HAITIAN REFUGEE CRISIS IN BRAZIL

LOCAL REALITY MEETS NATIONAL HOSPITALITY

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Haitian Refugee Crisis in Brazil:
Local Reality Meets National Hospitality

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List of Abbreviations

ACNUR	Alto Comissariado das Naçoes Unidas para Refugiados(UNHCR*)
CFR	Council on Foreign Relations
CNIg	National Immigration Council of Brazil
CONARE	(Comitê Nacional para os Refugiados (National Committee for Refugees)
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
EU	European Union
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of United Nations
FGV	Getúlio Vargas Foundation
GAR	Global Assessment Report
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HCR	High Commissioner for Refugees
IGO	Intergovernmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LIP	Local Immigration Partnership initiative
MERCOSUR	Southern Common Market
MINUSTAH	United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti
NGO	Non- Profit Organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OCHA	Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OHCHR	Office of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
PMDB	Partido de Movimento Democratico Brasileiro (Brazilian Democratic Movement Party)
PT	Partido dos Trabalhadores (Labour Party)
RN	Regulação Normativa (Normative Regulation)
RTG	Royal Thai Government
SEDS	Secretaria de Estado de Desenvolvimento Social (State Secretariat of Social Development)
SEJUDH	Secretaria de Justiça e Direitos Humanos (Secretariat of Justice and Human Rights)
SMB	Swedish Migration Board
SRS	Self-reliance Strategy
TPS	Temporary Protected Status
UHOHRLLS	United Nations Office of the High Representative for the Least Developed Countries, Landlocked Developing Countries and Small Island Developing States
UN	United Nations
UNASUR	Union of South American States
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (ACNUR*)
UNHCR	United Nations Refugee Agency

UNICEF	The United Nations Children's Emergency Fund
USA	United States of America
USD	United States Dollar
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization

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The employees of SEDS and SEDJUDH, in particular Mariana Moraes, who let me sit by her side and shadow her work, allowing me to understand the logistical aspect of this migration phenomenon.

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I hope this thesis accurately reflects the experiences and stories captured, and will help make a difference not only in migration policy and programs to help those that travel far from their homes, but also in refugee host societies.

Summary

This thesis examines the dynamic interplay between the local, state, and federal level of government in addressing international immigration. It does so by studying the responses of the local population, Haitian refugees, and of representatives from the municipality of Brasiléia tasked with overseeing the reception of refugees in Brazil. The voices of the above mentioned actors are juxtaposed against Brazil's national open arm policies for Haitian citizens affected by the earthquake in Haiti in 2010. The study was conducted in Brasiléia between February 10 and April 12 of 2014. The objectives of the study are to understand the characteristics of the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil, as well as the formal and informal responses that arise along with the challenges, drawbacks, and benefits, at the local level (Brasiléia). Whilst Haitians can obtain a visa at the Brazilian consulate in Haiti, thousands decide to travel down the Americas without the necessary paperwork as they believe it is an easier and quicker route instead of following the bureaucratic procedures that consulates generally require. Brasiléia, a remote town in the northern state of Acre, serves as a place for opportunistic landing for nearly 20,000 refugees since 2010. In other words, Haitian refugees taking the irregular route to Brazil first concentrate in Brasiléia. The local level, where policies are directly felt, is contingent upon a macro-level system, which starts at the national level and ends at the lowest level of government, explored in this paper through the concept of 'decentralization' and 'capacity building.' The study found that there is no central mechanism of coordination, neither in practice nor in theory, in order to adequately receive refugees between the three levels of government: Federal Union, state, and municipality. Therefore, the refugee reception in the municipality of Brasiléia translates into improvised humanitarian aid by default. An impromptu refugee reception was offered by the host society (individuals, government officials, civil society). Throughout the study the high level of 'willingness' of the Brazilian people in Brasiléia to receive and integrate Haitian refugees into the society, which was contrasted against the lack of resources available at the local level, is evident. Due to the political structure of Brazil, migration policy is a matter exclusively overseen by the Federal level, and the lower levels of government must stay true to these policies. In order to adequately address the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil, stronger coordination needs to exist between all level of governments, in which communication travels from the bottom-up and vice versa and necessary resources are offered by higher levels of government to lower levels.

1. Introduction

After the demoralizing earthquake that took place in Haiti in 2010, Brazil opened its doors for Haitians seeking to flee the aftermath of this natural disaster. The earthquake and the response of the Brazilian government and its people sets forth a unique perspective in international migration and refugee studies. Whilst Haitian citizens are not officially deemed refugees, Brazil has explicitly stated that it will not overlook the difficult circumstances faced by Haitians. Therefore, promising to offer protection to Haitians on Brazilian soil under humanitarian grounds. In hopes of obtaining Brazilian humanitarian visas, and in order to avoid bureaucratic processes in the Brazilian consulate in Haiti, thousands of Haitians make their way down the Americas through the Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Bolivia, and Peru to Brazil. With the help of human traffickers along the way, Haitian refugees first reach Brazil on the tri-border of the Peruvian, Bolivian, and Brazilian Amazon border. Brazil's open door policy, however, created a number of unaccounted for ripple effects.

Brazil's lax migration policy has created strenuous overburden on a key border town, where thousands of immigrants tend to concentrate before continuing their journey to the rest of Brazil, Brasiléia. As one of the poorest municipalities in Brazil, Brasiléia is a town with limited capacity to reception refugees and is not in a position to embrace thousands of newcomers, inviting the question of: "How do formal and informal responses in the municipality of Brasiléia evolve in reaction to the influx of migrants as a result of Brazil's open door policies towards Haitian Migrants?"

Whilst most migration studies focus on the importance of national polices, this thesis focuses on the impact of such policies at the local level. Without a central mechanism of coordination and communication between the local, regional, and national level, where policies are created, national policy can lead to considerable local tension, where policies are directly experienced. The Haitian refugee migration to Brazil calls for responses by different actors across sectors, including civil society and all governmental levels (local, regional, and national), in order to adequately address the reception of refugees, especially given the high level of vulnerability of the thousands of refugees who fall victim to human traffickers along the way to Brazil.

The leading role of the local level in refugee reception, however, is essential. At the local level, authorities are closest to the people and have a greater sense of their needs; how refugees are integrating, the challenges posed, and how best to facilitate the success of refugee reception for everyone. Without the leading role of the municipality and without the necessary conditions to do so, the state government of Acre has taken it upon themselves to be the torchbearers of the Haitian refugee's reception in the municipality of Brasiléia. The dynamic interplay between the levels of government set forth in this thesis evidences how national migration policies without the necessary public policy at the local level has led to improvised humanitarian aid. Furthermore, it touches upon the willingness of the people of Brasiléia to welcome and attempt to integrate refuges into the host society, despite their limited resources – exploring the humanitarian side of this phenomenon.

2. Literatures and Theoretical Framework

The following chapter reviews the most important theoretical underpinnings of the research. First, an overview of international migration and the rise of South-South migration will be addressed, following a discussion on migration typologies in which migration binaries are challenged. This is important, as migrants do not always fall neatly into one definition. Third, the importance of studying international migration from a local standpoint and the need for capacity building at this level is highlighted as well as the extent to which local governments have decision-making power through decentralization. Next, the absorption capacity of local municipalities is outlined, as it defines a municipality's 'ability' and 'willingness' to receive refugees. Lastly, varying notions of integration are discussed with the aim to utilize a comprehensive definition of integration, which considers factors that hinder or facilitate the integration of migrants into a host society.

2.1. International Migration

International migration has gained both prevalence and prominence as a major force within the past fifty years, raising social concern and benefits around the globe for both developed and developing countries. For the purpose of this thesis, international migration can be defined as the movement of people, from one locality to another outside of nation state borders, who have the desire of settling in the new space (Massey et al. 1993). As suggested by the United Nations, (UN) international migration has doubled within the past four decades (Ratha 2007) and has become a main driver of social, economic, and political change (Cornelius & Rosenblum 2005). Post World War II (1945) Western Europe was the main destination for international migrants. Initially, migrants came from Southern Europe, only to then be followed by newcomers from developing countries in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East in the late 1960's (Massey et al. 1993).

Due to the political persecution of 'subversives' in Latin America during the military dictatorships established after the Cold War, thousands of people from Bolivia, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Chile, and Paraguay looked for asylum in European countries such as England, Sweden, and Norway (Terminiello 2014). By the 1980's Southern Europe, which had been sending immigrants only a decade earlier, began importing labor from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Massey et

al. 1993). Simultaneously, Japan was struggling as the result of a declining birth rate along with an older population. In turn, also resorting to migrants from developing economies in Asia, and even Latin America as a means of mitigating these issues (Cornelius & Rosenblum 2005). Whilst the Global North traditionally served as a hotspot for migrants from developing countries, South-to-South migration has recently gained prominence, as a result of emerging economies in the South, such as, Brazil.   The chart below illustrates the growth of South-South migration:
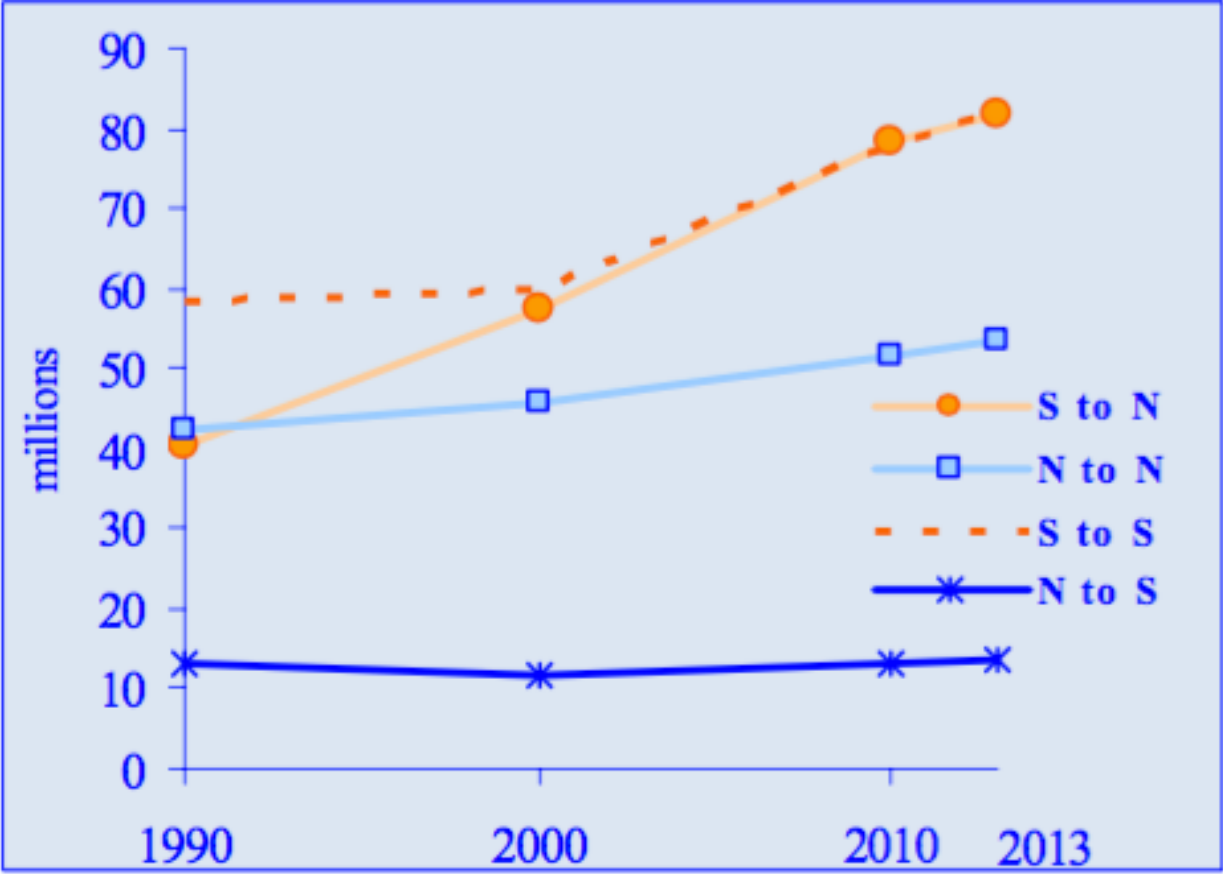
Figure 1: International migrant stock by origin and destination, 1990-2013. Source: (DESA 2013)

2.1.1. South-to-South Migration

Whilst most research has concentrated on "developed"-state immigration policies, a considerable majority of international migration takes place within the Global South, mainly refugee flows. Furthermore, many developing countries have become hubs for transit migration, largely in Central and South America (Cornelius & Rosenblum 2005). In 2005 international migration of this nature made up more than 40 percent of global migration, and recent estimates conclude that south-to–south migration makes up roughly 50 percent (Ratha 2007). South-to-South

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migration and the concerns around this concept, however, remain scantly understood (Cornelius & Rosenblum, 2005). For instance, higher wages, proximity, and network ties are assumed to be major factors influencing this migratory process, along with civil conflict and ecological disasters (Ratha 2007). Nearly 80 percent of Global South migration takes place between bordering states. If not, it occurs in countries that are within reach, in terms of physical proximity and economic means (Ratha 2007). Additionally, due to inadequate documentation of South-South migrants, they are confined to overland migration. For instance, Bolivians have become one of the largest groups of immigrants in Argentina (Terminiello 2014). As a relatively new field of study within the migration arena, South-South migration is not considered under the traditional umbrella of migration typologies. Nevertheless, it overlaps with many of the categories identified.

2.2. Migration Typologies

Various migration typologies exist within academia, mainly in the form of dichotomies. The most common types of migration binaries are internal vs. international, temporary vs. permanent, and regular vs. irregular (King 2012). Additionally, another significant, yet blurred migration dyad, is that between voluntary and forced migration, such as an economic or labor migrant and a refugee respectively (King 2012). Whilst these classifications are useful, they become fragmented and muddled once migration processes are in practice. For instance, temporary migrants can turn into permanent migrants, these are people who intend to stay for a short period of time and for one reason or another postpone their stay and remain in the host country permanently. An example of such a case is that of 'guest workers' in Germany and Switzerland who morph into permanent settlers (Castles 2006). Moreover, irregular migrants can become regular migrants through government schemes. Conversely, regular migrants can fall into irregularity if their documents expire (Fakiolas 2003). Additionally, people often times migrate internally (in transit) only to migrate to another country later. For instance, it is common for Mexican migrants to move from the south of the country to the border cities such as Tijuana, in order to find their way into the United States with more facility (Infante et al. 2012). Whilst numerous migration typologies exist and are important, the distinction, or lack thereof, between voluntary and forced migration is most relevant for this thesis, as it is not always self-evident and its intersection can occur from the beginning of the process.

Within the international policy world, a hard line is drawn between the definition of 'migrant'(voluntary) and 'refuge' (forced), however, in practice, these terms often intersect, causing people to be caught in the middle and to not be addressed properly within a public policy framework that strictly adheres to these definitions (Van Hear et al. 2009). A labor or voluntary migrant, refers to a person who moves from one region to another in the search of employment (IOM 2016). According to the 1951 Refugee Convention, a refugee, on the other hand, is a migrant who is forced to leave his country due to a "well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion" and "is outside the country of his nationality, and is unable to, or owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country" (UNHCR 2014b).The forced/voluntary binary suggests that an economic migrant willingly leaves his country for economic reasons, while for a refugee, leaving is imperative in order to reach safe haven. This binary makes an important distinction, yet fails to account for conflicts or natural disasters that aggravate already dire economic and political situations and that propel migrants to leave their country on humanitarian grounds. Consequently, 'migrants' are caught between two contradicting terms and do not receive the attention and protection they require.

As the number of people migrating has increased worldwide, debates on the distinction and intersections of migrants versus refugees have flourished. Discussions exist on the implications of the specific use of terminology, such as the motivation for governments to use one over the other. According to Al Jazeera, governments confronted with the uncontainable inflow of people often opt to use the term 'migrant' as it negates the level of responsibility and legal protection that the government is required to supply vulnerable peoples, in reference to the refugee crisis in the Mediterranean. Al Jazeera expresses that "the umbrella term migrant is no longer fit for purpose when it comes to describing the horror unfolding in the Mediterranean. It has evolved from its dictionary definitions into a tool that dehumanizes and distances, a blunt pejorative" (Malone 2015). The term 'migrant' often invisibalizes the struggles that propel people to leave their homes. 'Migrant' does not encompass the complexities or the suffering some people face upon feeling forced to leave their country, or the delicate state they are in. According to Al Jazeera, "migrant is a word that strips suffering people of voice. Substituting refugee for it is – in the smallest way – an attempt to give some back" (Corabatir 2015). Refugees are people who require

a certain level of attention and care; therefore, the term should be expanded to individuals who are forced to leave their countries for reasons other than political persecution, yet for more than merely economic factors.

It is important to note that these notions of 'refugee' do not take away from the individuals who do fall under the 1951 Refugee Convention. Instead, the idea is to recognize that certain 'migrants,' who currently are not 'refugees', also deserve to be given protection under humanitarian, and not merely political grounds. Few countries such as Sweden protect migrants on a humanitarian basis, defining these individuals as forced migrants and not merely economic migrants (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). Another example of a country that accommodates intersecting migration typologies is that of the United States, who has granted nationals of particular countries who are victims of violent conflict or of natural disasters, humanitarian relief entitled Temporary Protected Status (TPS)(Bergeron 2014). TPS recognizes the need of these migrants to receive some form of special support as compared to economic migrants (Bergeron 2014). For the purpose of this thesis, migrants can be caught between the terms 'migrant' and 'refugee.'

As made evident above, theorizations of migrant typologies overlap. Therefore, it is essential to introduce the concept of 'mixed migration' (Hear et al. 2009). This term encompasses varying aspects of the migration process. The motivations behind the decision to move can be mixed, as well as the type of migrants taking the same route. For instance, mixed migratory flows can be composed of both refugees and economic migrants, and people who fall in-between. Furthermore, the motivation behind the journey can evolve throughout the process, causing migrants to find themselves in mixed communities either on their way to or at their destinations (Hear et al. 2009). As put forth by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) "Mixed movements, by definition, involve various categories of persons travelling along similar routes and using the same methods of transport but with different needs, profiles and motivations" (UNHCR 2014a). Therefore, it is important to recognize 'mixed migration', as this term captures an assortment of people on the move and does not discriminate between migrant typologies, a lens of this thesis.

As mentioned in the previous section, international migration policies are established within the international arena. 'Global policy' discourse has emerged within the past few years, addressing the causes and consequences of worldwide migration along with its implications for policy making (Kalm 2010). Kalm (2010) argues that due to the international nature of migration, 'global policy' discourse should be addressed as such, taking into consideration the interest of all parties involved and not only that of one country or region, but the concerns of the world in general. Furthermore, (Kalm 2010) highlights the depiction of the emerging 'global governance' of international migration as a complex pattern of actors that operate at and across global, national, and local levels. For instance, Niessen argues that national policies are influenced by international policy discourse (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013.).

Intergovernmental organizations (IGO's), such as the IOM and UNHCR. along with academics involved in this field and voluntary agencies, are the main actors dictating the the global policy discourse on migration. Furthermore, these actors all fall under the framework of what Jacobsen (1996) terms as the 'international refugee regime.' This regime is the main pillar of assistance in the case of mass influx, and usually has sufficient political weight to sway governments to receive refugees and adopt positive migration policies through diplomatic pressure and negative publicity, a pressure host countries generally succumb to when they fear their reputation can be put at stake otherwise (Jacobsen 1996).

Although the multi-level and multi-actor nature is a fundamental feature of intergovernmental organizations (IGO), global policy discourse needs to be more critical of "cookie cutter recipes" put forth by agents such as the IOM (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013). International migration policies should be tailored to each specific context, while at the same time using past policy experiences. IGO's use a 'best practices' strategy that select the successful policies of one country and replicate the same policies in a different state, acting as quasi-governmental agents (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013). That is not to say, however, that intergovernmental organizations do not use the assistance and cooperation of domestic actors, as this is necessary for policy implementation (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013.).

Whilst nation states each hold their own migration policies, they are tied to guidelines that are founded on a global platform (Hear et al. 2009). For instance, countries that have agreed to the

1951 Refugee Convention cannot define 'refugees' on their own terms; instead they are limited to the definition established by such an agreement. Similarly, local governments cannot override national laws. Therefore, if a country opens its doors to refugees, only on rare occasions do municipalities have the authority to legally turn them away, depending on the nature of each state's political structure (EC-UN 2013). However, when migrants do not plan on returning to their country of origin, it is the local municipalities, where newcomers concentrate, that have to deal with the influx of migrants directly. The focus of current analytical and scholarly work on international institutions and national governments, sidelines the role of local administrations, a unique and necessary perspective captured in this thesis. Whilst policies are decided upon at the national level and are generally inspired by international standards and practices, the impact is directly felt at the local level (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013).

2.2.3. The Role of Local Authorities and Capacity Development

Local authorities are at the forefront in confronting migrant influxes in their municipalities (EC-UN 2013), therefore, the pressure of the local level to deal with the challenges that come along with migration has increased (Niessen in Geiger et al. 2013). It is important to analyze the impacts of international migration at the local level as municipalities take the leading role in the reception of refugees by assuming the responsibility for providing refugee's needs in terms of housing and food, amongst other necessities (Barberis 2010). Furthermore, former studies on the reception of refugees have merely focused on the state's capacity to control the introduction of refugees and their integration into the new host society (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). While these studies have strong validity as they place the integration of refugees at the center stage, a topic this thesis heavily emphasizes as well, not enough attention has been given to the preceding phase to the arrival of refugees at the local level and the capacity of municipalities to take on the task of refugee reception. Due to the fact that the impact of migration flows is felt directly at the local level, and in order to bring about the benefits of migration and development, this is where capacity building should primarily take place (Niessen in Baden-w 2012). As put forth by the Global Migration Group, in a report which highlights the importance of capacity development at the local levels, "capacity development is essential for ensuring the sustainability of 'migration and development' (M&D) efforts: a country can only have a successful M&D agenda if that agenda is locally owned, and it can only be locally owned if the local capacity is in place to support this" (Global Migration

Group 2010). Capacity is an important component of this thesis and its conceptualization will be explored below.

The term 'capacity building' – often referred to as capacity development – is a buzzword that has emerged in the lexicon of international development community since the 1990s, when the international focus began to shift toward development efforts (GIFT 2012). Currently, 'capacity building' has been incorporated in development programs of most international organizations such as the World Bank, United Nations, and many non-governmental organizations (NGOs). UNDP defines Capacity Development as "the process through which individuals, organizations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain capabilities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time" a conceptualization adopted by FAO, UNICEF, OCHA, and WHO (Undp 2010). In Agenda 21, a voluntary sustainable development action plan of the United Nations, capacity development "encompasses the country's human, scientific, technological, organizational, institutional and resource capabilities. A fundamental goal of capacity building is to enhance the ability to evaluate and address the crucial questions related to policy choices and modes of implementation among development options, based on an understanding of environment potentials and limits and of needs perceived by the people of the country concerned' [Chapter 37, UNCED, 1992 - (UNEP 2002)] The wide usage of the term has resulted in much controversy over its true meaning with dozens of different meanings and interpretations surfacing.

Whilst some theorists argue that the notion of capacity building is too broad, others explore its need to encompass a wider range of issues. The World Bank Institute (WB) argues that there is a lack of consensus about the operational definition of capacity development, and, in turn, the results of efforts to develop capacity persistently falls short of expectations. In other words, the "lack of clarity makes it extremely difficult to evaluate the outcome of such work and to understand its impact" (Otoo, S., Natalia, A., Behrens 2009). On the other hand, Enemark poses the argument that the term capacity building should widen and not shorten its scope. Initially, capacity building was closely linked and mainly limited to education, training and human resource development (Enemark 2003). Over time, the term has changed towards a broader and more comprehensive view, taking institutional and country base initiatives into account.

Whilst human resource development and institutional capacity building are essential, the concept of capacity development needs to go beyond these issues in order to recognize the overall

system and environmental context within which individuals, organizations and societies operate and interact (Enemark 2003). An institutional approach toward capacity building focuses on increasing a country or government's administrative and management capacity, particularly with respect to institutions. This approach touched about by Enemark is also recognized by Lusthaus et al. who argues that "institutional approaches build the capacity to create, change, enforce and learn from the processes and rules that govern society" (Lusthaus et al. 1999). Even though institutional capacity is crucial, it cannot stand alone. As put forth by Enemark (2003) "even if the focus of concern is a specific capacity of an organization to perform a particular function, there must nevertheless always be a consideration of the overall policy environment and the coherence of specific actions with macro-level conditions." Capacity building comprises and array of actors from people to organizations within larger systems, therefore, the dimensions of capacity development should be emphasized. In line with United Nations Development Program (UNDP), Enemark, and the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) recognize three levels or dimensions of capacity building, which will be taken into consideration for the purpose of this thesis:

    I.)   the broader system, society level or environmental dimension

        a.   This level relates to political commitment and vision (FAO 2016), taking into account policy, legal and economic frameworks, perspectives on management and accountability, and the availability of resources (Enemark 2003).

        b.   At the society level, for initiatives at the national level, the system encompasses the country or society as well as its subcomponents (E.g. regional and local level). For initiatives at the sectorial level, the system only includes relevant components.

    II.)   the entity or organizational level

        a.   This level refers to public and private organizations or informal organizations such as civil society organizations. At this level, all dimensions of capacity are explored, including its relationship with the system and other relevant entities. The dimension of capacity at the entity level should take into account mission and strategy, culture and competencies, operational capacity (processes and procedures), resources (human, financial, knowledge and information) and infrastructure.

