

O Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA) publica ensaios, artigos de revisão, artigos teóricos e empíricos, resenhas e vídeos relacionados às temáticas de políticas públicas.

O periódico tem como escopo a publicação de trabalhos inéditos e originais, nacionais ou internacionais que versem sobre Políticas Públicas, resultantes de pesquisas científicas e reflexões teóricas e empíricas.

Esta revista oferece acesso livre imediato ao seu conteúdo, seguindo o princípio de que disponibilizar gratuitamente o conhecimento científico ao público proporciona maior democratização mundial do conhecimento.



BOLETIM DE CONJUNTURA

BOCA

Ano V | Volume 16 | Nº 46 | Boa Vista | 2023

<http://www.ioles.com.br/boca>

ISSN: 2675-1488

<https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8423644>



“LAKAY SE LAKAY” INFORMATION SOLIDARITY BETWEEN HAITIANS IN BRAZIL DURING THE COVID-19 PANDEMIC

Ethol Exime¹

Abstract

This research aimed to analyze the relationship between Haitians in the Whatsapp group (Haitians in Brazil) from the perspective of solidarity during the pandemic of Covid-19 and the impacts of racial inequality in the Haitian immigrants' lives in Brazil. It sought to answer: how can the occurrence of solidarity among Haitians in the pandemic context be explained? The methodology of content analysis was opted for, used to analyze the data of 35 respondents, obtained in the first moment by a questionnaire composed of 14 questions and in the second moment by a short questionnaire of 4 questions. To obtain better results from a qualitative investigation like this, the theory of functionalism was used, which allows a complete and detailed analysis of solidarity. It is concluded that solidarity in the Haitian context happens through information exchanges for offers of low-cost jobs, rents, and food, especially during the fragile time of the pandemic of Covid-19.

Keywords: Covid-19; Ethnic Politics; Functionalism Theory; Haitian Immigration; Prejudice.

Resumo

Esta pesquisa teve como objetivo analisar a relação entre os haitianos do grupo Whatsapp (Haitianos no Brasil) a partir da perspectiva da solidariedade durante a pandemia da Covid-19 e os impactos da desigualdade racial na vida dos imigrantes haitianos no Brasil. Procurou-se responder: como se pode explicar a existência de solidariedade entre os haitianos no contexto pandêmico? Optou-se pela metodologia de análise de conteúdo, utilizada para analisar os dados de 35 respondentes, obtidos num primeiro momento por um questionário composto por 14 perguntas e num segundo momento por um breve questionário de 4 perguntas. Para obter melhores resultados de uma investigação qualitativa como esta, usou-se a teoria do funcionalismo, que permite uma análise completa e profunda da solidariedade. Conclui-se que a solidariedade no contexto haitiano acontece através de trocas de informação para ofertas de emprego, rendas e alimentos a baixo custo, especialmente durante o frágil momento da pandemia da Covid-19.

Palavras-chave: Covid-19; Imigração Haitiana; Política Étnica; Preconceito; Teoria do Funcionalismo.

178

INTRODUCTION

We live in an increasingly globalized world, where mobility is becoming commonplace. As a result, some nationalities such as Haitians, Venezuelans and Bolivians, in the context of Latin America, are constantly leaving their homelands in search of a better life. Haitians, in particular, have left Haiti in recent decades in search of new opportunities such as employment, security and quality of life.

It is understood that events such as the 2010 earthquake and the successive hurricanes that shook the country, as well as other events resulting from Climate Change, contribute to the increasing challenges faced by Haitians as they suffer from poverty, hunger, food insecurity and disease. In addition, the lack of basic sanitation, lack of resources and corruption are also part of the reasons that have led many Haitians to seek a new life in countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Chile, among others.

¹ B. A. in International Relations. Ph. D. candidate in Sustainable Rural Development at the State University of Western Paraná (UNIOESTE). E-mail: eeetholl@hotmail.com



When they choose Brazil, therefore, they are faced with more challenges, common for immigrants, such as learning a new language, culture, finding their first job and adapting to a new lifestyle, in addition to having to face prejudice, racial problems, unemployment and the rising cost of living, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. It is considered a situation that has affected the Brazilian economy, companies and workers, because according to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE*, as of July 2020, more than 16.6 million people have lost their jobs, including immigrants.

In this context, currents of solidarity have emerged among Haitian immigrants as part of the solution to these problems. The need for a greater understanding of the Haitian situation in Brazil gave rise to a WhatsApp group called “Haitians in Brazil”, which brought together 40 Haitian citizens in various cities across the country. In order to better understand the challenges faced by Haitians, a study investigated the relationship between Haitians in this WhatsApp group from the perspective of solidarity during the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil. The aim was to answer the following question: How can the existence of solidarity between Haitians be explained in the context of the pandemic? This was a qualitative study with strong interpretative ties using content analysis methodology.

Émile Durkheim's Functionalist theory was used as the basis for the theoretical discussions, starting from the main idea of mechanical and organic solidarity, with the intention of understanding the relationship of Haitians based on collectivity, depending on the behavior of those involved and their needs. Thus, a new type of solidarity was introduced, a concept called “Immigratory Informative Solidarity”, based on cooperation between immigrants seeking a better life in Brazil, in order to understand where there are the best jobs and salaries, quality of life, among other aspects, which makes this research necessary.

From this perspective, this research plays an important and impactful role in shedding light on this type of solidarity and the problems that Haitians have been facing, as well as publicizing the construction of this concept.

To make it easier for the reader to understand, the work follows the following order: it begins with a brief contextualization of the topic and a theoretical review, followed by the methodological topic that explains the construction of the research. Subsequently, the discussions and results present what was inferred from the data analysis, and finally, the main conclusions of this research are presented.

INITIAL DISCUSSIONS ON THE TOPIC

In 2020, Brazil received approximately 1,085,673 legal immigrants, coming from countries, including Haiti, Venezuela, Bolivia, and Colombia, among others, who chose to seek a new and



dignified life in the Brazilian territory, due to the economic, political, and social problems of their countries of origin (CAVALCANTI; OLIVEIRA; MACEDO, 2020).

In this sense, the common ground between immigrants can be understood from hunger and extreme poverty, from the political crisis that the citizens of these countries face. Considering this precarious circumstance, it is realized that the largest number of immigrants in 2019, belonged to Haitians, totaling 106.1 thousand (SIMÕES; CAVALCANTI; PEREDA, 2019). Currently, this position is linked to Venezuelan immigrants, which has significantly increased in the last two years even with the Covid-19 pandemic (CAVALCANTI; OLIVEIRA; MACEDO, 2020).

The purpose of those who immigrate is clear: the search for opportunities to improve their lives, for this it is essential to find a way to live well. However, the responsibility of controlling or establishing rules to maintain a process of adaptation, coexistence in society, training, insertion in the labor market, and the creation of public policies for this purpose lies with the authorities of the country that receives the immigrants. In this perspective, the work factor is important to meet such needs (SIMÕES; CAVALCANTI; PEREDA, 2019).

In this perspective, solidarity among the Haitian people in this pandemic context, began to become extremely important, because it is necessary to seek a deeper understanding of the relationship between Haitian immigrants. One can see the need to discuss the immigration issue about the immigrants' search for quality of life, besides the disappointments and frustrations that can be avoided through collectivism and solidarity among the immigrants that fight to get an excellent job and live a life with dignity.

The unemployment level in the Brazilian context has oscillated between 10 and 13.7% in the last two years, according to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística- IBGE*, a situation that directly impacts the lives of immigrants. From this perspective, the average salary at the national level has remained at R\$2,500 Reais, while that of immigrants is R\$1,500 Reais (IBGE, 2020). This is a very considerable difference, it seems, that it is two countries in one, by of this salary, the quality of life falls below the level necessary to achieve their migratory purposes.

As an effect of this situation, most immigrants share residences for their expenses. Adding up all the expenses with food and rent, they are usually left with less than R\$100.00 per month (MELLO, 2019), making it impossible to have leisure and re-education, besides and is being forced to resort to lending in banks; they says, many of the immigrants are indebted in the bank credit system.

The immigrants that were in this situation, in debt and still with a job that does not allow them to live well, were faced in Brazil with the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic, which made their already precarious living situation even worse. In the month of July 2020, the number of Brazilian workers



directly affected by the health crisis was 6.2 million, adding to the unemployed resulting in 16.6 million in total (IBGE, 2020). The coronavirus is part of a large family of viruses that are common in many different species of animals, including camels, cattle, cats, and bats. Rarely these viruses, which infect animals can infect people, as an example of MERS-CoV and SARS-CoV. Recently, in December 2019, there was transmission of a new coronavirus (SARS-CoV-2), which was identified in Wuhan in China and caused COVID-19, and was then spread and transmitted person to person. (NASCIMENTO; PACHECO, 2020). From this, it is considered that one of the impacts of the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil and the world has affected the economy of numerous countries in a very negative way (SILVA *et al.*, 2020; ROMERO; SILVA, 2020).

The most vulnerable, especially immigrants, have experienced difficulty finding new jobs, preferably with a decent salary that would allow them to use their qualifications, potential, and professions. This salary issue is related, not only to the immigrant condition but also to an issue related to racial ethnicity, in other words, to skin color (Santos, 1993). Therefore, ethnic policies under the prism of affirmative action in Brazil to combat or punish prejudice and racial discrimination are limited in their application, even though they are provided for in the 1988 Constitution. (BRASIL, 1989). Because of this, solidarity in its original context allows discussing the importance of the collective in diverse social groups, driving the creation of equilibrium-based solidarity to help meet human needs (DURKHEIM, 1999; LINARES, 2012), something that has been very present in the lives of immigrants, particularly Haitians. In this context, a theoretical understanding of the theme is necessary, and the Functionalist theory is presented as a referential alignment of the theme of immigration based on solidarity.

