

Haitian Migration to Brazil:

Characteristics, Opportunities and Challenges

MIGRATION NOTEBOOK No. 6



IOM International Organization for Migration
REGIONAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH AMERICA

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This study was conducted within the framework of the project “Research on Haitian Migration to Brazil and Bilateral Dialogue”, financed by the **IOM Development Fund**.

IOM is committed to the principle that humane and orderly migration benefits migrants and society. As an intergovernmental organization, IOM acts with its partners in the international community to: assist in meeting the operational challenges of migration; advance understanding of migration issues; encourage social and economic development through migration; and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

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July 2014



IOM International Organization for Migration
REGIONAL OFFICE FOR SOUTH AMERICA

Dedicated to the memory of Guy Alexandre for his crucial work and tireless commitment to protect the rights of migrants and of the Haitian people.

Migration Notebooks

The production of studies and research and the generation of analysis, reflections and proposals have traditionally been concerns of the International Organization for Migration (IOM). Supporting the development, clarification and improvement of migration policies, programmes, regulations and management lies at the core of the work of IOM, together with capacity-building of governments and civil society organizations.

With this objective, the IOM Regional Office for South America promotes the publication of the Migration Notebooks as a useful instrument for government officials, policymakers and programmes. In addition, the Migration Notebooks provide important input for academics, researchers, students, organizations and individuals involved in the broad theme of migration with different fields of interest and actions, and in general, for all those that perceive the phenomenon of migration as an essential part of efforts oriented toward economic and social development, regional integration, the consolidation of a broad notion of citizenship and the protection of the rights of each person.

The Migration Notebooks cover a wide range of topics that reflect the diversity of the areas of work of IOM in the region and at the global level. If the Migration Notebooks contribute to deepen knowledge and improve the analysis and understanding of the reader, they will have more than fulfilled their purpose.

This Migration Notebook is the result of a project entitled “Research on Haitian Migration to Brazil and Bilateral Dialogue” of the IOM Development Fund – a unique source of resources to support developing Member States and strengthen their migration management capacity.

The Migration Notebooks are part of the Latin American Programme of Technical Cooperation on Migration (PLACMI) of IOM, which aims to build the migration management capacity of the governments of Latin American States from a perspective of respect for and protection of the human rights of migrants, established in international and regional conventions and agreements, and to strengthen institutions and human resources involved in planning, developing and implementing international migration policy and programmes.

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Presentation

The International Organization for Migration (IOM), through the project entitled “Research on Haitian Migration to Brazil and Bilateral Dialogue” financed by the IOM Development Fund and the Latin American Programme of Technical Cooperation on Migration (PLACMI), is pleased to present the sixth edition of the Migration Notebooks (Cuadernos Migratorios) Series, which addresses primary aspects and issues that are key to understanding the phenomenon of Haitian migration to Brazil.

After the earthquake in Haiti in 2010, the number of Haitians that emigrated to different countries on the continent increased, mainly due to the serious humanitarian crisis experienced by the country. Thus, in addition to the traditional migration flows to the United States, Canada and France (and its Caribbean territories), in recent years it has been observed that South America is a new destination, especially Brazil and, to a lesser extent, Chile and Argentina. Primary transit countries include Ecuador, Peru and, to a lesser extent, Bolivia, which sometimes become final destinations. This migration phenomenon calls for responses by different actors in the region, including governments and civil society, especially given the high level of vulnerability of a significant number of migrants, many of whom fall victim to migrant smuggling and trafficking networks. In view of this situation, among other responses the Government of Brazil has established mechanisms to enable migrants to obtain visas in countries of origin and transit, thus contributing to reduce the risk factors.

In order to continue advancing in this direction, it is necessary to continue joining efforts to promote bilateral and regional dialogue between involved countries and inter-institutional coordination between the federal, state and municipal level of public administration, generating exchanges that enable the development of policies consistent with the reality of migration and facilitating orderly migration with full respect for human rights; and thus, to contribute to the development of migrants as well as communities of origin and destination.

In this regard, IOM believes that the accompaniment of countries in the region is fundamental, implementing actions to assist them in addressing the challenges posed by migration, advancing understanding of the challenges through rigorous research and analysis, encouraging social and economic development, promoting

dialogue and upholding the human dignity and well-being of migrants; all this with the aim of continuing to support migration for the benefit of all.

Finally, it should be noted that this publication has been made possible thanks to coordination with the Brazilian National Immigration Council (CNIg), represented by its President, Mr Paulo Sergio de Almeida; the Institute for Migration and Human Rights (IMDH) led by Sister Rosita Milesi; and the research team, led by Professor Duval Fernandes.

Diego Beltrand

*Regional Director for South America
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Introduction

This document presents a summary of key findings from studies conducted in 2013 and early 2014 about Haitian migration to Brazil, complemented by a comprehensive analysis of the primary challenges that need to be addressed, from the perspective of institutions of both countries in charge of determining arrangements relating to migration matters. The studies and the associated bilateral dialogue forums were developed within the framework of the project entitled “Research on Haitian Migration to Brazil and Bilateral Dialogue” financed by the IOM Development Fund (IDF), in coordination with the Brazilian National Immigration Council (CNIg) and the Institute for Migration and Human Rights (IMDH), and with academic support from Dr Duval Fernandes of the Pontifical Catholic University of Minas Gerais (Pontificia Universidad Católica de Minas Gerais).

The initiative to materialize this project began as a result of discussions held within CNIg in view of the increasing migration flows of Haitians to Brazil since 2011 that mainly originated from the terrible effects of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, which devastated several regions of the country and significantly damaged infrastructure in the capital city, not to mention the hundreds of thousands of deaths recorded after the tragedy. Although many of the Haitians who first arrived in Brazil applied for refugee status, the Brazilian Government – and particularly CNIg – implemented humanitarian actions to regularize the status of these migrants under specific regulations, that is, RN-97 of January 2012, thus opening up the possibility for Haitians to obtain visas with minimum requirements at the Embassy of Brazil in Port-au-Prince. Once the period of validity of RN-97 expired, the implementation period was extended and visa quotas were eliminated through a new legal instrument, RN-102 of April 26, 2013.

While the numbers of Haitian migrants are not statistically significant in terms of the total number of immigrants living in Brazil, it should be considered that this is a group with exponential growth. In addition, it represents a break in terms of the traditional migration flows, particularly those from other South American countries. Another aspect which requires special attention is that the regions through which migrants transit – especially irregular migrants – are not prepared to receive them appropriately. Therefore, the Government of Brazil adopted various measures at the federal, state and municipal level to resolve situations that were emerging as a result of the arrival of these migration flows. In addition, in view of the trends civil society groups organized as well in order to

receive and support Haitians, providing various types of services basically related to employment, language training and document regularization, among others.

While Brazil has been responding through humanitarian actions and with the intention of providing a framework for human rights protection, accurate information was not available on the conditions in which these migration processes occur. Within this context, the purpose established for this project was to generate input for the development of policies oriented toward addressing the phenomenon in an appropriate manner, with a focus on two fundamental areas: social integration and the characteristics of the migration processes. In addition, for the Government of Haiti it was essential to identify the migration routes of their nationals, in this case to Brazil, and how to meet their needs: determining which types of services are required, capacity-building, etc.

This project intends to address concerns of CNlg and the specialized Working Group established within that institution in regard to what is happening with Haitian migration flows and what decisions should be made to ensure that Haitian migration occurs in an orderly manner. This involves understanding the responses of Brazil, fundamentally of institutions from the three government levels (federal, state and municipal), and the push factors that are driving Haitians to leave their country. In addition, based on the information gathered binational dialogue has been promoted between authorities from the countries of origin and destination, with the objective of harmonizing actions to manage these migration flows through mechanisms aimed at providing guarantees to migrants and ensuring that both the society in the country of origin and the host society benefit from migration.

At the time when this project was formulated several migration routes were identified, the main routes being through Peruvian territory, through the border towns of Tabatinga (Amazonas) and Brasileia (Acre) and, to a lesser extent, through Bolivia. Migrants usually entered Peru and Bolivia via Ecuador, since Haitians do not require a visa to enter this country. This information enabled establishing the scope of the study in geographical terms, since the objective was to include countries of origin, transit and destination.

In addition to Ecuador and Peru, which will be addressed throughout this publication, it should be noted that, while it was recorded that Bolivia¹ was being used as a transit country at some point (particularly the locations of Bolpebra, Soberanía and Cobija), a preliminary study did not reveal relevant migration flows. However, it was established that the route via Bolivia was used at some point; for example, in January 2010 a group of 76 Haitians was identified in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, including approximately 28 boys, girls and adolescents, that entered

1- The study was entrusted to the Centre for Agriculture and Livestock and Socio-Community Services (Centro de Servicios Agropecuarios y Socio-Comunitarios – CESA) and was conducted by the anthropologist Álvaro Díez Astete.

the country through Peru². More recently, on April 8, 2013 six Haitian nationals were intercepted at Viru Viru Airport, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and referred to the Migrant Smuggling and Trafficking Division. The enquiries revealed that this procedure was adopted because the migrants were alleged victims of these crimes. Subsequently, it was proven that they had entered the country with a valid consular visa issued by the Consulate of Bolivia in the Dominican Republic and therefore they were released.

Furthermore and complementary to the above, the exploratory study identified cases of Haitian migrants that had crossed the border in the Pando region; historical records for 2010, 2011 and 2012 that were reviewed include information about several cases. At the time, various measures were taken at an institutional level that somehow enabled the migrants to continue their journey to Brazil. However, Bolivian immigration authorities reported that actions were implemented in 2013 to strengthen border control measures and migration regulations and thus, irregular migration flows through Bolivia were stopped.

In brief, this publication includes studies conducted in the country of origin with two analysis perspectives: research in the primary transit countries – Ecuador and Peru – complemented by research in the country of destination – Brazil. The final section includes a synthesis of the primary discussions from meetings held as part of the bilateral dialogue, since they contribute additional dimensions in analysing the challenges associated to this migration flow, including proposals for solutions or alternative ways to address the issues in question.

To conclude, IOM thanks the Ministry of Labour and Employment of Brazil, which granted access to the data base of labour records of Haitians in Brazil; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil and the Consulate of Brazil in Port-au-Prince, which provided information on visas issued; and the Ministry of Justice through the Federal Police of Brazil, which granted access to the data bases of Haitian nationals recorded in Brazil. In addition, we would like to highlight the interest of these institutions and their counterparts in Haiti in participating in bilateral dialogues, which not only were essential to understanding the data collected by the research team but in addition, were fruitful in terms of proposals. Furthermore, IOM recognizes the fundamental contribution of Sister Rosita Milesi, Director of IMDH, who enabled coordination with various civil society organizations working with migrant populations in Brazil in order to establish direct contact with Haitians and conduct qualitative studies. Finally, we would like to highlight the

2- Apparently, this group was attempting to transit through Argentina, since it was at the Quiaca (Jujuy) border where migrants were intercepted and not allowed to enter the country. Subsequently, it was reported that Brazil was their final destination, although some stated that it was French Guyana. This case required a very complex involvement of institutions in Bolivia, particularly due to the presence of unaccompanied migrant boys and girls. In addition, the use of false documents was identified. This sparked great concern about whether this was a case of migrant smuggling and trafficking.

role of Professor Duval Fernandes, whose academic guidance was essential to every study conducted under this initiative.

Jorge Peraza-Breedy

*International Organization for Migration
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Haitian Migration to Brazil: Research in the Country of Origin

Tobias Metzner¹

Summary

Brazil's policy on visas for Haitian nationals has undergone significant changes since 2010. The policies implemented since January 12, 2011 were based on the normative regulations of the National Immigration Council (CNIg) of Brazil, which authorized consular offices to issue 100 five-year work visas each month to enable family reunification. The issuance of these visas was not dependent upon the anticipated employment status of the migrant. The demand for these 100 visas far exceeded the supply each month, generating pressure on the administrative capacity of the Consulate of Brazil in Port-au-Prince. In January 2012, the initial regulations were replaced by a new rule that eliminated the established quotas.

Data collected under the study show that the majority of Haitian migrants (an estimated 75%) stated that they would only migrate to Brazil temporarily and that they would ultimately seek to retire in Haiti. In addition, the majority of them stated that they had heard about Brazil through other persons rather than news sources. Furthermore, conversations about the funds required for the journey revealed a lack of clarity in regard to the associated costs. The ideas about the expected costs varied greatly, from US\$100 to US\$5,000. The majority of Haitian migrants took up loans of US\$2,000 – US\$5,000 to finance their journey. The interviewed persons expressed their frustration about the long waiting times at the Consulate to obtain forms and information as well as an appointment to apply for a visa. However, they recognized the high quality of the services provided by consular officers. It should be taken into account that the processing time stated by the Consulate of Brazil was drastically reduced – from 6 to 2 months – between the summer of 2012 and the summer of 2013.

It should be noted that limited objective information is available to Haitian migrants. Most of the information about the living conditions in Brazil comes from mass media portrayals, which are few and are usually based on sports; rumours spread by migrant smugglers; and anecdotal word of mouth through OAS Con-

1- BS in Public Administration, University of Texas, MA in International Studies, Diplomatic Academy of Vienna, University of Vienna, with a specialization in Human Rights and Macroeconomics.

strutora, a Brazilian construction company that built several roads in the southern region of the country, and the Brazilian Battalion MINUSTAH.

Generalized assumptions exist that employment opportunities are available for unskilled workers in Brazil, that obtaining a visa is relatively easy and that Brazil does not deport irregular migrants. The minority of migrants included in the study expected to live in Brazil in a permanent manner. The migrants that intended to live in Brazil temporarily usually expected to save US\$10,000 – US\$20,000 annually (an estimate based on focus group discussions). The expectations of the migrants that intended to live in Brazil permanently included purchasing a car and a house and having enough money to bring their entire family to Brazil and meet their material needs with a single salary. As for the younger migrants, their expectations were mainly related to access to higher education. No cases of trafficking in persons were identified or reported. However, there were indications of the existence of a deeply entrenched network of migrant smugglers that tried to gain financial profit through false promises and their association with informal credit sources and individuals that tried to buy land at preferential prices. Migrants have often had more easy access to information provided by recruiters of migrant smuggling networks than to official information provided by the Government of Brazil.

1. INTRODUCTION

Within the context of a study supported by the IOM Development Fund, this research module contains findings compiled by the IOM Haiti Office, in cooperation with the Department of Legal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Haiti (MFA), the Socio-Cultural Section of the Office of the Prime Minister (PM), the National Office for Migration of the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour (ONM) and the Embassy of the Federative Republic of Brazil in Port-au-Prince. In addition, the dialogue components of this project were actively supported by the Haitian Collective for Development and Migration (COHAMID). The initial project concept was developed with the aim of considering the visa policies of Brazil implemented since January 12, 2011 based on Normative Regulation 97 of the Brazilian National Immigration Council (CNIg), which authorized Brazilian consular offices to issue 100 five-year work visas each month that enabled family reunification and were not dependent upon the anticipated employment status of the migrant. Soon the demand for these 100 visas exceeded the monthly availability and strained the capacity of the Brazilian consular services in Port-au-Prince. Accordingly, in January 2012 the initial regulation was replaced by Normative Regulation 102, which eliminated all quotas on Haitian migration. It should be clearly noted that with the passing of this normative regulation, the processing

capacity of the officers of the Brazilian Consulate in Port-au-Prince became the only determining factor for the number of work visas issued to Haitians.

Haiti has a long and complex relationship with migration. On one hand, generally Caribbean nationals have migrated to the United States or Canada or their former colonial capitals, mainly France (and its territories in the Caribbean), Britain and the Netherlands. On the other hand, due to the unique gravity of the push factors for socio-economic migration in Haiti, compared to its neighbours, this country stands out in terms of the risks that Haitian migrants are willing to take on to seek a better life abroad, and the prejudices and subsequent levels of exploitation that they are exposed to in countries of destination. In brief, the absolute number of Haitian migrants, and especially Haitians seeking an opportunity to migrate in an irregular manner, is statistically atypical in the region. Haitian migrants are uniquely susceptible to migrant smuggling and trafficking. A socio-economic construct exists in Haiti that has long sought to exploit the dreams and aspirations of migrants, also taking advantage of the information asymmetry, false perceptions and lack of education that affect many Haitians aspiring to a better life abroad, for themselves as well as their families. This construct cannot be defined as an organized crime group but rather as a network of individuals collaborating in an ad hoc manner, exploiting periodic push factors of migration in the community and the associated emigration aspirations of the affected populations. Historically, Haitian migrants have sought to emigrate primarily to the United States, Canada, France (and its territories in the Caribbean), the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos Islands and, to a lesser extent, other Caribbean nations. As a result of the recent strengthening of cooperation between the US Coast Guard and border authorities of the Bahamas and Turks and Caicos Islands, the primary route used by irregular Haitian migrants travelling northward by boat along the northern coast of Haiti has been increasingly obstructed. In late 2010 this route began to shift to the east, with Haitians often entering the Dominican Republic by land before taking to the sea and increasingly aiming to reach Puerto Rico instead of Florida. At the same time, Brazil has become increasingly present in Haiti through the Brazilian battalions deployed by the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH) as well as a construction firm named OAS Construtora, which won the contract to improve and expand the road network in the southern peninsula of the country. These two factors combined to increase the interest of Haitians in Brazil as a potential destination for migrants. Previously, Haitians were very aware of Brazil as an enterprise generating football players but it appealed to relatively few potential Haitian migrants as a destination.

Anecdotal data from interviews conducted within the context of this study show that in Haiti the general perception of the Brazilian MINUSTAH Battalion is positive. The battalion is considered to be more approachable than others. Furthermore, OAS Construtora – again, based on anecdotal data from interviews conducted within the context of this study – is considered to be a “good

employer” that regularly paid appropriate salaries and provided career development opportunities to the workers. This, together with the previous romantic perception about Brazil as a cultural power due to the achievements of its national football team, created extremely fertile ground among Haitians in general about finding a better life in Brazil, or at least finding temporary work in order to support their families in Haiti. The demand for visas that are available for Haitian nationals far exceeds their availability. As Brazil prepared to implement the normative regulations of CNlg, they were faced with a nearly unique demand for consular services which is marginally analogue, in terms of quantitative demand, to the number of visa applications received at consular offices of Brazil in Beijing and Washington, DC. However, the qualitative characteristics of Haitian visa applicants remain unique. Consular officers of Brazil in Port-au-Prince face extreme challenges – both in terms of the administrative effort to address them and in human, emotional and psychological terms – in verifying the authenticity of documents, dealing with attempts to influence the visa approval process and considering the humanitarian dimension presented by individual applicants.

Furthermore, it should be taken into account that the debate relating to Haitian immigration in Brazil differed radically from analogous debates in traditional countries of destination of Haitians. Due to the history, ethnic composition and political culture of Brazil, and more specifically, the tripartite composition of CNlg, the normative regulations and the associated discussions were perceived as a matter of rights from the outset. The Haiti officials that followed the debate observed a lack of fear in regard to the increased immigration, which is habitual in receiving populations, and the fact that Brazilian authorities were open and willing to engage with their Haitian counterparts in developing relevant policies and assessing their impact.

In accordance with the purpose of this research module, answers were sought to the following key questions:

- Why do Haitians choose to emigrate to Brazil, both in a regular and in an irregular manner?
- What are the expectations of migrants regarding Brazil?
- Who shapes these expectations or how are they shaped?
- Where do Haitian migrants come from?
- Is there migrant smuggling and/or trafficking associated to this migration pattern?
- Are migrants actively recruited by intermediaries?
- How do Haitian migrants finance their emigration to Brazil?
- Why do Haitian migrants choose to migrate in an irregular manner despite the availability of visas?
- What are the major challenges faced by the Consulate of Brazil in Port-au-Prince?

These questions were compiled in cooperation with Haitian authorities and consular officers of Brazil in Port-au-Prince with the final objective of gaining a better understanding of how to protect potential Haitian migrants, reduce the administrative strain on the Brazilian consular officers and ultimately, point a way forward to leverage the positive impact of Haitian migration to Brazil.

2. METHODOLOGY

This research module is exclusively based on data from the country of origin. To this end, a methodology was developed incorporating expert estimates, interviews and focus groups. The approach initiated with consultations with relevant Haitian authorities and consular officers of Brazil in Port-au-Prince regarding how to best obtain relevant data. The consultations were conducted in early 2013 and the results were used as the basis for the following methodology approach:

- a) Firstly, the data provided by consular officers of Brazil were compiled, with the aim of gaining a general understanding of some trends; the data were based on aggregate-level extracts of the visa application system;
- b) The data were shared with project partners in Brazil to verify the consistency of aggregate-level trends in regard to sex, gender, age, educational and social background and primary communities of origin;
- c) Finally, the information was used to design research tools, using focus groups and individual interviews with a focus on potential migrants and returned migrants. However, out of a group of 23 persons unfortunately only one returned migrant was identified that was willing to be interviewed; the other potential informants did not wish to participate in the study.

In regard to item c), the primary reason mentioned regarding the above-described attitude of returned migrants was that funds were not available to support their reintegration in Haiti. They were aware of the fact that IOM has reintegration programmes for Haitians returned from the United States after serving a sentence for criminal offences and demanded equal treatment; of the 23 migrants that were contacted, 10 mentioned this reason. The second most common reason was a sense of shame for having failed, often at great personal cost, both financially and in terms of social capital lost in their communities of origin. Eight returned migrants mentioned this reason explicitly. This corresponds to discussions held by the researcher with Haitian migrants in Brasilia, and be-

yond this migration context, in Bahamas. Often migration projects are a social investment of communities of origin, and return is considered to be equal to failure. In addition, of the 5 Haitian migrants that met twice with the researcher in Brasilia, facilitated by the Institute for Migration and Human Rights (IMDH), three stated that they regretted their decision to migrate and one mentioned that he planned to obtain Brazilian nationality, since he hoped that he could then migrate to Europe more easily.

3. QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

“It is a very large country that has a lot of space and arable land, they have a strong economy, so I hope that I will be able to find work on a large farm, tending and harvesting beans. I don’t know where Brazil is exactly, but they tell me that it is close and that the people are friendly. If I don’t get the visa soon I will just go without a visa, they say that Brazilians do not deport people. I don’t know where I would go, I would just see where there is work, I’m sure I will find something.”

Male 53-year-old migrant from a rural area in southeast Haiti, interviewed while he was waiting in front of the Embassy of Brazil in Port-au-Prince.

Focus group discussions were held in 3 areas of origin identified based on the above-mentioned qualitative analysis:

- Port-au-Prince in June 2013: FGD 1
- Gonaives in September 2013: FGD 2
- Les Cayes in October 2013: FGD 3

Due to logistical constraints, some participants that had been invited to the focus groups were unable to attend, arrived late or left too early. Therefore, deviations occurred from the projected break-down by percentages based on the quantitative element. The table below details the profiles of focus group participants.

Table 1: Profiles of Focus Group Participants

	FGD1	FGD2	FGD3	FGD total % Representation	Deviation from the Initial Projection
Sex					
Men	13	15	13	71%	0%
Women	4	7	6	29%	0%
Education					
High school	8	10	12	52%	-8%
College	3	5	1	16%	-7%
Primary only	6	7	6	33%	16%
Age					
18-30	10	13	8	53%	9%
31-45	4	5	7	28%	-5%
45-60	3	4	3	17%	5%
60+	0	0	1	2%	3%
Total	17	22	19		

Source: Prepared by the author.

One element should particularly be noted due to its extreme deviation: in terms of education level, it was far easier to find individual participants with a low education level, since in general they were much less likely to be employed and, therefore, were more likely to be available. In addition, the research team was unable to develop a sufficiently rigorous category to determine whether a person came from a rural or urban area. However, in the focus groups this soon became an obvious dividing line in terms of what participants expected from their migration experience. The individual participants were invited by local civil society organization partners to reserved private spaces. The discussions were facilitated by a staff member of IOM Haiti to avoid distorting answers through the presence of a foreigner – such as the senior researcher. The discussions lasted 2-3 hours and focused on the following questions:

- Would you emigrate to Brazil? Why or why not?
- What would be your expectations about life in Brazil?
- Based on what did you establish your expectations?
- Would you consider travelling as an irregular migrant despite the availability of visas? Why?

Primary Findings from the Focus Groups

“I always went to school, my family made a lot of sacrifices to make sure that I could complete my education and get my high school diploma (Baccalaureate). Now that I have finished school, we don’t have any money for my college education, and I can’t even find a job. My other friends who quit school before graduating all have little jobs, I have nothing. In Haiti, if you don’t have someone within the system you will always be poor, I have to get away from this place, I don’t want to keep living like this.”

18-year-old woman from an urban area in the west of Haiti, participating in a Focus Group Discussion.

