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The Lived Experience of Brazilian Immigrants in Connecticut and Crimmigration

Walter John Belsito Jr.

University of Connecticut - Storrs, walterbelsito@sbcglobal.net

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Walter John Belsito, PhD

University of Connecticut, 2016

ABSTRACT

Crimmigration, or the criminalization of immigration that intensified after the attacks of September 11, 2001, has impacted the lives of many immigrants living in the United States. After 9/11 there was an acceleration of the merger of immigration law and criminal law, and its enforcement, at the local, state, and federal levels. These restrictive laws have resulted in the increased incarceration, detainment, and mass deportation of immigrants throughout the United States. This qualitative study focused on the lived experience of Brazilian immigrants living in Connecticut.

A critical phenomenological design was used to understand how crimmigration and other factors such as the economy shapes the lived experiences of Brazilian immigrants. Twenty participants were interviewed twice (for a total of 40 interviews). Seven themes emerged from participants' interviews centered on: immigration experiences (initial and subsequent), *trabalho* (work), crimmigration, discrimination, emotions, transnational social networks, and racial/ethnic identity.

Brazilians are economic migrants coming to the United States in search of a better life. Brazilians' experiences with work in the United States are a central facet of their "lived experience." Participants' work experiences are molded by historical and political events

shaping the national debate on immigration.

This study also argues that crimmigration in the United States poses one of the most important human rights challenges today. Critical race theory posits that crimmigration is primarily directed at the growing Latino population of the United States. As agents of change committed to social justice on behalf of oppressed and vulnerable populations, social workers are in a unique position to advocate for immigrants affected by crimmigration, to fight for the human rights of immigrant families and their children torn apart by crimmigration, and to be at the forefront of the immigration debate in the United States.

Keywords: crimmigration, Brazilian immigrants, social work, human rights, critical phenomenology.

The Lived Experience of Brazilian Immigrants in Connecticut and Crimmigration

Walter John Belsito

B.S., Post University, **1987**

M.S.W., University of Connecticut School of Social Work, **1995**

A Dissertation

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2016

APPROVAL PAGE

Doctor of Philosophy Dissertation

The Lived Experience of Brazilian Immigrants in Connecticut and Crimmigration

Presented by

Walter John Belsito, B.S., M.S.W.

Major Advisor _____
Scott Harding, PhD.

Associate Advisor _____
Kathryn Libal, PhD

Associate Advisor _____
David Androff, PhD

University of Connecticut

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Education is the kindling of a flame, not the filling of a vessel
—Socrates

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I conducted this study about Brazilian immigrants, and I am a descendant of immigrants. My great-grandparents came from Italy, Ireland, Québec, Canada, and France. I grew up hearing stories of my ancestors’ struggles and triumphs upon immigrating to the United States. Their lives and stories were uplifting while writing this work and a reminder of the struggles and challenges each generation of immigrants face.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways; the point, however, is to change it—Karl Marx, *Eleven Theses on Feuerbach*, 1845 (as cited in Tucker, 1978, p. 145)

Washing one's hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral—Paulo Freire, *The Politics of Education*, 1973, p.122

Marcos, a participant for this study, is a 58-year-old undocumented Brazilian immigrant who has been living in the United States for 19 years. He has not been able to return to Brazil and is in a sense a “voluntary exile.” He is one of the estimated three million immigrants of the Brazilian diaspora who left Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s due to extreme economic conditions and migrated to all parts of the world (Sheringham, 2013). Marcos described his life in the United States prior to 9/11 as good and he has watched with fear and dismay the political, economic, and social changes that have occurred since that time. For Marcos, it has been increasingly challenging to get work. Immigration laws and enforcement have made it difficult for him. He lives in constant fear of deportation and separation, has suffered discrimination, and has witnessed the rise of racist and anti-immigrant tendencies in his encounters with Americans. Marcos lamented how he perceived these changes:

I am really tired now. Things have changed since the attacks of 9/11. At any moment I can be stopped by the police and separated from my wife and family. At any moment I can be detained and deported. At any moment I can be confused by immigration or the police with another immigrant I should not be confused with and be deported. We immigrants are treated differently now—like criminals. And many Americans just think we are here to take their jobs.

Marcos describes changes in the political climate that have profoundly impacted the lived experience of immigrants throughout the United States post 9/11. Crimmigration, or the increase in criminalization of immigration after September 11, 2001 has impacted the lives of all immigrants living in the United States—both documented and undocumented. This phenomenon

began earlier with the restrictive immigration measures passed shortly after the World Trade Center bombing in 1993. Crimmigration is the merger of immigration law and criminal law (and its enforcement) since 9/11 that has resulted in the increased incarceration, detainment, and deportation (now officially classified as *removals*) of immigrants in the United States. Of note, restrictive immigration laws passed at the federal, state, and local levels have often targeted the growing Latino population in the United States. These policies are aimed at limiting Latino immigration and punishing migrant communities, leaving some of the most vulnerable members of the United States at greater risk of further oppression and marginalization.

This study addresses a key human rights issue—that of criminalizing migrants and their families in the United States (Androff, 2015; Libal & Harding, 2015). It explores the lived experience of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut, contextualizing those experiences in light of the current macro political, economic, and historic phenomenon that impact the daily lives of Brazilian immigrants. Brazilians are one of the “newer” Latino immigrant groups that have migrated to America over the last 25 years (Goza, 1994; Margolis, 1994, 2009; Perz, 2000). The story of how Marcos and 19 other Brazilian immigrants were impacted by crimmigration are described throughout the chapters that follow.

A critical phenomenological research design was used to explore the impact of crimmigration in the past 15 years on the lives of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut, and the ways in which Brazilians respond and adapt to this phenomenon. This approach aided in understanding the lived experience of Brazilian immigrants—both documented and undocumented. At the same time, a critical approach was utilized to understand the impact of the political, economic, and social factors shaping immigration law and policies, at the federal, state, and local levels, which directly impact the lived experience of Brazilian immigrants.

Crimmigration

The last several decades have witnessed a vast increase in migration to the United States, which parallels the immigration of the Progressive Era in many ways. Echoing previous cycles in the history of the United States, there has been a surge in foreign migration and a resulting “backlash” of nativist tendencies to disenfranchise and “exclude the other” from America (Kanstroom, 2007; 2012; Moloney, 2012; Ngai, 2004).

Crimmigration is a phenomenon caused by the merger of criminal law and immigration law (Chacon, 2009, 2012; Dowling & Inda, 2013; Kanstroom, 2012; Miller, 2005; Slansky, 2012; Stumpf, 2006). This phenomenon began in the mid-1980s, and increased in 1996 with restrictive immigration legislation, such as the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act, or IIRIRA. The merger of criminal law and immigration law and immigration enforcement escalated after 9/11 in the United States (Preston & Perez, 2006). The attitudes of many federal, state, and local officials’ attitudes towards immigrants shifted (Coleman, 2007; Hauptman, 2013; Naftziger, 2009). Official rhetoric centered on “national security” and initial laws aimed at addressing terrorism soon became directed against Latinos, Muslims, and other immigrants as being possible “terrorists” (Mittelstadt, Speaker, Meissner, & Chishti, 2011). What initially started as “securing the borders” against foreign terrorists, morphed into internal enforcement of immigration laws directed toward Latinos and other growing immigrant groups (Dowling & Inda, 2012; Chacón, 2012). Crimmigration laws and policies were passed at all government levels and have had a negative impact upon immigrants (both documented and undocumented) (Chacón, 2009; Golash-Boza, (2012a, 2012b; Hauptman, 2013). According to Padilla et al. (2008) “in 2007 there were more than 1,400 bills filed addressing immigrant policy at the state level” (p. 5). Similarly, there has been an intensification

of rhetoric by public officials targeting Muslim immigrants since 9/11 and specifically in 2015, which was aggravated by the Syrian refugee crisis.

Crimmigration has had disastrous consequences for immigrant populations in the United States and elsewhere. Stumpf (2006) coined the term “crimmigration,” and “her work has motivated other scholars to explore how the criminalization of immigration recasts racism in new forms, enabling incarceration and further marginalizing migrant communities” (Kaufman, 2013, p. 174). The literature on crimmigration has focused on judicial topics such as due process being denied, increased detainment and incarceration of immigrants, and mass deportation (Blair, 2011; Chacón, 2007, 2008, 2012; Dauvergne, 2008; Frey & Zhao, 2011; Legomsky, 2013; Nadadur, 2013; Pope & Garrett, 2013; Welch, 2003). The Department of Homeland Security was created in 2003 (Department of Homeland Security, 2003). Its stated goal is to protect the nation from “dangerous people” (terrorists), but its current focus is almost exclusively on the enforcement of immigration laws (Golash-Boza, 2012b). Spending for Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and the U.S. Customs and Border Protection (CBP) increased from \$7.5 billion in fiscal year 2002 to \$42 billion in fiscal year 2014. A recent immigration bill, the Border Security, Economic Opportunity and Immigration Modernization Act S. 744 (passed by the Senate in 2013 but not the House), would have allocated another \$40 billion in immigration enforcement measures over the next decade, including 18,000 additional Border Control Agents, and add 700 miles of additional steel fence between the United States and Mexico (Santos, 2013). Though this legislation was not passed, it shows the direction some federal policy makers are contemplating towards immigrants and the inability of Congress to reach consensus and pass comprehensive immigration reform (Massey, 2013; Rosenblum, 2011).

Although there has been an increase in both the laws criminalizing immigration and the

detainment and deportation of immigrants since 9/11, this is not the first time the United States has criminalized and deported immigrants. Beginning with the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, through the quota laws of 1921 and 1924, to Arizona's SB 1070 in 2012, America has sought to exclude, "the other" (Bausum, 2009; Chavez, 1998; Ngai, 2004; Kanstroom, 2007; Moloney, 2012). The intent of various restrictive immigration laws was to prohibit "undesirable groups," such as the Chinese and Asians in the 1880s, from migrating to the United States and to remove those already in the United States, like the deportation of an estimated 400,000 Mexicans during the 1930s (Kanstroom, 2007; Moloney, 2012).

It is often in times of severe economic recession or war that the United States has looked with increased suspicion on its immigrant population and enacted measures to criminalize and detain or deport them (Kanstroom, 2007; Ngai, 2004, Moloney, 2012). The United States entered a period of severe economic recession in 2008, and public opinion, fueled in part by the media and the rhetoric of politicians that immigrants were taking Americans jobs, added fuel to the nativist tendencies already set in motion by 9/11 and the prolonged wars in Iraq and Afghanistan (Bacon, 2008; Chomsky, 2007).

Legislation prior to 9/11 changed the rights of foreign born people in the United States. The Anti-Terrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act (AEDPA) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Effective Responsibility Act (IIRIRA) were passed shortly after the World Trade Center bombing in 1993. These laws changed earlier precedents in judicial proceedings with immigrants and eliminated judicial review of some deportation orders, required mandatory detention, and also impacted legal permanent residents (Golash-Boza, 2012a, 2012b). Under these policies, legal permanent residents could now be detained and deported if convicted of various offenses. The official rationale for these legislative acts were to protect the country from

foreign terrorists, but these measures changed how federal, state, and local governments dealt with immigrants, and stripped them of rights that they had been entitled to previously, such as due process, a fair and speedy trial, and appeals (Golash-Boza, 2012b). It is interesting to note that it was terrorist acts in 1993 and 2001 that prompted the United States government to pass restrictive immigration legislation (Garcia-Hernandez, C.C., 2012, 2013, 2014). But it was the events of 9/11 that set the stage for more sweeping legislation to restrict immigration and expel targeted groups from U.S. society.

The Homeland Security Act of 2002 effected a change in the operation of the detention and removal of immigrants. Formerly the responsibility of Immigration and Naturalization Services (INS), immigration enforcement was transferred to Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) under the authority of DHS (Golash-Boza, 2012b). With immigration under the Department of Homeland Security, its budget skyrocketed in accordance with the increase in arrests, detentions, and deportation of non-citizens (Kanstroom, 2012). The Department of Homeland Security's budget went from \$19.5 billion in 2002, to \$37.7 billion in 2003 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2003). By 2016 the budget had risen to \$41.2 billion (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2016a, 2016b). Other federal policies increased the number of those detained and further criminalized immigration in the United States. The USA PATRIOT Act (The Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act of 2001) significantly increased funding for immigration enforcement, both on the border and domestically which resulted in more detentions and deportations. Since the creation of DHS, "the annual budget of Customs and Border Protections (CBP)—which includes the Border Patrol—doubled from \$5.9 billion to \$11.9 billion in FY 2013. Spending on Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)—the interior-

enforcement counterpart to CBP within DHS—grew 73 percent, from \$3.3 billion since its inception to \$5.9 billion in FY 2013” (Ewing, 2014). The Improved Security For Driver’s Licenses and Personal Identification Cards (called the REAL ID Act of 2005), mandated that those applying for driver’s licenses have proof of legal residence. These laws also placed further restrictions on the judicial review of immigration cases, which led to more deportations (Hagan, Eschback, & Rodriguez, 2008). Although most of this legislation occurred during the Bush administration, President Obama continued these practices and actually increased raids, detention, and deportations of immigrant groups (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Kanstroom, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2012b). He is often criticized for having deported more people than any other president.

Not all states have been unilateral in the enforcement of immigration law and federal policies. Indeed, many states have enacted immigrant-friendly legislation, such as Connecticut’s decision to allow undocumented immigrants to obtain driver’s licenses in 2013 and to qualify for in-state college tuition (Pazniokas, 2013; Weizel, 2013). Even within the same state, officials responsible for local immigration enforcement, such as mayors, have taken different positions. For example, Mark Boughton, the former mayor of Danbury Connecticut, and the Danbury Police Force, signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) in 2009. The Immigration and Nationality Act includes section 287(g), which authorizes the Director of ICE to enter into agreements with state and local law enforcement to carry out immigration law enforcement functions. This MOA in Danbury resulted in an escalation in immigration enforcement that in turn led to a federal lawsuit (Barrera et al., vs. Boughton, et al., 2011). The suit alleged that ICE, the Mayor, and the Danbury Police Department were engaging in discriminatory and “unauthorized enforcement of federal

immigration laws” against Latino residents of Danbury. Eight of 11 day laborers who were arrested in Danbury filed a lawsuit that resulted in a settlement of \$400,000 against the city in 2011 (New York Times, 2011). Immigration enforcement by ICE and the Danbury Police negatively impacted many Brazilian immigrants and their families in terms of workplace raids, detentions, and deportations which separated families. In 2006 there were only eight jurisdictions participating in 287(g) agreements; that increased to 69 jurisdictions by 2010 (Ocampo, 2015). According to the American Immigration Council (2012) these “Memorandum’s of Agreement” (MOA’s or 287(g) Agreements) have led to widespread racial profiling against Latinos and resulted in other lawsuits in Maricopa County, Arizona, Alamance County, North Carolina, and Cobb County, Georgia. Further, new “relationships” between local and federal law enforcement have drastically damaged trust with the police on the part of many migrant communities (ACLU, 2010; Jones, 2014; Messing et al., 2015; Zayas, 2015).

Another federal policy that had a negative impact on immigrant communities was the Secure Communities initiative, launched under President Bush, and expanded under the Obama administration (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014). Under Secure Communities, when anyone was booked by local law enforcement agencies, their fingerprints were sent to DHS and the FBI. DHS could issue a detainer for 48 hours to hold the person, allowing ICE to detain and deport individuals. Human rights groups complained this led to racial profiling and the deportation of many individuals with deep community ties and who often had no criminal history (Ocampo, 2015). This has increased distrust of the police on the part of immigrant communities, and led to a decrease in reported crimes by Latina/o immigrants who feared deportation (Messing et al., 2015).

Community trust policies have been enacted by numerous communities in various states

to limit the cooperation between local law enforcement and the federal government in the enforcement of immigration laws. These have allowed local jurisdictions autonomy to decide which policy is best suited to police their communities. These initiatives were designed to build trust in the community. In response, North Carolina state lawmakers passed H.B. 318 in September 2015, a blatantly anti-immigrant law prohibiting cities from passing community trust policies (known as sanctuary city ordinances) (Mathema, 2015).

Due to the outcry by migrant communities and human rights groups, along with many community and legal problems associated with Secure Communities, in November 2014 President Obama announced that a new voluntary program called Priority Enforcement Program (PEP) would replace Secure Communities (Ocampo, 2015). PEP puts more restrictions on enforcement priorities that are centered on criminals who are convicted of violent crimes. The narrative connecting immigration with crime continues to drive the immigration debate. However, as federal statistics show, “immigrants are less likely to commit serious crimes than native-born individuals, and high rates of immigration are associated with lower rates of violent crime” (Ocampo, 2015). Harvard sociologist Robert Sampson (2015) concurs: “Contrary to widespread beliefs, high concentrations of immigrants are also associated with lower crime rates.” Yet events such as the shooting death of Kathryn Steinle in San Francisco in 2015 by an undocumented immigrant are often used to spread racial and ethnic stereotypes about immigrants and continue to add fuel to the debate about immigration enforcement.

Human Rights Violations

Changes in immigration law and policy have increased human rights violations against immigrants (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Bibler-Coutin, 2011; Golash-Boza, 2012b; Human Rights Watch, 2006, 2009, 2010a, 2010b, 2010c; Human Rights Immigrant Community Action

Network, 2009; Kanstroom, 2004; Rodriguez, 2013). An estimated 400,000 immigrants a year have been deported from the United States in the years 2010-2015, many for non-criminal offenses (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2011, 2013a, 2014a, 2015a, 2015b). During Obama's eight years in office, more than three million unauthorized immigrants have been deported (Zayas, 2015). There have been "commando-like" raids by ICE working with local law enforcement on work places, homes, and neighborhoods (Golash-Boza, 2012b). Related to increased enforcement is the concurrent rise of the "immigration-industrial complex," as billions of dollars have gone towards the detainment and deportation of immigrants. This has created an expanding "industry" of privatized detention for profit that further oppresses and marginalizes immigrant groups (Ackerman & Furman, 2013; Douglas & Saenz, 2013; Golash-Boza, 2012a).

Zayas and Bradlee (2014) and Zayas (2015) documented how citizen-children born to undocumented parents have been collateral damage of punitive immigration enforcement policies. These enforcement policies have created numerous orphans for those children who remain in the United States after their parents are deported and made exiles of those returned to a country they have never known. As of January 2013, an estimated 5,100 citizen children resided in foster care "because their parents were undocumented, detained, and removed" (Leif, 2013). Zayas and Bradlee highlight the complexities of mixed-status families: "approximately 4.5 million of the 5.5 million children of undocumented children are U.S. citizens" (p. 168). In addition, there have been numerous deaths (5,000 since 1994) and injuries as many undocumented migrants have attempted to cross the United States-Mexico border at more remote and dangerous locations due to the expansion of border security, and the criminalization of human rights groups who offer help to these migrants (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012).

Globalization and International Migration

These punitive immigration policies have resulted from rising anti-immigrant discourse, and are not unique to the United States. The criminalization of immigration is occurring throughout the countries of the Global North—the destination for the majority of the world’s migrants (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kvisto & Faist, 2010). The criminalization of migration in the United States, Canada, and Europe since 9/11, is impacted by the macro forces of globalization and international migration (Guia, van der Woude, & van der Leun, 2013). Globalization has been defined as the “closer integration of the countries and peoples of the world which has brought about the enormous reduction of costs of transportation and communication, and the breaking down of artificial barriers to the flows of good, services, capital, knowledge, and (to a lesser extent) people across borders” (Stiglitz, 2003, p. 9). Globalization is often associated with the spread of global capitalism, increased communication, and technologies. It has also facilitated greater movement of people worldwide, including those who are undocumented.

Migration is thus a global phenomenon and the last several decades have been called “the age of migration” (Castles & Miller, 2009; Gammeltoft-Hansen & Nyberg-Sorenson, 2013). The United Nations Population Division estimated in 2005 that there were about 191 million international migrants annually. By 2007, this number had approached 200 million, or approximately 3 per cent of the world’s population of 6.5 billion people (Kvisto & Faist, 2010). In 2015 the United Nations estimated there were 244 million international migrants annually (United Nations Fact Sheet, 2015). Some people migrate due to climate change, others because of natural or manmade disasters, while others move due to urbanization and globalization. Both push and pull factors entice migrants to the Global North. Push factors include conflict and violence, unemployment, and a lack of economic opportunity in migrants’ countries of origin, while pull factors include high wages, better economic opportunities, and the promise of a better

life in host countries.

The debate over immigration has become a global one: “all over the world huge streams of migrants are fleeing war, repression, poverty, journeying from developing countries to the industrial ones of the so-called global north. At the same time, the industrial economies have become dependent on the work of migrants, who form a subclass of people working in jobs with the lowest wages, least security, and most dangerous working conditions” (Bacon, 2008, p. 243). Global and regional trade agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994, have also played a role in the movement of migrants to the United States: “One of the largely overlooked aspects of the North American Free Trade Agreement is the fact that the failed trade pact has been the catalyst for the massive increase in illegal immigration over the past two decades or so” (Ensinger, 2011). Many rural farmers who were displaced by U.S. corn exports to Mexico went north to the United States in search of work. Since NAFTA took effect in 1993, the estimated undocumented population in the United States went from 3.9 million to 12 million of which, 57 percent are from Mexico (Ensinger, 2011; Vasser, 2016).

Many immigrants are migrating to the “Global North,” or industrialized countries of the northern hemisphere, such as the United States, Canada, and Europe, for economic and political reasons. In recent years there has been an intensification of migrants and asylum seekers from Central and South America to the United States and Canada. Many migrants are fleeing widespread violence and states with weak governance and high levels of corruption often linked to narco-trafficking in Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Ecuador, Colombia, and Brazil (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kvisto & Faist, 2010).

The United States has the largest number of immigrants in the world, estimated at 47 million (United Nations, 2015). Chang-Muy and Congress (2009) found “over 13 percent of the

total population of the United States is foreign-born but this total in urban areas is much higher, with numbers approaching forty percent” (Chang-Muy & Congress, 2009, p. 5). Immigration to the United States has increased dramatically since the mid-1980s and should be seen in the context of the worldwide movement of global migrants. The legal status and very presence of these migrants has become highly politicized in the United States and other countries. As Zolberg and Benda (2001) note, “The massive movement of human beings across international borders has come to be regarded as one of the most intractable problems the United States and the other affluent democracies face in the strange new post-Communist world” (p. 1).

Brazilian Immigrants

Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut are part of the growing Latino population in the state. Latinos are the fastest growing population in Connecticut and have increased 50 percent between 2000 and 2010 (Wong, 2013; Mayer, 2013). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2013), the Latino population was 14.2 percent of the total population of Connecticut, and Latinos make up 17 percent of the population of the United States. Latino is defined as those immigrants from Latin America based on the U.S. Census category used since the 2000 Census. The term Hispanic, although often applied to all Latin Americans, is an ethno-linguistic term used to describe those immigrants originating from the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America, and in that sense, Brazilians would not be included because they speak Portuguese (Gracia & De Greiff, 2001).

Although some countries have a historic pattern of migration to the United States, Brazil, a country with over 200 million people, has only had significant out-migration due to extreme economic conditions over the past two decades. Brazilians began to immigrate to the United States in large numbers in the late 1980s (Goza, 1994; Margolis, 1990, 1994, 2009). The growing

exodus of people from Brazil became known as the “Brazilian diaspora.” According to Margolis (2008a), by 2001, “nearly two million Brazilians were living abroad, a 27 % increase from 1997. Of these, between 800,000 and 1.1 million reside in the United States” (p. 339). This is in stark contrast to the official U.S. Census figures published at that time which only counted 212,567 Brazilians (Jouët-Pastré, 2008). According to the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, in 2009 there were 3,040,993 Brazilians living abroad. Of those, 1,325,100 (46 percent) had migrated to North America and Central America (Padilla, 2011). In 2010, the U.S. Census only counted 323,080 Brazilians in the United States, but according to the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, there was an estimated 1.2 million Brazilians living in the United States (Fritz, 2011). This disparity in numbers would indicate that the majority of Brazilians in the United States are undocumented. Brazilians had been able to obtain U.S. visas easier and travel back and forth to Brazil until 9/11. After 9/11 due to restrictions on visas, increased border patrols, and increased questioning and scrutiny at airports, Brazilians found it difficult to travel to and from Brazil, which increased the number of undocumented Brazilians entering the United States (Margolis, 2008). By 2005, Brazilians were the largest ethnic group other than Mexicans being detained at the U.S. border (Margolis, 2008b). Following 9/11, the U.S. government put pressure on Mexico to change its policy and force Brazilians to obtain a visa to travel to Mexico. Margolis (2008b) notes that stricter U.S. policies did not stop illegal immigration, but did make it almost impossible for undocumented Brazilians living in the United States to return to Brazil to visit, which is consistent with other immigrant groups. In 2015, Brazilians were still among the top ten groups being apprehended at the U.S.-Mexican border and deported (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015a, 2015b).

In Connecticut, the last census counted 17,300 Brazilians in the state, but unofficial

estimates in 2008 placed the number between 60,000 and 100,000 (D'Ambrosia, 2008). This would indicate that the vast majority of Brazilians living in Connecticut are also undocumented. A more recent estimate reports lower figures. According to Paul Almeida, deputy counsel at the Brazilian Consulate in Hartford, Connecticut, "there are roughly 40,000 Brazilians living in Connecticut and Rhode Island—down from up to 70,000 in peak years" (Ocasio, 2013). Bridgeport and Danbury have the highest number of Brazilians in the state, but many Brazilians have moved to smaller surrounding towns like Waterbury, Naugatuck, and Torrington. The actual number of Brazilians in the United States (and Connecticut) is highly contested, and official figures only represent those who are documented, completed the Census, or chose to add their ethnicity when completing the census. Prior to 2010, the Census used the generic category "Hispanic," which many Brazilians do not feel applies to them. The 2010 census allowed respondents to write in their ethnicity.

Most research on immigrants from South America has focused on the more numerous Latin American immigrant populations in the United States:

Brazilians remain largely unknown to the general U.S. public. Disproportionate emphasis placed on Spanish-speaking America within U.S. academia and disseminated within U.S. public discourses, have contributed to minimizing the presence of Brazilian immigrants in the United States. (Marcus, 2011, p. 59)

Although Brazilian immigrants contribute economically and help shape the current landscape of American society, there is a paucity of literature on the Brazilian immigrant population (Braga Martes, 2011; Jouët-Pastré & Braga 2008; Margolis, 2009). Margolis (1994, 2009) was one of the first anthropologists to describe Brazilian immigrants coming to New York in the early 1990s. She published the first anthropological study of Brazilian immigrants (1994), then a little known group, who she described as "the invisible minority." Margolis used this label because many Brazilians worked long hours and had little time to make a larger impact on their host

society. She first noted the term *Brazucas*, a term used by Brazilians in a jocular manner to refer to themselves in New York City and elsewhere in the United States. Interestingly, over 90 percent felt uncomfortable with the label *immigrant*. They did not describe themselves as immigrants, but said they were just passing through (meaning they only intended on staying a year or two to work and then return to Brazil). Many came from the middle class in Brazil, but were working in menial jobs in the United States (Margolis, 1994, 2009).

Margolis (1995) introduced the concept of migrant as *sojourner* in relation to Brazilian immigrants. Brazilian immigrants were target earners with a goal, such as earning enough money to purchase a home in Brazil, and then return. Jouët-Pastré and Braga (2008) discussed aspects of Brazilians' experience in the United States, including their reasons for coming (and leaving), work, family, spirituality, challenges, social networks, language, and second-generation phenomena. Braga Martes (2011) and Fritz (2011) described the lives of Brazilians living in Massachusetts, their experiences with work and the dominant culture, identity, hybridization, religion, employment, and social resources. No study has been published in the social work literature specifically on Brazilian immigrants. In addition, Brazilians are often absent or mentioned in passing in major works on immigration (Alba & Nee, 1997, 2003; Hirschman, Kasinitz, & DeWind, 1999; Jacobson, 1998; Massey, 2008; Waters & Ueda, 2007). This gap in the social work literature and other works on immigration is a key impetus for this study.

The Connecticut Context

Due to the influx of large numbers of immigrants, the United States is becoming an increasingly diverse, multicultural, and multiracial nation (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Winters & DeBose, 2003). Connecticut is a microcosm of these larger trends. In 2006, one in eight residents in Connecticut were foreign-born (American Community Survey, 2006). In 2016 it is

estimated that one in seven Connecticut residents are foreign born (Legal Action Center, 2015). Connecticut has the 11th highest percentage of foreign-born residents in the country (Mejia & Canny, 2007). Until 2008, Danbury was considered the “capital” of the resident Brazilian community in Connecticut and its Brazilian population had been estimated at as much as 15,000 (D’Ambrosio, 2008). The large increase of Brazilians in Connecticut resulted in the decision by the Brazilian government to open a Consulate in Hartford in 2008. The economic recession of 2008 and increased aggressive enforcement of immigration laws have contributed to some Brazilians returning to Brazil. What is clear is that Brazilians themselves perceive that their fellow nationals have chosen to leave the United States in noticeable numbers since 2008. Connecticut, at the state and local levels, has been progressive at times and discriminatory towards its Latino population at others. Connecticut passed a bill so that undocumented immigrants could obtain drivers licenses, but at the same time, some towns like Danbury signed a Memorandum of Agreement (MOA) with Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE) and actively persecuted and harassed the immigrant population living within its town borders (Langlois, 2010; Barrera et al., vs. Boughton et al., 2010; Lips, 2014).

Few of the Brazilians interviewed for this study migrated directly to Connecticut. Instead, the state received a significant number of Brazilian immigrants who had first migrated to New York City or Boston, Massachusetts. A number of those interviewed came to Connecticut later because of its proximity to these cities and because of its cheaper cost of living as compared to New York or Boston. The Brazilians who came to Connecticut in the late 1990s created thriving communities in Danbury, Hartford, Bridgeport, and Waterbury, and other towns where there were already Latino communities.

Theoretical Framework

Critical race theory and the racialization of immigration. The majority of anti-immigrant legislation is directed at the growing Latino communities in the United States (Mize & Peña-Delgado, 2010, Padilla et al., 2008). The use of law, or specifically in this case, crimmigration law, by those in power to oppress and marginalize non-white racial groups, exemplifies the use of race to exclude and disenfranchise “the other” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Garcia-Hernandez, 2012; Provine & Doty, 2011). Critical theory examines inequality based on unequal power structures in society—like the Jim Crow laws used to oppress African Americans in the South prior to the Civil Rights Movement (Alexander, 2010; Darder, & Torres, 2004; Valdes, McCristal Culp, & Harris, 2002). Padgett (2008) suggests, “Critical theorists point to inequalities based on gender, race, social class, and sexual orientation [which if] left unchallenged, these inequalities are reinforced through power differentials that are virtually self-perpetuating” (Padgett, 2008, p. 8).

Critical race theory suggests that racism is endemic to American society and there is little incentive to eradicate it by some people and groups who benefit from it (Harris, 1999; Ritzer, 2010). Race is a socially constructed reality and can be manipulated or changed based on current political or economic realities: “Differential racialization involved the ways the dominant society racializes different minority groups at different times, in response to shifting needs, such as the labor market” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013, p. 9). Critical race theory incorporates globalization and the political economy including how international migrants, based on their race or ethnicity, are dehumanized and disenfranchised by the dominant culture in their host countries (Aas & Bosworth, 2013; Smith, 2011).

Finally, critical race theory does not just analyze race and racism but seeks to deal with social inequalities and to advance social justice (Matsuda, Lawrence III, Delgado, & Williams-

Crenshaw, 1993; Ritzer, 2011). For example, Arizona, Georgia, and Alabama have directly implemented measures against undocumented Latino migrants to block access to employment, housing, healthcare, and even education for their children if they cannot provide proof of legal status (Friedmann-Marquardt, Steigenga, Williams and Vasquez, 2011; Provine & Sanchez, 2011). These types of actions were ruled unconstitutional in 1985 in the Flores case. As immigrant families often contain members of mixed legal status, these measures have had an adverse impact on many immigrant households (Zayas, 2015). Androff and Tavassoli (2012) highlight how “the criminalization of undocumented immigration has contributed to a climate of discrimination that negatively affects immigrant communities in the United States and both documented and undocumented immigrants” (p. 166).

One of the key aspects of critical race theory is the desire to dismantle social inequality and promote social justice (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Ritzer, 2011). To work towards achieving this end, social workers have engaged in consciousness raising by publishing articles, books, and conducting presentations on crimmigration to bring this human rights crisis to the public’s attention; utilized advocacy; and testified in court on behalf of migrants and their families (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Messing et al., 2015; Zayas, 2015).

The immigration debate in the United States has historically taken on racial undertones. In 1960, the foreign born population of the United States was 9.7 million. By 2010 that figure had increased to nearly 40 million people (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013). Latinos were the largest share of this increase “as their numbers soared from 1 million in 1960 to almost 19 million by 2010” (p. 48). Provine and Doty (2011) note: “the mutually reinforcing relationship between racialization and criminalization” (p. 265). Latinos have been demonized as criminals in the Southwest for many years and the “linking of immigration and crime has become an effective

rallying cry for politicians and pundits, allowing them to demonize immigrants and reinforce racialized anxieties without ever explicitly invoking race” (Zatz & Smith, 2012, p. 142).

“Immigration reform” and the “immigration debate” in the United States have thus increasingly become an expression of racism:

Proponents of nativism express their fears about the future of the United States in racialized and anti-immigrant terms...The overall approach to immigration reform, however, is to view Latinos, irrespective of national origins or citizenship status, as the main cause of the immigration problem that if left unfettered will threaten national security, promote unfair labor competition, and burden taxpayers. (Mize & Peña-Delgado, 2010, p. 10)

The narrative regarding immigration and criminality resonates in a similar vein with debates by criminologists studying disproportionate rates of African American incarceration and so-called “black criminality,” which was actually due to unfair and disparate treatment by the criminal justice system (Alexander, 2010). Likewise, debates about “the criminality and imprisonment of black people are, to an extent and with some important differences, replicated in the discussion of foreign nationals [immigrants] and crime” (Bhui, 2013, p. 6). The media often utilizes images of Latinos in shackles, linking crime and immigration in the mind of the U.S. populace, and the “United States provides what is perhaps the most extreme example of enthusiasm for racialized detention” (p. 6). Garcia-Hernandez (2012) noted the increase in migrant detentions and how detention and deportation have been pursued by local, state, and federal law enforcement with a “renewed vigor toward immigrants” (as cited in Bhui, 2013, p. 364).

Chavez (2008) claims the perceived threat to the dominant culture due to the increase in Latinos has resulted in an unprecedented number of state and local laws that seek to restrict Latino immigration and punish Latino immigrants. He described the Latino threat narrative that resurfaced after 9/11, noting that it had been used in the past to exclude Latinos from

incorporation into mainstream U.S. society (for example, the mass repatriation of some 400,000 Mexicans during the Great Depression):

The Latino Threat Narrative posits that Latinos are not like previous immigrant groups, who ultimately become part of the nation. According to the assumptions and taken-for-granted “truths” inherent in this narrative, Latinos are unwilling or incapable of becoming part of the national community. Rather, they are like part of an invading force from the south of the border. (p. 2)

Brazilian immigrants, like other Latin American immigrants, have been at the receiving end of discriminatory immigration laws and policies as a result of this Latino threat narrative.

This study, in part, deconstructs the “official” narrative regarding crimmigration related to “national security” to show that the criminalization of immigration is based on ideologies, including neoliberalism, racism, and nativist tendencies; and that this is not the first time the dominant culture has used immigration policy to disenfranchise and oppress immigrants living in the United States. Within the social work tradition, critical theory, as utilized in this study, is congruent with a human rights approach: “Critical social work aims to promote social justice by employing themes of discourse, subjectivity, and deconstruction to problematize oppressive social conditions, their reproduction, and the role of ideology, positivism, capitalism, and neoliberalism” (Androff, 2016, p. 27). A critical phenomenological approach aided in this deconstruction of the “official” narrative of the current immigration debate.

Neoliberalism. The neoliberal worldview prevalent among many policy makers has resulted in an increase in the detainment and deportation of immigrants both documented and undocumented in the United States. Neoliberalism is a theory with economic, political, and social dimensions (Harvey, 2007; Lorenz, 2005). Simmons (2014) defines neoliberalism as “a stage of capitalism in which capital is globally mobile and can locate operations in areas of the world with the lowest labor costs; a system in which the government moves away from

providing programs to protect vulnerable citizens and mitigate the harshest effects of the private market to a government that facilitates maximum profits for the private sector” (Simmons, 2014, p. 214). Related to neoliberalism is the rise of the neoliberal state (Steger & Roy, 2010), states with limited government, reduced or minimized safety nets, tax cuts for big business and industry, and states who “work against groups (e.g., unions, social movements) that operate to restrain business interests and their efforts to accumulate capital” (p. 600).

Crimmigration exemplifies how the neoliberal state has re-defined its role and function into one of “security” (and profit from providing so-called security). Neoliberal economic arrangements encourage both immigration as a source of cheap labor and control of this cheap labor source. What makes this economic relationship specifically “neoliberal” is that it is related to the primacy of the economic/material/capital accumulation and the transformation of the state into a facilitator of this function. The U.S. approach to immigration should be seen within the broader context of similar policies in Europe addressing immigration from Africa and the Middle East, and Australia regarding immigration from Asia. The use of practices of deportation and deportability is central to the neoliberal state and its control of large migrant populations (Ellerman, 2009; Guia, van der Woude, van der Leun, 2013).

According to DeGenova & Peutz (2010) it is not deportation that is crucial for neoliberal capitalism but “deportability: the category illegal alien is profoundly useful and profitable one that effectively services to create and sustain a legally vulnerable—and hence relatively tractable and thus ‘cheap’—reserve of labor” (DeGenova & Peutz, 2010, p. 300). Deportation is an economic strategy for “the neoliberal state, which requires the presence of noncitizen and undocumented labor” (p. 301). The “War on Terror” brought about the escalation of detainment and deportation, and the “heightened fear of deportation produced by the War on Terror ensures

that wages will continue to be depressed and immigrant workers will be more hesitant to organize collectively and more intensely subjected to economic exploitation” (p. 301).

Often, the national debate on immigration has been presented as simply a law enforcement issue. What is often neglected are “the economic and political realities...Neo-liberal economics has fueled demand for residual labor and, at the same time, has created untenable conditions for many workers in countries such as Mexico” (Cleaveland, 2015, p. 568). One of the central features of neo-liberal economics is dependence on residual labor, that is “jobs characterized by irregular hours and a lack of benefits such as medical care” (p. 568). In addition to being an economic strategy, then, deportation has been useful to silence dissent.

