

## **Brain drain or brain gain? In which direction does the Brazilian diaspora go?**

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### **Introduction**

According to data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Brazil approximately 4 million Brazilians live abroad, figure that represents about 2% of the total population. The role of Brazil as an emigration country is relatively recent, beginning in the 1980s and intensifying in recent years. These outward movements are so intense that some call this phenomenon the Brazilian Diaspora.

The distribution of these emigrants, according to their destination, is limited to a small number of countries. 50% of Brazilian emigrants live in the United States, 10% in Paraguay, and 9% in Japan, where they represent the third largest foreign community. Europe is the destination of approximately 25% of Brazilian emigrants, and in Portugal Brazilians comprise the largest immigrant community.

However, Brazilians display different socio-economic traits depending on their final international destination. While Brazilians living in Paraguay have, on average, lower instruction levels than non-migrant Brazilians, those living in other countries present, on average, higher levels of education than non-migrant Brazilians. In certain cases, Brazilians have, on average, higher levels of instruction than hosting populations.

Conversely, a growing number of professionals with tertiary educational level are coming to Brazil. This may be part of the globalization of the Brazilian economy, representing the beginning of a series of international waves of qualified individuals. The National Immigration Commission of the Ministry of Labor indicates that, between 2004 and 2007, the number of visas for aliens increased 46%. The number of aliens with tertiary education, on the other hand, increased in 81% over the same period.

It is clear that we are witnessing two conflictive trends in terms of international migration. On one hand, Brazil works as emigrant country sending abroad thousands of qualified workers, suffering from a “Brain Drain” condition. On the other hand, there is an opposing movement in course, marked by the increasing arrival of immigrants with higher levels of qualification; fact that gives Brazil the condition of a “Brain Gain” country. This last trend gains more relevance when highly educated Brazilian returnees from abroad are taken into account.

This conflictive situation could, in reality, be indicating an increasing insertion of Brazil in the global economy, with inward and outward movements of highly qualified people canceling each other out. At the same time, the impact of these exchanges in terms development for the country can be highly positive, easing the construction of social networks and the transference of technology.

This paper evaluates the degree to which the Brazilian international migration system is more likely to suffer from “Brain Drain” or benefit from “Brain Gain” processes, based on available information issued by the countries receiving the largest numbers of Brazilian immigrants, and data collected in Brazil.

### **Historical background**

Brazil has historically been a nation of immigrants. As part of its colonization process millions of immigrants were brought to the country in the years that followed its “discovery”, greatly aiding the formation of the Brazilian society. At first, European immigration was encouraged by the Portuguese Crown to guarantee the physical occupation of its new colony. Later, African slaves became the more predominant group, brought to supply labor force to the agricultural sector. Between the half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the first quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the Europeans, followed by the Japanese, became the prevailing immigrant groups. With the emancipation of slavery, Europeans arrived to supply labor demands in the agricultural and in the incipient industrial sectors. During this period over 800.000 Italians and over 200.000 Japanese arrived in Brazil, along with thousands of other European immigrants. It is estimated that throughout this period over 4.4 million immigrants reached Brazilian soil, coming, especially from Portugal, Italy, Spain, Japan and Germany (LEVY, 1974).

Emulating processes taking place in other Latin American nations, this intense immigration was fruit of a series of governmental interventions, which sought to attend the economic interests emanating from various agricultural elite groups, especially coffee producers. Therefore, a series of incentive packages was created to entice the arrival of European immigrants. The expansion of the coffee economy taking place during the two first decades of the 20th century, on its turn, paved the way to the industrialization of the country, opening up many job opportunities for immigrants.

After the Second World War, the influx of immigrants diminished substantially and by the 1970s Brazil could be regarded as a country closed to immigration. In the beginning of the 1980s, however, an entirely new process began taking place, and Brazil experienced, for the first time in history, the inception of negative international net-migration flows. Thus, Brazil lost its status as a country of immigration, becoming an emigration country.