The majority of the focus group participants between the ages of 18-30 and 31-45 years answered that they would consider emigrating to Brazil. However, the reasons varied: the persons of the 18-30 year age group primarily mentioned the search for new education opportunities and those from the 31-45 year age group wanted to find work. In regard to this, it is necessary to delineate two cohort groups along urban and rural lines, since participants from urban areas tended to be younger, and therefore, expressed a greater interest in education, while their rural counterparts tended to be older and were more interested in employment opportunities. In addition, the vast majority (an estimated 75%) stated that they would only temporarily migrate to Brazil and would seek to retire in Haiti in any case. The majority stated that they had heard of Brazil through individuals rather than news sources. In addition, the issue of financing was complicated; the initial perception regarding the potential cost of emigration varied greatly, from US\$100 to US\$5,000. The persons that expected lower costs were more likely to finance migration on their own. For those seeking to raise funds for their journey, the main responses include the following:

- Obtain a loan from an informal source (predatory lenders);
- Pawn valuable items;
- Borrow money from family members;
- Sell their land (only for participants from rural areas).

In addition to the formalized focus groups, the research team sought to deepen and contextualize the data collected in the above-mentioned manner through research on the general cost of credit in the three locations. On average, the interest rates of predatory lenders were compound monthly interest rates of 17%, ranging from 15-26%, with the enterprises located in more remote areas charging higher interest rates for non-collateral loans. The data were compared to those collected by other researchers that participated in these studies, who

found that the majority of Haitian migrants took up loans of US\$2,000 –US\$5,000 to finance their journey. The breakdown of compound monthly rates leads to complicated financial realities, as shown in the table below:

Loan Amount	1 Year Total Accumulated at 15%	1 Year Total Accumulated at 20%	1 Year Total Accumulated at 25%
\$2,000.00	\$10,700.50	\$17,832.20	\$29,103.83
\$2,500.00	\$13,375.63	\$22,290.25	\$36,379.79
\$3,000.00	\$16,050.75	\$26,748.30	\$43,655.75
\$3,500.00	\$18,725.88	\$31,206.35	\$50,931.70
\$4,000.00	\$21,401.00	\$35,664.40	\$58,207.66
\$4,500.00	\$24,076.13	\$40,122.45	\$65,483.62
\$5,000.00	\$26,751.25	\$44,580.50	\$72,759.58

Source: Prepared by the author.

In Brazil, President Dilma Rousseff increased the minimum wage by 6.7%, to R\$724 per month. This equals US\$325.02, calculated with the exchange rate of January 5, 2014. This means that, with full employment from the first day of arrival, a Haitian migrant earning minimum wage would earn approximately US\$3,900 annually. This highlights the fact that the debt burden taken on by the majority of Haitian migrants is not commensurate with their earning potential, assuming that they are unskilled workers.

In addition to the focus groups, interviews were conducted with visa applicants that were waiting in front of the Consulate of Brazil in Port-au-Prince. The purpose of the interviews was to understand the perception of Haitian visa applicants regarding the Brazilian consular services and their understanding of the processes involved and the alternative options that they were considering for their migration experiences. The interviews were conducted during 3 visits to the Consulate of Brazil on different dates and at different times:

- February 3, 2013, 7 a.m.
(Informant ID HT001 – HT011);
- March 19, 2013, noon
(Informant ID HT012 – HT023);
- April 8, 2013, 8 p.m.
(Informant ID HT023 – HT027).

The interviews were conducted on the street in a very public non-controlled environment. It should be noted that this surely affected the degree of candor of the interviewed persons. A total number of 27 persons were interviewed and asked the following questions while they were waiting in line: gender, age, commune of origin, profession, what type of visa they were applying for, their reasons for choosing Brazil as a country of destination, where in Brazil they were planning to go, if they spoke Portuguese, their level of education, what kind of work they expected to find in Brazil and what they would do if they were not granted a visa.

Five of the interviewed persons were women and 22 were men. No boys, girls or adolescents were interviewed. The average age was 32 years. Twelve persons were from the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince and Archaie and Cabaret, 8 were farmers, 18 were applying for a "work visa". The primary reasons cited by the majority of informants were having relatives in Brazil, having heard that it was easy to obtain a visa and migrate to Brazil, and that they were likely to find a job. However, due to the interference from other visa applicants it was difficult to have individual conversations. Eleven interviewed persons responded that they had no idea where in Brazil they would go, 5 mentioned Sao Paulo as their final destination, 9 stated that they would transit through a country other than Brazil if they were denied a visa, and 4 said that they would go to the Dominican Republic. It should be highlighted that the last group of persons interviewed at 8 p.m., well past closing time of the Consulate (4 p.m.), were still there hoping that they could prove their commitment to the consular officers and that they would be given special consideration. The first group of informants expressed frustration in general about how long it took them to enter the Consulate to receive forms and information and about the fact that the telephone line was always busy. This was expressed by subsequent groups as well, although to a lesser degree. However, all applicants that were waiting in line for a repeat visit stated that the consular officers had treated them very well. No accusations of corruption were expressed although, again, the public environment where the interviews were conducted may have skewed the responses. It should be noted that the processing time announced by the Brazilian Consulate decreased significantly from the summer of 2012 to the summer of 2013, from 6 to 2 months. This was due to the fact that the number of consular officers was increased and the relations with counterparts in the Department of Legal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Haiti were improved. As a result, support was obtained from them in terms of document verification. The most frequent cause of delays mentioned by Brazilian consular officers were issues relating to documents, mainly discrepancies between birth certificates, passports and marriage certificates. This is common in Haiti. In addition, blatantly forged documents were presented to many Brazilian officers, which required further submission and time-consuming verification processes. On the date when the study was completed, the automatic telephone service remained overloaded, although consular officers believe that this could

be due to tourist visa applicants seeking to attend football matches of the 2014 World Cup.

Interviews with returned Haitian migrants were planned with the aim of understanding the push factors motivating them to return from Brazil to Haiti. However, while 12 migrants were identified through contact persons in their communities and via Facebook, only one of them agreed to participate. This person had left Haiti in June 2011 and arrived in Brasileia via the following route: Panama, Quito, Tumbes, Lima, Brasileia. The migrant had sold his “taptap” (pick-up truck, modified as a public transportation vehicle) to finance his journey: he had sold his vehicle for US\$5,000 and paid US\$3,000 to a “travel agency” for a smuggling operation. They had told him that he would find work upon arrival in Brasileia; however, this was not the case. Furthermore, he spent significantly more on the journey than expected since, as he stated, he was required to pay US\$1,000 to a facilitator at the Ecuador-Peru border. Moreover, in Tumbes US\$1,000 in cash were stolen from him. Upon arriving in Brasileia he already had a debt of US\$1,000 with an irregular source of credit in Haiti that sent him money to Lima via Western Union while he was in transit. The interest rate for this emergency loan was 15% per month. When he finally reached Brazilian territory, he noticed that he had barely enough money to purchase a return airfare ticket from Manaus. Furthermore, he realized that the money, language and customs of the country were significantly different, and his main concern was the lack of employment offers during his 10-stay in Brasileia, added to the lack of an informal social network of Haitian nationals and the level of development of the country, which he perceived to be lower than he had expected.

“I don’t have any friends in Brazil, I knew no one, I couldn’t understand anyone. The place I ended up in was in the jungle (Brasileia), it was worse than a camp (a camp for internally displaced persons after the 2010 earthquake). People had told me that there were jobs further inland but that I would have to spend more money to get there, and that no one could guarantee me a job, so I returned home. The trip cost me everything, I sold my truck, that was my livelihood, and I borrowed a lot of money that I am still paying back. In the end, Haiti has problems but I understand them.”

28-year-old Haitian male migrant who returned from Brazil after less than a month.

Given that it was not possible, within the context of this study, to identify a sufficient number of returned migrants willing to participate, this element of the qualitative data collection process should be considered as exclusively anecdotal.

4. LIMITATIONS OF THE METHODOLOGY

Given the weaknesses and gaps in the documentation systems and procedures in Haiti, it becomes difficult to track the movement of Haitians in national territory. Many migrants had already had an internal migration experience and therefore, significant variance existed between the communities of origin, as reported by research partners in Brazil and information obtained from consular data. Again, the regional clustering of communities was an attempt to overcome this challenge.

It was not possible to build sufficient trust with a statistically significant group of informants to learn about their motivation for emigrating. In many cases, this was associated to cultural/mystical motives and it was not possible to accurately map and analyse them. Therefore, the reported reasons are more related to consistent pull factors regarding the expectations about their experience in Brazil than to push factors. The same obstacle was encountered among persons that had fallen victim to nefarious land grabs by smugglers, who promised them salaries twice or three times higher than the usual salaries that are paid in Brazil for the work done by the majority of migrants. The migrants who fell victim to these schemes often fear for the security of their families that have remained in Haiti, since the land grabs were allegedly perpetrated by smugglers in cooperation with large land owners.

As with any socio-economic dynamic, researchers lag behind in regard to the most current phenomena associated to migration flows. This is especially true in the case of Haitian migration to Brazil, since apparently migrant smuggling groups change their base of operations every 6 months. In addition, Haitian migration flows seem to change rapidly, and as reports on the living conditions for migrants in Brazil reach Haiti they inform the decisions of the next wave of migrants in a manner which cannot be speculated on within the context of this study.

5. FINDINGS

Based on the various sources consulted throughout the study, the questions asked under the study can be answered – in some cases, in a partial manner. An analysis of each question is included below.

5.1. Why do Haitians choose to emigrate to Brazil, both in a regular and in an irregular manner?

In general, Haitian migrants do not have access to objective information. Most of the information about the living conditions in Brazil comes from mass media portrayals, which are few and mainly based on sports; rumours that are primarily spread by migrant smugglers; anecdotal word of mouth through a Brazilian construction enterprise named OAS Construtora, which built several roads in the southern region of Haiti; and the Brazilian Battalion MINUSTAH. However, in general a perception seems to exist that employment opportunities are available in Brazil for unskilled workers, that visas are relatively easy to obtain and that the country does not have a policy on deportation of irregular migrants. This, in turn, reduces risk and therefore, implicitly reduces the cost of the initial investment compared to the main traditional poles of attraction of Haitian migration.

5.2. What are the expectations of migrants regarding Brazil?

The majority of migrants expect an under-saturated labour market with high wages that will enable them to integrate into the middle class within 3 years, especially migrants that expect to settle in Brazil in a permanent manner (a minority of 20% to 6%). Those that merely intend to live in Brazil temporarily, generally expect to be able to save US\$10,000-20,000 annually (an estimate based on focus group discussions). In addition, the expectations of the first group of migrants include purchasing a car and a house and having enough money to bring their entire family to Brazil and meet their material needs with only one salary. The expectations of the younger migrants are mainly related to access to higher education, learning Portuguese within less than 6 months and subsequently, having the required level of education to attend university courses, which they expect to be free of charge. In addition to this, they expect to have access to subsidized housing and other subsidies.

5.3. How are these expectation shaped?

The vast majority (90%) of the informants stated that they had received all information about the social and economic conditions in Brazil from an individual. Of these informants, more than 70% stated that they did not take any action to verify the information. Of all the participants of the focus group that answered the question, only one male 22-year-old student had done additional research on the Internet and had used Wikipedia and the CIA World Factbook to gain

a better understanding of the local conditions in Brazil. Furthermore, of the 70% of informants that had a single source of information, 80% stated that the individuals that had provided the information were Haitian nationals. Moreover, it should be noted that the employees of OAS Construtora and the members of the Brazilian Battalion MINUSTAH were the primary sources of information for the remaining 20% of informants.

5.4. Where do Haitian migrants come from?

From the metropolitan area of Port-au-Prince, Gonaives and surrounding communes, Aquin and adjacent communities, Jacmel and its neighbouring communities and the northern province in general. These areas seem to have been targeted by recruiters at one time or another, working mainly through alleged evangelical pastors and fake foundations. Eight participants from the focus groups stated that they had heard of this, and that they had even been approached to sell their land to finance their journey but had declined.

5.5. Is there migrant smuggling and/or trafficking associated to this migration pattern?

No cases of trafficking in persons were identified or reported. However, it seems that a deeply entrenched network of migrant smugglers exists that seeks to gain profit from false promises through association with informal sources of credit and persons seeking to purchase land at preferential prices.

5.6. Are migrants actively recruited by intermediaries?

Of those migrants that are smuggled it seems that the majority were actively recruited/enticed. This underlines the need for further investigation to establish whether or not the recruiting party has engaged in active deception as defined under the law, and subsequently whether some of the cases were in fact cases of trafficking in persons (unidentified) that would need to be examined in the light of the Palermo Protocol to see to which degree individuals have a right to demand compensation under the trafficking law of Haiti. It is also likely that migrants seeking the services of smugglers are at risk of falling into the hands of traffickers, and additional investigation into these links is needed.

5.7. How do migrants finance their emigration to Brazil?

The majority of migrants either take up loans at usury rates that they will not likely be able to pay back. This is mainly a matter of lack of mathematical skills required to calculate the accumulation of compound interest and an overestimation of the wages that they think they will receive in Brazil, as well as the belief that the labour market of Brazil is under-saturated. Secondly, the pawning or sale of valuable objects leaves migrants in a “point of no return” situation in which they have forfeited the goods that represented their primary means of income generation and thus, have no alternative but to fully commit to being successful in the country of destination.

5.8. Why do Haitian migrants choose to migrate in an irregular manner despite the availability of visas?

For many migrants, it is easier to obtain information provided by recruiters of migrant smuggling networks than to access official information provided by the Government of Brazil. Accordingly, their attitude toward the migration process and life in Brazil is shaped by those seeking to gain profit from convincing them to take the irregular route.

Furthermore, a general sense of frustration exists in Haiti in regard to all consular procedures of all countries. In addition, the issue of projection should be considered: many potential migrants seem to be projecting their past experiences with visa applications for the United States, Canada and France on their expectations about Brazilian officers and thus, are discouraged from the beginning. Finally, many Haitians have friends or acquaintances that have migrated to Brazil in an irregular manner and have not been deported. As mentioned above, this leads to a reduction of perceived risk and relative cost but does not reduce the actual cost.

5.9. What are the major challenges faced by Brazilian consular officers in Port-au-Prince?

Lack of personnel continues to be a major challenge; however, as mentioned above this issue has been partially addressed. In addition, it should be noted that this Brazilian consular mission faces unique challenges, mainly in terms of the high number of applications and limitations in terms of the documents submitted by the applicants. This challenge is worsened by limitations in the civil registry

of Haiti in terms of staff capacity and procedures and further aggravated by the lack of basic supplies for the officers, including pens and forms, among others. In the rural areas of Haiti, civil servants often misspell names and therefore, a legal procedure needs to be carried out to correct the error in the archives of the civil registry and a second one to obtain an extract. This procedure could take years and involve significant costs.

5. REFLECTIONS AND PROPOSALS FOR ACTION

“I am very excited to be able to join my son in Manaus. The people at the Consulate have been so nice to me, I was missing some documents and the Consul himself explained everything to me, he is a very nice man. I think that Brazilians are good people, and they are not racist at all. I don’t know anything about the country, except that they are the best football players. I hear them speak their language here at the Consulate (Portuguese), it sounds very complicated, I hope I will find some Haitians to talk to there, otherwise I will be very lonely when my son goes to work.”

56-year-old Haitian woman waiting for her family reunification visa in front of the Brazilian Consulate in Port-au-Prince.

Some reflections and proposals for action emerged based on this study which involve measures oriented toward improving the management of Haitian migration flows to Brazil. The following can be highlighted:

- Increase the number of staff at the consular office of Brazil in Haiti with the aim of reducing delays in processing and thus, make irregular migration relatively less attractive. As an alternative, seek to out-source the document preparation process.
- Strengthen communication actions by the Government of Brazil targeting potential Haitian migrants. This should be achieved through public campaigns through traditional Haitian media such as community radio broadcasts, leaflets for the general public – including illiterate persons – and informative sessions in communities of origin. In addition, the Brazilian cultural centre plays an important role and could carry out initiatives to authorize and support Portuguese language training programmes in schools throughout the country, thus facilitating the integration of Haitians into the labour market.

- Include the topic of brain drain in the debate and analysis of Haitian migration flows, as well as the risks involved for Haiti in terms of the country's own development.
- Improve cooperation for law enforcement and seek to successfully prosecute migrant smuggling networks. The INTERPOL I24/7 data base system provides an information technology infrastructure that could be used to share operational data. However, such efforts would require additional protocols and joint training.

Why migrate?

A Few Notes on the Old and New Wounds of Haiti

Gabriela Bernal Carrera¹

Summary

This article seeks to demonstrate some of the reasons behind the migration of Haitians in recent years. The magnitude of the number of Haitians that attempt to reach Brazil passing through Ecuador or Peru has made it necessary to publicly discuss this topic in these countries.

In Ecuador alone, the number of Haitians that have entered the country show that this is a growing phenomenon. According to data from the Government of Ecuador, 11,072 Haitian nationals entered the country in 2013 (PROECUADOR, 2013), compared to 1,681 that entered in 2010. What is behind this rapid increase in the number of Haitian migrants? This article explores the political and economical reasons and their links to cultural phenomena that constitute push factors for Haitian migration. Furthermore, the effects of the earthquake of January 2010 will be explored as one of the most relevant causes of the new migration flows.

The article is the result of a more comprehensive effort based on qualitative data collected from a group of Haitian persons in situations of human mobility. The data were linked to the limited information about the situation of the country that could be collected.

1. HAITI: HISTORY, POLITICS AND ECONOMY

Haiti is marked by the fact that it was the first Latin American country to declare its independence, with a distinctive characteristic: it was the first country where Afro-descendant slaves declared their independence. However, the establishment of Haiti as an independent State has been conditioned by continuous invasions or foreign interventions in Haitian territory. In the 19th century, Haiti – already inde-

1- BA in Education Sciences, Universidad Politécnica Salesiana; MA in Anthropology, UNAM (Mexico); professor at KAWSAY University.

pendent – was invaded by Spain, France and Great Britain and blocked by naval forces of the United States, and in 1915-1934, the United States occupied Haiti².

The political life of Haiti has also been marked by violence. Between 1957 and 1971, François Duvalier senior governed and terrorized Haiti through the death squads known as “Tonton Macoutes”. This tradition was continued by his son, “Baby Doc” Duvalier, who governed Haiti from 1971 to 1986. According to Jeena Shah³, more than 50,000 Haitians were killed during the administration of the Duvaliers.

After a popular revolt (1986), “Baby Doc” left the country and a Government Council was established that attempted to control popular movements bloodily; more than 1,000 peasants were murdered during what is known as the Jean Rabel massacre. In 1987 a Constitution was established which is still in force. The former military leaders of Duvalier remained as government leaders. Thus, despite the fact that Jean Bertrand Aristide was elected President in 1990 (coming to power on February 7, 1991), he was removed from power by the military on September 30, 1991 and, again, through violent killings of the population, the Duvalierist Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras came into power (1991-1994). This coup d’état generated a series of sanctions for the country, some of the more significant of which include the economic embargo and the blockade of the Haitian coasts by US and Canadian naval forces. In 1994, to comply with agreements reached in New York Aristide returned to the country but his administration was marked by the conditioned support from the United States, directly influencing his economic and social policies. In 1996 René Preval came into power, and for the first time in the country’s history one president handed over power to another.

In 2000 Jean-Bertrand Aristide was re-elected (2001-2003). However, again, he was not able to complete his term. In 2004, military forces from the United States and France occupied the country and deported the then president. The new president, Boniface Alexandre, had to face the tumultuous situation of the country; however, given the circumstances the United Nations decided to establish the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH), with the aim of achieving political stabilization and providing support in order to create an environment where human rights are promoted and protected. After the 2011 elections, the Mission sought to continue its mandate to “restore a secure and stable environment, to promote the political process, to strengthen Haiti’s Gov-

2- Carlos Fresneda, “De Haití al Katrina”, *El Mundo*, January 15, 2010, <http://www.elmundo.es/elmundo/2010/01/15/cronicasdesdeeeuu/1263574778.html>

3- Jeena Shah, Americas Program, CIP Americas. 2012.

ernment institutions and rule-of-law-structures, as well as to promote and to protect human rights”⁴.

In February 2006 René Preval was re-elected. The January 12, 2010 earthquake occurred during his mandate. In 2011, in a devastated country with approximately 220,000⁵ deaths caused by the earthquake, Michel Martelly, a popular local singer, was elected president.

During the colonial period, the territory that today is Haiti developed its economy based on forestry and the sugar cane industry. After the independence of Haiti, France forced the new country to pay for its liberation. This fact conditioned the economic development of the country from the outset. In addition, the United States occupation of Haiti in the early 20th century resulted in measures such as the liquidation of the National Bank⁶.

Two economic periods can be identified prior to the 2010 earthquake: the first period of rapid economic growth (1970-1982), and the second of contraction of the economy, from the end of the Duvalierist period to the subsequent political period (1982-2003). During the first phase of the period (in the decade of the 70s), the economy benefited from the development of the assembly industry, while agriculture benefited from the protectionist commercial policy at the time⁷. That did not continue in the following decade for several reasons, listed in chronological order: the United States recession (1980-1982); the effects of Cyclone Allen (1980); the epidemic of swine fever that forced the destruction of the pig herds of farmers; commercial sanctions imposed by the international community after the coup d'état of 1991, among the most relevant reasons. All of this conditioned the country's subsequent economic development. In 2006, the economic activity in the most relevant sectors – agriculture, industry and services – showed negative growth rates⁸.

Until before the 2010 earthquake, according to Vil (2006) the informal economy grew systematically; it is estimated that the contribution of this sector to the economy was 76.3% in 2011⁹. The economy was characterized by its strong

4- UN, United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti, at <http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/missions/minustah>

5- Cuba Debate, “Michel Martelly asumió presidencia de Haití”, in <http://www.cubadebate.cu/noticias/2011/05/14/michel-martelly-asumio-la-presidencia-de-haiti/>

6- Ibid.

7- Enel Vil: Pobreza y Desigualdad en Haití: un análisis de sus determinantes en búsqueda de algunas pistas estratégicas para la lucha contra la pobreza. Thesis for an MA in Government and Public Affairs. Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO). Mexico Academic Centre. July 2006.

8- Ibid, p. 30.

9- Ibid, p. 30.

interlinking with the domestic sphere, weak productivity and limited income generation. In addition, the unemployment rate was 24.7%¹⁰ in 2001. However, these unemployment rates are considerably higher for younger populations: the unemployment rate for young adults between the ages of 20-29 years increased 30% in 15 years. In 2001, the unemployment rate was 29.8% for the rural sector and 58.5% for the urban sector. Furthermore, it should be noted that sub-employment is more prevalent in the rural areas. Thus, in addition to the fact that on average, unemployment rates are 2.7 times higher in Haiti than in the rest of Latin America and the Caribbean, generally the unemployment rate is higher for women than for men and higher for youth than for adults. According to the same author, in 2005 it was evident that the loss of purchasing power of the minimum wage in the previous 10 years (1995-2005) had been 56.5%. In this context,

“...workers have been forced to seek mechanisms for survival by adjusting their family or commune economy; working in the informal economy sector; migrating to other regions and countries; working in exporting *maquilas*, which offer the worst paid and most dangerous jobs; changing their consumption habits and increasing the number of family members that work in the formal and informal labour market, with the aim of complementing the family income, among other means of subsistence¹¹.”

The devastation caused by the earthquake necessarily had a significant impact on the country's economy. Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti and the largest city in the country in numerical terms, is home not only to the government but in addition, to an important part of the private sector of the economy as well as the informal commerce sector, which is an essential element of the Haitian economy, as stated by Vil.¹² According to data from IHSI (2012), 25.29% of the total population of Haiti live in Port-au-Prince. Data prior to the earthquake show that the unemployment rates were higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas. However, the urban sector also provided an advantage: access to education, and especially higher education. Access to education and to the possibility of continuing to increase the education level should be understood as one of the key push factors for Haitian migration, since

“The persons with the lowest income have 1.8 years of formal education, while the persons from the highest income decile have completed 6.5 years of formal

10- Ibid, p. 32.

11- Ibid, p. 36.

12- Op. cit.

education. Increasing the education levels must have reduced the importance of education as a determining factor of inequality”¹³.