DeGenova & Peutz (2010) also posited that deportation is a political device of the neoliberal “warfare state.” A heavily “militarized state that wages perpetual war [the Military-Industrial-Complex], overtly or covertly” can use deportation or deportability “to contain dissent and suppress political movements that challenge imperial policies” (p. 302). After the PATRIOT Act of 2001, increased policies of surveillance and detention were enacted which “has served as a device for repression and intimidation of critics of state policies” (p. 302). These punitive measures have created an atmosphere of fear and suspicion, and a climate of xenophobia and repression not only among Arab and Muslim communities, but has targeted other groups as well, such as low-wage undocumented migrants. In addition, in line with the neoliberal view of economics, identifying, detaining, and removing “illegals” has become big business for many private for profit detention centers and thus a “successful enterprise” (Douglas, & Saenz, 2013). Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), an agency within DHS (Department of Homeland Security), spent \$2.24 billion in fiscal year 2007, on the identification, detention, and removal of non-citizens (Human Rights Watch, 2009). In 2015 the budget for ICE had increased to \$5.3

billion (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015a). As most immigrant families live in mixed-status households, punitive immigration practices have impacted all immigrant communities in the United States. The lack of due process, an increase in detentions and removals of migrants, along with raids on homes, communities, and places of employment, has created a climate of fear, separated families, and fueled a plethora of human rights violations by local, state, and federal authorities in the name of “national security” (Dreby, 2015; Golash-Boza, 2012b). This is clearly a human rights issue that is at the core of macro social work practice (Androff, 2016; Libal & Harding, 2015).

Transnationalism and transmigrants. A useful analytic tool to understand migration for social work research and practice is transnationalism or transnational migrant theory (Bretell, 2003; Bretell & Hollifield, 2008; Portes & DeWind, 2007)). Transnationalism is a worldwide phenomenon and a manifestation of globalization (Faist, Fauser, & Reisnauer, 2013). One definition of transnationalism is “sustained cross-border relationships, patterns of exchange, affiliations and social formations spanning nation states” (Vertovec, 2008, p. 2). Migrant transnationalism “is a broad category referring to a range of practices and institutions linking migrants, people, and organizations in their homelands or elsewhere in a diaspora” (p. 13). Glick-Schiller, Basch, and Blanc-Szanton (1992) define “transnationalism” as “the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement” (p. 7). Transnational migrant theory began in the field of anthropology (Glick-Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1992) and expanded to all disciplines in the social sciences: “Indeed, in recent years’ transnationalism has become one of the fundamental ways of understanding contemporary migrant practices across the full range of social sciences” (p. 13).

The theory of migrant transnationalism contributes to a richer understanding of immigrant experiences in the United States in a number of ways (Negi & Furman, 2010; Smith & Guarnizo, 2009). Transnationalism is a type of social morphology: social formations spanning borders formerly called “ethnic Diasporas” (Bauböck & Faist, 2010). A core value of social work (NASW, 2008) is the importance of human relationships. An important part of understanding these “transnational communities,” then, is to analyze the formation, maintenance, and social organization of these groups (Fazio & Soares, 2013). Transnationalism can also be viewed as a type of consciousness (Vertovec, 2009). Migrants have an awareness of events and time in host and home country and think in both modes simultaneously. Not only do transmigrants have “one foot here and one foot there,” but their thinking and actions are influenced by both. Regarding these “global Diasporas,” there is often a dual or multiple identifications between home and host countries by immigrants (Torreson, 2012; Viera & Mendes, 2010). Treaties among different countries that allow for dual-citizenship facilitate this phenomenon. The United States and Brazil have such a treaty (Jones-Correa, 2001; Padilla, 2011).

Transnationalism has also been defined as “a mode of cultural reproduction—these are often described in terms of syncretism, creolization, bricolage, cultural translation and hybridity” (Vertovec, 2009, p. 7). Many immigrants operate between home and host country as a single sphere of operation due to the Internet (e.g., Skype, Facetime, Wazupp) and telecommunications that allow them to regularly stay in touch with family and events taking place in Brazil. Migrants can therefore interact with countries of origin in real time. There is an integration and syncretism between their home culture and host culture in which they participate (Nederveen Pieterse, 2009; Torreson, 2011).

Another focus of transnationalism has been on remittances sent by transmigrants to their counties of origin and the impact on the economy in these countries (Guarnizo, 2003; Marcus, 2011). These remittances, although usually adding up to small amounts, have a significant impact on the global economy. It is estimated that the amounts of remittances migrants send to their home countries annually “add up to at least \$300 billion worldwide” (Vertovec, 2009, p. 8). Many of the participants interviewed for this study sent, or were still sending, remittances back to family in Brazil.

Place or locality reconstruction is another feature of transnationalism (Marcus, 2009). Migrants attempt to recreate social fields or “translocal understandings.” For example, migrants from one town in Brazil who migrated to Naugatuck, Connecticut recreated similar social fields, like their hometowns. In Danbury Connecticut, many of the Brazilian migrants had come from the city of Governador Valedares from the State of Minas Gerais (Levitt, 2001; Margolis, 1994, 2009).

Transnationalism has the potential to allow the social work profession to gain a deeper understanding of the migration experience of recent immigrant groups (Negi & Furman, 2010). It allows one to look at migration from a macro lens in terms of globalization, push-pull factors of migration, and social networks; and through a micro lens in terms of the direct impact of migration on individuals and families and their needs for services and advocacy. At a micro practitioner level, the concept of transnationalism may help social workers to better support resiliency and empowerment (Gitterman & Germain, 2008). Additionally, on a macro level, migrant transnationalism offers insights in terms of the structural factors that include the decision to migrate, the politics affecting immigration, as well as the mobilization and organization of migrants’ groups for action to bring about social change.

Immigration and Social Work

The social work profession has addressed human migration since its inception in the late 1880s, beginning with the work of Jane Addams and the Settlement House movement and Mary Richmond and the Charity Organization Society movement. (Axin & Stearn, 2008; Cleaveland, 2015; Leiby, 1978; Trattner, 1999). The expansion of capitalism, in particular industrialization and the need for a cheap labor force, resulted in millions of immigrants leaving their homelands to seek work in the growing cities of the United States. The period from the 1880s to the 1920s witnessed the greatest wave of immigration to the United States. It was during this time that the social work profession emerged in response to the growing social ills that accompanied massive immigration and the explosive growth of cities. In a sense, both immigration and social work are a by-product of and result of the growth of industrial capitalism (Axin & Stearn, 2008).

Jane Addams began Hull House in the South Side of Chicago in 1889. Addams worked with the urban poor, many of whom were immigrants. Likewise, the “friendly visitors” of Mary Richmond’s Charity Organization Society also worked with the poor and urban residents, many of whom were immigrants. From the time of Richmond and Addams to the present, the social work profession has had conflicting roles in relation to immigrants.

On the one hand, the profession has advocated for immigrants’ rights, including organizing and political lobbying to bring about social change on their behalf (Leiby, 1978; Trattner, 1999). Social workers have at times been on the forefront of social service delivery and advocacy to waves of immigrants coming to the United States: “From our professions’ earliest days working with immigrants at Hull House in Chicago to the current immigration debate, our commitment to social justice has driven both our service and policy positions regarding immigration” (Padilla et al., 2008, p. 5).

However, social workers were also involved in the mass deportation of U.S. citizens of Mexican descent in the 1930s in California (Balderrama & Rodríguez, 1995). During World War II social workers facilitated the internment of Japanese Americans (Park, 2008). The social work profession has often had a “social control” or, at times, eugenicist approach to immigration and assimilation. More recently, the profession has demonstrated a limited engagement on the issue of crimmigration. Although the escalation of immigration enforcement began after the creation of the Department of Homeland Security in 2003, one of the first social work statements to address this was not until 2006, with the National Association of Social Worker’s (NASW) *Immigration and Policy Toolkit*.

Recent social work scholarship has acknowledged the plight of immigrants in the United States and offered suggestions for service and advocacy (Drachman & Paulino, 2004). Drachman (1992) provided a conceptual framework for understanding immigrant group experiences and service delivery based on an immigrant’s stage-of-migration. Padilla (1997) noted major policy issues relevant to social work practice and outlined how immigrant policies, which were “aimed at facilitating the economic integration of immigrants,” negatively impacted the delivery of social services. She advocated that social workers become proactive in the formation of immigration policy and noted how U.S. welfare policies towards immigrants had been “generally inconsistent and resulted in a fragmented system of services” (p. 599). She also pointed out that the classification of immigrants is far more complicated than a simple binary category of legal-illegal. Many immigrant families are composed of “mixed-status” households who may hold different types of visas. Some may have green cards, work or student visas, while others may be undocumented or naturalized citizens.

In the years after 9/11, social workers who worked with or had contact with immigrants

witnessed the impact of federal, state, and local immigration policies on their clients. In 2006 there were widespread immigrant-rights protests throughout the country staged by Latino immigrants, human rights groups, and their supporters, due to proposed restrictive federal immigration legislation (DeGenova & Peutz, 2010). Many social workers took part in these protests. In 2008 public outcry increased about the growing detainment and deportation of immigrants. Padilla et al. (2008) reaffirmed that the United States has two narratives regarding immigrants. First, historically the United States is “a nation which was created by immigrants seeking respect for individual freedoms” (p. 5). But the United States also has another narrative, rooted in “a history of anti-immigrant rhetoric and public policies criminalizing immigrants or viewing them as a threat to U.S. security” (p. 5). It is the second narrative that has increased racialized anxieties, nativism, and ethnocentric tendencies since 9/11. The authors suggested that most current immigration legislation represented direct “attacks on the Latino population” (Padilla et al., 2008, p. 5). Since 9/11, the United States has also seen an increase in Islamophobia and hostility to immigrants from Middle Eastern countries and Muslims in general. Recently, this has been fueled by the presidential election, debates over immigration in the media and congress, as well as terrorist attacks in San Bernardino California and Paris, France in 2015.

NASW’s *Immigration Policy Toolkit* of 2006 included a policy statement on immigrants and refugees. It states that the “plight of refugees and immigrants be considered on the basis of human values and needs, rather than on an ideological struggle related to foreign policy” (p. 4). The *Toolkit* also asserted that “the current political context of immigration makes the job of social workers much harder and more perilous. It endangers human rights and civil liberties of immigrants, refugees, and social service workers” (p. 4).

Cleaveland (2010) made an impassioned plea on behalf of undocumented migrants and

noted how Mexican migrants in New Jersey perceived their own struggles to support their families in light of “escalating anti-immigrant legislation” (p. 74). She proposed that social workers use advocacy to “support the migrant population at the national, community, and individual levels” (p. 80). She noted that social workers are mandated by NASW’s Code of Ethics to “strive for social justice and honor the imperative to work on behalf of those who are poor, vulnerable, and oppressed” (p. 79). She also highlighted that the *Code* does not distinguish based on legal status or residency, but calls on social workers “to enhance human well-being and help meet the basic needs of all people, with particular attention to the needs and empowerment of people who are vulnerable, oppressed, and living in poverty” (Cleaveland, 2010, p. 79). As noted, social workers have not always lived up to this mandate and have at times acted as agents of social control.

Androff et al. (2011) described how U.S. immigration policy, in particular anti-immigrant initiatives, negatively impacted immigrant children. The authors found that one third of undocumented children in the United States lived in poverty and lacked health insurance. This article was one of the first in the social work literature documenting crimmigration and the impact of immigration policy enforcement. It highlighted the number of arrests, detainments and deportations of immigrants since 9/11. Androff and Tavassoli (2012) also addressed the plight of undocumented immigrants since 9/11 in relation to deaths and injuries along the Mexico-Arizona border, the impact of Arizona’s Senate Bill 1070, and the “crackdown” on undocumented migrants and their families. The authors suggested that “the criminalization of immigration resulted in a human rights crisis in three areas: (1) the rise of deaths and injuries of migrants crossing the border in harsh and remote locations, (2) the use of mass hearings to prosecute apprehended migrants, and (3) abuses of migrants in immigration detention” (p. 165).

Furman, Ackerman, Loya, Jones, and Negi, (2012) explored the dilemmas faced by social workers in light of the crimmigration, especially when the values of the social work profession may conflict with provision of services to the undocumented. For example, some social workers may be legally mandated to report undocumented immigrants to authorities if immigrants are seeking medical care or if their children are enrolled in school in certain states. The authors documented the shift in public attitudes towards immigrants in the wake of 9/11: “while conflicted and negative feelings towards immigrants are certainly not new, the terrorist attacks on U.S. soil have exacerbated nativist and ethnocentric sentiments in the United States” (Furman et al., 2012, p. 171). Sanders, Martinez, Horner, and Delva (2013) discussed how advocacy, community education, and political action was undertaken by the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigration Rights (WICIR) in Washtenaw County Michigan, which included social workers, to address punitive immigration policies and in response to human rights abuses towards Latinos. A brutal neighborhood raid by ICE prompted a response by social workers and members of the Latino community to form a grassroots all-volunteer organization.

A recent major interdisciplinary book specifically addressing crimmigration was written by social work educators Ackerman and Furman (2014), *The Criminalization of Immigration. Context and Consequences*. This work highlights the implications for social work in terms of practice and advocacy. Ackerman and Furman (2014) find that “Immigration has become one of the hottest topics in our National discourse...the topic of immigration is so emotional that it so often transcends facts and knowledge, and leads us directly into key values about what is to be an American” (p. 3).

Androff (2014) notes that social policy in the United States, specifically when addressing a “seemingly intractable social problem” such as poverty or drug abuse is often labelled a “war”

(p. 147). He asserts that there is an undeclared War on Immigration playing out at the local, state, and national levels. Androff makes clear that migrants' rights are human rights based on their dignity as human beings, and cites the 1948 *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) by the UN, and the *International Convention on the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families* (1990). This Convention did not take effect globally until 2003 and has yet to be ratified by the United States (Androff, 2016; Libal & Harding, 2015). Yet, arguably its principles are applicable to those who have migrated to the United States, regardless of legal status to reside in this country (Hodge, 2006).

Segal (2014) notes that host countries of the Global North are soliciting immigrants from developing countries due to a shortage in their domestic workforce but in reality “they do not really want them” (p. 438). She distinguishes between blatant human rights violations experienced by immigrants due to their vulnerability—such as abuse or mistreatment in detention centers, human trafficking, and refugee camps—and “insidious violations that other migrants experience that are not labeled as human rights violations but should be so categorized” (Segal, 2014, p. 440). Segal suggested human rights violations occur when immigrants or their communities are denied integration into a society or not permitted access to “a country’s financial and social resources” (p. 440). Segal (2014) proposed the acronym for human rights abuses with immigrants “MOVED--marginalized, oppression, violation, exploitation, and discrimination” (p. 440). She calls for social workers to become informed on immigration issues: “Not all immigrants require social work assistance, but all social workers must be cognizant of potential issues, and when 25% of the United States is composed of new Americans, it behooves the profession to apprise itself of the potential issues and challenges of migration effects on immigrants and the host country” (p. 450).

Critelli (2014) states that due to demographic changes immigrant populations have been dispersed throughout the United States and not just in traditional destination states like New York or California. She recommends social workers utilize a human rights framework “as a critical tool for current policy discussions about immigration and social work practice with immigrants” (pp. 455-456). She argues that social work educators need to challenge many of the myths and stereotypes about immigrants that lead to erroneous assumptions. In addition, a key issue for the social work profession is to understand what the principles of human rights social work practice are based on: “A rights-based approach is predicated on the concept of the inherent dignity and worth of every individual, promoting the belief that immigrants should be viewed as human beings first” (p. 463).

Zayas’ (2015) recent work, *Forgotten Citizens: Deportation, Children, and the Making of American Exiles and Orphans*, highlights the impact of immigration policy on the lives of four million U.S. born children who live in mixed-status immigrant families. He draws on his extensive clinical and forensic work with immigrants and their families to show how immigration policy has a detrimental and traumatic impact on the lives of these children who often live in fear of their parents being deported; for those whose parents who were deported, these policies in effect creates exiles and orphans. Zayas documents how these policies subvert these children’s human rights. His work also demonstrates how a social work educator and clinician can be an advocate by working with the courts and policy-makers. He testified on behalf of many of these children and their families in the local, state and federal (immigration court) levels and made a significant impact on policy and in the lives of many immigrants.

Human Rights and Social Work

A human rights framework underpins this dissertation. Human rights and social work

have a long-standing historical and intuitive connection. Brysk (2002) defined human rights as “a set of universal claims to safeguard human dignity from illegitimate coercion, typically enacted by state agents” (p. 3). Globally “human rights have become a priority around the world wherever people are working to promote social welfare and reduce human misery” (Androff, 2016, p. 16). NASW’s *Code of Ethics* (2008) stresses social justice, dignity and worth of the person, and the importance of human relationships, values congruent with a human rights perspective, although this document does not specifically invoke human rights (Libal & Harding, 2015).

Social work has a micro and macro dimension, which are interrelated. The profession has excelled at working with the needs of individuals, families and organizations but has not been as successful in the pursuit of social justice and addressing inequality and oppression. Social workers have operated from a deficit model that frequently focused on human needs: “Social workers, often acting on behalf of the state’s interests, typically intervened according to what they themselves perceived to be the deficits in the lives and behaviors of person in need” (Gatenio Gabel, 2015 p. v). Libal and Harding (2015) and Androff (2016) offer a new framework/paradigm of human rights social work practice that shifts the emphasis from individual needs to individual rights. As Gabel (2015) notes: “Rights-based social work shifts the focus from human needs, to human rights and calls on social workers and the populations they work with to actively participate in decision-making processes of the state so that the state can better serve the interests of the population” (p. v).

Utilizing a human rights framework “can assist social work—through increased partnership, collaboration and better integration—in the realization of social justice” (Androff, 2016, p. 17). Social workers who increase their “knowledge about rights-based approaches will

be more effective advocates for social justice” (p. 17). The mass detainment, detention and deportation of immigrants is clearly a human rights issue necessitating a response from the social work profession committed to work on behalf of “vulnerable, marginalized, and oppressed populations” (NASW, 2008). Restrictive immigration policy and enforcement measures have negatively impacted the Latino population in the United States in profound ways.

The principles of a human rights approach consonant with the mission of social work are “dignity,” “nondiscrimination, participation, transparency, and accountability” (Androff, 2016, p. 34). This is predicated on the assumption that these rights are universal and inalienable—and the state has a right to protect these rights for all people—including immigrants (Androff, 2016). This change in paradigm from a human needs approach to a human rights approach is based on the dignity and worth of the person: “Respect for human dignity is the basis for all human rights. Human dignity is the lynchpin of the rights-based practice, and the central link between human rights and social work” (Androff, 2016, p. 35).

The framework for immigrant rights is encapsulated in the UN’s *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948) Article 13 (right of freedom of movement) and Article 25 regarding “the right to a standard of living.” The UN’s commitment to immigrants and their rights was further demonstrated by the adoption of the *International Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers and Their Families* in 1990. This treaty acknowledged the human rights violations taking place against migrants and the dehumanization of immigrants across the globe. Unfortunately, this convention was not ratified by the United States (Libal & Harding, 2015).

The International Federation of Social Worker’s (2016) recently stated: “The social work profession, through historical and empirical evidence, is convinced that the achievement of human rights for all people is a fundamental prerequisite for a caring world and survival of the

human race.” In addition, IFSW’s *Ethical Statement* (2012) highlights the importance and centrality of human rights in social work, stressing the importance of conventions on human rights being directly applicable to the social work profession (Androff, 2016). Although the NASW *Code of Ethics* (2008) does not specifically mention human rights, the Code has a section entitled “Social Workers Ethical Responsibilities to the Broader Society,” which calls for social workers to “promote the general welfare of society, from the local to the global levels...Social workers should advocate for living conditions conducive to the fulfillment of basic human needs and should promote social, economic, political and cultural values and institutions that are compatible with the realization of social justice.” Additionally, under section 6.4 for “Social and Political Action,” the Code “promotes policies that safeguard the rights of and confirm equity and social justice for all people.” The same section of the Code addressed the discrimination and exploitation often experienced by immigrants: “Social workers should act to prevent and eliminate domination of, and discrimination against any person, group, or class on the basis of race, ethnicity, national origin, color, sex, sexual orientation, gender, identity or expression, age, marital status, political belief, religion, *immigration status*, or mental or physical disability.”

Critical Phenomenology

Phenomenology is both a theory and a methodology. I used critical phenomenology to understand the “lived experience” of a group of people who share a common experience, in this case, Brazilian immigrants’ experiences in Connecticut in the context of crimmigration. By using a critical approach, I sought to understand these experiences in light of current political, economic and societal forces affecting immigration law and its enforcement. Cleaveland (2015) notes: “the principles of phenomenological research as conceptualized by critical theorists posit

that social phenomena cannot fully be understood unless examined via the historic, economic, and political contexts in which they are located” (p. 570). The political, economic, and historical context is primary in a critical phenomenological contextualization of immigrant’s lived experiences. A critical approach challenges power, inequality, and promotes action.

Structural Competency

With the significant increase in immigrants to the United States over the last several decades, social workers find themselves working with an increasingly diverse and multicultural population. A social worker’s ability to meet the challenge of providing structurally competent social work services in a multicultural environment will entail gaining an understanding of new immigrant populations, in addition to factors that contribute to their oppression and resiliency. Structural competency (Metzl & Hansen, 2013) is an approach from the field of medicine that looks at structural forces that impact patients’ health outcomes. I propose that this approach be utilized by social workers working with immigrants whose lives are impacted by crimmigration. Structural competency is congruent with critical phenomenology and critical race theory that analyze macro-level forces that influence the lives of people. These structural factors include economic, political, and social determinants, like racism and discrimination, and how these forces affect immigrants’ lives and play out in institutions and society. It is an approach that enables social workers to look beyond individual interactions between social worker and client. It “promotes awareness of forces” that influence clients’ lives and encourages practitioners to move beyond “the individual encounter to include the organization of institutions and policies, as well as of neighborhoods and cities” (Metzl & Hansen, 2013, p. 27). Metzl and Hansen (2013) define structural competency “as the trained ability to discern how a host of issues defined clinically as symptoms, attitudes, or diseases...also represent decisions about such matters as

health care and food delivery systems, zoning laws, urban and rural infrastructures” (p. 128). These structures would include legislation policies passed at the local, state, and federal levels and affecting immigrants, their families, and their communities. Local, state, and federal policies have directly impacted the mental health of immigrants (Joseph, 2011).

Structural competency moves beyond the individual level to take a holistic approach to assessment and intervention. There are five core competencies associated with structural competency: “1) recognizing the structures that shape clinical interactions; 2) developing an extra-clinical language of structure; 3) rearticulating “cultural” formulations in structural terms; 4) observing and imaging structural interventions, and 5) developing structural humility” (p. 126). A key feature of structural competency entails social workers to reflect on “how such variables as race, class, gender, and ethnicity are shaped both by the interactions of two persons in a room, and by the larger structural contexts in which their interactions take place” (Mertzl & Hansen, 2013, p. 127). Structural competency moves a social worker beyond a purely clinical focus on treatment and amelioration of intrapsychic distress to include awareness of how one’s biases, structural inequalities, and economic and social determinants, affect one’s work with clients. Structural competency is congruent with NASW’s *Code of Ethics* core value of social justice, especially with marginalized, vulnerable, and oppressed groups.

Significance of the Study

There is a paucity of articles and books on Brazilian immigrants in the United States, and none were found specifically regarding this population in the social work literature to date. Crimmigration has had a negative impact on Brazilian immigrants. This study documents how they have been impacted and shown resilience in the face of restrictive immigration laws and policies. Crimmigration has resulted in a host of human rights violations against immigrants in

the United States. This study aims to redress this issue.

An impetus of this study was to provide insight into Brazilian immigrants' lived experience for social workers. Brazilians are often assumed by some Americans to be part of a pan ethnic group called "Hispanics." Although Brazilians are from Latin America and share many similar characteristics of their Latin American counterparts, they are *Lusophone*, or Portuguese speaking, have a different language, and a distinct culture. The lived experiences of Brazilians in Connecticut documented in this study will provide social workers with insight into their unique world and contribute to structural competency to enhance social work practice.

Organization of the Dissertation

This chapter introduced Brazilian immigrants' lived experience through a framework of crimmigration. It provided an overview of this study, crimmigration, discussed the theoretical framework utilized: transnationalism, neoliberalism, critical race theory, human rights, critical phenomenology, briefly reviewed the history of social work and immigration, recent social work literature regarding immigrants, and structural competency to enhance social work practice. Chapter Two explains the methodology and rationale behind a phenomenological approach. It includes a discussion of critical phenomenology as a theory and methodology and outlines how the research study was conducted. Chapter Three offers a brief description of participants, along with a short overview of the history of Brazil, and brief description of Connecticut. Chapter Four details key findings related to Brazilians' initial immigration experiences, experiences with work, and related topics such as downward mobility, changing gender roles, lack of an ethnic enclave, remittances, and transnational social networks. Chapter Five discusses key findings regarding Brazilian immigrants' experiences in Connecticut within the broader processes of crimmigration, deportation, deportability, race and discrimination. It explores participants'

perceptions of the changes in immigration law and its enforcement since 9/11, its impact on their lives, discrimination, and racial and ethnic identity. Chapter Six summarizes the key findings of this study, outlines implications for social work practice and advocacy, and offers recommendations for future research.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Liberating education consists in acts of cognition, not transfers of information
— Paulo Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, 1973, p. 79

Critical phenomenological research necessitates a close and immersed study with the goal of understanding how people understand and make meaning of lived experience
—Carol Cleaveland, 2015, p. 570

Rationale for the Research Design

I used a critical phenomenological research design to gain *verstehen*, or an *interpretive* understanding of the “lived experiences” of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut in the context of crimmigration. Phenomenology is best suited to capture participants’ lived experiences through their own descriptions (Padgett, 2008; Van Manen, 2014). A phenomenological approach is designed to capture the essence or common themes experienced by participants of a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Padgett, 2008). Experiences do not happen within a vacuum. They happen within time and space and are shaped by historical, economic, and political events. I sought to contextualize the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in light of what is occurring in immigration and immigration policy enforcement, and to understand the ways in which federal, state, and local immigration policies have impacted the daily lives of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut. A critical phenomenological approach “also acknowledges the socially constructed nature of the phenomena, as well as the reflexive nature of engagement in the field” (Cleaveland, 2015, p. 570). This chapter will explain the philosophical research framework used for this study, my relationship to the respondents or “positionality;” and outline data collection procedures used, coding, and the process of analysis.

Phenomenology is both a theory and a methodology. As a theory, phenomenology looks at participants’ experience on an individual level. A critical phenomenological approach allowed me to examine the macro forces that impacted and helped shape the “lived experience” of

Brazilian immigrants (Delgado & Stefanic, 2013; Willin, 2007). Such an approach also allowed me to explore the political, economic, and cultural forces that are impacting the criminalization of immigration and shaping the experiences of immigrants in the United States (Newtown, 2010). Critical phenomenology takes into account those forces that create a climate that further marginalizes vulnerable and oppressed groups and examines the primacy of social structures and power.

As a methodology, phenomenology is not just a description of participants' experiences, "but is also seen as an interpretive process in which the researcher makes an interpretation...of the lived experiences" (Creswell, 2007, p. 59). While conducting this study I compiled Brazilian participants' experiences, transcribed (and translated into English when needed for explanation), and interpreted or "mediate[d] between different meanings" (p. 59). This entailed coding chunks of data into categories, such as work, discrimination, experiences with immigration, and other categories determined by me. In this sense, I engaged in *hermeneutical phenomenology*. Using this framework, *phenomenology* is research aimed at the "lived experience" of participants, and the act of interpreting these "texts of life" is labelled *hermeneutics* (Van Manen, 1990). Phenomenology aims to explicate the meaning, structure, and essence of the "lived experience" of an individual or group of people that is the primary objective of this study.

In line with critical race theory, this study also has the implicit goal of consciousness-raising. The media has not given much coverage to the War on Immigration being waged in the United States on immigrant communities. There is some social work research on this phenomenon, but to increase awareness of this issue among the social work community is a stated goal of this study. To raise the consciousness about an issue is the first step for praxis—putting one's ideas into action (Freire, 1973).

Paradigm. My theoretical stance is critical and constructivist. Gibbs (2011) explains that, “Constructivism is a version of idealism which stresses that the world we experience arises from multiple, socially constructed realities” (p. 7). This study is a compilation of the multiple, socially constructed realities of the participants including those of this researcher.

Constructivism posits that “human phenomenon are socially constructed rather than objectively ‘real’” (Padgett, 2008, p. 7). In line with Luckmann and Berger’s (1967) thesis, the experiences of the participants and myself are social constructions or interpretations of events based on time, place, and culture. A critical approach adds a discursive critique of the current phenomenon of crimmigration by looking at inequality and power imbalances (and their effects) based on race, ethnicity, and immigration status.

Pre-Dissertation Research

The impetus for this study began while conducting a research project for a qualitative research class at the University of Connecticut in 2013. I completed a qualitative interview with an undocumented Brazilian immigrant living in Connecticut. As a result, I became aware of a growing body of literature on crimmigration and its impact on immigrant groups in the United States (Stumpf, 2006; Dowling & Inda, 2013; Kubrin, Zatz, & Martinez, 2012). My theoretical orientation and intention at that time was an exploration of Brazilian immigrants’ experience of the phenomenon of *transnationalism* (Faist, Fauser, & Reisenauer, 2013; Bauböck & Faist, 2010). In the process of conducting that interview and searching the social science literature, I became acutely aware of several issues. First, since 9/11 the merger of immigration law and its enforcement had resulted in the increased incarceration, detainment, and mass deportation of immigrants living in the United States (Chauvin, 2012; Golash-Bola, 2012b; Kanstroom, 2012). I also identified a paucity of articles in the social science literature regarding the experience of

Brazilian immigrants living in the United States. In fact, Brazilian immigrants were called “an invisible minority” in one of the first ethnographies about this population (Margolis, 1994; 2009). In addition, I was not able to locate articles published in the social work literature specifically on Brazilian immigrants, indicating that a future study could address this research gap and contribute to structural competency to strengthen social work practice (Metzl & Hansen, 2013; NASW, 2015).

Research Questions

Based on pre-dissertation research and a literature review on crimmigration and Brazilian immigrants in the United States, the following research questions guided this study:

- Does crimmigration shape the lived experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut?
- Does the threat of deportation or deportability affect Brazilian immigrants?
- Do Brazilian immigrants experience a racial aspect to crimmigration?
- Has crimmigration affected Brazilian immigrants’ experience of discrimination?
- In what ways have Brazilians adapted and shown resiliency in response to crimmigration?

Researcher’s Role

Positionality. One would be remiss in a qualitative research study not to discuss positionality, or the impact on research due to the researcher’s race, gender, ethnicity, or socioeconomic status. I am a member of the dominant culture, and although I am fluent in Brazilian Portuguese, I am not Brazilian. I am a 53-year-old white middle class male. I have earned a master’s degree and am a doctoral candidate in Social Work. I am a full time state employee and have worked in the field of child welfare for 25 years. I do not look Brazilian in appearance and was never mistaken for being a Brazilian by study participants. I am married to

a Brazilian woman and have been to Brazil on 11 different occasions between 2001 and 2014. While in Brazil I have been called “*Alemão*” (“German”) due to my fair complexion. While conducting these interviews, one participant said I look like “ICE” (Immigration and Customs Enforcement) due to my appearance, demeanor, and/or attire.

Throughout this study I attempted to gain an *emic* view of how my participants perceived their lives, but I remain an outsider and often view things from an *etic* perspective. I addressed this challenge through member-checking, asking participants about meanings that may have been unclear to me, and peer debriefing with my doctoral committee. I also considered the impact of my research on their lives in discussing the impact of immigration laws and policies with them.

Reflexivity. In qualitative research the researcher is the instrument of measurement. Thus, the decisions about what data is selected for inclusion or exclusion and how data is described or interpreted, is a result of the researcher’s choices based on one’s theoretical orientation and life experiences. Throughout this study I engaged in reflexivity, or a process of critical self-reflection (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Probst and Berenson (2014) find that “reflexivity is generally understood as awareness of the influence the researcher has on what is being studied and, simultaneously, of how the research process affects the researcher” (p. 814). Reflexive practices that I engaged in included continually examining my own biases, utilizing memos to express my own thoughts and opinions, and documenting my decisions throughout the study. In other words, I engaged in acts of self-criticism and self-reflection throughout the research project. I also discussed my impressions, self-reflections, and self-criticisms with my dissertation committee for feedback and suggestions.

Data Collection

I conducted two, in-depth, semi-structured interviews with 20 participants (for a total of

40 interviews). Two interviews were conducted with each participant to aim for depth and gather more information to give a rich description of their experiences. By having second interviews, I was able to probe deeper, clarifying statements from the first interviews, and explore topics that were hinted at but not discussed during the initial interviews. In addition to semi-structured interviews, I took field notes, and conducted a review of archival material related to crimmigration from 2001-2016, including federal, state, and local immigration laws and policies, newspaper articles, government websites, visual media such as documentaries, and reports from human rights advocacy groups. These materials were used to provide a contextual analysis of immigration laws post 9/11 and their impact on Brazilian immigrants.

Prior to each interview I secured informed consent and permission to digitally record from each interviewee. I transcribed digitally recorded interviews verbatim on a password-protected personal laptop and uploaded interviews into NVivo for analysis.

The primary form of data used in this dissertation was the participant interviews. The topics discussed centered on their experiences with work, adaptation, cultural encounters, experiences with law enforcement, being documented or undocumented, language difficulties, discrimination, reason for coming to United States, deportation, the importance of having a driver's license, and barriers and challenges due to immigrating to the United States.

Interviews. Formal interviews were conducted with participants using a semi-structured interview guide that was developed and revised in conjunction with input from my dissertation committee. The questions chosen developed out of preliminary research for this study related to immigration and crimmigration. The semi-structured questions related to participants' experiences as an immigrant in the United States (see Appendix A). Questions addressed, for example, length of stay in the country; how many times they have been in the United States; how

their life has changed since 9/11; what was their knowledge of immigration laws; did immigration laws criminalize immigrants in their opinion; what were their work experiences; experiences of discrimination and experiences with ICE or local law enforcement; and sources of resiliency.

These questions were constructed and revised with input from my dissertation committee to explore the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut in light of contemporary immigration policies and laws and their impact on immigrants' daily lives. All questions were translated into Brazilian Portuguese (see Appendix B). Open-ended questions were designed to facilitate rapport and encourage openness to access the participants' lived experiences. Initial questions were followed up with probing questions and prompts, to get participants to discuss in depth, the identified topical areas, such as experiences with work, migration, discrimination, and resiliency.

I conducted all interviews in Brazilian Portuguese, except with one 18-year-old participant who chose to speak in English. Prior to interviews, I gave each participant an information sheet that was available in Portuguese or English (see Appendix C & D) and reviewed the sheet with them. The information sheet described the purpose of the research, a written description of the study, potential risks and benefits, confidentiality, rights of participants (including the right to withdraw at any time), and contact information (Padgett, 2008; Seidman, 2006). I sought informed consent and received it from participants prior to conducting any interviews. The interviews lasted from one hour to two hours and were conducted at a time and place chosen by the participants. I conducted interviews at Barnes and Noble, Dunkin' Donuts, homes, a church, and one interview by telephone. Most were individual/one-on-one interviews, except for two couples who wanted to be interviewed together. Each participant was

compensated \$10.00 for each interview.

Data Management. All interviews were transcribed verbatim on a password-protected laptop and uploaded into NVivo for coding and analysis. I gave each participant a unique identifier that was the name of a childhood friend of theirs. I did not use any identifying information during any phase of this study, including in transcription and analysis.

Field Notes. Immediately after each interview, I took extensive field notes that included observations and insights. My purpose was to record my impressions and observations, including a summary of the interview's content, impressions of the interviewee, including demeanor, affect, environment, and nonverbal cues, and ideas for further exploration. For example, many participants discussed the importance of having a driver's license and whether or not they had gone to other states to obtain one before Connecticut began to issue these to undocumented immigrants in January of 2015. This became an item for further research and exploration in subsequent interviews. Field notes were invaluable in collecting my thoughts and serving as a heuristic process in gaining insight into my participants' worldview.

Sample and Sample Methodology

Sampling, Entrée into the Community, and Key Informants. I used purposive and snowball sampling. I began the research by utilizing purposive sampling, which is, "a deliberate process of selecting respondents based on their ability to provide the needed information" (Padgett, 2008, p. 53). Several authors suggested the use of key informants or gatekeepers when attempting to access hard to reach populations like undocumented immigrants (Sifaneck & Neaigus, 2001). Entrée (or entry) signifies "access to the research setting...when researchers select a site, they also have to negotiate entry and access to the research setting...[and] need the cooperation of both participants and gatekeepers for entry" (Holloway, 1997, p. 54). I contacted

key informants who I had informed about the study while conducting a project for a qualitative research class in 2013. These key informants are owners of convenience stores/luncheonettes in several Connecticut cities, and are “well-connected” in their community. Because of their function in the community, selling Brazilian food, sending remittances, and serving as a hub for Brazilians, they have contacts with many Brazilians.

Key informants were given information about the study and contact information to reach me. The key informants did not know who actually responded to me. After initial interviews, participants provided me with contact information for other participants. I also, on occasion, did unintentional direct recruitment. One day at the park with my son, I met a Brazilian woman with her son and we began talking. I explained my research and she was interested and agreed to participate. These serendipitous/chance encounters occurred on several occasions during the course of the interview period and resulted in “recruitment” of several participants.

The criteria used for inclusion in this study was individuals who were Brazilian immigrants, 18 years of age or older. The interviews were conducted over a 10-month period from August 2014-May 2015 with 20 participants. Although Padgett (2008) claimed phenomenological studies “are conducted with around 6 to 10 participants” (p. 36), other authors suggested anywhere from 5 to 25 individuals (Polkinghorne, 1989; Creswell, 2007). Following consultation with my dissertation committee, I decided to aim for 15 to 20 participants. In total, I conducted 40 interviews (two with each participant) by the completion of the interview phase.

Demographics. This study contained 20 Brazilian immigrants, ranging from 18 to 69 years old, both male and female of varying legal statuses (see Appendix E). There were 12 female participants and eight male participants. Out of the 20 participants at the time of interviews, 12 were documented, six were undocumented, and two were in the process of

becoming legalized. One had applied for legal status under the Dream Act (DACA, i.e., *Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals*) and was approved.

Eleven participants were from the state of Minas Gerais, two from São Paulo, one from Rio de Janeiro, three from Paraíba, and one participant from each of the following states—Rondônia, Bahia, Goiás, and Maranhão. (see Appendix E). Participants came from all over Brazil (see Appendix F). Most were living in Waterbury, Danbury, and the city of Naugatuck. Other participants were from Torrington, Woodbury, and Watertown (see Appendix G). These towns are within a thirty-mile radius of each other.

