Gendered Pathways to Employment: Experiences of Brazilian immigrants Navigating the Canadian Referral Process

Luísa Cunha Manhães Pessanha

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School of Sociological and Anthropological Studies Faculty of Social Sciences University of Ottawa

Supervisor: Dr. Abdoulaye Gueye

Evaluator: Dr. Willow Scobie

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Abstract

Engaging in the paid workforce is critical to the well-being of males and females (Lindsey, 2011). However, finding positions in the preferred field of work is challenging for immigrant groups in Canada. They are often unable to find positions consistent with their level of education and experience (Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Peña Muñoz, 2016). Newcomers with few social connections may also have difficulties in the labour market, as many positions in the workforce are filled through informal referrals (Liu, 2006). For Brazilian immigrants, there are further challenges. They belong to a small community in Canada, and they tend to follow Brazilian gender roles—*familismo, machismo* and *marianismo*—that impact their labour market participation (DeSouza et al., 2000; Falicov, 2014; Statistics Canada, 2017a). Given this problematic, the purpose of this Major Research Paper is to investigate the obstacles Brazilian immigrants face when entering the Canadian labour market. And more specifically, how gender roles influence this process and how Brazilian immigrants build social capital that collaborates to their professional lives. For this study, I adopted a qualitative approach. Data was collected through in-depth interviews with participants in Ottawa. The results demonstrated that male and female Brazilian immigrants were able to build social capital. They were befitted by receiving insider information about their preferred fields of work and by receiving referrals that allowed them to enter the workforce in their preferred field. Gender roles had an impact on their careers. Females tended to engage more in domestic labour, allowing men to have more time to dedicate to their professional growth. Males were able to share social capital resources with their spouses, which benefited their careers. This study unveils how immigrants from small communities in Canada are affected by gender roles and how they build social capital that assisted their insertion to the workforce. This paper also offers a framework on the referral process and how immigrants build social capital and benefit from these resources in the labour market.

Keywords: Brazilian immigrants; machismo; *marianismo*; *familismo*; housework; labour market discrimination; social capital; referral.

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Summary

Introduction

In this paper, I analyze the experiences of Brazilian immigrants who engage with the workforce in Canada—specifically, how married couples living in the Ottawa area build social capital to assist the labour market participation and how the Brazilian gender roles affect this process. Like many other immigrant groups, these individuals face difficulties in finding positions that suit their training and experience. Compared to Canadian-born people, newcomers face visible inequalities, such as employers' preference for previous work experience in Canada. This ongoing obstacle for newcomers depreciates any qualifications and experience they obtained in their countries of origin (Peña Muñoz, 2016). Other overt or covert forms of labour-market discrimination include the preference for white candidates, or at least for local accents; and a reliance on personal referrals to fill vacant positions (Albarrán, 2010; Liu, 2006; Peña Muñoz, 2016).

That last element is an important obstacle. Rather than going through a formal recruiting process, managers tend to look for people who belong to their networks—a common strategy in the labour market among Canadian-born people. Eric Nan Liu (2006) indicates that companies often hire people through "informal contacts and referrals, aiming at maintaining homogeneity" within the organization (p. 37). That factor may make it particularly hard for Brazilian newcomers to find employment since their relatively small population in Canada (under 30,000) frequently limits their ability to build connections (Statistics Canada, 2017a).

Engaging in the workforce may be especially challenging for Brazilian women, for two reasons. One is that current Canadian immigration policies do not value the qualifications of couples equally, and often tend to prioritize investments in males at the expense of females (Chicha, 2012). The second reason is that the immigrants themselves, after moving to Canada,

may still follow traditional Brazilian gender roles: the intertwined elements of machismo and marianismo, which I describe in more detail in Section 1.5. Another important concept in Brazilian culture is familismo, which means being very close to family and kin, and relying on them for help and support (Falicov, 2014; Lindsey, 2011; Santiago-Riveira et al., 2002). However, a paucity of family connections among immigrants means that this strategy may not be available to them in the new country.

My research focuses on Brazilian married couples living in the Ottawa-Gatineau region, who of course represent only a small fraction of the total immigrant community in Canada. Of the almost 30,000 Brazilians living in Canada, fewer than 1,300 live in this area (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Still, studying this group may shed some light on the challenges that all immigrants in Canada face; and the information I provide may enable our policy-makers to address these problems, and give future newcomers to this country greater access to equal economic opportunities. This paper is guided by several research questions. Those include: *How do gender roles, such as machismo and marianismo, influence male and female Brazilian immigrants in the labour market?* And *Under what circumstances Brazilian immigrants successfully build social capital?*

This paper has two chapters. The first part begins by describing the important characteristics of Brazil, and what drives immigration from there to Canada. I give an overview of the concept of social capital, and its benefits for newcomers; and I discuss the gendered values of Brazilian society, along with the contribution of women's labour to the capitalist economic system (and the consequences of this structure). This leads to describing my research question and its theoretical framework, which delineates the concepts that I incorporate into the analysis, and the expectations from the fieldwork. At the end of Chapter One, I present my methodology.

Chapter Two analyzes my interview data in terms of three factors: immigration, labour market, and gender. First, I examine the process of immigration for couples, and then I investigate the career trajectories of female participants—specifically, how they utilized their social capital to find jobs. Following this, I discuss the impact of gender and housework distribution on the interviewees. Finally, I discuss the implications of my study, in terms of the research questions (and the limitations). At the end of this study, I present my final considerations.

Chapter 1

Brazil, a nation in context

A vast and diverse country, Brazil is the fifth-largest in the world in terms of both geographical area (8,514,876 square kilometres) and population: slightly more than 200 million (CIA, 2018; Francisco, 2018). As was common after the discovery of the Americas in the late 15th century, external influxes of people swamped the indigenous population, shaping the societies of the Latin American continent (Pellegrino, 2003). The incomers included colonizers from Europe (Portugal, Spain, and France), and Africans (took as slaves from countries, such as Mozambique, the Congo, and Guinea). All these may be considered the "founding civilizations" of Latin America (Ramos, 2012).

This interracial history of migration is reflected in the composition of the Brazilian population. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística, or IBGE) categorizes people according to the skin colour of the most significant racial groups. In its last report, in 2015, IBGE identified 45.2% of the population as brancos (whites). This was followed by an equal number of pardos (light-brown) citizens: 45.1%. The report identified a much smaller percentage, 8.86%, as pretos (black), and 0.84% as "others" (IBGE, 2016). People who identify as pardos are of mixed African race, and the pretos also have African origins; however, both groups long ago lost their connections to their ancestors, having little information about their family heritage (Carneiro, 2005). In the Brazilian context, being "white" means having straight hair, a lighter complexion, and the facial features usually associated with white Europeans (Schucman, 2012). Obviously, pluralism is a marked feature of the country—one that is accompanied by intense social tensions.

Brazil is also a nation of sharp inequalities in terms of class, race, and gender. In 2016, about 55% of the nation's revenue was concentrated in the hands of 10% of the population. (Compare this with China and Europe, for example, in which the 10% richest people owned 41% and 37% respectively (Alvaredo et al., 2018).) Regarding class status, statistics show that pretos and pardos have, on average, two years less schooling than brancos, and earn only 20% of their household income (Campos et al., 2017). Gender inequality is also an issue. In the Global Gender Gap Report—prepared annually by the World Economic Forum, and based on a range of economic, educational, political, and health indices—Brazil is ranked in 90th place out of 144 countries (WEF, 2017). This is much lower than most of North America (Canada, for example, ranks 16th), and even lower than other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean (WEF, 2017). Brazilian social inequalities are evidently entrenched in its society.

Perhaps due to the country's social and economic conditions, Brazil has become a major source of outward migration (Barbosa, 2009; Brasch, 2007; Sales, 1991, 1992). In 2015, according to the Brazilian embassy, the number of citizens living abroad was 3,083,255—some 1.5% of the population (IBGE, 2015; Itamaraty, 2015). The highest numbers of immigrants are concentrated in North America, with a much greater presence in the United States (1,410,000) than in Canada (43,000) or in Mexico: 14,000 (Itamaraty, 2015). In the following sections, I discuss some of the theories that explain immigration generally, and the movement of Brazilian people specifically.

1.1 Literature review

1.2 Theories about immigration

A popular theory is that migrants are motivated primarily by either "push" or "pull" factors. According to Greta Gard (2018), the former drives a migrant away from their home country, while "a pull factor is one that attracts a migrant to a new place of residence" (p. 619). Either way, some perspectives view the driver of immigration as mainly economic, the result of a new form of global capitalism (Patarra, 2005). Conditions in the home country may include economic instabilities, stagnation of development, and an increasing surplus of the workforce—all of which contribute to workers' inability to get ahead, and hence their desire to emigrate (Patarra, 2005).

Similarly, Dennis Canterbury (2012) opines that the "push-pull" approach assumes that people living in economically unsatisfactory nations are pushed out to more attractive countries. But this may be part of a neoliberal agenda, the author argues—one that aims to achieve "capital accumulation" instead of "socio-economic development." The shift in immigration policy that has occurred in countries like Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the US, could well illustrate Canterbury's argument. Indeed, over the past decades, the governments of these countries have instituted policies that prioritize economic considerations rather than "family-class immigration, and humanitarian concerns" (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014, p. 818).

Currently, Canada's admission criteria assign "points" according to applicants' level of qualifications, and their employment experience (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Chicha, 2012). This system seeks to determine whether candidates' job skills fit the Canadian market. However, Douglas Massey argues that economic reasons alone do not necessarily drive immigration (1999). Although countries like Canada emphasize economic criteria, other key factors may

include individual motivations, and networks of immigration. In the case of Brazilians, immigration to Canada may be explained by economic and social indicators.

Brazilian immigration to Canada

In fact, Brazil's economic situation may well explain its high rate of emigration. Many authors have noticed that this rose during the period of economic instability in the 1980s (Barbosa, 2009). The number of Brazilians in the US, the most common destination, illustrated this trend (Itamaraty, 2015). The US Census of 2000 showed that only 6% of Brazilian citizens currently in the US (9,500) entered before 1980; whereas 77% (129,000) entered between 1990 and 2000 (Lima & Siqueira, 2007). In other words, immigration to the United States rose more than twelve-fold during those twenty years—despite the fact that the US government had policies in place to deter immigration from Brazil. From the Canadian perspective, the influx of Brazilians during the 1980s crisis may have originally been motivated by the fact that Canada's foreign policies were more relaxed than US's: undocumented migrants could come here easily, without a visa, and then later find ways to cross the border and move to the US illegally (Goza, 1999). (Many, in fact, chose to stay in Canada, since after settling in they discovered that this country offered good opportunities (Goza, 1999).) But when the Canadian government created new foreign policies in 1987, to hinder just such irregular immigration, more Brazilians began to enter Canada legally (Barbosa, 2009; Goza, 1999).