Before the earthquake, the workers with the lowest salaries were agricultural workers in the rural sector; on the other extreme, the workers with the highest salaries were employed in the industry and services sectors. Furthermore, before the earthquake the informal employment levels defined the nature of the national economy in Haiti: “In the lowest income stratum, informal work as a proportion of the total employment is 83.8%, while in the highest income stratum the informal work rate is 58%, with a national average of 80%¹⁴. This type of employment was mainly observed in the urban areas; that is, the work generating the highest income despite its fragility was also found in the urban areas. Furthermore, in 1987 the unemployment rates for the age group of 20-29 years were 43.65% in the urban areas, compared to 58.5% in 2001. That is, an increasing trend in the unemployment rates for young adults was observed. This rate increased in the urban sector; however, it decreased in the rural sector, from 33.5% in 1987 to 29.8% in 2001. After the earthquake the urban areas – which previously had enabled better income, work (although informal) and education – were most affected, since the devastation was greater in these areas, including the physical infrastructure of the education system, which collapsed and has yet to be rebuilt.

A fact that is worth noting is that after the 2010 earthquake the Haitian population inverted the urban pole of growth, returning to the rural sector. IHSI, based on the 2003 census, published a data projection on the Haitian population in early 2012. The data show that rural population (50.5%) is slightly higher than the urban population (49.5%); however, according to UNICEF¹⁵ the urban population percentage is 53%. Based on qualitative data it was established that the Haitian population returned to the rural areas as a strategy to ensure subsistence after the devastation caused by the earthquake, since the rural areas had been less affected by the earthquake. Furthermore, according to IOM¹⁶ 1,500,000 internally displaced persons were recorded after the 2010 earthquake. The fragility of the Haitian economic system and its vulnerability to new natural disasters combined again in June 2012, when it became evident that close to 70% of that year’s crop was lost after Cyclone Sandy.

13- Vil, *Op. cit.*, p. 66-67.

14- *Ibid*, p. 67.

15- UNICEF, Information by country, Haiti, at http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/haiti_statistics.html

16- IOM, *World Migration Report 2011*.

2. FORMER AND CURRENT MIGRATION MOVEMENTS

Within this context, Haitian migration processes are also marked by violence, not only by the various involved international actors but in addition, by natural catastrophes that continuously hit the country.

In 1937, Rafael Leonidas Trujillo, then dictator of the Dominican Republic, ordered the massive eradication of populations of Haitian origin living in the country, especially from farms along the border between the Dominican Republic and Haiti. An estimated 20,000 – 35,000 were killed in what is known as the “Parsley Massacre”¹⁷. The relations between Haiti and the Dominican Republic are marked by racism. On September 29, 2013, the Constitutional Court of the Dominican Republic issued a court order of a “final and unappealable” nature depriving Dominican nationals born in the country who were children of “foreign nationals that stayed in the country without a legal residence permit or entered the country in an illegal manner”¹⁸ of Dominican citizenship. Despite the efforts of political actors in the Dominican Republic as well as the international community, the responses to this new policy still do not include the demands.

It should be highlighted that, although the populations of the most impoverished sectors of Haiti had sought to leave the country since 1920 to work in the sugar harvest in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, until around 1960 the Haitian middle class even despised those that left the country¹⁹. However, from 1965 onward the number of Haitians that migrated to the United States increased and has continued to grow, also including Canada, Europe, the rest of the Caribbean or South America as destinations. Furthermore, previously existing Haitian migration to the Dominican Republic has increased as well. According to Saint Hubert²⁰, the Haitian migration to the United States exemplifies the primary characteristics of the country’s migration. He establishes four migration periods: the first, from 1965 to 1977; the second from 1978 to 1985; the third from 1987 to 1992; and finally, the fourth from 1992 to date. During the first period the middle class practically disappeared, since they fulfilled the requirements for staying in the United States in a regular manner, with 9.2% of them being classified as professionals by the US immigration authorities. During the second phase,

17- Known under this name because in order to differentiate Haitian nationals from Dominican nationals, the persons were asked to say “perejil” [Spanish word for parsley], since Haitians had difficulty pronouncing the term correctly in Spanish for reasons related to their native language.

18- See Court Order No. TC/0168/13, September 23, 2013.

19- Francis Saint Hubert, in International Organization for Migration: “La migration haïtienne, un défi à relever”, <http://www.iom.int/cms/en/sites/iom/home/what-we-do/migration-policy-and-research/migration-policy-1/migration-policy-practice/issues/aprilmay-2012/la-migration-haïtienne-un-decade.html>

20- Ibid.

migration occurred in an irregular manner and expanded to other countries. This is the phase that shows an increase in the number of the rafters or “balseros” and a reduction in the percentage of professionals (4.3%). The reduction of this percentage is not so much due to the decrease in the number of professionals that migrated but to the increase in the number of migrants from rural areas and members of the lower classes. The third phase is characterized by the response of the United States to this issue – an amnesty decreed in 1986; in addition, the number of professionals that entered the United States continued to decrease during this phase (approximately 2.2%). The fourth phase which, according to the author, continues to this day represents the consolidation of previous processes: diaspora communities that are strengthened and stabilized although the characteristics of migrants have changed (from professionals to agricultural workers, from young adults to older adults).

The geographical location of Haiti exposes the country to numerous and frequent natural disasters. Its extended coastline makes Haiti vulnerable to hurricanes; in addition, it is located between two tectonic plates (the Caribbean Plate and the North American Plate), and therefore, is a region prone to earthquakes. Within this context, the international community has officially recognized the occurrence of at least 20 natural disasters in Haiti over the past 15 years²¹.

However, of all the natural catastrophes that Haiti has experienced the January 12, 2010 earthquake perhaps was the most devastating, since it not only destroyed the existing infrastructure but in addition, reduced the country’s capacity to respond to new natural disasters. According to the Government of Haiti²² the entire country was affected, although the western and southeastern region of the country suffered the most. The destruction of Port-au-Prince constituted a severe blow for the country as a whole, but in addition to the physical destruction, there appeared to be two consequences: the psychological impact and the changes in the social imaginary of Haitians regarding the country, urban life and the future.

The psychological impacts of the earthquake are not easy to track; the persons that experienced the earthquake and those that recognized the magnitude of the seism upon their return to the country are reluctant to talk about this. This reserve is scarcely broken when interviewed persons barely mention the earthquake or prefer not to answer. In certain cases, physical manifestations such as nervousness or their eyes filling with tears prevent them from completing their answer. In regard to the links between the earthquake and the new wave of migrants, on first impression one could think that the decision to travel was related to the destruction of the education infrastructure. However, this does

21- Bolton, op. cit.

22- Government of the Republic of Haiti, with support from the international community, Haiti: Resumen terremoto. Clasificación sectorial de los daños, pérdidas y necesidades de la catástrofe y sus repercusiones. <http://goo.gl/pXrBMu>

not reflect the depth of the experience of Haitians. Some of the data collected in an atmosphere of greater mutual trust, such as sharing more time with them in a calm environment, tell a much more complex tale.

In a calm environment, some informants took the risk to talk about their emotions. Only then was it possible to learn that some persons are unable to speak about the earthquake because they are affected by symptoms such as headaches or vomiting. The testimony of a woman that had not been in Haiti during the earthquake and returned home six months later can give clues to the impact of the significance of the earthquake for each Haitian:

“When I returned home almost 6 months after the earthquake, I felt for the first time in my life that I was seeing what poverty is. I think I really got to know poverty when I returned after the earthquake.

To get home from the airport I have to cross the entire city. You get there in half an hour if you drive in a straight line but the taxi driver, whom I knew, told me: “Now I will show you the new Haiti”. I travelled around the city for almost three hours before getting home, and the only thing I felt was a huge desire to cry. But I couldn’t cry, I could not even spill a single tear. When I got home I went inside, calling my mother as if nothing had happened, and just said “What’s there to eat?” I didn’t let my mother talk about the earthquake or everything that had happened afterwards. I didn’t want to speak about anything related to the subject during the day, but at night I locked myself in my room and cried.

The next day I went out and began to walk around the city. I saw people that clung to living in the remains of what had once been their homes: you could see everything from outside, there was no privacy but people didn’t want to leave. I went to the camps where people were crowded together, all packed together, and there I learned what poverty was.

In the following months I helped in those camps. Sometimes someone yelled “tsunami, tsunami” and when people started to leave in a frenzy, with the terror still fresh in their memory, some people came and stole what they could; often they raped men, women, old people, children. Anyone could be raped. Only then did I see what poverty was. There is nothing left, nothing. Not even respect for others or for oneself.”

Personal conversation with Judith St. Surin. Quito, June 13, 2013.

The situation experienced in the refugee camps has been recorded²³ and shows a very complex panorama where “cooperation” or “aid” structures have not significantly contributed to the reconstruction of the country after the earthquake. In fact, the perception of some interviewed persons was that this type of “aid”

23- Matthew Bolton, Human security after state collapse: global governance in post-earthquake Haiti. Research Paper RP 01/2011. p 7.

has deepened social inequality. The feeling of defencelessness, of “insecurity”²⁴ and violence, which has been part of the country’s history, has intensified after the earthquake. This impact is felt more strongly in the urban areas, which offered better living conditions than the rural areas before the earthquake²⁵.

In regard to the links between mental health and natural disasters, a study conducted in Mexico after the 1985 earthquake²⁶ shows evidence that could enable understanding the psychological effects of the earthquake on Haitians. The first effect of a natural catastrophe on mental health is that, without an appropriate follow-up, the impacts tend to go unnoticed. In general terms, the psychological effects after a natural disaster could be divided into three phases: 1. In the days immediately following the traumatic event (excessive irritability, fear, anxiety); 2. The second phase begins approximately 6 months after the event; the situation has been processed to a certain extent and the accompanying emotions are helplessness, depression, introversion, resentment, guilt for having survived; obviously, all these emotions would be in accordance with the capacity of each individual to process the grief and the individual and collective assessment of the impacts of the catastrophe. And finally, 3. The final phase would begin 7 months after the event and last until 3 years after that. During this time, the type of impact as well as its duration and magnitude are dependent upon the personality of each individual, “of their constitutional situation, prior experiences as well as social and cultural status”²⁷. At a collective level, the study shows that each person reacts according to

“the experience relating to disasters and the cultural traditions of the populations in the affected region, but in general, people tend to act in an irrational manner in seeking to protect themselves, and often a feeling of solidarity emerges, **unless resentment and hostility existed before**”²⁸ [bold letters added]

Furthermore, the study shows that after the 1985 earthquake in Mexico City, with an estimated 10,000 deaths and 4,000 persons rescued from the debris²⁹,

24- *Insecurity* is the term that is most frequently used in describing life in Haiti, before and after the earthquake, and is directly linked to the sexual violence that especially affects women.

25- “Similarly, rural areas have long been under-policed by the Haitian State” (Bolton, op. cit., p. 32).

26- Beatriz Piña, José Luis Torres, Miriam Prawda and Guadalupe Pérez. *Efectos psicológicos causados por los sismos de 1985 en estudiantes de medicina*.

27- Ibid, p. 267.

28- Ibid, p. 268.

29- No coincidence exists between various sources in terms of the number of deaths, injured persons and victims that resulted from the 1985 earthquake in Mexico. The above-mentioned study states that almost one million people were affected and also, that it was not possible to establish a final number of deceased or missing persons; however, an estimated number of 11,000-20,000 is

the intensity of the situation was so overwhelming that it had a traumatic impact on almost every person from the group included in the study. In addition, the study shows that two additional elements were identified among surviving populations: avoiding the site of the catastrophe and feeling guilty for surviving. Furthermore, another study states that

“the psychological damage tends to worsen over time if appropriate treatment is not provided to clarify the individual meaning of the event for the affected person. / the most relevant factor in identifying psychological damage was the disaster and not the prior history of mental disorders, thus highlighting the importance of providing immediate psychiatric assistance to victims”³⁰

It is not known if some type of accompaniment was provided for Haitians that experienced the 2010 earthquake. The number of deaths, injured and affected persons and in general, the destruction of the city far exceeded those caused by the 1985 earthquake in Mexico. In addition, the 2010 earthquake was experienced in a country with an already violent political history full of constant massacres which, in addition, had experienced 20 natural disasters recognized by the international community over the 15 years prior to the 2010 earthquake³¹. The lack of research on the psychological effect³² of the earthquake on the Haitian population makes it difficult to understand the real dimension of this situation and the impact it may have had on the mental health of the population. However, the magnitude of the tragedy and its repercussions (the number of deaths, level of destruction, limited reconstruction of physical and economic infrastructure), added to the factors that existed prior to the earthquake (systematic violence, extreme poverty and exclusion) as well as inadequate – or even inexistent – psychological assistance for the victims, could be generating serious mental health issues.

The earthquake had another impact on the Haitian society that could be linked to Haitian migration: the repercussions on the social imaginary. The “social imaginary” concept has been widely discussed in social science literature. In brief, a social imaginary refers to the set of collective representations based on units of meaning that work through the repetition of narratives in multiple spheres (at an individual, collective and institutional level); when speaking about a collective that shares a given space and time and also participates in discursive instances that could be institutional, we are speaking about social imaginaries shared by this group. A hypothesis proposed after the study is that the January 2010 earth-

mentioned. In addition, the study states that approximately 30,000-50,000 persons were injured.

30- Piña, Torres, Prawda and Pérez, op. cit., p. 275.

31- Bolton, op. cit., p. 6.

32- Accessible at the time when the research study was conducted.

quake may have had significant repercussions on the shared social imaginaries of Haitians about their country.

According to the perception of several interviewed persons, a more or less final concept is evidenced: the earthquake not only destroyed everything that existed³³: houses, buildings, schools, government buildings, but above all, the earthquake destroyed “the hope, respect, not only for others but for oneself”. The most present feeling is that there is no hope for a better future. The most shocking expression was describing Haiti as a *doomed* country³⁴ and that, if there is no hope for the country there is much less hope for the persons that live there. Somehow, the generalized anxiety experienced after the catastrophe and the impossibility of finding a collective answer³⁵ leads to think that Haitians have developed a logic of “every man for himself” which destroys patterns of social coexistence that involved respect or solidarity; the reports about experiences in refugee camps lead to this reflection.

On the other hand, however, additional information exists that is worth considering in discussing this topic. Vil³⁶ mentions the concept of “subjective poverty” as an important element in characterizing poverty in Haiti. After reviewing the criticism of this concept, the author³⁷ mentions the need to consider the perspective of each individual regarding his/her situation and uses this to refer to how a person feels regarding his/her own circumstances. If this situation is borne in mind, individuals will take actions motivated by their perception of their own reality.

Subjective poverty is somehow linked to the social imaginaries about the country and daily life but in addition, to that which a person expects to find to resolve the situation. Thus, Vil mentions that in 2005, 96% of the homes were experiencing financial difficulty. The subjective poverty rate for that same year was 67.3%, which accounts for two thirds of the total population. A fact that should be

33- According to Bolton (op. cit., p.3), “Over 200,000 were killed, 300,000 injured and 1.5 million displaced. Almost 20% of federal government employees were killed. The Presidential Palace lay in ruins and 27 of 28 federal government buildings were destroyed. An estimated 4,000 prisoners escaped from incarceration”.

34- This concept also reminds us of the statement by preacher Pat Robertson that the tragedy of the Haiti earthquake is the result of a pact with the devil. In <http://www.publico.es/internacional/285813/haiti-hizo-un-pacto-con-el-diablo>

35- Bolton (op. cit.) poses several important questions about the impact of international aid on the Haitian population. He mentions, among others, that the important decisions were made without considering the population, by persons that, in many cases, were in Haiti for the first time and did not even speak Creole; furthermore, Bolton questions the technocratic thinking that accompanied the “reconstruction” of Haiti but that did not take the different realities of the country into account.

36- Op. cit.

37- Ibid, p. 55-56.

highlighted is that until 2005, this subjective poverty was primarily experienced in rural areas (66.7%)³⁸.

If the decisions made by a person depend on how poor they feel, even without quantitative data about the impact of the earthquake on the poverty levels, it is worth asking what types of decisions can be made by a person when the belief exists that “there is nothing there”³⁹. It is necessary to insist on the fact that the earthquake primarily destroyed urban areas; thus, one of the strategies to escape from the misery wrought by the earthquake involved returning to the rural areas (which had been severely affected by Cyclone Sandy). Furthermore, it should be added that the education system collapsed at every level and that the population does not see any possibility of rebuilding it in the short term.

If 67.3% of the persons felt poor before the earthquake, after considering the devastating consequences, how poor do they feel now? What possibilities do Haitians see in their country, in the urban areas⁴⁰? Evidence shows that before the earthquake, the possibility existed to achieve the “dream of a dignified life” in urban areas, despite all possible difficulties. After the earthquake, according to the interviewed persons, the perception exists that it is impossible to fulfil this dream in Haiti.

3. GENDER VIOLENCE

One of the most recurrent dramas identified throughout the research study – in literature as well as field work conducted in Ecuador – is the gender-based violence affecting Haitian women. In referring to poverty, Vil⁴¹ states that the general poverty rate is 76.1% and the extreme poverty rate is 55.7%. However, the extreme monetary poverty rate is higher for women (58%) than for men (51.7%). Nonetheless, “in general, it was noted that the contribution to subjective and objective poverty is higher in male-headed than in female-headed households”⁴², and no evidence exists that the households headed by women are at higher risk of falling into poverty. Traditionally, unemployment affects women more. Furthermore, in 2005 the male literacy rate was higher (60.1%) than the female

38- Ibid, p. 57.

39- This was said by a young man interviewed in the city of Cuenca. When asked about the earthquake as a push factor for migration he only said, “after the earthquake, there is nothing left there. Nothing left”, and his eyes filled with tears and he did not want to discuss the topic any further.

40- It should be remembered that subjective poverty was primarily experienced in the rural areas.

41- Op. cit., p. 58.

42- Ibid, p. 59.

literacy rate (48.6%)⁴³. This topic was addressed in informal conversations, and the interviewed persons stated that women are less likely to be poor, compared to men, because “men spend their money on entertainment and women; and on imported clothes, the kind that are bought in stores”. Compared to this, it was said, for example, that women buy fabric and sew their own clothes or have them sown, which reduces costs. According to a generalized perception, women seek to take care of their families and in addition, spend the little money they can earn through informal commercial activities – which is the most common source of income for women – on their families. This is not the case with men, who spend it on things that enable them to “display themselves”, projecting an image of being in a better social and economic position.

In regard to monetary poverty, that is, the possibility of having cash, women are 23.4% more likely to fall into poverty than men. Vil suggests that

“In general, the absence of opportunities and financial autonomy, lack of access to education, support services and financial resources (including credit), owning land and the right to inherit, as well as limited participation in decision-making processes. In fact, in Haiti women face more obstacles to incorporating into the labour market since their participation in the workforce is relatively limited. A high proportion of women engage in low-productivity sectors, with poor quality jobs with little protection; this means that the integration of women into the labour market is weaker and, for many of them, unstable and inexistent. In this regard, it could be added that society remains structured around gender-based labour division, assigning different roles to men and women and bestowing greater value on men than on women. As a result, women have less access to material resources and less income-generating opportunities.”⁴⁴

Furthermore, Bolton⁴⁵ refers to the high levels of insecurity which affect female populations the most. “Women have also borne the brunt of insecurity, as victims of Haiti’s staggering levels of sexual violence”; however, the sexual violence that affects women in Haiti had already been highlighted by Amnesty International since 2008⁴⁶. Thus, the 2010 earthquake worsened an existing problem.

The topic of sexual violence in Haiti was not mentioned explicitly from the beginning in conversations or interviews with women; it was not until data were analysed with Haitian women collaborating in the study that stories and expe-

43- Ibid, p. 39.

44- Ibid, p. 79

45- Matthew Bolton, Human security after state collapse: global governance in post-earthquake Haiti. Research Paper RP 01/2011, p. 7. In <http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/32167/1/After%20State%20Collapse%20Haiti%20Glob%20Gov%20Paper%20Revisedx.pdf> (June 14, 2013).

46- Amnesty International, Haiti: don’t turn your back on girls: sexual violence against girls in Haiti. 2008. In <http://www.amnesty.org/es/library/info/AMR36/004/2008/en> (June 15, 2013).

periences relating to this issue came up. In this regard, it is important to mention some facts that could enable understanding some of the stories relating to gender violence in Haiti and during migration. The term “insecurity” was mentioned repeatedly; to the women, this means risk of sexual assault. Such actions, as mentioned by Haitian women during conversations and stated by Bolton and Amnesty International, are linked to the violent political processes experienced in Haiti over the past 30 years: “while widespread reports of groups of armed men raping women started under the military regime (1991-1994), it has now become a common practice among criminal gangs”⁴⁷. The high levels of overcrowding in camps for displaced persons were mentioned in interviews as the cause for a renewed increase in this type of violence.

According to Bolton⁴⁸, the experience of sexual violence in Haiti is shaped by a combination of sexual aggression, political violence and domination – male as well as colonial:

“Illustrative of the blurred lines between sexuality and security is the popular advertisement, sponsored by the NGO Population Services International, for Pante (“Panther”) condoms, found on many Street corners in Port-au-Prince. These murals or posters depict a close-up of a Panther’s eyes with the slogan “Plaisir et Sécurité” (“Pleasure and Security”). The advertisement draws on symbols of power, strength and security and combines it with the male predatory “gaze” of the panther, implicitly evoking complicity in sexualized surveillance”.

It should be mentioned that in contexts where colonial systems leave a strong imprint on history, the relationship between men and women somehow becomes a symbolic battlefield between the colonizer/colonized dichotomy. On one hand, the social imaginaries around women involve images of the private, internal, spiritual sphere and tradition; while the social imaginaries around men point toward ideas of the public, external, material sphere and modernity. As stated by Chatterjee⁴⁹ for colonial India, the situation of women and their qualities and position in society are construed as representing the values and situation of the dominated people. In this situation, a paradox exists that cannot be resolved easily since the values of the colonizer/male (who eventually is rejected or whom the colonized wants to repudiate) are embodied in the masculinity models of the dominated one, since it is only through these values that it is possible to dominate and control. Therefore, women suffer the paradoxes between the wish of the colonized to take on the values that lead to success and the rejection of being dominated by the colonizer, as well as the fundamental need to establish differentiating criteria that enable showing the spiritual superiority of the colo-

47- Amnesty International. In <http://www.amnesty.org/es/library/asset/AMR36/004/2008/en/f8487127-b1a5-11dd-86b0-2b2f60629879/amr360042008eng.pdf>

48- Op. cit., p. 7.

49- Chatterjee, P. *La nación y sus mujeres*. Centre for Studies in Social Sciences, Calcutta, 1999.

nized people. The spiritual superiority of the colonized is perceived as the core of resistance, since it enables subsistence due to difference. In the history of Haiti, where invasions have been a constant and where aid programmes have left out the Haitian people in implementing potential “solutions”, the colonial system and its multiple manifestations of violence are brought back⁵⁰.

The high Haitian migration rates, including recent migration flows to South America, are the result of a historical process which has been worsened by natural catastrophes such as the 2010 earthquake and Cyclone Sandy (2012). The impossibility of processing, individually and collectively, the tragedies caused by the natural disasters has remained almost hidden in terms of the push factors for migration. Without a doubt, the economic tragedy is serious but that which remains hidden, inexpressible, generates violence, pushes toward tragedy; a tragedy which costs women their lives and their bodies.

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50- In regard to the topic of masculinity and the colonial situation, one of the interviewed women mentioned that her father had never spoken Creole with her or any other family member. In addition, she said that to him, French was the only valid language and therefore he did not answer if addressed in Creole by his children. Thus, while the mother spoke Creole with her children throughout her life, the father never spoke Creole with them although he was completely fluent in the language.

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The Haitian migration to Brazil: Findings of the survey about destination

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Abstract

This paper discloses the main findings of the survey carried out within the scope of the project “Studies on the Haitian Migration to Brazil: Bilateral dialogue”, and its target audience comprises the Haitians that have come to Brazil. Several methodologies were employed to gather the information that used data from the administrative records of the Ministry of Labor and Job and of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. During the field work, 340 Haitians were interviewed and 9 focal groups were assembled in several cities of Brazil. According to the results, most of those migrants are youngsters, predominantly male and with education level equivalent to incomplete elementary school. Despite recognizing that the Haitians enjoy better living conditions in Brazil than in their country of origin, the working and housing conditions do not allow them to save enough money to keep regular flows of remittances to their families in Haiti.

1. INTRODUCTION

Considering the migration background of Haiti, the incorporation of Brazil to their migration route is not so surprisingly, but draws attention as Brazil is a new destination which did not use to among the destinations selected by the Haitian immigrants. One could say that after the earthquake, the factors of expulsion

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that contribute to the creation and expansion of a Diaspora (JACKSON, 2011) were strengthened in Haiti.