It is difficult to estimate the magnitude of these outward moves, as no reliable data exist on the departure, and even on the arrival of Brazilian abroad. Based on information disclosed by the 1991 Brazilian Census, Carvalho (1996) estimates that Brazil had a negative international net-migration of 1.8 million individuals. Taking into account only the second half of the decade (1986-1991), and the population above 5 years of age, the negative flows were re-estimated in over 973 thousand (Carvalho et al, 2001).

More recently, Rios-Netos (2007) APUD Carvalho e Campos (2006) attests that the negative net-migration during the 1990s was around 550 thousand individuals, for a population with age 10 and above. This significant reduction is a result of an expressive drop in the departure of Brazilians, as the arrival of foreigners remained practically the same throughout the period. It is important to stress that this diminishing trend may not repeat itself during the first decade of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, as the economic situation of Brazil and the major hosting countries underwent profound changes. In any way, one may say that the stock of Brazilians abroad is still rising.

Other data sources bring insightful information on the number of Brazilians presently living abroad. Data gathered by the Ministry of Foreign Relations among the various

Brazilian consulates worldwide indicate that in 1997 there were 1.5 million Brazilians living abroad. According to the same source this number grew to 2 million people by 2002 (Amaral, 2005). According to other sources this number could be presently anywhere around 4 million individuals (Cabral, 2006, p.94).

According to the latest entries of Itamaraty (2008), the highest number of Brazilians immigrants are found in North America (approximately 1.5 million people); followed by Europe, with 1.0 million; South America, with 766.00 (the vast majority being in Paraguay); and Asia, with 320.000 people (practically all living in Japan). Adding all these numbers up, we come up with the staggering figure of 3.7 millions of Brazilians living abroad. Nonetheless, except for Japan, where official data and estimates on the number of Brazilians coincide, official data greatly underestimates immigrant counts, as these individuals tend to be, for the most part, illegal aliens.

Based on the 2000 American Census, Goza (2004) discovered that the number of Brazilians officially living in the US represent approximately 30% (247.020) of the one registered by the Brazilian consulates in that country. In Europe sources linked to the Spanish government estimate that the number of Brazilian immigrants is around 53.000 people. If this figure is correct, it would put Spain as the second most important destination for Brazilians in Europe, second only to Portugal (GCIM-2005).

As we could see, estimating the number of Brazilian emigrants in foreign countries is no easy task, representing a heated source of debate. Nonetheless, the discussions about the motivations behind these international moves are also far from being settled. Here the lack of reliable information is also a problem and we rely on a few isolated studies to attempt to grasp some of the major characteristics associated with these flows.

Based on the reality of the Brazilian immigrants living in Massachusetts, USA, Martes (2004) compared the evolution of their socioeconomic characteristics in 1996 and 2004. In terms of age, for both time periods, the majority of Brazilians had less than 35 years of age. Nonetheless, one witnessed an increase in the number of immigrants with higher education (high school diploma), which, according to Martes is a clear indication that Brazilians are over-qualified for the occupations they find themselves in.

The reasons behind the emigration of these subjects to the US were linked to financial problems and the search for better wages. In 1996, 18% of immigrants pointed these as the primary reasons behind their decisions to leave Brazil. In 2004, these were the major reasons pointed by 60%. Savings for the acquisition of material assets was the goal of 13% in both time periods. The possibility of returning to Brazil was a reality for the vast majority of subjects, as over 80% of them, in 1996 and 2004, intended to return. Still, a large number of Brazilians could not pinpoint the exact moment in which they would make this return move.

According to Martes this return was conditioned to achieving the economic goals they had previously established, and the legalization of their resident status. The materialization of this last ambition would warrant them with the possibility of moving back and forth between Brazil and the US at will. Therefore, the time of departure would be conditioned to the local political context and the expectations related to the economic opportunities in Brazil.

This last aspect attests the danger of treating a theme so complex as international migration from a sole point of view, especially in the presence of a myriad of intervening factors operating at places of origin and destination, not to mention the influence of broader processes such as labor demand, unemployment rates, exchange rates, etc. Therefore, it is imperative to discuss, at least briefly, some of the theoretical contributions which help us interpret and understand the insertion of Brazil in the international migration scene.

