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Haitian Immigrants in the Brazilian Labour Market: an overview

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Abstract

Based on a case study of the recent migration flow of Haitians to Brazil, from 2010-2015, this paper aims to shed light on the entry of Haitian immigrants into the Brazilian labour market. Indeed, Haitians went from being a few dozen immigrants in Brazil in 2010, to become the main immigrant group in the formal labour market in the country in 2013, overtaking the classic migrations to Brazil, such as the Portuguese. In this context, the paper will outline the profile of Haitians in the Brazilian labour market, particularly analysing the employment of these immigrants at the start of the decade, concentrating on 2015.

Keywords: Brazil, Haitians, labour market.

Novos Fluxos Migratórios para o Brasil: meia década de intensa imigração haitiana

Resumo

A partir do caso do recente, mas intenso fluxo migratório haitiano para o Brasil, de 2010 a 2015, este trabalho analisa a inserção dos imigrantes haitianos no mercado de trabalho brasileiro. De fato, os haitianos passaram de algumas dúzias de imigrantes no Brasil em 2010, para ser o principal grupo de imigrantes no mercado de trabalho formal no país em 2013, superando as migrações clássicas no país, como os portugueses, por exemplo. Nesse contexto, o objetivo do texto é mostrar o perfil dos haitianos no mercado de trabalho brasileiro. Especificamente, o texto apresenta uma análise da empregabilidade desses imigrantes nos primeiros anos da presente década, com foco no ano 2015.

Palavras-chave: Brasil, haitianos, mercado de trabalho.

Nuevos Flujos Migratórios para Brasil: media década de intensa inmigración haitiana

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Resumen

A partir del reciente, pero intenso flujo migratorio de haitianos para Brasil, de 2010 a 2015, este texto pretende arrojar luz sobre la inserción de los inmigrantes haitianos en el mercado de trabajo brasileño. De hecho, los haitianos han pasado de unas pocas docenas de inmigrantes en Brasil en 2010, para ser el principal grupo de inmigrantes en el mercado de trabajo formal en el país en 2013, superando las migraciones clásicas en Brasil, como los portugueses, por ejemplo. En este contexto, el propósito del texto es mostrar el perfil de los haitianos en el mercado laboral brasileño. En concreto, el texto presenta un análisis de la empleabilidad de estos inmigrantes en los primeros años de la presente década, centrándose en el año 2015.

Palabras-clave: Brasil, haitianos, mercado de trabajo.

Introduction⁶

Brazil has absorbed a significant number of immigrants into its formal labour market, since 2010. Unlike the migration flows in the nineteenth century and the start of the twentieth century, when immigrants from the north were considered desirable as they served to ‘occupy’ territory as well as ‘whiten’ the population, during the first half of this decade, there has been an increase in immigrant arrivals originating principally from the Global South (Haitians, Bolivians, Senegalese and Bengalis, among others). Thus, since 2010, ‘south to south’ migration has been increasing in the country and has become more diversified⁷. This unexpected immigrant flow from the southern hemisphere has come to the forefront of attention in Brazil (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

⁶ This text is compiled from information, text and analysis contained in the reports of the International Migration Observatory of Brazil (OBMigra): (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015; Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Araújo, 2016; Cavalcanti, Tonhati, Dutra, Oliveira, 2016; Cavalcanti, Oliveira, 2016).

⁷ Despite the increase in immigrants in recent years, immigration levels in Brazil have still not reached even 1% of the country’s population.

Among the nationalities from the Global South that have migrated to Brazil, the Haitians stand out as the largest group, having grown from a few dozen in Brazil in 2010, to become the main immigrant group in the formal labour market in 2013, overtaking the traditional migrant populations to Brazil, such as the Portuguese. In 2015 Haitians accounted for 26.4% of all immigrants in the Brazilian labour market. A total of 72,406 Haitians crossed Brazilian borders between 2010 and 2015, according to the International Traffic System Database (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Araújo, 2016). Brazil granted a substantial number of visas to Haitian nationals and resident status Haitian nationals; 48,361 visas were issued to Haitians and 51,124 resident permits were issued by the National Immigration Council (CNIg) during this period (2010 to 2015) (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Araújo, 2016). Given the number of visas granted, CNIg authorisations and the effective entry of this group through Brazilian borders, it is estimated that, so far, in this decade Brazil has accepted approximately 25 thousand Haitians per year.

