general, it is only updated when migrants return to the Federal Police, which, in the case of Haitian migrants holding humanitarian visas, would correspond to a period of once every five years. Furthermore, nearly all migrants who partook in the mass regularization of over 40,000 Haitian migrants waiting for a decision regarding their asylum requests in October 2015 are also likely to be absent from this database. Finally, concerning the SINCRE data, the information regarding migrants' professions is self-declared, and shows some irregularities in migrants' responses. Even when accurately reported, the professional data furnished by SINCRE is more likely to reflect Haitian migrants' professions at their place of origin, due to the fact that all migrants are required to register with the Federal Police within 30 days of their arrival in Brazil, and are likely to encounter difficulty in arranging employment in such a short time span.

Finally, concerning the RAIS database, the principal limitation in the context of this study is the lack of inclusion of informally employed workers or migrants who are not currently economically active. Furthermore, the fact that RAIS data is provided by the employer rather than by the employee could influence the accuracy of certain variables, particularly the number of hours worked per week and workers' educational attainment, among others. In addition, the RAIS data analyzed only extends until 2015, restricting the ability of this database to provide a complete evaluation of the impact of the economic crisis on the formal labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area from 2016 onward. Moreover, as previously mentioned, the data from 2002 to 2014 (but not 2015) are missing information on migrants' year of arrival in Brazil, limiting the analysis of the relationship between Haitian migrants' length of residence in Brazil and their labor market insertion solely to the 2015 data.

The following chapter utilizes the aforementioned databases and follows the previously mentioned methodological steps to provide a comprehensive analysis of the socio-demographic profile, labor market integration, and ties, connections, and links regarding the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH. In addition to analyzing the data and displaying the

results, chapter 5 subsequently discusses these results, investigating them in the context of the existing research, while considering how these new findings have contributed to bridging some of the previous gaps in the literature.

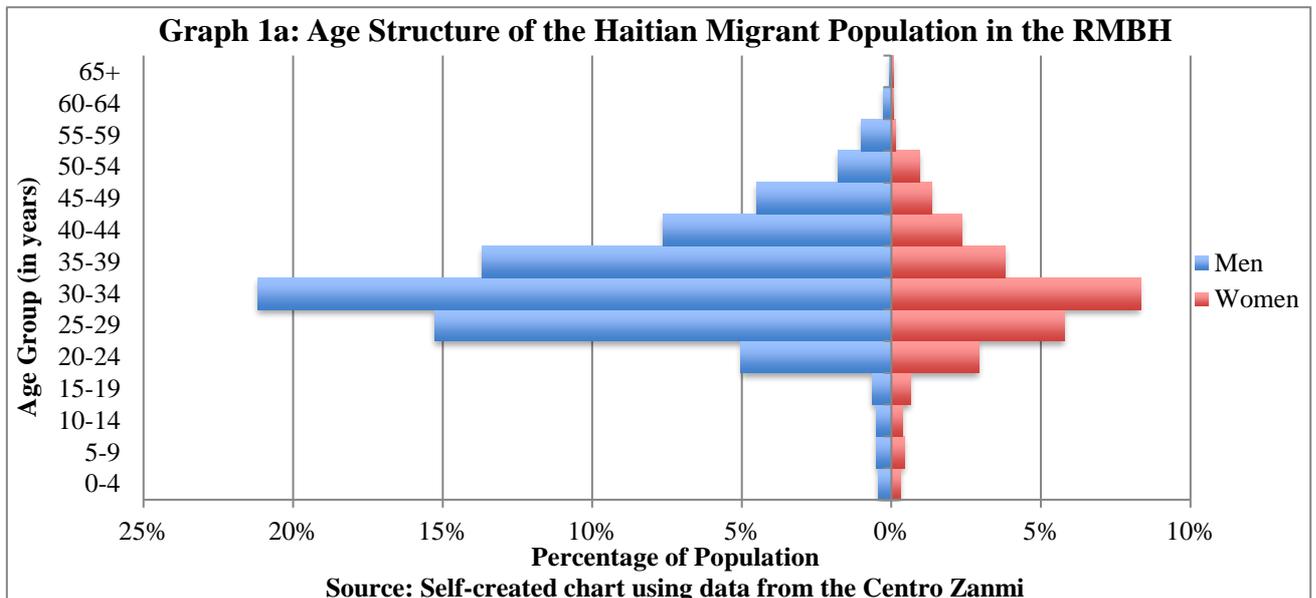
5. Results and Discussion

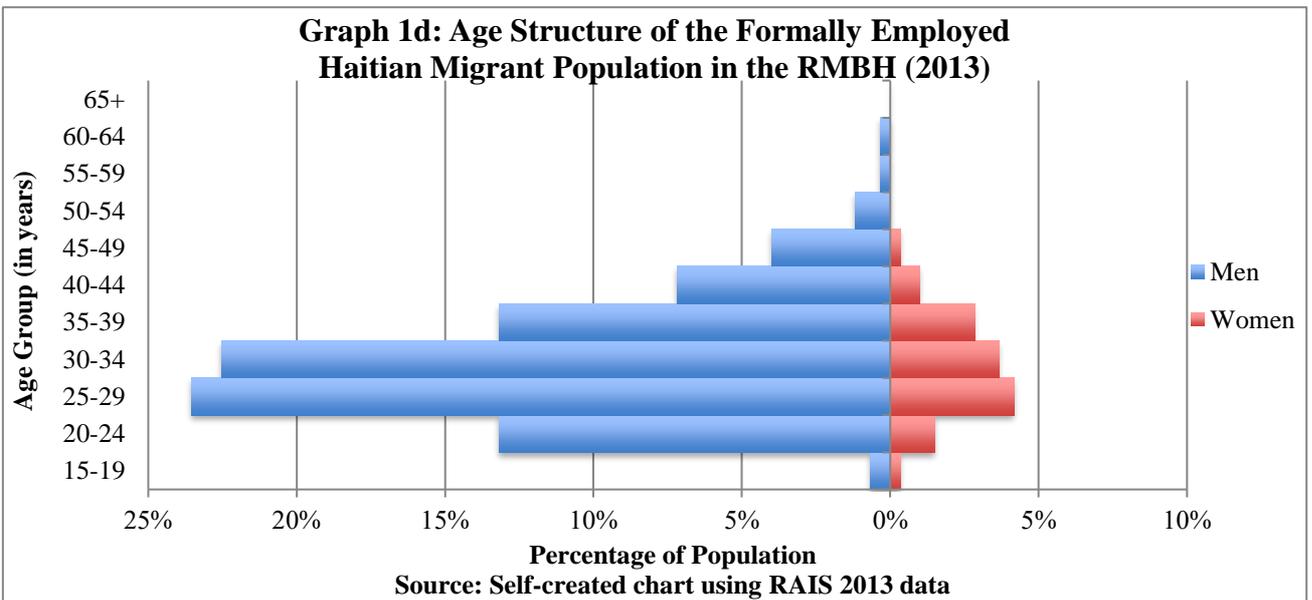
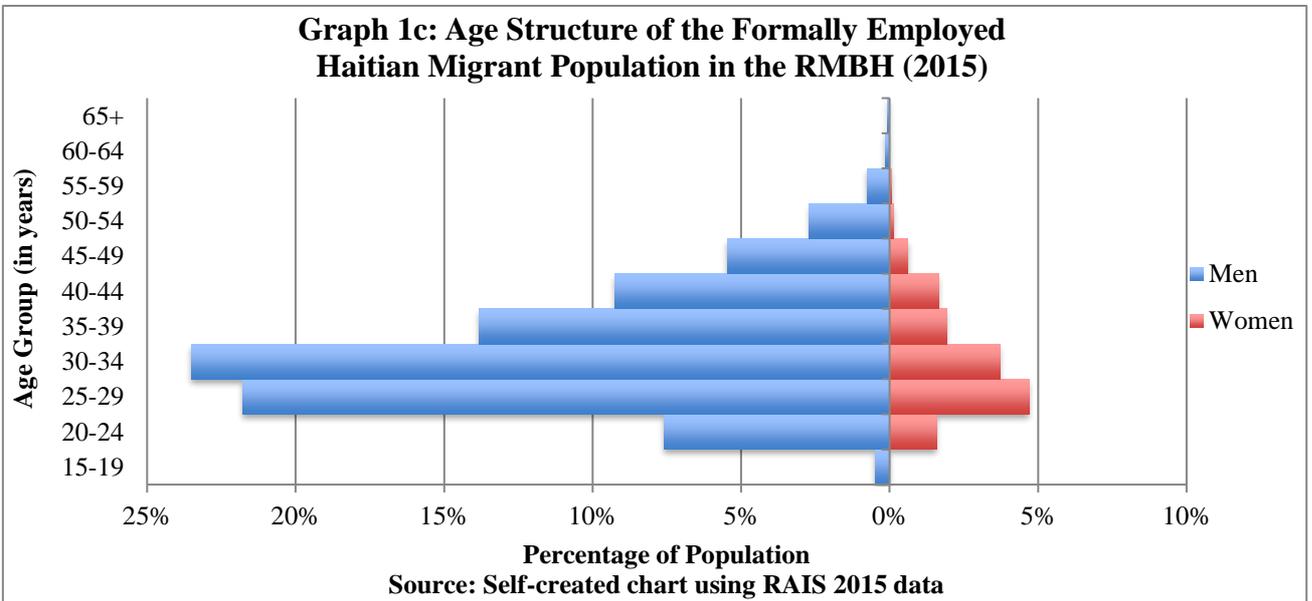
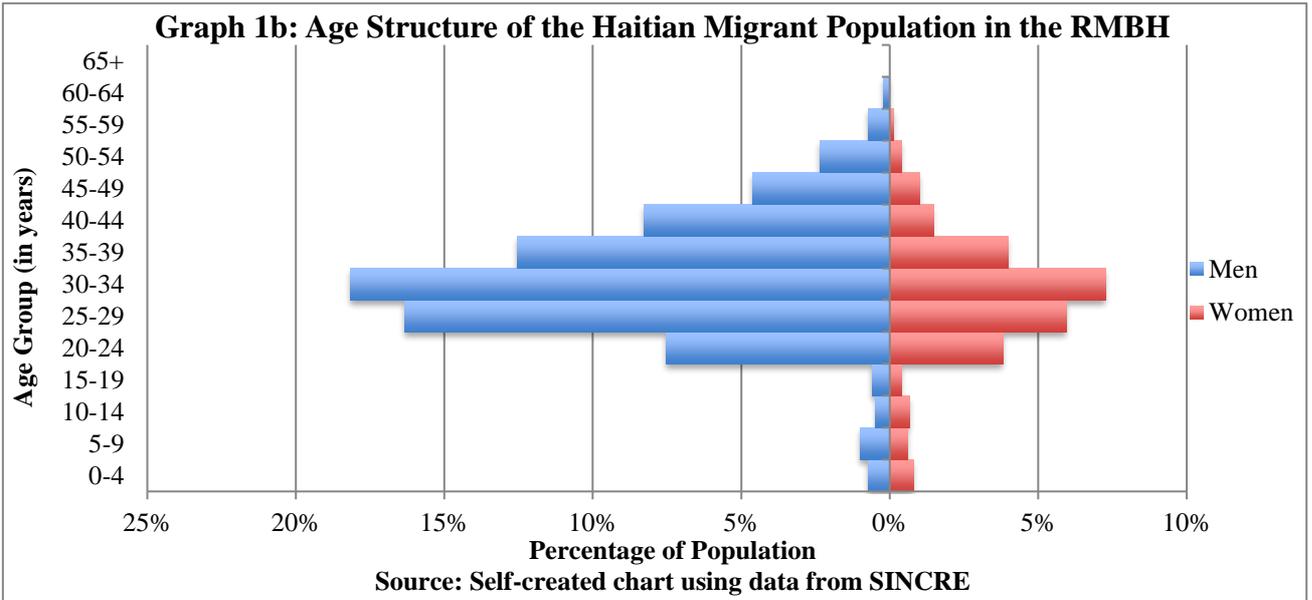
5.1 Demographic Profile

5.1.1 Personal Attributes

In order to accomplish the objective of creating a comprehensive demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, several different personal attributes were investigated, encompassing sex, age, marital status, and educational attainment.

The sex breakdown of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH is similar among the four data sources. A singular noticeable difference is that the RAIS data from both 2015 and 2013 show a greater percentage of male migrants than female migrants in comparison with the data derived from the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE. Graphs 1a through 1d display the age structure of the total, male, and female Haitian migrant populations in the RMBH. The data from all four sources show that the vast majority - more than 90% - of the Haitian migrant population is concentrated between the ages of 20 and 50, with few differences in this concentration being seen by sex. Across the databases, the most prominent age groups for both men and women alternated between 30-34 and 25-29 years. Male Haitian migrants pertaining to these age groups comprised between 16% and 24% of the total population, depending upon the database in question, while female migrants belonging to these age groups composed between 3.6% and 8.4% of the total population, depending upon the database being utilized.





Data concerning the marital status of Haitians residing in the RMBH is displayed in Table 2. As RAIS does not ask formally employed workers to furnish this information, only data from the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE are displayed. Furthermore, it is important to highlight that the categories utilized by these databases are not equivalent, as the Centro Zanmi data classifies migrants as single, married, in a stable union, divorced, separated, widowed, or missing, while SINCRE only divides migrants into the categories single, married, widowed, and other. For both databases, single and married are the sole categories to encompass more than 10% of the Haitian migrant population, with 16.5% of Haitian migrants in the RMBH not providing marital status information, according to the Centro Zanmi. A noticeably higher percentage of migrants (77.3% of females and 84.5% of males) contained in the SINCRE database reported being married in comparison with their Centro Zanmi counterparts, among whom just over half of male and female migrants claimed to be married. Conversely, a slightly higher proportion of both male and female migrants pertaining to the Centro Zanmi database declared themselves to be single, with the remaining differences attributable to the small numbers of migrants who reported being in a stable union, divorced, separated, widowed, or in another type of relationship.

Table 2 - Sex, Marital Status, Migration Status, and Year of Entry / Registration of Haitian Migrants in the RMBH

Variable		Centro Zanmi						SINCRE (Federal Police)						RAIS							
		Total		Men		Women		Total		Men		Women		Year	Total		Men		Women		
		n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		n	%	n	%	n	%	
Sex		1638	100%	1190	72.5%	448	27.5%	1499	100%	1102	73.5%	397	26.5%	2015	1447	100%	1238	85.6%	209	14.4%	
														2013	599	100%	516	86.1%	83	13.9%	
Marital Status	Single	865	52.8%	638	53.6%	227	50.7%	1238	82.6%	931	84.5%	307	77.3%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Married	396	24.2%	282	23.7%	114	25.5%	240	16.0%	158	14.3%	82	20.7%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Stable Union	88	5.4%	52	4.4%	36	8.0%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Divorced	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Separated	11	0.7%	8	0.7%	3	0.7%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Widowed	6	0.4%	1	0.1%	5	1.1%	3	0.2%	2	0.2%	1	0.3%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Other	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	18	1.2%	11	1.0%	7	1.8%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Missing	270	16.5%	208	17.5%	62	13.8%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Migration Status	Permanent Visa	1128	68.9%	791	66.5%	337	75.2%	1470	98.2%	1,085	98.5%	385	97.0%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Temporary Visa	8	0.5%	7	0.6%	1	0.2%	29	1.9%	17	1.5%	12	3.0%		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Refugee	29	1.8%	23	1.9%	6	1.3%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Asylum Seeker	379	23.1%	298	25.0%	81	18.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Tourist	2	0.1%	1	0.1%	1	0.2%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Student	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.00%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Undocumented	3	0.2%	3	0.3%	0	0.00%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Expired Visa	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.00%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Lost Visa	1	0.1%	1	0.1%	0	0.00%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Missing	86	5.3%	64	5.4%	22	4.9%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
Year of Entry / Registration with the Federal Police	Before 2012	28	1.7%	23	1.9%	5	1.1%	27	1.8%	19	1.7%	8	2.0%		50	3.5%	38	3.1%	12	5.7%	
	2012	65	4.0%	57	4.8%	8	1.8%	122	8.1%	105	9.5%	17	4.3%		131	9.1%	120	9.7%	11	5.3%	
	2013	268	16.4%	212	17.8%	56	12.5%	419	28.0%	308	27.9%	111	28.0%		363	25.1%	299	24.2%	64	30.6%	
	2014	344	21.0%	267	22.4%	77	17.2%	486	32.4%	361	32.8%	125	31.5%	2015	613	42.4%	520	42.0%	93	44.5%	
	2015	358	21.9%	248	20.8%	110	24.6%	445	29.7%	309	28.0%	136	34.3%		290	20.0%	261	21.1%	29	13.9%	
	2016	368	22.5%	233	19.6%	135	30.1%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	2017	42	2.56%	26	2.2%	16	3.6%	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A		N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	
	Missing	165	10.1%	124	10.4%	41	9.2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%		0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	

Sources: Self-created table using data from the Centro Zanmi, SINCRE, RAIS 2013, and RAIS 2015 databases

Note: 2017 data for the Centro Zanmi runs through 18/04/17 and 2015 data for SINCRE includes all months through November 2015.

Data collected by the Centro Zanmi and RAIS (2015 and 2013) concerning migrants' educational attainment are displayed in Tables 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. SINCRE data does not contain information regarding migrants' educational levels, and; thus, is excluded from this analysis. Table 3 refers to the educational attainment of Haitian migrants who frequented the Centro Zanmi, while Tables 4 and 5 encompass the formally employed Haitian migrants contained in the 2015 RAIS database, and Tables 6 and 7 display the results of the 2013 RAIS data. Tables 5 and 7, show the results for the broader educational groupings created for this study, for the purpose of simplifying the subsequent analysis of the correlations between migrants' educational attainment and their professions, salary level, and length of employment.

Table 3: Educational Attainment of Haitian Migrants in the RMBH

Educational Attainment Level	Total Population		Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	32	2.0%	25	2.1%	7	1.6%
Basic / Incomplete Primary	169	10.3%	120	10.1%	49	10.9%
Complete Primary	426	26.0%	319	26.8%	107	23.9%
Complete Secondary	520	31.8%	380	31.9%	140	31.3%
University	120	7.3%	83	7.0%	37	8.3%
Technical	53	3.2%	35	2.9%	18	4.0%
Missing	318	19.4%	228	19.2%	90	20.1%
Total	1,638	100.0%	1,190	100.0%	448	100.0%

Source: Self-created table using Centro Zanmi data

Table 4: Educational Attainment of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH (9 Categories)

Educational Attainment	Total		Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	24	1.7%	19	1.5%	5	2.4%
Elementary School (Inc.)	103	7.1%	85	6.9%	18	8.6%
Elementary School (Comp.)	54	3.7%	47	3.8%	7	3.4%
Middle School (Inc.)	111	7.7%	92	7.4%	19	9.1%
Middle School (Comp.)	333	23.0%	285	23.0%	48	23.0%
High School (Inc.)	169	11.7%	153	12.4%	16	7.7%
High School (Comp.)	613	42.4%	522	42.2%	91	43.5%
University (Inc.)	14	1.0%	11	0.9%	3	1.4%
University (Comp.)	26	1.8%	24	1.9%	2	1.0%
Total	1447	100%	1238	100%	209	100%

Source: Self-created table using RAIS 2015 data

Table 5: Educational Attainment of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH (4 Categories)

Educational Attainment	Total		Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Elementary School (Comp.) or less	181	12.5%	151	12.2%	30	14.4%
Middle School (Inc. or Comp.)	444	30.7%	377	30.5%	67	32.1%
High School (Inc. or Comp.)	782	54.0%	675	54.5%	107	51.2%
University (Inc. or Comp.)	40	2.8%	35	2.4%	5	2.4%
Total	1,447	100%	1,238	100%	209	100%

Source: Self-created table using RAIS 2015 data

Table 6: Educational Attainment of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH (9 categories)

Educational Attainment	Total		Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	4	0.7%	3	0.6%	1	1.2%
Elementary School (Inc.)	25	4.2%	22	4.3%	3	3.7%
Elementary School (Comp.)	18	3.0%	13	2.5%	5	6.0%
Middle School (Inc.)	97	16.2%	95	18.4%	2	2.4%
Middle School (Comp.)	181	30.2%	146	28.3%	35	42.2%
High School (Inc.)	66	11.0%	60	11.6%	6	7.2%
High School (Comp.)	186	31.1%	156	30.2%	30	36.1%
University (Inc.)	11	1.8%	10	1.9%	1	1.2%
University (Comp.)	11	1.8%	11	2.1%	0	0.0%
Total	599	100%	516	100%	83	100%

Source: Self-created table using RAIS 2013 data

Table 7: Educational Attainment of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH (4 categories)

Educational Attainment	Total		Males		Females	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Elementary School (Comp.) or less	47	7.8%	38	7.4%	9	10.8%
Middle School (Inc. or Comp.)	278	46.4%	241	46.7%	37	44.6%
High School (Inc. or Comp.)	252	42.1%	216	41.9%	36	43.4%
University (Inc. or Comp.)	22	3.7%	21	4.1%	1	1.2%
Total	599	100%	516	100%	83	100%

Source: Self-created table using RAIS 2013 data

An analysis of the data provided by the Centro Zanmi and RAIS indicates similar patterns in the educational attainment of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, revealing that the bulk of migrants have either a complete high school or complete middle school education, with smaller numbers of migrants claiming to have an elementary school education, to be

illiterate, or to possess a university-level education. Three key differences between the results seen in the Centro Zanmi data and the data provided by RAIS are evident.

First, the categorization systems used by the two databases do not align perfectly, so any comparison between them must take this into account. Second, while the patterns of educational attainment are similar, approximately 20% of migrants from the Centro Zanmi database did not report their educational attainment level, causing the percentage of migrants in the remaining educational attainment categories to appear lower when compared with the complete data offered by RAIS. Third, the Centro Zanmi data allows migrants to declare information regarding technical degrees; however, only a small number of migrants among the general, male, and female migrant populations fit into this category; thus, the existence of this educational category is unlikely to impact the comparability of the databases to a significant degree.

Finally, an analysis of educational attainment by sex and by age was conducted for the Centro Zanmi data, as well as using the data provided by RAIS in 2015. These results are displayed in Tables A1, A2, A3, and A4 in Annex I. Concerning the data furnished by the Centro Zanmi, we find a higher propensity among younger age groups of working-age migrants, particularly those between the ages of 20 and 34 years, to provide information regarding their educational attainment. Furthermore, migrants pertaining to these age groups were also more likely to hold a high school diploma and less likely to pertain to a lower educational attainment grouping than were older migrants. Among older age groups (over the age of 35), we find a higher incidence of missing responses, in addition to a greater likelihood of having lower levels of educational attainment in comparison with younger age groups. Finally, it is important to highlight that the analysis of the educational attainment of migrants below the age of 20 is complicated by the fact that these migrants are still of school age. An examination of the 2015 RAIS data concerning the relationship between age group and educational attainment provides similar insights, showing that migrants ages 20-34 tend to possess a greater likelihood of having finished high school, compared to those over the age of 35. While the small number of older migrants somewhat complicates the interpretation of the data, in general, older migrants were more likely to have stopped attending school midway through elementary school or once they completed their primary education. One key difference observed is due to the fact that RAIS only incorporates formally employed workers; thus, the age group containing migrants under the age of 15 is absent. However, as some migrants ages 15-19 are formally employed and have likely finished their education, this age group provides clues regarding the educational attainment of younger migrants in the

RMBH, insights that are unable to be inferred from the Centro Zanmi data, with this age group exhibiting a large percentage of migrants who hold a high school diploma, particularly among males.

5.1.2 Migration and Residency Profile

Table 2, displayed on page 46, indicates the migration status of Haitian migrants living in the RMBH, according to the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE data. The RAIS database does not provide information regarding the migration/visa status of formally employed migrants, and; thus, was excluded from this analysis. Examining the data, we find that more than two-thirds of Haitian migrants living in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, who received assistance at the Centro Zanmi, were permanent visa holders, with female migrants more likely to fall into this category than male migrants. This sex differential could be due to the fact that female migrants only began to arrive in significant numbers in 2013, coinciding with the passage of the CNIg Resolution 102, which greatly facilitated the granting of permanent humanitarian visas to Haitian migrants. The only other significant category to encompass more than 2.0% of Haitian migrants in the RMBH was asylum seekers. However, these statistics should be interpreted with caution, as many migrants who arrived before 2013 requesting asylum were granted permanent visas during the mass regularization of Haitian asylum seekers in October 2015. This context helps explain the noticeable difference in the percentage of permanent visa holders between the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE data, which classifies nearly every migrant living in the RMBH contained in its database as a permanent visa holder.

The SINCRE database classifies migrants as either permanent or temporary and further subdivides them into 255 distinct legal bases (*amparo legal*) for permanent or temporary residency, based upon existing migration law. The breakdown of Haitian migrants living in the RMBH by their visa's legal basis is displayed in Table 8. Among the Haitian migrants who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police through November 2015, 11 different legal bases for granting residency in Brazil are observed, of which five are tied to permanent residency and seven are linked to temporary residency. The vast majority of Haitian migrants contained in the SINCRE database were granted a permanent visa under articles 16 and 18 of laws 6.815/80. The second most important legal basis for granting permanent residency authorization to Haitian migrants encompassed those who were granted permanent residency on a case-by-case basis under the auspices of the CNIg Resolution 27 (FERNANDES, SÁ, 2016, p.13). Finally, is important to reassert that the large number of

Haitian migrants who entered as asylum seekers, and who were later granted humanitarian visas in October 2015, are not included in this database, nor are any of the small number of undocumented Haitian migrants or Haitian migrants who possess another type of visa.

Table 8: Migration Status by Legal Basis

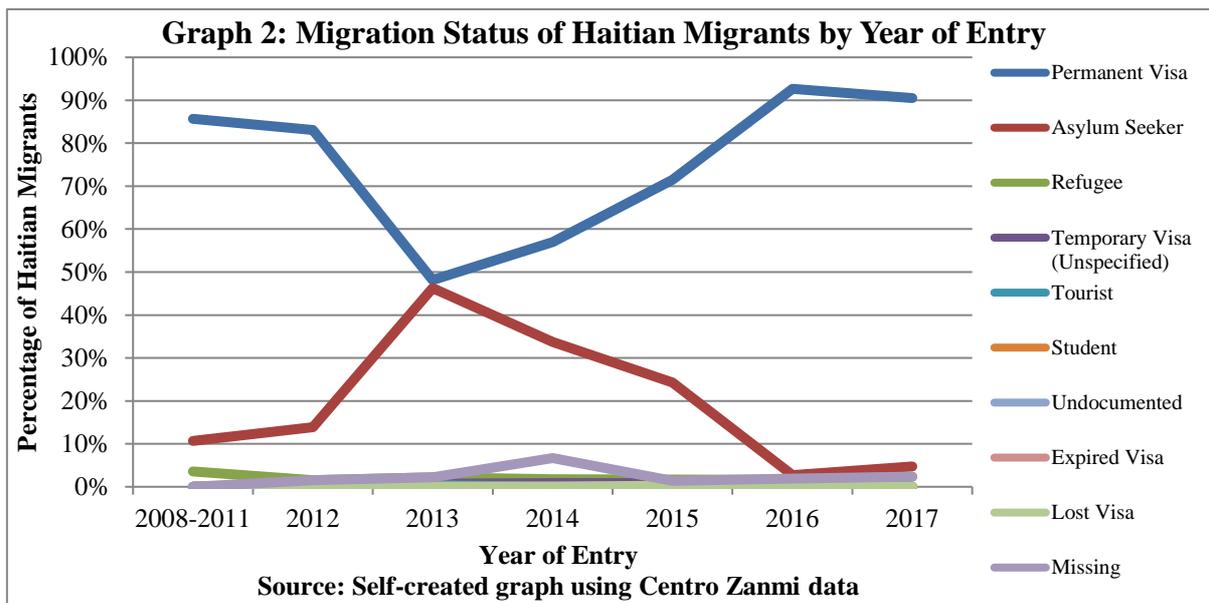
Migration Status	Legal Basis*	Description	Total Population	
			n	%
Permanent	Article 37 - Law 6815/80	Other	1	0.07%
	Articles 1 and 4 - CNIg RN 36/99	Family Reunification (Diplomatic)	3	0.2%
	CNIg RN 27	Humanitarian visa conceded based on the CNIg RN 27	164	10.9%
	Articles 16 and 18 - Law 6.815/80	Humanitarian Visa for Haitian Migrants	1,290	86.1%
	Article 1 - CNIg RN 108/14	Marriage, Children, or Stable Union	12	0.8%
Temporary	Article 13 - Item IV - Law 6.815	Student (1-year extendible)	16	1.1%
	Article 13 - Item IV - Law 6.815 and Article 3 -CNIg RN 16	Student	8	0.5%
	CNIg RN 39/99 and Article 13 - Item IV - Law 6.815	Student	1	0.07%
	CNIg RN 39/99 and Article 13 - Item VII, Law 6.815	Religious	1	0.07%
	Article 13 - Item I - Law 6.815/80	Student (University Exchange Program)	2	0.13%
	Article 13 - Item IV - Law 6.185/80	Student	1	0.07%
	Total	-	All Migrants	1,499

**amparo legal*

Source: Self-created table using SINCRE data

Given that key changes in Brazilian migration regulations by the CNIg and the CGIg are known to have impacted the legal framework of Haitian migration flows to Brazil, it is important to analyze the evolution of the migration status of Haitian migrants by their year of entry into Brazil. Observing Graph 2, one can see that the vast majority of Haitian migrants in all years investigated are either permanent visa holders or asylum seekers. No other visa category surpasses 4% of the number of visas granted in any given year of entry with the exception of the 23 (6.7%) missing observations in 2014. The number and percentage of

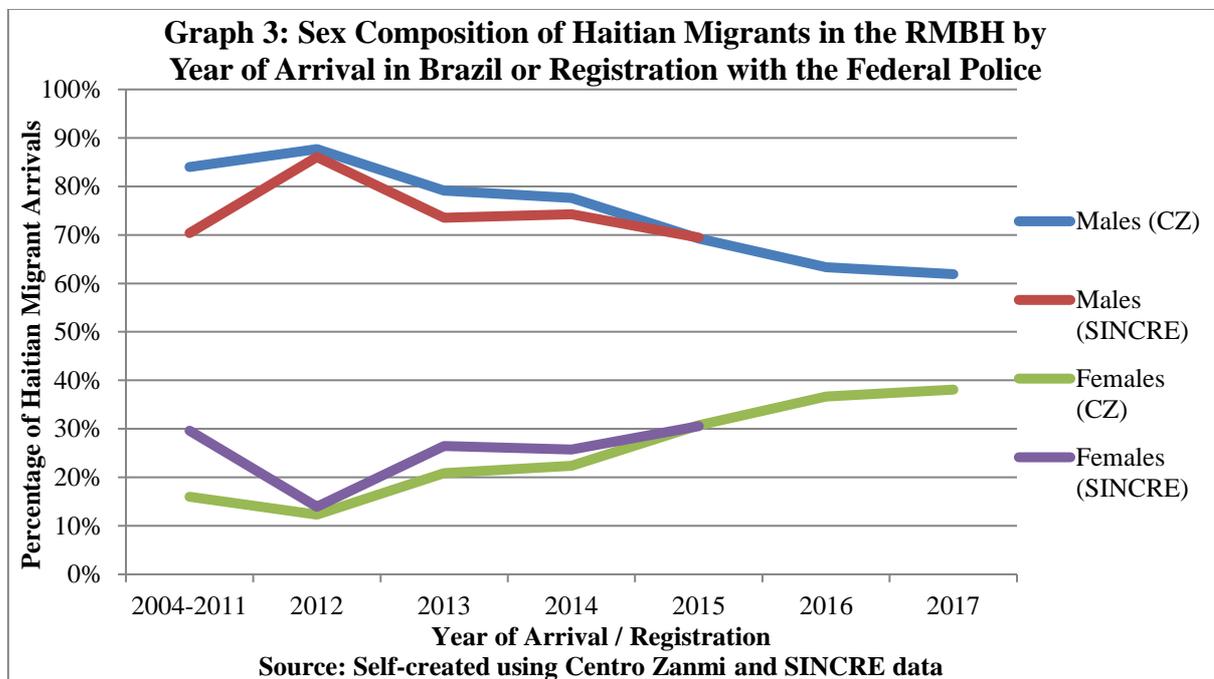
Haitians classified as asylum seekers is greatest between 2013 and 2015, peaking in 2013, with nearly half of all Haitian migrants from the Centro Zanmi’s database who entered Brazil in that year claiming to be asylum seekers. A sharp decline in the number of Haitian asylum seekers is witnessed between 2015 and 2016, and, by 2016, just 10 of the 368 Haitian migrants (2.7%) who entered Brazil during that year were asylum seekers, while nearly all Haitian migrants (341 of 368; 92.7%) were permanent visa holders, with similar trends being observed concerning the data for early 2017.



