



MIGRAÇÃO INTERNACIONAL, ECONOMIA URBANA E TERRITORIALIDADES

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION, URBAN ECONOMY AND TERRITORIALITIES

MIGRATIONS INTERNATIONALES, ÉCONOMIE URBAINE ET TERRITORIAUX

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Abstract

At the beginning of the 21st century, Ceara is inserted in the new migration scenario in Brazil due to, among other aspects, the receiving of a significant number of international migrants, especially Africans, Chinese and South Koreans. Fortaleza received investments that changed its territorial and economic dynamics presenting itself as a metropolis able to gather services and investments, and consequently, job offers. This way, this text aims to understand the recent international migration through the urban economy and the multiple territorialities produced by migrants, mainly those that move to the capital city of Ceara, and also to other cities with a centrality role in the urban network. Thus, we affirm that the presence of international migrants Ceara state allows the emergence of an urban economy of migration and new territorialities - perceived by the flows linked to work, study, housing, consumption and leisure. On the other hand, it is also possible to understand the profile of the migrant subjects as well as their constructed trajectories and existing conflicts through the daily practices. In summary, the international migration materialized in the scale of the cities in question is an example of the Ceara insertion in a differentiated way in the territorial division of labor of the 21st century.

Keywords: Migration. Urban Economy. Territoriality. Ceara.

Resumo

Neste início do século XXI, o Ceará se insere no novo quadro da migração no Brasil, entre outros aspectos, por receber importante contingente de migrantes internacionais, com destaque para os africanos, chineses e sul coreanos. Como recebeu investimentos que alteraram sua dinâmica territorial e econômica, Fortaleza se apresentou como uma metrópole que reuniu serviços e investimentos, por consequência oferta de empregos. Assim, o objetivo deste texto é entender a recente migração internacional pela via da economia urbana e das múltiplas territorialidades produzidas pelos migrantes, principalmente para a capital do Ceará, mas também para cidades com centralidade na rede urbana. Desse modo, afirmamos que a presença dos migrantes internacionais neste estado, permite, por um lado, o surgimento de uma economia urbana da migração e novas territorialidades – sentidas pelos fluxos vinculados ao trabalho, estudo, moradia, consumo e lazer. Por outro lado, é possível compreender o perfil dos sujeitos migrantes, suas trajetórias construídas e conflitos existentes a partir das práticas cotidianas. Em síntese, a migração internacional materializada na escala das cidades em apreço é um exemplo da inserção do Ceará de maneira diferenciada na divisão territorial do trabalho do século XXI.

Palavras-chave: Migração. Economia Urbana. Territorialidade. Ceará.

Résumé

Dans ce début du XXIe siècle, l'état du Ceará fait partie du nouveau scénario de migration au Brésil, parmi d'autres aspects, à cause d'accueillir un nombre important de migrants internationaux, notamment africains, chinois et sud-coréens. Comme a reçu des investissements qui ont modifié sa dynamique territoriale et économique, Fortaleza s'est présentée comme une métropole qui a rassembler services et investissements, par

conséquent, offres d'emploi. Ainsi, l'objectif de ce texte est de comprendre la récente migration internationale au moyen de l'économie urbaine et les multiples territorialités produites par les migrants, principalement pour la capitale du Ceará, mais également pour les villes ayant une centralité dans le réseau urbain. De cette façon, nous affirmons que la présence de migrants internationaux dans cet état permet, d'une part, l'émergence d'une économie urbaine migratoire et de nouvelles territorialités - ressentie par les flux liés au travail, aux études, au logement, à la consommation et aux loisirs. D'autre part, il est possible de comprendre le profil des sujets migrants, leurs trajectoires construites et des conflits existants à partir des pratiques quotidiennes. En résumé, la migration internationale matérialisée dans l'échelle des villes en question est un exemple de l'insertion du Ceará de façon différenciée dans la division territoriale du travail du XXI^e siècle.

Mots-clés: Migration. Économie Urbaine. Territorialité. Ceará.

Introduction

The studies on mobility and migration are inherent to the science structuring whose study subject is the society with emphasis on Geography, because, according to Max Sorre (1955, 1991), among the dimensions of the analysis relating to society-nature, there is the dimension linked to the inhabited space understood as a major expression of the "life genre". The mentioned dimension was studied by Paul Vidal de laBlache, a French geographer of the 19th century. Thus, in accordance with Bomtempo (2003), motilities and migrations enable us to understand the dynamics of circulation, of distribution and of territorial formations over time at several scales: regional, national or global.

In this paper, our main concern is to understand the relation between the economic, political and territorial dynamics that boost migratory flows, focusing on the recent migrations in the 21st century. These migrations are intertwined in the city scale, being responsible for the emergence of an urban economy of migration, as well as of territorialities linked to work, to housing, to consumption and to leisure.

This way, in order to read the object, the temporal clipping is centered in globalization period which affects territories in a different way since the 1970s, given: a) the unequal and combined development of capitalism, which materializes in places unequally and in combination; b) the socio-spatial formation in the country scale, with emphasis on agents' actions (with national and local action); c) the subjects involved in recent migratory flows.

As an empirical clipping, our interest is in Fortaleza city and in some municipalities of its Metropolitan Region that foster an urban economy and multiple territorialities which are visible and perceived in

everyday (non) migrants' practices, with emphasis on African, Chinese and South Korean migrations.

Territorial dynamics and international migration: ways to the reading of urban economy and territoriality in the city

Nowadays, the articulation among territorial dynamics, mobility and international migration is a path that can be traced in the attempt to understand the new configurations materialized in Brazilian territory at the beginning of the 21st century.

According to Haesbaert (2004) and Augé (2010), in the current period, mobility reveals population movements that coexist on multiple scales. In the "contemporary acceleration" context, motilities and, above all, migrations are considered a fast phenomenon, given the instantaneous communication, the circulation of products, the images and the information.

Haesbaert (2004) defines mobility as the means and not the end of migration. It is a sort of intermediation of a life in search of some stability. Currently, migrations are boosted by political, cultural, environmental and economic issues. The economic factors are linked to the unequal and combined structure of the capitalist system, interfering with the population movement which is carried out according to the structural and conjectural interests of this system.