Participants worked in a range of service occupations, including housecleaners, managers in the food service industry, massage therapists, factory workers, and a bartender. Two participants have resided in the United States for 25 years and most were in the United States 10 years or more. In terms of age, the majority came to the United States while in their twenties, and were now in their thirties and forties. All spoke Brazilian Portuguese as their primary language. A few had a proficiency in English while others stated they knew little or no English at all.

Data Analysis

Coding. The process of data analysis began with line-by-line transcriptions of the participants' interviews that were conducted in Brazilian Portuguese. I printed and read the first few transcripts several times before beginning to highlight significant statements and quotes. While reading the first few times I began to record some observations and reflections. I then began to highlight *significant statements*. According to Gibbs (2011), "coding is how you define what the data you are analyzing are about" (p. 38). This allowed me to code data into chunks and look for significant statements made by the participants. This step is called *horizontalization*

(Moustakas 1994; Creswell, 2007). All the data is laid out and analyzed equally and no one piece of data is given more importance than another. I engaged in both *vertical* and *horizontal* analysis (Weiss, 1994). By analyzing vertically (case focused analysis) I attempted to identify motifs or themes that emerged from each participants' unique life situation. By doing horizontal analysis (issue focused analysis), I aimed to identify commonalities, differences, and categories that would lead in the future into themes. I began to input data from the interviews in NVivo during this initial phase.

After the first few interviews were transcribed and coded using line-by-line analysis, I developed a codebook. This served as a guide to conceptualize and organize future data, although new codes did appear during further transcriptions. By coding the first few interviews and developing a codebook, this influenced the coding and analysis of subsequent interviews. However, it did not prevent me from developing new codes as they emerged from the data.

I used two phases or cycles of coding. This first cycle coding was descriptive in nature. I used an inductive approach to analysis. I began with line-by-line descriptive or *open-coding*. Some of the codes that I identified during this first phase of initial open-coding included: adaptation, after 9/11, attitudes towards immigrants, becoming documented, border crisis, church, citizenship, crimmigration, cultural encounters, decision to stay in the United States, deportation, diaspora, Dream Act, driver's license, economic crisis of 2008/09, English proficiency, house-cleaning, how participant entered United States, legal status, length of time in United States, period of insecurity, place of origin, reason for coming to United States, reason for remaining in United States, *saudades [longing for home and country]*, type of work and work experiences. During this first phase I utilized process coding, that is a word or phrase to capture an action, In Vivo coding (utilizing verbatim words or phrases from a participant), and

simultaneous coding, (a phrase or chunk of data or text is applied to multiple codes) (Saldaña, 2011).

I used a computer assisted qualitative data analysis software program for coding and analyzing data called NVivo. This program allowed me to upload transcripts and then code participants' statements by creating a "node" for each category such as "work," "length of time in U.S.," etc. I created a codebook utilizing NVivo with descriptions of each "node." This enabled me to review the data under each node or category chosen to compare participants' statements on the same topics. In addition, the program allowed me to create memos of different types while coding so I could jot down impressions, thoughts, and process notes. NVivo also assisted in documentation of both the coding and analysis of data, and the process of documenting an audit trail or decision trail for this study.

In addition, during the first and second phases, I used interpretative coding "in which the researcher interprets the contents to generate some concept, idea, explanation or understanding. Interpretation may be based on respondent's own views and experiences, or the researcher's view or understanding, or on some pre-existing theory or framework" (Gibbs, 2011, p. 150). For example, participants made statements related to crimmigration that I coded under that term, although participants were unfamiliar with the specific term. Another example is regarding the code "period of insecurity." Many of the respondents who have legal status to be in the United States described a period of time, after their tourist visa had expired, in which they were undocumented. I coded this experience, "period of insecurity," based on statements participants made—they felt uneasy or insecure during this time before they obtained legal status.

The analysis of data was inductive, nomothetic, idiosyncratic, iterative, complex, and creative. There were few pre-planned "roadmaps or signposts." I used an inductive approach

utilizing an emergent strategy. I “let the data talk” as advised by a dissertation committee member. Thus I allowed for the method of analysis to follow the nature of the data itself. I used both nomothetic and idiosyncratic approaches in analyzing participants’ transcripts and the codes that developed from them. A nomothetic approach attempts to show commonalities among “what people, events and settings have in common and to explain them in term of these common features” (Gibbs, 2011, p. 5). I attempted to discover what these common features were to all participants (Lofland, Snow, Anderson, & Lofland, 2006).

At the same time, I also used an idiographic approach to examine features, experiences, or factors that were unique to individual participants. For example, no two immigrants experienced immigration or crimmigration in the same way. As an iterative process, I used a *constant comparison* technique of continually referring back and forth between transcripts, memos, and my observations and reflections to analyze, rethink, and conceptualize and interpret the data in a creative process of discovery. An advantage to qualitative design is flexibility and recursiveness (Padgett, 2008). I found myself “weaving back and forth between research questions, data collection, and data analysis” (Padgett, 2008, p 49). Following each new interview, new ideas emerged that allowed me to pose new questions to future participants based on topics and ideas from prior interviews. In addition, I kept in mind some *sensitizing concepts*—such as crimmigration, deportation, discrimination, and other concepts related to immigrants’ experiences in the United States. These sensitizing concepts or “constructs...help guide researchers toward particular pathways for the research and are necessary for the development of an analytic framework” (Holloway, 1997, p. 144)

Initial open-ended coding was utilized as a first step in creating a bricolage from the highlighted significant words and phrases from participants’ interviews. I arranged these chunks

of data surrounding certain concepts or ideas. These *cluster of meanings* were developed from these significant statements that were later developed into themes (Creswell, 2007, p. 61).

Emotion coding. Emotion coding during the second phase of coding was also utilized to label the “emotions recalled or experienced by the participant or inferred by the researcher about the participant” (Saldaña, 2011, p 86.). Several codes developed from participants’ responses based on their emotions or feelings. “Fear,” “frustration,” and “happy” were three of the emotional codes that emerged from the data. Regarding the subject of deportation some respondents expressed what would be termed fear. One participant described the frustration he experienced due to not being able to understand English or Americans not being able to understand him due to the language barrier. When describing obtaining a Connecticut license after being in the United States for 16 years, one recipient expressed being happy. This type of coding is crucial in phenomenological studies. Emotions play a large part in people’s experiences. We are rational and emotive beings and it is not just participants’ perceptions about phenomenon that capture their “lived experience,” but in addition their feelings and states of emotion related to that “lived experience.”

In Vivo coding. Several times throughout the first and second coding phases I utilized In Vivo codes from the participants’ own words or phrases. For example, one code that emerged was *saudades*. *Saudades* is a Portuguese word, difficult to translate, but is conveyed by the meaning of longing for one’s home, after being away for a long time. Another example of an In Vivo code was a poignant short phrase made by one Brazilian woman in describing her life in the United States— “casa, igreja, trabalho.” She was referring to “home, church, and work,” or the three central localities of her experience in the United States.

Second cycle coding was conducted to review codes, condense, and clarify/hierarchical

coding. “The primary goal during Second Cycle coding...is to develop a sense of categorical, thematic, conceptual, and/or theoretical organization from your array of first cycle codes” (Saldaña, 2009, p. 149). First cycle coding resulted in 153 codes. During second cycle coding I reviewed each code, condensed and merged some codes that overlapped, and this resulted in 71 codes with seven main themes which I discuss below.

During this phase I reviewed what I had coded for consistency and continued to look for connections among the main themes such as work, immigration, crimmigration, discrimination, racial/ethnic identity, and related subthemes such as type of work, level of English proficiency, documentation problems, becoming documented, deportation, and racial/ethnic categories such as Latino, Hispanic, and other. Consistent with reflexive research practice, I wrote memos throughout the process of analyzing data to capture my thoughts and reflections regarding these connections, in addition to serving as an audit trail.

Memo-Writing. According to Creswell (2007) “coding does not take place in an analytic vacuum” (p. 155). The use of writing memos throughout this study was integral to the process of coding, thinking about, and analyzing the data. I used several types of memos including code notes—notes regarding the use of the codes themselves and descriptions; theoretical notes; and analytic memos. Analytic memos were utilized to jot down my thoughts, reflections about the participants, phenomenon, and the process itself (Saldaña, 2009).

NVivo. The CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software) or qualitative data software program chosen for this study was NVivo. It is a comprehensive data analysis software program designed for qualitative research projects. NVivo helped me organize and analyze data, code transcripts after being uploaded, create memos, and link memos to chunks of data. These codes are labelled *nodes* in NVivo. I used these initial nodes to create an initial

codebook. These initial nodes allowed me to select chunks of data, or sections of the interviews, and put into these nodes. The analytic memos created on NVivo served as a heuristic tool for further exploration of data.

Thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is not a straight-forward, unambiguous “mechanical application of some frequency count or coding of selected material” (Van Manen, 1990, p. 78). Thematic analysis involves looking at participants’ statements and finding the common threads that bind them together and that makes sense of those experiences. It is a process of interpretation and discovery. The themes that attempt to capture the lived experiences of Brazilians were found in their stories, words, statements, and feelings.

Seven themes for this study emerged from the data. These themes are *immigration experiences*, *trabalho* (work), *crimmigration*, *discrimination*, *emotions*, *social networks*, and *racial/ethnic identity*. Central to all participants was the theme of *trabalho*, that is, work—the centrality of work and experiences surrounding work, which often shaped their “lived experiences” in the United States. These experiences of work produced codes around types of work (for example, housecleaning, construction, restaurant, nanny), experiences with work (gaining and/or losing employment), the economic crisis of 2008, opportunity, and a better life.

Immigration experiences were another theme that emerged from the data. For many participants, their initial experiences of coming to the United States, and subsequent experiences shaped their overall lived experience. Related topics included initial migration experiences, adaptation, cultural encounters, language difficulties, and reasons to remain in the United States. A topic related to work was *downward mobility* among Brazilian immigrants who migrate to the United States. The majority had professions in Brazil but were now working in service occupation jobs—construction, restaurant work, and housecleaning

Crimmigration was another theme that encapsulated immigrants' experiences with immigration enforcement, local law enforcement, and changing immigration laws and immigration policies—and participants' perceptions of being impacted by these laws and policies, that were identified during participants' interviews. An etic topic related to crimmigration was *deportability*. It was not just the sheer numbers of deportations (and immigrants' knowledge of those deportations) but also the fear of being deported, or deportability that also impacted the lived experience of both the documented and undocumented participants. All participants for this study knew of family, friends, or acquaintances who had been deported.

Another topic of this study was *locality*—or the political climate (immigrant friendly vs. anti-immigrant) which plays a large part in shaping immigrants lived experience. States and even cities differ widely in their response to the large influx of Latin American immigrants throughout the United States (Dreby, 2015; Sampaio, 2015). Participants were acutely aware of locality, and its reception to, or hostility towards immigrants. Participants moved to locales that were immigrant-friendly in their perceptions and where there were opportunities for work.

Emotional coding revealed topics of fear, a period of anxiety, and happiness, all related to their immigration experiences. The crimmigration crisis and punitive immigration laws and policies, along with increased deportations, has caused fear among many migrants. *Saudades* was an In Vivo code that captured Brazilian participants' word to describe a feeling. This Portuguese word captures an emotion of longing for home and country after a long period of being away. Some participants have not been back to Brazil for 20 years, and another code that I chose was *voluntary exiles* to capture this. As many participants are undocumented and lack documentation they cannot return or visit Brazil and have not physically seen family and friends

for many years.

Another topic related to immigration experiences was *gender roles*. Gender roles, in particular for women, changed as a result of migration. Several of the women participants described how migration changed traditional female roles, such as being dependent on men. Some stated they experienced a new independence and freedom they would not have had if they had remained in Brazil.

Related to their immigration experience were experiences of *discrimination*. The code “discrimination” captured participants’ experiences in which they felt they had been discriminated against by the dominant culture. All participants had a story to share about being discriminated against—whether because they were Latin American, did not have a good command of the English language, or because they were “dark-skinned.”

Transnational social networks was an additional theme I identified based on participants descriptions of their contacts and connections that enabled them to migrate, to find housing and work, and the importance of these connections for their lives (Banston III, 2014). Participants also described new social connections and networks they became part of after migrating to the United States.

An additional topic related to social networks is the lack of an *ethnic enclave* by Brazilians in Connecticut. Brazilians, unlike other Latin American immigrant groups, often do not congregate to the same section of a city to create their own ethnic neighborhoods (Margolis, 2009; Vasquez, 2009). Yet in spite of a lack of a geographic enclave, participants found a sense of unity in joining a Brazilian church, and in frequenting Brazilian luncheonettes or restaurants where they have contact with other Brazilians.

Another theme that emerged from the data was related to participants’ *racial and ethnic*

identity—both in terms of how they saw themselves and how they were defined by the larger dominant culture. Respondents stated they did not think in terms of the racial categories used in the United States until they emigrated. Once in the United States, they were forced to choose “what” race and ethnicity they were such as when completing a job application.

Trustworthiness and Credibility

For this study, traditional quantitative concepts of *validity* and *reliability* are not appropriate. Following Lincoln and Guba (1985), the criteria used for this study were *trustworthiness* and *credibility*. The concept of *trustworthiness* “comes closest to capturing the phenomenon of rigor and accountability in qualitative research” (Padgett, 2008, p. 184). Credibility “is the fit between respondents’ views and the researcher’s description and interpretations” (p. 181). Credibility refers to the research findings accurately reflecting the meanings attributed by the participants themselves as closely as possible (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Padgett (2008), “a trustworthy study is one that is carried out fairly and ethically and whose findings represent as closely as possible the experiences of the respondents” (Padgett, 2008, p. 184). Throughout this study I strived to adhere to high ethical standards to conduct the research in a professional and fair manner. In transcribing and translating portions of the interviews into English, every effort was made to ensure accuracy and fidelity to the speaker’s meaning and intent. I kept the transcripts in Brazilian Portuguese to maintain fidelity to the original language and keep the data grounded in the actual language of the speakers. I only translated when necessary for explanation or inclusion in the dissertation write up.

I did not follow the convention of seeking saturation to determine how many participants to recruit. Saturation has often become one of the “generic quality criteria” for establishing rigor in many qualitative studies but it does not enhance the rigor of a study (O’Reilly & Parker, 2012,

p. 191). Lincoln and Guba (1985) posit that what establishes the trustworthiness of a study, particularly in phenomenological research, is credibility, transferability, confirmability, and dependability. Many qualitative studies use the terms validity and reliability to ensure rigor but often these are employed incorrectly (Anney, 2014). Credibility is the congruence—or accurate description—between what participants’ views are with the presentation of them by the researcher. Procedures to establish rigor in a qualitative study include prolonged engagement, member checks, triangulation of data, reflexivity, peer debriefing, purposive sampling, thick description, negative case analysis, an audit trail, transferability, dependability, authenticity, and confirmability (Anney, 2014; Padgett, 2008).

Transparency is another measure to ensure the quality of a qualitative study: “In qualitative research transparency is a recognized marker of quality, which means that sufficient detail should be included about how data were collected” (O’Reilly & Parker, 2012, p. 193). For qualitative studies it is not the sample size or number of participants but the depth of the data obtained which is used to measure the “sufficiency of the sample size” (O’Reilly & Parker, 2012, p. 193). By using a phenomenological approach, I sought *depth* in understanding my participants’ lived experiences. I did this by conducting two semi-structured interviews with each participant. In addition, to enhance *transparency*, I kept an audit trail, used procedural (and analytic) memos, and engaged in peer debriefing. I regularly met with my dissertation committee to discuss decisions on procedure and how to move forward with each stage of this study.

Authenticity is another important issue in qualitative studies (O’Reilly & Parker, 2012). Mertens (2005) described three types of authenticity. First, in terms of fairness, that signifies the researcher presenting all differing views or conflicts while conducting a study and not just those

of the researcher; second, ontological authenticity, that is, when a group or individual's experience becomes more enlightened as a result of participation in the study; and third, catalytic authenticity—the research process stimulated or resulted in some type of action. The researcher should ensure both the genuineness and credibility of the research being conducted, “not only in terms of participants’ lived experiences, but also with respect to the wider political and social implications of research” (James, 2008). Authenticity also signifies research that is considered “worthwhile” as opposed to research conducted for pure intellectual pursuit. James notes that this entails “shifting away from concerns about the reliability and validity of research to concerns about research that is worthwhile and thinking about its impact on members of the culture or community being researched” (James, 2008).

Additionally, I employed several steps to ensure rigor. Padgett (2008) described eight strategies to ensure rigor and suggested using at least *two* of these in any qualitative study. Six of these were employed in this study—prolonged engagement, triangulation of data, member-checking, peer debriefing and support, leaving an audit trail and providing a rich or *thick description*.

Prolonged engagement. I worked with each participant twice over a 10-month period. Prolonged engagement is a hallmark of all qualitative studies to increase trustworthiness. Prolonged engagement also “helps to ameliorate reactivity and respondent bias” (Padgett, 2008, p. 186). Prolonged exposure to the Brazilian community in Waterbury, Naugatuck, and Danbury, Connecticut allowed me build rapport and establish trust. While I was considered an “outsider” by the Brazilian community, I was trusted enough by some members to participate in this study (and to have them refer other Brazilians to me). Although I have familiarity with the Brazilian community and have been to the country of Brazil 11 times in the last 15 years, I

believe I have been able to maintain “interpretative distance” (Padgett, 2008, p. 186).

Triangulation of data. Data triangulation refers to the use of more than once source to cross-reference or corroborate your data—such as interviews, field notes, and archival materials/documents. I conducted two semi-structured interviews with each participant and compiled field notes. In addition, I performed a review of archival material 2001-2016 related to crimmigration, including federal, state, and local immigration laws and policies, newspaper articles, government websites, visual media such as documentaries, and reports from human rights advocacy groups. These sources of data allowed for comparison: “when data from field notes, interviews, and/or archival materials are convergent, one has greater confidence that the observations are trustworthy” (Padgett, 2008, p. 188). I also chose material based on topics brought up by participants—such as Secure Communities, ICE and Danbury law enforcement conducting raids on the Latino community, and racial profiling by East Haven police.

Member-Checking. Throughout the study I consulted with respondents to ensure accuracy of statements and experiences shared. After the first interview, if some information was not clear, I clarified the meaning during the second interview. Also, in a few cases, after the second interview, if an item was not clear, I contacted participants to follow up. Several provided their phone numbers and encouraged me to call them to clarify information shared during the interview, which I did on occasion to ensure accuracy. Also, as all interviews (except one) were conducted in Brazilian Portuguese, there were times during transcription when a phrase or word was not clear, or the meaning as used by the participant needed to be elucidated. Member-checking was an invaluable tool to ensure accuracy of participants intended meanings.

Peer debriefing and support. Throughout this study I debriefed with my major advisor and dissertation committee members to discuss findings, challenges, and impressions, and to

receive feedback. I met monthly with my dissertation committee during the interviewing and coding process and discussed the development of codes and leads for further exploration. This was also an invaluable source of support during the intensive process of conducting this research while working full-time, teaching, and caring for my three-year-old son.

Audit trail. An audit trail is a process by which the researcher keeps a detailed record about decisions made during research. Throughout this study I kept extensive notes about decisions made from the start of this research project to the development and reporting of findings that allowed for transparency. In addition, I kept a log of all meetings with participants (date, time and location). I also used memos to capture ideas, reflections, and procedural notes. These memos were created utilizing NVivo and those related to coding and themes were linked to those codes and themes.

Rich/Thick description. The ultimate aim of a phenomenological study is to provide a *rich*, or *thick* description. Providing readers of the completed study with a detailed, comprehensive, and exhaustive description of participants' experiences is called a *thick* description. It allows readers to feel they have "walked in another's shoes." In addition, a *thick* description allows "readers to make decisions regarding transferability" (Padgett, 2008, p. 209). Providing such detailed and rich descriptions enables "readers to transfer information to other settings and to determine if the findings can be transferred" (p. 209). Although there is no attempt to obtain a representative sample of a larger population in a phenomenological study, the experiences of immigrants across the United States share commonalities, and the experiences described in this study can be compared to similar research about immigrant groups in the United States, also impacted by crimmigration.

Limitations

Epoche or bracketing. A concept central to phenomenology is *epoche* or bracketing. *Epoche* is a Greek word meaning to “stay away from or abstain from” in the sense of refraining from making a judgment (Moustakas, 1994, p. 85). *Bracketing* is a process in which researchers “set aside their experiences, as much as possible, to take a fresh perspective toward the phenomena under investigation” (Creswell, 2007, pp. 59-60). Although this is *the* ideal to be achieved, several theorists acknowledge the difficulty in achieving this perfectly (Creswell, 2007; Moustakas, 1994). As much as possible I attempted to bracket my own preconceptions and experiences and take a “fresh look” at the phenomenon under investigation through the eyes of those experiencing it. This was often challenging at times and I addressed this by using reflexive practices (such as member checking and consulting with my dissertation committee) throughout this study. For example, I approached my dissertation committee with my concern that some participants responded in the negative to the question about crimmigration post 9/11—that they did not think U.S. immigration laws post 9/11 criminalized immigrants—but then went on to relate stories describing how they had been negatively impacted by punitive local or state policies. In terms of critical consciousness, the participants had not gained an awareness of the larger political arena and the macro changes taking place. In effect, they did not attribute their own experience to crimmigration, or understand these incidents in light of current immigration policies. Most were aware of other Brazilians who were deported and had their families separated but did not indicate they had also been impacted by these policies.

Use of key informants. By using key informants to refer initial participants, I ran the possible risk of selection bias by having them “select” only individuals who they thought would be useful to the study. This was addressed by ensuring that key informants did not know who actually participated. This researcher gave key informants my contact information, but key

informants did not know who participated, and additional participants were gained through snowball sampling and direct recruitment, which key informants did not have control over or influence.

Transferability. *Transferability* (Lincoln and Guba 1985) is defined as the applicability of one's findings to be transferred to another setting. The sample interviewed for this study is not (nor does it claim to be) a representative sample of Brazilian immigrants in the United States or even of Brazilian immigrants living in Connecticut. It reflects the unique experiences of those who participated in this study. From a postmodern and interpretative perspective it represents the multiple realities of the participants themselves and makes no pretensions to absolute objective truths. This may be seen as a limitation to some observers, but it is considered one the strengths of phenomenological research.

Ethical Considerations

Anonymity, confidentiality, and informed consent. As this study included some undocumented immigrants and thus a vulnerable population, a full Institutional Review Board review was requested and approved. To protect participants a waiver of signed-consent was requested and the names of participants and any identifying information were not used. Participants were informed prior to being interviewed that no identifying information would be recorded such as their name, city, or place of employment. I gave an information sheet (see Appendix C) to all participants and discussed it with them prior to an interview. This included the right not to participate and withdraw at any time. This helped build trust by being clear about the purpose of the study, the risks and benefits of participation, participant's ability to remain anonymous, and efforts to protect information. I used a pseudonym (the name of a childhood friend of each participant) for each participant throughout this study. A pseudonym was given to

each participant to maintain and protect confidentiality and enable participants to remain anonymous.

Summary

This study utilized a critical phenomenological approach to gain an understanding of the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut in light of crimmigration. This study is exploratory in nature as studies on Brazilian immigrants are absent in the social work literature. An exploratory study is ideal for a phenomenon for which little information is known or for sensitive topics. Data collection was conducted through semi-structured interviews, field notes, and a review of archival material. Data was analyzed after interviews were transcribed, coded, and uploaded into NVivo for analysis. First and second cycle coding were utilized to link, condense, and analyze data from participants' statements.

Thematic analysis was conducted which resulted in seven over-arching themes—*immigration experiences*, *trabalho* or work, *crimmigration*, *transnational social networks*, *emotions*, *discrimination*, and *racial identification/ethnicity*. The lived experience of Brazilian immigrants is a rich multi-layered, multi-dimensional phenomenon that is impacted by locality, gender, age, legal status, ability to speak English, and social networks.

CHAPTER 3: BRAZIL, CONNECTICUT, AND DESCRIPTION OF PARTICIPANTS

Leaders who do not act dialogically, but insist on imposing their decisions, do not organize the people—they manipulate them. They do not liberate, nor are they liberated: they oppress— Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1973, p. 178

Participants for this study came from various parts of Brazil (see Appendix E). This study included both men and women, documented and undocumented, and those who migrated to the United States as adults and who came with their parents as children. In a phenomenological study participants' experiences are central to the narrative (Moustakas, 1994). The lived experience of Brazilians in Connecticut is shaped by who they are now—and their outlook and identity is also shaped by where they came from, as well as the locale to which they migrated. This chapter gives a brief overview of where participants came from: Brazil, a South American country famous for its annual Carnival celebration in Rio, Samba, the Amazon, and soccer. But there is another Brazil that is not as familiar. Brazil has a history of rampant corruption by government, high levels of poverty, inflation, violence, and a struggle for existence on the part many Brazilians. These conditions have led the participants in this study and many other Brazilians to leave Brazil in search of a better life. In order to understand the lived experience of the participants, it is important to consider the economic, historical, and political factors that have brought them to the United States.

While working on this dissertation undergraduate students where I teach asked what I was writing about. When students heard me say Brazil or Brazilians a common response was, "They speak Spanish, don't they?" However, due to its history of colonization by Portugal, Brazil is the largest Portuguese-speaking country in the world and Portuguese is the dominant language (Page, 1995, Zirin, 2014). This chapter will give a brief synopsis of Brazil, describe Connecticut (the small northeastern state participants migrated to), and conclude with a short

description of the participants themselves.

Brazil—A Tale of Two Cities

Brazil is one of the most unequal countries in the world in terms of income inequality while at the same time one of the richest (Beghin, 2008, p. 1). The Gini coefficient (also called Gini index) for Brazil is 52.87 (0=perfect equality; above 50 is considered high) (World Bank, 2013). Brazil ranks twelfth among the most unequal countries in the world (Reid, 2014). Yet at the same time the World Bank rated the Brazilian economy among the 10 richest in the world (Beghin, 2008). This great disparity is displayed in the high concentration of income by a small percentage of the population. Although Brazil has become the largest economy and industrial power in Latin America, it is also one of the most economically and socially unjust with 10 percent of the richest Brazilians having 47 percent of the national income (Rohter, 2010). In fact, “the nation’s wealthiest 20 percent of the population has access to over 65 percent of the entire country’s wealth” (O’Haire, 2011). It is estimated that “more than 45 million people are living in poverty, with 32 million children living in families that make less than \$40 US dollars per month” (O’Haire, 2011). Income disparity and economic inequality have impacted Brazilian society and contributed to many social problems (Garcia & Fernandez, 2009; Sader, 2003). This includes high levels of all forms of violence. According the Brazilian government there are an estimated 24,000 children living on the streets (Manso, 2011); 10 percent of the population remain illiterate; and in urban areas a large portion of the population lives in shanty towns called *favelas* (Leite, Saggese, Leite, Kassab, Manhaes, & Zanchetta, 2009, p. 75). Fifty-Four million people, or “30.3 percent of the population are considered poor, and, within this group 20 million people or 11.5 percent of the population, are ranked as extremely poor” (Beghin, 2008, p. 1). It is conditions like these—economic and political—that push many Brazilians to migrate to the

United States and Europe.

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world in term of size and population (Reid, 2014). Its population in 2015 was estimated at 203.6 million, a significant increase from 190 million in 2008 (Worldpopulationreview, 2016). Brazil comprises 3.3 million square miles and is larger than the continental United States (Reid, 2014). It borders every other South American country except Ecuador and Chile, and has 26 states and the federal district of Brasilia, the capital of Brazil. Brazil's largest cities are São Paulo with a population of 11.8 million (Metropolitan São Paulo area has 20.2 million), Rio de Janeiro with 6.4 million, and Brasilia, the capital with 2.8 million. Eighty-four percent of Brazil's population is urban (Worldpopulationreview, 2016).

Brief Historical Background

Brazil was “discovered” by the Portuguese Navigator Pedro Álvares Cabral in 1500 (Page, 1995). The Portuguese did not begin to colonize Brazil until 1533 and there were wars with the Dutch and later the French for control of this rich vast land (Michalany & Moura Ramos, 1979). The first Portuguese were explorers and adventure capitalists who exploited the natural resources and sent most of what they extracted back to Portugal (Zirin, 2014). Brazil was slowly colonized and the economy and society were agrarian (Levine & Crocitti, 1999; Carpenter, 1987). After World War II Brazil underwent a great transformation to become the largest industrialized nation in South America: “Within 30 years (beginning in 1950) Brazil was transformed from a largely rural society into a country where three quarters of the population lived in town and cities. A large workforce was needed for the new factories being set up” (Rocha, 2000, p. 47). There were periods of great prosperity followed by recession and extreme economic hardship. A military dictatorship lasted from 1964 to 1980. By the time the military stepped down and restored democracy in 1985, the country was in economic shambles. By the

1980's Brazil's national debt skyrocketed and inflation reached unparalleled heights. Under the "Collor Plan" to stabilize Brazil's economy the Brazilian government seized all personal bank accounts for 18 months and only allowed a certain monthly allowance to be withdrawn. This move did not have the intended effect and Brazil's economy plummeted resulting in inflation rates as high as 1200 percent and more (Rocha, 2000). Brazilians stood in long lines to buy basic necessities. Although Brazil had a democratic process restored it was plagued by poverty, hyperinflation, and corruption at all levels of government. When promises of a better life for most people did not materialize, many disillusioned Brazilians left the country beginning in the 1980s and continued to emigrate throughout the 1990s in search of economic opportunities and a better life. The majority of participants for this study left the country during the 1980s and 1990s during these bleak years; these conditions influenced their decision to emigrate.

Historical Background of Brazilian Immigration

Although Brazil is one of many Latin American countries sending immigrants abroad, it was once a country that received immigrants. "Between 1880 and 1915, about 31 million immigrants settled in the Americas: their favorite destination was the United States (21.4 million), with Argentina coming in second (4.2 million) and Brazil in third, with 2.9 million immigrants" (Jouët-Pastré & Braga, 2008, p. 1). This trend continued throughout the first half of the 19th century resulting in a huge influx of immigrants to Brazil including 1,412,263 Italians; 1,204,394 Portuguese; 581,799 Spaniards; 185,799 Japanese; and 98,962 Syrians and Lebanese (p. 2). Brazilians, like Americans, are composed of a mixed and diverse population composed of indigenous groups, the descendants of African slaves, the Portuguese who first settled Brazil along with a large influx of European, Middle Eastern, and Japanese migrants prior to 1950 (Rocha, 2000).

Brazilian immigration over the last few decades is not an isolated phenomenon, but is a result of globalization and the mass migration of emigrants from the countries of the Global South to the Global North (Castles & Miller, 2009). Those who migrate generally have the same basic goal which is to pursue opportunities to have a better life (Segal, 2014, p. 436). Traditional push pull theories of migration are not able to account for all of the global movement of economic migrants across the planet (Braga Martes, 2011; Kivisto & Faist, 2010). These theories suggest it is the most impoverished from less industrialized nations who seek to emigrate (Castles & Miller, 2009 Kivisto & Faist, 2010). But what is not often considered in such models is rising expectations among people in these countries due to increased education and exposure from the media regarding consumer patterns in the global north. As Margolis (1994) notes, “contrary to the stereotype of international migrants as people driven from their homes by poverty and despair, in recent years’ middle-class migrants from the industrializing world also have become major players in these global movements” (p. xvi).

A number of the participants interviewed for this study were not from the poorest, marginalized socioeconomic groups in Brazil (although several were). Instead, many participants were from the middle-class (by Brazilian standards). For them, it was not just economic factors that determined their decision to leave Brazil (although economics played a significant part of that decision). Jouët- Pastré and Braga (2008) point to a number of factors that influenced Brazilians’ decision to migrate including “extreme inflation, few possibilities of social mobility, and unemployment” that led to increased emigration beginning in the mid-1980s (p. 2). These factors impacted Brazilian attitudes and large numbers felt alienated from their own country. Many felt the promises of modernity would never materialize and they had nothing to lose by leaving the country (Margolis, 2009). Brazilians became disillusioned with

the social and political climate—a staggering and increased crime rate and rampant political corruption (Goza, 1994; Torresan, 2012).

In the 1960s, Brazil was predicted to become a first world country due to its potential for increased industrialization, natural resources, and technological innovation (Rocha, 2000). Due to a military coup in 1964 and a dictatorship that lasted until 1980, these hopes never materialized (Torresan, 2012). Corruption at all levels of government, a stagnant economy with soaring inflation rates, and growing inequality, led many Brazilians to leave the country in search of opportunity (Fritz, 2011; Goza, 1994). The Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations estimates there are more than 3 million Brazilians living beyond its borders “a figure that has more than doubled since 1999” (Sheringham, 2013, p. 23). The majority of Brazilians who left Brazil chose the United States for their new home. It is estimated that one-quarter of all the Brazilian immigrants in the United States are in New England (Levitt, 2007).

United States

The United States has the largest number of immigrants in the world (United Nations, 2009). Immigrants come from all parts of the world and settle in all regions of the United States. However, several states like California, Texas, Florida, and New York have the most immigrants (Levitt, 2007). Connecticut ranked 13th among the states with the highest number of immigrants in the population (Krogstad & Keegan, 2014). Brazilians are part of the surge of Latin American migration to the United States since 1960—“Latin Americans have been a major driver of this trend, as their numbers have soared from less than 1 million in 1960 to nearly 19 million in 2010” (Tienda & Sanchez, 2013, p. 48) (see Appendix H). This increase in Latino immigration has contributed to both the size and demographics of the U.S.-born population: “the U.S. foreign-born population have grown since 1960, rising from 9.7 million to nearly 40 million in 2010” (p.

48). In 2013 13 percent of the U.S. population was foreign born. There are estimated at 41.3 million immigrants in the United States today (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2016b).

Crimmigration has not stopped the flow of Latino migrants (Dreby, 2015; Sampiao, 2015). Likewise, Brazilians have continued to migrate to the United States despite increasingly punitive immigration policies. Many of the first wave Brazilian immigrants went to Texas, New York, Boston, Florida, and California. Brazilians in the second wave of immigration since 2000 have often chosen to settle in smaller cities from Oregon to Maine, and states like Rhode Island and Connecticut.

Connecticut

Connecticut is a microcosm of the population changes taking place in the United States. Connecticut's foreign-born population was estimated at 8.5 percent in 1990, 10.9 percent in 2000, and 13.9 percent in 2013 (US Census, 2013). The Latino population is the fastest growing population in Connecticut and doubled in size between 2001 and 2010 (Wong, 2011). Connecticut received 91,000 immigrants between 1990 and 2000 which increased the number of foreign born in the state to 370,000—an increase of 32 percent (Mejias & Canny, 2007). The US Census Bureau (2013) counted 499,643 immigrants in Connecticut. According to the Pew Hispanic Center (2013) the number of undocumented immigrants in the state was estimated at 3.5 percent of the total population, or 130,000 in 2013.

Connecticut, due to its proximity to New York and Boston often receives immigrants from these cities and surrounding metropolitan areas. Several participants for this study migrated to New York or Boston before moving to Connecticut. Participants gave several reasons for their choice to settle in Connecticut. First, several said the cost of living was cheaper than New York or Boston and there were good opportunities for work. In addition, participants

liked the smaller, hometown feel they experienced in Connecticut. Several participants said it was a better place to raise a family and children than larger cities. A number of participants expressed that Connecticut was an immigrant-welcoming state. Brazilian immigrants felt that Connecticut was a “safe” place to lie if they were undocumented. (see Appendix G).

One in seven residents are foreign born and half of those foreign born are naturalized citizens (American Immigration Council, 2013). The Latino and Asian populations of Connecticut are contributing significantly to the state economy: “Latinos and Asians (both foreign born and native) wield \$21.7 billion in consumer purchasing power...business’s they run had sales and receipts of \$5.8 billion, and employed more than 30,000” (American Immigration Council, 2013).

In 2007 New Haven, Connecticut was the first U.S. city to issue identification cards to undocumented immigrants. Unfortunately, the very day after town officials approved this program, Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents conducted raids in New Haven that resulted in 30 arrests. According to former Mayor of New Haven John Stefano: “the raids appeared to be retaliatory” (Immigration to Connecticut, n.d.). Likewise, Connecticut was one of the first states to approve driver’s licenses for undocumented immigrants in 2013.

In contrast to local or state policies to afford undocumented immigrants access to identification cards, other policies were enacted to target undocumented immigrants. Secure Communities, implemented by Immigration and Customs Enforcement, began as a pilot program in Fairfield County in 2010. Secure Communities stated goal was “to identify and remove criminal aliens and others who pose a threat to public safety” (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2014b). By 2012 Governor Malloy, town officials, and many law enforcement agencies reacted against the adverse effects it was having on local communities. In 2013

Connecticut passed its own Trust Act: “to minimize the impact of secure communities and the situations in which local jurisdictions could honor immigration detainers by ICE” (American Immigration Council, 2013). Cities and towns in Connecticut have responded differently to undocumented immigrants. With the exception of Danbury and Bridgeport, which cooperated openly with ICE, many communities have been reluctant to single out its Latino population or alienate the Latino community. The participants for this study experienced immigration and crimmigration, in part, based on the locality in which they lived. Some localities were immigrant-friendly, while other localities routinely profiled and arrested members of their Latino migrant communities.

The Participants

The 20 participants for this study came from various parts of Brazil, although the majority migrated from the state of Minas Gerais. In a phenomenological study, it is the participants’ lived experience that form the central dialogue. Providing a glimpse of who those participants are can aid in understanding their lived experiences as described in chapters Four and Five.

Naira is a 33-year-old undocumented Brazilian immigrant who has lived in the United States for the past 10 years. Naira is a *mineira* or person from the state of Minas Gerais in the southeast of Brazil. In Brazil she was an elementary school teacher. She came to the United States through Mexico, a journey through she described as arduous but without incident. She paid a Mexican entrepreneur or *coyote* \$11,500 to bring her across the Mexican-U.S. border. Naira had transnational social networks that enabled her to migrate to the United States. She had made contacts in Mexico to travel to the United States, and contacts with Brazilians in Boston for housing and work. Naira came to the United States with her husband but they divorced and

he did not adapt and went back to Brazil. Naira first went to Boston and lived for two years working as a housecleaner, work she secured through a network of Brazilian women. Naira worked helping a Brazilian woman who had a house-cleaning business. She later moved to Connecticut, where she lives in Connecticut with her 8-year-old citizen daughter, and started her own business.

Lucianna is a 35-year-old woman working as a dental assistant, from the state of Minas Gerais and has a tourist visa valid for five years. She came to the United States for the first time in 1996 as an exchange student. She was a dentist with her own practice in Brazil but moved to the United States for better opportunities and to assist her ailing father. When her parents moved to the United States in 2000 she visited them on at least 10 occasions, but never overstayed her visa. She leaves the United States every six months and returns to continue working. A tourist visa has a provision that immigrants' can only stay in the United States for six months at a time, so immigrants like Lucianna leave every six months if they do not want to overstay their visa. Lucianna is studying so she can eventually attend school to become a dentist, as she finds it hard being a dental assistant (with low pay and no benefits) when she had her own practice in Brazil.

