

Haiti Is Here: Haitians in Santa Catarina, Brazil and the Concept of Emigration Syndrome¹

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Introduction

The Haiti expressed, as few countries in the world, the success of the colonial project in Latin America and how it can mean the tragedy of a country, that is, the development of its underdevelopment: colony more prosperous in the 17th and the 18th century, it has become in America's poorest nation currently (PIERRE-CHARLES, 1990, JAMES, 2010). The slave rebellion in the country, the national control and also by the precepts of liberty, equality and fraternity, caused one of the episodes more originals of contemporary history: the Black Independence of Haiti, in 1st January 1804 (JAMES, 2010). This situation encountered, quickly, with the obstacles placed by the imperialist powers of his time, which condemned the country to a situation of complete marginalization in the international division of labor (JAMES, 2010).

The "lesson" of imperialism began with the issue of troops of Napoleon's army with the purpose to put out the leaders national policies, burn to plantations and destroy all the productive structures of the country (JAMES, 2010; MANN, 2012). Another particularly important element is that, even with the Independence, the military presence, first French, after North American and currently including the Brazil continues being present in the Haitian territory, under international consent (LUCE, 2007). This country, formed by intense tradition of emigration (CASTOR, 1978; COTINGUIBA, 2014; HANDERSON, 2015), has since 2010 also directed migration to Brazil (FERNANDES, MILESI e FARIAS, 2011; PATARRA, 2012; COTINGUIBA, 2014; MAGALHÃES, 2014; MAGALHÃES AND BAENINGER, 2014; HANDERSON, 2015). In this article, we will analyze the formation of these flows and present some of the concepts that we believe can be informative about the migration process and the submission and use of remittances.

Currently, the Haitian population is estimated at 10,255,644 inhabitants, of which almost half (44.5%) suffer from malnutrition (FIBGE, 2015). The major cause of mortality are infectious and parasitic diseases, that could be easily and quickly remedied, however only 17% this same population has access to health network (FIBGE, 2015). The cholera is the main face of the tragedy. Face that proved even more cruel after the earthquake of January 2010 and the worsening of the health conditions, medical and outpatient clinics in the country. The morbidity in Haiti befalls men and women who consume an average of 2,080 Kcal a day - the same level of Yemen and Tanzania, poor countries in Africa. The economy of the country condemns them to this situation, and within it there is no place for hopes: 61.7% of Haitians live on less than US\$1,00 a day, a level that is used internationally to define the poverty line, where more than a third (34.7%) of Haitians are illiterate. Of 1,000 children born alive, 70 die before the age of 5 years, and 53 die before completing the first year (FIBGE, 2015).

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This situation has contributed to population leave their country. International migration is historically set how an alternative to broad sectors of Haitian society (PIERRE-CHARLES, 1990; CASTOR, 2008; DURAND, 2014; SEGUY, 2014). The main destinations were the United States, France (countries with military intervention and economic in the Haiti), the Dominican Republic and Canada. Currently, however, Brazil is increasingly inserted in this dynamic, with the arrival of Haitians, especially along the border between Brazil and Peru (PATARRA, 2012).

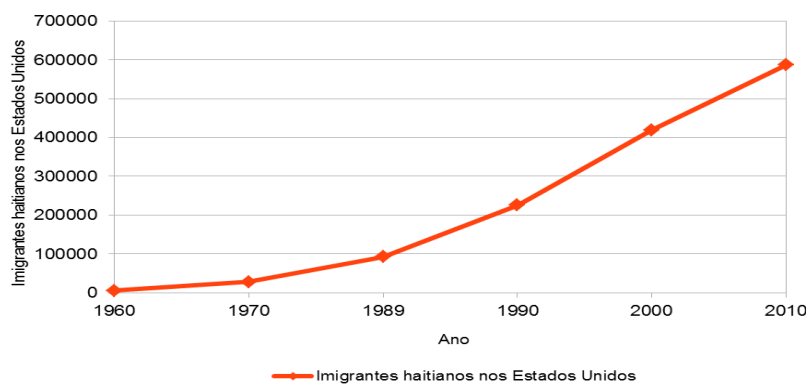
Historical background: migration to the United States

Since the early twentieth century, when began migration to the Dominican Republic and Cuba (CASTOR, 1978), it has grown systematically. From the 1960s, there are emigration also to the United States and France (HENDERSON, 2015). Particularly, the latter flows have a history: the United States and France are countries that historically exert economic, political and even military control over Haiti. While the French presence in the country falls within the framework of the colonial economy and fragments with the Independence, the US military occupation in the Haiti has beginning in 1915, and although it was destitute in 1934, institutionalized its presence in the economic and political system of the country. As in other countries, the foreign presence has created the conditioning relations between the two countries presenting "colonial migrants" (GROSFOGUEL, 2007), which are social groups that migrate in the opposite direction to the flow of foreign occupation.

