POWERS AND LIMITS IN THE DAILY LIFE OF HAITIAN AFRO-DESCENDANT REFUGEE IMMIGRANTS

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ABSTRACT

Objective: to understand the powers and limits in the daily lives of Haitian Afro-descendant refugee immigrants. Methodology: a qualitative study, with an interpretive research approach, in a Comprehensive Sociology and Quotidian perspective. Twenty-two immigrant refugee families living in the municipalities of Blumenau, Gaspar, Pomerode, and Florianópolis, and 27 health professionals from Primary Health Care were part of this research. The project was approved by the Ethics Committee under Opinion no. 4.195.158. It was carried out in the period from August 2020 to August 2021 through semi-structured interviews. The data analysis included the following analysis techniques: pre-analysis, exploration of the material, and treatment of the results obtained and interpretation. Results: four categories emerged: Dream of a better life; Everyday life; Family, my power; Family. Families emerge as the power in an environment far from being the one dreamed of at the moment of migrating. The family, expressed by different structures, conceives itself as potency for resistance. Final considerations: refugee immigrant families conceive and structure themselves in different ways, constituting a potency for resistance.

Keywords: Family. Primary Health Care. Immigrants.

INTRODUCTION

Dealing with the subject of immigration in Brazil is still something delicate since immigrants are still perceived as a source of risk to the population, reinforcing discrimination, prejudice, besides generating and promoting the maintenance of countless limits in the daily life immigrants and their families, strengthening the violation of rights, the promotion of well-being without distinction of race, sex, color, creed, age, or nationality (1).

This lack of empathy by the Brazilian population toward refugee immigrant families is often associated "with the category of race, as in the case of Haitians who are mostly black; the condition of black immigrants becomes an extra challenge for them in the labor market" (2:303). These people and families of refugee immigrants characterize a specific group within

International migration, because when we call them refugees, we take into consideration that the displacement occurs due to natural and ecological disasters⁽¹⁾, besides being individuals forced to leave their country of origin due to wars, ethnic, religious, and political regimes, and other situations of violence and violation of human rights⁽³⁾.

migratory process innumerable causes and is present throughout history. It can occur voluntarily when the person family seeks autonomy, better opportunities, and the achievement of freedom of movement, or when migration is forced, it is permeated with interruptions and disruptions of lives and human rights violations⁽⁴⁾.

Haiti is today considered one of the most vulnerable countries in the world due to the impacts of the actions of nature, hurricanes, and tropical storms, in addition to the difficulties of

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responding to the damage caused by these effects on the population, perpetuating a serious the problem of poverty among its residents. All these aspects of socioeconomic vulnerability contribute to the search for a new country, where they idealize better days. Despite numerous solidarity actions of and international humanitarian aid, the country has not achieved real improvements in the quality of life, with only 20% of its population employed, and the country has one-third of its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) coming from revenues sent by Haitian immigrants settled in other countries⁽²⁾.

And, it is in the daily life of refugee immigrants that these families are immersed. Their reality is full of deprivations of human rights, in which a large portion lives in a situation of exclusion, being unable to promote healthy and sustainable livelihoods⁽⁵⁾. In counterpoint to this daily life of deprivations and non-acceptance of differences, it is worth rescuing the theories of the sociologist Michel Maffesoli, when he proposed collaboration so that differences can integrate, allowing us to learn to combine with them: "difference far from impoverishing, enriches" (6:38).

The look at Afro-descendant refugee immigrants allows the potencies of their daily life to become visible. The potency lies precisely in the fact that each act is at the same time the expression of a certain alienation and, in a way, a certain resistance. It is a compound of triviality and exception, of slowness and excitement, it is the site of "a real sense of reappropriation of existence" (6:96). Power is the force that comes from within each person, being of order, liberation, and cooperation.

And, it is in this daily life that the family can emerge as a power, understanding that a person is not alone but belongs to a healthy family nucleus, which is:

"[...] a set of strengths that translate into skills; balance, flexibility, and communication, being united by bonds of affection exteriorized by love, affection, freedom of expression and sharing of beliefs, values, and care practices" (8:464).

This concept rescues that family is, besides blood correlation, composed of people who share the same space, and who are intimately linked by affective and effective relationships. Over the decades, families have gone through different transformations, and today there may be different family configurations⁽⁹⁾.