Sofia is a 48-year-old former widow who came to the United States fifteen years ago from the state of Paraíba, in the northeast part of Brazil. She is working at Dunkin' Donuts as a cashier/food service worker. In Brazil she was a housewife and did not work. Sofia related a tale of woe in Brazil that led to her journey to the United States. Her husband had a good state job with benefits, daughters were in private school, and they were doing well financially and owned a home. Sofia's husband killed someone and then committed suicide; following these events she lost everything, including his pension. She could not support her family and the family of the victim began threatening her, so she decided to come to the United States for her

physical safety and for financial reasons.

Sofia came to the United States with her 15-year-old daughter and left her other three daughters in Brazil. She began cleaning houses, often working 16 hours a day. Nine months later Sofia was able to afford to bring her daughters to the United States. She obtained a job at Dunkin' Donuts and also worked part time cleaning houses. Being a single mother raising four daughters in the United States was a struggle, especially because she had little familial support. The part-time house cleaning paid \$100 dollars a week in addition to her salary at Dunkin' Donuts. Sofia lamented that she had suffered chronic health problems due to the long hours she worked for many years. Sofia came to the United States on a tourist visa and did not return, and thus was undocumented for many years. She eventually remarried and became a legal resident through her husband. Sofia speaks English, although with difficulty. Sofia was the only participant out of the twenty interviewed who said she will eventually return to Brazil to live. She stated if she remained in the United States she would have to continue working, but with what she has earned she can eventually retire in Brazil and live comfortably with her husband.

Josely is a 47-year-old married woman who has been in the United States for 12 years. Josely is a *nordestino* (northeasterner) from the state of Bahía. In Brazil she worked as a secretary for the Ford Motor Company and was studying accounting at night. Josely came to the United States on a tourist visa and stayed after her visa expired. She has been undocumented for many years and for the past twelve years has typically cleaned three houses a day. Josely does not speak English except for some phrases related to work in order to communicate with her American employers. Josely's husband recently gained documentation through his job and then applied for her to become documented.

Rosana is a 42-year-old single mother of one daughter who has been in the United States

for 20 years. She is from the state of Goiás, in the central west part of Brazil, and is undocumented. She grew up and lived on a farm (*da roça*) in Brazil. She was a university student in Brazil when she decided to come to the United States. Her dream was to come to the United States for five years, learn English, and return home. Rosana entered the United States through Mexico. Rosana has been a housecleaner for more than 10 years, though she initially worked for an American company prior to becoming self-employed as a housecleaner. Rosana cleans three to four houses per day and pays a Brazilian to assist her. She lives with her 16-year-old daughter who was born in the United States. Rosana does not speak English except for some basic conversation around her work.

Rosaleine is a 34-year-old woman working in catering. She is a *paulista*, a person from the city of São Paulo. Rosaleine came to the United States on a tourist visa and remained. She came to learn English and attended Western Connecticut State University. Rosaleine first arrived in New York and had a cousin who was already living in the United States that helped her. She worked several types of jobs prior, including working at a small Brazilian store and Stew Leonards' supermarket. She works for a private golf club, where she is in charge of hosting and catering events. She is married to an American and has a five-year-old son.

Eva is a 54-year-old Brazilian woman who working as a massage therapist who came from the state of Minas Gerais. She worked for a large construction firm in Brazil in human resources prior to coming to the United States. Eva came from an extremely poor family and had to struggle hard and had to work her way up to the position she had at the construction firm before leaving Brazil. Eva came to the United States for a vacation 25 years ago and never returned. She did not intend on to stay, but had a friend in New Jersey who invited her to live with her. She came to the United States on a tourist visa. Eva was undocumented for a period

after her visa expired. She became a legal resident through her [ex-] husband. She began as a waitress/server in restaurants and bars and also worked as a bank teller for Citibank for seven years. She later went to culinary school and became a private chef for a wealthy family. She married in the United States and has one daughter but later divorced. She went to school to be a massage therapist. Eva lived in New Jersey, New York, and eventually moved to Connecticut. Eva spoke English but with a thick Brazilian accent. She said she knows enough English to get by and communicate.

Renata is a 31-year-old married woman from the state of Rondônia, in the northern part of Brazil. She came to the United States at age 21 on a J-1 work visa as a professional nanny for a one-year work program. Renata has been in the United States for ten years and originally went to Minnesota where she felt isolated and experienced culture shock. She related how challenging it was to go from living in a tropical climate to managing freezing cold winter. Renata did not have any friends or know any Brazilians which led her to feel *saudades* (Portuguese word conveying the meaning of homesick and a longing for one's home and culture). A Brazilian friend found Renata a job in Connecticut. She was worried because she had not finished her contractual year with the au pair program. The company she worked for contacted Immigration and Custom Enforcement (or ICE) to report Renata had left the program. Renata worked for a family in Connecticut as an au pair for several years. She married the husband of the family she worked for, and remained. After her visa expired she was undocumented and became a legal resident through her marriage. Renata came from a family of means (middle class) back in Brazil and had come to the United States for better opportunities. She decided to go to school to become a massage therapist. Renata is fluent in English and Portuguese.

Kesia is a 40-year-old undocumented woman who came to the United States 16 years ago

from the state of Minas Gerais. She is a housewife and takes care of her three children who were born in the United States. Kesia was the only participant who did not work outside the home. Kesia came to the United States on a tourist visa and remained. She went to Boston where her boyfriend was living and working. After they married, the couple moved to Connecticut, where her husband's cousin was living in Naugatuck. Kesia does not speak English, although her husband and children do.

Keila is a 24-year-old woman who came to the United States with her family when she was 10 years old. Keila is from the state of Maranhão in the north east of Brazil. She works as a bartender and studies nursing at college. She came on a tourist visa with her parents. Her father's employer was going to apply for them to obtain legal permanency in 2001, but after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the company he worked for went bankrupt. She remained undocumented until two years ago. She applied for and obtained a two-year work visa under the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. Because Keila was in the United States before 2007 and was under 15 years of age when she entered the United States, she qualified for the *Dream Act*. She applied for and received a work visa for two years and a Social Security number.

Prior to receiving a work visa Keila contemplated going back to Brazil. She was informed by college officials that she would not be conferred a degree without a Social Security number. Also, she was charged out-of-state rate college tuition because she did not have a Social Security number. After two years her visa came up for renewal and she re-applied and was approved recently. She was able to pursue graduation and receive the in-state rate for tuition due to obtaining a Social Security number. Keila is fluent in Portuguese and English.

Leilani is a 62 year-old women who has been in the United States for 14 years with her husband Leonardo, who was also interviewed for this study. She is from the state of Minas

Gerais, came to the United States on a tourist visa, and worked for a time as a cook at a Portuguese restaurant. Leilani's tourist visa expired and she became undocumented. While working at the restaurant, her Portuguese employer filed with immigration for a work visa so Leilani could become documented. She is a factory worker. She has three adult children, two of which reside in the United States, and a third who lives in Brazil. Leilani said she does not speak English.

The youngest participant in this study was Mariah, who is 18 years old and a hair dresser. She is from the city of São Paulo and came to the United States 12 years ago with her mother, who crossed the Mexican border with an assistance of a *coyote*. After her mother married and gained legal status she applied for Mariah to become legalized. Mariah returned to Brazil and applied at the American Consulate in Rio de Janeiro, was approved, and returned. Mariah said the American Consulate can give a penalty for entering the United States without authorization. It can be up to 10 years before one can apply for a visa to come to the U.S. Mariah considered herself lucky. Because she was only six when she came to the United States, and was brought by her adult parent, the Consulate did not impose this penalty on her. As a result, she only remained in Brazil for one month before returning to the United States. She graduated from hair dressing school recently and works as a hair stylist. She lives with her mother and family.

Breno is a 30-year old from the state of Minas Gerais. He came to the United States 14 years ago when he was 16 to join his parents who lived in Connecticut. Breno came on a tourist visa and remained. Breno married several years ago and gained legal status through his marriage. He has a two-year-old daughter. Breno is a manager for Taco Bell and has worked for Taco Bell on and off for 10 years. He has worked primarily in the food service industry while in the United States. He was attending college at Post University in Waterbury studying business

administration. Breno recently relocated to Florida with his family to manage a restaurant.

Edwin is a 36-year-old man who is married and the father of two boys. Edwin came to the United States in 1999 from the state of Paraíba. He manages a Dunkin' Donuts store where he has worked since coming to the United States. He typically works 55 to 60 hours a week and supervises several stores. Edwin initially came on a tourist visa that expired and was able to gain legal status when his boss applied for a skilled worker/professional visa for him. Edwin was able to obtain a work visa and then a green card, followed by permanent resident status, and is now a citizen. He said his pathway to citizenship in the United States was “easy” compared to the experience of other Brazilians who struggled for long periods before obtaining a visa or legal status. He became a manager and owns a home. Edwin learned English through work and is taking a class at a local college.

Nelson is a 32-year-old man who is a manager for Dunkin' Donuts. He is from the state of Paraíba, in the northeast of Brazil. Nelson came to the United States when he was 17-year-old who has been in the United States for 15 years. Upon arriving his father went back to Brazil, leaving Nelson on his own. Nelson attended high school, worked, and had a studio apartment. He has remained at Dunkin' Donuts except for a short stint at a bank as a teller. He said he returned to Dunkin' Donuts to work because he could earn more money. He worked 80 hours a week his first few years in the United States at two full-time jobs. Now he works 55 hours and said “agora se eu passei 55 estou morrendo” and laughed. (“Now if I work more than 55 I’m dying”). Nelson is married, recently had twins, and owns a home. He came on a tourist visa and remained in the United States. Nelson said his wife gained legal status and he was able to attain legal status through her.

Marcos is a 58-year-old who has been in the United States for 19 years. He is

undocumented. Marcos is from Minas Gerais as well. Marcos came to the United States to participate in the Boston Marathon. He said he had members of his track team in Boston, but did not end up joining the race due to a mishap at the airport and arriving late. However, he ended up staying in Boston for a year before moving to Connecticut. Marcos said he worked delivering newspapers and at the Holiday Inn prior to his current job. Marcos owns a small transportation business. For 15 years he has driven people to and from the airports in New York City and has cultivated Portuguese, American, and clients from various nationalities/backgrounds. He charges around \$110 round trip and makes about eight to 10 trips a month to the airports. Marcos said business slowed down after the economic crisis of 2008.

Marcos obtained a driver's license before 9/11 when it was easier to do so. Marcos faithfully renews it every five years. The license is his lifeline to work because he drives for a living. Marcos is married and he and his wife are engaged in housecleaning. Marcos speaks Portuguese, knows little English and has had little time to learn the language due to working long hours. He has not been back to Brazil in 19 years due to lack of documentation.

João is a 43-year-old Brazilian immigrant from the state of Minas Gerais who has been in the United States for 18 years. He arrived on a tourist visa but after it expired he remained in the United States. He is a small business owner and entrepreneur who sells airline passages to Brazil, sends remittances to Brazil, and helps pay bills for, his Brazilian clients. He is married and has a 19-year-old daughter who works with him. His wife is a housecleaner. João is undocumented and has worked in a host of different occupations including construction, housecleaning, and other service sector jobs. João learned some English by taking several courses.

Neto is a 55-year-old pastor of a small Evangelical church in the city of Naugatuck who

also has a cleaning business with his wife. Neto is a *carioca* (person from Rio De Janeiro) and had his own *barbería* (barber shop) in Brazil. Initially, Neto immigrated to Europe. Neto has been in the United States for 26 years and has worked at many service sector occupations. Neto came to New York first, lived in Danbury for 13 years, and then moved to another city in Connecticut after 9/11, when the political climate changed towards immigrants. He worked for McDonalds, for a Portuguese contractor, as a car salesman, cleaning, and as a Pastor. At one time he had a small business doing translations and work for the Brazilian Consulate. Neto was able to speak English and had taken classes to learn English on several different occasions throughout his time in the United States.

Leonardo is a 69-year-old retiree who is married and is from Minas Gerais. He worked in house cleaning and as a bartender at the Portuguese Club in Waterbury prior to retirement. Leonardo came on a tourist visa that expired. He was undocumented for several years. His wife's boss filed paperwork on her behalf for legal status and later he was able to gain legal status through her. Leonardo does not speak English. He worked for Portuguese employers and noted there was always someone around to translate. He also worked long hours that did not leave him the time to study. Leonardo and his wife own a home in Waterbury and have three children. Only one was able to come with them to the United States because the other two were 18 years or older and did not qualify for family reunification programs. One son lives in Brazil but has visited many times and the other daughter was living in the United States for several years but left the country.

Tiago is a 34-year-old undocumented married man who has been in the United States for 16 years. Tiago is from the state of Minas Gerais. He arrived in Rosindale, outside of Boston, when he was 17 years old on a tourist visa that expired. He is married and has three children

who are U.S. citizens. Tiago first worked as a dishwasher for a restaurant and for Dunkin' Donuts for a year and a half prior to coming to Connecticut. He works for a company building and installing stairs in private homes in Greenwich, Stamford, and other cities in Fairfield County, Connecticut. Tiago works six days a week, gets up early to begin work and does not arrive home until late in the evening. He recently purchased a home. When asked about his English proficiency, Tiago said he knows some English but classifies it as that of an 8-year-old child. He said it is enough to communicate at work. Tiago has not been back to Brazil since he came to the United States.

Chapter 4: MIGRATION, WORK, AND A BETTER LIFE

It is necessary that the weakness of the powerless is transformed into a force capable of announcing justice. For this to happen, a total denouncement of fatalism is necessary. We are transformative beings and not beings for accommodation—Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Heart, 1997, p. 36

Naira is a housecleaner who has been in the United States for 10 years. Lack of opportunity, along with high inflation and worsening social conditions like the rise of crime and violence, influenced her decision to migrate to the United States. “I was a teacher in Minas Gerais, but teaching didn’t pay well. There was little opportunity for me to move up.” Naira described the conditions that led her to migrate: “My salary was barely enough to survive. I didn’t make enough to buy a car or a house. And there’s a lot of crime in Brazil. I didn’t see things getting better, only worse. I wanted a better life.” Naira made transnational connections while in Brazil that enabled her to migrate and secure a place to live and work when she arrived in Boston. She flew to Mexico, and made the difficult journey through Mexico and entered the United States. Naira remains undocumented to this day.

Naira related: “When I first came I lived in Massachusetts. I lived in Boston for two years. I was a *help* (assistant) to another Brazilian woman who had a housecleaning business.” Naira moved to Connecticut and started gathering her own clients: “I cleaned a house for an American woman. She told another American woman, and after a while I had a number of houses and had my own business.” She typically cleans four to five houses per day and charges from \$60 to \$120 per house, depending upon its size. She said she has only worked in housecleaning since coming to the United States. Naira said she has had the same clientele for years: “Me trata bem, como família” (“They treat me well, like family”). She gets up early and travels to various cities: “I start early in the morning. I usually being at six in the morning and

work until six or seven at night. I work six and sometimes seven days a week.” In spite of the long hours and physically demanding work, Naira said it provided better wages than her professional job back in Brazil. In fact, her work in the United States enabled her to provide for herself and her eight-year-old daughter and gave her a new found independence and freedom she would not have had in Brazil. Naira stated, “I like the *freedom* I have here...even [as] an immigrant.”

Naira’s story reveals several common topics that emerged from this study. First, Brazilians are *economic migrants* fleeing a country with extreme inflation, high unemployment, and lack of social mobility and opportunity (Jouët-Pastré & Braga, 2008; Braga Martes, 2011). Second, an important part of participants’ lived experience was their initial migration event. Naira, Mariah, and Rosana entered the United States via Mexico. Other participants entered on a tourist visa, and one participant came on a work visa. Third, Brazilian immigrants are transnational migrants and utilize *transnational* social networks in coming to the United States to facilitate their journey (Margolis, 2009; Smith & Guarnizo, 2009). Fourth, male and female migrants are entering a *gendered* labor market in the United States—many of the men work in construction and many of the women do housecleaning, childcare as nannies, and restaurant work. However, although housecleaning is often associated with women, several men in this study, like Neto and João, worked in housecleaning. And, in spite of the gendered type of work Brazilian women are engaged in, many like Naira, said they found a newfound freedom and independence from patriarchal dominance and rigid gender roles they left behind in Brazil (DeBiaggi, 2002; Tremura, 2011). Fifth, as Naira’s story demonstrates, a common experience for many of the Brazilian immigrants in this study was *downward mobility* (Margolis, 2009; Torresan, 2012). Several of the men and women like Naira had a profession in Brazil.

This chapter will discuss three themes that emerged from this study, *immigration experiences* (initial and subsequent), *trabalho* (work), and *transnational social networks*, and emergent related topics. Topics related to *immigration experiences* include initial challenges, from sojourners to settlers, voluntary exiles, and *saudades*. Work-related topics consist of work experiences, manual labor, downward mobility, the work environment after 9/11 and the economic crisis of 2008, obtaining a driver's license, changing gender roles, and English proficiency. Finally, the theme of transnational social networks also includes topics like lack of an ethnic enclave, and remittances.

Initial Immigration Experiences

Participants for this study gave various descriptions of the ways they came to the United States. Sixteen out of the 20 participants came initially on a tourist visa and remained. A tourist visa is valid for five years and allows for a visit for six months during each visit. This approach to migration was common among Brazilians prior to 9/11, when visas were easier to obtain (Margolis, 2009). After 9/11, the number of Brazilians entering the United States through Mexico without documents significantly increased (Margolis, 2008).

Rosely obtained a tourist visa 12 years ago and travelled to the United States. When I asked how she came to the United States, she responded: "I know my interview isn't going to be very interesting. I didn't come through Mexico. I came on a tourist visa." Rosely thought Americans assumed that all Brazilians came through Mexico. Marcos responded to the question by noting, "I came to America on a tourist visa. I was an athlete and came to participate in the Boston Marathon." Edwin stated, "I came on a tourist visa. I came to spend six months and return. But that was only a dream. Six months, and I am here for 15 years now." Breno related: "When I came here I didn't know I would stay here all this time. In my head I thought maybe

six months. I have already been here 14 years...*a lifetime already*.” Several participants explicitly said it was easier to get a visa to come to the United States prior to 9/11. Nelson commented: “I came on a tourist visa. It was easier to get one before September 11th.”

Another entry route for participants in this study, who were unable to obtain a tourist visa, was crossing the U.S. Mexican border. The journey was fraught with physical danger and many immigrants have died in recent years trying to make it (Androff & Tavasolli, 2012). Rosana, who is 42 years old, traveled through Mexico 20 years earlier: “It took me 17 days. I took a plane from Brazil to Cancun. Then I flew to a city near the U.S. border. I went through several cities, including Tijuana before I entered the United States.” She travelled by plane, train, and bus, but walked on foot into the United States. Rosana stated: “I paid a *coyote* \$1,000 20 years ago to help me enter the United States. Today it costs \$20,000 for the same trip—I have some friends who recently came to the United States this way.” Prior to 9/11, it was simpler, cheaper, and less risky to make the crossing from Mexico to the United States.

Mariah also entered the United States through Mexico: “I was six. I came with my mom.” I asked how much she remembered of the journey: “I remember it was like, a car and planes...It wasn’t like everyone makes it seem, this horrible thing.” Naira said she entered the United States through Mexico with the assistance of a *coyote*, and the trip went without incident.

Renata is a 31-year-old married Brazilian woman who came to the United States a decade earlier on a J-1 work visa as a professional nanny for a one-year work program:

I, um, came through a program called *Put Your Au Pair Out There*. So, you are pretty much an au pair which is a French term for an exchange student. And you stay in somebody’s house, you watch their kids, and they pay you. When their kids are in school you can go to college and study and whatever. Pretty much you’re exchanging housing and food for you know—childcare and then you can, you know, the family can let you borrow a car and everything. So it was a pretty good deal, without spending a lot of money. Getting to know the culture and doing that.

Renata, who came from the middle class, left Michigan and came to Connecticut to work. She initially said that au pair is a French word for an exchange student, but later stated it means nanny. Because of the low status associated with being nanny in Brazil she tells people it meant exchange student.

Intersectionality. A useful concept in understanding Brazilian immigrants' experiences is intersectionality from feminist theory (Crenshaw, 1991, 1995). There is no singular Brazilian experience of immigration. Participants' experience has been impacted by their gender, age, race (a socially constructed concept that for immigrants is often determined by the dominant culture), locality, and immigrant-friendly versus anti-immigrant sentiment, command of the English language, socioeconomic status, and legal status. Nelson, an Afro-Brazilian, came to the United States when he was 17 years old.

When I came, I went to my last year of high school. I was the only Brazilian. The teachers didn't know where to put me. They put me with the African American students because I looked African American but I didn't speak English, and the African American students did not accept me. Then, I was placed in the Bi-lingual Education program with the Hispanic students. I tried to tell the teachers I was not Hispanic but to them Brazilian and Hispanic were the same. They think everyone from South America speaks Spanish. It took me six months before I learned how to say, "I speak Portuguese, not Spanish." I learned to speak Spanish before I learned to speak English. After six months I convinced them to put me in regular [English] classes.

Nelson's initial immigration experience was based on his legal status, age, skin color, lack of ability to speak English, along with perceptions by the dominant culture. He noted:

My first experiences in America were in the Hispanic culture, which I had not been exposed to in Brazil. After school I went to my Mexican, Puerto Rican, and Dominican friends' homes and learned Spanish, ate their food, and learned about their culture.

Nelson learned English, and after he obtained a Green Card, took some college classes. He is now an assistant manager for a restaurant. His change in legal status, and mastering English, changed his subsequent experience.

Josely's story provides another example of intersectionality. Josely stated,

When I came here I couldn't speak English. I didn't have papers [to work]. My choices were limited. I started work cleaning houses through my contacts with other Brazilian women.

Josely was undocumented, female, and did not speak English, which shaped what jobs were open to her as a newcomer. Housecleaning was one of the few occupational pathways open to her, particularly since documentation and fluency in English were often not required. She entered a gendered labor market—women have traditionally dominated in housecleaning—although some male participants were doing housecleaning also. Josely has continued in housecleaning and has still not mastered English. She remains undocumented, so her choice of work and her larger experience is impacted by her ability to speak English and her lack of establishing legal residency.

Ritzer (2000) finds that no one factor constitutes intersectionality, noting that “the argument in intersectionality theory is that the pattern of intersection itself produces a particular experience of oppression, not merely the salience of any one variable” (p. 337). In the case of Nelson, it was not just one factor, but a combination of his race, age, gender, immigration status, and lack of ability to speak English that contributed to his discriminatory treatment at school. Additionally, these experiences are impacted and shaped by contradictory treatment of migrants in the United States who are simultaneously welcome and unwelcome (Ngai, 2004; Padilla et al., 2008).

Initial Challenges. Participants described the initial challenges of migrating to the United States. Neto first migrated to New York City. “I was living in Queens. It was hard initially—the language, the climate.” Mariah also cited the language barrier was the hardest aspect of her transition: “It was hard. I didn't understand...like anything. I had to point to what

I wanted.” Naira commented: “In the beginning, it was very difficult...the language, the climate, the people...mostly the language, even till today.” Marcos said: “the hardest part is the distance of being separated from family in Brazil.” Kesia noted: “The hardest part is being away from my family. I haven’t been back to Brazil in 16 years.” Participants said the three most difficult challenges upon arriving in the United States were the language barrier, the climate, and being apart from family in Brazil.

Although the majority of Brazilians could be classified as voluntary immigrants and economic migrants, some did come to the United States due to concerns of physical safety, although not by state agents as in some Central and South American countries (Bibler-Coutin, 2007). Sofia, for example, came to the United States because she was afraid for her safety and the safety of her children: “My husband killed a guy and then committed suicide. The victim’s family began threatening to hurt me and my four daughters. I decided to leave Brazil.” She came on a tourist visa and has remained 15 years.

From Sojourners to Settlers

Early research on Brazilians migration to the United States attempted to classify what type of migrants or what category of migrants Brazilians were. Margolis (1994) classified Brazilians as *economic refugees*. Initial scholarship (by Margolis, 1994; Goza, 1994) described Brazilians as *sojourners*—migrants who came to the United States with an objective of making money for a specific goal and returning to Brazil. Several participants in this study stated initially that they did not plan to remain in the United States. Edwin related, “I came here to make enough money to buy a house [in Brazil] and return. But my plans changed.” Rosaleini came to the United States to learn English. “In Brazil, I was in hotel management. In Brazil you need to know English so I came and took a course at Western Connecticut. I did not intend on

staying here.” Josely intended a short stay only. “I planned on staying for a year. But now I am here 12 years, married, and have three children.”

Prior to 9/11 many Brazilian migrants were going back and forth between the United States and Brazil and the term *yo-yo* migration was coined to describe this (Margolis, 1995). João had made more than one trip to the United States in the 1990s. “The first time I came to the United States I stayed 30 days and returned to Brazil.” But recent scholarship has suggested that Brazilians have gone “from sojourner to settler” (Margolis, 2009, p. 106). Only one participant out of 20 in this study planned to return to Brazil. The rest aim to stay.

The decision *to remain* in the United States was a significant topic that emerged during this study. Many Brazilian immigrants, both documented and undocumented, have not returned to Brazil and changed their original goals and plans of returning home (Braga Martes, 2011; Margolis, 2009). For participants, several factors entered this decision to remain. For some, the majority had U.S. citizen children whose lives were firmly rooted in the United States and these participants have now identified it as their *home*. For Tiago it was the income he could earn and his three citizen children. He noted, “I make good money. I just bought a house in Naugatuck. I come from a farm in a small town in Brazil. I would not have the lifestyle I have here if I had stayed there...I have three children who are Americans. Their lives are here.” For several female participants the economic independence and freedom that they experienced in the United States contributed to their decision to remain. According to Lucianna, “I like the independence I have here. I earn decent wages and do not have to depend someone else.” For all participants who changed their mind regarding returning to Brazil, a significant factor was the income they could earn in the United States and the lifestyle it afforded them.

Eva came to the United States for a vacation 25 years ago and never went back to Brazil.

She did not plan on staying in the United States, but had a friend in New Jersey who invited her to stay:

I had a friend. She lived in Elizabeth, New Jersey. She said to me, “Come with me and help where I work in a restaurant. They are going to open a new restaurant.” I washed dishes, cleaned, everything. And the owner of the restaurant offered me a job. And when I spoke with my friend in Miami [I said], “I’m going to stay here 30 days and work for me to see how it is.”

Eva said she earned \$300 dollars that week. Upon earning this she thought:

It’s this...ah...I earned in a week what I earned in a month [in Brazil]...I said I’m not leaving and no one will take me from [here]! (laughs).

Economic opportunity was a primary reason participants gave for remaining in the United States.

A second reason for staying, was having citizen children whose lives were firmly rooted in the United States. Rosana also said she initially planned to return to Brazil but changed her mind. Rosana was a student 20 years ago studying at a university in Brazil when she decided to come to the United States. She stated, “I grew up and lived on a farm (*da roça*) in Brazil.”

Rosana’s dream was to come to the United States for five years, learn English, and return to Brazil. When asked what changed her mind, she noted both economic and personal reasons. “I am a single mother. I earn decent money cleaning houses. It’s enough to live well and take care of my daughter. I would not be able to do this in Brazil like I can here.”

Edwin’s original intention was to return to Brazil but the decision to remain was not instantaneous. “I wanted to come for a short time, work and return. I didn’t want to stay in America.” I asked Edwin what had changed his mind and he responded:

Working...and I see that I can set up goals. You know what I mean. If I want a vacation or I want material things, I know that working, it will come to be possible. So, realizing that you know that...I’m going to stay six more months, and then another year, and then another year... [he laughed] ...and I decided to stay. You come to a point that you say, “You know, I will stay here.”

Sofia is the only participant who decided to return to Brazil. Sofia explained, “I worked

doing housecleaning for years. It was hard work and I worked six, sometimes seven days a week to support four daughters. I worked 16 hours a day. I worked two jobs. It ruined my health.” Sofia said if she remained she would have to continue working but with what she has earned in housecleaning, she can retire comfortably in Brazil.

Voluntary exiles. An important dimension in the lives of the undocumented Brazilian migrant participants in this study, can be captured by the term *voluntary exiles*. Most Brazilians are economic immigrants and left Brazil voluntarily due to such factors as hyperinflation (in 1993 estimated at 1800 percent), unemployment, low wages, and a relatively high cost of living (Margolis, 1995). But a majority of participants for this study have not been back to Brazil in many years and cannot return or visit due to their legal status. When asked about the greatest challenge he faced migrating to the United States Marcos lamented, “The hardest part for me is not being able to visit family. I have not been back to Brazil in 19 years.” Tiago also expressed this sentiment: “I have been in America for 16 years. But I have not been able to return because I am without papers.” João described, “I have a lot of *saudades* for family and friends I haven’t seen in 18 years.” Rosana has not been back to Brazil in 20 years. She says, “It’s hard but my life is here now. I am worried if my elderly mother, or other relative dies because I can’t travel there.” I asked Rosana during the interview, “You haven’t seen your mother in 20 years?” She responded, “No, I haven’t. But we speak on the phone.”

These respondents are exiles in the sense that they are unable to return to Brazil and would be deported if they appeared at any airport and attempted to travel. They are unable to enjoy the full rights of citizenship. They have remained “in the shadows” like many other undocumented immigrants in the United States (Ngai, 2004). These migrants are not sojourners but have decided to live and remain voluntarily in the United States.

Moreover, they are unable to become U.S. citizens and there is not any path for citizenship at this time. Ngai (2004) noted that undocumented immigrants are “both welcome and unwelcome: they are woven into the fabric of the nation, but that labor is cheap and disposable” (Ngai, 2004, p. 2). Undocumented immigrants are marginalized to the lower strata of the workforce and “may be understood as a caste, unambiguously situated outside of the boundaries of formal membership and social legitimacy” (Ngai, 2004, p. 2). Many participants hoped the U.S. government might offer an amnesty similar to what occurred in 1986. The Immigration Reform and Control Act granted amnesty to 2.7 million undocumented immigrants (Ngai, 2004). Rosana shared an opinion regarding the solution for herself and the other 12 million undocumented in the United States: “I think the government should grant amnesty for immigrants already living here *sem documentos* (without papers). I heard they did this back in the 80s.” I asked Neto, who has been in the United States and is a citizen, what he thought the U.S. government should do to resolve the immigration crises regarding those immigrants who are undocumented: “I think the government should grant them amnesty. There should be a way for them to become citizens. They are here. They work and pay taxes. Why not make them citizens?” Prospects for a general amnesty are extremely bleak due to the current U.S. political climate that is generally hostile toward undocumented immigrants. Such attitudes are fueled by negative stereotypes by politicians and the media (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Golash-Boza, 2012b).

Saudades

Participants for this study described a common feeling due to being far away from Brazil, for long periods of time. This feeling is captured by the word *saudades*. *Saudades* is a Portuguese word for an emotion that all participants used when talking about being away from

family, friends, and their homeland. This is a culturally significant word conveying the feeling of homesickness and a longing for one's home and country. Renata, who is in her thirties, and has been in the United States for 10 years, originally went to Minnesota and felt isolated in addition to experiencing culture shock. She said she felt *saudades*. It was the first time she had been away from home and travelled outside Brazil. When she arrived in the United States, Renata knew little English, and stayed working for an American family she had never met. She expressed, "I felt lonely, and I only had one friend from Brazil who was in Connecticut. Everything was strange—the food, the language, the people. It was hard to adjust."

The feelings of *saudades* was evoked by other participants as well. Marcos has been in the United States for 19 years. Due to his legal status he has never been able to return to Brazil. When I asked him about adapting to life in the United States, he responded:

Look...to be sincere I am still trying to adapt here. To be sincere. In terms of rest. I have not adapted because I have a lot of *saudades* of my family, my brothers and sisters, nieces and nephews, my land...understand?

Although undocumented Brazilian immigrants could not physically travel to Brazil, that did not mean that they did not have contact with family and friends in Brazil. Part of the transmigration experience is the use of telecommunications. Participants adapt to the extreme distance (approximately 5,550 miles between Brazil and the United States) by computer programs, such as Skype, and cellular applications like FaceTime, Wazupp, and social media websites like Facebook, to communicate with family in Brazil.

Naira has not been back to Brazil in 10 years but informed me she speaks to her mother daily with her cell phone through FaceTime. "My mother has FaceTime. She calls me all the time. Sometimes several times a day. I leave my cell phone on. Sometimes I am working and I talk the whole time with her on FaceTime. But sometimes I tell her, 'Mom, I'm working!'"

Lucianna stays connected with her brother and family members in Brazil by FaceTime as well.

“I have a brother in Brazil. We use FaceTime and talk at least 10 minutes each day to *mata saudades*.”

Participants stated making these phone calls helps to “kill *saudades*,” in the sense of diminishing the feeling of *saudades*. Josely pays a monthly fee to a phone company. “I can call 10 hours a month. I talk to my mother.” Josely said some telephone companies charge \$50 dollars or more a month but she only pays \$20.00. João uses both FaceTime and Wazzup to speak with his family in Brazil. Breno uses the phone and computer to communicate with family in Brazil: “Mostly Facebook, but now I use Wazupp more frequently. I share a funny video or something. Yesterday my brother in Brazil sent me a message for my birthday.”

Several participants said prior to the introduction of recent telecommunication applications their phone bills ran high. According to João: “Before, my phone bill was \$150 up to \$200 a month or more. I use to buy a prepaid phone card for \$20.00 and you could talk for 13 minutes. Now with the cell phone and computer it’s almost nothing. Wazzupp is free.” Telecommunications, in particular online social networking programs like Facebook, have revolutionized how immigrants can communicate with family and friends who remain in Brazil, and help *mata saudades*.

Brazilians’ Work Experiences

An important theme that emerged from the interviews was *trabalho*—or work. This included several dimensions including the centrality of work for Brazilians’ lived experience in the United States; the meanings Brazilians attached to their work; and how their work experiences in the United States were an important part of shaping their lived experience. A number of Brazilians interviewed for this study, like Naira, Eva, and Josely, held service jobs but

had been professionals back in Brazil. Some participants, who had servants in Brazil (still common today even for those that would be described as “middle class”), worked in occupations in the United States that they would never consider in Brazil. These included service-sector jobs such as housecleaning, being a nanny/babysitter, working in construction, and restaurant work. Neto and his wife have a housecleaning business. Neto commented: “In Brazil I never would have cleaned houses. It is looked down upon. But here, I feel my work is valued. It allowed me to send my daughter to private schools and college.” Josely noted: “I was going to school for accounting in Brazil. I would have never imagined I would be cleaning houses in America. But it pays well and I can provide for my family.” Brazilians’ experiences with work in the United States were shaped by their legal status, gender, age, ability to speak English, and social networks when arriving in the United States. Some participants have been in the country 20 years, but have been unable to pursue a different career path and remain in housecleaning or construction due to their legal status and/or inability to speak English. Some, in spite of being undocumented and not mastering English, were still able to buy a house and become “middle class” due to the generous wages afforded them through housecleaning and construction (Maia, 2012; Tremura, 2011). Several participants stated that even though these occupations were not something they would have considered in Brazil, have allowed them to prosper financially and have a better life than they would have back in Brazil even as a professional (Maia, 2012; Tremura, 2011). Other participants who mastered English, and subsequently became documented, were able to pursue a career and diversify their choice of career opportunities (Braga Martes, 2011).

Eva, worked at a restaurant as a waitress when she came to the United States and after her visa expired, was undocumented. She stated: “I married and got a Green Card through my

husband. I decided to go to school to become a chef.” She went to school to learn English and went to culinary school and eventually worked for a wealthy family for four years. “Then I wanted a change. I went to school for massage therapy, and now I am a massage therapist.” A change in legal status, and learning English, afforded her more opportunities and career options.

Americans work with their head, Latinos with their body. The topic of hard work or manual work, both in terms of the type of work done and the length of time ran through many participants’ narratives. Naira noted that Brazilians work with their body, that is, with their hands in manual labor and service sector jobs. Naira, Josely, Sofia, Rosana, Eva, Rosaleini, Leilani, Mariah, and Kaila had gone into housecleaning or restaurant work, and Edwin, Nelson, João, Tiago, Neto, Leonardo, Marcos, and Breno engaged in construction or restaurant work initially. Although some were still doing these jobs, others had done many different types of service occupation jobs, and a few, due to their legal status and ability to speak English, went to school and entered other occupations. Neto, who is in his fifties, described Brazilians’ experiences of work:

We don’t have day or hour [meaning a fixed 9 to 5 job]. We need to—we *have* to work. So, many of us, not my case, but we have many who leave their home at six in the morning and don’t return till eleven at night. Maybe in the same job, maybe in two or three [jobs].

The lack of ability to speak English and legal status was found to limit Brazilians’ initial work experiences. As Neto described:

We are those who speak broken English, don’t have documents. This isn’t a colony, we’re talking about immigrants and we work with our hands in unskilled labor. And in these jobs so heavy we don’t always earn much. So, we have to have two or three similar types of jobs in order to compensate.

Naira commented on manual labor by migrants: “The American works with his head. Latinos work with their body.”

Neto had various work experiences since arriving in the United States: “First, I worked at McDonald’s in the Danbury Fair Mall. I was making minimum wage. I also worked for Mr. Silva. He owned more than 500 properties. I worked on a crew. We did repairs, painting.”

Neto said that his wife lost her job because she was pregnant and he needed more money:

I had a choice, McDonald’s or Mr. Silva. Because Mr. Silva paid a little more, I chose to stay working for him. And after that, he had to lay three people off. I was one of the three. Now, I was without McDonald’s and without my maintenance job, and my wife was pregnant. It was a very difficult time in our lives. We had help from the Salvation Army and an Episcopal Church in Danbury. I eventually got my job back at McDonald’s but only part time, because they had filled my full time job. We didn’t have medical insurance and we had to finance the bill for the birth of our daughter. It was around five or six thousand dollars to have a child.

Neto also worked for a time cleaning cars for a car dealership, opened a small business that translated documents for Brazilian clients, worked for the Brazilian consulate, and is now a Pastor of a small evangelical church. He and his wife have a cleaning company.

Tiago is a subcontractor for a company that builds stairs. “I get up early and travel to Greenwich, Ridgefield, Darien and other towns in that area. I begin around 6 am and work until 7 or 8 pm. I work six days a week. I do carpentry, I install stairs in rich people’s homes.” Tiago said it is hard work, but it pays very well and he enjoys the work.