Data from the Centro Zanmi, SINCRE, and RAIS (2015 only) provide information concerning Haitian migrants’ year of entry into Brazil or their year registration with the Brazilian Federal Police, an obligation that all documented migrants must fulfill within 30 days of arriving in the country (see Table 2 found on page 46). All three data sources indicate similar findings, with 2013 marking the onset of large-scale Haitian migration to the RMBH for both male and female Haitian migrants and a large concentration of both male and female Haitian migrants entering Brazil during the period spanning from 2013 to 2015. Under closer examination, it appears that the percentage of formally employed migrants contained in the RAIS database who entered in 2015 is relatively lower than would be indicated by the other two data sources. However, this is likely due to the fact that recent arrivals are prone to encounter difficulty in finding formal employment opportunities, rather than signifying a decline in Haitian migration to the RMBH in 2015. Furthermore, the percentage of Haitian migrants entering between 2013 and 2015, according to the Centro Zanmi, tends to be lower than seen in the other databases, given that the Centro Zanmi data encompasses a longer time

span, in addition to containing missing entries that correspond to 10.1% of the Haitian migrant population.

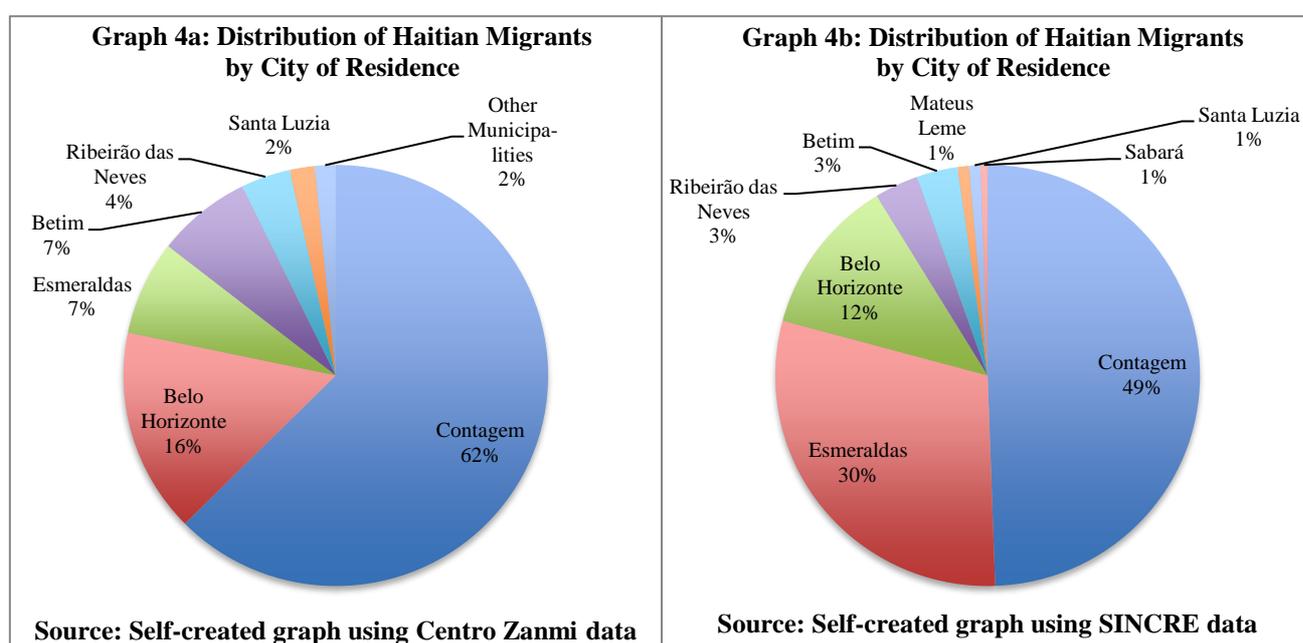
Concerning the evolution of the sex composition of Haitian migration to the RMBH, the longer duration of the Centro Zanmi data provides some potential insights into more recent changes, with 2016 representing the most important year of entry for female migrants contained in its database, while the volume of male migration to the RMBH slightly declined between 2015 and 2016. A clear convergence between the percentage of male and female Haitian migrants can be seen in Graph 3, with the data corresponding to the first four months of 2017 indicating that nearly 40% of new Haitian migrant arrivals were female.



Regarding migrants' municipality of residence, Graphs 4a and 4b display the distribution of Haitian migrants by municipality within the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, while Maps 1 and 2 visually display the spatial distribution of Haitian migrants within the RMBH by municipality and by neighborhood, respectively. RAIS does not provide information regarding the municipality or neighborhood of residence of formally employed migrants, instead furnishing information regarding the location of migrants' employers.

An examination of Graphs 4a and 4b and Maps 1 and 2 indicates that approximately one-half to two-thirds of all Haitian migrants living in the RMBH reside in Contagem. Upon closer examination, we observe large concentrations of Haitian migrants living in close proximity to their major centers of employment, particularly in the neighborhoods that

surround the Centrais de Abastecimento (CEASA) in Contagem, such Jardim Laguna. Perhaps the most notable discrepancy between the databases regards the number of migrants that are registered as living in Esmeraldas. While the Centro Zanmi data indicates that just 7.3% of Haitian migrants in the RMBH reside in Esmeraldas, the SINCRE data widely diverges, suggesting that close to 30% of Haitian migrants reside in this municipality. Smaller differences, this time with the Centro Zanmi denoting a larger population of Haitian migrants than would be suggested by the SINCRE data, can be seen in the data concerning the other municipalities of the RMBH.

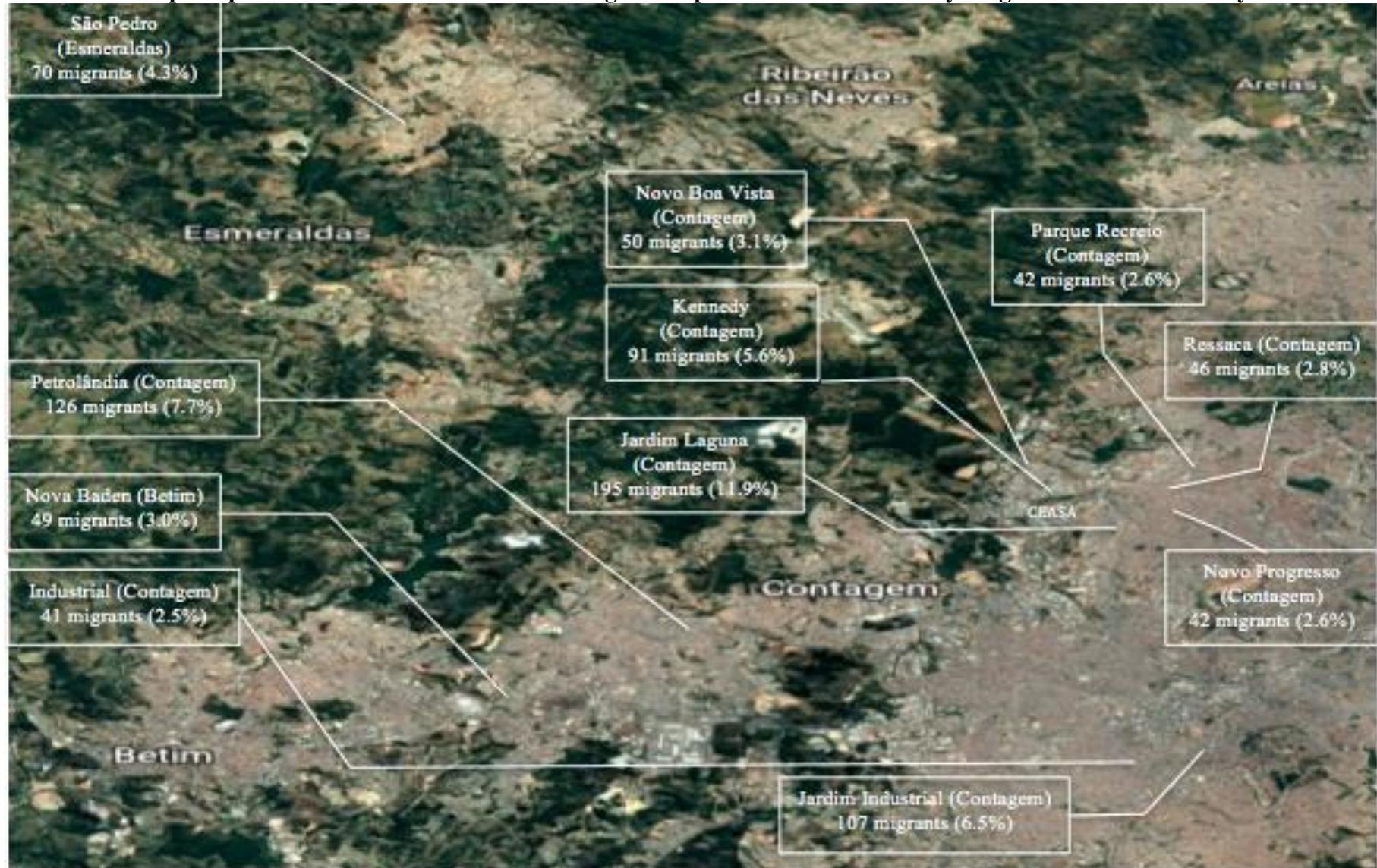


Map 1: Spatial Distribution of the Haitian Migrant Population in the RMBH by City of Residency



Sources: Google Earth Map overlaid with data derived from SINCRES and the Centro Zanmi

Map 2: Spatial Distribution of the Haitian Migrant Population in the RMBH by Neighborhood of Residency



Source: Google Earth Map overlaid with data derived from the Centro Zanmi

5.1.3 Discussion

Examining the sex composition of Haitian migrants living in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, we find that the data from the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE are strikingly similar, with the percentage of males and females comprising the population differing by just 1% between the two databases. Our results corroborate earlier findings in the literature (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016), confirming that the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH is overwhelmingly male. However this study's analysis of the sex makeup of Haitian migrants in the RMBH differs from that of Fernandes and Castro (2014) and Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016). These studies implied that male migrants composed an even greater percentage of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH than was found by the present research, and that the percentage of male migrants continues to grow. While Fernandes and Castro (2014) estimated the male Haitian migrant population in Brazil as a whole to be just over 80% (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 45), the latter study estimated that males comprised 88% of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH (CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, 2016). This trend contrasts with this study's findings, which show that over the entire course of Haitian migration to the RMBH, approximately three quarters of migrants were males and one-quarter were females, but that, from 2015 onwards, a convergence in the percentage of male and female Haitian migrants to the RMBH was witnessed. The increasing percentage of female Haitian migrants from 2015 forward, contradicts the findings of the earlier literature on female Haitian migration to the RMBH. This new discovery also lends partial credibility to the study's fourth hypothesis, which assumes that the most recent years of this migration flow would show a greater percentage of female migrants. Whether or not the increased flows female Haitian migrants are attributable to family reunification, economic, or other motives will be examined in Section 5.3.

Furthermore, a study of the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data shows a higher percentage of males and a lower percentage of females than the data provided by the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE, with 85.6% of Haitian migrants contained in the 2015 RAIS database being male and 14.4% being female, with similar results (86.1% male and 13.9% female) found when analyzing the 2013 data. However, the difference in the percentage of male and female Haitian migrants seen between the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases, which encompass the entire Haitian migrant population, and the RAIS data, which only provides information on formally employed Haitian migrants, is unsurprising, as native Brazilian women are also less likely to participate in the general labor market, in addition to being less likely to be formally

employed, than their male counterparts. Hence, it is to be expected that male Haitian migrants would experience some degree of overrepresentation in the RAIS data, given the higher likelihood of men in Brazil to participate in the labor market and to be formally employed. The evidence provided by these findings allows this study to partially affirm the third hypothesis, which proposes that differences between the employment outcomes of male and female Haitian migrants will be observed, with female Haitian migrants being less likely to be employed and/or to be employed formally, than male Haitian migrants.

The age structures of the Centro Zanmi, SINCRE, and 2015 and 2013 RAIS databases were all analyzed, with the results being shown in Graphs 1a-1d on pages 43 and 44. Slight differences can be seen between the databases; however, data from all three sources indicate that more than 90% of Haitian migrants are concentrated between the prime working ages of 20 and 50 years, with more than 95% (95.6% in 2015 and 97.5% in 2013) of the formally employed Haitian migrants contained in the RAIS database falling within this age range. Among all of the databases examined, the largest and second-largest age groups for both males and females alternated between migrants between the ages of 25 and 29 years and those between 30 and 34 years, findings that are in line with those of previous studies (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, 2016). These findings are unsurprising given that economic motives predominate among the reported reasons for Haitian migration to the RMBH, in addition to the fact that young working-age adults fall within the age groups that exhibit the highest propensity to migrate (CASTRO, L.J., ROGERS, 1981).

An analysis of the data concerning migrants' marital status raises some interesting questions. In the data analysis of the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data, noticeable differences between the two databases were observed. While over three-quarters of male and female Haitian migrants reported being single according to the SINCRE data, between one-half and two-thirds (depending on if missing data entries are excluded or not) of both male and female Haitian migrants who visited the Centro Zanmi claimed to be single.

An analysis of the 2016 and 2017 data from the Centro Zanmi shows similar results to those found for previous years, excluding the possibility that there was a significant change in the marital status composition of new migrant arrivals that were not included in the SINCRE data. Other possible explanations for these differences encompass the inclusion of more marital status categories in the Centro Zanmi data, including stable union, divorced, and separated, in addition to the categories of single, married, and widowed, which are utilized for classification purposes both in the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases. The category

“other”, utilized in the SINCRE database, includes all migrants who are neither single, married, nor widowed. Another possible explanation for the differences in reported marital status between the two databases could be due to the fact that, while all migrants are required to register with the Brazilian Federal Police, migrants who frequent the Centro Zanmi are usually looking for some sort of assistance. Thus, if a large portion of them are seeking assistance in regard to topics such as family reunification or other family-related migration issues, this could explain why the percentage of married Haitian migrants (24.2%) and migrants in a stable union (5.4%) contained in the Centro Zanmi data is nearly double the percentage of married migrants (16.1%) contained in the SINCRE database. Interestingly, previous studies, which examined the marital status of Haitian migrants in Brazil and in the RMBH, indicate that the marital status distribution of Haitian migrants is more similar to the results derived from the Centro Zanmi data, rather than the findings derived from SINCRE (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016).

An exact comparison between the findings of earlier studies (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016) and the current researcher’s results is complicated by the fact that their results were obtained primarily via interviews and surveys, while this study evaluated the educational attainment of Haitian migrants in the RMBH using quantitative data from the Centro Zanmi and RAIS. For the majority of educational attainment groups, the results shown by the Centro Zanmi and RAIS data are similar to the findings from previously applied surveys among a sample of Haitian migrants in the RMBH (CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). According to the Centro Zanmi data and the 2015 RAIS data, a plurality of male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH possesses a complete high school education. In the case of the RAIS data, sizeable numbers of formally employed male and female Haitian migrants also reported having an incomplete high school, complete middle school, or incomplete middle school education, a finding that is even more accentuated in the 2013 dataset.

In the case of the data concerning educational attainment provided by the Centro Zanmi, the second most prominent educational attainment category encompassed migrants with a complete primary education. These findings contrast with those of earlier studies, which found that Haitian migrants among their samples generally possessed lower levels of educational attainment than indicated by the current study (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014). Conversely, this study indicates that relatively low percentages of Haitian migrants in the RMBH possess at least a partial university education. RAIS data for 2013 and 2015 indicates

that among formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH, those with a partial or complete university education likely comprise just 2-4% of the population, while data from the Centro Zanmi indicates a higher percentage of Haitian migrants with partial or complete university studies with 7.3% of Haitian migrants from the Centro Zanmi database claiming to possess a university education. However, despite this divergence, both the Centro Zanmi and RAIS databases indicate much lower levels of university-educated migrants than is cited in the literature (FERANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016).

The higher concentration of migrants from the Centro Zanmi database at the lowest and highest ends of the educational spectrum and the even higher numbers of migrants in early qualitative studies who claimed to have a partial or complete university education, in comparison with their formally employed counterparts from the 2015 and 2013 RAIS databases invites some interesting explanations concerning this phenomenon. One possible explanation concerning the higher percentage of migrants from the Centro Zanmi data with an elementary school education or less is that the Centro Zanmi also encompasses unemployed and informally employed migrants, groups that are typically more likely to possess lower levels of educational attainment than the formally employed population. Conversely, the Centro Zanmi data indicates that approximately triple the percentage of migrants in its database hold a university education, while previous studies reported significantly higher percentages of migrants who attended or completed university in comparison with the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). This could be due to a variety of factors (or a combination thereof), with one possibility being that some migrants may have inaccurately self-reported their educational attainment levels, in order to attempt to appear more attractive to potential employers. Conversely, given that RAIS data is reported by the employer, rather than the by the employee, there is also a risk that certain employers may have inaccurately reported the educational attainment of Haitian migrants on their staff. Another possible explanation could be that more highly educated migrants tend to be more selective about the types of employment that they are willing to accept and, as a result, are more likely to experience greater stints of unemployment and; thus, are less likely to appear in the RAIS database, which encompasses only formally employed migrants.

When examining the migration status of Haitian migrants in Brazil, three key events profoundly shaped the type of visa that Haitian migrants were able to obtain. The first was the approval of the CNIg Resolution 97 in January 2012, creating a humanitarian visa program for Haitian migrants. The second event was the adoption of the CNIg Resolution 102 in April

2013, which lifted all numerical limitations on the number of humanitarian visas that could be granted to Haitian migrants, previously set at 1,200 visas annually by the CNIg Resolution 97. In addition, the CNIg Resolution 102 expanded the authority to grant Haitians humanitarian visas from solely the Brazilian Consulate in Port-au-Prince, to include the Brazilian consulates in the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, and Peru, as well. In order to cope with the increasing volume of humanitarian visa applications, following the passage of the CNIg Resolution 102, the third crucial event shaping the types of visas conceded to Haitian migrants involved the creation of the Brazilian Humanitarian Visa Application Center in Port-au-Prince, which allowed the Brazilian consulate to work in conjunction with the IOM to greatly streamline the humanitarian visa application process. The increased facility of obtaining a humanitarian visa likely had an impact in diminishing the number of Haitian migrants who were arriving in Brazil primarily by land to request asylum, and increased the number of those who were able to request humanitarian visas under legal basis 234, as displayed in Table 8 on page 51, from either Haiti or a transit country. Finally, the mass regularization of the migration status of Haitian asylum seekers in October 2015 also greatly diminished the number of asylum seekers with pending cases.

Concerning the temporal analysis of Haitian migrant's migration status, the strong impact of key changes in Brazilian migration regulations by the CNIg and the CGIg, as well as the creation of the Brazilian Humanitarian Visa Application Center evidently shaped the legal nature of this migration flow. Nearly all Haitian migrants throughout the entire span of the Centro Zanmi dataset claimed to be either permanent visa holders or asylum seekers. The peak of Haitian migrants claiming to be asylum seekers in 2013 coincides with the acceleration of this migration flow, prior to the creation of the amplified humanitarian visa program for Haitians via the CNIg Resolution 102 in April of that year. No other visa category surpasses 4% of the number of visas granted in any given year of entry with the exception of the 23 (6.7%) missing observations in 2014. The number and percentage of Haitians classified as asylum seekers is greatest between 2013 and 2015, peaking in 2013, with nearly half of all Haitian migrants from the Centro Zanmi's database who entered Brazil in that year claiming to be asylum seekers. By 2016, the overwhelming majority of Haitian migrants arriving in the RMBH were permanent visa holders, with the sharp decrease in asylum seekers between 2015 and 2016, likely due to the mass regularization and granting of permanent residency visas to over 40,000 Haitian migrants waiting for their asylum applications to be processed in October 2015.

Given the differences in the data sources utilized by this study and those from previous studies, direct comparisons are difficult to make. However, a pattern of change concerning the types of visas conceded to Haitian migrants over time is also supported by earlier findings, whose studies examined consular data provided by the Brazilian Foreign Affairs Ministry (Ministério de Relações Exteriores) (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). Previous research documents a rapid decline in the number of Haitian migrants arriving in Brazil by land, the majority of whom were asylum seekers, and a brisk increase in the number of Haitian migrants receiving their visas in Port-au-Prince and travelling directly to Brazil by air, corroborating the tendencies shown by the Centro Zanmi data (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016).

A study of the data concerning Haitian migrants' city of residence within the RMBH indicates some important discrepancies between the data furnished by SINCRE and that provided by the Centro Zanmi. In the data provided by the Centro Zanmi, nearly two-thirds of Haitian migrants reside in Contagem, in comparison with just under half according to the SINCRE data. The differences for the city of Esmeraldas are even more striking with the SINCRE data suggesting that almost 30% of Haitians in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area live in Esmeraldas, in comparison with just 7.3% according to the Centro Zanmi data. Smaller differences between the two databases concerning Haitian migrants' city of residence were documented in the remaining cities of the RMBH.

Given the temporal differences between the two datasets, this study first suspected that this was the main explanation for any inconsistencies between the two databases regarding Haitian migrants' reported municipality of residence in the RMBH. However, a comparison of the Centro Zanmi data before and after 2016 shows little temporal differences in Haitian migrants' reported municipalities of residence. Another possible explanation may lie in the deep roots that the Centro Zanmi has cultivated in Contagem, possibly leading to its overrepresentation in the data. A third possible reason is that migrants living closer to the Centro Zanmi, located in the Center of Belo Horizonte, are more likely to seek assistance there, explaining why Belo Horizonte and Contagem appear to be overrepresented in the data provided by the Centro Zanmi in comparison to the SINCRE data; whereas, the more distant city of Esmeraldas appears to be greatly underrepresented. These possible explanations are compounded by the fact that registration with the Brazilian Federal Police is obligatory, in addition to requiring migrants to furnish certain documentation, whereas the Centro Zanmi is an NGO where migrants voluntarily seek assistance and where they are not required to

present documentation to corroborate the information that they provide. Furthermore, one must take into consideration that migrants could have moved since registering with the Brazilian Federal Police, and, while it is mandatory to register any change of address, many migrants do not update the Brazilian Federal Police on their new place of residency, as there are little controls over this process. Moreover, the SINCRE data is updated only once every five years for permanent residents, a visa category encompassing the vast majority of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Fernandes and Castro's (2014) research was the only other study found to explore Haitian migrants' previous destination or place of residence within the RMBH. Their research upholds the findings of the SINCRE data, highlighting the predominance of Contagem and Esmeraldas as the two principal destinations of Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

This study is the first to provide an in-depth analysis of the most prominent neighborhoods of residency of Haitian migrants living in the RMBH, using the Centro Zanmi data. This study's findings indicate a noticeable concentration of Haitian migrants in the Ressaça administrative region of Contagem, as can be seen in Map 2 on page 56. Not coincidentally this administrative region of Contagem is home to the CEASA Contagem, one of the largest employers of Haitian migrants in the RMBH (SÁ, 2015, p. 118). Among the 11 neighborhoods in which more than half (52.4%) of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH resides, 28.6% of the total population resides in just six closely clustered neighborhoods pertaining to the Ressaça administrative region – Jardim Laguna (195 migrants; 12.0%), Kennedy, (91 migrants; 5.6%), Novo Boa Vista (50 migrants; 3.1%), Ressaça (46 migrants; 2.8%), Novo Progresso (42 migrants; 2.6%), and Parque Recreio (42 migrants; 2.6%). An analysis of the entire Ressaça administrative region found that 18 other neighborhoods in this region contained another 9.6% of the total Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, signifying that 38.2% of the total Haitian migrant population in the entire Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area resides solely in the Ressaça administrative region, according to the data provided by the Centro Zanmi. A further examination of Map 2, found on page 56, demonstrates that smaller groups of Haitian migrants reside in neighborhoods that are home to key manufacturing centers in the RMBH, including several neighborhoods bordering the Cidade Industrial, such as the Industrial and Jardim Industrial neighborhoods of Contagem, in addition to the neighborhood of Petrolândia, also in the city of Contagem.

5.2 Labor Market Insertion

Any analysis of the labor market insertion of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area warrants a brief discussion of the particularities of the Brazilian labor market, in addition to the characteristics of the labor market in the RMBH. In comparison with most advanced economies, the Brazilian labor market exhibits high levels of informal employment, which, despite declining throughout the 2000s and the first half of the 2010s, still encompasses more than 30% of workers (HOLANDA, MOURA, 2015, p. 101), with slightly lower levels of informality being seen among workers in the RMBH (BRITO, PINHO, ROCHA, 2014, p. 12). Concerning salary differentials, informally employed workers in the RMBH could expect to earn just over 70% as much as their formally employed counterparts, in addition to exhibiting 1.63 fewer years of schooling (CIRINO, DALBERTO, 2015, p. 85). In this vein, educational attainment in Brazil was also much lower than in advanced economies, with the average Brazilian possessing 7.8 years of schooling in 2016 in comparison with an average of 11.9 years for members of the OECD, an organization comprised primarily of developed countries (UNDP, 2016). Concerning employment by sector, a larger percentage of the Brazilian workforce was employed in agriculture in comparison with advanced economies (10.3% vs. 3.1%), while similar percentages of workers were employed in both industry (20.9% vs. 22.7%) and services (68.8% vs. 74.2%) (ILO, 2018). Finally, regarding labor market participation rates, due to a rapid expansion of the labor market in recent decades, Brazil exhibited a labor market participation rate of 69.8% for adults between the ages of 15 and 64 in 2017, a figure just slightly below that of high income countries, whose labor market participation rate for that same year was situated at 72.6% (WORLD BANK, 2017). In the case of the RMBH, earlier data, derived from the 2010 Census found a labor market participation rate of 72.9% (BRITO, PINHO, ROCHA, 2014, p. 7). Larger differences; however, were present when comparing female labor force participation rates, with just 59.5% of Brazilian women ages 15-64 employed in the labor market, in comparison with 65.2% of their peers from high income countries (WORLD BANK, 2017). Finally, it is important to reassert the need to keep the aforementioned characteristics of the Brazilian labor market and the labor market in the RMBH in mind when analyzing the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, and, particularly, when examining them from the perspective of migration theories that were created to explain the labor market integration of migrants from developing countries in the labor markets of developed countries.

5.2.1 Labor Market Insertion Indicators

When analyzing the most common professions exercised by Haitian migrants in the RMBH, two different sets of occupational categories were utilized.¹⁴ Tables A5, A6, and A7 contained in Annex I present the occupational distribution of the total, male, and female Haitian migrant population in Greater Belo Horizonte. An examination of the data shows evident sex and temporal differences, in addition to a possible self-reporting bias, principally concerning the reported professions exercised by Haitian migrants in the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data.

For both the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data, the most commonly reported professional category among the total and male populations of Haitian migrants in the RMBH was building construction, encompassing occupations such as masons, electricians, carpenters, and painters. More than 40% of males included in the Centro Zanmi data, in addition to nearly one-third of the total population claimed to be occupied in this field, while just over one-fourth of males and just under one-fifth of the total Haitian migrant population worked in this field according to the SINCRE data. RAIS 2013 data also indicates that building construction is the leading employer of the total and male Haitian migrant populations in the RMBH, employing just less than one-quarter of the formally employed total Haitian migrant population and just over one-fourth of male Haitian migrants. However, a glimpse at the 2015 RAIS data provides evidence of shifts in the predominant fields of employment over time and the presence of temporal differences, as the importance of building construction as an employer of Haitian migrants declines drastically, employing just under 10% of the formally employed total Haitian migrant population, and just over 10% of males during that year. Conversely, regarding the formally employed total and male Haitian migrant populations in the RMBH, the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles), encompassing, for example, migrants working as cargo loaders of fruits, vegetables, and other food and non-food products at the CEASA, among other professions, saw a large shift

¹⁴ As the data from the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE were self-reported and do not follow either the standardized categorization provided by CNAE or CBO, this study created its own system of 18 distinct occupational categories to encompass the most common professions named by migrants, in addition to a category for unemployed migrants and another other/non-classified category that included occupations with a low level of representation among the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH. When working with the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data, the CNAE occupational classification was utilized, with the chosen unit of analysis being the occupational division. In 2015, Haitian migrants were present in 48 separate divisions, which are assigned numbers ranging from 01 to 99. In 2013 at least one Haitian migrant was represented in 33 different employment divisions. Finally, it is important to note that the divisions 10, corresponding to food production (manufacturing), and 11, representing drink production (manufacturing) were combined for the purposes of this analysis.

between 2013 and 2015, becoming the largest employer of both the total Haitian migrant population and the male Haitian migrant population by that year.

