


## HAITIAN RETERRITORIALIZATION IN GOIÁS

 <https://doi.org/10.56238/arev6n3-351>

Submitted on: 27/10/2024

Publication date: 27/11/2024

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### ABSTRACT

This article deals with the entry and presence of Haitians in the state of Goiás, mainly between the years 2015 and 2018, highlighting the historical and socioeconomic context of the country to understand its motivations for seeking immigration before and after the 2010 earthquake. To this end, it shows the changes in the Brazilian legislation to receive them and characterizes them with data on their distribution and on their profile in Goiás territory. Through bibliographic research, the socio-historical reality of Haiti and the reasons that led Haitians to leave their country are analyzed, leading them to the process of deterritorialization and, consequently, to the process of reterritorialization in Brazil. In order to reveal how this vulnerable population enters and settles in Goiás, it is sought, through social indicators and official government information, to show that their presence in the territory of Goiás is marked by their greater presence in municipalities with better social and economic indicators and that already have the presence of other patricians.

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**Keywords:** Haitians. Migration. Territorialization. Goiás.

## **INTRODUCTION**

The existence of migratory flows is not a new reality and may have several motivational factors that are transmuted over the years. In recent history, the influence exerted on migratory flows by major wars, such as the first and second world wars, in addition to the local and national conflicts that have occurred in several countries, stands out. These displacements led the United Nations (UN) to create the Refugee Statute in 1951 with specific regulations to assist refugees and stateless persons who were unable or unable to return to their countries. But, in addition to wars, other severe economic and environmental crises have always motivated the population to move in search of minimum conditions for survival. That said, the earthquake of January 2010 has been pointed out by agencies such as the UN and by some researchers as the determining reason for thousands of Haitians to use the subterfuge of immigration as a solution to the obstacles posed to local society.

In the face of this catastrophe in their country, Brazil and especially the state of Goiás were perceived by these immigrant foreigners as a place for a new beginning and as a way to achieve better conditions to meet their personal and material desires and needs. Thus, this research seeks to identify, at first, the historical aspects of Haiti and how the reality experienced by its inhabitants motivated them to immigrate from their country to the territory of Goiás. In the second part, the emphasis consists of the delimitation of the process of deterritorialization of the Haitian with his country and the process of reterritorialization in Brazil, while, in the last part, the characteristics of the Haitian occupation in the territory of Goiás in recent years are portrayed.

## **REPUBLIC OF HAITI AND POST-EARTHQUAKE IMMIGRATION**

The Republic of Haiti was a French colony until 1804, when it obtained its independence. Even though it is a country with a small territorial dimension, it has an important history marked by successes and challenges. Located in Central America, in the Greater Antilles archipelago in the Caribbean, it occupies the western portion of the island of Hispaniola, where it has an area of 27,750 km<sup>2</sup>, and borders the Dominican Republic to the east, as shown in Map 1.

It was recognized as the "first republic proclaimed in the context of a slave revolt" (PATRIOTA, 2010, p. 69), but, in addition, it is recognized as the first black republic in the Americas and the first Latin American country to gain independence. With an enslaved

population of more than five hundred thousand people, mostly Africans, the success of the Haitian revolution was a source of shame for Europeans (DURANS and SANTOS, 2016).

Patriota recalls that:

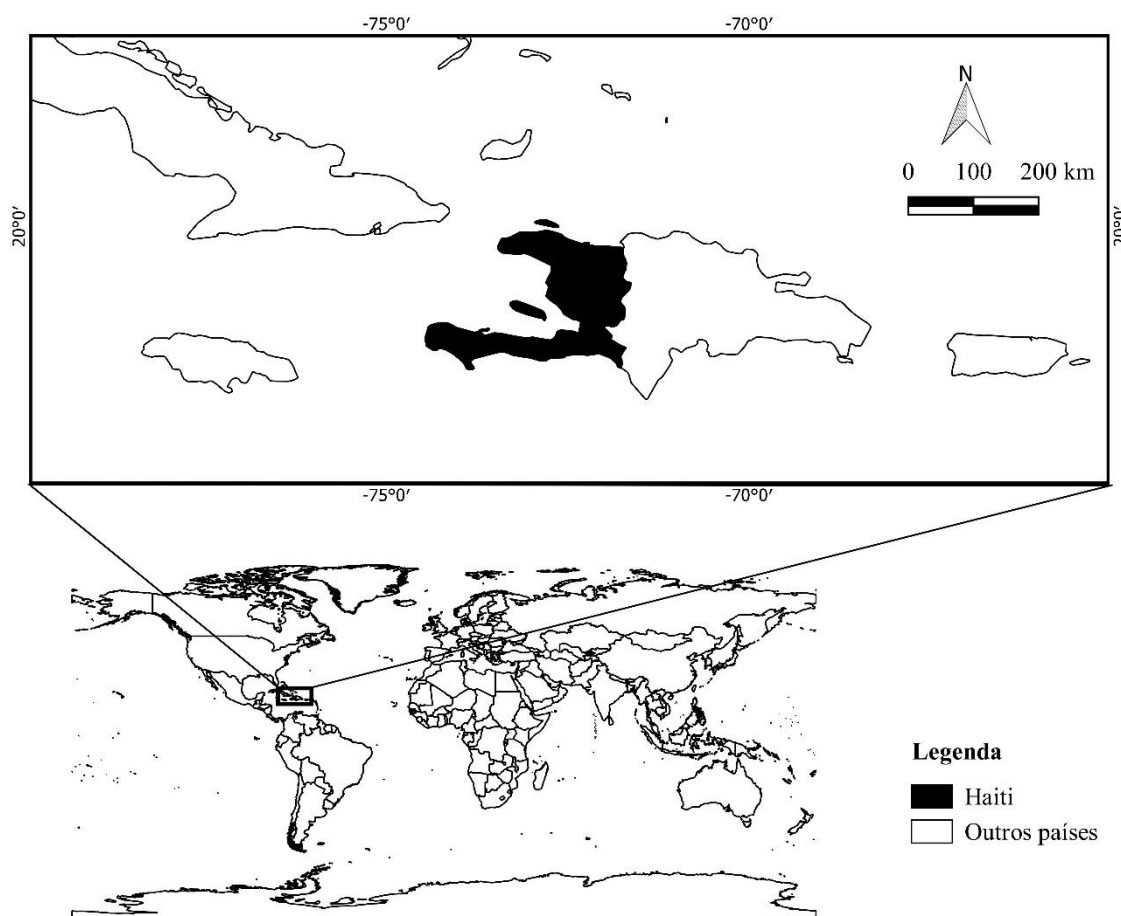
[...] The fear that the Haitian example could induce revolts in other colonies led the metropolitan powers to impose a blockade against the Caribbean country. Thus, Haiti, which at the turn of the eighteenth to the fourteenth century represented about 25% of France's foreign trade, and which had come to have a gross domestic product (GDP) higher than the thirteen North American colonies combined, was immersed in a spiral of impoverishment and instability (PATRIOTA, 2010, p. 69).

It is a country that certainly "pays to this day for its boldness" (DURANS and SANTOS, 2016, p. 131) and suffers economic reprisals that, combined with a context of historical and political difficulties, made it a power into one of the poorest countries in the world. Despite this, the situation was aggravated in 2010 by an earthquake of magnitude 7 on the Richter scale<sup>7</sup> (DURANS and SANTOS, 2016).

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<sup>7</sup> Scale developed by seismologist Charles Francis Richter in 1935. It is used to measure the magnitude of earthquakes, in which, the greater their magnitude and destructive potential. This scale at first has no limits, but it usually varies from 0 to 9 degrees, as earthquakes with magnitude 10 or higher have never been recorded (PARISENTI, 2011).

MAP 1 - Geographical Location of Haiti



Source: Prepared by the authors.

The earthquake that struck Haiti on January 12, 2010, affected nearly 3.5 million people, including the entire population of 2.8 million people living in Port-au-Prince. The Haitian government estimates that the earthquake killed 222,570 and injured another 300,572 people. The displacement has reached almost 2.3 million people, including 302,000 children. At least 188,383 homes were seriously damaged and 105,000 were destroyed by the earthquake. Sixty percent of government and administrative buildings, 80 percent of schools in Port-au-Prince, and 60 percent of schools in the South and West departments were destroyed or damaged. The total earthquake-related loss is estimated at \$7.8 billion, equivalent to more than 120% of Haiti's gross domestic product in 2009 (UN, 2011, p. 2).

These figures of estimated loss of 7.8 billion dollars are able to demonstrate the great devastation that the earthquake caused in terms of the destruction of people's homes and government buildings, among other things. However, under a more accurate analysis, it can be seen that this amount may be negligible compared to what the consequences of the earthquake would bring to the Haitian people. As the UN report portrays, the losses went beyond material goods and reached people, things and items that have no value or that it would be difficult to make a realistic valuation that considered the consequences of this loss

for society. As an example of loss with the destruction of the country, one can see the loss of human capital that corresponded to thousands of people, among them, civilians, military, authorities and internationally recognized people:

[...] more than 100 members of the United Nations effort in Haiti have lost their lives, including Hédi Annabi, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General, and the Deputy Special Representative, Luiz Carlos da Costa. More than twenty other Brazilians also perished, including Zilda Arns, international coordinator of the Pastoral da Criança, and 18 military personnel[...] (PATRIOTA, 2010, p. 71).

Crises like these, arising from disasters and environmental catastrophes, have always existed, but this earthquake drew the world's attention to the reality of Haiti, which was severely hit, first, by an earthquake and soon after experienced a cholera epidemic, showing the world the wounds of a country that is home to a population that has long been subjected to social risks and exposed to the ills resulting from socioeconomic vulnerability.