The second half of the 20th century gave clear examples of this migratory modality: Caribbean in the United States, Algerians in France, Asians in England, Peruvians and Ecuadorians in Spain (GROSFOGUEL, 2007). Analyze the migration from Haiti to the United States, in this sense, is an essential step to think the migration of Haitians to Brazil, with its specific characteristics.

The expulsion factors of the population from Haiti were created historically and have as the main expression the precarious conditions of life in the country, which makes the international emigration a traditional way to improve the social and economic life of population (CASTOR, 1978; DURAND, 2014; SEGUY, 2014). Currently, 1.134 million of the Haitians are living abroad (Chart 1), 11.05% of the population (MPI, 2014). Historically, the United States is the preferred destination of Haitian emigrants. From 1960 to 2010, the total of Haitian immigrants in the United States increased from 5,000 to 606,000, represent 1.5% of the US immigrant population (MPI, 2014).

Gráfico 1 – HaitianImmigrants in the United States (1960 – 2010)



Fonte: MPI, 2014.

The Independence in the country in the context of world capitalist system produced the isolation commercial of the Haiti (JAMES, 2010; MANN, 2012; BOTH SEXES from COTINGUIBA, 2014). We must not understand that Haiti was excluded from the world capitalist system. On the contrary, he deepened his commitment to it, even more dependent. (BEAVER, 2008; JAMES, 2010).

The foreign military presence has been renewed, and justified, for the maintenance of social and economic structure in the country. In this context, the UN intervened in the country, with the Brazilian army ahead by MINUSTAH. From this moment, there is a diversification in migration destinations of the Haiti, and there emerges a South-South migration.

The Haitian migration to Brazil

With the earthquake that struck Haiti, in January 12, 2010, conditions of life in the country, which were already precarious, deteriorated further (COTINGUIBA, 2014; MAGALHÃES, 2014; SEGUY, 2014). However, the international economic situation had changed: a set of amendments placed Brazil in route of Haitian migrants (FERNANDES, MILESI e FARIAS, 2011; PATARRA, 2012; MAGALHÃES, 2014). The expansion on the route of migration of Haitians should be investigated not only the assumption of Brazil as a destination in expansion (to what we believe to own Brazilian presence in Haiti has contributed), but also in the capitalist crisis emanating from the center of global capitalism.

The Brazilian expansion abroad is actually inherent in the development of dependent capitalism in Brazil (MARINI, 2000; MARINI, 2012; LUCE, 2007), and this process is not without contradictions, at least since the step of greater industrialization of the economy dependent on⁴. Historically, the world capitalist system creates and recreates these ties, leading many authors to conceptualize these migrants of "colonial migrants" (BINFORD, 2002; COVARRUBIAS, 2010). The case of Brazil and its presence in Haiti, however, is a different phenomenon: Haiti is not and has never Brazilian colony. Herself Brazilian presence in the country is relatively recent, as are recent Haitians flows to Brazil. There is a close relationship between Brazil's presence in the country and the arrival of the first Haitians to Brazil: it is not, of course, of causal, but one should not overlook the ability of the Brazilian presence in the country and the international migratory dynamic, which form a specific flow between Haiti and Brazil. The Brazilian military presence builds in the migratory imagination of Haitians a reference in Brazil, with more and more Haitian has been migrating to traditional destinations but also to others country, like Brazil

Expectations built with Brazil are not matched by the reality they find when they arrive to the country (SILVA, 2012; HANDERSON, 2015). The conditions of the trip, waiting for documents already in Brazil, the difficulties of employment and salary and racial and social discrimination in Brazil are some of the main problems of this Haitian immigration in the country.

Haitians in the Santa Catarina State

The following information refer to the qualitative field research in Balneário Camboriú coastal city in the state of Santa Catarina, located 81 km from the state capital (Florianópolis) and estimated resident population of 124,557 people (FIBGE, 2015). It is estimated that reside around 500 Haitian immigrants in the city (ASHAN, 2014). The field research began with interviews conducted in the workplace and followed with doing them in the Association of Balneário Camboriú Haitians (ASHABC). These interviews were conducted between March and June 2014. In all, we interviewed 31 Haitian workers, all workers of supermarkets and construction industry, except one case, working as a day laborer.