The selection of destinations should take into consideration the migration laws in force in developed countries that, since September 2001, impose severe restrictions on immigration in general, notably on irregular migration. The reasons why Brazil was incorporated to the Haitians' migration route are not clear, but some authors (FERNANDES, 2010; SILVA, 2013) point out the presence of the Brazilian military troops in Haiti as a potential means of dissemination of the idea that Brazil is as a country of opportunities, mainly when great civil works were underway and the unemployment rate was decreasing.

Regardless the initial reason, the fact is that a migratory flow of Haitians to Brazil started after the earthquake. There are several routes (PATARRA, FERNANDES, 2011; SILVA, 2013) which have changed over time, depending on the facilities or difficulties faced on the way. It is worth mentioning that, in 2010, among the South American countries only four³ did not require a visa to receive Haitians in their territories for tourism travels. From 2012 onwards, under strong pressure of the Brazilian government, Peru started requesting visa from Haitians and in 2013 Ecuador tried to restrict the entry of Haitians but the measure was not implemented. Despite these facilities, none of those countries became the final destination for the Haitian immigration, as happened to Brazil. This fact could indicate that this migration is not guided exclusively by the ease of entry in the country, as advocated by those who criticize the measures adopted by the Brazilian government; rather, it is determined by the intention of arriving at and settling in the region of destination.

All over 2010, small groups of Haitians – less than two hundred immigrants – reached the border of Brazil and Peru. Late in 2011 there were some evidences on the presence of more than 4,000 Haitians in Brazil (COSTA, 2012; SILVA, 2013) and this number increased consistently and, by the end of 2013, the number of Haitian immigrants in Brazil was estimated to be over 20,000, with some evidences that this figure could reach 50,000 by the end of 2014.

That flow gave rise to a sense of mistrust regarding the presence of Haitians in Brazil among part of the society – including some national press bodies that have even compared the arrival of immigrants to an invasion⁴. On the other hand, that migration movement also brought the positive effect of leading both the

3- Argentina, Chile, Ecuador and Peru.

4- O Globo newspaper of 01/17/14, Column País "Tião Viana, Tião Viana, do PT, critica governo federal após invasão de haitianos do PT, critica governo federal após invasão de haitianos" (which could be freely translated as "Tião Viana, from the PT Party, criticizes the federal government after the invasion of Haitians.") O Globo newspaper of 01/11/12 – Cover "Brasil fecha fronteira para conter 'invasão' de haitianos" (which could be freely translated as "Brazil closes its borders to refrain the 'invasion' of Haitians".)

government and the civil society to start a process of debate on migration laws, introducing the view of respect to the immigrants' human rights to the debates. At the same time, it allowed for advancing the establishment of solidarity links among several sectors of the society to welcome and provide care the Haitians.

At the level of the federal, state and municipal governments of the cities more affected by the arrival of those immigrants, several institutional responses were created. While the government of the State of Acre endeavored to support the assembling of a structure to take care of the Haitians arriving at the city of Brasília, the State of Amazonas government, specifically regarding the cities of Tabatinga and Manaus, in principle ignored the problem and, later on, offered small contributions to sustain the actions promoted by the civil society (SILVA, 2013). These different responses by state governments reflect, to some extent, the authorities' perception regarding the problem and their commitment to the immigrants' human rights.

At the federal level, responses were more effective but, nonetheless, little coordinated, where the measures adopted to solve extreme and specific situations did not contribute to a design a plan – even a short-term one – to meet the demands ensuing from the increasing volume of Haitian immigrants.

After running the path to the Brazilian frontier the Haitians are faced with a time-consuming process to legalize their migration status. The starting point is the asylum request submitted to the migration authority at border towns. When this process is started a protocol is issued to allow the immigrant to get the provisional work permit (employment record card) and CPF⁵, while the asylum request is reviewed by the CONARE⁶. These documents are crucial for the immigrant to join the formal labor market and for remittances. As the asylum request does not fit into the requirements set forth by law and in international conventions, it is denied. In face of a situation that would lead to the irregular permanence of Haitians in Brazil, the federal government adopted some measures to prevent this fact. In January 2012, through the Normative Resolution (*Resolução Normativa* or RN) # 97 issued by the National Council of Immigration (*Conselho Nacional de Imigração* or CNlg), the government granted 5-year permanent humanitarian visa to the Haitian immigrants whose asylum requests were denied. Simultaneously the RN opened the possibility for the Brazilian Consulate in the city of Porto Princepe, in Haiti, to grant that same kind of visa. The number of visas to be issued a year could not exceed to 1,200 - excluding the visas for family reunification. The Resolution should remain in force for two years.

5- CPF – Individual taxpayer registration at the Brazilian Ministry of Finances

6- CONARE – Brazilian National Committee for Refugees.

When assessing the enforcement of this RN (FERNANDES *ET ALLIS*, 2013) one finds that, despite the laudable attempt to solve a problem that was taking on proportions of public calamity either in border towns or in cities that served as hubs of attraction for that migration - like the city of Manaus - it failed in reaching the expected effect. There was no effective reduction in the number of Haitian immigrants arriving in Brazil through the north frontier, and the number of visas issued by the Consulate (100 per month) could not meet the increasing demand. In November 2012, the agenda for visa issuance for 2013 was already overbooked and the Consulate opened a waiting list. So, by the end of 2012 the Brazilian border was facing again the same situation as it faced prior to the enactment of the RN # 97, where the shelter built to welcome the immigrants in the city of Brasília was overcrowded while in Porto Príncipe, in front of the Brazilian Consulate, people waiting to get the entry visa for Brazil formed long queues.

In an attempt to remedy the situation at the Consulate, in April 2013 the Brazilian Government issued the RN # 102, whereby it abolished the limitation on the number of visas to be granted to Haitians, and allowed the issuance of visas at the Brazilian Consulates in other countries, additionally to Haiti. The last amendment to the RN # 97 dates back to October 2013, and extended the resolution validity for one additional year as of January 2014.

Analyzing the results achieved by the measures adopted by the federal government, one can clearly notice these failed in reaching the objectives proposed in principle, when the CNlg reviewed the matter and by the time of the enactment of RN # 97.

“[...] controlling the action of coyotes at the North frontier of Brazil; opening a channel to grant visas in a easier way; legalization of the migratory status of nearly 4,000 Haitians living in the Brazilian territory; and send material support for sheltering, food and health care to those immigrants in the states of Acre and Amazonas” (free translation of the resolution by the CNlg, 2012).

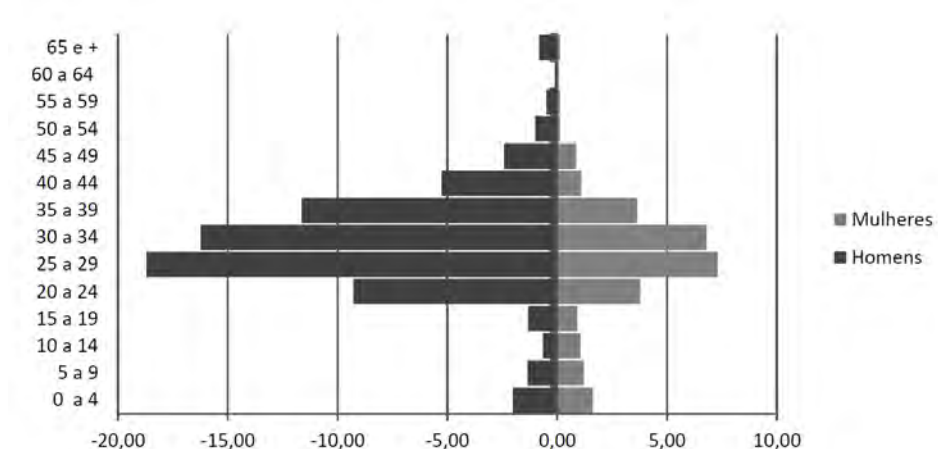
Quite the reverse, the measures have encouraged migration. The establishment of a network of trafficking in immigrants throughout the way, including Ecuador and Peru, has expanded the action of the so-called “coyotes”. This fact contributed to the expansion of the number of immigrants arriving at border towns, not only in terms of volume, but also regarding the incorporation of new routes through Venezuela, Bolivia and Argentina. Once again, early in 2014, the city of Brasília has faced a true chaos with the presence of more than 1,200 Haitians waiting to legalize their migratory status, or waiting for a job opportunity like that offered by corporations that come to the city to hire workers.

2. THE IMMIGRANTS' PROFILES

Following are presented some pieces of information collected from the administrative records of the Ministries of Labor & Job and of Foreign Affairs, additionally to data collected during the interviews with 340 Haitians residing in the cities of Belo Horizonte, Brasília, Campinas, Curitiba, Porto Velho and São Paulo. Although this information contributes to disclose the profile of the Haitian immigrants in Brazil, it should be carefully considered as it was gathered using different collection methodologies. While data from public bodies are collected from administrative registers that are more focused on complying with the registration procedures, those collected by the survey are obtained directly from the immigrants, through person-to-person interviews.

According to records from the Brazilian National Immigration Council (CNIg) from the Ministry of Labor and Job, women stand for virtually 20% of the total Haitian immigrants who got the residence permit. Nonetheless, women's participation has expanded, mainly due to the increased number of visas issued for family reunification. As regards age, more than 30% of those immigrants are in the age group of 25 to 29 years, followed by those in the age group of 30 to 34 years that account for nearly 25% of the population being studied, as disclosed in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Age Pyramid of Haitian Individuals Requesting Visa at the Consular Representations of Brazil.



Legend:

Women

Men

65 and +

60 to 64

55 to 59

50 to 54

45 to 49

40 to 44

35 to 39

30 to 34

25 to 29

20 to 24

15 to 19

10 to 14

5 to 9

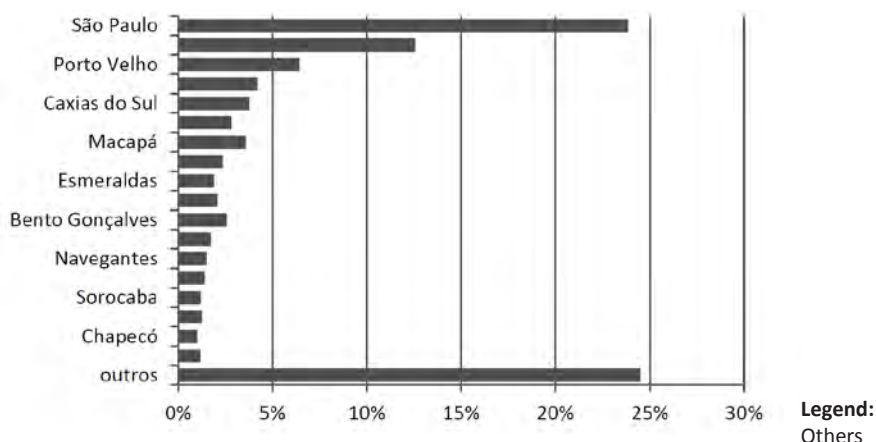
0 to 4

Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Data collected as of August 29, 2013.

According to the records of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, nearly 80% of the Haitian immigrants that requested visas at the Brazilian consular representations declared to be single. Regarding their occupation in Haiti, more than 50% of the men stated to be working in the field of civil construction. For women, the field of services absorbed more labor force, followed by the field of commerce.

When it comes to the place of residence of the Haitian immigrants in Brazil, data from the Federal Police disclose 267 municipalities; however, out of these 18 have hosted more than 75% of those immigrants, as disclosed in Figure 2 below. The main municipalities are São Paulo with 24% of the total and Manaus, with 13%.

Figure 2: Ratio of Haitian immigrants by city of residence, Brazil, January 2010 to March 2014



Source: SINCRE – Brazilian National System of Registration of Foreigners/Federal Police Department

The field survey allowed the aggregation of additional information to the immigrants' profiles definition. As regards education, no significant differences were found between men and women, in terms of level of education at the highest levels. 42.1% of the men declared to have a level of education of, at least, completed secondary school, while 43.2% of the women reported similar situation.

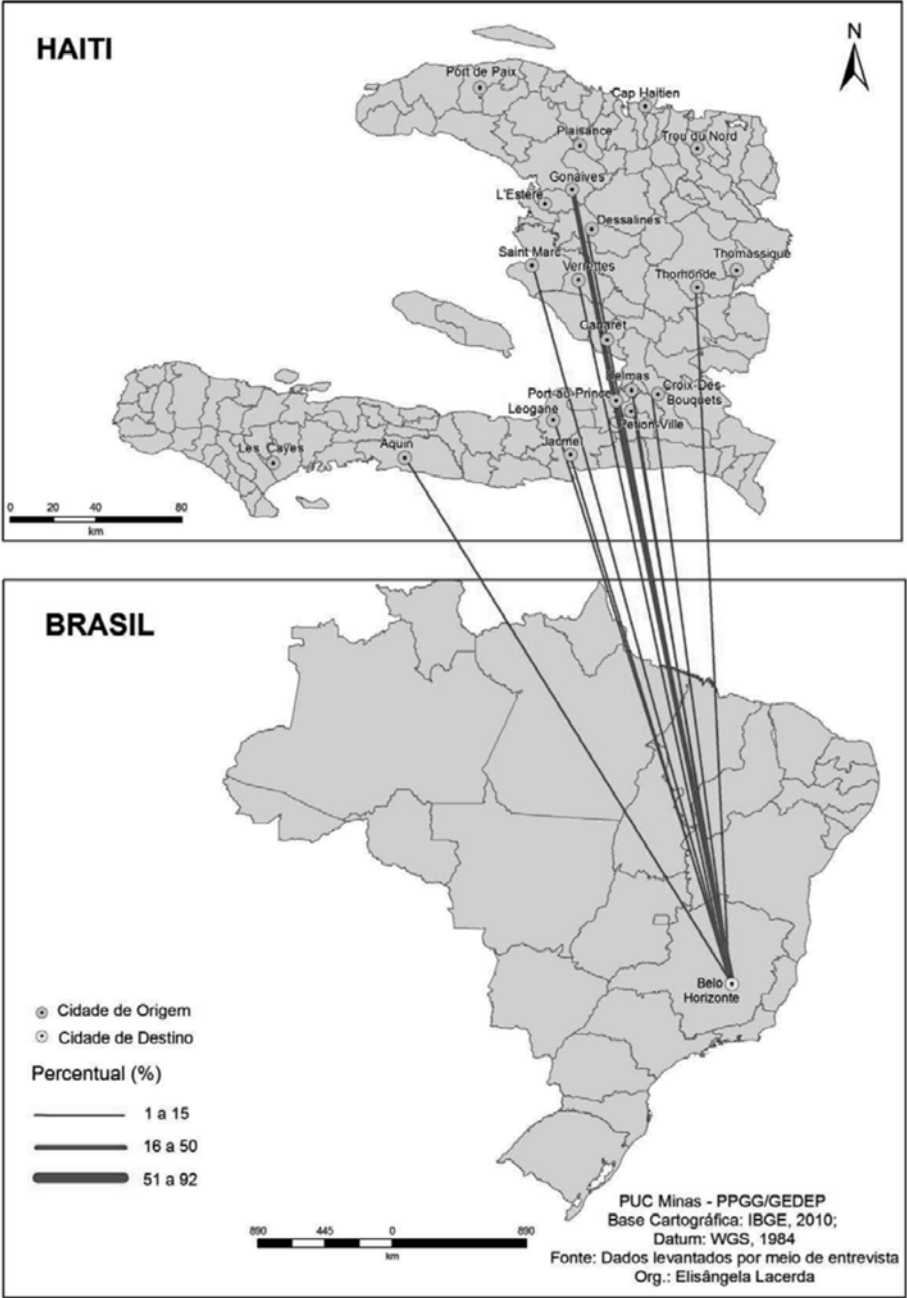
However, when we add those who concluded and those who did not conclude the secondary school, 50.8% of the women would be in this situation, against 41.8% of men.

3. THE MIGRATORY PROJECT

Regarding the path followed, respondents informed that in approximately 75% of the cases they have followed routes already known, including the travel by air to Ecuador, then following to Peru and entering Brazil through Tabatinga and Brasiléia. It could be observed that few immigrants – not more than 5.0% of the total – took different routes which included passing by Argentina, Bolivia or Chile before getting to Brazil. The remainder ones who had already got the visa at the Brazilian consulates came directly from Haiti to Brazil, passing by Panama.

The following maps show the place of origin and residence of respondents in Belo Horizonte (state of Minas Gerais), Curitiba (state of Paraná), Porto Velho (state of Roraima), and São Paulo (state of São Paulo). According to the survey, Gonaïve is the departing point of most of the respondents, but in some cases the city of Porto Príncipe appears as the second most important one.

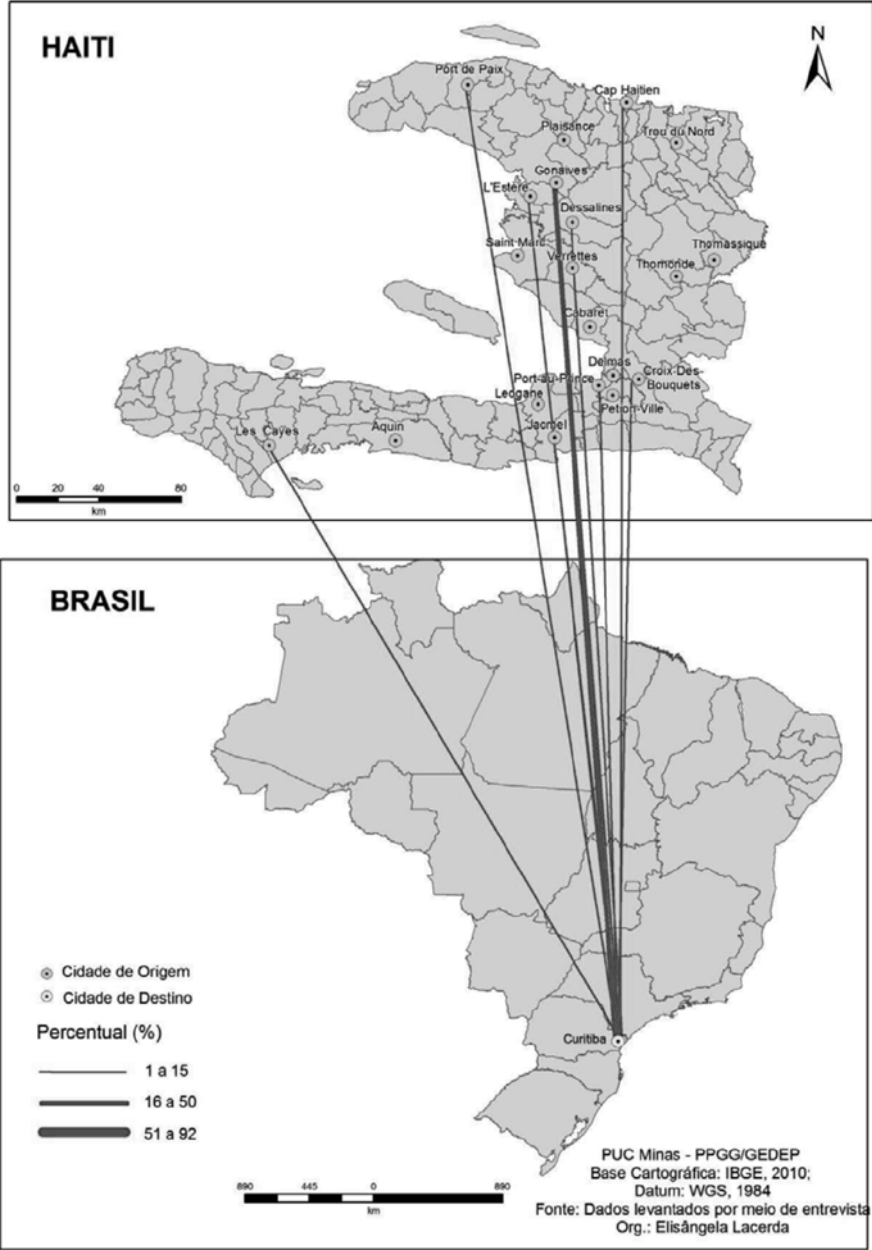
Figure 3: Map of the local of origin in Haiti for Immigrants living in Belo Horizonte/MG



Legend:
Brazil
City of Origin
City of Destination
Percentage (%)
PUC Minas – PPGG/GEDEP

Cartographic Basis: Brazilian Institute of
Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 2010;
Datum: WGS, 1984
Source: Data collected through interviews
Org.: Elisângela Lacerda

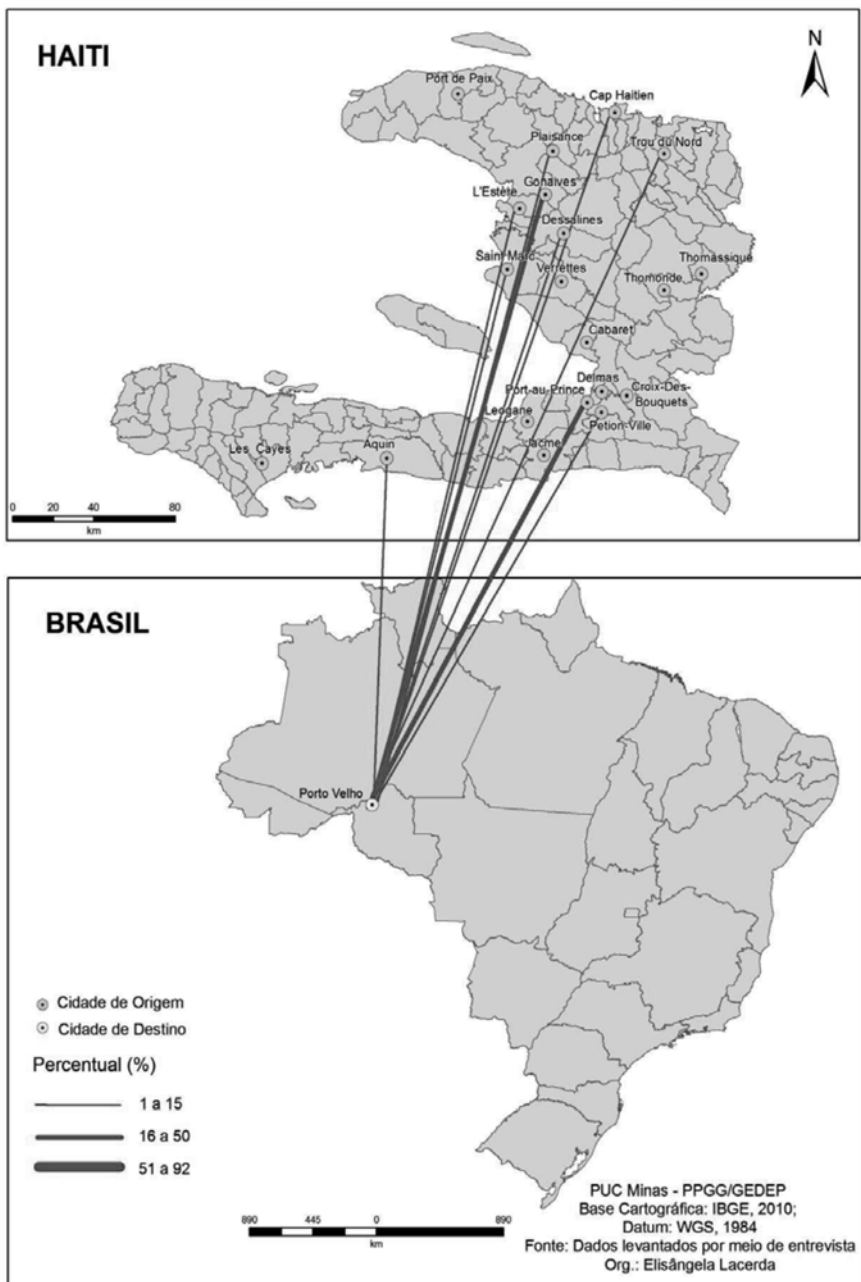
Figure 4: Map of the local of origin in Haiti for Immigrants living in Curitiba



Legend:
Brazil
City of Origin
City of Destination
Percentage (%)
PUC Minas – PPGG/GEDEP
Cartographic Basis: Brazilian Institute

of Geography and Statistics (IBGE),
2010;
Datum: WGS, 1984
Source: Data collected through
interviews
Org.: Elisângela Lacerda