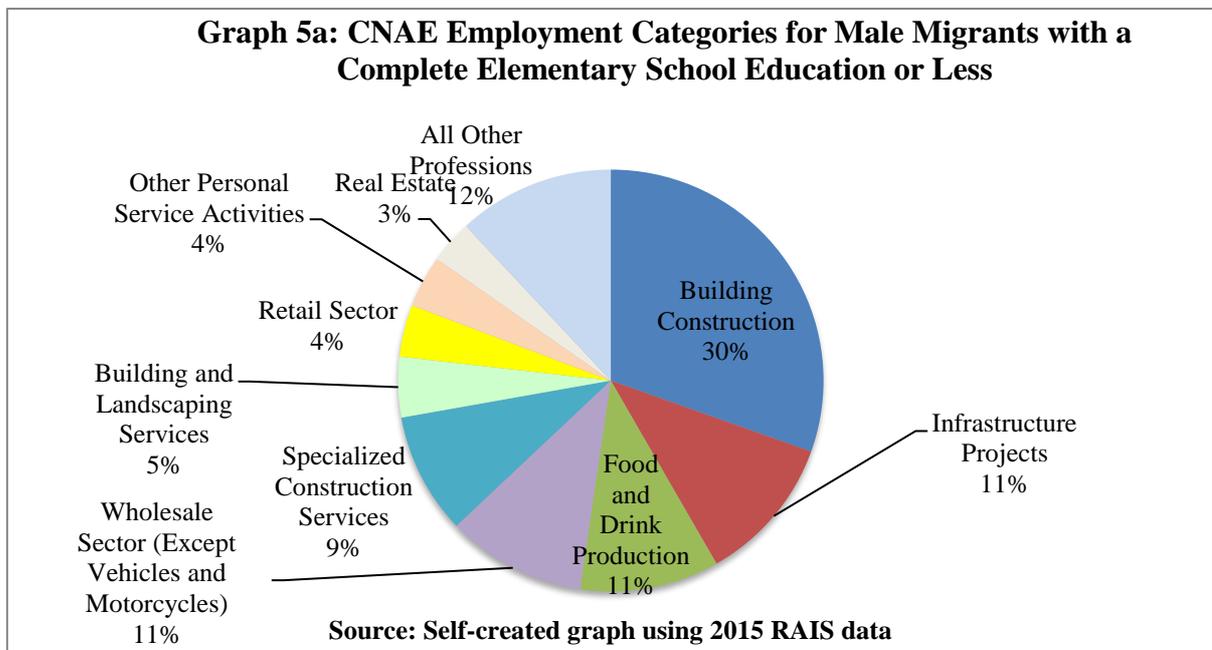
Shifts over the period encompassed by the data among formally employed female Haitian migrants are less evident, given that food and drink production, food services, the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles), and the retail sector comprised the top 4 occupational fields in both 2013 and 2015. However, certain sex differences in occupations are evident. Building construction is not a major employer of female migrants in the RMBH according to any of the four data sources, while food service jobs are consistently shown to be a much more important employer of female migrants than male migrants. Interestingly, the Centro Zanmi data indicates an outsize importance of the retail sector in employing female migrants, despite the fact that RAIS data shows a smaller percentage of formally employed female migrants working in this field, in addition to a much smaller sex gap in retail employment.

Noticeable divergences between the most prominent employment categories in the three databases can also be seen. The importance of information technology as the foremost employer of female Haitian migrants according to the SINCRE data, and the third-most prominent employer of male Haitian migrants, diverges greatly from the results seen in the Centro Zanmi and RAIS data. Similar differences are witnessed in the much greater number of male Haitian migrants in the SINCRE database claiming to possess an occupational background in mechanics, in comparison with RAIS and Centro Zanmi data. The relatively large number of females employed in the healthcare sector according to SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi data is likely indicative of minor sex differences in employment, given that health and social assistance occupations were the ninth-most prevalent among formally employed female Haitian migrants in 2015; however, the large divergence between the proportions of women working in this field according to 2015 RAIS data, and the percentages indicated by the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE are still quite large.

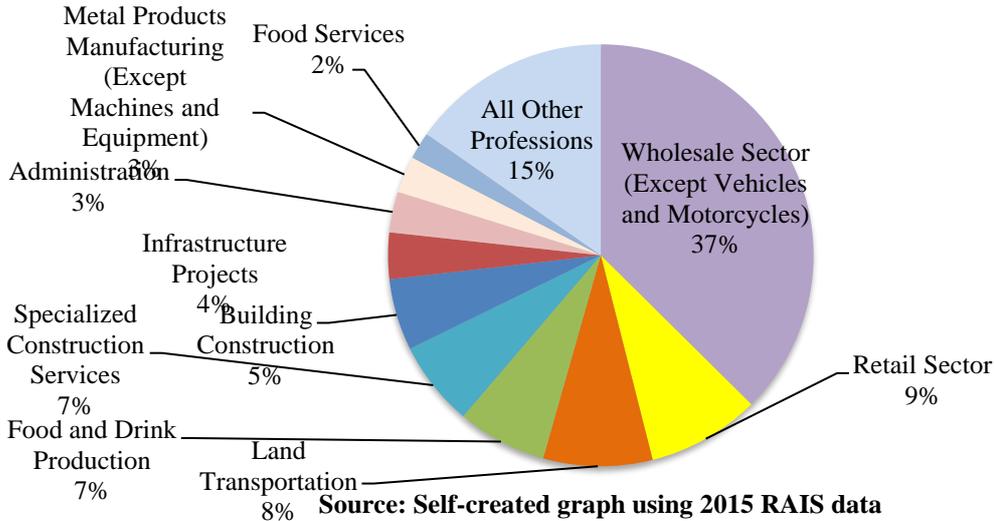
An analysis of the most common professional categories by educational attainment for the total, male, and female formally employed Haitian migrant populations was conducted using 2015 and 2013 RAIS data. In order to simplify the analysis of the relationship between profession and educational attainment among formally employed Haitian migrants working in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, the most common professions were analyzed for each of the four more encompassing educational groups created by this study, which are complete elementary school education or less, complete or incomplete middle school education, complete or incomplete high school education, and complete or incomplete university

education. A particular focus was given to migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education and those with a complete elementary school education or less, in order to illustrate differentials in the occupations exercised by relatively highly educated and less-educated Haitian migrants in the RMBH, respectively. The decision to use migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education, instead of those with a partial or complete university education was made due to the extremely small number of formally employed university educated migrants in the RMBH.

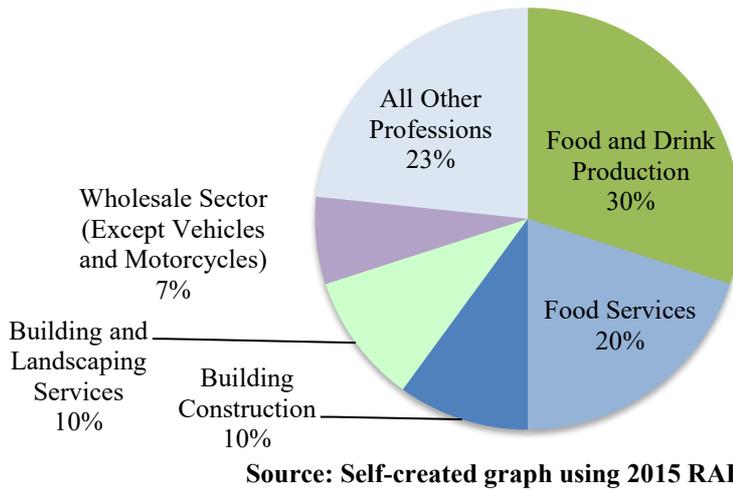
Graphs 5a and 5b visually depict the 2015 RAIS data concerning the professional distribution of formally employed male Haitian migrants with a complete elementary school education or less, in addition to those holding a partial or complete high school education, respectively, while Graphs 6a and 6b display the same information for their female peers.



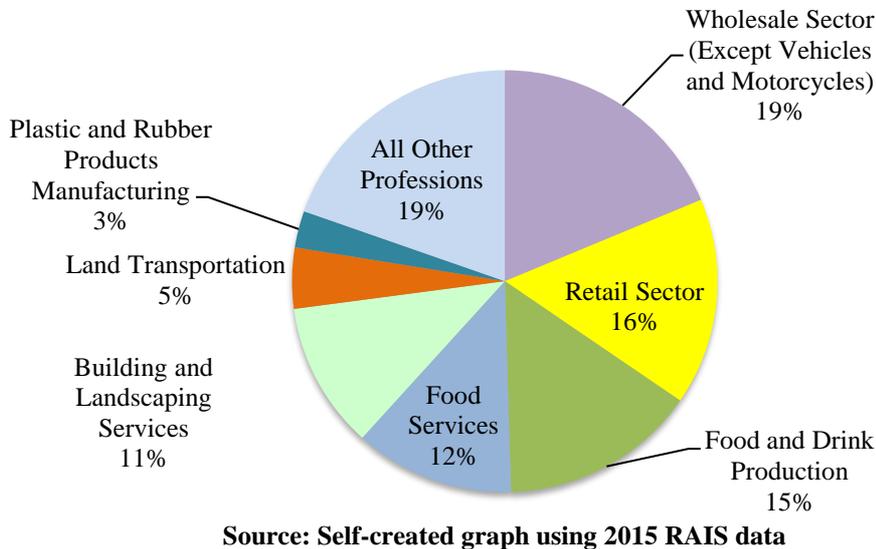
Graph 5b: CNAE Employment Categories for Male Migrants with an Incomplete or Complete High School Education



Graph 6a: CNAE Employment Categories for Female Migrants with a Complete Elementary School Education or Less



Graph 6b: CNAE Employment Categories for Female Migrants with an Incomplete or Complete High School Education

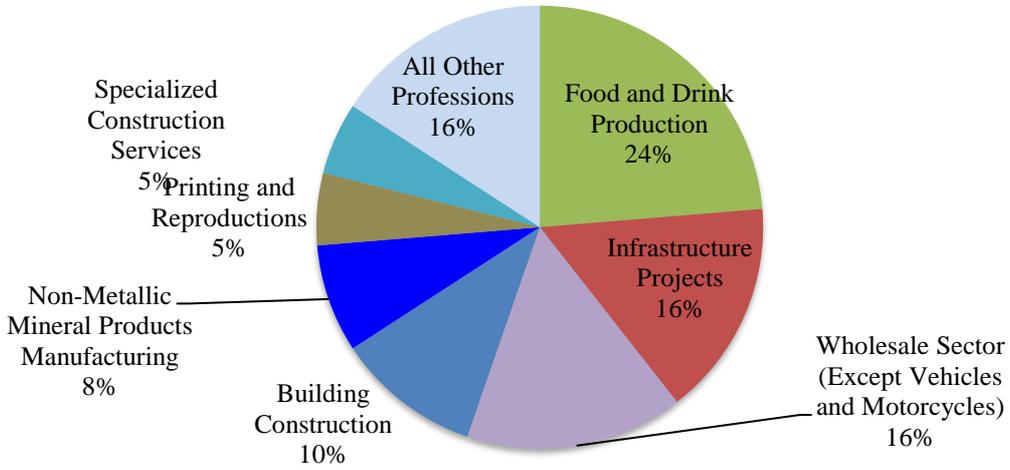


An examination of Graphs 5a and 5b and 6a and 6b indicates educational differences among male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH across the educational attainment spectrum. Construction-related occupations dominate the employment offerings for the 151 Haitian migrants with an elementary school education or less, with more than half of male migrants pertaining to this educational attainment group working in either building construction (30.5%), infrastructure projects (11.3%), or specialized construction services (9.3%). In contrast, the wholesale sector (37.5%) is the most dominant employer of the 675 formally employed male migrants possessing some high school education or a high school diploma. The remaining migrants that are not employed in this field show greater occupational diversity than their less educated counterparts, with no other occupational division employing more than 10% of male Haitian migrants with a partial or complete high school education.

Among the 30 female Haitian migrants with a complete elementary school education or less, food and drink production and food services were the most predominant employers, with half of all female migrants in this educational attainment group working in one of these fields. Fewer differences can be seen between the 107 female Haitian migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education and their elementary school (or less) educated sisters. Among the more highly educated group, food and drink production and food services continue to employ more than one-quarter of formally employed female Haitian migrants. Building and landscaping services also employ similar amounts of female migrants across both age groups. Perhaps the most noticeable difference in employment trends, based upon female migrants' education attainment, is the greater importance of the wholesale and retail sectors among more highly educated female migrants, fields that employ relatively few female migrants with an elementary school education or less.

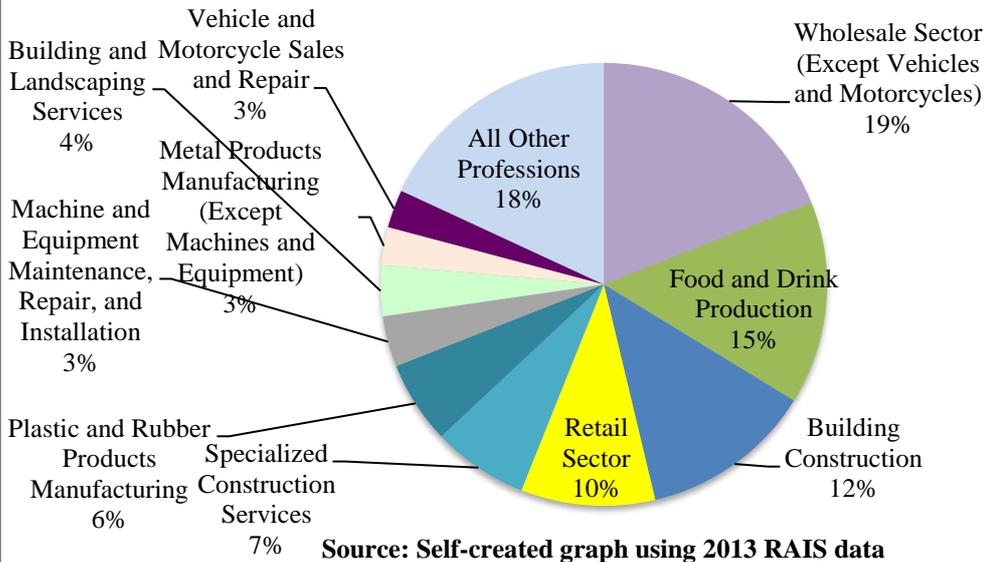
Furthermore, an examination of the 2013 RAIS data indicates key changes in the evolution of the predominant employment categories based upon educational attainment for formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH in previous years. Graph 7a displays the employment data for formally employed male Haitian migrants with an elementary school education or less in 2013, while Graph 7b presents the same information for male Haitian migrants with a partial or complete high school education. Graphs 8a and 8b depict the corresponding data for formally employed female Haitian migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte.

Graph 7a: CNAE Employment Categories for Male Migrants with a Complete Elementary School Education or Less

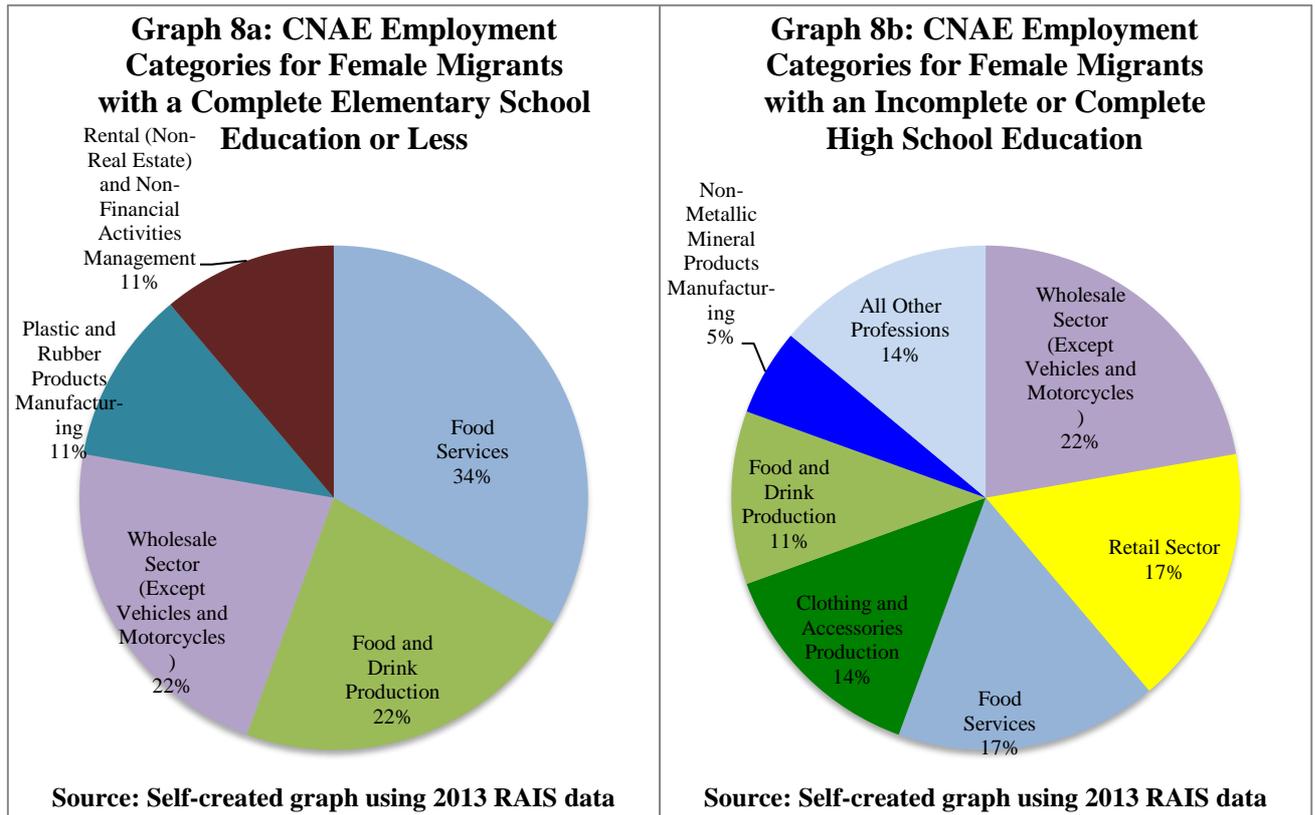


Source: Self-created graph using 2013 RAIS data

Graph 7b: CNAE Employment Categories for Male Migrants with an Incomplete or Complete High School Education



Source: Self-created graph using 2013 RAIS data

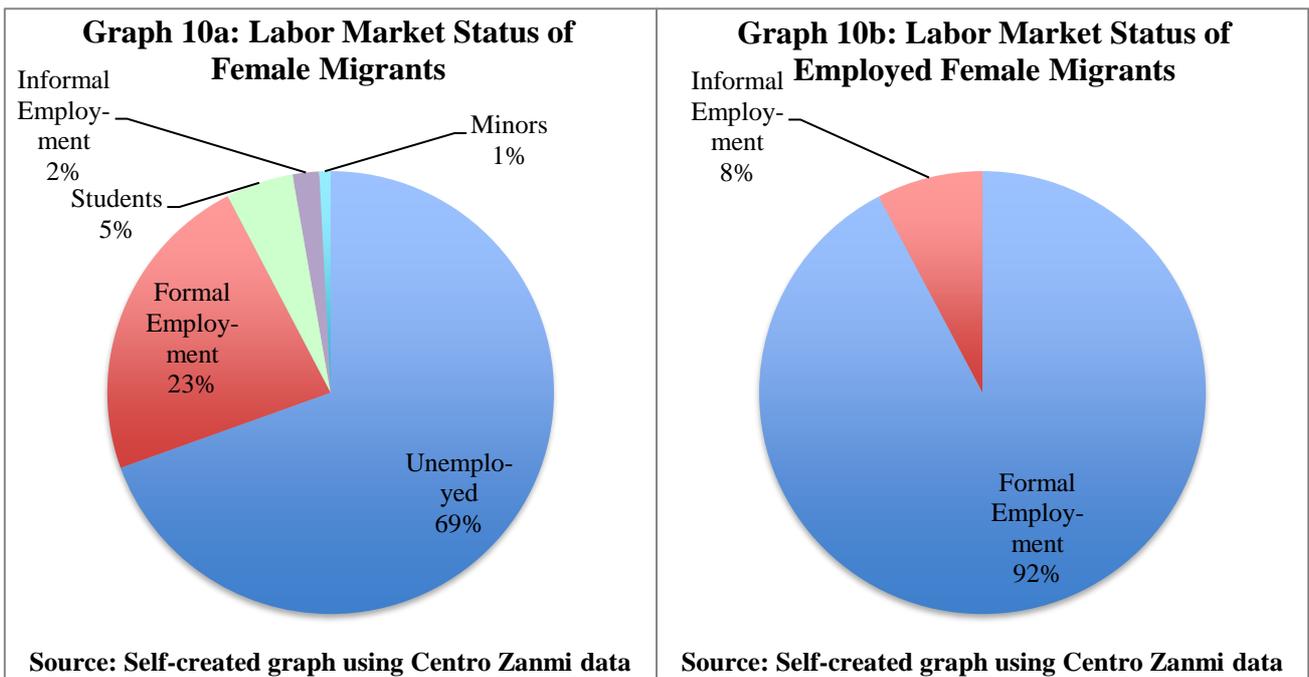
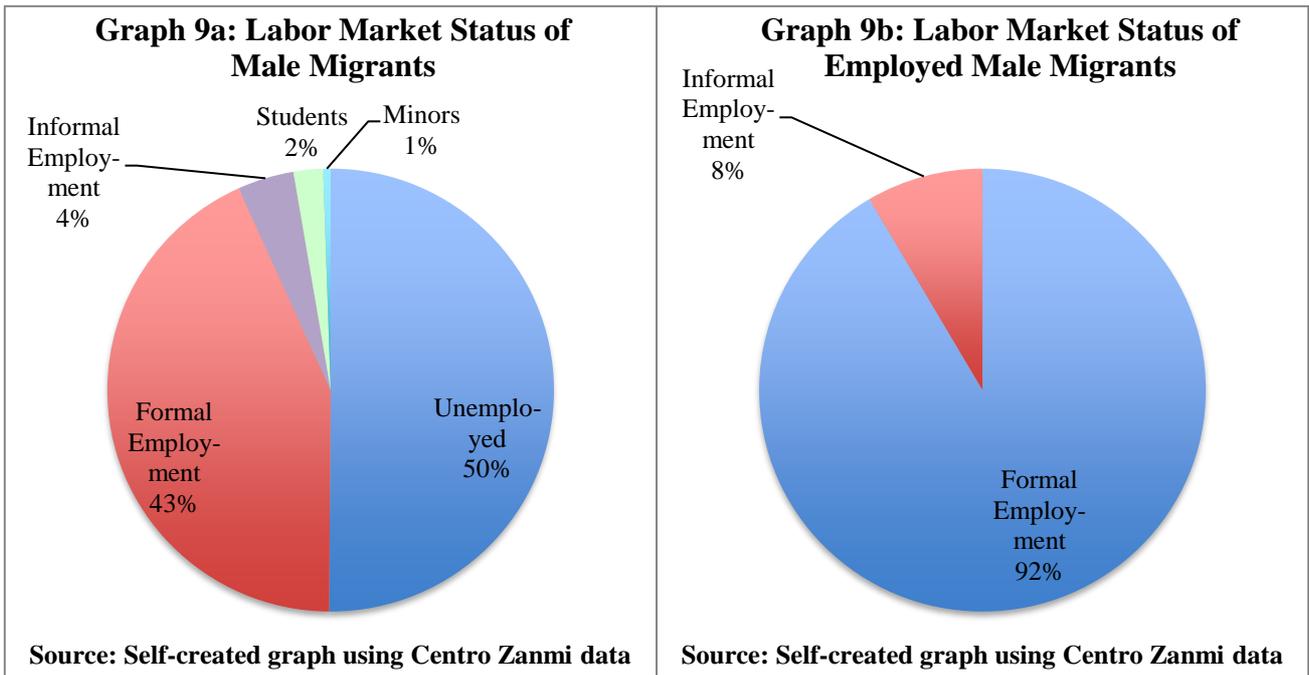


Concerning formally employed male Haitian migrants in the RMBH, shifts in the most common occupational divisions can be seen between 2013 and 2015 for both male migrants with an elementary school education or less and male migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education. Interestingly, among the 38 formally employed male migrants with an elementary school education or less, building construction ranks as the fourth most common employment field, despite employing nearly a third of formally employed male migrants from this occupational group in 2015. Intriguingly, building construction employed a slightly greater percentage of partially or completely high-school educated male migrants in 2013, in comparison with their less educated counterparts. Conversely, the number of male migrants working in food and drink production, the leading occupational division among this educational group in 2013, fell from nearly one-quarter of male migrants to just over 10% by 2015. Among the 216 formally employed male Haitian migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education in 2013, the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) was the predominant employer, albeit not to the extent seen in the 2015 data, with a similar percentage of migrants in both educational categories working in the occupational division. Among the male Haitian migrants with a partial or complete high school education, the relative importance of food and drink production shows

greater similarity with their 2013 elementary school educated (or less) contemporaries than with their similarly educated counterparts in the 2015 data.

In 2013, just nine formally employed female Haitian migrants possessed an elementary school education or less, complicating any profound discussion concerning the temporal evolution of employment trends for this educational group. However, as seen in Graph 7a, food services and food and drink production were the predominant employers for this educational group in 2013, just as they were in 2015. The 36 formally employed female Haitian migrants with a complete or incomplete high school education in 2013, also exhibit little differences regarding the most common fields of employment in comparison with their 2015 counterparts, with the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles), followed by the retail sector, comprising the largest employment divisions for both years, and with food services and food and drink production also being among the top five industries employing partially or completely high school educated female Haitian migrants in both 2015 and 2013.

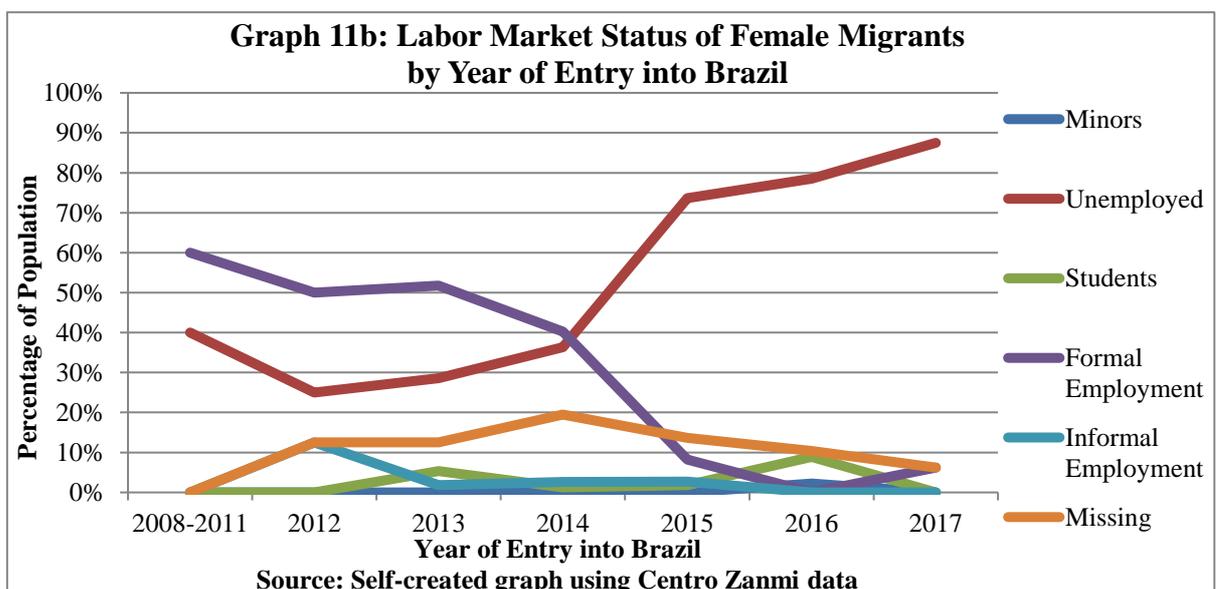
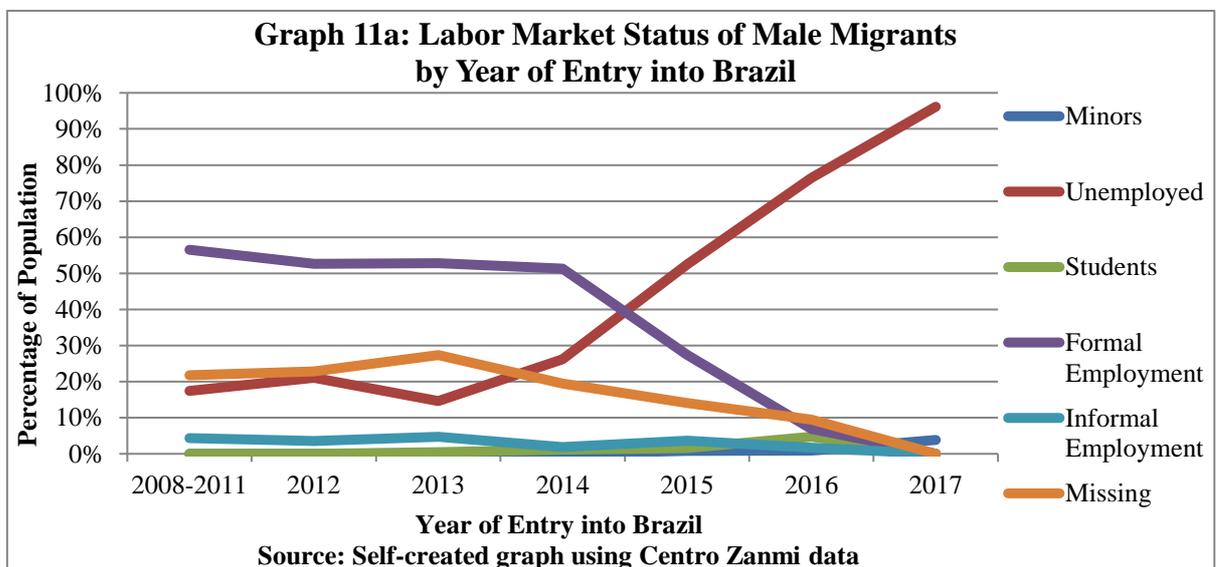
An analysis of migrants' labor market status was also conducted using the data provided by the Centro Zanmi. As the Brazilian Federal Police do not document whether migrants are employed formally or informally and RAIS data only encompasses formally employed migrants, the Centro Zanmi database is unique among the three databases in this study, as it asks migrants to report their labor market status. The Centro Zanmi classifies migrants into five labor market status categories, which include minor, student, unemployed, formally employed, and informally employed. Of the 1,638 Haitian migrants that comprise the Centro Zanmi database, 1,301 migrants (79.4%) provided information regarding their labor market status, while 337 (20.6%) furnished no information in regard to this question. Given the large number of self-reported unemployed migrants, an analysis was conducted regarding the Haitian migrant population as a whole, in addition to a separate analysis encompassing solely migrants who reported being employed. Graphs 9a and 9b illustrate the labor market status results garnered concerning male Haitian migrants, while Graphs 10a and 10b present the same information for female Haitian migrants.