Study question: What are the powers in the daily life of Haitian Afro-descendant immigrant refugee families? By unveiling the daily life of families, this knowledge will potentiate effective and affective care.

These data emerge from the thesis entitled: Daily life of families of African descent immigrant refugees, where this article will present a section of this thesis, which seeks to understand the powers of everyday life of families of African descent immigrant refugees in environments of deprivation of human rights, empowering health professionals to provide health-promoting care.

METHODOLOGY

Qualitative and interpretative research that adopted the framework of the Comprehensive Sociology and the Quotidian of Michel Maffesoli, considering the Theoretical and Sensitivity Assumptions. Thus, through the understanding and reflection on the daily life ofimmigrant refugee families, retrieving attitudes, beliefs, values, behaviors, and actions, it seeks to understand how people interpret and give meaning to their experiences and the world they live in, emphasizing the subjective aspects of human behavior, the subject's world, their daily experiences, their social interactions, and the meanings they give to these experiences and interactions⁽¹⁰⁾.

Research using Consolidated Criteria for Reporting Qualitative Research (COREQ) was developed with 49 participants, 22 immigrant refugee families living in the municipalities of Blumenau, Pomerode, Gaspar, Florianópolis, in the state of Santa Catarina, and 27 Primary Health Care (PHC) professionals from these municipalities. These municipalities were chosen due to the significant numerical presence of Haitian families and the history of colonization of this region. Inclusion criteria were: being an Afro-descendant immigrant Haitian refugee family; being over 18 years old; being or having lived in a situation of human rights deprivation; having the cognitive capacity to answer the questions.

Data collection was carried out between the months of August 2020 and August 2021, where data collection occurred through semi-structured interviews. As an initial approach strategy, the researcher contacted churches and associations, seeking access to Haitian refugee immigrant families of African descent. In the cities of Pomerode and Gaspar, data collection took place in the space provided by the church, the reference place for scheduling and conducting the interview, lasting an average of 50 minutes. In Blumenau, the interview took place at the families' homes. In the city of Florianópolis, the interviews took place at the headquarters of an immigrant support association. The interviews were guided by a semi-structured instrument. All the interviews were recorded after the acceptance of voluntary participation and the signing of the Free and Informed Consent Form, presented in Portuguese and in Creole, due to the language barrier, the interviews always took place in the presence of a family member who Portuguese. All interviews developed with more than one participant from the family, for this reason, the term family is used in this study.

Data collection occurred only after approval by the Research Committee under Opinion number 4.195.158. To maintain the confidentiality of the research participants, an alphanumeric codename was attributed to their description.

The interviews were digitally recorded, with later transcription. The field diary was also adopted integrating Interaction Notes, Methodological Notes, Theoretical Notes, and Reflective Notes. For data analysis, a thematic analysis was performed, with the following steps: pre-analysis, exploration of the material, and treatment of the results obtained and interpretation.

After a thorough reading of each interview, an instrument was used that favored the analysis in a general way, considering the singularities. Next, the categorization occurred, respecting the meanings and similarities. In this study, which aimed to understand the powers of the daily life of Haitian Afro-descendant immigrant refugee families in environments deprived of human rights for health-promoting care, the guiding questions were: how do you perceive your life

before arriving here in Brazil and now? What has changed? What is family for you? What were the strengths that helped you get through the challenges? Where does this strength come from?

After the process of thematic analysis of the data, four central categories emerged, named as follows: Dream of a better life; Daily life; Family, my strength; Family.

It is understood that, for the discussion of these results and the achievement of the objective, sensitive reasoning, and libertarian thinking were present in the analysis and interpretation of the results of this article, unveiling what is being experienced. "There are times when it is important to use a broad thought that is up to the task of grasping the new configurations, and for this, it is not possible to be content with concepts" (6:39). The data will be presented in the four categories that complement each other.

RESULTS

The understanding of the powers and limits of the everyday life of Haitian afro- descendant immigrant refugees in environments of deprivation of human rights, from their imagination made it possible to emerge the following central categories: Dream of a better life; Everyday life; Family, my power; Family: what it is and who it is.

Dream of a better life

When walking through the knowledge of these immigrant families of Haitian Afrodescendant, going through their imagination in their daily lives, it became evident that the dream of a better life moved them to leave their country of origin in search of a welcoming the country that would promote the conditions to dream, to fight.

