The integration process of female refugees in Sao Paulo: *the role of non-governmental organizations*

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Abstract

International migrations are movements of people leaving and arriving between countries and they can be classified as voluntary or forced. Recent international conflicts have triggered a new forced migration wave, resulting in the largest number of refugees since World War II, leaving millions of displaced people. Brazil has become an alternative to asylum seekers quickly. Despite the facilitation of issuing visas, the country was not prepared for the high demand of people. Problems with bureaucracy upon arrival (diploma revalidation, employment, housing) have proven the state's inefficiency in welcoming and integrating refugees, opening a gap for NGOs to try to suppress these needs. This paper discusses the phenomenon of social integration of refugees from a gender perspective, in an attempt to understand the difficulties that a refugee woman may face when inserting herself in a different country / culture and how the projects offered by NGOs can be the key to the process. success in this process.

Keywords: international migrations; refugee women; Brazil; NGOs

List of Abbreviations

ABONG - Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations

CDHIC – Brazilian Immigrant Human Rights and Citizenship Center

CONARE – Brazilian National Committee for Refugees

CPF – Brazilian National Number

CPTS – Brazilian Work Card

EMDOC – Brazilian company specializing in immigration legal proceedings

IBGE – Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics

IMDH – Migration and Human Rights Institute

LAR – Taking Refugee Aid

MINUSTAH – United Nations Stabilisation Mission in Haiti

NGO – Non-governmental Organizations

OBMigra – Observatory of International Migration

PARR – Refugee Relocation Support Program

PNAD - Brazilian National Household Sample Survey

IPEA - Brazilian Institute of Applicable Economy

UN – United Nations

UNHCR – United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

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1 Introduction

International conflicts and environmental disasters have generated a new wave of migratory flow, specially in the wake of Arab Spring. This movement is a wave of popular protests that began in Tunisia and gained support through social media, claiming the fall of dictatorships in the Middle East and North Africa, helped expose a new refugee agenda to the world. This is the biggest wave of migration since World War II, and it has turned out to be a crisis beyond the social issue, it is also a political crisis, as these people need to start life elsewhere and still run into states other than their own, and when accpeted, may suffer from xenophobia and lack of empathy / lack of information from the local population.

The developed countries end up imposing stricter rules for the entry of these refugees into their territories, which triggers an unequal movement: underdeveloped countries, which often fail to offer basic needs to their own people, open borders and welcome these refugees. According to an Amnesty International (2016) report, the ten countries that host more than 56 percent of total refugees represent less than 2.5 percent of world GDP. According to that same report, only 30 out of 193 countries are developing some kind of program to host this population, which is far below the UN recommendation, that would be somewhere between 60 and 90 countries engaded (Amnesty International, 2016)[1].

UNHCR (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) believes that if the number of countries engaged rises to 90 (Amnesty International, 2016), even if it represents less than half of the world's countries, it will be possible to see a positive impact on the crisis and improve the quality of refugees' life. The main narrative of countries that are reluctant to join refugee initiatives is xenophobia, ruled by anti-immigration speeches and concern about security (Amnesty International, 2016). Lack of information makes

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[1] Amnesty International, 2016. Report "Facing the Global Refugee Crisis: From Denial to Sharing Responsibility". https://anistia.org.br/direitos-humanos/publicacoes/para-enfrentar-crise-global-de-pessoas-refugiadas-da-negacao-ao-compartilhamento-de-responsabilidade/. Accessed in 16/07/2019.

the scale of the refugee crisis unknown to most countries. It is necessary to change the discourse to a narrative of generosity and positivity so that the barriers of prejudice may be broken and more countries can engage in the refugee question (Amnesty International, 2016).

Based on the premise that these underdeveloped states cannot support basic needs to the local population, refugees face the difficulties of being in a different country with another culture and still run into the problem of state inefficiency. These states eventually open borders, grant visas, but offer little or no support for their integration. Difficulties such as learning the new language, getting a job, meeting new people are some examples faced by this population. It is in this scenario of absence from the state that the works offered by NGOs help these immigrants in the process of social integration in the new country. NGOs provide legal assistance, help with document translation, offer local language classes, job-finding workshops, and are a physical living space where people with similar trajectories and difficulties can find a "feeling of home" and belonging to the new country (CDHIC, 2009)[2]

The question on refugees is a huge part of the peace agenda and to have a better understand on the situation it is necessary to have different perspectives and multidisciplinary background. Further, as researcher I am interested in human rights and the third sector so I decided to put these two themes on the same project. However, to bring a new prospect, I decided to introduce the gender aspect.

This master dissertation tries to fill a research gap in the Brazilian academia, discussing migration, integration and gender perspective and the ways the condition of being women affects policies and practices among refugees. There are literatures about social integration for refugees within Brazilian society, but the focus is broader about

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[2] CDHIC is traslated as "Immigrant Human Rights and Citizenship Center", created in 2009 to promote, organize and coordinate actions aimed at building a migratory policy that respects the human rights of immigrants and refugees in Sao Paulo. https://www.cdhic.org.br. Accessed in 14/10/2019.

refuge itself (Haydu, 2009; Moreira, 2012; Moreira, 2014; Costa and Taño, 2017), and not specifically in the gender dimension. It is important to understand that different experiences bring diverse results, thus, problems faced by men are usually not the ones women have and vice-versa.

During an early research, I decided to target on female refugees, as one of my interests is to evidence how this new life can be even harder for this group, experiencing prejudice during integration by being women and refugee. Therefore, my main research interest in this project is to look at the integration process of female refugees. In addition to social and cultural integration, this project will also focus on the economic integration of the female refugees. In this research, I also want to investigate why those women chose to come to Brazil. Was it their decision? Was it the only "choice"? I decided to research on migration due to the high number of refugees arriving in Brazil in recent years, especially after 2011, when the Arab Spring broke out. Thus, the special focus will be on women arriving from African and Middle East countries. I decided to look at these groups due to the different cultures and social norms of Brazil, differently to what happens with refugees from Latin American countries (Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Haiti).

Brazil and Latin America not only share geographic space, they also share a historical past marked by colonization (Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch), by periods of military dictatorship, by indigenous ancestry (Beyhaut, 1994). Characteristics like these bring similarities to the social norms of the respective countries, besides bringing some inheritances that end up being sharing, for exemple the passion for football, similar music rhythms, culinary base with the same ingredients and tropical climate / temperature in most part of the region (Beyhaut, 1994). Although Brazil is the only Portuguese-speaking country in Latin America, similarity to Spanish helps to break the language barrier and create a mutual understanding between speakers of both languages, which differs from refugees arriving from North Africa and the Middle East, where the main languages spoken are Arabic and French.

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Therefore, it tends to be less abrupt to adapt and create the "feeling at home" when shared similar social norms, so the culture shock tends to be less and a full integration can be achieved more quickly (Beyhaut, 1994).

As the complexity of the subject, my lack of time and resources, I decided to refine the research for the city of Sao Paulo. This decision was made regarding the numbers of refugees going to the city, and because Sao Paulo is the economic center in Brazil.

1.1 Aims and objective of the study:

The aim and the general objective of this study is to understand the role of non-state actors i.e. NGOs in integration of female refugees, assuming the integration process takes more time to women, due gender inequality in social, cultural and economic aspect.

To help define the research, two specific objectives were proposed:

• To understand the integration process and the different policies and practices of NGOs regarding social and economic integration of female refugees in Sao Paulo.

• To analyze the successes or failure of these NGOs and the degree to which they effectively integrate their clients into Brazilian society.

To attain the objectives of the research, the present master dissertation intends to answer the following research questions:

• How far have these refugees become integrated into Brazilian society both socially and economically?

• What are the different programs and practices of NGOs in integrating women refugees in Sao Paulo?

• To what degree have different non-governmental organizations in Sao Paulo succeeded in integrating migrant women?

To help me design the research, guide the objectives (general and specific) and consequently answer the research questions, I used three complementary theories: intersectional theory, integration theory and NGO definition and work fronts. The intersectionality theory refers to overlap two or more conditions that help explain an

unequal social system, in the case of this dissertation, the condition of being a migrant and a woman, but also counts other factors such as class, ethnicity, education. The theory of integration demonstrates the principles necessary for a favorable environment of integration, so that the migrant is and feels part of the nation that has secured shelter. This theory addresses the social, cultural and economic principles that encompass society. Finally, the concept of NGO enters as a pillar to explain the importance of the work offered by the entities, from the emergence of organizations, due to the failure of States, the philanthropic and non-profit character. NGOs need to follow an international regulatory protocol suggested by the UNThe concept explains and are evaluated at every certain period. In the case of this dissertation, organizations also need to obey some rules of the Brazilian legislation.

The research was based on a qualitative method, with analysis of international treaty documents and Brazilian refugee legislation. Date from the numbers of receiving refugees were accessed from 2011 to 2017 due to censuses publication every two years. In addition to document analysis, fieldwork took place between June and July 2018, in the city of Sao Paulo, where interviews were conducted with refugee women, men and representatives of some NGOs in the city. On behalf of convenience and being already familiar with the space, all interviews took place within the space of each NGO. Using these methods, I obtained the data and answers I needed to continue and finalize the dissertation process.

This dissertation will present seven more topics: background, Arab tradition in Brazil, theoretical framework, methodology, analysis, conclusion and appendix.