Furthermore, they are the only immigrant group that is dependent upon CNIg's Normative Resolution (NR), which authorises visas for humanitarian reasons based upon Regulation NR 97, dated 12th January, 2012, and which 'legislates on permanent visa authorizations as set out in art. 16, Law no. 6.815, dated 19th August, 1980 to Haitian nationals'. This Resolution allowed Haitians to have a permanent residency visa on humanitarian grounds; Haitians who were seeking asylum, but did not qualify for it, would have their

cases withdrawn from CONARE (Brazilian National Refugee Committee) and sent to be assessed by the National Immigration Council, which would grant them permanent residence visas for humanitarian reasons. This regulation was intended to resolve the migration status of the large amount of Haitians who were already in the country, but did not qualify for refugee status, or for any other visas.

To explain the presence of these new flows to Brazil it is necessary to analyse the entry of these immigrants into the labour market. This article will therefore give a profile of Haitians in the Brazilian labour market, particularly analysing the employment of these immigrants in the first half of the decade, focusing on 2015. It is important to point out that once in the host country, immigrants' social place will always be marked by the position they occupy in the labour market (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

This paper is part of a larger research project carried out by the International Migration Observatory of Brazil (OBMigra), Brasília University, between 2014 and 2016, called 'Haitians' migration and the labour market in Brazil', funded by the National Council of Technological and Scientific Development (CNPq), and the Labour Ministry (MTb). The methodological framework is based on analysis of two databases of the MTb: data of the 'Annual Social Information Report' (RAIS), which indicates the presence of immigrants in the Brazilian formal labour market and the General Database for the Employed and Unemployed (CAGED). These databases provide information on

their demographic and socio-economic profile and their main labour activities. The data were analysed using R (free statistical software) and a report was compiled on the findings.

Haitian Immigration to Brazil

In January 2010, Haiti was recovering from three hurricanes that hit the country in 2009, when a massive earthquake of 7.3 on the Richter scale struck the country. The capital of the country, Port-au-Prince, was hit extremely hard and it was estimated that 80 per cent of buildings in the city were seriously damaged, including schools, hospitals, police stations and the presidential palace itself. In addition to infrastructure damage, approximately 230,000 Haitians lost their lives and 1.5 million were left homeless by the earthquake (Giraldi, 2012; Handerson, 2015a,b). As a result of this devastating scenario, many countries offered material help (medicine, food, temporary shelters). Nonetheless, it was not enough to cause numerous people to migrate to other countries. Migration increased after the earthquake, even though migration had always been strongly constitutive of Haitian society (Handerson, 2015). In this context, questions emerged about what led the Haitians to migrate to Brazil? The academic literature developed some arguments.

The first main hypothesis linked the Haitian migration to Brazil with the MINUSTAH (United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti). In 2004, Haitian President Aristide was forcibly removed from the country by the US military, supported by France. According to the former President, he was forced to resign. After Aristide left power, the

Haitian Supreme Court President, Bonifácio Alexandre, took command of the country and requested assistance from the United Nations to contain the country's political crisis, which had also become very violent. The United Nations Security Council (UNSC) then established the Interim Multinational Force (MIF) and, in April 2004, the Council approved Resolution 1542, giving rise to MINUSTAH led by Brazil.

The MINUSTAH along with other Brazilian non-governmental organizations (e.g. Viva Rio, ActionAid, Pastoral da Criança, the Support Group for AIDS Prevention) carried out a number of social and humanitarian projects such as: help with the construction of a hydroelectric power plant on the Artibonite River in the south of the country; encouraging the production of vegetables in the Kenscoff region; funding by the Brazilian Cooperation Agency (ABC) and the Brazilian Ministry of Sport in partnership with the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) to promote programmes which encouraged the practice of sports during school activities; and the contribution by the Brazilian women's secretary and health ministry to the development of a national programme aimed at the prevention of gender violence in Haiti (Moraes, Andrade and Mattos, 2013; Keni and Phillipin, 2013; Fernandes and Castro, 2014). These authors suggest that the measures contributed to create in Haiti a positive image of Brazil. Furthermore, the economic growth of Brazil at the beginning of this decade nourished the idea that 'Brezil pa peyi blan' (Handerson, 2015).