The long journey starts from the border of Brazil and Peru, in the states of Acre and Amazonas. These immigrants, who arrived in South America landing in Quito, entered Brazil moving from the latter city bus to the border of Peru with the state of Acre. Most residents Haitian immigrants in Balneário Camboriú arrived in Brazil in undocumented situation. We found that Haitian immigrants with the visa traveled from Santo Domingo to Navegantes-Santa Catarina, Brazil, with stops in Panama City and Sao Paulo. At the start of migration there was a strong recruitment of Haitian workers that guided the migratory path of Haitians towards Balneário Camboriú. The Santa Catarina companies (Multilog, Ambiental e Imbrasul Construtora e Incorporadora) sought to hire workforce in Acre. The Haitian immigrants are concentrated in the ages between 25 and 35 years. Haitian immigration in Balneário Camboriú has been expanding since 2013. The return migration is present in the migratory project of Haitian immigrants, however, still cannot analyze changes in the temporal expectation (ROBERTS, 1995) in this flow.

⁴When we refer to the Brazilian expansion abroad, including the Brazilian presence in Haiti, we use the category of sub-imperialism, linked to Marxist theory of Dependence (MARINI, 2000; MARINI, 2012; LUCE, 2007; LUCE, 2011; LUCE, 2012; MAGALHÃES, 2014).

In the case that immigration is important to highlight the theme of remittances of migrants, especially for the understanding and theoretical analysis in relation migration and development. Haitian immigrants residing in Balneário Camboriú, and we interviewed, send remittances to Haiti, even under the harsh conditions of the labor market in which they operate Haitians and high rental expenses. The sending remittances indicates the maintenance of affective ties, symbolic and material with the family, and is closely linked with the dedication to work, savings and consumption and the family economic strategies. The first important result of remittances in the analyzed group in Balneário Camboriú refers to the value of remittances sent. The survey revealed that the remittances are R\$ 1,500.00, and that the most common monetary value is the sending of up to R\$ 500.00. Remittances are central in the Haitian economy.

The remittances have the sole purpose of supporting the family. Through these data, we analyze that remittances are used primarily for consumption by the family and to finance studies of the dependents of migrants. We approach, with this, the central point of this article: the concepts of "dependence on remittances" and "emigration syndrome" in Haiti.

Dependence on remittances and emigration syndrome in Haiti

Data on remittances from migrant Haitian immigrants among respondents point out that these resources are used effectively and used for consumption and the livelihood of families in the country of origin. In the context of critical theory on remittances of migrants, such use cannot be neglected or ignored: are families who develop dependency relationships with these remittances. Dependence on remittances is a concept that expresses the growing need some families involved in the migration process have the resources committed by the family to the country of origin. In this sense, the families will be dependent as such resources are predominantly used for consumption, the livelihood of the family, payment of current expenditure on food and education, for example.

As we have seen, this is the case of the immigrant group analyzed in this article: remittances are sent exclusively to support the family, and used, in turn, only to consumer financing and education (and to a lesser extent, for housing costs the family). There is no mention, in the use of remittances in an economic, productive or financial investment of these resources. The duality between consumption and investment is particularly important in the study of remittances why she does not just refer to options and choices made by the family, but also, and especially, to their most urgent needs, which are conditioned by their position in the economic structure social and country of origin.

Remittances work as a consumption expansion mechanism of recipient households, triggering a dependent relationship on the part of these families, for these resources, that is, constituting the so-called "dependence on remittances". The increase in the level of consumption, in turn, increases the material needs of these families. The absence of productive structures inclusive in this country causes expansion in the level of consumption or its maintenance is only possible with the influx of new remittances, which tends to mean specifically the emergence of new migration, i.e. migration other family members who remained in the country of origin. The critical literature on remittances conceptualizes this situation of "emigration syndrome". Derived from a condition of dependence on remittances, it expresses the centrality of international migration for the maintenance of the families, and the increase in remittances as element of migratory dynamics, what have conditioned new flows abroad.

Final Considerations

In this article, the objective was to characterize the Haitian immigration in the city of Balneário Camboriú, from qualitative research, and analyze this information with two theoretical concepts for the study of the Haitian case: dependence on remittances and emigration syndrome. These two concepts indicate that the volume of resources and their purpose are the faces that support the Haitian emigration. The investigation shows us, however, that family has an important role in mediating in this emigration and remittances. The position of households in the country's social structure determines how remittances are used, with the social reproduction of their families and the economic dependence structure of Haiti.

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