In background session, will be presented, in brief, the categories of migration and the United Nations' definition of refugee. Following, the main treaties in Latin America will be presented and how the evolution of the debate was important for improving the process of receiving and integrating refugees in the region. By narrowing the theme, the number of refugees in Brazil will be presented and a brief discussion about the challenges of the integration process and the participation of NGOs.

The next topic will be dedicated to explaining the Arab tradition in Brazil and the formation of this colony in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The presence of Arab descendants is considered a positive point for the integration of refugees, in the sense that they can stay connected to their cultural roots.

The fourth chapter will be for theoretical concepts that constructed the research. The first subtopic will address the main concepts of integration theory and which indicators are relevant to the refugee theme. The second subtopic will be about intersectional theory and the different axes of discrimination and how this new theory has opened space to debate the overlap of social identities and systems related to oppression, domination and discrimination. The last subtopic is about the construction and importance of the third sector in social concerns. It will be addressed from the emergence of the term, with the creation of the United Nations to the development of entities in Brazil, and how the work offered by them impacts on society.

The fifth chapter will be dedicated to Methodology. It will address the choice of method, justification of sample size, which NGOs I visited, how the interviews were conducted, and a subtopic to reflect on positionality and challenges during fieldwork.

Chapter six is for analysis where, in the first sub-topic, will be discussed about programs and practices of each NGO I visited. Second sub-topic will be on social and economic integration, the challenges and success; and the last sub-topic will be about the success and failure in integrating migrant women.

In chapter seven, will be discussed the final considerations. Finally, the Appendix, with the questions I used to guide interviews with refugees and NGO representatives.

2 Background

Migration represents the displacement of people between places and can exist in different scales - from a different city in the country to other continents - and in the most diverse modalities and typologies. Migrations, in general, have always existed in the history of humanity, but have intensified and gained new meaning with the globalization process. Migrations happen in different aspects, being motivated by the economy, by wars, of own will, and so on, and they can be classified in two ways: voluntary or forced.

The process of international migration can be triggered by several factors: as a result of environmental disasters, wars, political, ethnic or cultural persecutions, causes related to studies or job search and better living conditions, among others.
One of the main reasons for migration is economic, in which the prospect of more jobs and better living conditions drives the will to change countries. In this case, migration is called voluntary, when there is no other factor that drives the decision to migrate.

The focus of this research project will be on forced migration, more specifically the refugees, where this change of country exceeds the will of the individual and becomes a matter of preservation of life (Gibney, 2014).

The refugee agenda began to be debated by the UN in December 1950, with the creation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), by resolution of the General Assembly (UNHCR, 1951). The operations began in January 1951, with an initial mandate of three years to resettle European refugees who were homeless after World War II. Its work is based on the 1951 Convention on Refugees. This global treaty defines who becomes a refugee and clarifies the rights and duties between the refugees and the host countries.

The "1967 Protocol" (UNHCR, 1967) reformed the 1951 Convention and expanded UNHCR's mandate beyond European borders and those affected by the Second

World War. In 1995, the General Assembly designated the UNHCR as responsible for the protection and assistance of stateless persons throughout the world. In 2003, the clause requiring the renewal of the UNHCR mandate every three years was abolished.

According to UNHCR,

> A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries (UNHCR, 1951).

In the history of civilization, the number of people forced to leave their homes because of war, violence or persecution has never been so high. According to UNHCR (2018), there are over 68.5 million displaced people and of thoses, 25.9 million are refugees. Of the more than 68 million people evicted from their homes, 25.4 million are refugees; more than 40 million were forced to move within their own country; and 3.1 million are seeking asylum for political reasons. 57% of these refugees are from South Sudan (2.4 million), Afghanistan (2.6 million) and Syria (6.3 million). The countries that receive the most refugees are Turkey (2.9 million), Pakistan (1.4 million) and Lebanon (1 million) (UNHCR, 2018).

The main destinations of international migration are the countries considered as "first world", among them are the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and the nations of the European Union. With increasingly rigid migration policies, the entry of new migrants into these countries ends up being restricted, as migrants begin to look for underdeveloped countries and with more comprehensive reception policies, as an alternative to migration, which is the case with the Brazil.

Brazil always had a pioneering and leading role in the international protection of refugees. It was the first country in the Southern Cone to ratify the 1951 Convention

in 1960. It was also one of the first countries to form part of the UNHCR Executive Committee, responsible for approving the agency's annual programs and budgets.

UNHCR's work in Brazil is guided by the same principles and functions as in any other country: protecting refugees and promoting durable solutions to their questions. The refugee has the protection of the Brazilian government and can therefore obtain documents, work, study and exercise the same rights as any legalized foreign citizen in the country. Brazil is internationally recognized as a welcoming country. However, here, refugees also find it difficult to integrate into Brazilian society.

2.1 Latin America

During the 1980s and early 1990s, conflicts in Central America - especially in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala - and the ensuing forced displacement of people occupied the region's humanitarian agendas, making it necessary to revise and extend the concept refugee status.

In Latin America, there are several instruments that delineate regional responses to forced displacement. These include the Declaration of Cartagena on Refugees of 1984, the Plan of Action of Mexico of 2004 and, more recently, the Declaration of Brasilia and the Plan of Action A Framework for Regional Cooperation and Solidarity to Strengthen the International Protection of Refugee, Displaced and Stateless Persons in Latin America and the Caribbean 2010 to be presented in the sequence.

2.1.1 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees

The 1984 Cartagena Declaration on Refugees is considered a milestone in the refugee issue in Latin America, since, following the example of the Organization of African Unity Convention (OAU), it extended the definition of the United Nations (UN), considering also as refugees:

> ...persons who have fled their countries because their life, security or freedom have been threatened by widespread violence, foreign aggression,

internal strife, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order (UN, 1984, Conclusions and Recommendations, subsection III).

2.1.2 Mexico Plan of Action (2004)

As a result of the Conference to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the Cartagena Declaration, twenty Latin American countries approved the Declaration and Plan of Action: Cartagena 20 years later or Mexico Plan of Action (MAP) to strengthen international protection of refugees in America Latina. This plan was a response, based on solidarity and cooperation, which sought to articulate the countries in the face of regional humanitarian tragedies.

One of the considerations underlying the MAP was that refugee flows could destabilize neighboring countries, generating regional security implications. For this and other humanitarian considerations, three programs were established to strengthen durable solutions for refuge: Solidarity Cities, Solidarity Boundaries and Solidarity Resettlement (UNHCR, 2004).

The "Solidarity Cities" program aims to promote the social integration and self-sufficiency of refugees living in urban areas, enabling them to exercise their social, economic and cultural rights. The "Solidarity Boundaries" program aims to respond to the humanitarian needs of people living in border areas of Colombia who are at risk of displacement. Finally, the "Solidarity Resettlement" program was set up in response to massive forced displacement due to conflicts in Colombia and its impacts on neighboring countries - opening up the possibility for Latin American countries to become associated at any time by offering to receive refugees in other countries of the region(UNHCR, 2004).

2.1.3 Brasilia Declaration on the Protection of Refugees and Stateless Persons in the Americas (2010)

In November 2010, eighteen Latin American countries[3] signed the UNHCR 60th anniversary, the 1951 Refugee Statute and the fiftieth anniversary of the 1961 Convention on the Reduction of Statelessness. The document reaffirmed many of the commitments made by the 20 countries that signed the Mexico Action Plan in 2004.

The regional approach in the MAP is reiterated in the Brasilia Declaration, encouraging states to:

> adopt mechanisms to deal with new situations of displacement that are not provided for in the 1951 Convention and its 1967 Protocol; ii) revitalize the Fronteiras Solidarias, Solidarity Cities and Solidarity Resettlement programs; (iii) fostering the exchange of good practices and lessons learned in the region; (iv) achieving lasting solutions for refugees; (v) respond to the new challenges related to mixed migration flows; vi) promote adherence to international instruments on the protection of refugees and stateless persons; and (vii) meet the protection needs of separated or unaccompanied children (LIMA et al, 2017, p.45).

In 2012, in the context of the meeting of Interior Ministers of Mercosur and its Associated States, held in Fortaleza, Brazil, countries committed themselves to strengthening public protection policies for refugee seekers and refugees, and to strengthen the humanitarian space in the region. The commitment was the signing of the "Declaration of Principles of Mercosur on International Protection of Refugees"[4].

The signatory states of the declaration agreed to adopt non-restrictive migration policies with a broad approach to family reunification, give particular attention to gender and age issues (particularly in cases of unaccompanied or separated children) and not to return refugees and refuge to their countries of origin or to territories where their lives are in danger (UNHCR AND CONARE, 2010). In addition, they agreed to consolidate national resettlement programs, advance the programs identified in the MAP (Solidarity Borders, Solidarity Cities and Solidarity

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[3] Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Chile, Ecuador, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, the Dominican Republic, Uruguay, and Bolivarian Republic of Venezuela.

[4] Declaration of Principles of Mercosur on International Protection of Refugees. http://www.migraciones.gov.ar/conare/pdf/fortaleza%202012.pdf. Accessed in 26/08/2019.

Resettlement) and join the alternative mechanisms provided by the international refugee protection instruments. Countries have supported the formalization of national commissions and committees dealing with refugee issues and the training of their officials on a regional scale.

2.2 Numbers in Brazil

According to CONARE (Brazilian National Committee for Refugees), Brazil has recognized, by the end of 2017, 10,145 refugees of different nationalities, with 52% living in São Paulo, 17% in Rio de Janeiro and 8% in Paraná. Syrians represent 35% of the refugee population with active registration in Brazil. There were 33,865 applications booked nationalwide in 2017 and other 86,000 cases are still pending. That number represents almost triple the number of applications registered in 2016 (up 228%). Before, the record of requests had been reached in 2014, when there were 28,670 applications from other nationalities (CONARE, 2017).