    III.)   the group-of-people or individual level

a. The individual level refers to people involved in the specific target issue, for example in the context of this thesis is would refer to public staff involved with refugee reception in terms of knowledge, skills (technical and managerial) and attitudes (FAO 2016)

b. Education and training are essential at this level, as people need skills to meet identified gaps and qualified staff to operate within different systems

Figure 2 below illustrates the three dimensions of capacity building that are essential to this thesis, recognizing that the organizational and individual level operate within a wider system or environmental context (FAO 2016).Thus, this thesis defines capacity building as an operational term that can be used to describe a variety of development activities, efforts, and goals that considers the enhancement of individuals, organizations (e.g. institutions, civil society organizations), as well as broader environmental frameworks such as policy to achieve these goals. In the context of this thesis, capacity building is used primarily to describe a refugee-migration phenomenon approach of enabling individuals and organizations within a larger macro-level policy context to develop the necessary capacity to overcome particular obstacles that inhibit them from reaching their goals. More explicitly, capacity building is defined as activities aimed at strengthening authorities, laws and policies (e.g. decentralization) to ensure the appropriate handling of refugee and asylum issues as well as the reception and care of migrants, the promotion of migrant independence and long term solutions. Whilst capacity building should primarily take place at the local level, it requires a partnership framework taking all relevant actors into account within the broader system; humanitarian assistance and development agencies, civil society, refugees themselves, and higher levels of government to assist and equip local governments (UNHCR 2014a). A main focus of this thesis is the tension that exists between the local government, where the impact of international migration flows is most felt, and the national and international level, where migration policies are established. Therefore, the concept of decentralization will be explored in detail in the following section.
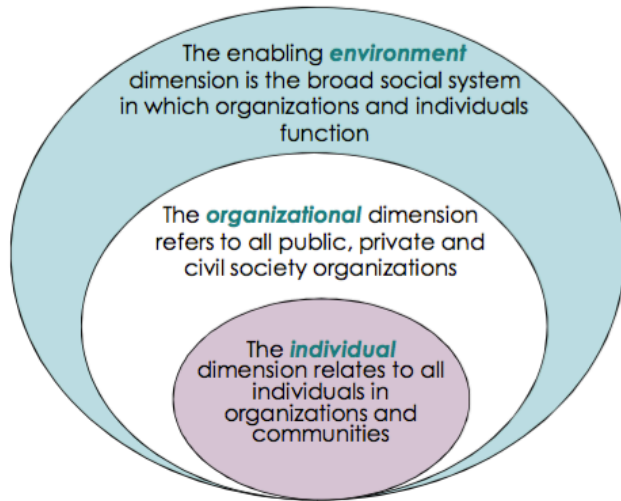
Figure 2: Dimensions of Capacity Building. The above figure illustrates the three dimensions of capacity building as well as how the organizational and individual level operate within a wider system or environmental context. Source: (FAO 2016)

2.3. Decentralization: A Shift Towards Decentralization Policies
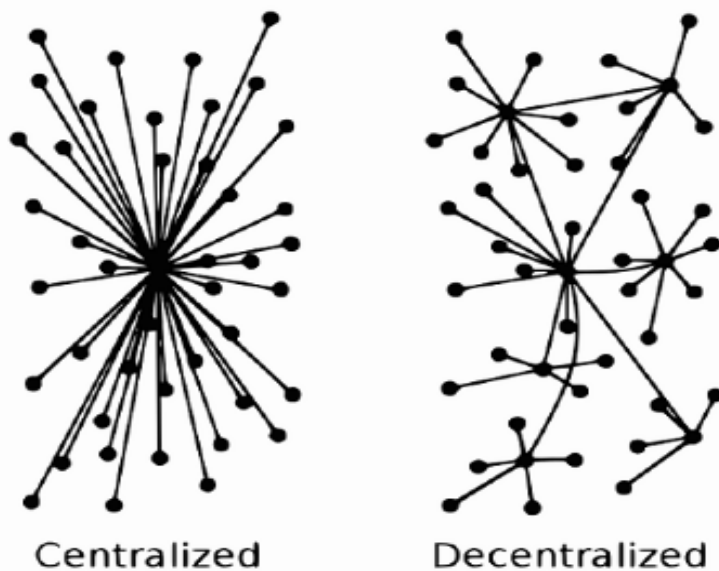
Figure 3: Image of a centralized system of government versus a decentralized system of government, the decentralized system is more local, as depicted by the lines, "relationships" are shorter, the decentralized system involves less and direct interaction, whereas the centralized system requires that all node-paths share the single central node to reach each other. Source: (Truth Coin 2015)

During the 1980's, decentralization, the transfer of responsibility, accountability, resources, and authority, from the highest hierarchical unit of a political system to lower levels of government or non-government agencies, gained prominence as a trend for development policy (FAO n.d.). As put forth by Bardham "all around the world in matters of governance, decentralization is the rage…the centralized state everywhere has lost a great deal of legitimacy, and decentralization is widely believed to promise a range of benefits" (Bardhan 2002: 185). Decentralization is a principle mainly adopted by governments in the name of effectiveness and efficiency in order to improve governance as well as to shorten the distance between administrators and those who are administered (Rapley 2007), notions expressed by various scholars and IGO's (Jutting, et al. (2004); UNDP; FAO (n.d.); ILO (2001). Decentralized governments are more efficient as the overload in the channels of communication and administration become reduced (Rondinelli et al. 1983) (See figure 3). Furthermore, decentralization has been praised for creating greater accountability and transparency by clearly outlining responsibilities at different governmental levels (Willis et al. 1999) (see Figure 4: Benefits of decentralization). Decentralization policies instigated the transfer of public services, such as education and health mainly, to subnational government, making governors and mayors more accountable to their constituencies (Falleti 2005).

As a consequence of the decentralization movement, local governments are at the forefront of politics. Often times, functions that are under the responsibility of the central government are performed poorly as it faces difficulties in extending central services to local communities. Lower levels of government, who have a deeper understanding of local needs, serve as a link between the population and the central government. Therefore, local governments are able to more readily respond to the necessities of the population. For instance, maintenance of roads and other basic physical infrastructure is often better carried out by municipalities when they are equipped with the necessary funds and technical assistance by central government (Rondinelli et al. 1983). Additionally, decentralization can increase efficiency of higher levels of government by relieving them of these tasks. Varying studies of land reform administration in the 1960's and 70's evidence that when carried out properly, decentralization does in fact lead to increased officials' knowledge of local conditions, motivation of community's leaders to take a leading role, and can improve communication between local residents and leaders as well as between local and national officials (Rondinelli et al. 1983). Furthermore, according to a 2009 Global Assessment Report (GAR) on

Disaster Risk Reduction "community and local level approaches, particularly when supported by effective decentralization processes and government–civil society partnerships, can increase the relevance, effectiveness and sustainability of disaster risk reduction across all practice areas, reduce costs and build social capital" (Unisdr 2011:72). Through decentralization, central governments can improve responsiveness to the population whilst at the same time providing more quality and quantity of services (FAO n.d.) by giving lower levels of government greater participation in planning and decision-making processes at the local level (ILO 2001).
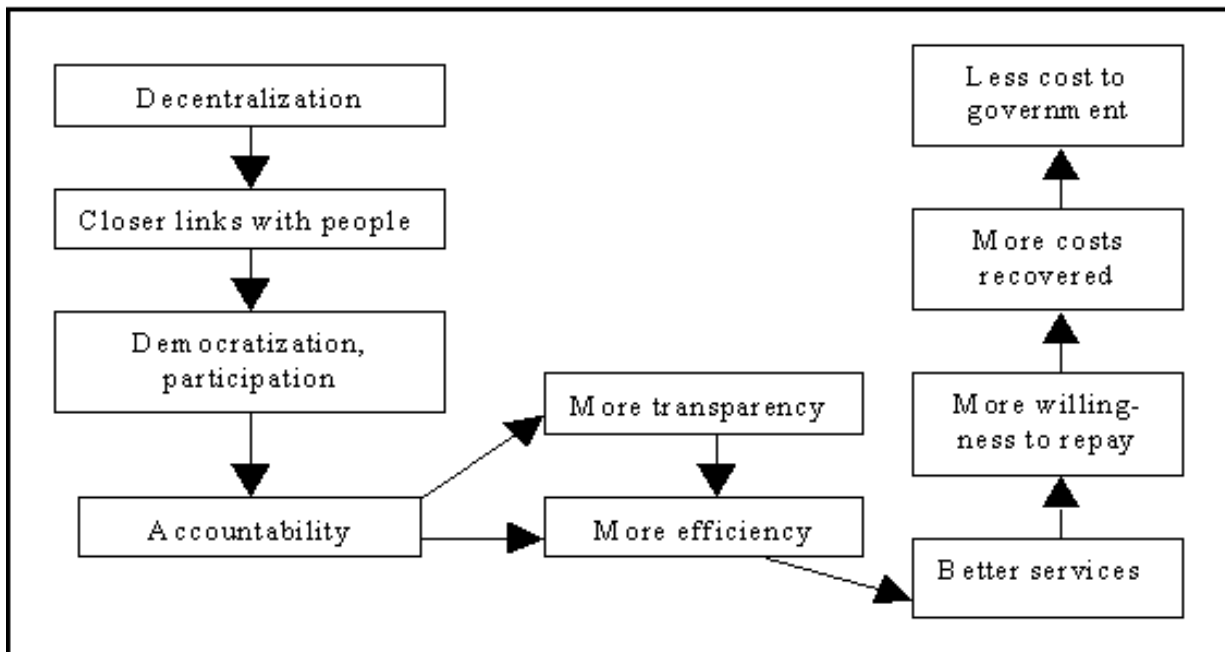
Figure 4: Paradigm of the Benefits of Decentralization. Source. (FAO n.d.)

2.3.1. Defining Decentralization:

Three types of decentralization are commonly identified throughout scholarly work and within the realm of public policy: political, administrative, and fiscal, which will be distinguished in this section. Understanding these dimensions of decentralization are important for addressing the question of how local authorities act and respond to the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil as well as what inspires theses response, an important question for the purpose of this thesis. Understanding decentralization allows us to understand the roles of different government levels as well as their competencies. Before delving into the types of decentralization that exist, it is important to define decentralization as a general concept.

A plethora of definitions of decentralization exist, however, Rondinelli et al.'s (1983) definition of decentralization is often used as a starting point. For instance, FAO refers decentralization as a "a broad-based institutional reform aimed at improving governance through the transfer of responsibilities from central government to other levels of governance' which is based on Rondinelli et al.'s (1983) conceptualization. Box 1 outlines Rondinelli et al.'s (1983) definition of decentralization, which provides a clear and succinct understanding of the concept of decentralization. For the purpose of this thesis and in line with Rondinelli et al.'s general definition, decentralization refers to the allocation and dissemination of power (authority), responsibility, and resources from the central government to subordinate and lower levels of government and authorities, and in some instances organizations of the private and voluntary sector, allowing lower level authorities to employ decision-making power for which they are held accountable and policy implementation in various regards, within the administrative, political, or fiscal realm, depending on each national context (Willis et al. 1999)(Habibi et al. 2001);(Falleti 2005). Understanding the dynamic of decentralized governments is essential to this thesis, as it allows for the understanding of the political, administrative, and economic competencies of local governments in dealing with refugee flows.

"the transfer of responsibility for planning, management, and resource raising and allocation from the central government to:

(a) field units of central government ministries or agencies,

(b) subordinate units or levels of government,

(c) semi-autonomous public authorities or corporations,

(d) area-wide regional or functional authorities, or

(e) organizations of the private and voluntary sector

Box 1: Outline of Rondinelli et al.'s general definition of decentralization Source. (FAO n.d.)

2.3.2. Political decentralization, Administrative and Fiscal Decentralization

Political decentralization:

According to Willis et al. (1999) political decentralization refers to the "establishment or reestablishment of elected autonomous subnational governments capable of making binding decisions in at least some policy areas" (Willis et al. 1999). UNDP, defines political

decentralization as a situation in which political power and authority are decentralized to subnational governments, a conceptualization echoed by the ILO (ILO 2001). An example of the manifestation of this type of decentralization "are elected and empowered subnational forms of government ranging from villages councils to state-level bodies" (ILO 2001), or as expressed by Falleti (2005), constitution amendments and electoral reforms as a means to devolve political authority to subnational governments. Devolution as defined by Rondinelli, has the objective of strengthening local governments by giving them authority, responsibility, and resources for the provision of services and the implementation of policy. For the Purpose of this thesis, devolution and political decentralization will be used interchangeable. As defined by the World Bank Group, political decentralization has the objective of giving the local population as well as elected representatives more decision-making power and influence in policy making process and implementation (Group 2016). Political decentralization suggests that local officials allow citizens to engage more closely and understand the needs and desires of their constituents on a deeper level. For the purpose of this thesis, political decentralization is defined as the transfer of political power and authority and resources to subnational governments through the empowerment and strengthening of local officials to play a more prominent role in policy decision-making processes and implementation.

Administrative Decentralization:

UNDP defines administrative decentralization as a process that aims to "transfer decision-making authority, resources and responsibilities for the delivery of a select number of public services from the central government to other lower levels of government, agencies, field offices of central government line agencies" (ILO 2001). The World Bank (WB) describes decentralization along the same lines as UNDP with the difference that the WB specifically highlights the transfer of authority and responsibility of public services to the private sector. Rondinelli, on the other hand, does not identify administrative decentralization under such terminology, instead identifies "de-concentration" as a type of decentralization in which, there is a shift of administrative responsibility from central government to subnational governments in which some level of authority for decision-making is also transferred. Habibi, et al. (2001) defines de-concentration "dispersion of activities previously carried out by the central government to local bodies, while the center retains control over decision-making so local officials remain accountable

to the central administration" (Habibi et al. 2001) For the purpose of this thesis de-concentration refers to administrative decentralization which is defined as the transfer of authority for decision-making process, responsibility of policy implementation, and resources, from central government to lower levels of government.

Fiscal decentralization:

It is important to discuss fiscal decentralization, as it provides a better understanding of where resources come from and how they are distributed throughout different bodies for the provision of public services. The financial aspect is a core component of decentralization. In order for government bodies to to carry out their designated functions, they need adequate revenues (UNDP). These revenues can either be raised locally or transferred by central government to subnational governments or agencies (Willis et al. 1999). Furthermore, in order to use these revenues, governments need the authority to make decisions about the allocation of the revenues (World Bank). For the purpose of this thesis fiscal decentralization refers to the "assignment of expenditure and revenue responsibilities to subnational governments" as defined by (Cheema & Rondinelli 2007).

Political decentralization/Devolution: the transfer of political power, authority, and resources to subnational governments through the empowerment and strengthening of local officials to play a more prominent role in policy decision-making processes and implementation.

Administrative decentralization/de-concentration: the transfer of authority for decision-making process, responsibility of policy implementation, and resources, from central government to lower levels of government.

Fiscal decentralization: "assignment of expenditure and revenue responsibilities to subnational governments" as defined by Cheema & Rondinelli (2007).

Box 2: Summary of Definition of the three types of Decentralization

2.3.3. Decentralization and Migration

The extent to which local authorities can delve into the migration process heavily depends on the level of decentralization that exists within the political structure of each nation state (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). A high level of decentralization, allows local authorities to directly intervene in policymaking and policy implementation processes. For instance, if a city is in need of a labor force, local authorities can initiate policies to motivate foreign workers to migrate to the municipality on a seasonal basis (EC-UN, 2013). An example of such a scenario is the municipality of Cartaya, in Spain, which initiated a circular migration program with Morocco to obtain seasonal labor migration in the agriculture sector (EC-UN, 2013). Without a decentralized political system, municipalities have to wait for national governments to take such initiatives, creating dependency on behalf of local government.

The decentralization of the Swedish political system serves as an example of how municipalities can best cater to their own specific needs within the refugee context. This particular example allows one to compare and contrast the ways in which refugees are dealt with depending on the political nature of the host country and the necessities of the host society at the local level (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). In order to do so, it is important to briefly outline the Swedish political system within the refugee framework:

- Decentralized unitary state in which municipalities have a high degree of autonomy, backed by the constitution (Loughlin, 2000)
- Municipalities have the full autonomy to accept or reject refugees, and decide how many they wish to receive; central government cannot force this responsibility upon local government
- When and if municipalities open their doors to refugees, they are held accountable for the process of receiving refugees and providing practical assistance (housing, education, etc.)
- Swedish Migration Board (established at the national level) is in charge of establishing agreements with municipalities for assuring placements for new arrivals

As made evident above, a complex relationship exists between local and central government. Whilst the national government establishes agreements with the municipalities on the reception of refugees through the Swedish Migration Board, municipalities are entirely responsible for providing refugees with their basic needs. Local authorities have extensive welfare obligations, as well as the political clout to tax their members in order to assume this responsibility (The

Swedish Migration Board, 2012). Therefore, central government cannot coerce municipalities to take in newcomers.

Instead, refugee reception by municipalities is contingent on their capacity as well as their needs. For instance, in the case of some Swedish municipalities demographic factors contributed to the willingness of municipalities to open their doors to incomers. Often times societies with a high average age are positive towards incomers, as they are in need of a younger population to enter the workforce (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). It is important to keep in mind that in Sweden a structured system that abides by international conventions exists. Therefore, local decision-making processes are not solely left to the hands of individual politicians (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014), instead, local authorities are able to navigate the system in a way that is most suitable to each municipality.

The case of Sweden, however, is not a common case. Even if certain countries adopted a decentralized system of migration governance there is not much that can be done to avoid the entrance of refugees through municipalities, such as on the Italian island of Lampedusa, in-between the African and Sicilian coasts, which serves as a place of opportunistic landing for migrants finding their way into the rest of Europe. In most cases, such localities do not have the means of hosting large migration flows, yet are left with no alternative but to deal with the situation best they can without capacity development tools at their disposal. Deportation is often times a mechanism employed in such scenarios, yet this does not always put an end to the migration process. Instead, migrants become more creative and hire human traffickers (Migration Governance 2015). Upon such realization, local authorities in Lampedusa opted to transfer migrants to reception centers in mainland Italy, where better structures to receive migrants exists.
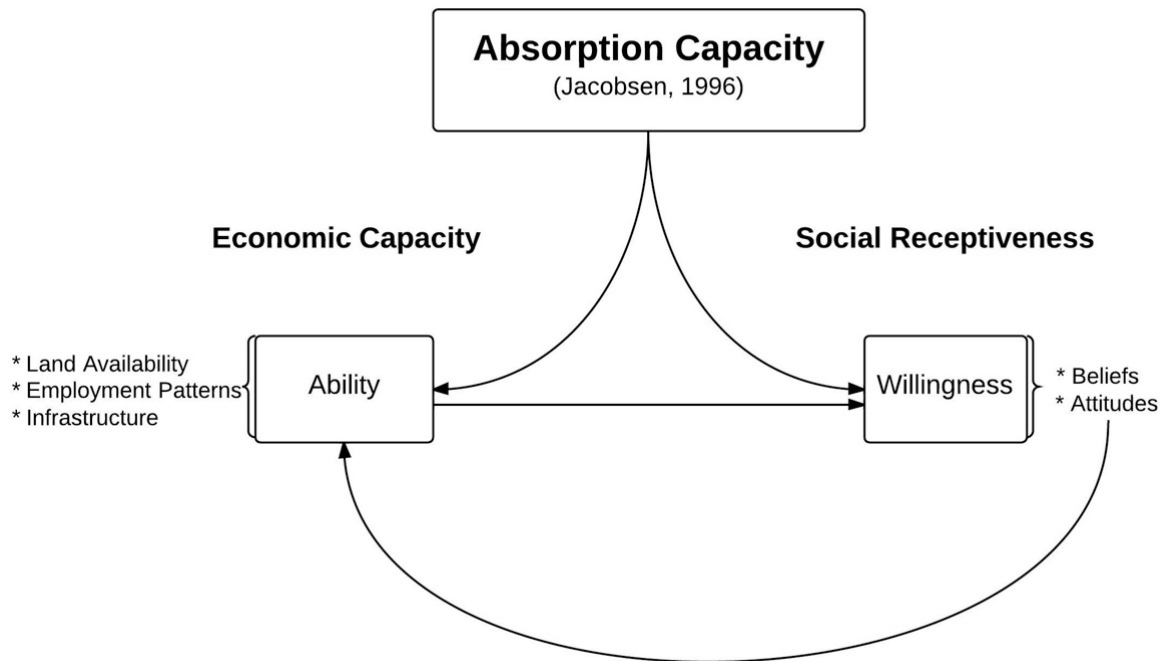
Figure 5: Conceptual Model of Absorption Capacity as defined by Jacobsen

As seen in the cases explored above, municipalities only willingly open their doors to migrants when they have the means of handling an influx of newcomers; therefore, it is important to understand the concept of a municipality's absorption capacity. The term 'absorption capacity' is often used within migration and refugee studies and programs by scholars and IGO's, yet rarely operationalized. For instance, UNHCR often uses the term without explicitly defining it under the assumption that it is self-evident.

Jacobsen (1996), one of the few scholars that gives the term the attention it deserves, defines absorption capacity in a way that is most suitable to this thesis; "the extent to which the community is willing and able to absorb an influx of refugees." Whereas a community might have the ability to receive refugees, it might lack the desire to do so. 'Willingness,' which fall under the umbrella of social receptiveness, is a crucial aspect of absorption capacity, yet it is rarely taken on board by other authors who attempt to define this term. Most scholars within migration studies who define absorption capacity tend to either gloss over the definition (Warner & Hathaway 1992)

or focus mainly on the economic capacity of a society to host outsiders, also recognized by Jacobsen. In other words, Jacobsen recognizes social receptiveness and economic capacity as the two main components of absorption capacity. For instance, scholars such as Bovens et al views absorption capacity merely through population size, GDP and GDP-PPP (Bovens, Chatkupt 2012). On the other hand, Korac does recognize the role that willingness plays in refugee reception and integration in the host society, yet does not dissect the term.

Within Jacobsen's (1996) conceptualization of absorption capacity, 'willingness' is determined by the local's perception and attitudes of refugees, also known as 'social receptiveness' and 'ability' can be summarized as 'economic capacity.' Social receptiveness as defined by Jacobsen (1996) is an aspect of absorption capacity that is indirectly touched upon by Lidén and Nyhlén (2013), but not explicitly. Jacobsen (1996) pinpoints "beliefs" and "attitudes" of refugees in a host society as encompassing of social receptiveness. Factors that influence social receptiveness are attributed to the cultural significance of refugees in the host society, ethnicity and kinship of incomers, historical experience of refugees, and security threats (Jacobsen, 1996) (See Figure 5). Lidén and Nyhlén (2013), on the other hand, summarizes these factors through the typological use of "cultural links." Cultural links address the historical experiences of past refugees in the host community and the way in which it shapes the population's perception of refugees. These historical experiences are the foundation for the cultural significance of refugees and whether or not a society is ethnically homogenous (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). Positive refugee experiences in the host society incite acceptance of incomers for the future. In turn, propelling a cycle of migration and a heterogeneous society. Perceptions of and attitudes towards refugees, in turn, impact the willingness of the society to accept or reject refugees (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). Furthermore, the host society's perception of its ability to receive refugees can also directly impact the willingness. For instance, if the community begins to see refugees as a 'burden" because they are dependent on the welfare state and a strain on local resources, receptiveness decreases.

'Economic capacity' or ability can be summarized as land availability, employment patterns, and infrastructure. It is important to note, however, that economic capacity is not a static variable (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014). Economic capacity can become stronger through financial compensation on behalf of the federal government (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014), and through increased international aid (Jacobsen 1996). Due to the presence of refugees themselves, land capacity and infrastructure to deal with incomers can expand. This can be attributed to increased international

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assistance in which programs bring in food or create adequate infrastructure. Furthermore, the economy is stimulated when assistance programs purchase goods for the refugees, and also with the resources refugees spends in the host society, which tends to happen in places where migrants concentrate for a prolonged period of time (Jacobsen 1996). Therefore, when migration routes are established and certain municipalities serve as strategic hubs on this route and migrants concentrate for longer periods of time, the notion of 'integration' comes into play.

2.5 Integration as a Concept

A main focus of this thesis is the interaction that exists between newcomers, the host society, and the local government, as well as bigger forces that influence public policy at this level, which invites the following questions throughout the research: 1.) How do local authorities act (policies, programs, activities) formally and how do they act informally? 2.) What has been the response on behalf of civil society? What motivates these responses? What efforts are made on behalf of the local community to integrate or exclude migrants? Therefore, it is important to explore the conceptualization of 'integration' of a minority group within a host society, taking these varying aspects into account.

Integration is a term that is both disputed and questioned within academia and amongst practitioners. In reference to migration, the concept of integration encompasses a wide range of definitions depending on varying national contexts. In the most general sense, integration refers to the process by which people, who have no roots in a newly arrived place, become part of society (Spencer et al. 2003a). Even though the concept seems straightforward, integration is highly disputed for three main reason. First, integration is multidimensional. For instance, scholars often identify and discuss different dimensions of integration such as social, economic, and political. Second, the actors involved in the integration process are often under question. While some scholars argue that integration is the responsibility of the incomer, a way one process, others argue it is also the responsibility of national and local governments as well as civil society and of the newcomers. Third, manifold differences exist within national, regional and local contexts (Niessen in Baden-w 2012). As mentioned in the "decentralization" section, in countries such as Sweden the local level has taken the reign over refugee reception, which entails integration. Due to varying national contexts and the role local government play in refugee and migration matters, it is

important to recognize the three levels of government. This section explores different ways of defining and viewing integration.

According to Favell, integration is used to exemplify 'progressive minded, tolerant and inclusive approaches to dealing with ethnic minorities' (Favell 2014). The Chicago School of thought later extracted this typology, applying it to a public policy framework within the arena of ethnic studies and depicting integration as a stepping-stone towards assimilation. Furthermore, recognizing the host society as a mediator in preventing or facilitating the process of integration for refugees. In contrast to the Chicago School definition, Spencer argues the integration of migrants, in the European context, refers to their assimilation to "a pre-existing, unified social order, with a homogenous culture and set of values" (Spencer et al. 2003)

According to this definition, integration is a unilateral process for which migrants are uniquely responsible. For instance, Turkish women are expected to work without scarves within German society as differences cannot be tolerated. Similar to this concept of integration, Berry highlights the importance of the migrants to navigate their way through the new society.