It should be noted that the dramatic state of the country has not changed and even nine years after the earthquake the situation remains precarious and political and economic conditions have not contributed to the country's development, as pointed out in a 2019 report by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). According to this report, the projection of real Gross Domestic Product (GDP) growth for the year 2019 was 0.1%, interrupting a sequence of growth of 1.5% in 2016, 1.2% in 2018 and 1.5% in 2018, but continued with the estimate of growth in the medium term around 1.5% and, specifically for the year 2020, by 1.2%. Also according to the report, in 2019 "inflation jumped above 19% in July, and the national currency suffered a strong devaluation, despite the increase in interest rates by the central bank and an agreement to limit the monetary financing of the fiscal deficit" (IMF, 2019).

In this totally adverse scenario and deep crisis, some people are being compelled to migrate when faced with the combination of risk factors in the territory, such as the shaking of the ground and the intensification of the pre-existing socio-historical and socioeconomic conditions in the country. So it would not be an exaggeration to say that:

Haiti's history is plagued by severe humanitarian crises, stemming from recurrent waves of violence in a context of structural socio-economic challenges, including endemic poverty, chronic malnutrition, weak health systems, low literacy rates, and limited access to clean water, sanitation, and other basic services. (UN, 2011, p. 2)<sup>8</sup>element.

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<sup>8</sup>"Haiti's history is plagued by serious humanitarian crises, stemming from recurrent waves of violence against a background of structural socio-economic challenges, including endemic poverty, chronic malnutrition, weak

In other words, the earthquake was just one of the factors that motivated a greater number of citizens to leave the country, however, it should be noted that even before the earthquake the migrations of Haitians were already occurring and many saw in Brazil an opportunity for a new beginning. Some factors may justify Haitian coming to the country. The first factor would have an intimate relationship with the presence of Brazil in Haiti (MAGALHÃES, 2014) due to the United Nations Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH). Another factor is the global economic crisis that began in 2008 and mainly affected the United States and Europe, drawing attention to Brazil (PINA and SILVA, 2018), but certainly what overlaps is the desire to move around to meet its needs.

It is noteworthy that these Haitians, when they left their native country, left behind the symbolic value and identity aspects with their territory. They experienced deterritorialization, that is, the loss of geographical, cultural or political connections with their place of origin. The perception of the occurrence of this phenomenon is fundamental to understand that reterritorialization in a new environment is the search for a territory conducive to territorialization. Territorialization understood as "the movement of reconstruction and resumption of ties of identity and territorial insertion under new bases of qualification" (FUINI, 2014, p. 231).

It is important to remember that access to Brazilian territory was not always facilitated by Brazilian legislation, and that for some time this entry was used as a source of income for agents who promoted illegal entry into the country by charging about 3 to 5 thousand dollars (SOUZA, 2016). When they entered Brazilian territory, the solution found was to request refuge in order to obtain release for work, however, their situation would not be legalized, considering that according to the Refugee Statute of 1951, and especially in the understanding of the Brazilian government, they would not qualify as refugees, because the motivating fact would be the earthquake and not the definition brought by Law 9.474, of July 22, 1997, which defines implementation mechanisms for the Refugee Statute of 1951:

Art. 1 - Any individual who:

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health systems, low literacy rates and limited access to clean water, sanitation and other basic services" (ONU, 2011, p. 2).



- I - due to well-founded fears of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinions, is outside his/her country of nationality and is unable or unwilling to accept the protection of such country;
- II - not having nationality and being outside the country where he previously had his habitual residence, cannot or does not want to return to it, due to the circumstances described in the previous item;
- III - due to serious and widespread human rights violations, he is forced to leave his country of nationality to seek refuge in another country (BRASIL, 1997).

Thus, when considering the displacement of Haitians from the perspective that the conditions were aggravated as a result of the earthquake, the Brazilian government recognized the Haitians as environmental refugees who were displaced due to the need for humanitarian reception and, therefore, without having the provision of assistance by the Refugee Statute of 1951. Thus, the large flow of Haitian immigrants who requested asylum and needed to have their situation legalized led to the humanitarian visa being made effective by Normative Resolution No. 97, of January 12, 2012, of the National Immigration Council (CNIg).

In this context, the government's political decision to grant humanitarian visas and the growing number of immigrants requesting asylum led to a review of Brazilian immigration policy and the creation of Law No. 13,445, of May 24, 2017, which advanced by abandoning a bias, above all, focused on public security from the perspective of the military regime and by instituting the institute of humanitarian reception in the country.

## RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

To understand the process of (re)territorialization in Goiás, official data from the Federal Government will be analyzed, including those from the Registration System of Foreigners Records (SINCARE) and those from the National Migration Registration System (SISMIGRA), which in 2018 replaced SINCARE, among other systems that can provide useful information for the identification of these people who went to the state of Goiás and who have been looking for opportunities in this territory.

In this study, a qualitative methodology is used, in which several sources of administrative data from the state and federal governments are analyzed, such as: 2016 Gross Domestic Product (GDP); 2010 Municipal Human Development Index (HDI-M); 2018 Municipal Development Index (IDM); SINCARE/SISMIGRA from 2015 to 2018; Work and Social Security Cards (CTPS); Annual Report of Social Information (RAIS); and General Register of Employed and Unemployed (CAGED) for the year 2017. Such data presented through tables, graphs and maps are capable of unveiling factors such as gender, age,



municipality of residence, in addition to their labor relations in the state. For the elaboration of the cartographic product, the QGIs program was used, which allowed, through shades of the same color, to represent the quantitative variation of the analyzed phenomenon, being the number of Haitians residing per municipality in Goiás.