REVIEW AND THEORETICAL UNDERSTANDING OF THE THEME OF SOLIDARITY

The Functionalist theory allows us to analyze society, social classes, and the factors that impact its growth, from institutions to the behavior of individuals in society. At this point, our concern is to discuss the most important points of a specific author, respecting other theorists who contributed to the construction of the Functionalism theory, one of which is the French Émile Durkheim, for whom:

Functionalism strongly influenced social theories until the 1980s, becoming the hegemonic method in sociology during this period. Its major philosophers in social theory were Émile Durkheim, Talcott Parson,s and Robert Merton. Far beyond the impact on the very constitution of sociology as an academic discipline, these authors influenced the way social relations were seen and the questions that arose from this view. Undoubtedly, Functionalism had a great influence on the theories that sought to explain the modernization process of the “less developed” or “developing” countries. Taking into account this strong influence, especially



Parsons, in *Modernization Theories*, we can see that the major problems posed by this theory refer to matters of order, and integration [...] (REIS, 2016, p. 8).

Concerning this process, developing and underdeveloped countries have a big problem related to social structures, integrating, in general, besides economic situations, inequalities as a fundamental point to rethink solidarity. Therefore, this theory needs the support of rulers and civil institutions to deal with social issues, especially in times of difficulty, as in the context of the Covid-19 pandemic, which has affected and is affecting the whole world, and has generated in developed countries the greatest inequality ever seen in the history of the planet. Thus, this discussion requires a greater understanding of the Functionalist theory for its main ramifications under the light of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity.

For Émile Durkheim, solidarity has its basis in consensus, which allows people to commit to society, allowing the idea of collectivity to circulate among people. In this respect, we must understand that the emergence of a problem or the appearance of difficulty makes it possible for society to become part of the context of continuous evolution. As for the proper functioning of the system that exists there or is available for people to build a balanced social system is necessary a clear way to develop the values of solidarity (LINARES, 2012; SILVEIRA *et al.*, 2023).

Émile Durkheim's theory helps us with the division and explanation of two forms of solidarity: the mechanical and the organic. However, it is understood that these two concepts treated in the work *On the Division of Social Labor*, in 1893, have not had the proper appreciation in theoretical analysis since its publication. It is only in the last few decades that a movement has begun to rescue their value and importance, as shown by Vares,

[... In the first place, we address the concepts of Mechanical and Organic Solidarity, emphasizing their importance for the main ideas developed by the author in his doctoral thesis; in the second place, we rescue the main criticisms directed to the supposed “abandonment” of these interpretative keys in his final works; and, in the third and last moment, we intend to demonstrate, from the analysis of some of his works, that Durkheim never abandoned his original premises, and that the failure to employ them again in no way invalidates the importance of these concepts for the development of his sociological theory (VARES, 2013, p. 150).

Max already brought the idea of the union of workers that connects with the theory under discussion. Without the purpose of analyzing or explaining the social fact, one must take into account that sociology has much to do with social facts and the daily events of each individual, reaching, therefore, the purpose of the smooth functioning of society (QUEIROZ, 1995). It is expressed through the work factor, which encourages reciprocity between individuals, cooperating with the intention of improving the social aspects of certain groups in need. (SILVA, 2021).



In the pre-capitalist context, that involved perception, especially in what each occupation consists of to make a society function gives, even if there was no high degree of complexity of work in Mechanical Solidarity. From this, the soy relied on traditions, especially in the productive context. An important fact is the simplicity of societies before capitalism, where certain people in society knew where all the products of their needs came from, the manufacturing processes, and the construction generally, since they did not depend much on other sectors (DURKHEIM, 1999).

According to Durkheim's theory, today we live in an Organic society in which society works like the human body, in which the lack of an organ, this body would stop working or would have serious problems, causing an interdependent process. In today's society, with its high degree of division of labor, there is a lack of knowledge about the work process, which leads society to be much more individualistic. So, any impact in one sector can interfere with another. For example, the current Covid-19 crisis in the world implies directly the functioning of life in society, (GUADAGNO, 2020; SILVA, 2021). From the perspective of Émile Durkheim's Organic Solidarity, the debate about the phenomenon of individualism and the modernity of labor capitalism opens up, becoming a very present discussion in the 21st century (DURKHEIM, 1999).

Starting from the idea of a well-functioning human body, the extremely necessary idea of adding another type of solidarity called INFORMATIVE IMMIGRATORY SOLIDARITY, emerged. The informative immigration solidarity aims to present a type of cooperation among immigrants, based on information sharing, with the purpose of improving life from the informative collective. Because of this, one of the immigrants' difficulties is to choose the city that will be their home during the first months in the foreign country. The formation of an informative network makes it less challenging to adapt to life and serves as a marketing tool for the exchange of useful information in the immigration process. In the age of technology and globalization, society almost everywhere in the world can communicate and discuss the problems of humanity. With this, the societies, peoples, world, and national populations of the 21st century are not, and should not be, isolated.

In this perspective, the transformation of the world goes through changes throughout the past centuries, where it is fundamental to emphasize the objective of sharing, cooperating, and emphasizing collectivism, for a cohesive society, in the sense of fighting together for a better world (DURKHEIM, 1997; 1999; 2000; EXIME *et al.*, 2021a; YUSRIFA; MURTININGSIH, 2023). All this should necessarily be linked to improved income distribution; access to jobs anywhere in the world; fighting poverty; reduction of inequalities; and, above all, respect for the human being, constantly in any part of the universe.



This theory, with its essential focus on solidarity, guides the logic of the analysis of the individualism issue as an obstruction to the progress of immigrants, because in an Organic society, everyone is interconnected and interdependent (DURKHEIM, 1997; 2000). By interpretation, we understand Immigratory Informative Solidarity as a set of aids, of dissemination through digital communication channels (WhatsApp, Facebook, and phones) based on the sharing of relevant information, which helps immigrants to find jobs, buy goods, rent, promotional products, scholarships, vocational courses, and others.

Therefore, it is a problem of social and racial equity, a lack of ethnic social policy aligned to immigrants in Brazil, this is a problem of ethnicity embedded in Brazilian society, even before the immigration fluxes. It is noted that the racial problem that overflows under the immigrants mainly in the question of equal opportunities, is an issue that is configured in the Brazilian constitution of 1988, two articles stand out (SILVA; SANTIAGO, 2016; SEGATTO; ALVES; PINEDA, 2023). The first is related to the victory of blacks referring to Article 4, item VIII and Article 5, item XLII that help in the promotion against acts of social inequality, race, and sexes, to combat and eliminate discrimination (SANTOS, 2018).

Those were victories demanded by the black movements of the time to deal with problems not only racial but also unemployment, unequal positions, lower salaries, and even exercising the same professions or having identical qualifications to whites (SANTOS, 1993). In this perspective, Law 10.639/2003 stands out, having contributed to press the Brazilian State to take sides with not only the implementation of the same but to work so that this ethnic policy of equality could be respected daily at the conjuncture of the right of all through equality. (SANTOS, 2018; ARAÚJO; NOGUEIRA; GUERRA, 2023). As Oliveira (2017), demonstrates, the formation of the Brazilian nation-state is naturally formed by a mixture of racial ethnicity, black, brown, white, and indigenous. From this, the forgetting or silencing of the groups that contributed to the formation of the State is a matter of social injustice of less equity that pushes poverty to the present day (ALBUQUERQUE *et al.*, 2011; SILVA; SANTIAGO, 2016).

The role of ethnic policies to the less favored for the equality of rights in Brazil is a present social reality, but still short of reach. The ethnic equality of the Brazilian black population was transformed into concrete actions after the government of Fernando Henrique Cardoso in 1995 (SANTOS, 2010). Already in the subsequent government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva in (2003), resulted in the creation of the Special Secretariat for Policies to Promote Racial Equality (SEPPIR), seeking to acknowledge the existing inequality of racial ethnicity to give voices to the black population that still suffering today with discrimination and prejudice (RIBEIRO, 2006; CORDOVIL, 2014;



SILVA; SANTIAGO, 2016; SANTOS, 2018). With everything, it states that it is a social imbalance with political aspects that help the growth of inequalities between groups of black people (DRAIBE, 1993).

According to the demographic census produced in 2010, Brazil is a country that is characterized mostly non-white with a population of 50.7% between blacks and browns, and another 49.3% whites, yellows, and indigenous (IBGE, 2010), currently in 2022, the country would be with approximately 54% blacks, which includes immigrants residing in the Brazilian territory. Looking at this percentage, it understands that more initiatives are needed, such as the Immigratory Informative Solidarity, therefore, it would be outsourcing the role of the State in the fight against discrimination and prejudice.

In this way, prejudice is understood as [...] a negative predisposition directed at people, groups of people, or social institutions (JACCOUD; BEGHIN, 2002, p. 35). To achieve this purpose, the same authors state

Affirmative action policies are not the only necessary initiatives to promote greater racial equality in the country. But they would be essential to achieve objectives that cannot be reached by repressive anti-discrimination measures, by universal policies, or by valorizing actions. By promoting a greater presence of the black population in the different public and private sectors of national life, affirmative action policies would act as “solidarity chains” to reverse historical processes of exclusion. The combat against unacceptable indices of racial inequality and the promotion of equal opportunities must confront the discriminatory acts that run through institutional and individual decisions that materialize in racist preferences, whether in the field of education, hiring, or professional advancement (p. 49).

185

Based on this, to encourage inclusion among citizens, it should be interesting to consider this starting point to better interest the insertion of the presence of black people in government positions, in addition to boosting increased awareness in private sectors in this fight against ethnic racial prejudice. In the case, of immigration in Brazil, it believes that the need for proposal in the perspective of affirmative action, which in turn aims at equal opportunity for the less favored (LIMA LINHARES, 2023).

Affirmative action began in fact from 1990 until 2003, to balance opportunities through differential treatment focusing on political, economic, and social measures for historically discredited and discriminated groups (BERNARDINO-COSTA *et al.*, 2023). In this way, the government proposed publishing affirmative action policies to help these groups rise and acquire the ability to compete equally in society mainly whites (JACCOUD; BEGHIN, 2002). This debate that prioritized the proposals to solve these issues of inequality took place in the context when Brazilian society was facing a poverty rate that exceeded 20%, so it was a political measure of inclusion that eventually became affirmative action to push for ethnic equality. (CAMPELLO *et al.*, 2018).



In the current case, the social reality in the Brazilian context, where the Haitians are inserted, besides problems with low pay, the racial issue must be considered, since it is an all-black group. As Santos (1993) states, the salaries of less favored groups are very low related to work performed, even with equal professions and abilities. With everything, the racial ethnicity in Brazil can general distinct remunerations due to the discriminations and prejudices of a diverse group as the immigrants, in what concerns him victim who need to overcome the ethnic barriers of the society, be it blacks, Indians and immigrants whom every day seek a way out of these problems. (ROCHA, 2000; SANTOS *et al.*, 2023).