In consonance with Goertert (2010), migrations only occurred through the existence of the Nation-State on the international scale. Still according to the author, it is not migration that explains the international market of labor, but it is the international market of labor that explains workers' migration. This way, migration is always a change, in which it changes who migrates and who stays. The places also change in this process.

From the economic point of view coupled with the dynamics of the global market, migration can be boost by the prospect of achieving dreams - understood as an improvement in living conditions (related to employment, housing, consumption and leisure), which are impossible to be conquered in the place of origin (Bomtempo 2003, 2009, 2010). This way, migration is seen as the possibility of seeking a higher remuneration, even if it is not sometimes synonymous with good working conditions.

On the other hand, in the case of the international migration, migration can be boosted by the attempt to make better gains from the difference in currency purchasing power from one country to another.

More recently, according to Haesbaert (2004), there are professionals and entrepreneurs migrations that carry out numerous flows from the perspective of investing capital or expanding their business. Each of the included reasons implies different territorialization levels related to the control that the migrant has of his/her territory (of migration and origin).

Thus, it is possible to affirm that the territorialization levels differ according to the social class in which the migrant is inserted. Nowadays, taking this aspect into consideration is to understand that there are different types of migratory movements, such as movements of skilled professionals and entrepreneurs and not only of industrial labor force, as Gaudemar (1977) affirmed. These diverse migrations result in different levels of territorialization and territorialities visible in the landscape of cities.

This way, migration – as a phenomenon (Sorre, 1951) and a “complete social fact” (Sayad, 1998) – requires an interdisciplinary reading. In order to understand it, it is necessary to consider the structure, the conjuncture, the processes, the agents and the migrant subjects that are articulated in an inter- and multi-scalar manner. One characteristic of Geography is to understand the territorial and population dynamics through migration and migrants. In accordance with Sayad (1998, p.16), “[...] the immigrant only exists in the society that give him/her this classification from the moment the person crosses its borders and steps on its territory”.

Migrant is a complex category, since it refers to several types of individuals and social groups involved in the migratory process. According to Sayad (1998, p. 54) “[...] migrant is, above all, a temporary labor force in transit. It was the labor that made the migrant arises; it is also the labor that decrees the migrant’s denial when it ends and pushes the migrant aside.”

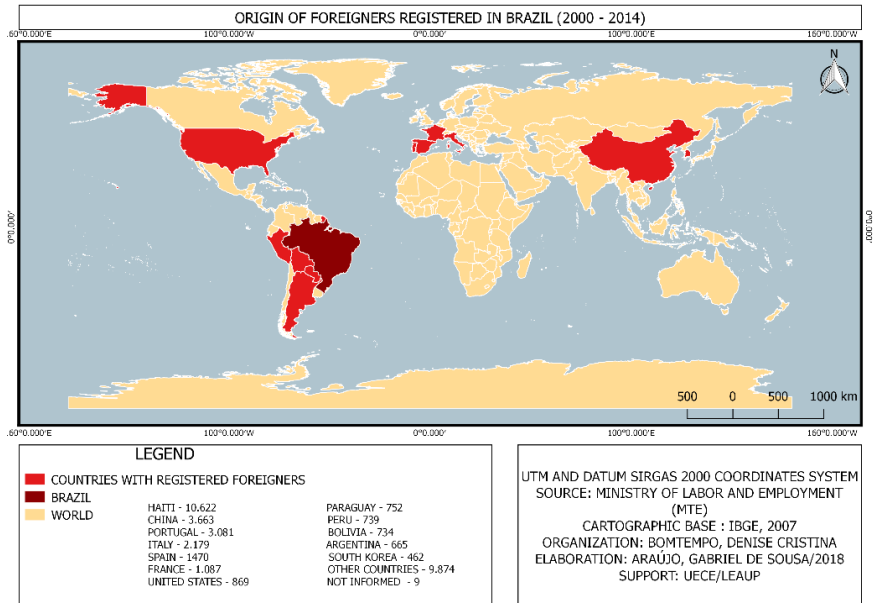
In light of what has been presented, we understand that there is a theoretical methodological challenge in the work related to migratory issues. It is understood that there is a need to formulate new Migration Geography in view of the new economic and spatial configurations of the 21st century beginning. Therefore, besides considering the structure, the conjuncture, the processes, the agents and the migrants themselves in

an inter- and multi-scale way, it is necessary to be aware that there are simultaneous flows coexisting spatially. For this reason, a new migration configuration is obtained through the causes, directions, content, reasons, life, work trajectories, networks and economic activities developed by migrants and their territorialities.

Recent international migratory flows that interweave Brazil: Northeast region and Ceara state

With regard to Brazil, international and domestic migrations appear as constituents of the country's socio-spatial formation process. In the context of globalization at present, the direction of the international and internal migratory flows (Cartogram 1) that materialize and intertwine in Brazilian territory is different from other periods due to the dispersion of the economic activities linked to industry, commerce and agribusiness.

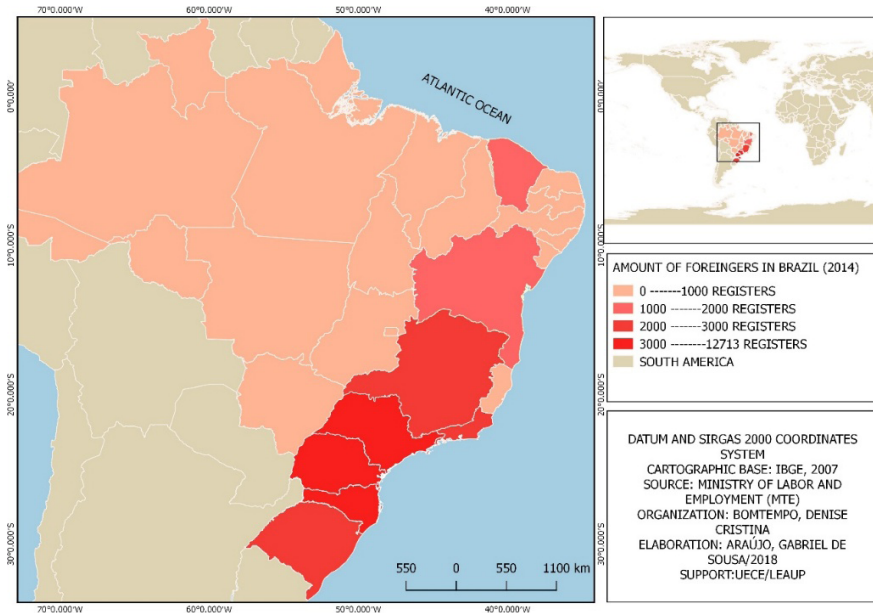
Cartogram 1 points out that at the beginning of the 21st century, Brazil, in Latin America, assumes a leadership role in the reception of migrants, since border migration is notorious in relation to people coming from Paraguay, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, French Guiana. In turn, it is also evident the intense Haitians migration to Brazil that occurred from the beginning of 2010 to 2014 in a massive way. In relation to the American continent, migration of people from the United States is significant. European migration (Portugal, Italy, Spain and France) appears prominently too. Concerning to Asia, there are migrants coming from China and the south region of Korea.