The more empirically engaged studies, for example the one developed by Handerson, showed that in fact the first flow of Haitians to Brazil did not intend to stay in Brazil. They intended to go to French Guiana and from there maybe to France. According to Handerson (2015), French Guiana would work as a place of passage, a 'couloir' or corridor. There, the Haitians planned to seek asylum and, once they had acquired permission to stay, most of them intended to travel to France, and maybe later to the US and/or Canada. In fact, French Guiana was considered a '*peyi etranje*' and not a '*peyi blan*'. The Haitians called the countries of passage '*ti peyi*' (small country, in the socio-economic sense). These countries represented only the beginning of the mobility process, but played a very important role in the Haitians' mobility. It is necessary to have a visa from a '*ti peyi*' country and the passport pages filled with stamps before applying for a visa of a '*peyi blan*' country such as the United States, France or Canada. It is common in Haiti for people to travel to the Dominican Republic and Panama several times a year before subsequently applying for an American, French or Canadian visa (Handerson, 2015). In this sense, their migration can be seen as non-permanent as it was believed that it would facilitate being granted a visa.

In addition to the positive image given by the MINUSTAH, and the fact that Brazil was a corridor to French Guiana, which are seen as the two strongest arguments for the great Haitian flow to Brazil, other reasons listed include:

3) the public and international position of openness and hospitality of the Brazilian

Government towards the Haitians; 4) the diffusion among Haitians (in Haiti and abroad) that the Brazilian Government was encouraging Haitian migration to the country, having an interest in Haitian labour to build the World Cup stadiums (even if it was not true); 5) the propaganda of the image of Brazil as a "racial paradise", without discrimination, particularly in the imagination of those who suffered such discrimination in the Dominican Republic and Ecuador; 6) the information that in Brazil the migrant earns housing and food (it is not a fact), in addition to salary, which was supposed to range from US\$ 2,000 to US\$ 3,000 monthly (not true either) (Handerson, 2015:44)

Haitian Immigrants in the Brazilian Labour Market

The number of Haitians in the formal labour market grew from 508 workers in 2011 to 33,154 in 2015. If the number of immigrants not formally employed is added, the total number could be said to represent a significant immigrant presence in Brazil.

Since 2013, Haitians have become the main immigrant group in the Brazilian formal labour market, with the highest number of work contracts (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015). In 2015, the scenario was no different; the Republic of Haiti received the highest number of work contracts for immigrant workers for that year, representing 26.4% of all foreign labour in the country as of 31st December 2015 in terms of stock of immigrants.

Haitian immigrants have changed the composition of the labour market for immigrants in Brazil. At the beginning of the period (2010-2015), the ratios of immigrant workers were as follows: 34.1% from the Global North, 38.8% from Latin America and 8.4% from Asia. By 2015, the contribution from developed countries was already relatively less, dropping to 16.0%, at the same time, Latin American involvement had increased to 51.8%, while Asians remained at the same level. Other origins varied from 18.6% to 23.5% (apart from the global north, Latin-America and Asia) (Oliveira, 2015).

Table 1. Foreigners on the formal labor market according to absolute values and percentage variations, according to principal nationalities, Brazil 2014-2015.

Main Nationalities	2014			2015			Variation 2015/2014		
	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women	Total	Men	Women
Total	114.121	83.705	30.416	125.535	92.144	33.391	10,0	10,1	9,8
North America	2.465	1.594	871	2.284	1.441	843	-7,3	-9,6	-3,2
Argentina	7.461	5.092	2.369	7.412	4.949	2.463	-0,7	-2,8	4,0
Bolivian	6.700	4.521	2.179	6.103	4.033	2.070	-8,9	-10,8	-5,0
Chilean	4.195	2.905	1.290	3.869	2.616	1.253	-7,8	-9,9	-2,9
Haitian	23.017	18.825	4.192	33.154	26.706	6.448	44,0	41,9	53,8
Paraguayan	6.952	4.130	2.822	7.455	4.432	3.023	7,2	7,3	7,1
Peruvian	2.664	1.878	786	3.079	2.163	916	15,6	15,2	16,5
Uruguayan	4.019	2.515	1.504	4.002	2.478	1.524	-0,4	-1,5	1,3
Spanish	2.950	2.261	689	2.711	2.099	612	-8,1	-7,2	-11,2
French	2.360	1.743	617	2.324	1.706	618	-1,5	-2,1	0,2
Italian	2.989	2.386	603	2.933	2.335	598	-1,9	-2,1	-0,8
Portuguese	10.438	7.162	3.276	9.878	6.743	3.135	-5,4	-5,9	-4,3
Chinese	2.878	1.821	1.057	2.927	1.775	1.152	1,7	-2,5	9,0
Korean	1.386	1.107	279	1.331	1.060	271	-4,0	-4,2	-2,9
Japanese	2.652	1.932	720	2.596	1.824	772	-2,1	-5,6	7,2
Bengalese	3.348	2.486	862	3.980	2.992	988	18,9	20,4	14,6

