

International migrations: theories, policies and social movements

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The context

THIS TEXT aims at providing a better understanding of the recent international migrations contextualized from macrostructural processes of productive restructuring, and of the international context of the current stage of globalization, in its multiple dimensions and outspreadings.

The increasing importance of the international migrations in the globalization context has been the object of an expressive number of important contributions, of a theoretical and empirical nature, which attest their diversity, their significance and their implications. A significant portion of this armory of contributions focuses on the reflection on the great ongoing economic, social, political, demographic, and cultural changes in the international sphere, especially as of the eighties. The axis of this reflection is the set of changes resulting from the process of production restructuring, which implies new modalities of capital and population mobility in different regions of the world.

The debate evidences ideological postures and perspectives that confront one another in the attempt to face the contradictions and crisis of the hegemonic capitalist order in the current phase of sustainable development, a model that has been institutionalized, and which, after the end of the cold war and the expansion of the flexibilization stage of capital accumulation, aligns the developed and developing countries, keeping in check the possibilities of those that do not belong in the feast of the rich, industrialized, developed and happy ones versus the poor ones, always in a development that seems to never get completed, whose dynamics has generated the new profiles of poverty and exclusion, new small internal “oases” of economic dynamism and new limits for the action of welfare state policies and social protection.

The new migratory modalities demand, in the globalization scenario, the re-evaluation of the paradigms for the knowledge and understanding of the international migrations around the world, and the incorporation of new explanatory dimensions becomes indispensable, as well as the very definition of

the migratory phenomenon should be revised.

It is indispensable to take into consideration, nowadays, the context of struggle and the international commitments undertaken in favor of the enlargement and effectuation of the migrants' human rights, but it is also necessary to discuss which are the social groups contemplated in the official policies anchored in human rights; it is necessary to acknowledge, in this context, that the international migratory movements represent the contradiction between the interests of prevalent groups in the globalization and the national States, with the traditional optics of their sovereignty; it is necessary to take into account the tensions between the levels of international, national and local action. Finally, it is necessary to take into consideration that the international migratory movements constitute the counterpart of the planetary territorial restructuring, which is intrinsically associated to the economical-productive restructuring in a global scale.

Events such as the 2001 nine-eleven in the United States and their preventive military strategy initiated with the Iraq war, the conflicts in the Middle East, the tensions between communities of Muslim immigrants in Europe, among other manifestations of the contradictions and conflicts that permeate the collective life in this beginning of a new century, reinforce also the dimensions of racism and xenophobia. We witness an "explosion" of movements of the emigrated around the world; the recent manifestations in France taught us that the second generation of Muslim immigrants does not regard itself and is not regarded as French; in the United States, the immigrants organize themselves in movements against the proposed immigration law being discussed in the American Congress, and promote the gigantic manifestation seen on the last May the 1st. In one word, the international migratory issue has "exploded", and its management is now necessarily going through the social movements.

In this context, the human rights have become the legitimate and accepted instrument of internal and international agreement. Thus, the migratory policies are celebrated and formulated based on this legitimation; the effectuation of this way is still quite distant of its concretization; there is much to do, by exploring the gaps that the proposals of international



Jean Charles de Menezes (1978-2005)

Photo Agência Reuters



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Matozinho Otoni da Silva weeps when showing the picture of his son, killed by the Britannic police.

administration of the migrations eventually configure. The proposals by international organizations, inclusively in the sense of the institutional formulation of legal measures for the effectuation of the migrants' human rights, by means of partnerships, bi- or trilateral and multilateral agreements, on one hand, and the frame of the regional economical integration, on the other hand, constitute an important breach in the monitoring of migratory policies; hence the indispensable role played by the social movements and other voices of the organized civil society.

International migration: what are we talking about, anyway?