These barriers, interconnected with the absence of measures against ethnic racial challenges in the Brazilian national context, end up affecting these groups of people who seek to improve their lives. From this, it is understood that solidarity can help contemplate where it does not reach the current policies or those that are configured only in roles as projects that could help in the conservation of the very ethnic identity of the subjects involved, that is, in a local, (inter)national conjuncture, since we are dealing with black people coming from other countries (SHULMAN, 1998). Thus, this ethnic issue in a continental context, and not only in Brazil, needs an urgent revolution for the evolution of treatment, of ethnic policy plans.

From the point of view of solidarity, the importance of the role of social integration is emphasized in the perspective of looking at groups that are often despised, such as the blacks and the Indians, remembering in this way the groups seek the possibilities of recognition of their work, their abilities, besides respecting their identity as a people without prejudice and discrimination (CALHOUN, 1993; OLIVEIRA *et al.*, 2023).

From this, it is necessary to think of solidarity as part of the motor force for empowerment, the boosting of these excluded groups through inclusion, without their race, ethnicity, or color being an obstacle to this (SEGATTO; ALVES; PINEDA, 2023). From the political point of view or governmental actions, one is inclined to agree with Esman (2018), in thinking that the problems of ethnicity, of ethnic politics, can be solved through the undertaking coming from politicians, but the opposite happens in most societies, such as, for example, the Brazilian one.

Now, solidarity depends on the society, be it of several ethnicities or a single ethnicity, at the same time I believe that the lack of this solidarity ends up frustrating the most necessary. The adaptation of Émile Durkheim's theory, in the current context, is essential, especially in the social aspect of the 21st century, where the organization of society is important for political, economic, and social problems. With everything, one must agree with the ambiguity of Durkheim's attitude, in the sense of offering margins of interpretation to help explain, deal with, and understand the challenges of society and not in fact in a perspective of uncertainty (ORTIZ, 1989; SANTOS *et al.*, 2023).



One can use this form of solidarity to improve the lives of immigrants in the general sense, however, it is characterized, therefore, as one of the pillars of dissemination to boost information about life and the problems faced. This way, one can see the importance of improving the image of immigrants, especially how the subject is seen in society, thus, it would be possible to know the culture of those involved, since the Immigratory Informative Solidarity needs people joining together to work in the form of sharing networks, like the members of a body according to what Durkheim (1997), said.

The process of transferring and sharing information plays a fundamental role in the lives of immigrants, aligned to avoid unemployment, frustration, heartbreak, misery, poverty, and hunger that have been occurring in less developed countries. The notion of Immigratory Informative Solidarity in the immigration context remains, necessary to the adaptation process in society so that the immigrant can reach his goals; and that the work, and education factor can reign to improve the immigrants' lives.

MATERIAL AND METHODOLOGY

This study focuses on Haitian immigrants who reside in Brazil legally, considering as a parameter for obtaining data, a WhatsApp group, whose name is “Haitians in Brazil”. This research is qualitative in nature, as it allows bringing a comprehensive and reflective approach to theories and results to conclude interpretation (OLIVEIRA, 2008).

The main objective was to investigate the relationship between Haitians in the WhatsApp group (Haitians in Brazil) from the perspective of solidarity during the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil. It sought to answer the following question: How can the existence of solidarity among Haitians in the pandemic context be explained? To respect scientific rigor, we adopted the content analysis methodology, which helps to interpret documents in the form of messages, letters, large volumes of reports, and others. The possibility of this analysis is thorough because it has journalistic characteristics. This methodology is a set of techniques widely used in the media, establishing a commitment to the truth of the facts that allows a very broad and complex investigative process for researchers who intend to bring innovations in research (BARDIN, 1977).

The data collection that resulted in this paper was carried out in two moments, the first had as an instrument of data collection a questionnaire previously validated in the article, (life was pandemic without covid-19: solidarity activities in Marechal Cândido Rondon-pr) composed of 14 questions and answered by 35 Haitian citizens. The questions addressed aspects of education, solidarity, the economic situation of Haitians during the pandemic, months of residence in Brazil, and changes in cities, among others. We used the WhatsApp group “Haitians in Brazil” composed of 40 people, 6 females, and 34



males, for dissemination and solicitation of the completion of the survey questionnaire, between the months of September and December 2021.

The second moment was carried out between May 20 and 25, 2022, using a smaller questionnaire with 4 questions. The other characteristics of the second data collection are very similar to the first moment, with the same 40 people of Haitian nationality. The survey questions are presented below.

1. In your perception do Haitians (mainly you) face racial problems, or ethnic equality in the labor market (where you work)? Yes or No
2. Do you believe that solidarity, can help immigrants deal with the lack of ethnic policy or affirmative action for black immigrants in Brazil? Yes or No
3. Do you declare yourself black, brown, white, or other?
4. Is your salary situation and that of Haitians, related to or caused by: A) - Racial ethnicity/ B) - Prejudice/ C) - Discrimination/ D) - all three options. Choose, the options that your current situation is inserted.

To better understand, have access to dialogues, and increase analytical facts about the research, the researcher was requested to be included in the group of Haitians in March 2021, which was accepted by the administrator on the same date. The MAXQDA tool was used, a world-leading software package for qualitative and mixed methods research, which allows for data analysis of various categories, such as structured interviews, semi-structured interviews, structuring from keywords, and questionnaires among other data categories (EXIME *et al.*, 2022).

The categorization and analyses of the first moment of data collection were done during the month of January 2022 and the second part of the analyses were done between the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd of June 2022, thus, forming 4 descriptive variable categories (1) - Racial Ethnicity/ 2) - Prejudice/ 3) - Discrimination/ 4) - to the three options). The analyses of the (four) questions, were done in graphs format (3, 4, 5, and 6), coming from the second part of the data (MAXQDA 2021).

The data from the answers to the 35 questionnaires and the four questions were organized in Microsoft Excel spreadsheets to facilitate reading and to make the data available for use by others who may be interested in the subject. The discussions of this article are presented below.

DISCUSSIONS AND RESULTS

This section presents the discussion of the results in three topics, the first presents the salaries, professions, and schooling of Haitian immigrants. The second topic will focus on the informative



solidary relationship between Haitian citizens, working and living time in Brazil, and changes in cities. Finally, the third topic discusses ethnic and racial policies, seeking to understand the aspects of prejudice and discrimination. This set of data was treated to drive the discussions from the perspective of giving life to the concept of Informative Immigratory Solidarity, under the optic of the problems faced by Haitian immigrants in Brazil.

Salaries, professions, and schooling of Haitian immigrants

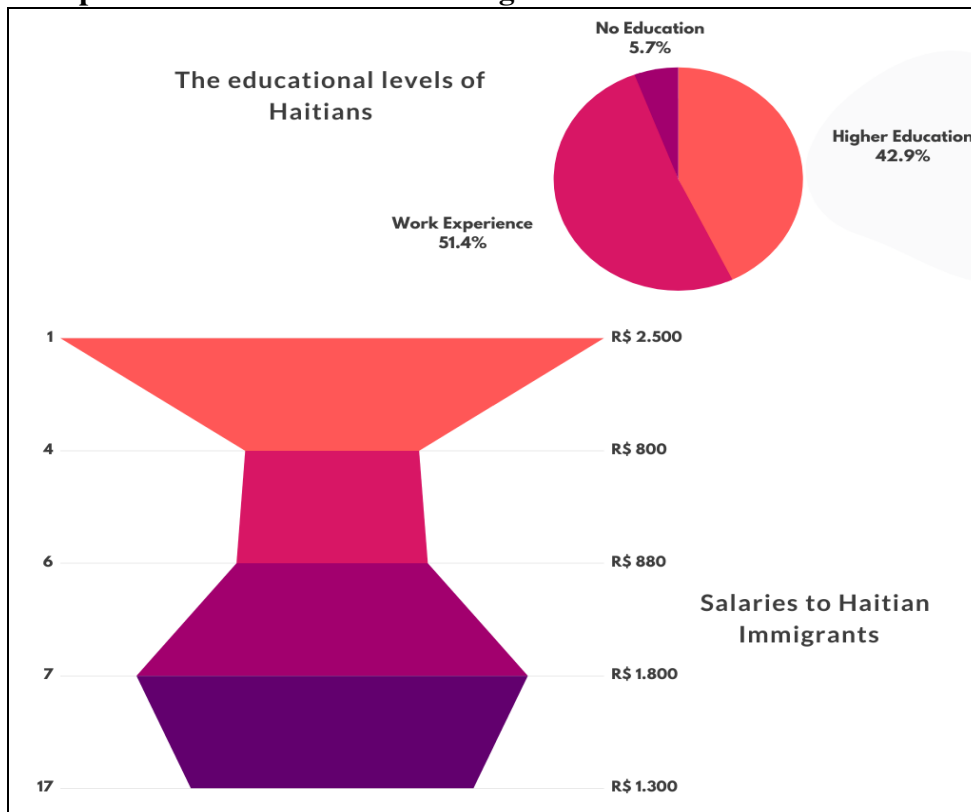
The Haitian immigration to Brazil was driven mainly by extreme poverty and hunger, besides the 2010 earthquake, which left hundreds of victims. All this generated a closer relationship of Haitians with Brazil, after the peace game held in 2004 (EXIME *et al.*, 2021a). After the tragedy, the Haitians, with no solution to the economic crisis in the country, chose to immigrate to Brazil in 2010, with the help of the Brazilian immigration law, which facilitated the permanence of Haitians in a humanitarian way (OLIVEIRA, 2020). Therefore, the promulgation of the Refugee Law (9.474/1997); Decree 6.893/2009, which allowed the regularization, within 180 days, of citizens who had entered the country before 02/01/2009; the issuing of Normative Resolutions 77/2008 and 93/2010, thus allowing the reception of Haitian immigrants, considering a particularity.