Source: RAIS - Ministry of Labor

The number of foreign workers with formal labour ties more than doubled between 2010-2015, showing a total increase of 131.1%. The increase was greater for men (145.6%) and lower, but not less significant, for women (98.5%). Regarding countries of birth, all the higher increases, of 50% or more, were shown to be for Bolivians (97.0%), Paraguayans (175.0%), other Latin Americans (87.1%), Spanish (51.1%), French (53.3%), Chinese (62.8%), Koreans (163.8%), and other

Asians (201.8%). Although the south to south mobility was more evident, flows from the north, that is, not only from Spain and France but also immigrant labour from North America, Europe and Japan, showed a positive change in the Brazilian labour market for the period analysed (Oliveira, 2015).

In general, in terms of gender, male immigrants predominate in the formal labour market. In some communities there are 70% men and 30% women. Regarding age groups, it can be observed that half of the foreigners employed in the formal labour market are between 25 and 50 years of age. In this sense, the Brazilian situation is very much in line with other countries receiving migration flows, which are marked by working age individuals. For the host society, this age group variable is very positive as the State spends and invests most in citizenship through its children and the elderly. Thus, Brazil is receiving an already qualified labour force that can contribute decisively to the country's growth (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

The final stages of the production chain in agro-business, such as refrigerators (*frigoríficos*) and abattoirs (*abatedouros*), for example, have always been the main hiring areas for immigrants in the formal labour market. In fact, the main production lines *Production Line Feeder*, *Magarefe* and *Abateer* (*Alimentador de Linha de Produção, Magarefe and Abatedor*) were among the first five occupations that hired immigrants in Brazil. Occupations related to economic activities in the construction industry, restaurants and

maintenance services are among the main employers of immigrants.

The migratory flow of Haitians to Brazil has intensified since 2010 (Handerson, 2015) and since then the employment of Haitian workers has shown a positive balance, in other words, there have been more work contracts than dismissals.

Table 2. **Recruitment and dismissal of Haitians – 2010-2015**

Year	Work contracts	Dismissals
2010	23	8
2011	1.009	490
2012	4.812	2.374
2013	9.801	4.070
2014	60.410	42.782
2015	28.920	21.918
Total	104.975	71642

Source: CAGED - Ministry of Labor

Haitian mobility, according to the CAGED database, recorded a total of 50,838 work contracts in 2015, with 28,920 hirings and 21,918 dismissals, which gives a positive balance of 7,002 for Haitian immigrants.

In relation to the gender balance of the total number of immigrants to Brazil, the Haitian immigrant contribution to the formal labour market was mainly male. Of the 28,920 Haitians hired, 80% were men and only 20% women, and in terms of the 21,918 dismissals, 81% were men and 19% were women.

Regarding the age groupings of Haitian workers, it was noted that the majority of the work contracts were for the 30 to 39-year-old age group, around 41%. The 25-29 age group represented 29% of Haitians hired; the 18-24 age group, 16%;

40-49 year olds made up 12%; and the 50-64 age group, just 2%. The other age groups indicated negligible values, close to zero. It is clear therefore that 98% of Haitians hired in 2015 were of an active employable age, between 18 and 49 years old.

Data on the qualification levels of contracted Haitian workers reveals that 41% had concluded their high-school education, while 25% only concluded their primary school education at the time of being hired. Around 1% had completed tertiary education.

During the year, from January to November, the number of Haitians hired in the formal labour market exceeded the number of dismissals, reflecting a positive balance, but in December there was a slight drop in the contract figures and an increase in dismissals, leading to a negative balance in Haitian worker employment.