Cartogram 1 - Origin of foreigners registered in Brazil (2000-2004)

Source: MTE, 2018. Bomtempo; Araújo, Gabriel de Sousa (2018).

In Brazil, besides São Paulo, Northeastern states, especially Bahia and Ceara (Cartogram 2), which for decades were emitters of migrants, have become potential receiving places, and they stand out through domestic and international migrations.

In Ceara, especially in Fortaleza metropolis, as well as in medium and small cities, it is possible to identify the existence of domestic migration: that is, the movement of people within the country, coming from states in the Northeast region as well as people coming from other Brazilian regions, configuring interregional migration. Since there are several nationalities present in the everyday landscape of Northeastern and Ceara cities, the presence of international migration is evidenced. Europeans, Latin Americans, Chinese, Koreans and Africans stand out as members of this migration. These groups migrate in diverse work activities (as students, investors and workers with or without professional qualification), dynamizing the urban economy and fostering new territorialities in the scale of the city and of the region.

Cartogram 2 - Origin of foreigners registered in Brazil (2000-2004)

Source: MTE (2018); Bomtempo; Araújo (2018).

In view of what has been presented, this paper aims to understand the international migration territorialities in Ceara state, focusing on Fortaleza and on some municipalities of its Metropolitan Region in the period from 2000 to our days, through the point of view of everyday practices linked to the housing, work, consumption and leisure of the international migrants residing in the empirical clipping in question.

According to the Commercial Board of Ceara state (JUCEC, 2014), there are an average of 4,500 foreign investors from 57 nationalities in the state. The investments made by foreign migrants include: a) large investments, such as industry, agribusiness, purchase of land, incorporation, construction, real estate, hospitality, import and export; (b) small and medium-sized investments in the urban economy, such as trade and services.

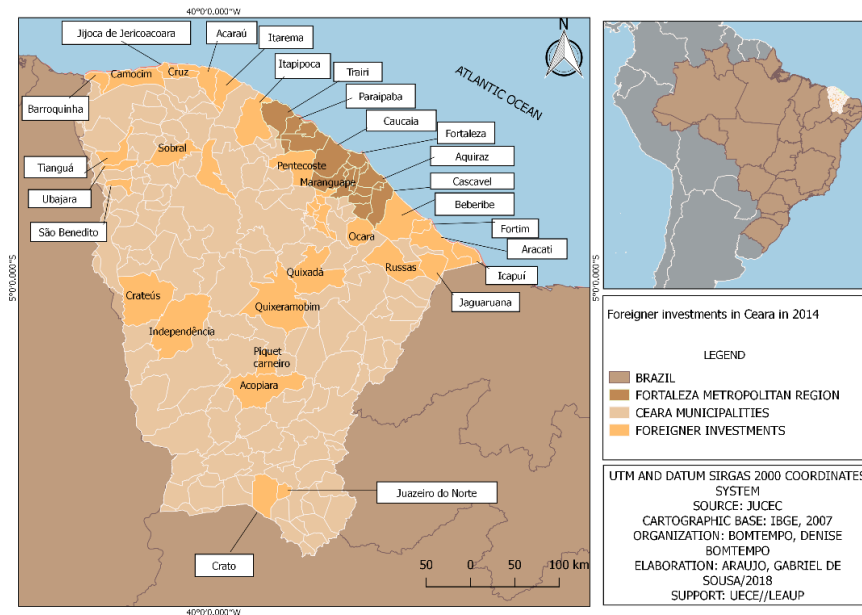
The investments are made mainly in Fortaleza, in municipalities along the coast and in the countryside, with central roles in the urban network of Ceara (Cartogram 3). Among the migrant investors, the

prominence can be given to Europeans, Latin Americans, Africans, Chinese and Koreans. The Koreans represent one of the most recent groups that arrived in Ceara and they show a strong dynamism, both from the point of view of the investments, as well as the amount of subjects involved in the migratory flow.

Koreans arrived in a massive way only in 2010, along with the arrival of the investments in Companhia Siderúrgica do Pecém (CSP), located in the Industrial Complex and Port of Pecém, in São Gonçalo do Amarante. Chinese also stand out as migrant investors. According to Ferreira and Bomtempo (2018), Chinese represent a group of migrants that has dynamized *the upper, marginal and inferior circuit*¹ of the urban economy in Ceara cities. Europeans and Latin Americans, who have arrived since the beginning of the 21st century, are responsible for investments made in agribusiness, industrial, commercial and service activities, as well as purchase of land, mainly in Ceara coast.

Still in relation to international migration, Africans are also an important group. Some Africans migrate as investors, as qualified workers and as workers without formal qualification. Others migrate with the perspective of studying, through agreements with public and private universities installed in Ceara territory. Bomtempo and Sena (2018) affirm that, from 2000 and 2017, African students in Brazil come from the following countries: Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo, Tome and Prince and Beni.

Cartogram 3 - Migration and foreign investments in Ceara, 2014



Source: JUCEC (2014); Bomtempo; Araújo (2018).

While staying in Ceara, foreign migrants are not alone. In fact, they are organized in migratory networks in which they articulate people and places in the perspective of building their multiple territorialities in the migration territory. According to Raffestin (1993, p. 160-162), territoriality can be defined as a

[...] set of relationships that originate in a three-dimensional system which is society-space-time. [...] Territoriality is manifested on all spatial and social scales; it is consubstantial with all relations and it would be possible to say that, in a way, it is the “lived face” of the “acting face” of power.