Berry (1990), who uses a social psychology lens, states that integration is one aspect of the acculturation process. This author defines acculturation as a culture change that is born out of the "unbroken contact between two distinct cultural groups" (Berry 1990). Berry argues that integration takes place where individuals act upon an interest in maintaining their own culture while at the same time interacting with the new culture they have been exposed to. Therefore, Berry (1990) explicitly states that integration, or opposition to it, is a premeditated choice made on behalf of the individual. Whilst Favell (2014) and the Chicago School of thought bestows most of the responsibility of integration on the 'openness' of the receiving society, Berry (1990) explicitly emphasizes the role of the incomers as individuals with power to act on their own throughout the integration process. Instead of integrating into the receiving society, migrants can otherwise 'choose' to renounce their original culture and "assimilate" to the new culture (Berry, 1990). Alternatively, refugees can also exclude themselves from the local population by choosing not to interact with the host community. In turn, creating the space for "marginalization" to follow (Berry, 1990). As suggested by Berry (1990), marginalization can also occur where immigrants suffer from structural violence in relation to the local population. By making such a statement, however, Berry (1990) recognizes that integration is not solely contingent on the role of the individual, but also on that of the host society, and the state as makers of public policy, an aspect

of integration that is imperative to this thesis.

Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002), who also acknowledge the importance of these three actors, base their definition of integration on that of Roy Jenkins who does not view it as 'a flattening process of uniformity (Mestheneos & Ioannidi 2002). But cultural diversity, coupled with equal opportunity, in the atmosphere of mutual tolerance.' According to Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002), regardless of the host society that refugees find themselves in, they all share the common "dream of equal opportunities and rights, democratic participation and the acceptance of cultural diversity without discrimination and racism." Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002) conducted their study on refugees within the context of European Union (EU) Member States and concluded that for most of their subjects' integration is "a process of learning to accept and be accepted." Unlike the definition of Favell (2014), who places more responsibility on the role of the host society, and Berry (1990) who focuses mainly on the individual, Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002), delegate equal responsibility on the state, host society, and individual incomers, recognizing integration as a three-way process. Similar to Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002), (Niessen in Mayfair Foundation 2012), also recognizes the role of government, individuals, civil society and the private sector.

Niessen, however, explicitly differentiates the levels of government and their role in the integration process (Niessen in Baden-w 2012). Whilst national governments create and adopt the policies that allow for integration such as anti-discrimination laws and policies that facilitate equal access to employment, education, health and other public services, the actual process of integration takes place at the local level. As put forth by Niessen, "integration is about changes in societies and city landscapes, in the lives of individuals and communities. It takes place where people live, interact and must constantly adapt to changing situations (Niessen in Baden-w 2012). Furthermore, Aerschot et al (2016) argue that there has been a paradigm shift in public policy in the establishment of the Local Immigration Partnership initiative (LIP) in Canada and Scandinavian countries. The purpose of LIC is to 'provide a collaborative framework for, and facilitate the development and implementation of, sustainable local and regional solutions for successful integration of immigrants'(CIC in Aerschot 2016). Therefore, local governments have an interest an ensuring that a favorable environment exists at the municipal level to aid integration of migrants.

Undoubtedly, national governments play a crucial in setting the 'rules of the game' in terms

of immigration and citizenship, yet as expressed by Omidvar "national policy informs an abstract public discourse that fails to account for the realities of lived experience" (Omidvar - Mayfair Foundation 2012). The policies are decided upon at the national level which and are generally inspired by international standards and practices, yet they are directly felt at the local level. Therefore, the local level plays a defining role in the integration of refugees and migrants into their new community (Spencer et al. 2003). As made mention in the "decentralization" section, it is the local level of government that is closest to the people and is best positioned to cater to the needs of the people.

Based on the discussion above, it is evident that all scholars mentioned agree that integration is dependent on the relationship between locals, incomers, and the state to some degree. For the purpose of this thesis, however, the term 'civil society' will be utilized in order to encompass local individuals, organizations, and the private sector. Civil society in itself is not limited to the non-governmental organization community. It goes beyond such organizations, including both organized and unorganized groups as well as the private sector. It can embody any individual or organization that is independent from the government. For instance, a local individual that is not acting upon the interests of a public institution, yet reacts to incoming refugees, is operating under the category of 'civil society.' For the purpose of this thesis, 'integration' will be explored through the interactions between individual refugees or migrants, government (local, regional, national), and civil society (individuals, organizations, private sector). Furthermore, this thesis recognizes that integration is a multifaceted process with three important dimensions, social, economic, and political, which will be explored below.

Integration:
- Is dependent on the relationship between civil society, the state, and refugees themselves
- Acknowledges the negative and positive factors and the intrinsic nature of the factors involved

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Box 3: Comprehensive approach of the concept of integration

Scholars	Conceptualization of Integration	Measurement Tools
Favell (2014)	Integration exemplifies 'progressive minded, tolerant and inclusive approaches to dealing with ethnic minorities'	Not Available
The Chicago School	Integration is a stepping-stone towards assimilation • Host society is a mediator in preventing or facilitating the process of integration for refugees	Not Available
Berry (1990)	• Integration is one aspect of the acculturation process • Integration is a premeditated choice made on behalf of the individual • Integration is contingent on the role of the individual, host society, and the state.	Not Available
Zetter et al. (2002)	• Integration as a process that takes place in four different domains: the legal, statutory, functional and social • Variables with the potential to hinder integration on any of the four domains should be taken into consideration (e.g. racism)	Not Available
🚆 Zetter et al. (2002) 🚗 Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002)	• Authors agree that a comprehensive approach should be taken into account when discussing integration policy • Acknowledgment of negative and positive factors and the intrinsic nature of the factors involved should be taken into consideration	Not Available
Mestheneos and Ioannidi (2002)	• Base their definition of integration on that of Roy Jenkins, who does not view integrations 'a flattening process of uniformity. But cultural diversity, coupled with equal opportunity, in the atmosphere of mutual tolerance' • All refugees share the common "dream of equal opportunities and rights, democratic participation and the acceptance of cultural diversity without discrimination and racism." • For most of their subjects' integration means "a process of learning to accept and be accepted." • Recognize five obstacles to integration: initial reception, racism and ignorance, social class, culture and the welfare state system of the receiving nation.	• Suggest objective ways to measure integration by analyzing access to jobs, education, housing, and political participation and representation compared to the host society

Table 1: Conceptualizations of Integration

Scholars often explore the various dimensions of integration through different terms, yet the different categories can usually can be divided into three main groupings, economic, political, and social:

Economic:

The economic dimension of integration is specifically concerned with access to employment and wages of migrants or refugees in the receiving society (Alarcon 2016). In literature on economic integration, it is often implicit that economic integration is stronger when migrants and refugees have higher labor market participation rates, lower unemployment levels, better jobs, and a higher income (Van Tubergen & Sindradóttir 2011). As a result, the majority of research includes these elements as the underlying factors of economic integration to assess the performance of migrants in the labor market (Bilgili 2015). Public policy based around integration should look at employment rates, wages, under- employment, and self-employment amongst refugees in relation to host society (Ager & Strang 2008). Within this thesis, access to employment and wages of refugees in relation to the host population will be discussed (as a result of the recentness as well as short time frame of the research).

Political:

The Political Dimension of integration generally refers to the access that refugees and migrants have in "spaces and processes of influence and decision-making within the political community" of the new country in which immigrants and refugees find themselves in (Alarcon 2016). In order to obtain access to political spaces, refugees and immigrants need to have the necessary paperwork to enjoy their political rights. Generally, scholars emphasize the importance of citizenship within the political domain. For instance, Korac (year) argues that it is the "ultimate goal and 'measurement' of full integration in the receiving society." Furthermore, Korac argues that citizenship is what truly demonstrates a society's "willingness" to take in and absorb newcomers, as it "guarantees enjoyment of a set of civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights." In conclusion, authors such as Korac as well as Ager and Strang (2008) argue that citizenship is the desired legal status of a refugee. For the purpose of this thesis, however, "citizenship" is not a main concern. For the purpose of this thesis, the perception of refugees in

terms of the rights they enjoy is given importance over citizenship necessarily.

Social:

Throughout the refugee and immigration literature, social integration mainly emphasizes the interactions between incomers and locals of the receiving society. UNHCR refers to social integration as a social and cultural process in which "refuges acclimatize and local communities accommodate the refugee to enable refugees to live amongst or alongside the receiving population without discrimination or exploitation, and contribute actively to the social life of their country of asylum" (UNHCR 2013). Even though the process of social integration mainly takes place between the local and the incomer, it is important to recognize the role of the the policy framework in place. It is essential to note that that the three above mention dimension are intrinsically linked. Without access to economic or political integration, a migrant or refugee is limited in their ability to integrate socially. For the purpose of this thesis, social integration refers to the way in which refugees function in various spheres of social life within their new host society, but also the way in which the society, including the policy framework, treats them from the moment of arrival throughout their stay (Kiagia et al. 2010).

A comprehensive approach should be taken into account when discussing integration, acknowledging facilitators and obstacles of this process, along with the intrinsic nature of these factors and the dimensions involved (Zetter et al. 2002):(Mestheneos & Ioannidi 2002). Facilitators are defined as the main skills that allow refugees to navigate their way through a new society, in turn facilitating the integration process (Fozdar & Torezani 2008) For instance, language and cultural know-how as well as personality factors play a critical role in knitting a strong social network. Certain individual personality factors provide resilience for refugees, allowing them to find a means of integrating into society regardless of obstacles (Fozdar & Torezani 2008);(Ager & Strang 2008); (King 2012). On the contrary, personality factors can also be detrimental in the case that refugees victimize themselves. Additionally, immigration status as well as access to health care services, access to educational and language services and employment opportunities increase possibilities of social integration (Alarcon 2016); (Ager and Strang 2008); (Fozdar & Torezani 2008). In addition to facilitators, obstacles to integration should be discussed. For instance, racism, social class, culture, a lack of language know-how, enforced dependency, and the quality of initial reception can influence the integration of refugees and migrants in the

host society (Zetter et al. 2002). The section below delves into the arguments of how enforced dependency, or lack thereof, can influence integration of refugees into the host society.

2.5.2 The "Self - help system"

Contrary to welfare state system, the "self-help system," as termed by Korac (2003), can potentially be beneficial to a refugee's experience of the integration process. Instead of depending on the state, refugees in need are forced to seek assistance through refugee and migrant networks, which prompts individuals to become self-sufficient as quickly as possible, and in turn enhances their agency. Agency can be defined as the capacity of an individual to act regardless of structural forces (Long 1994). Refugees use their agency in order to navigate their way in the receiving community, which can lead to positive outcomes. For instance, when refugees can interact freely with the host society, the local community can more easily perceive the cultural compatibility that exists between residents and incomers, as refugees are not automatically segregated from the rest of society and deemed as the "other." Living amongst locals assists in the process of social integration (Korac 2003). "Self-reliance" and "self-determination" are crucial in promoting local integration, as refugees are able to engage in activities outside of the campsite (Chusri et al. in Brauch 2014). In case of the reception of refugees or "displaced persons" from Myanmar in Thailand, they are official prohibited from moving or being employed outside of the campsite. It is important to note, however, that the Royal Thai Government (RTG) is not a signatory of the 1951 Refugee Convention. This prohibition results in various negative setbacks for the displaced people. For instance, the RTG forged displaced people's dependence on external assistance, hindering their capabilities for future self-sufficiency outside of the camp. Consequently, enforced dependency does not allow room for refugees to have agency. Furthermore, the enforced dependency turns refugees into a burden for the government and host community (P. Vungsiriphisal et al in Brauch 2014)

Another example of a self-help system is the "Self-reliance Strategy" (SRS). SRS is a strategy drafted by the Government of Uganda and UNHCR for Sudanese refugee reception from 1989 to 1993, with the end goal of improving the standard of living of refugees and the receiving society with the following objectives (UNHCR 2013):

- Empowerment of refugees and nationals in the area to the extent that they would be able to support themselves; and,

- To establish mechanisms that will ensure integration of services for the refugees with those of the nationals.

In order to accomplish these objectives refugees were given agricultural lands to help them become self- sufficient and to avoid refugee dependence on government aid schemes. For instance, in states such as Norway and Sweden, who provide strong financial, social, and political support for providing asylum it takes refugees longer to have agency, as they are not forced to maneuver their way in their new society and receive substantial aid from the government (Betts 2006). A report by UNCHR (2013) of Uganda's model in which SRS was implemented, concluded that this model resulted in increased self-esteem and self-respect of refugees. As a result of increased self-esteem and self-respect, refugees take charge of their own lives and livelihoods.

In line with the conclusions drawn by UNHCR (2013), Korac, (2003), D. Chusri et al. (2014). P. and Vungsiriphisal et al. (2014), Betts (2006) argues that countries such as Uganda and Zambia who "are keen to promote local integration and self- sufficiency schemes" are able to highlight refugees as "an asset rather than an inevitable burden." Depicting refuges as independent results in an attitude change of refugees and host societies "from free handouts to self-help and capacity building" (UNHCR 2013). Korac (2003) who conducted a case study with refugees in Rome concludes that the absence of a structure and underdeveloped integration programs to assist refugees removes them from the categorization of "less able" and puts them at the same level as people from the receiving community. Refugees need tools that promote agency and independence, not mechanisms that coerce refugees into depending solely on the government schemes. Enforced dependency eventually leads to exclusion. In addition, Korac (2003) concludes that the type of social environment that arises as the result of the absence of integration policies influences the "open-mindedness" of refugees towards the local population. That is not to say, however, that this type of social environment is always sufficient for a mutual understanding to exist between the receiving society and incomers.

Whilst some scholars argue that the 'self-help system' is the most beneficial for refugees themselves, it is also important to recognize that a lack of public support through a strong welfare system can lead to negative drawbacks, especially during the initial stage of reception. Refugees are left to survive on their own and fend for themselves. At the same time, the host society is not prepared to receive vulnerable peoples with difficult backgrounds. Many refugees manage to be active in local society through legal and illegal activities on their own, yet, have difficulty

including themselves in the labor market at the same level of their education and professional qualifications (Ager & Strang 2008). Thus, refugees tend to remain marginal in this regard. It is in this scenario that integration policies can be of particular higher importance (Mestheneos & Ioannidi 2002).

2.6. Conclusion

The theoretical underpinnings of the research consist of four main concepts that are of strong importance for this thesis; capacity building, decentralization, absorption capacity and integration. As discussed above, capacity building needs to primarily take place at the local level. However, it is important to note that three levels of capacity building must be given attention, the individual, organizational, and environmental level, such a policy framework (E.g. decentralization). In order for municipalities to successfully meet an end goal, such as the social, economic, and political integration of migrants and refugees, the right policies must be in place. For instance, without adequate policies to support the regularization of migrants, incomers are inhibited from fully integrating into society. Furthermore, municipalities must be empowered to take the reigns over matters of local interest through decentralization. The policies are decided upon at the national level which and are generally inspired by international standards and practices, yet they are directly felt at the local level. For example, the 'willingness' and 'ability' to receive refugees is born at the local level. Therefore, the local level plays a defining role in the integration of refugees and migrants into their new community. Through decentralization, local levels of government can communicate concerns of the local population to the central government and the central government can communicate with the local population as well as implement policy through lower levels of government. In conclusion, capacity building and decentralization are tools that facilitate the reception of refugees where they arrive, which is inarguable at the local level.

3. Thematic, regional, and local context

This section begins by providing the necessary background of Haiti's unstable economic situation, followed by its long history of political strife and how international bodies take initiatives in an attempt to ameliorate the situation. It then provides an overview of why Brazil is an attractive migration spot for Haitian migrants and reasons for which Brazil so welcomingly created the necessary migration regulations for Haitians to stay in the country. It then goes on to describe the unintended consequences and route created by migrants and human traffickers to reach Brazilian soil, consequently, concentrating in key localities. Lastly, this sections taps into the response of the residents of Brasiléia, a town serving as a gateway to the rest of Brazil.

3.1 Haiti: An independent State Reliant on International Partners

Figure 6: Map of Haiti, Dominican Republic and surrounding countries. Source: (CNN 2010)

3.1.1. Overview of Haiti

The country of Haiti shares the Island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, found in the Caribbean between Cuba and Puerto Rico. As a former French Colony, one of the official

languages in Haiti is French. Even though French is the language of instruction, Creole is the only language spoken and understood by all Haitians (DeGraff 2010). Haiti is a state that suffers from economic instability since its independence in 1804, as its legacy of debt began shortly after in 1825 when France demanded Haiti compensates France for its loss of men and slave colony. Haiti's barriers to economic growth can be summarized as poverty, corruption, low levels of education for much of the population, and its vulnerability to natural disasters, which will be discussed in further detail below (CIA 2016).

In January 2010 when a 7.0 magnitude earthquake destroyed a large portion of its capital city, Port-au-Prince, as well as neighboring areas, Haiti's already weak economy took an even a harder hit. At the moment, Haiti is the poorest country in the Western Hemisphere with 80% of the population living under the poverty line and 54% in abject poverty (CIA 2016). The earthquake further exacerbated the economy with $7.8 billion in damage and caused the country's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to shrink by 5.3% (See Figure 7) (The World Bank 2014). A year after the earthquake, the economy began to recover, however, it soon slowed down as two hurricanes adversely affected agricultural output and as a result of low public capital spending. Forty percent of the Haitian population depends on the agricultural sector, and continue to be vulnerable to recurrent natural disasters (CIA 2016). Even though annual per capita growth has generally been positive since 2010, the World Bank states that faster rates are required to reduce poverty. After a 5.3% contraction in GDP in 2010, from 2011 to 2014 Haiti experienced a real growth rate averaging 3.8% and a per capita GDP growth of 2.4%, mainly stimulated by high levels of reconstruction, foreign aid and remittances (The World Bank 2014), which comprise 20% of total GDP (UN-OHRLLS 2015).
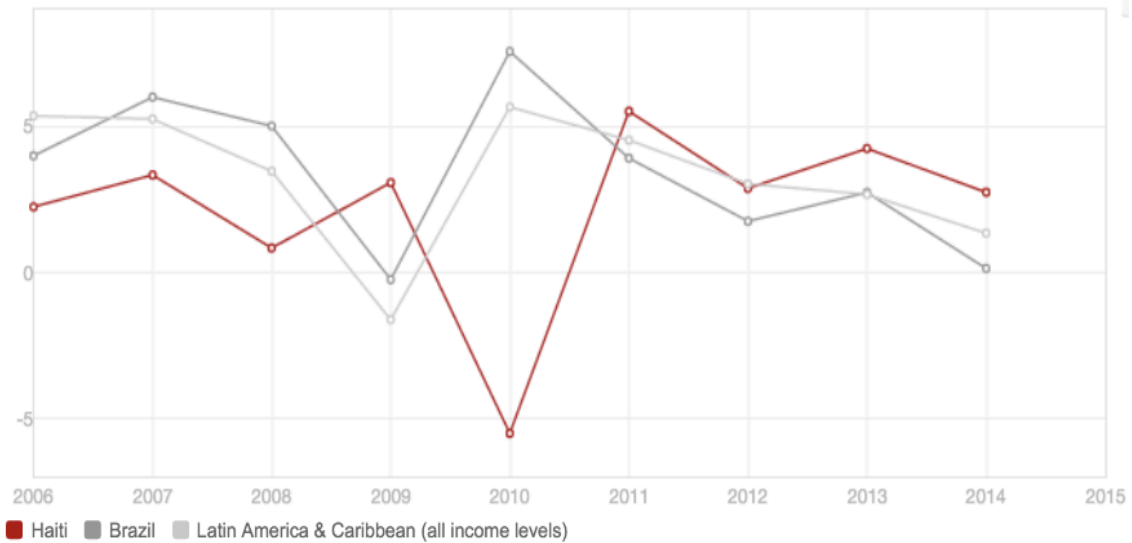
Figure 7: Annual (%) GDP Growth of Haiti, Brazil, and Latin America. Source: (Bank 2015)

Even though reconstruction is taking place and being factored into GDP, the money used is external. Haiti suffers from a lack of private investment, partly due to of weak infrastructure. Following the earthquake, donor countries cancelled Haiti's outstanding external debt, but has since risen (CIA 2016).The government relies on formal international economic assistance for fiscal sustainability, with over half of its annual budget coming from outside sources. Over the past 53 years, the value for this indicator has fluctuated between $3,064,960,000 in 2010 and $581,600,000 in 2006 (See Figure 8) (Index Mundi 2013). ODA consists of loan disbursements made on concessional terms and grants by official agencies of the members of the Development Assistance Committee (DAC), by multilateral institutions, and by non-DAC countries to promote economic development and welfare in countries and territories in need (Index Mundi 2013). The World Bank identifies the significant decrease in donor financing as a main challenge for Haiti to overcome. Outside financing has declined in the last three years, a trend which is predicted to continue(The World Bank 2014). In turn, capital investments will most likely be constrained as well.
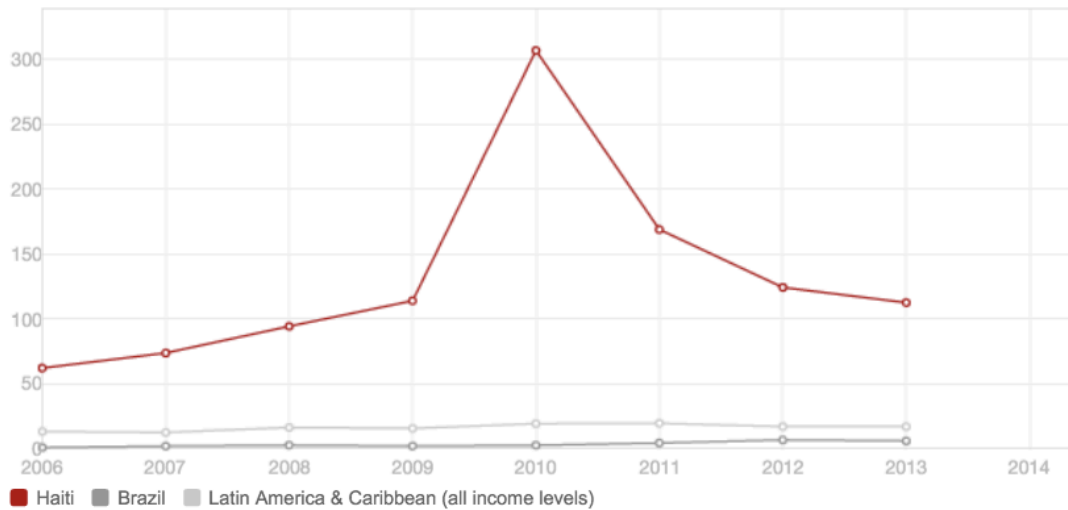
Figure 8: Net ODA Received Per Capita in USD in Haiti, Brazil, and Latin America and Caribbean countries. Source: (Bank 2015)

3.1.2. Haiti's Shaky Political Situation and the Creation of MINUSTAH

Haiti's complex economic instability is also a product of the country's prolonged history of political strife and conflict. After Haiti's successive rule by dictators, Jean- Bertrand Aristide, became the first democratically elected president and was ousted by a coup d'état for the second time during his third term in 2004. Initially, a coup was organized in 2001, but failed in July of the same year. Unrelentingly, opposition to his rule increased and he eventually fled the country on February 29 of 2004 amid anti-governmental protests that developed into a full-scale rebellion. Days before, the United Nations held an emergency session on the crisis, followed by a recommendation made by the Secretary General to create a multidimensional stabilization operation in April 2004 to assist with the situation in Haiti, the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). In June 2004, a United States- led multinational force turned over authority in Port-au-Prince to UN peacekeepers (CNN 2010). As a means of restoring a secure and stable environment MINUSTAH was established 1 June 2004 by Security Council resolution 1542, with the Brazilian army leading MINUSTAH's military component.

3.2. Brazilian Foreign Policy and its Footprint in the International Arena

In recent years Brazil has emerged as a strong political and economic power in Latin America, flourishing as a key player on the international stage (Bank 2015). Currently, Brazilian foreign policy is aimed at strengthening the nation's ties with other Latin American states through

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multilateral diplomacy in the United Nations (UN), the Organization of American States (OAS), and the Southern Common Market (Mercosur), which falls under the umbrella of the Union of South American States (UNASUR) (Bodeau 2013). These intergovernmental organizations serve as political platforms through which member states can express their solidarity, along with political and economic support to one another (Stuenkel 2013).

As the Latin American peace leader of MINUSTAH, Brazil is providing military and financial support to Haiti since 2004, prior to the 2010 earthquake. Efforts on behalf of the Brazilian government include providing UN peacekeeping forces with Brazilian troops and prompting private companies to invest in Haiti. According to a Haitian government official, Brazil's presence "has helped promote political stability and rule of law, rebuild the country after the devastating 2010 earthquake and address urban gang violence in the country. Estimates from the government of Haiti suggest that Brazil spends about 180 million dollars in Haiti each year" (Bodeau 2013). The long-term solution for Haiti is to rebuild the economy, which is crucial, yet short term solutions are not being met quickly enough for the local population to stay during the rebuilding process. While the intentions of international efforts are visible, these attempts at ameliorating the situation in Haiti are not sufficient in preventing Haitian migrants from searching new opportunities outside of their own country. As Latin America's economic powerhouse, and as a result of its flexible migration policies, Brazil has become the main attraction for Haitian refugees, amongst others migrants.

3.2.1. Brazil Opens its Doors to Migrants

During his term as President of Brazil, Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva, a renowned leader of the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT), was vocally critical of developed nations' discriminatory policies against immigrants. Toward the end of his term in 2009, he facilitated residency for undocumented aliens while softening national migration policies. "We view the immigration policies adopted by some rich countries as unjust," Lula proclaimed as he signed a bill simplifying the prohibitively complex process for foreigners seeking to obtain work permits and transforming existing migration policies in Brazil (Stuenkel 2013). Lula's successor, and political apprentice through PT, Dilma Rousseff, followed in his footstep regarding the nation's political attitude towards migrants.

After the earthquake that devastated Haiti in January 12, 2010, Rousseff publicly opened Brazil's doors for Haitians seeking to flee the aftermath. On her trip to Port-au-Prince in February of 2014 Rousseff declared: "We are ready to receive Haitian citizens who choose to look for new opportunities in Brazil" (The New Yorker 2014), asserting that the Brazilian government would not be apathetic towards Haitians' vulnerable economic situation (BBC News 2012). The national discourse is that as a historical nation of migrants, Brazil is not in a position to reject migrants (The New Yorker 2014). Varying explanations exist in order to justify the intentions behind Brazil's invitation.