Actually, for me, I dreamed of having a better life than before, life here is better, there in Haiti there is a lack of jobs, and here it is better. Even working in Haiti, there is a lack of security, here, I receive little, I was happy, you have a life with protection, you have security. There in Haiti, you walk down the street and you will be shot (FAM. 03).

I dream that my daughters do not have to work like me, it is my dream. I have to fight to see them study, for their quality of life to be better than mine, it is my dream, but my day to day is complicated, but who is a warrior has to fight to get ahead, work hard, earn a little, eat a little, have a little left over to survive (FAM. 04).

Despite the difficulties that we encounter in Brazil, in various aspects, we have to thank and look at what is happening in Haiti, it seems that we can no longer live, there is no public security, no access to health care, education, which was good, now becomes bad. Despite all these difficulties, for me, living in Brazil is better (FAM. 15).

However, the dream of a better life becomes more and more distant, as they leave their families in Haiti and find, in Brazil, difficulties, and limits that promote the maintenance of deprivations of essential human rights.

For me, I was in Haiti, and everything was fine, but then the earthquake happened and destroyed everything, so I came to Brazil to find a better life, but there is no better life for me, it is to work, the truth is to work, leave my family there, I couldn't bring my daughter, it is complicated, I have no way to pick them up. But Brazil, for me, is better, I work, I pay rent, I have food, but that is all, but changing life is difficult (FAM. 10).

Actually, it is quite complicated to explain how we are living here today, and most of us, if we have the possibility to return, but, as our country is going through a civil war, we cannot return, but the quality of life is not good. I remember, when I arrived, the gas cylinder was 35 reais, now it's 90, and we earn the same salary, I work in a company, it never pays the union salary. I remember, last year, I got a 3% salary increase and, unfortunately, my house went up 5% and now when will I get the difference to pay the rent? It is very difficult, but we have faith in God and I believe that one day He will open the doors for us (FAM. 05).

Daily life

These deprivations promote a not good daily life, full of difficulties, struggles, and overcoming, not presented as they dreamed.

The day-to-day life, I remembered when I worked in the company I had a very, very hard time, I cried, I had a lot of racist difficulties, I had

difficulties as a type of person that treats others like dirt, very, very hard, but I stayed because I need to. I worked and worked until I left. Now, I am in the company [...] I am fighting, I am fighting, to see (FAM. 04)

.For me, every day is complicated, responsible for the church, thinking about everything, and responsible for the lives of others, for example, I have a child and get tired and think about which day to stay with the children, and when you are out to earn bread and think how will give tomorrow to children if it will not be the same. Every day is a struggle (FAM. 09).

In this daily life, the nostalgia hits hard, the concern for those who stayed in Haiti, and the difficulties that are accentuated due to the pandemic.

For me, it is different, because I think more because I left relatives there in Haiti, and to come here we have more concerns, I left six years, and I left relatives, my sisters, brothers, and my mother (FAM. 01). There are Haitians who left family, husbands, and children there in Haiti, they want to bring them to Brazil, but they can't, for this, it is very difficult that we are going through. The pandemic also arrived, and they are suffering discrimination at work because there are companies where they are working, they have been working for four, or three years and, to remove them, they only remove Haitians from their jobs, they only send Haitians away, we understand that the pandemic turned the world upside down, but a company that is working, that has several immigrants and Brazilians, they only send Haitians away. Why? (FAM. 17).

Family is my strength

And, it is in this daily life of difficulties and limitations that, many times, make me want to give up, to stop dreaming, is that the family emerges, my power, is the being together in harmony, support, and union of the families - Haitians, strengthening me.

My family, when I want to give up, always gives me strength, and support, to move forward, I have a little daughter, five years old, and she always gives me the dream, she tells me: 'Mom, when you are older, I will give it to you, your birthday, I will walk with you. I have a family that is always there to help, to say: 'You can do it, go ahead (FAM. 02).

For me, the things we have, to be well, harmonious, to be sincere, support, and family, one needs the other to help each other and get where we want to go (FAM. 05).