The understanding of the social processes associated to the flow of people between countries, regions and continents depends on the recognition that, under the *international migration* caption, different phenomena are involved, with diverse social groups and implications. If, on one hand, we are interested in retaining this expression as a way to legitimate and ensure the visibility of what we are addressing, in the international and national forums, on the other hand we must face the challenge of materializing, in theoretical and conceptual terms, the different and complex interconnections of social, economic, cultural, legal, and institutional instances, among others, which involve the movements of people that cross the borders of Nation-states.

On the nineties, the IUSSP international migration committee of that time had already prepared a thorough document of review and evaluation of the international migration theories; the authors tried to explain the main theories by elucidating presuppositions and key suppositions underlying them, seeking models to describe the start of the contemporaneous international

movement – identified with the development of the modern industrial society – and, then, theories associated to the continuity or persistence, in time and space, of the migratory flows.

In this sense, the authors initially took into account the neoclassic macro- and micro-theory, the so-called new economics of migration, the theory of the dual work market, and the theory of the global system. On what concerns to the persistence of the migratory movements, the authors include the networks theory, the institutional theory and the theory of the accumulative causation (Massey *et al.*, 1993a, b).

We agree with the authors in that those theories formulate causal mechanisms that operate at quite ample and diverse levels of analysis, which result in different implications for the formulation of policies; we also agree with the need, in the formulation of theories guiding the empirical interpretations of the phenomena, of taking into account both the big processes of current transformation and the motivations and decision processes at the individual and familial level.

We must keep in mind, however, that the different approaches represent different perspectives, different hierarchies, different dimensions, that can hardly be mixed in the phenomena reconstruction. In addition, those approaches are differentially incorporated in the reports that profess new policies and actions for the conflictive and tense coexistence, in the world in globalization, of their inherent and contradictory need to operate with continuous and increasing flows of social groups in displacement, especially those that are displaced from the poor to the wealthy countries.

In its turn, the section adopted as the starting moment of the contemporaneous migratory movements – the migratory thinking in the industrial urban society – leads us to miss the historical dimension of population movements that have decisively corroborated the configuration of the current national societies, ensuring specificities of the problems of the Nation-states that, today, should outline migratory policies to address the citizens that go out or come in their geographic limits.

Although we agree with the authors regarding the difficulty in establishing the limits of theorization on international migration, we would have to clearly consider that some contributions added to the text result from other global theoretical constructions, such as the Informational Society and the Network Society of Castells and the Global Cities of Saskia Sassen. Those authors' contributions have been crucial for the understanding of the problems, but they cannot be regarded as international migration theories; they are about the understanding of the effects and implications of the global society transformations on the intense displacements of population contingents that are changing the world geography.

Based on the process of productive restructuring and the stage of flexible accumulation, Simmons (1987) explores the connections between



Protest in front of the White House, in Washington, against the immigration policy of the United States.

the major dimensions of the regulation theory about the emerging processes of internal and international migrations in different regions of the world. The author resumes the idea that used to be very dear to the hearts of the population scholars on the issue of the temporal and spatial reproduction of work in the capitalist society; each accumulation regimen corresponds, approximately, to a demographic regimen associated to it. Taking into consideration the transition from the fordism to the flexible accumulation and its most significant dimensions, the author concludes that the patterns of contemporaneous migration reflect two dimensions of the current capitalist regimen: its instability and the new structure of economic opportunities that emerges with the flexible accumulation. In this context, migration is

decentralized, temporary, circular, responsive, with calculated risks, conflict generator, global and regulated.

In a historical and broad approach to the global international movements, Cohen (1999) introduces the *diaspora* in his reconstruction of those movements: the *diaspora*, which in the Greek sense of the word meant migration and colonization, is recovered here in its historical qualification; in this sense, the Jews are regarded as the most typical case; the Africans and Armenians are also assorted in the kind of diaspora by victimization; the British represent an imperial diaspora; the Hindus, the diaspora of work; and the Chinese and Lebanese constitute the commercial diaspora. It is interesting to note that, for Cohen, the Caribbean peoples represent the cultural diaspora.