## **RESULTS AND DISCUSSION**

The state of Goiás has characteristics that, since the 1960s, have encouraged migration movements from other regions of the country to this location in search of better living conditions and also for the occupation of the territory considered in this period an "empty" space, enabling investments in the development of productive activities. Immigration did not contribute significantly to this period of occupation of the territory of Goiás, and there are no characteristics of the entry of a high number of immigrants here, as is characteristic of states in the South Region and the state of São Paulo.

This characteristic of migrants for the occupation of the territory of Goiás remained until the end of the 80s. In the corresponding periods of the 90s and the 2000s, there were movements of entry of large groups of national and international capital for a process of industrialization of the raw materials produced in the state, in which case the soybean and corn agroindustries fit. The industrialization movement in Goiás favored the growth of the state and also acted as a factor of attractiveness for workers, being recently considered a factor that may have encouraged the entry of immigrants.

In the search for a new territorialization, between 2010 and 2015, 28,866 Haitians were registered in Brazil with permanent visas in SINCRE, but the number of Haitians residing in the country may be much higher due to possible irregular entries that have not yet been accounted for by the population census. This is because the increase in the flow was after 2010, the year in which the Census was carried out in the country.

According to Baeninger and Peres (2017), if we consider the data from the International Traffic System (STI), for the periods between 2010 and 2015, the number of Haitians is now 85,079 immigrants. It should be noted that SINCRE and SISMIGRA only count immigrants who have an active registration with the Federal Police, that is, who have the National Registry of Foreigners (CRE) and, in cases after 2018, those who have the National Migration Registration Card (CRNM).

Considering the years analyzed, the information from SINCRE/SISMIGRA shows that Haitian immigrants present in the state had a predominant entry through the northern region

of the country and, specifically, through Acre. However, in addition, they entered through the central-west, south and southeast regions, but the entry of immigrants through the northeast region is shown only through the state of Maranhão (Table 1).

TABLE 1 - State of entry of Haitians by year of registration, Goiás, 2015-18.

State of entry	Year				Total
	2015	2016	2017	2018	
Acre	96	550	17	41	704
São Paulo	81	93	78	42	294
Distrito Federal	44	41	52	97	234
Amazonas	16	140	31	10	197
Minas Gerais	16	46	8	14	84
Rio de Janeiro	2	13	18	11	44
Roraima	2	4	3	17	26
Rio Grande do Sul	2	7	4	2	15
Mato Grosso do Sul	-	2	-	9	11
Paraná	-	1	-	7	8
Não declarou	-	-	-	4	4
Amapá	-	-	-	3	3
Santa Catarina	-	-	-	3	3
Maranhão	-	1	-	1	2
Pará	-	-	-	2	2

Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

Also according to SINCRE/SISMIGRA data, it is possible to identify the classification of the entry record of these foreigners during the period studied in Goiás. According to this information, in all years, in the period from 2015 to 2018, the entry of Haitians was prominent for residence permits in the country, as shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2 - Total number of Haitians registered, by year of registration, Goiás, 2015-18.

Log Classification	Anus			
	2015	2016	2017	2018

Permanent	27	13	6	-
Resident	232	884	204	99
Temporary	-	1	-	163
Other	-	-	1	-
Provisional	-	-	-	1
Total	259	898	211	263
Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.				

As reported, there is a higher number of visa registrations for residents, totaling 2,838 people and, later, for temporary residents, 164 people. It is important to note that, in 2018, there was a higher number of temporary visa registrations than in other years. This can be justified due to the approval of Law No. 13,445, of May 24, 2017, which instituted the Migration Law and in its article 12, in which it provides for the creation of temporary visas.

An important factor to be analyzed is the age of Haitians when registering with SINCRE/SISMIGRA. Such action is important to verify the relationship between the classification of the immigrant's registration in the country, as well as his motivations in the territory, and how he will use the country and its social structures during his stay in it. Thus, the data presented on the category of the record (Table 2) point to the presence of people who intend to live in the territory and who are of working age, as can be seen in Table 3.

TABLE 3 - Age group of Haitian residents by year of registration, Goiás, 2015-18.

Age at registration	2015		2016		2017		2018		Total 2015-2018	
	TY		TY		TY		TY		TY	%
1 a 11		,8	0	,1	4	,6	4	,3	0	5,2
12 a 17		,4		,1		,3		,0	7	1,0
18 a 29		,5	3	,8	4	4,5	09	1,4	55	15,6
30 a 59	27	7,6	58	4,4	4	4,5	32	0,2	211	74,2
More than 60	0	,7	6	,6		,9		,0	08	6,1
Total	59	00,0	98	00,0	11	00,0	63	00,0	631	00,0
Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.										

According to the data, it is possible to identify that there was a record of children, adolescents, young people, adults and the elderly, that is, people in all age groups. However, there was a greater number of Haitians who are between the ages of 18 and 29

years (young people) and 30 to 59 years old (adults), which together correspond to 89.8% of the registered people.