Apart from economic concerns, another common driver for immigration from Brazil to Canada is the existence of social problems in their home country. Many immigrants come in search of more security (Barbosa Nunes, cited in Barbosa, 2009). In 2016, for instance, there were 1.684 murders per 100,000 persons in Canada, compared to 29.528 in Brazil (World Bank, 2018). Corruption and disregard for social norms were also appointed as a motive to immigrate (Brasch, 2007). When the activist group Transparency International asked about perceptions of

corruption in 180 countries, Canada ranked 9th and Brazil 105th (2018). Under such circumstances, immigration to Canada offers an opportunity to avoid those problems.

In the nearly thirty years from the late 1980s to the present time, the overall profile of Brazilian immigrants seems to have shifted—likely reflecting the new Canadian policies. Once people started to be admitted to Canada under the "points-based" rules, Rosana Barbosa (2009) speculates, the level of human capital of immigrants has increased. However, after interviewing Brazilian immigrants with and without regular visas, Brasch (2007) observes that the labour resources brought by documented migrants were often not "applied in the appropriate professional areas" (p. 354). This fact surely resonates with other immigrants to Canada, under current conditions (Chicha, 2012; Peña Muñoz, 2016).

1.3 Workplace inequalities

Many studies have documented the hardships that individuals face when immigrating to a new country; and they have also demonstrated how Latin American immigrants in general (the ethnic group to which Brazilians are often included) cope with this new context in Canada. According to 2006 census data from Statistics Canada, Latin Americans earn, on average, 29.7% less than non-visible minorities (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). This fact can be directly tied to the difficulty that immigrants face in finding suitable employment—a task in which they face more barriers than others with similar qualifications. Either overt or covert discrimination is often a factor when employers choose who to hire. Employers usually demand previous experience in the Canadian labour market from candidates; this requirement depreciated qualifications and experience obtained abroad (Albarrán, 2010; Chicha, 2012; Peña Muñoz, 2016). Newcomers who are physically different from the white majority, or who have a foreign accent, or who come from a country that is perceived to be corrupt or underdeveloped, may find it hard to integrate

into the labour market (Albarrán, 2010; Peña Muñoz, 2016; Turchick Hakak, Holzinger, & Zikic, 2010). Employers frequently display an aversion to these characteristics of visible minorities.

Another challenge newcomers experience is employers' preference for hiring people who have been referred to them (Liu, 2006). This strategy may prevent newcomers from accessing the job market, since their social networks are limited in comparison to those of Canadian-born workers. In this area, researchers have found different results. María Teresa Stevens Albarrán (2010) observed that Latin Americans could sometimes get jobs through their connections with fellow immigrants. However, Turchick Hakak et al. (2010) found that Latin Americans were not used to finding positions through their personal contacts and had not formed any professional networks. As I pursue this line of enquiry, the next section explores the much-studied link between social capital and professional advancement.

1.4 Social capital

When Karl Marx wrote Das Kapital in 1867, he developed his crucial economic concept of capital. He defined it as money laid out to buy "commodities," thereby increasing the original stake through the "circuit of capital"—for example, the process of industrial production, which converts raw materials to saleable goods. The net gain in this circuit—the "surplus value" that profited the capitalists—was only possible if the workers were exploited, and deprived of their rightful compensation (Wolff, 2003).

However, money is not the only form of capital. Pierre Bourdieu made a substantial impact on social knowledge by expanding the forms of dominance beyond its purely economic meaning to include social capital (García Quesada, 2010). This refers to the assets—either present, or achievable in the future—that are available to individuals through their connections with other people (Bourdieu, 1986). Such connections, which may be forged through shared

institutions (such as citizenship, political parties, educational bodies, professional affiliations, etc.) are characterized by a stable affinity, and by the possibility of mutual exchanges (Bourdieu, 1986).

In this framework, a person's degree of social capital varies according to the number of connections they have with influential individuals (such as politicians, business leaders, nobles, etc.); and on their other types of means—for example, financial resources and university degrees. This variation implies that social capital always relies on additional assets, and that the benefits conferred by these connections "are the basis of the solidarity" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 249). Bourdieu also believes that these relations are built and sustained through initiatives that may, or may not, be intentional and conjoint. They require a continuous "effort of sociability, a continuous series of exchanges" (p. 250). This process can be likened to a type of labour, accomplished through the "expenditure of time and energy and so, directly or indirectly, of economic capital." As Bourdieu points out, such expenditure is not profitable unless it is invested in "a specific competence"—that is, in learning the skill of forging real connections, as well as the knowledge of who has what kind of family relationships with other people (p. 250).

Building on this concept, Alejandro Portes (1998) argues that Bourdieu's theory of social capital is "arguably the most theoretically refined" (p. 3). He distinguishes several elements that he considers critical. The first element is separating the actual benefits of social capital, from the mere potential ability to acquire these benefits by being a part of a group. A second element is discerning what encourages "trade" between the two groups: the people who are in search of social capital, and those who are able to grant it. In terms of incentives for the latter, Portes posits three key features: people who hold social capital; people who originate social capital; and the actual benefits that arise from this exchange. Similarly, James Coleman, in a 1988 article,

contributed another factor to the discussion. He sees social capital as representing a distinct feature of social frameworks, which enables a subject (or an organization) to perform a particular activity. Therefore, social capital allows these features to be distinguished by their purpose. As Coleman says, “Something of value has been produced by those actors, who have this resource available” (1988, p. 101). That value relies on social structure.

Moreover, Portes (1998) observes that the desirable attainment of social capital may have many benefits in various spheres. Several studies, for instance, have employed this notion in fields such as “sources of employment and occupational attainment, juvenile delinquency and its prevention, and immigrant and ethnic enterprise” (1998, p. 9). This asset [social capital] helps people to learn social rules, overcome some types of discrimination, and advance in their careers (Keskiner & Crul, 2017; Rezai, 2017).

Social capital and the labour market

Coleman identifies three distinct types of social capital:

- obligations, expectations, and trustworthiness of structures
- norms and effective sanctions
- information channels.

The last point, information channels, is well suited to labour-market situations, in which personal connections between people may be useful sources of knowledge—although obtaining knowledge may not have been the original goal of establishing the bond. But Coleman agrees with Bourdieu that such knowledge may be expensive: It “requires attention, which is always in scarce supply” (1988, p. 104). Coleman offers some examples, such as immigrants learning about local and national news from acquaintances, kin or significant others. One of the ways of entering the paid workforce is to obtain a referral to employment, which depends on the

candidates' ability to successfully build social capital (Albarrán, 2010; Granovetter, 1973; Liu, 2006).

Another factor to consider in the process of obtaining employment through social capital is the level of closeness among individuals; and the effects of that relationship on how they share information about available jobs. Mark Granovetter (1973) posits that ties between individuals tend to become more robust when they are associated with interpersonal factors such as time, "emotional intensity," intimacy, "mutual confiding," and "reciprocal services" (p. 1361). He identifies three different degrees of ties: "strong, weak, or absent" (p. 1361). Strong ties encompass family, relatives, and intimate friends, while weak ties consist of distant friends, acquaintances, and neighbours (Sinha, 2015). Granovetter points out that, although we might expect strongly tied individuals to be the most useful sources of labour-market advantages, in fact, the opposite is generally true. Networks of weak ties actually hold a more diverse knowledge of professional opportunities (1973).

However, Alexandra Marin (2007) found different results in her study of job-related referrals among "entry-level, white-collar" occupations in Toronto (p. 13). She found that, firstly, participants may not disclose some work positions to their weak ties, reserving the information instead for their close bonds. Secondly, for knowledgeable people to effectively share information, they must be aware of both the expertise of their connections, and their professional objectives—facts that individuals with closer bonds are more likely to know than more distant connections. Thirdly, she found that on rare occasions, some participants would actively try to find employment for their close bonds, such as family members. In other words, Marin's 2007 study found the opposite of Granovetter's 1973 work: that strong ties may be more valuable than weak ones. She postulates that strong ties may work better for people who are just entering the

labour force (or re-entering it after an absence), because information about available positions is harder for them to obtain. In contrast, people who have already established careers in a field, and whose qualifications and goals are well known, benefit most from a broader array of weaker connections.

Other sources of information about the workforce for immigrants are the social spaces provided by local associations, clubs, leisure groups, churches, etc. (Ali, 2016). As well, conferences, hiring fairs, and professional associations offer information about employment. Job-seekers may also join training programs—both to improve their knowledge, and to allow them to approach employers in their areas. In fact, some immigrant groups have created community networks for that specific purpose. After studying Caribbean immigrants in Toronto, Ron Robert Branker (2017) observed that their social associations offered newcomers guidance with settling in, and also with finding employment. Such initiatives boosted the social capital of new migrants, who tend to lack this important commodity in the early stages of their move. But how people build social capital, and what types of it they can access, is affected by elements such as race and even gender. A person's status in those aspects might interfere with how they form social capital, and how social exchanges benefit them.

However, it is important to understand that these exchanges are not neutral. Just as material capital is determined by the most powerful people in society (Anderson et al., 2007), so too is social capital. An example is that when stigmatized groups develop strategies to cope with adversity, instead of categorizing these strategies as a form of capital, powerful groups may perceive them in a derogatory way (Anderson et al., 2007). To illustrate this point, the authors described how aboriginal women developed strategies to better navigate the health-care system, and to obtain better service from the nurses they interacted with (Anderson et al., 2007; Browne,

2003). However, the nurses—from their position of relative authority—interpreted these strategies as evidence of the indigenous women's inferiority.

In Canada, one of the regular surveys carried out by Statistics Canada is the General Social Survey on Social Identity. Data is collected on participants who have been in the country for 15 years or more, and it offers a useful perspective on how people form connections (Sinha, 2015). The survey indicates that 41% of respondents have no contact with individuals who do not belong to their own ethnic group—that is, white, black, indigenous and Inuit people interact only among themselves. However, there is a significant variation between age cohorts. Martin Turcotte found that among younger people (aged 15–34), only 28% had no such interactions; while for older people (35–54), this percentage went up to around 42% (2015). Geography mattered as well. People living in Newfoundland and Labrador were most likely (84%) to be in contact only with people who shared the same first language; while British Columbia and Ontario had the lowest rates of not being in contact with immigrants: 57% and 54% respectively (Turcotte, 2015). This illustrates that people in the more multicultural provinces were more likely to include visible minorities among their social contacts.

Maire Sinha (2015) also pointed out some gender differences in terms of weak and strong ties: men tend to have more weak bonds (19) than women do (15). On average, women bond with 5 relatives, and men with 4 (Sinha, 2015). There was no difference in the number of intimate friends between the genders. In the crucial task of meeting new people, important spaces include universities, neighbourhoods, and workplaces. There was a strong correlation between these three: people with paying jobs tend to stay longer in the same neighbourhoods, and people with higher education have larger networks. In other words, Sinha's research demonstrates that access to certain spaces affects how people build social capital.

Another important factor, as I mentioned earlier, is gender. In the next section, I investigate how its dynamics might impact the creation of social capital.