Analyzing the data, we find that approximately half of male Haitian migrants and more than two-thirds of female Haitian migrants living in the RMBH who frequented the Centro Zanmi claimed to be unemployed. Despite the universally reported high levels of unemployment, sex differences are evident, with male migrants nearly twice as likely to report being employed than their female counterparts, while female migrants were more than twice as likely as males to claim to be students. A focused analysis of migrants claiming to be employed, as shown in Graphs 9b and 10b, likely provides a more accurate picture regarding

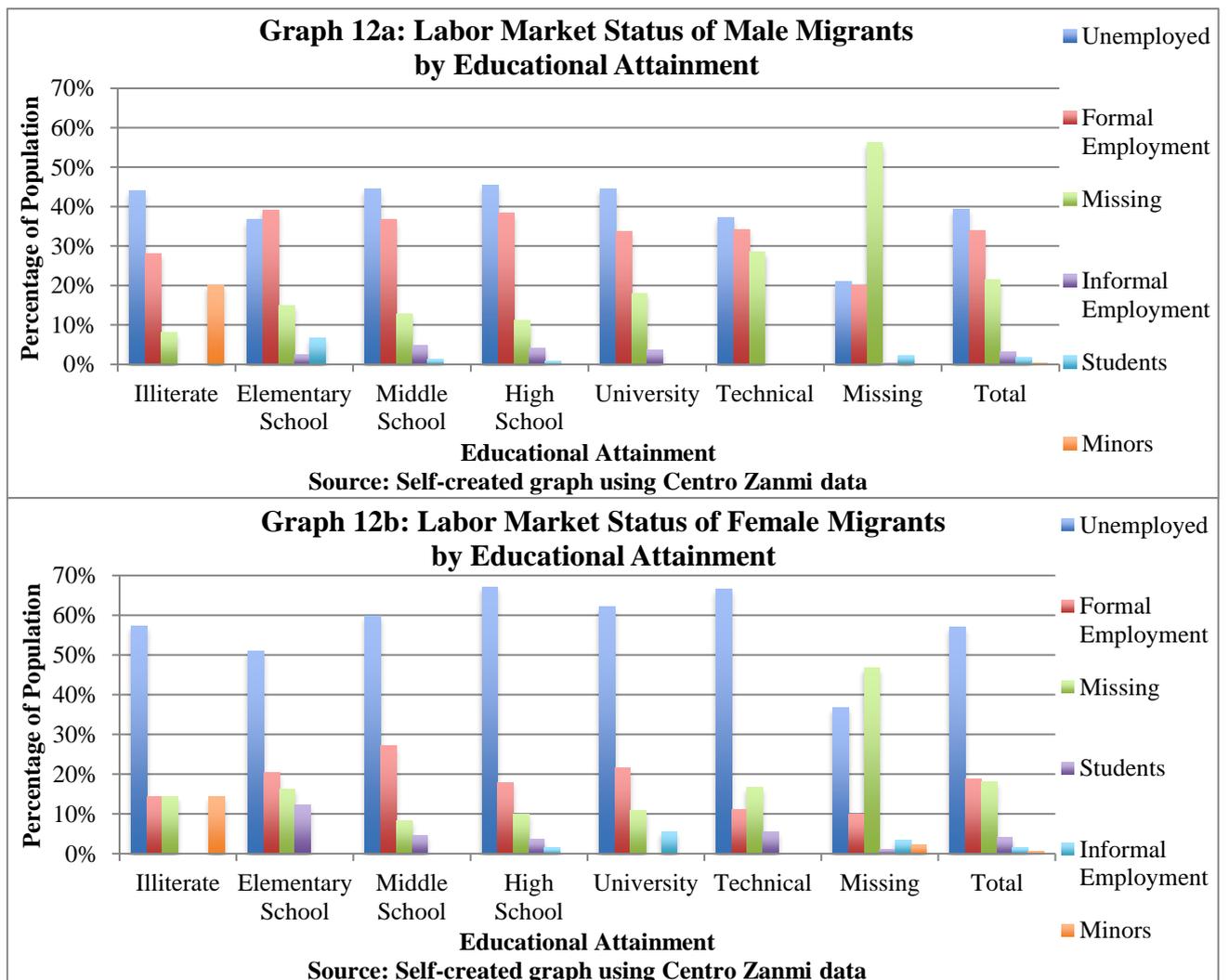
the percentage of migrants participating in the formal and informal labor markets. Data concerning both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH indicates that the overwhelming majority of migrants of both sexes work in the formal labor market with just 8% of both men and women claiming to work informally.

With the goal of providing a more profound analysis regarding the labor market status of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, in addition to attempting to explain the high reported levels of unemployment among the Haitian migrant population, an analysis of migrants' labor market status by year of entry was conducted using the Centro Zanmi data. The temporal evolution of the labor market status of male Haitian migrants is displayed in Graph 11a, while the information concerning female Haitian migrants is depicted in Graph 11b.



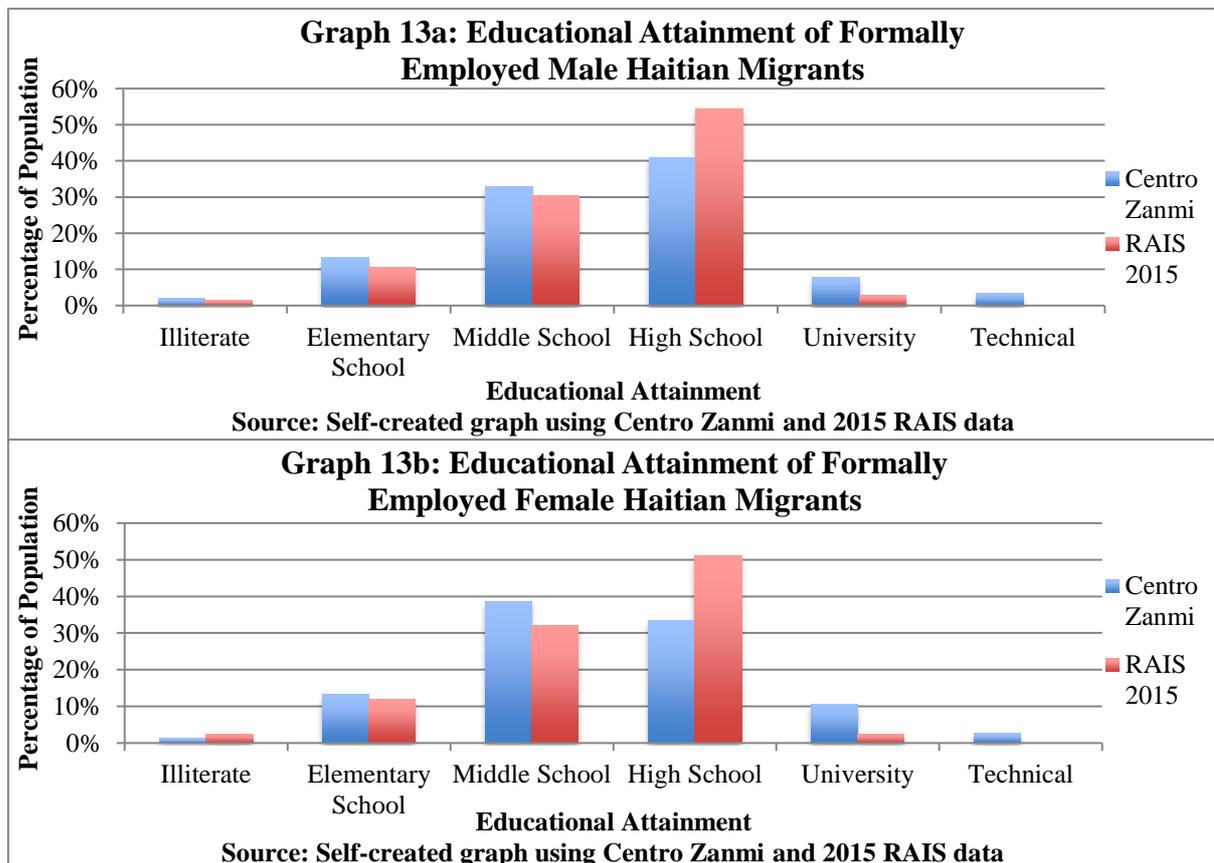
Graphs 11a and 11b show that more than half of all male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH who entered Brazil before 2013 were formally employed, with reported unemployment rates for these groups hovering around 20% for male migrants and 30% for female migrants. Conversely among migrants arriving in 2016 or later, less than 10% of male and female migrants reported holding formal employment, with the overwhelming majority reporting that they were unemployed. However, despite apparent shifts in the labor market participation and unemployment rates, reported levels of informal employment among both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH remained below 5% for nearly the entire length of the dataset, providing additional support to the idea that nearly all employed male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH are incorporated into the formal labor market.

Graphs 12a and 12b display the labor status breakdown by educational attainment group for male and female Haitian migrants, respectively, who reside in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area.



An analysis of the data presented in Graphs 12a and 12b shows that among the 1,190 male Haitian migrants, a similar prevalence of unemployment and formal employment are found across educational attainment categories, with illiterate migrants least likely to hold formal employment, but those with an elementary school education most likely to be employed in the formal labor market, in addition to being the least likely to be unemployed. Regarding the 448 female Haitian migrants in the RMBH, female migrants with a middle school education reported the highest levels of formal employment, while those with a technical education reported the lowest levels. High school educated female migrants displayed the highest likelihood to be unemployed, while those with an elementary school education were the least likely to be without a job. Levels of informal employment were low across all educational attainment groups for both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

Graphs 13a and 13b compare the educational attainment of male and female migrants contained in the Centro Zanmi database who reported participating in the formal labor market with the data for their formally employed counterparts from the 2015 RAIS data. Given the differences in the educational attainment classifications, in addition to the fact that the Centro Zanmi data is self-reported, the results must be interpreted with caution; however, a reasonable comparison between the results from the two data sources can be made.



Slight to moderate differences can be observed in the percentage of formally employed migrants pertaining to each educational category. The Centro Zanmi database contains 357 formally employed male migrants and 75 formally employed female migrants, in comparison with the 1,238 formally employed males and 209 formally employed females contained in the 2015 RAIS data. When analyzing the percentage of migrants who pertain to each educational attainment category, one can observe a broad discrepancy in the number of university educated migrants, with approximately three times as many male migrants and more than four times as many female migrants who pertain to the Centro Zanmi database claiming to possess a university education in comparison with their counterparts contained in the RAIS data. Additionally, the 2015 RAIS data shows a moderately greater percentage of both male and female migrants with some high school or a complete high school education than the Centro Zanmi data indicates. Conversely, formally employed male and female migrants pertaining to the Centro Zanmi database were more likely to possess an elementary or middle school education than their 2015 RAIS counterparts. Thus, with the exception of university-educated migrants, this study is able to conclude that the educational attainment data furnished by the Centro Zanmi and RAIS paint a relatively similar picture.

Regarding the average workweek length for formally employed Haitian Migrants in Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, the 2015 RAIS data ranged from 3 to 44 hours. The vast majority of formally employed Haitian migrants were contracted to work 44 hours weekly, the maximum number of non-overtime hours permissible under Brazilian Labor Law (Consolidação das Leis do Trabalho). Of the 1,447 formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH, 1,415 (97.8%) were contracted to work 44 hours per week. The second most common workweek length was 36 hours, with 15 migrants (1.0%) working 36 hours weekly. No other workweek length comprised more than 1.0% of the formally employed Haitian migrant population in Greater Belo Horizonte. Even more uniform results are seen among formally employed Haitian migrants in 2013, with 593 of the 599 formally employed migrants (99.0%) in 2013 working the maximum permissible 44 hours weekly.

Among formally employed male Haitian migrants, 1,220 of the 1,238 migrants (98.6%) residing in Greater Belo Horizonte worked a 44-hour workweek in 2015, with no other workweek length corresponding to more than 1.0% of the male migrant population. Similar results are seen among formally employed male migrants in 2013, with 510 of the 516 male migrants (98.8%) working 44 hours per week during that year. Among female Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area who participated in the formal economy in 2015, 195 of 209 (93.3%) worked 44 hours weekly. Female migrants were slightly more

likely to work part-time, with eight female migrants (3.8%) working 36 hours weekly, and three (1.4%) working a 40-hour workweek. However, in 2013, all 83 (100%) formally employed female migrants were contracted to work 44 hours per week.

5.2.2 Average Monthly Salary Characteristics

The RAIS database furnishes various pieces of information concerning the salaries of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH, including their mean, year-end, most recent, and contracted salary levels. For the purposes of this analysis, the mean salary levels for each year were utilized, since this indicator is likely to be the most representative of a worker's earnings over the course of the year in question. Analyses were also conducted using the mean monthly salary expressed as a multiple of the Brazilian minimum wage. Currency conversions into U.S. dollars were made using the average yearly exchange rate indicated by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service (IRS).¹⁵ Finally, it is important to note that the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE databases do not collect information regarding migrants' salary levels, and; thus, were excluded from this analysis. Table 9 displays the average monthly salary for Haitian migrants in the RMBH for each year encompassed by the dataset. Graph 14 portrays the evolution of male and female Haitian migrants' mean monthly salaries in both Brazilian Reais and U.S. dollars, while Graph 15 depicts the changes in male and female migrants' earning expressed in multiples of the Brazilian minimum wage.

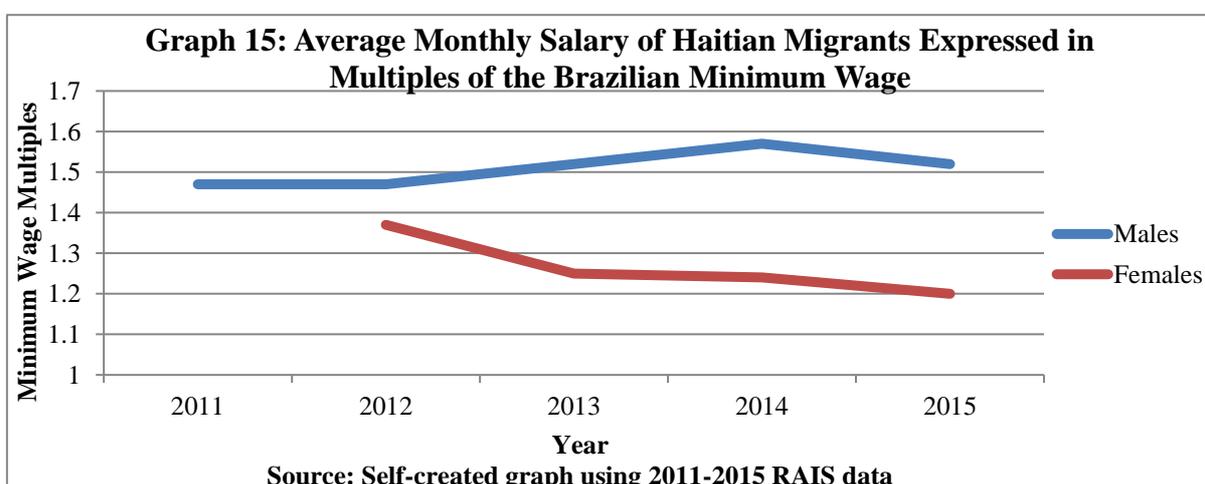
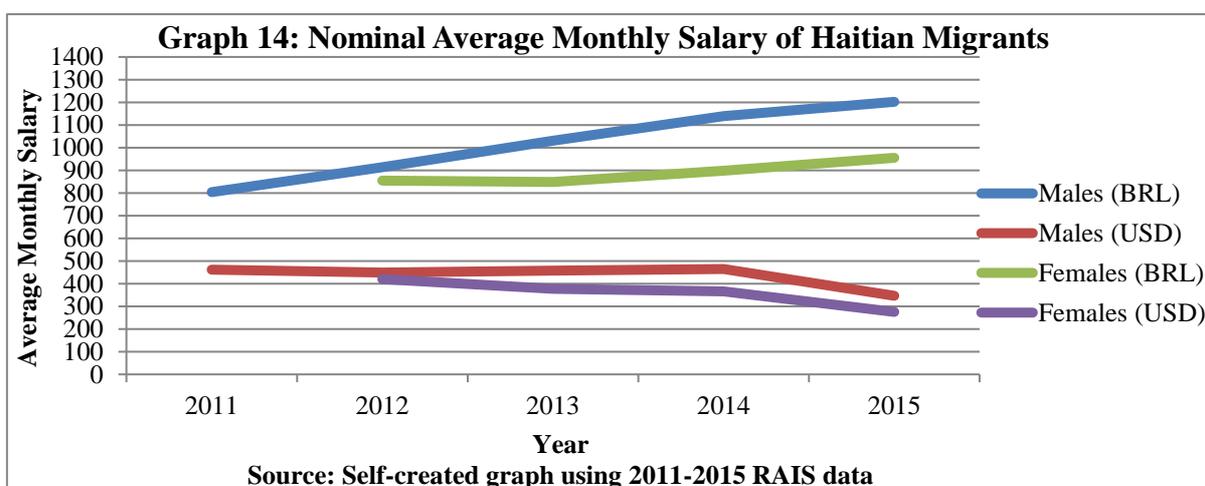
¹⁵ The exchange rates used in this study for calculating the annual value of Haitian migrants salaries in U.S. Dollars were: BRL 3.468 equal to 1 USD for 2015; BRL 2.451 equal to 1 USD for 2014; BRL 2.249 equal to 1 USD for 2013; BRL 2.035 equal to 1 USD for 2012; and, BRL 1.742 equal to USD for 2011.

Table 9: Average Monthly Salary of Haitian Migrants in the RMBH

Year	Population	n	Mean Monthly Salary (BRL)	Mean Monthly Salary (USD)	Mean Monthly Salary (Min. Wage Multiples)
2015	Total	1447	1166.40	336.33	1.47
	Males	1238	1202.06	346.62	1.52
	Females	209	955.15	275.42	1.20
2014	Total	1107	1096.81	447.5	1.51
	Males	913	1138.95	464.69	1.57
	Females	194	898.53	366.6	1.24
2013	Total	599	1005.35	447.02	1.47
	Males	516	1030.56	458.23	1.52
	Females	83	848.64	377.34	1.25
2012	Total	156	908.45	446.41	1.46
	Males	142	914.06	449.17	1.47
	Females*	13*	855.04	420.17	1.37
2011	Total	59	803.77	461.41	1.47
	Males	59	803.77	461.41	1.47
	Females	0	N/A	N/A	N/A

*Note: An outlier observation earning R\$2,721.61 or 4.37 times the minimum wage was excluded from this analysis

Source: Self-created table using 2011-2015 RAIS data



An analysis of the average monthly salary results for both formally employed male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH allows this research to draw several conclusions regarding their degree of labor market integration. When Haitian migrants' average monthly earnings are expressed in nominal terms denominated in Brazilian Reais, both males and females exhibit sustained increases in their average monthly salaries between 2011 and 2015. Interestingly, when one examines these increases by sex, a divergence in the salaries of male and female migrants is evident, with female migrants earning an average monthly salary equal to 93.5% of male migrants' mean monthly wages in 2012, but earning just 79.5% as much as their male counterparts in 2015. Similarly, when migrants' average monthly salaries are expressed in multiples of the legally mandated Brazilian minimum wage, which is updated annually, male migrants' salaries grew faster than increases in the minimum wage through 2014, while female migrants' salaries consistently grew slower than minimum wage growth between 2012 and 2015. Generally speaking, throughout the years encompassed by the dataset, male Haitian migrants exhibit a strong income concentration between 1.25 and 1.75 times the Brazilian minimum wage, while female Haitian migrants' average monthly earnings were extremely likely to fall between one and one-and-a-half times the Brazilian minimum wage. Expressed in U.S. Dollars, the average monthly salary of female Haitian migrants in 2015 was less than two-thirds its value in 2012.¹⁶ Concerning male migrants, a stagnation in the international purchasing power of their mean monthly salaries is witnessed between 2011 and 2014, and a rather steep decline is seen in 2015, with salaries in that year being worth just under three-quarters their 2014 value, in U.S. Dollar terms.

Graph 16a displays the average monthly salary for the most commonly practiced professions by male migrants, while Graph 16b depicts the same data for female migrants. Table 10 displays the average monthly salary for the most common professions exercised by male and female migrants expressed in multiples of the Brazilian minimum wage. As the data from the Centro Zanni and SINCRE lack information on migrants' average salaries, they were excluded from this analysis. The data show that the most highly paid occupational category among male and female Haitian migrants in 2015 was building construction, with females, surprisingly, out-earning their male counterparts. Conversely, the retail sector was the lowest-paying field among both male and female Haitian migrants, with building and

¹⁶ The choice to include migrants' salaries in U.S. dollars was made in order to facilitate the international comparison of the average monthly earnings of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, particularly following the sharp devaluation of the Brazilian Real beginning in 2015.

landscaping services and land transportation also ranking among the lowest paying occupational fields.

The most common occupational divisions employing male migrants were the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) followed by building construction. Interestingly, among males, these were also the highest paying sectors in 2015, and were the only two occupation fields whose average monthly pay surpassed the average monthly wage of R\$1,202.06 for the male migrant population as a whole. In contrast to male Haitian migrants, the most common occupations employing female migrants – food and drink manufacturing, food services, and the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) – were likely to provide average monthly compensation comparable to the R\$955.15, the mean monthly wage for the female Haitian migrant population in the RMBH at large.

For formally employed male Haitian migrants, the vast majority of occupational areas paid between 1.25 and 1.5 times the Brazilian minimum wage in 2015. Only migrants employed in building construction, the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) or infrastructure projects could expect to earn more, on average. On the other end of the spectrum, solely formally employed male migrants working in the retail sector earned less than 1.25 times the Brazilian minimum wage, on average. Concerning formally employed female Haitian migrants, average remuneration for the bulk of occupational fields was between 1 and 1.25 times the minimum wage in 2015. All of the most common professional areas had average monthly salaries greater than the minimum wage, but just building construction, plastic and rubber products manufacturing, and clothing and accessories production paid female migrants the equivalent of 1.25 times the minimum wage or greater.

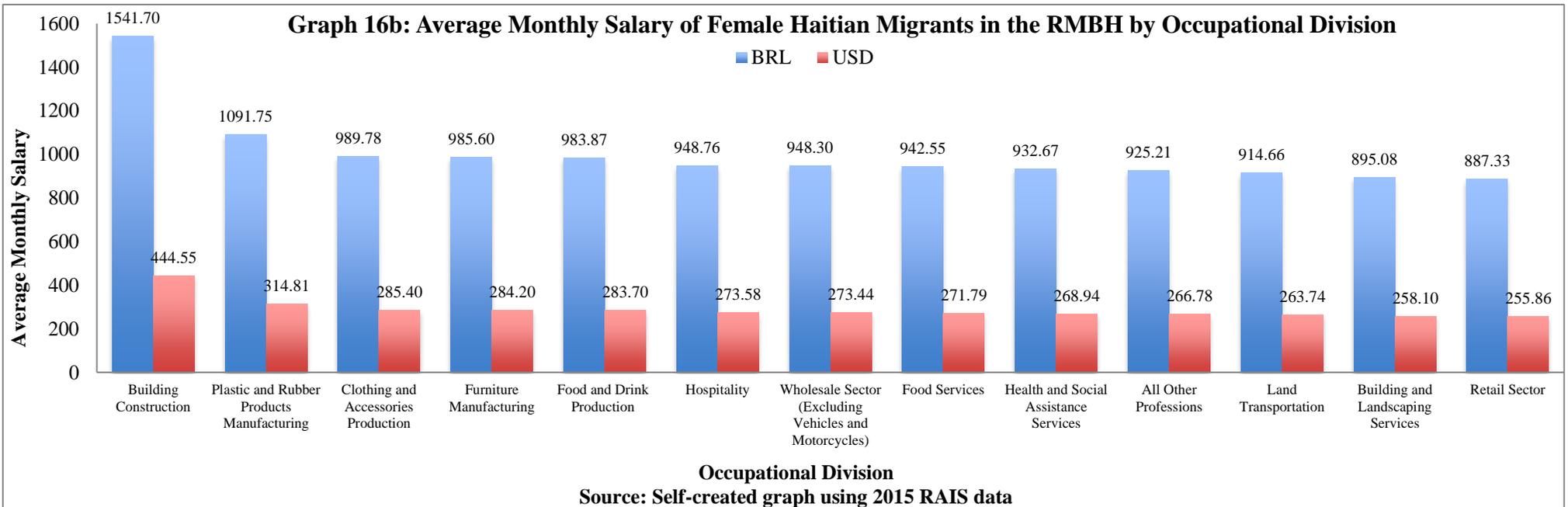
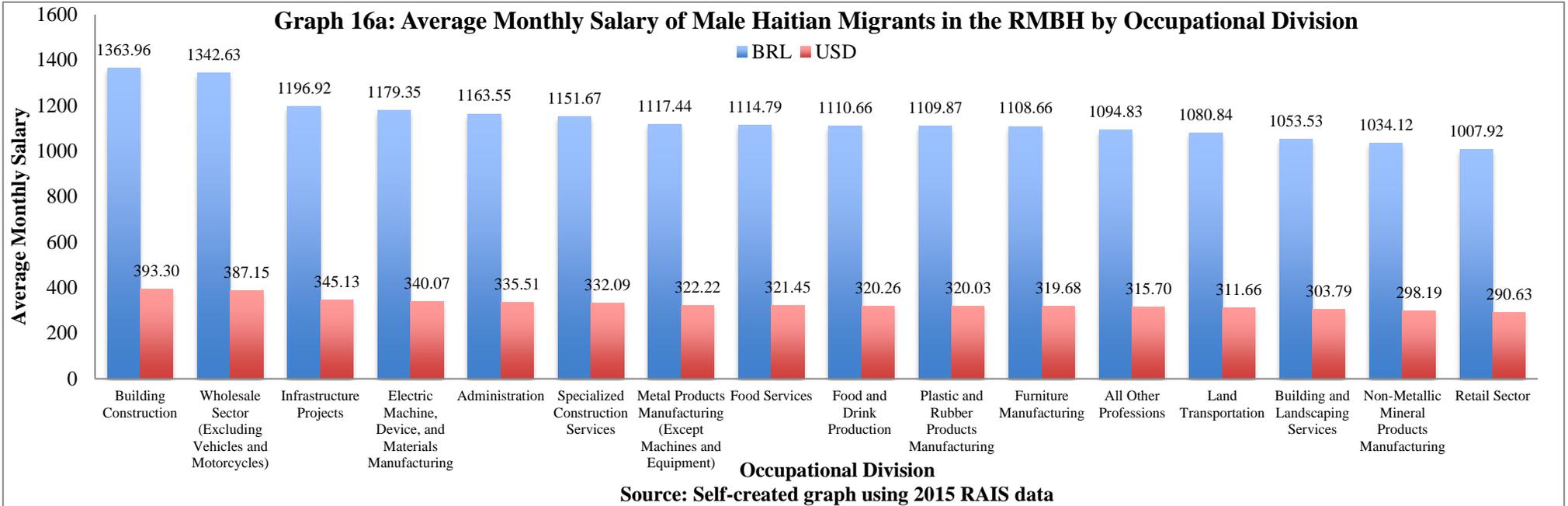


Table 10: Average Monthly Salaries for Haitian Migrants by Profession Expressed in Multiples of the 2015 Brazilian Minimum Wage

Males		Females	
Occupational Category	Minimum Wage Multiples	Occupational Category	Minimum Wage Multiples
Building Construction	1.73	Building Construction	1.95
Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	1.65	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	1.38
Infrastructure Projects	1.51	Clothing and Accessories Production	1.25
Electric Machine, Device, and Materials Manufacturing	1.48	Furniture Manufacturing	1.24
Specialized Construction Services	1.45	Food and Drink Production	1.24
Administration	1.45	Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	1.20
Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	1.41	Hospitality	1.19
Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	1.40	Food Services	1.19
Furniture Manufacturing	1.38	Health and Social Assistance Services	1.18
Food and Drink Production	1.36	All Other Professions	1.17
Land Transportation	1.35	Land Transportation	1.16
All Other Professions	1.33	Building and Landscaping Services	1.13
Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	1.30	Retail Sector	1.12
Food Services	1.25		
Building and Landscaping Services	1.25		
Retail Sector	1.24		

Source: Self-created table using 2015 RAIS data

Examining the 2013 RAIS data, this study is able to conclude with reasonable certainty that no discernable temporal trends are present regarding the relationship between mean monthly pay and occupation among formally employed Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Graph 17a depicts the relationship between mean monthly salary and profession for male migrants, while the data for female migrants is portrayed in Graph 17b, respectively. Table 11 displays the corresponding information for both formally employed male and female Haitian migrants expressed in multiples of the Brazilian minimum wage.

Among male Haitian migrants, little continuity between the best-paying professions in 2015 and those which paid the most in 2013 can be observed. While building construction and the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) were the only above-average paying occupations in 2015, in 2013, the mean monthly wage for migrants working in building construction, barely surpassed the average for the formally employed Haitian male migrant population as a whole, while male migrants employed in the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) could expect to earn a below-average mean monthly wage. The highest-paying profession among male Haitian migrants in 2013, architecture and engineering services, was not among the most common professions in 2015 complicating a temporal analysis of the average salaries of male migrants working in this field. However, the second-highest paying field among male migrants in 2013, land transportation, ranks among the lowest paying occupations in 2015, with this field exhibiting absolute declines in average remuneration between these two years. Additionally, infrastructure projects, the third-highest paying field in 2013 is the third-lowest paying occupation among male Haitian migrants in 2015.

Concerning formally employed female Haitian migrants, a similar confusion can be observed in regards to those working in the retail sector, which was the lowest paying field in 2015, yet provided the highest average remuneration for female Haitian migrants in 2013. However, similar to the data for female migrants in 2015, food and drink production, food services, and the wholesale sector (excluding vehicles and motorcycles) paid mid-ranking mean monthly wages, slightly below the average monthly salary of the female migrant population as a whole in 2013.

Examining Table 11, we can see that, among males, the majority of professional fields paid between 1.25 and 1.75 times the minimum wage in 2013, with those working in architectural services and engineering reporting mean monthly earnings more than 1.75 times the minimum wage, on average, while those employed in infrastructure projects, vehicle and motorcycle sales and repair, and food services could expect to earn a mean monthly wage less than 1.25 times the minimum wage. Among female migrants, those working in the retail sector or non-metallic mineral products manufacturing, the two best-paying fields, could expect to earn a mean monthly salary more than 1.5 times the minimum wage. However, the majority of the most common occupational categories for female Haitian migrants in 2013 paid an average monthly salary ranging from 1 to 1.25 times the minimum wage with those working in “all other professions”, earning a mean monthly salary equivalent to less than the value of the minimum wage.