Marandolla Júnior and Del Gallo (2010) assert that the construction of networks is an important factor in order that the migrant can remain in the place of migration and weave a relationship with himself/ herself, with others and with the place.

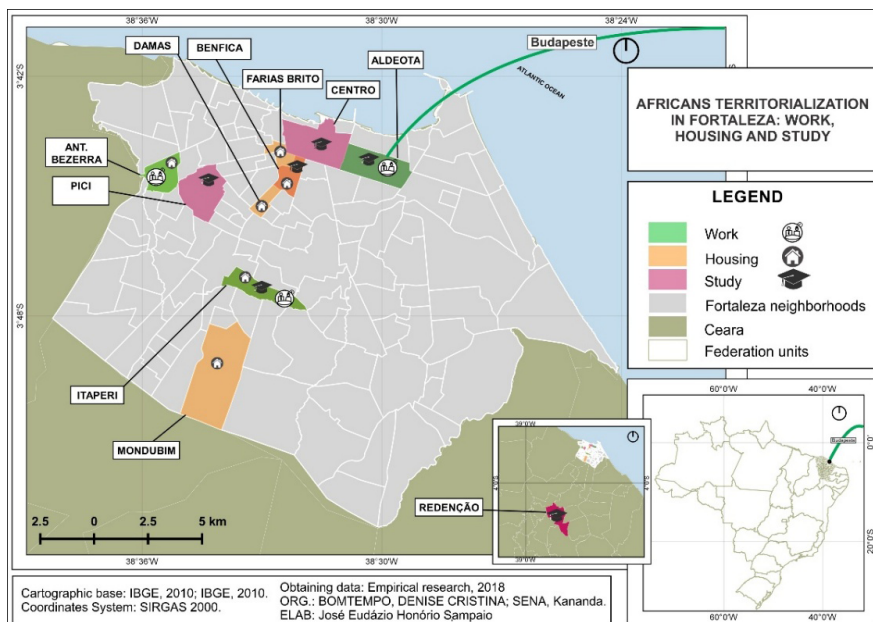
When placing themselves in some Ceara cities, the foreign migrants structure their own networks, composed mainly by people that have the same territorial origin, do the same labor activities. Skilled and unskilled migrant workers realize investments, giving rise to an urban economy originating of migrant capital, besides carrying out multiple territorialities based on the choice of the place of housing, of work, of consumption and of leisure, making an empirical configuration understanding of a differentiated space and territory use in the city, in addition to the coexistence of various territorialities materialized from multiscalarities.

In order to understand the configuration of the territorialities and of the urban economy of migration in the set of foreign migrants, we will take as examples Africans, Chinese and Koreans migrations since they are groups that appear more recently in Ceara cities if compared to Latin Americans, Americans and Europeans.

International migration, urban economy and territoriality: Africans in Ceara - students, workers and investors

At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, African migration to Ceara occurred for work purposes (skilled and unskilled workers - from the law point of view) and for higher education. According to Langa (2012), African migration with higher education purpose began in the second half of the 1990s in Ceara, when the first group came from Angola. During that time, only students from African countries who spoke Portuguese came to join the Federal University of Ceara (UFC) through the Undergraduate Students Agreement (PEC-G²). From 1998 on, the migration of Bissau-Guinean and Cape Verdean students began. The migration of São Tomé, Angolan and Mozambican students started two years later. In 2001, the migration of young people from the African continent began with the purpose for studying in private colleges and universities of Fortaleza, causing a greater volume of people, diversity of profile, creation of migratory networks and African territorialities present in Ceara cities.

African students' presence in Ceara allows the construction of territorialities. Based on empirical research (Feb./August 2018), the multiple territorialities of African students in Ceara was observed in Fortaleza through housing, work and study, as shown in the cartogram below.

Cartogram 4 - Africans in Fortaleza: work, housing and study

Source: Empirical Research (2018); Bomtempo; Sena; Sampaio (2018).

At first, the housing place choice (in neighborhoods as Benfica, Damas and Farias Brito) is defined by the proximity to the educational institutions (Center and Pici), as well as by the existence of people coming from the same territorial origin, given the possibility of cushioning the impacts of strangeness in the first months in Brazil. Subsequently, due to the expansion of the empirical knowledge about the city, as well as the cost of living, a significant number of interviewees chose to live in more peripheral neighborhoods in Fortaleza, such as Mondubim.

African students' territoriality in Fortaleza is also due to work. From this point of view, territoriality is multiple, since: a) there are subjects that work in neighborhoods with a higher concentration of services and commercial activities such as Centro, Aldeota and Meirelles – predominantly those who arrived in Brazil as students and that have a professional qualification nowadays started to live in Brazil and are inserted in activities linked to the “upper circuit of the urban economy” and in the formal labor market; b) there are subjects that perform activities linked to the “lower

circuit of the urban economy”, as well as sporadic and precarious work in neighborhoods where the concentration of tourist activities is a reality, such as “Beira Mar” and some areas in Fortaleza downtown area. In this modality, to increase the monthly income, there are African students who work in several activities linked to commerce and services; c) there is also a group of students – professionals who carry out their labor activities – that are “owners of their own business” in their housing place or nearby. Some businesses include African clothing stores – capulanas, internet network installation company, bars and restaurants. Besides being a professional work territory (under the student’s control), these businesses are also a space in which the territoriality is dominated by leisure.

The African students’ territoriality is also noticed by the spaces of political discussion that were organized by these subjects in Ceara with emphasis on the student associations. Besides seeking to defend the rights of African students (who undergo multiple awkward situations), these associations also promote integration among students and between students and the society.