Enlarging and recovering the historicity of the diaspora concept, the author eventually converges to the categories and concepts identified in the several discourses on international migration in the contemporaneous world, or, more specifically, in the globalized world. Considering the enormous distance separating the Nation-states (approximately two hundred countries in the present world) and what he calls *nation-people*, estimated in 2000, he emphasizes the limits and vulnerabilities of the Nation-states under this optic as well.

Even in the case of well established democracies, the former presupposition that the immigrants would get identified with their country of adoption in terms of political loyalty, culture and language, cannot be taken for granted any longer, for the movements are dictated more by the circumstances of the country of origin than by the desire to establish a new life.

The analysis of the diasporas in the globalization era takes into account some relevant aspects: fast and dense changes in the *economic world* and its relationship with the sub-sectors (communication, transportation, international distribution of work, international corporations, liberal commerce, and capital flows), which are connected to the *forms of international migration* by the relations of permanence, temporariness and citizenship; the *development of the "global cities"*, which, in consequence, alters the transactions, interactions and the concentration of given segments of the economic world in given cities; the *cosmopolitanism* and the *localism*; the creation and promotion of local cultures enlarged as a cosmopolitan culture; and, finally, the *detrterritorialization of the social identity*, as a challenge to the Nation-state hegemony, transforming the former *focus* of submission and fidelity in favor of the superposition, permeability and multiple forms of identification.

The author also points out that the current global context has altered the nature of the international migration, especially on what concerns to the free circulation of the migratory mass, to the selectivity in the sanction of installation (permanent or temporary) in the places, and, in the officialization, to the prevention and restriction of access. In its turn, the "global" migration that aggregates people and riches implies new behaviors and strategies by the social groups involved in its political practice, its knowledge of the migrants'

laws and rights, the conditions for the newcomers, the official and bureaucratic connections, etc.

Still in this line of reasoning, which approaches the contemporaneous international migration from the perspective of regarding the phenomenon by the set of relevant variables in the process of global integration, we have the analysis of Castles & Miller (1998). According to the authors, the “international migration is not an isolated phenomenon, but is often the cause and effect of several forms of conflicts”. Here, the historicity is also an integrant element of the understanding of what is going on in the contemporaneous world; the international migration is not an invention of the 20th century or of the modernity; it has participated in the humankind history in recent times, although it has increased in volume and significance as of 1945 and, more particularly, since the middle of the eighties.

The authors highlight the ethnic relations and the new minorities formed from the seventies on in the process of global economic restructuring; the racial and ethnic division is an aspect of social differentiation. In this process, however, the issues are expanded, bringing to the context other dimensions such as social class, gender and position in the cycle of life, and, in their ensemble, “they reproduce the existing heterogeneity for the native population”.

As axes of analysis, the authors take into consideration the globalization trend and the migration acceleration, mentioning also the *differentiation*, the feminization and the politization of the migrants. Ethnic diversity, racism, multiculturalism, are themes that should be addressed in a conjunct form, as an effect of the distinction between the receptor population and the immigrant population, often regarded as *foreigners* or *semi-citizens*; the regulation of this migrant population is based on the dimension of work, in which some migrants get concentrated in certain kinds of activities – usually with a low social *status* – and live in segregated residential areas of low income. Some cases are presented to reinforce the argument: the decline of the laboral migration in Eastern Europe; the formation of new ethnic minorities in the transition of some Southern European countries of emigratory tradition into immigration countries; the continuation of the migration due to economic reasons, although considering changes in the origin areas and in the forms of migration; new migratory movements (internal and international) connected to the economics and social changes by the global dimension.

The authors emphasize as well the development of a new mass of *refugees*, especially following the collapse of the Soviet block, the increase in the mobility, with permanent and temporary flows of highly qualified individuals, and the issues of regulation and safety policy articulated and strengthened by blocks that have also been relevant in the migration era in the modern world.