Nelson is a manager of a fast food restaurant that sells coffee and donuts:

When I came here I just planned on staying six months and returning. I worked two jobs to pay for everything. I worked at two Dunkin’ Donuts. When I came I worked in Waterbury in the morning, and worked in Wallingford in the afternoon. I worked 80 hours a week. I became an assistant manager here. We start at 5 am. I supervise six to eight people per shift and it is very hectic in the morning. I work 55 hours a week. I have worked here 15 years now.

Nelson added, “We used to hire everyone, but now we can’t hire anyone if they don’t have a Social Security number.” Edwin is a general manager for the same franchise in a different store. He has been working at this restaurant for 16 years: “I began here when I came to the United

States. The boss signed papers so I could get a worker's visa and I stayed." Edwin is now a general manager and supervises several stores: "I began as a worker, then supervisor and now I am a general manager. It's busy, with several stores to oversee but pays well."

Josely, a housecleaner, has been in the United States 12 years. "I start at 7 am and work till 6 or 7, it depends. I clean three houses a day." I asked how much she charges for each house: "Depends on the house. I have houses that are \$70, I have houses that are \$200. I work Monday through Friday, but not Saturday or Sunday. I have my three children and husband."

Josely's objective working was not primarily monetary:

I'm not going to be rich. It's like this, many immigrants come here and kill themselves working and stop living. I live as if I was in Brazil. I spend time with my kids and we travel. So, I am not going to earn a lot of money because the cost of living is so high in the United States. You don't make enough. Like I said many people work here to build something in Brazil...it doesn't work. I don't have anything in Brazil. My husband has an inheritance, some land there, but we didn't buy anything in Brazil.

Josely has made the transition from sojourner to settler. Her life is firmly rooted here, like many other participants for this study. Her work is not seen as drudgery, but something she enjoys. It allows her to enjoy time with her family and travel.

Many of the participants were proud of their hard work in service occupation jobs and rationalized it as the means by which they could provide for their family and have a better life in the United States. Some also noted how their work was valued in the United States and that they felt valued by their American employers. Several of the women who were engaged in housecleaning said they were treated well by the homeowners who employed them. Josely noted that her long-term employers "treat me like part of the family." Renata is a massage therapist: "I worked as a nanny when I came here. Later, I went to school for massage therapy and cosmetology. I work for a salon full time. I also do facials and have private clients I see at my house." Eva is also a massage therapist: "I work full time at a salon. I enjoy working with

people.” Both Eva and Renata had secured legal residence and learned English which assisted in expanding their career options. Keila is a bartender and attends college: “I work at the Portuguese club. It was under the table because I didn’t have a Social Security card. Then I applied for the Dream Act and got a Social Security number. They put me on the books now.” Mariah recently finished hair dressing school: “I work at a salon cutting hair. I have mostly American clients.” Leilani works at a factory: “I work 40 hours a week at a factory. I work on a machine. We make parts.” Leilani said she worked as a cook in a restaurant prior. Leonardo, her husband is retired but had worked until recently: “I worked at the Portuguese Club, cleaning, and delivering pizza. It was enough to buy a house. That wouldn’t have happened in Brazil.”

Several participants discussed Americans’ perceptions of immigrants. Many noted that Americans think immigrants are taking their jobs a common myth perpetrated by politicians and the media (Chomsky, 2007). Naira gave an often heard comment by respondents. “Well, these type of jobs immigrants don’t take from Americans. Someone has to do them.” Kaila described how immigrants often do the work no one else wants to do:

We [immigrants] do the work that no one wants to do. My mother cleans houses also and my father worked at everything...He worked at Dunkin’ Donuts, as a carpenter, but now he is working as an electrician’s assistant.

Josely supplied a thoughtful reflection on immigrants taking Americans jobs. “I think there are a lot of people here who are against immigrants. They think we are stealing their jobs. But were are not stealing their jobs, its work they don’t do.” Edwin, Neto, Keila, João, and Sofia commented that they are doing low-paying manual jobs that most Americans do not want to do, so they are not competing with Americans for these jobs. João gave a similar response: “Sometimes I hear people say immigrants are taking Americans jobs. We are doing hard jobs, with low pay. I worked with other Brazilians and Latinos in construction. I didn’t see any

Americans asking for these low paying jobs.” Neto’s response echoed the statements by other respondents: “I have heard Americans say we are taking their jobs. But I work in housecleaning. Immigrants are doing the jobs that most Americans don’t want to do.” Mariah did not feel their work was valued by members of the dominant culture:

I feel like immigrants are underappreciated. I understand, like, this is your country and like there’s a lot of immigrants here, but a lot of...like the jobs...the jobs that Americans don’t want...its immigrants that do them, and if immigrant’s weren’t here, who would do them? So I feel like we are unappreciated in this sense.

Some participants who engaged in housecleaning felt their clients valued their work, but some also expressed that U.S. citizens did not value immigrants working in these jobs. They perceived that non-immigrants felt immigrants were taking U.S. citizens’ jobs.

Downward mobility. A part of Brazilian immigrants’ lived experience in Connecticut was a process of downward mobility since migrating to the United States (Margolis, 2009; Maia, 2012). Many Brazilians who migrated were from the middle class in Brazil. They adapted to this downward mobility in several ways, for example, by noting they could not live in the same manner in Brazil, and that their lower status occupations afforded them a better lifestyle than they could have in Brazil. As noted above, a number of participants felt that their work even in lower status occupations was “valued” in the United States—unlike in Brazil. Naira stated, “In Brazil I would be looked down on if I said I was a housecleaner. Here, people don’t do that. I feel that my families value my work. It’s different here.” Neto said, “In Brazil, housecleaning has a stigma that comes with it. Men don’t do housecleaning. But here, the clients I work for value my work.”

I observed that participants felt that all work is valued in America, and class distinctions related to occupation, are not as strong as they are in Brazil. Several participants, like Neto, Rosana, Sofia and Naira, described how their work enabled them to have a better life for

themselves and their children. Edwin said, “I wouldn’t be able to buy a house and live the life in Brazil I do. I came here because there is more opportunity.” Nelson bought a house and lives with his wife and two children. Nelson commented, “I was able to buy a house. I make good money here. I couldn’t do this in Brazil. Not working in restaurants.” Leonardo similarly expressed, “I love America. If you work you can get ahead. I cleaned houses and had a second job as a bartender. I bought a house. I couldn’t buy a house and live in Brazil doing this work.” The work they did, in fact, changed how they viewed the work, and what it meant for them and how they were perceived as workers.

As my interviews unfolded, I found many of the participants had resorted to working in service occupations. Naira was a school teacher in Brazil and now cleans houses in the United States; Lucianna had her own dental practice, but now works as a dental assistant; Eva, who worked for a large firm in human resources in Brazil, was a waitress before becoming a massage therapist; Neto had his own barber shop in Brazil, but is now engaged in house cleaning and is Pastor of small evangelical church. For many this was not only a change in occupation but also in status. Josely is a house cleaner and in Brazil she worked as a secretary for the Ford Motor Company, while studying accounting at night. Rosaleine is working in the food service industry in catering. In Brazil she was a university student studying hotel management.

Lucianna’s story illustrates how some participants experienced downward mobility and adapted to it. Lucianna is currently working as a dental assistant. She was a dentist in Brazil with her own practice, but came to the United States for better opportunities. Because she is on a tourist visa, she has to leave the country every six months. Lucianna leaves every six months and then returns and continues working, although she does not have a work visa. She has been working in the United States for almost four years. Lucianna wants to attend dental school as her

dental degree is not recognized in the United States. She cannot practice dentistry unless she attends a U.S. university for dentistry. She finds it hard being a dental assistant (with low pay and no benefits), particularly when contrasting this experience with her own practice in Brazil.

I feel a little frustrated...feel...because really I can do more. I don't do it because of a paper because of the law...this I keep to myself and it is not what I am. I am simply not authorized [to work].

Lucianna described how difficult it was working outside her area of expertise. She spent the last three years trying to obtain a residency in a dental practice but was unable to take the board examination to become a dentist due to her legal status. Lucianna ultimately could not become a licensed dentist in the United States.

Since Lucianna does not have a social security number, her employers contracted her through the use of a tax identification number or tax ID. They are aware she is on a tourist visa. Many immigrants who are not documented or do not have a work visa use a tax ID number in lieu of a Social Security number. Contrary to popular opinion, they also pay taxes. In addition to employers, banks in Connecticut also accept the use of a tax ID for those who do not have a Social Security number. According the Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (2016), undocumented immigrants paid \$11.6 billion in local and state taxes in 2015. Naira, Rosana, Tiago, Kesia, and Keila, Josely, and Lucianna said they paid taxes through a tax identification number. Those participants who owned houses, like Tiago, Leonardo, Edwin, Nelson, Neto, and João, paid yearly taxes on their homes, and all participants were paying Connecticut sales taxes.

According to the American Immigration Council (2013) undocumented immigrants in Connecticut alone paid \$14.2 million in personal taxes, \$31 million in property taxes, and \$75 million in sales taxes adding up to \$130.2 million for just one year. “Regardless of the contentious nature of immigration reform, the data show undocumented greatly contribute to our

nation's economy, not just in labor but in tax dollars" (ITEP, 2016). Yet in spite of these astronomical sums, undocumented immigrants are ineligible for Social Security, unemployment compensation, or any retirement benefits.

Several participants for this study complained that they pay into a system they cannot benefit from and yet, ironically, U.S. citizens complain that they do *not* pay taxes. Neto commented, "Many jobs in this country in which immigrants work they have Social Security, state, and federal taxes taken out of their pay. Where does this money go? They don't get it back. It has to go somewhere, but where?" Neto said although some immigrants pay taxes through the use of a tax ID, there are many more who don't file income taxes and do not benefit at all from paying into the system. Mariah noted:

They don't get Social Security, they don't get unemployment or retirement...and they still pay taxes and all that. So it's like, you pay, you make money for the country and all that, but you don't get any of the benefits that Americans do when they do the same thing as you.

Keila said:

We do the work no one wants to do. The government takes our money and we don't receive anything in return. There are people who do not understand this. They think we come here, take the money from the state, and don't pay taxes. They think we don't pay taxes and live good, but I pay taxes though a tax ID.

Social class and social class distinctions are still strong in Brazil (Braga Martes, 2011; Joseph, 2015). A number of participants stressed that they would never work in these occupations in Brazil due to the low pay and social stigma attached to them. Part of Brazilians' lived experience in the United States was adapting to this change in occupation and status. Most rationalized this downward mobility in terms of the money they made and the comfortable life it afforded them—they often made more than they could working in higher status jobs in Brazil (Maia, 2012; Margolis, 2009; Tremura, 2011). A recent study by Maia (2012) examined

Brazilian women originally from the middle-class in Brazil who worked as erotic dancers in New York City. This work allowed them to earn more and live a better lifestyle in the United States, but often they did not tell their families in Brazil what they were doing since it was “below” their social class. Some of these women were well-educated and it was not just economic gain that brought them to the United States, but the ability to achieve personal dreams as well (Maia, 2012).

Changing Gender Roles

Brazil is still a patriarchal society (DeBiaggi, 2002; Maia, 2012; Tremura, 2011). It was not until the constitution of 1988 that women acquired equal rights and legal protection that men enjoyed since a military coup d'état proclaimed Brazil a republic in 1889 (DeBiaggi, 2002). In spite of the passage of a more gender-progressive constitution in 1988, “societal norms still dictate the traditional domination of women by men” in Brazil (Tremura, 2011, p. 133). Immigration to the United States has altered these traditional gender roles to some extent (DeBiaggi, 2002; McDonnell & DelLourenco, 2008). It has changed women’s attitudes, as was evident in some of the interviews in which participants expressed that men and women compete on equal terms in the United States. This perception is held in spite of the fact many Brazilian women in the United States are still working in “traditionally” female gendered occupations such as housecleaning and nannies (Tremura, 2011).

Women interviewed for the study stated that despite working these traditionally gendered occupations in the United States, this work enabled them to earn what they considered a “decent” living, and even acquire property, which would have been nearly impossible in Brazil (Braga Martes, 2011). Several women in this study noted that immigration had also altered their relationships with their spouses in terms of “traditionally” female responsibilities, such as taking

care of the home and childcare, and contributed to a more egalitarian relationship in the United States. Kesia noted, “I think my husband has changed in some ways. He helps with the kids and the house, something men don’t often do in Brazil.” Leilani also observed, “Yes, Leonardo helps cook and with the house. In Brazil I would be expected to do this.” Eva said, “In Brazil, on Sundays the wife has to stay home and cook and entertain family. It is expected. I like the freedom I have here. This is not expected of me. I think women have more freedoms here.”

Several single women participants noted that they enjoyed their independence in the United States. Naira, Lucianna, and several others stressed they now had their *own* money and valued the *independence* and *freedom* that it brought—and they stated they would not have this status if they lived in Brazil. Naira said, “I have my own money here. I like that. I like the freedom I have.” Renata asserted, “I like the freedom and independence I have here. I work and I earn my own money. I think there are more opportunities for women in the United States.” This phenomenon contradicts the traditional Brazilian patriarchal notion of women’s dependency on men (DeBiaggi, 2002 Tremura, 2011). In addition, several participants married Americans (Renata, Eva) and felt that these men were more egalitarian in regards to sharing housework and childcare than Brazilian men (DeBiaggi, 2002). As Renata noted, “I like being married to an American. He helps with the kids, the house, and cooks. This is rare in Brazil for a man.” Eva also commented, “I prefer American men. My husband gives me my space and independence. He also cooks and helps with the house, something my ex never did.” Eva informed me her ex-husband was Brazilian.

A gendered perspective on housecleaning. Housecleaning in Brazil is still considered “a woman’s occupation.” In spite of that cultural connotation, the majority of Brazilian men in this study had engaged in housecleaning in the United States and some participants, like Neto

and João, were currently engaged in the cleaning business. Both provided a male perspective on this work. João, who has lived and worked in the United States for 18 years, reached the conclusion that cleaning (housecleaning or offices) was the best option for male immigrants because it provided year-round work, unlike construction, which slowed down or stopped in winter:

Truly, the conclusion I reached is that here the best paying [work] for an immigrant is cleaning. Because it's 365 days...you have work all the time. And in construction, no... It's limited. You work less during the winter and really have less [work]...it's eight months of work [construction] compared to 12 months of work [cleaning].

Neto has been in the United States 26 years. In addition to being a pastor, he and his wife are self-employed. Neto related, "My wife and I have a cleaning service. My wife and I work for the company. We don't have employees." Neto said, in spite of negative connotations associated with housecleaning in Brazil (even more for a man), he felt comfortable with this type of work. It enabled him and his wife to provide a good college education for their daughter. In fact, Neto was proud of the work he did.

Level of English Proficiency

The ability to learn and acquire proficiency in English affected participants' choice of work and their interactions with the dominant culture. Goza (1994) compared Brazilian immigrants in the United States and Canada and found that those in Canada attended school to learn English at higher rates than in the United States. By contrast, Brazilians in the U.S. sample had lower levels of fluency in English. He attributed this discrepancy to whether or not a Brazilian aimed to remain in the host country, or return to Brazil. Those who were sojourners and planned to return to Brazil, emphasized learning English less than those who intended to settle permanently in Canada.

Naira, Rosana and Josely, who are housecleaners, knew very little English. Participants

stated they could communicate with their U.S. citizen customers (usually women) but outside of that, it was difficult. When asked about her level of English proficiency, Naira, who has been in the United States for 10 years, said, “It’s enough to communicate for work, but for other things I don’t know enough words. For work it’s normal, but when I have to resolve other things it’s really basic.”

Naira said she is able to communicate with clients who employ her, but otherwise it was very difficult for her to communicate in English. Marcos is an undocumented Brazilian immigrant who has been in the United States for 19 years. He lamented, “I never have mastered the language [English]. I never went to school here or took English back in Brazil. I’ve never had the opportunity to go to school here because I began working right away to survive.” Other participants gained proficiency in English by studying in Brazil and taking additional English classes in the United States, or they came to the United States as a child with their parents, and learned English. Several participants were fluent in English including, Lucianna, Renata, Eva, and Rosileini, who mastered English.

A Driver’s License: The Golden Document

A topic related to work and the ability to work was obtaining a driver’s license. The mass transit system in Connecticut is poorly developed which negatively affects work choices of immigrants who do not have access to a vehicle or a driver’s license. Since housecleaning and construction require travelling to different locations having a driver’s license is crucial. In addition, without a driver’s license following 9/11, one could not open a bank account or store account among other things.

Nearly all participants discussed having (or obtaining) a driver’s license. For many born in the United States, driver’s licenses are taken for granted. For participants, the driver’s license

was a small, colorful plastic card with letters and numbers that was worth a million dollars. It allows them to work, drive legally, and is regarded as a ticket on the path to freedom (Margolis, 2009). Obtaining a license was a dominant concern of many participants and some went to great lengths to do so. Some traveled to Florida, North Carolina, Maryland or other states that did not require a Social Security number to secure a driver's license.

Many participants shared their struggles to get a license, and once they did, guarded it as the most priceless possession they had in the United States. Nelson and Tiago paid a Portuguese-owned driving school in Naugatuck \$1,200 to obtain a driver's license from Florida. For this fee, the driving school flew them to Florida, drove them to take the test, and then flew them back to Connecticut. But Florida changed its laws, and undocumented immigrants found other states to secure a license. Tiago for example said, "After my Florida license expired I travelled to North Carolina to get a license, where you didn't need a social security card to get a driver's license."

Sofia described how expensive her car insurance was because she only had an international driver's license: "It was very difficult. I paid almost \$900 dollars a month for car insurance because I only had an international driver's license. What an absurd thing!" Josely, who has been in the United States for 12 years, noted, "I only have an international driver's license." But these were not recognized documents by many local law enforcement agencies, banks, or stores. Many participants explained it was nearly impossible to work in Connecticut without a driver's license, nor could they open a bank account or get store credit without one. It was nearly impossible to work—unless one was willing to take the risk of driving illegally—which some participants like Naira, Rosana, and others did for many years until Connecticut issued driver's licenses to undocumented immigrants in 2015. When Keila was recently

approved under DACA the first thing she did was apply for a driver's license. "I was finally able to get driver's license, and a social security number."

In 2015, Connecticut was one of the first states to implement legislation to allow undocumented immigrants to obtain a license. Rosana, an undocumented cleaner, has been in the United States for 20 years. She drove for 19 years without a license, but now has a driver's permit. Tiago and Kesia are undocumented and have been in the United States for 16 years. Kesia said she drove for 16 years without a driver's license and was always nervous.

Connecticut's decision to approve licenses to undocumented immigrants made participants in this study feel more at ease. As Kesia noted, "I drove, but always with fear." Nelson stated, "I had a lot of fear. A lot. My Florida license had expired."

Connecticut's progressive decision to allow undocumented immigrants, and those on work visas, to obtain a driver license is the first step of de facto recognition for many migrants. Participants are living and working in the United States, and many drive to work each day. I observed the positive effect it had upon Brazilian recipients, some of whom, like Rosana had lived in the United States for nearly two decades without one.

Only one participant, Marcos a 58-year-old undocumented Brazilian man who has been in the United States for nearly 20 years, said that Connecticut had not gone far enough when it allowed undocumented residents to secure a driver's license. He noted that the license is *only* for driving, and does not authorize individuals to work, travel, or open a bank account. Marcos felt Connecticut should have authorized work and travel. Undocumented immigrants still run the risk of being apprehended at work and cannot travel in spite of having an official state document for identification. Marcos commented, "It's progressive in a sense, but it allows only permits me to drive. I have family I have not seen in 19 years and it does not authorize me to work, and I

drive for a living.”

Work After 9/11 and the Financial Crisis of 2008

Two other topics that emerged were economic and historic events that immigrants discussed which impacted their work experience: the terrorist attacks of 9/11 (and its aftermath) and the financial crisis of 2008 (some have called it the Global Financial Crisis) that began with the subprime mortgage housing bubble crash in 2007-2008. These two events impacted immigrants’ ability to work and what types of jobs they could obtain. Immigrants are subject to the vicissitudes of a capitalist market economy just like U.S. workers, but often they do not have a safety net to rely on when out of work or ill (Bacon, 2008; Chomsky, 2007, 2014). Many participants spoke about how obtaining work and the work environment itself changed after 9/11. Marcos, an undocumented Brazilian immigrant stated, “Before 9/11 Americans only asked if you were available to work; after 9/11 they began to ask if you had a Social Security card.” João commented, “Before 9/11 it was easier for me to get a job. Employers did not ask me for a Social Security card. After 9/11 it is the first thing I am being asked for. And I don’t have one.”

All participants who came to the United States prior to 9/11 reflected on how it was easy to find work and how few questions potential employers asked. They reflected on this time as an economically prosperous period for them. But after 9/11 there was a change in both the economy, in part due to a drop in consumer spending, and U.S. attitudes toward hiring immigrants. In the wake of 9/11, tighter restrictions set by federal, state, and local authorities towards immigrants and policies like E-Verify in some states made it more difficult for immigrants to find a job (López, & Lacoste, 2014). Neto was working at a car dealership at the time of 9/11. For several months afterward, no one was buying cars and he lost his job cleaning and providing general maintenance of the cars.

Breno complained of being exploited by an employer. He came to the United States just after 9/11 and began work in cleaning. His tourist visa had expired:

In the beginning I worked in cleaning. The boss was an American and knew I was illegal. So when I left the job one, two weeks later, he didn't pay me. He knew, how would you say, in this sense abused [took advantage] because of my immigration status. He knew I didn't have my papers. So, I was 17 years' old.

The economic crisis that began in 2008 was another event that adversely impacted participants and their friends and family. Many men who worked in home construction lost their employment. All participants knew many other Brazilians who returned to Brazil at this time. The exact number who returned is unknown, but it was significant based on the number of Brazilian businesses that closed in Danbury and other cities. Neto, a pastor of a local church, said he saw the direct negative impact of the economic crisis on his church, noting that its membership dwindled. Prior to 2008, the church had 200 people and was growing. Neto's parishioners had purchased and refurbished an old bar into a church, and were doing well financially. After the crisis of 2008, many Brazilians returned to Brazil:

N. Look, now our group must be around 50 people counting the children.

W. So, it dwindled as a result of people returning to Brazil due to the economic crisis?

N. Very much. Before we had 200 members. Look, after the economic crisis in 2008 people returned to Brazil. We are an immigrant church based a lot on the value of the dollar compared with the money of our country. And the dollar reached a point almost one for one.

Neto suggested that many Brazilians returned to Brazil after the value of the dollar dropped. The economy in Brazil was improving significantly. At one time one the U.S. dollar equaled four *reais*. The high value of the dollar afforded Brazilians the opportunity to do well financially, purchase property in Brazil, and send money back to Brazil. After 2008 the dollar and the *real* were equal. As Neto suggested:

N. But hey...they [Brazilian immigrants] began to think like this: “Gosh, I’m going to stay in this country without documents, without a drivers license, the police stopping me in the street? Far away from relatives to live to a life to earn here what I could earn there [in Brazil]? Well, I’m leaving.” But they forgot this was a phase in America. America never went through a recession like we went through in Brazil [referring to the conomic crises in Brazil of the 1980s and 1990s].

W. I read this in a book about Brazil.

N. Our recession was critical.

W. Inflation 400 percent. This is something we never had here.

N. Exactly, we had to stand in line to buy chicken, we had to stand in line to buy salt..meat. There wasn’t one place where you didn’t have to stand in line for—everything. Really, I tell you, we immigrants never went through such a recession in this country.

Edwin, a manager of several Dunkin Donuts stores, discussed how the economic crisis of 2008 affected his workplace. Prior to the crisis Dunkin’ Donuts hired many undocumented immigrants:

Yeah, so illegal people is one of the policies [not hiring]. However, everybody did it before, you know, not a big deal. The need for workers was so high they would hire anybody before because they didn’t have a lot. When I get here my boss use to say: “We need your friends in Waterbury to come and work here. I will pay a little extra for the gas.” Because no one [meaning Americans] was looking for that kind of job.

According to Edwin, after the economic crisis the franchise informed the local owners they would lose their franchise if they did not dismiss undocumented workers. Edwin noted:

This was because the economy of the country was already becoming bad and Americans were looking for this type of work. So it was a good opportunity to kick everybody out who was not documented.

When asked who filled the positions when all the undocumented workers left, Edwin responded, “Americans.” He said that prior to that the majority of workers were undocumented South American, and in particular many Brazilian immigrants. According to Edwin, the owners told those immigrants who were undocumented that they had six months to secure papers or they

would have to let them go. He said everyone left, “nobody stayed.”

Transnational Social Networks

Another key theme that emerged concerned the importance of transnational social networks/contacts. Brazilian immigration to Connecticut is a transnational social network phenomenon. Contrary to popular misconceptions, many Brazilians who immigrated had money and were able to obtain housing and employment due to transnational social connections they made prior to coming to the United States. Margolis (2009) identified Brazilian immigrants in terms of their transnational ties: “Brazilians, in essence, become transnational migrants, people who sustain familial, cultural, and economic ties that ignore international borders and span the home and the host societies” (p. 107). It is through these transnational connections that Naira and other Brazilian migrants, are initially able to migrate, obtain housing, and work (Margolis, 2009). Through these networks they are able to build social capital (Bankson III, 2014). Many participants arrived with some money and obtained work quickly due to the transnational social networks or kinship networks they had in the United States (Bankston III, 2014; Loret de Mola, Ribeiro, & Solis-Lizama, 2012). In fact, these networks enabled Brazilians to migrate and find initial housing and work. Some authors have described Brazilian immigration as “a social network process” (Siqueira & Jansen, 2011, p. 481). All participants described relatives, friends, or acquaintances that provided them with contacts for initial housing and employment. Naira stated, “When I arrived in Boston I had a place to live and found work through contacts I made with other Brazilians while I was still in Brazil.” Edwin shared, “I came to America with my wife and brother. We had arranged a place to live through another Brazilian. And I found work right away through a Brazilian who told us a place that was hiring.”

Since Brazilians do not generally form ethnic enclaves or have strong community ties,

like other immigrant groups in the United States, these social networks are critical to understanding their initial immigration experiences with work. In fact, “many [Brazilian] immigrants [served] as support groups for migration of members of their extended social networks” (Siqueira & Jansen, p. 481). Siqueira and Jansen (2011) note that most Brazilian immigrants are young and work in manual jobs in the construction and service sectors” (p. 481). Most participants in this study came to the United States in their early twenties and entered service sector jobs and construction.

All participants had transnational social networks that allowed them to migrate to the United States. Rosaleine came at age 22 on a tourist via transnational social networks that she had established while in Brazil. She came to New York first and had a cousin that helped her:

My cousin came first. She came with her boyfriend to work for a time and return. I was at the university. I needed English because I was attending university and you have to have English. And then, through her I came and she arranged...She arranged a place to live that was an excellent house. This Brazilian woman who was married to an Italian. I rented a room there. I began to work. It was in this Brazilian place. My cousin worked there.

Eventually Rosaleine moved to Danbury, Connecticut where she found work in a Brazilian store that sold Brazilian products and sent remittances to Brazil. Afterward, she began working at a well-known supermarket in Danbury in the coffee shop. Rosaleine said she worked 10 hours a day six days a week and described it as “era tipo escravidão là” (it was a type of slavery there). Rosaleine described her work at that time, “I worked a lot, a lot and it was very hard.” When her mother and sibling came to visit and her employer denied her time off she quit. Rosaleine said she was thinking of returning to Brazil but resolved to stay.

I observed two factors that facilitated social networks for new Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut. The first I describe as “the Portuguese connection.” Brazilians and Portuguese are connected by language and history. Portuguese immigrants from Portugal had established

communities in Danbury, Waterbury, Bridgeport, Hartford and other major cities in Connecticut in the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. When the first wave of Brazilian immigrants began settling in Connecticut *en masse* in the early 1990s, they often found Portuguese landlords and employers who preferred them due to the language commonality and Brazilians' reputation of being "hard workers." For example, the owner of 17 Dunkin' Donuts stores in the Waterbury area and his brother who owns a similar number of Dunkin' Donuts in the Naugatuck area are both Portuguese. They had a preference for the Brazilian immigrants arriving in the 1990s and early 2000s. Likewise, many Brazilians in the Danbury area were hired for construction work and worked for Portuguese employers. Edwin, Neto, Joao, Leonardo, Keila, Marcos, Sofia, Tiago, Leilani, and Eva, worked for Portuguese employers and had Portuguese landlords when they first came to the United States. Tiago stated, "When I arrived in Boston I worked for a Portuguese boss and had a Portuguese landlord. I didn't know English at the time and this helped me." Neto commented, "I worked for a Portuguese boss in Danbury taking care of buildings, maintenance, painting. He owned a lot of property in Danbury. He preferred Brazilians. Probably because we speak the same language and he could pay us less than American workers." Leilani noted, "When I arrived I worked for a Portuguese man who owned a restaurant there. I was a waitress. And we had a Portuguese landlord who we rented an apartment from. We didn't speak any English."

The "first wave" of Brazilians came to Connecticut in the late 1980s and early 1990s and facilitated the "second wave" of Brazilian immigrants to the United States after 2000. For example, the city of Danbury welcomed immigrants from Brazil and even produced recruitment videos in Brazil, one of which was entitled "*America. Um Sonho da Uma Nova Vida*" ("America. A Dream of A New Life," Ferreira, R.D., 2000). This video, made prior to 9/11,

features former mayor Gene Eriquez, and others welcoming Brazilians to come to Danbury to work. The city of Danbury actively recruited and wanted Latino and Brazilians for many service sector jobs in the 1990s. Many Brazilians who migrated to Danbury came from Minas Gerais, and the connection between the city of Governador Valedares and Danbury is well established (Margolis, 1994; Levitt, 2007). Migrants fostered roots and maintained contact with Brazilians back in their home states who they “recruited” to emigrate. So many Brazilians came to Danbury that it was known as “Little Brazil.” Neto, Eva, Marcos, and Rosileini all lived in Danbury prior to moving to Waterbury, Naugatuck, and Watertown.

Social network theory proposes that these friendship, kinship, or family ties established during the migration process, pave the way for the next wave of migrants (Bankson III, 2014; Smith & Guarnizo, 2009). All participants interviewed in this study had contacts with individuals in the United States prior to migrating. Once these social networks are established they provide opportunities to group members in terms of connections for housing, employment, and services. Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, and Pellregrino (1993) described migration itself as a “self-sustaining diffusion process” (p. 462). The social networks created by immigrants facilitate transnational migration and operate outside the control of the nation-state. Often these networks incorporate immigrants in jobs similar to other members. For example, most Brazilian respondents doing housecleaning or construction were brought into these occupations by other Brazilians who were already employed in Connecticut. Joao stated, “While I was in Brazil, I had contact with several Brazilian men living in Danbury. They told me about work there. When I arrived I got a job in doing roofing and siding.” When Josely came she made contacts with other Brazilian women who started me in housecleaning. Naira related, “I began working helping a Brazilian woman. She had her own housecleaning business.”

There were several women housecleaners who “sold” their business (provided a list of clients) to other Brazilian women. Josely said she knew of a Brazilian housecleaner who “sold” her client list (because she was returning to Brazil) to another Brazilian for \$20,000. Although Naira, Josely, and Rosana are currently engaged in housecleaning, they did not “buy” their clients from another Brazilian but built up their own clientele over the years through social contacts. All three said they started housecleaning and secured their first jobs through other Brazilian women.

These type of social networks observed among Brazilian immigrants could be described as socially constructed gendered networks. Brazilian men “invited” other Brazilian men to work in construction and in restaurants where they worked; Brazilian women “recruited” other women to enter into housecleaning, restaurant work, or as a nanny. Thus, these social networks facilitated the transition of the next wave of immigrants in a gendered capacity. In essence, their incorporation into the labor market has a gendered component based on the demand for labor in service sector occupations. Although current U.S. immigration policy ultimately controls the entry of Brazilian migrants into the United States, it is the hierarchy of the labor market that determines what they will do occupationally based on race, gender, and age. And, as noted above, Brazilian immigrants usually enter the secondary labor market due to limitations of language ability, legal status, race, and/or lack of technical skills.

Locality

Locality plays an important economic and political role in migrants’ lived experience. As Mejívar (2000) highlights, “Immigrants enter an ambit shaped by the economy and the polity, the confluence of which is place-specific” (p, 89). Connecticut (and New England in general) historically has welcomed immigrants (Levitt, 2007). Danbury, Connecticut is an example of

how locales can change their stance towards immigrants. In 2006 Danbury, once a city that actively recruited Latino immigrants for work and welcomed them, began working with Immigration and Customs Enforcement. The Mayor and Police signed a Memorandum of Agreement or 287(g) agreement with Immigration and Customs Enforcement and began apprehending and detaining Latino migrants. (Langlois, 2010; Miller, 2010). Several years prior to the MOA being signed, the Police and ICE had been regularly conducting raids on business's, homes, and places where Latino migrants congregated—such as day laborers who gathered at Kennedy Park looking for work.

These raids increased the climate of fear for many Latino migrants, a number of whom had lived in Danbury for 10 years or more. As a result, many of them moved. Several of the participants for this study, including Rosaleine, Eva, and Neto, had lived in Danbury but left due to the racial profiling and apprehensions of Latinos. Neto lived in Danbury for many years. Neto said, “I came to Danbury in 1989. I found work easily. At that time there were many Brazilians moving to Danbury.” In the 1980s and 1990s the economy was good and Danbury was an immigrant-welcoming city. Opportunities for employment were a significant factor discussed by participants, along with the political climate towards immigrants. Neto commented, “It was easy to find work in Danbury. Danbury changed after 9/11. The police were stopping people. People were being deported. I moved.” He moved to Naugatuck, a smaller town near Waterbury. Rosaleini lived in Danbury prior to 9/11. Rosaleini also described the change, “Before 9/11 Danbury was a good place to work and live. After 9/11, it all changed.”

Participants in this study who lived in other cities also left Boston and New York after 9/11 when large Latino communities were targeted by ICE. Immigrants were also in search of economic opportunities. Tiago moved from Rosindale outside Boston to Naugatuck,

Connecticut. He explained, “ICE was raiding work places and homes. I decided to look for another place to live. I moved to Connecticut for work. I liked the small town feel to Naugatuck. The schools are good.” Tiago and his wife are undocumented and he felt it was safer for them to live in a small town in Connecticut than near Boston. Naira also lived in Boston and moved to Naugatuck, a small town 10 minutes south of Waterbury. She commented, “I liked the town, it has better schools, and for my daughter that was important.” Naira also felt Naugatuck would attract less attention for her as an undocumented immigrant.

Participants in the study talked amongst themselves, and watched the news, and decided which towns, cities, and communities would be more immigrant-friendly. In addition, they chose locations due to opportunities for work. Like most immigrants, Brazilians tend to go where there are jobs and opportunity (Levitt, 2007; McNeill Gibson, 2012). From Arizona’s SB 1070 to Connecticut’s decision to issue undocumented immigrants licenses in January 2015, states and even cities have differed widely in their treatment of immigrants and immigration enforcement approaches (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Androff & Tavassoli 2012). Some states and cities that once welcomed immigrants changed policies after 9/11 and actively discriminated against the outsider in their midst. These economic and political factors influenced participants’ decision to move from one locality to another in Connecticut.

Connecticut’s rural areas and smaller towns, like Southbury, Watertown, Naugatuck, and Torrington, have seen an increase in immigrants, which is changing the demographics of many towns throughout the state (Levitt, 2001, 2007; Meijas & Canny, 2007). Rosaleini stated, “I moved to Watertown. I like it’s a nice quiet town, but I am still close to everything.” Eva related, “I live in Southbury now. It is small, but the people are nice, and it is not crowded like New York where I lived.” Renata moved to Torrington, a small town 20 minutes north of

Waterbury. Tiago, Kesia, Naira, Rosana, Rosely and Neto moved to Naugatuck, a small town 10 minutes south of Waterbury.

Lack of an ethnic enclave. Another observation I made while conducting this study is the lack of ethnic enclaves among Brazilians like other Central and South America groups. Although there are numerous Brazilians living in Danbury, Hartford, Waterbury, and Bridgeport, there is no Brazilian section of these cities. Brazilians are integrated in different neighborhoods throughout the cities (and surrounding towns) in which they reside, which is consistent with other research (Braga Martes, 2011; Jouët-Pastré & Braga, 2008; Margolis, 2009; Sales, 1999). For many Brazilians, joining a church in the United States served the *function* to bring Brazilians together and allow for social networking (Braga Martes, 2001; Loret de Mola, Ribeiro, & Solis-Lizama, 2009).

For example, Leilani and her husband Leonardo frequent a Brazilian Evangelical church. Leilani said, “We don’t live near any Brazilians, but we like going to church. We meet with other Brazilians. We have contacts with other Brazilians at church.” Josely related, “My life is work, church, and family. My life is very hectic with work and three kids. I attend an Evangelical church twice a week. For people who don’t have family it is very important. It’s important because we have fellowship with other Brazilians.” Neto has been a pastor since 2001 in Danbury and currently in Naugatuck. He commented, “Church brings the [Brazilian] community together.” Mariah said she maintains contact with the Brazilian community through church: “Yeah, they’re all Brazilians. It’s a Brazilian church. So those are my Brazilian friends. The sermons, the songs, everything is in Portuguese.”

Levitt (2007) noted that for many immigrants, who may not have attended church in their country of origin, joining an ethnic church was an important part of their experience in the

United States. Brazil is one of the largest Catholic countries in the world (Braga Martes, 2001). But for many Brazilian transnational migrants, Evangelical churches in the United States have become the center for them to socialize, make contacts, and expand social networks with other Brazilians (Braga Martes, 2001, 2011; Levitt, 2007). The majority of Brazilians in this study, who had no church affiliation or minimal participation in Brazil, joined an Evangelical church and became an active member of one in the United States. This allowed them to “connect” with other Brazilians, and build human and social capital (Loret de Mola, Ribeiro, & Lizama, 2009). Tiago stated, “Our church is like a second family for us. We go to socialize and meet other Brazilians. We stay after church and have a picnic or cookout. We can be around other Brazilians, eat our food and listen to our music.” Naira noted, “In Brazil I was Catholic. When I came here I met other Brazilians who were part of an Evangelical church, and I started attending. It is nice to be around other Brazilians and have that contact.”