Number of requests for refuge/per year
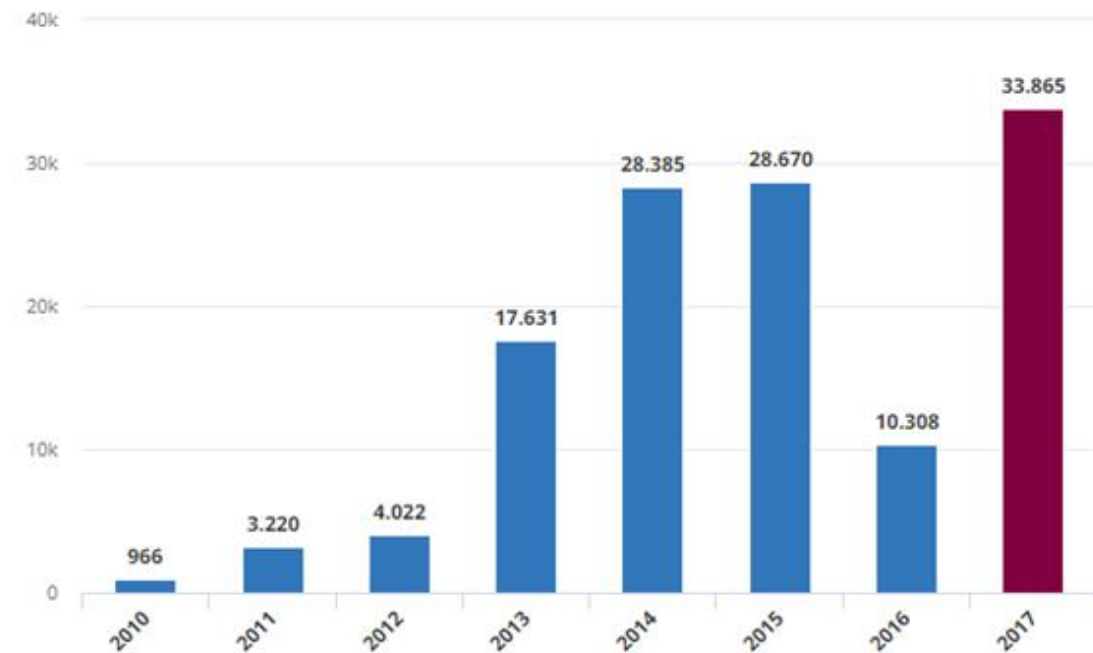
Fonte: Ministério da Justiça

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 The growing number of refuge requests is due to three main reasons: the 2010 earthquake in Haiti, the international conflicts in the Middle East and North Africa and the humanitarian crisis in Venezuela, each case had its particularity of why choosing Brazil as a final destination. In the Haiti's case, Brazil has always led MINUSTAH[6], which was created in 2004, to restore the security and institutional normality of the country after successive episodes of political turbulence and violence, which culminated in the asylum of the president Jean Bertrand Aristide. This proximity

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[5] Brazilin Ministry of Justice data on numbers of request for refuge/per year. https://www.justica.gov.br/news/de-10-1-mil-refugiados-apenas-5-1-mil-continuam-no-brasil/refugio-em-numeros_1104.pdf. Accessed in 25/05/2019.

[6] MINUSTAH – United Nations Peacekeeping Operation in Haiti. https://peacekeeping.un.org/en/mission/minustah. Accessed in 15/10/2019.

contributed to the creation of biding between countries, and Brazil facilitated the entry of Haitians with an environmental refuge visa.

Venezuela has facing humanitarian crisis[7] for almost four years, and it was in mid-2015 that there was an increase in asylum application. The border of Roraima (State in Northern Brazil) is certainly a facilitator for Venezuelans to choose Brazil as a destination. Factors such as language proximity and similar Latin culture are also considered important at the time of choice. The last case, the outbreak of the Arab Spring that culminated in an increase in the number of requests by citizens from countries like Congo, Egypt, Libya, and especially Syria. In this case, it can be said that the option for Brazil was due to the facility of obtaining a refugee visa.

The profile of refugees recognized between 2011 and 2017 is also very varied. About 14% are children, from 0 to 12 years old; 6% are adolescents aged 13 to 17 years. Adults aged 18 to 29 years account for 33%; 44% are adults between 30 and 59 years and 3% are those over 60 years. Separated by gender, 71% are men and 29% are women (CONARE, 2017).

2.2.1 Challenges on integration: Sharing responsibility to multiply success

The recente refugee boom in Sao Paulo also brought challenges for the competente bodies on this reception. State, NGOs and civil society were forced to think on effective strategies to receive and accommodate these people. The NGO denomination was created after the creation of the UN, after World War II and, following the world scenario of human rights struggles, Brazil became more engaged in the subject.

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[7] United Nations website on Venezuela's humanitarian crises. https://news.un.org/en/tags/venezuela. Accessed on 15/10/2019.

The first NGO created in Brazil is from 1961, named "Fase"[8], is present in six Brazilian states and operates in four areas: Right to the City, Environmental Justice, Women and Food Sovereignty.

Since 1990, NGOs have prioritized work in partnership with the state and / or companies. They launch nationally in a post-dictatorship scenario, in which social movements were losing strength and these organizations began to structure themselves better (Coutinho, 2005).

Today, Brazil has 237,000 entities that are called non-governmental organizations. Of these, 35% are formed by some religious group. To reach this number, IBGE (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics) used five internationally defined criterias: being private, non-profit, institutionalized, self-administered and voluntary (IBGE, 2019).

Although there is a certain tradition regarding the receptiveness of foreigners, Brazil experiences waves of prejudice caused mainly by the lack of information when the question is refugee. Addressing this lack of information would help break paradigms and increase the chances of more effective integration into Brazilian society.

In addition to this initial prejudice, newcomer refugees find structural problems to integrate, which are also suffered by Brazilians. The financial crisis has plagued the country since 2016, as one of the consequences, around 11.8% of the population, approximately 12.6 million are unemployed[9]. Access to higher education, housing and public health services are also limited to this population.

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[8] First Brazilian NGO website: https://fase.org.br/. Accessed on 13/10/2019.

[9] News on the last unemployment census in the first half of 2019.
https://economia.estadao.com.br/noticias/geral,taxa-de-desemprego-se-mantem-em-11-8-no-trimestre-encerrado-em-agosto,70003027385. Accessed on 13/10/2019.

Faced with a scenario of recession, the difficulties of integration are more complex, as implementations require the action of different national, regional and local actors, with high budgetary demand.

To the extent that public power - in all federative spheres -, supported and aided by organized civil society, assumes the need to adopt and implement humanitarian public policies, the integration of refugees will increasingly be a breach of hope in the critical horizon of the world contemporary humanitarian crisis. Not only as international commitments and obligations assumed, but by the moral and ethical value of solidarity, finding solutions that allow refugees to live with dignity and Peace (De Oliveira, Rodrigues and Sala, 2016).

3 Arab tradition in Brazil

Arab immigrants came to Brazil from a diversity background: from Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Iraq, Egypt or Palestine. The Arab peoples migrated basically for religious reasons and for economic and social reasons linked to the agrarian structure of their countries of origin (Mott, 2000).

In the Ottoman Empire of Islamic faith, the Christian communities of Syria, Lebanon, and Egypt were not only persecuted by Muslims, but also endured suffering by the Turkish invasion (Mott, 2000). The largest contingent of immigrants, therefore, is from Christians, coming largely from Lebanon and Syria. Other countries such as Turkey, Palestine, Egypt, Jordan also had immigrants coming to Brazil but in a lesser extent than the first two countries (Mott, 2000). Alongside the religious problem, land scarcity was an important factor in stimulating emigration. Faced with this reality, the poor population had only to seek, in other lands, the conditions of survival.

According to Mott (2000), between 1871 and 1900, 5,400 people had landed in Brazil, despite their religious differences, present to some degree in 95% of Arab immigrants. The trip to America had as its starting points the ports of Beirut (Lebanon) and Tripoli (Libia). Through French, Italian or Greek shipping agencies, they headed to other Mediterranean ports such as Genoa (Italy), where they sometimes waited months for a connection to take them to the North or South Atlantic (Rio de Janeiro, Santos or Buenos Aires) (Mott, 2000).

Most of the Arab immigrants went to Sao Paulo, fewer went to Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais; others went to Rio Grande do Sul and Bahia. By 1920 more than 58,000 Arab immigrants had entered Brazil, and the state of Sao Paulo received 40% of this total (Mott, 2000).

The commerce was the initial job offer for the first waves of immigrants. When the Arabs arrived, there were already Portuguese and Italian immigrants peddlers, both in Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. However, peddling has become a hallmark of Arab immigration (Mott, 2000). In this activity, these immigrants introduced innovations that today are seen as typical traits of popular commerce: 1) redefined the conditions

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of profit; 2)introduced the practices of high turnover and high quantity of goods sold, promotions and settlements. These innovations reveal the defining aspect of the Arab version of peddling: consumer interest (Mott, 2000).

In Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, Arab trade has given a popular character to the landscape of some areas of the city. The outbreak of World War I increased the profits of commerce and industry by stopping the importation of European products (Mott, 2000).