The immigration issue has been a challenge in terms of adaptation in Brazil, which refers to the lack of information available in immigrants' natural languages, the issue of underemployment, which rarely allows for a comfortable life and a competitive salary, since many of them cannot pay their basic bills at the end of the month. This is an unfortunate circumstance, which involves the responsibility that immigrants have with their family members in their home countries, especially when there are no more than 100.00 Reais left after paying the bills in Brazil (MELLO, 2019; EXIME *et al.*, 2021b).

The Covid-19 pandemic has created despair for immigrants, because, it has increased poverty, mass layoffs in many companies, and cost of living increases, effects that have left countless immigrants with no way out. (CAVALCANTI; OLIVEIRA; MACEDO, 2020). In the third year of the Covid-19 pandemic, many countries cannot escape the growth of cases of people infected by the disease, generating even more unemployment, hunger, and salary cuts that exhaustively generate an increase in social inequality. Take for example the case of Haitians, who have been receiving a salary considered low, even with excellent qualifications, as shown in Graph 1.



Graph 1 - Salaries of Haitian immigrants and their educational levels



Source: Own elaboration.

Regarding the salaries of Haitian immigrants, we can see that in Graph 1, the highest salary is R\$ 2,500.00 per month. It was noticed that only 1 () Haitian citizen receives a salary equivalent to the national average, according to the data of 2020 from the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística - IBGE*. It can be seen that 7 Haitian immigrants receive R\$ 1,800.00, which is equivalent to R\$ 300.00 more than the national average of immigrants, which was R\$ 1,500.00 Reais in 2020 (IBGE, 2020).

Now, according to Mello (2019), the average salary of immigrants in the general sense, is not enough to cover monthly expenses and still help their families who have remained in their countries of origin. When judging the data in Graph 1, it was noted that 4 Haitians receive R\$800.00; 6 are receiving R\$880.00 Reais, and 17 citizens live on R\$1,300.00 Reais. Calculating the average to better understand the situation of the Haitians, we arrived at an average of R\$ 731.5 Brazilian Real, a number much lower than the minimum wage of R\$ 1,212, which came into effect in January 2022. Most of the immigrants who filled out the questionnaire received R\$ 481 Reais less than the minimum monthly wage stipulated by the government.

Considering the salaries cited, it is believed that the situation of social and racial inequality in Brazil are interconnected, from the point of view of ethnic policies in the context of immigration of black immigrants, it is necessary to agree with the thought of authors Segata, Grisotti, and Porto (2022),



about the precarious jobs performed by immigrants. Diverse nationalities such as Venezuelans and Haitians have chosen Brazil in the last 10 years in search of a better life, specifically the Haitian case (EXIME; GONZALEZ; AHLERT, 2022). In this way, it seems that Haitian immigrants are facing not only a situation of unstable jobs, even with a high level of education (Graph 1), but it indicates a problem of greater inequality, of race or prejudice that will be better addressed in the last topic of discussion.

Furthermore, Graph 1 shows the educational levels of the 35 Haitians, noting that only two Haitian citizens (5.7%) have no education, either vocational or higher education. The Haitians with technical or vocational education, represent 51.4% (18) and 42.9% (15) are Haitian immigrants who have completed higher education and work experience in the area, respectively. So, it is important to point out that only 2 immigrants completed their studies in Brazil out of the 33 with higher education and vocational studies. Next, we present Table 1, with the immigrants' educational levels in 3 levels higher education, technical, and no education.

Table 1 - Professions and educational levels of the Haitian immigrants participating in the research

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
02 Computer Engineers	02 Air conditioning installation and maintenance technician	02 No instruction
03 Nurse	4 Professional masons	
04 Journalist	01 Mechanical Technician and 01 Mechanic	
01 Professor of Informatics	01 professional photography technician	
01 Cultural journalism	02 Traders	
01 University teacher	03 Electricians	
01 Agronomist Technician	01 Mechanic Technician, Painter	
01 Teacher of early education	01 Commercial seller	
01 Teacher	01 Construction professional	
	01 Musician	

Source: Own elaboration

The education of the Haitian immigrants is presented in Levels 1, 2, and 3 in which their educations are presented. In Level 1, are the Haitian citizens with complete higher education; Level 2 with technical, vocational education; and, Level 3 with no specific education or no school education at all. The results of Table 1 show that Haitians represent an immigration of high professional qualifications. It is necessary to think about the reasons for such an occurrence in the lives of immigrants, a fact that proves the poor use of professionals in the Brazilian labor market. In this perspective, the tendency to find Haitian immigrants in the labor market in a job that requires a certain degree of education would be much fairer and more performant.

In the 2019 immigrants report, (SIMÕES, CAVALCANTI, PEREDA, 2019), all Haitians who were employed occupied a job that did not require any specific technical background. It was clear the



reason for the average salary of Haitian immigrants, since this is a Brazilian reality, carried not only by immigrants but, by Brazilians as well. In this way, inequality persists mainly in this pandemic context.

The research shows that to rethink the positions that immigrants are holding in Brazil, they are underutilized workers since they do not perform activities in their areas of training. This means that their qualifications are being poorly used, which, from the economic point of view has a direct impact on their quality of life, prospects for growth, and economic emancipation. It is therefore worth studying the causes of this lack of interest and absorption by companies in not making the best use of their qualifications.

Usually, the great movement in the labor market is related to underemployment in meat packing plants, and animal slaughter in meat production, mainly in the South of Brazil. Therefore, the criticism of this reality becomes quite legitimate by the fact that of the 33 Haitian citizens with higher education and vocational courses, none exercises the profession studied, presented (Table 1) above. What further increases the questioning about this issue is that in the report it is highlighted that most Haitian immigrants do not have a higher education degree, that the majority would be educated below high school, nor have completed elementary school (SIMÕES; CAVALCANTI; PEREDA, 2019).

This situation allowed for new reflections on how to contribute to improving the living situation in immigrant communities, especially in the case of Haitians, selected for this study. These reflections concern the strategies that can be used to face these problems related to underemployment, low salaries that indicate factors of social and racial inequality, and use of their qualifications in companies that value their technical and academic expertise, so strengthening a type of IMMIGRATORY INFORMATIVE SOLIDARITY, based on the sharing of pertinent information about the places, cities, and companies that pay better salaries intending to face the challenges of inequalities. This way, the next topic presents a discussion about how long Haitians have lived in Brazil, as well as the times they have decided to move to other cities in search of a better life.

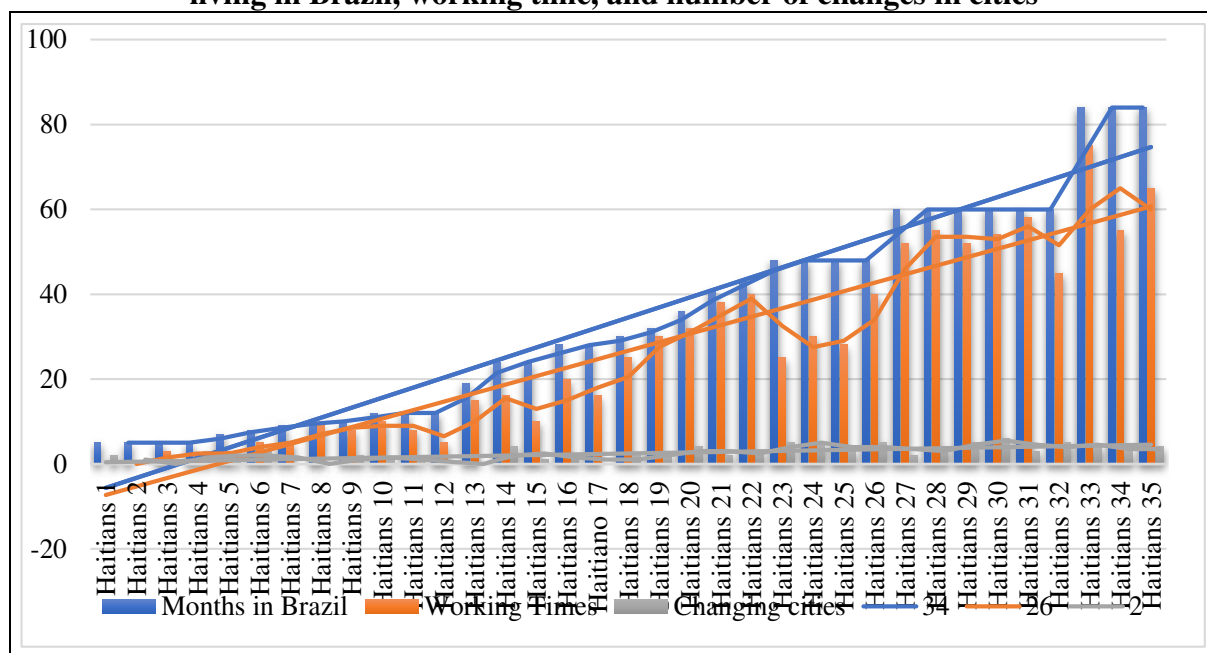
THE INFORMATIVE SOLIDARITY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN HAITIAN CITIZENS: WORKING TIME, LIVING IN BRAZIL, AND MOVING CITIES

The Haitians represent a significant number of immigrants in Brazil who have chosen this South American country as their home to live and progress, to establish a new family. In this case, the goal of these immigrants has become increasingly difficult to achieve, due to the uncompetitive salaries received, in addition to the Covid-19 pandemic that led to the dismissal of workers, including Haitians. (CAVALCANTI; OLIVEIRA; MACEDO, 2020; EXIME *et al.*, 2021b).



The health crisis has affected the Brazilian economy, leading companies to reduce their staff, and some have declared insolvency. According to the *Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística*- IBGE, they were forced to close their doors and, in the last case, lay off employees on a massive scale (IBGE, 2020). For Haitians to escape this situation, many of them changed cities, even after living in a certain city for a long time, as can be seen in Graph 2.

Graph 2 - Average number of months Haitians living in Brazil, working time, and number of changes in cities



Source: Own elaboration

Represented in Graph 2 are the aspects of life that take these 35 Haitian citizens in particular. In certain circumstances, they are forced to move cities to find a new job, on average each Haitian has moved at least twice in search of a better life. The data from this research showed that the average Haitian living in Brazil is more than 34 months, practically 3 years. In addition, it was clear that they are workers since the average working time is represented by 26 of the Haitians surveyed. In this circumstance, it is stated that the Haitian immigrant class is always in constant movement, making changes and working, facts that can be seen by the distance between the averages of data in Graph 2.