A second social entity that fostered participants’ sense of “Brazilian-ness,” and allowed Brazilians to interact, were Brazilian luncheonettes and stores that sold Brazilian products and allowed immigrants to send remittances (Braga Martes, 2011; Jouët-Pastré & Braga, 2008). One participant, João, operated one of these stores. In the absence of a Brazilian “section” of town, these stores and restaurants served an important social function for Brazilian immigrants, who often congregate at these locations to socialize with other Brazilians, or to collectively watch an important soccer match on television (Margolis, 2009; Martes Braga, 2011). João stated, “Brazilians in the area come sometimes for lunch or dinner. If our national team is playing a match [soccer] the place is packed. I think it gives us a sense of pride that we don’t get often. We Brazilians work a lot and don’t have a lot of time for socializing.” Additionally, the role of the owner was often an important one—as mediator and conduit for people and those looking for

work or to sell their services (Braga-Martens, 2011; Jouët-Pastré & Braga, 2008). João commented, “Brazilians hang up their business card or hand written note either looking for work or selling their work here. We don’t have a central place to go to advertise so a lot of Brazilians come here. I pass along the information to other Brazilians.” Through Joao’s many contacts with Brazilians coming to the store/luncheonette he refers one to another and serves as a conduit in the informal economy.

Not having an ethnic enclave may result in a lack of cohesiveness on the part of the Brazilians interviewed for this study. Margolis (2009) and Vazquez (2009) suggested a lack of a strong sense of solidarity among Brazilian immigrants that is found in other ethnic groups in the United States. Tremura (2011) observed that such a fragile sense of community results in “weak political ties, and weak political influence” (Tremura, 2011, p. 125). A participant, Rosaleini, made this point by noting, “When I lived in Danbury I had more contacts, but now that I moved to Watertown, I have few contacts with Brazilians.” She said she was not aware of any other Brazilians in Watertown. Eva noted, “We [Brazilians] don’t get together or have the same closeness I see in other communities, like Ecuadorians or Mexicans.” She lives in Southbury and said there is only one other Brazilian family living there and they have minimal contact. Marcos stated that Brazilians can be distrustful of one another. “I don’t think the Brazilian community has unity. We are spread out among different towns. Some take advantage of newer immigrants so I think we don’t always trust one another.” Neto also commented on the lack of social cohesion. “We immigrants work all the time and don’t have time to get together. I think because so many of us originally planned on returning to Brazil, we didn’t think to create social clubs or more permanent associations.” Neto, who is a pastor, said, “We have the church for those who attend, but for those who don’t, except for a Brazilian luncheonette or restaurant, they

might not have a lot of contact with other Brazilians.”

Remittances. Remittances play a significant role in transnational migration (Marcus, 2011). There are entire communities in Mexico, Brazil, and other Central and South American countries whose local economy is dependent upon regular remittances from the United States (Marcus, 2011; Menjívar, 2000). The national economies of some countries like El Salvador and Brazil, are significantly impacted by these remittances (Bibler-Coutin, 2007; Marcus, 2011). Brazilians sent back approximately six billion dollars in 2004, one of the peak years of Brazilian migration, which represented about one percent of the GDP of Brazil (Marcus, 2011). The Inter-American Development Bank estimated in 2008 that Brazilians sent back \$7.2 billion in remittances, which made Brazil the second largest recipient of remittances after Mexico (Lima, Garcia-Zanillo, & Orozco, 2009). Margolis (2009) found that remittances are indicative of Brazilians’ change from sojourner to settler “as well as a major incentive for transnational migration” (p. 108).

Most of the participants interviewed for this study initially sent remittances back to Brazil. For some it was to purchase apartments for their future return; for others it was to support a family member. But once Brazilians made the decision to remain in the United States, remittances dropped off or ceased entirely and few of the participants interviewed were still sending remittances. Tiago stated, “When I first came, I sent remittances. I purchased apartments in Brazil because I thought I would retire in Brazil. But now I have three children and their lives are here. I plan on staying.” Neto said he also used to send remittances. “I had bought a beach front house. But I sold it. I have my daughter born here and we plan on staying.” The other participants said they had stopped sending remittances to Brazil, but had sent them in the past. All participants had initially send remittances, and this is consistent with

their initial plans to buy property or return. Once participants had made the decision to stay, remittances waned or stopped completely.

Summary

Brazilians' experiences with work in the United States are a central part of their "lived experience." But, those work experiences are molded by historical and political events shaping the national debate on immigration. Brazil, once a country that received immigrants, has now become one of the sending countries of immigrants due to high inflation, unemployment, and lack of opportunity. Brazilians are economic migrants coming to the United States in search of a better life. I have coined the term *voluntary exiles* for the undocumented Brazilian participants, due to their inability to visit or return to Brazil. This chapter discussed three themes: Initial immigration (and subsequent) experiences; work; and transnational social networks. Topics that emerged related to Brazilian immigration are working in service occupation jobs, downward mobility, changing gender roles, *saudades*, level of English proficiency, locality, lack of an ethnic enclave, and remittances. A number of participants discussed the Economic Crisis of 2008 and how it negatively impacted the work environment, their ability to obtain work, and the dire necessity of having a driver's license (and the lengths participants went to obtain one). Brazilians, once considered temporary migrants, have gone from *sojourner* to *settler*—all but one participant plans to stay in the United States.

CHAPTER 5: CRIMMIGRATION: DEPORTATION, DEPORTABILITY AND RACE

Dehumanization, although a concrete historical fact, is not a given destiny but the result of an unjust order that engenders violence in the oppressors, which in turn dehumanizes the oppressed—Paulo Freire, Pedagogy of the Oppressed, 1973, p. 44

Lucianna was returning from a vacation to Costa Rica when Immigration and Custom Enforcement (ICE) officials at John F. Kennedy Airport in New York City stopped her. She had been in the United States for three years on a tourist visa, leaving the country every six months and returning. She had never overstayed the period allotted for her five-year tourist visa. But this trip was different:

I was terrified. The immigration officer questioned why I left every six months and then came back to the United States. I tried to explain it was because my visa only allows a six month stay each visit and I didn't want to over stay the time allotted. The officer accused me of living in the United States and working. The officer told me I would have to leave the country within six months and if I didn't they [ICE] would apprehend me, bring me to court, and begin deportation proceedings against me. I was devastated. I had not committed any crime. I was not a terrorist. I was in the United States legally and had never overstayed my visa. I paid taxes through a tax ID. I had no choice. I resolved to leave and moved to Costa Rica.

Lucianna's encounter with ICE resembles many Latin American immigrants' experience of being questioned by immigration officials upon entry into the United States to determine their legal status (Golash-Boza, 2012b; Sampaio, 2015; Zayas, 2015). Returning to the United States from Central or South America, immigrants are often questioned at U.S. airports or the U.S.-Mexican Border. Being interrogated by local law enforcement or by ICE officials has become part of the modus operandi of crimmigration to search for and discover the *other* living in the United States.

Determining an immigrants' legal status has been part of the controversy that surrounds crimmigration. The increase in identifying the other in our midst has also led to massive apprehensions and deportations of immigrants (See Appendix I). As immigration enforcement

has intensified, several main points of contact with immigration officers can determine an immigrant's ultimate fate regarding deportation. These include being pulled over by local law enforcement during a traffic stop, being detained at the airport, or being apprehended during an employment site or residential raid (Sampaio, 2015). Although Mexicans remain the largest group being deported in terms of sheer numbers, Brazilians are among the top ten groups being deported by ICE (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015b; see Appendix J).

The U.S. government, in cooperation with local law enforcement, is engaging in the most aggressive period of deportations of its immigrant population in U.S. history: “previously, the most extensive campaign in US history conducted between 1929 and 1939 forcibly removed approximately four hundred thousand US citizens and non-citizen Mexicans from the United States over a nine-year period” (Dreby, 2015, p. 22). Those figures pale in comparison to the recent removal of immigrants: “Since 2009...approximately four hundred thousand have been deported every year. This represents more than double the 189,000 who were deported in 2001” (Dreby, 2015, p. 22).

The participants in this study have experienced immigration in light of this heightened focus on those who lack legal permission to live and work in the United States. Most participants discussed similar topics related to the macro forces that affect them: initial migration experiences (see chapter 4); experiences related to the criminalization of immigration laws (and enforcement) since 9/11, such as deportation and deportability; being stopped by local authorities; Brazilians' perceptions of crimmigration and how U.S. citizens' attitudes have changed since 9/11; and discrimination linked to Brazilians' self-identification.

The Power to Question Who is Legal and Who is Not

The first encounter many immigrants in the United States have with immigration officials

is with local law enforcement. Zayas (2015) notes, “Most apprehensions begin with a routine practice of law enforcement: a traffic stop. The majority of these are a result of minor driving offenses such as a broken taillight or making a lane change without signaling” (p. 103). During these encounters immigrants are asked to show identification. For many who are unable to produce a license, this could result in getting a ticket or being arrested depending on the locale. By 2014, 11 states had issued driver’s licenses to undocumented immigrants, greatly reducing the number of immigrant arrests from traffic stops (Zayas, 2015).

The rigor of enforcement often depends on the local municipalities’ policies towards immigrants. “As of 2014, there were 37 law enforcement agencies in 18 states that had signed 287(g) Agreements” (Zayas, 2015, p. 103). A 287(g) is an agreement between the federal government and local police departments authorizing police officers to engage in immigration enforcement, which is the jurisdiction of the federal government. Zayas (2015) notes these agreements have been in place since 1996 but were “not aggressively implemented until 2009 when the Obama administration embraced the agreements to increase local enforcement and arrests, which raised concerns about racial profiling” (pp. 103-104). President Obama’s *Safe Communities* initiative mandated local law enforcement agencies to contact ICE (who ran names through their databases) and detain those determined to be held by ICE (Dreby, 2015; Golash Boza, 2012b). Detainees could be held up to 48 hours and many were not allowed to contact family and were sent to one of the 350 detention centers throughout the United States before being deported (Golash-Boza, 2012a).

Even within the same state immigration enforcement is often handled differently (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Leal & Limón, 2013). The mayor and Police in Danbury, Connecticut signed a Memorandum of understanding with ICE in 2009, although they actively

detained and stopped migrants beginning in 2006. In contrast, in 2007 New Haven was the first U.S. city to issue identification cards for undocumented immigrants. Like the War on Drugs, local law enforcement officials have tremendous discretion and power to implement immigration policy.

The decision to detain or call ICE is at the discretion of local law enforcement and is perceived as arbitrary or racial profiling by human rights groups (Dreby, 2015). The police have been shown to racially profile those they stop (Dreby 2015; Sampiao, 2015). In 2014, two East Haven, Connecticut police officers were convicted of civil rights violations for racial profiling of Latino residents and business owners (Lips, 2014). Several participants for this study described their experiences of being stopped by local police. Tiago has been in the United States for 16 years. He has driven with licenses from other states (until they expired) and drove without a license for many years before Connecticut issued driver's licenses in 2015. He described one harrowing encounter with a local law enforcement officer in Greenwich, Connecticut several years ago. As a carpenter and a subcontractor, Tiago drives to different cities each month to install stairs in private homes. One day while driving to a job he was pulled over by the police. According to Tiago, he had not anything to provoke a stop, such as going through a stop sign or red light. The officer asked Tiago for his driver's license and Tiago gave the officer a photocopy of an expired license from North Carolina. The officer pressed him regarding this. Tiago told him, "I don't have one, no. I am illegal in the country." Tiago said the officer responded:

"I understand your situation. I will check your information, your name and if I don't find anything I will let you go home. Is that okay with you?" I said, "That is great for me," because I knew I hadn't done anything wrong.

Although he was afraid, Tiago knew he had never committed a crime while in the United States. The officer could not find any data on him and told Tiago:

“I’m not finding information on you.” I told him I was going to work. He even gave me directions to get there. The person he called [ICE] said, “They are going to continue checking and if he finds something, I know where you are working and I’ll pick you up.” I went to work but he never came there. He never found nothing wrong (laughs).

Naira, a housecleaner who drives to various Connecticut cities each day to work, related a similar experience with the Waterbury police: “I was stopped by the police because I practically stopped, I passed a stop sign aggressively. When I was stopped one time they towed my car.” I asked Naira what happened next and what document did she show the police officer:

N. My [Brazilian] passport.

W. What did the police say?

N. He asked, “Do you have a driver’s license?” I said, no.

W. No?

N. No...Better than showing a false one, right?

W. Yes.

N. I said I didn’t have a driver’s license [and he said] “Why?”

W. Why?

N. The officer said, “No. Why don’t you have one?” I said “because.”

W. You told him the truth?

N. I told him the truth. I said to him “I am illegal. I don’t have a license.”

W. What did he say?

N. “You were...went through the stop sign.” He gave me a fine because I didn’t have a license.

W. He gave a fine?

N. He gave a fine and towed my car.

W. Tow truck...

N. Uh huh. Took [my car] but the tow truck brought me/left me at home.

W. Left [you]?

N. Brought me [home]. It was good for this. He left me at home. And then they gave me a fine of \$600.

W. Six hundred dollars. Wow.

N. Very expensive.

Naira was not sure if the officer had called ICE to check her name, but she considered herself lucky that she was only given a fine. Indeed, had the police called ICE and detained either Naira or Tiago, it could have had a disastrous impact on them and their families. Tiago is the sole supporter of his undocumented wife, who does not work, and their three citizen children. Naira has an eight-year-old daughter (a citizen child born in the United States) who would have been left without a parent given that Naira has no family in Connecticut.

The discretion of the officer who stops an immigrant about whether or not to call ICE has been a matter of concern for immigrant rights advocates (Friedmann-Marquadt, Steigenga, Williams, and Vasquez, 2011). If the local police contacts ICE and asks for a detainer, the immigrant is held until an ICE representative comes to interview and detain the person being held. In 2010, the ACLU filed a lawsuit in Cobb County, Georgia. The ACLU alleged the police were using racial profiling during traffic stops to target the Latino community: “of the 3,180 inmates the country jail processed for ICE detention in 2008, almost 69 per cent were arrested for traffic violations, belying the avowed focus on removing criminals from local communities” (Friedmann-Marquadt et al., 2011, p. 11). This trend increased with ICE’s *Secure Communities* initiative 2008-2014 and continues today with the subsequent *Priority Enforcement* directive.

Kesia, an undocumented housewife, said she never had a driver’s license until January

2015. She also had a traffic encounter with the police. They were checking cars off an exit near a Portuguese supermarket in Waterbury that was frequented by Brazilians and other immigrants. Kesia was pulled over and the police officer asked her if she had a license. She informed the officer she did not. She had all three of her children in the car and two of them did not have seat belts on. The police allowed her to call her husband who came to pick them up. But the police took the car and gave her a large fine. Kesia was let go, but the officer knew she was undocumented. If the officer had called ICE or detained her, Kesia's children could have ended up in Child Protective Services, given that Kesia does not have family except for her undocumented husband in the United States. Not all Brazilian immigrants were as fortunate as Tiago, Naira, and Kesia.

Zayas and Bradlee (2014) note the challenge posed by sudden separation from a parent who is detained and has a child placed with Child Protective Services. Detainment can last from weeks to several months and child protection agencies are reluctant to place children with undocumented relatives living in the United States (Wessler, 2011). Instead, they typically place them with non-relatives. In a landmark case in 2009, *The State of Nebraska v. Maria L.*, the Court found in favor of a Guatemalan mother whose children were removed by Child Protective Services (or CPS). The mother was reported to CPS for not bringing her daughter for a follow up medical appointment (Zayas & Bradlee, 2014). CPS contacted immigration, which then detained and deported the mother. CPS filed a termination of parental rights petition and alleged the mother had no relationship with the child. The court ruled it was in the "best interest" of the child to remain with the non-relative foster parents. Yet the court did not take into consideration that ICE did not permit or transport the mother to court hearings and did not allow visits with her children while in detention (Butera, 2015). The mother was eventually deported to Guatemala.

This case “demonstrated the disconnection between child welfare agencies and federal immigration authorities” (Zayas & Bradlee, 2014, p. 170). Zayas and Bradlee (2014) estimated “as many as 200,000 children were subject to separation from their parent or their home country...Between July 1, 2012 and September 30, 2013 alone, over 200,000 parents of U.S. citizen-children were removed from the United States” (Zayas & Bradlee, 2014, p. 168).

Almost all participants described other Brazilians they knew about who, after being pulled over by the police, were picked up by ICE and deported. Neto is a pastor of a Brazilian Evangelical Church in Naugatuck. He described an encounter with the police from Naugatuck and Watertown where the local authorities overstepped their role by asking immigrants for documents to prove their legal status. He said two members of his congregation had a car accident and called him to assist because they were not fluent in English:

W. Do you know people who were deported or treated differently by the police?

N. I knew some who were deported. I had cases that I had to intervene with an American citizen.

W. Yeah.

N. And I had to intervene because, it's not the situation. That is not the way things function, right? One of the members of our church, some years back, he and his wife work cleaning houses and things and he and his wife were driving the car. And he had an accident...a woman tried to stop, the police came, the ambulance...but only her car was damaged. As was the car of the members of our church. He called me and I went. A neighbor in Watertown went there at the time. I was in my car. The police were there right on the border between Watertown and Waterbury. There were two police officers. All the police were very well mannered (polite), much politer than the Fire Chief. He had come in his car. Because I saw them already helping the lady on the other side—the Police and paramedic. I came to accompany the sheep of our church. Nobody was hurt. And the police came and gave information of what happened and he was explaining. The Fire Marshall asked [his church members], “Do you have a Green Card?” Then I said, “That's none of your business. I know you're a Chief of the Fire Department, do you see any fire over here? Are you seeing a fire here? So, all you have to do is just...”

W. That's right.

N. “Stay...you know”...“you don’t have to ask for this.”

W. Right.

N. Maybe the Police Department they can ask him but not you. They didn’t like the idea. But also the entire time I had to stay in line...because if he asked me if I had [identification] I was going to talk to my lawyer because I think you are discriminating against me. If he asked me if I had a green card. I am in a situation. I am involved...suggesting and considering me an illegal immigrant. You don’t know who I am. But they did not ask me the question. He stayed in line...only this. That’s none of your business. Here the police didn’t ask anything about this, documents, did everything and after—they left. I left. I took my people and went home. After, they paid a fine. The insurances covered everything so we see after this—everything with this...*this power to question who is legal and who is not legal.*

W. Was this after 9/11?

N. After.

It is routine for a fire marshal to be called to the scene of a traffic accident. However, a fire marshal demanding documents to show one’s legal status is unusual. Crimmigration has caused a blurring of roles between local law enforcement and immigration enforcement. The police in this case had not asked for documentation of legality, but the fire marshal, overstepping his authority, did. The members of Neto’s church called him because they were afraid. They did not know how the police would react. This example demonstrates how crimmigration has instilled fear in the Brazilian community. Even a routine traffic stop or minor accident induces fear. Neto has been in the country for 26 years, is a citizen, and knew his rights, which enabled him to challenge the fire marshal.

Neto, Tiago, and Naira’s stories strongly point to racial profiling. Human rights advocates have documented pervasive racial profiling against Latinos (and other minorities) who are stopped and questioned by local law enforcement to determine their legal status (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Dreby, 2015; Zayas, 2015). Breno is dark skinned and appears Latino or

Hispanic. Breno related his own experience:

I was driving in Naugatuck when I was pulled over by the Naugatuck Police. I hadn't done anything. I was not speeding, and did not run any stop sign. At that time, in 2003, I only had a driver's permit from Florida. The Officer never told me why he pulled me over. He asked, "Can I see your driver's license." I showed him my driver's permit from Florida. I didn't have a Social Security number and couldn't get a license in Connecticut. He said, "You're not supposed to drive with this at this hour." I pretended to be dumb. I didn't know it, but you can only drive until 8 or 9 pm with a driver's permit and it was around 10 pm. The Officer told me, "You have to go to motor vehicles and apply for a Connecticut license." He let me go, but I questioned why he stopped me. Because I'm Latino?

Lawsuits have been filed against the East Haven Police and Danbury Police due to allegations of racial profiling of members of the Latino community (Lips, 2014; New York Times, 2011). Zayas (2015) recommended that providing undocumented immigrants with a driver's license would at least reduce the number of immigrants who are detained and deported due to a traffic infraction. But this will not stop the immigration industrial complex that remains in full swing in 2016.

From a neoliberal economic perspective, the detainment and deportation of immigrants has been a "success" financially, as more money is appropriated for DHS each year (Golash-Boza, 2012b). A booming economic industry has been created around the detainment and deportation of immigrants: "The millions of dollars that for-profit prison companies poured into lobbying have paid off in a big way, resulting in an increase in the guaranteed minimum number of detention beds" (Gruberg, 2015). There are over 350 detention centers throughout the United States, and most are run by for-profit, companies (Furman et al., 2012; Golash-Boza, 2012a; Young, 2011). Some have argued that for-profit businesses are driving immigration detention policies (Gruberg, S., 2015).

Zayas (2015) notes that a mandate from Congress directs ICE to "fill approximately 34,000 beds per day in detention facilities, ramping up the pressure to provide enforcement

results in the form of body counts” (Zayas, 2015, p. 108). Most of these facilities are privately owned: “Since ICE does not own the facilities, it pays the private prison companies to meet this quota, to the tune of \$120 to \$160 per detainee per day” (p. 108). Golash-Boza (2012a) highlights the financial incentive on the part of law enforcement and for-profit immigration detention companies to increase the apprehension and detainment of immigrants: “In 2009, DHS detained about 380,000 people at 350 different facilities, at a cost of more than \$1.7 billion for 2009 alone” (pp. 2-3). The contracts with individual facilities “stipulated a tiered pricing structure that actually incentivizes detaining more people. This allowed for an enormous surge in the total number of people in immigration detention each year, nearly doubling from 230,000 people in FY 2005 to 440,600 in 2013” (Gruberg, 2015). Human rights groups have documented the poor treatment of immigrants in these facilities, including physical, emotional, and sexual abuse, and extensive length of time spent in detainment while waiting for deportation (Sampaio, 2015; Zayas, 2015). Deportations have also separated families and caused fear and anxiety for those immigrants who remain (Golash-Boza, 2012b; Regan, 2015; Young, 20011).

Deportation and Deportability and The Emotions of Lived Experience

Although no one in this study had been deported in the past, all knew of family, friends, or acquaintances that faced deportation. Participants discussed how it impacted them personally. It is not just deportations but deportability as a political and economic strategy to control and oppress the migrant workforce that impacts immigrants in the United States (De Genova, 2002). De Genova (2002) used the term deportability to describe the political climate created by neoliberal policy. It would be extremely expensive, and take massive effort, to deport all the estimated 12 million undocumented people in the United States. However, deportations in themselves serve a larger purpose: “deportations may instill the fear of deportation in those left

behind” (Bibler-Coutlin, 2011, p. 300). The increase in deportations results in “the legal production of ‘illegality’ as a distinctly spatialized and typically racialized social condition for undocumented migrants...sustaining their vulnerability and tractability as workers” (De Genova, 2002, p. 439). The threat of deportation along with the fear it induces keeps many immigrants from complaining about unsafe or hazardous work conditions, low pay or not being paid, and usually prevents them from organizing and speaking out on their own behalf (Golash-Boza, 2012b; Simmons, 2015). Deportations escalated in 2008—the same year the global economic crisis began. Immigrants became expendable as thousands of Americans lost their jobs and homes and were competing for the same jobs as immigrants in many cases (Golash-Boza, 2012b).

Participants understood directly the effects that deportation had on them and their community. Edwin described how his aunt, who helped him come to the United States and who he lived with when he arrived, was stopped at the airport and deported on a trip back from Brazil.

E. She was undocumented. She was getting to know a boyfriend. She went on vacation with him in Brazil and did not enter—was not let back in US. She was not able to enter...[silence]...it affected me because she was a person completely independent who already had a life set up here...lot of change...couldn’t enter anymore and left everything here.

W. Immigration stopped her at the airport?

E. At the airport, JFK in New York City. Immigration interrogated her for hours. Not just her. They had stopped a lot of people and put them in a room. She lived in the United States for about 10 years. She had a house, a car. They asked her questions like, “Do you have a bank account? Do you have a car? If you do then you are not a tourist, you are living here.” She had come on a tourist visa and had renewed it several times. She had applied for it to be renewed, but I think it had expired. She had visited Brazil many times before this and came back with no problem, before 9/11.

W. Immigration didn’t let her enter?

E. They didn’t let her enter and she was deported. Returned to Brazil. And speaking with her on the phone I realized it really impacted her. It was a big change.

W. This was before September 11th, 2001?

E. After. Only, I stayed here and sent her belongings to Brazil...help the way I could. There was basically not much that I could do.

Edwin was deeply affected by his aunt's deportation but felt powerless to help. He said his aunt lived and worked in the United States for about 10 years and had not committed any crime. She was one of the many immigrants stopped at airports following 9/11 and deported, though she was not a threat to national security or a criminal. Her only "crime" was over-staying her visa.

DHS maintains that "national security" and not economic concerns, drive the high number of deportations (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015b). Based on my interviews and the work of some scholars, it appears that both political expedience and economic concerns drive crimmigration. Some suggest that the Obama administration has taken a hard line on immigration to appease Republicans in order in get immigration reformed passed (Young, 2011). The official rhetoric from DHS is the focus on "top priority immigrants...those considered border security or public safety threats" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015b). In 2015, the Department removed 462,463 individuals (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015b). Jeh Johnson, Secretary of Homeland Security, reflecting the official government narrative maintained, "Last year's removal numbers reflect this Department's increased focus on prioritizing convicted criminals and threats to public safety, border security, and national security" (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015b). However, as the vignette with Lucianna and the story of Edwin's aunt elucidates, it is often non-criminals who are deported or threatened with deportation.

Since 9/11 the U.S. government has "expanded" the list of "crimes" that can now lead to detainment and deportation (Chacón, 2006; Golash-Boza, 2012b; Kanstroom, 2013). Many

immigrants have been deported for traffic violations, working without authorization, and minor civil offenses that were in fact not crimes (Dreby, 2015, Furman et al., 2012; Furman & Ackerman, 2013).

The fear of deportability also impacts many families on a deep psychological level: “deportability now affects so many families, straining the relationships between husbands and wives...The dread of family separation lies at the surface, the obvious culprit” (Dreby, 2015, p. 29). Marcos has been in the United States 19 years and is undocumented. He expressed his fear should he or his wife [also undocumented] be deported and the effect this would have.

W. Are you worried that you or a member of your family may be deported?

M. Ah, yes, yes...I have, I’m afraid if something happens to me because this could happen to any immigrant.

W. Yes, it could.

M. And it’s because my wife only has me and I only have my wife here. If something happens I know she will...will suffer a great deal. She won’t know, won’t know how to deal with life here.

W. Continue.

M. So, in the same way if something happens with her. It’s, it’s... I will be completely lost. This would make me...separate [us] right? To separate two people that see each other, meet each other and go out; participate in conversation day and night and weekends. This is very sad. I am very sad.

Deportation affects not just individuals but entire families and communities (Dreby, 2014; Regan, 2015; Zayas 2015). Several participants suggested that if ICE does not apprehend the person they are seeking, they may take into custody the person’s wife, brother, or other family members. Marcos related two different scenarios:

And...many people live in the same house, an apartment...one apartment for example, may have two or three families. So, they [ICE] knock on the door looking for the head of the house. If they don’t find him they have his brother, they take his brother.

If they [ICE] for example look for a man, and don't have him but have his wife they take the wife. If they come looking for the wife and don't have her, and have the husband, they take him.

Many immigrants who are documented also expressed fear of being deported. Lucianna, who was in the United States working on a tourist visa, expressed fear that even a "normal" event could prompt deportation.

W. You spoke a little that you felt different after [9/11] ...beginning with the [mass] deportations of immigrants.

L. It's because we always hear Brazilians talking and really I knew a man that was deported because he went through the [traffic] light...and...and this causes fear, in the sense I told you. By the fact I don't have my papers [working]...if something happens...like in traffic or some other normal thing happens and they [ICE] perceive that I am working and use this to send me out of the country.

W. You feel some fear?

L. I feel, yes. When I go to the stores and I know that it gives me fear these days even in a store [if] they ask for documents, my passport, I always explain to people I am not illegal.

Joseph (2011) conducted a study in Massachusetts that explored the effect of anti-immigrant legislation on Brazilian immigrants' mental health. He found that many Brazilians suffered from anxiety and other mental health conditions due to an increasingly repressive environment for Brazilian (and other) undocumented immigrants. Several undocumented participants in this study described being fearful whenever they see a police officer or when they are asked for documents to register their child at school, open a bank account, or other every-day transactions most people take for granted. Naira stated, "I get nervous when I am asked for ID. I don't have anything except for my Brazilian passport." Lucianna described her experience when she goes to the store:

At times I feel anxious when I go shopping. For example, when I apply for a store credit

card. They ask for ID and give me a look when I show my passport. Look, in my case I am not illegal, but I don't have documents. Or, when I go to buy medication at the pharmacy. I have allergies and use Allegra D. They ask for ID and won't let me buy it. I feel really bad because I need the medication. I have to call my parents, who are citizens, and they buy it for me.

Unfortunately, as described at the beginning of this chapter, Lucianna's worst fears came true. Several months after participating in this study Lucianna informed me that she was stopped at the airport and threatened with deportation if she did not leave the country. She could have been apprehended, detained for months, and deported. ICE gave her the choice of leaving or they would begin deportation proceedings against her (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Dreby, 2015). Lucianna left the United States and moved to Costa Rica.

The climate of fear and anxiety permeated the stories shared by those I interviewed and revealed that the emotional effects of crimmigration cannot be fully measured. Edwin told me that ICE had given a Brazilian man in Waterbury one week to leave or they would deport him. His brother had been apprehended at the U.S.-Mexico border attempting to enter the United States. He had given his brother's name and address in Connecticut to ICE. In the past, when undocumented immigrants were apprehended crossing the U.S.-Mexico border, they would provide the name and address of a relative living in the United States and be released. Those apprehended were given a court date in immigration court, but many would never show up. In this case, ICE came to the brother's home, looking for the man who had not shown up for immigration court. His brother had owned a house in Waterbury, lived with his wife and young child, and was self-employed as a contractor. While ICE did not arrest him, they told him he had one week to leave the United States or they would arrest and deport him, his wife, and child. He left the country and all he worked for behind.

Several main emotions participants described were fear, anxiety, and sadness in relation

to 9/11 and the political climate that has ensued. Often it was hard to gauge the true impact upon a participant's life because many of those interviewed were outgoing and responded in ways that seemed to downplay the effects. While Naira me told me about a person she knew being deported, she also laughed—which indicated to me a nervous laughter, or maybe a defense mechanism. Or, was she laughing because ultimately the person returned to the United States and it all worked out for them? Naira, an undocumented housecleaner, related the following story about another Brazilian she knew who had been deported:

W. Are you worried that you or a member of your family will be jailed or deported?

N. I... I have fear yes.

W. Do you know someone who had been deported in your community?

N. I know some who were deported and already came back (laughs).

W. How did it impact you?

N. Well, it was sad. Yes. The person went to jail. Arrived in Brazil completely shackled and you are left with this feeling. Not a relative...just friends I knew.

W. Did it affect you?

N. It affected me yes. I was very sad, right... But things worked out for her for the good later...only sadness, right but it happens.

Several participants described feeling anxiety and fear caused by the political climate that they perceived has worsened since the economic crisis of 2008, and the ensuing increase in deportations. Sofia stated: "I was undocumented for six years after my visa expired. I was extremely afraid of being deported. After 2008, things seemed to get worse."

An important emotion expressed in many interviews can be described as experiencing a "period of insecurity" which produced *ansiedade* or anxiety. A majority of participants for this study cited how they came to the United States on a tourist visa that eventually expired, and 17

of the 20 participants were undocumented for a period of time. During an interview with Josely I asked her: “When your visa expired, what did you do? She responded, “Nothing. I became illegal in the country. I had a lot of *ansiedade*.” Marcos, living as undocumented for 19 years, related that after his tourist visa expired he remained, but lives in a state of tension:

I feel anxiety. The risk I run. I travel all the time for work...the state of Connecticut, New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey. But in Brazil there is a saying, *que Deus ajuda quem se madruga* [God helps them who helps themselves]. I am working. I travel with fear but I do what I can. I can't stay under the bed, under the bed hiding. I've got bills to pay. I have to work.

João has been in the United States for 18 years. During our interview I asked him what he did when his tourist visa expired.

Actually, when my visa expired, due to lack of information, I should have applied for a visa...but I didn't do anything. So my status remains the way it is. Until, something changes and some law changes and they give the I-94...I have anxiety at times.

When an immigrant arrives at a U.S. airport, they complete an arrival/departure form (I-94 or I-94W), a Customs Enforcement and Border Protection officer stamps their visa and the I-94 form, and they receive an I-94 number. An I-94 number can be used “to verify a non-immigrant travelers’ legal-visitor-status for employment, schools, or a government agency” (U.S. Custom and Border Protection, n.d.). However, many of these “nonimmigrant travelers” have in fact, remained in the United States. Upon arrival in the United States for the first visit, after the first six months are up, if one does not return to his or her home country, they become *de facto* undocumented in the United States. Many participants described feelings of anxiety over this period of insecurity. Participants were in a type of *limbo*—they could not travel or leave the country, could not obtain a driver’s license or Social Security number, and faced being deported at any time. But, in spite of the fear and anxiety caused by the political climate, participants remained in the United States, worked, and hoped for a solution to resolve their legal status.

Of the 16 participants who came on a tourist visa that expired, 10 had secured documentation (obtained a green card), and nine became citizens. Breno, Leonardo, Leilani, Edwin, Nelson, Sofia, Maria, Eva, and Rosaleini, are now citizens. Keila applied for DACA (Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals) and was approved. Josely is in the process of securing documentation through her husband. Four participants, João, Kesia, Tiago, and Marcos, came on a tourist visa that expired, but have been unable to secure legal residency.

Edwin and Leilani obtained legal residency through their work; their employers applied for a low-skilled worker visa, and both eventually became citizens. Eight participants, Breno, Leonardo, Nelson, Eva, Rosaleini, Sofia, Neto, and Renata married and obtained legal residency through their spouse. Six participants, Naira, Rosana, João, Marcos, Tiago and Kesia remain *sem documentos* (without papers). Of the three participants who came through Mexico, only Mariah was able to establish legal residency after she returned to Brazil and applied for a visa. Because she was only six years old, she was approved for a tourist visa and returned. The other two, Naira and Rosana, have been unable to establish legal residency. Even if they married a U.S. citizen and applied for a visa, due to current immigration laws, they would be unable to obtain a visa because they came to the United States through Mexico.

Crimmigration and Work

Part of the increase in immigration enforcement since 2008 has been through workplace raids and companies being pressured to let go of employees who are not documented (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Golash-Boza, 2012b; Zayas, 2015). The raids in Postville, Iowa in May 2008 and New Bedford, Massachusetts in March 2007 received national attention (Padilla et al., 2008). ICE and local enforcement arrested and detained hundreds of immigrants (in detainment centers as far away as Texas). This instantly left hundreds of citizen children without their

caretakers—many ended up in the custody of Child Protective Services (Golash-Boza, 2012b).

However, it is not just workplace raids that affect undocumented immigrants.

Crimmigration's impact on the workplace has not received as much attention as other aspects of law enforcement, border enforcement, and deportations (Griffith, 2014; López & Lacoste, 2014), yet it has had profound impacts in several ways. It has encouraged employers to discriminate against or not hire those who look "foreign" (Griffith, 2014). In addition, it creates disincentives for immigrants to come forward to complain about employers who violate workplace protections (Griffith, 2014, p. 93). Breno said his employer did not pay him after he left his job. "He knew I didn't have papers. There wasn't much I could do." Some participants described how things changed for them in the work environment following 9/11. The pressure on state and local businesses to "E-verify" and fire undocumented workers was felt in Connecticut. Breno related what happened where he worked:

B. ICE never came but they had to do a "clean up" at Taco Bell...check on everyone for I-9's where I worked in Milford, Connecticut. We lost seven employees who were fired.

W. Seven employees.

B. They fired them. The general manager was fired...had...team members and it affected many. Our...Wow...The business. There were people that just wanted to work. They worked 40 hours, 50 hours a week, and yeah, I mean it was the only way of decent work they could. How would you say...[due to a lack of] a Social Security number? Taco Bell changed [its] policy.

W. When was this?

B. After the 11th of September.

W. 2002, 2003?

B. That was 2005, 2006. I came, how would you say, when I received my papers. I had my work authorization card working at Taco Bell for one or two years and my card expired and I had to renew it. I was waiting for it in the mail. It took too long and in two weeks my card expired. Arrive in one or two weeks—fired. They fired me.

W. You too?

B. Yeah they fired me.

W. How did you feel when this happened?

B. I felt terrible. I remember we had many difficulties and I thought how are we going to manage to pay the rent and I bought a scratch ticket and won \$500. That was the money for the rent.

Crimmigration impacted labor standards by encouraging some employers to use the threat of retaliation against undocumented immigrants who may try to organize or “those who complain to government officials’ about violations of their work place rights” (Griffith, 2014, p. 95). Workers who fear deportation are unlikely to complain about working conditions or violations of their rights. Neto said that he knew of a Brazilian man in Danbury who worked for an American employer who owed this immigrant for work done. Instead of paying him, the employer “blew the whistle,” called ICE, and the man was deported. Although this is an extreme example of workplace violations, the impact undermines immigrants’ ability to secure work, retain work once found, and makes them less likely to complain about unsafe or hazardous work conditions (Ackerman & Furman, 2014). Participants described feeling vulnerable and exploited at their jobs. Some participants interpreted these caprices of the workplace as challenges. Yet, participants for this study displayed a fortitude and optimism regarding work in spite of the hardships they encountered in the workplace.

Brazilian Immigrants’ Perception of Crimmigration

One of the questions posed to all participants was whether they thought immigration laws post-9/11 had criminalized immigrants in the United States. Some suggested that these laws (and their enforcement) did in fact criminalize immigrants. But others disagreed and felt the United States needed to take measures to protect its citizens and prevent further terrorist attacks,

tacitly accepting the “official” rhetoric of DHS. Further, some participants said “no,” but then related incidents in which they (or people they knew) were negatively impacted by enforcement of immigration law.

Breno affirmed that he felt immigrants were criminalized citing “the fact I heard and saw on television how states, for example like Arizona.” Breno expressed his dismay the government was separating families as a result of deportations:

They have to have immigration reform because many of the children of these immigrants, these illegal immigrants are Americans [citizens]. How are you going to deport the parent and leave the child here?

Naira, an undocumented Brazilian who has lived in the United States for 10 years, responded:

It changed more in the sense of persecution. I think...immigrants went from one type to another for work. It can bring problems. It can bring problems for the country...the employers, [not having] a Social Security [number], right?

Naira was referring to the fact that after 9/11 when employers fired many undocumented workers as the government tightened restrictions on hiring or maintaining undocumented workers, Brazilians went from one form of work to another. For example, when the owner of 17 Dunkin’ Donuts in the Waterbury area fired undocumented Brazilian workers because they did not have documentation, many Brazilians left Dunkin’ Donuts. Many went into housecleaning because as self-employed workers they would not need documentation. But when I asked Naira if she thought immigration laws criminalized immigrants, she said no. “Do I think here...I don’t think, not so much, no...on the contrary I think right here we are illegal. We are illegal. We drive without a license.”