The insertion in the labor market was a breakthrough fot the Arab colony to root in Brazil, the construction of schools and mosques was a confirmation of this rooting (Mott, 2000). Regarding higher education, especially in the fields of liberal professions such as law, medicine and engineering, the Arabs were able to reach close numbers to those of other larger foreign colonies. At this level of education, family investment favored men. On the other hand, women were not given the incentive to professionalize themselves, in most cases being limited to obtaining a diploma (Mott, 2000).

The University is the place where the names of Syrian and Lebanese descendants have been most evident as a result of the incentive to education. Medical professionals, such as Adib Jatene (Xapuri, a city in Acre); in the Law, Alfredo Buzaid (Jaboticabal, a city in Sao Paulo); in Philosophy, Marilena Chaui (São Paulo); in Sociology, Aziz Simão (São Paulo); In Philology, Antonio Houaiss (Rio de Janeiro) (Mott, 2000), among many others, indicate the remarkable contribution of the growing generations to the country that received them.

Cinema, literature and gastronomy also had great influence from the Arabs, the last one mainly. It is possible to find many restaurants in Sao Paulo that are run by grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Arab origin, where the main typical dishes (kebab, hummus, tabouleh, baba ghanoush, kofta, and many others) were incorporated into Brazilian cuisine (Mott, 2000).

After a brief narrative of the Arab history in Brazil, it is possible to understand how the influence of this colony provide as a basis for refugees to be interested in seeking asylum in the country.

4 Theoretical and conceptual framework

4.1 Brief Introduction

As it is a complex topic and involves two major concerns, I will use the Integration theory as a theoretical perspective, which will give the reader the possibility to understand what aspects need to be covered in order to fully integrate the migrant into the host country community. In addition, the Intersectionality theory will be used to explain that there are different factors that contribute to and/or make more difficult this integration process, such as: ethnicity, age, gender, education. As already presented, the focus of the research will be on the gender issue, and the implications that this factor brings. To have a completely understand of the integration process it is also necessary to have a conceptual idea of NGO, to show their effectiveness and to point where and when those organizations start their work with the population, not only around the world, but specially in Brazil and how important the organizations were to reimplement the democracy in the 1980's.

4.2 Integration Theory

Integration is the term used by several disciplines of the social sciences (Sociology, Philosophy, Political science), to explain the process of association of different members within the same society. The issue of integration is treated as a matter of public policy by the responsible organs of the State. As humans live in society and are part of a system, total integration enhances personal self esteem, elevates the individual well-being of those who relate to others, and creates opportunities for people to potentiate the development of their own autonomy.

Integration is the way individuals are incorporated into a common social space through their relationships, that is, how the bonds and symbols of collective belonging are constitute but respecting and developing their own autonomy. In more general terms, social integration is the ordering of relations between individuals, groupings of individuals, individual acts and collective acts.

There are six perceptions that constitute a successful integration: Achievement and access across the sectors of employment; housing; education and health; access to citizenship and rights; processes of social connection within and among groups within the community; and structural barriers to connection related to language, culture and the local environment (Ager and Strang, 2008). In the present dissertation, for reasons of better understanding and discussion, only two of these pillars will be presented: the process of economic and social integration (which encompasses the cultural issue as well).

Economic integration can be characterized as soon as entry into the labor market occurs. There are discussions (Hynie, 2018) that challenge this breakthrough, since, at a first moment, the refugees have difficulties in proving high qualifications (mainly for the difficulty in revalidating the diploma of the country of origin in the host country) and end up with an "under-employment". However, it is considered a successful economic integration when there is economic independence (without any monetary help from the government or third sector entities), and when there is planning for the future (reserve of money, material gains). In addition to financial aid, economic integration produces a sense of "usefulness," restoring self-esteem, helping to develop language skills in the new language, encouraging self-confidence, and other positive feelings (Ager and Strang, 2008).

Based on the above description, the indicators used to assess full or partial economic integration will be: entry into the labor Market; sense of usefulness; incouraging self-confidence; economic independence and planning for the future. I understand that these are the main pillars for adaptation into a new society.

The social aspect marks the connection between the individual and the community. In a first contact in the host country, the refugees are received by relatives who are already in the country or by colleagues of the same ethnicity or nationality, thus constituting the first form of social connection to the newcomer. The second form would be through social bridges, with other communities, of different nationalities and also with the population of the host country. The third and final form of social

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connection is given when there are social links between the individual and the structure of state norms (Ager and Strang, 2008).

The first contact of the individual with the existing refugee community is one of the most important social connections. This network is called a "refugee community organizations" (Hynie, 2018), and it is able to provide a voice to the refugee, to help the new member to participate in social and cultural activities, through shared activities (sports, religious worship, language classes). In addition, such contact with the culture of the mother country or similar cultures promotes mental health benefits, making the journey of change a little less difficult to accomplish. Approaching people facing the same situation also serves as a way to facilitate the removal of barriers to integration. By being in the same context of difficulty, it is possible to learn from other people, experiences and situations the most "gentle" ways to adapt to the new reality. This exchange of information between "new" and "old" refugees ultimately promotes a balance between expectation and reality. Often, new refugees arrive at the host country waiting / imagining a situation and end up experiencing other conditions (Ager and Strang, 2008).

4.3 Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality theory is the study of the overlap or intersection of social identities and related systems of oppression, domination, or discrimination (McCall, 2005). The theory suggests and seeks to examine how different biological, social, and cultural categories such as gender, race, class, ability, sexual orientation, religion, caste, age, and other axes of identity interact at multiple and often simultaneous levels (McCall, 2005). This framework can be used to understand how injustice and systemic social inequality occur on a multidimensional basis. Intersectionality holds that the classical conceptualizations of oppression within society - such as racism, sexism, classism, biphobia, homophobia, and transphobia and intolerances based on beliefs - do not act independently of one another but that these forms of oppression are interrelated, creating a system of oppression that reflects the "crossing" of multiple forms of discrimination (McCall, 2005).

Intersectionality is a sociological concept that studies the interactions in the lives of minorities, among diverse structures of power, observing the interdependence of the power relations between ethnicity, gender and class. Intersectionality is the consequence of different forms of domination or discrimination, so the theory deals with the intersections between these various phenomena. The concept of "intersectionality" was christened in this way by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw, a feminist professor specialized in race and gender issues. The term was used for the first time in 1989 in an article about the violence experienced by black and lower social classes women in the United States. The origin of the remote theory of the 1970s, with the Black Feminism movement, but without the term of intersectionality itself. With the appearance in Kimberlé's text (1989), collective criticism turned against white, middle-class and heteronormative feminism.

Crenshaw (1989) presents intersectionality as a way of explaining "discriminatory systems", in which two or more conditions end up being forms of subordination: sexism, racism, patriarchalism. Then intersectionality attempts to study not only the fact of being a woman, but studying being black, being LGBT +, being a refugee, of lower social class, etc. Crenshaw stresses that it is important to study the different factors together because of the relationship that each establishes with the other. They cannot be treated as independent variables because the oppression of each is inscribed within the other - it is constituted by the other and is constituted of it. The experiences of the conjunction of power relations (gender, ethnicity, class) promote asymmetrical power relations in society.

The concept explains that there are large streams of discrimination that are built around base prejudice: racism is one, sexism is another, religion is another, and so on. These "express ways" of marginalization intersect and overlap, and in such crisscrosses the risk of injustice becomes more potent. Intersectionality as a theory debates the place that women occupy in society and the way each individuality contributes to it, in addition to giving voice to the female population, since almost all theories of International Relations are created and debated by men, members of dominant social classes and, most of the time, whites (Lowy, 2000). Therefore, the theory of intersectionality contrasts the existing definitions of neutrality, objectivities,

rationality and universality of science, producing a more plural and inclusive world view.

The concept appears to give the debate a better understand of the inequalities and the degree of vulnerability of each individual according to their circumstances: a woman, black, poor, refugee, homosexual, illiterate etc., for example, is at an intersection that places her in imminent danger and disadvantages. In the case of the feminine condition, the intersectional positioning helps to understand the "original disadvantage" that affects it: from the beginning, every woman is permeable to vulnerable situations.

According to María Lugones (2008), the concept of intersectionality allows to see what would not be understandable if the categories of gender and race were conceptualized separately. For this author, the "modern-colonial system of gender" has produced in non-white women a dual process of subordination of gender and racial inferiority. This formulation of the early 1990s, developed later by Crenshaw and other researchers, has, in the definition of Sirma Bilge, a good synthesis:

> Intersectionality refers to a transdisciplinary theory that seeks to capture the complexity of social identities and inequalities through an integrated approach. It refute the entrenchment and hierarchy of the major axes of social differentiation, which are the categories of sex / gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, disability and sexual orientation. The intersectional approach goes beyond simply recognizing the multiplicity of systems of oppression that operates from these categories and postulates their interaction in the production and reproduction of social inequalities (Bilge, 2009: 70).

Making a brief link with the economic question, PNAD(national household sample survey in portuguese) and IBGE (brazilian research about population/GDP) reports show the salary relation with the issue of gender and ethnicity. From the highest salaries to the least, the ranking presented looks like this: white men, black men, white women, black women. And in relation to unemployment, the ranking is presented in the opposite way: black women are the most unemployed, followed by white women, third come black men and, finally, white men (IBGE, 2017).