We Haitians, when we have problems, we are foreigners, but we are united, then, our problems, we solve as if they belonged to everyone, even if we are not from the same city or state of Haiti, but when we get here, we are united, my problem is his problem; his problem, I do everything I can to help him, as if we unite to help each other (FAM. 17)

Family: what it is and who it is

By diving into the imagination of the Afrodescendant Haitian refugee immigrants, the meaning of family emerged, as well as who makes up this family. The family is the greatest good, it is an asset, it is who is close and helps when there is a difficulty, it is who lives together daily and collaborates. Thus, the family can involve blood, adoption, cohabitation, and psychosocial ties, and can be: the husband, the son, and the Haitian friend.

Family, for me, is an asset, is an asset, family, for me, is a gift from God, I am happy because I am with my family and I have relatives there, but I am happy because my wife and my daughters are with me because it is an asset, I feel happy, we have no condition to live, but we have a family to cheer us up, I have my daughters to play, for me, my family is my greatest asset (FAM. 05).

Family, for me, is my husband, my children, my relatives, and my friends, who are close to me, and who are here to help me when there is a difficulty that is always here or I always help them. These people are my family (FAM. 07).

- [...] family are the people who live together day by day, people that I try to believe, that I will put my trust in, they are people like my family (FAM. 16).
- [...] is Haitian, is like all this family, close, family far away and the same thing, Brazilian, for me, is different from Haitian, Haitian likes to help the family a lot, the mother, father, brother, everything, Haitian has a very family collaboration (FAM. 09).

DISCUSSION

When speaking of Haitian immigrants and families of African descent, we describe people who immigrate in search of a dignified life, and human rights, which are deprived in their country of origin, either due to lack of public safety, lack of opportunities, the sequels present in the country due to earthquakes, motivating these people to idealize a better life and leading them to new horizons ⁽¹⁾.

The Afro-descendant immigrant families leave their country, carrying in their suitcases their culture, its roots, and seeking refuge, where human living, and survival, gain relevance. It is in this search for better days that the "family" emerges as the power, which feeds and allows us to dream of a world of hope, thus maintaining the dream of what we want it to be one day, the family constitutes a feeling of belonging, an internal bond between generations, between genders, adoption, full of fundamental elements, effective communication, forgiveness, flexibility, affinity, happiness, union, affection, presence, harmony, tolerance, freedom, security, and reciprocity (9).

is in this encounter between consanguineous people, or not, that the family emerges as the power that, if reflected in the daily lives of immigrant refugee families, does not seem possible, since they live daily deprivations of rights. However, understanding societal endurance, which is the ability to resist, one can understand this power, since it is this capacity to survive, unconscious, constituted in the human being, that makes the human being continue the journey (6).

"Upon immigrating, these families experience the deconstruction of the myth of Brazil as a hospitable country and are faced with a false racial democracy, reinforcing the evidence that the foundations of Brazilian society are indeed in the patriarchal family model, which established rigid moral paradigms (almost) inflexible, of conducts that create a barrier to be overcome by foreigners, as well as social codes that can be difficult to be deciphered" (10:231).

Although Brazil is known as a welcoming country for immigrants and refugees, prejudice towards refugee immigrant families is present in different sectors. In the health area, professionals do not publicly express prejudice ⁽¹⁾. The

prejudice and the stigmatizing relationship for being black reflect directly in the conduction of care actions. These practices of racism and discrimination put people in a situation of vulnerability since these actions permeate their health care ⁽³⁾.

In this new reality of life, in which these families inserted, social isolation, are discouragement and psycho-emotional changes may arise, leading, in some cases, to sadness and depression, because, besides the different culture and the language barrier, many are away from their other family members due to the high costs for all members to come to Brazil. When thinking about immigrant and refugee families, besides understanding their conception of family, it is necessary to have empathy and respect for their roots, rescuing their stories, and trying to understand their potentials (11: 260).

Knowing and understanding the obstacles, limits, and powers of these families favors healthy functioning since they certainly seek care in the PHC units (12).

The state of Santa Catarina, located in the southern region of the country, historically had its development through different migratory moments, conceiving a state rich in cultures and traditions. Recognized as a welcoming state, it offers immigrant great job opportunities, currently, a significant number of Haitian Afrodescendant families are present in the state; however, the practices employed by this population are contradictory about the past history.