Naira was not the only participant expressed this idea. She accepted that she and some Brazilians had entered the country illegally, so the U.S. government had the right to enact laws to

protect its citizens from terrorists or immigrants who may commit crime. Marcos, an undocumented immigrant who has been in the United States for 19 years, reflected on the change in the political climate and attitudes towards immigrants since 9/11, saying, “They changed...for...not for the better, for worse.” João, who has been in the United States for 18 years, responded to the same question:

If they criminalize I don’t know...but they say at times they [ICE and local law enforcement] use the law in a different way [than intended]. An immigration infraction is not the jurisdiction of criminal [law]. For example, a crime committed like a robbery something like this on this level. Like a thing like this. *Like a [undocumented] family is a threat to society*. So the immigrant infractions don’t have this level they should be treated. They should be treated at a level completely different. They should be treated by the department [ICE] that has a conscience about this infraction on the level of a lesser scale.

João described what many immigration lawyers, human rights advocates, and social workers have maintained—that the blurring of immigration law and criminal laws has in effect criminalized immigrants (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Dreby, 2015; Zayas, 2015). Immigration infractions that were in the past civil and not criminal matters have become enforced as criminal (Chacon, 2006). Since 9/11, with the creation of DHS, many laws that criminalized aspects of immigration, and thus immigrants, were enforced with a new level of intensity. Human rights activists and attorneys argued that violations of immigration law are on par with civil offenses (Chacon, 2007; Stumpf, 2006, 2011). After 9/11 there was a distinct shift in treating infractions of immigration laws *as* criminal offenses (Chacon, 2006; Golash-Boza, 2012b). Overstaying a tourist visa is an infraction of immigration law, which is civil law. Following 9/11, overstaying a visa was treated as a criminal offense resulting in arrest and deportation (Chacon, 2006).

Since 1965, the focus of immigration laws, policies, and enforcement has been on the expanding Latino population in the United States (Leal & Limón, 2013). And while race and ethnicity have been used in the past to discriminate and oppress immigrant groups, the impact of

9/11 added an increased intensity. Sampaio (2015) asserts that race and ethnicity” have long served as significant structuring divides within the scope of immigration law and policy,” but, “they became increasingly salient to the processes of scrutiny, detention, and exclusion in the aftermath of 9/11” (p. 28). Critical race theory suggests these anti-immigrant measures are in reality race-based.

As part of this phenomenon, DHS has engaged in aggressive campaigns against immigrant communities and has often portrayed immigrants as latent terrorists: “through the war on terrorism, Latinas/os have increasingly become ‘potential terrorists’ even as they are being terrorized by the state” (Sampaio, 2015, p. 7). The shifts that occurred in immigration law and policy as a result of the passage of the USA Patriot Act of 2001, the Homeland Security Act of 2002, the Emergency Supplemental Appropriation Act for Defense, along with the Global War on Terror have “led to the construction of Latino/a immigrants as security threats” (p. 12). Bibler-Coutin (2011) described this process as the *securitization* of immigration, noting that “curtailment in the rights afforded to non-citizens can also be attributed to the securitization of immigration law, that is, to treating immigration as a matter of security and immigrants as potential security risks” (p. 300).

As discussed earlier, not all states and localities have enforced these policies uniformly. From Arizona’s restrictive SB 1070 which sought to actively persecute undocumented Latino immigrants, to Connecticut’s progressive decision to give driver’s licenses to undocumented immigrants, states (and cities) have differed widely on how to enforce laws and policies with their immigrant communities. Progressive immigration reform has not been passed at the federal level in more than 20 years. This has prompted many states and localities to enact legislation or policies to address immigration issues (Ackerman & Furman, 2014), much of it retrogressive in

human rights terms. These state and local policies have been at the center of the crimmigration controversy (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Golash-Boza, 2009, 2012b).

Even the terms used to describe immigrants are highly politicized (Chomsky, 2014). They are referred to as illegal aliens, undocumented, unofficial, and illicit. Dreby (2015) defined illegality as “the term I use for the awareness of needing a legal status and the negotiations around lacking a legal status” (p. 1). Newtown (2008) employs “illegal immigrant to describe immigrants of any nation who have entered the United States or remained in the United States unofficially” (p. ix). Zayas (2015) notes that illegal alien and illegal immigrant are “official” designations utilized by the federal government to imply criminal behavior and are used to stigmatize the undocumented. In contrast, he uses the term undocumented and unauthorized immigrant to refer to those immigrants who “have entered the country without permission or those who have entered with the proper documents but stayed beyond their allowable time” (Zayas, 2015, p. xi). The Department of Homeland Security’s official designation for these undocumented immigrants is “alien” which connotes criminality: “Its use to describe the unauthorized population denotes the US government’s pejorative stance toward this population” (Dreby, 2015, p. 22).

As Dreby (2015) poignantly observed: “No person is or can be illegal, but today’s policies cast the everyday, commonplace activities of many people as ‘illegal’” (p. 4). The designation illegal and alien also throws into question the humanity of immigrants that only serves to underscore their status of extreme *outsiderhood* (Cacho, 2012; Chavez, 1998). Some participants used the designation legal or illegal when describing themselves. Addressing the political climate towards immigrants after 9/11, Rosana commented, “I am illegal in the country. I came through Mexico and stayed.” Tiago said, “I am without papers.”

Although many think of the crimmigration crisis in terms of what is happening at the Mexico-U.S. border, immigration enforcement and discriminatory policies towards migrants could be impacting those much closer to home: “In the twenty-first century, those without ‘papers’ live among us as the parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, and children of U.S. legal permanent residents and citizens. They may be our family members, friends, neighbors, fellow students, co-workers, or acquaintances” (Dreby, 2015, p. 5). While a number of participants had obtained legal residency through work and marriage, they worried about family members who are still undocumented. Eva, a U.S. citizen said, “I worry about my brother. I have family in South Carolina who are undocumented.” Breno, also a citizen responded, “I worry about my sister. She does not have papers and is not authorized to work. She only works. She has two jobs, goes to church and I always am afraid she may be caught or deported.” It should be noted that those who were affected the most—those Brazilian immigrants who were detained and deported post 9/11—could not be interviewed for this study.

Discrimination and Race in the United States

Racial discrimination has been part of the history of this country since the United States proclaimed its independence from England in 1776 (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Kanstroom, 2007). Throughout U.S. history there have been periods of racism and xenophobia towards foreign immigrants (Kanstroom, 2007; Moloney, 2012). Since 1965, and in particular since 9/11, the focus has shifted to immigrants from Latin America and Asia (Chang-Muy & Congress, 2008). The terrorist attacks of 9/11 and the economic crisis of 2008 have remolded American society in profound ways (Kubrin, Zatz, & Martinez, 2012; Leal & Limón, 2013). Both events have increased nativist tendencies—even redefining what it means to be an American (Ackerman & Furman, 2014). After 9/11, under the guise and rhetoric of ensuring “national security,” many

policies were directed at the growing immigrant population (Leal & Limón, 2013; Newton, 2008). In addition, the rhetoric of immigrants “taking Americans jobs” as a result of the economic crisis of 2008 has fueled this phenomenon (Bacon, 2008).

Participants interviewed for this study described incidents of discrimination and felt these two events have significantly changed Americans attitudes towards immigrants. Kaila is a 22-year-old Brazilian woman in the process of becoming legalized through Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals. She has been in the United States for 14 years. She responded to a question about the United States after 9/11: “Of course it’s changed... Yeah, of course—they became more racist (laughs).”

Mariah, age 18, and who entered the country through Mexico with her mother at age six, has been in the United States for 12 years. Mariah affirmed her sense that attitudes have changed towards immigrants in recent years. She also believes that Americans do not value immigrants and the contributions they make—economically and otherwise.

I feel like immigrants are under appreciated. Immigrants do a lot of the jobs that Americans don’t want. It’s immigrants that do them and if immigrants weren’t here who would do them? So, I feel like we’re underappreciated in this sense...and they are giving a lot of money to the economy by working. And they don’t get to receive Social Security, or unemployment compensation, or retirement benefits...And they still pay taxes and all that. So it’s like, you pay, you make the money for the country and all that, but you don’t get any of the benefits that American’s do when they do the same thing as you.

Participants linked the change in attitudes as a result of shifts in the U.S. economic and political climate. These macro-level changes altered the lived experience of participants in their interactions with members of the dominant culture.

Speak English! The events of 9/11 and the economic crisis of 2008 set the stage for a backlash of xenophobic tendencies on the part of some Americans (Dreby, 2015; Sampaio, 2015). The dominant government rhetoric of stressing national security served to fuel the

immigration debate, even redefining what it means to be and who is considered an American (Ackerman & Furman, 2014). As a result, there has been an increase in xenophobic and discriminatory practices towards Latinos, Muslim Americans, and immigrants in general (Kubrin, Zatz, & Martinez, 2012). In 1970, foreign-born immigrants comprised five percent of the U.S. population; by 2004 had increased to 10 percent (Ngai, 2004). The growth in Asian and Latino immigration has changed the ethno-racial demographics of many parts of the United States resulting in various forms of backlash including legislation to make English the official language—such as California’s proposition 187 (Ngai, 2004). Several participants informed me that after 9/11 they were told to “speak English” when they were speaking Portuguese in public. Marcos related the following story of a recent time he went to Home Depot in Danbury:

M. I was at Home Depot. And my cellular phone rang. Depending on the area in the center the telephone doesn’t work right.

W. Continue.

M. So, I stopped in a spot in the center of Home Depot. I answered. It was a friend of mine and I was talking with him. He went on a trip and I was talking with him and I was talking with him a long time. I wasn’t blocking the aisle, wasn’t talking nonsense, just talking naturally. I was by me...An American pushing a shopping cart and he looked at me and said, “Speak English!”

W. Really?

M. “We speak English here,” he said.

W. He said that?

M. He spoke with me like this. I wasn’t talking to him. I stopped like this and thought, in this place—here is a place to speak English and not a place to speak other languages? For me this was discrimination. I wasn’t talking to him. I had the same experience while conducting this study. I am fluent in Brazilian

Portuguese and was talking in Portuguese with a Brazilian friend as we walked in the Brass City Mall in Waterbury, when an elderly American man looked at me and said, “Speak English. We

speak English here in America.” I looked at the man and politely responded, “I do speak English...fluently.”

The frequent microaggressions against immigrants speaking a foreign language in public can be linked to the English-only movement in the United States. Aversion to foreigners and foreign languages has been part of the history of the United States (Chavez, 2008). Participants for this study felt that many U.S. citizens have become more racist following 9/11. The immigration question post 9/11 has sparked a debate on “who is an American,” which of course is usually portrayed in terms of a White, English-speaking individual, born and raised in the United States (Kretsememas, 2014; Stefancic & Delgado, 2013; Zatz & Hillary Smith, 2012).

Eu sou Latina, Hispana não/I am Latina, not Hispanic

Participants in this study also revealed that their conception regarding their own race and ethnicity has changed since they moved to the United States. In Brazil, many people tend to think in terms of class (rich/poor) more than race (Joseph, 2015; Travassos & Williams, 2004). Many Brazilians still believe in the myth of racial democracy in Brazil (McDonnell & Lourenco, 2008), where racial categories are a social construction (Ritzer, 2000). The racial categories used in Brazil and the United States are not interchangeable (Martes-Braga, 2011). Brazilians are often shocked when emigrating, because they have to encounter “making sense” of what race means in the United States (Joseph, 2015, p. 3). Most Brazilians are not comfortable with the racial categories used in the United States and often feel that their race or ethnicity has been “chosen” for them by the dominant society (Fritz, 2011; Joseph, 2015; Tostade de Andrade, 2004). The U.S. government has changed its classification for Brazilians and many are not sure where they fit in. As Marcus (2011) notes, “references to *Hispanic* and *Latino* are problematic. The U.S. Census does not consider Brazilians to be Hispanic (since 1990) or Latino (since 2000)

because they do not speak Spanish” (p. 59). Most public discourse and research has focused on Spanish-speaking immigrants from Latin America:

Brazil deserves a much needed (re)insertion within U.S.-Latin dialogues, especially since the use of the terms Latino and Hispanic have in a sense, hijacked most academic and public debates, and have contributed to a misappropriation of Latin America as a monolithic, ethno-racial, Spanish-speaking cultural realm. (p. 59)

Many participants said that although they considered themselves “White” in Brazil, they were not considered “White” in the United States. Instead, they are often classified as Hispanic or Latino. In fact, “about one in every three Latin Americans speak Portuguese—not Spanish” (Marcus, 2011, p. 59). The term Hispanic implies homogeneity among Central and South American groups, when in fact “Hispanics and Latinos do not constitute a homogeneous group but a pan-ethnic group” (Braga Martes, 2011, p. 207). Brazilians use the word *Hispano* to refer to other immigrants from Latin America to mean “Hispanic,” but never Latino (Braga Martes, 2011). When Brazilians use Hispanic there is a reference to the Spanish language and culture; when they use Latino it is in the sense of geographic location—South America (Joseph, 2015).

Many Brazilians feel uncomfortable with questions about race and instead when asked about their race, often answer “Brazilian” (McDonnell & Lourenco, 2008). McDonnell and Lourenco (2008) interviewed 30 Brazilian women living in the United States about their self-perceptions of race. They found that racial identity and the construction of racial identity is not only what one believes about oneself, but also the identity “imposed” by the dominant culture. Fritz (2011) conducted interviews with Brazilians in Massachusetts and found that Brazilians avoided questions about race or when asked would identify as “Brazilian” or “Latino.” Like their U.S. counterparts, a number of participants in this study seemed to base their conceptions of race and ethnicity on skin color and geographical points of reference to South America. During our interview, I asked Lucianna, about race,

W. What race are you?

L. I am Latina.

W. If you write down, on a form, what do you put?

L. I am not Black. My skin is lighter. If they have White, I put White. White Latina.

W. If they have Hispanic?

L. Not Hispanic. Latina yes, Latin America.

W. Do you think Brazilians would classify themselves as Latinos?

L. Yeah.

W. Hispanic also?

L. No. I don't know if I'm right but Brazilians are from the South, the Latin South, Latin America. Hispanic indicates people from Puerto Rico and people from Central America.

Lucianna considered herself Latina when she talked about being from Latin America in a geographic sense. She was light-skinned and considered herself White. She did not view herself as Hispanic, for in her frame of reference, this meant someone Spanish-speaking from a Hispanic country. Thus, she based her conception in part on her skin color and in part on geography.

Breno responded to the same question:

B. Normally I put...um...if they have like Latino or South American, if they have...

W. If they only have White, Black, Hispanic?

B. I put White, but I know I am not considered White.

W. You don't check Hispanic?

B. No, I am not Hispanic, I don't speak Spanish, I speak Portuguese.

Breno is light-skinned but does not feel he fits the category Hispanic due to his language, nor does not feel he is Black. Like some participants, he chose White because he is lighter skinned by Brazilian standards and would be considered White in Brazil. When I asked

Leonardo, an Afro-Brazilian what race he was he said “Negro” (Black).

Edwin said that when he fills out a form he describes himself as “Hispanic.”

W. About race. If you have to fill out a form, what do you put for race?

E. Latino.

W. Latino?

E. Well, there’s no “Brazilian” there...[laughs].

W. If it just has White, Black, Hispanic...

E. Hispanic.

W. Asian.

E. Uh huh.

W. What do you put?

E. Hispanic.

W. Hispanic?

E. Yeah Hispanic because I think it is related to Latino, you know what I mean.

W. I heard many Brazilians say “I’m not Hispanic, I don’t speak Spanish. I am Brazilian.”

E. Uh huh.

W. They don’t put Latino, well, they don’t put Brazilian as an option [on a form].

E. I’m not black, I am not White. I have Latin skin color, so I go by that—skin color.

Edwin made an assertion about race based on skin-color. Some Brazilians have assimilated U.S. classifications of race based on the color of one’s skin. Latin skin color in Edwin’s perception was light brown or copper complexion, but not what he would categorize as Black or White. He was not the only participants who used the term Hispanic when questioned about race.

Keila also noted that she lists “Hispanic” when she has to fill out a form:

W. If you have to fill out a form, like college?

K. Um hum.

W. If it has White, Black, Hispanic, Asian...what do you put?

K. Hispanic.

W. Why?

K. Because I'm Latina, right?

W. Yeah.

L. I'm not White, I'm not Black, I'm not Asian.

For many Brazilians living in the United States, like Keila and Edwin, the choice of Hispanic as a category is indicative they have assimilated some of the criteria used in the United States. It was clear in talking with participants that they felt perplexed at times about U.S. racial categories. How they eventually determined their race was often based on several factors including skin color, self-perceptions, and how they were perceived by the dominant culture.

Some Brazilians tend to identify with their nationality first and race second (Braga Martes, 2011). João said if someone asks him what he is, he responds "Brazilian." But if someone asks his race if or he has to fill out a form, it becomes challenging: "It's a complicated situation that is confusing at times here. They don't have [a category] ...and we have to put Hispanic but we are not."

A number of participants said they put "other" if they filled out a form. For those Brazilians who interpreted Latino or Hispanic to signify the same thing, they often rejected both terms. Mariah responded that she puts other because she is not clear about U.S. racial categories: "I always put "other." Because I don't know. Like, I feel like Brazilians are not Hispanic and we're not White, I don't know. I always put other." Eva did not consider herself Latino, as this

implied Hispanic, and she did not consider herself White or Black:

W. If you have to fill out a form?

E. Nada. Nothing. I always put “other.” Because over there they don’t have Brazilian or Portuguese [category].

W. If they have Latino?

E. I am not Latino.

W. Some Brazilians said they put other. Others said they put Latino...Latin America. Others said they put White.

E. White ...(laughs).

W. Some said they put [it].

E. I put other and if they ask me language I put Portuguese.

Nelson, an Afro-Brazilian responded, “When I have to fill out a form, I put ‘other.’ If they have a box, I put ‘Brazilian.’” Participants evaluated U.S. racial categories to decide where they fit in, but were also aware of racism in the United States and the stigma attached to certain racial/ethnic categories. Several, like Eva and Nelson wanted people to know they were “Brazilian,” and distinguished themselves from these categories.

Ethno-racial categories have been used historically in the United States (and still are) to oppress and stratify society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013; Joseph, 2015). Joseph (2015) suggests that Brazilians are still attempting to find their niche in the U.S. racial classification system: “Brazilians, who have a shorter migration history than Mexicans and other Latinos, are still trying to determine their social positions and categories in the United States, especially with regard to the Latino and Hispanic categories” (p. 44).

Summary

Brazilians, like other Central and South American immigrants, have been subject to

deeply restrictive and punitive U.S. immigration policies and enforcement measures in recent years (Jouet-Pastre & Braga, 2008; Margolis, 2009). As far as ICE and local law enforcement is concerned, Brazilians are just one of the numerous Latino/Hispanic groups in the United States. Although Brazilians are not populous when compared to other groups, estimates of undocumented Brazilian immigrants in the United States are high (Braga-Martes, 2011). Brazilians are “late comers” to the United States compared to other Latin American groups and the number of Brazilians deported is much lower in proportion to their relatively small numbers (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2015a, 2015b, see Appendix J).

A number of participants described fear and anxiety as a result of crimmigration—they worried about being apprehended or deported without warning. This climate of fear impacted both documented and undocumented Brazilian immigrants who participated in this study. Being stopped by ICE at the airport, or pulled over by law enforcement to question an immigrant’s legal status, has become central to the lived experience of many immigrants in the United States. Contrary to official rhetoric from ICE, many of those deported or threatened with deportation, like Lucianna, have not committed a crime nor overstayed their visa. They are victims of the crimmigration machine that has deported immigrants in record numbers in the last eight years. Crimmigration has also affected the work environment as the U.S. government has pressured employers to let go of undocumented employees and E-Verify those hired.

Related to the crimmigration crisis is the perception by participants of the change in public attitudes towards immigrants. The political and economic climate in the United States has changed and this has impacted participants’ lives. In addition, participants discussed feeling discriminated against in the workplace, and in everyday life in public settings. Finally, their perceptions of race and ethnic identity have been altered in encountering the U.S. racial

classification system. Participants in this study, who are part of what Margolis (2009) has called the “*invisible minority*” (Margolis, 2009), have a story to tell. These stories contain the seeds for action and advocacy, which are of value to social workers and those trying to understand the impact of crimmigration.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Human rights are a critically important means to protecting people from abuse and oppression. Many people engaged in human rights work are on the frontlines of protecting vulnerable people....Social workers are said to be doing human rights work, insofar as they are responsible for implementing political, civil, economic, social, and cultural rights, and increasingly environmental rights...the social work profession has embraced the rhetoric of human rights and has much in common with human rights, yet there remains significant divergence between the two fields. How can the social work profession avail itself of human rights to strengthen social work practice? (Androff, 2016, p. 1)

Androff's (2016) poignant question for social workers—how to employ human rights in order to fortify social work practice—was a guiding principle for this study. My focus was to gain an understanding of the lived experience of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut in light of crimmigration. This emphasis allowed me to identify potential human-rights based suggestions for social work practice.

This study offers an understanding of some Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut. The participants' lives are composed of initial migration experiences; transnational social networks; and economic, historical, and social forces that shape and mold them. The participants in this study have been impacted to different degrees by the political events post-9/11 to exclude and deport the *outsider* in our midst (Ngai, 2004; Kanstroom, 2013).

In terms of structural competence to aid social work practice, this study provides insights into this “newer” Latin American immigrant group and contributes to the social work literature about Brazilian immigrants (Chang-Muy & Congress, 2009). The knowledge gained from this study will aid in working with a specific ethnic and cultural group, while exploring structural factors, such as discrimination and oppression experienced by those impacted by crimmigration.

There is a paucity of articles in the social work literature regarding crimmigration, especially about Brazilian immigrants. This study seeks to help fill that gap. In addition, this

research explored the phenomenon of crimmigration and its impact from a human rights perspective, which is congruent with the core values of the social work profession. Migrant rights are first and foremost human rights (Androff, 2014; Critelli, 2014; Segal, 2014). A human rights perspective allowed me to examine not only the impact of punitive immigration laws and policies on participants' lives, but to explore paths for advocacy and empowerment. This chapter will discuss and summarize the findings of this study including the implications and recommendations for practice and advocacy for the social work profession.

Summary of Findings

Seven themes emerged during this study— immigration experiences, work, crimmigration, emotions, discrimination, transnational social networks, and racial/ethnic identity. The 20 participants were 12 women and 8 men, ranging from 18 to 69 years old. Most participants had come from different parts of Brazil, but most were from the state of Minas Gerais. Participants were engaged in various jobs including housecleaning, construction, restaurant work, and as an au pair. Participants shared their experience about migration, work, and their struggles to adapt to the changing political and economic climate. For all, the crimmigration crisis shaped their lived experience, in one form or another.

Immigration experiences, both initial and subsequent, are a significant part of that lived experience. Three participants had made the dangerous trek through Mexico with the help of a *coyote*; 16 had come on a tourist visa that expired; and one came on a J-1 work visa. Participants left Brazil due to harsh economic conditions in pursuit of a better life and more opportunities. Some participants obtained legal residency, mastered English, and were able to pursue career options. Others have been limited in their choice of work due to their legal status and limited ability to speak English. The majority of participants originally planned on staying a

short time and returning to Brazil. Factors that influenced their decision to remain in the United States were greater opportunities, better wages and standard of living, and their citizen children whose lives are firmly rooted in the United States.

Work was an important theme that was central to participants lived experience. It enabled them to achieve their goals, provide for their families, and was a source of pride. Ten participants had purchased homes, and several had put their children through college. Although many were working in service occupations jobs, participants felt their work was valued.

Downward mobility for some participants was a finding of this study. A number of participants had a profession in Brazil and were from the middle-class. Push-pull theories of migration suggest it is often the lower socioeconomic classes who migrate. A more recent phenomenon noted in migration studies describes middle-class immigrants who are not from the lowest and poorest sections of countries like Brazil (Margolis, 2009). Migration results in a change in social status for most immigrants; in Brazil this means working in menial and service occupation jobs associated with stigma and low pay. Participants noted that they rationalized this downward mobility in terms of the better wages and lifestyle that it enables them to have in the United States.

Changing gender roles was a part of participants' lived experience. A number of women participants discussed how they enjoyed the freedom and independence they gained in the United States. In contrast, Brazil remains a patriarchal-dominated society. Although these women entered a gendered workforce in the United States—many went into house-cleaning, childcare, or restaurant work—it still afforded them the opportunity to achieve a higher economic status and provide more for their families than had they remained in Brazil. And a number of men in this study were also engaged in housecleaning due to the wages it offered, and the fact it was

year-round work, compared to seasonal construction jobs.

Crimmigration has impacted all participants in this study, but not to the same degree. Crimmigration affects both the documented and undocumented. As most participants live in mixed-status households, they knew of family, friends, or other Brazilians in the community who had been deported. A number of participants had been pulled over by the police and asked for identification to check their legal status. One participant, Lucianna, was interrogated by ICE and threatened with deportation if she did not leave the United States. She left and moved to Costa Rica. It is not just deportation, but deportability, or the fear of being deported that also affected participants.

Emotions are a theme that emerged. Several participants described the fear and anxiety they experienced due the possibility of being apprehended or deported. Other participants worried about family members being deported. Most discussed their anxiety related to a period of insecurity, as 17 participants had experienced a time period, after their visa expired, when they lacked documentation. *Saudades*, a feeling of longing for one's family and homeland after a long absence, was described by all participants. Modern telecommunications helps participants communicate with family in Brazil to alleviate *saudades*, but eight of the participants have not been able to visit or return to Brazil in many years.

Participants also described experiences of facing discrimination. Brazilians, like their Central and South American counterparts, are encountering anti-immigrant and anti-Latino sentiments in the United States, fueled in part by the Latino Threat Narrative and the national debate on immigration. Participants heard comments that immigrants were "taking Americans jobs," and some were told to "speak English" when speaking Portuguese in public.

What I discovered at the center of participants' migration experiences were *social*

networks. Thus what facilitated participants' migration and adaptation to their new homeland was the existence (and creation) of *transnational* social networks. These networks were facilitated by the advanced technology of the information age that allowed participants to build social capital. As Bankston III (2014) notes, "For immigrants, this means that social connections can enable them to move from one place to another, to adapt to life in a new location, and to improve future prospects" (p. 26). Social connections between Minas Gerais, Brazil and Brazilian communities in New York City, Boston, and Danbury facilitated initial immigration experiences for several participants. Social connections among Brazilians between Boston and Connecticut allowed Naira, Neto, Renata, and Tiago and other participants to move to Connecticut and adapt with relative ease. Neto, originally from Rio de Janeiro, migrated to Italy, France, Portugal, Switzerland, and then to New York (and afterwards to Connecticut) all through Brazilian transnational social connections he made while in Brazil.

One finding of this study that is consistent with other studies of Brazilian immigrants in the United States is a relative lack of unity and a lack of an ethnic enclave on the part of some participants (Margolis, 2009; Tremura, 2011; Vasquez, 2009). Unlike other Latin American groups who have migrated to the United States there is no "Brazilian" section of Hartford, Waterbury, Danbury, or Bridgeport. Some participants lamented this lack of unity while others found solidarity in joining a Brazilian church. Indeed, what has served to bring many Brazilians together is often churches (Braga Martes, 2001; Vasquez, 2009). Churches have become centers for many Brazilians to socialize and engage in creating or extending social networks. Eleven participants were attending Evangelical churches and found it a source of strength, a place to socialize and make connections with other Brazilians. Another point of contact for Brazilians are luncheonettes/restaurants that sell food and products from Brazil. At times when there is a

soccer game of the Brazilian national team, some participants would gather to be with other Brazilians, and experience ethnic pride. It is at these luncheonettes where Brazilians meet other Brazilians they can make social contacts for work, or to advertise their services, for example, for housecleaning or construction work.

Although racial identity was not the focus of this study, one finding was directly related to Brazilians' self-conceptions of race, and how their perceptions changed vis-à-vis the U.S. racial classification system. Many studies suggest that Brazilians first and foremost identify themselves in terms of *ethnicity* (Fritz, 2011; Joseph, 2015; Margolis, 2009). Several participants, when asked to define their *race*, answered "Brazilian." But, when pressed farther, many gave widely divergent answers. Brazilians are often unsure about U.S. categories of race (Fritz, 2011; Joseph, 2015; Winters & DeBose, 2003). Although Brazilians may not consider themselves Hispanic, they are subject to the same classification (and treatment) as their Latin American counterparts: "In general terms, the settlement of Brazilians in American society is orientated by the same racist policy that ranks people from the Third World in general, and Latinos in the United States in particular, as inferior" (Beserra, 2003, p.15).

This study found that *locality* plays a large part in how immigrants perceive, and are perceived and treated by, local and state authorities, which in turn impacts their *lived experience*. From Arizona's SB 1070 to Connecticut's decision to grant undocumented driver's licenses, states, counties, and cities have differed widely in their response to immigrants (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Zayas, 2015). Connecticut, and New England in general, historically has welcomed immigrants (Levitt, 2007). But, with the Secure Communities (now Priority Enforcement), being implemented in Connecticut by some cities, immigrants lived experience has changed, due to the change in the political climate (Langlois, 2010; Lips, 2014; Lockhart,

Lohand, & Perrefort, 2012; NBC Connecticut 2012a, 2012b).

Implications for Social Work

The current human rights crisis taking place in America regarding immigrants demands a stronger response from the social work profession—especially given the profession’s commitment to social justice on behalf of marginalized, vulnerable, and oppressed populations (NASW, 2008, 2015). Social workers can respond at the micro, mezzo, and macro levels to address this issue (Furman et al., 2009; Healy, 2004; Jansson, 2014).

On a macro level, the lack of comprehensive federal immigration reform lies at the heart of the crimmigration crisis, coupled with neoliberal policies that have shifted the discourse on immigration to one of national security (Cleaveland, 2011; Furman et al., 2012; Golash-Boza, 2012a, 2012b). Social workers can advocate at the federal levels through lobbying. On a mezzo level social workers can engage in activism through community organizing to challenge anti-immigrant and discriminatory policies against immigrants. On a micro level social workers who are engaged in direct practice with immigrants should be aware of structural factors that impact immigrants’ lives (Cleaveland, 2011; Furman et. al., 2012; Zayas, 2015). But to change the current national debate over immigration will necessitate challenging the prevailing ideology that approaches immigration from a law enforcement perspective and treats immigrants as criminals and potential threats to national security (Brotherton & Kretsedeas, 2008; Cleaveland, 2011; Furman et al., 2012; Stumpf, 2013; Zayas, 2015).

An ideological shift. Neoliberalism, as the prevailing political ideology among many politicians, has had negative consequences for immigrants and how society views what should be considered basic human rights (Androff, 2014; Simmons, 2014). Likewise, social work has traditionally focused on needs-based practice (Libal & Harding, 2015). Harding and Libal

(2015) found that “a major barrier to rights-based practice in the United States is the dominance of market-based ideology which treats health care, housing, and food as commodities” (p.11). Often, immigrants (and their labor) are treated as commodities. When the labor market demanded their services immigrants were welcomed and encouraged to come to the United States (Bacon, 2008; Chomsky, 2007). After 9/11, the political climate changed toward immigrants; this, coupled with the economic crisis of 2008, diminished the demand for their labor, and they became expendable. Deportation of immigrants in large numbers started in 2008 (Dreby, 2015; Regan, 2015).

The ideological war against immigrants must be challenged if the minds of policy makers, law enforcement, and the general public are to be changed: “Those at the forefront of human rights practice in the United States argue that powerful ideologies, such as racism and hyper-individualism, must be challenged in order to secure economic and social rights” (Libal & Harding, 2015, p.11). The decriminalization of migrants would be a crucial first step (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Androff et al., 2011). The validity of labelling migrants as “illegal” must be confronted. The debate about immigration must be reframed to one involving the human rights of migrants, some of whom are undocumented (Libal & Harding, 2015; Zayas, 2015). Mirroring the ambivalence on the part of some U.S. citizens towards immigration and immigrants, social workers are also divided in their opinions of how this crisis should be addressed.

Clarifying our values as a profession. The phenomenon of crimmigration is a by-product of globalization and is not limited to the United States (Cleaveland, 2011; Furman et al., 2012). Migrants from the countries of the global south have fled to the industrialized nations of the Global North—The United States, Canada and Europe. The increase in migrants in these countries has sparked debates on immigration and posed dilemmas for social workers caught in

the cross-fire. As Furman, Negi, Cisneros-Howard (2008) noted, “The recent immigration debates have challenged social workers to explore their own sense of values about the clients that we serve” (p. 283). The authors argued that early social workers stood alongside social reformers “to protect children and other workers from dangerous work and life conditions...Today, the mission of social work has shifted more toward the amelioration of psychosocial ailments versus, social change, human rights, and justice” (p. 283). Libal, Berthold, Thomas, and Healy (2014), Libal and Harding (2015), Androff (2016), and other social work educators have further suggested it is time for a shift from a focus from a *human needs* perspective to an emphasis on *human rights*. Immigrants have basic rights due to the fact they are human; simply ameliorating their intrapsychic pain will not redress the social, economic, and political violence being perpetrated against them (Androff, 2014; Furman et al., 2012). The crisis of immigration is an opportunity for social work to return to its roots: “The lesson for social workers is that the immigration debate offers an opportunity for modern social workers to once again fight for social reform as early workers did in the past” (Furman, Negi, & Cisneros-Howard, 2008, p. 285).

NASW and CSWE. The National Association of Social Workers (2006) published its *Immigration and Policy Toolkit*, and outlined “Social Work Priorities” on immigration (p. 8). First, all people must be treated equally: “Proposals that marginalize any group as second class citizens must be opposed” (p. 8). The *Toolkit* also recognized the impact of deportation and separation and the harm inflicted upon families, noting that “immigration policy must respect the importance of human relationships. No policy should result in family separation” (p. 8). Several years ago, the Council on Social Work Education (CSWE) was chided by some social work educators for not taking a stand against HB 87, Georgia’s Illegal Immigration Reform and

Enforcement Act of 2011, which was similar to Arizona's HB 1070. Ortiz, Garcia, & Hernandez (2012) noted, "taking positions on important issues such as HB 87, or any other racist, socially unjust practice, is not to be diminished because such positions are statements that demonstrate consistency between the profession's espoused values and actions" (Ortiz, Garcia, & Hernandez, 2012, p. 197). The authors also suggested that this is a bigger issue than just HB 87 or any single immigration law—"it is about human rights" (p. 197). Although CSWE (2008, 2015) has accreditation standards that recognize basic human rights, it needs to take a more formal stance against discrimination.

In contrast to CSWE, NASW (2012) took a formal stance opposing Arizona's SB 1070, acknowledging it would "criminalize immigrants, endangers human rights, and threaten the civil liberties of citizens' and immigrants" (p. 198). Using this example of professional advocacy, social work educators, leaders, and practitioners must be committed to opposing race-based anti-immigration legislation and the human rights violations that accompany such policies. Furman, Negi, & Cisneros-Howard, (2008) summarized the national debate on immigration poignantly: "The *immigration debate* can be conceptualized as a social dialogue regarding the legal status of undocumented people living in the United States, and what should be done about future undocumented immigrants" (p. 283). Social workers can and should be major players in the national dialogue on immigration.

Advocacy. At a micro level social workers can and have acted as first responders and advocates for particular immigrants. When ICE and local law enforcement conducted a raid on a factory in New Bedford in 2007 and detained 350 Latin American migrants, social workers acted as "first responders." (Golash-Boza, 2012b). Social workers from Department of Social Services worked tirelessly to secure the reunification of parents who had been forcefully and traumatically

separated from their children. These social workers managed to secure “the release of 90 parents who were the sole custodians of underage children” (Padilla et al., 2008, p. 7). This illustration was an example of how immigration enforcement policies are separating families, and impacting child welfare agencies. It also serves as an example of how social workers can intervene with clients harmed by crimmigration.

Community organizing with immigrant groups is another tool for macro practitioners to utilize in response to the immigration crisis: “macro practitioners can work to organize immigrant communities and form coalitions of stakeholders and allied groups affected by discriminatory immigration policies, such as members of the business community, labor groups, and church organizations” (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012, p. 171). A recent example of this approach is found in the work of the Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition for Immigrant Rights (WICIR). This alliance was formed after several raids devastated immigrant families and impacted the immigrant community in Michigan. Social workers were part of this coalition that responded at the micro, mezzo, and macro levels, and “engaged in advocacy, community education on immigration issues, and political action toward more humane immigration reform” (Sanders et al., 2013, p. 117).

The NASW (2008) Code of Ethics suggests that “social workers endorse the responsiveness of organizations to meet community needs” (p. 119). The Washtenaw Interfaith Coalition offers a useful model to emulate. WICIR’s mission includes four task forces. One provides an urgent response to families that have been targeted—for example, if a family member has been apprehended or detained by immigration or local law enforcement. Another task force engages in community and public education dispelling many of the myths and stereotypes surrounding migrants. A third works at addressing anti-immigration legislation on

the local and national level. A fourth task force engages in community organizing (Sanders et al., 2013).

Mobilizing Brazilian immigrants for political action is one of the recommendations of this study. However, this represents a daunting task due to the lack of solidarity among a large segment of this population, not to mention the risk of potential apprehension of family members based on immigration status (Guarnizo, Portes, & Haller, 2003; Vasquez, 2009). A recommendation would be to work in solidarity with Brazilian migrants impacted by crimmigration. There have been some attempts at creating social organizations by Brazilians, but at this time the Brazilian community in Connecticut is lacking an organization that can intervene on behalf of immigrants impacted by crimmigration.

Another macro practice strategy is grounded in legal interventions on behalf of immigrants that have been successful in challenging racially discriminatory practices of police departments and federal officials. Arizona's anti-immigrant SB 1070 was successfully challenged in the courts. The Mayor of Danbury, the Danbury Police Department, and ICE, were sued on behalf of 11 Latino day laborers after they were apprehended by ICE (New York Times, 2011). The lawsuit charged that these immigrant's civil rights had been violated in two ways. First, when this occurred in 2006, Danbury had not signed a Memorandum of Agreement or 287(g) that authorizes a local police department to engage in immigration enforcement activities. (The city of Danbury did sign an MOA later in 2009). Second, the lawsuit alleged that the Danbury Police Department and ICE engaged in racial profiling and pursued Latino immigrants who had not committed any crime nor were engaging in any violation of an immigration law at the time of apprehension. Human rights groups and activists can learn from this successful legal strategy to respond to abuses that result in racial profiling and

discriminatory enforcement of immigration laws (Lips, 2014; Fitz & Legomsky, 2015).