Regarding the gender declared at the time of registration, the following information is presented in Table 4. In all the years studied, there was a higher number of males, with the sum of all years corresponding to 69.7%, while the sum of females represents less than half of the total number of Haitians for the years (30.3%).

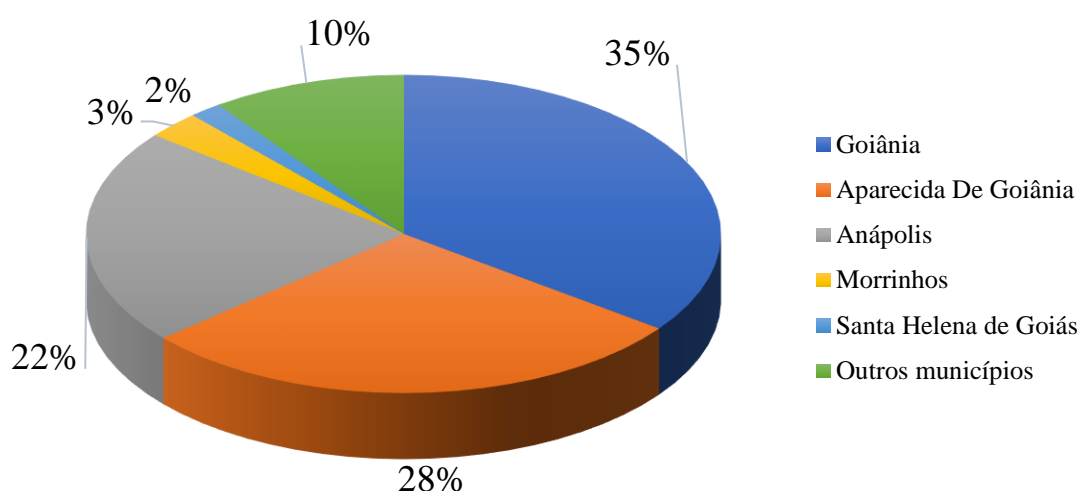
TABLE 4 - Breakdown by sex of Haitian residents by year of registration, Goiás, 2015-18.

Declared Gender	2015		2016		2017		2018		Total 2015-2018	
	TY		TY		TY		TY		TY	
Female	7	5,9	96	1,8	01	7,9	31	9,8	95	0,3
Male	92	4,1	02	8,2	10	2,1	32	0,2	136	9,7
Total	59	00	98	00	11	00	63	00	631	00

Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

As for the municipalities of residence of Haitians in Goiás (Table 5), it is intuited that in the period analyzed there were 1,631 records in 32 municipalities, however, only in three cities, Goiânia, Aparecida de Goiânia and Anápolis; together they received 1,397 Haitians, which corresponds to 85% of the total population (Graph 1). In this sense, the graph shows that, in the period between 2015 and 2018, the entry of Haitian immigrants was centralized mainly in these three municipalities, drawing attention to their concentration in the territory.

GRAPH 1 - Haitian concentration in some municipalities of residence, Goiás, 2015-18.



Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

This concentration is not only since three municipalities received 85% of Haitians for the period, but also due to the fact that only 13% of the 246 municipalities in Goiás had Haitians entered. In addition, it should be noted that of the 32 municipalities that were registered, in 21 of them there were fewer than ten foreigners for the four years studied, and in seven of these 21 municipalities there was only one entry, as can be seen in Table 5.

TABLE 5 - Municipalities of residence of Haitians by year of registration, Goiás, 2015-18.

Municipalities of residence	Anus				Total by Municipality
	2015	2016	2017	2018	
Abadia de Goiás	1	-	-	-	1
Águas Lindas de Goiás	1	5	1	-	7
Anápolis	45	402	43	1	359
Aparecida de Goiânia	511	112	54	4	465
Bela Vista de Goiás	2	9	2	-	13
Buriti Alegre	-	7	-	-	7
Cachoeira Alta	-	2	-	-	2
Caldas Novas	-	2	2	-	4
Corumbá de Goiás	-	5	1	-	11
Corumbáiba	-	-	-	-	1
Cumari	2	1	-	-	3
Formosa	-	9	2	-	11
Goiânia	55	193	041	5	573
Goiatuba	-	1	1	-	2

Hidrolândia	2	4	2		8
Jataí	-	2	-		2
Luziânia	-	4	1		6
Mineiros	1	11	3		18
Morrinhos	2 1	9	8	6	45
Orizona	1	-	-		1
Planaltina	1	1	-		2
Quirinópolis	-	3	-		3
Rianápolis	-	-	-		1
Rio Verde	3	4	-		12
Santa Fé de Goiás	-	7	1		8
Santa Helena de Goiás	3 0	2	-		27
São João da Paraúna	-	-	-		1
São Simão	-	4	1		6
Senador Canedo	1	2	2		9
Silvânia	-	1	-		1
Trindade	5 5	1	-		21
Valparaíso de Goiás	-	-	1		1
Total	59 2	98 8	11 2	63	1631
Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.					