1.5 Gender dynamics in Brazil

The unique history and culture of Brazil, with its strong sense of religion, has shaped gender dynamics in the country. While English Canada was colonized by the British, with their Puritan beliefs, Brazil was colonized by the Portuguese, with their Catholic religion; and over time, the settlers forced the indigenous people to conform to its ideals (Freyre, 1956). The country has also been influenced by the legacy of Africans, who now form a significant portion of the population (Freyre, 1956). Nonetheless, Catholicism remains the dominating factor in Brazilian culture, and has influenced many aspects of society.

Gender roles: Familismo

A significant element of Catholicism is its traditional emphasis on patriarchy—a pattern that can still be observed today in most Latin American countries. Before the 18th century, the patriarchal model—in which males had considerable power over their families (Freyre, 1980; Holanda, 1995)— was a standard Brazilian family arrangement. But in the 20th century (as in most Western countries), families have begun to be more nuclear and less extended: that is, they revolve mainly around the immediate family, excluding distant kin. As well, the nuclear family has tended to become a more independent unit, self-sufficient and detached (Christie, 2004). That kind of self-sufficiency is better aligned with Puritan ethics than with traditional Catholic values. Donald Frey (1998) argues that Puritan ethics encourage an individualist orientation, and a pursuit of self-interest, which contrast strongly with the prevailing Latin American culture of familismo—a term I introduced back in the Introduction. This family-oriented ideal is characterized by closeness and cooperation between members of an extended family (Falicov,

2014; Lindsey, 2011; Santiago-Rivera et al., 2002). Even though most of the Western world has now adopted a more individualistic orientation, Latin American countries—including Brazil—still maintain the familial support and social bonds that are the hallmark of familismo. Family members contribute not just economic resources to one another, but also nurturing, collaboration, and caregiving activities (Falicov, 2014). In Latin America, grandmothers and sisters are usually the ones who help to take care of children when their mothers work, along with other paid caregivers (Albarrán, 2010). The practice of assigning caregiving activities to female members of the family underlines how familismo can foster gender differences.

Gender roles: Machismo and marianismo

The term "machismo" has passed into North American culture to mean the male attributes of being vigorous, domineering, protective, and the provider for the family (Amazonas et al., 2011; Arciniega, et al., 2008; DeSouza et al., 2000). However, the term may have several interpretations. In Brazil, machismo often presents as a belief in how society should be organized according to gender (Neuhouser, 1989). This concept explains and legitimizes gender inequalities, on the principle that biological differences make men more apt than women to engage in fields such as politics and the economy (Neuhouser, 1989). Indeed, some authors (such as Eros DeSouza, John Baldwin, and Francisco Rosa, in 2000) argue that this notion emphasizes an extreme expression of masculinity, which they call "hypermasculinity."

In the international literature, this term is frequently used to describe the kind of male dominance that is sexually vigorous, socially arrogant, and distanced from feminine spheres such as family and children (DeSouza et al., 2000; Lindsey, 2011; Macedo, 2003). Men with this tendency are more prone to drink heavily, behave aggressively to other males, and to harass and dominate females (DeSouza et al., 2000; Lindsey, 2011). Whether machismo is considered as a role or a belief, it is clear that the concept is heavily weighted toward gender inequality.

Nonetheless, those stereotypical descriptions of machismo may not fairly represent the totality of male behaviour. Guillermo Arciniega et al. (2008) posit that the term machismo (usually applied to men of Mexican and Latino origin living in the US) has a mostly negative connotation. The authors introduce the complementary term, caballerismo, that includes beneficial aspects of male behaviour. The distinction between the two is that traditional machismo can be described as "aggressive, sexist, chauvinistic, and hypermasculine," whereas caballerismo might better be described as "nurturing, family-centred, and chivalrous" (Arciniega et al., 2008, p. 29). This distinction may offer a more comprehensive view of male behaviour. In Brazil, for instance, when Maria Cristina Lopes de Almeida Amazonas and her team (2011) interviewed working women in order to explore gender dynamics in families, they found that some men did, in fact, take responsibility for looking after their children; in some cases, they were solely responsible. This study demonstrates that, despite the machismo stereotype, men did actually care for their children more than was expected. This fact highlights the need to study and categorize the positive aspects of male behaviour.

Another gender positioning identified with Latin American culture is what we might call the flip side of machismo: marianismo, which we might loosely translate as "Maryism"— an idealized female gender role based on the Virgin Mary (Lindsey, 2011). Lindsey (2011) defines marianismo as the "spiritual and moral superiority of women over men, the glorification of motherhood, and the acceptance of a difficult marriage" (p. 221). This philosophy idealizes all aspects of maternity, such as engaging in intensive motherhood (Albarrán, 2010; Lindsey, 2011). In colonial times, in a strict Catholic society, white women were confined to domestic or religious spaces, and were expected to be sexually repressed. They were also viewed by men as fragile, unassertive, subservient, and powerless in public life (DeSouza et al., 2000).

Even in recent times, marianismo continues to influence women. Kevin Neuhouser (1989) points out that women are considered to be so morally superior to men, by the end of their lives they are viewed almost as saints. Women essentially sacrifice their own lives for the sake of their husbands and children. Their lives revolve around housework: washing, cleaning, shopping, cooking meals, and looking after the children. (In the higher income brackets, these activities may be delegated to female domestic workers (Neuhouser, 1989).)

In their study, Amazonas, et al (2011) observed that motherhood was unquestionably important to their respondents, whose female identity was closely tied to their status as mothers. However, many women also wished to work full-time, which did not allow them to dedicate themselves entirely to their children. As a result, they required the support of relatives, schools, daycares, babysitters, and nannies. For women in the middle class or higher, Albarrán termed this managerial motherhood (2014). Mothers were still usually in charge of monitoring their children's care, although they would not necessarily spend much time with them—delegating those childcare activities to kin, educational institutions or to paid help. However, one finding from the 2011 Amazonas et al. research was that some women feel uncomfortable when men engage in childcare—presumably viewing this move as taking away some of the power women have over their children, and disrupting the supposed primacy of the female role in parenthood.

These studies show that both marianismo and machismo have changed over time, influenced by modern ideologies. But gender values are not uniform across all classes of society. In current Brazilian society, individuals from middle-class families tend to behave in a more gender-equal way than lower-class individuals, who are still more influenced by traditional gender roles (Machado, 2001). But while adherence to those roles may vary according to class

status, gender inequality remains a constant in many aspects of women's lives—especially in the domestic sphere.

Gender and the household

Around the world, research has shown that women are usually in charge of domestic labour. This imbalance has produced several outcomes (Lindsey, 2011). From a Marxist perspective, Wally Secombe (1974) argued that the work performed by homemakers has been neglected by "bourgeois economists," who consider women only as consumers rather than as producers. In her view, housework not does make a valid contribution to capitalistic production. However, Secombe argues that women have an effective role in what she refers as "reproduction of labour power." This invokes the creation of workers' potential to perform labour, even though this process has no readily intuitive connection with the returns yielded.

From this perspective, Secombe pointed out, there was a separation between labour performed in factories and domiciles. Breadwinners (usually men) were responsible for manufacturing "goods and services for the commodity market" (1974, p. 6). Homemakers (usually women) are in charge of reproducing the labour power by giving birth to children, who will be workers in the future. They also help reproducing the labour power of their spouses, or their daily capacity to work. By assisting spouses with meals, emotional support and maintaining sanitary conditions, homemakers enable breadwinners to perform their work at the factories. An inevitable consequence of this traditional family arrangement is the seclusion of women, who become entirely reliant on men—confined to their homes, while men engage in "high-scale, highly socialized production" (Dalla Costa, 1971, p. 7). Bourdieu (2001) points out that households are an environment of notorious masculine domination. This power imbalance is not restricted to the private sphere; it also permeates religious, educational, and governmental institutions (Bourdieu, 2001), shaping women's economic outcomes to this day.

In the new millennium, the worldwide push for globalization has changed family arrangements in Brazil, as in other nations (Armstrong & Armstrong, 2002). Women have entered the workforce in large numbers, but they are often paid less than their male counterparts.

Gender gap comparisons: Brazil and Canada

In Brazilian society, traditional family arrangements still result in many inequalities, though transformations have resulted in several new trends. The concept of "managerial motherhood" (Albarrán, 2014) is one of these, as are new workforce distributions and different familial and social interactions. Also, in flux is the paid and unpaid gendered norm: as of 2016, IBGE data showed that 55.8% of females over the age of 16, and 57.7% of males, were formally employed—a small difference of only 2.1% (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016).

In Canada, for individuals over the age of 15, the employment rate for men was 65.4, and for women, 57.9, with a difference of 7.5% (Statistics Canada, 2017b). However, the wage difference between males and females in Canada is only 13%; in Brazil, this gap is almost twice as large, 24.5% (Israel, 2017; Peret, 2018). Evidently, entering the workforce does not ensure equal opportunities for women: they still have to cope with gender-based economic inequalities.

In Brazil, although women have recently entered the labour market, they have also remained in charge of the reproduction of labour power and have developed strategies to cope with this reality (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016). Supported by 2012 IBGE data, Lourdes Bandeira and Renata Preturlan revealed in 2016 that every week, on average, women work 4.7 more hours than men. This difference occurs because although males work more paid hours, women dedicate more hours to unpaid housework. Under those circumstances, women have little spare time to allocate to other interests such as social activities, continuing education, or involvement in politics (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016). Granted, some of the few women who are highly educated can afford to delegate their household labour to paid help, thereby allowing them

to participate in the workforce. These dynamics show how traditional gender values influence the lives of Brazilian women, who must adopt certain strategies to cope with these situations.

Gender roles in the workplace

Many researchers have investigated how stereotypes such as machismo and marianismo operate in Brazilian organizations, creating gender inequalities. Goiacira Macedo (2003) examined a pharmaceutical organization and found that—even though existing labour laws supposedly prohibited discrimination—men in positions of power still viewed female employees differently from males, and assigned them positions that prevented their upward mobility. Another common male belief was that it was their duty to provide for their families, while women's paid work did not have the same impact. A study conducted in 2015 by Vívian Queiroz and Jorge Aragón supports this result. After analyzing data from the 2011 Brazilian National Household Survey, the authors found that working married women decreased their participation in the paid workforce. These women were not fully recognized at work, and then had to take on the extra private burden of running a home.

Gender and the challenges faced by immigrant women

A final dimension to be explored is the impact of immigration policies in women's labour market participation. At present, for a conjoint application to immigrate, Canadian policies specify one main candidate and one secondary candidate (Chicha, 2012). Since the qualifications of the secondary candidate (almost invariably the woman) carry only a quarter as much weight as those of the main candidate (who is usually male), this biased framework seems designed to cause pervasive gender inequalities. In her 2012 study, Marie-Thérèse Chicha explained that because the system attributes more value to the man's human capital, the couple is likely much less motivated to invest in the woman's career (Chicha, 2012). She introduces the concept of "family strategy" to explain how couples decide to invest in their professional success—that is,

to strategize whether one person should have preference in pursuing their career, or if they should both pursue their goals equally. In Chicha's study, that family strategy is a crucial predictor of women's performance in the Canadian workforce. When couples prioritize the male's career, women's professional lives suffer; but when couples have a more equitable arrangement, women's achievements tend to be superior.