The phenomenon of intersectionality composed by gender, ethnicity and refuge status is a trend observed in several countries and is a subject that has been

debated for some time. Guimarães (2002) shows that foreign immigrants occupy the most precarious forms of employment in the French market; that black and white women in France represent the highest rates of inactivity, but that there are more black women than white unemployed people and in precarious forms of occupation.

The theory of intersectionality is seen as one way of combating multiple and convergent oppressions, and therefore as an instrument of political struggle. Moreover, as it is gaining more academic visibility in the last decades, it can also be considered a project of knowledge, which aims to give amplitude to questions that were previously seen in a more "slight" way.

4.4 The construction of the third sector and the representation in civil society

To understand the practices and to analyze the role of NGOs in integration, it is necessary to have na analytical understanding of the work they offer. The denomination of non-governmental organizations emerged after the creation of the UN after World War II, and every four years, the UN makes an evaluation of the NGOs on the effectiveness of each one to measure whether the NGO mission reflected the goals of the United Nations (Brown, 2009). A committee (NGO Committee) was established in 1946 (UN, 1946) to guide this evaluation and to concentrate the work on effectiveness, as over the years, the number of NGOs are increasing. Thus, based on the UN evaluation guideline, the project intends to show how effective the chosen NGOs are being in the integration process for female refugees. The role of NGOs is the main topic of the issue of the boundaries between the public and private spheres. Such organizations actually occupy the existing gap between civil society and the state, trying to the utmost to meet the needs and failures of public power vis-à-vis the population.

However, according to Seitenfus (2004), matters that were previously protected exclusively by the State were transferred to other institutions, whether national or international. Non-Governmental Organizations appear in this context, and fill the gap between the State and the population. This action offers civil society the possibility of social reorganization together with the state apparatus (Marques, Merlo and Nagano, 2005).

According to Vieira (1997), the emergence of new scenarios surpasses existing institutional limits, such as: environmental issues - threats to the global ecosystem, social issues - social inequalities and the danger of social and political destabilization, suggest partial loss of sovereignty in matters related to the autonomy of the State. In this context, such transfer - even if partial - to other instances of effective decisions, gives non-governmental organizations legitimacy to act within and outside the State.

The legitimacy lies in the effectiveness of the programs implemented, in the representativeness and the image that society has of the institution. This scenario provides NGOs with arguments for their broad participation, importance and visibility.

The transparency of NGOs strengthens their participation and performance in the management of public activities. These actions are usually related to public policies that are inefficiently offered by the State, so Non-Governmental Organizations increasingly occupy the space between the State and society. With their consolidation, NGOs have become fundamental to civil society. In a number of cases, these organizations corroborate the formulation of norms and concepts that pressure states to act to resolve certain situations that the population complains of but cannot resolve without the support of Non-Governmental Organizations.

The social role of Non-Governmental Organizations, according to Gouveia (2007), emerge in a scenario in which the State 'lost', in part, its autonomy in relation to the market. According to the author, the NGOs took, as it were, the role of public policy implementers.

The third sector through its claims has become an effective social management model, attracted financial resources, received tax incentives and stimulated the private sector. The efficient performance of the so-called third sector redefined the relationship between the public and private spheres. In this sense, corporations took the opportunity to fill the void with a strategy of repaginated communication, social responsibility.

It is important to emphasize the importance of Non-Governmental Organizations in social construction, especially in Brazil, since these organizations act in the implementation of public policies and fill, in this way, the gap that could be effectively occupied by the actions of governmental agencies.

In the article "NGOs and Government: Autonomy x Dependency", published in 2009, Professor Olívia Perez points out that the activities of NGOs in Brazil began to consolidate during the period of the civil-military dictatorship (1964-1985):

> The dictatorial regime closed several channels of communication between the population and the government, leading sectors of society to organize in parallel in the struggle for their rights. The so-called 'new social movements' were fighting for the expansion of citizens' actions in the conduct of government policies and in solving social needs. And NGOs helped social movements through support and advice (Perez, 2009. pp.4).

In 1988, many demands of the new social movements and entities linked to them were incorporated into the new Brazilian Federal Constitution, which established the expansion of citizen participation in public management, guaranteeing "the democratic and decentralized nature of the administration, through quadripartite management, with workers, employers, retirees and government in the collegiate bodies" (Brasil, 1988). In the late 1980s and early 1990s, this prerogative, reserved in the constitution for the management of social security, was soon extrapolated to other areas, such as health and education, through the formation of Management Councils.

However, in the 1990s the relationship between governments and non-profit organizations was changed, as explained Olívia Perez in her article (2009).

According to her, some of the NGOs distanced themselves from social movements and from acting in opposition to the state and assumed a role of interlocution with the latter. From denunciations and mobilizations, many NGOs have started providing assistance and emergency services, many in partnership with the State.

This was due, in large part, to the so-called State Reform elaborated in 1995 by the then Minister of Administration and State Reform Luiz Carlos Bresser-Pereira. He proposed the transfer of services such as schools, hospitals and research centers to the so-called non-state public sector. The central arguments would be the increased efficiency in the execution of these services and the reduction of government costs. The State would still have the responsibility of formulating public policies and would supervise the performance of entities.

The 1990s saw a significant increase in the number of non-profit entities in the country. In 2005, IPEA (Brazilian institute of applicable economy) published, in partnership with the Brazilian Association of Non-Governmental Organizations (ABONG), the study "The Private Foundations and Non-Profit Associations in Brazil" in 2005 which showed that between 1996 and 2005 the growth of this type of organization had been of 215.1%; from 107.3 thousand to 338.2 thousand in Brazil. The same study found that, in 2005, the average age of NGOs was 12.3 years, with the majority of them, 41.5%, had been created in the previous decade.

In fact, since the 1990s there has been an expansion of several civil organizations, including those that perform government services with the public power. This growth can be explained by the new directives of post democratization governments - which have opened up to partnerships with civil organizations - and also by the multiplication of civil society initiatives (Perez, 2009).

5 Methodology

To better understand the questions presented and explain the specific objectives, the study used some forms of qualitative research method, which included interviews, bibliographic review and document analysis. Fieldwork was carried out in June and July 2018, in the city of São Paulo, Brazil, and the interviews were conducted in three different NGOs, two women and one man were interviewed to compare the integration. In addition to the refugees who use the services provided, I interviewed one representative from each organization to better understand the work they offer and also to understand the dichotomy between the expectations and the reality of refugees in the host country. The choice of method was due to the researcher's reason for understanding the phenomenon of social integration of refugees.

Primary and secondary sources were used for the study of objects and the conclusion of the theme. The primary sources came from official documents and data on the refuge of the official organs of the UN, the Brazilian Federal Government and the State Government of São Paulo.

Secondary data were collected during the field work, which include a specialized bibliographic review; survey of policies and refuge programs in Brazil; institutional mapping; reporting in mainstream media; scientific articles, theses and dissertations; databases and annual reports of refugee activities. Reports of activities of Caritas Archdiocesan of São Paulo (Casp), of the Institute of Migrations and Human Rights (IMDH) and Caritas Archdiocesan of Rio de Janeiro (CARJ) for the period 2011-2017 were also accessed. Adus, PARR and Compassiva, were three NGOs that allowed me to conducted the interviews in their space and I will explain their work in the analysis section.

At first, while preparing the research project, I considered doing eighteen interviews (three women, one man, and two representatives in three different NGOs). In contacting the NGOs, I realized that it would be more complicated to schedule the planned number of interviews, I got some negative returns, both from the NGO side and from the refugees, justifying that they would not be comfortable sharing their

experiences with an unknown person. In total, twelve interviews were conducted: two women, one man and one representative from each NGO.

I was already aware that the low number of interviews would impact data collection and possibly the outcome of the project. I expressed this fear to a representative of one of the NGOs, and alternatively, he suggested me to attend a celebration they would have about cultural diversity with some refugees. He talked to the refugees and they accepted my presence as long as I did not film / photograph anything or collect any data directly. Therefore, through observation, I was able to align some ideas on the integration of refugees with the reality presented on the event.

The interviews were scheduled by e-mail and during the negotiation of the dates, I sent the questionnaire that I wanted to make to be validated by the NGO representative. In all cases, it was the NGO representatives who approached the refugees about the possibility of the interview. I briefly explained the reason why I was contacting them, presented the research project, and asked if it was possible to talk to women and men from different backgrounds (single, married, with / without children, varying levels of education). I believe this variation in the profile was important to have an overall picture, that regardless of the background, adaptation in Brazil would have impact due to these previous experiences.

The interviews were conducted individually in the NGO space. I started introducing myself, introducing the project, and soon after I led to the questions. In this way, it was possible to establish a connection with the interviewees, taking the interview to a more informal approach and making the interviewee as comfortable as possible, creating a feeling of trust on me so that they could share stories that do not bring so many good memories.

5.1 Positionality and Challenges:

Research with groups in vulnerable situations, such as refugees, brings a series of challenges and implications regarding the researcher's position in relation to the interviewee's life experiences, in this case, cultural differences are the main factor of

attention. Regarding technical challenges, I had difficulty on taking notes all the informations quickly, as none of the interviewees wallowed me to record them. Also, to protect the identity of respondents, the names were changed. The collected data were saved on external hard drive which is protected by password and only the author has access.

The language barrier was one of the main factors that caused the greatest precaution: the researcher's fear of not understanding / being understood by the interviewee or asking something that might offend them. Being an outsider on the subject made me cautious when approaching certain topics and I believe that being aware that this was not my place of speech was very important in conducting the interviews, making refugees comfortable in addressing their issues.