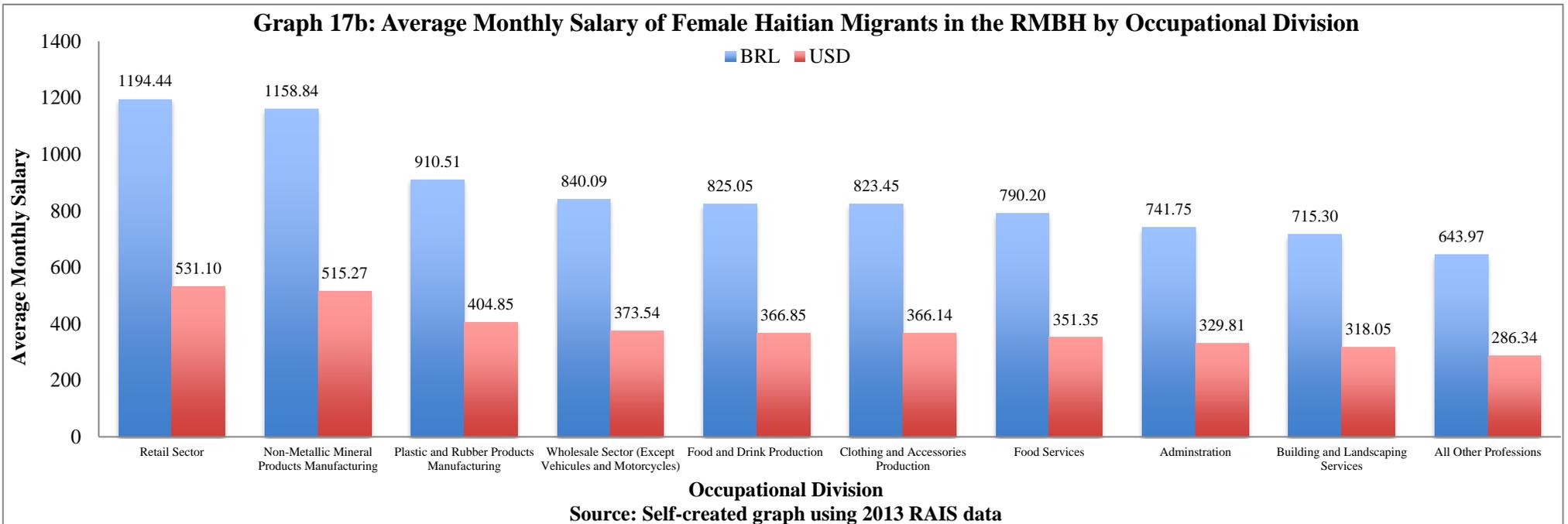
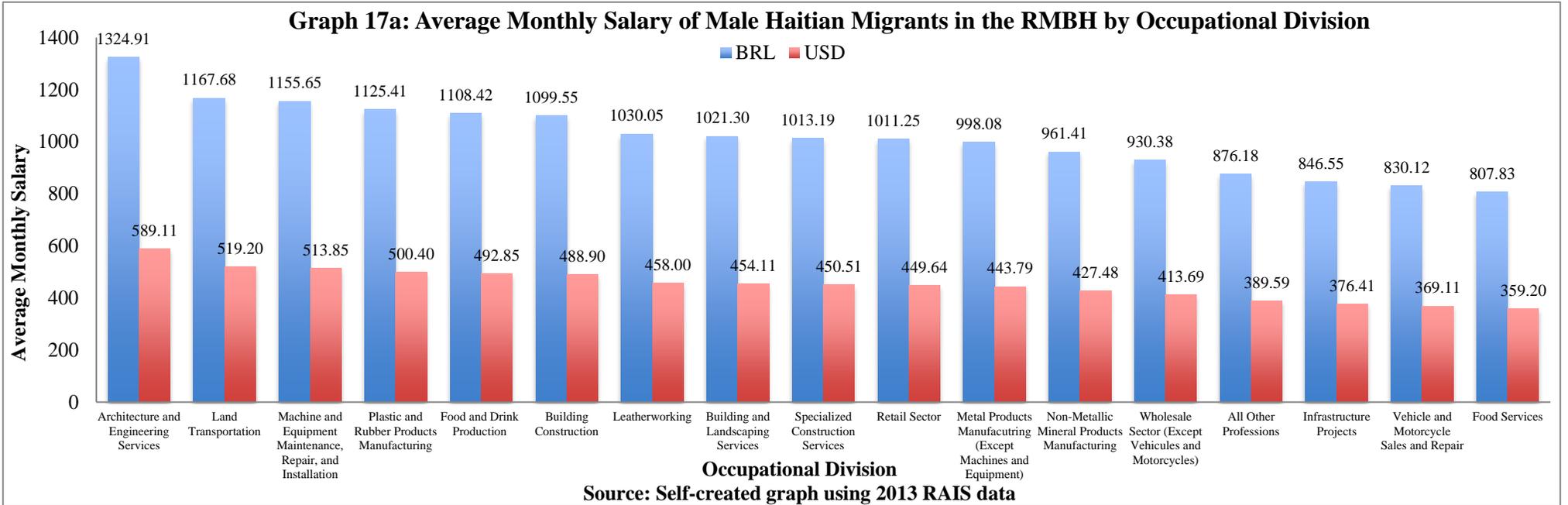


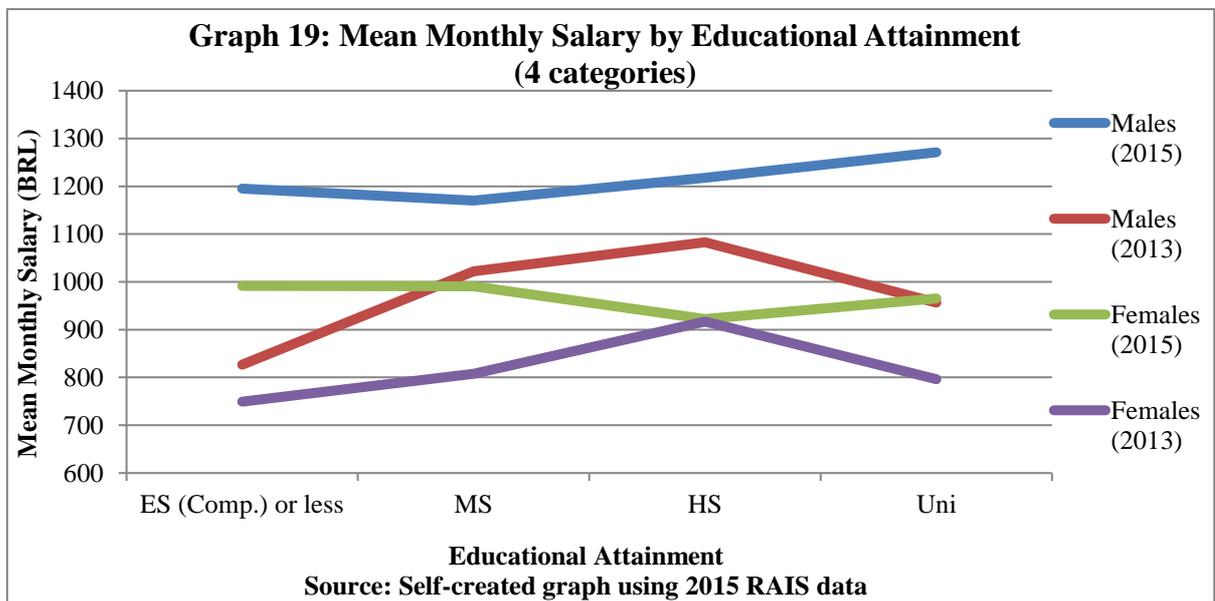
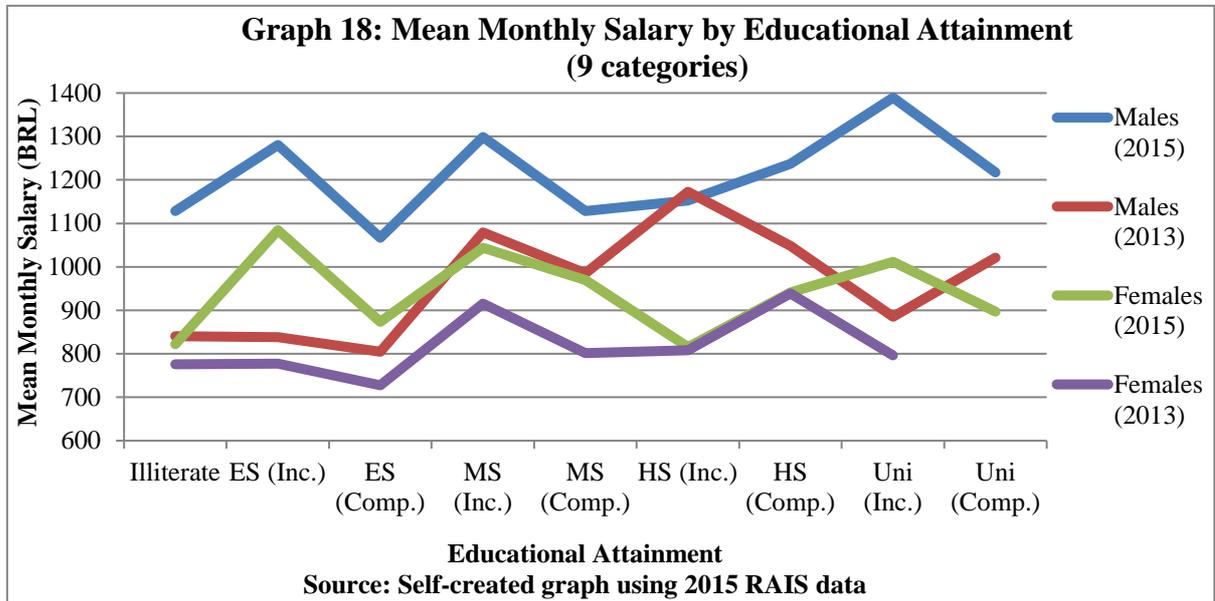
Table 11: Average Monthly Salaries for Haitian Migrants by Profession Expressed in Multiples of the 2013 Brazilian Minimum Wage

Males		Females	
Occupational Category	Minimum Wage Multiples	Occupational Category	Minimum Wage Multiples
Architecture and Engineering Services	1.95	Retail Sector	1.75
Land Transportation	1.71	Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	1.70
Machine and Equipment Maintenance, Repair, and Installation	1.70	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	1.33
Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	1.65	Wholesale Sector (Except Vehicles and Motorcycles)	1.23
Food and Drink Production	1.63	Food and Drink Production	1.21
Building Construction	1.61	Clothing and Accessories Production	1.21
Leatherworking	1.51	Food Services	1.16
Building and Landscaping Services	1.50	Administration	1.09
Specialized Construction Services	1.49	Building and Landscaping Services	1.05
Retail Sector	1.48	All Other Professions	0.94
Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	1.46		
Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	1.41		
Wholesale Sector (Except Vehicles and Motorcycles)	1.36		
All Other Professions	1.28		
Infrastructure Projects	1.24		
Vehicle and Motorcycle Sales and Repair	1.22		
Food Services	1.19		

Source: Self-created table using 2013 RAIS data

In order to test the hypothesis that higher educational levels should be positively associated with greater salaries, the relationship between mean monthly salaries and educational attainment was evaluated using RAIS data. For the purposes of analyzing this relationship, both the more precise 9-category educational classifications and the larger, more simplified, 4-category educational groupings were used. Data from the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE were unable to be utilized given that they do not furnish information regarding migrants' mean monthly salaries. Graph 18 displays the average monthly earnings for the

male and female Haitian migrant populations in 2015 and 2013 for the nine educational attainment categories utilized by RAIS, while Graph 19 portrays the same information, grouped into the four more encompassing categories created for this research.

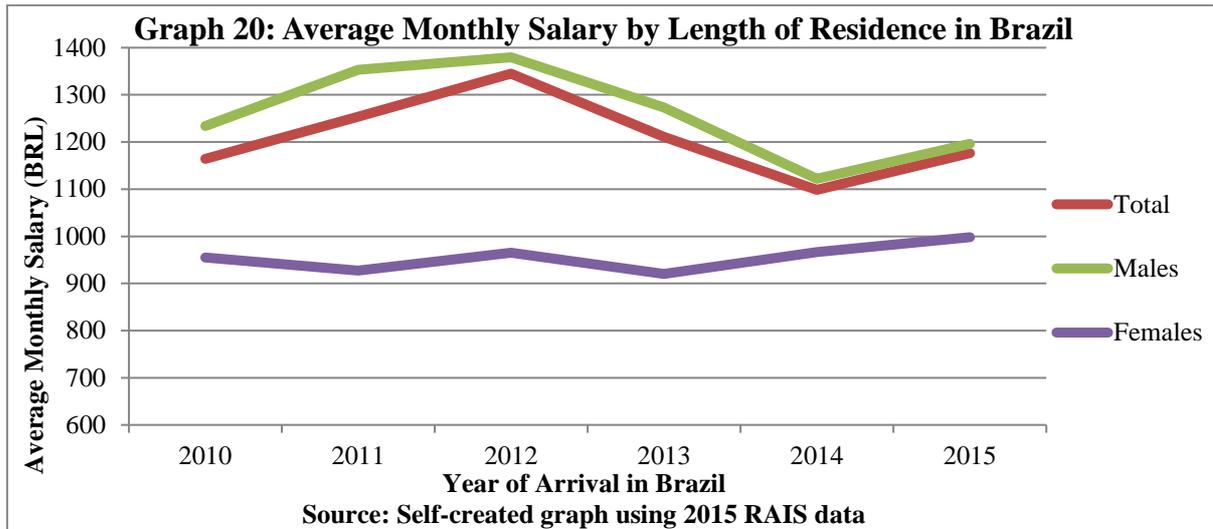


When displayed using the nine educational attainment categories furnished by RAIS, sharp variations in the mean monthly wages of the formally employed male and female Haitian migrant population can be observed, with no evident clear or discernible association between the two variables. Although the highest paid educational group among the formally employed male Haitian migrant population were male migrants who had started, but not finished a Bachelor’s Degree, those with an incomplete middle school education, the fourth-

lowest educational group, were the second-best remunerated. Conversely, formally employed male Haitian migrants with a complete elementary school education were the lowest paid in 2015 and could expect to earn just 83.3% as much as their lower-educated colleagues who abandoned primary school. The interpretation of the relationship between average monthly salaries and educational attainment for female migrants also shows no clear relationship between the two variables in question. Indeed, in 2015, formally employed female migrants with an incomplete elementary school education received the highest average monthly salaries, while their better-educated peers who started, but did not complete, high school were the lowest paid.

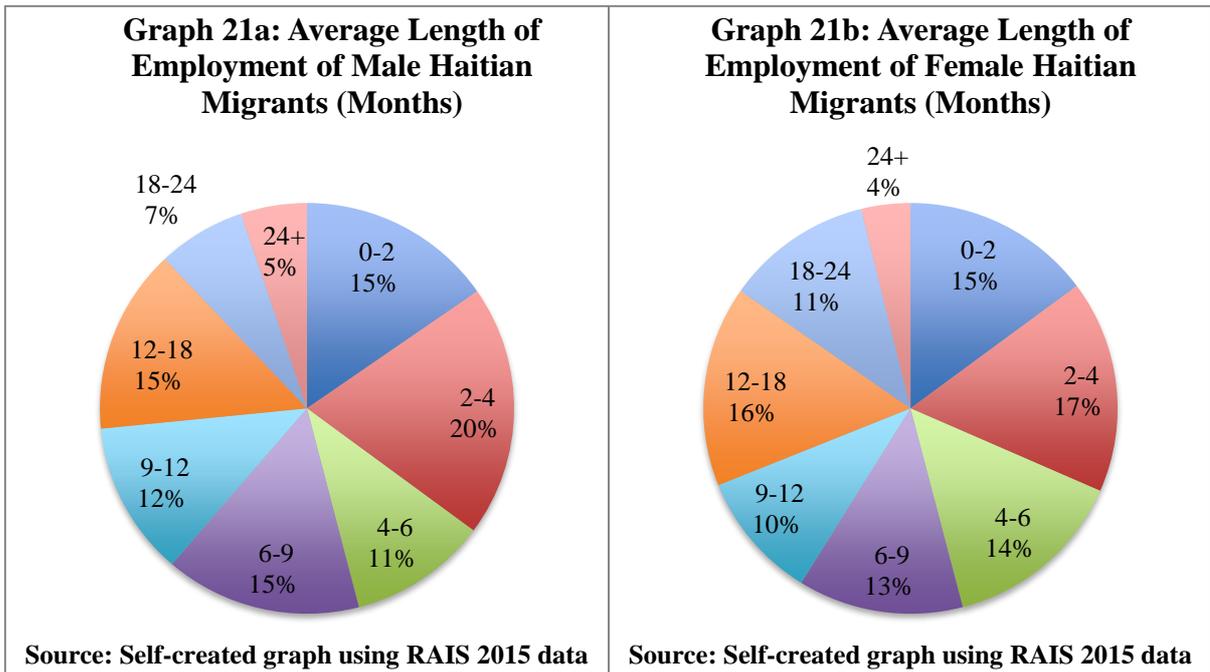
Graph 19 provides a somewhat clearer picture of the association between the educational attainment and the average monthly salaries of the formally employed Haitian migrant population, as the abrupt variations seen in the 9-category analysis are smoothed out, allowing certain trends regarding this association to become more evident. Indeed, among the formally employed male Haitian migrant population, we witness an upward trend in average monthly earnings for the two better-educated groups in comparison with the two lowest educated groups in 2015. Similarly, in 2013, male migrants with an incomplete or complete high school education could expect to earn more, on average, than their middle school educated peers, who, in turn, had higher average monthly wages than male migrants with an elementary school education or less. In regards to female migrants, data concerning the relationship between educational attainment and average monthly wages shows a relatively similar trend to that of the male migrant population in 2013, with female migrants holding a complete or partial high school education receiving the highest average monthly salaries. However, an analysis of the 2015 data indicates a inverse relationship between educational attainment and average monthly salaries, with female migrants who started or completed high school earning the least, and those with a complete elementary school education or less being the best remunerated, closely trailed by their peers with a partial or complete middle school education.

In order to test the hypothesis that migrants with a greater length of residence in Brazil should possess higher salaries, and; thus, a higher degree of labor market integration than more recent arrivals, this research evaluated the relationship between migrants' average monthly salaries and their length of residence in Brazil using the 2015 RAIS data. Graph 20 displays these results.



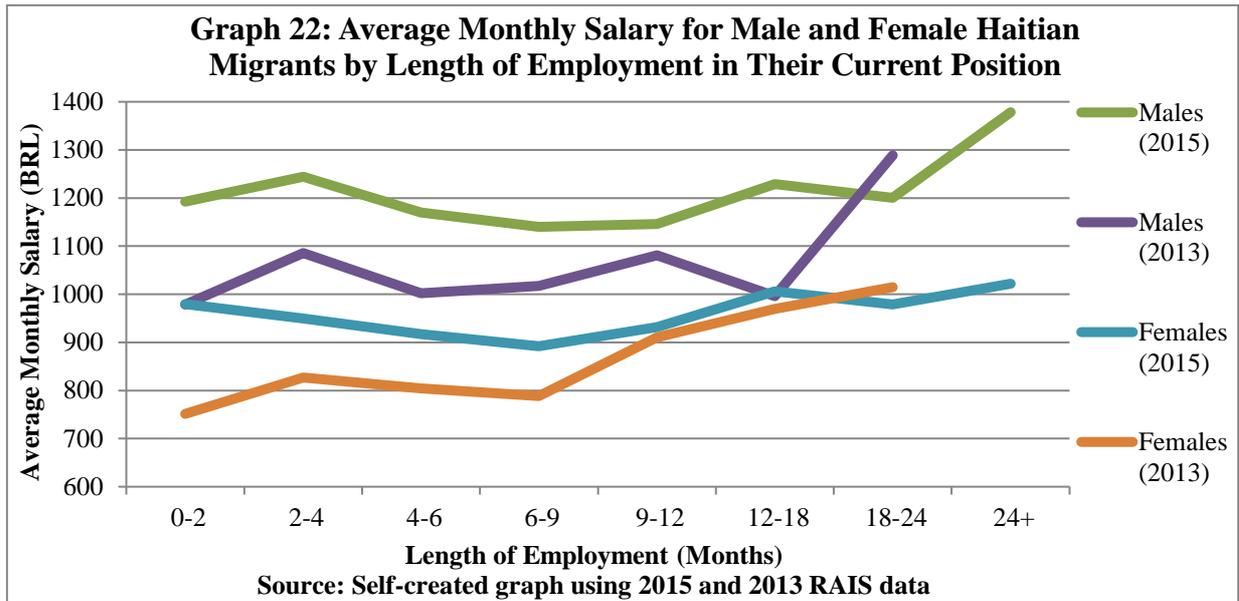
The data indicates that formally employed male migrants who arrived in Brazil in 2012, followed by those who arrived in 2011, received the highest average monthly remuneration, while those who arrived in 2014 reported the lowest mean monthly salaries. Among female migrants; however, the most recent arrivals in 2015 earned the highest mean monthly wages, followed by those who arrived in 2014. Nonetheless, the variation of formally employed female migrants' average monthly incomes based upon their year of arrival is small, with female migrants who arrived in 2013, the year of arrival with the lowest average monthly earnings, receiving a mean monthly salary equal to 92.2% of that of the highest paid migrants who arrived in 2015.

Graphs 21a and 21b display the average length of employment expressed in months for male and female Haitian migrants working in the RMBH according to the 2015 RAIS data. An analysis of Haitian migrants' length of employment finds that, on average, formally employed Haitian migrants had been in their most recent position for a mean of 8.95 months. For formally employed male Haitian migrants the mean length of employment was equal to 8.89 months, while the median length of employment was 6.8 months. Their female counterparts were employed in their current position for 9.32 months on average, with a median length of employment of 6.9 months. A comparison with the 2013 RAIS data shows that both the mean and median length of employment of male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH increased by approximately four to five months in the interval between the two datasets. This finding is unsurprising given that by 2015 a number of Haitian migrants had been living in the RMBH for a few years, increasing their chances of holding the same position for a longer length of time; whereas, in 2013, most Haitian migrants in the RMBH were recent arrivals.



Graph 22 displays the relationship between formally employed Haitian migrants' length of employment, measured in months, and their average monthly salaries.¹⁷ An examination of the 2015 and 2013 data shows that the highest paid male migrants were those who had started in their current position 2-4 months ago or those who had been employed in the same position for more than 18 months. In 2015, formally employed male migrants who had been working in their current position for 12-18 months were among the highest remunerated; however, their 2013 counterparts earned the second-lowest mean monthly wages, only out-earning recently hired migrants with less than 2 months on the job. Among formally employed female Haitian migrants in 2015 we observe a similar, yet even feebler, relationship between their length of employment and average monthly salaries. Comparable to the trends witnessed among formally employed male Haitian migrants, recently employed migrants with less than 4 months of experience could expect to earn more than those employed in the same position for between 4 months and 1 year. The data for formally employed female Haitian migrants in 2013, seems to bet fit the hypothesis, as female migrants who have been employed in their position for more than 9 months consistently earning more as they gain seniority and experience.

¹⁷ It is important to note that one female migrant in 2013, who had been in her current position for more than 24 months, and who reported a mean monthly income of R\$3,818.47, was considered to be outlier, and, as a result, was excluded from the graph.



5.2.3 Discussion

In regards to the data concerning the most prominent professions exercised by Haitian migrants in the RMBH, differences that extend beyond the inherent variations in employment classification systems can be seen among the three databases. Among male Haitian migrants, building construction and maintenance professions predominate. In all three datasets, building construction – in the case of the RAIS 2013 data – and building construction and maintenance – in the cases of the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE data – employ more than one quarter of all male Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The predominance of building construction is unsurprising, given that various studies highlight this industry’s leading importance as an employer of Haitian migrants in the RMBH (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014). However, the 2015 RAIS data indicate that drastic changes are afoot in the most common areas of employment among formally employed male Haitian migrants. In particular, there was a slight decline in the absolute number of male Haitian migrants working in building construction, even though the number of formally employed male Haitian migrants in the RMBH was 2.4 times greater in 2015 than in 2013. However, given the fact that the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases are comprised of an accumulated migrant stock, while the 2015 RAIS data corresponds to a specific calendar year, these differences are not surprising.

Several possible factors could explain the decline in building construction as the primary employer of male migrants in the RMBH. First, as migrants settle in at their destination, the number of occupational divisions in which they work is likely to become increasingly diversified, and not remain concentrated in the employment fields that the

earliest migrants to arrive occupied. Macroeconomic changes could also explain this decline, given that the demand for building construction services declined precipitously following the onset of the economic crisis in 2015. Furthermore, one must also take into account discrepancies in the classification systems among the different data sources, due to the fact that many male Haitian migrants who worked in the categories of specialized construction services and infrastructure projects would likely have been categorized under the building and maintenance work classification used when analyzing the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data, complicating any direct comparison of the RAIS data with the other two databases.

Self-reporting biases and/or the case of migrants indicating the type of employment they are searching for rather than the kind that they currently hold are also likely to be present, principally concerning the SINCRE data, but also, to a certain extent, the data provided by the Centro Zanmi. One probable case of inaccurate self-reported employment data concerns the prominence of mechanics among the male Haitian migrants registered in the SINCRE database, with 26.0% of male migrants claiming to exercise a related profession. In contrast, just 6.1% of male migrants in the Centro Zanmi database claimed to work in this field. Furthermore, even fewer male migrants in the RAIS 2013 database claimed to work with machine and equipment maintenance, repair, and installation (1.6%) or vehicle and motorcycle sales and repair (1.4%), with these mechanics-related categories employing less than 1% of formally employed male Haitian migrants in 2015. The most likely possible explanation for these differences are that the male migrants contained in the SINCRE database were under the impression that there was a high demand for mechanics and related professionals in Brazil, and; thus, claimed to have experience working in this area. Another possible explanation is that the SINCRE data corresponds to migrants' previous occupations in Haiti; however, the outsize importance of mechanics as an employer of male Haitian migrants prior to coming to Brazil is not supported by previous studies (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, 2016).

Among female Haitian migrants, the importance of the food service industry as an employer stands out among all four data sources. The relative importance of clothing manufacturing as an employer of female Haitian migrants in the RMBH is implied by the 2013 RAIS and the Centro Zanmi data. However, the 2015 RAIS and SINCRE data contradict these findings, complicating the interpretation of this sector's importance in the employment of female Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The fact that the 2015 RAIS data did not show large numbers of female Haitian migrants working in this sector could indicate the declining importance of clothing manufacturing as an employer of female Haitian migrants in the

RMBH. This hypothesis is difficult to evaluate, as no previous study provides as detailed of an occupational breakdown for female Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

Similar data consistency issues can be seen in regard to the number of Haitian migrants, both males and females, contained in the SINCRE database who claim to work in the information technology (IT) sector. According to the SINCRE data, this sector is the largest employer of female Haitian migrants and the third-largest employer of male Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Migrants registered in the Centro Zanmi database who declared being employed in IT-related professions were less plentiful; however the IT sector was still an important employer of both male and female Haitian migrants. However, when compared with the RAIS 2013 and 2015 data, both the data from SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi appear to greatly overestimate the percentage of migrants working in this sector, given that in neither 2013 nor 2015 do migrants working in information technology surpass more than 1% of the formally employed Haitian migrant population in the RMBH. The literature corroborates the findings of the RAIS data, with Fernandes and Castro (2014) finding that just 1.2% of Haitian migrants in Brazil worked in the IT sector, with Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016), finding only a slightly higher percentage of migrants working in this area.

The importance of the sales sector as one of the principal employers of both formally employed male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH is demonstrated by its prominence among the RAIS data. According to the 2015 RAIS data, the wholesale sector is the predominant employer of formally employed male migrants and an important employer of female migrants with the retail sector also employing an important percentage of formally employed male and female Haitian migrants, respectively. While the 2013 RAIS data indicates a lower percentage of both formally employed male and female Haitian migrants in these occupational divisions, the wholesale and retail sectors continued to occupy two of the top five employment divisions for both males and females. Additionally, the Centro Zanmi data for female Haitian migrants indicates that just over one-fifth worked in sales, a finding that is in line with the results of the RAIS data from 2015 and 2013. However, the data furnished by SINCRE suggests that less than 10% percent of females work in this sector, while, among male Haitian migrants, both SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi data appear to underestimate the importance of the sales sector as an employer, with the data indicating that just a small percentage are employed in this area. The discrepancies among the databases could be due to the aforementioned theory that many migrants report working in a profession that they think is in high demand, rather than their actual profession at their destination or origin. Fernandes and Castro's (2014) survey indicates that a rather high level of Haitian

migrants in Brazil worked in sales before departing Haiti, with 8.7% of males and 23.1% of females being employed in this occupational sector in their homeland (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 47). However, their interviews found that only 5.6% of Haitian migrants surveyed worked in this area after arriving in Brazil, an apparent contradiction of the data furnished by RAIS.

Finally the RAIS 2015 and 2013 data highlight the importance of a wide variety of production and manufacturing-related occupations in providing formal employment for male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Food and drink production, plastic and rubber products manufacturing, metal products manufacturing (except machines and equipment, furniture manufacturing, electric machine, device, and materials manufacturing, and non-metallic mineral products manufacturing, were all significant employers of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH in both 2015 and 2013. In contrast, a much smaller percentage of Haitian migrants in the Centro Zanmi (5.2% of males; 0.3% of females) and SINCRE (1.2% of males; 0.8% of females) databases claimed to be employed in the manufacturing sector. Fernandes and Castro's (2014) study corroborates the importance of the food manufacturing sector as a principal employer of Haitian migrants in Brazil, with 12.6% of respondents claiming to be employed in this area (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 63).

Taking into account the aforementioned advantages and disadvantages of each data source, the differences and similarities between them are not entirely surprising. The self-reported nature of the professional data contained in the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases may cause migrants to claim to have experience in a field that they believe to be in high demand, such as mechanics and information technology; whereas, in practice, we see scant evidence that vast numbers of Haitian migrants are being employed in these fields via a comparison the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data. In contrast, professions that confer lower social status or those that provide little opportunity for upward mobility, such as sales, may cause migrants to be less likely to report working in said field. The fact that the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE data are accumulated stocks; whereas, RAIS is an annual database should partially explain the differences between these databases and RAIS. Furthermore, as RAIS only contains formally employed migrants, certain professions where migrants are more likely to be employed informally may be underrepresented in comparison with the data provided by SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi. Additionally, the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases also contain a category for students, which comprised 4.9% of migrants in the SINCRE database and 7.3% of migrants who sought assistance at the Centro Zanmi. Other categories encompassed by these databases, but not by RAIS, included dependents and minors (less than

1% for both databases), with SINCRE also giving migrants the option to declare themselves to be unemployed, finding that 3.7% of males and 9.1% of females claimed to be unemployed at their time of registration with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte. Thus, while all three databases provide valuable insights into the most common professions exercised by Haitian migrants in the RMBH, in order to explain the sometimes vast differences, particularly between the SINCRE and RAIS data, one must take into account the heterogeneous nature of the three databases and the characteristics of migrants of which they are comprised.

Differences among the occupations exercised by formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH are evident both when comparing migrants holding an elementary school education or lower with those who possess an incomplete or complete high school education, in addition to temporal differences among the same educational groups when comparing the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data. While both the 2015 and 2013 RAIS data appear to indicate differences in the most common occupational categories of male and female migrants based upon their educational level, there is little evidence to support the part of the second hypothesis that states that higher levels of educational attainment should be associated with a more elevated chance of being employed in an area corresponding to migrants' educational attainment. Data concerning both male and female Haitian migrants in 2015 and 2013 indicates a lack of ascension up the professional ladder, with the most common occupational categories being primarily unskilled and poorly paid professions. The lack of opportunities for professional growth is highlighted in previous studies concerning the RMBH, even among more highly educated migrants, who struggled with linguistic and bureaucratic barriers, such as the recognition of diplomas, that block their professional advancement (SÁ, 2015, p. 118).

Surprisingly, despite the fact that over 80% of workers in Haiti are informally employed (OLIVEIRA, 2015, p. 138), the vast majority of employed migrants in the RMBH claim to hold formal employment, according to the Centro Zanmi data. Indeed, the Centro Zanmi data finds that just 8% of both male and female Haitian migrants claimed to work informally. This finding indicates an even greater predominance of formal employment among Haitian migrants than was found by Fernandes and Castro (2014), whose research indicated that approximately one-quarter of Haitian migrants in Brazil worked informally. The findings of our research also appear to indicate that the economic crisis has had little impact on the ratio of formally employed migrants to informally employed migrants, but rather has had a much larger impact via an increase in the number of unemployed migrants. In this vein, the Centro Zanmi data indicates that more than half of male Haitian migrants and

more than two-thirds of female Haitian migrants that sought assistance there were unemployed. However, as one of the services provided by the NGO is to help migrants find gainful employment, the massive numbers of unemployed Haitian migrants should be interpreted with caution, and are more likely to represent newly-arrived migrants seeking their first job in Brazil and/or high levels of employment turnover, especially in the context of the economic crisis, rather than chronically elevated levels of structural unemployment among Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

When the labor market status of Haitian migrants in the RMBH is examined according to their length of residence in Brazil, the Centro Zanmi data provide evidence supporting this study's hypothesis that both male and female migrants with a longer length of residence in Brazil are more likely to be employed. However, the hypothesis that a longer length of residence in Brazil would be correlated with higher levels of formal employment vis-à-vis informal employment appears to be unfounded, as reported levels of informal employment among both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH remained low throughout the entire length of the dataset, a finding that concurs with the earlier results of Fernandes and Castro (2014). Furthermore, it is important to reassert that many of the vast number of reportedly unemployed recent arrivals from 2015 onwards, are likely job-seekers seeking to take advantage of the help that the Centro Zanmi provides regarding the employment search, a service that began to be offered in that same year.