Oliver Stuenkel, an Assistant Professor of International Relations at the Getúlio Vargas Foundation (FGV) in São Paulo, stresses that while Brazil had strict migration policies only a decade ago, it has now "turned a blind eye to the arrival of immigrants from poorer countries and periodically granted them amnesties." Stuenkel (2013) argues that Brazil is not only accepting of Haitians, but all migrants from less advanced economies as a result of a "policy based on solidarity with poor countries." As an international player who cannot afford to taint its image, it is not necessarily turning a 'blind eye,' rather strategically creating policies that may be beneficial to Brazil in the international arena. International agencies such as the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) have put pressure on Brazil to welcome refugees into their country, especially Haitian migrants (ACNUR 2011). As a nation who hopes to establish an even deeper footprint on the global map by making efforts towards obtaining a permanent seat on the United Nations Security Council, taking initiatives to welcome migrants may be part of a larger Brazilian state plan (Stuenkel 2013).

3.2.2. Brazil and its Pursuit to Obtain a Permanent Seat on the Security Council

Over the course of a generation, Brazil has established itself as an active power in world politics, evidenced by the fact that Brazil is one of the main contributors to the UN's budget and has been elected to the Security Council ten times (CFR 2011). Not only has it contributed troops to UN peacekeeping efforts in Haiti, but also previously to the former Belgian Congo, Cyprus, Mozambique, Angola, and more recently East Timor (Itamaraty 2014). Peacekeeping is Brazil's most visible contribution to world security. Before the UN was founded, the President of the United States at the time (1946) championed for Brazil to be included on the Security Council, but two of the permanent members of the council, the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union refused

(The National Interest 2010). Being denied, however, did not deter Brazil from continuing its pursuit. During the 63rd Session of the United Nations General Assembly, Lula stated the following:

> The United Nations has spent 15 years discussing the reform of its Security Council. Today's structure has been frozen for six decades and does not relate to the challenges of today's world. Its distorted form of representation stands between us and the multilateral world to which we aspire. Therefore, I am much encouraged by the General Assembly's decision to launch negotiations in the near future on the reform of the Security Council.

> - Luiz Inácio da Silva, 23 – 09-2008 (United Nations 2008)
> -

Brazil continues to seek support from the United States (US) regarding a permanent seat on the Security Council, amongst other countries such as the Russian Federation. The US has sent strong indications that it is willing to support Brazil's membership as long as there is no veto vote. Furthermore, in 2011 the Council on Foreign Relations recommended that the Obama support fully endorse membership (CFR 2011). In conclusion, Brazil is cautious when closing their doors on migrants who come from areas in which Brazil command efforts towards peace and security as it could reflect negatively on the international political stage.

3.2.3. From Haiti to Brazil: Normative Regulations

As a result of the humanitarian crisis suffered by Haiti, following the earthquake in 2010, Haitian emigrants to different countries increased. In addition to the customary migration flows to the United States, Canada, France - and its Caribbean territories, it has become evident within recent years that new migration patterns have been created to South America. Brazil, in particular, is a popular destination, with Ecuador, Peru, and in some cases Bolivia and Panama, serving as transit points (IOM 2014). According to the IOM (2014), 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." As a response to this problematic, the Brazilian government put forth mechanisms to facilitate legal means of obtaining a visa in Haiti as well as in key transit countries in order to minimize risk factors.

In light of the increasing migration flows from Haiti to Brazil since 2011, resulting from the aftermath of the earthquake that left the country in shambles, massively destroyed infrastructure, and contributed to thousands of deaths, discussions held within the National Council for Immigration (CNIg- Conselho Nacional de Imigração) led to the materialization of initiatives to address the matter (EBC 2013). Haitians who migrated to Brazil in 2010 applied for refugee status upon their arrival. However, in line with the 1951 Refugee Convention, Haitian migrants do not fall under this definition (IOM 2014). Consequently, in January 2012 CNIg created a legal instrument, Normative Regulation (RN) - 97, which regularized the status of these immigrants under a humanitarian basis and enabled family reunification. Furthermore, giving Haitians the possibility to obtain a visa with minimal requirements at the Brazilian Embassy in Haiti. Initially, the quota was 100 five-year work visas per month, but the demand exceeded the supply, putting pressure on the administrative capacity of the Brazilian consulate in Port-au-Prince, Haiti. Immediately after the validity of RN-97 period expired, CNIg replaced this legal instrument with RN-102, which extended the validity period of visas and eliminated visa quotas (EBC 2013). In turn, the only factor hindering the number of visas issued to Haitians is the processing capacity of the employees of the Brazilian consulate in the Haitian capital. As a result of RN-102 processing times were drastically reduced from six to two months between the 2012 and 2013 (IOM 2014). Yet, according to a study conducted by the IOM Haitians continued to complain and decided to take matters into their own hands.

3.3. Decentralization in Brazil

The Brazilian legal system is based on the Federal Constitution in which all other legislations and court decisions must coincide with its rules (Souza 2002). Each state has its own constitution and municipalities their individual organic laws, which must always stay true to the Federal constitution (Mora et al.2001; Souza 2002). Although municipalities have the "power to legislate over subjects of local interest," (Arsenault 2009);(Dillinger & Webb 1999), certain matters are only the Federal Union has legislative power. Brazil is a decentralized federation concerned with two domains: financial resources and the execution of specific social programs proposed at the federal level (Dillinger & Webb 1999); (Souza 2002). Brazil's constitution outlines specific allocation of revenues in which a system of tax sharing and the redistribution of taxes amongst all levels of government exist (Arsenault, 2009). Since the constitution established in

1988, local governments enjoy more governmental revenues through such a scheme (Bomfim & Shah 1994). Federal governments are responsible for transferring 21.5 percent of its tax revenues to the states under the constitution, which also obliges states to transfer 25 percent of the proceeds of its value-added tax to municipalities within its jurisdiction (Arsenault, 2009). Whilst federal and state transfers comprise a large sum of local resources, resources collected by local governments from urban property tax, property transfers, and frontage tax characterize 1.6% of total GDP (Souza 2002).

Aside from constitutional transfer schemes, federal transfers to subnational governments exist in order to help carry out national policies aimed at health care and primary education, specifically (Brazilian Constitution 1988). Since the 1990's, municipalities have been established as the main benefactors of health care services (Souza 2002). These fiscal transfers hold local governments accountable for the employment of these policies through financial incentives and political constraints (Souza 2002). Whilst the constitution grants municipalities "the power to legislate over subjects of local interest, and provide…services of local public interest," expenditure responsibilities are not clearly defined, however (Arsenault 2009; Dillinger and Webb 1999).

3.4. Research Questions

The reviewed literature invites the following research question:

Central question:

How do formal and informal responses at the local level evolve in reaction to the influx of migrants as a result of Brazil's open door policies towards Haitian Migrants?

The following sub-questions have been designed to answer the above posed research question:

Sub-questions:

- What is the main context of the mass migration to Brazil?
- What is the main route Haitian refugees take to Brazil?
- What are potential benefits and/or drawbacks of the Haitian Migration to Brazil at the local level?
- How do local authorities act (policies, programs, activities) formally and how do they act informally?

(What inspires the response of local authorities?)

> - (E.g. local elections, relationship to national government, individual reputation

- What has been the response on behalf of civil society? What motivates these responses?

> - (E.g. efforts made on behalf of the local community to integrate (or exclude) immigrants

- What are the implications of these responses at the local, regional, and national level?

> - (E.g. do responses at the local level influence decisions at the national level?)

3.5. Conceptual Model

'Global policy' discourse, as discussed in the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, pushes for international migration policies to be established within the international arena (Kalm 2010). In the case of an international migration phenomenon, the 'international refugee regime' holds discussions on what initiatives can be taken (Jacobsen 1996). In the form of recommendations and resolutions, intergovernmental bodies, such as the United Nations, push countries to adopt these recommendations. The recommendations are then taken onboard in the form of national policy if within a country's interest (see Figure 9).

Heeding to the call of the United Nations and in line with their political ideology, Brazil's federal government opened its door for Haitian citizens fleeing the aftermath of the 2010 earthquake in Haiti on humanitarian grounds. Due to Brazil's top down system of governance, migration is a matter exclusively overseen by the federal government. Furthermore, without a decentralized system of migration governance, lower levels of governments must stay true to these policies regardless of how they are being impacted (see Figure 10).

As a result of Haiti's dire economic situation: leaving its residents desperately in search of humanitarian protection, and Brazil's magnetizing economy as well as lax migration policies, thousands of Haitians created an unexpected migration route to Brazil. As a consequence, refugees have concentrated in the municipality of Brasiléia in the Amazon region. The end result is improvised humanitarian aid in which the state government of Acre has taken over the responsibility of the refugee reception (e.g. housing, food, processing paperwork) in the municipality in terms of resources (financial, staff) without the required capacity development

(e.g. staff and policies) to attend to the needs of peoples in a vulnerable situation. As shown in Figure 10 there is no adequate communication between the local level of government (Brasiléia), the state government of Acre, or the national Brazilian government where policies are decided. The local level is where the impact of the migration phenomenon is directly experienced and the absorption capacity of the host society is put to test.

A Macro-Level Conceptual Model of the Haitian Migration to Brazil: National Policies felt at the local level
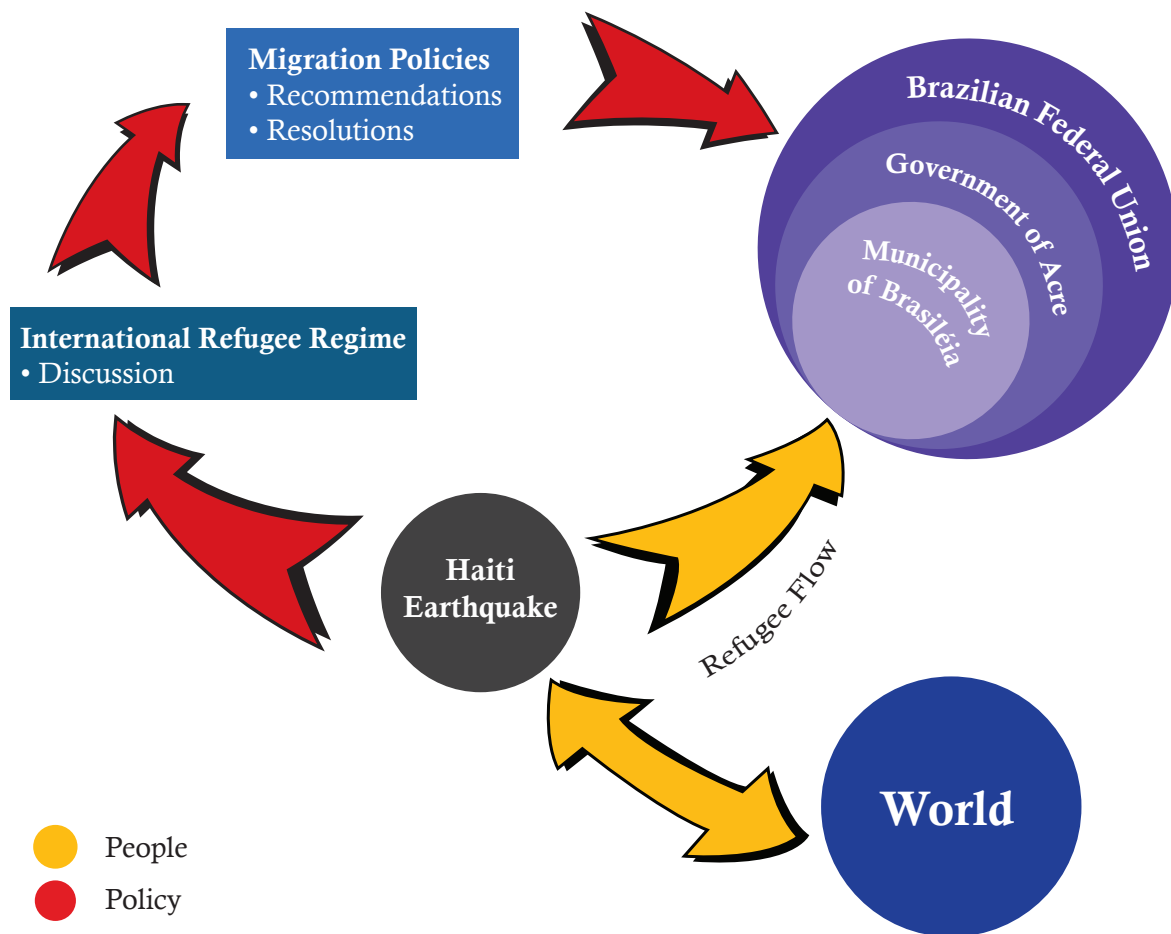
Figure 9: A Macro-level conceptual model of the Haitian Migration to Brazil

A National Level Conceptual Model of the Haitian Migration to Brazil:
National Policies felt at the local level

- **Brazilian Federal Union**
  Migration Policy Framework

- **Government of Acre**
  Leading role in reception of refugees

- **Municipality of Brasiléia**
  Direct impact:
  - Concentration of refugees
    (Ability vs. Willingness)
  - Integration

-Resources
-Responsibility
-Accountability
-Authority

-Communication
-Coordination

Top down system of governance
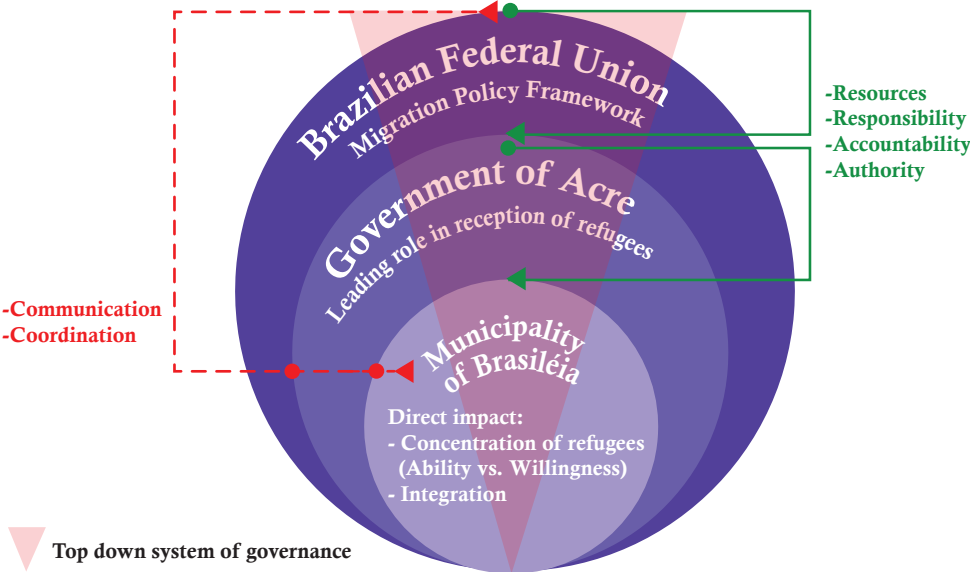
Figure 10: Conceptual model of Haitian migration at the national level

4.Methodology

This section outlines the varying qualitative methods employed throughout the research with the aim of capturing 'lived experiences" and realities of the residents of the host society, refugees, and key actors who form part of the migration phenomenon under study. Next, the limitations, risks, and advantages of the research are explored. Positionality of the author as well as an ethics perspective is brought to light. Lastly, the chapter ends by the operationalization of variables in section 4.3.

4.1. Qualitative Methods

A qualitative approach was taken in order to conduct this study. Qualitative methods have as its main goal to account for a comprehensive understanding of lived experiences and processes (Bernard 2006). Quantitative research is typically composed of a collection of 'micro-level' case studies put together through informal interviews and data gathered from participatory observation (Mayoux 2006). Questions put forth by the interviewer are open ended and conducive to discussion, allowing the subject to narrate their story as desired. Questions are not static; they change and evolve over time, allowing the researcher to create an overall image of the various accounts of each 'reality.' These realities are considered to be 'true' in that they are subjective and specific to each individual (Mayoux 2006). Participants are found through key informants, who hold relevant and particular information as well as 'random encounters' that help the researcher crosscheck information, and stress the differing perspectives on the problem identified in the research (Mayoux 2006).

4.1.2. Interviews

Whilst conducting qualitative research, interviewing processes were divided between three subcategories:

Structured and formal interviews follow an exact guideline and allow the researcher to focus on the intended research questions, a method employed when interviewing people with high positions and limited time. Target groups for structured interviews within the context of this research are local authorities (mayors, legal advisors, etc.), state-level political officials (Governor,

vice-governor, etc.), Secretary of Justice and Human Rights, Secretary of the Ministry of Social Development and employees, key informants, migration experts, and nonprofit organizations. Table 3 lists the names of each interviewee and their respective institutions.

Semi- structured interviews follow an interview guide with a themes schedule that allows the interviewer to cover the most important aspects of the research while at the same time providing the subject with the opportunity to express their own ideas and thoughts (Willis 2006). The main target group for semi-structured interviews consists of individual locals who interact with the refugees on a daily basis such as bar, restaurant, and travel agency owners, street vendors, bank employees, nurses, and other people working within the public sector.

Unstructured and informal interviews give the interviewee the opportunity to steer the direction of the discussion. These interviews tend to be quite informal and more conversational, allowing subjects to feel more comfortable (Willis 2006). Unstructured interviews throughout this research are mainly conducted on individual locals who do not necessarily interact with the refugees directly. Instead, the target group will be people who have been indirectly affected by the international migration to Brazil. At the same time, this type of methodology will be applied on refugees, in order to let subject directly affected by the migration phenomenon to Brazil recount their stories and experiences without limitations.

4.1.3. Participant Observation

Participant observation, a data collection technique in which the researcher participates in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of the people under investigation, it utilized throughout the research (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). Its main aim is to gain intimate familiarity with the society under observation through cultural immersion for an extended period of time. This technique provides the researcher with a unique way of understanding and capturing the world of others, as one is able to engage with the subjects more easily, avoiding the awkwardness and fear of disclosure that is often apparent through formal interviews. Participant observation was employed for the purpose of capturing "lived experiences" by refugees and locals (Bernard 2006). Coupled with data gathered from interviews, this method provides a sound comprehension of the issues at stake, as well as permitting the researcher to position themselves within the context of their research.

Type of Participants:	Types of Interviews and Qualitative Methods		
	Informal/Participant Observation	Semi-structured	Formal
Haitian Migrants	X	35 (28 Males, 7 Females)	10 (8 Males, 2 Females)
Local Residents	X	20 (9 Males, 11 Females)	10 (4 Males, 6 Females)
Key Informants			10 (7 Males, 3 Females)

Table 2: Interviews realized throughout the Study

Interviewee / Key Informants	Occupation
Sebastião Viana	Governor of Acre
Antonio Torres	Acre's State Secretary of Social Development (SEDS)
Damião Borges	Head of Refugee camp in Brasiléia representative of SEDS
Nilson Morãou	State Secretary of Justice and Human Rights (SEJUDH)
Maria Nazareth Mello de Araujo Lambert	Candidate of Worker's Party (Partido de Trabalhadores- PT) for Vice-Governor of Acre
Carlos Portela	Council member of Brasiléia's twin municipality, Epitaciolandia,
Gianni Dal Mas	IOM expert on Haitian- Dominican Republic migration

Guillermo Esnarriaga Arantes Barbosa	Consul of Brazil in Cobija, Bolivia
Luis Melo	Federal Police
Mariana Moraes	Social Work representative of SEDS

Table 3: Formal Interviews realized throughout the Study

Interviewee	Occupation
Lenir Calvaçante Albquerque11	Most recent food provider at campsite
Ana Sebastião	Owner of Supermarket São Sebastião
Sofia	Bank employee of Banco do Brasil
Marcos Mansour	Local School Teacher
Emanuel Viana de Castro	Representative of the State Security of Security, specifically in charge of border integration Policies
Alberí dos Santos	Street Vendor
Maria Teresa	Nurse at local hospital
João Silva	Owner of Lan House (Internet Café)

Table 4: Semi- Structured Interviews realized throughout the Study

4.2. Limitations, Risks, and Advantages of the Research

The first limitation of the research identified centers around the recentness of the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil, a phenomenon that has merely initiated in 2010. The research is strictly limited between February 10 of 2014, which marks my first and last day volunteering at the camp, and April 12 of 2014. Therefore, it is difficult to conduct research on the evolution of local policies accordingly with this event, as it is so recent. However, there has been a quick evolution of responses on behalf of the private and public sector as well as civil society. Since this international migration is an ongoing process, it is also challenging to establish an exact timeframe of when the research begins and when it has come to a full stop. The possibility that the government might radically decide to close the borders from one day to the next is not a possibility that ceases

to exist. Therefore, the research conclusions can potentially loose partial validity if the government acts upon this urge. For this reason, all conclusions drawn will be confined to the timeframe of the research.

The second limitation has to do with my positionality as a researcher. The influences of my own perspectives and opinions can interfere with the outcome of the research itself. For this reason, I have attempted to be as objective as possible, exploring positionality when relevant. From an ethics perspective, subjectivity is avoided, as qualitative research is about understanding the participants as well as giving the subjects freedom of expression. Therefore, the stories are recounted as told by the subjects.

As a volunteer at the camp I was responsible for registering all new incomers and taking note of their personal information. I had a strict guide to follow and instructions to inform the migrants about. Being within this position of "authority" initially made the immigrants fearful towards me, as they did not want to divulge information that could potentially get them or other immigrants on their way to Brazil in trouble. While this position was initially limiting for the purpose of the research, it eventually became favorable. Once the migrants learned that I was a student, and merely a volunteer with the intentions of assisting them, they quickly felt more comfortable and at ease. Inclusively, many refugees would seek me out to tell me their stories. The fact that I am a fluent Spanish speaker also made a large portion of the camp population more comfortable, as they felt they could communicate more easily with me than with Portuguese speakers. Many Haitians live in the Dominican Republic before coming to Brazil and acquire some basic Spanish skills along the way.

4.3 Operationalization of Variables

Various variables have been mentioned throughout this thesis paper; capacity development or capacity building, decentralization, absorption capacity, integration, civil society, and formal versus informal. Due to the subjective nature of these variables they need to be operationalized. This section defines each of the above mentioned variables and explains how they will each be measured.

Capacity Development

As made mention in the Theoretical Framework, Capacity building is the centerpiece of

international cooperation and development since its inception. This thesis defines capacity building as an operational term that can be used to describe a variety of development activities, efforts, and goals that considers the enhancement of individuals, organizations (e.g. institutions, civil society organizations), as well as broader environmental frameworks to achieve specific goals. Capacity development can be measured by the extent to which capacity is *strengthened* and *enhanced* in order to address a specific target issue at the individual, organizational and environmental level. For instance, training of an official authority can be regarded as capacity development at the individual level, as the individual is strengthening his/her capacity to meet a specific end. The enhancement of policies in order to better address a goal is an example of capacity building at the environmental level.

Decentralization

As previously has been set forth, decentralization is a political ideology often adopted by countries in the name of efficiency and effectiveness in order to improve accountability and governance by shortening the relationship between administrators and those who are administered. In general terms, decentralization refers to the allocation and dissemination of power and responsibility from the central government to subordinate and lower levels of government and authorities, allowing lower level authorities to employ decision-making power and policy implementation in various regards, within the administrative, political, or fiscal realm, depending on each national context. Therefore, decentralization can be measured by the degree to which power and resources are taken from central government and given to lower levels of government. Regardless of which dimension of decentralization is under study, political, administrative, or fiscal, all forms of decentralization require a shift of power and resources away from the highest level of government to the lowest. For instance, political decentralization can be measured by looking at the extent to which subnational actors have a right to make political decisions through the power that is bestowed to them form central government. Administrative decentralization can be measured by the extent to which subnational governments are given power and resources to implement policy.

Absorption Capacity

Absorption capacity is a term that is loosely used in refugee literature, and scantly defined

by scholars or IGO's (UNHCR, 2016). Jacobsen (1996) defines absorption capacity in a way that is most fitting for the purpose of this thesis: "the extent to which the community is willing and able to absorb an influx of refugees." This variable is dependent upon a society's 'ability' and 'willingness' to absorb an influx of refugees. 'Ability' falls under the umbrella of 'economic capacity' and 'willingness' under 'social receptiveness,' as illustrated in Figure 5.

The economic capacity of a host society to absorb refugees can be measured by the availability of land, employment patterns (income levels), local infrastructure, financial resources available (Lidén and Nyhlén 2013). For instance, increased international aid and financial compensation on behalf of the federal government increases the economic capacity of a municipality. Social receptiveness or 'willingness' is measured by "beliefs" and "attitudes" of local residents towards refugees (Jacobsen, 1996). These 'beliefs' and 'attitudes' are influenced by "cultural links," (Lidén and Nyhlén 2013), which address the historical experiences of past refugees in the host community and the population's perception of refugees. For instance, positive refugee experiences in the host society incites acceptance of incomers for the future, propelling a cycle of migration and a heterogeneous society. The positive 'beliefs' and 'attitudes' of refugees on behalf of the host society, in turn, increases the 'willingness' of the society to accept refugees (Lidén & Nyhlén 2014).

Integration

As made evident in the theoretical framework, integration is a term with a variety of definitions. The concept of integration is multidimensional and is a process that encompasses various actors across different levels. Based on the discussions above, integration is defined as a three-way process in which the government creates the necessary environment for the host society to accept refugees and for refugees to feel accepted and willingly become part of society within the political, economic, and social realm. The three-way process involves newcomers (immigrants and refugees), government at the national, regional, and local level, and civil society as defined above.

Integration is measured by contrasting what is available and accessible to refugees in comparison to the host society within the economic, social, and political dimensions. For instance, access to employment of refugees and wages in relation to the host population will be discussed. Due to the qualitative nature of this thesis, the measure of integration touches upon less tangible

aspect of integration and takes the takes perceptions of refugee's and local's own experience into account.