Cultural diversity are results of different life experiences, concepts and values. For example, in my conception of creation / life / education, a woman working outside the home is quite common and is even encouraged from childhood. For another culture, it could be different. Care had to be taken that I did not let pre-established conceptions be taken for granted. For me, getting a job and working out is just a must, for others it can be a breakthrough.

Therefore, my position as a researcher was to keep myself as a listener, creating as little interference as possible during the interviews. I tried to create a friendly environment that overcomed communication barriers, that there was no hierarchy between the parties. I left my white and Euro-centric concepts of integration aside and let that the only opinions exposed were from the interviwees, as a researcher, I could not let some concepts interfere in the analysis and data collection.

6 Analysis

6.1 Programs and practices of NGOs in integrating women refugees in Sao Paulo

Although there is a great Arab tradition in Brazil, as presented in background section, racial democracy is a myth. Racial democracy is understood as the social equality of ethnic groups in Brazil, for the avaluation factors such as education, salary, employment and housing are taken into consideration. A 2005 UN[10] report concluded that Brazil is experiencing institutional racism and that racial hierarchies are culturally accepted (UN, 2005). According to the document, the participation of African descendants in the national economy is only 20% of GDP, despite representing more than half of Brazil's population. Unemployment is 50% higher among "Afro-Brazilians" than among European descendants, while the average wage among African descendants is US$ 466/month, the average for European descendants is US$ 860/month. According to the report, education is still one of the largest areas of discrimination and a major source of inequality (UN, 2005).

Refugees in Sao Paulo face common difficulties for immigrants such as language, prejudice, unemployment, homelessness, xenophobia, and inefficient assistance from the Brazilian government. Brazil is a signatory to the main international instruments relating to refugee rights and human rights, but protection is centered on legal issues and the integration policies of this population are menage as a second plan (Calegari and Justino, 2016).

In Brazil, as much as in other countries, policies for Refugee integration is undertaken through the inter-relationship between State, UNHCR and NGOs, but specially by the last one. In the Brazilian case, civil society has assumed an outstanding role in the integration process of refugees, providing, through its direct

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[10]   UNDP "Human Development Report, 2005 - Racism, Poverty and Violence". https://www.br.undp.org/content/brazil/en/home/library/idh/rdhs-brasil/humano-development-report-2000141.html

activities or partnerships, just over 60%[11] of the total amount for the integration projects in the country.

Mostly, as soon as they arrive in Brazil, refugees who do not have a family or friends support network end up receiving the first instructions on post-entry procedures in the Archdiocesan Caritas[12]. This is a legal representative, linked to CONARE (Brazilian National Committee for Refugees) and is a member of the Catholic Church in Brazil, has commissioners in more than 200 countries, in the form of the Caritas Internationalis network, based in Rome, in the Vatican. Caritas operates mainly in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro, and these are the cities with the most requests for refuge in the country.

Caritas works on three main fronts: protection, assistance and local integration. Much of this work is possible through partnerships with non-governmental organizations, international agencies, enterprise and civil society through volunteering. Partnerships allow refugees to be included in technical and vocational courses, Portuguese classes and temporary shelters, allowing the refugee to have a physical protection.

As Caritas is an organization with many work fronts and considerable involvement of people, I had no response on a possible visit or interviews for data collection. However, it is not only Caritas who are responsible for refugees' integration work. Brazil currently has the largest refugee support network in Latin America, with approximately 100 local organizations involved, with the Migration and Human Rights Institute (IMDH)[13] as the focal point of this network. Refugees generally benefit from basic social services - such as access to education and health, offered by the Brazilian government at the federal, state, and municipal levels.

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[11] Data collected in Adus website. http://www.adus.org.br/. Accessed in 07/08/2019.

[12] Archdiocesan Caritas oficial website. http://caritasarqsp.blogspot.com/. Accessed in 07/08/2019.

[13] Migrantion and Human Rights Institute oficial website, where is available the list of all organizations involved. https://www.migrante.org.br/. Accessed in 12/08/2019.

I had contact and interviews in three different NGOs that provide services to refugees in Sao Paulo: Adus, PARR and LAR.

Adus[14] (Latin word meaning access, path or entrance) was founded in October 2010 by three researchers who realized the lack of information about the refuge in Brazil and means to better integrate the refugee within the destination society. In order to improve this context and offer refugees greater autonomy, Adus holds lectures and informative events on the subject, providing in some level an exchange of experiences between refugees and Brazilians. In the space, besides Portuguese classes, immigrants have a job insertion service. As an employment agency, they have their curriculum registered and they become available for companies to search their profiles. If there is any compatibility, the refugee is called for the job interview.

In addition, the initiative began to invest in the creation of social impact businesses. At Adus' headquarters there is already a language school where refugees teach English, French and Spanish and are paid for it. Another project is the training for personal chefs, where refugees learn in a professional way, to cook their home-country dishes. This course allows the graduates to generate income by cooking in closed events as professional chefs. The organization also offers social gatherings, legal assistance, work and income projects, professional qualification courses, job placement guidance and other programs.

Adus does not have a project focused only on women, but encourage and stimulate their empowerment through the projects offered by the organization. The NGO attempts a new vision and tries to extract from the refugee all the skills she has so that she can be fully integrated into society: culturally, economically and socially.

The second institution I interviewed was PARR[15]. The Refugee Relocation Support Program (PARR in Portuguese) began in 2011, with EMDOC (a company

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[14] Adus oficial website. http://www.adus.org.br/

[15] PARR oficial website. https://www.refugiadosnobrasil.org/. Accessed in 15/08/2019.

specializing in immigration legal proceedings in Brazil). Number one project in PARR is to give information for the private sector about the importance of hiring a refugee.

The process is made by face-to-face, individual and personalized interviews with the refugees in Sao Paulo. The PARR website serves as the program's presentation platform, as well as a database and search engine for registered companies and refugees. It is its main operational tool, as it enables the team to record the professional profiles of all refugees and applicants registered in the program and subsequently conduct curriculum searches and pre-selections, according to the needs and areas of interest of the registered companies. Candidates are registered in person at the Caritas Arquidiocesana Refugee Reference Center of São Paulo, by prior appointment. Refugees must have an identity document (RNE or Refugee Application Protocol), CPF (Brazilian national number), Work Card (CPTS), and basic knowledge of the Portuguese language.

Currently, PARR has 31.4% of registered women and 68.6% of men. Despite being a minority, women are encouraged by specific programs offered by PARR. The "Empowering Refugees - 2nd edition" project is a joint initiative of the UN Global Compact, UNHCR and UN women. It aims to empower a group of refugee women in São Paulo, based on vocational guidance and access to work and networking opportunities, and aims to acknowledge the companies about the importance of the refugee situation in Brazil and how meaningful are those jobs for women. The second edition had fifty women from thirteen countries, the average age was between 25 and 34 years old and most of them with completed high school.

Because of the problems with the revalidation of diplomas, these women end up working in different areas of their graduation, but many of them understand that it is necessary, due to a transition of countries, but that it is important to be in the labor market. Diana*[16], one of the women who was hired through the project, sayid the initiative is essencial to developing and improving their self-esteem: "Women feel

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[16] Name changed in order to protect identity.

independent, can plan their life, independently of their husbands. We don't want welfare for government or other organization, we want to work and live our lives with our own income, we want to grow in the country and be independent. "

The third organization I visited was Compassiva[17], which has a section dedicated entirely to refugees. LAR (Taking Refugee Aid in Portuguese) was created to address the most basic and urgent needs of Syrian refugees in Brazil, particularly in the city of Sao Paulo. The main goal is to support these people as they rebuild their lives in a new country, providing not only a safe place, but also learning and living environment. LAR has several fronts:

• Portuguese course:

The first barrier that Syrians face when they arrive in Brazil is the language, and it takes the longest to overcome. Currently, the classes are divided by levels and, for cultural reasons, there are classes for Arab women only. All classes are held at Compassiva's headquarter.

• Legal Assistance and diploma revalidation:

Although Brazil has reduced bureaucracy in issuing visas, the process of document regularization and diploma revalidation may take months to complete. The NGO offers assistance from lawyers who attend refugees to the Federal Police and provide legal advice regarding Brazilian labor laws about vacation, maternity leave, contractual matters and other related matters.

• Work:

LAR helps refugees find jobs that meet their qualifications by providing assistance with resume translation, online recruitment system registration, job search and networking with potential employers and vocational courses on entrepreneurship and management, in partnership with a university in Sao Paulo.

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[17] Compassiva oficial website. http://compassiva.org.br/. Accessed in 16/08/2019

• Sustenance

In addition to financial independence and language learning, the care given to Syrian refugees also includes their insertion and integration into Brazilian society, aiming their physical and emotional well-being. The program created a team responsible for four basic needs: health, food, housing and social integration.

This last program provides assistance to women's health, with volunteer doctors (only women) providing service performing gynecological examinations, support for pregnant women in pre-delivery, childbirth and postpartum, contributing to the physical, emotional and informative well-being of women, newborns born and family members. It also helps refugees find residence, promotes tours and external events so that they get to know Sao Paulo better, focus as an opportunity for leisure, relaxation and closer bind between the refugees themselves and also with volunteers.

During my visit to the LAR, I was able to talk to Emma*[18] and her father Oliver*[19]. They are from Republic of Congo and came to Brazil seven years ago as they were being persecuted for being human rights activists in their country, Oliver is a lawyer and failed to revalidate the diploma in Brazil. Through the programs offered by LAR, both took a course in entrepreneurship and business management and Emma, through a partnership with an university, obtained a scholarship for the gastronomy course.