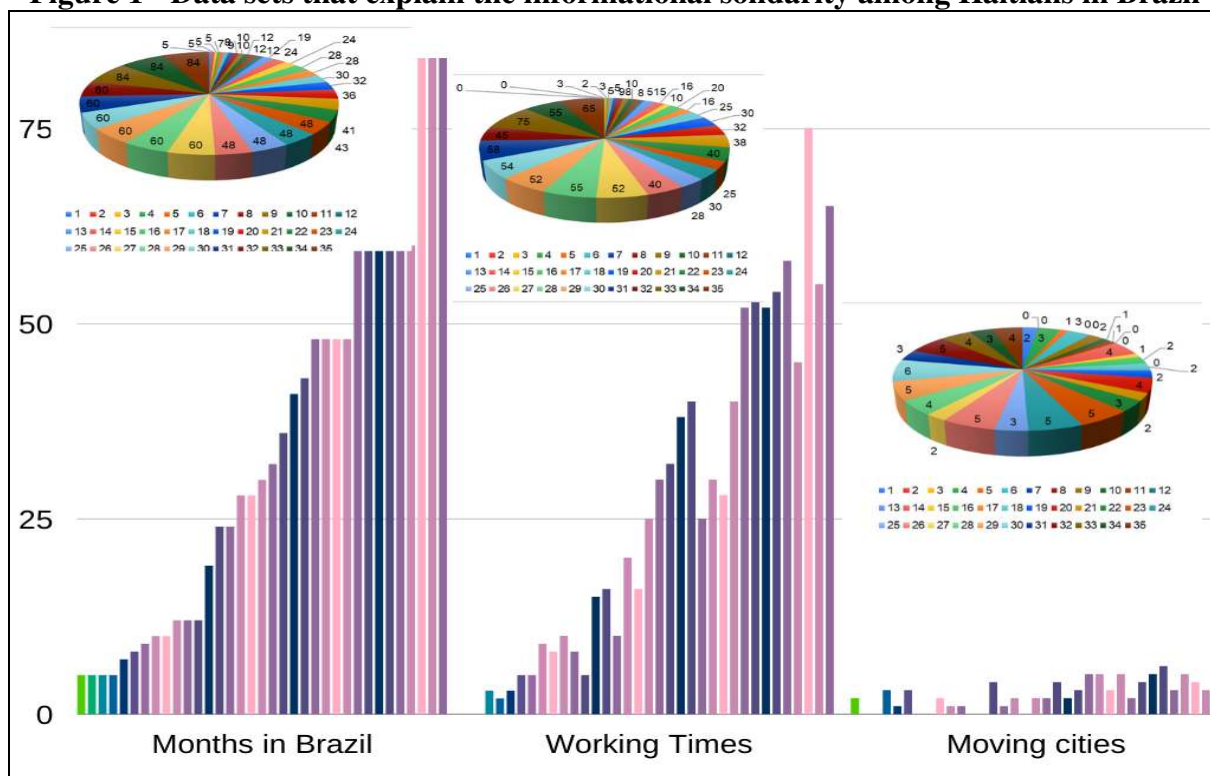
In this same perspective, when asked about the reasons for so many changes and how they knew they had to move to other cities, most commented: “Because of the lack of jobs where I lived; Low pay; Expensive rents, Expensive food”. So, all the information is passed through WhatsApp groups, where they share cheaper cities to live in, and jobs that pay more, among others, fostering, even more, the Immigratory Informative Solidarity for mutual help, to the benefit of all.



The purpose is to demonstrate that individualism does not have the characteristics of a functional society. In the context of functionalism, norms, and rules reign in a perception of mandatory for the collective (QUEIROZ, 1995). Faced with this reality, it ends up becoming a viable way to face problems in education, abandonment, isolation, and hunger, for example. In this way, the immigrant groups create a bond of collectivity, union, and involvement for the development of solidarity, and find themselves in the prospect of success.

This union makes the Haitians support each other in the sense of collaboration, regardless of how long they have been living in the country as can be seen in Figure 1, “one can always make other choices to struggle with to achieve financial stability and work with the professionals that we have selected”. Most of the immigrants report that they experience improvements in their quality of life after moving to places recommended in the WhatsApp group, according to the data obtained in the questionnaire.

Figure 1 - Data sets that explain the informational solidarity among Haitians in Brazil



Source: Own elaboration

It is observed that only two of the Haitians surveyed were not employed, but earned an income of R\$800.00, with unregistered jobs. These two immigrants had only been in Brazil for 5 months and one of them had moved twice in search of opportunities. It can be noted that the Haitian who moved the most, a total of 6 times, receives the third worst salary of R\$ 1,300.00 (Graph 1), along with 17 other



Haitian immigrants who receive this salary. In this same perspective, the only salary of R\$ 2,500.00, belongs to a Haitian who has moved 5 times and has been living in Brazil for 48 months (5 years).

Moving cities does not always work the same way for all immigrants, however, the 22 Haitians who have moved at least once during their life in Brazil (Figure 1), reported experiencing new opportunities and life improvements, getting cheaper rents and lower costs of living. Even with the constant challenges of the 35 immigrants, solidarity is present, a way of showing support to their fellow immigrants, in the sense of indicating cities that can help increase the quality of life for each one involved. These efforts arise from the collective, from cooperating, and from the application of the solidarity sense, aligned with organic solidarity (Durkheim, 2000; 1997). Therefore, these issues are related to racial and ethnic challenges, since the immigrants are Haitian, that is, non-white people.

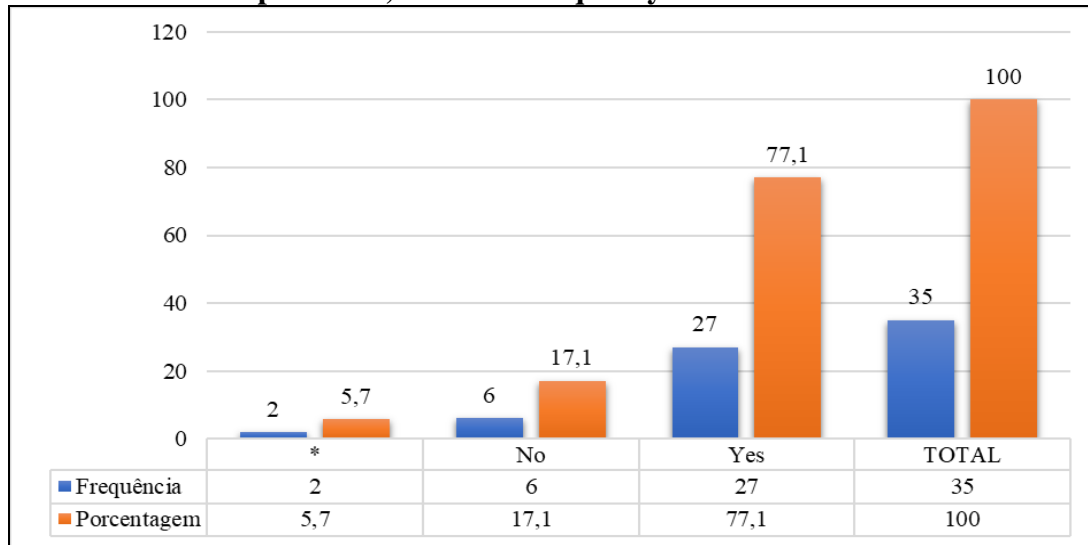
SOLIDARITY FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF ETHNIC POLITICS AND RACIAL INEQUALITY IN THE LIVES OF HAITIAN IMMIGRANTS

Haitian immigration was caused especially after the 2010 earthquake, which affected the country from an economic, social, and deeply political point of view. Following this, the immigration flow began in a timid process, especially in search of employment, but instead of this, Haitians in Brazil are faced with problems aligned to the lack of public policies or social assistance to first settle to maintain a dignified life (MORAES *et al.*, 2013; BAENINGER *et al.*, 2017). Solidarity in its broader context, on the other hand, plays an important role in the context of collectivism when confronting difficulties linked to unemployment, informal jobs, and low salaries, thus making solidarity necessary (CARLEIAL, 2022; PACHI, 2021).

In this ethnic question, solidarity is thought to help overcome these problems of ethnic equality already addressed here in my perception. Thanks to solidarity transformed into social movements in Brazil in the context of the 1980s, at present there are affirmative actions to boost the struggle of ethnicity, related to the culture of each region and the person who chose Brazil to live in depending on their physical appearances. (RAMOS, 1998; OLIVEIRA, 2004). From this point of view, we seek to clarify this ethnic question in the perception of Haitians in the following graphs, which each have the frequency in blue and the percentage in orange (charts 3, 4, and 5).



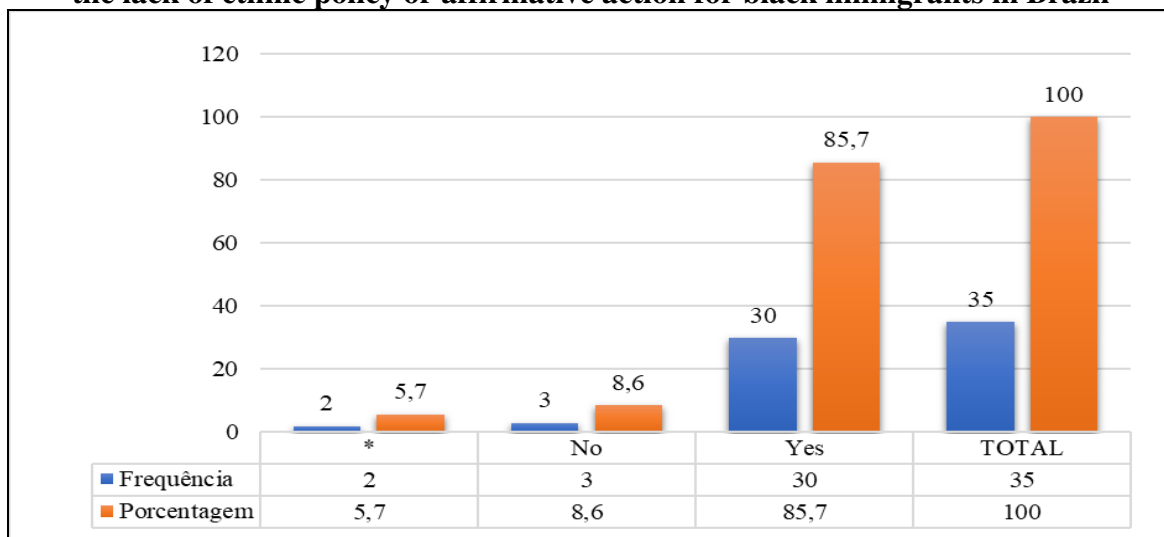
Graph 3 - The perception of Haitians facing racial problems, and ethnic equality in the labor market



Source: Own elaboration

The perception of this group of Haitians (graph 3), in particular regarding racial problems, which initially were doubts, ended up being confirmed by the answers of 33 Haitian respondents. According to the data, (2) participants did not fill out (*) the 4-question questionnaire, (6) stated that they do not face ethnic equality difficulties in the labor market. Subsequently, (27) Haitians, confirmed the suspicion, that in their perceptions racial problems in the labor market are constant. At this point, one must agree that the wage issue seen before can be linked with this ethnic question, as Santos (1993) states, facts that are directly interconnected with low wages. Then, we seek to know how solidarity can positively impact the lack of ethnic policy (graph 4).