With another theoretical position and disciplinary approach, Sayad (1998), a sociologist born in Cabilia and settled in France, called by Bourdieu “an analyst of the unconscious”, brings new dimensions to the processes of transference of groups and cultures from different worlds into the midst of the Western civilization. With studies performed from 1975 to 1988, he addresses the reproduction of emigration, of the return as a constitutive element of the migrant conditions and the reinsertion as an affirmation of the national identity of the emigration country. Furthermore, for Sayad the emigration and immigration processes are complementary movements that can only look identical to those who see them from the outside and from a distance, without really trying to understand them.

In an excellent special issue of *Travessia – Revista do Migrante* (Crossing - the Migrant’s Magazine) (2000), we can find Sayad’s ideas in selected texts that reproduce the major elements of his reflection, based on interviews and the reconstruction of the meanings of the culture transference movements for the process agents. In the introduction of this special issue of the magazine, Afrânio Garcia points out that, in addition to those dimensions and to the peculiar methodology for the qualitative analysis of the meanings of the migrants’ unrooting process, Sayad’s works are exemplary of studies of the meanings of Nation-state and national community in the 20th century (ibidem, p.6).

Although without the pretension of being an exhaustive survey, the contributions we have just summarized deserve to be emphasized for presenting the historicity and the specificities of the population international movements, their meanings and implications, indicating indispensable dimensions in our evaluation of the international proposals on management and social policies, as well in the increasing and necessary debate, in Brazil, on the emergent official national proposals of policies of emigration and immigration from and into the country.

Finally, it is interesting to consider two antagonistic discourses presented in the I Social Forum of Migrations, held in Porto Alegre in 2005: the incisive and eloquent discourse by Robert Kurz (2005), for whom the contemporaneous situation of the world society is associated to the modern social migratory movements and to the wars of ordainment and global police actions of the Western, guided by the United States, and the discourse by George Martine (2005), considering the need of incrementing the positive aspects of the international migratory movements so that globalization is concluded.

Kurz (2005) bases his analysis on a causal relationship between migration, wars of worldly ordainment and barbarity within the historical limits of the modern goods-producing system; thus, the current situation of the world is strongly determined based in two phenomena: the wars of worldly ordainment and the Western global police actions, under the United

States leadership, and by the voluminous and global migratory movements of a nature and size that have probably never been seen before (ibidem, p. 25). Recovering historical processes, Kurz addresses the structures of the universal migration, including internal and international flows of people that generate “a big, global and social-economic mass migration”.

The current international flows take new directions with new implications,

go from the East to the West, from the South to the North, bound to the European Union and the whole Western Europe, crossing the Eastern border, of the Northern Africa and the areas beyond the Southern Sahara, surpassing the Mediterranean Sea, bound to the United States from the whole Central America and South America (ibidem, p.31).

Migration as a universal and global process, which happens everywhere simultaneously, under new dimensions, would not be a mobilization of the workforce for the capitalism any longer, but the “worldly demobilization of the workforce in the third industrial revolution” (ibidem, p. 29); and that because the capitalism is becoming *insular*, that is, the capitalist reproduction is limited to “islands”, or “oases” of productivity and profitability, around which economic deserts emerge.

The structuring of the massive population movements corresponds to the several degrees of the crisis and economic collapse in several countries; it involves, in the first place, “qualified experts and students”; secondly, it involves a “male young workforce” for heavy and lower services that are increasingly facing the competition of the “native excluded”; and, in the third place, a “female young workforce”, including “prostitution, housekeeping or nursing in clinics or homes for the elderly” (ibidem, pp. 29-34). In this sense, there would be no migratory policies, but a structural battle in face of the evil effects of the current form of capitalist production on the undeveloped societies.