In addition to hypothesizing that Haitian migrants with a longer length of residence in Brazil should exhibit a greater likelihood of being both employed and formally employed, this research also postulates that migrants with a higher level of educational attainment are more likely to be both employed and formally employed than their less educated counterparts. However, the data displayed by Graphs 12a and 12b seemingly disprove the hypothesis that migrants with greater levels of educational attainment will exhibit higher rates of employment and formal employment. Indeed, among neither male nor female Haitian migrants in the RMBH did those pertaining to the high school, university, or technical educational attainment categories report the highest levels of employment, with their elementary or middle school educated counterparts generally more likely to report being employed. Furthermore, regardless of migrants' educational attainment, levels of informal employment were low among all educational attainment groups for both male and female Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The concentration of Haitian migrants in low skilled jobs, regardless of their educational attainment is documented in earlier studies concerning the RMBH (FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014, p. 11; SÁ, 2015, p. 118), with the current study

confirming that these findings appear to have changed little in the most recent years of this migration flow. Furthermore, this study's results confirm the idea that Haitian migrants in the RMBH overwhelmingly work in the formal sector, with little difference based upon educational status, confirming this assertion as reported by Fernandes and Castro (2014).

A comparison of the educational attainment of the formally employed Haitian migrant population according to the Centro Zanmi and RAIS databases provides further insight into the educational attainment of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The relatively modest differences that are observed in the percentage of formally employed migrants pertaining to each educational category could be explained by the methodological differences caused by the use of two different classification systems or by temporal differences, given that the Centro Zanmi data is a cumulative stock of all migrants who have passed through its doors, while RAIS data solely reflects formally employed migrants for the year 2015. Thus, if the educational levels of formally employed migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte have shifted over time, one should expect to find a certain degree of divergence between the two data sources. However, the large differential between the Centro Zanmi and RAIS data concerning the percentage of male and female migrants holding a university education is more likely a result of the previously mentioned self-reporting bias, with migrants tending to inflate their educational credentials in the hopes of finding employment faster. While it is possible that more highly educated migrants exhibit greater selectivity in their employment search, the fact that comparable levels of male and female university educated migrants and their less educated peers can be found among the formally employed and unemployed migrant populations lends credit to the first explanation. Finally, as a result of the similarities observed when comparing the Centro Zanmi and RAIS data, with the exception of among university-educated migrants, it is reasonable to conclude that they provide a relatively accurate picture concerning the educational attainment of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH.

Concerning the average workweek length of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH, an analysis of the RAIS data for 2015 and 2013 provides little surprises, with more than 97% of male migrants and 93% of female migrants for both years working 44 hours per week, the maximum permitted under Brazilian labor law.¹⁸ This result is unsurprising given that the vast majority of formal jobs in Brazil are full time, with the prevalence of part-time work being inhibited in the formal sector by a combination of protective labor laws, the local working culture, and relatively high taxes on employers per

¹⁸ To date, no study of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH has researched their average workweek length.

employee. Thus, Haitian migrants are no exception to this trend and are overwhelmingly employed full-time. Furthermore, as the information contained in the RAIS database is reported by the employer, rather than by the employee, it is unlikely that employers would willingly report the true average number of weekly hours worked by migrants who consistently work overtime.

The second dimension of this study's analysis of the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area focuses on their average monthly salaries and the relationship between their average monthly earnings and their occupations, educational attainment, length of residence in Brazil, and length of employment in their current position. As previously mentioned, both male and female Haitian migrants exhibit a sustained increase in their average monthly salaries in nominal terms, when expressed in Brazilian Reals, but that the sex earnings gap increases steadily between 2012 and 2015. However, when one reflects upon that native Brazilian women earned 75.6% as much as native Brazilian men in 2015, on average, this divergence is likely due to the small and unrepresentative size of the female Haitian migrant population in 2012, composed of just 13 migrants (after excluding one outlier observation), and in 2013, comprised of only 83 migrants, rather than representing a genuine divergence in monthly wages based upon sex (AGÊNCIA IBGE NOTÍCIAS, 2018). Indeed, the salary gap between female and male Haitian migrants in 2015 was almost 4% less than that found in the native Brazilian population. A more surprising finding of the study concerns the fact that female Haitian migrants' salaries grew at a slower pace than the Brazilian minimum wage throughout the years spanned by the dataset, yet the arrival of female Haitian migrants to the RMBH continued to accelerate between 2012 and 2015.

Given the importance of remittance sending among Haitian migrants in the RMBH, as mentioned in earlier studies that investigated their labor market insertion (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015), it is crucial to highlight the stagnation and decline in international purchasing power witnessed among both male and female Haitian migrants between 2011 and 2015, when their average monthly wages are expressed in U.S. Dollars. As the U.S. Dollar is the foremost currency utilized by migrants for the purpose of sending international remittances, particularly in the Americas, the steep devaluation of the Brazilian Real from 2015 onward had a substantial negative impact on the value of Haitian migrants' average monthly salaries when denominated in U.S. Dollars. Fascinatingly, despite a decline in their average monthly salaries in U.S. Dollar terms, Haitian migration to the RMBH did not begin to slow for male Haitian migrants until 2016, and there is no evidence that female

Haitian migration had yet begun to decline as of April 2017. Thus, it appears that at least through 2016, the RMBH was still a relatively attractive migration destination for Haitians, even in the context of declining average monthly salaries, when expressed in U.S. Dollars.

In order to understand the degree of labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, it is also necessary to analyze their salary levels by profession. As mentioned previously, sparingly few formally employed Haitian migrants, even those with higher levels of educational attainment, tend to be employed in skilled professions, with little improvement being seen over the passage of time. Unsurprisingly, Haitian migrants' average salaries by profession remain well below the average for the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, which hovered just above R\$2,000 monthly for the duration of 2015 (IBGE, 2016). Observing Haitian migrants' average salaries by profession, we find that for the most common professions exercised by males, Haitian migrants could expect to take home just over half of the average salary in the RMBH; whereas females could expect to earn just under half the average monthly wage in the RMBH. Previous studies show that low salaries are among the biggest complaints voiced by Haitian migrants in Brazil and in the RBMH, grievances that are occasionally accompanied by accusations of worse treatment and pay, in comparison with their Brazilian coworkers (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015).

Intriguingly, among formally employed Haitian migrants working in building construction, female Haitian migrants could expect to out-earn their male counterparts in 2015, receiving an average monthly salary equivalent to nearly two times the Brazilian minimum wage. While this finding seems to call into question this study's hypothesis that female migrants will demonstrate lower levels of labor market integration than male migrants, it is important to remember that the results for female Haitian migrants should be interpreted with caution given the small size of this group, especially due to the wide salary gap between the best and second-best paying professions among females in 2015. The lack of any apparent upward trend in the average monthly earnings by occupational category of formally employed Haitian migrants, casts further doubt on the success of their labor market integration in the RMBH. Indeed, many professions, actually paid less or roughly the same, in nominal terms, in 2015 as they did in 2013, indicating that many of the top occupations of Haitian migrants witnessed a decline in average real wages during these years of the migration flow, even before the full onset of the current economic crisis. This trend was more accentuated among the most common occupational categories of male migrants than among female migrants, who saw real wages decline only for retail sector workers between 2013 and 2015.

In order to further analyze the impact of Haitian migrants' educational attainment upon their labor market integration in the RMBH, this study analyzed formally employed migrants' average monthly salaries by educational attainment. When using the broader 4-category educational groupings created by this research, we find the existence of a general trend, in both 2015 and 2013, indicating that better educated male migrants earned more than their less educated counterparts, with sharper differences between educational attainment categories being observed in 2013 than in 2015. Furthermore, the fact that formally employed male migrants with a partial or complete university education tended to earn less than their high-school educated counterparts in 2013 may be due to the small number of university-educated migrants, comprised of just 21 male migrants during that year. Thus, in general, the data concerning formally employed male Haitian migrants seem to indicate a slightly positive association between educational attainment and mean monthly earnings, in contrast with the study's other findings that no evident relationship exists between male migrants' educational attainment and their chances of working in more highly skilled professions, possessing lower levels of unemployment, and experiencing greater levels of formal employment.

Among formally employed female Haitian migrants; however, the results are much more mixed, with average monthly salaries tending to increase in conjunction with educational attainment in 2013, exhibiting a pattern similar to that of male Haitian migrants for that same year. However, in 2015, high school and university educated female migrants exhibited lower average monthly wages in comparison with their less educated peers, with the least educated migrants earning the most, on average. Thus, it appears that in addition to the poor labor market integration shown by the previously analyzed variables, data concerning formally employed female Haitian migrants also fail to conclusively demonstrate the existence of a positive relationship between average salaries and educational attainment, in addition to pointing to the possible existence of a negative association between educational attainment and mean monthly salaries among formally employed female Haitian migrants in 2015.

As previously discussed, both male and female Haitian migrants who have resided in Brazil for longer periods of time demonstrate lower levels of self-reported unemployment in comparison with more recent arrivals. A complementary analysis of the relationship between Haitian migrants' average monthly salaries and their length of residence in Brazil, appears to indicate that male Haitian migrants who have resided in Brazil for greater lengths of time can expect to earn greater average monthly wages than new arrivals. Thus, for the formally employed male Haitian migrant population, we can partially confirm the hypothesis that a

positive relationship exists between migrants' average monthly salaries and their length of residence in Brazil. However, a similar trend is not observed among their female peers, whose mean monthly earnings exhibit little variation based upon their year of arrival, and, contrary to this study's hypothesis, more recent female migrants who arrived in 2015 and 2014 had slightly higher average monthly incomes than earlier arrivals. Nevertheless, one must be cautious in interpreting these results, given the small size of the female migrant population, particularly those who arrived before 2013, with just 23 female migrants (11.0% of the female migrant population), having arrived in Brazil in 2012 or earlier.

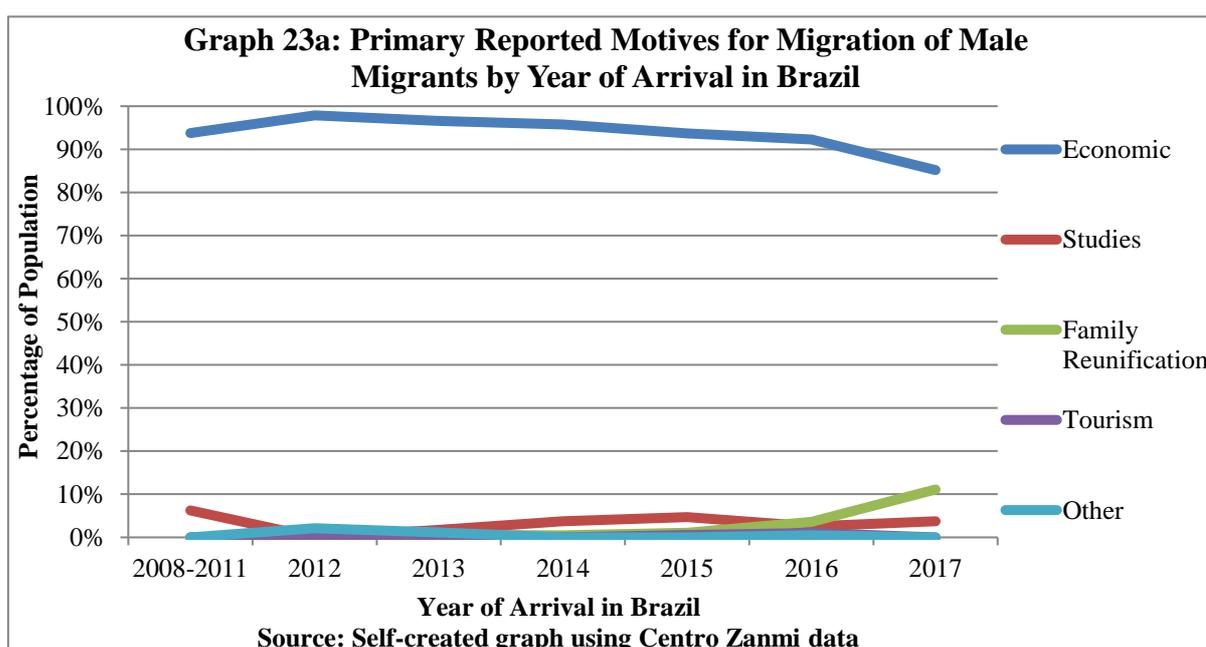
Another measure used to evaluate the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH studies migrants' length of employment in their current positions, in addition to analyzing the relationship between greater lengths of employment and professional advancement, being measured in terms of increasing average wages. Unsurprisingly, in both 2013 and 2015, both male and female Haitian migrants had been working their current position for a short span of time, on average, equivalent to approximately 9 months in 2015, and around 4 months in 2013. The relatively short duration of Haitian migrants' employment in their most recent position is likely do to a combination of having recently arrived in Brazil and high levels of employment turnover, a fact corroborated by the high percentage of unemployed migrants found in the Centro Zanmi's data concerning labor market status. High levels of employment turnover are documented in the interviews conducted by earlier studies in the RMBH (FERANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBERIO, 2014; SÁ, 2015), which found that many Haitian migrants struggled with the physical demands of the professions they exercised in Brazil. Additionally, 2015, along with 2014 and 2016, was among the years with the greatest number of Haitian arrivals in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, a fact likely to increase the percentage of formally employed migrants who had recently acquired their first job in Brazil.

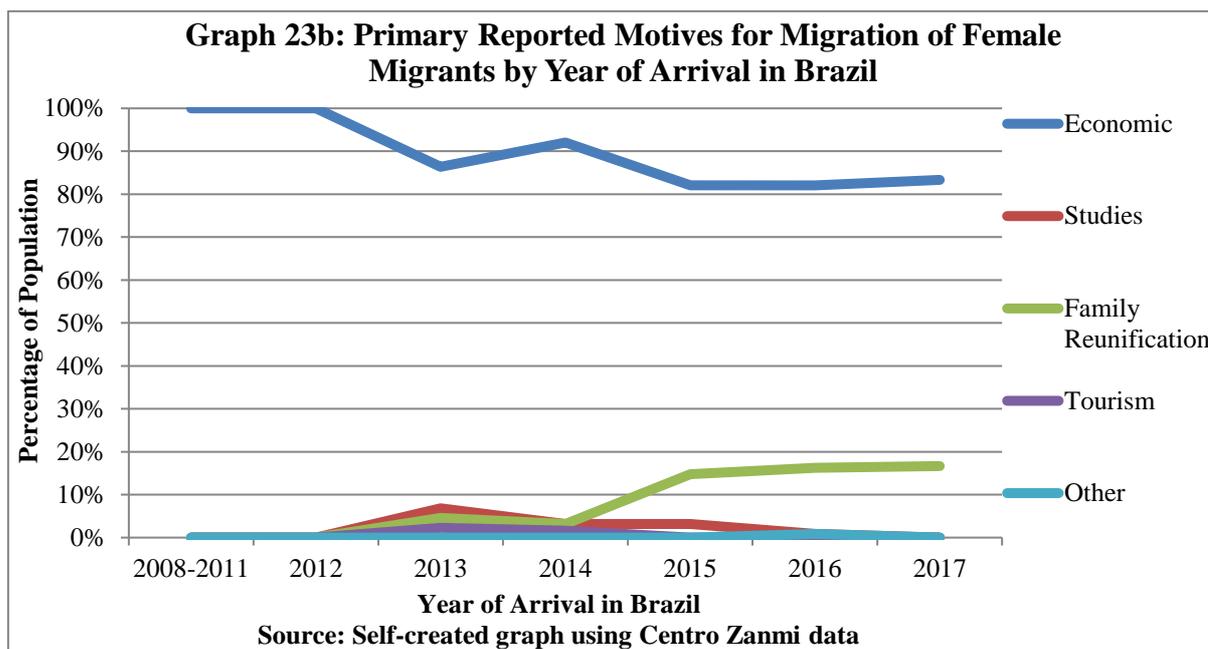
When formally employed Haitian migrants' average monthly salaries are analyzed by their length of employment, no strong visible correlation between average monthly salaries and length of employment among formally employed male and female migrants in the RMBH can be observed. While the 2013 data for formally employed female Haitian migrants appear to indicate a relationship between increased monthly pay and a greater length of time in their current position, these results must be interpreted with caution, given the small size of this group – just 83 migrants. In general, for both formally employed male and female Haitian migrants in 2015, more recently hired migrants and those in their current position for over a year could expect to earn the greatest average monthly wages, with those with between 4

months and 1 year of experience earning less than both more senior employees and new hires. One possible explanation is that given a generalized context of rising wages in Brazil through 2015, a new hire today could expect to earn more than someone hired to fill the same position six months prior, while, an employee holding their current position for more than a year may be more likely to receive an annual pay raise. Additionally, Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014) document frequently reported problems with promised pay raises among newly employed Haitian migrants working in the RMBH, lending credibility to the findings reported in this study and their interpretation.

5.3 Motives, Social Ties, and Links with Migrants' Place of Origin

The Centro Zanmi served as the sole data source for the purposes of analyzing the primary reported motives for migration cited by Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, as RAIS and SINCRE do not collect data on migrants' principal reasons for moving to Brazil. Migrants who seek assistance at the Centro Zanmi are asked to select one of the following categories: economic, family reunification, studies, tourism, or other, as their primary reason for migrating to Brazil. About one-fifth of migrants did not provide information regarding their primary purpose for migrating, with 20.6% of males and 18.5% of females failing to furnish information regarding this question. Graphs 23a and 23b display the temporal evolution of male and female Haitian migrants' principal motives for migration by their year of arrival in Brazil.

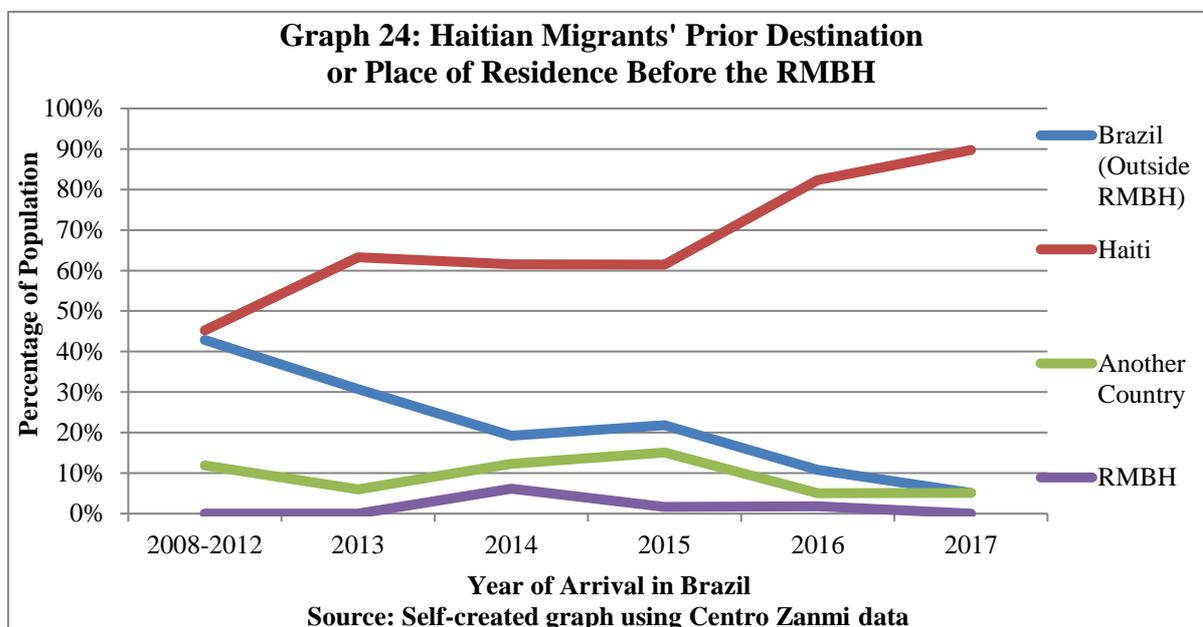




A brief glance at Graphs 23a and 23b is enough to confirm the overwhelming dominance of economic motives for migration among male and female Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH. With the exception of family reunification, no other motive (studies, tourism, or other) surpasses 10% of responses in any given year, with female Haitian migrants apparently being more likely to migrate for family reunification purposes than male migrants.

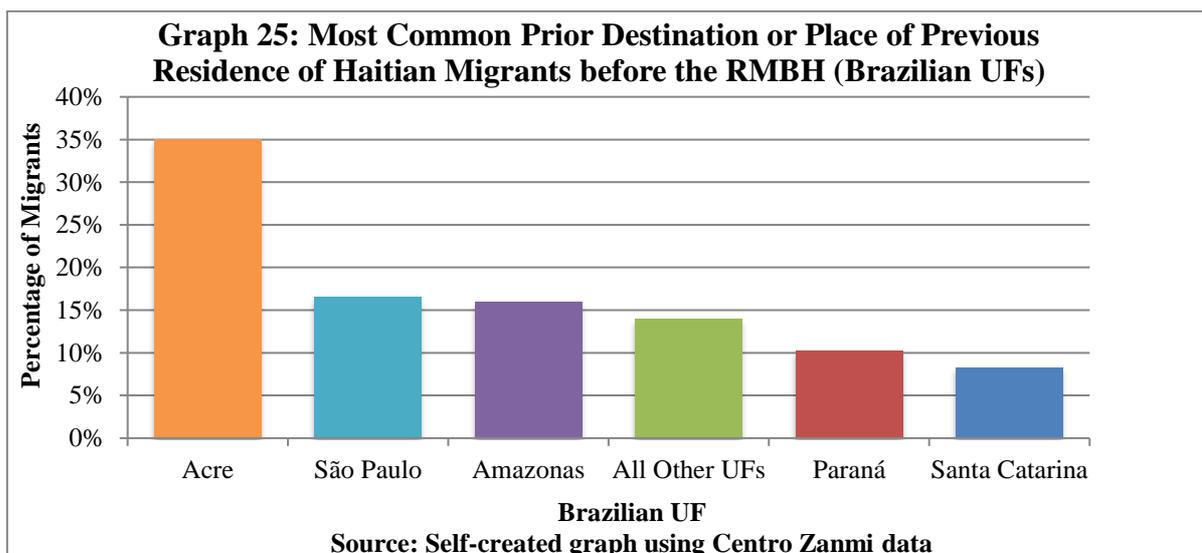
Perhaps one of the greatest insights into a migrant's social ties and links with their place of origin is the path taken en route to their destination. Unlike the data obtained from RAIS and SINCRE, the Centro Zanmi asks migrants to report their prior destination or place of residence before arriving in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Unfortunately, despite providing some of the most unique information of the dataset, only 811 migrants, or approximately half (49.5%) of the migrants who have frequented the Centro Zanmi responded to the question, with 827 migrants (50.5%) not reporting their previous destination or place of residence, and with one respondent's entry unable to be corroborated. As a result, data for 810 of the 1,638 migrants who were assisted by the Centro Zanmi were analyzed. A year-by-year analysis demonstrates some noteworthy trends both in the quality of the data and in the changing trends regarding the previous destinations or places of residence of Haitian migrants before arriving in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Prior to 2015, more than half of respondents failed to provide information regarding their previous destination or place of residence before arriving in the RMBH. However, data reporting of Haitian migrants' previous destinations or places of residence markedly improves in 2016 and 2017 (through 18/04/2017), with 278 of the 368 (75.5%) Haitian migrants who arrived in 2016 furnishing

information regarding their previous destination or place of residence and 39 of the 42 Haitian migrants (84.2%) who arrived through April 2017 providing the corresponding information. Graph 24 visually expresses the results.



The data was first analyzed in macro-categories concerning Haitian migrants' previous destinations or places of residence. 17 migrants reported, apparently erroneously, that their prior destination was either a city in Greater Belo Horizonte or the Belo Horizonte International Airport in Confins. This could possibly indicate that these migrants misunderstood the question and arrived directly from Haiti, but, in any case, this group comprises just 1% of all migrants from the Centro Zanmi database and just 2.1% of the group of migrants who responded to the question regarding their prior destination.

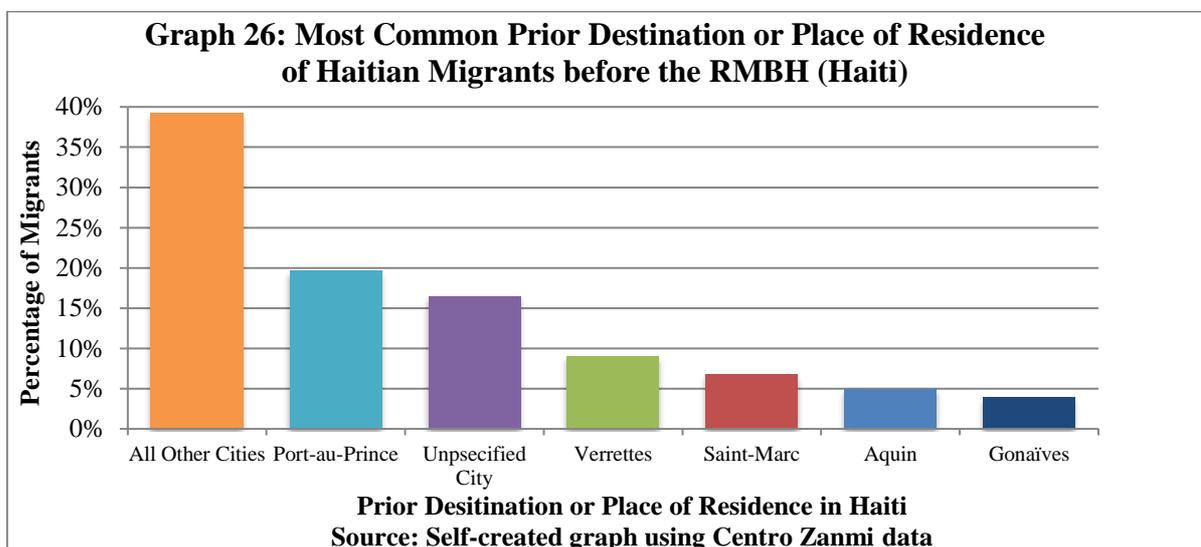
The second overarching category grouped all migrants who listed somewhere else in Brazil as their previous destination or place of residence. In total, 157 migrants, which is equivalent to 9.6% of Haitian migrants contained within the Centro Zanmi database, or 19.4% of the migrants who responded to this question, reported that their prior destination was somewhere on Brazilian soil. Graph 25 displays the most frequent Brazilian UFs that were reported as the prior destinations of Haitian migrants residing in Greater Belo Horizonte.



Examining Graph 25, we can observe that over one-third (55 respondents) of the 157 Haitian migrants in the RMBH, who reported coming from another Brazilian UF, cited the state of Acre as their prior destination or place of residence. The state of São Paulo was the second most common destination or place of residence prior to arriving in the RMBH, with a total 26 migrants having previously passed through the state of São Paulo, equivalent to 16.6% of migrants who originated from elsewhere in Brazil. Amazonas was the third-ranking UF as a prior destination for Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Given the importance of the Southern Region of Brazil as a place of final settlement for Haitian migrants, it is unsurprising that the state of Paraná ranked fourth, with 16 migrants, while neighboring Santa Catarina ranked fifth, with 13 migrants, in terms of the importance of previous migrant destinations among Brazilian UFs. Finally, 22 migrants declared another Brazilian state as their previous destination or place of residence prior to arriving in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. The Brazilian Federal District, Rondônia, Rio Grande do Sul, Rio de Janeiro, Mato Grosso, Roraima, and Goiás, were all cited as prior destinations of least one Haitian migrant arriving in Greater Belo Horizonte directly from another location in Brazil.

Despite the insights into migration routes and social links among the Haitian migrant community in Brazil and in the RMBH that are highlighted by the most commonly cited UFs as prior destinations, it is important to note that the vast majority of migrants responding to the question arrived in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area directly from Haiti. 564 migrants, equivalent to 34.4% of the entire Haitian migrant population in the Centro Zanmi database, and corresponding to 69.5% of Haitian migrants, excluding all missing observations, cited a city in Haiti as their place of origin prior to arriving in Greater Belo

Horizonte. Graph 26 displays the Haitian cities most frequently cited by migrants as their prior destination or place of residence before arriving in the RMBH.

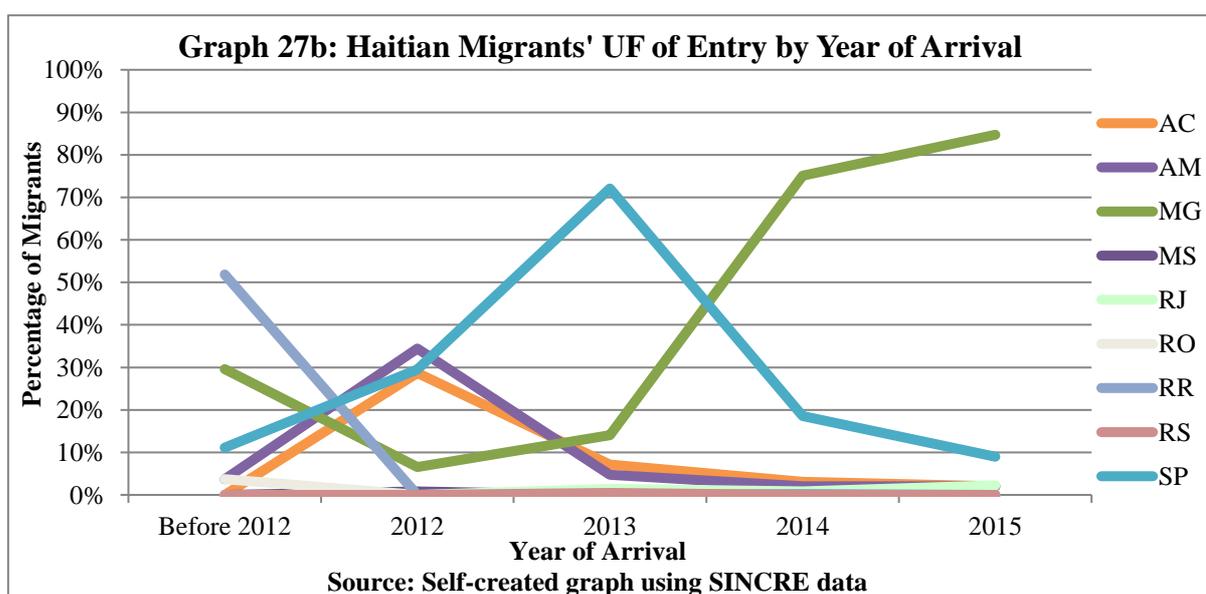
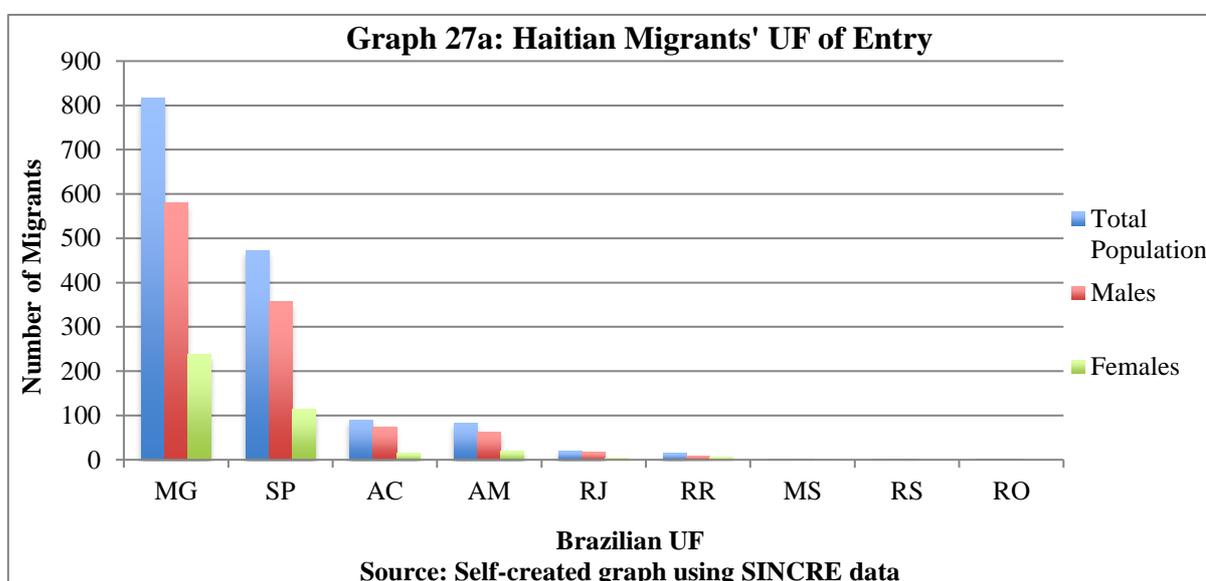


Port-au-Prince was the most commonly cited previous destination or place of residence in Haiti, with 111 Haitian migrants in the RMBH claiming to have arrived in Greater Belo Horizonte via the Haitian capital, followed by Verrettes with 51 respondents, Saint-Marc with 38 migrants, Aquin with 28 respondents, and Gonaïves with 22 migrants. 93 migrants did not specify a specific Haitian city as their previous destination or place of residence prior to arriving in the RMBH, while the remaining 221 migrants originating in Haiti cited 58 distinct cities as their place of origin before their arrival in Greater Belo Horizonte.