Graph 4 - Haitians' belief in the importance of solidarity to deal with the lack of ethnic policy or affirmative action for black immigrants in Brazil

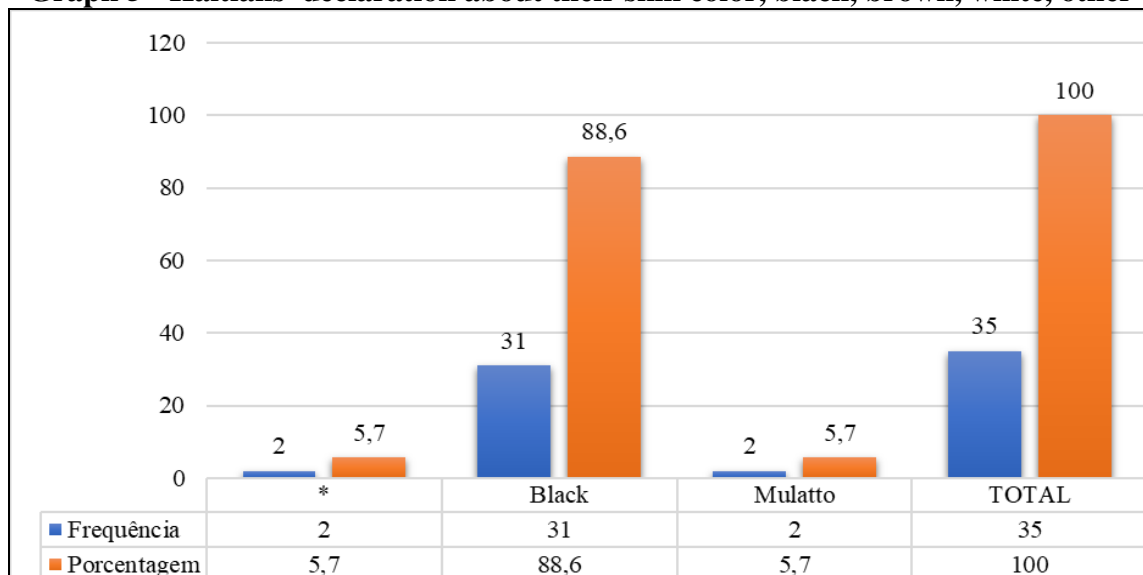


Source: Own elaboration.



In this graph 4, evidence is presented to elucidate the importance of solidarity in this process of lack of affirmative action and ethnic policies from the perspective of immigrants, particularly Haitians. Of the 35 participants, (2) did not respond, while (3) denied their belief in solidarity to deal with this challenge. With all, (30), respondents affirmed their beliefs in solidarity to address ethnic policy shortfalls. Thus, as Calhoun (1993) has said, solidarity encourages integration in the lack of such policies. Therefore, in the sequel, we seek to understand whether Haitians are part of the ethnic group (Chart 5) worked on here in this article.

Graph 5 - Haitians' declaration about their skin color, black, brown, white, other

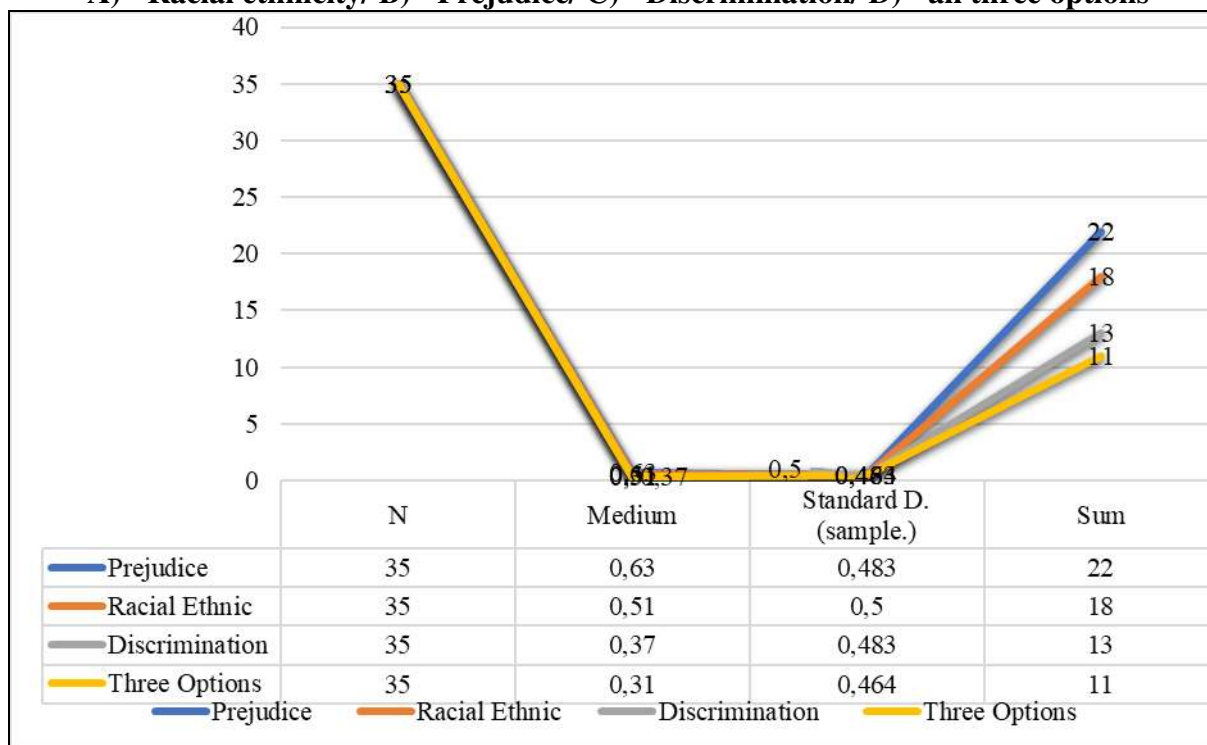


Source: Own elaboration

Therefore, the data in this graph (5), helps confirm that 88.6% of Haitians in this group are black, the total number is (31) respondents over (33), and only (2) brown, in practice, are non-white. Thus, the majority of Haitians are part of approximately 54% of the non-white people who live in Brazil, and their physical appearance and black skin color are characteristics of non-white people according to Oliveira (2004). With everything, we think about these factors that apply at the juncture of ethnicity aligned with prejudice and racial discrimination, so in graph (6), we tend to explore these issues that may be interconnected as the salaries of Haitian immigrants.



Graph 6 - Does your salary situation and that of Haitians, relate to or caused by: A) - Racial ethnicity/ B) - Prejudice/ C) - Discrimination/ D) - all three options



Source: Own elaboration

The challenges of race, discrimination, and racial prejudice have been strongly discussed in Brazil over the last few decades, a topic already addressed in the referential of this paper. However, these are old problems, treated as new, especially in the context of this article, which involves Brazil and Haiti, countries of African descent, that is, the construction of the nation-state is ethnically based on Africans since slavery (SANTOS; MACHADO, 2008). The racial issue that intensifies inequality in Brazil is considered a crime by the constitution of 1988, doing it clear that everyone is equal, resulting from Law No. 7.716 of January 5, 1989, against acts of prejudice (BRASIL, 1989).

It is understood that in graph (6), there are elements that indicate in the group of Haitians investigated that there is prejudice linked to the salaries of the participants already presented above. Thus, 22 (0.63 of the medium) of the Haitians believe that their wages are related to prejudice, 18 (0.51 of the medium) Haitians said it is a problem related to racial ethnicity, also 23 (0.37 of the medium), said that their below-average wages have to do with racial discrimination and finally, 11 (0.31 of the medium), believe that their wage situation is linked to racial ethnicity, prejudice and discrimination, that is, to the three options.

Under these conditions, the data points out that Haitians live and coexist with prejudice and racial discrimination, it seems, that affirmative action policies have not felt the effects naturally on this group of immigrants, even with the 1988 constitution, which states that any type of 'prejudice' is a



crime. However, during this research, there is no index and no reports that help to confirm punishments due to prejudice or discrimination that Haitians are facing. Cases of mutual help were reported and confirmed based on the collectivism and solidarity already discussed in this text, based on the proposal of solidarity as a concept to reduce the problems faced by Haitian immigrants.

Thus, it is deemed necessary to think about Immigratory Informative Solidarity from the ideas and thoughts of Organic Solidarity, as a basis for this reflection and, above all, proving the existence of solidarity in the context of sharing among Haitians in this WhatsApp group in Brazil.

Nevertheless, before concluding this topic, it seems logical to discuss the behavior and presentation of certain ethnographic patterns perceived as part of the perception of the issues of racial discrimination and prejudice, as well as low-wage jobs, which refers to the dissatisfaction of the surveyed immigrants and the challenges they have to face. From the behaviors, the observation on the issues of jobs, discrimination, exploitation, and the condition of precarious jobs in the group are constant and visible. The complaints among the 35 surveyed immigrants demonstrate a fundamental issue of inequality and lack of protection of immigrants' fundamental rights, which require urgent affirmative action.