Another recommendation related to exposing the impact of crimmigration is to foster research leading to informed advocacy by the social work profession. Social work educators and researchers have played an important role in revealing the negative impact of punitive immigration laws and policies (Androff & Tavassoli, 2012; Cleaveland, 2011, 2013; Messing et al., 2015, Zayas, 2015). Zayas' (2015) example of advocacy and service both to the citizen-children and families separated by deportation, while demonstrating the negative impact of current anti-immigrant policies, is a testimony to the potential to bring about social change. His efforts have impacted the clients he served while confronting social injustice before the courts and law-makers. Publications about these efforts have made a significant contribution to raising awareness of the negative impact of current immigration policies.

Social work education. A final proposal to address the crimmigration crisis is to engage in consciousness-raising opportunities among social workers and increase the social work profession's awareness of this crisis (Freire, 1973). A recommendation to raise social worker's knowledge about crimmigration is to increase publications in the social work literature, along with professional presentations at CSWE, Society for Social Work Research (SSWR), NASW, and other professional conferences. A promising approach would be to encourage CSWE support for the development of curricula modules to include material on immigrants in course content and in curricula that address issues of human oppression. Undocumented immigrants, in particular, have not received significant attention by the profession as indicated by the lack of scholarship and policies by national organizations (Furman et al., 2008). More research on crimmigration should be published by social workers in the professional literature and other popular media outlets to increase awareness of this issue.

Finally, social work curricula in general should include more content on immigration and human rights. Segal (2014) emphasized the critical nature of this issue in the United States, underscoring that, “Social work and social work education in the United States have paid relatively little heed to their own country’s human rights violations” (p. 447).

Of note, there has been a shift institutionally in the curriculum of social work programs, in part due to CWSE’s 2008 Educational Policy and Accreditation Standards, or EPAS (CSWE, 2008, 2015). The EPAS “requires educators throughout the United States to incorporate human rights learning into generalist practice at the BSW level, as well as foundation and advance practice curricula at the MSW level” (Healy, Thomas, Berthold, & Libal, 2014, p. 4). Human rights also played an important role in CSWE’s 2015 guidelines that require social workers to demonstrate competency in the advocacy of human rights. Significantly, for the social work profession, human rights continue to have an important place in the new version of EPAS, and thus provides an opportunity to address immigration from a critical perspective.

Human Rights

Reframing the immigration debate from national security regarding *the Latino threat* to a debate about the human rights of immigrants and their families is a key conclusion of this study (Chavez, 2008). Crimmigration at its core is about human rights. The basis of migrants’ human rights lies in several United Nations Conventions and treaties, such as the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) (United Nations, 1948). In particular, the UDHR’s Article 13 is relevant, which specifies freedom of movement (Androff, 2014). Crimmigration is a direct violation of immigrants’ rights. The literature on crimmigration is replete with instances of violations of migrants rights—being denied due process, lack of protection from exploitation, raids on homes and work places, resulting in the separation of families, and deportation, which

has reached record numbers in the United States (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Dreby, 2015; Sampaio, 2015).

The growing criminalization of immigration in the United States has changed the lived experience of immigrants. As important, the criminalization of the undocumented has impacted social workers service provision to Latino clients and the Latino community. Social workers have not significantly focused on the criminalization of immigration (Furman et al., 2012). A human rights lens would assist the profession to analyze more systematically the impact of immigration laws and policies and address human rights violations (Healy, 2015).

Future Research

This study highlighted the need for further research in several areas. First, a participatory action research project could explore tangible ways to increase solidarity, community empowerment, and spur Brazilians impacted by crimmigration to social action (Freire, 1973; Padgett, 2008). Brazilian immigrants, like their Latino counterparts, have been subject to punitive immigration policies and enforcement. Unlike their Latino counterparts, there is no specific Brazilian human rights organization or organized Brazilian groups to respond to this crisis.

A second potential area of future research is a study conducted in Brazil with those who have suffered the ultimate penalty of the crimmigration crisis—*deportation* (Golash-Boza, 2012a, 2012b; Kanstroom, 2013; Zayas, 2015). This study focused on Brazilians who live in the United States, although many knew of family, friends, and acquaintances that were deported. As Zayas (2015) powerfully documented the impact on children of those deported, a future study could consist of interviews with those deported to Brazil, examining how their lives and their families have been impacted by crimmigration.

An additional potential area of study is also directly related to crimmigration. The focus of most articles, books and works on crimmigration emphasize race and ethnicity. Missing from the literature is a gendered analysis of crimmigration and its impact on women. Hartry (2012) notes that the connection between gender and crimmigration is not explored and implores “scholars and policy makers to reconsider crimmigration’s overly individualistic approach to a system that harms women and families disproportionately” (p. 1). A future study could be done to explore the *gendering* of crimmigration, that is, its impact on women utilizing intersectionality from feminist theory.

An additional area of future research would contribute to understanding the feminization of immigration. A study that would specifically focus on Brazilian women and their experiences of migration could explore aspects of Brazilian women’s lives post migration to the United States. A future study could inform social work regarding Brazilian women’s issues and contribute to scholarship on the feminization of immigration and the unique aspects of immigration using a gendered perspective.

Another future area of exploration is regarding the citizen-children placed with child protective services in Connecticut after their parents are detained or deported to understand the impact on these children’s lives. Like Zayas’ (2015) work in Texas, these children in Connecticut have been victims of the crimmigration crisis, and to date, there is no study on them and how separation from their parents has impacted their lives.

A final area for future study is to further explore the social construction of race and ethnicity of Brazilian immigrants post migration to the United States. Brazilian respondents for this study gave a wide range of responses when asked about race. Brazilian schemas regarding race changed when they migrated and were confronted with the American racial classification

system (Fritz, 2011; Joseph, 2015).

The Researcher as the Instrument of Measurement and Reflexive Practice

Conducting this qualitative study made me acutely aware of my own preconceptions and judgments regarding immigration, immigrants, and Brazilian immigrants in particular. I grew up with images of Carmen Miranda from movies, was mesmerized by Pél  and the Brazilian national soccer team’s five World Cup wins, Bossa Nova musician Tom Jobim, and fanciful stories of explorers who penetrated the dense Amazon forest to encounter indigenous tribes untouched by “civilization.” When I travelled to Brazil for the first time in 2001 I was able to experience the *real* Brazil. I have been to Brazil on 11 different occasions since then and have frequent contact with the Brazilian community in Connecticut. In Brazil, I travelled to the megacities of S o Paulo and Rio De Janeiro, the *favelas* (slums) of inner city S o Paulo, the rural farmlands of Minas Gerais, and the beautiful coasts of Bah a. Over the past 15 years I have come to experience there are “many” Brazils, in terms of land, people, and culture. I have watched the Brazilian immigrant community in Connecticut grow during this time—observed their triumphs and tragedies; periods of economic boom and bust; and watched the political and economic climate change since 9/11 (and 2008) and its resulting impact upon the Brazilians.

Conducting this study also made me aware of participants lived experiences, as well as my own experiences in relation to immigration issues. The heart of this study is participants’ *lived* experiences but they are seen through a lens—that of the researcher. Although the goal for the researcher to address one’s own biases is *epoche* in phenomenological research, I found that at times *I* remained—that is, I filtered the material told to me and tried to understand participants’ meanings as well as the meanings I attached to participants’ understandings. This study explored the “lived experience” of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut. But what is lived

experience? Van Manen (1990) suggested that lived experience “in its most basic form...involves our immediate, pre-reflective consciousness of life: a reflexive or self-given awareness which is, as awareness, unaware of itself” (p. 35). The lived experience of Brazilian immigrants also became, in part, *my experience* as we journeyed together during this study—I felt their joy, their pain, and their struggles.

I practiced reflexivity throughout this study to address my own biases. I found that I became aware of my own shortcomings regarding *my* knowledge and awareness of the *real* far-reaching impact of crimmigration, and the limitations of the social work profession—in terms of service, advocacy, and attempts to address this crisis. During this study I perceived increasingly that crimmigration is a grave a human rights crisis impacting *families*—impacting *real people* and their *real lives*. It made me aware of the potential for future *engaged* social work projects like those conducted by Cleaveland (2011) and Zayas (2015). They provide two examples of the *engaged* social work researcher and practitioner and the potential this has for real change and social justice—the ultimate goal for a human rights-based macro social work practice.

Conclusion

The history of U.S. immigration policy shows how the treatment of immigrants and subsequent immigration policy has reflected the sociopolitical “crises of the day.” From the Chinese Exclusion act of 1882, the internment of Japanese Americans during WWII, the current criminalization of immigration since 9/11 and massive detainment and deportation of Latino migrants, to the current debate over Muslim refugees, race-based policies have impacted the lived experience of immigrants in the United States (Furman et al., 2012; Moloney, 2012; Kanstroom, 2007, 2013). The post-9/11 punitive immigrations laws passed at local, state, and federal levels have had an adverse impact on certain groups of immigrants, namely the Latino,

Arab, and South Asia immigrant populations in the United States.

Immigration policy in the post-9/11 climate has other far-reaching consequences. The fight against the “war on drugs,” for example, criminalized and incarcerated many African American men and men of color (Alexander, 2012; Bhui, 2013). Some argue that immigration policy today parallels the “war on drugs” in that Latino men and women are stripped of constitutional rights under U.S. law and spend time in prison or are deported (Miller, 2003, 2005; Rudolph, 2011; Stumpf, 2013). As Furman et al. note: “Amidst fear of terrorism and the hope for ‘safer communities,’ U.S. immigration policy now focuses on national security, immigrant detention, and state and local level enforcement” (2012, p. 175). At the federal level, bipartisan comprehensive immigration reform has been stymied (the last time in 2013) for decades but funding for programs linked to homeland security continues to grow (Dreby, 2015; Sampaio, 2015).

This study found that crimmigration is a phenomenon that at its core is based on race/ethnicity (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Zayas, 2015). The racial and ethnic landscape of America is shifting due in part to the influx of Latin American immigrants over the past 30 years (Chang-Muy & Congress, 2009; Chavez, 2008; Durand & Massey, 2010). Social workers will be challenged to meet the service and advocacy needs of an increasingly diverse population. To keep pace with these changing demographics social workers need a level of “cultural and linguistic competence at three intersecting levels: the individual, institutional, and the societal” (NASW, 2015, p. 8). In addition, an approach utilizing structural competency will enable social workers to analyze the impact of economics, politics, and societal forces impacting clients lives. Three core social work values, service, social justice, and dignity, guide work with all clients. In practice with immigrants social workers must be cognizant of the barriers, discrimination, and

often oppression that immigrants face living in the United States. In particular, undocumented immigrants are a vulnerable and marginalized group confronting numerous barriers due to their legal status, varied ability to speak English, and restrictive immigration laws.

Instead of approaching immigration with fear and exclusionary measures, the United States could embrace and include these new immigrant arrivals. Often overlooked in the debate over Latin American immigration are the positive contributions that the Latino population has made to the United States—not only in terms of economics, but their influence in terms of human, social, and cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Androff et. al. (2011) suggested the positive impact of immigrants on urban centers when low-income migrants move into blighted-neighborhoods, long since abandoned by the middle class: “[immigrants] can re-animate such areas with renewed economic life and vibrancy” (p. 88). As an example of this, downtown Danbury (the commercial district) had been in decline following the construction of the Danbury Fair Mall on the outskirts of town in 1986. Central and South American (including Brazilian) migrants who moved to this area in the late 1980s and 1990s revitalized the downtown business center and surrounding residential area. The inclusion of immigrants into the fabric of American society has the potential to enrich the country, socially, economically, and culturally (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006; Waters, & Ueda, 2007).

Part of the solution to the immigration debate will require an analysis of the neoliberal economic policies that are drawing migrants to the United States. Many countries of the Global South have been harmed by the expansion of global capitalism and trade agreements like NAFTA (Stiglitz, 2003; Ritzer, 2010). As long as inequality continues to increase between the countries of the Global North and the Global South, migrants will continue to emigrate north (Castles & Miller, 2009; Kvisto & Faist, 2010; Stiglitz, 2002). If the conditions in many Latin

American countries do not improve, or continue to worsen, there will continue to be a wave of immigrants in search of a better life. The United States and other countries of the Global North should invest and assist in building the economies of Central and South American countries to improve the lives and opportunities for the residents of those countries. In line with this, a new law that was part of a 2016 federal spending bill “also includes a 750 million assistance package for Central America, with the aim of stemming rising child and family migration from the region” (Chishti & Hipsman, 2016). Similar economic stimulus packages to South America should be proposed to help improve the lives of people in those countries—making migrating north not the only viable option for many.

Many researchers have shown these draconian immigration laws and their enforcement have not stopped the tide of migration—immigrants are still migrating to the United States and Europe in large numbers (Aas & Bosworth, 2013; Dreby, 2015, Sampaio, 2015). And yet the massive deportation of immigrants continues: DHS deported more than 462,000 immigrants in 2015 (U.S. Department of Homeland Security, 2016b). Families are still being separated, citizen-children are still being made exiles and orphans (Zayas, 2015), and the immigration issue seems to be fading from public view as other events take precedence.

Ultimately, immigration reform at the federal level is needed to resolve this crisis. In the absence of federal immigration reform, states can enact immigration friendly policies like Connecticut’s decision to issue driver’s licenses to undocumented immigrants, and thus lessen the number of those detained and deported due to not having one (Zayas, 2015). In like manner, cities across the country can enact measures to protect immigrant families from separation and not contribute to the current *immigration-detainment complex* that has grown as a consequence of crimmigration (Golash-Boza, 2012b). Cities can enact community trust policies, also known

as sanctuary city ordinances, to limit the cooperation between ICE and local law enforcement (Mathema, 2015). Social workers have a valuable role to play in such efforts.

Social workers are in a unique position to be at the forefront of changes to immigration policy, congruent with a tradition of social reform within the profession (Ackerman & Furman, 2014; Androff, 2014; Libal & Harding, 2015; Reisch & Andrews, 2002; Zayas, 2015). Furman, Negi, & Cisneros-Howard (2008) observed, “perhaps reflecting the ambivalence of society in general, social work has not been as involved as it has been historically, in debates that affect the undocumented” (p. 283). The immigration debate is an opportunity for the profession to clarify its values and reaffirm its commitment to immigrants, an oppressed and vulnerable group (NASW, 2015). It represents a historic opportunity for the profession to fight for the *human rights* of immigrants being separated and torn apart by crimmigration. The racialization of immigration and the devastating effects it has on the Latino immigrant population in the United States will remain one of the pressing human rights issues of this century. Until enough voices cry out and social work advocates tackle this issue as firmly, boldly, and as vigorously as other human rights abuses have been in the past, this issue will remain unresolved. Ultimately this study was done with the goal of praxis. In the words of Paulo Freire: “In the context of history, culture, and politics, I register events not so as to adapt myself to them but so as to change them” (Pedagogy of the Heart, 1997, p. 47).

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Appendix A: Semi-Structured Interview Guide-English

Background Information:

- Tell me about yourself...How old are you?
- What type of work do you do?
- Are you married, single, in a relationship?
- How many children do you have? Do you have family members here?
- Do you feel comfortable in describing your current legal status?
- How would you describe your proficiency in English?
- Are you a member of any American organization, (civic, business, recreational)?
- Have you attended college or a university here?
- Have you voted or participated in an election campaign?
- Do you have any American friends?
- Do you attend church? Is it an American or Brazilian church?
- Do you watch any American channels on TV?
- How often do you Skype, call, or use face time to speak with family in Brazil?

Questions

- Tell me about your experiences as an immigrant in the United States?
- How long have you been in the United States?
- When was the first time you came to the United States?
- How many times have you come to the US and how long do you usually stay?
- How long have you been in the US this time?
- How do you think your life has changed since 9/11? In what ways has it changed?
- What do you know about immigration laws?

- In your opinion, do immigration laws criminalize immigrants?
- What do you think about this?
- Have attitudes towards immigrants changed recently?
- Have you experienced changes in attitudes towards immigrants (since 9/11)?
 - What do you think are the reasons for changes in attitudes towards immigrants after 9/11?
- Tell me about your experiences with local, state, or federal law enforcement?
- Tell me about any experiences you have had with immigration enforcement (such as ICE)?
- Are you worried about you or a family member being arrested or deported?
- Do you know of anyone who has been deported in your community? If so, tell me (what happened) how that impacted you?
- Have you experienced discrimination due to being an immigrant?
 - If so, can you tell me about your experience(s) when you felt discriminated against due to being an immigrant?
- Have you experienced discrimination due to being Latin American?
 - Tell me about any experience where you feel you were discriminated against due to being Latin American?
- Tell me about your work experiences here in the United States?
 - If you are working, how did you find your job?
 - Did you have trouble finding it?
 - Have you had trouble keeping it?
 - Have you had trouble providing documentation?

- Have you felt discrimination at work?
- Have you experienced discrimination regarding housing, work, obtaining a driver's license due to being an immigrant?
- What changes to immigration policies and laws have you seen?
 - How have you adapted to the changes in immigration policies and laws?
- Why have you chosen to stay in the US?
 - What has given you strength (resiliency) to remain in the US despite these changes?

Appendix B: Semi-Structured Interview Guide-Portuguese

Guia de entrevista

Informação:

- Diga-me sobre você ... Quantos anos você tem?
- Que tipo de trabalho você faz?
- Você é casado, solteiro, em um relacionamento?
- Quantos filhos você tem? Você tem familiares aqui?
- Você se sente confortável em descrever o seu estatuto jurídico atual?
- Como você descreveria a sua proficiência em Inglês?
- Você é um membro de qualquer organização americana, (cívico, de negócios, de lazer)?
- Você já freqüentou a faculdade ou uma universidade aqui?
- Você já votou ou participou de uma campanha eleitoral?
- Você tem amigos americanos?
- Você ir à igreja? É uma igreja americana ou brasileira?
- Você assiste quaisquer canais americanos na TV?
- Quantas vezes você Skype, ligar ou utilizar o tempo de cara para falar com a família no Brasil?

Perguntas

- Conte-me sobre suas experiências como imigrante nos Estados Unidos?
- Quanto tempo você esteve nos Estados Unidos?
- Quando foi a primeira vez que você veio para os Estados Unidos?
- Quantas vezes você vir para os EUA e por quanto tempo você costuma ficar?

- Quanto tempo você tem sido os EUA, desta vez?
- Como você acha que a sua vida mudou desde 9/11? De que forma isso mudou?
- O que você sabe sobre as leis de imigração?
- Na sua opinião, é que as leis de imigração criminaliza os imigrantes?
- O que você acha sobre isso?
- Tenha atitudes para com os imigrantes mudanças recentemente?
- Você já experimentou mudanças nas atitudes em relação aos imigrantes (desde 911)?

o que você acha que são as razões para mudanças nas atitudes em relação a imigrantes após 9/11?

- Conte-me sobre suas experiências com o local, estadual, ou a aplicação da lei federal?
- Conte-me sobre todas as experiências que você teve com a aplicação da imigração (como ICE)?
- Você está preocupado com você ou um membro da família a ser preso ou deportado?
- Você conhece alguém que tenha sido deportados em sua comunidade? Se assim for, diga-me (o que aconteceu) como que você impactou?
- Você já experimentou a discriminação devido a ser um imigrante?

o Em caso afirmativo, você pode me dizer sobre a sua experiência (s) em que se sentiu discriminado por ser um imigrante?

- Você já experimentou a discriminação por ser latino-americano?

Conte-me sobre o qualquer experiência em que você sente que foram discriminados devido a ser latino-americano?

- Conte-me sobre suas experiências de trabalho aqui nos Estados Unidos?

- o Se você está trabalhando, como você encontrar o seu emprego?

- o Você teve dificuldade em encontrá-lo?

- o Você já teve problemas para manter isso?

Você já teve problemas para o fornecimento de documentação?

- o Você já sentiu a discriminação no trabalho?

- Você já experimentou a discriminação em relação a habitação, o trabalho, a obtenção de uma carteira de motorista devido a ser um imigrante?

- Que mudanças de políticas e leis de imigração que você viu?

- o Como você tem adaptado às mudanças nas políticas e leis de imigração?

- Por que você escolheu para ficar em os EUA?

- o que lhe deu força (resistência) para permanecer em os EUA, apesar dessas mudanças?

Appendix C: IRB Information Sheet-English

Information Sheet for Participation in a Research Study



Principal Investigator: Scott Harding

Student Researcher: Walter Belsito

Study Title: The Lived Experience of Brazilian Immigrants in Connecticut and Crimmigration, or the Criminalization of Immigration

Introduction

You are invited to participate in this interview because you have experience as a Brazilian immigrant to the United States. I am a graduate student at the University of Connecticut, and I am conducting this interview as part of my course work. I am interested in finding out the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut, and in particular how immigration laws since 9/11 have influenced and impacted your experience in the United States. There is not a lot of information on Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut and the immigration laws passed in the United States since 9/11 have affected all immigrant populations in different ways.

Why is this study being done?

The purpose of this research study is to understand the experiences of Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut, and in particular how immigration laws since 9/11 have influenced or impacted your experience as an immigrant. Another goal is to provide the social work profession with information on Brazilian immigrants in Connecticut which may result in increased knowledge for the social work profession regarding service and advocacy for Brazilians in Connecticut.

What are the study procedures? What will I be asked to do?

With your permission, the interviews will be audiotaped to obtain complete and accurate information. You will be interviewed two times. The interview will take place at a time and location of your choice. Each interview will last approximately 60-90 minutes.

What are the risks or inconveniences of the study?

We believe that the risk presented to you by these interviews is minimal. The Student Investigator will focus on a range of topics, but may discuss previous experiences involving social or emotional conflict. You may choose not to answer any of the questions. A referral list of agencies that may be helpful to you will be provided, upon request. The only inconvenience is the amount of time the interviews take.

What are the benefits of the study?

You may not benefit directly from participating in these interviews. Your participation will be beneficial to the Student Investigator because it will help develop the interviewer's capacity for research. This study may provide insight into the impact of federal, state, and local immigration policies on the Brazilian immigrant population in Connecticut and offer suggestions for service and advocacy.

Will I receive payment for participation? Are there costs to participate?

There are no costs to you and you will be paid \$10 for each interview. You will be paid in cash at the end of each interview.

How will my personal information be protected?

The interviews will be transcribed by the Student Investigator and all identifying information will be removed. The first and second interviews will be linked by a code. Participants will be asked the name of their childhood friend and will confirm at the second interview the participant is the same from the first interview. No personal or identifying information will be gathered or stored. Only the Principal Investigator and researcher will have access to the transcripts. The tapes will be destroyed after they have been transcribed.

You should also know that the UConn Institutional Review Board (IRB) and Research Compliance Services may inspect study records as part of its auditing program, but these reviews will only focus on the researchers and not on your responses or involvement. The IRB is a group of people who review research studies to protect the rights and welfare of research participants.

Can I stop being in the study and what are my rights?

You do not have to be in this study if you do not want to. If you agree to be in the study, but later change your mind, you may drop out at any time. There are no penalties or consequences of any kind if you decide that you do not want to participate.

Whom do I contact if I have questions about the study?

Take as long as you like before you make a decision. We will be happy to answer any question you have about this study. If you have further questions about this project or if you have a research-related problem, you may contact the principal investigator, Scott Harding, Ph.D., 860-570-9182 or the student researcher Walter Belsito, 203-232-0791. If you have any questions concerning your rights as a research subject, you may contact the University of Connecticut Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 860-486-8802.

Appendix D: IRB Information Sheet-Portuguese

Ficha de Informação de Participação em um estudo de pesquisa



Investigador Principal: Scott Harding

Pesquisador Aluno: Walter Belsito

Título do estudo: a experiência vivida de imigrantes brasileiros em Connecticut e Crimmigration, ou a criminalização da imigração

Introdução

Você está convidado a participar nesta entrevista porque você tem experiência como imigrante brasileira para os Estados Unidos. Eu sou um estudante de pós-graduação na Universidade de Connecticut, e estou realizando esta entrevista como parte do meu trabalho de curso. Estou interessado em saber as experiências dos imigrantes brasileiros em Connecticut, e em particular, como as leis de imigração desde 9/11 ter influenciado e impactado a sua experiência nos Estados Unidos. Não há um monte de informações sobre imigrantes brasileiros em Connecticut e as leis de imigração aprovada nos Estados Unidos desde 9/11 ter afetado todas as populações de imigrantes de diferentes maneiras.

Porque é que este estudo que está sendo feito?

O objetivo deste estudo é compreender as experiências dos imigrantes brasileiros em Connecticut, e em particular, como as leis de imigração desde 9/11 ter influenciado ou impactado sua experiência como imigrante. Outro objetivo é proporcionar a profissão de assistente social com informações sobre imigrantes brasileiros em Connecticut que podem resultar em aumento do conhecimento para a profissão de assistente social a respeito do serviço e de advocacia para os brasileiros em Connecticut.

Quais são os procedimentos do estudo? O que vou ser convidado a fazer?

Com sua permissão, as entrevistas serão gravadas em fita para obter informações completas e precisas. Você será entrevistado duas vezes. A entrevista será realizada em data e local de sua escolha. Cada entrevista dura aproximadamente 60-90 minutos.

Quais são os riscos e os inconvenientes do estudo?

Acreditamos que o risco que lhe é apresentado por estas entrevistas é mínima. O Pesquisador Aluno incidirá sobre uma variedade de tópicos, mas podem discutir experiências anteriores envolvendo o conflito social ou emocional. Você pode optar por não responder a nenhuma das perguntas. Será fornecida uma lista de referência de agências que podem ser úteis para você, mediante solicitação. O único inconveniente é a quantidade de tempo que as entrevistas tomar.

Quais são os benefícios do estudo?

Você não pode beneficiar directamente de participar nestas entrevistas. Sua participação será benéfico para o Pesquisador Aluno, porque vai ajudar a desenvolver a capacidade do entrevistador para a pesquisa. Este estudo pode fornecer compreensão sobre o impacto dos governos federal, estadual e as

políticas locais de imigração sobre a população imigrante brasileira em Connecticut e oferecer sugestões para o serviço e advocacia.

Será que vou receber o pagamento para participar? Existem custos para participar?

Não há custos para você e você será pago R \$ 10 para cada entrevista. Você será pago em dinheiro no final de cada entrevista.

Como a minha informação pessoal ser protegido?

As entrevistas serão transcritas pelo Pesquisador Aluno e todas as informações de identificação serão removidos. A primeira ea segunda entrevistas serão ligados por um código. Os participantes serão solicitados o nome de seu amigo de infância e vai confirmar na segunda entrevista, o participante é o mesmo desde a primeira entrevista. Nenhuma informação pessoal ou de identificação serão coletados ou armazenados. Somente a Investigator Principal e Pesquisador Aluno aceder a transcrições. As fitas serão destruídos após terem sido transcritas.

Você também deve saber que o Conselho de Revisão Institucional UConn (IRB) e Pesquisa Compliance Services pode inspecionar registros do estudo como parte de seu programa de auditoria, mas esses comentários só incidirá sobre os investigadores e não em suas respostas ou envolvimento. O IRB é um grupo de pessoas que revisam estudos de investigação para proteger os direitos e bem-estar dos participantes da pesquisa.

Posso deixar de ser no estudo e quais são os meus direitos?

Você não tem que ser neste estudo, se você não quiser. Se você concordar em participar do estudo, mas depois mudar de ideias, você pode cair a qualquer momento. Não há sanções ou consequências de qualquer tipo, se você decidir que não quer participar.

Quem devo contactar se tiver perguntas sobre o estudo?

Leve o tempo que quiser, antes de tomar uma decisão. Teremos o maior prazer em responder qualquer pergunta que você tem sobre este estudo. Se você tiver outras dúvidas sobre este projeto ou se você tem um problema relacionado com a pesquisa, você pode entrar em contato com o Investigador Principal, Scott Harding, Ph.D., 860-570-9182 ou o Pesquisador Aluno Walter Belsito, 203-232-0791. Se você tem alguma dúvida sobre seus direitos como objeto de pesquisa, você pode entrar em contato com a Universidade de Connecticut Institutional Review Board (IRB) no 860-486-8802.

Appendix E: Demographics of Participants

Brazilian Participants			Demographic Information			
	M/F	Age	Occupation	Length of time in US	Legal Status	State/Place of origin/Brazil
#1	F	33	House Cleaner	10 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais
#2	F	35	Dental Assistant	3 yr.	Tourist visa	Minas Gerais
#3	M	30	Manager/Rest.	10 yr.	Citizen	Minas Gerais
#4	M	69	Retired	14 yr.	Citizen	Minas Gerais
#5	F	62	Factory worker	14 yr.	Citizen	Minas Gerais
#6	M	36	Manager/D&D	15 yr.	Citizen	Paraíba
#7	M	55	Pastor/Church	25 yr.	Citizen	Rio de Janeiro
#8	F	24	Bartender	14 yr.	DACA	Maranhão
#9	M	32	Manager/D&D	15 yr.	Citizen	Paraíba
#10	F	47	Housecleaner	12 yr.	In Process	Bahía
#11	M	58	Driver/airport	19 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais
#12	F	48	Server/D&D	15 yr.	Citizen	Paraíba
#13	M	43	Small/business	18 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais
#14	F	18	Hairdresser	8 yr.	Documented	São Paulo
#15	F	54	Massage Therap.	25 yr.	Citizen	Minas Gerais
#16	F	34	Food Service/ Catering	14 yr.	Citizen	São Paulo
#17	F	31	Massage therap.	10 yr.	Citizen	Rondônia
#18	F	42	Housecleaner	20 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais
#19	M	34	Carpenter	16 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais
#20	F	40	Housewife	16 yr.	Undocumented	Minas Gerais

Total Participants and Legal Status

Male (8) Female (12) Documented (12) Undocumented (6) In process of being documented (2)

Region from: Brazil

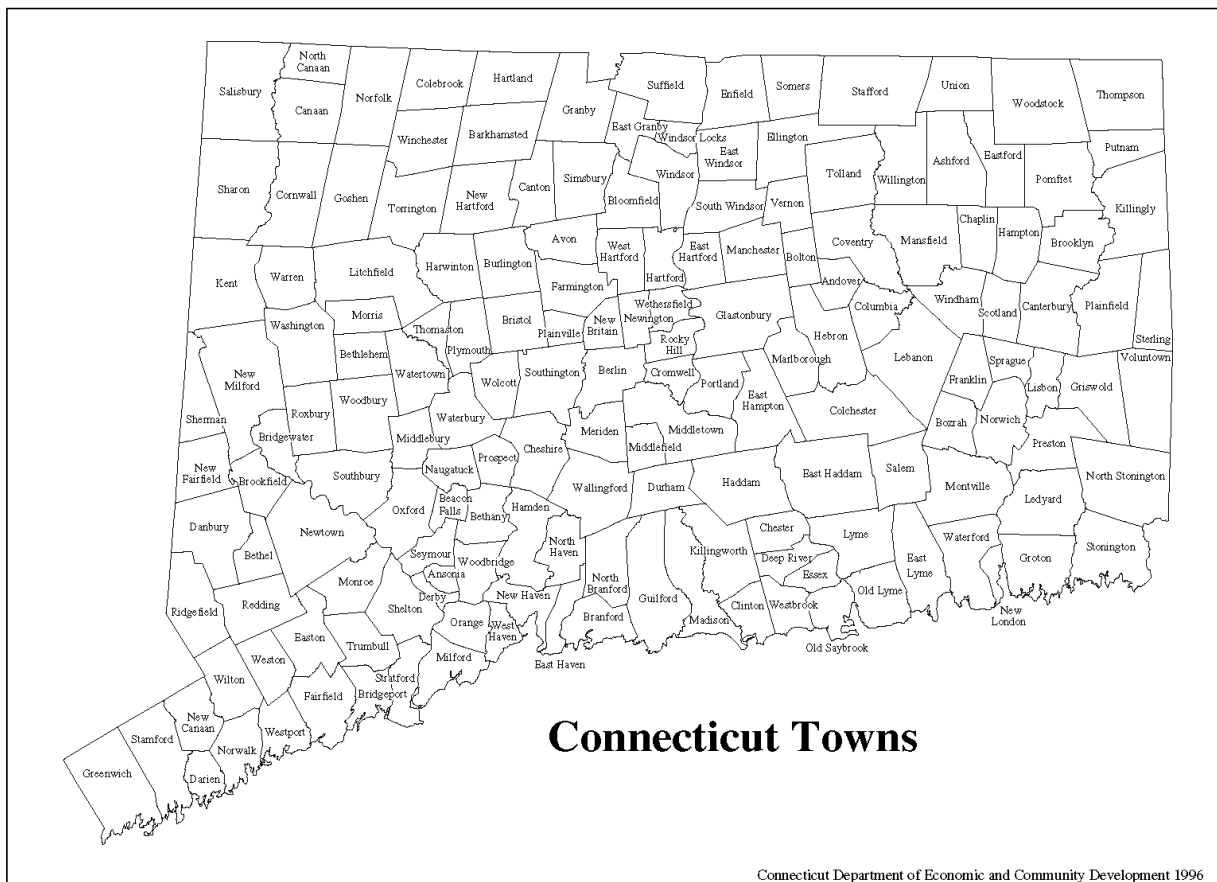
Minas Gerais (11) São Paulo (2) Rio de Janeiro (1) Paraíba (3) Rondônia (1) Bahía (1)
Maranhão (1)

Note: D&D=Dunkin' Donuts

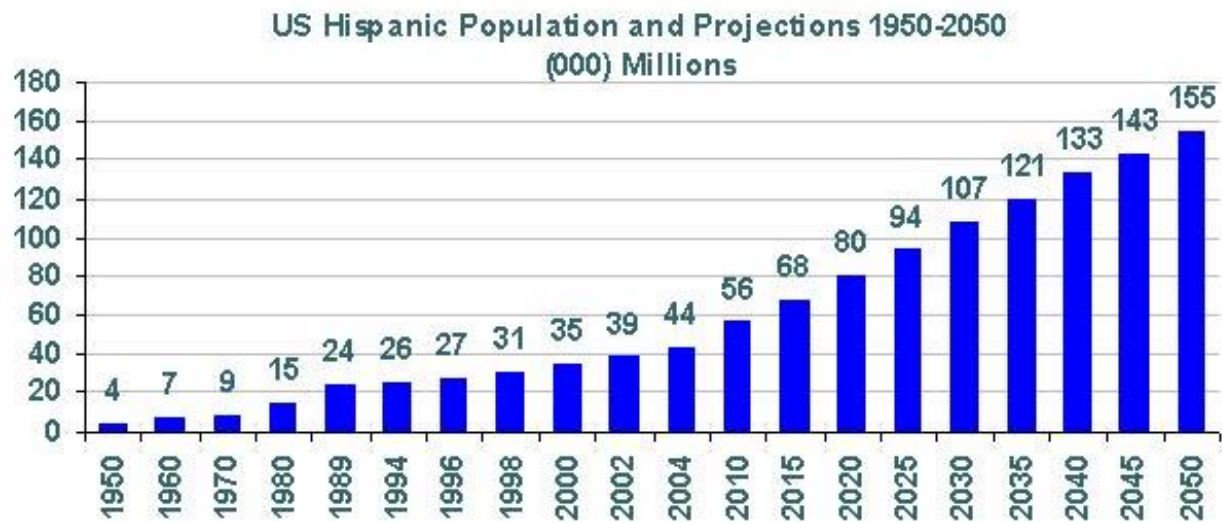
Appendix F: Map of Brazil



Appendix G: Map of Connecticut

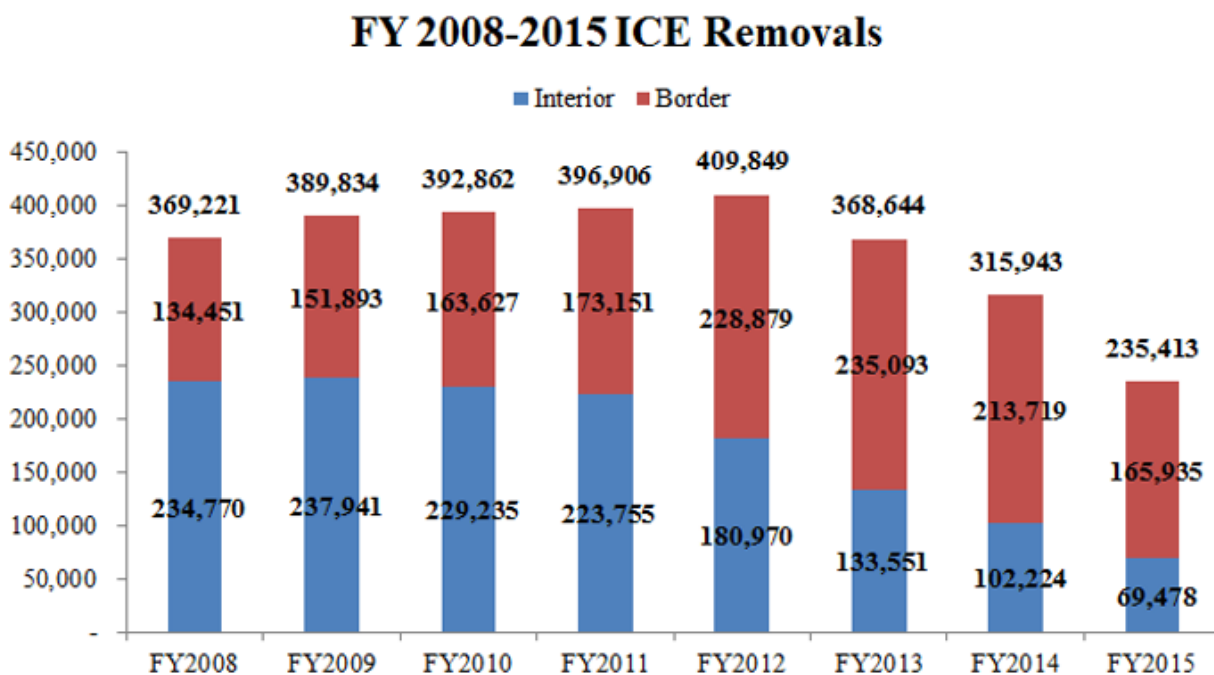


Appendix H: US Hispanic/Latino Population



Source: Synovate, U.S. Census Bureau

Appendix I: ICE Deportations/Removals 2008-2015



Source: www.ice.gov/removal-statistics

NOTE: DHS stated there were 462,463 removals and returns in 2015. This table was published by DHS before the end of 2015 and does not show complete numbers for 2015 (DHS, 2015).

Appendix J: Deportations by Country of Origin 2015

Table 3: FY 2015 Top 10 Countries of Removal by Citizenship

Citizenship	Total
Mexico	146,132
Guatemala	33,249
El Salvador	21,920
Honduras	20,309
Dominican Republic	1,946
Ecuador	1,305
Colombia	1,154
Nicaragua	867
Brazil	744
Jamaica	738
Other	7,049
Total	235,413

Source: <https://www.ice.gov/removal-statistics>