The discussions from the literature review demonstrate which dynamics may condition Brazilian women and men ability to enter the workforce. Brazilian immigrants must cope with the barriers of entering the Canadian workforce, while females must also cope with employment barriers related to gender.

1.6 Research questions

As described above, my focus in this research is to establish a number of facts about how traditional gender roles influence Brazilian immigrant women in their task of engaging with the Canadian labour market. Underlying my work is the assumption that entering the paid workforce is crucial for the financial and emotional well-being of both females and males (Lindsey, 2011). However, immigrants to Canada may experience difficulties in accomplishing this. Many scholars (such as Albarrán, 2010; Block & Galabuzi, 2011; Chicha, 2012; Liu, 2006; and Peña Muñoz, 2016) have reported on the barriers that prevent foreign-born men and women from achieving economic independence. These barriers include immigration policies, discrimination in the workplace, and employers' preference for recruiting via referrals—which places an undue burden on would-be workers who are part of a relatively small community of newcomers (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Obstacles that particularly affect Brazilian women in Canada include inability to access to paid domestic or childcare help in Canada (a resource that middle-class

women are used to having in Brazil (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016);), and being guided by the social values of machismo, marianismo, and familismo (as I described in Section 1.5).

All these factors may hinder Brazilians, both men and women, from developing the social capital that could help them to enter the Canadian labour force, and achieve their career goals. These obstacles inspire a few research questions.

- How do gender roles, such as machismo and marianismo, influence male and female Brazilian immigrants in the labour market?
- How does familismo influence Brazilian immigrants when seeking referrals for jobs in Canada?
- Does the unequal division of household labour, supported by marianismo and machismo, prevent women from building the social capital that might allow them to enter the workforce?
- Under what circumstances can Brazilian immigrants successfully build social capital?

In Chapter 2, I address these questions.

1.7 Theoretical framework

As I discussed earlier, in Section 1.3, Brazilians settling in Canada are likely to experience the same hardships as other immigrant groups, ranging from social segregation to income inequalities (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). The challenges of entering the workplace include three main elements:

- employers' requirement for Canadian work experience
- employers' frequent aversion for people who look different from the white majority; and/or people who speak with a foreign accent; and/or people who come from a country perceived to be corrupt or underdeveloped

- employers' preference for recruiting new employees by means of referrals from existing contacts (Albarrán, 2010; Liu, 2006; Peña Muñoz, 2016).

Since referrals are such an important path to employment (Liu, 2006), I devote the next section to conceptualizing them.

Referrals

As I described earlier, in Section 1.4, this research investigates the process of referrals based on the framework developed by authors writing on the topic of social capital—authorities such as Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988), Mark Granovetter (1973), and Alejandro Portes (1998). Based on Coleman (1988) and Portes (1998), I would argue that a referral can be understood as a valuable information (a benefit from social capital) that is exchanged between two people (the referral holder, and the referral pursuer) within an established information channel. However, such channels do not establish themselves; they must be developed by the participants, via a process that requires a varying combination of labour, time, energy, money, and abilities (Bourdieu, 1986). In Granovetter's view, the connections between individuals can vary between strong, weak, or absent (1973). The creation and intensity of this type of social capital may depend on the amount of labour performed, solidarity, and affinity (Bourdieu, 1986; Granovetter, 1973). To understand this process, I focus on the viewpoint of the referral pursuer: how exactly do people receive referrals, and from whom do they receive them?

Gender and social capital in the workplace

When Brazilian women emigrate to Canada, the interaction between their personal social capital, their social conditioning, their household dynamics, and the immigration policies put in place by the government, all affect their ability to find employment. It is possible to assume how women will adapt to the challenges based on previous studies over those issues.

Little literature exists on the topic of how Brazilian men and women develop social connections in their professional lives in Brazil. However, Teixeira et al. (2018) and Vale et al. (2011) have investigated the gender differences in entrepreneurship initiatives, and these findings may indicate how Brazilians utilize their available social capital. In their study of female entrepreneurship in tourism, for instance, Rivanda Meira Teixeira et al. (2018) found that when women established companies, they tended to rely on their strong ties—such as family and friends—rather than on weak ties, such as institutions, employees, suppliers, or acquaintances. Family and friends would usually provide economic support, and help to promote the enterprise.

Similarly, Gláucia Maria Vasconcellos Vale and her team, in 2011, analyzed gender differences in mobilizing social capital. When first establishing a business, the authors observed, Brazilian females were more likely than males to have friends and acquaintances as clients. Women relied mostly on strong bonds to access information, while men relied more on weak bonds, such as people they met at business events. As a result of this, men had more extensive networks than women, with more diversified associations (Vale et al., 2011). These findings demonstrate the importance, for women, of having access to a tight-knit group of family, friends, and acquaintances—a challenge for female immigrants to Canada, especially in the initial period.

Although few authors have explored the specific experiences of Brazilians in Canada, the experiences of Latin American immigrants may offer an appropriate basis of comparison to anticipate the impacts of immigration. Both Albarrán (2010) and Stacey Wilson-Forsberg (2015) have demonstrated that family strategy and household distribution affected the lives of qualified females who came to Canada as dependents of their husbands. Household and care-taking responsibilities, along with the obstacles they faced when attempting to enter the workforce, led to an absence of paid work; and this both “diminished their earning power, and exacerbated their

workload" (Wilson-Forsberg, 2015, p. 483). As well, the income levels of immigrants usually fall. Back home in Brazil, women may have coped with the imbalanced distribution of housework by hiring low-paid domestic labourers such as maids and nannies. But in Canada, Albarrán (2010) found, women were unable to delegate household tasks to paid domestic help, in order to go out to work. Lacking an extended family, the women in her study could rely only on the assistance of their children—if they were old enough to help—and their husbands, if they were willing to engage in housework labour.

Another drawback to women being dependant on their husbands is a shortage of social connections. As Wilson-Forsberg (2015) observed, wives tend to be deprived of their autonomy, and to live a relatively monotonous and reclusive life. In that kind of situation, establishing new connections may be difficult for them. However, as Albarrán (2010) pointed out, Latin American women are often responsible for cultivating their family's social lives. If they can employ this competence as immigrants in Canada, they can increase the family's cultural and economic resources, and also find employment for themselves and their families. This is especially the case when they can build connections with people in their communities apart from other Latin Americans. This allows them to benefit from the social capital that those individuals possess.

Brazilian Immigrants in Canada: gender roles and employment challenges

Based on the previous discussions on how social capital is formed, I expect Brazilian women to face more difficulties than men when entering the workforce. This is due to the influence of Brazilian beliefs such as machismo, marianismo, and familismo, which—as I described in Section 1.5—influence the ability of women to participate in the labour market. The loss of the family support inherent in familismo may mean, for women, a loss not only of care

and comfort, but also of information about the labour market (Albarrán, 2010; Falicov, 2014; Teixeira et al., 2018; Vale et al., 2011).

I also expect males who believe in machismo to be likely to take on the role of providers to their families; to believe that they are better than women at contributing economically to the household; and to be more vigorous and domineering (DeSouza et al., 2000; Macedo, 2003; Neuhouser, 1989). Moreover, I expect that they will be nurturing towards their children (Amazonas et al., 2011). And if women are influenced by marianismo, they are more likely to focus on being an ideal mother; they will be responsible for most of the domestic and childcare work; and they may have less influence than their husbands in household decisions (Amazonas et al., 2011; DeSouza at al., 2000; Neuhouser, 1989). Couples are also more likely to focus on the man's career, at the expense of the woman's—due partly to the man's assumed role of provider, and partly to the effect of current Canadian immigration policies (Chicha, 2012; Macedo, 2003). Brazilian men in Canada will presumably have more chances than women to access higher education and paid work—thereby improving their likelihood of meeting new people, and building social capital. Women may also have less time to move about freely, and reduced access to public places where people have social interactions. These restrictions could prevent women from building the social capital they need to allow them to access employment-related information channels. Nonetheless, in some situations women are surely as capable as men of achieving their career goals; they may even perform better. Some conditions that may facilitate this goal include:

- not having small children, or being able to afford childcare
- having higher social status, and enough economic capital
- sharing the household tasks equally with men

- both partners valuing gender equality (Albarrán, 2010; Machado, 2001; Bourdieu, 1986).

If women and their partners are committed to both pursuing their careers, they may be able to access valuable information about the positions open to them.

1.8 Methodology

In this research project, I focus on white Brazilian couples (either married, or in a common-law union with a partner of the opposite sex) who live in the Ottawa-Gatineau region. The local Brazilian population currently consists of 995 documented permanent residents in Ottawa, Ontario, and another 300 in Gatineau, Quebec, for a total of 1,295 (Statistics Canada, 2017a). The number of immigrants in this region, from all sources, is modest compared to cities such as Toronto and Montreal, which have some 10,000 and 5,000 newcomers respectively. Most in this area are between 25 and 54 years old, and there are roughly even numbers of men and women (Government of Canada, 2017). I opted not to focus on racial and sexual representation, due to their reduced presence in the region.

Brazilian immigrants are less prone to identify as part of the "Latin American visible minority" than other nationals from the region are—56% of migrants from Brazil, Paraguay, Argentina, and Uruguay do not classify themselves this way (Armony, 2014). (In fact, Brazilians may not be able or willing to connect with other people from Latin America, because their native language is Portuguese, not Spanish). This information allows us to assume certain things about their demographics. Since Canada values human capital when accepting immigrants, and since Brazilians are unlikely to identify as visible minorities (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Armony, 2014; Chicha, 2012), it seems reasonable to assume that most immigrants are middle-class and white. Data from the Brazilian IBGE in 2012 shows that whites were less prone to be

unemployed; that they earned more on average than their black peers; and that they were more likely to have at least a secondary-level education (Gomes & Marli, 2018).

In line with the first objective of this project—studying how male and female Brazilian immigrants build social capital—I adopted a qualitative research strategy. I was influenced in this by Alexandra Marin (2007), who argues that this method better illuminates how respondents develop their social capital, and construct their viewpoints and rationales. This approach allowed me not only to understand this form of capital, but to explore the second objective of this project—how Brazilian gender roles influence workforce engagement. The qualitative approach offered a more nuanced view of underlying gender differences and social structures that impact individuals.

The interviews

To collect data for the study, I prepared a semi-structured questionnaire for the participants, and also conducted in-depth personal interviews in Portuguese—with the goal of allowing the respondents to express themselves better in their native tongue than in their adopted one. The interviews were conducted in locations that were convenient for the participants, and they were audio recorded. My research sample was small, just seven individuals: four women (Ester, Glória, Ana, and Bia) and three men: Daniel, Carlos, and Fábio. (I assigned each participant, and their spouse, an alias; these are not their real names.)