### **Theoretical aspects of International Migration**

Despite its millennial nature, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century we are yet to develop a general migration theory. In absence of such generalizing theory, it is possible to identify important contributions advanced over the years by various scholars that help us understand migration, be it internal to a given country or international (Zlotnik, 2003). According to Arango (2003) the international migration theory, understood as such, began to be formally developed in the second half of the 20th century. Before, various scattered efforts were implemented towards the construction of a migration theory, the most notorious being the work of Ravestein (1885 and 1889). Nonetheless,

one can trace back the contributions of economists to the field of migration to the time of Adam Smith, when the migration of workers was understood as a result of regional differences in supply and demand of work. This seminal vision suggests that, in economic terms, international migration is a labor redistribution mechanism.

The more modern versions of this theory, also known as neoclassic macro and micro theory, seek the explanation for international migration in the relationship between labor and capital. In macro terms, international migration would be the results of inequalities in the spatial distribution of these two assets. Countries marked by short supplies of labor tend to offer higher wages; whereas, in countries with abundance of labor lower wages would predominate. As higher wages represent significant pull factors for those living in low-wage areas, migration would seem a natural outcome. As a result of these movements, wage disparities would be leveled off with the increasing arrival of labor in high-wage areas. Accordingly, migration works as an instrument of geographical redistribution of resources.

At the micro level, the central concept of the neoclassical theory is human capital, which can be understood as a personal decision to invest in migration (Castles e Miller, 2003). Thus, the decision to emigrate takes into consideration the possibility of future gains in the region of destination and also takes into account all measurable and intangible costs involved in this move. If future gains out-weight the costs of migration, the decision to move will take place, otherwise individuals stay put. Migration is understood as a voluntary, individual, and spontaneous act, resulting from an analysis of cost and benefits by those considering migrating.

According to Soares (2002) there is no antagonism between macro and micro neoclassical theory. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that both have shortcomings, as they do not take into consideration processes associated with national politics and the international economy. Besides, the assumptions of the models are not realistic, and the actual effects of labor migration are substantially different than those predicted by theory (Zlotinik, 2003) and McGovern, 2007).

The growing awareness of the neoclassic limitations inspired new propositions about the relationship between the economy and migration, which became later known as the

New Economy of Labor Migration. This paradigm also places heavy emphasis on the micro scale, but migration decisions are not regarded as being entirely individualistic, but influenced by the rest of the household. This proposition has great importance to our understanding of the interplay between economic development and migration, as the driving mechanism of migration surpasses the mere notion of wage differences to incorporate market imperfections and governmental actions. Nonetheless, empirical evidence for this approach is generally linked to areas where specific circumstances lead to migration, like several accounts of Mexican villages with long migration history to the US (Arango, 2003). Thus, this theory focuses on the region of origin, where the causes and consequences of emigration are analyzed.

Contrasting with the rational choice hypotheses embedded in the neoclassic and New Economics of Labor Migration theories, the dual labor theory (Piorre,1979) postulates that the international migration between developing and developed countries results from the permanent labor demands inherent to the economic structure of the developed nation. Accordingly, within the later country a series of unstable menial jobs would arise as a result of the coexistence within the economy of an economic sector, marked by intense use of capital, with another characterized by the intense use of work and low productivity. This situation generates a segmented market. Accordingly, native workers are not likely to engage themselves in the low wage/low social status sub-sector, leaving a host of job opportunities for immigrants to explore. Wage augmentations in this sub-sector would not solve the problem, but generate dissatisfaction, potentially compromising the wage hierarchy. Taken together these factors would generate a large demand for immigrant workers, and consequently migratory flows.

Despite these advances towards theorization, this proposal still falls short of a broad explicative power. First, one cannot consider that the demand within receiving societies is the only force driving the migration system. One also has to consider the push factors operating within sending communities. Another aspect overlooked by this theory is the fact that labor recruiting is no longer a major booster of international migration. One can argue, as Arango (2003) does, that in certain cases the supply of labor by immigrants generates its own demand. This is easily observable when a series of employment opportunities associated with the demands of resident immigrants, such as specialized bakeries, convenient stores, music shops, etc.