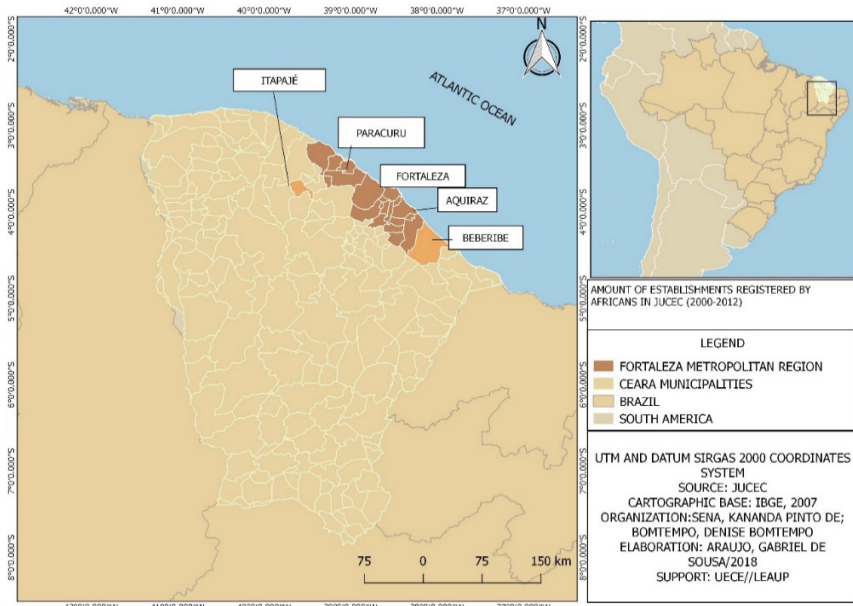
Concerning to territorialities through daily practices related to leisure, it is possible to mention sports, mainly soccer, besides meetings in malls and African celebrations that represent moments of fellowship to review friends and acquaintances. These celebrations are also a way to reduce the homesickness through music, dance and food, as well as an opportunity to stimulate group unity and conflict resolution.

From the beginning to the present day, African students’ territorialities in Ceara became multiple, since there are: a) students who come constantly for the projects of international cooperation of study; b) students that do not return to their homeland after graduating, establishing residence and expanding their spaces of participation and daily practices in the city through work; c) students who engage in temporary work activities to increase monthly income, meeting the demands of consumption. In summary, African students’ presence in Ceara, mainly in Fortaleza city, allowed us to understand the emergence of conflicts between the subjects and places involved in migration as well as the configuration of new landscapes and the territorialities that are created from this migrant group – for housing, work, consumption and leisure.

It is worth noting that the recent African migration in Ceara is not only composed by students who have mobility for study purposes, but there is a more diverse profile, namely: a) African migrants with professional qualifications who enter Ceara territory and are involved in activities with vocational training; b) illegal migrants who carry out precarious and poorly paid work; c) migrant investors, who appear in a growing situation in the last 12 years, as can be seen in Cartogram 5, regarding African investments in Ceara territory from 2000 to 2012.

Analyzing Cartogram 5, it is possible to note that Fortaleza metropolis concentrates a greater number of African investments in Ceara; followed by the municipalities of Beberibe and Aquiraz, located in Fortaleza Metropolitan Region (FMR). Finally, there are investments in small municipalities in the coast region, such as: Paracuru, Cruz and Jijoca de Jericoacara. Itapajé is the only city not located on the coast which also has African investments.

Cartogram 5 - Establishments registered by Africans in JUCEC by municipalities in Ceara from 2000 to 2012



Source: JUCEC (2000-2012); Bomtempo; Sena (2018).

From 2000 to 2006, there were only 12 African registered establishments in Ceara. From 2007 to 2012 there was an increase of nine other establishments. As far as the activities carried out by the owners of the establishments are concerned, activities related to the upper circuit of the economy are highlighted: retailing market in general, with predominance of food products - mini-markets, grocery stores and warehouses, as well as restaurants, snack bars, travel agencies, hosting services, among others. In general, according to JUCEC (2012), from the point of view of the volume of capital invested, it is possible to classify the establishments as small and medium-sized investments.

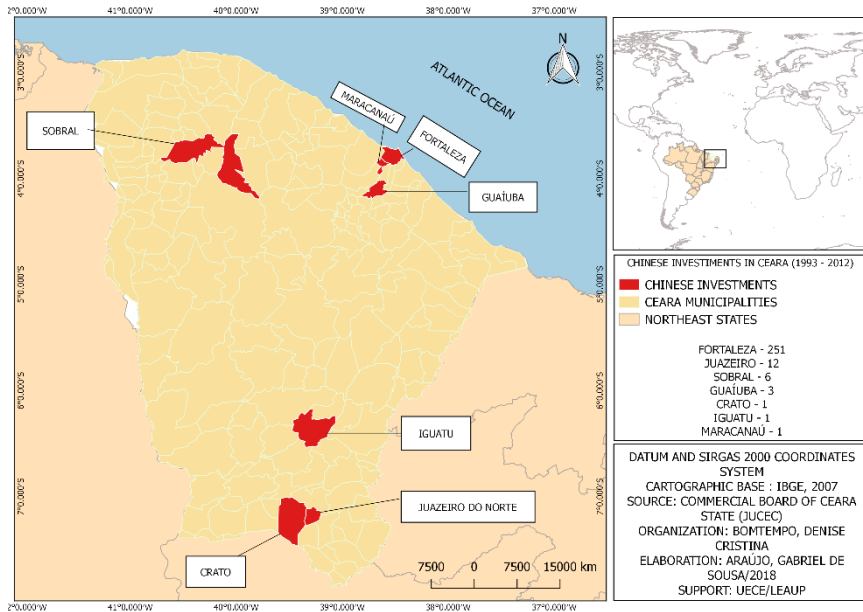
Still in relation to the African investments in Ceara, besides those small and medium sizes, it is worth mentioning that the last years were marked by the presence of large investments (about 300 million Reais) coming from a single company of Angolan capital materialized in Ceara. These are activities developed by Angola Cables, a multinational company from Luanda whose objective is to install submarine optical fiber cables that connect continents through high-connection systems for the transmission of informational data³.

In view of such investments, on the one hand, Fortaleza city enlarges its role in the territorial division of labor through African investments. On the other hand, Fortaleza promotes the migration of investors and qualified professionals to develop labor activities articulated to this business group. Therefore, it can be said that Africans contribute to the structure of an urban migration economy, since they stimulate activities as students, investors, owners and workers inserted in different activities. In addition, Africans also participate as consumers of the daily life of cities in which they are inserted by labor activities.