Some of the participants have children. Carlos has a 7-year-old daughter, as does Daniel; Fábio has a one-year-old son, and his wife is expecting another child; and Glória has two sons, aged 17 and 19. I did not interview the partners of the participants, but my subjects provided relevant information about them. Participants are employed in various fields and occupations, including information technology, the public sector, health services, administration, construction,

design, and retail. Table 1, below, summarizes the data on the respondents. In the next chapter, I analyze this data, and explore what conclusions can be drawn from it.

Table 1: Interviewee Data

	Age	Field in Brazil	Position in Canada	Level of Education	HH income	Main applicant	Length in Canada
Ana	37	Nursing	Dishwasher/ Personal Support Worker	Post-secondary	30k to 50k	Ana	Less than 1 year
Antônio	37	Police	Grocery clerk/ Uber driver	Post-secondary			
Bia*	35	Nursing	Cleaner	Post-secondary	No data	No data	3 years
Bernardo	24	IT	Software developer	Post-secondary			
Carlos	39	IT	Project Manager	Post-secondary	above 100k	Carla	3 years
Carla	35	Translation/teacher	HR Coordinator/Translator	Post-secondary			
Daniel	~40	Public servant	Financial Analyst (Government)	Post-secondary	above 100k	No data	18 years
Denise	~40	Public servant	Senior Policy Analyst (Government)	Post-secondary			
Ester	~35	Public servant	Administrative Assistant (Government)	Post-secondary	No data	No data	5 years
Estevão	~35	Engineering	Data Analyst (Government)	Post-secondary			
Fábio	36	Construction	Project Coordinator and Estimator	Post-secondary	90k to 100k	Fátima	6 years
Fátima	34	Design	Interior Designer	Post-secondary			
Glória	44	Administration/ Beautician	Sales supervisor	Post-secondary	70k to 90k	Geraldo	11 years
Geraldo	52	IT	IT	Post-secondary			

* Of the fourteen participants, only Bia is still in the process of immigration.

After collecting the interview data, I performed a confirmatory thematic analysis. For this task, I formulated the codes and themes according to my literature review and research questions, rather than exploring the themes that emerged from the data (Guest, MacQueen, & Namey, 2012). I adopted this analytical approach due to the scope of this project.

In assessing the results, I assume a feminist standpoint. Caroline Ramazanoğlu and Janet Holland (2018) suggest that this positioning acknowledges that producing new ideas is associated with the contexts and life history of women. Therefore, I recognize that identifying myself as a white Brazilian woman, from an upper-middle-class family, will affect my perception of the subjects in this study.

Chapter 2: Analyzing the interview data

As I discussed earlier in Section 1.2, Theories about Immigration, many factors explain people's decision to move to a different country. When I asked my participants what caused them to make this decision, their responses included both push and pull factors (Gard, 2018). The former were the "internal" negative factors that they experienced in Brazil, and the latter were the "external" positive factors that they anticipated finding in Canada. Though the reality may not be as they imagined it: there is often a gap between newcomers' expectations, and the reality of living in a new country. The internal factors include:

- the absence of security
- the generalized corruption and violence
- poor government systems for health, education, and transportation.

The external factors that attract participants to Canada include:

- better economic conditions,
- better career prospects
- more security
- the expectation of better systems for health, education, and transportation.

The respondents also expressed personal motivations. Some had lived abroad before, and appreciated the opportunity to experience a different reality. This international experience was one of the things that motivated them to leave Brazil. (Another motivator was their prior knowledge of English, which caused them to look for English-speaking countries.) Other participants said that they had always wanted to move to a different country. Many felt that Canada was the most reasonable destination, compared to other places. Legal opportunities to

immigrate to the US were limited for most Brazilians; while countries such as Australia or New Zealand were isolated, and demanded a far greater financial investment.

2.1 The immigration process

I asked the study participants about their decision-making process, and the preparation for immigration. Their responses are listed in Annex 1. For five out of the seven couples, the idea initially came from the men. The process of researching the plan, and working out the details, varied according to their English language skills and the negotiation between the couple. The fact that men were usually first with the idea seems to indicate that they have more decision-making power in the relationship. This power imbalance is consistent with the machismo positioning of men as dominant over women (DeSouza et al., 2000). This was the case with Bia and her husband, Bernardo, and Fábio and his wife, Fátima. In both cases, it was necessary for the man to persuade his wife to accept the idea. And Glória's husband too shouldered the main responsibility. "Geraldo did everything, I just followed along," she said. Gloria adopted the more traditional and passive marianismo gender role, in which women were expected to follow their husband's lead (Freyre, 1980).

But for Daniel and Ester, the negotiation with their significant other seems to have been unchallenging: neither mentioned any instances in which convincing, or being convinced, was required. Carlos's wife, Carla, had more decision-making power, and she was able to convince him to immigrate, assuring him that she would dedicate the necessary time and effort to overseeing the process. Of the seven interviewees, Ana was the only one who reached the decision equally with her partner.

The actual transition seems to have been easier for some of the respondents, and more difficult for others. Despite the challenges, most immigrants wish to stay in Canada. The person

who faced the most hurdles in the immigration process was Ana: back in Brazil she and her husband, Antônio, had attempted several times to get the necessary points from the Canadian government. They were on the point of giving up, tired of living in a permanently unsettled state, as she describes. “Every time, something would go wrong. We said, ‘This is the last time. If it doesn’t work out, we will stay [in Brazil]’ … At the sixth year, I finally got the points.”. This experience, coupled with the barriers Ana and Antônio encountered finding work, seems to have made her less satisfied with living as an immigrant in Canada. She mentions meeting a woman from Syria, who (along with her husband) is working below her field of expertise. (Ana herself was a nurse in Brazil, but now works as a personal support worker.). “They prefer the life they have here. What is better, or worse? To have a good financial condition in Brazil? Or to live in Canada with a low-level job?”

2.2 Pathways to employment in Canada

The participants were able to come to this country because they, and/or their partners, had the necessary levels of qualifications and abilities. However, this human capital is not always recognized in Canada—one of the many contradictions of official immigration policies. One the one hand, Canada is currently seeking to replace its workers who are ageing, and nearing retirement; so, the government has adopted initiatives to attract qualified foreigners (CIC News, 2016). But on the other hand, even though points-based policies are theoretically designed to attract immigrants with good qualifications and experience, in practice often their professional abilities, and even their university degrees, that they had in Brazil fail to make the transition to Canada. Employers still tend to discriminate against foreigners (Brasch, 2007; Peña Muñoz, 2016), and most immigrants find that their degrees and qualifications are not recognized or valued in Canada (Peña Muñoz, 2016). Data from the interviews confirmed that Brazilian

immigrants were subjected to discrimination against foreign qualification and experience (Peña Muñoz, 2016). However, it was not possible to accurately assess the impact of other forms of discrimination—preference for white candidates of the Canadian majority; rejection of candidates with foreign accents and from countries of perceived corruption and/or underdevelopment (Albarrán, 2010; Peña Muñoz, 2016).

For my research, I classified the barriers to employment that they encountered as **absolute**, **strong**, or **mild**.

- Absolute barriers were impossible to overcome, and completely stopped people from working in their desired occupation. These respondents had to change their field of work, possibly investing in further education to do so.
- Strong barriers hindered people from accessing the positions they desired, for which they were qualified—although it was eventually possible to overcome those barriers by working in lower positions and continuing to search for jobs.
- Mild barriers were less problematic to overcome and did not demand that the respondents invest in education, or spend too long to find adequate employment.

Three respondents encountered **absolute** barriers: Ana, Daniel, and Ester's husband, Estevão. The latter was an engineering technician in Brazil; but after two years of few career prospects in Canada, he decided to switch to the field of IT. Ana realized that if she wanted to work as a nurse she had to requalify, given the long process of validating a diploma from Brazil, and the differences in the profession in Canada. While studying she worked at first as a dishwasher, the only job she could find. She recently started working as a personal support worker, which is in the health field, but below her qualifications. Similarly, Daniel's economics diploma meant little to Canadian employers, despite his experience in his profession. He worked

as a cleaner for nine months while studying French and was then able to get a two-year contract with a government agency. But when the contract ended, he was again unable to find work. He was able to start in his current employment at the government because he decided to pursue a college degree in business.

Fábio encountered **strong** barriers when he arrived in Canada. In Brazil he had worked in the construction field as a project coordinator, so he felt confident that he could find work here in Ottawa. He applied for jobs online and in person, attended networking events, and even volunteered and went to church, to expand his circle of contacts and obtain employment. He found work with two construction companies, though in positions below his qualifications and experience; unfortunately, both went bankrupt. After trying unsuccessfully to start his own business, with a colleague, he finally secured a stable job at a construction company, which suited his qualifications.

Carlos, his wife Carla, and Daniel's wife, Denise, all encountered **mild** barriers to their employment in Canada. Carlos had worked as an IT project manager in Brazil, while Carla ran her own business as a translator and HR coordinator—which she continued to do after their move, supporting the couple. Their combined income (the highest in this study) made it possible for them to take their time entering the local labour market, and to avoid low-skilled jobs. And in Brazil, Daniel's wife Denise had completed a degree in International Relations. Although she had to work in some low-skilled jobs at first, eventually her education was enough to secure her employment in her field.

Reinvestment in education

Most participants, and their spouses, had to retrain in order to get a better job in Canada, as outlined in Annex 2. In general, respondents benefited by their studying, which was an advantageous strategy for them. Canadian employers, who often discriminate against foreign

degrees, are more likely to accept qualifications earned in this country (Peña Muñoz, 2016). Five participants—Ester; Bia and her husband; Ana's husband, Antônio; and Fábio's wife, Fátima—had planned from the beginning to retrain here, while the other participants decided to do so only after immigrating.

After pursuing further education in Canada, nine of the fourteen people were able to work in their desired fields (even if below their qualification levels). But two participants did not. Ester, who had worked in the public service in Brazil, completed a dental hygienist degree in Ottawa, but did not work in this area. However, she later got a job as an administrative assistant in the health department at government. This is consistent with her personal preferences and her master's degree in health sciences. And Antônio, Ana's husband, was unable to work in his former field of IT (though this may have been due to his choice of certification, which offered only a specific competence rather than a comprehensive set of abilities). Two other people, Carlos and Fábio, were able to find appropriate jobs in their fields even without studying (though the process was tougher for Fábio, who struggled to find work in the construction field, as described earlier).

However, the final person, Glória, encountered a number of obstacles that prevented her from pursuing education. These were likely due to her circumstances. At home in Brazil, she had studied Business Administration, but she experienced gender discrimination in the workforce there and wound up working as a beautician. She believes she could not find employment because of discrimination against women with children. Glória's experience in Brazil is consistent with past studies; women with young children have a lower likelihood of being employed than men (Cirino, 2018). She now works in a store as a sales supervisor, and describes

herself as “afraid” and “frustrated” by the prospect of “studying, and then I will not get a job.” Her main concern is the absence of sufficient financial resources:

> [My elder son] is studying at university, and I have to pay for it. The other one is going to school in a year. So I don’t have money. I cannot work full-time and study … and if I worked part-time and paid for one more school, it would get complicated. I have to help him paying for school.