For Martine (2005), the international migration, within the globalization context, is not only inevitable, but it would also be “potentially positive”. This massive spatial displacement should be construed as part of the survival strategies, as an impulse to reach new horizons; and the globalization, within this context, acts as an encouraging factor, by increasing the flow of information on the living standards and the opportunities existing or imagined in the industrialized countries (ibidem, p. 47). However, although there is an incitement to the international migration, it does not come with a corresponding increase of opportunities, for the borders that are opened

to the flow of capitals and goods become more and more closed for the migrants. This is the great inconsistency that defines the current

historical moment on what concerns to the international migrations. [...] Such inconsistency is, in a great extent, responsible for the increase of undocumented migrants and for the traffic of people through borders (ibidem, p. 48).

When it comes to migration policies, the globalization will make the transition from the “migratory control” to the “migratory management” increasingly necessary, in a broad sense. That does not mean that the States should abandon their responsibility of regulating the admittance of foreigners and supervising their situation on what regards to permanence, return, reunification, reconnection, the traffic through the borders and the transference of people to other countries. The proposal to analyze the international migration as advantageous minimizes, in a certain extent, the situation of confrontation and the absence of social rights through which the migrants go in the receptor countries. Nevertheless, the release of such propositions is firmly anchored in the perception, by the receptor societies, of the so-regarded huge advantages of the migratory movements from the in-development countries to the developed ones, and, by divesting themselves of veiled forms of prejudice and racism, they will start to enjoy the benefits resulting of the migrations (ibidem, pp. 48-50).

Martine’s statements, however, are in risk of imprinting an instrumental character to the migrants; their “fate” depends, in this sense, on the positive perception and good will of the receptor countries. Nevertheless, those countries receive a flexible manpower, which accepts every form of super-exploitation of work, contributes to their production and consumption and carries previous investments from its country of origin in its formation, education and health. This situation results in considerable amounts of remittances that eventually cause individuals and whole families to become dependent, and that, at the end of the day, may thus reinforce their eternal status of in-development countries.

This quick overview, not at all exhaustive, on the theoretical reflections that emerge from the evidences of the voluminous, conflictive and threatening international migratory movements of the contemporaneous world, may perhaps be elucidative for us in the pursuance of our reflections and commitments with the specificities, developments and implications for the Latin-American countries, and, specifically for the case of Brazil, in the globalization context.

It is interesting to retain that, from different analytical perspectives, there is a certain convergence on what concerns to the characteristics, trends and implications that the international migrations take on as of, approximately, the eighties. However, such convergence gets diluted when we encounter, on one hand, discourses with a neoclassic inspiration or anchored in neoliberal theories, and, on the other hand, discourses that identify, in the current



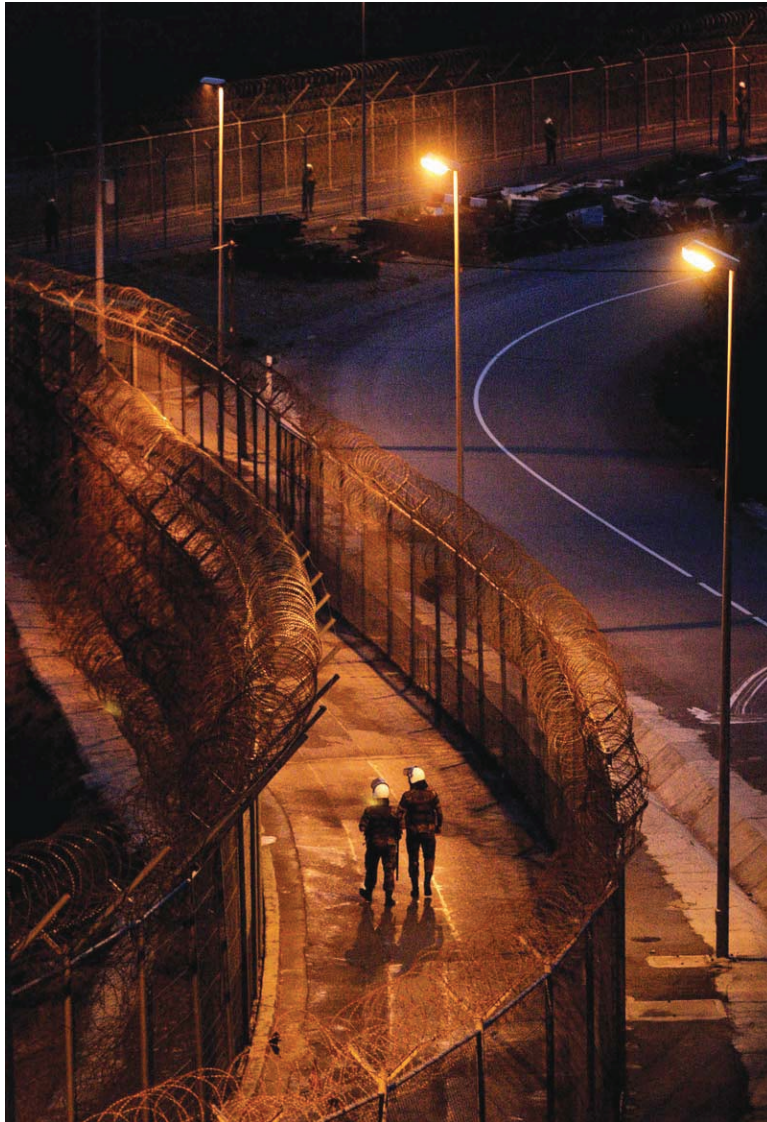
Illegal immigrants in the Detention Center of Hoya Fria, in Santa Cruz de Tenerife, Spain.