Oliver decided to invest the savings he brought and opened a vegan Congolese restaurant, having Emma as associate of the company. She is responsible for the menus and heading the kitchen, and his business is the financial matters. The restaurant has become a meeting place and a point of support for other refugees and immigrants. Once a month, they open the kitchen for other refugees and they can cook some typical dish from their country. This tradition eventually became an event and a form of integration and fusion of other cultures.

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[18] Name changed in order to protect identity.

[19] Name changed in order to protect identity.

Emma assures that "if it weren't for LAR's help, my father and I would never have the courage to adventure into the world of entrepreneurship. It was thanks to the courses offered and the scholarship that we were able to settle in Brazil and live a dignified life. "

Christina*[20] was able to find a formal job through LAR's partnership with a company, but she had difficulty of finding someone to take care of her young child, as she could not get a place in the public school near her house. After some searching, she found a baby-sitter to stay with her son.

It was because of this difficulty, which nearly cost her job, that she suggested to LAR o them to set up a daycare center so that women could have a place of trust to leave their children while they worked. The NGO leadership found it a great initiative and they began to develop the project, which should start in 2020. In addition to helping with motherhood, the project aims to hire some refugees to be interns, generating income for more people. . The nursery will be held in the NGO's own space and will be open during business hours, from 8 a.m until 7 p.m.

Fernanda, the representative I interviewed, admits that even though there are already programs aimed to women, the issue of motherhood had failed by the organization and that this type of feedback from the refugees is important for the projects to be constantly evolving and to be able to aggregate as many people as possible.

6.2 Social and economic integration on refugees in Brazilian society

Kuhlman (1990) defines integration as the process by which refugee maintain their own identity but become part of the receiving society as they can live together with the local population in an acceptable manner. The concept of local integration, for the author - as for Crisp (2014) - does not mean assimilation of refugees into the society in which they live, that is, they are not expected to abandon their own culture,

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[20] Name changed in order to protect identity.

becoming indistinguishable from local community. The idea is that nationals and foreigners can adjust their behaviors and attitudes among themselves, demanding an effort from nationals to understand the different and the right of foreigners to preserve their cultural repertoire of origin.

As worked by Hynie (2018), economic integration is considered complete when there is total independence of the person, without any financial / social incentive from either state or non-state actors. The process of economic integration is often slower than the social process, so it can be said that at this time of refugee reception they are more socially rather than economically integrated. To achieve economic independence, the process is slower, it takes planning, but with state incentives and the projects offered by NGOs, these women are already able to help maintain their homes, feel more independent and more productive.

I had contact with some refugees who agreed to be interviewed to report some of the routine in the new country. I interviewed women with different experiences so that I could get a better idea of how their integration process was developing. I talked to single women, married women, different ages, with and without children, some with complete higher education and some only with high school. These differences, recalling the role of intersectionality, provided data to analyze whether the projects offered by NGOs are efficient and how integrated these women are in society.

One of the biggest difficulties that refugees face when arriving in Brazil is the misinformation of the civilian population regarding refugee status. More effort is needed from state agencies to make the population understand that a refugee has the same rights as a Brazilian citizen. These immigrants may be hired under the same labor regimes, may benefit from the public health system, may attend schools and universities, among other activities. NGOs help recognition and clarify refugee status, host laws, give lecture at multinationals, encourage small businesses to hire a refugee.

Beyond all the difficulties faced in a new country, unpreparedness in social services it is a common complaint: English-speaking people are lacking in hospitals, banks, police. One of the interviewees reported that she could not open a bank account, as

the manager was unaware of the authenticity of documents approved by the Brazilian government for the refugee asylum seeker. The problem was only solved when an NGO representative went with the refugee to the bank, did the simultaneous translations, was handed-over with Brazilian legislation and was able to explain the manager that she was adepted to open the account.

Four of the six respondents went to Brazil as their last choice. After a quick search on the internet, they found that the brazilian legislation was broader to receive refugees and that the country had a sizable Arab community. Some of them reported that they had colleagues who came for family reunification. They chose São Paulo because it is a big, cosmopolitan city, with more people from different cultures, with more options for enjoyment and leisure.

Searches to decide the destination sometimes end up leaving a gap of what is the reality of the country. When they arrived, the refugees had another idea of what Brazil could be, the idea of being a mixed country, with different cultures, ends up masking a conservative and xenophobic country. Some teenagers, the children of the interviewees and some colleagues, reported being bullied about religion, jokes about Islamic bomb men, but Brazilian teenagers justified it as "just" a joke. In addition to this disparity between expectations and reality, refugees criticize about much bureaucracy and violence. But despite the difficulties and prejudices, refugees are extremely grateful for the opportunity to restart life, and despite some negative experiences, they still find most of the population friendly and willing to help.

It is in the NGOs' space that women have the opportunity to develop their network, both personal and professional, to become more integrated into Brazilian society. It is through the programs offered that they learn Portuguese, receive suggestions on how to find a job and participate in kraft and cooking workshops to help with family income. Despite the different backgorunds among women, NGO programs can encompass them all, making them extract whatever is most productive for their lives.

Hannah[21], one of the women I interviewed was able to objectively explain how this incentive works: she is a high school graduate, married, 28 years old, Syrian, and has a 1-year-old child. While her husband spent the day working, she stayed at home taking care of her son and household chores. In Syria, she worked in the family business, a small grocery, selling fruits and vegetables. In Brazil, she was not happy and wanted to feel more financially and socially "useful", that was when she met Adus, through the referral of friends and went to know the space. She became acclimatized, increased her network of friendships, began attending the vocational cooking course and began selling some Syrian dish foods in the neighborhood where she lives.

Through the program, she was able to change her routine, help financially at home, meet other refugees and other Brazilians. Hannah said that this contact was essential for her to feel at home and not just "one more migrant", that being around other people was good for her mental health and minimized her homesickness.

Another refugee, Olivia[22], faced the decision to change country on her own. She has a degree in Computer Technique, is single, has no children, is thirty years old and is Egyptian. She said that she experienced some situations of discrimination, both from the Arab community and some Brazilians. With the Arab community, being older and single was not very well regarded, and with Brazilians, she said they were surprised that she was always wearing Hijab[23], questioned if she would not stop wearing it since she was in a different country.

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[21] Name changed in order to protect identity.

[22] Name changed in order to protect identity.

[23] Hijab is a traditional Muslim clothing. The hijab involves wearing clothing that is not tight fitting and that covers a woman's body with the exception of her face, hands and feet. This is required when a woman would be in the presence of men who are not closely related to her. The hijab is not required in front of a woman's father, husband, brothers, sons, grandfathers, grandsons, father-in-law, sons-in-law, nephews, minor male children or elderly men. https://islamacloserlook.com/what-is-hijab/. Accessed in 09/09/2019.

Olivia found in Adus not only a space for sharing with other people, but also an opportunity to generate income. She has not yet achieved the revalidation of the diploma, and it was through the project "Cultural Embrace" that she managed to support herself and create a new life in Brazil. The "Cultural Embrace" is an initiative that enables refugees to teach other language to the brazilian. Olivia, for example, teaches English twice a week for an hour and a half to two classes of six students. She saw in this project the perfect opportunity to unite economic and social integration, making new friends, outside her community, and enabling financial structuring.

In an interview with Marilia, the representative of PARR, she said that projects are good ways to get women into the job market and increase the social cycle. Marilia recognized that the integration process takes time and that the lack of monetary incentive ends up damaging the effectiveness of the programs. Even with these obstacles, in almost seven years of PARR, more than 2,000 people have already been served by the program and about 250 companies have registered, willing to open their doors to refugees. Approximately 2,400 refugees (754 of them women) sought PARR to enroll in the program, 3,000 attendance were made, more than 500 interviews with registered companies were made, 233 hires (74 women) and 250 people benefited by vocational training projects.

The main objective of the project is to increase women's access to formal employment. Marilia, adds: "The more diverse is a team, the more innovative it can be. Diversity brings return on investment because it delivers innovation, new ideas, new ways of representing a product to the customer. Different people mean different life experiences".

The delay in putting women's needs on an official UN agenda brings some detain to the development of specific integration programs for women:

> The special needs of a refugee women have not been acknowledge whithin the UN system except in relatively recente years. Only since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly held in 19779 has there been a special emphasis on the urgente and particular needs of refugee women. Kourula* indicates that it was not until 1985 that the specific needs of refugee women were included as separate agenda item at UNHCR's annual Executive Committee (EXCOM) meeting (Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2001. Pp22).

Despite the fact there are some advances, it still needs to overcome the barrier of political will to create public policies and the efficiency of implementing them:

> There have been some advances by UNCHR and in some domestic government policy towards recognizing the especific situation os women, demonstrated by the establishment of gender guidelines. There is, however, a general lack of political will to implemente them...(Pittaway and Bartolomei, 2001. Pp23).

Despite the fact that it is difficult to find cohesive data on how many refugees are employed under the CLT (Consolidation of labor laws, in portuguese) regime, much due to the fact that some women are working with entrepreneurship. Overall, it can be concluded that these refugees are well on their way to the integration process, both socially and economically, mainly because they recognize that the process of changing countries and being fully integrated into society takes some time.