The absence of sufficient financial resources has prevented her from studying. This is similar to other immigrants in Canada, they are more prone to experience financial insecurity (Block & Galabuzi, 2011). It is noticeable also from this remark, that Glória prioritizes the education of her children in the sake of her own, thereby following the marianismo gender role of making sacrifices for her children (Neuhouser, 1989).

These passages demonstrate that engaging in education was a successful strategy. Nonetheless, not all people were able to get further schooling, and this demanded the expenditure of time and money−resources that not all interviewees had access. Four participants had to pursue retraining in areas they were apt to work in Brazil. Most participants engaged in language training to enhance their communication skills (including English and French, as Ottawa is a bilingual city). This additional investment puts them in a disadvantage if compared to other Canadian-born people. It restricts their time to make connections and increase the social capital that could grant them benefits in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1986; Liu, 2006); or the time for leisure. Their financial resources could also be allocated to other purposes (investments in real state, stock-market, or further training in subjects they are not knowledgeable).

Approaches to finding employment

Most interviewees said that they and their spouses used various ways to look for employment—practices that depended to different degrees on social capital. This is a useful

distinction to make, allowing me to examine the influence of social capital on respondents' careers. Earlier, in Section 1.4, I discussed the creation of social capital, and its reliance on strong and weak ties (Bourdieu, 1986; Granovetter, 1973). Both kinds of ties require people to engage in social interactions, in social spaces such as professional associations, schools, other people's workplaces, clubs, job fairs, churches, or neighbourhood associations (Ali, 2016; Branker, 2017; Sinha, 2015). This strategy helped some respondents to obtain employment, while others found it unnecessary. I discuss the latter situation first, and then the former.

Approaches less dependent on social capital

All the participants employed job-search practices such as looking for jobs themselves, by contacting places they wanted to work for, applying online, mailing or emailing CVs, or dropping off resumés in person. They also relied on institutions such as employment agencies, recruiting and staffing companies, and employment fairs. In Annex 3, I list all the participants' job-search strategies.

Most respondents were, in fact, able to enter the labour market with a reduced amount of social capital—though the positions they found did not necessarily match their qualifications. Bia's husband Bernardo, along with Carlos and Carla, were all able to obtain mid-ranking jobs, commensurate with their experience, in the fields of IT and HR. But most positions available were entry-level, in industries such as health, cleaning, food, and retail. Even the government contracts available were entry-level. Thus, it seems fair to say that not relying on social capital seems to have limited these individuals' opportunities somewhat—since many positions were available only through networking or referrals (Liu, 2006; Turchick Hakak et al., 2010).

Approaches more dependent on social capital

Five of the seven main respondents were able to find employment through their connections, or at least obtain information about their desired fields. The process of developing

social capital through social interactions benefited the participants, even though they did not necessarily engage in the activities with the intention of obtaining those advantages—which I categorize as "insider information" and "referrals." Annex 4 outlines how respondents benefitted from their use of social capital in the workforce.

In terms of insider information, some respondents learned about the different fields of work, and the areas where they could be employed, and how to apply for a job, through exchanging information with other people. Based on the framework of James Coleman (1988) and Alejandro Portes (1998), as described in Section 1.4, we can distinguish the means by which the interaction occurs—the information channel—and the benefits obtained: advantageous information that may not be readily available to the general public. This background information differed from an actual referral, because it did not concern a specific employer, hiring manager, or vacant position. And it was transmitted by weak ties—that is, by people the participants did not have particularly strong relationships with, such as classmates, acquaintances, and neighbours (Granovetter, 1973; Sinha, 2015). Those ties were formed mainly in school and work environments, distinct places of social capital formation in Canada (Sinha, 2015).

For example, Ana and Bia both attended an English course targeted to nursing professionals, where an information channel was established: their classmates gave them valuable insights about finding work as a PSW, and what workplace culture differences existed in Canada's nursing profession compared to Brazil's. And when Daniel worked on a temporary contract at a government agency, his co-workers also provided guidance on how to apply for government positions, how to format his resumé and cover letter, and how to conduct himself in job interviews. He shared this insider information with his wife, and he believes that it helped the couple to eventually both get government posts.

Respondents also benefited from social capital by obtaining jobs through referrals. I define a referral as valuable information, obtained through an information channel, which can be classified as a social-capital benefit. This differs slightly from insider information in being more targeted: it conveys specific information about a certain position, employer, or candidate. Therefore, in the referral process, we can distinguish between the agent who holds the benefit, the agent who pursues the benefit, and the benefit itself (Portes, 1998).

This benefit may be divided into three categories:

- the referral of an employer to a person: occurs when a referral holder gives information about an employer to a referral pursuer
- the referral of a position to a person: occurs when a referral holder gives information about a vacant position to a referral pursuer.
- the referral of a person to an employer: when a referral holder gives information about a suitable candidate to a referral pursuer (that is, a company looking to hire someone).

The participants who received a referral, or were referred to an employer, were Ana, Ester, Fabio, and his wife, Fátima. For Ana, Ester, and Fábio, the referrals were made by their weak ties (colleagues and acquaintances); while for Fátima, the referrals were made by her strong ties, her friends. Ana learned from one of her classmates of a good company to work for; following that referral, she engaged in their formal recruiting process and was hired. Accompanied by her husband, Estevão, Ester went to some networking events, where she learned that many vacant government positions are not advertised to the public. There is a much greater possibility of being hired by taking a shortcut through the recruiting process, and getting in touch with the hiring manager directly. She followed this strategy, emailed her resumé to the person responsible, and got the job. Fábio and Fátima were also both able to obtain employment

in their fields through direct referrals to an employer. Fábio was referred by a person he met at church, and his wife was referred by friends she met at college.

Analyzing these dynamics allows us to draw three conclusions. First, it seems that weak ties benefited more participants than close ties, which supports Granovetter's findings (1973) rather than Marin's (2007)—as I described in Section 1.4. For Ana, Bia, Daniel, and Fábio, weak ties provided the insider information and referrals that they needed; while close ties benefited only Fátima. However, this finding may be true only in certain circumstances, for immigrants who are not accompanied by their relatives—an important source of close ties and resources, who might otherwise be able to offer support (Vale et al., 2011). This finding may also be true only for newcomers who have had less time to develop social connections and capital.

Second, although Turchick Hakak et al. (2010) opined that Latin Americans were not used to networking to get employment—nevertheless, my study shows that some Brazilians are able to mobilize their social capital and network successfully. In Fábio's case, his experience may be particular to his field.

And third, it seems that men were able to assist their wives with their professional advancement. Daniel passed on to his wife the insider information he received about finding government employment, since he had more opportunities to access valuable social capital; and Estevão helped Ester by accompanying her to networking events, since she is rather shy and he has a greater ability to handle social situations. When males transfer their social resources to their wives, both members of the couple can benefit.

The cost of developing social capital

As I explained in Section 1.4, Bourdieu (1986) believed that building social capital requires a type of labour. For this reason, the absence of time, money, or ability often prevents people from being able to get this resource. Most of my participants found this: the absence of

any or all of those factors prevented them from engaging in the necessary social activities. Ana, Bia, and Fábio lacked both time and money; while Carlos and Ester, who are slightly better off, reported only the lack of time. (Not having those things also seems to have limited their leisure activities, and affected their physical well-being; though it was less clear whether or their professional lives suffered too.)

The absence of the ability to build social capital was more difficult to overcome. Ester, as mentioned earlier, lacked confidence in social situations; but she was able to manage her shyness at networking events by going with her husband and a friend, which enabled her to get a referral. In the interviews I observed that Glória and her husband, Geraldo, did not have highly developed social skills, and nor did Ana's husband, Antônio. It would be difficult to say exactly what effect that lack of social abilities had on the work prospects of these three immigrants to Canada. However, it seems clear that their careers did not benefit from their use of social capital.

Two interviewees, Ester and Fábio, mentioned occasions when they were not able to rely on their connections to help their professional lives. When working on her MA in Health Sciences, Ester was not able to connect with her classmates, who could have been an important source of social capital. She attributes this difficulty partially to her age, as she was a mature student in her thirties while all the other students were in their twenties. Since one factor that often leads to the creation of social capital is the presence of common demographic traits (Patulny, Siminski, & Mendolia (2015)), the absence of those traits may have been an impediment for Ester. And Fábio reports that on one occasion when a referral might have helped him to get employment managing properties at an embassy, it did not have the desired effect.

"There was a vacant position, the exact same position I had in Brazil. The Brazilian consul-general made a recommendation to the consul-general here, [but] they were not able to

hire me." This incident demonstrates that some forms of social capital may not be transferable. Just like material capital, the value of social capital may be affected by underlying power dynamics (Anderson et al., 2007).

Another important factor that may affect the development of social capital is gender. The next section examines the influence of Brazilian gender roles on the careers of the respondents.

2.3 Impact of gender roles in careers

Using IBGE data from 2012, Bandeira & Preturlan (2016) demonstrated that women work more on average than men, since their labour is both paid and unpaid. In Brazil, some women from the higher socio-economic groups may rely on paid domestic help to facilitate their careers. However, in Canada, such help is affordable only for a few. Many immigrant women who used to delegate household chores to paid help, or to their extended families, no longer have these resources to rely on. The fact that they must now take on more domestic burdens leaves them less time to devote to their careers (Albarrán, 2010; Wilson-Forsberg, 2015). To analyze the differences in how men and women spend their time on domestic tasks, I asked the respondents which activities they and their partners are mainly responsible for. Annex 5 summarizes this information.

Division of labour

Most interviewees said that their division of household duties with partners was fair. Nearly all the negotiations about responsibilities seem to have been unproblematic. This might perhaps be explained by the fact that almost none of the couples had been able to afford domestic help before coming to Canada. Back in Brazil, Carlos was the only one who had employed full-time help. Nonetheless, even he feels that the split of domestic chores with his wife is balanced

here in Canada. Despite the literature on this theme, (Albarrán, 2010; Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016; Wilson-Forsberg, 2015), most of my interviewees did not rely on paid household help.

However, although women are not necessarily responsible for all household tasks, they are usually in charge of more than men. (Unsurprisingly, the opposite does not ever seem to be the case). After Ana's nurse-oriented English course was over, she increased her domestic work at home, while her husband increased the number of hours he was working: "When he's not working, he's studying … If he only gets home at 10 pm, I do the dishes." In Bia's case, since she is neither working or studying, she does most of the chores while Bernardo works full-time. After this transition period, the distribution of tasks might change. Ester's husband Estevão often works more hours than her; but because she leaves work early and passes by a grocery shop, she is usually responsible for buying groceries. And Glória lives with her husband Geraldo and her younger, who is 17. Geraldo does a few chores, but she does not mention what activities her son contributes to the household. She is mainly responsible for all domestic activities.