Besides this brief review the economic approach towards migration, it is also worthwhile to discuss the role of migration networks or social networks (Soares, 2002; Rezende, 2005). Migrant networks can be defined as the group of interpersonal relations that encompass immigrants, returned emigrants, or those inclined to move with relatives, friends, and fellow citizens, socially organized in the country of destination or origin. These networks render information, employment opportunities, housing and a host of other forms of support that ease the process of adaptation. These networks can be conceptualized as the social capital which will allow access to better paying jobs and other economic advantages in the destination.

Despite not being regarded as a “theory”, this approach helps explaining various situations brought up by some of the recent developments in international migration. Many of migratory flows nowadays can be explained by the existence of social networks and familial reunifications. Because these ideas fall somewhere in the middle of the micro-macro continuum it helps filling a theoretical vacuum at the scale it operates. Still, this approach lacks more elaborated ideas.

According to Zlotnik (2003), despite the relatively significant progress in our understanding of the mechanisms underpinning migration, the development of migratory flows, and the identification of their inter-relations, we lack a holistic approach that incorporates not only the chief actors (countries of origin and destination, and the migrant), but their interactions, and a series of intermediate situations.

Brain drain is far from being a new phenomenon. Nonetheless, the expansion of the world economy exacerbated these events. According to Docquier and Marfouk (2006), between 1960 and 1975 the annual average of qualified emigrants leaving Africa was around 1.800 individuals. Between 1975 and 1984 this number climbed to 4.400 a year, reaching in the period 1984-1987 23.000 people a year. Still according to these authors “...if the return to education is higher abroad than at home, the possibility of migration increases the expected return of human capital, thereby enhancing domestic enrollment in education. More people, therefore, invest in human capital as a result of increased migration opportunities.”(2006:152)



## **Data sources**

The study of international migration poses a series of methodological difficulties. Besides the fluidity of the phenomenon and, quite often, its invisibility fostered by the illegal way in which border crossings and stays are undertaken, official data sources are faulty.

The Brazilian census records international inflows based on two strategies: it identifies where individuals were five years prior to their arrival in Brazil; and it also registers the last place of residence of all those living in Brazil. Despite allowing researchers to identify and quantify international flows, the Brazilian census registers socio-economic characteristics using as reference not the time of arrival, but the time the census is recorded. This lapse of time jeopardizes the use of such statistics to characterize brain drain and brain gain among Brazilian international immigrants.

By working at the other end of the international migration flows, namely the official information put out by receiving countries, one faces a different challenge, namely the lack of standards and the limited amount of information publicly available. The Department of Homeland Security of the United States, major destination among Brazilian immigrants, discloses information on permanent residents, naturalizations, and immigrant admissions; nonetheless, these data are aggregated by country and no socio-economic information on visa recipients is publicized.

The European Union, another important destination for Brazilian immigrants, also makes available aggregate data on immigrants. In our quest for information we were told by an official of the Immigration and Integration Office that under the Regulation 862/2007, of 11 July 2007, on Community Statistics on Migration and International Protection, the compilation of statistics on foreign workers' socioeconomic characteristics is not supplied to the Commission (Eurostat).

The Ministry of Justice of Japan also discloses aggregate data on the number of those entering and leaving Japan; nonetheless, official data on Brazilian migrants include only a small number of demographic variables such as gender and age.

These limitations suggest that it would be imprudent to deploy such host of aggregate information to make inferences about the volume and the characteristics of brain drain or brain gain processes operating in Brazil. Nonetheless, we set out to evaluate the situation of a few major international destinations, based on available data on Brazilian immigrants, and compare these results with the official information released by the Brazilian National Council of Immigration.

## **Results**

Analyses are organized by country, to ease interpretation. Notice that part of the discussion on the situation of Brazilian immigrants in Spain and Portugal were withdrawn from Fernandes and Rigotti (2008).