Civil Society:

The term civil society has room for interpretation and covers an array of actors. Within this thesis, civil society refers to the non-governmental organization community, taking into account organized and unorganized groups, individuals, and the private sector. Civil Society addresses individuals and organizations that are independent from the government and manifest their interests as well as the will of society. For example, an individual who does not speak on behalf of the government, yet acts upon a matter of common interest to the local population is operating under the term 'civil society.' Furthermore, civil society also encompasses international organizations that have the potential to give the underrepresented a voice by raising awareness of societal issues and challenges in order to influence policy both at an international and national level, eventually trickling down to the local level (World Economic Forum 2013). The role of civil society within the framework of this thesis is measured by the extent to which individuals, organizations, and the private sector participate in response to the migration phenomenon**.**

Formal vs informal

It is important to note that all actors taken into consideration for the purpose of this thesis such as the state and civil society can manifest themselves differently; both formally and informally. Therefore, it is imperative to operationalize these terms. 'Formal' refers specifically to those actions that are performed in accordance with rules of convention within each context, for official purposes, and are recognized by the public. For instance, the state has legal obligations for which they need to manifest themselves accordingly. 'Informal,' on the other hand, refers to manifestations that take place in an unofficial manner and that are not put on the record. Informal actions or responses take place in a covert manner.

Findings

5.1 The Haitian Migration to Brazil

More generally, this chapter addresses the question of "What is the main context of the mass migration to Brazil?", "What is the main route Haitian refugees take in order to enter Brazil?" and also touches upon "What has been the response on behalf of civil society?" This Chapter offers insight into the journey embarked by thousands of Haitian migrants in order to reach Brazilian territory, offering details as to why and how migrants choose to go to Brazil and how human traffickers facilitate and hinder this process. This chapter delves into the expectations migrants' hold to be true before travelling down the Americas as well as the desperation many face upon the realization of their new and unexpected reality in Brazil.

Figure 11: Brazilian MINUSTAH soldier in Cité Soleil, where residents painted buildings green and yellow ahead of the World Cup (Hershaw 2015)

In the mind of many Haitian migrants, Brazil represents the new "land of opportunity" as well as a safe haven. Haitian refugees perceive Brazil as a place to escape political upheaval, a place where they will find security, as well as education and work. Haitians desire to leave Haiti is evident, the current situation in their country of origin is described as "life threatening" due to a lack of work, crime, political turmoil and destroyed homes, universities, and hospitals. Refugees believe that their lives will change drastically and that their prospects to grow financially and develop personally are much higher in Brazil as compared to Haiti or the rest of the world. During formal and informal interviews with Haitian migrants, the majority of the interviewees stated that they left Haiti in search of a better life and in order to escape their current situation in Haiti. When asked what is meant by a better life, most immigrants quickly verbalize two words, employment and school. To most, a better life means a high paying job of at least three to four thousands American dollars a month and the possibility of continuing their studies for free at a state university in Brazil. In Haiti they heard that life in Brazil would be easy for them, and that the salaries awaiting them would make the trip worth it. Similar conclusions to that of this thesis were reached by Benoit-Guyod (2014), Salviano (2014), and Carrera and Castro in the an IOM report (2014).

To afford the trip from Haiti to Brazil, and with the vision of staying in Brazil long term, Haitian refugees leave their lives in Haiti behind, selling all of their belongings. Blanco, which means "white" in Spanish, a nickname one of the Haitian refugees acquired at the camp due to his Spanish and English language abilities, expressed how he sold his car and house along with anything else he could get cash for:

> It's just me and my small suitcase. That is all I have left after the trip here. I left everything behind thinking things would be better here. Things were pretty bad in Haiti, and I was desperate to leave so I sold everything I could to save up for the trip. Faith is what kept me moving, faith that here in Brazil things would be good for me. Hahahaha, let's see how things resolve themselves. Had I known this would be the situation I would have never come. I gave it all up for this (points at camp)!
>
> - Blanco, Male, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

Migrants are magnetized by Brazil, as they believe they will be received with open arms and presented with the best of opportunities. Therefore, are willing to leave everything behind in their

country of origin to move to Brazil. Before embarking on the trip, Haitian migrants have clear expectations of what they will find Brazil.

It is important to emphasize that Haitian migrants who embark on the journey to Brazil have access to minimal objective information before they decide to do so. The main sources of information about the living conditions in Brazil are mass media portrayals, which are limited and generally based on sports, such as propaganda, inviting the international community to Brazil for the 2014 World Cup, as well as rumors spread by coyotes and "anecdotal word of mouth through" the Brazilian Battalion in Haiti, MINUSTAH (see Figure 11). As found by the current study and confirmed by a study carried out by the IOM (2014), Wells (2013), and (Hershaw 2015) these notions of Brazil instigate Haitians' desire to escape political turmoil as well as the aftermath of the earthquake. Consequently, thousands of refugees make their way to Brazil in what they believe is the best route possible.

Figure 12: Map showing the most common route from Haiti to Brasiléia. Source: (TAB 2015)

Brazil's open invitation to Haitian migrants established an unexpected migration route and created unanticipated ripple effects on a global scale. As a result of slow processing times, high

costs, and excessive document requirements, migrants must wait an average of three months before receiving their papers in Haiti. In turn, inciting thousands of Haitians to plunge into the unexpected by travelling without the necessary paperwork. Normally, the route created by migrants and in some instances along the way human traffickers, takes an average of ten days by bus, plane, and foot down the Americas and through the dense amazon jungle into Brazil.

The route begins in the neighboring country to Haiti, the Dominican Republic, which is travelled to by bus. Migration from Haiti to the Dominican Republic is not a new phenomenon, however, has intensified since the earthquake. Whilst traditionally migration by Haitians to the Dominican Republic was long term, Haitian migrants now see this country as a point of transit. Wilner Francine, a Haitian refugee currently living in the refugee camp in Brasiléia, gives insight into the intricacies of this situation:

> The earthquake destroyed everything in my country, including my house. My country is in a terrible and saddening situation. But life in Haiti has never been easy. We have few opportunities there; you need to know somebody in order to be somebody. It has always been this way. Many of us (Haitians) immediately migrated to the Dominican Republic straight after the earthquake. In the beginning it was the best option because it is close and I already knew people there. Haitians have been moving across the border since I can remember. Even though there are some job options in the Dominican Republic, life there is very complicated for us (Haitians). Dominicans are very racist against us (Haitians). If you are Haitian and your kids are born in Dominicana, they will never get citizenship. It keeps getting harder for us there because the constitution does not allow us rights. Even though I am a professional in Haiti (civil engineer), it means nothing to the Dominicans, to them I will always be illiterate. Getting a visa is a challenge, and if you get caught without documents the police take you straight to jail. They do not have mercy on Haitians, the Dominicans want us out of their country. Now Haitians all want to come to Brazil, we know things will be easier for us here. Brazil is a much more advanced country, the economy here is much stronger, and getting our papers here is easy.

> - Wilner Francine, Male, Brasiléia, 01-03-2014

The picture below (Figure 13), taken from the New York Times article entitled "Suddenly, Illegal at Home," is a representation of Dominican Citizens pushing a Haitian woman back into a devastated Haiti (Peña 2013). Instead of living in constant fear of being deported from the Dominican Republic due to their irregular status, Haitian refugees have opted to start a new life in Brazil where they believe they can enjoy legal rights amongst other benefits. Brazil is currently

the most appealing place for Haitian refugees as it is economically strong, and offers refugees the required legal documentation to live and work in Brazilian territory under humanitarian visas. Yet, the majority of migrants are unaware of the implications involved in taking such a treacherous route to get here.

Figure 13: Illustration of the Dominican Population pushing a Haitian woman back into Haiti. Source: (Peña 2013)

Once in the Dominican Republic, Haitian migrants then fly to Ecuador, sometimes via Panama, where an entry visa is not required. Upon landing in Quito, they do not have any problems entering the country legally. Immigration at the airport is an easygoing process in which the only requirement is getting their passport stamped upon arrival. After adopting Article 423 in the Ecuadorian Constitution, President of Ecuador, Rafael Correa, ordered a visa waiver for all foreigners entering the country as of June 20, 2008 (Carrera in IOM 2014). Therefore, few of the Haitian migrants interviewed recall their experience travelling through Ecuador as treacherous and simply gloss over this part of the journey. In addition to the findings of this thesis, various authors and academics reporting on the matter agree that Haitian refugees face minimal abuse in Ecuador

and therefore also focus heavily on the unforeseen mishaps the rest of the way (Lucas Ferraz 2014);(Foster Brown, Professor at UFAC, 13-03-2014); (Aranha 2012); (Lucas Ferraz 2014); (Salviano 2014); (Carrera in IOM 2014).

From Quito, migrants travel by bus to Piura, but first they encounter a network of human traffickers awaiting them in order to smuggle them across the Ecuadorian-Peruvian border. Migrants are smuggled to Piura and then taken to Lima on the Peruvian coast followed by Iñapari, which directly borders the Brazilian town of Assis Brasil in the state of Acre (see Figure 14). Cajoled by Peruvian coyotes between the Ecuadorian and Peruvian border, refugees pay an average of 3000 USD to be smuggled into Peru. Some Haitians walk for days through the dense amazon jungle in the fear of getting caught and being deported and in some cases, being taken advantage of by migration officers or police (Pimenta 2015). Others tell stories of having to walk through deep swamps, as it makes easier for the migrants to continue their journey more discreetly. Migrants must keep moving and have little time to rest, as losing the group and the coyote means they might get lost and end up wandering the forest with no food for days. Most commonly, Haitians enter the Brazilian Amazon through Iñapari, as mentioned above. In some cases, migrants enter the town of Brasiléia from Peru through the Bolivian Amazon (Benoit-Guyod 2014). The Figure 12 and 14 show that the Brazilian, Peruvian, and Bolivian border intersect and all three countries border one another near Assis Brasil. Once in Assis Brasil, Haitians continue by taxi to Brasiléia, where the refugee camp awaits them.

Brasiléia, a remote town in the northern state of Acre, with an urban population of 10,000 inhabitants, serves as a place for opportunistic landing for Haitian migrants. Since 2010 an estimated 20,000 migrants have used this route to enter Brazil (see Figure 15). The above mentioned migration route is not what the Brazilian federal government had in mind when they called for an open invitation to migrants, offering humanitarian visas at the Haitian consulate. Brasiléia, is a strategic locality as it borders the Bolivian town of Cobija to its southwest and the Brazilian town of Epitaciolândia to its southeast, and only 100 kilometers from the Peruvian Amazon border (see Figure 14).

The appeal of the Amazon border, and Brasiléia specifically, as an entry point for undocumented migrants can be attributed to open border policies that exist in this area. For instance, the Brazilian state of Acre and the Bolivian department of Pando have an agreement that allows for people to move freely between these countries as long as they are within a 60-kilometer

radius, where border patrol is minimal and at times non-existent (Aranha, 2013). Additionally, the dense vegetation in the jungle region makes border patrolling difficult in places where it does exist, such as the Brazilian-Peruvian border. In conclusion, minimal border patrol facilitates the entrance of incoming migrants to Brazil through Bolivia. Brasiléia is painted as the "gateway to paradise" to migrants- a marketing ploy by coyotes. Many migrants believe it to be true before starting their journey, propelling them to maneuver their way around bureaucratic processes at the Brazilian consulate in Haiti and reach out to coyotes. In line with the findings of this thesis, Hershaw (2014), Wells (2013), (Cawley 2014) and the IOM (2014) reach similar conclusions.

Figure 14: Enlarged map of the Brazilian-Bolivian-Peruvian Border showing key transit point: Iñapari, Assis Brasil, and Brasiléia. Source: (Society 2014)

Annual Number of Haitian Refugees in Brasiléia

| 37 HAITIAN REFUGEES | 1,175 HAITIAN REFUGEES | 2,225 HAITIAN REFUGEES | 10,779 HAITIAN REFUGEES | 3,083 HAITIAN REFUGEES |

2010   2011   2012   2013   2014
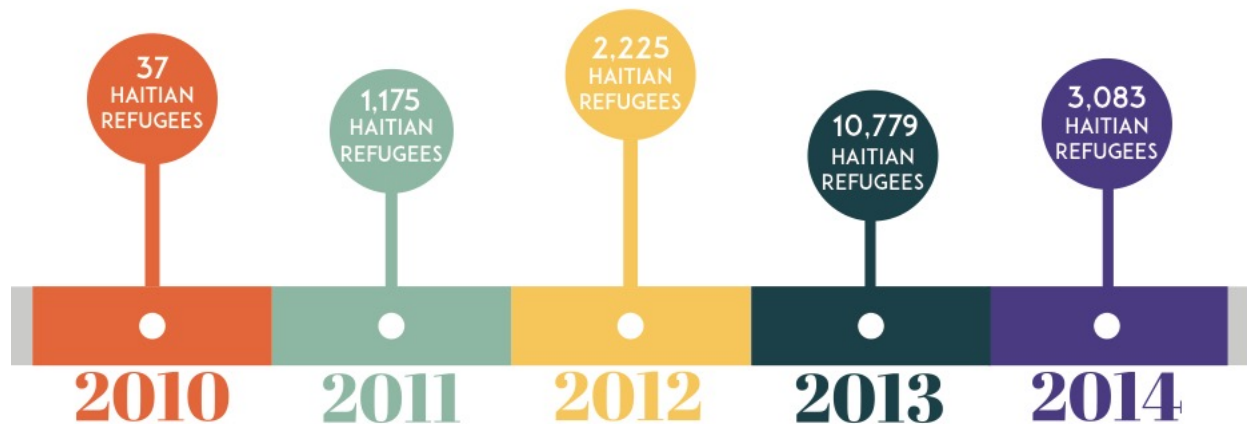
Figure 15: Annual Number of Haitian Refugees in Brasiléia until March 16 2012. Source: (Official records, SEDS 2014)

5.1.3. Why Coyotes Lead the Way

There are two factors that influence migrant's decision in hiring a coyote. First, they are not familiar with the area and have no knowledge of how to get around border patrol. Unlike Ecuador where a visa is easily obtainable upon arrival, Peru and Bolivia both have strict migration policies requiring such a document for Haitian nationals. Unfortunately, the coyotes take advantage of refugee's susceptibility to their new environment, stealing from their own clients and deceiving them, leaving them far more desperate and vulnerable than when they began (Brasileiro 2014); (Cawley 2014).

> They (coyotes) want to squeeze the juice out of us! First they charged the people I was travelling with and me, supposedly, to help us cross the border. Then, they stole all of our valuables, and to top it off, they took us to the police, who robbed us of what was left. The police took almost everything from us, even my intimate clothing. I was forced to hide my money on the bottom of my shoe so they would not find the few bills I managed to salvage. It is sad to be received this way. What keeps people moving forward on this treacherous route is hope.
>
> - Wilner Francine, Male, Brasiléia, 01-03-2014

Migrants are confused when they realize that a direct partnership exists between coyotes and immigration officers. As a result of this cooperation, migrants have minimal protection on this course and fall prey to those who see travelers as an easy target (Wells 2013). During an informal conversation, various Haitian migrants retold stories of how they were stripped naked and then

patted down by police officers. This was to ensure that the refugees were not hiding any valuables. Benoit-Guyod (2014), who tells stories of Haitian refugees hiding away from police officers in Banana fields in the Peruvian amazon puts forth similar findings to those made in this thesis. Furthermore, according to Carlos Portela, council member of Brasiléia's twin municipality, Epitaciolândia, during a formal interview, in some cases, Peruvian police officers confiscate Haitian migrant's documents and only return it to their respective owner after a fee is paid (Council Member, Epitaciolândia, 03-29-2014). Similar conclusions to that of Portela were also reached by Foster Brown, a professor at Universidade Federal do Acre (UFAC- Federal University of Acre) who found that in Peru alone, Haitians were forced to pay off police officers an average of four times throughout the trip (Phone interview, 13-03-2014).

Second, only Haitian migrants who previously spent time in the Dominican Republic speak Spanish, while the rest find themselves in an even more defenseless position without speaking the local language. Consequently, they hire a coyote, which only offers them false protection. Without knowing the language or their new environment, many Haitian refugees, especially women, fall prey to various forms of abuse by coyotes. "I witnessed everything you can imagine [on the way to Brazil]," another Haitian immigrant, Finette Sensuel, explained during an informal conversation (Female, 03-16-2014). "But because I speak Spanish I could defend myself. Unlike most women, I escaped sexual abuse, making me one of the lucky few. The worst part is not having anyone to turn to. Without papers, we have no right to complain." According to Foster Brown (Professor at UFAC, 13-03-2014), mentioned above, and Guillermo Esnarriaga Arantes Barbosa Consul of Brazil in Cobija, Bolivia during a formal interview (10-03-2014), they are aware of various cases of sexual abuse by Bolivian and Peruvian Police officers. Yet these cases of abuse are rarely registered, and even when they are, it is difficult to follow through with the accusations, as most reports are made anonymously and not much evidence exists to prove this form of abuse.

Without appropriate documents to give them legal protection, and without the language know-how to avoid certain misadventures, refugees find themselves in a perilous situation. Even though Haitian migrants encounter difficult circumstances on this route, they keep moving towards their final destination, as going back to where they came from is not a possibility. Migrants make significant sacrifices in order to be able to start the journey, but little do they know everything they will have to endure along the way.

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5.2 Making it to the Promised Land

Figure 16: Image of the Welcome Sign on the Peruvian-Brazilian Border upon arriving to Assis Brasil. Source: Courtesy of Carlos Portela

5.2.1. The Treacherous Route Continues Once in Brazil

Refugees have the hope that they will receive protection once in Brazil, along with other benefits. Hope is what keeps them moving. Unfortunately, many find themselves in a state a shock when they realize that their expectations do not meet reality. Upon reaching Brazilian soil, the migration process does not always work out smoothly. Without the humanitarian visas, which could have been obtained in Haiti, migrants become sensitive to abuse once again. Although according to national migration policy Haitian refugees are welcome into the country and no Haitian can be denied a visa, local realities are different. Carlos Portela, an activist and council member from Brasiléia's twin municipality, Epitaciolândia, stated during a formal interview, that there have been cases of Haitian migrants intercepted at the Brazilian-Peruvian border (03-29-2014). According to Portela, the police officers in Assis Brasil give Haitian refugees a document, which states their entry has been denied, and so, despairing, migrants fall back into the hands of locals who are in a position to take advantage of the misfortune of others. Dany François, a Haitian born migrant previously living in the Dominican Republic recalls his story once he made it to this particular border:

> Looking back on my journey I feel a little foolish. I thought the worst part was over. You can't imagine how happy I was when I read the sign 'Bem vindo a

Assis Brasil' (welcome to Assis Brasil) after days of walking through the jungle. I thought I had finally made it! My brother, who came before me, told me that as soon as I got to this town all I would have to do is walk up to the migration office at the border, and that the police would guide me the rest of the way. My experience was very different from his, maybe the policies changed over time, or it depends on the migrant officer at the desk. Once I got there, one of the three police officers asked me for my documents. Then one of the other officers asked me some basic questions about myself. A few minutes later they printed out a slip of paper saying that my entry was denied because I did not have a humanitarian visa. Next, they pointed towards the Peruvian side and told me I had to go back where I came from. But where was I supposed to go back to and with what money?

- Dany François, Male, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

Along with three other Haitians who had been denied entrance, Dany convinced a man driving a meat-freight truck, on his way to Brasiléia, to let them hide in between the slaughtered cows. They paid the driver 40 USD each, but unfortunately, that only covered ten kilometers of the 110-kilometer trip. The man left them on the side of the road and told them to wait for a taxi, mentioning that any taxi driver doing business on that road would know to take them to the camp. "The Brazilian federal government has opened its arms to refugees, and now it is in no position to close them. The number of refugees coming in every day is increasing in an unpredictable fashion, from an average of 20 per day to 50, more than 10,000 people cross the border in 2013 alone. Nobody here really knows how to deal with the situation anymore" expressed Portela (03-29-2014).

Even though the Brazilian consulate in Haiti stated it would not deny a single Haitian a humanitarian visa, those that do not go through the process of obtaining one are still considered to be clandestine travelers. Brazil's open arm policy is blurry and unclear. In the municipality of Brasiléia, the state government of Acre set up a refugee camp that is not in a position to reject anybody who declares themselves a refugee, regardless of nationality, whereas in Assis Brasil, serving as the first point of entry into Brazil for those refugees coming in through Peru, hundreds of Haitians have been denied entry under the argument that they do not have the proper paperwork to be legally admitted into the country. As put forth by the Federation of National Federal Police (FENAPEF 2013), Ribeiro (2012), and Lucas Ferraz (2014) Brazilian police officers at the Peruvian- Brazilian Amazon have blocked hundreds of Haitian migrants on their way to Brazil under the argument that the Federal government made the decision not to allow Haitians without the necessary paperwork into Brazil. Portela continues by expressing the ambiguity of the situation:

> If we are going to welcome refugees in Brasiléia then why are they going to be denied entry in Assis Brasil? Haitian refugees are welcome in Brazil, not just in some municipalities; at least this is how it should work in theory. These acts by our police are only contributing to the abuse Haitians already face in other countries. From the way I see it, this is a tactic employed by the police to turn migrants away. The 'open arms policy" comes from the federal government, but people in the affected municipalities are the ones who deal with the repercussions.

Whilst Portela also highlights that he does not agree with Brazil's migration policies towards Haitians in its totality, he argues that if Brazil is going to host refugees, then it makes no sense to offer them protection only once they reach the camp. Attempting to halt migration once refugees have travelled this far, however, does not discourage them from reaching their final destination. Moving forward is the only viable option, as highlighted by Pierre, who was travelling with Dany mentioned above:

> We were stuck on the side of the road under the unbearable heat of the sun with no food or water, and very little money. We kept trying to flag cars down, and it took seven hours until someone finally stopped for us. During those hours we walked straight ahead telling ourselves that things would be better once we got to the camp. Turning back never crossed our minds, and if it did, it was never voiced.
> Pierre, Male, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

Unfortunately, similar to Dany, the thousands of migrants who preceded him were as disillusioned once they finally made it to the refugee camp they had once longed for. It is for this precise reason that Damião Borges, manager of the refugee camp in Brasiléia, repeats the word "patience" various times a day as he sees disillusionment mirrored on the refugee's faces as they arrive at the camp. After a trip that goes through at least five countries, thousands of migrants find their way to Brazil through Brasiléia in a matter of days. Whilst migrants avoid the legal process of obtaining a visa in Haiti and manage to get into Brazil in less than three months, the trip is not an easy one. Yet, they embark on the journey and continue on the trip because they believe it is within their best interest.

Figure 17: Image of Haitian Migrants walking along the the route between Assis Brasil and Brasiléia. Source: Courtesy of Carlos Portela

5.3 The Camp

Figure 18: Image of group of Haitian refugees wandering in the Town Square, December 2012
Source: Courtesy of Foster Brown

Você nem sempre terás o que desejas, mas enquanto estiveres ajudando aos outros encontrarás os recursos de que precise.

"You will not always have what you want, but while you are helping others you will find the resources you need. "

- Chico Xavier quote found at the entrance of the campsit ein Brasiléia

The refugee camp found in Brasiléia is the only official camp throughout Brazil and was established by and with the resources of the government of Acre without the assistance of UNHCR or any other intergovernmental agencies (Damião Borges, Camp Manager – SEDS). In the beginning of the Haitian migration to Brazil (2010-2011), different establishments served as temporary and informal camps, moving throughout various parts of Brasiléia. The town square was initially an informal campsite where migrants would congregate (See Figure 18). At the time, local individuals would organize themselves to feed newcomers. Migrants from Haiti were a new phenomenon in town. Consequently, local residents were curious to know these individuals and finding ways of engaging, as expressed by the majority of local interviewees. As the number of incoming refugees ballooned, however, new measures were taken. The government of Acre decided to let the refugees stay at the only coliseum in town, which was used for sports and cultural events during the day. At night, the coliseum was shut down exclusively for refugees to sleep for a few hours, as they had to be up before six in the morning so locals could resume their regular activity at the sports center. In the meantime, the refugees walked around town carrying all of their belongings. As the number of refugees arriving in Brasiléia continued to grow, and locals began to complain that they no longer had the freedom to use the coliseum as they wished, the government of Acre responded the complaints by finding a more suitable location with a capacity for 300 people. Unpredictably, the number of refugees continues to increase, and the more suitable camp is no longer adequate to host the current number of refugees. The following section explores the experiences of refugees in the present-day camp of Brasiléia.

Figure 19: Refugee Campsite in Brasiléia, February 28, 2014

Hahahaha, let's see how things resolve themselves. Had I known this would be the situation I would have never come. I gave it all up for this (points at camp)!

- Blanco, Male, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

Surrounded by hundreds of other human bodies in unbearable heat along with strong odors that seep through the walls and floors, refugees quickly grow uneasy as they come to terms with their new environment and find themselves in inhumane conditions in the midst amazon forest. Refugees anxiously wait for their ticket out of the refugee camp in Brasiléia, hoping to move to bigger cities that meet their expectations of the "real Brazil." On February 28 2014, there were 1509 Haitian migrants, amongst others, in a space equipped for no more than 300 people, all of whom outmaneuvered slow bureaucratic processes in Haiti and found an alternative and quicker, yet treacherous route. Equipped, however, may be the wrong term to truly grasp the circumstances the camp stands in. The camp falls short of anything that might resemble humane conditions.

At first sight, migrants seem to be playing a game of tug-of-war with the few and worn out mattresses donated to the camp by the local population. Those that manage to secure a mattress

extend it out on the hard cement floor, surrounding it by their belongings, mainly dusty suitcases, in order to mark their territory. In the midst of a pile of suitcases and rags used as dividers, strategically placed in the corner of the large open space that is the camp, a single-bed stands alone. Migrants all walk past it unfazed, as a mother uses the bed to breastfeed her newborn. At the facilities no separation of people exists, neither based on gender, age, nudity, or health conditions. It is a wasteland of forgotten souls and disease, devoid of even the most basic human needs or comforts. Sanitation facilities were pushed beyond their capacity and are now non-existent, forcing people to relieve themselves wherever possible. In a tank that holds 10,000 liters of water, groups of 15 take turns bathing one after another. Some refugees use their bathing-time to wash their clothes, whilst others merely rejoice in the opportunity to relieve their bodies of the unbearable heat offered by the Amazonian sun and quickly forget what they are simmering in. The water is only switched out every couple of days. At the same time, many dread this hour of the day, as they feel exposed. Over time, some finally find ways around their issues with nudity and that of others.