Table 3. Work contracts x Dismissals by month, 2015 - Haitians

Months	Haitians - 2015		
	Work contracts	Dismissals	Balance
Total	28.920	21.918	7.002
January	3.059	2.061	998
February	2.766	2.057	709
March	2.714	2.011	703
April	2.692	1.849	843
May	2.791	1.703	1.088
June	2.826	1.812	1.014
July	2.443	1.855	588
August	2.425	1.781	644
September	2.211	1.645	566
October	1.921	1.701	220
November	1.715	1.714	1
December	1.357	1.729	- 372

Source: CAGED\CTPS - Ministry of Labor

Among the Federative Units receiving Haitian workers, the states in the south and south east of the country showed the highest numbers. States in the country's southern region accounted for 65% of the total number of Haitians hired. The breakdown is as follows: Santa Catarina - 29%; Paraná - 22%; and Rio Grande do Sul - 14%. The south-east region accounted for 22% of the total with 15% of the work contracts coming from the state of São Paulo, 5% from Minas Gerais and 2% from Rio de Janeiro.

Table 4. Work contracts x Dismissals according to the Federative Unit of destination 2015 - Haitians

Federative Units	Haitians - 2015		
	Recruitment	Dismissals	Balance
Total	28.920	21.918	7.002
Rondônia	348	506	158
Acre	3	2	1
Amazonas	203	288	85
Roraima	27	22	5
Pará	38	60	22
Amapá	3	2	1
Tocantins	-	13	13
Maranhão	2	2	-
Piauí	1	1	-
Ceará	13	13	-
Rio Grande do Norte	7	1	6
Paraíba	-	2	2
Pernambuco	3	2	1
Alagoas			

Sergipe	1	-	1
Bahia	44	45	1
Minas Gerais	1.481	1.188	293
Espírito Santo	36	36	-
Rio de Janeiro	611	436	175
São Paulo	4.367	3.612	755
Paraná	6.244	4.522	1.722
Santa Catarina	8.372	6.098	2.274
Rio Grande do Sul	3.953	2.834	1.119
Mato Grosso do Sul	473	350	123
Mato Grosso	1.794	1.281	513
Goiás	747	477	270
Distrito Federal	149	125	24

Source: CAGED\CTPS - Ministry of Labor

Of the ten cities employing the most Haitian workers, seven were located in the country's southern region. Curitiba stands out as having the highest percentage of recruitment, at 7%, and the city of São Paulo following, with around 6.9% of the total number of contracts. The top five cities also included Porto Alegre, Cuiabá and Joinville.

Table 5. Work contracts x Dismissals according to main municipalities 2015 - Haitians

Municipalities	Haitians - 2015		
	Work contracts	Dismissals	Balance
Total	28.920	21.918	7.002
Curitiba – PR	2.025	1.723	302

São Paulo – SP	1.988	1.620	368
Porto Alegre – RS	1.004	916	88
Cuiabá – MT	934	788	146
Joinville – SC	921	665	256
Itajaí – SC	653	629	24
Florianópolis – SC	721	441	280
Cascavel – PR	708	426	282
Balneário Camboriú – SC	602	531	71
Contagem – MG	488	455	33
Outros	18.876	13.724	5.152

Source: CAGED\CTPS - Ministry of Labor

The Haitian workers' average salary at the time of hiring was R\$ 1,045 (monthly salary). At dismissal, the average salary for the same group was R\$ 1,095. Among the economic activities employing the most Haitian workers were building construction (11%), poultry production (10%), restaurants and similar services (6%) and pork production (5%). The occupations with the highest contract figures for Haitians in 2015 were construction work (16%), production line work (13%) and cleaning and maintenance services (7%).

In the first half of 2016, immigrant worker employment in the formal labour market maintained the same trend as for October 2015 when the number of dismissals was greater than the number of hirings, thus indicating a negative balance in employment. In the first six months of

the year, only January did not show a balance of dismissals that exceeded work contracts. June reflected the greatest number of dismissals, 19% of the total, while January had the greatest volume of work contracts, also with 19% of the total figure. Haitian workers obtained the greatest number of contracts in the first half of 2016, at 49%, but at the same time saw the greatest number of dismissals (52%).

There was a significant increase of immigrants in the south of the country, working in heavy manual activities such as the preservative industry, meat and poultry production, and civil construction. These are activities that take place in hard and difficult conditions that local workers tend to avoid.

Conclusions

As has been stated, Haitians make up the largest immigrant group in the Brazilian labour market. During the first half of the decade, from 2010, the contract-dismissal balance was positive. In fact, the data showed that during the first 11 months of 2015, with the country already caught in an economic crisis, the number of immigrant entries into the labour market exceeded dismissals. However, from December 2015 to June 2016, immigrant worker movement in the formal labour market showed a negative balance in terms of hirings and dismissals, with the number of dismissals exceeding hirings. This balance signals that for the first time in this decade, since the start of the economic crisis, immigrants were affected by job losses in the first months of 2016.