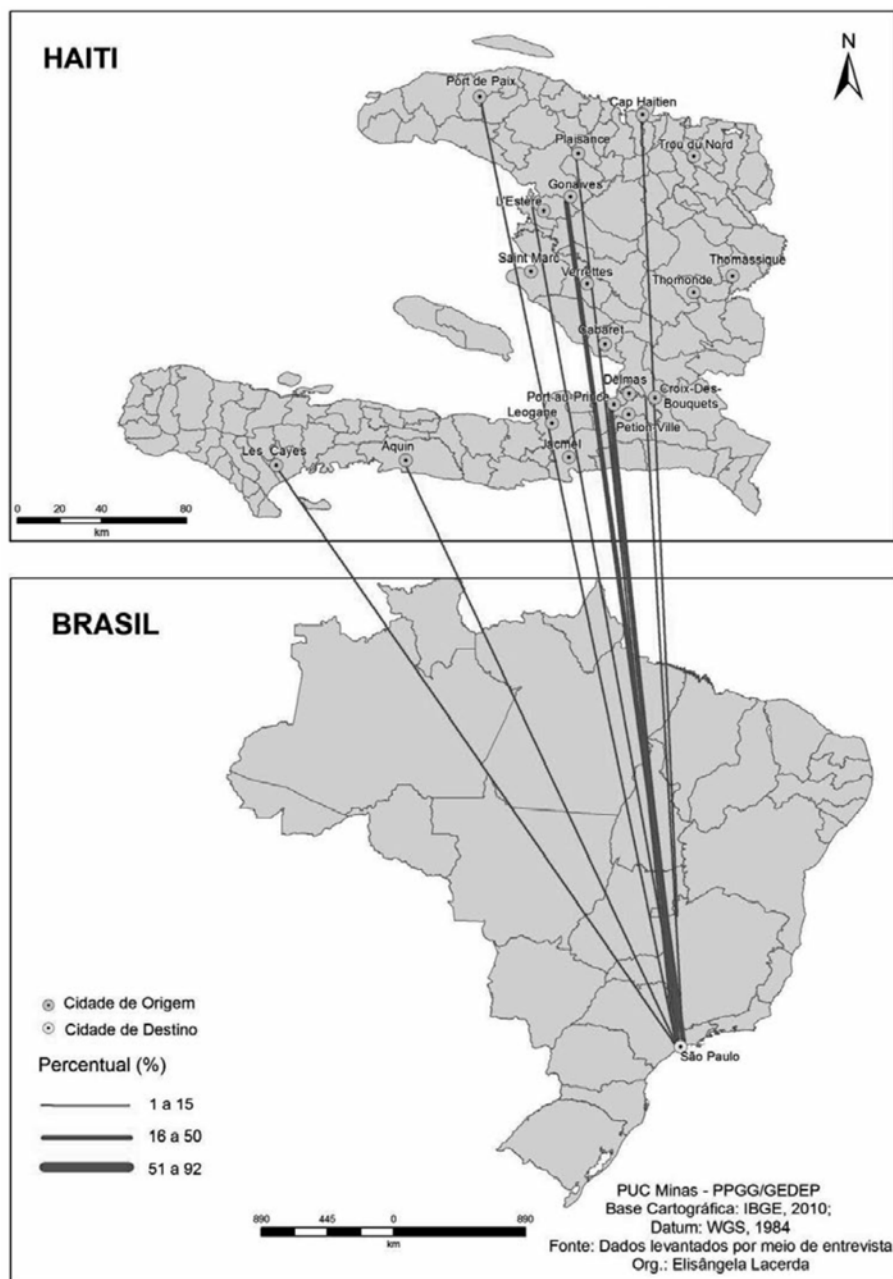
Figure 5: Map of the local of origin in Haiti for Immigrants living in Porto Velho



Legend:
 Brazil
 City of Origin
 City of Destination
 Percentage (%)
 PUC Minas – PPGG/GEDEP

Cartographic Basis: Brazilian Institute of
 Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 2010;
 Datum: WGS, 1984
 Source: Data collected through interviews
 Org.: Elisângela Lacerda

Figure 6: Map of the local of origin in Haiti for Immigrants living in São Paulo



Legend:
 Brazil
 City of Origin
 City of Destination
 Percentage (%)
 PUC Minas – PPGG/GEDEP
 Cartographic Basis: Brazilian Institute of

Geography and Statistics (IBGE), 2010;
 Datum: WGS, 1984
 Source: Data collected through
 interviews
 Org.: Elisângela Lacerda

On average, Haitians have spent \$2,912.72 on the way to Brazil, but there are some evidences of higher costs that have exceeded to \$5,000.00. Among respondents, nearly 20% of them have incurred debts to take the trip.

When asked about why they have migrated to Brazil, most of them (61.5%) claimed to have made the journey to look for jobs. Better quality of life is ranked the second (14.7%) among the reasons alleged, while the migration objective of assisting the family is ranked third (6.5%). It is worth mentioning that among the reasons alleged for migration, many respondents ranked the possibility of keep on studying in Brazil as the second main reason.

Among the focal groups, other oft-quoted reasons were also the economic and social situation of the country, lack of jobs (*"unemployment is a serious problem in Haiti"*) and the lack of security; they also complain about the violence existing today in Haiti, additionally to difficulties posed to their children to attend school.

During the field survey, when respondents were asked about how they would rate the migratory project, 77.1% said they liked living in Brazil. When asked why, 33.2% said they liked living in Brazil because they found job here and could help their families. Among respondents, 19.8% said the quality of life in Brazil was better than the situation they used to live in Haiti. Liking Brazil was the reason pointed out by 5.1% of the respondents. It is worth mentioning that among the several reasons stated, the respect with which they are treated in the country, associated to other reasons, is also remarkable.

For those who declared to be unsatisfied with their stay in Brazil (22.9%), the most frequent reasons alleged are related to low wages (26.3%) and difficulties faced (21.0%) which, in many instances, are associated to the lack of knowledge about the conditions of life and salaries in the country of destination, as stated by some respondents.

As regards work, the sectors where Haitians worked were surveyed and are disclosed in Figure 7 below. It is worth mentioning that 26.2% of the respondents stated they were not working by the time of the interview and, among these, one was being paid the unemployment insurance. Civil construction features as the sector that absorbs more Haitian immigrants' labor force (30.3%), followed by the food industry (12.6%). General services (7.9%) and commerce (5.6%) are the sectors that absorb another important share of those immigrants' labor force.

Figure 7: The Haitians' occupation sector by the time of the interview/2013.

Sector	#	%
Civil Construction	103	30.3
Food Industry	43	12.6
Commerce	19	5.6
Household services	7	2.1
Industry in general	8	2.4
Hotel	2	0.6
Informatics and automation	4	1.2
Not Working	89	26.2
Did not respond	38	11.2
Total	340	100

Source: Data from the survey.

When asked about the main difficulties found in Brazil, respondents said most of the situations are related to problems in finding a job and issues related to the value of salaries. It is worth highlighting that in six cases immigrants have reported – as unexpected situations – the racial discrimination they suffered in the country.

The focal groups attached special emphasis to learning the language. Respondents resented the fact that their relationships with the Brazilians were hampered because they did not understand Portuguese, notably in the working environment. They often stress out that communication is very hard as they cannot speak Portuguese. Some resource to the hand signs to communicate a little or, at least, make themselves understood. Others endeavor to learn Portuguese, day after day, recognizing that if they are in Brazil they should speak the language of Brazil.

Respondents were also asked to suggest measures to the governments of Brazil and Haiti aimed to facilitate the migratory process. Although many of the recommendations did not fit into the governmental sphere, like reduction of the rental price paid by immigrants, reduction of air ticket prices or even higher salaries, it is worth mentioning that many respondents suggested both governments to establish a bilateral dialogue targeted to contribute to the dissemination of information about the Brazilian reality, mainly about the working conditions in the country, the dangers related to non-regular migrations and, finally, the cooperation between both governments to combat the action of 'coyotes'.

4. FINAL REMARKS

The migration flow of Haitians to Brazil is not a temporary phenomenon, and tends to be perpetuated just like many other migration processes that took place in the country. The unique features of this flow like, for example, the increasingly arrival of naturals from a country that does not border Brazil – a situation unknown since the first half of the 20th century – or the process of legalizing the migratory status, favored by resolutions applicable exclusively to Haitians, pose some challenges to the Brazilian society.

If in the beginning there were just few ones, as time went by the flow increased and networks were established so that, just like in any other migratory process, growth took place in an exponential way. In 2010 there were just some few dozens Haitian immigrants in Brazil; in 2014, in turn, estimates point out more than many thousands of immigrants from Haiti.

The actions promoted by the federal government tried to control that flow, but authorities were superseded by facts and situations of extreme vulnerability that arose in some Brazilian municipalities, notably at the North border towns where most of the Haitian immigrants enter Brazil.

In this setting, the civil society participation – notably of the *Pastoral da Mobilidade Humana* (Human Mobility Pastoral) of the Brazilian National Confederation of Bishops (CNBB) which, in partnership with the public power and supported by the local society, succeeded in minimizing the problems caused by the arrival of the Haitian immigrants who are now spread virtually all over the Brazilian territory.

As observed in other countries (GÓIS, 2009) the migration of Haitians to Brazil followed the standard according to which those with better qualifications prevailed in the first group that arrived in 2010 and 2011. In the following years, increased the participation of those who, despite being lower-educated, were performing technical activities prior to emigration, mostly in the field of civil construction. However, in recent times one could observe the increased number of people with lower education level among those arriving in the country. Although deeper work is required to confirm this situation, the evaluation of grades conclusion certificates and the equivalence of years and grades in the school systems of both countries, during the field work we could find some respondents with great difficulty in reading and even expressing in their mother tongue.

Low education, difficulties to learn Portuguese and the impossibility of having their diplomas recognized led most of the Haitians to seek for jobs in low-qualified occupations like civil construction, auxiliary activities or industrial assembly

lines. The survey also found some people with university degree and working on assembly lines or as bricklayer assistant. The situation is even more complex for women as, additionally to language-related difficulties, there are few offers of job posts to them. Most of the jobs available are in the field of household services where integration between employer and employee is crucial, and is hampered by the linguistic barrier.

Most of the job posts occupied by the Haitians are poorly remunerated, with salaries ranging from one to one and a half minimum wage. Considering the expenses to earn a living in Brazil, most of the immigrants cannot save enough money to remit to their families, and pay the debts incurred with the coyotes to make the journey. This situation leads some of the immigrants to share unhealthy residences and reduce expenses to the minimum required to survive, thus making their stay in the country of destination worse than the situation they used to live in Haiti.

According to the survey, despite all the measures adopted by the government – some even laudable like the RN # 97 – the issue of the Haitian migration to Brazil remains a problem that demands for coordinated action, rather than one-time actions. Emphasis cannot be attached to one single direction, like the legalization of their migratory status; however, one should think over policies that could allow the integration of Haitians in the Brazilian society, just like happened to many other immigrants who came to Brazil in the past.

Undoubtedly, it is a long-lasting process that should count on the participation of both the civil society and the government which is now committed to respond the demands by the Haitians' community, and to make the country a true model of respect to the human rights of immigrants.

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Haitian Migration to Brazil: Ecuador, a Transit Country

Gabriela Bernal Carrera¹

Summary

While an increase has been observed in the migration flows of Haitians to South America after the January 2010 earthquake, Haitian migration has a history that needs to be taken into account. In Ecuador, specifically, Haitian populations have been present for several years now; however, this fact has not been of academic concern, or a priority of the State or non-governmental organizations (NGOs)² in terms of assistance.

While Haitian migration to Ecuador has increased since 2010, the order issued by President Rafael Correa on June 20, 2008 to waive visa requirements, thus enabling foreigners to enter the country and stay up to 90 days, opened the door to the increase of the phenomenon addressed in this text. However, it was not until 2013 that Ecuador began to view Haitian migration as a phenomenon that should be considered.

In this regard, the findings presented in this text are the result of a mainly exploratory research based on the review of relevant secondary sources – which were few – and focused on conducting interviews and visiting the locations where Haitian populations live in Quito, and also in the city of Cuenca. Initially, the geographical scope of the study included Quito and the population of Huaquillas at the southern border between Ecuador and Peru. The study was eminently qualitative in nature, although the qualitative data enabled better understanding the migration process of Haitians to Ecuador in the past 10 years. The data collected have been used to attempt to characterize the phenomenon of Haitian migration to Ecuador, mainly the migration cycle from Haiti to Ecuador, the transit of migrants through the country and their expectations regarding Brazil or other countries as final destinations. One of the most relevant obstacles faced during

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2- It should be highlighted that the only civil society organization that has worked with Haitians in Ecuador in a continuous manner is the Jesuit Refugee Service (Servicio Jesuita a los Refugiados – SJR).

the study was related to time constraints. Therefore, it was not possible to fully overcome language barriers and the lack of trust of the informants.

One of the most relevant facts identified through the research study is the existence of Haitian migration prior to the 2010 earthquake. However, the increase in Haitian migration flows is directly linked not only to the structural poverty of Haiti but in addition, to migration policies in different countries of transit and destination.

1. RELATIONS BETWEEN HAITI AND ECUADOR

The relations between Haiti and Ecuador have intensified since the January 12, 2010 earthquake. Prior to that, Ecuador sent a team of military engineers from the Ecuadorian Armed Forces to Haiti that incorporated into the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti³. However, after the earthquake a regularization process for Haitian citizens was initiated through Decree 248 of February 23, 2010⁴. The objective was to implement a regularization process for irregular Haitians and their families in Ecuadorian territory that had entered the country before and including January 31, 2010. In addition, the Decree enabled Haitians with regular migration status that were in Ecuador at the above-mentioned dates to change their migration category⁵. Furthermore, Ecuador supported Haiti through monetary transfers⁶ as well as the signing of scientific and technical cooperation agreements.

Although cooperation was strengthened after the 2010 earthquake, the 2008 Constitution of Ecuador is what really opened the door to changes in the migration patterns of Haitians to Ecuador. The Constitution was developed consider-

3- Executive Decree 2195 of November 4, 2004.

4- Also known as "Migration Amnesty".

5- The Under-secretariat of Human Rights and Cult recognizes that "the migration regularization of Haitians was necessary but insufficient, since it did not consider Haitians who would enter the country after the date established in Decree 248 and who, considering the economic situation of Haiti in subsequent months, could require special protection by the State of Ecuador". (Ministry of Justice, Human Rights and Cult. Under-secretariat of Normative Development. In response to a request for information about Haitians, Quito, June 4, 2013, Official Letter No. MJDHC-SDHC-2013-0105-O).

6- Through Executive Decree 217 (March 10, 2010), the Ministry of Finance was required to prioritize the transfer of US\$2 million as humanitarian and financial aid for the Government of the Republic of Haiti.

ing the experience of thousands of Ecuadorian nationals that had left the country during the previous decade.

Thus, Article 40 establishes, firstly, that “the right of persons to migrate is recognized. No human being shall be identified or considered to be illegal based on his/her migration status”. Furthermore, the Article insists on actions developed by the State for Ecuadorians abroad. Moreover, Article 41 recognizes the right to asylum and refuge, and Article 42 prohibits every arbitrary movement.

In regard to the topic of human mobility, Articles 391 & 392 focus on this subject. Article 391 establishes that the State shall develop and implement demographic policies that contribute to balanced territorial and inter-generational development. Furthermore, Article 392 establishes that the State shall ensure the protection of the rights of persons on the move and that it should exercise the steering role in regard to migration policy; in addition, the need is mentioned to coordinate actions with civil society organizations and other States.

Article 416 addresses the principles of the international relations of Ecuador; however, Paragraph 6 “promotes the principle of universal citizenship, the free movement of every person on the planet and the progressive end of the status of foreign national as an element transforming unequal relations between countries, especially North-South”. Paragraph 7 “demands respect for human rights, and especially for the rights of migrants, and promotes the full exercise of rights through compliance with obligations taken on through the signing of international human rights instruments”.

In Article 423, the State of Ecuador promotes its commitment to support the establishment of Latin American and Caribbean citizenship; the free movement of persons in the region; the implementation of policies ensuring respect for the human rights of border region populations and refugees; and the common protection of Latin American and Caribbean migrants in countries of transit and destination.

Within this framework, Rafael Correa ordered a visa waiver for foreigners entering the country as of June 20, 2008, irrespective of their nationality. However, in December 2009 visas were required for Chinese nationals and in September 2010, for nationals from Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Nepal, Nigeria, Pakistan and Somalia.

2. CHARACTERISTICS OF HAITIAN MIGRATION TO ECUADOR

Statistical data on Haitian migration to Ecuador show the existence of three important periods:

1. The first period, from 2000 (the first year for which information has been recorded) to 2007, characterized by small but constant migration flows.
2. The second period, from 2008 to 2010, with important events that are directly linked to migration flows: a) A new Constitution is adopted recognizing principles and rights relating to human mobility, and b) The visa waiver policy for foreign nationals entering the country is implemented.
3. The third period, beginning in 2010 after the earthquake, with a significant increase in migration flows. However, data show a significant increase from 2013 onward. This could be related not only to the impact of Cyclone Sandy on the Haitian coast in late 2012 but in addition, to the fact that Peru established visa requirements to enter the country and thus, Ecuador became the most accessible country for entering the continent.

Data collected show that Quito and Guayaquil, in this order, are the most important ports of entry by air; followed by Huaquillas, Tulcán and Macará, in order of numeric importance⁷. Without a doubt, Guayaquil and Quito are the main ports of entry and exit of Haitians; the cost of air tickets (which is lower to Quito) may have a direct impact on the fact that Quito is the main destination, despite the altitude, the climate and the lower numbers of Afro-descendant populations (which would make it more difficult for Haitians to blend in with the population). Furthermore, it should be noted that from 2009 onward, Huaquillas shows a significant increase in its importance as a port of entry, and especially as a port of exit of the country. Data on the route of entry to the country show that the general trend is to enter Ecuador by air. While cases of Haitians entering by land have always been recorded, the number of migrants entering the country by air has increased since 2009. Although the majority of Haitians entering the country are male, the percentages of women are not low. In fact, more women than men entered the country in 2008, although this changed again in 2009 and 2010.

7- Data are not recorded for 2008; neither were data found for Quito for 2004. This distorts the generalized trend of Quito as the main port of entry to the country. In addition, it was not possible to find data for all ports for every year and thus, continuous trends could not be identified.

Table 1: Recorded Entries and Exits of Haitians for 2001-2012, Quito 2013

Year	Entries	Exits
2001	298	292
2002	162	158
2003	150	124
2004	196	211
2005	165	160
2006	112	113
2007	134	141
2008	270	187
2009	1257	562
2010	1681	1170
2011	2546	2536
2012	3040	929
TOTAL	10011	6583

Source: National Directorate of Migration (comprehensive information system of the National Police Force). Prepared by Diana Ramírez, PADH, 2013.

In regard to the age of Haitians that have entered the country, it can be observed that boys and girls have entered in an on-going manner; however, the highest percentage of entries is for young adults 20-39 years of age. Nevertheless, it can be observed that until 2007 the age group of 40-64 years is present, and the gap between this group and the group of young adults is less wide. On the contrary, an increasing number of young persons are now entering the country. It is important to highlight that, while records do not show high percentages of boys, girls and adolescents compared to the other age groups, the category of “Under-age” included under *Occupation* shows a sustained increase. This reflects a growing presence of boys, girls and adolescents.

In regard to the occupation of Haitians entering the country, data from 2008 onward show a significant reduction in the percentages of persons included under the category of *Professionals, Scientists and Intellectuals* entering the country. In addition, except for 2010, with a slight increase in the number of entries of migrants under this category, a decreasing trend can be observed. But basically, the *Unskilled Workers* category shows the most significant growth: the percentages were almost doubled in 2009, and high levels have been maintained in subsequent years. Furthermore, the percentage for *Students* has also increased from 2008 onward.

3. THE MIGRATION CYCLE

3.1. Aspects Prior to Departure

The field study shows that the reasons why Haitians leave their country are to find security, education or work. A wish to escape from the reality of Haiti was identified (life-threatening situations, crime, lack of work, destroyed universities); to find a good job and study to be able to “have a dignified and decent life: a dream that was hard to achieve before the earthquake and that has become impossible to realize after the earthquake”. It is important to highlight that the notion of a right to education, to a dignified life, to integrity, to food is – in the opinion of Haitians – a dream and not a right.

The ways how Haitians obtained information about the possibility of migrating vary, according to the year when the person decided to emigrate. The persons that arrived in Ecuador before the earthquake were able to regularize their migration status immediately after the earthquake, through the Immigration Amnesty (Executive Decree 257) decreed by the Government of Ecuador for Haitians and their families. However, some of them had already invited relatives and/or acquaintances, even before the Immigration Amnesty, since from 2008 onward a visa was not required to enter Ecuador.

Based on their own experience, which is not free from the violence and discrimination that are characteristic in Ecuador, this group of migrants (that had arrived in the country in previous years), “learned” to live in the country and were able to settle; some as French teachers and others as shop assistants. However, they stated that many persons that had arrived upon their invitation had already left the country and were living in Brazil, Chile or Argentina. This previous group considers its transit through Ecuador and the other countries to be one more possibility for transit. A university-level research study⁸ conducted in late 2012 and early 2013 shows that one of the interviewed women left Haiti intending to get to French Guyana and then to Canada; however, since it is not easy to obtain a visa in Haiti to travel to these countries, she decided to travel to Ecuador and attempt to cross the various land borders until she reached her final destination.

Ecuador is an attractive destination since no visa requirements exist and therefore, various other destinations can be reached from this country. In late 2013, when it became apparent that the entry rates were growing systematically, Sister

8- Pierrette Louijuste, *El problema laboral de los haitianos en Quito*. Quito, 2013. Bi-annual research paper. Universidad Politécnica Salesiana, Faculty of Human and Education Sciences. Social Communication Major. Urban Anthropology.

Pierrette Louijuste identified⁹ that approximately 95% of the interviewed migrants had arrived in Ecuador because they had been deceived by migrant smuggling networks that operate in Haiti as well as Ecuador. The most common false promise made to Haitian migrants was that they would find free education and work and would be able to study and work at the same time. In the year following the earthquake, that is, 2011, persons such as I.P.E. and her son P.Y.G.E. were accused of trafficking in persons, since they had deceived a group of youth telling them that they would be able to study and work in Ecuador. The Haitians that are deceived by false promises of student scholarships are given Spanish tests and are told that this test is part of the process for being admitted at the Ecuadorian university. Another recruitment mechanism is to broadcast advertisements or messages over the radio in Haiti to promote trips to Ecuador.

A topic that is important is the link that may exist between groups that call themselves “churches” and migrant smuggling and trafficking networks or simply, support networks. A significant interrelation has been identified between so-called evangelical churches and Haitian migration. Some Ecuadorians members of these churches have received Haitians in transit in their homes. No further research could be conducted on this topic since the interviewed persons did not want to speak about this. However, the Zone 7 Coordinator from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs – Machala – stated that an increase has been observed in the number of visa applications from Haitian religious members of an Anglican church from September 2012 onward. The interviewed officer considered this to be suspicious since, although all the submitted documents are in order, the number of applications is significant.

Another group of Haitians learned, in the Dominican Republic, that no visa is required to enter Ecuador and therefore decided to migrate. The general perception of these persons is that there are many work and education opportunities in Ecuador. Furthermore, wages paid in US dollars are alluring as well. Moreover, the idea that any South American country can be reached by land from Ecuador is part of what is heard among Haitians in Ecuador. The possibility of Ecuador as a potential country of destination is quickly ruled out in view of the country’s reality: jobs are scarce and integration is difficult.

The money required for the journey is raised in various manners and varies from person to person. In some cases, upon deciding to send their children abroad, families collect money through loans and selling their possessions; in other cases, relatives that already are abroad send money to facilitate the journey. This way of raising money is most common among students – and in general, Haitians living

9- Ibid.

in Ecuador are students. Furthermore, other persons sell all their possessions to be able to make the journey.

The contacts in Ecuador depend on how the journey is organized in Haiti. If the migrants are travelling with migrant smuggling networks, they are received by them; and if not, they are received by relatives or friends that show solidarity with them since they know about the situation experienced in Haiti. The earthquake has reshaped migration: survival is becoming impossible in Haiti and thus, not only refugee seekers¹⁰ are leaving the country but, above all, young persons seeking to obtain access to education or any kind of professional training.

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Commerce and Integration (MRECI), Haitians come to Ecuador for economic, social and political reasons. Economic reasons because the economy of Ecuador is based on the US dollar, and this currency is alluring to those seeking to send money to their families in Haiti. The social reasons are derived from the earthquake: Haitians leave their country to find ways to help their families. And finally, the political causes are related to the lack of visa requirements in Ecuador, which makes it easy to enter the country, compared to other countries that have more complicated requirements. Thus, Ecuador becomes a transit country – very few Haitian migrants stay in Ecuador¹¹.