Figure 20: Image of bathroom facilities of refugee campsite in Brasiléia. Source: Courtesy of Foster Brown

Figure 21: Image of bathroom facilities of refugee campsite in Brasiléia. Source: (Hershaw 2014)

Only protected by a picket fence, which people use to set out their laundry to dry, all passersby can see straight into the camp. Not only do refugees feel exposed inside the camp, they get the impression they are being showcased to the local population. "I have to leave this place," Nelson Telios, a Haitian refugee, cried out. "People from the town peer into the camp in disbelief. I am ashamed to be seen like this" (Nelson Telios, Male, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014). The refugee camp lies in the heart of the city center next to the military police station along the main avenue. The constant movement of people is felt from a three-block distance, as well as the scent of lingering human sweat. Packs of wild dogs can be seen sifting through mounds of human waste and the sentiments of despair fostered by the countless personal tragedies refugees carry along with them, while roosters pick at random food scraps.

Figure 22: Image of the entrance of the campsite

Similar descriptions of the refugee camp as those put forth by this thesis, are also expressed by non-governmental organizations and independent researches (Coelho 2013); (Phillips 2011); (Black Women of Brazil 2014);(O'Brien 2014);(Lucas Ferraz 2014);(Salviano 2014);(Centre for Research on Globalization 2013). For instance, Conectas, a human rights non-governmental and not-for-profit organization based in Sao Paolo, visited the camp in August 2013. After the trip, Conectas wrote a piece titled "Brazil's Unspoken Humanitarian Crisis: "Refugee" Camp Holding Over 800 Haitians in Inhuman Conditions" in which they explicitly outline the inhumane and dire conditions the refugees face at the camp (Centre for Research on Globalization 2013). Similarly, to this thesis, Conectas found that the refugees consider their current situation comparable to that of Haiti in terms of food, water, and lack of hygiene. Some have even expressed they wished they had not embarked on a journey to Brazil, as dealing with criminals along the way, and being welcomed by such conditions was not worth the trip (Centre for Research on Globalization 2013).

Figure 23: Image of daily and monthly count of refugees registered at camp on the specific date mentioned above.

The administrative structure of the camp boils down to two paid staff members; Damião, who bears all the responsibility on his shoulders and Danielson, who is in charge of collecting statistics. Both are employees of the Secretary of Justice and Human Rights (SEJUDH – Secretaria de Justicia e Direitos Humanos) and are paid by the state government, not the municipality. Every so often both SEJUDH along with another state run institution, the State Secretary of Social Development (SEDS), send employees from the Capital of Acre, Rio Branco to assist at the camp. At the end of the day, however, it is Damião who is facilitating the reception of refugees. Currently, an average of 40 Haitian migrants arrives to Brasiléia and 25 migrants leave town every day. For instance, on March 25 of 2014, there were 2479 refugees staying at the camp. The outflow of refugees depends on various factors, such as insufficient funds to travel, job prospects, and processing times (identification card, work permits). The above image shows the number of refugees residing at the camp on those specific dates. Even though the few people directly involved in the process in Brasiléia have worked their hardest to provide the necessary paper work for migrants to continue their trip to the rest of Brazil, not only is the camp lacking an adequate

physical structure to cater to the needs of migrants, it is also without sufficient human capacity to attend to the demand of newcomers.

Neither employees mentioned above are specifically trained to reception refugees nor to handle peoples in vulnerable situations. Yet the most difficult part of working at the camp without adequate training, according to Damião is "communication" or lack thereof. "Without French or creole you can imagine the challenge it is to communicate even the most basic things to the Haitians" he stated (26-02-2014). The staff at the camp have no background knowledge or skills to properly address the reception of refugees. It is important to note, however, that Damião has a degree capacity building at the individual level as he has the 'attitude' it requires to confront and carry out his functions in the midst of such a delicate situation and with minimal resources, as made evident through his efforts to obtain mattresses and food at the camp through donations.

Furthermore, environmental and organizational dimension of capacity development as defined in the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis are also minimal or non-existent. Aside from insufficient and untrained staff, minimal resources are being channeled to the camp in order to address the Haitian refugee migration phenomenon. As mentioned above, the few amenities available at the camp have mainly been donated by local residents. Additionally, there is no coordination and partnerships between varying government agencies or with non-governmental organizations prepared to deal with peoples in vulnerable situations. SEDS alone is at the forefront of refugee reception. According to João Paulo Charleaux, coordinator of communication at Conectas, who visited the camp in August 2013 and expressed in writing on the Conectas webpage, "The main consequence of this is an improvised, amateur and uncoordinated approach that has overburdened the small municipality of Brasiléia and its population, when, in fact, it should be being overseen by specialists in humanitarian emergencies of this complexity. From a humanitarian point of view, the name of the visa for these Haitians is now less urgent than the brutal conditions they face in the camp. Indeed, this humanitarian visa policy is anything but humanitarian" (Conectas 2013). As found by the research conducted for the purpose of this thesis, there was in fact no organization or agency specialized in humanitarian matters addressing the migration phenomenon in Brasiléia. According to Damião many non-governmental organizations have come to visit the camp and leave after identifying all the problems and deficiencies at the camp, however, non have taken matters into their own hands. In conclusion, the refugee camp is

not equipped with sufficient economic resources, the necessary infrastructure, or capacitated individuals to deal with migrants with vulnerable backgrounds.

5.3.4. The Line Up

Figure 24: Image of refugees lined up to register at the campsite in Brasiléia

Whilst staying at the camp is not the refugee's first choice, it provides them with certain amenities that they cannot resist. For instance, at the camp refugees can obtain their residence papers, Brazilian identification card, universal health insurance, and work permits. Therefore, refugees stay at the camp until they complete the necessary paperwork. Afterwards, they can freely transit the rest of Brazil, or be hired directly at the camp by private companies from the south of Brazil.

In the mornings hundreds of newcomers line up by the camp office, a small trailer at the entrance, where they await to be registered. As mentioned above, Brazilian police do not always

allow Haitians to transit freely into Assis Brasil, the ones who do, however, help the Haitians embark into a taxi that takes them to the camp. The Haitians migrants are responsible for the payment of the taxi drivers. The taxi-driver then jots down the name of the Haitian passengers on a piece of paper that resembles a sort of permission slip as requested by the federal police. Once they reach their destination, the taxi driver turns in the slip of paper to the person registering the migrants. This document is the first step towards systemizing the migration influx, followed by another piece of paper where the person registering incoming refugees writes down basic personal information (such as Date of Birth).

Every day the individual forms and passports of each newly arrived refugee are collected by the Federal Police at two in the afternoon (see Figure 26). When the police arrive they read out each individuals' name and have them line up to photograph the person they call out (see Figure 25). The police then proceed to register incomers into the national database and come back in an average of five days to give people back their passports with a humanitarian visa and a Brazilian identification card. Next, the migrants can begin the procedure to obtain a work permit. A block from the camp, the government of Acre created a special post to assist refugees with this process. While migrants become impatient at the refugee camp, key individuals involved in the migration phenomenon in Brasiléia have done their best to facilitate the bureaucracy and speed up the procedure. Before the existence of the current camp, migrants would sleep outside the Federal Police station awaiting their documents for days. At least now, migrants no longer have to sleep on the streets, the town square, or live like nomads within the town, as all documentation requirements are within the vicinity and easily accessible.

Figure 25: Haitian refugees being photographed by the Federal Police. Source:(Alexandre 2014)

Figure 26: Haitian Refugees turning in their passports to the Federal Police. Source: (Alexandre 2014)

It takes an average of seven days for migrants to get their Brazilian identification card and their work permit, a quick procedure that Brazil has received international recognition for on behalf of the IOM (IOM 2014). Depending on the number of incomers per day, processing times can become lengthier or shorter. Even though the process is relatively quick, Refugees quickly lose their patience as they find themselves in such a difficult environment. Sergo, who is on his way to meet his sister in São Paulo, has been waiting a week for his documents to be issued. "We don't know when we will get our documents or when we can leave" he exclaimed. "Had I known I would arrive to this; I would have never left Haiti." The refugees who arrive at the camp await their documents so they can continue their journey to their desired destinations; Sao Paolo, Curitiba, and Florianopolis, amongst others. The intention of refugees is never to stay in Brasiléia, as put by Sergo, Brasiléia is not the "real Brazil."

Migrants with no economic possibilities to resume their journey on their own have three options in order to get past the state of Acre. The first option is to wait for a family member either in Brazil or abroad to send them money. The second option is to find a way to make money within in the refugee camp or in the town. For instance, some migrants interchange currency at the camp and make money off of the exchange rate. Most migrants travel with dollars, which is not easily accepted in Brazil, unlike in Bolivia, where American dollars and Brazilian reais are used without difficulty. Haitian migrants cross over to the Bolivian border, where they buy reais for cheap and sell it to other refugees at the camp at a higher price. On occasion, they take advantage of their quick trip to Bolivia and buy goods such as deodorant to sell at the camp. The third option is to wait for private companies to come directly to the camp and hope that they meet the selection process to get hired.

5.4 The Bitter Reality

As made mention above, Haitians travelling to Brazil have high expectations of what their lives in Brazil will be. Haitians believe that high paying jobs are readily available for them, nevertheless they are disillusioned when they realize the reality of their situation in the longed for Brazil. Even though humanitarian visas allow for Haitians to obtain work permits, refugees are at a disadvantage when competing with locals in the labor market, due to the fact that Haitian refugees do not speak Portuguese and that jobs opportunities in Brasiléia are minimal. There are no integration programs to teach refugees Portuguese in Brasiléia in order to incorporate them into

the labor market at the same level as locals in the long term. Therefore, the only jobs migrants qualify for are manual labor jobs, usually the type that locals do not wish to perform themselves and that pay minimum wage, currently set at 678,00 Brazilian reais (~250 USD) per month (Economics 2016).

Whilst the accessibility to the rest of Brazil is an attractive quality of Brasiléia, the economic conditions are much less favorable. Brasiléia, is one of the poorest cities within one of the least affluent states of Brazil, Acre. Currently, 32 % of the population lives under the poverty line and most of the population gets by with minimum wage. Unemployment rates in Brasiléia are stark and job opportunities scarce. Sixty-eight percent of employed individuals work for the municipality, while the agricultural industry only makes up 17 % of the local economy and industries are non-existent (Economics 2016). With already scarce opportunities for local residents, local authorities worry about the implications of growing numbers of incomer.

Low economic capacity (employment patterns, economic opportunities) is not what Haitians expect, especially not those who had established careers in Haiti. "In Haiti I was a lawyer, I was told that I could practice law here as well. But, I notice locals think I am ridiculous when I ask them about it" expressed Ezdras Hector (Brasiléia, 27-03-2014). Ezdras, no longer living in the camp, was back in Brasiléia lecturing on the challenges faced by Haitians on their way to Brazil and on life for Haitians in Brazil. Ezdras main advice for refugees was to change their expectations. "Salaries" Ezdra said, "are not comparable to those in Europe or the United States, that is not the reality, most importantly, it is not our (Haitians) reality." Ill-advised, Haitian refugees migrate with illusions that are unobtainable. "We need to spread awareness of the reality of the situation, thousands of people are still on their way here. They deserve to know the situation they will be in" continued Ezdra. The expectations of migrants are high; unfortunately, refugees find themselves in a dire situation when they arrive to Brasiléia, one of the poorest areas in Brazil.

Brasiléia does not have the economic capacity to continue to receive refugees. As mentioned above, the town has limited employment opportunities for its current population as it is. Therefore, Brasiléia does not have the 'ability' to continue to absorb refugees at the current incoming rate (Jacobsen 1996). The fact that the camp keeps running as a result of the donations it receives from local residents such as hygiene supplies, mattresses, along with ink and paper to assist the registration process illustrates the 'willingness' of the local population to host refugees in their town. According to Nilson Morão during a formal interview (Secretary of SEDS, Rio

Branco, 10-03-2014), "it is a phenomenon (arrival of refugees) that caught the attention of the local community, there is a lot of solidarity on behalf of the local population, especially in the beginning. Of course things are changing as more people come. Everything has a limit." The statement made by Morão suggests that as there is a direct relation between 'ability' and 'willingness,' as one decreases so does the other. As local residents perceive that they no longer have the ability to receive incomers, their willingness to help refugees diminishes. Whilst the town of Brasiléia may not have the absorption capacity ('ability' and 'willingness') to continue to welcome refugees, people from other parts of Brazil from private sector have direct engagement with refugees. Travelling to the camp in Brasiléia to offer refugees opportunities for employment.

5.4.1 From the Amazon to the South of Brazil: Private companies at the Refugee camp

Figure 27: Damião, Borges - Camp Manager handing out Haitian Refugees Work Permits (Alexandre 2014)

Migrants can obtain all the necessary paperwork they need to reside and work in Brazil directly at the camp, a process facilitated by SEDS and the federal police. Furthermore, some Haitians do no need to go far from the camp to find a job after getting their work permit. The

government partners with private companies from areas of Brazil in need of manual labor, such as the South of the country, allowing these companies to interview refugees for selection. Once an identification card is obtained, the next aspiration of the refugees is to move to a destination with better job prospects and opportunities.

In April 2013, the government of Acre established an extension of the National Employment Service (SINE) in Brasiléia. Collaborative efforts put forth by the Ministry of Labor began in May, with the objective of facilitating and speeding up the issuing of work permits. Not only was this process within the interest of the refugees themselves, but also of private companies in search of manual labor and the local population of Brasiléia that is overwhelmed with the ballooning numbers of refugees (Salviano 2014). Jobs prospects in Brasiléia are not favorable, however, more industrialized areas of Brazil, which have high economic capacity, are in search of manual labor. Since the camp was officially established in Brasiléia, private companies from the south of Brazil, such as the state of Santa Catarina, interview and hire refugees directly at the camp. The industrial sector of Santa Catarina makes up 52.5 % of its GDP, followed by the service sector at 33.9 %, and the agricultural sector at 13.6 % (IBGE 2016). This southern state has one of the highest standards of living in Brazil, and is a chief industrial and agricultural center. Even though the economy is strong and stable, manual labor in this region is scarce. As put forth by a woman in charge of the hiring process for a fruit picking company in Santa Catarina at the camp:

> There is strong economic development in Santa Catarina, industries are growing quickly, but there are not enough people to fill the jobs in the rural areas. We are not looking for cheap labor; we are simply looking for labor. We need people to pick fruit, but most people in Santa Catarina only want to work in the big cities, few are interested in working in the fields. This is a severe problem with which we suffer as a company. Therefore, we decided come to the refugee camp, where we know refugees are in search of jobs.

> -Anonymous, Female, Brasiléia, 18-03-2014

An agent of a construction company echoed similar sentiments on a different occasion; who wanted to hire refugees:

> We have a booming and stable economy in Florianopolis, but there is not enough manual labor to meet the demand, especially in the rural areas. We have not come to the refugee camp in search of cheap labor or to take advantage of migrants. We want to pay the refugees a fair wage. The truth is that we do not have

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people in the South of Brazil who want to work in the fields, that is the problem. Everyone there wants an office job! But, a difficulty that we are facing here is that the refugees assume we will hire everyone, and when we don't, they get upset. We hire what is within our capacity, at the moment we only need ten employees, hopefully next month we will come back for 40 more people. We don't want to hire people without being able to pay them later. We need to be responsible.

-Pedro, in representation of various private companies, Brasiléia, 22-03-2014

Private companies express that they do not go to the camp with the intention of finding cheap labor and taking advantage of people. Instead, private companies travel to the campsite in search of fair manual labor, as they have a difficult time finding people who want to preform manual labor jobs in the South of Brazil. These companies believe that refugees will be grateful for the opportunities, however, as the wages do not meet the expectations or Haitian refugees, they do not work for these companies' long term.

Out of every ten migrants the private companies hire at the camp, seven abandon their jobs after roughly two months. It is important to note that all jobs offered start at minimum wage, and in some cases, people are extended commission on top of their salary. The manager of the camp and Federal Police agents, confirms this to be true. All refugees interviewed during the selection process need to have their legal documents regulated, including their "carteira de trabalho" (work documents), this is important as it demonstrates that officials do not let undocumented refugees get hired. Once refugees get an official job invitation, Damião sends an official report stating what company has hired whom. Additionally, the report specifically states the wage promised to each employee to ensure that refugees are not taken advantage of. Figure 28 is an image of the report and includes the name of the company, the amount refugees will receive, and where the refugees will be working. There is no evident scam involved in the hiring of refugees, at least not at this stage of the process. Nevertheless, refugees travel extensive journeys to reach Brazil in the hopes that they will make an estimate of 3000 USD per month, when in reality, they average 200 USD per month. Therefore, many Haitian refugees quit these jobs thinking that they are being taken advantage of, only to end up roaming the streets, and eventually to become street vendors. Damião recalls that many refugees who are hired by companies and eventually leave their jobs call him in desperation months later, asking Damião if he get in touch with another company who might still be interested in hiring. Once they are no longer are the camp and leave Brasiléia, there is little can be done by Damião to help them.

The majority of the companies who go to the refugee camp in search of manual labor specifically look for strong and healthy men, as most companies are construction based, making employment options for women and migrants over the age of forty even more limited. Out the thirty people hired by the fruit picking company on March 18th of 2014, five were women, and two were men over forty. Private companies almost never select women, unless they need them for cleaning services. According to government officials working for SEDS and SEJUDH, and confirmed by locals, as a result of limited labor options for women, many resort to prostitution:

> It breaks my heart to see the women offer themselves inside and outside of the camp. But, they have few options. Some local families have come in looking for housekeepers, but they find the pay too low and reject the offer. It is sad to watch. They don't understand that the locals are trying to help! They are not being cheated or ripped off! They are getting fair wage. But, it is so difficult to reason with them.
>
> - Damião, Camp Manager, Brasiliéa, 15-03-2014

Many locals have offered the women at the camp jobs as housemaids; however, many do not take the job because they believe the pay is too low. Locals are offering migrants at least minimum wage however, set at 678,00 Brazilian reais (~211 Euros), the problem is that the expectations that migrants carry with them do not reflect that circumstances that await them in Brazil. Professionals also have difficulty finding a job, as the language barrier impedes them from getting employed within their area of expertise. As mentioned above, on average, seven out of ten Haitians employed by these companies leave their jobs after three months. Haitians feel they have always been taken advantage of by the international community as well as by corrupt political leaders (as brought to light by locals during informal conversations). As mentioned in the "Thematic, regional, and local context" Haiti began its debt legacy soon after obtaining independence from France, a country for which Haitians served as slaves. Furthermore, Haitians have undergone a long history of dictatorships marked by corruption and poverty. As a result of these factors, Haitians have a difficult time grasping the realty of their new situation and coping with the new environment that fails to meet the expectations that incited them to embark on this journey.

ESTADO DO ACRE
SECRETARIA DE ESTADO DE JUSTIÇA E DIREITOS HUMANOS
ABRIGO DE IMIGRANTES – BRASILEIA

RELAÇÃO DAS EMPRESAS – FEVEREIRO

N.º Ord.	Nome da Empresa	Data	N.º CNPJ	Renda Salarial Bruta R$	Cidade	UF	Responsável da Empresa	Quantidade			Total
01	DURLI COUROS	03.01.14	00.15.229/0006-03	770,00	CUIABA	MT	EVANDRO	15	00	00	15
02	IND. BASLASFINAS MUNAFREY LTDA	08.02.14	035.90733/0001-11	1.052,00	ERECHIM	RS	HILARIO	20	00	00	20
03	Coletadora Mannrich	13.02.14	04.888.957.0001-77	980,80	Turapolis	SC	Ivan Rodrigo	16	00	00	16
04	Rafick S.A	19.02.14	00.763.251.0001-28	829,43	Xaxin	SC	Leandro Paula	22	00	00	22
05	Global Bruders	20.02.14	10.250.651.0001.93	936.56	Botanduvas	SC	Leandro Paula	06	00	00	06
06	Medal Fundição	20.02.14	14.921.288/0001-41	935,02	Luzerna	SC	Leandro Paula	09	00	00	09
07	Ok Eventor Montagens LTDA ME	20.02.14	08.448.072./001-08	816,20	Leandro	SC	Leandro Paula	06	00	00	06
08	Estrurual Zorta IND. E COM. LTDA	20.02.14	00.368.885/0001-86	1.150.00	Campos Novos	SC	Leandro Paula	10	00	00	10
09	Irmãos Filippi Motriais de Construção LTDA	20.02.14	03.970.462/0001-20	904,00	São Miguel do Oeste	SC	Leandro Paula	20	00	00	20
10	Granja Girasol	20.02.14	196.430.719-87	900,00	Luzerna	SC	Leandro Paula	02	00	00	02
11	Granja Damo	20.02.14	51.204.21003-80	1.183,00	Serra Alfa	SC	Leandro Paula	05	00	00	05
12	Conak Construções e Empreendimentos LTDA	20.02.14	78.329.893/0001-00	900,90	São Miguel do Oeste	SC	Leandro Paula	10	00	00	10
13	Sonetto Moveis LTDA	20.02.14	05.889.519/0001-96	804,82	Chapeco	SC	Leandro Paula	10	00	00	10
							TOTAL	151	00	00	151
							TOTAL GERAL				151

Figure 28: Image of an official record kept by SEJUDH of the companies hiring refugees directly at the camp in Brasiléia, and shows the average salary offered by each company to the new recruits.

5.5 Conclusions

Expectations of Haitian refugees within the labor sector does not meet their reality either in terms of wages or the type of work that they hope to perform, yet options are available. The government has partnered with private companies in order to ensure that companies in search of labor can take legal measures to approach regularized refugees at the camp, demonstrating the 'willingness' of civil society to extend opportunities to newcomers and engage them into the work labor. Furthermore, the 'willingness' of local residents to offer Haitian refugees, especially women, jobs in their households is evidenced in this chapter. It is important to emphasize once again, that companies are not legally permitted to hire Haitians without a humanitarian visa, Brazilian identification card, and work permit. In the attempt to ensure that refugees earn fair wages to integrate migrants economically, SEJUDH keeps a record of average salaries offered by each company to new recruits. However, refugees believe that they are being taken advantage of, which eventually leads them to abandon their contracts with the above mentioned private

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companies and reject job offers by locals. In rejecting jobs Haitians are segregating themselves from the host society, which eventually leads to the host society to change their 'attitudes' towards refugees.

6. Drawbacks and Benefits of International Migration on Brasiléia

This chapter explores the different responses and attitudes of the local population towards incomers in the midst of the Haitian migration to Brazil, in which the number of incomers is growing and the number of people leaving is decreasing as a result of limited capacity development at the campsite (E.g. at the individual level). Focusing on the intricacies of mass migration flows in the town of Brasiléia, this chapter highlights the benefits and drawbacks of the migration phenomenon under study, as well the interactions of incomers with the host society. Furthermore, it touches upon the sentiments that arise on behalf of the receiving society towards refugees depending on mechanisms employed, or lack thereof, by the government to cope with the impacts of the Haitian migration through Brasiléia (E.g. The "self-help" system). Additionally, it explores the 'attitudes' and 'beliefs' ('willingness') of the local residents in actively integrating or excluding incomers into the host society and the reactions of the refugees.

6.1. Benefits of a Mass influx for Brasiléia

6.1.1. Street Vendors and a Conglomeration of Clients

The constant flow of refugees in Brasiléia within the past three years has had its visible drawbacks for the town; however, along with it, positive aspects have also come about. With the flow of new people, there is now a flow of money to different sectors of society. Small business owners are amongst the group of people that express the most positive attitude towards the refugees. More people means more business, and in a small town such as Brasiléia, this migratory sensation has a significant and positive impact on the lives of many local individuals. Before the swelling number of newcomers in the town, street-food vendors in Brasiléia would typically prepare their snacks before sunrise and then spend the entire morning and afternoon walking around in search of clients under the heat of the sun. With the concentration of hundreds of migrants in the city center, a lack of clients is no longer a matter of concern for street vendors. As put forth by Albercí dos Santos, a 43-year-old man who has been selling meat empanadas for more than 30 years:

> Since the mass arrival of refugees in my town, I now sell twice as much as I did in the past, if not more. I bake the empanadas in the morning and make it to the camp by 10'o clock, within 45 minutes; at the most, I sell more than 100 empanadas. This gives me time to go back home and bake another batch for the

afternoon. Before all these people, I used to walk for hours before selling all of my goods. Now, it is rare that I have to roam the streets for clients. If anything, sometimes I run out of empanadas. I hope the government keeps the doors open for humanitarian reasons and for the benefit of our business. I have become friends with many of the refugees here at the camp, and I have come to understand that God is for everyone, not just for some.

- Albercí dos Santos, Male, Brasiléia, 22-03-2014

Albercí, along with other street vendors, is grateful for the arrival of refugees in this town, as well as other local residents who provide direct services for the camp. With hundreds of people to feed and a fixed clientele, offering food services at the camp is a profitable business.

6.1.2. Food at the Camp: Business for the Local Population

Initially, when the camp was in its prime stages, the alimentation of the refugees was contingent on donations from the local population and whatever the state government could provide. Often times, the donated food supply was not enough to reach everyone living at the camp. Due to the swelling and unpredictable number of incomers, the situation became dire. Between September 2012 and February 2013, there was no food available at the camp. Damião often retells stories of how the Haitian migrants would eat whatever they could find on the streets, and in some cases would beg in front of restaurants:

It pained me to watch. I felt so impotent at the time. It was not an easy situation. Something had to be done. I swear to you; I have seen Haitians eating cats! So, I did what I could to bring this to the attention of the government. I couldn't keep begging my friends to donate food for the camp. You may have realized by now, I was left on my own to deal with this situation. Even though many people wanted to keep helping, the assistance and good will of the population was not enough to meet the demands. There was no way to keep feeding hundreds of people this way! Those who could not find what to eat would beg for food at restaurants, not only is this uncomfortable for the customers, but humiliating for the refugees begging for food.

- Damião Borges, Camp Manager, Brasiléia, 28-02-2014

As a consequence of Damião's activism and persistence, the state government of Acre officially decided to provide food to the migrants starting February 12th of 2013 with financial assistance from the federal government. The government found a local company that sells meal boxes at a low price of R$ 3,98 (~1.5 USD) per unit. Refugees at the camp now receive three meals a day.