international migratory movements, clear and inevitable expressions of conflicts and still more acute contradictions in the present stage of the capitalist development; we should take into consideration, therefore, the implications of those discourses for the design of emergent policies on the contemporaneous international movements, in their multiple modalities and dimensions.

Counterpoint with policies and management

The discussion on the management of the international migrations, their regulation and the outlines that the agreements – bilateral, multilateral or regional – should take on for the delineation and implementation of specific policies, at the present moment, suffers the impact of two publications by international organizations with enough power to become a continuing theme in the global press and to move official institutions and institutions of the civil society. Namely, they are the report by the Global Commission on International Migration of the United Nations (GCIM / UN, 2005), and the annual report of the World Bank, by the title *Economic Implications of Remittances and Migrations* (2006).¹

Simultaneously disclosed at the end of last year, those two documents seek to methodize and guide the countries' actions and programs on what concerns to the international migrations management, aiming at reinforcing the so-regarded positive aspects of those movements. Resulting from two exhaustive tasks of documentation, meetings and discussions, the recommendations have eventually configured the two



Spanish soldiers patrol the enclosed perimeter surrounding the Ceuta enclave, in Morocco.

guiding axes for the current debate: *migratory policies anchored in Human Rights and remittances by the emigrated as instruments for fighting poverty in their countries of origin.*

In the recent report by the Global Commission on International Migration, we can identify the dilemmas, advancements and conflicts that the topic of the international migration policies has been taking on in recent years. Encouraged by the United Nations' General Secretary, the Commission was created, at the end of 2003, by a group of nineteen countries, among which Brazil is included, with the purpose of promoting a "comprehensive debate" between States and other actors.² Since the beginning, the report evidences the posture that the flow of people from the wealthy countries to the poor

ones – for this is what it is all about – *may have positive aspects*, which acts as the base for the effort of regarding the international migrations as one of the measures to fight poverty and decrease the contrasts and intense inequalities between the countries.

In this report, migrants are defined as people living out of their country of origin for over one year, as well as temporary migrants, and the document intends to introduce new approaches in order to “amend” the international community’s failure in capitalizing the opportunities and facing the challenges associated to the international migration. Thus, the problem is identified as the lack of ability in the formulation and effective implementation of migratory policies; the emphasis is placed on the need to formulate “coherent migratory policies”, although what is exactly meant by such expression is not totally clear. It is pointed out that, in many cases, there is a coexistence of competitive priorities and short term requests in different governmental offices and in different instances outside the government. Important decisions made in areas such as development, trade, assistance and work market are seldom taken into account on what concerns to their impact on the international migration.