3.2. Aspects Relating to the Journey to Ecuador

The Haitian migrants that have arrived in Ecuador have travelled in groups with friends, relatives or other migrants that have joined them. Others have travelled alone. They know in advance that no visa is required to enter Ecuador. Three routes were identified:

- *Route 1:* By air, directly from Port-au-Prince to Panama and then on to Quito or Guayaquil;
- *Route 2:* From Haiti to the Dominican Republic by land, and then to Panama by air and on to Quito or Guayaquil;
- *Route 3:* From Port-au-Prince to Havana (Cuba). From there to Bogota (Colombia) and on to San José (Costa Rica), and finally to Quito.

10- 7 refugee visas (12-IV) were granted in 2001-2007, and 12 refugee visas were granted in 2008-2009. From 2010 onward, refugee visas have no longer been granted.

11- See Annex 2 for information about the types of visas granted by Ecuador to Haitians.

Map 1: Haiti – Ecuador Routes



Source: Interviews. Prepared by Gabriela Bernal, PADH, 2013.

One of the difficulties that were pointed out is related to the fact that Ecuadorian immigration officers may conduct interviews that could become a criterion for admission or denial of entry. The discretionary nature of the processes to establish denial criteria leads to many irregularities¹².

The majority of Haitians arriving in Ecuador are received at the airport; some by friends and others by members of migrant smuggling networks. Data show that, for example, some persons arriving in Quito are received and taken to shelters where they stay until more persons have arrived. Once the group is sufficiently large, a bus can even be hired to take the migrants to the southern border – usually to Huaquillas or Loja. In addition, the promptness of the journey depends on the amount of money that migrants are willing to pay: the more money they pay, the faster they get there.

12- Hiroshima Villalba stated that a certain number of Haitian nationals have been denied entry, since a simple interview is conducted upon their first contact with the immigration control officer, and if the officer notices that the person intending to enter the country does not know, for example, where he/she is arriving or does not have the necessary financial resources to justify entry as a tourist, it is suspected that this person may be a victim of migrant smuggling. Interview with Hiroshima Villalba, Director of Migration of the Ministry of the Interior. Quito, May 20, 2013.

3.1. Aspects Relating to the Stay in Ecuador

Undoubtedly, the Haitian populations that entered Ecuador before the earthquake are living in better conditions than those that arrived after the earthquake. This is due to the fact that, after living in the country for several years, they have managed to find an a niche in the labour market in their respective careers (as teachers, physicians, etc.)¹³ However, the existence of a current trend of a smaller number of migrants from the *Professionals, Scientists and Intellectuals* category entering the country should also be taken into account. Qualitative data show that the majority of Haitians that have stayed in the country for longer periods of time are professionals.

For the Haitians that arrived before the 2010 earthquake, Executive Decree 257 – also known as Migration Amnesty – enabled them to legalize their migration status. This further contributed to their legalization after they had married Ecuadorian nationals or had Ecuadorian children. The latter two factors make migration regularization much more feasible for them, thus enabling them to improve their living conditions.

However, the vast majority of Haitians are not part of this group, since they arrived after January 2010. The situation of the Haitian population in Ecuador should be analysed considering that they are victims of deception and that in addition, they claim to be considered as persons in a situation of forced migration because their country does not offer the minimum conditions for survival, especially after the earthquake.

The first problem faced by Haitians in Ecuador is the limited (almost inexistent) possibility of regularizing their migration status. According to Jesuit Refugee Service (SJR)¹⁴, the primary problem was that a consulate did not exist in the country to process the paperwork required by the State of Ecuador for their regularization¹⁵. The difficulty of obtaining the documents that need to be provided from Haiti makes any procedure complicated. Once a tourist visa expires, it is not possible to apply for any other visa since the tourist visa needs to be in effect for the person to be able to apply for another visa. This type of migration

13- The Haitians that were able to get their diplomas recognized achieved this before all the changes were implemented in the Ecuadorian higher education system. Today, for a foreign diploma to be recognized the issuing university needs to be recognized and included in a list that is legally recognized by the State of Ecuador. No Haitian university is included in the list at the moment.

14- Villalobos, op. cit.

15- This situation has changed in recent weeks. According to information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an Embassy of Haiti will be established soon in Ecuador. <http://cancilleria.gob.ec/nueva-embajada-y-consulado-de-haiti-en-ecuador/> (June 10, 2013).

trap is mentioned by Haitians as the main reason for all their migration issues in Ecuador.

According to the perception of Haitians, all human rights violations are derived from their irregular migration status, with the right to work being most frequently violated (if not the only one that is violated). Furthermore, many other problems arise as a result of the violation of the right to work, revealing the fragility of the condition of Haitian migrants. The few Haitians living in Ecuador that have a job are construction workers, waiters, security guards, painters or watchmen guarding different types of property. However, their irregular status opens the door to violations of their right to work as well as the right to enjoy work guarantees: usually, they do not have an employment contract, are exploited working more hours than others and during the times established by the employer, and are not paid the minimum wage; and if they have the misfortune of suffering an accident in the workplace, the employers do not take on any responsibility. Nevertheless, although many rights of Haitians living in Ecuador are violated, the right to health is probably the only one that is respected; the interviewed persons stated that they had had access to health care in public hospitals irrespective of their migration status.

Furthermore, the gender-based violence affecting Haitian women also occurs in the workplace. While the situation is difficult for men, it is even more so for women. Work becomes the place where they suffer every possible discrimination and where their gender is used to justify rights violations: as women, as black persons, as foreigners and/or because they speak a different language – they are not granted the right to work with dignity and to a life free of violence, among others. It is impossible for women to find a job where they are not exposed to violence. The few women that find a job say that they work as shop assistants or as waitresses in bars and restaurants, where they are exposed not only to labour exploitation but in addition, to sexual harassment by clients and employers. As a result, women are at high risk of suffering sexual exploitation.

Moreover, as a result of the violation of the right to non-discrimination, Haitians have problems finding a place to live. Their skin colour makes it difficult for them to have access to housing. Once they have found a place to live they usually live in groups of 8-10 persons in one home. A high level of solidarity exists among Haitians. In many cases, those that find a job support and help the others. And those that have a home receive newcomers in their homes. One of the most significant problems is that, due to the high level of unemployment among Haitians, they often have nothing to eat.

The majority of Haitians in Ecuador are in transit. The impossibility of regularizing their migration status, discrimination, and lack of work, are factors that drive them to leave the country. Those that are somewhat more settled are afraid of starting over in another country, but these are only very few. The length of the

stay of Haitians in transit in Ecuador depends on their financial possibilities and the decision not to stay in Ecuador. Once they are in Quito, it can take them two days to reach the border; however, sometimes they have to wait until sufficient migrants have arrived to be able to travel to the border. The journey begins once a group of migrants has gathered, or when they have collected enough money to be able to travel.

Data from informal conversations show that the vast majority of Haitians arriving in Ecuador continue to Peru, to be able to reach the southern countries. Since January 25, 2012 Haitians need a visa to enter Peru and therefore, entering the country in a regular manner is very difficult. Informal conversations with other actors in the Huaquillas area, especially those linked to the pastoral work of the Catholic Church in the area, revealed that indeed, the existence of unofficial border crossings to Peru is widely known.

3.2. Aspects Relating to the Journey to Brazil

SJR stated that they have been able to identify that, once Haitian migrants have arrived in Quito, they usually travel to the southern border by land aiming to cross the border in Huaquillas, and perhaps also in Loja – although the latter has not been confirmed. Data from Immigration only include records up to 2010, although it is evident that Huaquillas has become the primary port of exit of Haitian populations since 2009. However, it is important to take into account that the majority of exits are not recorded and therefore, it is not possible to determine the role of the other border provinces.

Furthermore, data from SJR show that once Haitian migrants cross the border, their objective is to reach Iquitos and from there continue to Manaus by boat. Some seek to travel to French Guyana but this entire territory is controlled by migrant smuggling and trafficking networks. A report prepared for SJR¹⁶ shows the existence of complex migrant smuggling and trafficking networks that operate from Haiti and in transit and destination countries of Haitian migrants in Latin America. The Jesuit Refugee Service for Latin America and the Caribbean (SJR LAC) has identified at least two migrant smuggling and trafficking networks that recruit Haitians in various regions of Haiti – mainly in the western and northern part of the country – promising them that they will find education and work in Latin America, and even in the United States and Europe. These networks use Cuba and the Dominican Republic as transit countries to Ecuador; and upon arriving in Ecuador the criminals abandon their victims.¹⁷

16- Loudior, Woolly Edson. Los flujos haitianos hacia América Latina: situación actual y propuestas. Jesuit Refugee Service – Latin America and the Caribbean. 2011.

17- Ibid, p. 3.

4. GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

Without a doubt, the primary specific response by the State of Ecuador to address the situation of Haitians to date is Executive Decree 248 of February 9, 2012. The initial idea of supporting the regularization of Haitians that were already living in Ecuador was conceived as a means to support the Haitian people that had been affected by the earthquake in January of that same year. While this was an immediate response at the time, it could not be foreseen that the majority of Haitians were about to arrive.

The generalized feeling among the interviewed persons is that Ecuador has a contradictory policy in regard to mobility: the door is opened but there is no way to enter or exit. The situation, which certainly is ambiguous, facilitates the establishment of migrant smuggling networks because, upon failing to find solutions in Ecuador, the migrants that arrive without needing a visa or invitation are forced to find a way to leave. The problem is that they are unable to leave with their documents in order and thus, enjoy their rights. Furthermore, the issue is not that Haitians want to stay in Ecuador; it is that since a legal solution to their migration status does not exist, they are directly pushed toward seeking to exit in an irregular manner, and this is where migrant smuggling networks come into play.

Several interviewed officers from various government offices stated that the issue of Haitian populations and current Haitian migration flows should be discussed and seriously addressed. However, in practice a policy relating to this topic has yet to be developed. It is important to highlight that the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office recognizes that civil society organizations can provide important input to enable the State to specifically work with Haitian populations.

In general, it can be said that Haitian migration to Ecuador did not begin with the earthquake but that it increased after this natural disaster. Immigration records for Ecuador show 298 entries for 2001, 270 entries for 2008, 1,681 entries for 2010 and 3,040 entries for 2012; and to date, more than 5,000 entries have already been recorded for 2013. In addition, it should be noted that the number of officially recorded exits has decreased. Thus, 2,536 exits were recorded in 2011 and only 929 in 2012 (which was the year when Peru established that Haitians needed a visa to enter the country).

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Haitian Migration in Peru and its Transit to Brazil

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Summary

This paper combines the voices of Haitians, of the local population and of representatives from Peruvian State institutions in charge of regulating the transit of foreign nationals, within the framework of the discussion of migration policy. The study was conducted in March-July 2013 in Madre de Dios, Lima and Tumbes, and was entrusted to Instituto de Estudios Peruanos (IEP) by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), with the objective of learning about all the characteristics of the migration of Haitians in transit in Peru with Brazil as their final destination. The methods we used were an adaptation of the ethnosurvey methodology (Massey, 1987), semi-structured comprehensive interviews, ethnographies of people on the move and subjective maps of the travel routes of Haitian migrants headed to Peru. We found that the contingent of Haitian migrants in transit through Peru aiming to reach Brazil is basically composed of men but also includes women, both aged 20-44 years, and is socio-economically heterogeneous. An important segment of this group has had previous migration experiences, both of their own and their families, and thus, has social and labour capital associated to those experiences. These migrants use flexible migration routes, adjusting to the circumstances at the time when they are migrating. Coyote networks operate in several nodes along the route. Although Haitians continue to enter Peru, in an irregular manner, after the “temporary visa with tourist migration status” was established as an entry requirement (10/01/2012), this does not mean that the number of entries has decreased. In addition, this has had an undesired effect: the vulnerability of Haitian migrants has increased, since they are exposed to abuses by corrupt police officers and civil populations on both sides of the border in the areas covered under the study. We recommend

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facilitating the transit of Haitians through Peruvian territory and protecting them through the approval of a humanitarian visa.

1. INTRODUCTION

The key findings from the study are presented considering the six headings established by IOM for this study: “1. Aspects Relating to the Journey to Peru; 2. Aspects Relating to Arrival in Peru; 3. Aspects Relating to the Stay in Peru; 4. Aspects Relating to the Journey to Brazil; 5. Government Response; and 6. The Impact of Haitian Migration on Transit Communities”.

We noted that current Haitian international migration in general and Haitian migration to Brazil should be analysed considering the impact of past Haitian migration experiences (internal as well as international, to the Dominican Republic, the United States, Canada, France, Bahamas and others) on Haitian society, transforming it together with other processes (Glick, Schiller and Fournon, 1999), thus establishing the prior conditions and social capital that “enable individuals and homes to relocate” (Gammage 2004:743). Basically, a significant number of Haitian homes experienced social mobilization associated to these past migration flows and thus, acquired migration experience that is visible among the new Haitian migrants, such as those migrating to Brazil. In addition, the past migration experiences have also shaped a diaspora community which not only takes part in the political processes of the country of origin but in addition, intervenes or participates in supporting new migration flows to various destinations chosen by Haitian migrants.

The study was conducted in March, April, May and June 2013 in three Peruvian departments and two transborder regions. In the department of Madre de Dios, Puerto Maldonado, Mavila, Iberia, Iñapari and “La Pampa” were included, as well as the Peru-Brazil border and the Brazilian locations of Assis and Brasileia (state of Acre, Brazil). In the department of Tumbes, Tumbes, Zarumilla and the Peru-Ecuador border were included. In the department of Piura, the routes between Tumbes and Máncora, the location of Máncora and the city of Piura were included. The study design was characterized by two central theoretical/methodological approaches: the ethnosurvey (Massey 1987) and multi-location ethnographies of people on the move, following the migrants along their route (Marcus, 1995). Seven instruments make up the primary data sources: ethnosurveys (n=11), semi-structured comprehensive interviews with Haitian migrants (n=10), ethnographies of people on the move, subjective maps (routes) of the journey of Haitian migrants (n=10), interviews with experts (n=3) and with au-

thorities (n=6), and semi-structured interviews with Peruvian and Brazilian local residents (n=14). Furthermore, the study includes a review of relevant laws and regulations, newspaper archives from international, national and local media, the archive of the meetings of the ad hoc group to discuss the situation of Haitian immigrants in Peru (Grupo Ad Hoc para Analizar la Situación de Inmigrantes Haitianos en el Perú) and data from the immigration control records of the General Directorate of Immigration and Naturalization (DIGEMIN), among others, as secondary data sources.

2. ASPECTS RELATING TO THE JOURNEY TO PERU

2.1. Planned Routes (Means, Stopovers, Duration, Costs)

The journeys of Haitians that migrated to Peru in March, April and May 2013 with the objective of crossing the Peru-Brazil border at Iñapari in Madre de Dios originated at two points of departure: Haiti and the Dominican Republic, with some migrants departing from Quito in Ecuador in step-migration, raising the resources they needed to get to Brazil.

Departure from Haiti:

Migrants departing from Haiti begin the journey in urban or rural communes of the region of Artibonite (Gonaïves) or the region of Ouest (Port-au-Prince) (see Map 1.1). From there, they continue to the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo or Santiago de los Caballeros) by land, or directly to Panama City (Panama) by air without passing through the Dominican Republic. A more significant number of Haitians departing from Haiti are members of large nuclear families, usually children or heads of households, than those departing from the Dominican Republic. Thus, they have the pressure to support income generation to cover the expenses of a home composed of several family units and to directly support younger siblings and parents. When they depart from Port-au-Prince they are more likely to travel directly to Panama City (Panama) by air and then on to Quito (Ecuador).

Departure from the Dominican Republic:

The route begins in Santiago or Santo Domingo or alternatively, in La Romana and Punta Cana. The majority of this group of migrants already have their own

family units with small children and spouses. In general, they are the male heads of households or the female spouses of heads of households. In both cases, they have lived in the country for 10-12 years. Thus, Haitians departing from the Dominican Republic: (I) Have already had a first international migration experience, crossing the border on Hispaniola Island; (II) Have stayed in the Dominican Republic for a relatively long time; and (III) Their journey began between 1993 and 2003, before the 2010 earthquake in Haiti. Given that they work or have businesses in the Dominican Republic, they have saved relatively more financial resources for the journey than migrants departing from Haiti. Those that depart from Santo Domingo in the Dominican Republic are more likely to travel to Bogotá (Colombia) by air and from there to Quito (Ecuador) and then on to Peru.

Transit through Panama City (Panama):

Migrants in transit through Panama only stay at Tocumen Airport very briefly while they submit documents at immigration control and wait for the next flight to Quito (Ecuador).

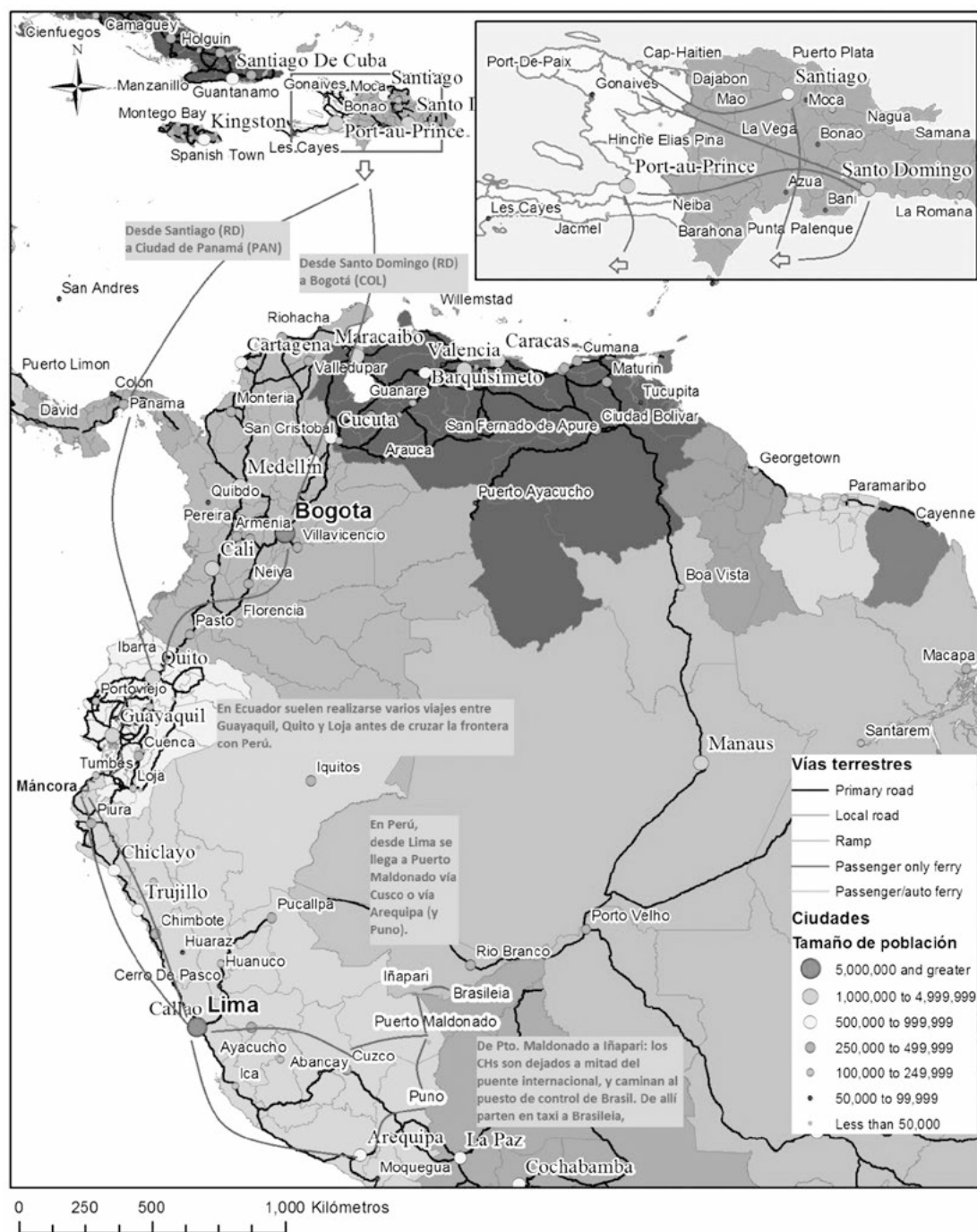
Transit through Bogota (Colombia):

These are only migrants departing from a city in the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo). They stay at El Dorado Airport very briefly while they submit the required migration documents and wait for the connecting flight to Quito (Ecuador).

Transit through Ecuador (Quito, Huaquillas and other cities):

Different movement patterns have been observed for migrants that were followed from Quito to the Peruvian border. Some Haitians stay in Quito only for a few days while others stay for months. Of the latter, some travel to Guayaquil or southern towns close to the city of Loja (Province of Loja) such as Macará, or circulate between Quito, Guayaquil and Loja, seeking the most effective way to cross the Ecuador-Peru border (collecting information and data about Peruvian or Ecuadorian citizens that charge US\$100 to take them across the border from Huaquillas, Ecuador to Tumbes or Piura in Peru) avoiding the immigration control posts of Peru (Aguas Verdes and Centro Binacional de Atención Fronteriza – CEBAF). In addition, they work or wait for remittances from Haiti or the Dominican Republic to raise enough travel money.

Map 1: Migration Routes of Haitians in Transit through Peru (March-June 2013)



Source: Prepared by the authors.

Transit through Peru:

From Huaquillas, Haitian migrants continue to Tumbes, Máncora (Piura) or the city of Piura (Piura), crossing the border in a taxi. Subsequently, they travel to Lima by bus on the Pan-American Highway (North-PE-IN from Tumbes to Lima). From Lima, they travel to Cusco (which is the most frequently used route) or Arequipa, also by bus. The trip from Lima to Cusco takes 20 hours and from Lima to Arequipa 15 hours, mainly along the Pan-American Highway (South PE-IS), especially if the transit destination is Arequipa. From Cusco or Arequipa, they continue their journey to Puerto Maldonado by bus along the Inter-Oceanic Highway (Peruvian southern section) that leads from Cusco to Puerto Maldonado and from Arequipa to Puerto Maldonado, through the region of Puno. In the same manner as before they crossed the Ecuador-Peru border, Haitian migrants stay in Puerto Maldonado for a few days, with limited financial resources, trying to raise the money (US\$100-200) they need to pay taxi drivers or coyotes that will take them to the bridge over the river Acre, which is the border between Peru and Brazil. Since early 2013, Puerto Maldonado has become the point of departure for migrants intending to cross the Peru-Brazil border; prior to that they departed from Iñapari and Iberia. Along their route, they pass 6 control posts of the National Police of Peru (PNP) set up along the section of the Inter-Oceanic Highway that leads from Puerto Maldonado to Iberia and from there to Iñapari, northeast of Puerto Maldonado. The Peruvian taxi drivers or coyotes take the Haitian migrants from Puerto Maldonado to the middle of the bridge over the river Acre (international border). There, Brazilian taxi drivers – whom Peruvian taxi drivers or coyotes have contacted by mobile phone – pick them up and take them to the border control post of Brazil in Assis, which is located a few metres away from the bridge over the river Acre.

Brazil:

At the Assis border control post managed by the Federal Police of Brazil, Haitians stand in line and the Federal Police officer (we only say one officer) receives them one by one and asks to see their passports. The procedure that was observed is that after identifying the migrants as Haitian nationals intending to cross the border, entry is approved without the need to fill out a form or record data. The recording procedure is not carried out until Brasileia. This reflects the existence of special immigration treatment for Haitian migrants. Other foreign nationals seeking to obtain the same treatment are not authorized to cross the border (African migrants, for example). From the Assis border post Haitians are transferred to Brasileia by taxi. The taxi driver that takes them there is the same person that picked them up on the bridge or another one that has arrived upon

request of other Brazilian taxi drivers (communication by mobile phone between taxi drivers is very effective).

2.1. Foreseen and Unforeseen Costs:

The total estimated cost for Haitians to migrate from Haiti and the Dominican Republic until they have crossed the Peru-Brazil border is US\$3,000-6,000. This estimate includes airfare and land transportation costs, food, accommodation (overrated or normal), including “hiding” in a coyote house in the location of Máncora where Haitian migrants are received by three or four Peruvians (or perhaps nationals from other countries) and are not allowed to leave the house under the pretext of “hiding” them from the police. These persons also buy the migrants’ bus tickets to travel from Máncora to Lima. The general manner of this “purchase” is charging 200% more than the actual cost of the bus ticket under the pretext of charging for accommodation and food. In addition, the above-mentioned estimate includes payments to coyotes (Ecuador-Peru and Peru-Brazil border regions), the payment of bribes demanded by some police and immigration officers (Panama City and Quito airports), money stolen along the route from Tumbes to Piura and in Máncora by corrupt officers from the National Police of Peru, and the payment of bribes to some police officers in Puerto Maldonado and along the route from Puerto Maldonado to Assis.