Therefore, it is important to monitor the data and to carry out public policies that will allow for a turnaround in the trend, for immigrants to recover on the hiring-dismissal curve. In-depth knowledge of this phenomenon is the first step towards elaborating adequate public policies and avoiding impromptu temporary solutions.

It is undeniable that economic crises affect migration, mainly because international migration is a dynamic phenomenon that self-regulates itself in times of crisis due to two reasons: the labour market's absorption capacity and the policies adopted by national governments. This is evident in some of the migratory processes that have been affected by more significant international economic crises over the last fifty years in the West: the 1973 petroleum crisis; Latin America's lost decade in the 1980s; the 1990 Asian crisis and the current international financial crisis, originating in the United States in 2007. All these have provided important lessons vis-à-vis migratory flows (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

In short, the 1973 crisis was decisive in the sharp reduction of programs for the so called "gastarbeiter" (guest workers) in Germany and on a smaller scale in the Netherlands and Belgium. In addition to the gradual dislocation of Northern Hemisphere companies to the Planet's, South that led to a drop in the need for immigrant labor. Successive crises in the 1980s also known as the "lost decade" in Latin American countries led to a new wave of middle-class emigration to the United States and an expressive reduction of immigration in Latin countries. During the 1990 Asian crisis,

forecasts were that migration flows would stagnate in industrialized economies, thus increasing expulsions and the return of immigrants. There were returns and expulsions, yet the Global North countries continued to depend on immigrants to stimulate/turn around growth (Pajares, 2010; Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

The economic recession in the current Brazilian scenario has affected migration to the country. The most harmful impact has been an increase in dismissals. Nonetheless, this crisis does not necessarily imply that the labour market will stop absorbing immigrants and that there will be mass dismissals. With the present devaluation in the exchange rate, companies on the last link in agri-business production - those that employ a significant share of immigrants - are seeing increased export orders, and the demand for immigrants in the country continues.

Given the increase in immigration from the Global South to Brazil and the present economic crisis, it is imperative to consider migratory policies that encourage social cohesion and immigrants' socio-economic integration. There are no ready solutions or recipes. It would be an error to try to copy models from other national/domestic realities. On the one hand, in terms of managing mobility, as Brazil is a country where 27% of its territory shares borders with ten South American countries, it is important to have a management policy for migratory flows that is fully in keeping and articulated with the region's other countries. However, at the same time, it would be an error when elaborating integration policies for

immigrants to reduce them to a mere labour force available solely for capital reproduction. It is necessary to ensure rights and full citizenship for immigrants, as any contrary position would bring about serious consequences for the migrants' dignity and future social actions (Cavalcanti, Oliveira, Tonhati, 2015).

However, it cannot be assumed, based on the total of 72,406 Haitians who crossed Brazilian borders between 2010 and 2015 and the subtraction from this total of the 33,154 Haitian immigrants in the formal labour market, that the rest are currently unemployed immigrants. This interpretation would be wrong for a number of reasons. First, of the 72,406 who entered Brazil, not all were in the working age population (*População por Idade Ativa (PIA)*). Second, there are immigrants who carry out other activities not registered by the database, such as maids, autonomous workers, freelancers and business owners. Third, migration trends now involve more and more decision-making based upon collective negotiation strategies within migrant families. So there may be family decisions where one member is the breadwinner and the other members focus on other activities. Fourth, many immigrants return to their countries of origin or change countries and do not request visa cancellations. Finally, there is the informality factor. In a country where there is a high informal labour rate, there is a high probability that immigrants are involved in informal labour activities. Thus, given these characteristics of migration trends and the factors already presented, it is not possible to make a

direct relation between visas and resident permit authorisations to Haitians and the Ministry of Labour's databases regarding immigrant employment in the formal labour market.

In summary, this paper has sought to contribute to the various migration studies on Brazil, with information on the main sociodemographic databases on immigrants in the country and the determining characteristics of immigrant labour entering the formal Brazilian labour market. A broader analysis would necessarily demand the integration of a range of different databases and information on the migration issue. Thus, it is essential to reiterate the need to articulate and consolidate databases in order to consider more immigration factors in Brazil, and to make advances in formulating public policies to optimise migration flows that will be an asset in the country's development not only in economic terms but also in cultural, social and political terms.

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