During the four months that Carlos was unemployed, after first coming to Canada with Carla, his daughter was attending full-time childcare. He did not have to provide more care work while unemployed. Daniel states he has a fair division with his wife, Denise, although these activities seem to be allocated according to their gender. Denise is mostly responsible for care-giving for their daughter while he is mostly responsible for the "heavy cleaning" of their house. Fábio also opines that he has a fair division with his wife, Fátima. Although Fátima asks him to cook more often, he is responsible for setting up their new house (installing equipment, general maintenance), some of the cleaning, and driving (dropping his wife at work, accompanying in doctor's appointments). See Annex 5 and 6 for more details on gender-related work differences.

When women do more domestic work, they are conforming to traditional marianismo gender roles (Neuhouser, 1989). Conversely, when men increase their working hours, they seem to be following the machismo role of being the main provider for the household (Macedo, 2003). By increasing their paid work hours, and spending less time at home, the husbands of Ana, Bia and Ester seemed to exempt themselves from doing domestic work. (The opposite was not true for Carlos, as he and his wife enrolled their daughter in full-time childcare when he was unemployed.) Consequently, women dedicate more of their time to housework, which may interfere with the pursuit of their own interests, and limit the time they have available for developing social capital that might help their careers (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016; Bourdieu, 1986; Liu, 2006). However, it was not possible to accurately measure the effects of these dynamics on the careers of Ana, Bia, Ester, and Glória.

Familismo

Some of the main themes the interviewees spoke of were closeness to the family, childcare help, and financial support. All spoke of how close they were to their immediate or extended families, a characteristic of familismo (Falicov, 2014). Glória and Geraldo, for instance, prefer to focus on their sons' development rather than their own. This imposes some limitations on their professional lives. As mentioned before, Glória does not feel she can afford to invest in her education, instead prioritizing her sons'. She and her husband could have gone to a different city, to search for a better job; but Geraldo was not willing to consider this, because their sons are well established in Ottawa., It seems that Glória and her husband are following familismo orientation by focusing on their families rather than on their own professional lives.

Another distinctive feature of familismo is the support with childcare (Albarrán, 2010; Falicov, 2014). For Fábio, an important life event is approaching: the birth of his second child. He looks forward to family members coming from Brazil to help him and Fátima with the care

work. Carlos misses the fact that in Brazil, his family would always take care of his daughter, allowing him and his wife leisure to engage in social activities. From this we can see that although the family can provide childcare on important occasions, the lack of such support in everyday life is often a challenge, both socially and professionally.

The principle of familismo is also behind the direct or indirect support that some respondents received to help them professionally—either from their own families, or their spouses' families. Ana's mother sent money from Brazil to help her to buy a car in Canada, so Antônio could work as an Uber driver. Bia's mother helped her to translate the documents she needed to validate her diploma. Fábio's brother-in-law allowed him and Fátima to save money by living rent-free at his apartment, thereby allowing them to save their financial resources for moving to Canada. Another form of family support was with work-related issues, described in Annex 7. Ana received information about the labour market and study material. Daniel, Ester, and Geraldo seem to have found employment due to connections by family members. The absence of this support in Canada meant that the couples have fewer resources to help them.

Marianismo: Public and private spaces

In addition to familismo values, the participants also demonstrated the traditional male and female gender positionings of machismo and marianismo—which had both negative and positive consequences for men and women.

The women sometimes found themselves in situations where they were restricted from public spaces—a restriction that is consistent with marianismo gender positionings, in which women lack power beyond their private spaces (DeSouza et al., 2000). This restricted access may limit women's possibilities of building social capital. Back in Brazil, Ana says, she would go out only "rarely. I once went to a nightclub with my friends." Even this minor outing upset Antônio. Ester opts to save leisure activities for when her husband is out. Glória's social life is mostly

restricted to her immediate family circle, and she does not make friends with people who are not also Geraldo's friends. This gender positioning seems to have limited the women's social opportunities to build capital, although it is not possible to say to what extent these dynamics have affected their professional lives.

Machismo: The provider role

Among the interviewees, it was noticeable that men took priority in pursuing their career goals, demonstrating the traditional provider role of the machismo stereotype (Macedo, 2003). Before leaving Brazil, Ana had to start over in her work twice after her husband found a high-paying government job. Those interruptions affected her own career as a government employee, preventing her from getting more seniority and better pay. This was hard for her because, in Brazil, most government positions require candidates to take a very competitive selection test, called *concurso*. These tests demand a lot of study and dedication; and after each move, Ana had to work hard to be approved again. Prioritizing her husband's career imposed major obstacles to her own goals. Because Glória's husband was the main provider for their household in Brazil, she did not work a lot—though, for her, this priority did not seem to have caused financial constraints. These situations are described in Annex 8, as are the couple dynamics outlined below.

After immigration, some couples' dynamics changed. Usually, men are the main applicants; thus, they possess better language skills and are the first ones to pursue an education in Canada (Chicha, 2012). Bia's and Glória's observations indicate that men have priority when allocating resources to pursue their career goals. Before moving to Canada, Bia lived by herself and worked full-time. After immigrating with Bernardo, they decided that he would start studying first—even though the money to pay for college tuition was hers. This allowed her husband to work in his preferred field before her. Because her English was not as good as his,

and because her nursing diploma was unrecognized in Ottawa, she had to spend two years working as a cleaner.

In Glória's case, settling in Canada meant that her family could no longer live solely on Geraldo's income. He was the main applicant, and his English skills and training were good enough for him to work in his IT field. But when Glória tried to go back to the workforce, with her lack of English skills and Canadian education, the only jobs she could find were in retail, a field that did not offer her good career prospects.

2.4 Discussion

This study explores the obstacles that Brazilian immigrants encounter while entering the labour market. Entering the labour market is beneficial to men and women (Lindsey, 2011). Additionally, Canadian immigration policies attempt to attract people with high levels of training and experience to Canada; however, many immigrants experience lower labour market outcomes and Canadian-born people (Akbari & MacDonald, 2014; Block & Galabuzi, 2011). Other forces that influence labour market participation are Brazilian gender roles. In this study, it was apparent that some gender positionings had impacts on the labour market participation. Those gender positionings include assuming the role of the main provider of the household and having less power in public spaces (DeSouza et al., 2000; Macedo, 2003).

Furthermore, the reliance on referrals for recruiting workers, a common practice in Canada that limits the diversity in the workforce, and impacted the careers of Brazilians (Liu, 2006). In this study, the referral process was conceptualized according to the authors of social capital. A referral, which is an outcome of social capital, can be categorized as a valuable information that is exchanged within a mean, or Information channel (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). This referral is a targeted information about a vacant position, a possible candidate to fulfill a position or an employer. Within an information channel, individuals may also receive in insider information, more general information that is not widely disseminated, including insights about fields of occupation, positions, or how to apply for jobs. In order to establish a connection, it is required to engage in labour that requires time, money and abilities (Bourdieu, 1986). The connections can vary from strong to weak, according to the amount of labour dedicated and the solidarity and affinity between individuals (Bourdieu, 1986; Granovetter, 1973). Therefore, this

research focused on how immigrants build social capital that allows them to enter the labour market and obtain referrals and the influences of Brazilian gender roles in this process.

In general terms, this study illustrates the obstacles Brazilian immigrants have encountered in their working lives after moving to Canada. Consistent with the literature, these obstacles include insufficient language skills, especially for women; discrimination against foreign degrees; requirement for Canadian work experience for newcomers; challenges of validating foreign diplomas (Albarrán, 2010; Chicha, 2012; Peña Muñoz, 2016). One of the main strategies to cope with these challenges was engaging in education, and for most participants, this initiative provided positive outcomes for interviewees. Participants were able to increase their human and social capital that are esteemed in Canada; although at the expense of time and financial resources.

After the analysis of the interview data in Sections 21., 2.2 and 2.3, it is possible to address the research questions posed in this study. The first research question inquiries the ways in which gender roles influenced Brazilians when facing the challenges of the Canadian labour market. Some men attempted to assume the role of providers for their families, following the machismo gender role (Macedo, 2003). Per this role, some immigrant men might have priority in allocating their resources to invest in their careers in Canada (Chicha, 2012). The husbands of the four women—Ana, Bia, Glória, and Ester—had priority in pursuing their career goals, by being the first ones to start studying or by spending more hours dedicated to work and study. Bia's and Glória's husbands had better English skills than their wives, which gave them an advantage when entering the workforce.

Thus, in most cases, the men benefited from assuming or pursing the role as providers, as they were able to focus on their professional development. But Daniel and Estevão also

benefitted their wives in their professional trajectory. Daniel helped his wife, Denise, by sharing valuable insider information on how to apply for government positions. Estevão, Ester's husband, helped her to overcome her shyness by accompanying her to networking events. When males assume the provider gender value, this has resulted in advantages and disadvantages for their wives. If women wish to pursue their career goals in a more balanced way with their partners, but their partners are not able to share valuable resources, and financial constraints restrict couples ability to equally invest in training and qualifications, women's professional lives will be probably be jeopardized. Conversely, if males are able to share valuable resources with their spouses and their pursuit for career goals does not impede females to get further education and dedicate to work, women will probably benefit from the provider role.

Gender stereotypes also impacted women's ability to build social capital—which could help them enter the Canadian labour market (Granovetter, 1973; Liu, 2006). In accordance with marianismo gender roles of avoiding the public sphere and adopting more passive conduct, Brazilian women were restricted or restricted themselves to access some spaces (DeSouza et al., 2000). By doing this, women may be refrained from accessing spaces where they could build social capital that might benefit them in several ways, including in their professional lives.

The second research question evaluates how familismo influences male and female Brazilians when seeking referrals for jobs in Canada. In general terms, it was noticeable that being apart from their extended families caused some negative impacts on their lives. Being distant from the family meant that women and men could no longer rely on family resources in the workforce. In this study, both men and women reported being benefited by the social capital provided by the family in Brazil, although Vale et al. (2011) demonstrate that women usually benefit more in their professional lives from these connections. Ana, Ester, Daniel, and Geraldo

(Glória's husband) received support from their families with work-related issues, including information about the labour market and assistance in finding a job.

The third research question accesses if the unequal division of household labour, supported by machismo and marianismo, prevented women from building social capital that might allow them to enter the labour market. First, it was noteworthy that most females were not overburdened by housework responsibilities. These results are opposed to the findings of Wilson-Forsberg (2015). The author investigated the employment trajectories of Latin American immigrants. In her sample, women had an excessive domestic workload.