Finally, 72 migrants reported another country as their previous destination or place of residence before arriving in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area. Of the 72 migrants arriving in the RMBH from another country, 26 cited Ecuador as their previous destination or place of residence, which acted as a key transit country for Haitian migrants en route to Brazil in the initial stages of this Haitian migration flow. The Dominican Republic was reported to be the prior destination of 24 migrants before arriving in Greater Belo Horizonte, an unsurprising finding, given that it is one of the principal migration destinations for Haitian emigrants. The remaining 22 migrants indicated ten different third-party countries as their previous destination or place of residence before arriving in the RMBH, including Panamá (4 migrants), Venezuela (4 migrants), Argentina (3 migrants), Suriname (3 migrants), Guyana (2

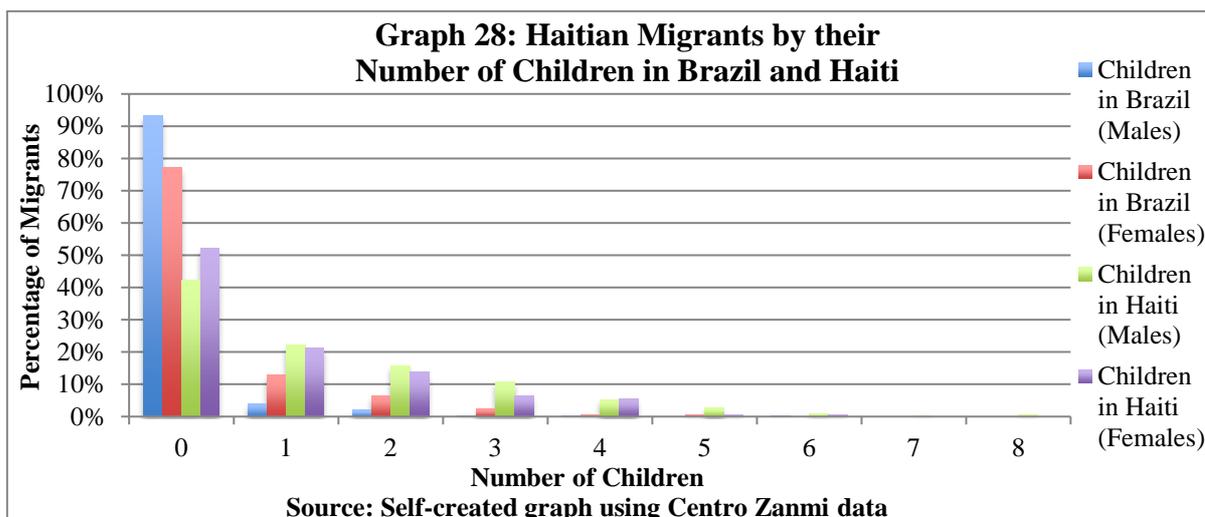
migrants), Chile (2 migrants), French Guiana (1 migrant), Bolivia (1 migrant), the USA (1 migrant), and a combination of El Salvador and Chile (1 migrant).

In addition to data on Haitian migrants' previous destinations or places of residence provided by the Centro Zanmi, SINCRE data records the Brazilian UF of arrival for each migrant who registers with the Brazilian Federal Police. Concerning formally employed migrants' place of entry into Brazil, RAIS fails to solicit information regarding migrants' specific UF of entry, and; thus, is excluded from this analysis. Graph 27a displays the absolute number of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH who arrived in each UF, broken down into the total, male, and female populations. Graph 27b, depicts the evolution of Haitian migrants' UF of arrival over time, expressed as a percentage of each year's new arrivals.



Reflecting upon Graphs 27a and 27b we can observe several important findings regarding Haitian migrants' primary points of entry into Brazil and how these have shifted as this migration flow has evolved. In absolute terms, the largest number of Haitian migrants who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte through November 2015 arrived directly in Minas Gerais. However, an examination of the temporal changes of this migration flow show that the majority of these migrants arrived in the later and more voluminous stages of this migration flow, primarily in 2014 and 2015. São Paulo was the second most common UF of entry among Haitian migrants in the RMBH, hosting the bulk of new arrivals in 2013, but also acting as a key point of entry in 2012. In absolute terms, the number of Haitian migrants in Greater Belo Horizonte who arrived in Acre and in Amazonas is small. However, in 2012, prior to the expansion of the humanitarian visa policy for Haitian migrants in the subsequent year, most Haitian migrants arrived in one of these states after passing through transit countries, such as Ecuador and Peru. The relatively small absolute number of migrants who arrived in these states and registered with the Federal Police in Belo Horizonte is also likely due to the fact that the SINCRE database utilized by this study does not contain the vast majority of Haitian migrants who entered through these UFs, most of whom submitted asylum requests and were subsequently granted humanitarian visas as part of the mass authorization of Haitian asylum seekers in October 2015. Furthermore, Minas Gerais was not a major migration destination in the early stages of this migration flow, especially in comparison with states that served as earlier primary destinations for settlement, such as São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, and Paraná. Another novel finding pertains to the early stages of Haitian migration to Brazil before 2012. Although the number of Haitian migrants – just 27 – who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte before 2012 is small, more than half arrived in Brazil via Roraima, and almost one third arrived directly in Minas Gerais.

The presence of children in migrants' places of origin and at their destinations is another key indicator of their motives, social ties, and links with their place of origin. Of the 1,638 Haitian migrants that comprise the dataset, 1,175 migrants (71.7%) provided information on the number of children they had in Brazil, with 846 males (71.1%) and 329 females (73.4%) providing responses ranging from a minimum value of zero, signifying that the migrant had no children in Brazil, to a maximum value of six. Regarding the number of children in Haiti, 1,220 migrants (74.5%) provided information regarding the number of children they left behind, with 884 males (74.3%) and 336 females (75.0%) furnishing information in regards to this variable. Responses ranged from a minimum value of zero to a maximum value of eight. Graph 28 displays the results.



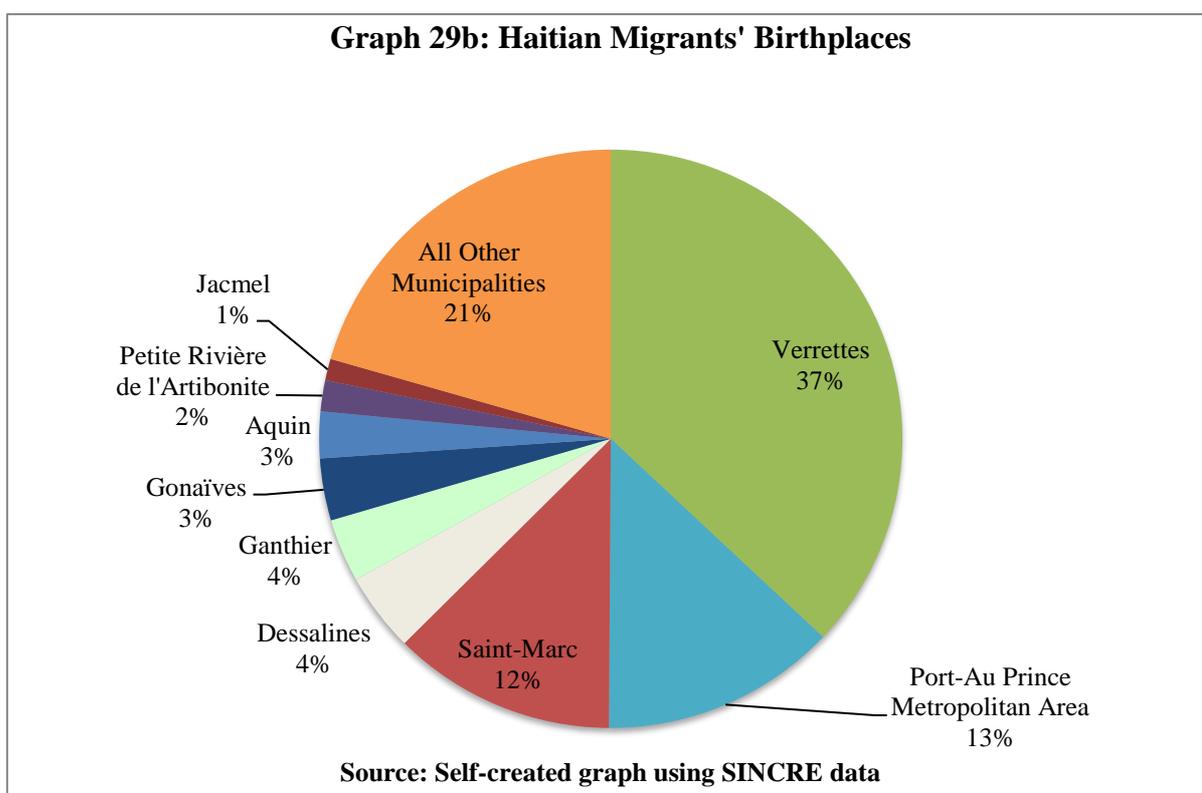
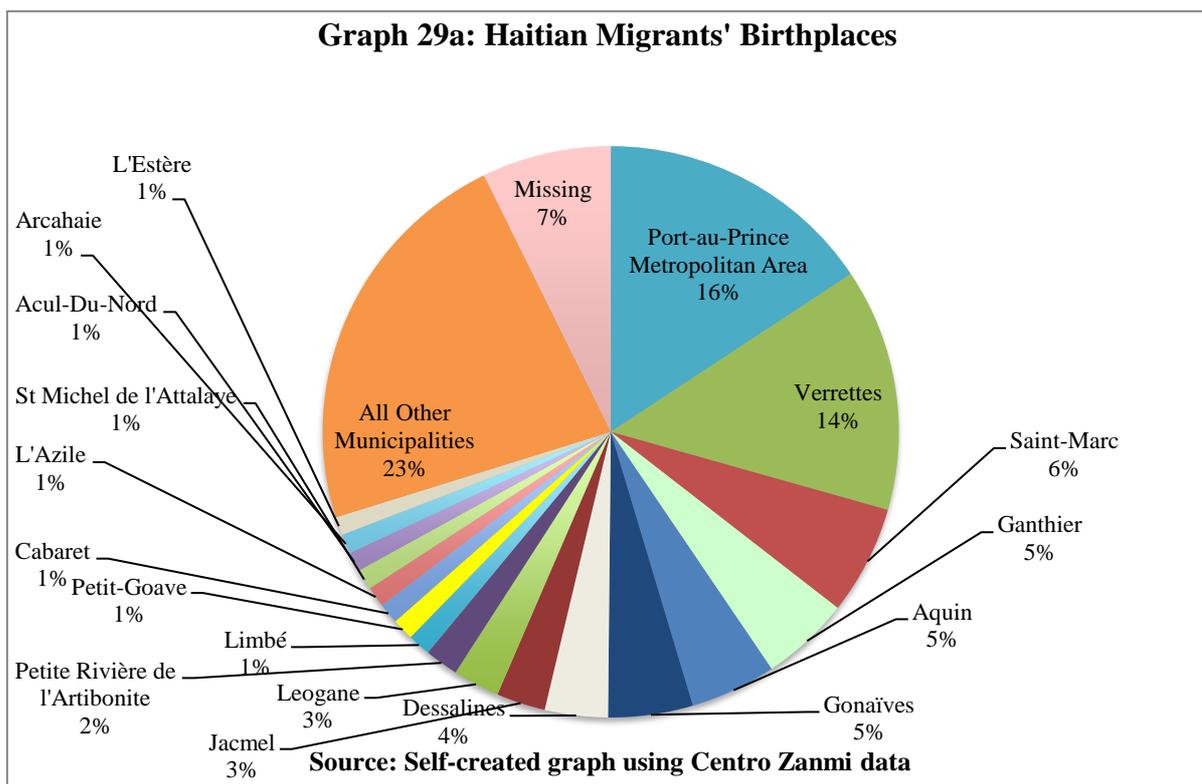
Among the Haitian migrants in the RMBH who provided information regarding the number of children they had in Haiti and in Brazil, 1,042 migrants (88.7%) of both sexes reported having no children living with them in Brazil, an unsurprising finding, given the relatively short time span of Haitian migration flows to Brazil. Among respondents, female migrants (22.8%) were more likely than their male counterparts (6.9%) to report having children in Brazil. Concerning the relatively few migrants who reported having children in Brazil, by far the most common responses were one or two children, with just 19 migrants (1.6%) of either sex reporting having 3 or more children in Brazil. Additionally, more than half of all respondents (54.9%) reported having at least one child in Haiti, with a majority of men and just under half of women claiming to have left at least one child in their homeland. Furthermore, male migrants were also slightly more likely to report having left behind larger families in Haiti than were female migrants, while migrants of both sexes were considerably more likely to report having a greater number of children in Haiti than in Brazil.

In addition to the sizeable percentage of migrants who have children either at their place of origin in Haiti or at their destination in Brazil, a number of Haitian migrants residing in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area also reported having children residing in both Haiti and in Brazil. Of the 1,638 Haitian migrants contained in the Centro Zanmi data, 1,157 (70.6%), comprised of 843 male migrants (70.8%) and 314 female migrants (70.1%), provided information regarding both the number of offspring they had in both Haiti and in Brazil. 47 migrants, corresponding to 4.0% of respondents, reported at least one child living in both countries, of whom 24 were females (7.6% of female respondents) and 23 were males (2.7% of male respondents). Once differences in the absolute number of migrants by sex is

taken into account, it is clear that females with children living in Haiti are much more likely than males to also declare that they have children living in Brazil.

An analysis of Haitian migrants' birthplaces in Haiti was conducted using the data furnished by the Centro Zanmi and SINCRE. The RAIS database was excluded from this analysis, as it provides no information concerning the specific birthplace or place of origin of the migrants' that it collects information on. For the purposes of this analysis, municipalities pertaining to the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area were grouped together. Concerning the 1,638 Haitian migrants contained in the Centro Zanmi database, a total of 1,520 migrants (92.7%) provided information regarding their place of birth. In addition to the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area, an additional 17 municipalities were reported as being birthplaces of more than 1% of the Haitian migrant population residing in Greater Belo Horizonte, according to the Centro Zanmi database. All municipalities in which less than 1% of Haitian migrants reported being born were grouped together under the category "all other municipalities", which contained 370 of the 1,520 migrants (24.3%) who provided information regarding their birthplace. An analysis of the birthplaces of the 1,499 Haitian migrants who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police in Belo Horizonte between 2000 and November 2015, shows that more than 1% migrants declared eight distinct municipalities, in addition to the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area to be their place of birth. The remaining municipalities that constitute the birthplaces of 308 Haitian migrants (20.6%) were categorized together in the group, "all other municipalities". Graph 29a displays the distribution of Haitian migrants by the most commonly reported birthplaces, according to the Centro Zanmi data, while Graph 29b displays Haitian migrants' birthplaces using the data derived from SINCRE.

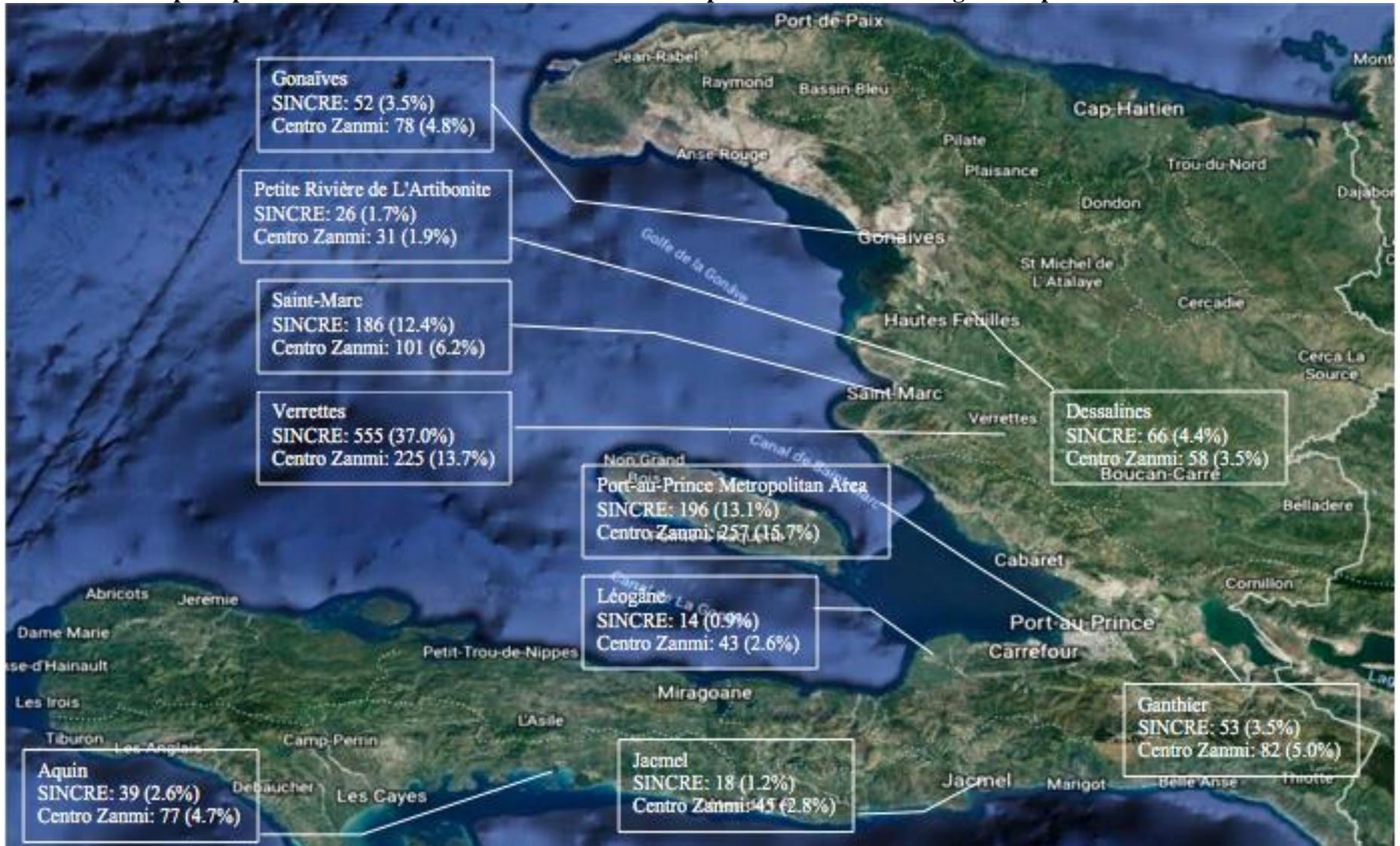
Analyzing Graphs 29a and 29b, we can easily observe one striking divergence, in addition to several other smaller differences and similarities, concerning the self-declared birthplaces of Haitian migrants in the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi databases. The number of migrants who claim to have been born in Verrettes, noticeably differs between the two databases, with more than one-third of Haitian migrants in the SINCRE database listing Verrettes as their place of birth in comparison to just under 15% of those contained in the Centro Zanmi database. Less noticeably, the percentage of migrants listing neighboring Saint-Marc as their birthplace was approximately double among Haitian migrants contained the SINCRE database when compared with those found in the Centro Zanmi data. However, despite differences in the percentage of migrants citing each birthplace, the most commonly reported birthplaces are quite similar between the databases, although migrants who frequented the Centro Zanmi exhibited a greater diversity in their reported birthplaces.



Map 3 displays the spatial distribution of the most frequently reported birthplaces of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Interestingly, a large number of Haitian migrants hail from the Artibonite department, which encompasses frequently mentioned birthplaces, including

Verrettes, Saint-Marc, Gonaïves, Dessalines, and Petite Rivière de l'Artibonite, among others. This finding provides insights into how possible migration connections and networks incentivize continued migration from a number of towns and cities from one specific region of Haiti. Unsurprisingly, given that it is home to approximately one-quarter of the Haitian population, the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area was another major, concentrated source of Haitian migrants to the RMBH. The remaining most commonly declared birthplaces were much more isolated and do not exhibit the same dense concentration of migrants in several neighboring cities as is seen by migrants hailing from various nearby cities in the Artibonite department and the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area.

Map 3: Spatial Distribution of the Most Common Birthplaces of the Haitian Migrant Population in the RMBH



Sources: Google Earth Map with data derived from SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi

5.3.1 Discussion

As previously mentioned, this study finds that more than 80% of both male and female Haitian migrants throughout the entire span of the dataset migrated to the RMBH for economic reasons, according to data provided by the Centro Zanmi. In a similar vein, earlier studies indicate that a mix of primarily economic push and pull factors were behind the early stages of Haitian migration to Brazil, with commonly cited motives for migration including the search of employment opportunities and seeking to improve their quality of life (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015).

The data concerning family reunification as the principal motive behind migrating to Brazil is important for testing the hypothesis that more recent migration flows should show a greater percentage of women due to the increased importance of family reunification at the expense of economic motives for migration. The increasing percentage of female migrants citing family reunification after 2014, in combination with the growing share of female migrants relative to male migrants from that same year onward, seems to corroborate this hypothesis and the idea that at least part of the rising number of female migrants is due to an increase in family reunification. However, the numbers of female Haitian migrants coming to Brazil for family reunification remains small, with just over 15% of female migrants citing this as their principal reason for migrating in 2016 and 2017. Interestingly, an uptick in the number of male migrants claiming family reunification as their primary motive for migrating to Brazil can be seen in the data spanning the first four months of 2017, a fact unforeseen by this study. Previous studies recurrently highlight the perceived growing importance of family reunification as a principle motive for Haitian migrants to undertake the journey to Brazil, particularly among married female migrants and those with children (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, 2016). While this may be true, the data provided to the author by the Centro Zanmi fails to confirm more than a modest increase in the importance of family reunification in encouraging female Haitian migrants to come to Brazil, and reaffirms that economic motives are still the dominating reason behind the large majority of female Haitian migrants' decision to migrate to the RMBH.

In regard to the routes taken by Haitian migrants to Brazil, shifts over time in the most commonly reported prior destinations of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, as shown in Graphs 24, 25, and 26, allow this study to draw certain conclusions in regards to the changing course of Haitian migration to Brazil and to the RMBH. The increasing importance of Haiti and the previous destination or place of residence of Haitian migrants before arriving in Greater Belo

Horizonte and the decreasing importance of other Brazilian UFs, supports the ideas set forth by the literature regarding recent changes in this migration flow. The passage of the CNIg Resolution 97 in January 2012, and the CNIg Resolution 102 in April 2013, greatly facilitated the visa acquisition process by allowing Haitian migrants to apply for a humanitarian visa in Haiti or in other key transit countries. Thus, a sharp drop in the number of Haitian migrants passing through another UF, particularly Acre and Amazonas, before arriving in the RMBH can be seen in 2012 and 2013, likely explained by the increased number of migrants receiving their visas in Haiti. As seen in Graph 25, on page 105, the remote Brazilian states of Acre and Amazonas played an outsize role in receiving Haitian migrants arriving in Brazil, given that the most common clandestine migration routes to Brazil via Ecuador and/or Peru brought migrants to the international border in these UFs. Finally, the number of Haitian migrants citing a third country as their previous destination or place of residence also declined in the more recent years of this migration wave, another indicator of the decreasing importance of transit countries, even though the number of migrants citing another country as their previous destination or place of residence was small throughout the years of the dataset.

In addition to the importance of examining Haitian migrants' previous destinations or places of residence before arriving in the RMBH, it is also pertinent to study their UF of entry into Brazil. The use of SINCRE data for this similar, but not identical, variable, allows us to corroborate the findings presented by the Centro Zanmi data concerning migrants' previous destinations or places of residence, in addition to qualifying the earlier results seen in the literature. A brief look at the data indicates the dominance of Minas Gerais as the principal UF of entry into Brazil for the majority of Haitian migrants' residing in the RMBH, with São Paulo being the only other UF to record significant numbers of migrant entries in absolute terms. However, the temporal analysis seen in Graph 27b illustrates the shifts in the routes taken by Haitian migrants to Greater Belo Horizonte over time. Studies focused on the early years of this migration flow indicate that, through 2013, a minority of Haitian migrants to Brazil obtained their visa at a Brazilian consulate before migrating, with most of these migrants arriving directly in São Paulo (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 55), while later studies found that a large majority of Haitian migrants in the RMBH arrived directly from Haiti (CASTRO, DAYREL, SILVA, 2016, p. 536).

Furthermore, it is unsurprising that immediately following the commencement and adaptation of the humanitarian visa policy through the CNIg Resolutions 97 and 102 in 2012 and 2013, respectively, São Paulo briefly became the principle UF of entry for Haitian migrants in the RBMH, given the importance of Guarulhos airport as Brazil's principal

destination for international arrivals. In addition to São Paulo, in the early stages of Haitian migration to Brazil, Silva, Sidney (2013), Fernandes and Castro (2014), and Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014) reassert the overwhelming importance of Acre and Amazonas as the most important points of entry into Brazil, after transiting through Ecuador and Peru, especially before the April 2013 expansion in the number of humanitarian visas available and the facility in which they were granted to Haitian migrants. However, despite the large numbers of Haitian migrants passing through these states in 2011, 2012, and 2013, few stayed, with most seeking to reach the urban metropolises of the South or Southeast Regions where they believed greater employment opportunities awaited them (SILVA, Sidney., 2013, p. 9). Finally, the importance of Roraima and Minas Gerais as the primary UFs of entry of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH, who entered Brazil prior to 2012, is not mentioned in the literature, a finding that could be a peculiarity of Haitian migration to the RMBH or a result of the small number of migrants who arrived during these years.

In order to examine the family ties of Haitian migrants residing in the RMBH, this research assessed the number of reported children in Brazil and in Haiti of Haitian migrants who frequented the Centro Zanmi. Approximately half of both male and female Haitian migrants reported having left behind at least one child in Haiti, while less than 10% of males and nearly one-quarter of females reported having at least one child in Brazil.¹⁹ While the data analyzed by this study does not explicitly examine how being a parent influenced the migration decision-making process of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, previous qualitative surveys and interviews provide further insights regarding this study's findings. Fernandes and Castro (2014) and Fernandes, Castro, and Ribeiro (2014) identify important connections between migrants who have children in Haiti and the motivation to migrate in order to improve their children's lives and future prospects, often via remittance sending. Reasons vary, but the most commonly cited objectives often include the desire to support their children's studies, in addition to assisting with other types of expenses.

Regarding the percentage of migrants with children in Brazil, this study found that nearly one-quarter of female Haitian migrants in the RMBH reported having children in Brazil, a rate over three times that of their male counterparts. Although the literature does not provide any exact estimates regarding the percentage of migrants with children in Brazil, the fact that female migrants were more likely to report having children in Brazil than males is

¹⁹ The findings of this study are in line with those of Castro, Dayrell, and Silva (2016), who found that approximately 60% of Haitian migrants reported having children, with the large majority of these children still living in Haiti.

predictable, given that female migrants usually have a higher propensity to attempt family reunification with their children at the destination than their male counterparts. Conversely, the fact that male migrants were more likely to report having left behind children in Haiti than females could indicate that male Haitian migrants are more focused on sending remittances to their families who continue to reside in their place of origin. Moreover, this study provides further evidence in regards to the emergence of transnational migrant families, due to the small percentage of Haitian migrants, particularly among women, who report having children in both Haiti and in Brazil.

Finally, the investigation into the reported birthplaces of Haitian migrants in the RMBH according to the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data provides important inferences into both Haitian migrants' connections with their homeland, in addition to the routes taken on their journey to Brazil. A comparison of the two data sources indicates that, with the exception of a large divergence in the case of Verrettes, Haitian migrants named similar birthplaces in relatively similar numbers. Both the SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data highlight the importance of cities in the Artibonite department, such as Verrettes, Goniaves, Saint-Marc, and Dessalines, as the principal reported birthplaces of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. Additionally, this study indicates the importance of other Haitian cities, such as the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area and Aquin, as being among most commonly cited places of origin of Haitian migrants in the RMBH, confirming previous findings from the literature (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014, p. 49).

This importance of the Artibonite Department as an important source of Haitian emigration is supported by the literature, with the Artibonite Department possessing a long history of emigration, often due to its vulnerability to natural disasters particularly hurricanes and flooding. The large presence of Haitian migrants who were born in the Artibonite Department, and who have migrated to the RMBH, indicates the possible existence of strong migrant links and networks between Haitians in the RMBH and their compatriots who reside in these cities (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014). Social, family, and employment networks among migrants in rural areas or small towns in the Artibonite Department could have aided migrants in making their decision to migrate to the RMBH via assistance in gathering information and support with finding accommodation and work opportunities upon their arrival. Earlier qualitative research concerning Haitian migrants in the RMBH corroborates the importance of these types of migrant connections in aiding newly arrived Haitian migrants to encounter employment and to find housing (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014). The concentration in certain occupations, particularly in construction, wholesale, and retail sectors

supports the Tilly's (1986) theory concerning the role of receiving networks in facilitating occupational specialization at the migration destination. While the results of this study provide key insights into the role of Haitian migrant-sending and receiving networks, it difficult to distinguish between the impacts of each type of network from one another, as the data utilized solely concerns Haitian migrants already residing in Brazil and not potential migrants still in Haiti.

CHAPTER 6**6. Conclusion**

In the context of increasing South-South migration flows, both within Latin America and around the world, in addition to the looming specter of intensified and more frequent natural disasters causing ever-larger population movements, this study's examination of the large wave of Haitian migration to Brazil following the 2010 Haitian earthquake, and, more specifically, to the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area answers a series of key demographic, social, and economic questions in regards to this specific migration flow, in addition to broader questions concerning the labor market integration of South-South migrants posed by the existing literature.