With all this, some points need to be emphasized in this final part of the article:

1. When Haitian workers became unemployed and were told that they would not be hired again, despite the availability of many services. These statement patterns are repeated throughout the research, it is a fact expressed that collaborates with the indication of a discrimination problem in the labor market.
2. Those surveyed complain about some specific regions and cities like Joinville, Minas Gerais, Santa Catarina, and Mato Grosso, where there seem to be job opportunities with salaries around R\$ 1,100.00. Then, regions like São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Campo Grande, and Dourados, are observed higher salaries and more opportunities, considered useful information for those looking for jobs.
3. Thus, the common pattern from the phrase “*Travay pa fasil*” (Work is not easy) indicates that Haitian immigrants face challenges and difficulties in their work trajectories in Brazil, in addition to the average salary calculation already discussed above.
4. With everything, the behavior of the feeling of injustice stands out from the statement “*Esclav m ye*” (I am a slave), “*mw apen rive travay kareman yo kite mesaj poum vin travay samdi, dimanche 12h yap peyem samdi 70% dimanche 100% m te deja travay 12h pou semaine nan*” (I just came from work, they left a message for me to go to work on Saturday and Sunday for 12h, and they will pay me 70% on Saturday and 100% on Sunday. I have already worked 12 hours this week), thus suggesting a sense of exploitation and unfairness again in the work environment, indicating poor working conditions or abuse by employers.
5. Note Histories of long working hours were perceived as a pattern, “*Gen 5 moun ki kite travay 2 ret konsa sa avèti yo paret nan HG yo di yo pap travay ankò pandan gn anpil sèvis. Sa koz mw oblije travay 16h tan pa jou*” (Five people left the job like this, they were told in HR (Human Resources) that they will no longer work as long as there are too many services. That made me work 16 hours a day). These are clear signs of labor rights abuses, again indicating exploitation.



6. Finally, the feeling and behavior of tiredness and fear, “*Kad lari a so, apen mwen leve la mw pral travay a 4h30 am la*” (The street is empty, I barely woke up, and I am already going to work at 4:30 am).

These remarks go against any reports made in recent years in Brazil about the living conditions of Haitian immigrants; they are facts that go beyond discrimination, low wages, and human rights, beyond equity and inclusion. From the behaviors of the Haitians related to the standards of treatment received, it seems to be one of acceptance, since in the group's dialogues there is no clear form of indignation to seek other black Brazilian movements that could help, even though they share their frustrations constantly.

At this point it would be unfair to generalize the problems faced by this group of Haitians, however, the accounts deemed reliable are part of the everyday life of the 35 Haitians. Statements of the cases of discrimination seem concrete, as already indicated by Haitian anthropologist Handerson Joseph (2015), about prejudice, and racial discrimination, among others. Moreover, the structure of racism and inequality against Haitians is present, as stated by the researchers Solouki and De Souza, (2022). Thus, with all these challenges, the lives of this group of Haitians are made more difficult, as well as the lives of their families who remain in Haiti with the hope of receiving financial aid, as stated by Klassen and Murphy (2020), the importance of immigrants' remittances to Haitian society in the fight against hunger and poverty in the country.

In addition, as a counterpoint to the report, this research identified that the level of education of Haitian immigrants does not match the 2019 Report, cited above. Therefore, it is necessary to register critically, that the Haitians in the surveyed universe have more than a high school education, being qualified, which diverges from the report presented by the authors Simões, Cavalcanti, and Pereda (2019). As such, it remains to investigate the effects of this report on the precarious situation and devaluation in the work market of Haitian immigrants in Brazil.

It can be noted that most workers do not receive the average salary of R\$ 1,500 Reais stipulated by IBGE (2020), with insignificant and limiting salaries for professional and personal growth. Due to these issues, the departure of the immigrants is directly linked to the IMMIGRATORY INFORMATIVE SOLIDARITY, which was explained and understood in this work as a pillar to drive Haitian immigrants to say no to low salaries, the exorbitant costs of rent, food, and others. This aligns with a contributory situation for decision making, in the function of the collective, for fair treatment, in the struggle to live with dignity in the function of Immigratory Informative Solidarity, as was observed in this study.



CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we analyze and demonstrate the importance of a digital solidarity group to reduce hunger, and lack of employment in times of Covid-19, which affects Haitian immigrants in Brazil from the WhatsApp group called Haitians in Brazil. The work allowed us to evidence the impacts of solidarity among the Haitian people, the reasons that influenced the idea of sharing, thus forming a closer relationship between fellow Haitians, giving a high degree of importance to society in times of global crisis, such as the Covid-19 pandemic, which has no definitive solutions and will leave a trail of many crises, from economic to environmental, besides the large flow of forced immigration.

Hunger, poverty, and inequalities need to be faced collectively, as in the case of the Haitians, through Informative Immigration Solidarity. The results of this research ratify that the creation of supportive relationships and solidarity is considered an important step to facing hunger and improving the quality of life of immigrants and autochthonous communities, through a chain of good for good. The findings of this research point to a new solidarity dynamic called Immigratory Informative Solidarity, which has helped them improve their lives, in the sense of finding better jobs, cities that provide more quality of life, low monthly rents, affordable food shopping at supermarkets, and others.

The conclusion is that these Haitian immigrants have a high educational level, which should allow them better and more profitable professional occupations. However, this is not the case, as was demonstrated during this research. This reality forces Haitian immigrants to constantly move cities, and not to accept any job, since their education and qualifications are not valued. All this forces them to create a way of relating and elaborating mutual help through solidarity, proving the existence of Immigratory Informative Solidarity among Haitians.

Given the above, an excellent relationship between the Haitian citizens of the WhatsApp group called Haitians in Brazil is confirmed, a fact that helped them to face their daily problems, in search of a better quality of life. These initiatives offer a reasonable explanation for Haitian collectivism and solidarity, especially in the pandemic context that the world is currently going through.

It is also affirmative, the need to think about affirmative actions of ethnic policies for immigrants, it is necessary to evaluate if the crimes of prejudice and racial discrimination against immigrants are going unpunished. It is believed that it deserves further investigations that seek to understand the punishment of these crimes. With the second data collection, it becomes clear that the wage problem of this immigrant group is interconnected with a few ethnic policy actions, preferably aligned to the immigration ethnicity, with discrimination, prejudice, and racial ethnicity.



Therefore, our research raises important questions that deserve further studies to identify and propose ways to solve the problems related to education, economic growth in the immigration context, quality of life, underemployment, and discrimination against Haitian immigrants. These are elements that demand immigration policies accompanied by dissemination and sensitization work about the profiles and qualifications of Haitian citizens, helping to avoid any kind of educational, professional, and personal prejudice against the immigrants as a whole.

Finally, this paper narrates the life of 35 Haitian citizens who chose Brazil to remake their lives, far from extreme poverty, hunger in Haiti, and political crisis, among other situations, such as natural disasters that forced them to abandon their families, friends, and cultures. So, we realized that the biggest challenge for the immigrants in question is their fight against labor exploitation, which urgently needs an answer from the Brazilian authorities, from companies to pay them what is fair, so that they can use their qualifications in the best possible way, putting an end to mistaken ideas that Haitians, in their majority, do not have a complete high school education. With the Immigratory Informative Solidarity among Haitians, there can be a better life for Haitian immigrants and others.

REFERENCES

- AHLERT, A. "Ensino e pesquisa: uma dialética necessária". **Caderno de Educação Física e Esporte**, vol. 3, n. 2, 2001.
- ALBUQUERQUE, M. D. S. V. D. *et al.* "Equity and the inclusion of social groups in health policy: the case of the Brazilian city of Recife". **Revista Brasileira de Saúde Materno Infantil**, vol. 11, 2011.
- ARAÚJO, E. M.; NOGUEIRA, E. N. N. C.; GUERRA, A. L. R. "Lei 10.639/2003: a educação étnico-racial como uma linha dos direitos humanos". **Contribuciones a las Ciencias Sociales**, vol. 16, n. 9, 2023.
- BAENINGER, R. *et al.* **Haitian immigration in Brazil**. São Paulo: Paco Editorial. 2017.
- BARDIN, L. **Content Analysis**. Lisbon: Presses Universitaires de France, 1977.
- BERNARDINO-COSTA, J. *et al.* "Radiografia das políticas de ação afirmativa na pós-graduação das universidades federais". **Dados**, vol. 67, 2023.
- BRASIL. **Lei n. 7. 716, de 05 de janeiro de 1989**. Brasília: Planalto, 1989. Disponível em: <www.planalto.gov.br>. Acesso em: 10/09/2023.
- CALHOUN, C. "Nationalism and ethnicity". **Annual Review of Sociology**, vol. 19, n. 1, 1993.
- CAMPELLO, T. *et al.* "Fases da desigualdade no Brasil: um olhar sobre os que ficam para trás". **Saúde Em Debate**, vol. 42, 2018.



CARLEIAL, A. N. “Trabalho e redes de solidariedade aos migrantes”. **Scripta Nova: Revista Electrónica de Geografía y Ciencias Sociales**, vol. 6. 2002.

CAVALCANTI, L.; OLIVEIRA, T.; MACEDO, M. “Imigração e Refúgio no Brasil”. Brasília: OBMigra, 2020.

CAVALCANTI, L.; OLIVEIRA, T.; MACEDO, M. **Executive Summary: Immigration and Refuge in Brazil. The insertion of the immigrant, refugee, and refugee applicant in the formal labor market.** Brasília: OBMigra. 2019.

CORDOVIL, D. “On the border between culture and religion. Public policies for Afro-Brazilian religions in Brazil”. **Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology**, vol. 11, p. 2014.

DRAIBE, S. M. “As políticas sociais e o neoliberalismo-reflexões suscitadas pelas experiências latino-americanas”. **Revista USP**, n. 17, 1993.

DURKHEIM, É. **Da Divisão do Trabalho Social**. São Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes, 1999.

DURKHEIM, É. **O suicídio estudo de sociologia**. São Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes, 2000.

DURKHEIM, É. **Da divisão do trabalho social**. São Paulo: Editora Martins Fontes, 1977.