Urban economy and territoriality: Chineses in Ceara cities

The expansion of commercial activities linked to Chinese migration happens more strongly in Fortaleza metropolis. However, in the analyzed temporal scale, the expansion of commercial activities also interlinks municipalities from the MRF (Guaiuba and Maracanaú), municipalities with regional functions (Juazeiro do Norte, Sobral, Crato, Iguatu) and local cities, as the Cartogram 6 points out. These migrants occupy the commercial centers of the mentioned cities.

Cartogram 6 - Chinese Investments in Ceara (2000-2012)



Source: JUCEC (2000-2012); Bomtempo; Araújo (2018).

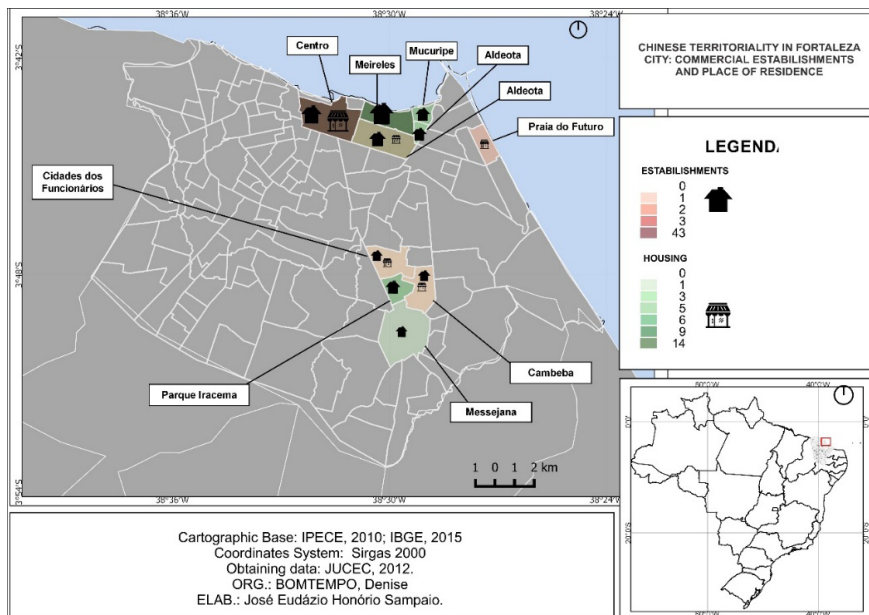
While walking in the center of the cities, especially Fortaleza, it is possible to detect the Chinese presence in the trade linked to the “marginal upper circuit” of the economy, especially in activities of establishment management. However, in other city areas (such as Beira Mar – with a strong concentration of tourists), it was possible to verify Chinese migrants insertion into work activities that are articulated to the inferior marginal circuit of the urban economy.

According to data obtained through JUCEC (2012), the establishments registered by Chinese migrants in Fortaleza are located downtown – in commercial centers and also in streets where the commercial rhythm is intense, such as: Floriano Peixoto, Major Facundo, Guilherme Rocha, Senator Pompeu, General Sampaio and Vinte e Quatro de Maio. By focusing on the central area of Ceara cities, Chinese create their territories goods circulation and commercial information, as well as the maintenance of bonds of friendship and kinship. The presence of the Chinese family in their establishments is constant, including

members with different ages from the youngest member (such as infants and adolescents) to the patriarch.

Regarding the housing place (Cartogram 7), Chinese migrants living in Fortaleza do not live in peripheral neighborhoods as African migrants do (students, workers with low qualifications). Chinese migrants live in neighborhoods with good infrastructure inserted in Regional II area of Fortaleza which is recognized for housing a population with high purchasing power and for having installed numerous modern services. The mentioned area is composed by the following neighborhoods: Downtown, Mucuripe, Iracema Beach, Aldeota and Meireles. However, in recent years, there has been a growing expansion of the middle class residing in Fortaleza to the most distant neighborhoods of the central and tourist area of the city, such as: Maraponga, Messejana, Cambéba and Parque Iracema. While choosing the housing area, Chinese also follow the same direction.

Cartogram 7 - Chinese's home that have commercial establishments in Fortaleza downtown area



Source: JUCEC (2000-2012); Bomtempo; Sampaio (2018).

As it has already been pointed out, there is a direct link between Chinese migration in Ceara and the upper circuit and upper marginal circuit of the urban economy. Among the characteristics that we attribute to the marginal upper circuit present in the commercial establishments of Chinese migrants, we highlight the establishment organizational structure, the employees' presence and the forms of payment including cash, checks or credit cards from different companies. In the establishments, invoices are also offered, besides the stores are registered in JUCEC. So, they are companies that collect taxes.

It is worth mentioning that the presence of Chinese migrants is evidenced in the organization of their establishments, through the layout of the products, the company's trading name, the decoration articles with symbols linked to oriental culture, such as fans and Chinese dolls. The trading name of the establishments also reveals much about the territoriality of these migrants in Fortaleza trade by highlighting symbols and names related to their culture, such as: China bolsas, Hong Kong Variedades, Lanchonete Dragão do Leste, Made in China Variedades, Taiwan importados, among others.

In view of what has been presented, it is possible to affirm that the insertion of Chinese in Fortaleza occurred as part of a global migration process. When arriving in Ceara, the insertion occurred through work and investments in the upper and lower marginal circuit, contributing to the configuration of an urban economy of migration in the cities of greater centrality in the urban network of Ceara, especially Fortaleza. As we could see, the Chinese territoriality through work and housing is restricted to a part of Fortaleza city that presents a greater urban infrastructure. Thus, the Chinese migrant creates segmented and own territorialities.

Urban economy and territoriality: Koreans in Fortaleza Metropolitan Region

At the end of the 20th century and especially in the first decades of the 21st century, Korean presence in Brazil is no longer restricted to São Paulo city, but it can be noticed in other Brazilian states, including Ceara.