Furthermore, considering the importance of advisements and cooperations as the base for the formulation and implementation of policies, the report acknowledges the weight of the national supremacy issue, a dimension traditionally strong in the barriers that seek to prevent the free circulation of people. This, is perhaps, the very reason why the Commission has eventually recognized that there cannot be a single model of action and that, presently, there is no agreement on what regards to the introduction of a formal global system of management for the international migration, a fact that calls for the establishment of new legal instruments and international entities with this purpose.

However, the document places on the migrant individuals’ shoulders the responsibility for the promotion of the development and poverty reduction in their countries of origin. The *six principles of action* presented in the report collect an ensemble of desirable but hardly feasible formulations; it is expected, for instance, that the move to another country results of an individual or familial choice, not of the occurrence of negative factors in the areas of origin; it is obvious, though, that for attaining such purpose the countries should become developed.

The international migration should become an integrant portion of the national, regional and global strategies of economic growth, both in the developed countries and the in-development ones. In spite of stating to respect the paramount right of each country on those that come into and get out from their territories, the document encourages measures of cooperation with and protection to irregular migrants, making easier the return of their citizens.

If, on one hand, we should admit that the report may represent advancements in the way the international migrants are dealt with and set

opportunities for the militancy of the involved agents, on the other hand it is necessary to point out the limitations and inviabilities present in the propositions. Some proposals represent an abyss between the actual conditions of the international migration, in a contradiction of the new international order, in which, in addition to the great economic and cultural discrepancies between the countries catalogued as non-developed or in-development, the financial capital and the free circulation of goods and services imply the increasing formation of international population surpluses, conflicts between the native and the foreign manpower and the formation of a dual work market, as we have seen in the theoretical formulations.

In globalization, capitals, technology and goods circulate freely, but people do not; if the international migrations management is restricted to agreements between governments, how should we deal with the decisive role played by economic agents, by the interests of inter- or transnational corporations and companies, by the needs of the work market of the developed countries, among other dimensions? Truth is that the migratory policies should be discussed along with economic and commercial policies, before the WTO and the ILO. In this sense, if isolated, the so-called “coherent migratory policy”, anchored in human rights, can become a trap that will again ensure the interests of the developed countries, channeled to the support to movements of temporary migrants, which eventually configure the occurrence of remittances, which, in addition to resulting from economic activities clearly interesting to those developed countries, are presented as their contribution for fight poverty in the countries of origin.

The World Bank’s document, complementary to the one by the Global Commission, focuses on the issue of the remittances made by those migrating from poor countries to wealthy ones as the crucial aspect in the management of the international migrations, and reinforces the concept that those remittances help to fight poverty in the countries of origin. In the document’s introduction, we find a statement that the positive aspects of the international migrations for the poor countries can be sorted into three types: the remittances, the pressure decrease in the internal work market and contacts with international markets, and the access to technology. This clearly shows the development notion that guides the work; the issue of the unemployment in the in-development countries and the access of those countries to technology is ascribed to the temporary migrations of *documented* population contingents. The praise, in the discourse, of the scission between the developed countries and the others is impressive; and such scission is expected to be perpetuated, for the document implies that poverty should diminish, but the structural conditions and viabilities of development of those countries of origin in the new world order are not taken into account.

Since the negative aspects in the international migrations are also taken into consideration – exploitation, abuse and loss of high qualified

personnel –, the migration has been posing obstacles for the development in some countries – the report focuses on the remittances issue; the specialized workers' migration; the factors determining the migrations; social protection and management and the articulations between trade, direct foreign investment and migration, as well as, and especially, policies for incrementing the remittances' impact on the development. The document concludes with the statement that migration, in comparison with the historical flows from European and Asian countries to the Americas, at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, can also nowadays constitute an important force in the fight against poverty: “*Migration remains an important force for fighting poverty, the key mission of the World Bank*” (p. vi).