Thus, Table 5 and Graph 1 show that there was a tendency in this period for immigrants to go to municipalities that already had a certain resident community, but which, in addition, had an infrastructure that could serve them socioeconomically. As can be seen in Table 6, the three cities that had the most Haitians in recent years according to SINCRE/SISMIGRA are among the best Gross Domestic Products (GDP) in the state of Goiás in 2016. This is due to the fact that the immigrant, in the process of integration to the new territory, looks for cities with better structures and that offer basic services such as schools and daycare centers for their children, as well as work to support themselves.

TABLE 6 - Municipality of residence, GDP, Classification and GDP Per Capita, Goiás, 2016.

Municipality of residence	PIB (R\$ thousand)	Classification	Population (thousands)	GDP per capita (R\$)
Goiânia	46.659.222,76	1	1.448.639	32.209,01
Anápolis	13.118.758,94	2	370.875	35.372,45
Aparecida de Goiânia	11.980.984,94	3	532.135	22.514,94
Morrinhos	1.242.959,29	21	45.000	27.621,32
Santa Helena de Goiás	1.035.206,18	26	38.563	26.844,54
Trindade	1.943.216,50	16	119.385	16.276,89
Mineiros	2.261.800,52	13	61.623	36.703,84
Source: Mauro Borges Institute of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (IMB).				

These data portray the municipalities of residence that received more than 1% of Haitians entering Goiás between the years 2015 and 2018. As demonstrated, these municipalities have a high GDP, and the three best classifications belong to the cities that received the most Haitians in the period. When considering the city of Santa Helena de Goiás, it has the lowest GDP among them, however, despite its classification in the GDP of Goiás being 26th, its GDP per capita is higher than that of Aparecida de Goiânia (3rd place) and Trindade (16th place).

However, it is not only the economic dimension that influences the quality of life of immigrants, so it is important to analyze some indexes, such as the Human Development Index of Municipalities (HDI) of 2010 and the Development Index of Municipalities (IDM) of 2018, which work more than one social indicator, where the following information is obtained:

TABLE 7 - Human and municipal development indicators, Goiás, 2010 and 2018.

Municipality	IDHM 2010		IDM General 2018	
	Note	Classification	Note	Classification
Goiânia	0,79 9	1	5,7 4	2
Anápolis	0,73 7	22	5,3 3	23
Aparecida de Goiânia	0,71 8	60	4,5 3	184
Morrinhos	0,73 4	26	5,1 4	53
Santa Helena de Goiás	0,72 4	45	5,3 7	22
Trindade	0,69 9	120	4,6 6	152
Mineiros	0,71 8	59	5,3	27



Source: Atlas of Human Development in Brazil, United Nations Development Program (UNDP); Institute of Economic and Applied Research (IPEA); João Pinheiro Foundation and Mauro Borges Institute of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies (IMB).

The MHDÍ is calculated to measure the level of human development of localities based on indicators of education (literacy and enrollment rate), longevity (life expectancy at birth) and income (GDP per capita). Its values range from 0 (no human development) to 1 (total human development) and it is separated by human development ranges, namely: Very High (0.800 - 1.000), High (0.700 - 0.799), Medium (0.600 - 0.699), Low (0.500 - 0.599) and Very Low (0.000 - 0.499). With these data, it can be seen that of the 7 municipalities studied, 6 are in the range of high human development index and 1 is in the range of medium index, but very close to reaching a score of 0.700 and improving its classification. It should be noted that the state of Goiás is in the 8th position in the Ranking of states with a score of 0.735.

The IDM data made available by the Mauro Borges Institute of Statistics and Socioeconomic Studies are more complete and evaluate the socioeconomic performance of the municipalities by analyzing six dimensions: the economy, work, education, public safety, infrastructure and health, represented by 37 variables.