### **Portugal**

Like anywhere else, the actual number of Brazilian immigrants in Portugal is known. Official data, shown in Table 1, indicate that in 2006 there were 65.463 Brazilian immigrants holding residence permits, figure that represented 16% of all legal foreigners residing in Portugal, and virtually 91% of all Latin Americans living in that country. Notice the significant growth (2.5 times) in residence permits issued to Brazilians between 2003 and 2006. This sudden growth, however, did not result from a surge of international immigration, but is related to a series of extraordinary regularizations promoted by the Portuguese government. These regularizations, in turn, were fostered by the approval of the Decree #6/2004, also known as Lula Treaty, which legalized thousands of Brazilians living clandestinely in Portugal.

The characteristics of Brazilians are rather distinct from other immigrant groups. Various scholars (Padilha, 2006, Peixoto e Figueiredo, 2006; Peixoto, 2005; Casa do Brasil em Lisboa, 2004) claim that the recent arrival of Brazilians took place in two major migration waves. The first took place during the 1980s and lasted up to the first

half of the 1990s. During this period immigrants originating from the upper middle classes of the Brazilian society, with high levels of professional training, predominated. These workers tended to engaged themselves in skilled labor type of jobs and earn high salaries. Among them were medical doctors, dentists, publicists, computer scientists, who were allured by the job opportunities engendered by Portugal's entry to the European Union.

The second wave of immigrants started in the late 1990s and was formed chiefly by individuals originating in the lower middle classes (Peixoto, 2006). These immigrants sought employment in the informal economy, and performed menial type jobs in the domestic service, commerce and restaurant job markets. It is important to notice that historically Brazilians have occupied this "secondary" segment of the economy; nonetheless, during the recent first wave of immigration skilled workers dominated the flows. Still, it is curious to notice that Brazilian immigrants display higher professional and educational attainment levels than the Portuguese population. According to the 2001 census, 51% of Brazilian immigrants had a high school diploma, while only 15% of the Portuguese enjoyed the same educational status (Peixoto, 2006).

In constructing a future scenario for this important international immigrant group, one must consider various aspects. The acceptance of new nations in the European Community will certainly augment the supply of legal workers to the Portuguese job market. Wage differences between neighboring countries, especially Spain, must also be taken into account; as well as the growing restrictions Brazilians face to enter Europe. These factors, along with the improving economic conditions in Brazil will certainly make legal and illegal Brazilian immigrants revise their decision to stay in Portugal.

## **Spain**

The Ministry of Foreign Relations of Brazil (MRE) data indicate that the number of Brazilians residing in Spain is around 110.000 people, approximately 20% above the official registries of the "Empadronamento Municipal" for the year 2007 (92.292).

Nonetheless, considering that part of Brazilian immigrants do not proceed this registry<sup>1</sup> the numbers advanced by the Brazilian government would not be too far fetched.

Despite its numbers, Brazilians are far from being the predominant immigrant group in Spain. Moroccans, Romanians, and other Latin Americans, such as Ecuadorians, Peruvians, Colombians and Bolivians compose much larger shares of the 4.5 million immigrant population of Spain. Still the Brazilian community exhibits one of the highest rates of growth among all immigrant groups over the past years. Between 2005 and 2006 Brazilians grew by 34.2%, and another 25.2% between 2006 and 2007. Brazilian females played a major role in this sudden expansion, as they represented by 2007, 60.2% of all Brazilians residing in Spain.

This relatively small number gives Brazilians in Spain certain “invisibility”, when contrasted with other immigrant groups (Cavalcanti, 2005). This situation has remained stable even in the presence of recent incidents when there was a sudden and unexpected growth in the number of Brazilians denied entry in Spain between March and May 2008. These incidents called the attention of the media, generating a diplomatic tension between the governments of Brazil and Spain, but the Brazilian immigrant community in Spain managed to maintain its “invisible” character (BBC-2008).

In terms of its socioeconomic profile, Brazilians in Spain present even higher levels of education than those recorded among Brazilian immigrants in Portugal (Téchio, 2006).

Figure 1, elaborated based on data gathered by Fernandes and Nunan (2008), indicate that 73% of surveyed Brazilian immigrants living in Madrid held, at least, the high school diploma; while other 12,8% had already a Ba/Bs.