Although they admit to having another idea about Brazil, facing the difference between expectation and reality, of Brazil being a plural country, but also showing the faces of prejudice, the refugees are extremely grateful for the opportunity to start over and rebuild life.

6.3 Non-governmental organizations in Sao Paulo: Success and failure in integration of migrant women

The inclusion of refugees in the social context brings benefits to the economic activity of the country. These people, from different cultures, abilities and skills, make the labor market more competitive, making natives look for more skills, encouraging more productivity. However, for this to be necessary, the effective inclusion of refugees in our society is necessary, above all, guaranteeing the dignity of the human person, a fundamental pillar of human rights.

"To welcome, is much more than only attend, means to emancipate, to seek cultural, legal and labor conditions and insertions that make the refugee no longer "a wound of our time" (John Paul II), but a citizen of the world that Brazil is proud of to receive, integrate and promote (Milesi, 2003, p.153)". The presence of the refugee in Brazil should not cause so much strangeness in the population. Brazil was formed through miscegenation, the coming of immigrants, mostly from Europe, fleeing economic

crises and the great wars. No comparison is needed on who is better or worse. It is to understand that these immigrants are different and how these differences can positively impact the growth of the country. Their entry helps in education, tolerance, and diversity, directly and indirectly offering cultural, economic, and social gain.

Since the mid-2000s, however, the Brazilian government has been paying attention not only to the protection of refugees - by determining refugee status - but also to the integration of refugees and to establish public policies geared to these. people. The federal government has sought, albeit timidly, the insertion of refugees into existing public policies in Brazil (Ramos, Rodrigues and Almeida, 2011).

Government, civil society and private sector are realizing that investing in public policy for refugees is beginning to bring economic returns to the country. Understand that most of these refugees are in the productive age group, that there are capacities for them to develop more, produce more, be able to support themselves. Hippolyte d´Albis (2018), a professor at the Paris School of Economics, concluded in a study that a one per cent of migratory wave would result in economic gains of up to 4.35 per cent of GDP per capita after a decade in the new country. The simulation was based on data compiled from 19 countries between 1985 and 2015.

Currently, social integration is more effective and broader than economic, due to two main factors: high unemployment in Brazil (rate of 12%, reaching 13 million people) and a greater supply of organizations focused more on social integration. A recent UNHCR[24] survey, in partnership with eight Brazilian universities, analyzed some social indicators such as employment, culture, obstacles to integration, and concluded that all the factors analyzed reinforce and demonstrate that despite the difficulties with employment, with the revalidation of diplomas and incomes or wages considered insufficient, refugees believe in their adaptability and social ascension in

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[24] UNHCR. "Socioeconomic Profile of Refugees in Brazil - Policy Development Grant". 2019. https://www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/Resumo-Executivo-Versa%CC%83o-Online.pdf. Accessed in 09/09/2019.

the country, projects that they wish to build in family environments. In summary, Brazil is currently a difficult but definitive option for the refugee population analyzed.

Brazil received the first increase in the number of refugees in 2013, when it jumped from 4,022 asylum applications in 2012 to 17,631. Since then this number has only been growing, reaching 33,865 in 2017 and even after six years experiencing this growth, refugees still find it difficult to access information about the country, face a lot of paperwork, suffer from insertion in the labor market. All these problems make their integration in the country difficult.

Federal/municipal and private incentives are lacking for NGOs to be able to implement the programs on a large scale. During these six years of increasing the number of refugees a lot more coould have been done. Diploma revalidation processes could take less time, access to culture and information could be broader. Slow, bureaucratic and low-investment processes bring only minor results and it is not only refugees who lose on this delay, the whole country could benefit positively from this available workforce.

The difficulty in obtaining concise numbers on the integration of refugees into the labor market is a detrimental factor in the analysis of working conditions that these people are. Between 2011 and 2018, 76,878 work cards were issued for refugees and it is estimated that over 90% of this new workers work 44 hours or more per week and earn an average of US $ 364 / month, indicating a situation precarious workforce.

These numbers were traced by OBMigra (Observatory of International Migration), extracted from the crossing of different municipal government databases. "We need to pay attention to this data to make policies for the integration of these people," said Cavalcanti, coordinator of the analysis. It is not fair to concluded that these refugees are economically integrated as their condition of work are precarious. The study suggest the creation of more efficient public policies. In addition to the work of NGOs, universities play an excellent role in promoting such studies, promoting debate for the improvement of existing public programs and encouraging the creation of new ones.

Despite these negative points, the positive integeation in Brazilian society is considered optimistic, as revealed by the study of UNHCR and the 8 Brazilian universities, 487 refugees were interviewed (49% men, 23% women, 27.5% did not report gender and 0.4% other) and of this total, 456 respondents showed interest in asking for Brazilian nationality. We can see here the immense integrative potential that indicates confidence in the definitive integration into Brazilian society.

The future prospects of refugees were measured through some hypothetical attitudes, such as a new application for refuge and the desire to stay in the country and bring their family. In total, 84% of 456 respondents (355 refugees) stated that they would make a new request for refuge even after knowing the Brazilian reality and indicated that participation in social projects was a decisive factor for the integration to occur positively, evidencing this desire to continue in the country and, in the future, bring other family members to live in Brazil as well.

In short, the request for refuge and the desire to remain in Brazil after knowledge of the Brazilian reality indicate great integrative potential and strong belief in the future of your life in the country.

Despite relatively successful in this insertion in recent years, the last election for President of the Republic, in 2018, ended up electing a ultra-conservative far-right candidate who stands publicly against opening the border and against state subsidies for foreigners[25], endangers the progress of the integration process. Over the next few years, the work of NGOs and civil society will be even more important so that there is no greater damage to projects that are already underway.

Projects promoted by NGOs are considered by refugees to be more efficient and satisfying than state actions. However, refugees point out that both projects and basic needs (housing, education, health) need more subsidies (state or private) and

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[25] Jair Bolsonaro's speech in a TV show in the United States, where he agreed with Trump's idea of construct the wall against Mexico's migrants. https://www.cartacapital.com.br/mundo/bolsonaro-critica-imigrantes-e-defende-muro-de-trump/. Accessed in 10/09/2019.

more exposure, but respondents recognize that they are on the right path to be an effective integration.

Therefore, civil society organizes itself to fill gaps, either through the work of NGOs, in partnership with state institutions, or with private incentive, aiming at the welfare of these refugees. Therefore, where there is no state action, other actors take on certain responsibilities (Mialhe and Malheiro, 2016). This is the case of the organizations analyzed in this paper, and many others that are scattered throughout the country, not only with refugee agenda, but paying attention to other issues to integrate Brazil as na entity more effectively.

7 Final Considerations

All the analyzed indicators reinforce and demonstrate that, despite the difficulties with employment, revalidation of diplomas and incomes considered insufficient, the refugees believe in their ability to adapt and in the social advancement in the country, including projecting to bring family members who are in their home countries. In summary, Brazil is currently a difficult but definitive option for the refugee population analyzed.

Given the analyzed reality, it is present to the discussion about the elements of public policy that can be put into action. More partnerships between public, private and NGO sectors, greater diffusion of the question on refuge and the benefits of integrating refugees into Brazilian society, with lectures and campaigns in schools and companies, for example, as well as more academic debate and more publications about the theme. In addition, to use better this available labor force, it would be necessary to redesign the system to make it less bureaucratic to revalidate diplomas, as well as to create more formal job vacancies to allocate refugees.

Delay in including public policies aimed at women's development, such as childcare, women-only Portuguese classes, appointments with only female doctors, delays their inclusion in the refugees' integration project and interferes with cultural questions. Although NGOs fill a part of these gaps, the lack of government incentive impairs the realization and expansion of these projects. In addition to the financial incentive, would be necessary a greater effort to train public empoyees to provide better support servisse to these people, plus fluent English speaking agents, an integrated federal-municipal database platform to be able to access concise numbers on refugees in the country, which ones are working, having access to education and health system.

The main problem for full integration is the lack of government planning, which ends up discharger into the efficiency of NGO projects. Brazil has very broad and inclusive host laws, but it stops there. There is no concise plan on integration, which results,

for example, in diverse entities given different informations about procedures, documents, laws. NGOs' efforts to address these problems are undeniable here, and even with all adversity and slowness, projects are evaluated positively. Therefore, it is possible to assert that if it were not for the role played by these entities, the integration process would be even slower. Organizations are successful and, despite the fear of the new government, projections are optimistic about improving public service.

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Appendix

Questions for refugees:

- Refugees personal information (name, age, civil status, child)
- If the answer for "Child" is "yes", are they studying?
- Background information (work, education)
- Is the answer for "Work" is "yes", are you working now?
- How long are you in Brazil? Why Brazil? And especially Sao Paulo?
- Was a decision to come to Brazil made by whom?
- What were the expectations about Sao Paulo? (Good impression, people helpful, bureaucracy for visa)
- In which degree do you consider yourself integrated within the Brazilian society?
- What are your main difficulties in adapting to Brazilian society?
- Where do you live?
- What do you usually do in your free time? What do you usually do in your free time?
- Do you have any contact with Brazilian people outside the NGO space?
- Do you receive any monetary help from the government?
- Do you have access to public health/ education system?
- How frequently do you have contact with another people (other cultures)

Questions for NGOs representatives:

- What types of activities are offered for integration?
- The participants are more men or women?
- Is there any different type of projects for women?
- Do you consider that the projects offered by the NGO are being successful in integrating these people? If "Yes", can you explain? If "No", what are the challenges?