The soil of Santa Catarina has been notable for having the largest registry of cases of racial abuse on a national level. According to the Anuário Brasileiro de Segurança Pública (Brazilian Yearbook of Public Safety), up to November 25, 2021, 2.865 cases were registered, evidencing an average of 7.8 registrations per day. The black population feels oppressed, discouraging the victim of structural racism to seek shelter, since, for every two black people, there are eight white people (13)

The consequences of historical inequalities are perceived in the speeches of immigrants of African descent to be judged as inferior, which matches the difficulty of performance in the labor market, and is reaffirmed when conceiving that the person being black needs to resist the

heaviest and most difficult tasks (14).

And it is in this context that the family emerges, it is important to remember that the family for immigrants of African descent is a group of people who are united by relations of reciprocal influence, direct, intense, and lasting, internalized by its members ⁽¹⁵⁾. Haitian families are characterized as community families because, in their conception, they are not restricted to spouses and their children, but to people who live under the same roof. These affective ties strengthen their daily lives to face the difficult conditions experienced in their country of origin, the result of centuries of colonialism and exploitation ⁽¹⁶⁾.

The family is the union of people who perceive themselves as family, and who live together for a certain period, with structure and organization to achieve common goals and build a life story, having their own identity, values, culture, beliefs, achievements, and struggles, thus forming their singularity and wholeness of being⁽⁸⁾. Another way of being together is in which the imaginary, the oneiric, and the ludic, precisely, occupy the primordial place ⁽⁹⁾.

It is in this power, family, that being together is celebrated, whose purpose is less universal reason and more the shared emotion, the feeling of being part, a sharing of passions and collective emotions, which manifest itself in a specific environment in which the tribe (the family) to which one belongs is immersed ⁽⁹⁾. It is in this family's daily life that one is prepared for living with the world, and it is impossible to understand the family entity isolated from the social, historical, and cultural context since the day-to-day demands interfere with constitution (17).

During these difficulties, it is necessary to let thought approach what is simple, and close to everyday life. The path of proper thought, and effective life, is what is effected. "The understanding attitude is a polyhedral agency that approaches social phenomena in their entirety, existence justifying itself" (17:228), showing that it is important to complement simple reason by the senses, by instincts, by feelings, and by other manifestations of that capacity for fantasy that constitutes the entirety of human nature⁽⁶⁾.

Admitting sensitive as a constituent part of

human nature, evidencing the social effects that this presupposes in all the attributions of daily life, is to consider that passion, feeling, emotion, and care (re)exercise a privileged role for the understanding of living ⁽⁶⁾.

The family awakens the "collective unconscious, emphasizing the potency of all human potentialities" and, in this daily life of privations, refugee immigrant families dream of the re-enchantment of the world ⁽⁶⁾, of the possibility of better days "in which, through old figures, it is possible to illustrate a daily life that, by nature, is plunged into sadness".

These families show that the individual body can only be healed through the healing of the collective body, the community, where the actions of "mutual help are inscribed in an organic perspective in which the elements, through their synergy, strengthen the whole of life, is a response of the social will to live". This collective feeling of common strength is the foundation of endurance, of resistance, which allows explaining the continuous migrations in search for prosperity ⁽⁶⁾.

This feeling of belonging, of belonging, shapes the Afro-descendant refugee immigrant families, which intertwine and help each other, creating a base to strengthen themselves. It is in this tribe that, during the tragedy, they reconnect to things, to words, renewing the imaginary that does not allow itself to be domesticated, escaping the normative orders and political manipulations, an imaginary of the collective unconscious. This "social body is a metabolism and, as such, has variations, specific rhythms, multiple accentuations; among them, certainly, the call of rootedness, the return, the origin" (4-17).

This approach allows for overcoming the hegemony of care focused on the disease, allowing the promotion of care focused on families and their potentials for the promotion of effective and affective care ⁽¹⁸⁾.

STUDY LIMITATIONS

The limitation of this study was the fact that data collection was developed during the COVID-19 pandemic period, as well as the language barrier which the researcher needed to articulate to people who could speak supportive Portuguese to carry out the interviews.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The family, when emerging as a potency, endurance, resistance to the deprivations of human rights imposed on people and families of Haitian afro-descendent immigrant refugees, rescues what is essential to the human being is invisible to the eye, that is, the bond of love and security that allows people to dream of better days for their children and a better world. It is understood that the conception of family, for these people, the refugee immigrants, is much more than blood ties, they are historical, emotional, and overcoming connections that allow them to meet and care for each other.