The figures presented by the report are eloquent and have been broadly disclosed by the press: officially, the migrants sent over US\$ 167 billion to their families in the in-development countries last year; the Latin-Americans sent US\$ 55 billion – Mexico stands out with approximately US\$ 17 billion; Brazil comes in second with US\$ 5.6; Colombia with US\$ 3.8; Haiti conforms with the remittance (1 billion) of 25% of its GDP. The data evidence the huge disparities between the countries of origin in terms of size and economic, social and cultural conditions, which, therefore, results in very distinct effects of the remittances; it cannot be denied that small countries of Central America and the Caribbean eventually get to depend decisively on the financial transferences made by their emigrated; those are the very countries where the so-called brain drain also constitutes one of the negative aspects of this emigration; Mexico configures an unique case, with its historical transborder migration, predominantly of a rural origin, and the enormous amount reached by the remittances.

The Brazilian case is also peculiar, for its size, for the migrants' origin, for the greater trend to circularity and return; in our case, the remittances, which have been increasing since the nineties, became more expressive in the last years, resulting in official initiatives for their captation in the major centers of concentration of Brazilians abroad.

Taken as a whole, these financial transferences are regarded, in the report, as the contribution, via temporary migrants, from the receptor wealthy countries to the poor countries of origin, which lends to the migratory policies the character of welfare policies. As Marmora (2005) wisely points out, in the calculation of those remittances the other plate of the scale has not been taken into account – namely, the financial investments made by the countries of origin in their citizens that move to the wealthy countries, or the contribution performed by those citizens in the destination countries during the time in which they exert their economic activities, often with a low remuneration, lower than that of the natives, who, furthermore, despise discredited occupations.

In the mean time, the volume of irregular or clandestine migration increases disproportionately, as well as the situation of vulnerability of an



A boat carrying 177 illegal immigrants is intercepted by the Italian Coast Guard.

increasing volume of migrants; the transfers are performed with the help of profiteering middlemen “on duty” that transform them in lucrative bargains; reactions of xenophobia, intolerance, discrimination, and conflict are aggravated. Moreover, the actors that do not speak in the reports are speaking more and more in public manifestations and reclamations of social movements. It seems to be unavoidable, in dealing with the proposals of management of the international migrations, to take into account the voice of the involved actors – and such voice, in a clear and irreversible way, makes itself present in the increasing and powerful social movements.

In this concept, it is necessary to consider if the two axes guiding the agreements for the outline of international migratory policies tending to privilege the temporary migration and the return – remittances and human rights – will be able to represent an advancement in the management of the international movements and in the interest of the involved social groups; it seems hard to expect that this is the path leading to the “free circulation” of people in the globalized world, where the capitals, the technology and the goods move freely.

Notes

- 1 We can only wonder about the amount of financial and human resources required for the execution of those reports, which involve considerable teams of international employees, travels, forums of debates, advisements, support personnel, etc. The emphasis on the theme, therefore, attests the importance that the international migrations have taken on in the agendas of agencies of the United Nations, in the World Bank, the IDB, and the congeneric institutions.

- 2 Brazil has been represented, in this task, by the social scientist Mary Castro, coordinator of international migrations in the National Population and Development Commission (CNPd - *Comissão Nacional de População e Desenvolvimento*). Mrs. Castro has been long defending the human rights optic in dealing with the migratory issue. See Bibliographic References for her most recent contributions.

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ABSTRACT – THE TEXT presents arguments for the debate concerning international migration policies; this debate, nowadays, involves social movements of increasing numbers of documented and undocumented migrants in the main destination countries. International organisms recommend migration policies based on human rights and remittances, considered as a way of reducing poverty in origin countries. Nevertheless, considering theoretical approaches and recent mass movements, we can argue about the viability of the propositions as well as the necessity of also considering the structural conditions for the development efforts in these countries as a fundamental manner of fighting poverty and improving their level of life.

KEYWORDS: International Migration Policies, Remittances, Migrants' Human Rights.

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