Lenir Calvaçante Albquerque, a former restaurant owner, signed a 1 million reais (~ 377, 358 USD) contract with the government. Whilst, she only makes a small profit off of each individual meal box, due to the high number of meals, an average of 3000 per day, she makes a high profit overall. If not for this mass migration, there would be no other opportunity for her to get such a contract. Even though Lenir knows it is temporary, she hopes the government continues to welcome refugees in the town, as it has allowed her to save money and grow her business. At the same time that she is grateful, Lenir also understands that working with the government has its drawbacks:

> I always get paid for the service months later, which is complicated because it means I never have money for groceries to make the food. Fortunately, the owner of the supermarket, Ana, is extremely understanding. She knows it's for a good cause, so she gives me store credit, and I pay off the bills when I can. Can you imagine the chaos this situation would create otherwise?"
> - Lenir Calvaçante Albquerque, Female, Brasiléia, 18-03-2014

As difficult situations arise, different actors find ways to improvise in the midst of this humanitarian crisis:

> I know how it goes, when you have a contract with the government they will always pay you late, but the money will come. This is a humanitarian crisis. The least I can do is front food. At the end of the day, from a business perspective, I make my profit too. It just comes in a little late, but it comes in all at once.
>
> - Ana, Female, Brasiléia, 18-03-2014

As made evident through the examples above, feeding refugees was, and continues to be, a collective effort made mainly by the receiving society and the state government. If not for these donations, many refugees who make it to the camp without any money or valuables left tin their pocket, would not have anything to eat. Even though there is minimal 'ability' for the city of Brasiléia to feed hundreds of new comers, local residents have found ways to do so through donations and out of self-initiative. In other words, the local society shows positive attitudes towards refugees and their willingness to help refugees.

6.1.3. The Rise of New Enterprise in the Midst of the Migration Phenomenon

Whilst the migration phenomenon in Brasiléia has at times been difficult on most sectors of society, others have come up with solutions for existing business gaps to cater to the needs of refugees. Not only do existing businesses benefit as a result of newcomers, as mentioned in the

previous section, but also many small enterprises that had once died out in Brasiléia have now flourished with the arrival of refugees. The first example is that of Internet cafes. Most of the population in town has wireless Internet at home, or at least easy access to Internet through their cellphones, but refugees find themselves in a different situation. As mentioned above, most refugees make it to the camp without any of their valuable belongings and a desperate need to communicate with family members inside and outside of Brazil. As a result of this situation, João, who lives directly across from the refugee camp and welcomed Blanco into his home, decided to open a "lan house" to cater to the needs of newcomers, charging three reais (~1 USD) per the hour for providing a computer with high-speed Internet. The second example is a travel agency, which until recent, was non- existent in the town. Locals rarely depend on travel agencies since they buy flights online or on the phone. With the arrival of thousands of newcomers, who do not speak the language and are not familiar with the way things work in Brazil, a travel agency becomes essential.

6.2 The Complexities of Mass Migration for the People of Brasiléia

6.2.1 Loitering: Haitian Refugees and Public Spaces

The mass refugee influx stirs a variety of feelings amongst the local population of Brasiléia, depending on which sector of society one approaches. The majority of the residents have been affected by this phenomenon in one way or another. Whereas some have a difficult time accepting it and are vocal about their apprehensions towards newcomers, others are grateful. At other times, local residents resonate feelings of empathy, yet, are inconvenienced by the arrival of such large numbers of foreigners in the town.

At first glance, the inconvenient agglomeration of people in public spaces is most evident, as expressed by locals. "It's like the black plague hit us! It is spreading everywhere and there is no way to stop it, Hahahaaha," stated a person whom prefers to stay anonymous, in the most nonchalant manner (Anonymous, Male, Brasiléia, 22-03-2015). There are no activities for refugees to engage in either in the camp, or outside of it. Most migrants spend their days walking around Brasiléia, Epitaciolândia, and Cobija, and only stop trekking aimlessly when they find shade to escape the heat of the sun, loitering around plazas and outside of restaurants and bars. Refugees usually find shade underneath the trees at public squares or parks, where they

agglomerate for hours on end. Sometimes they play cards or engage in conversation, and at other times they simply rest. "I feel bad for them," expressed a nurse from the local hospital during an informal interview,

> "Brasiléia was a simple and tranquil town before their (migrants) arrival. But they are not here by choice. I don't think they wander the streets for fun. I just think there is not much else for them to do. That's why my colleagues and I try to organize a barbecue once a month for our former Haitian patients. They are not in any easy situation, and they have too much time on their hands to think about that fact, so we try to come up with things to keep them busy during the weekend. Just last week we organized a bingo at my house, they loved it! And, of course it is fun for us to learn about their culture too.
>
> - Maria Teresa, Female, Brasiléia, 19-08 2014

Maria Teresa's level of kindness is not a rare attitude amongst the local population in Brasiléia. Locals understand that the constant and continuous arrival of people in town has its drawbacks, yet people are generally sympathetic and welcoming. In short, Maria Teresa understands that Haitian refugees are in an unfavorable situation and exemplifies the 'willingness' of the local population to include and integrate Haitian refugees into the society. Social integration is predominant across society in Brasiléia as Haitian refugees function in various spheres of social life within their new host society and the local resident actively engage them.

6.2.2. Room and Board: All-inclusive Housing offered by Locals

The situation Haitian refugees find themselves is not only painful for the refugees themselves, but also difficult and uncomfortable for the population to witness. "It hurts my heart to walk by the camp and see the pain that people are experiencing inside that picket fence, and there is little that I can do," voiced Zuila Mansour, a local resident (Female, Brasiléia, 03-04-2014). Whilst some people in Brasiléia feel helpless, others have taken it upon themselves to find a way to service at least some refugees in need, showing signs of positive attitudes towards refugees and willingness to include them into the refugee's new society. Of the thirty locals interviewed, four people invited at least one Haitian migrant into their home for nothing in return. João, the owner of an Internet café, who lives across the refugee camp, invited two people to stay with him and his family in his home. Blanco, mentioned in the previous chapter, is one of those people. "I met Blanco a few days ago and we became friends. I knew I could trust him, so I did the least a person can do for another person in need, offer him a place to sleep and eat. If I had the

means of helping everyone I would" (João Silva, 15-03-2014). Some residents of Brasiléia believe that as a municipality with limited resources, there is not much that can be done on behalf of the municipality or state government to improve the living conditions at the camp at the moment. In other words, the economic capacity to receive refugees is limited, however, the social receptiveness of local residents is generally high, as evidenced by the fact that the camp is also run by the donations made by the local population and their willingness to close gaps that the government is not able to manage on its own (Chapter 5). Furthermore, locals recognize that the refugees are not in their current conditions out of choice, and if given the option the refugees would not be living those circumstances. Therefore, some residents have taken the notion of reception into their own hands.

It is important to shed light on the "self-reliance" or "self- help" system. The fact that the government has not provided refugees with adequate and what some organizations such as Conectas (mentioned in Chapter 5) consider to be humane conditions, refugees have to reached out to the host society through the use of their agency. In turn, various locals have shown signs of receptiveness. In the case of some refugees in Brasiléia, their experience has been beneficial in regards to social integration. Locals have taken measures to engage refugees in their daily lives and the refugees have expressed sentiments of feeling welcomed, allowing the local community and incomers to perceive the cultural compatibility that exists between each other. Reactions across the host society vary drastically, however, depending on whether or not personal interests are at stake and how much each individual is willing to sacrifice for newcomers. Once people's day-to-day activities are hindered, the reactions of the host society begin to be affected.

6.2.3. Limited Services and a Growing Population

As a small town, Brasiléia is a place with minimal amenities such as social and private services for the public. There are limited banks, supermarkets, convenience stores, post offices, and health posts. Additionally, it is a town with minimal 'economic capacity' as defined in the "Literatures and Theoretical Framework" (e.g. employment opportunities, infrastructure). Not only are some locals upset about Haitians strolling the streets and taking over public spaces, but also about the long lines they have created around town. Locals line up in-between Haitian refugees for blocks on end at the few banks, ATM's, convenience stores, and the post offices found in both

Brasiléia and Epitaciolândia. As put forth by Marcos Mansour, a local teacher concerned with the mass arrival of refugees in the town, during a semi-formal interview:

> We are a small town, with barely sufficient agencies to supply us with our needs and all of a sudden our population has grown by more than 10%. I now have to plan around this population boom. Before, I would walk into the bank and leave within half an hour, now it takes me up to four hours to be assisted by a bank employee. I had to take the day off the other day just to go to the bank! I have nothing against the refugees, but it is at times difficult to cope with the situation.

-Marcos Mansour, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

A bank employee, Sofia, expresses a similar view to Marcos:

> Locals cannot even make basic transactions anymore. Haitians start lining up around midnight the night before, because they know that our capacity is limited and we are only open a few hours a day. Due to the fact that the refugees have money transferred to them from abroad, there is a long procedure involved in order for them to get their money. It takes many employees, so basically all of us employees dedicate all our efforts to assist one Haitian at a time. We are not really used to dealing with international wire transfers, this is only a branch of the main bank. I have no problems helping the Haitians, but the locals are being directly impacted by the arrival of foreigners. It's hard enough for us without incomers, imagine with such a quick population growth.

- Sofia, Brasiléia, 16-03-2014

Both Marcos and Sofia, along with the majority of the locals interviewed, express a sense of concern for the booming number of refugees. Feelings of rejection are not necessarily at the forefront. Instead, what is most commonly vocalized is worriedness. Even though locals are mainly sympathetic, they are also fully aware of the complexities involved with having a large number of incomers staying for an extended period of time, as resources and services are just enough to serve 10,000 local inhabitants and not adequate for the demands of an additional 2500 foreigners with different needs. The town does not have the economic capacity to sustain a booming population at such a fast rate. In some cases, interviewees, such as Sofia, brought other issues to light as well. Not only is the arrival of refugees in town slowing down the daily activities of local residents, sentiments of favoritism on behalf of the Brazilian government towards refugees are arising amongst the population of Brasiléia.

As the number of refugees in town increases so do the concerns regarding the government initiatives, that to some, are interpreted as preferentialism towards refugees at the expense of locals. Sofia expressed not only concerns regarding the inconvenience involved with the large number of refugees in town, but also the sense of favoritism that is beginning to take place on behalf of the state government towards refugees:

> In the 15 years that I have worked at the bank, never before has it opened during the weekend for local people. And now, the state government has requested we work on the weekends to make sure we can assist a larger number of refugees and refugees only. I understand that the government wants to help the Haitians get their money quicker so that they can continue their trip to the rest of Brazil, but why are we not allowed to help the locals who were not assisted here at the bank during the week? Recently, however, they have put a cap on the number of refugees that we can attend per day, another reason the refugees line up the night before. Now we can only attend up to 30 refugees a day, but we have at least 100 who line up anyway. But the locals who work during the day have a hard time making it to the bank. See the problem?
>
> - Sofia, Brasiléia, 16-03-2104

Opinions of preferentialism towards Haitians are spread across various sectors, including the hospitals and health posts. Some local nurses have highlighted that they have a strict mandate not to turn any Haitian refugees away. As expressed by Maria Teresa:

> If a person from Brasiléia comes here (to the hospital) at the same exact time and with the same exact problem as a refugee, I know I first have to assist the refugee. We can't afford to have someone say that we are turning refugees away at the hospital, either on racial grounds or xenophobia. That just doesn't look good for anyone. I don't think the government is intentionally favoring refugees, but I think they are so afraid of being criticized that they doing it unconsciously.
>
> - Maria Teresa, Female, Brasiléia, 29-03-2014

With already limited public and private services for the residents of Brasiléia, the population has a difficult time grasping the notion that the government created measures to ease the transition of refugees, but not necessarily to aid the host society in resuming its normal activities. Therefore, these responses by the government are translated into preferentialism by the receiving society. As the perception of the local residents 'ability' to reception refugee's decreases, so does the willingness of the host society, as evidenced above.

"Brasiléia is a powder keg just waiting to explode. The residents of the town have had enough, and this could result in acts of hostility"

- Anonymous , Rio Branco 2013 (Centre for Research on Globalization 2013)

Similar notions to those expressed above were also found by Conectas when they visited the camp in 2013 and other news sources such as O'Alto Acre and Globo News. According to Conectas, while many residents have sympathized with the Haitian migrants, they are beginning to complain that the Haitians at the camp "compete with the local residents for places at the town's public health clinics, supermarkets, bakeries, banks, pharmacies, post office and other public services" (Centre for Research on Globalization 2013). O' Alto Acre also found that many locals feel as though the government is giving priority to foreigners at the expense of locals. Instead of spending state resources on foreigners, local argue that the government should be investing money on poverty alleviation programs where poverty is prominent, such as in the state of Acre (O'Alto Acre 2013b). Furthermore, G1 News found that whether intentional or not, some authorities involved in the migration phenomenon, believe that sentiments of competitiveness lead to the social exclusion of incomers, which could potentially serve as a breeding ground for xenophobia (Mendes 2013). Throughout the research conducted for the purpose of this thesis, more sentiments of social inclusion verses exclusion were found, even though more negative sentiments came about in response to the way refugees reacted to the food served at the camp. After such strenuous efforts to guarantee food at the camp for thousands of people, the host society is saddened by the ingratitude expressed by the refugees when it comes to food provided at the camp, as further detailed below.

Figure 29: Image of the line-up by refugees to receive meal boxes and an employee from SEDS and a federal police on their way to assist the food process

Figure 30: Image of the truck that delivers meal boxes to refugees at campsite

At one o'clock sharp every day, the food truck arrives with the exact number of meal boxes for each refugee. The most challenging part of this time of day is getting everyone to form a straight line and stay in his or her spot, as expressed by Damião in Chapter 5, communicating the most basic matters to refugees is hindered by the language barrier. Due to recurrent outbreaks of violence that come about as a result of people cutting lines or re-entering the line for a second serving, police officers are in charge of overseeing meal times at the camp. A typical meal box includes rice, beans, pasta, and either red or white meat with a few vegetables. Unfortunately, the refugees do not like the spices used to condiment the meals and tend to eat the meat and throw away the rest of the food out (see Figure 31), which is why some try to go back for second servings. Furthermore, the food on the ground attracts packs of wild dogs throughout the day. Insipid and nauseating food is the prevalent criticism by refugees at the camp. "The food is terrible; I can't stand it. Even thinking about it makes me sick to my stomach. Any time I have a little extra cash I go to a restaurant," expressed Pierre (Brasiléia, 10-04-2014) as he made a face of disgust. According to Damião and Lenir (cook), no matter how many times they change the condiments and spices, the refugees have always complained.

Figure 31: Image of food thrown on the ground by Haitian refugees. Source: (O'Alto Acre 2014)

The migrant's reaction to the free food received at the camp is one the main complaints the host society and government officials have regarding refugees. Marcos Mansour who resonates the voice of a large portion of the population of Brasiléia, exclaimed the following:

> How is it possible that people with nothing to eat and in such a vulnerable state would rather go hungry than have a decent meal. The food isn't bad. They get what we Brazilians eat on a daily basis. It's hard to deal with this situation; it makes me sad and angry. And, let's not forget that it is our tax money and efforts that are literally being thrown away.
>
> - Marcos Mansour, Brasiléia, 01-04-2014

Damião Borges, who worked continuously to guarantee food at the camp mentions that he will never forget the sadness he felt when the refugees threw the food at the food truck as a form of protest on March 27 2014:

> It saddens me that they are being ungrateful. The refugees have no idea how hard we have worked to ensure three meals a day. Of course it is not the best food, but it is food! I know this situation is not easy and I sympathize with them on most matters, but this incident is difficult to overlook
>
> - Damião Borges, Brasiléia, 28-02-2014

The local population shares similar views to Marcos and Damião regarding their sentiments towards refugees in this scenario. Furthermore, not only are they upset about the situation, but once again, feel as though the government is giving foreigners priorities over locals in need.

Brasiléia is one of the poorest municipalities in Brazil with 80% living under the poverty line. Therefore, a large portion of the residents of the town, feel as though the government is wasting resources on foreigners when instead, the government could be channeling their budget to help local residents in need. The image below is taken from an article written by a local newspaper, O'Alto Acre (2014), regarding the food truck incident at the camp, and translated into English reads as follows:

> While people are starving (in Brasiléia), the government gives priority to immigrants who choose and say what they want or what they should eat…why don't they send them back to their countries? It is a shame and a huge disrespect towards the Brazilians..
>
> - Diêgo Bento, O'Alto Acre, 27-03-2014

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Figure 32: Image of commentary section of O'Alto article on the refugee food incident. Source: (O'Alto Acre 2014)

The thoughts expressed by Diêgo are widespread throughout the residents of Brasiléia and has recently become a hot topic of conversation. The receiving society, after working tirelessly and putting forth collective efforts towards ensuring food at the camp, were disillusioned with the reactions of the refugees. Whilst the reaction of refugees towards the food at the camp is brought to light through the local population, some residents are more focused on the business component that has come along with the Haitian migration to Brazil.

6.3. Conclusions

The visual effect of hundreds of refugees endlessly roaming the streets and loitering in public spaces, as well as bars and restaurants is bothersome to most residents interviewed. Numerous refugees around town are not only visually vexing to the people of Brasiléia, but also disrupt regular activities that local residents need to carry out during the day. Long lines and waits have gotten in the way of the local's daily activities, and some residents are perplexed as to why the government has taken initiative to ameliorate the situation only for refugees, but not for the residents. On the other hand, acknowledging the difficulties for the refugees and the government to handle the migration phenomenon with limited capacity, some local residents have taken humanitarian assistance into their own hands. Evidencing the 'willingness' of the local society to host refugees against the town's 'ability' to do so. Whilst difficulties come about with an unnatural population growth in such a short period of time and such a small town, there are also benefits that arise in such a scenario. Whilst some locals have expressed it is time for the migrants to go home, particularly as a result of refugee's "ingratitude," others wish for them to stay and for the migration

patterns to continue, as some resident have directly reaped benefits from this migration phenomenon.

Figure 33: Image of Governor of Acre Sebastiao Viana (red shirt) and Nilson Mourão (yellow shirt) surrounded by refugees in an act of gratitude towards the Brazilian government, singing and praising on April 12, 2014

Municipalities are typically the torchbearers of refugee reception, since the impact is most felt at the local level. According to the IOM, local officials play the leading role in facing migrant influxes in their municipalities (EC-UN, 2013), as they are responsible for providing the refugees needs in terms of housing and food, amongst other necessities such as basic health care. In the case of Brasiléia, however, it is the state of Acre along with the local residents, who are the protagonists of this phenomenon. The municipality, on the other hand, remains unnoticed for its efforts, and the federal government orchestrates migration policies from atop without understanding the reality on the ground or providing the necessary resources to carry out these policies.

This chapter attempts to capture the reasons for which the municipality and local authorities of Brasiléia, the locality which has been most affected by the refugee flows from Haiti to Brazil, have been generally absent. Furthermore, this chapter touches upon the varying factors that may lead officials to act one way formally and another informally, as well as what inspires these responses. Lastly, this chapter outlines the relationship that exists between the local and state

government as well as the federal government and how this dynamic interplay facilitates or hinders coordination throughout the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil.

7.1. Locals and the State of Acre at the Forefront of the Haitian Migration to Brazil

The government of Acre as well as the receiving society has been at the forefront in facing the challenges that have come about as a result of the Haitian migration to Brazil. At the prime stages, local residents took it upon themselves to help feed and engage refugees in activities. For instance, Maria Teresa, the nurse, who took the lead in organizing events for her past patients (Chapter 6). As the numbers of migrants ballooned, key agents such as Damião, the head of the camp, pulled together resources to keep the camp running through contributions. Ana, the owner of the supermarket mentioned in Chapter 6 "Drawbacks and Benefits of International Migration on Brasiléia" donates a fixed number of cleaning supplies each month. A few of Damião's friends, who prefer to remain anonymous, initially donated the paper and ink utilized to register new refugees. Even though locals who made these contributions claim it is not much, Damião argues that small collective efforts make big differences when recourses are limited.

Nílson Mourão, Secretary of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights (SEJUDH), has played a leading role in pooling state resources and attempting to obtain financial resources from the Federal Union. Mourão told Agazeta in September of 2012, a local media source, that the Ministry of Social Development is the only ministry with a designated budget for populations in vulnerable situations in border regions (Agazeta 2012). Furthermore, Mourão expressed that the government of Acre attempted to gain access to these funds in September, but was unsuccessful for reasons that remain unclear. The state attempted to do so after discontinuing the food supply at the camp, as the state was no longer able to pay the food company with whom they had an outstanding debt of R$50,000 reais (~ 18, 867 USD) (Agazeta 2012).

On August 8 2013, Damião voiced to Conectas, a human rights NGO and non-profit organization, that once again Acre had a debt of R$ 700,000 (264,150 USD) with the food company, which needed to be paid off by August 15. "We urgently need the Federal Government to help us. Acre has spent R$ 4.5 million (1.7 million USD) alone and the federal government has only provided R$2 million (754,716 USD) in two years and eight months (Conectas 2013). The migration phenomenon cannot fall on the shoulders of such a small and modest municipality (Brasiléia)," Damião told Conectas. Furthermore, Conectas informed that neither the municipality

nor the state of Acre had received financial assistance from the Federal Union since May 2013 and that the municipality or state government did not know when to expect more aid for the reception of refugees (Conectas 2013). The numbers and figures put forth by Conectas were also confirmed by Nilson Mourão during a formal interview (Secretary of SED, Rio Branco, 10-03-2014). In light of these challenges, during an intergovernmental experts meeting organized by the Ministry of Labor to discuss migration policies in June 2014, Mourão stated that lower levels of government should give refugees the assistance they need, even though it is not within their competency (The researcher of this thesis was able to obtain a recording of the experts meeting - Rio Branco, 26-06-2014).

7.2. Competency of the Municipality, State and the Federal Union

Within the Brazilian political system, municipalities, states, and the Federal Union have varying levels of power, responsibilities, and competencies. Whilst each level of government has its own laws, in no circumstance can these laws override those of higher level of government. Moreover, depending on the specific subject matter, only the Federal Union has legislative power, and thus the responsibility to come through with policy implementation. In line with the Brazilian Constitution, decision-making power over migration policies is not disseminated from the central government towards regional and local administrations. Without a decentralized system of migration governance, lower levels of government cannot intervene in policymaking. Article 30 of the Brazilian constitution states that municipalities have the power to legislate over matters of local interest, yet Article 22 explicitly states that there are certain matters that the Federal Union legislates over exclusively. For example, item XV of Article 22 states that "emigration and immigration, entrance, extradition and expulsion of foreigners," is strictly under the competency of the Federal Union (Brazilian Constitution, 1988).

Due to the political structure of Brazil, neither the municipality of Brasiléia nor the state of Acre is in the legal position to reject refugees or invite refugees into the country, as compared to the case of Sweden mentioned in the theoretical framework. In the same manner that local and state governments are not allowed to contradict national policies, they are not responsible for policy implementation on their own. Therefore, providing food for refugees is not a responsibility to be overseen by the municipality. In line with the constitution, municipalities are tasked with administrating state resources for two specific purposes, health and education. These fiscal

transfers hold local governments accountable for the employment of these policies through financial incentives and political constraints (Souza, 2002).

7.2.1. A Missing Municipality

As the manager of the camp, Damião, who represents and is employed by the government of Acre, through SEDS, and not the municipality, is the local governments main critic. He argues that individuals and the state government have taken over the role of national migration policies when necessary and face the humanitarian crisis on their own. Even though the municipality is not responsible for assuming a Federal Union policy, it is in a position to coordinate with actors involved in the humanitarian assistance given to refugees in its jurisdiction. Whilst the municipality cannot bear the burden of the refugee migration on its own, it can provide a significant amount of non-financial resources if so desired. But to date, such resources have not been provided due to a lack of willingness to engage.

The mayor of Brasiléia, Everaldo Gomes Pereirra da Silva, representing the Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB), refuses to address the Haitian migration through Brasiléia and has not put forth any visible efforts towards creating a stronger structure to receive newcomers, according to the majority of interviewees. Not only does he object to interviews that make any reference to the refugees in town, he also turns people away when they seek his help regarding the refugee camp, including for the purpose of this thesis. It is not a coincidence, Damião emphasizes, that Everaldo was not invited to a special "Commission of Foreign Relations and National Defense" organized by parliament members, held April 17 2013, in order to discuss the challenges faced by the Brasiléia as a result of the arrival of Haitian migrants. "How is it possible that there is a debate on the situation in Brasiléia and they do not invite the mayor of the town? Yet, they invite the Governor of Acre, Sebastião Viana?" Damião asked rhetorically during a formal interview (Damião Borges, 28-03-2014). Elisianne, a medical student, who also highlights the absence of the municipality, states the following:

> The municipality does not want the migrants here, therefore, their best option is to ignore the situation and hope that it will go away. But, what the Mayor does not realize is that they are playing with human lives. The migration phenomenon has real implications, for the refugees and for the people of Brasiléia. When the refugees had no food at the camp we could not just watch them starve we had to take matters into our own hands. My classmates and I cooked for about 30

refugees once. They were wandering aimlessly at the town square with nowhere to go and nothing to eat."

- Elisianne Viera, Female, Brasiléia, 15-03-2014

Elisianne echoes the voice of many local residents, who are disappointed by the lack of initiative demonstrated by the mayor of Brasiléia and the municipality. In turn, individuals believe they have filled in a gap that should be administered by the municipality, providing refugees with basic services. As discussed above, however, the provision of food for refugees is not within the competency of the municipality. Furthermore, many residents complain that Everaldo only pronounces himself when he gets the opportunity to look good for the spotlight, usually for formal interviews that he cannot disregard.

7.2.3. The Mayor's Discourse

On the few occasions that the mayor does pronounce himself, according to local news sources, his rhetoric is defined along specific lines. More border patrol is within his top priorities as he argues that the border towns are currently "no-mans-land," with people coming in and out of Brazil as they please, as put forth by O'Alto Acre (2012). Additionally, Everaldo argues that the lack of border patrol is misleading, as it resembles an open invitation for refugees to come into the country and threatens national sovereignty according to Noticias (2013) and Wiliandro (2013). The notions of Everaldo's argument expressed by local news sources, in regards to the Haitian migration, was also supported by locals. The researcher of this thesis was not able to obtain an interview with the Mayor, and is therefore unable to confirm these notions. As the Mayor of Brasiléia, however, Everaldo is not in a position to request that border patrol increases in order to impede refugees from coming into Brasiléia. The national government has clearly established that it will not reject Haitian refugees, and as a Feral Union decision, Everaldo is not in a position to challenge migration policies.