The first objective of this study was to construct a comprehensive demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH. The results concerning the sex and age composition are in line with many earlier studies contained in both the theoretical and subject-specific literature. The vast majority of Haitian migrants to Greater Belo Horizonte are of working age, with nearly all migrants falling between the ages of 20 and 50, and with the two largest age groups being comprised of migrants between the ages of 25-29 and 30-34. This is unsurprising, given that earlier research has extensively detailed that the propensity to migrate is highest among young working age migrants (CASTRO, ROGERS, 1981). If the sex and age structures of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH are analyzed from the perspective of both the Microeconomic Neoclassical Economics Theory and the NELM and Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy, the migration of young working-age male migrants is unsurprising given that these migrants tend to face the lowest costs, and are often likely to offer greater returns in terms of remittances to the sending households. Furthermore, while female migrants have outnumbered male migrants in Latin America and the Caribbean for decades, the overwhelmingly male composition of Haitian migration to Brazil during the early stages of this migration flow, is to be expected given that young male migrants usually act as "pioneers", as they often face the lowest opportunity costs in establishing themselves at a previously unknown migration destination (UNDESA, 2005; GUILMOTO, SANDRON, 2001). The trend toward a rapid convergence in the percentage of male and female Haitian migrants to the RMBH is a result that would be expected based upon the aforementioned literature, despite the fact that earlier studies concerning Haitian migration to the RMBH did not find a convergence between the percentage of male and female Haitian migrants (CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016).

Additionally, the in-depth and updated examination of the spatial distribution of Haitian migrants in the RMBH using data provided by SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi makes this study the first of its kind to map the cities and neighborhoods of residency of Haitian migrants in such profound detail. The city and neighborhood-level data furnished by SINCRE and the Centro Zanmi provide valuable insights into the distribution of Haitian migrants within each municipality of the RMBH, supporting the findings of previous qualitative surveys that pointed out the tendency of Haitian migrants to cluster close to the location of their employers, principally in the neighborhoods of Contagem that border the CEASA, but also in close proximity to other industrial poles near the Cidade Industrial and Petrolândia (CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). The existence of sizeable agglomerations of Haitian migrants in select neighborhoods near the location of their primary employers could be a reflection of the role played by networks and institutions in their migration process, as outlined by Tilly (1986) and Guilmoto and Sandron (2001), illustrating the function of earlier migrants in aiding new arrivals with finding housing and the employment search. Thus, this study provides evidence that, in the context of South-South Haitian migration to the RMBH, migration networks and institutions facilitate the socioeconomic integration of migrants in ways to similar to those seen in the literature concerning South-North international migration and rural-urban migration in developing countries.

In general, the results concerning the second objective of this study, which aimed to provide a comprehensive evaluation of the labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, indicate relatively low levels of integration into the Brazilian labor market, even among more qualified migrants. Concerning this research's hypothesis that both migrants with a longer length of residence and those with greater levels of educational attainment would be more likely to hold employment in an area corresponding to their professional qualifications, an examination of the most common professions exercised by Haitian migrants in the RMBH illustrates that, even among more educated migrants and those who arrived in Brazil several years ago, nearly all Haitian migrants in the RMBH remain confined to relatively low-skill and low-wage employment opportunities. Common fields of employment include, building construction, the wholesale sector, the retail sector, and food services, with the most common professions to employ Haitian migrants tending to pay average monthly salaries that are approximately half the national mean.

Additionally, this study hypothesized that migrants with a longer length of residence in Brazil and those with greater levels of educational attainment should exhibit both a greater chance of being employed and of being formally employed. The data furnished by RAIS and

the Centro Zanmi appear to partially corroborate this initial assertion, as Haitian migrants who have lived in Brazil for longer periods of time tended to indicate lower levels of unemployment than more recent arrivals. However, the relationship between educational attainment and Haitian migrants' labor market status is characterized by high levels of unemployment across all educational attainment categories, with better-educated migrants actually slightly less likely to claim to be employed. Surprisingly, informal employment levels remain low among migrants independent of their year of arrival or educational attainment levels, confirming earlier findings in the literature, which highlighted the preference of the majority of Haitian migrants' for formal employment (FERANANDES, CASTRO, 2014; FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015).

Furthermore, this study initially asserted that female Haitian migrants would be less likely to be employed and to be formally employed than male migrants. An evaluation of the results appears to partially confirm this hypothesis, given that female migrants who frequented the Centro Zanmi were more likely to claim to be unemployed than males. Concerning sex differentials in informal employment, the Centro Zanmi data indicates nearly identical percentages of male and female Haitian migrants claiming to be informally employed. However, given that the RAIS data, which encompasses all formally employed migrants, shows a higher ratio of men to women than the population at large, it is possible that female Haitian migrants in the RMBH are also less likely to participate in the formal labor market than their male counterparts. Earlier research on migration institutions and networks and the NELM and Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy theories point to the fact that female migrants often face a more precarious integration into the labor market in their destinations countries, which, in the context of the household migration decision-making process is often thought to make them more dependent upon their families, and; thus, more likely to send remittances (GUIMOTO, SANDRON, 2001). However, the primarily male composition of early Haitian migration to the RMBH, combined with the inconclusive data regarding the labor market status of female Haitian migrants does not allow this study to corroborate or refute this assertion in the context of South-South migration between Haiti and Brazil.

Moreover, this research also hypothesized that one should encounter a positive association between Haitian migrants' educational attainment and their length of residence in Brazil, in addition to a positive correlation between their educational attainment and their average monthly salaries. Among male Haitian migrants there is some evidence that better-educated formally employed migrants can expect to earn more than their less-educated peers.

However, a similar trend cannot reliably be confirmed among female migrants. Similarly, formally employed male Haitian migrants with a longer length of residence in Brazil could expect to earn more, on average, while female migrants showed little earnings differentials based upon their year of arrival in Brazil.

Additionally, this study also attempted to evaluate Haitian migrants' prospects for professional advancement, represented by the relationship between their length of employment in their current position and their mean monthly salaries. Given the high levels of employment turnover indicated by the data and cited in the literature, it appears that Haitian migrants are subject to a vicious circle of short-term and low-wage jobs that provide little opportunity for professional advancement. While the data concerning formally employed Haitian migrants shows that the relatively few migrants who had held their current positions for more than 1 year could expect to earn slightly higher wages than employees with less experience; overall, no strong evidence supporting the idea that large numbers of Haitian migrants are climbing the professional ladder and receiving corresponding pay increases was found. This finding is qualified by the literature, which cites Haitian migrants' frequent complaints in relation to low pay and unfulfilled promises of pay raises (FERNANDES, CASTRO, RIBEIRO, 2014).

The generalized lack of economic integration and ascension exhibited by the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH indicates a certain degree of conformity to the proposals of the Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory in the context of this South-South migration flow. As previously mentioned the Brazilian labor market shows strong signs of bifurcation, with migrants from regional countries arriving, albeit in small numbers, to work overwhelmingly in low-skilled and low-paying jobs, with little opportunity for advancement, regardless of their prior educational or professional qualifications. Despite, the fact that Haitian migration to Brazil is a quite new phenomenon, the socioeconomic outcomes witnessed by earlier Haitian migrants to both developed countries, such as the U.S., or developing countries, such as the Dominican Republic, are similar to those currently being seen in Brazil, with migrants in the former primarily confined to low-skilled service sector work, and those in the latter working largely in agricultural jobs.

In regard to the third objective of analyzing Haitian migrants' motives for migration, ties with their places of origin and destination, and other types of social and employment-related connections, this study found that Haitian migrants came to Brazil for overwhelmingly economic reasons. These findings are unsurprising, even in the context of strong environmental push factors for migrating, and support the findings of earlier research

(FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015), which highlighted the importance that Haitian migrants in Brazil placed on increasing their earnings in order to send remittances to family members in Haiti. When the results of this study are contextualized using the results of the aforementioned earlier qualitative studies concerning Haitian migrants' labor market integration in the RMBH, this research can assert that the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH conforms to many characteristics predicted by the NELM and the Migration as a Household Livelihood Strategy theories. In particular, these findings provide support for the assertion that households are the key migration decision-making unit, with their primary goals being increasing their income and minimizing risks by ensuring a steady flow of remittances. In this light, if remittance-sending and risk diversification form a key component of the economic motives behind Haitian migration to Brazil, the results of this study concerning recent trends in Haitian migrants' mean monthly earnings indicate that future economically-motivated Haitian migration to Brazil is likely to slow substantially, given that the current economic crisis in Brazil has been accompanied by a dramatic rise in unemployment and a sharp devaluation of the Brazilian Real relative to the U.S. Dollar, reducing both the opportunities available to economic migrants in Brazil, as well as the real value of their remittances.

Concerning migration motives, this study's findings also lead one to partially reject the hypothesis that more recent migration flows should show a greater percentage of women due to the increased importance of family reunification. While female migrants began to report slight increases in family reunification as their primary motive for migrating to Brazil from 2015 onward, the increasing feminization of this migration flow is occurring in a context where economic motives still overwhelmingly dominate female Haitian migrants' decisions to move to the RMBH. These findings apparently dampen the oft-cited theory that future migration flows will be increasingly comprised of women and children due to the central importance of family reunification (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015; CASTRO, DAYRELL, SILVA, Sandra, 2016). However, there exists a future possibility that family reunification will continue to grow in importance, as the Centro Zanmi data found that approximately half of all migrants that it assisted reported having children living in Haiti, and small but growing numbers of migrants reported having children in Brazil, a finding that could indicate that low levels of family reunification are already underway, or that Haitian migrants have begun to bear children and form families in Brazil. Finally, these findings could also form the basis for the development of transnational migrant communities among Haitian migrants in the RMBH, particularly given the large numbers of Haitian migrants who

trace their origins to a handful of cities and towns concentrated in a relatively compact geographical area.

The findings regarding Haitian migrants' previous destinations or places of residence before the RMBH, and their UFs of entry provide interesting insights into the rapid shifts in the most common migration routes taken by Haitian migrants during their journey to Brazil. Between 2008 and 2012, the number of migrants arriving in the RMBH directly from Haiti was only slightly greater than those who arrived from another Brazilian UF, most likely Acre, Amazonas, or São Paulo. However, by 2013 these trends had shifted, with the numbers of Haitian migrants in the RMBH who arrived directly from Haiti in that year surpassing 60%, and growing to reach almost 90% by 2017. The most common UF of Entry also shifted during this time period, with São Paulo overtaking the border UFs of Acre and Amazonas in 2013, and with the large majority of new Haitian migrants in the RMBH arriving directly in Minas Gerais from 2014 onward. Additionally, an analysis of Haitian migrants' birthplaces found that Haitian migrants in the RMBH primarily hailed from either the Artbonite Department or the Port-au-Prince Metropolitan Area. Furthermore, the shifting migration routes, in addition to the similarities in the places of origin and settlement patterns of the Haitian migrant community in the RMBH provide further evidence of the essential role played by migration sending and receiving networks and institutions in facilitating this specific South-South migration flow. In this vein, it is important to highlight the importance of informal institutions, such as people smugglers in fomenting mass Haitian migration to Brazil prior to the implementation of heightened travel restrictions by Ecuador in 2015, in addition to underlining the role played by formal non-profit institutions in assisting Haitian migrants once they arrived in Brazil.

While this research focused specifically on the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, its findings can be largely applied or reproduced to analyze South-South migration flows in the broader Brazilian context, given the fact that two of the three data sources – RAIS and SINCRE – collect data on employed persons and migrants, respectively, on a national scale. The methods utilized involved a quantitative analysis of three different data sources, each with their own strengths and weaknesses. As previously discussed, the limitations presented by the Centro Zanmi data include the fact that it only encompassed migrants who sought out its services, that the data are self-reported, and that a small number of variables contained missing responses that surpassed 30% of Haitian migrants contained within the database. While the SINCRE data obtained from the Brazilian Federal Police is much more complete, the data concerning migrants' professions are self-reported and often

diverge from the results obtained from the other two sources. Furthermore, the SINCRE data obtained by this study only encompasses the period up to November 2015, and likely does not include a significant portion of Haitian migrants who registered with the Brazilian Federal Police anywhere other than in Belo Horizonte, nor the approximately 40,000 Haitian asylum seekers whose migration status was regularized in October 2015. Finally, the use of the RAIS data through 2015 provides an extensive overview of the labor market integration of formally employed Haitian migrants in the RMBH; however, it does not encompass migrants who are excluded from the formal labor market. Despite the aforementioned limitations, it is clear that this study's combined analysis of the Centro Zanmi and RAIS data, which had never been utilized to investigate the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH prior to this study, in addition to this research's updated analysis of the SINCRE data, allowed for this study to meet its three objectives of creating a comprehensive demographic profile of the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, evaluating their labor market integration, and examining their migration routes, connections, ties, and links both among one another and with their places of origin.

The results of this study have wide-ranging implications concerning the social and labor market integration of migrants in Brazil and the development of targeted public policies to facilitate their socioeconomic integration. While the Brazilian government's use of the CNIg Resolutions 97 and 102 provides an example of how governments can use public policy to humanely manage the complex and chaotic dynamics of migration flows, the socioeconomic integration of Haitian migrants into Brazilian society and the labor market still faces a series of obstacles. The clear bifurcation of the Brazilian labor market, in line with the predictions of the Segmented (Dual) Labor Market Theory, presents serious barriers to the incorporation of migrants from the global South – regardless of their educational backgrounds – into the Brazilian labor market in positions other than low-skilled and low-paying work, which present little opportunity for advancement. Additionally, the importance of economic motives as the primary reason behind Haitian migration flows to the RMBH highlights the importance of both the perceived economic benefits of migrating to Brazil and, upon a more profound analysis, the importance of household-level decisions to send migrants, with the goal of minimizing risks via the establishment of secure remittance-sending streams. Given the relatively short time span of Haitian migration to Brazil, which began en masse just eight years ago, it would be interesting for future studies regarding South-South migration to the RMBH or to Brazil in general to build upon the findings of this study and examine the long-term labor market integration of Haitian migrants who permanently settle in Brazil, in

addition to studying the labor market outcomes of their second-generation immigrant children, with a particular focus on the importance of migrants' educational attainment and their length of employment.

Moreover, this study provides a wealth of valuable information to local and regional public policy makers both in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area, as well as throughout Brazil. The demographic and labor market analysis conducted by this research provides a comprehensive overview of the challenges faced by the Haitian migrant population in the RMBH, findings that should be of great use when formulating public policies to foment the labor market integration of foreign workers from developing nations into the Brazilian labor market. This study furnishes detailed information on the salary levels and employment indicators of the Haitian migrant population, in addition to how these variables relate to a variety of factors including migrants' length of residence in Brazil, their educational attainment levels, and their length of employment in their current position. While the degree of applicability of these findings to the Haitian migrant population in Brazil at large and/or to other migrant populations from the developing world residing in Brazil, requires further study, earlier research indicates that both Haitian migrants and migrants from other developing nations face obstacles to their labor market integration in Brazil similar to those confronted by Haitians in the RMBH (OBMigra 2015; OBMigra 2016; OBMigra 2017). Additionally, the importance of public policy, particularly the CNIg Resolutions 97 and 102 in facilitating legal and safe flows of Haitian migrants, should serve as an example for migration policymakers worldwide, as a commendable humanitarian response to a seemingly overwhelming and uncontrollable migration flow.

Furthermore, as the difficulties faced by Haitian migrants seen in this study and documented in the literature, center on Haitian migrants' low salaries and their general lack of opportunity for professional advancement, this research would recommend the creation of targeted policies to address these specific shortcomings regarding the socioeconomic integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH. The difficulties that even high-school and university-educated migrants face in finding employment matching their educational skills is often due to the inability to get their educational credentials recognized in Brazil (FERNANDES, CASTRO, 2014; SÁ, 2015). Thus, this study strongly recommends that policies to facilitate the recognition of international educational credentials be implemented, particularly in the case of migrants from the Global South, who often lack the means to pay for the costs of this process. Furthermore, the future labor market integration of Haitian migrants in the RMBH is likely to be further hampered by their low overall average

educational attainment relative to their Brazilian peers. As a result, this research recommends the creation of comprehensive Portuguese as a foreign language and adult educational programs, encompassing all educational levels, as well as technical training programs, targeted specifically at migrants residing in Brazil. Finally, Haitian migration to Brazil is unique in its South-South nature, velocity, and volume, as well as in the public policy responses taken by Brazil to shape this migration flow. However, despite the great advancements made by the Brazilian government in providing transparent and legal channels for Haitian migration to Brazil, much work remains to be done, in order to ensure the long-term social, economic, and political integration of Haitian migrants living in Brazil and in the Belo Horizonte Metropolitan Area.

7. Annex I – Tables

Table A1: Educational Attainment By Age Group (Males)

Age Group (Years)	Under 15		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		Missing			
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Illiterate	5	21.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	0.4%	4	1.2%	5	2.3%	3	2.5%	5	7.0%	0	0.0%	2	12.5%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Basic / Incomplete Primary	7	30.4%	1	10.0%	2	2.5%	14	5.8%	32	9.6%	19	8.8%	21	17.5%	13	18.3%	4	14.3%	4	25.0%	1	25.0%	0	0.0%	2	4.0%		
Complete Primary	5	21.7%	7	70.0%	21	26.6%	64	26.7%	88	26.4%	59	27.4%	40	33.3%	17	23.9%	7	25.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	22.0%		
Complete Secondary	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	43	54.4%	101	42.1%	114	34.2%	67	31.2%	27	22.5%	11	15.5%	4	14.3%	2	12.5%	2	50.0%	0	0.0%	8	16.0%		
University	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	5.1%	16	6.7%	25	7.5%	16	7.4%	8	6.7%	5	7.0%	4	14.3%	1	6.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	8.0%		
Technical	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	5.1%	10	4.2%	11	3.3%	6	2.8%	1	0.8%	2	2.8%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.0%		
Missing	6	26.1%	1	10.0%	5	6.3%	34	14.2%	59	17.7%	43	20.0%	20	16.7%	18	25.4%	9	32.1%	7	43.8%	1	25.0%	1	100.0%	24	48.0%		
Total	23	100%	10	100%	79	100%	240	100%	333	100%	215	100%	120	100%	71	100%	28	100%	16	100%	4	100%	1	100%	50	100%		

Source: Self-created table using data from the Centro Zanmi

Table A2: Educational Attainment By Age Group (Females)

Age Group (Years)	Under 15		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		Missing	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	2	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.0%	1	1.7%	2	5.4%	0	0.0%	1	6.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Basic / Incomplete Primary	8	44.4%	0	0.0%	2	4.3%	4	4.4%	14	13.5%	8	13.3%	5	13.5%	4	19.0%	2	13.3%	1	50.0%	1	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Complete Primary	3	16.7%	6	60.0%	8	17.4%	25	27.5%	31	29.8%	15	25.0%	11	29.7%	3	14.3%	3	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%	1	6.7%
Complete Secondary	0	0.0%	1	10.0%	24	52.2%	35	38.5%	42	40.4%	17	28.3%	8	21.6%	7	33.3%	3	20.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	20.0%
University	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	2.2%	10	11.0%	12	11.5%	6	10.0%	2	5.4%	1	4.8%	2	13.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	20.0%
Technical	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	10.9%	5	5.5%	4	3.8%	1	1.7%	1	2.7%	0	0.0%	1	6.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	6.7%
Missing	5	27.8%	3	30.0%	6	13.0%	12	13.2%	27	26.0%	12	20.0%	8	21.6%	6	28.6%	3	20.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	46.7%
Total	18	100%	10	100%	46	100%	91	100%	104	100%	60	100%	37	100.0%	21	100%	15	100%	2	100%	1	100%	1	100%	15	100%

Source: Self-created table using data from the Centro Zanmi

Table A3: Educational Attainment By Age Group (Males)

Age Group (Years)	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		Total	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Illiterate	0	0.0%	2	1.8%	2	0.6%	2	0.6%	4	2.0%	6	4.5%	0	0.0%	3	7.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	1.5%
Elementary School (Inc.)	0	0.0%	8	7.3%	21	6.7%	22	6.5%	15	7.5%	11	8.2%	6	7.6%	1	2.6%	1	9.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	85	6.9%
Elementary School (Comp.)	0	0.0%	2	1.8%	9	2.9%	11	3.2%	10	5.0%	6	4.5%	4	5.1%	1	2.6%	2	18.2%	2	100.0%	0	0.0%	47	3.8%
Middle School (Inc.)	0	0.0%	5	4.5%	19	6.0%	24	7.1%	14	7.0%	16	11.9%	10	12.7%	2	5.1%	2	18.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	92	7.4%
Middle School (Comp.)	1	14.3%	16	14.5%	58	18.4%	92	27.1%	49	24.5%	33	24.6%	19	24.1%	14	35.9%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	285	23.0%
High School (Inc.)	1	14.3%	18	16.4%	44	14.0%	39	11.5%	19	9.5%	16	11.9%	13	16.5%	3	7.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	153	12.4%
High School (Comp.)	5	71.4%	59	53.6%	155	49.2%	141	41.5%	80	40.0%	39	29.1%	25	31.6%	15	38.5%	3	27.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	522	42.2%
University (Inc.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	1.3%	4	1.2%	2	1.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	11	0.9%
University (Comp.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.0%	5	1.5%	7	3.5%	7	5.2%	1	1.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100%	24	1.9%
Total	7	100%	110	100%	315	100%	340	100%	200	100%	134	100%	79	100%	39	100%	11	100%	2	100%	1	100%	1238	100%

Source: Self-created table using 2015 RAIS data

Table A4: Educational Attainment By Age Group (Females)

Age Group (Years)	15-19		20-24		25-29		30-34		35-39		40-44		45-49		50-54		55-59		60-64		65+		Total					
Educational Attainment	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		
Illiterate	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	4	5.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	5	2.4%
Elementary School (Inc.)	0	0.0%	2	8.7%	4	5.9%	3	5.6%	2	7.1%	6	25.0%	1	11.1%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	18	8.6%
Elementary School (Comp.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	2.9%	2	3.7%	2	7.1%	1	4.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	7	3.3%
Middle School (Inc.)	0	0.0%	4	17.4%	4	5.9%	4	7.4%	4	14.3%	2	8.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	100%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	19	9.1%
Middle School (Comp.)	0	0.0%	3	13.0%	15	22.1%	17	31.5%	5	17.9%	5	20.8%	3	33.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	48	23.0%
High School (Inc.)	0	0.0%	4	17.4%	4	5.9%	3	5.6%	1	3.6%	4	16.7%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	16	7.7%
High School (Comp.)	0	0.0%	10	43.5%	33	48.5%	23	42.6%	14	50.0%	5	20.8%	5	55.6%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	91	43.5%
University (Inc.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.5%	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	50.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	3	1.4%
University (Comp.)	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	1	1.5%	1	1.9%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	2	1.0%
Total	0	100%	23	100%	68	100%	54	100%	28	100%	24	100%	9	100%	2	100%	1	100%	0	100%	0	100%	0	100%	0	100%	209	100.0%

Source: Self-created table using 2015 RAIS data

Table A5: Professions of Haitian Migrants in the RMBH by Occupational Category

Occupational Category	Total Population		Males				Females				Profession Description Examples		
	SINCRE		Centro Zanmi		SINCRE		Centro Zanmi		SINCRE			Centro Zanmi	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%		n	%
Building, Construction, and Maintenance Work	296	19.7%	330	29.1%	289	26.2%	327	40.2%	7	1.8%	3	0.9%	Carpenter, Electrician, Mason, Painter
Mechanics	295	19.7%	51	4.5%	286	26.0%	50	6.1%	9	2.3%	1	0.3%	Mechanic
Information Technology	191	12.7%	54	4.8%	123	11.2%	35	4.3%	68	17.1%	19	5.9%	Programmer
Administration	88	5.9%	27	2.4%	59	5.4%	16	2.0%	29	7.3%	11	3.4%	Administrator/Manager, Typographer, Office Assistant, Notary, Director
Other / Non-Classified Occupation	87	5.8%	55	4.8%	53	4.8%	32	3.9%	34	8.6%	23	7.2%	Other / Non-Classified Occupation, Doorman, Police Officer, Preacher
Unemployed	77	5.1%	0	0.0%	41	3.7%	0	0.0%	36	9.1%	0	0.0%	Unemployed
Food Services	75	5.0%	61	5.4%	26	2.4%	12	1.5%	49	12.3%	49	15.3%	Baker, Cook
Student	74	4.9%	83	7.3%	47	4.3%	47	5.8%	27	6.8%	36	11.2%	Student, Researcher
Sciences and Engineering	60	4.0%	20	1.8%	43	3.9%	17	2.1%	17	4.3%	1	0.3%	Biologist, Economist, Engineer, Psychologist
Independent Professionals	52	3.5%	5	0.4%	28	2.5%	4	0.5%	24	6.0%	1	0.3%	Independent Professionals, Attorney, Architect
Sales	42	2.8%	101	8.9%	11	1.0%	30	3.7%	31	7.8%	71	22.1%	Salesperson, Traveling Salesperson
Transportation	37	2.5%	67	5.9%	36	3.3%	67	8.2%	1	0.3%	0	0.0%	Driver, Pilot, Transportation Worker, Dock Worker
Healthcare	34	2.3%	41	3.6%	2	0.2%	5	0.6%	32	8.1%	36	11.2%	Doctor, Nurse
Education	25	1.7%	64	5.6%	15	1.4%	45	5.5%	10	2.5%	19	5.9%	Professor, Librarian
Manufacturing	16	1.1%	43	3.8%	13	1.2%	42	5.2%	3	0.8%	1	0.3%	Chemical Industry, Factory Worker, Industrial Worker, Metalworker, Stationary Machine Operator
Agriculture	11	0.7%	46	4.1%	6	0.5%	42	5.2%	5	1.3%	4	1.2%	Agricultural Worker
Clothing Production, Manufacturing, Alteration, and Cleaning	11	0.7%	43	3.8%	9	0.8%	17	2.1%	2	0.5%	26	8.1%	Cobbler, Domestic Clothing Producers
Arts	11	0.7%	17	1.5%	9	0.8%	17	2.1%	2	0.5%	0	0.0%	Artist, Photographer, Writer, Potter
Dependents and Minors	9	0.6%	5	0.4%	4	0.4%	4	0.5%	5	1.3%	1	0.3%	Dependent, Minor
Beauty Services	8	0.5%	22	1.9%	2	0.2%	3	0.4%	6	1.5%	19	5.9%	Barber, Hair Stylist
Total	1,499	100%	1,135	100%	1,102	100%	814	100%	397	100%	321	100%	All Occupations

Source: Self-created table using SINCRE and Centro Zanmi data

Table A6: Distribution of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH by CNAE Occupational Division (RAIS 2015)

Occupational Division	Division Number	Total Population		Occupational Division	Division Number	Males		Occupational Division	Division Number	Females	
		n	%			n	%			n	%
Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	385	26.6%	Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	353	28.5%	Food and Drink Production	10 & 11	39	18.7%
Building Construction	41	142	9.8%	Building Construction	41	137	11.1%	Food Services	56	37	17.7%
Food and Drink Production	10 & 11	136	9.4%	Specialized Construction Services	43	97	7.8%	Wholesale Sector (Except Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	32	15.3%
Retail Sector	47	120	8.3%	Food and Drink Production	10 & 11	97	7.8%	Retail Sector	47	24	11.5%
Specialized Construction Services	43	99	6.8%	Retail Sector	47	96	7.8%	Building and Landscaping Services	81	22	10.5%
Land Transportation	49	90	6.2%	Land Transportation	49	84	6.8%	Land Transportation	49	6	2.9%
Infrastructure Projects	42	81	5.6%	Infrastructure Projects	42	79	6.4%	Building Construction	41	5	2.4%
Building and Landscaping Services	81	55	3.8%	Building and Landscaping Services	81	33	2.7%	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	4	1.9%
Food Services	56	52	3.6%	Administration	82	32	2.6%	Health and Social Assistance Services	87	4	1.9%
Administration	82	33	2.3%	Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	25	24	1.9%	Clothing and Accessories Production	14	3	1.4%
Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	24	1.7%	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	20	1.6%	Furniture Manufacturing	31	3	1.4%
Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	25	24	1.7%	Electric Machine, Device, and Materials	27	19	1.5%	Hospitality	55	3	1.4%
Furniture Manufacturing	31	22	1.5%	Furniture Manufacturing	31	19	1.5%	All Other Professions	N/A	27	12.9%
Electric Machine, Device, and Materials	27	20	1.4%	Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	23	17	1.4%	Total	N/A	209	100%
Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	23	17	1.2%	Food Services	56	15	1.2%				
All Other Professions	N/A	147	10.2%	All Other Professions	N/A	116	9.4%				
Total	N/A	1,447	100%	Total	N/A	1,238	100%				

Source: Self-Created Table Using 2015 RAIS data

Table A7: Distribution of Formally Employed Haitian Migrants in the RMBH by CNAE Occupational Division (RAIS 2013)

Occupational Division	Division Number	Total Population		Occupational Division	Division Number	Males		Occupational Division	Division Number	Females	
		n	%			n	%			n	%
Building Construction	41	146	24.4%	Building Construction	41	145	28.1%	Food and Drink Production	10&11	25	30.1%
Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	99	16.5%	Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	86	16.7%	Food Services	56	15	18.1%
Food and Drink Production	10 & 11	82	13.7%	Food and Drink Production	10&11	57	11.0%	Wholesale Sector (Excluding Vehicles and Motorcycles)	46	13	15.7%
Retail Sector	47	42	7.0%	Retail Sector	47	35	6.8%	Retail Sector	47	7	8.4%
Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	36	6.0%	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	30	5.8%	Plastic and Rubber Products Manufacturing	22	6	7.2%
Specialized Construction Services	43	31	5.2%	Specialized Construction Services	43	30	5.8%	Clothing and Accessories Production	14	5	6.0%
Building and Landscaping Services	81	24	4.0%	Building and Landscaping Services	81	22	4.3%	Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	23	2	2.4%
Food Services	56	21	3.5%	Infrastructure Projects	42	13	2.5%	Specialized Construction Services	81	2	2.4%
Infrastructure Projects	42	13	2.2%	Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	25	11	2.1%	Administration	82	2	2.4%
Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	23	12	2.0%	Non-Metallic Mineral Products Manufacturing	23	10	1.9%	All Other Professions	N/A	6	7.2%
Metal Products Manufacturing (Except Machines and Equipment)	25	12	2.0%	Machine and Equipment Maintenance, Repair, and Installation	33	8	1.6%	Total	N/A	83	100%
Architecture and Engineering Services	71	9	1.5%	Architecture and Engineering Services	71	8	1.6%				
Clothing and Accessories Production	14	8	1.3%	Vehicle and Motorcycle Sales and Repair	45	7	1.4%				
Machine and Equipment Maintenance, Repair, and Installation	33	8	1.3%	Land Transportation	49	7	1.4%				
Vehicle and Motorcycle Sales and Repair	45	7	1.2%	Leatherworking	15	6	1.2%				
Land Transportation	49	7	1.2%	Food Services	56	6	1.2%				
Administration	82	7	1.2%	All Other Professions	N/A	35	6.8%				
Agricultural Services	1	6	1.0%	Total	N/A	516	100.0%				
Leatherworking	15	6	1.0%								
All Other Professions	N/A	23	3.8%								
Total	N/A	599	100%								

Source: Self-Created Table Using 2013 RAIS data

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