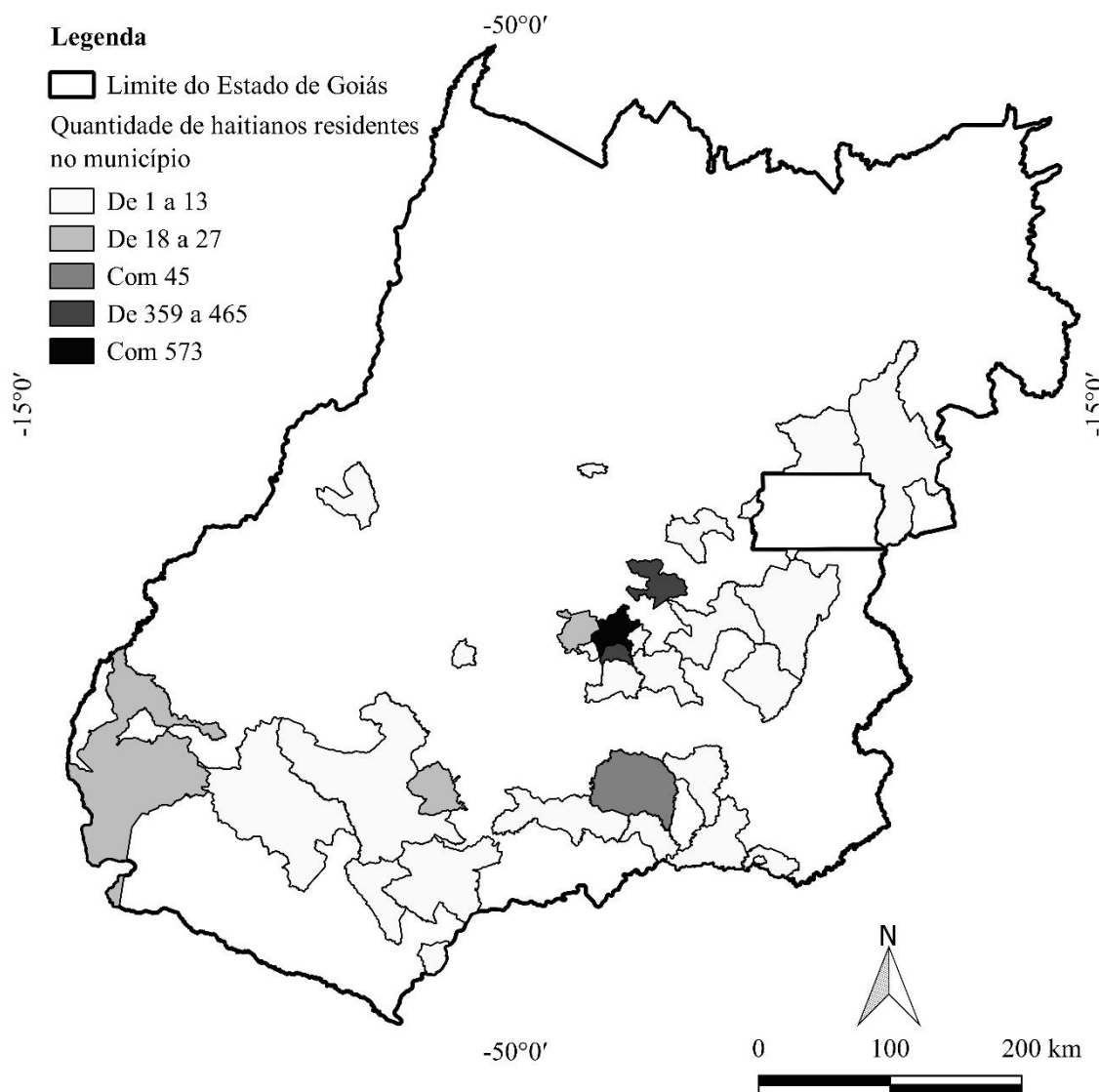
All these dimensions contribute equally to the composition of the final index and have the same weight, and their values vary between 0 and 10; Thus, the closer to zero, the worse the performance of the municipality in the six areas covered, and the closer to 10, the better the performance. The general IDM presented (Table 7) is obtained through the arithmetic mean of the six dimensional IDMs that seek to reflect the performance of each municipality in the six areas in general.

The overall average of the IDM, calculated based on the average score obtained by the 246 municipalities of Goiás, was 4.81 points on a scale of 0 to 10. Thus, of the municipalities analyzed, only 2 municipalities obtained scores lower than the average of the other municipalities in Goiás, but with a small difference. In view of these results, it is possible to see a trend towards the search for municipalities in Goiás that already have a Haitian community and that demonstrate that it is developed and with good rates. They looked for regions with the largest cities and those with a higher development index, because such cities can provide them with access to income and a better structure of access to work, education, public safety, infrastructure and health. In short, these are more

developed cities that undoubtedly facilitate access to goods and services necessary for their survival.

After analyzing these indicators, it is possible to see that the Haitian population that entered Brazil between the years 2015 and 2018 was mainly concentrated in the Metropolitan Region of Goiânia and in the Central Region of Goiás. In addition, it is possible to verify the presence of Haitians in the Region Surrounding the Federal District and also in the Southwest and South Region of Goiás, as represented in Map 2, which presents the disposition of the municipalities in Goiás that received Haitians according to SINCRE/SISMIGRA data.

MAP 2 - Concentration of Haitians entering the municipalities of Goiás in the years 2015-18.



Source: SINCRE/SISMIGRA, Federal Police Department, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

After analyzing the disposition of these individuals in the territory, it is important to observe their employability. Thus, through a search in the database on the Labor Immigration Portal of the Ministry of Justice and Public Security, it is sought to understand, for the year 2017, the information on labor activities of the Work and Social Security Cards (CTPS), Annual Report of Social Information (RAIS) and General Register of Employed and Unemployed (CAGED). With this database, it is possible to verify the movement in the number of Haitians who started the year 2017 with the CTPS registered and also those who had their cards registered during the year, in addition to those who had their employment contract terminated.

Thus, according to the data collected, a total of 918 formal employment contracts of Haitians in the state of Goiás were totaled, of which 84.5% were male. In addition, it can be seen that, following the trend presented in Table 3, there is also a greater presence of people in the age group of 30 to 59 years with work records, totaling 67.3% of the people, as shown in Table 8.