These families, conceived of different people who migrate to a country in search of a more dignified life, meet and unite for the sake of mutual care because they have experienced the same pains, and difficulties and have the same ideals: the maintenance and protection of the family and life.

The family emerges as the power in this daily life and, as PHC professionals, it is essential to understand and articulate the powers and practices for health-promoting care for families. When the family is sheltered, it can also become a power, mediating and catalyzing actions to transform reality towards a dignified life.

It is necessary to understand the different ways of being and the meaning of the family. In the day-to-day professional activities, in the different scenarios of health services, one often comes across women accompanied by men who are not their spouses or children, but their neighbors, friends, and people who help them, and collaborate with them. In short, these are people that they consider to be family members, empowering actions for affective care, therefore, effectively promoting the health of the person and the family.

We must not lose sight of the fact that these people suffer countless deprivations of human rights daily live in a reality far from the one they had idealized and that motivated them to migrate, but, even with all the adverse conditions, they have not given up, they continue in search of the realization of their dream, because the family sustains them, and feeds them with good feelings and hopes.

POTÊNCIAS E LIMITES NO QUOTIDIANO DOS IMIGRANTES REFUGIADOS AFRODESCENDENTES HAITIANOS

RESUMO

Objetivo: compreender as potências e os limites do quotidiano das afrodescendentes haitianas imigrantes refugiadas. **Metodologia:** estudo qualitativo, com abordagem de investigação interpretativa, em uma perspectiva da Sociologia Compreensiva e do Quotidiano. Fizeram parte desta pesquisa 22 famílias imigrantes refugiadas residentes nos municípios de Blumenau, Gaspar, Pomerode e Florianópolis, e 27 profissionais de saúde da Atenção Primária à Saúde. Projeto aprovado no Comitê de Ética sob o Parecer nº 4.195.158. Realizada no período de agosto de 2020 a agosto de 2021 por meio de entrevistas semiestruturadas. A análise de dados contemplou as técnicas de análise: pré-análise, exploração do material e tratamento dos resultados obtidos e a interpretação. **Resultados**: emergiram quatro categorias: Sonho de uma vida melhor; Vida quotidiana; Família, minha potência; Família. As famílias emergem como a potência em um ambiente longe de ser o sonhado no momento do migrar. A família, expressa por diferentes estruturas, concebe-se como potência para a resistência. **Considerações finais**: as famílias imigrantes refugiadas concebem-se e estruturam-se de diferentes formas, constituindo uma potência para a resistência.

Palavras-chave: Família. Atenção Primária à Saúde. Imigrantes.

POTENCIAS Y LÍMITES EN LA VIDA COTIDIANA DE LOS INMIGRANTES REFUGIADOS AFRODESCENDIENTES HAITIANOS

RESUMEN

Objetivo: comprender las potencias y los límites del cotidiano de los afrodescendientes haitianos inmigrantes refugiados. **Metodología**: estudio cualitativo, con enfoque de investigación interpretativa, en una perspectiva de la Sociología Comprensiva y del Cotidiano. Formaron parte de esta investigación 22 familias inmigrantes refugiadas residentes en los municipios de Blumenau, Gaspar, Pomerode y Florianópolis-SC/Brasil, y 27 profesionales de salud de la Atención Primaria de Salud. Proyecto aprobado en el Comité de Ética bajo el Dictamen n.º 4.195.158. Realizada en el período de agosto de 2020 a agosto de 2021 por medio de entrevistas semiestructuradas. El análisis de datos incluyó las técnicas de análisis: preanálisis, investigación del material y tratamiento de los resultados obtenidos y la interpretación. **Resultados:** surgieron cuatro categorías: Sueño de una vida mejor; Vida cotidiana; Familia, mi potencia; Familia. Las familias surgen como la potencia en un ambiente lejos de ser el soñado en el momento de la migración. La familia, expresada por diferentes estructuras, se concibe como potencia para la resistencia. **Consideraciones finales:** las familias inmigrantes refugiadas se conciben y se estructuran de diferentes modos, constituyendo una potencia para la resistencia.

Palabras clave: Familia. Atención Primaria de Salud. Inmigrantes.

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