3. ASPECTS RELATING TO ARRIVAL

3.1. Expected Contact Persons

Ample evidence was found of offshore contacts of Haitians, living in other countries, that are part of a social support network for Haitian migrants transiting through Peru. Thus, Haitians request remittances, loans, information and contact data through international telephone calls to Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Brazil, the United States or other countries. In this manner, they have strategically developed a budget management system as a solution to the potential loss of travel money due to theft. Someone abroad sends partial amounts of money to different locations along the migration route as requested by the migrants. Furthermore, it was observed that some groups of Haitians that already were in Puerto Maldonado arrived at the Inter-Oceanic land transport terminal

in this city with two types of contact information associated to migrant smuggling networks: a mobile phone number they could call or digital photos, stored in mobile phones, of the faces of the persons (coyotes) that would pick them up at the terminal. The persons in charge of receiving them would take them to hostels, where they would stay for a few days before continuing their journey to Brazil after paying the coyotes US\$150-200.

4. ASPECTS RELATING TO THE STAY IN PERU

4.1. General Characteristics of Haitian Populations in Peru

Volume of the migration flows:

Statistical data from the National Migration Authority (Directorate of Electronic Management) show that 16,856 entries and exits of Haitians to and from Peruvian territory were recorded between 2010 and March 26, 2013. Obviously, these are the records for documented migrants. Furthermore, 1,895 entries of Haitians to Peru were recorded in 2010; in 2011, the number increased to 6,576; in 2012, after the requirement for a temporary tourist visa was established for Haitian nationals the number decreased to only 908 entries, and only 32 entries were recorded for the first quarter of 2013 (see Table 3.1).

Table 1: Entries and Exits of Haitian Nationals to/from Peruvian Territory (2010-March 2013)

Year	ENTRIES	EXITS	TOTAL
2010	1,895	1,779	3,674
2011	6,576	4,431	11,007
2012	1,206	908	2,114
2013	29	32	61
Grand Total	9,706	7,150	16,856

Source: National Migration Authority. Directorate of Electronic Management.

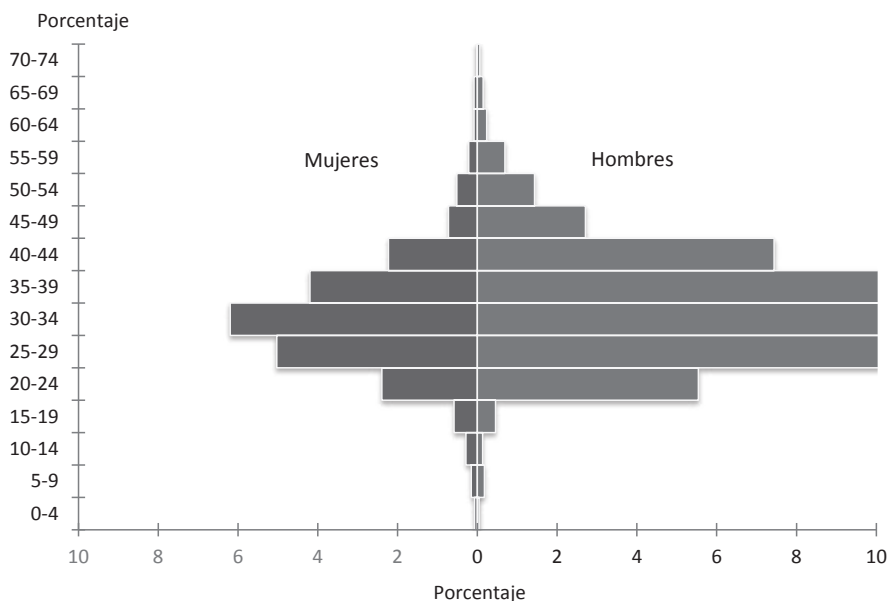
In regard to undocumented Haitian migrants that entered and exited Peruvian territory after the visa requirement for Haitian nationals was established (in

January 2012), an estimated number of up to 200 Haitians entered and exited Peru each month.

Composition by gender and age:

Of the total number of entries of Haitians to Peru recorded by the National Migration Authority for 2010-2013, 22.81% were women and 77.18% were men. The most important age groups are 30-40 years for men (30.98% of the total number of men were 30-40 years of age at the time when they entered Peru, in each of the 4 years of the period stated above) as well as women (27.15%) (see Graph 3.1); followed by the 25-29 year age group for men (26.34%) and women (22.04%). Finally, the 35-39 year age group is the third in order of importance, for men (17.93%) as well as women (18.38%).

Graph 1: Distribution of Documented Haitian Migrants that Entered Peruvian Territory (2010 – March 2013), by Gender and Age



[Text of Graph 1:
Percentage
Women
Men
Percentage]

Source: National Migration Authority.

For each observed situation, a higher number of male migrants was identified but in addition, young female migrants were identified as well. The photographs taken throughout the study also reflect this composition by gender, in another way. Furthermore, for example, the photographs accompanying news about Haitian migrants in Peruvian newspapers show that the majority of Haitian migrants in Peru are men.

In summary, the contingent of Haitian migrants that transited through Peru in 2010 and the first quarter of 2013 aiming to reach Brazil was mainly composed of men but also included women, in the ratio 8:3. All of them were of economically productive and reproductive age.

Table 2: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Haitians Interviewed through Instrument ETNOE (1)

Haitian National	Gender	Age	Education Level	Studied in Haiti and in:	Primary Occupation	Specifics on Primary Occupation
<i>"André"</i>	M	41	Did not finish high school	N/A (*)	"Complete mason"	Specializing in wall tile
<i>"African"</i>	M	34	Did not finish high school	Dominican Republic	Student/mason	Studied at ITEBO (Institute in Santiago)
<i>"Celavi"</i>	M	34	Did not finish high school	N/A	Carpenter	Carpentry associated to construction
<i>"Frances"</i>	M	38	High school and more	N/A	"Complete mason"	-
<i>"Kelly"</i>	F	33	High school and more	N/A	Photographer/video	-
<i>"Odevlé"</i>	M	29	Did not finish high school (dropped out 1 year before finishing)	The Bahamas, The Bahamas	Shopkeeper/mason	Has a shop in the Dominican Rep. As a construction worker, "can build a complete house based on a plan".
<i>"André nord Monplaisir"</i>	M	38	Did not finish high school	Dominican Republic	"Complete mason"	-
<i>"Katty"</i>	F	28	Did not finish high school	Dominican Republic	Hairdresser	Worked as a household worker, then in a clothing store, then in a salon

<i>"Nasson"</i>	M	21	Did not finish high school	N/A	High school student	-
<i>"Masse Louismane"</i>	M	35	High school and more	N/A	Musician (studied Music)	Has performed in Canada and Paris
<i>"Fra"</i>	F		High school and more	N/A	College student	Studied Sociology

*Does not apply.

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Education level and occupation:

Contrary to what could be thought, Haitians transiting through Peru with Brazil as their final destination are a fairly heterogeneous group, with significant differences in terms of socio-economic and education level and also, in terms of previous migration experience. Haitian migration flows include Haitians with meagre socio-economic resources as well as middle-class and upper-class Haitians. Considering the "education level" as a variable of approximation to the "socio-economic status" variable, it can be observed that the group of interviewed Haitians (see Table 3.2) includes migrants that did not finish high school and in addition, migrants that finished high school and others with higher education.

Furthermore, the occupations also show that the group is heterogeneous, although commonly the prevailing manual skills among men are related to construction work. The majority of the interviewed male migrants mentioned construction work in addition to other occupations. Some of them – mainly those that had emigrated from the Dominican Republic after having lived there for several years – identified themselves as students and construction workers and others as tradespersons or shopkeepers (or as shop owners) and construction workers. Furthermore, some had specialized in some aspect relating to construction work (many of them described themselves as "complete masons" or *mason complet*, which is the term used to describe a mason that can carry out all the tasks relating to construction). The women included college students, professionals and those that had worked in the service sector prior to emigrating (hairdressers, cooks in homes and restaurants in the Dominican Republic).

In addition, obvious differences were observed in terms of the consumer patterns relating to clothes, perfumes and food. Haitians from rural communes in Haiti basically used one set of clothes for several days, while Haitians from Port-au-Prince and the Dominican Republic changed their clothes daily – even several times a day – and wore perfume. Some did not have any problems eating the

food cooked for everyone in a common pot at hostels, while others did not feel comfortable eating that food.

Family, migration, gender:

The case study in question shows, as stated in literature on other Haitian migration flows (Grasmuck and Grosfoguel, 1997) that the migration experiences differ according to the migrant's gender, in the country of origin as well as the country of destination, and also in transit countries. Other variables generating different patterns are the position of the migrant in his/her home ("relationship with the head of household") and whether the journey begins in Haiti or the Dominican Republic.

Religiosity:

Studies on the Haitian diaspora show that religion has been and continues to be a key resource among Haitians migrating to other countries, since it helps them overcome hardships and facilitates assimilation of Haitians in the country of destination (Mooney 2003). Religiosity, especially associated to Christian Protestant denominations, was a common trait among the majority of interviewed Haitians. The interviews show that religion is a resource for explaining each situation that they experienced during their journey. Basically, each time that something could have been worse but does not occur, this is understood as a sign of God's protection. Furthermore, some migrants had certificates proving that they completed Christian Protestant education at an institutional level, in the Dominican Republic as well as the Bahamas.

Migrants with accumulated migration capital:

A significant number (perhaps half) of the interviewed Haitian migrants – men and women – had migrated to other countries prior to initiating their journey to Brazil. In other words, this was the second or third international migration experience for many of them.

Table 3: Socio-demographic Characteristics of Haitians Interviewed through Instrument ETNOE (2)

Haitian National	Place of Birth (Department)	Location	Urban/Rural	Most Recent Place of Residence
<i>"André"</i>	Centre (Hinche)	Pilate (Second Town)	-	Santiago (Dominican Republic)
<i>"African"</i>	Artibonite (Gonaives)	Lioncourt	Urban	Santiago (Dominican Republic)
<i>"Celavi"</i>	Artibonite (Gonaives)	Ville de Salins	Rural	Ville de Salins
<i>"Frances"</i>	Ouest (Port-au-Prince) Metropolitan Area	Cafou	Urban	Cafou/Port-au-Prince, also lived in the Dominican Republic for 1 year
<i>"Kelly"</i>	Artibonite (Gonaives)	Grand Desdunes Commune	-	Gonaives
<i>"Odevlé"</i>	Ouest (Port-au-Prince) Metropolitan Area	-	Urban	La Romana (Dominican Republic)
<i>"André nord Monplaisir"</i>	Sud-est (Jacmel)	Anse-a-pitre	Rural	Dominican Republic
<i>"Katty"</i>	Centre (Hinche)	Las Kasabas	Rural	Santo Domingo (Dominican Republic)
<i>"Nasson"</i>	Artibonite (Gonaives)	Gonaives	Urban	Gonaives
<i>"Masse Louismane"</i>	Nord-Ouest (Port-de-Paix)	Leogane	Urban	Leogane
<i>"Fra"</i>	Ouest (Port-au-Prince) Metropolitan Area	-	Urban	Port-au-Prince

**Does not apply.*

Source: Prepared by the authors.

One of the most visible skills among Haitians with migration capital was that they could communicate in several languages. This skill is an important resource. Many spoke some Spanish, several spoke English, others spoke French in addition to Creole, and others spoke Creole, Spanish and English. A few of them spoke all four languages (Creole, French, Spanish and English) and were willing to learn

Portuguese. Among the group of Haitians with accumulated migration capital it was observed that, when facing different situations such as asking for information in a new location or establishing contact with the local population, they were efficient in achieving their purpose. Among the group without any prior migration experience, generally from rural communities in Haiti, the trend was observed to rely on their friends or acquaintances within the group that did have prior migration experience. The latter performed this role with seriousness, translating from Spanish to Creole for the group or speaking with taxi drivers, asking for information, making deals, making phone calls, etc.

4.2. Length of Stay

The expectations and wish of the vast majority of interviewed Haitians was to reach their intended country of destination (Brazil) as quickly as possible. Their stay in Peru was considered to be temporary, and when facing obstacles to fulfilling their plan, especially lack of enough money to pay for the services of taxi drivers or coyotes offering to take them across the border to Brazil (because their money had been stolen at the northern border), Haitians experienced visible annoyance and sadness. In general, this difficulty could be overcome, for example, through an unexpected remittance from their families or a loan by friends within the same group of migrants, even in Peru or Ecuador, Brazil or another country. The majority of Haitians that were observed arriving in Puerto Maldonado, and also those that had been there for a few days, who first were in the city preparing to cross the border or waiting to receive money, were seen in Brasileia later on. Perhaps because some Haitians are unable to raise the money they need to pay taxi drivers or coyotes to take them across the border to Brazil (US\$100-200), they decide to stay temporarily in the region of Madre de Dios to work; in Puerto Maldonado as well as other provinces in the region. For this reason and within the context of the dynamic labour market of this city, community members remember and describe the participation of Haitians in various occupations, including informal work available to locals, especially construction work but also logging and illegal gold mining.

In regard to women, informants mentioned that they had met some Haitian girls working in bars, and in bars associated to prostitution.

Those that stayed in Peru:

This was a small group of 5-10 persons. According to information provided by two Haitians living in Peru that we were able to interview (n=2) and information from the newspapers and the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office, the primary problem that Haitians face is related to their migration status in Peru. The ref-

ugee status applicant cards that they obtained need to be renewed every two months. As a result, they are rejected by potential employers and are unable to find formal employment. Therefore, these Haitians have requested that the Peruvian Government issue an immigration card, thus increasing their chances of finding a stable job. Furthermore, finding a job is difficult even for professionals (one of the Haitians living in Lima is a professional chemist and his brother is a computer expert) since their diplomas as foreign professionals have not been formally accredited.

4.3. Living Conditions

The jobs that Haitians find in Peru are of a temporary nature, since their main objective is to cross the border. Most of them tend to stay in Peru only for a few days, and only in the city of Puerto Maldonado (in the Madre de Dios region). There, they usually stay at low-cost hostels (7 Soles or UD\$2.50 per night) where other Haitians are staying as well. The infrastructure of these hostels (“Inambari”, “Monterrico”, “El Sol”, “El Cahuata 1”, “El Cahuata 2”, “El Central”) is precarious. The hostels that we visited have common bathrooms, multiple-bed rooms and common services, such as a kitchen and a laundry room. Apparently, the hostels are used by local populations that do not have a home of their own.

5. ASPECTS RELATING TO THE JOURNEY TO BRAZIL

5.1. A Description of the Migration Plan

It was not possible to ascertain if the routes used by Haitian migrants (Section I.I) had been planned in detail, section by section, prior to departure. Data collected under the study show that the majority of Haitian migrants had sufficient information about the first legs of the journey (from Haiti to the Dominican Republic and from the Dominican Republic to Quito) prior to departure but only very limited information about the rest of the route. In regard to the intermediate sections of the journey, the majority of migrants did not know that they could be assaulted by police officers and civilians in the northern towns of Peru. As for the final leg of the journey, this is planned in Puerto Maldonado. Before this, they only have general information: they know, for example, that they need to contact taxi drivers or coyotes that will take them to Iñapari but they have limited geographic

knowledge. Furthermore, they do not know how long it will take them to reach this point or what the actual distance is or which road will take them there. In addition, they seem to have an idealized vision, which is destroyed in some way when they get to a precarious shelter in Brasileia. While a detailed or equally effective migration plan does not seem to exist for each section of the journey, a trend does exist to save all the documents that back up or remind them of the characteristics of this journey.

In regard to the routes, the only route used by Haitian migrants since early 2013 to travel from the Madre de Dios region in Peru to Brazil is through the Iñapari-Assis border. This is due to the special immigration treatment of Haitian nationals established by the State of Brazil, which guarantees their entry to the country. The prior routes are connecting points to the eastern part of the Inter-Oceanic Highway at the border between Peru and Bolivia. Apparently they were used by Haitians in 2011 but not afterwards. Three routes were mentioned: (I) From Mavila (Peru) to the community of Shiringayoq (Peru), then to the community of Santa María (Peru) and to the community of Soberanía (Bolivia). (II) A road from Alto Perú (Peru) to the department of Pando (Bolivia). (III) By boat on the river Tambopata to Bolivia (through Puerto Pardo and San Juan de Aposento). This takes approximately 3 hours.

5.1. Documentation

All Haitians with whom we spoke held a passport issued by Haiti and in addition, had a reduced photocopy of the passport and other identity documents. This document is essential, not only to enable the officer of the Federal Police of Brazil, upon confirming their Haitian nationality, to authorize their entry into the country without any problems but in addition, to identify themselves at the agencies that send and receive international remittances. However, in general Haitian migrants did not have a seal in their passport proving that they had crossed the Ecuador-Peru border in a regular manner and, in fact, did not have a “temporary tourist visa” required for all Haitians since January 12, 2012 through Supreme Decree No. 001-2012-RE of January 10, 2012, which establishes that “for migration policy reasons it is necessary to exclude nationals from the Republic of Haiti from the temporary tourist visa waiver regime”⁴. The primary

4- The general requirements to apply for a tourist visa at a consular office of Peru abroad are: a current passport or travel document, a return air ticket or proof of reservation, hotel reservation or tourist package proving that the applicant is a tourist, proof of financial capacity during the stay in Peru, two photographs and the payment of a consular rights fee (US\$30). Subsequently, a personal interview is conducted with the applicant, requesting additional information to compare it to the submitted documents. The legal basis for these requirements is established in Articles 372 & 373 of the Consular Regulations of Peru – Supreme Decree No. 076-2005-RE (05/10/2005) modified by Supreme Decree No. 091-2011-RE ((22/07/2011).

reason why Haitian nationals are not granted a tourist visa is because they do not know about this requirement. Those that had heard of it mentioned that the procedure involved complying with a set of fairly costly requirements without any guarantees that they would obtain the visa, such as, for example, completing the procedure at the Consular Section of the Embassy of Peru in Santo Domingo, Dominican Republic. In addition, there are rumours about requirements that are impossible to obtain⁵.

Prospects for family reunification in Brazil

Three possible plans were identified. The first one, frequently found among younger populations that departed from Haiti, was to return to Haiti as soon as possible. The negative experiences along the route and the difficulties to raise the money they needed to be able to cross the border to Brazil had discouraged them from continuing the journey. The objective of the second plan was to save a significant amount of money as capital and then to return to their families – either in Haiti or in the Dominican Republic. The third plan was to settle in Brazil and then send for their families to join them there. Other migrants that have already travelled to Brazil tell Haitians that there are many opportunities to work in large Brazilian cities or in the northern region of the country. Paradoxically, the majority of migrants had very imprecise information about how, where and in which conditions their relatives and friends live in Brazil.

6. GOVERNMENT RESPONSES

The Human Rights Ombudsman's Office is the government actor that is more directly involved in following up on the situation of Haitian migrants. The two decentralized agencies (in Tumbes and Madre de Dios) have taken relevant actions, in accordance with their roles and in a quite effective manner, with the objective of ensuring respect for the human rights of Haitian nationals. The headquarters of the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office in Lima, through the Human Rights and Disabled Persons Unit, works in coordination with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and supports the actions of both decentralized Human Rights Offices. The officers of the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office are well aware of the vulnerable situations of Haitian populations transiting through Peru and take their responsibility of protecting the rights of Haitian migrants and mediating with relevant public administration institutions very seriously. Daily activities involve

5- Until May 2013, it was fairly difficult to obtain complete information about these requirements, online or upon written request to the Consulate of Peru in Haiti.

coordination with Bolivian and Brazilian authorities when their intervention is required, in addition to actions at a regional level, with the National Police of Peru (PNP) and the Senior Prosecutor, as well as training efforts. The Madre de Dios office, for example, was in charge of issuing refugee status applicant cards for some Haitians, as a temporary mechanism to ensure protection of the fundamental rights of those that had to stay in Peru to be able to raise the money they needed to continue their journey to Brazil. While the objective of this practice is to protect Haitian migrants in transit through Peruvian territory, the truth is that this is not the best instrument for this purpose, and the role of the legal refugee instrument becomes distorted. Other, more appropriate mechanisms, such as the issuance of a humanitarian visa, have not prospered.

Furthermore, actions oriented toward combating migrant smuggling have had a fairly limited impact. PNP officers have carried out interventions with Haitians on both borders; however, members of migrant smuggling networks have not been arrested or punished. The situation has worsened since early 2013: in view of the public discontent of the authorities of the State of Acre in Brazil, Peruvian authorities, and especially PNP, strove to improve control or supervision actions in the border region. However, in practice these raids have potentially led to serious acts of corruption by some police officers, such as attacks, theft and demanding bribes.

The violations of the rights of Haitian migrants are also a result of the lack of information and confusion by relevant authorities, preventing them from implementing appropriate actions in accordance with the provisions of the Aliens Act⁶. In addition, this law has significant regulatory gaps and ambiguities. On one hand, punishment for infringing the law is not clearly established. Sanctions vary, from a fine to compulsory exit from national territory; however, the law does not clearly and comprehensively list the acts that constitute violations of the law or the corresponding punishment. This leads to arbitrary decisions by involved institutions (IOM 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to develop bylaws that clearly establish and typify the actions that are violations of the Aliens Act and the corresponding punishment, in accordance with international regulations signed by the State of Peru. Thus, the wide margin for interpretation and discretion in enforcing the law, as is currently the case, would be prevented.

On the other hand, according to the Human Rights Ombudsman's Office (2009) the impossibility of regularizing the migration status exposes irregular migrants and their families to rights violations and leaves no option for those who, for reasons relating to family, work or other conditions, are seeking to regularize their migration status in the country.

6- Aliens Act (Legislative Decree 703 of May 11, 1991).

7. THE IMPACTS OF HAITIAN MIGRATION ON COMMUNITIES OF TRANSIT

7.1. Perceptions in Communities of Transit

The perception of the local residents of the Madre de Dios region about Haitian migrants is based on two general notions. The first one describes them as good workers, innocent, very religious and, in some way, passive or used to making sacrifices. The second concept has been developed around the idea that it is the Haitians who take advantage of the local residents that have helped them. This perception emerged after the flood in Iñapari in February 2012, when the entire population – locals as well as Haitians (who were unable to cross the border to Brazil during those months) – worked to repair the damages caused by the flood. The Haitians asked to be paid for their work, and the local members of the community accused them of acting in their own interest although they had been accepted in the community for months.

7.2. General Perception: Trends in How the Topic is Addressed in the Peruvian Media

Between March and May 2013, the media focused on covering police interventions with Haitian nationals in various cities around the country; mainly Tumbes, Piura, Chiclayo, Cusco, Puerto Maldonado and Iñapari. Some common traits of media depictions of these events are described below.

- ***Lack of knowledge of Aliens Act 703 and Implications of its Enforcement:*** Few news articles explain that irregular migration status is an administrative offence rather than a crime. Thus, the presentation of police interventions strengthens the perception that Haitians are committing a crime or a serious offence: the terms “detention” and “intervention” are used indiscriminately, for example.
- ***Use of language that stigmatizes Haitians:*** Haitians are referred to as “illegal”, “illegal foreigners” and “undocumented”; such terms are used without distinction. The term “illegal” has become quite common to refer to persons with irregular migration status.
- ***The perception of the massive and uncontrolled arrival of Haitians is reinforced:*** The term “a wave of migrants” is used, which is seen as potentially dangerous. This is particularly evident in the way how the local

press in Puerto Maldonado addresses the topic. With the compelling title of “Who can stop them”, it presents an article about “invasion of the city and the border with our neighbouring country Brazil”, describing a “chaotic and uncontrollable” situation.

- The police is presented as the institution that does its job: In newspaper and television reports about police interventions at terminals and bus stops, along the highway or in the cities. On the contrary, it is suggested that the problem is due to the “bad work” of immigration officers.

8. GENERAL REFLECTIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

General Reflections

1. The difficulties in obtaining a “temporary tourist visa”, which is a requirement for Haitians seeking to enter Peru, has increased their vulnerability. Their status of “passersby” without the required documents exposes them to systematic abuse by dishonest police officers and civilians.
2. No coherent information is available about different legal procedures associated to the treatment of foreigners in Peru. This has a direct impact on the treatment given in practice to Haitians in Peruvian territory by the various institutions in charge of regulating and controlling their transit. The Aliens Act needs to be reviewed to correct some difficulties, as stated in the IOM Migration Profile 2012.
3. Haitians travel along flexible routes that adjust to the circumstances at the time. Coyote networks operate at various points along the route. Although it is possible that they are part of a larger network, the identified segments are: a network based in Ecuador which operates in Huaquillas-Aguas Verdes and Tumbes; another one operating in Máncora (Piura) in coordination with some members of PNP in the area. A “shelter” for Haitians was even identified as part of this network. Furthermore, in Puerto Maldonado several groups of coyotes are competing for the business of taking Haitian migrants across the border (Assis).
4. The majority of Haitian migrants are men; however, the number of female migrants is not trivial. Haitians arriving in Peru on their way to Brazil come from Haiti or the Dominican Republic. Most of them have prior migration experience, both of their own and of family members. Migrants with prior experience have “migration capital” (prior or accumulated experience), which enables them to adjust to the precarious circumstances of undocumented migration. Furthermore, their religious-

ity helps them overcome uncertainty and precarious situations during migration and reach their final destination. Moreover, Haitians that remain in Peru can be divided into two groups: those that stay because they start a new family and those that end up staying because they lack the resources they need to continue their journey.