TABLE 8 - Breakdown by age group and sex of registered Haitian workers, Goiás, 2017

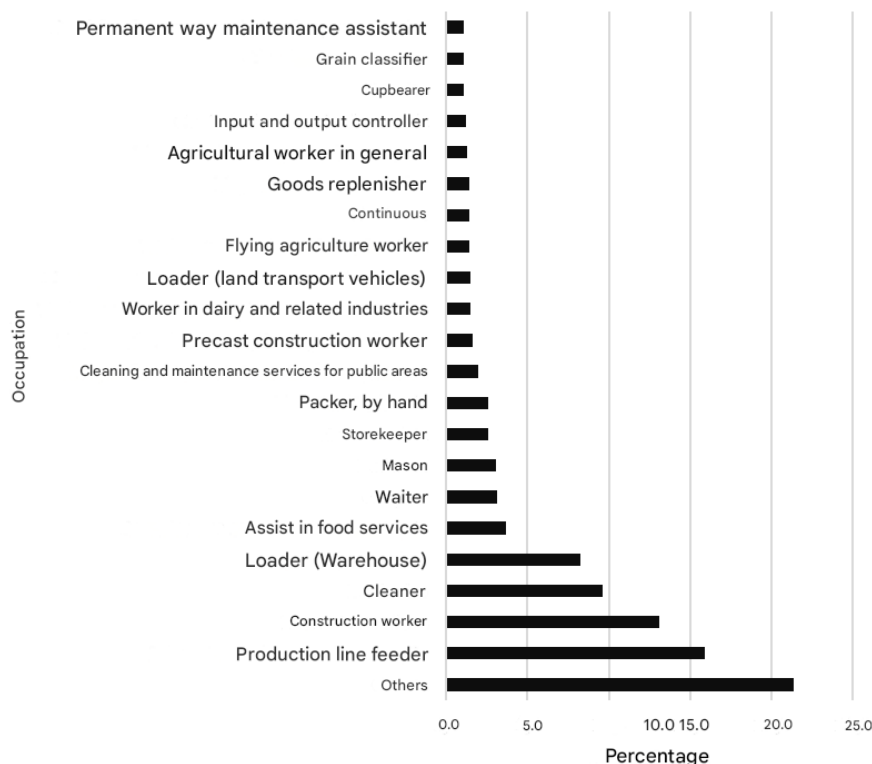
Age group	Male		Female		Total participation	
	QTY	%	QTY	%	QTY	%
18 a 29	232	29,9	68	47,9	300	32,7
30 to 59	544	70,1	74	52,1	618	67,3
Total	776	100,0	142	100,0	918	100,0

Source: Harmonized database RAIS/CTPS/CAGED, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

A characteristic of labor contracts is the issue of the salary paid, which can be considered low. To give you an idea, considering the last salary paid in the year, the average remuneration was R\$ 1,075.91, but with a large amplitude, since the lowest salary was R\$ 7.90 and the highest R\$ 3,922.07.

It should be noted that the labor relationships analyzed have the advantage of originating from formal relationships between Haitians and employers, however it is observed that these individuals are directed to services that generally require little training, acting as assistants and in jobs that require some physical effort, as shown in Graph 2.

GRAPH 2 - Occupation of Haitians with formal employment contracts in 2017, Goiás, 2017



Source: Harmonized database RAIS/CTPS/CAGED, Ministry of Justice and Public Security.

In this sense, if one pays attention to the fact that the current salary in the year was R\$ 937.00 and that, of the existing contracts in 2017, only 54.8% (503 records) remained active until December 31, it is clear that many of these, even if they worked, may have remained vulnerable. Their situation may be even more vulnerable, especially considering that many of these Haitians must make remittances of part of their earnings to support their families in their country of origin.

## FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

As portrayed, migrations have always been part of the history of humanity and this reality will certainly not change, especially with the advance of neoliberal ideas and the intensification of economic disputes. Certainly, people will continue to migrate, with the expectation of finding a new place to settle with better socioeconomic and environmental conditions. Thus, more than studying the past of these movements, it is necessary to study how these migratory flows have occurred in recent years. They must be analyzed in such a way as to support the execution and proposal of new public policies that meet the needs of this population.

In this sense, the real understanding of the Haitian population in Brazil, specifically in Goiás, is still very difficult, considering that one of the large flows of Haitians to the country occurred after the year 2010, that is, after the census of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) that took place in the same year. In the absence of these IBGE data, social indicators were used in this study and, in some cases, indices from official data, in which the results showed that, for the period analyzed, the entry of male Haitian immigrants, with registration of residence permits and of working age, was predominant.

In addition, it was found that the number of men with formal employment contracts was higher than that of women and who lived mainly in Goiânia, Aparecida de Goiânia and Anápolis. They also performed activities that, in general, required less improvement, such as assistants and with low remuneration. It should be noted that, although the data analyzed in this research portray only a part of the Haitian immigration flow towards Goiás, they show a trend that must undoubtedly be considered to understand this contradictory dynamic between the territory and its population.

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