Second, the mayor mentions that the municipality has concentrated all of its efforts in providing basic services to the migrants, such as health services and mechanisms to regularize migrants, according to local and national news sources (O'Alto Acre 2013c);(Agazeta 2012); (Igepri News 2013)(Noticias da Fronteira 2014)(Jaqueline Falcao 2014) . According to the statements made in the above mentioned news sources, Everaldo attempts to ensure the population

that the municipality is doing what is within its capacity and beyond. Health care services are directly under the competency of the municipality, and the Mayor argues that they are being met (Jaqueline Falcao 2014). As mentioned in the previous chapter, Maria Teresa the nurse from the local hospital voiced that she has a strict mandate not to turn any Haitian refugees away, which confirms that instructions from the municipality to attend to the need of refugees. Refugees are treated in the same manner as Brazilian citizens, and upon being regularized, have access to universal healthcare, found through informal interviews with locals and news sources.   (Noticias da Fronteira 2014). In 2013, the Ministry of Health transferred to the municipality a total of 28,000 USD   as a means of compensating Brasiléia with the extra costs it encountered with health facilities and services (Jaqueline Falcao 2014). Federal transfers were made to Brasiléia in order to assist the municipality in the employment of basic health care services for the refugee population. According to the constitution, the municipality is meeting its legal competencies and not legally obliged to provide more services to the refugee population, even if, as argued by Damião, it is in a situation to better contribute.

Lastly, the mayor of Brasiléia states that the municipality is 'broke' ("quebrada") as a result of the migration phenomenon, according to local News sources and backed by locals and political authorities who prefer to stay anonymous to this regard. Thus, according to the Mayor of Brasiléia the migration phenomenon needs to come to an end. During a formal interview with "Amambai Noticias" Everaldo Gomes Perreira informed that the municipality has a deficit of over "2 million reais (~754,716 USD) and the municipality performs miracles in order to keep up with bills and deal with the migration phenomenon" (Noticias 2013). Even though the municipality is receiving financial resources from the Federal Union, the financial aid does not meet the additional costs spent by the municipality. In other words, the notions that Everaldo puts forth are that the government should halt the number of incomers at the border by increasing border patrol, the municipality is doing what it is within its competency, and the municipalities resources have been depleted as a result of the arrival of refugees. The mayor is, however, following through with the municipality's obligations, even if he is not in favor of the migration phenomenon. In conclusions, there is no legal way to pressure to the municipality to play a more active role in the reception of refugees then it already does.

Multiple and varying explanations are given by the affected community in the attempt to justify the deficiency of the municipality in addressing the Haitian migration to Brazil. The most common explanation for the lack of protagonism on behalf of the municipality of Brasiléia is a political one, which recognizes the existing tensions between the political left and the political right. The political conflict between different levels of government feeds the unwillingness of the State government and the municipality to collaborate towards a common goal. Both federal and state government belong to the Workers Party (Partido dos Trabalhadores – PT) a left wing political party, with open door migration policies. As mentioned prior, former President of Brazil, Lula, who is a founding member of PT, was outspoken about strict migration policies, favoring amiable policies towards immigrants in Brazil. The local government, on the other hand, PMDB Brazilian Democratic Movement Party (PMDB Partido de Movimento Democratico Brasileiro), has weak ties to PT and identifies with the more conservative center-right. During informal conversations, many people pinpointed political differences as an obstacle for the engagement between all levels of government. As put forth by Erivan da Silva, a taxi driver who works in-between Assis Brasil and Brasiléia:

> Tension exists between Brasiléia's government and higher levels of government. The governor of Acre, Sebastiao Viana, is not channeling money to the municipality directly, that way he gets the credit for any initiative taken towards the refugees. And of course, it makes PMDB look bad, shying the mayor away. How is the mayor supposed to be involved if he has no money to do anything? Elections are coming up in October, and to me this is nothing but a political war in which innocent people get caught up in the middle.
>
> - Erivan da Silva, Assis Brasil, 03-03-2014

Unlike Erivan, who believes that the mayor does not have the necessary conditions to be actively involved, Damião, believes that the Mayor and his technicians are a "mere screen" who only pretend to be involved when outside organizations come to visit. Yet, have no true intention of helping and use their political opponents as an excuse not to ignore the situation:

> There is no coordination between the municipality and the state government. I know the governor has tried to approach Everaldo (Mayor) once or twice. Yes, there are political problems between them, but the municipality has human resources that the state government needs in order to deal with the influx of refugees. And the governor knows that! Instead of paying engineers to help us fix the pipelines at the camp, the least the mayor could do is provide the camp with engineers who already work for the municipality. I have tried to approach him on

several occasions, but he only shows up when it's convenient for him and his people.

- Damião Borges, Brasiléia, 28-03-2014

Damião echoes that the mayor has a means of getting involved in the migration phenomenon in Brasiléia, yet refuses to do so because it is not within Everaldo's political line of interest. Furthermore, Damião argues that it is not a matter of receiving more outside resources, but using the municipality existing resources, including human resources, to confront the situation. Whilst Erivan and Damião view the situation from opposing sides, they both agree that the main concern is that there is a lack of harmonization between all levels of government, in turn affecting the people in a vulnerable situation. For the purpose of this thesis the Mayor of Brasiléia did not accept and interview, therefore, his positions, as put forth by him personally are not reflected. The political authorities involved in the matter, however, sideline political tensions and only highlight scarce funds as the factor impeding the political system in effectively facing the challenges that come about with refugee migration flows.

7.3.1. Insufficient Funds: Ineffectively Addressing Refugee Reception

Annual Number of Haitian Refugees in Brasiléia

37 HAITIAN REFUGEES
1,175 HAITIAN REFUGEES
2,225 HAITIAN REFUGEES
10,779 HAITIAN REFUGEES
3,083 HAITIAN REFUGEES

2013

2010 2011 2012 2014

Apr. Govenor of Acre declares state of emergency

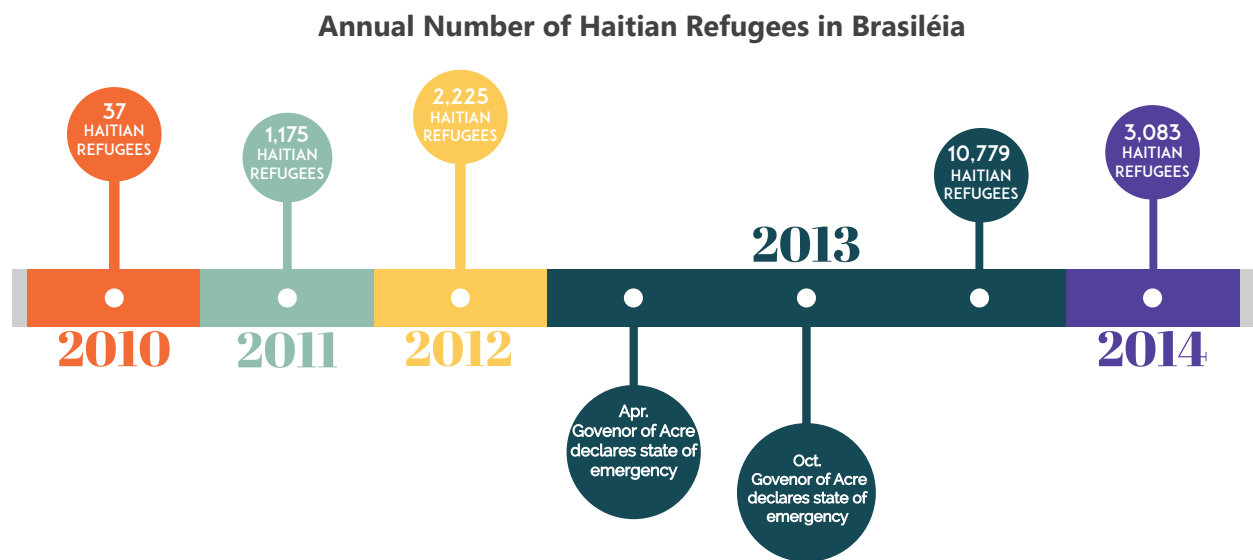Oct. Govenor of Acre declares state of emergency

Figure 34: The graph indicates data on Haitian refugee arrival in Brasiléia from the beginning of 2010 up to March 29 2014

In contrast to the perspective expressed above, which recognizes the coordination gap and to an extent a financial matter, state government officials pose the argument that the unstructured refugee reception is directly linked to insufficient funds, failing to acknowledge existing coordination difficulties between different levels of government. As expressed above, the mayor of Brasiléia Everaldo Gomes Perreira, states that insufficient financial resources are impeding the municipality from efficiently engaging in the migration phenomenon. Whilst the state of Acre is actively involved, the governor of Acre, Sebastião Viana, reiterates similar concerns.

Without sufficient funds to handle the ballooning number of immigrants, Viana declared a state of emergency in April 2013, the month in which 1,771 Haitians applied for a humanitarian visa. Viana declared a second state of emergency in October of the same year in the hopes that the national government would provide his administration with more financial assistance in order to deal with the ballooning number of immigrants (O'Alto Acre 2013a). According to Viana, during a formal interview for Globo News, whilst there has been some form of economic reimbursement, these resources are not sufficient (Stochero 2013). During the initial stages of the Haitian migration to Brazil, in February 2010, the Ministry of Social Development announced it would give the state of Acre an estimate of US$ 520, 000 in order to fund programs aimed at providing food, housing, and education for newcomers (O'Alto Acre 2013a); (Duarte 2014). However, the insurmountable and arbitrary numbers of refugees have made this an impossible task for the government of Acre, who has depleted their existing budgets. It is important to note that the state government's annual budget does not take the migration phenomenon into account, as migration policies are not within the competency of the state government. Thus, as the orchestrator of migration policies, the Federal Union is responsible for providing the funds to implement these polices.

The amount of money channeled to the state is not sufficient to adequately deal with the high and unpredictable inflow of people, according to lower levels of government. As stated by Nilson Morãou, State Secretary of Justice and Human Rights, during a formal interview:

> As a state we have depleted the budget of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights, an estimate of 1.5 million USD has been spent by Acre alone. Together with the federal government we have spent 2 million USD. As you can see, we are the torchbearers of this mass migration; we are at the forefront of all the troubles that have come along with this phenomenon. We are doing what we can in the midst of the humanitarian crisis and unsustainable chaos. At this point we need the federal government to take over the situation.

The government of Acre feels it is primarily on its own, and it can no longer handle the responsibility of national policies. Morãou further goes on to explain that the government of Acre has played such a significant role, as they could not turn a blind eye to refugees in such a delicate state, however, the state can no longer bear the burden on its own.

As a result of what Morãou refers to as "the humanitarian crisis and unsustainable chaos," the governor of Acre was compelled to take drastic measures as a cry for assistance from the federal government by declaring a state of emergency on two occasions (Phillips 2011). As a main agent involved in the coordination of the migration phenomenon in Brazil, the Ministry of Labor together with the Ministry of Justice immediately responded to Viana's declaration. The Minister of Justice, José Eduardo Cardozo, affirmed that together with the Ministry of Labor, they would facilitate the legal process of Haitians in bureaucratic limbo in order to help spread the number of incomers throughout the country. He stated that without the legal means of obtaining a job, there is no means of survival. Therefore, it is important to accelerate the procedure to obtain work permits, as there are also many private construction companies interested in employing incomers. Cardozo added that Brazil has a "tradition of receiving immigrants and recognizing their rights" and he hopes to follow this tradition (Mendes 2013). While Cardozo may feel this is the best approach Brazil can take, not all Brazilian people feel the same, as the migrants are not being absorbed equally throughout the country.

The majority of the expense to host refugees in Brasiléia is falling on the government of Acre, a burden they can no longer bear, as expressed by state officials. According to the Red Cross, however, there are more factors that can be attributed to the difficulties that arise in addressing the Haitian migration to Brazil than those expressed by state officials, in which Brasiléia has served as a key transit locality. An employee of the Red Cross resonates similar concerns to those expressed above and touches upon a few more aspects of the situation while shedding light on the complexity:

> The problem isn't a lack of money necessarily; instead it is the lack of coordination between the municipality, the state government, and the federal government. We were sent here by the federal government to report back on the current situation of the camp, more specifically the health situation. To be honest, this situation is not at all what the federal government described to us. They have absolutely no understanding of the reality. The situation here is much more complex

than the way they are discussing it in Brasilia (Federal Capital of Brazil). What is needed is institutional coordination and capacity development. As mentioned by Damião, there are employees who are already being paid by the municipality who could be of used here at the camp. The government doesn't need to be spending much more money than it already does. They simply need to use existing resources more effectively. Unfortunately, this is a national policy that overshadows local implications.

- Red Cross, Brasiléia, 28-03-2014

The employee from the Red Cross outlines three main factors contributing to an inadequate system to host refugees; the economic aspect, weak coordination, and an absence of information at the highest level of government, where policies are determined. Whilst policies are discussed and agreed upon in Brasilia, the capital of Brazil, there seems to be a lack of information that is channeled to policymakers. Legislators have minimal understanding of what the people of Brasiléia and Haitian refugees are experiencing on the ground. Consequently, resulting in the improvised humanitarian aid in which the State of Acre is taking the lead.

7.4. The Federal Government: Policies from atop, Implications on the Ground

The Federal Union, which legislates exclusively over migration polices is above the state of Acre and the local municipality of Brasiléia, where the impacts of these policies are directly encountered. Locals put forth their sentiments as well as explore the motivations behind these policies, considering the humanitarian crisis in Brasiléia as described in Chapter 5 "The Haitian Migration to Brazil." Local residents express that the federal government is out of their reach, and that they have no control or means of influencing policy at that level. Therefore, the local residents believe that Brasiléia will continue to receive refugees until the federal government decides otherwise. As voiced by Zuila Mansour, mentioned in the previous chapter, "the government makes the policies and we (local population) deal with the aftermath" (Brasiléia, 03-04-2014). Zuila alludes to the idea that the government is indifferent to the impact of national policies on the ground, as policymakers do not directly feel them. Whilst many locals express the sentiment that the federal government is oblivious to happening in Brasiléia, there are national interests within the international community that are being represented through the Haitian refugee migration to Brazil.

As mentioned in the "Thematic, regional, and local context," Brazil has established a deep footprint on the international stage by strengthening its ties with intergovernmental organizations and through bilateral diplomacy. Since 2004 Brazil has played a key role in Haiti through MINUSTAH, providing Haiti with military and financial support in order to restore stability after years of political strife and violence. After the 2010 earthquake, Brazil put forth efforts towards rebuilding the country, promoting political and economic stability and rule of law. Furthermore, the Brazilian President, Dilma Rousseff declared she would not be indifferent toward Haitian citizen's vulnerable economic situation, publicly inviting them into the country.

Many residents express that national Brazilian politicians are more concerned with their international reputation than with the consequences their policies bring to the average Brazilian. According to some government officials in the region, the federal government either does not comprehend the gravity of the situation, or as mentioned by Emanuel Viana de Castro:

> The federal government cares very little about Acre. From a political standpoint we are insignificant, as we do not give the central government many votes. Therefore, what happens in Acre is always sidelined. To an extent, Acre is being used to deal with this complex humanitarian situation, while Brazil, as a nation, looks good to the rest of the world.
> - Emanuel Viana de Castro, Male, Rio Branco, 11-03-2014

Similar sentiments are resonated by many individuals in the political realm. According to another political official during an informal conversation, who preferred to stay anonymous:

> The national government doesn't really care what is happening at the local level, as long as the country gets its recognition of pioneers of this humanitarian crisis on the international stage. Brazil is the Head of MINUSTAH and Brazil wants a permanent seat in the Security Council at the United Nations. Can you imagine how bad it would look for Brazil if we were to turn refugees away? At the end of the day, it is all about politics, and Brazil does not play the game alone.

The politician alludes to the idea that the true intention behind Brazil's migration policies regarding Haitian refugees is tied to Brazil's intention of obtaining a permanent seat at the UN's Security Council. As made mention in the "Thematic, regional, and local context" Brazil is on a long pursuit towards obtaining a seat on the Security Council since the creation of the United Nations. Turning refugees away from a country to which they have strong diplomatic ties could hinder Brazils chances of reaching its international goals. Residents of Brasiléia believe that the policies adopted by the government to welcome Haitian migrants under "humanitarian visas" are

directly linked to Brazil's image and aspirations on the international arena. As a result of these notions, the local population views the Federal government as unreachable and inflexible. Thus, locals believe that the national migration policies will remain the same until the national government decides it is no longer within its line of political interest.

7.4.1 National Policies Defined by the International Arena

Acre may be the one dealing with the economic consequences for the national interests of the country and Brasiléia feeling the impact directly, however, migration polices adopted at the national level are discussed within the international arena. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, migration policies are generally established within the international platform with an array of actors involved in the process. For instance, intergovernmental organizations (IGO's), such as the IOM and UNHCR, academics involved in the field and voluntary agencies, termed by Jacobsen (1996) as the 'international refugee regime' are part of the decision making process.

Maria Nazareth Mello de Araujo Lambert, a candidate of PT for Vice Governor of Acre, evidences these notions:

> We spend hours every Friday discussing the Haitian migration to Brazil, and how it is completely draining all of our resources. We are strategizing on how to handle such a delicate situation. But, we know our options are limited and that turning refugees away is simply not an option. There is too much international pressure, especially from United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR). There are also national NGO's who are not only pressuring us to keep the doors open, but to provide better services. At this stage of the Haitian migration phenomenon, everyone is involved in discussions, even the academics.
>
> - Maria Nazareth Mello de Araujo Lambert, 11-03-2014

Even though the impact of migration is mainly experienced in Brasiléia, migration policies are discussed across an array of local, national and global actors. In June of 2011, UNHCR and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) called on UN member states to suspend involuntary repatriation of Haitian Citizens due to the dire situation of Haiti, where more than 680,000 people are internally displaced. In a joint appeal, the two UN bodies requested governments to renew residence permits and other mechanisms that have allowed Haitians to remain outside their country so far, on humanitarian grounds. The Report of the

Independent Expert on the situation of human rights in Haiti (A/HRC/20/35/Add.1 2012), by Michel Forst states that "pending stabilization and until such time as people can return safely and sustainably, HCHR and HCR call on all countries not to return Haitians at this time and to continue granting interim protection measures on humanitarian grounds" (Forst 2012). As a country with a renowned international name and main contributor to the United Nations, strong diplomatic ties with Haiti, a political party that is critical of developed nations strict migration polices, and a lifelong pursuit of obtaining a seat on the Security Council, Brazil took the necessary measures in order to head to this call.

As mentioned in the above sections, Haitian migrants do not fall neatly into one migration binary or another. The Haitian migration is triggered as a result of political struggles and violence as well as one natural disaster after another, pushing Haitian people to leave their country of origin. Brazil has received Haitian refugees with open arms and has attempted to regularize them in the quickest way possible. 'Humanitarian visas' was Brazils solution to Haitian citizen's vulnerable situation, allowing Haitians to reside and work freely in Brazil. Even though neither the Brazilian legislation nor international agreements recognize migrants in relation to natural disasters and climatic factors refugee status, the Brazilian government has taken the initiative to grant refugees protection humanitarian grounds, in turn heading the call of the UN bodies to protect Haitian citizens under humanitarian ground.

7.5. Conclusions:

It is often argued by both scholars and practitioners that local governments play the leading role in the reception of refugees. In the case of Brasiléia, however, it is political officials from the government of Acre who are at the forefront. The Haitian migration to Brazil is a unique phenomenon, as migration polices are decided upon at the national level, the impact of migration is felt directly at the municipal level, yet the regional level has taken it upon itself to ensure the reception of refugees. Figure 33 captures a moment in which the governor of Acre, Sebastião Viana and Nilson Mourão are received by the refugees at the camp in which they express their gratitude towards these two officials through an act of singing and praising. Whilst the municipality met its basic obligations, it has been mainly uninvolved in the reception of refugees. As evidenced above, the lack of communication and coordination between all three levels of government has led to an improvised refugee reception.

8. Discussion on Findings

> The government is promoting a foreign policy to bring more Haitians to Brazil, but there is no public policy for Haitians here.
>
> - Alexandre Bladimy (Bazzo 2016)

The empirical chapters of this thesis have covered a range of information and a broad scope of topics with the intention of providing a nuanced analysis of the implications of international migration at the local level. The voices of local residents and official authorities as well as those of refugees in relation the Haitian migration phenomenon to Brazil and its implications in the municipality of Brasiléia have been taken into account. The purpose in doing so is to establish: How do formal and informal responses in the municipality of Brasiléia evolve in reaction to the influx of migrants as a result of Brazil's open door policies towards Haitian Migrants? Overall, the above chapters have demonstrated that: 1.) Brasiléia is an overburdened municipality 2.) an amateur refugee reception reception exists, resulting in inhuman conditions 3.) improvised mechanisms have been employed; to attempt to cater to the needs of refugees 4.) no central mechanism of coordination exists between the local, state, and federal government of Brazil.

Brazil holds good intentions in formally opening the doors for Haitian refugees and providing the necessary paperwork for them to reside and work in Brazil. However, the reception of refugees is improvised on a day to day basis without an adequate and thought-out public policy to truly address the underlying issues that migration policy entails. In creating migration policy, various matters need to be taken into account. The absorption capacity of a municipality to receive refugees, capacity building with a focus at the local level, integration programs, and decision-making power as well as the necessary resources at the local level are essential. In other words, a complete stakeholder analysis with community engagement is essential.

Even though Brasiléia serves as a place for opportunistic landing and the route created by Haitian refugees and coyotes was initially unpredictable, the Brazilian government at all three levels, is failing to make sufficient efforts to ensure that thousands of refugees do not concentrate in one key locality. With a stronger public policy framework, the government can cooperate with more private companies from Brazilian municipalities that have the absorption capacity to do so. By providing the municipalities and companies with incentives to entice refugees. It is important to highlight that refugees do not have the intention of staying in Brasiléia, but merely to use it as

a point of transit. However, after staying in Brasiléia longer than anticipated, due to slow processing times, refugees continue their journeys to metropolitan cities in Brazil where there is also no infrastructure prepared to receive them. If keeping the doors open to refugees is of importance to the national government, then they need to create the necessary environment to cater to the needs of incoming refugees as well as those of the host society.

As noted in the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, integration is a three- way process between the state, civil society, and refugees. As part of the normative regulations (RN-97, RN-102) created to welcome Haitians into Brazil, the state attempted to put forth a framework allowing for refugees to integrate into Brazilian society by providing them with Brazilian identification cards, work permits, and access to universal health care. Whilst these documents extend to Haitians the possibility to integrate socially, economically, and politically, an essential step in order to facilitate the integration process is overlooked. Without the language know-how, a local integration program in place, a workshop through which Haitian's get to know their rights and obligations in Brazil, refugees must find ways to fend for themselves within Brazilian society (self-reliance system). Having the necessary paperwork is not useful unless refugees understand the meaning and implications of obtaining those documents.

Without basic information as to how Brazilian society functions and no parameter of Brazilian culture, Haitians feel they are being taken advantage of. This in turn complicates the attitudes locals exhibit towards refugees. Integration is a process that also depends on the actions and responses of the refugee to their new society, which can either be hindered or enhanced. Whilst initially locals in Brasiléia were more receptive, their attitudes changed as refugees began to react negatively to the reception offered by local society and official authorities. The society has demonstrated 'willingness' to integrate refugees socially and financially by welcoming refugees into their homes, through donations to the camp, and by extending job opportunities. The attitude and reactions of refugees plays a critical role in the way the host society relates with incomers. The fact that Haitian refugees reacted so negatively in both the attempt of local residents to extend employment opportunities to refugees as well making collective efforts in order to obtain food for the camp triggers a negative attitude towards refugees. Addressing the main question, how have these reactions evolved over time, as the attitude of the host society changes, and the 'willingness' of the host society decreases, so does their perception of their 'ability' to continue to receive refugees.

Lastly, conversations around immigration too often focus on national policymakers, glossing over the role of local policy. It is at the local level where policies are felt and people directly impacted. Both refugees and the host society. The local level, therefore, plays a large part in the settlement outcomes of refugees, while at the same time ensuring the benefits of migration for the receiving society. At the local level, authorities are closest to the people and have a greater sense of their needs; how refugees are integrating, the challenges posed, and how best to facilitate the success of refugee reception for everyone. The mayor of a town is the most important public symbol at the local level, and sets the tone and attitude that people acquire towards refugees. Even though the local society shows a high level of social receptiveness towards refugees, these were born merely out of sympathy and solidarity, not out of any initiative taken on behalf of the mayor. A way for the mayor of Brasiléia to show his leadership is by publicly stating his support for immigration, which is in line with the national policy. Furthermore, by supporting non-political staff in their immigrant integration efforts – particularly at the camp.

In order for local authorities to take up this important role, they need the necessary capacity building and decision-making power through decentralization policies. Additionally, coordination and communication with the federal and regional governments are key. That is not to say that that the local government does not have agency. As put forth by Niessen (2012), "while it is important that local governments engage with national and sub- national levels of government to inform broad immigration strategies, they must also focus on taking action on immigrant integration across all policy areas that are within local authority." In other words, local authorities should use all the tools at their disposal in order to address migration national policy.

The current migration policies within the political structure of Brazil are creating unintended ripple effects across various sectors. Brasiléia is overburdened as it cannot absorb the number of refugees it is receiving and it does not have the development capacity to adequately address the situation, thus leading to inhumane conditions in the camp and a lack of personnel trained to deal with people who come from vulnerable backgrounds. In conclusion, the refugee reception in Brasiléia translate into improved humanitarian aid. Thus, in order to address the above identified issues, the following recommendations are set forth:

- A high level of political commitment at the local, regional, and national level is necessary to allow for strong communication and coordination between all governmental levels

- Encourage the mayor to become a public champion for immigrant integration (Niessen 2012)
- Capacity building for local authorities and institutions needs to be a priority of any proposed national migration policies decided at the national level
- Partnerships are essential, such as those between:
    - Governments and civil society (public and private sectors)
    - National and local authorities (officials and vulnerable communities)
    - Sectors and stakeholders (technical/academic and practitioners involved in humanitarian aid)
- Improve refugees' access to good quality language training

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