Recommendations

1. To promote training with a human rights approach for relevant authorities and police officers, especially in regard to the treatment of Haitians transiting through Peruvian territory. This includes information about the Aliens Act and its scope, particularly the provisions associated to reviewing documents. In addition, to train police officers from the State's Security Divisions and the Highway Police in charge of reviewing documents along the route on the Aliens Act and its scope.
2. To develop a standardized protocol for the treatment of cases of violations of the Aliens Act by the State's Security Divisions, particularly in regard to the duration of the procedure and the period of retention of identity documents (passports and others). It should be highlighted that it is important that the persons that are subjected to interventions have the right to due process and should not remain without identity documents longer than established.
3. To consider granting a humanitarian visa to Haitians with the aim of protecting them during their transit through national territory from the moment when they cross the Ecuadorian border.
4. To design informative brochures to be disseminated at the Ecuadorian border, with information relevant to the transit of Haitians through national territory; including information about the rights of migrants during interventions by police, customs, immigration or other officers, emergency telephone numbers to make denouncements, estimated transportation costs for the various legs of the journey and general travel recommendations. This information should be provided in French, Creole and English.
5. To work in coordination with Ecuadorian authorities in identifying and dismantling coyote networks that operate on both sides of the border.
6. For Haitian migrants that choose to stay in the country, to grant them an official document with a validity of more than 2 months. The refugee status applicant card is very valuable since it provides legal protection to Haitians that stay in Peru; however, its short period of validity is a significant obstacle that prevents Haitians from accessing formal and stable employment. In addition, given that this document is not widely known many employers do not accept it as a valid document.

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Brazil – Haiti Bilateral Dialogue Meetings

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Abstract

This article summarizes information on the main challenges to be faced in the short, medium and long term, as well as the recommendations identified during the Brazil-Haiti bilateral meetings held in the second half of 2013, organized by the project implemented by the International Organization for Migrations (IOM.) Firstly, it introduces the overall topics that demand joint and coordinated efforts by both the origin and the destination countries, including articulations with transit sites: how could we fight the irregular migrants trafficking, and how to cope with the challenges posed to positively integrate the Haitian migrant population in Brazil. The article further highlights several areas of cooperation identified by the institutions and main actors involved in those processes.

1. INTRODUCTION

Two Brazil-Haiti bilateral dialogue meetings were held in the scope of the research project “Studies on Haitian Migration to Brazil and Bilateral Dialogue”, implemented by the IOM – International Organization for Migrations in partnership with the Brazilian National Council of Immigration (Conselho Nacional de Imigração or CNIg). The first event took place in Porto Principe, Haiti, from September 2 to 6, 2013 and was attended by a CNIg delegation headed by the Ambassador of Brazil in Haiti, Mr. José Machado e Costa, and some representatives of the IOM. The second event was held in Brasília, Brazil, from December 8

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to 11, 2013, and was attended by a delegation from Haiti, headed by the Director of Legal Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Jean-Claudy Pierre, and representatives of the IOM.

The dialogue meeting had the following objectives: promote the exchange of migration-related experiences between the Brazilian National Council of Immigration (CNIg) and representatives of the Government of Haiti to identify strategies aimed at ensuring that migrations between Haiti and Brazil take place in a safe and protected way. While the dialogue held in Haiti was focused on the emigration of Haitians to Brazil and some transit-related matters, notably land transportation, the event in Brazil was mainly focused on the welcoming of the Haitian migration flow notably regarding the integration in Brazil. The agendas of both events have also covered cross-topics like the refraining of irregular migration, the need to fight and prevent trafficking in persons which threatens the migration flow, and the need for thinking over the policy on Haitian migration in the medium and long terms in the light of sustainability and impacts on development.

The main topics approached in the meetings and the final recommendations are disclosed below.

2. MAIN TOPICS OF THE DEBATE ON EMIGRATION AND TRANSIT

2.1. Irregular migration

The approach for the Haitian migration in the light of human rights comprises special attention to dangers and financial costs, as well as to human costs entailing from irregular migration. Among these, violence and abuses against the migrants smuggled by the networks of trafficking, notably trafficking in persons – although the findings of the studies carried out by the Project do not disclose any situation of this sort. Such concern oriented both events thus disclosing the complexity of this topic and the urgent need for actions at national and multilateral levels to fight these crimes, bearing in mind the focus on protection to migrants, notably the most vulnerable groups, and eventual victims of trafficking in persons.

Additionally to irregular migration, other forms of exploitation of migrants and potential migrants which were approached during the dialogue meetings referred to the forging and sell of the documents supplied during the visa request

processes, or those sent to the Haitians requesting for visas in Brazil. The high costs effectively paid by migrants to obtain either regular or irregular documents to emigrate, added to the practices of extortion among custom brokers and coyotes were also carefully approached during the events. The fight against exploitation of migration through irregular means requires the Haitian Government cooperation, and is also a concern to the managers of migration-related policies in Brazil, notably as regards the challenge of managing visa issuances.

2.2. Visas

The pressure by potential Haitian emigrants on the Embassy of Brazil in Porto Príncipe has reached significant levels. In the last few years, the Consulate has improved and expanded the service of visa issuance in Porto Príncipe and, further, in Quito and San Domingo as well. However, the expected emigration of Haitian citizens is so high that any increase on the number of visas issued everyday would not be enough to meet the demand. The Brazilian Embassy in Haiti, jointly with the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the set of Brazilian policies on this issue, keep on making improvements and increasing efficiency in the service delivered; however, it is more and more evident that this is just one of the many strategies required to manage the Haitian migration to Brazil, which still reports high quantities of irregular immigration through land border crossing.

The Normative Resolution 97/2012 whereby the issuance of visas for humanitarian reasons to Haitian citizens is authorized, which is currently in force until January 2015, puts on the table the discussion about the criteria to issue visa, eventual selectivity and even the continuity of granting this kind of visa that is exclusive to Haitian citizens. The visa-related matter is even more complicated by factors that go beyond the competencies of the Consulate such as the difficulty posed to Haitian citizens to get the identification documents or any other kind of accreditation in Haiti. Likewise, another difficulty is the fact that the website where citizens can request visa online has versions only in Portuguese and English, which are not so commonly spoken in that Caribbean country. During the bilateral dialogue meetings, participants emphasized the pertinence of having the IOM support to prepare the visa process (or to assist pre-consular services) at the Embassy of Brazil in Porto Príncipe. That proposal is being analyzed by the competent authorities.

2.3. Information campaigns to the population

The urgent need for accurate information campaigns to build awareness among population in Haiti was consistently approached during the bilateral dialogues.

The continuity – and even the intensification – of Haitian migration through irregular means points out the lack of information among potential emigrants and their family members about the actual costs and dangers related to irregular migration. Moreover, it also discloses the lack of information about the possibilities, requirements and means to get the visa of entry / permanent residence in Brazil.

Participants emphasized information-related actions as crucial to unmask and weaken the power that networks of migrant traffickers exercise among potential migrants, and also to de-construct the fake promises and misleading information disseminated among the Haitian citizens. Information campaigns should also assist the process of preparing conscious and responsible migration, as today most of the Haitians leave their country having no idea about the cost of living in Brazil, the actual labor market and wages conditions, besides lacking knowledge about the Brazilian language and culture, notably regarding the integration processes. Similarly, it is worth highlighting that the message of cooperation between Brazil and Haiti is not that of an “open door” policy; rather, it is primarily of humanitarian nature.

2.4. Integral development

The importance of protecting the Haitian migrants and of establishing measures to protect their lives and rights are considered to be a priority; nonetheless, it should be highlighted that emigration also means loss of human capital to Haiti. Therefore, this topic should be managed weighing up the development of Haiti as a whole, also considering the institutional strengthening. Hence, according to recommendations by the bilateral dialogue, the issue of migration should be analyzed and managed within the set of priority topics to the country, rather than as an isolated issue. It is also worth mentioning the need for better understanding the incidence of such migratory flows on the host communities.

The collaboration around efforts aimed to strengthen the capacity of both civil society and the government to cope with migration-related challenges is a requirement of both countries, thus requiring clear commitment by both States toward the success and sustainability of the actions promoted. The bilateral dialogue opened dialogue channels and interaction rooms that, as of September 2013, have been strengthened in both countries. In Brazil efforts moved toward strengthening the cross-ministries collaboration to manage the flow and expand dialogue in an attempt to enable positive action in partnership with local and state governments, with more intensive presence of Haitians. For Haiti, in turn, an inter-institutional monitoring commission – comprised by the Haitian government, civil society, the IOM and the Brazilian Embassy in Porto Príncipe – has served as an efficacious strategy to advance the existing partnerships.

3. EMERGING TOPICS IN THE DESTINATION COUNTRY

3.1. The welcoming

In Brazil, the increased inflow of Haitians deserves special attention from different levels of the government, considering the crucial role played by efficient actions in the response to challenges posed by the welcoming of migrants. The emergency situations recorded from 2011 to these days in Acre, and in other states to a lesser degree, point out the need to follow-up on the visa policy for humanitarian reasons through programs and actions of support to individuals coming to Brazil. That support includes basic care services in the shelters near the border and in others spread all over the country, as provided in the last few months; supporting services such as facilitation of transportation of migrating workers to regions offering jobs and opportunities to learn Portuguese. The Portuguese language is one of the main difficulties for the new-comers to be inserted in the labor market.

Policy should also provide for the increasing diversification of the flow which is now made up by a consistent female contingent, including whole families, thus increasing the presence of children and the elderly. Illiteracy, extreme poverty and diseases are found among these groups. The Haitian's access to social programs sponsored by the government is granted by law, but sometimes it is denied due to the lack of knowledge by the system operators. The Ministry of Social Development is providing guidance to agents directly involved in services related to the unified register, so that access is granted to eligible individuals, notably those entitled to the Bolsa Família cash transfer program.

Policies to ensure the due welcoming of migrants are crucial to enable integration processes, besides preventing reactions such as xenophobia and discrimination among the public sector agents that serve the migrants, and among the society at large. To that, Brazil has worked to promote cross-ministries articulation to improve the management of Haitian migration-related issues in order to provide sustainability to the ongoing action, and to foster integration and the respect to human rights.

3.2. Work

The Brazil – Haiti bilateral dialogue on the Haitian migration has deepened the topic of labor which, additionally to being of interest for studies, is the main reason for that migratory flow. The privileged treatment that Brazil grants to Haitians holding visas for humanitarian reasons, pursuant to the Normative Res-

olution 97/2012, does not stand for an action aimed to attract the Haitian labor force; rather, it is a humanitarian solution in response to the arrival of hundreds of Haitian immigrants in irregular migratory situation. This is an active policy of welcoming, considering the effective existing flow.

Haitians are being positively inserted in the Brazilian labor market, and corporations have expressed great satisfaction with the quality of their work.

As reported by some Haitians, among the main difficulties posed to their work - additionally to the lack of knowledge about the Brazilian language and culture - is that both workers and employers complain about the migrant's short knowledge about the labor relations in Brazil, additionally to general issues related to cultural differences. It is worth mentioning the effort being undertaken by the Ministry of Labor and Job to hasten the issuance of work permits (employment record cards) to facilitate the Haitians' insertion into the formal labor market.

In some contexts the actual capacity of Brazil to absorb that labor force in the medium and long terms is questioned; however, relevant studies that could guide the debate are still missing. The survey carried out by the IOM could facilitate the understanding about that phenomenon. A holistic approach to the formulation and management of policies could qualify the responses and ensure the sustainability and incidence of ongoing actions on the Haitian migration at large and, more specifically, on the challenges related to employability such as learning the language, professional qualification and distribution of the migration flow all over the Brazilian territory.

3.3 The complexity of the phenomenon

The migration flow from Haiti to Brazil has reached even more worrying proportions than those expected in principle, when the country opened regular channels to the entrance and permanence of Haitians, and started regularizing the migratory status of the huge contingent of Haitians irregularly entering Brazil. Such an intensive flow also brings a large diversity of the population like, for example, unaccompanied children or pregnant women, thus strengthening the complexity of this phenomenon. Besides hiding some forms of smuggling of migrants and risk of trafficking in persons, such an intensive flow by irregular means has brought about social and political tensions at the northward frontier. As time goes by, the Haitian immigration by air has demanded, notably at the Guarulhos airport, the implementation of services provided to those who come to Brazil

irregularly; this is expected to facilitate and hasten the insertion of Haitians in the labor market.

Nonetheless, many migrants clearly intend to migrate to Brazil to study, and the access to education – notably at the university level – demands several procedures and documents that are typically unknown to the potential migrants. The same is true for the population of children, which is increasing and challenging Brazil with a new paradigm in education: the presence, at public schools, of children and adolescents who cannot understand the Portuguese language.

High costs and difficulty in obtaining the Haitian documents have also been pointed out as difficulties faced by migrants from Haiti who elected Brazil to live in or to stay for a while until they can migrate to another destination abroad.

3.4. Remittances and return

In the medium and long terms, the Haitian migration to Brazil brings about the issue of remittances and the future flow of return. These also bring the issue of the incidence of that flow on the development of Haiti, jointly with the Haitian Diaspora which has exceeded to four million individuals, among natives and descendants. As regards remittances, the high costs to send money to Haiti are worrying, as well as the implications on migrants and their families. In the broader scope of international cooperation, dialogue has led to the reflection about how the Haitian Diaspora to Brazil could be appraised in the medium and long terms. One of the modalities identified is the possibility – yet to be assessed and promoted – of enabling the Haitian students, notably among civil servants, to get their university degree in Brazil and, then, go back to their country to reinforce the managerial staff of Haiti.

The issue of recognition of diplomas and other topics related to education are aspects that should be considered in the bilateral dialogue. That will surely influence on the migrants' possibilities of having more efficacious insertion in the destination country, thus increasing the changes of improving their salaries and of having options to enjoy better quality of life.

4. OVERALL REMARKS

The Haitian migration management is an unprecedented opportunity for Brazil, as it offers a significant experience about management of migratory flows in

general. The lessons learned in the last few months and years regarding how to handle with challenges posed by that migration - including when the first migrants arrived in Brazil – have increased the interest on and relevance of the topic in Brazil. All that has drawn the attention of the government toward the reinforcement of policies and actions in the light of human rights, review of the modalities of care, regulatory provisions and perspectives in the short and medium terms, both in the welcoming and management of integration-related matters in several regions of Brazil. The Haitian migration to Brazil must be thought based on the new reality of Haiti which is no longer characterized exclusively by the post-earthquake reality, but as a country that seeks for support to promote integral development. As reported during the bilateral event held in December 2013, the migratory policy oriented to Haitians in Brazil is focused on two main axes: coordinate the existing public policies to ensure the access of Haitians (as well as of other migrants) and set specific policies to integrate migrants, as would be the case of courses on linguistic education to foreign children, among other actions that are now under consideration.

Final Remarks of the Events

The bilateral dialogue meeting held in Porto Príncipe has deepened three thematic axes, to which it pointed out priorities that should be considered by the governments and civil societies in both countries. Discussing in work groups, the following recommendations were made:

- I. The work group on migratory policies to manage the migration between Haiti and Brazil has recommended three main fields of action, as follows:
 - I.1 It would be useful and wise to make consultations among the countries of transit of the Haitian migrants arriving to Brazil by land, so these countries could help in the fight against migrant traffickers.
 - I.2 The establishment of a formal bilateral agreement between Brazil and Haiti is crucial to foster joint policies to manage the migration between both countries. That agreement should imply a far-reaching awareness-building campaign about the true reality of Brazil, comprising from rules that establish the regular migrants' status to the labor market situation, among other topics. The Haitian migrants living in Brazil today should be heard. Such an agreement should also comprise the fight against migrant traffickers' networks either in Haiti or at the frontiers crossed to get to Brazil.
 - I.3 The third element would be a policy to integrate the migrant individuals and their families into the Brazilian society, comprising

social security and education, notably learning the Portuguese language. The aforementioned bilateral agreement should pay special attention to the welcoming of Haitian students at the Brazilian universities.

2. The work group on communication has deepened the reflection on feasible and required means and strategies to build awareness among migrants and potential migrants about the dangers and costs related to irregular migration, and the actual possibilities of regular migration. Following were the recommendations by the group:
 - 2.1 Massive awareness-building campaigns should be carried out all over Haiti, in line with the culture and language of inland people.
 - 2.2 This communication aims at fighting the misleading information and providing guidance to potential emigrants. The campaign could employ pictures and information on the actual reality faced by those who emigrate without a visa.
 - 2.3 Use radio, TV, churches, schools, universities. Pamphlets should also be designed disclosing accurate information about irregular migration, approaching the related dangers and disadvantages.
 - 2.4 The campaign should convey accurate information about actual wages in Brazil, as well as about cost of living and the labor market.
 - 2.5 The Haitians living in Brazil and those living in the United States should get acquainted to the dangers of irregular migration, so they no longer finance it.
3. The third work group discussed the urgent need of providing for actions to fight the trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants. Following are the recommendations made by the group:
 - 3.1 Recognize the relevant role played by the difficulty of access to documentation in the context of trafficking in immigrants and persons, which should be timely discussed both in the scope of each country and bilaterally.
 - 3.2 Set cooperation efforts between the Brazilian and the Haitian security bodies, in the frame of human rights, to identify the trafficking networks (coyotes and middlemen) and to cope with the situation in a coordinated way.
 - 3.3 Recognize the need for articulating with authorities from other transit countries and civil society entities actions to combat trafficking in persons and smuggling of migrants.
 - 3.4 Support the enactment of the Haitian Government Bill that will typify the trafficking in immigrants and persons, which is now being analyzed by the Haitian Senate.

The final debate of the event, held among the members of the Brazilian delegation, has also resulted in recommendations about the issue of Haitian migration, as follows:

1. The decisions and procedures about the Haitian migration should be more and more incorporated to the overall framework of both international cooperation and the development process of Haiti, so that solutions to the existing management-related difficulties are followed by political decisions on the topic.
2. The Haitian migration to Brazil is virtually insignificant to the situation faced by Haiti – a country with nearly 10 million inhabitants, and 2 million Haitians living abroad. If we consider the descents of Haitians living abroad, these figures increase to 4 million individuals. Of these, almost 200 individuals are deported or repatriated every month, only by the United States. This is a social problem to the country that is still in a situation of great institutional weakness and economic crisis, additionally to the problems related to the earthquake that still have strong impacts on the country. These elements should be considered in the bilateral relations aimed to manage that flow.
3. The Embassy of Brazil in Haiti has made great efforts with hard work and devotion, despite its short human resources, but the actual demand for visas exceeds any current possibility of management due to the huge number of persons that seek the Embassy everyday requesting visa. This is an extremely tough scenario, even in the human viewpoint, besides the issues that are strictly institutional.
4. The Brazil – Haiti Technical Cooperation should mainstream the institutional strengthening of Haiti, notably the post-earthquake recovery or the establishment of a service to register and provide documents to the population which is one of the major problems that enables the forgery of documents and the exploitation of emigrants.

Three months after the first event held in Brasilia from December 8 to 11, the members of the Haitian delegation, in a meeting with representatives of the main ministries dealing with the question of the Haitian migration in Brazil (Ministry of Labor and Job, Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Education, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Development and Combat to Hunger, and the Human Rights Bureau) have issued the following recommendations:

1. Build convergence of efforts and build awareness among the population to promote migration using regular mechanisms, thus fighting irregular migration and preventing the trafficking in persons.
2. Ensure to all children living in Brazil, including Haitian migrants - even

in the event of irregular migration - the same right to education as granted by the Brazilian constitution to the Brazilian children. Eventual administrative hindrances should be monitored both by the families and the authorities to avoid new cases of children that, although attending school, by the end cannot get the documentary evidence due to incompliance to bureaucratic requirements.

3. Endeavor to find solutions to the new problem brought by immigration and related to the teaching of Portuguese as a second language, as migrant children and adolescents face difficulties for being inserted at schools as they do not know the language. Actions and policies should be formulated to cope with this challenge, so language is no longer impairment to the access to education, as ensured by the Brazilian Constitution.
4. Prepare and disseminate among the Consulates that issue visas to the Haitians, pamphlets with guidance on the procedures to be followed to enable children and adults to successively study in Brazil, such as the consularization of documents and birth certificate. The same kind of strategy could be adopted to provide guidance on topics related to health like vaccination card and guidance on public health, for example.
5. The Haitian delegation expects to count on the support of the Brazilian cooperation (ABC – Brazilian Cooperation Agency), for example, through the funding of a pilot project to enable the issuance of documents and promote regular migration of Haitians.
6. The Haitian government would be recommended to have stronger control on the departure of unauthorized or unaccompanied children and adolescents, as the number of worrying cases of Haitian children and adolescents in situation of risk has increased, notably at the north border of the country. Similarly, it would be advisable informing potential migrants that when parents, other than the biological ones, register children, and if this situation is discovered when they enter Brazil, the situation should be further legalized through judicial means. Such legalization may delay or jeopardize the child's access to basic services, and expose her/him to greater vulnerability.
7. The mechanisms to support and enable the family reunification of Haitians in Brazil should be strengthened.
8. The group reiterated the importance of implementing supporting services to prepare the documentation required to obtain visas and other documents for the migratory process of Haitian citizens. The difficulty posed to this process is one of the main factors that facilitate the exploitation of migrants by the networks of traffickers.
9. It would be wise gathering efforts to promote permanent bilateral inter-institutional dialogue between both countries to foster regular

migration; combat trafficking in humans; and, support positive processes of insertion and care to the Haitians living in Brazil, thus strengthening migratory processes in the light of human rights.

Accompaniment and continuity

The dialogue between Brazil and Haiti promoted by the project “Studies on the Haitian Migration to Brazil and the Bilateral Dialogue” highlighted the relevant participation of several actors: the importance of the leadership of governments to make the policy on this topic a successful one; the relevance of the civil society participation to advance the effective management of issues related to the topic; the priceless role played by the international organizations – specifically the IOM – that serve as a bridge, provide expertise and contribute to promote a human rights-based approach to migration.

The survey findings enrich the debate and support the search for long-lasting solutions to the flow management, and the policies that rule it as well. Likewise, the results strengthen the recommendations brought about during the events in the sense of providing elements to inform political decisions and foster direct actions with the individuals that are part of this flow and with the societies of origin and destination involved in the phenomenon.

As the results of the events point out, a proposal of utmost relevance is that of drafting a bilateral agreement which could contribute to manage that flow and enable the building of a policy on migration management, fight against traffickers networks and to protect/promote the migrants’ rights, additionally to set parameters and guidance on other topics related to migration and the migrants’ integration. Such effort could favor the preparation for the potential future return of migrants to Haiti to collaborate with the development of their country of origin. All that should deepen the understanding about migration, mainstreaming it to international cooperation and, hence, promote the development of Haiti through migration. The dialogue has also considered that the elements of a bilateral agreement could be incorporated – as a migration-relation topic – to the expansion of other agreements celebrated between both countries. The contents of that agreement could comprise, among others: recognition of the Haitian’s diplomas; provision for the return of the Haitians and the need of getting diplomas in Brazil that could be further recognized in their countries; feasibility and lower costs of remittances by Haitians living in Brazil; management of the flow beyond emergency situations; combat to trafficking in persons and exploitation by traffickers

and unscrupulous agencies of visa services and documentation, among other broader topics, with agreements on social security.

The support of Organizations like the IOM or NGOs working with migrants could help providing migrants with documents to refrain/combat the exploitation that abusive explorers or unscrupulous middlemen offer to migrants and their family members.

The mutual knowledge about the migration reality through direct contact, bilateral dialogue and studies shared during the events disclosed the need for keeping consistent dialogue and collaboration to achieve consensual goals to manage that migratory flow and related matters. Considering the need for long-term sustainable actions, it is worth highlighting the importance of permanent migration-related links between both countries. The migratory collaboration between Brazil and Haiti is crucial to both countries.



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DEVELOPING CAPACITIES IN MIGRATION MANAGEMENT

**LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAMME
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