Korean migrant insertion in Ceara is directly linked to the consolidation of the state government investment attraction policies, which, according to Pereira Júnior (2011), generated a movement of attraction, dispersion and relocation of national and international business

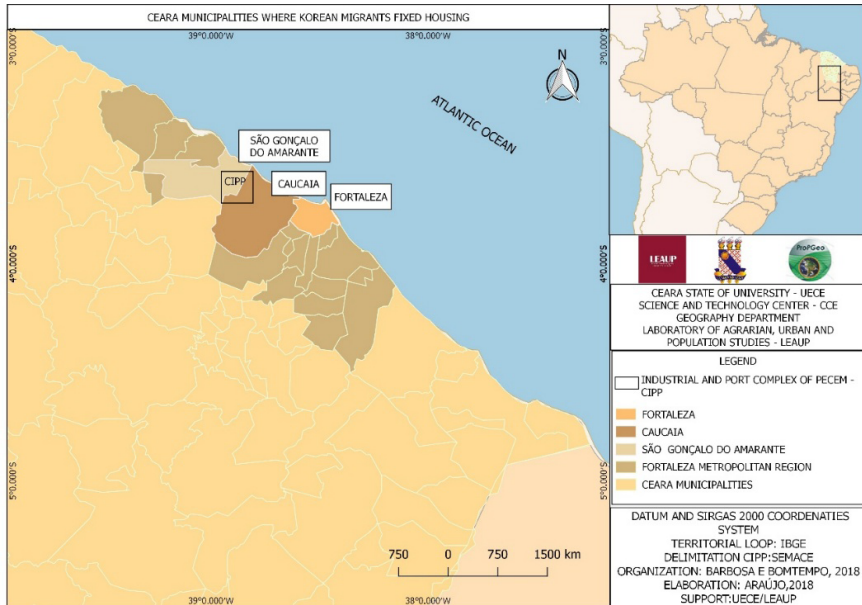
groups investments. The materialization of these investments caused the flow of foreign workers, among them, Koreans.

In Ceara, with regard to the presence of the Koreans, it is relevant to make a periodization and consider three moments. In the first moment, migration occurred spontaneously, that is, migrants arrived to develop multiple activities, mainly linked to the commerce. In the second moment, we consider that it was a directed migration, since it is tied to the installation of industrial equipments coming from investment policies. This second moment is marked by the arriving of the Companhia Siderúrgica do Pecém (CSP) in 2010, which is owned by the Brazilian company Vale S.A., besides two Korean companies, Dongkuk Steel and Posco. The construction of the company brought a significant Korean labor force that was settled in a perceptible way in Ceara. The third moment of the Korean migration in Ceara (still in progress) can only be understood if we consider the beginning of the operations of the CSP, which guaranteed the permanence of some migrants – articulated directly to the CSP and also to those who currently carry out diverse economic activities but not tied to the steel mill company in question.

Still regarding to CSP structuring, the enterprise construction was divided in phases. In the first phase, construction activities were carried out, mobilizing significant workforce, approximately 3,900 employees, both contracted by the company and outsourced. When considering the construction of the steel mill with works that had a deadline, there was temporary hiring of workers for approximately one or two years.

According to Teles (2014, p. 133), “[...] the workforce originated in several Brazilian states and South Korea.” The Korean workers, having a better economic condition, chose tourist places, especially Caucaia (Vila do Cumbuco), São Gonçalo do Amarante, Pecém and Fortaleza to live (Cartogram 8).

The formal employment relationship of the Koreans in Ceara was increased between 2010 and 2014 with the arrival of the CSP. In 2010, according to RAIS / MTE data, there was only one Korean worker with a formal employment relationship. In 2012, that number rose to 79 and in 2014, there were already 941 workers with formal employment relationship.

Cartogram 8 - Housing of Korean migrants directly linked to CSP

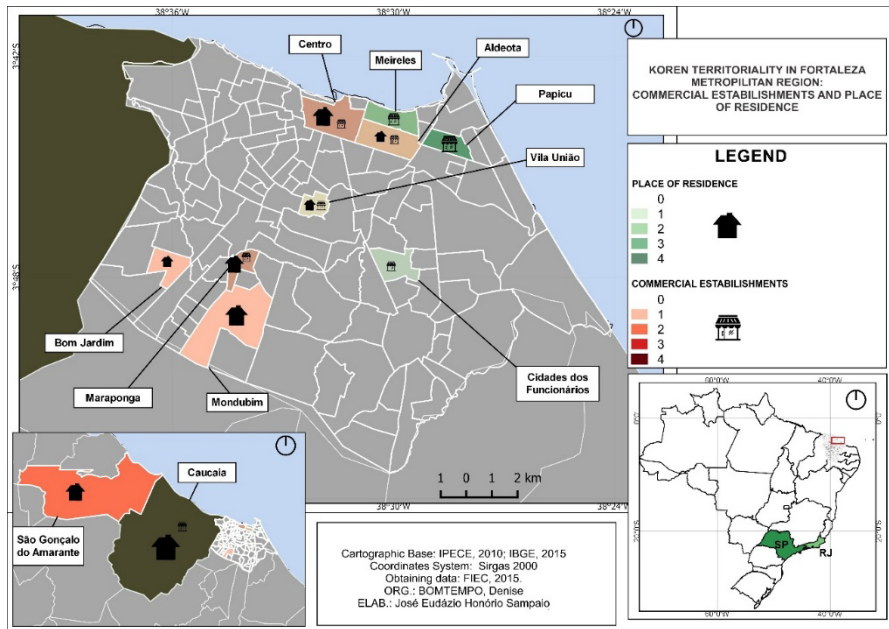
Source: Empirical Research (2018); Bomtempo; Barbosa (2018).

In addition to the direct investors of CSP and to the workers connected to this company, according to data from JUCEC, from 2000 to 2012, the territorialization of various commercial investments of South Koreans in Ceará is highlighted. The territorialization articulated the metropolitan scale, especially in Caucaia (Vila do Cumbuco) and São Gonçalo do Amarante, as it was also present in Fortaleza metropolis. The first Korean commercial investment in Ceará was carried out and installed in Fortaleza in 2000 (before the arrival of CSP). Five years later, new investments were made. So in 2005, there were four Korean investments in Fortaleza, mainly in the commerce sector. In the years 2007 and 2008 there were the installation of two commercial establishments (one in each year) in Fortaleza. The volume and the type as well as the investments territorialization changed in 2012 compared with previous years. In that year, the installation of eight Korean companies was detected being two in São Gonçalo do Amarante; 3 in Caucaia (Vila do Cumbuco) and 3 in Fortaleza. These companies were linked to the hotel industry, real estate services, cargo transportation, construction, restaurants and clothing.