ESMAN, M. J. “Ethnic politics”. *In*: ESMAN, M. J. **Ethnic Politics**. New York: Cornell University Press. 2018.

EXIME, E. *et al.* “Extension project: social inclusion and inclusion in western Paraná, Brazil”. **Research, Society and Development**, vol. 10, n. 14, 2021b.

EXIME, E. *et al.* “Identity, culture and environmental practices among Pomeranian descendants in western Paraná”. **Research, Society and Development**, vol. 11, n. 7, 2022.

EXIME, E. *et al.* “The role of international cooperation in the development of Haitian agriculture against hunger and poverty”. **Research, Society and Development**, vol. 10, n. 14, 2021a.

EXIME, E.; GONZALEZ, A. C.; AHLERT, A. “haitianos no brasil: A imigração como sentimento de uma dívida eterna dos brasileiros”. **Humanidades e Inovação**, vol. 9, n. 1, 2022.

GUADAGNO, L. **Migrants and the COVID-19 pandemic: An initial analysis**. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, 2020.

HANDERSON, J. **Diaspora: As dinâmicas da mobilidade haitiana no Brasil, no Suriname e na Guiana Francesa (Tese de Doutorado em Antropologia Social)**. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ, 2015.

IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. “Distribuição de ajuda emergencial atinge 29,4 milhões de domicílios em junho”. **IBGE** [2020]. Disponível em: <www.ibge.gov.br>. Acesso em: 11/05/2023.

IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. “Número de trabalhadores em licença por pandemia na 3ª semana de julho cai para 6,2 milhões”. **IBGE** [2020]. Disponível em: <www.ibge.gov.br>. Acesso em: 11/05/2023.



IBGE - Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. “Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios Contínua - PNAD Contínua”. **IBGE** [2020]. Disponível em: <www.ibge.gov.br>. Acesso em: 11/05/2023.

IBGE – Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística. **Pesquisa Nacional por Amostra de Domicílios. Síntese dos indicadores de 2009**. Rio de Janeiro: IBGE, 2010.

JACCOUD, L. D. B.; BEGHIN, N. **Desigualdades Raciais no Brasil**: um balanço da intervenção governamental. Brasília: Ipea, 2002.

KLASSEN, S.; MURPHY, S. “Equity as both a means and an end: Lessons for resilient food systems from COVID-19”. **World Development**, vol. 136, 2020.

LIMA LINHARES, A. C. *et al.* “Cotas na educação para quem? A política de ação afirmativa de reserva de vagas numa universidade federal no sul do Brasil”. **Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA)**, vol. 14, n. 41, 2023

LINARES, F. “Funcionalismo, reduccionismo y sistemas cumulativos. ¿Qué tipo de teoría social analítica necesitamos?”. **Revista Internacional de Sociología**, vol. 70, n. 2, 2012.

MAXQDA. “Qualitative Data Analysis Software”. **MAXQDA** [2021]. Disponível em: <www.maxqda.com>. Acesso em: 17/09/2023.

MELLO, S. V. “Socioeconomic Profile of Refugees in Brazil: Inputs for Policy Making”. **UNHCR** [2019]. Available in: <www.unhcr.org>. Access in: 23/09/2023.

204

MORAES, I. A. *et al.* “Haitian immigration to Brazil: causes and challenges”. **Conjuntura Austral**, vol. 4, n. 20, 2013.

NASCIMENTO, F. L.; PACHECO, A. E. S. D. “Sistema de saúde público no Brasil e a pandemia do novo coronavírus”. **Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA)**, vol. 2, n. 5, 2020.

OLIVEIRA, C. L. “Um apanhado teórico-conceitual sobre a pesquisa qualitativa: tipos, técnicas e características”. **Revista Travessias**, vol. 4, 2008.

OLIVEIRA, F. “Ser negro no Brasil: alcances e limites”. **Estudos Avançados**, vol. 18, 2004.

OLIVEIRA, J. S. A. *et al.* “Refugees and access to employment in Brazil: implications for health and sociability”. **Revista da Escola de Enfermagem da USP**, vol. 57, 2023.

OLIVEIRA, N. “Fronteiras coletivas e repertórios etnoraciais no Brasil contemporâneo”. **Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas**, n. 85, 2017.

OLIVEIRA, T. “The transition in migration legislation: an empirical study for the period 1980-2019”. **PERIPLES, Journal of Migration Research**, vol. 4, n. 2, 2020.

PACHI, P. “A precarização do trabalho do imigrante haitiano em São Paulo”. **Travessia: Revista do Migrante**, n. 88, 2021.

QUEIROZ, M. I. P. “Sobre Durkheim e As regras do método sociológico”. **Ciência e Trópico**, vol. 23, 1995.



- RAMOS, A. R. **Indigenism**: ethnic politics in Brazil. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1998.
- REIS, S. C. G. “Os pressupostos funcionalistas da teoria da modernização”. **Revista Habitus**, vol. 14, n. 1, 2016.
- RIBEIRO, C. A. C. “Class, race and social mobility in Brazil”. **Dados**, vol. 49, n. 4, 2006.
- ROCHA, E. “A captura de novos sentidos na história-gênero e etnia”. **Diálogos**, vol. 4, n. 1, 2000.
- ROMERO, J. A. R.; SILVA, F. A. M. “Relação entre as condições socioeconômicas e a incidência da pandemia da covid-19 nos municípios do Ceará”. **Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA)**, vol. 3, n. 7, 2020.
- SANTOS, B. D. S. “Modernity, identity and border culture”. **Tempo Social**, vol. 5, n. 1, 1993.
- SANTOS, M. *et al.* “Ethnic/Racial disparity in Mortality from COVID-19: data for the Year 2020 in Brazil”. **Spatial Demography**, vol. 11, n. 1, 2023.
- SANTOS, R. E. “O movimento negro e a luta pelas políticas de promoção da igualdade racial no Brasil”. **Kwanissa: Revista de Estudos Africanos e Afro-Brasileiros**, vol. 1, n. 1, 2018.
- SANTOS, S. A. “Políticas Públicas de Promoção da Igualdade Racial, Questão Racial”. **Mercado de Trabalho e Justiça Trabalhista**, vol. 76, n. 3, 2010.
- SANTOS, S. Q. D. S.; MACHADO, V. L. D. C. “Políticas públicas educacionais: antigas reivindicações, conquistas (Lei 10.639) e novos desafios”. **Ensaio: Avaliação e Políticas Públicas em Educação**, vol. 16, 2008.
- SEGATA, J.; GRISOTTI, M.; PORTO, R. “COVID-19 in Brazil”. **Vibrant: Virtual Brazilian Anthropology**, vol. 19, 2022.
- SEGATTO, C. I.; ALVES, M. A.; PINEDA, A. “Uncivil society and social policies in Brazil: The backlash in the gender, sexual, and reproductive rights and ethnic and racial relations fields”. **Public Administration and Development**, vol. 43, n. 1, 2023.
- SHULMAN, S. “National integration and foreign policy in multiethnic states”. **Nationalism and Ethnic Politics**, vol. 4, n. 4, 1998.
- SILVA, A. T. “Covid-19, guerra sem trégua”. **Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA)**, vol. 7, n. 21, 2021.
- SILVA, C.; SANTIAGO, E. “Historia y cultura afro-brasileña: una política curricular de afirmación de la población negra en Brasil”. **Educación**, vol. 25, n. 48, 2016.
- SILVA, L. S. *et al.* “Working conditions and lack of information on the impact of COVID-19 among health workers”. **Brazilian Journal of Occupational Health**, vol. 45, 2020.
- SILVA, M. G. “Capitalismo, divisão do trabalho e educação em Durkheim”. **Boletim de Conjuntura (BOCA)**, vol. 7, n. 20, 2021.
- SILVEIRA, G. E. *et al.* “Diálogos entre os clássicos da sociologia e o Direito: Émile Durkheim, Max Weber e Karl Marx”. **Revista de Estudos Interdisciplinares**, vol. 5, n. 2, 2023.



SIMÕES, A.; CAVALCANTI, L.; PEREDA, L. “Imigração e Refúgio no Brasil”. *In: BRASIL: Migração: Movimentação do trabalhador migrante no mercado de trabalho formal*. Brasília: OBMigra. 2019.

SOLOUKI, D. G.; SOUZA, C. G. “Vida em modo de espera: repercussões da Covid-19 para haitianas residentes na capital do Brasil”. *Plural: Antropologías desde América Latina y del Caribe*, n. 10. 2022.

VARES, S. F. “Solidariedade mecânica e solidariedade orgânica em Émile Durkheim: dois conceitos e um dilema”. *Mediações: Revista de Ciências Sociais*, vol. 18, n. 2, 2013.

YUSRIFA, F.; MURTININGSIH, S. “Arisan Rukun': The Cultural Strategy of the Lahendong Community, North Sulawesi in Maintaining Brotherhood Ties from Generation to Generation (Study of Social Solidarity Theory of Emile Durkheim)”. *Digital Press Social Sciences and Humanities*, vol. 9, 2023.



BOLETIM DE CONJUNTURA (BOCA)

Ano V | Volume 16 | Nº 46 | Boa Vista | 2023

<http://www.ioles.com.br/boca>

Editor chefe:

Elói Martins Senhoras

Conselho Editorial

Antonio Ozai da Silva, Universidade Estadual de Maringá

Vitor Stuart Gabriel de Pieri, Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro

Charles Pennaforte, Universidade Federal de Pelotas

Elói Martins Senhoras, Universidade Federal de Roraima

Julio Burdman, Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina

Patrícia Nasser de Carvalho, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais

Conselho Científico

Claudete de Castro Silva Vitte, Universidade Estadual de Campinas

Fabiano de Araújo Moreira, Universidade de São Paulo

Flávia Carolina de Resende Fagundes, Universidade Feevale

Hudson do Vale de Oliveira, Instituto Federal de Roraima

Laodicéia Amorim Weersma, Universidade de Fortaleza

Marcos Antônio Fávaro Martins, Universidade Paulista

Marcos Leandro Mondardo, Universidade Federal da Grande Dourados

Reinaldo Miranda de Sá Teles, Universidade de São Paulo

Rozane Pereira Ignácio, Universidade Estadual de Roraima