In terms of their situation in the job market, Ripoll (2006), based on the Ministry of Labor data, indicates that 86% of Brazilian immigrants with registered labor contracts, were employees; whereas the remaining 14% were self-employed. The service sector of the economy absorbed 80% of this labor force, followed by the construction (13%) and industrial (5%) sectors.

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<sup>1</sup> It is estimated that approximately 13% of Brazilians residing in Madrid are not “empadronados” (Fernandes e Nunan-2008)

Fernandes and Nunan (2008) data corroborate these findings. They postulate that among Brazilians living in Madrid in 2007, 71.5% were employed in the service sector, and 16.6% in construction. This research also encompassed illegal immigrants, which according to survey results accounted for 60.9% of all individuals in the dataset. Once we break the occupation by gender, women predominate in the service sector (83.1% of surveyed individuals), working as house keepers and baby sitters. Men, on the other hand, are predominantly employed in the construction (49.1%) and service (33%) sectors. Wage also varies in terms of gender, as men earned on average € 1,300.00 monthly; while women earned significantly less (€ 1,000.00). Interestingly, survey results indicate that about 40% of all earnings were sent to Brazil, towards the eventual acquisition of a real state asset, or to help family members left behind (Fernandes e Nunan, 2008).

### **United States**

As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, the presence of highly qualified Brazilian immigrants in the US is noteworthy. Even if this qualification is underused by the host country, it is undisputable that the investments in human capital made by the Brazilian society are being transferred abroad. Gathering data on Brazilian immigrants in the US is a challenge. Despite the data flaws already discussed, North-American authorities systematically classify Brazilians as Latinos, making their identification virtually impossible. Nonetheless, the data on the number and types of visas issued to Brazilians could provide an idea of the qualification level of those seeking temporary admissions in the US.

Table 2 highlights the recent evolution in the number of non-permanent visas issued by the American authorities to citizens all over the world between 2005 and 2008. It is clear the increasing number of visas granted; nonetheless, this growth is even more pronounced among Brazilian citizens, both in relative and absolute terms, attesting the growing importance Brazil-USA exchanges.

By examining the various types of non-permanent visas issued to Brazilians one notices that the majority of the beneficiaries exhibits a high socioeconomic profile, supporting the brain drain thesis. Within the large scope of visas, those granted for pleasure (B2)

and business (B1) purposes merit attention. Together these categories represented in 2008 84.57% of all visas yielded to Brazilians (755.369 visas). As these visas are only given after applicants present American authorities with a series of documents proving their sound economic situation, one notices the presence of highly selective mechanisms. As the majority of illegal immigrants living today in the US entered the country with tourist visas, it becomes obvious that these immigrants are positively selected.

Also noteworthy is the number of visas granted to students and academics. These individuals comprise the second largest group of grantees (44.636), all socially differentiated citizens of Brazil. After all educational institutions in the US, regardless of what level they operate, adopt fairly rigorous admissions criteria. Another evidence of the Brazilian human capital evasion is associated with the transferences of professionals internal to companies operating both in Brazil and the US (L1 e L2). That's a sizable group of highly qualified professionals (19.567). Temporary workers and trainees from various backgrounds comprehend another group of individuals marked by its superior qualifications. When adding these professionals to those accompanying them, one reaches a significant number (13.852) of individuals holding outstanding professional training.

As this brief analysis demonstrated, despite the unavailability of concrete data on the socioeconomic profile of Brazilian immigrants living the US, the types of visas issued constitute an alternative source of information. This source suggests that Brazilians in the US are part of a highly positively selected sub-population, which displays educational and professional attainment levels higher than the Brazilian national average.

## **Brazil**

The 2000 Brazilian census indicates that between 1995 and 2000, 144,000 foreigners gained entry and remained in the country. These individuals represented 21% of all foreigners living in Brazil in 2000. Presently, there are no estimates on the number of foreigners dwelling in Brazil, but it is possible to obtain information on the entry of international immigrants based on work permits granted by the Brazilian Ministry of

Labor. Table 4 presents information on the number of such visas yielded between 1993 and 2004. These official data, off course, represent exclusively foreigners legally established in Brazil and formally employed in the job market.