As verified by JUCEC data, in 2012, Korean establishments were installed mainly in municipalities that are part of FMR and are close to the CSP and CIPP, which leads us to the assertion that a large part of them came on stream to meet the demands of CSP itself (since the installation works started in 2012), as the case of Engineering and Construction companies, as well as the Korean migrant population, such as food companies, hotels and general services.

In Cartogram 9, we can verify the Korean territorialities existing in Ceara at the beginning of the 21st century, as far as workplaces (commercial investments) and housing are concerned. In Fortaleza city, Koreans, as well as Chinese, live in neighborhoods that have better urban infrastructure and that house a population with higher income and purchasing Power. The neighborhoods are: Meireles, Aldeota, Downtown, Papicu e Cidade dos Funcionários. In the sequence, the neighborhoods like Vila União and Maraponga, undergo a restructuring, mainly by the operation of modern activities and new forms of housing (horizontal and vertical closed condominium). In Mondumbim and Bom Jardim, the presence of Koreans is observed, but to a lesser extent than in the other mentioned areas, since they have precarious urban infrastructure, therefore not attractive for housing of this migrant profile (investors and people with professional qualification).

Regarding Korean territorialities linked to the place of housing and investments, the municipalities of FMR, São Gonçalo do Amarante and Caucaia, especially Vila do Cumbuco, stand out in relation to the presence of these migrants, as can be seen in Cartogram 9.

Cartogram 9 - Korean Territoriality in FMR: commercial establishments and places of residence

Source: Empirical Research (2018); Barbosa; Bomtempo; Sampaio (2018).

Given the start of CSP operations at CIPP (2017), the intensity of Koreans' migratory flow has gained other directions and content what lead us to consider the emergence of a third moment of Korean migration in the state. The third moment of this migration is still in progress and it is marked by the return, the permanence and expansion of Korean territorialities. However, even in progress, we can affirm that this third moment of Korean migration in Ceara is composed by: a) the return of a large number of Koreans to their homeland⁴, given the termination of the labor contract with CSP; b) the permanence of skilled professionals linked to CSP in Ceara; c) the presence of self-employed professionals who came to Brazil to work at CSP, deciding to remain in Ceara and made investments in activities linked to the upper circuit of the urban economy even after finishing the contract with CSP; d) Korean migrants who came to Ceara to develop economic activities without having a contract with CSP.

The territorialization of what we consider to be the third moment of Korean migration in Ceara gains a different territorial configuration from the previous moments, since a large part of the migrants living in Ceara lived in the metropolitan region (Vila do Cumbuco, Caucaia and São Gonçalo do Amarante) in the first and second moments of the migration. In this third moment, through an empirical research, we verified that the places of residence, of work, of investments, of consumption and of leisure were no longer situated in the metropolitan region, gaining centrality in Fortaleza metropolis.

In Fortaleza, there is a diversification of the activities undertaken by Koreans belonging to groups of former CSP workers and to groups of migrants who had no link with the Company. Among the establishments, commerce (clothing and restaurants of Korean food) and clothing industry are highlighted.

Based on the above considerations, Korean territoriality becomes perceptible through the space practices evidenced in the metropolis. Korean investments are dispersed in neighborhoods with more infrastructures in Fortaleza city (Meirelles, Aldeota and Papicu), unlike the Chinesees that have their commercial investments more concentrated in downtown area. Concerning Korean migrants' profile, the skilled labor force in CSP demonstrates that it is a migrant profile with professional qualification and with high purchasing power, as these people are in charge of the technical knowledge directed to industry. In addition, hotel and restaurant facilities targeting South Koreans determine a territoriality through consumption, noting that establishments are not numerous, but they exert a knot and have centrality when it comes to agglomerating subjects that are close by having the same place of origin.

Final considerations

International migration flows in the 21st century are mainly directed towards large cities, which increasingly become the "reception locus" for subjects in mobility. Unlike the historical picture of international migration in Brazil, which emphasized a flow to regions such as South and Southeast, and cities such as São Paulo, new regions and urban centers in the country receive more and more foreigners. This is how Ceara is inserted in the new framework of the population movement in Brazil by receiving an important contingent of migrants from other countries.

In the beginning of the 21st century, migratory flows that interweave Ceara are domestic (metropolis and cities with different roles) and international. There is the predominance of migrants with low or no professional qualification, investors and students in international flows.

Investors are characterized by: a) large investments such as industry, agribusiness, purchase of land, incorporation, construction, real estate, hospitality, import and export; (b) small and medium-sized investments such as trade and services.

Investments are made mainly in Fortaleza, in the metropolitan region, in municipalities along the coast and in the countryside with central roles in the urban network of Ceara. Investors with the permissiveness of internal agents “normalize,” “use” the territory, produce their own territorialities, and shape the urban economy of migration.

In Ceara cities, there are multiple territorialities that materialize in the landscape according to each economic and cultural profile of migrants, especially the international ones.

This way, recent migrations that interweave Ceara allow us to understand the “new” role played by the state in the territorial division of labor, through the emergence of an urban economy of migration, as well as new territorialities materialized in cities that concentrate population.

The produced territorialities demonstrate inequalities from the point of view of daily practices related to housing, to work, to consumption and to leisure, as evidenced by African, Chinese and Korean migrants mentioned in this text.

Notes

1 SANTOS, M. *O espaço dividido: os dois circuitos da economia urbana em países subdesenvolvidos*. São Paulo: Edusp, 2014.

2 For further information about the Undergraduate Student Agreement Program, please access <<http://portal.mec.gov.br/pec-g>>.

3 Source: Hemeroteca desenvolvida no LEAUP. Available at: <<https://www.opovo.com.br/noticias/economia/2017/04/angola-cables-investira-us-50-milhoes-em-fortaleza-este-ano.html>>. Accessed on: 18 Jan. 2018).

4 According to Sayad (1998), the return is something much expected in the migratory movement, often the migrant only accepts the migration by the possibility of the return.

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