By examining Table 4 one notices that the number of work visas issued by the Brazilian government augmented ten fold between 1993 and 2008. In the last five years alone (2003-2008) this number grew by 1.5 times. The rapid expansion in the arrival of legal immigrants is associated with the increasing insertion of Brazil in the world economy, which has made the country a magnet for foreign firms and skilled labor. In spite the lack of disaggregated information by education and occupation, this impressive growth suggests the arrival of a highly qualified wave of immigrants. After all, the Brazilian legislation is highly restrictive to the entrance of foreign workers, and the concession of work visas is a thorough process in which individual requests are analyzed by a tripartisan group formed by representatives of the government<sup>2</sup>, businessmen associations and fellow workers.

### **Closing remarks**

Recently, governments of various developed countries have established restrictive policies towards international immigrants. Generally, these actions seek to curb the arrival of unwanted aliens. Nonetheless, not all of those willing to enter these countries find difficulties. Highly qualified technicians and professionals find, almost always, the doors wide open. Selective policies being implanted in various countries attempt to stimulate the circulation of these qualified international immigrants.

Confronted with these measures, peripheral countries find themselves in the uncomfortable and unjust position of suppliers of highly qualified labors, which once cost substantial resources to form. The only compensation for labor supplying countries would come in the form of money remittances from emigrants and the hope that these qualified workers are engaged in temporary sojourns, rather than definite moves.

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<sup>2</sup> Conselho Nacional de Imigração - CNIg

Within this large context nations experience different effects of the brain-drain brain-gain tug-of-war. Emerging economies like Brazil, for instance, have been recently experiencing the dual role of supplier and receiver of skilled labor. This dual status is likely to remain in the future. Over the last years the diversification of the Brazilian industrial sector, coupled with heavy public and private investments in infra-structure and on the primary sector have drawn numerous foreign skilled laborers. Therefore, despite the limitations of the available data, there is evidence that Brazil marches towards a net-gain situation in the international exchange of skilled workers, displaying a positive evolution in the brain-drain brain-gain tug-of-war.

These preliminary notes suggest that more in depth researches must be advanced on this topic, and that new and alternative methodologies and data sources should be explored in the quest to unveil the truth behind international migration.

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**Table 1**  
**Foreigners with residence permits living in Portugal,**  
**By region of birth 2003 e 2006**

Region or country of origin	2003		2006	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Total	250.697	100	409.185	100
Europe	77.053	30,7	153.307	37,5
Latin America	32,474	12,9	72.230	17,7
Brazil	26.561	10,6	65.463	16,0

Source: Relatório do Serviço de Estrangeiro e Fronteiras - SEF 2003 e 2006

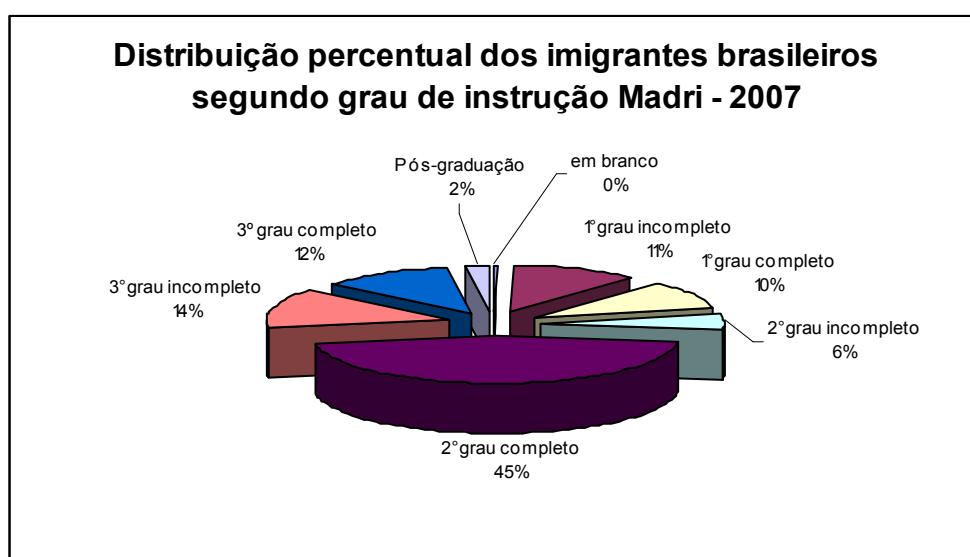


Figure 1 – Distribution of Brazilian Immigrants in Madrid by Educational attainment level - 2007

Table 2  
**Visas issued to non-permanent visitors**

	Grand Total	Brazilian citizens	%
2005	32,003,435	636,111	1.99
2006	33,667,328	698,803	2.08
2007	37,149,651	784,758	2.11
2008	39,381,928	893,186	2.27

Source: The Department of Homeland Security of the United States – various years

Tabela 3  
**Types of visa issued to Brazilian citizens by American authorities - 2008**

Class	Description	# of Visas
G-5	Attendants, servants or personal employees of representatives	76
L-1	Intracompany transferees: principals	12,802
L-2	Intracompany transferees: spouses and children of intracompany transferees	6,765
I-1	Representatives of foreign information media and families	996
F-1	Students and exchange visitors: academic students	18,314
J-1	Students and exchange visitors: exchange visitors	24,046
F-2	Students and exchange visitors: spouses and children of academic students	807
J-2	Students and exchange visitors: spouses and children of exchange visitors	1,263
M-2	Students and exchange visitors: spouses and children of vocational students	21
M-1	Students and exchange visitors: vocational students	183
B-1	Temporary visitors: for business	155,772
B-2	Temporary visitors: for pleasure	599,597
WB	Temporary visitors: visa waiver, business	-
WT	Temporary visitors: visa waiver, pleasure	-
O-2	Temporary workers and trainees: accompanying and assisting in performance of O-1 workers	97
P-3	Temporary workers and trainees: artists or entertainers in culturally unique programs	79
P-2	Temporary workers and trainees: artists or entertainers in reciprocal exchange programs	37
O-1	Temporary workers and trainees: extraordinary ability or achievement	649
H-3	Temporary workers and trainees: industrial trainees	217
P-1	Temporary workers and trainees: internationally recognized athletes or entertainers	958
H2R	Temporary workers and trainees: returning H-2B workers	12
H-2A	Temporary workers and trainees: seasonal agricultural workers	61
H-2B	Temporary workers and trainees: seasonal nonagricultural workers	738
H-1B	Temporary workers and trainees: specialty occupations	7,761
TD	Temporary workers and trainees: spouses and children of NAFTA workers	38
H-4	Temporary workers and trainees: spouses and children of H-1, H-2, and H-3 workers	1,872
O-3	Temporary workers and trainees: spouses and children of O-1 and O-2 workers	154
P-4	Temporary workers and trainees: spouses and children of P-1, P-2, and P-3 workers	65
R-2	Temporary workers and trainees: spouses and children of R-1 workers	240
Q-1	Temporary workers and trainees: workers in international cultural exchange programs	234
R-1	Temporary workers and trainees: workers in religious occupations	640
C-1	Transit aliens: aliens in transit	39,551
C-2	Transit aliens: aliens in transit to the United Nations	147
C-3	Transit aliens: foreign government officials and families in transit	3,810
E-2	Treaty traders and investors: treaty investors	302
E-1	Treaty traders and investors: treaty traders	108
Other	All other classes	14774
	Total	893,186

Source: The Department of Homeland Security of the United States – various years

Table 4  
Work permits issued to aliens - Brazil - 1993-2008.

<b>Years</b>	<b>Aliens</b>
1993	5.376
1994	4.236
1995	3.792
1996	4.002
1997	7.090
1998	14.110
1999	12.709
2000	14.741
2001	15.903
2002	18.062
2003	17.389
2004	20.315
2005	24158
2006	25440
2007	29488
2008	43993
<b>Total</b>	<b>260804</b>

Source: Ministério do Trabalho/Secretaria de Relações do Trabalho/Coordenação-Geral de Imigração.