However, the unequal housework distribution may have impacted some women. When men were more dedicated in their professional lives, following the provider gender stereotype, Ana, Bia and Ester compensated by taking on more responsibilities over the household labour. Alternatively, even though Carlos was unemployed for four months when he first came to Ottawa, he did not take on more domestic work. Instead, he dedicated this time to developing his English skills and investing in his career, while his daughter was attending a full-time daycare. Therefore, by taking on more responsibilities over the domestic work, Ana, Bia, Ester and Glória dedicated more time into collective activities that would benefit themselves and their families, and less to their individual interests or investing in their professional careers (Bandeira & Preturlan, 2016). Consequently, the unequal division of household responsibilities may cause barriers for professional working women if they abstain from investing in their human or social capitals.

The final research question evaluates under what circumstances can Brazilian immigrants overcome barriers and successfully build social capital. It is evident that participants faced obstacles to obtaining referrals. Being apart from family and new to a country meant that they

had lower connections than Canadian-born people. Participants were geographically distant from their families; thus, they could no longer rely on them, which is an important source of connections. Another obstacle for building social capital was the lack of abilities. Individuals that did not have high social skills did not seem to benefit from social capital.

Nonetheless, Ana, Bia, Daniel, Ester, Fábio and Fátima were able to obtain insider information and referrals that supported their career goals. These outcomes advantaged participants in the public, health and construction sectors; and were usually transmitted by weak ties—such as classmates, co-workers or acquaintances, as predicted in previous studies (Granovetter, 1973; Sinha, 2015). The fact that most respondents did not benefit from strong ties is an indication that immigrants—from smaller communities in Canada and who lack familial support—have less access to strong connections to contribute to their professional lives. The lack of this support places them in disadvantage to more established immigrant communities and Canadian-born people.

This study contains several limitations. The interviewee sample might also not appropriately reflect all challenges that Brazilian immigrants face in the Ottawa region and the rest of Canada, as Brazil and Canada are extremely diverse countries. Considering the insertion in the workforce, although the interviews offered indications on how Brazilians suffered from discrimination in the labour market, they may not be able to identify these instances. A more comprehensive study on the challenges of immigrants in the labour market that considers the perspectives of candidates and employers may able to unveil the forms of labour market discrimination. The process of referrals also varied greatly along with occupational areas, and the research was not able to portrait the nuances of each field.

Regarding the impact of gender, although it was required from the respondents to describe their daily routines and how they share domestic responsibilities, the self-reported measure included in this study was not faultless. Respondents often said that they shared responsibilities equally; but after engaging in probing, it turned out that their definition of "equal" was a little skewed. Other strategies might be necessary to add accuracy to this measure. Additionally, due to the scope of this study, I was not able to further explore emergent themes from the interviews, which could have added more dept to the study. Finally, language differences meant that some passages and transcriptions lost part of their original meaning.

Thus, this study signals important areas for future studies. First, additional research is required to provide a further discernment of the process of referrals in the region and across occupational fields. Second, the literature might benefit from studies that capture a greater sexual and racial diversity for immigrant couples in Canada and their challenges for building social capital. Therefore, although scholars of immigration, gender and social capital have produced a consistent body of literature, there are still unexplored issues to be addressed.

2.5 Final considerations

This study examined the labour market participation of Brazilian immigrants in Canada. More specifically, I examined how Brazilian immigrants were able to utilize their social capital to assist their career goals; and the impact Brazilian gender roles for these individuals. From the interviews, it is possible to state that Brazilians faced obstacles in the labour market and that gender has a tangible impact. Most of the times, respondents were able to achieve their goals by investing in human capital and dedicating to job-seeking strategies reliant on social capital. Although they experienced hardships in the Canadian labour market, individuals employed strategies to overcome them. Investing in education was a successful strategy to cope with the discrimination against foreign degrees, and work in occupations close or equivalent to their level of training and qualification. Educational institutions also allowed respondents to develop their social capital.

Another way in which participants were able to engage in the workforce was by sharing resources. Males were able to share resources and support their wives' careers, enabling them to work in their desired fields. Women assisted men by taking on more domestic responsibilities when men dedicated more time to education and work. Therefore, this demonstrates how couples that wish to adhere to more traditional gender roles may support each other in their careers and reach a balance. Moreover, this dynamic evokes the contributions of unpaid housework for the career of men, which are often overlooked (Secombe, 1974). Being aware of these dynamics allows women to empower themselves in their conjugal relationships and negotiate more symmetrical contributions.

Ultimately, the experience of Brazilians in Canada is not likely to be fully extended to other immigrant groups. However, this study has elucidated several patterns. First, it

demonstrates how immigrants from non-traditional immigration streams build their social capital; and the structural factors that foreign-born women and men are subjected to, including legislation, practices and the cultural framework. Second, it reveals how gender roles influenced this process. It is crucial to uncover these roles and their influences, encouraging individuals to make conscious choices and negotiate with their partners the best strategies to achieve their career goals and ensure their financial stability. Third, this research allows policy-makers to understand further the challenges immigrants face and develop immigration and welfare policies that support men and women in their employment pathways and their family lives. Finally, this study offers a framework to understand the referral process and how people benefit from their interactions in the labour market. It is crucial to uncover these dynamics so that newcomers familiarize with such practices and develop strategies to cope with them.

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Annex

Annex 1 - Immigration decision-making and preparation

Main responsible	Quotes
Male	I never had the idea of living abroad. Until I met my husband […] When we started dating, he started to plant these ideas of living abroad. Then, throughout our relationship, we decided to come here […] I didn't research extensively [...] My husband knew English, so he researched more. Bia
	Basically, the main idea was mine. We lived together at the time […] She accepted the proposition and together we started researching […] The research was really her. Mostly because her English was better than mine. Daniel
	He had the initial idea […] We researched together what was necessary. Ester
	He did everything, I just followed along […] I never had the idea […] I never dreamed about it. I came from a small town. My biggest dream was to visit Fernando de Noronha, and I still haven't been to Fernando de Noronha. Glória
	In a certain way, it was a thing that I wanted, and my wife got on board. […] I think that if it was for her, she would have stayed in Brazil. […] She wanted to study but didn't know where and what. I remember bugging her and asking, 'have you found a course? Where are we going? Fábio
Female	For example, our immigration here was 100% on her. She got that in her head, picked the fight and went for it. […] She made the decision and the argument that I had at the time was 'okay if you get everything prepared, I will go.' Then, this was my commitment. Carlos
Equal	We started researching how and if there was a possibility of immigrating there [to the US] […] [was it a decision from both of you?] Yes. Ana

Annex 2 – Investment in Education in Canada

Type of investment	Quotes

Investment in formal and informal education	He is in a [IT related] course in college. […] After this English course [targeted to nurses] In September, I will start the nursing technician course. While my nursing degree is not validated, it´s possible to work as a technician Ana
	My husband did a [IT related] course in college for two years. […] He is studying French twice a week, online.
	I started in January [English course for nurses]. […] [Then starts] The course [nurse technician] it lasts two years, but since I am a nurse, I can skip some subjects. It lasts 8 months, from September to April next year Bia
	Only me, I studied English. My wife started studying French offered by the government. She did for 6 months, then had to stop. [Why?] She stopped because we changed neighbourhoods, and she had other things […] Now, maybe she will get back to it. […] She started another course in college, RH online Carlos
	I did a Business Administration course [2008] […] Then I did a specialization in Finances [2013]. […] Then I did a full-time French course […] For 5 months
	After two years and a half, she started her masters [2008] […] She would tell me, 'I cannot learn French' […] Then I would say […] 'you are going to make it, focus.' Nowadays she is proficient in French. Daniel
	When I first got here, I did a master's at University. […] in Health Sciences. […] I did a bit of [French] at the University. […] Now I am in a third [language] school. […] I did a dentist assistant course for one year, but I did not work in this field
	My husband did French for a year and then stopped. He did a college course [IT related]. That was it for formal education. The rest, he studied for himself. He studies French, English and another language [...] He is always reading. He is an autodidact. […] He dedicates at least one hour a day. Ester
Absence/reduced investment	My wife came here to do a two-year Design course at college […] I did not want to study, I did not want to hear about studying, I wanted to work" Fábio
	I started an English course in Toronto. For one year and a half. […] I studied Business Administration [in Brazil]. […] I am afraid. Because I am going to start studying, and then I will not get a job. It's frustrating. [...] He [spouse] did a course […] at the time, he was unemployed. […] After that, he never studied again […] He [elder son] is studying at University, and I have to pay for it. The other one is going to school in a year. So, I don´t have money. I cannot work full-time and study. [...] If I worked part-time and paid for one more

school [for herself], it would get complicated. I have to help to pay for his University. Glória

Annex 3 – Approaches to find employment less dependent on social capital

Types of approaches	Quotes
Employment settlement agencies	One of these employment settlement agencies, my spouse heard about it […] We had all of the guidance on how to search [for jobs] and how to create a resume. Ana I did some workshops in some of those employment settlement agencies. […] they had some resumes workshops, and how to conduct yourself in interviews. Carlos The only thing I had at the time was the services for immigrants. […] All the help I received from the settlement agencies were useless. It did not work out. […] [they would say] if your resume is not similar to this, you will not get an answer. Then I improved my resume, I know… So, I started to send resumes and resumes. At least in my field, it does not work. Fabio
Sending resumes online	[how did you hear about your current job [dishwasher]?] Indeed [laughter] Then I applied, but I was hopeless. They contacted me right after […] He changed multiple times […] Always through Indeed [...] [about the PSW work] I applied in the company's website, and the HR got in touch for an interview. A mini test and then a training [...] Ana We went into the employment website, Indeed. […] we saw how a cleaner position was and what was necessary. It didn't ask for experience and a basic level of English. Then we applied. […] It was really fast. [husband] He sent a resume for co-op, but it wasn't through school. [...] it was on Linkedin. Bia For my first job, I went to the company's website and applied for a position. […] During the interview, the girl saw that I was suited for a different position […] I was approved in the recruiting process and was hired. Carlos My first job here was on Kijiji. I sent my resume for a job position. The guy called my cellphone to work on the following day. Fábio I go on Indeed" Glória

Sending resumes in-person	During my first winter here, I was afraid of working in construction. […] I remember going on Bank street and dropping my resume in all stores. I ended up finding a job really far, at a financial services company. Fábio [Would you apply online for a job?] No, I would always go to the stores." Glória
Employment fairs at school	[husband worked] at a gym. It was through his college. There was an employment fair. Some companies went to his college to offer part-time employment for students. Bia After that, he started a free course [IT technician] in French. At the end of this course, that was a co-op. Ester At her college, she got one of those jobs. During summer she got a job at Subway, where she could work full-time Fábio
Recruiter	[the second job] was through a recruiter. […] we had already discussed an opportunity [in a different company], and he told me, 'your resume fits this position, would you take it.' […] we discussed the pros and cons, and that was it. Carlos
Agency	How did your wife get the job as an HR coordinator] she went through an employment agency. Carlos I worked for the passport office. It was through an [employment] agency. Daniel

Annex 4 – Approaches to find employment more dependent on social capital

Types of approaches	Quotes
Insider information	When I started researching about it and started to talk with my classmates, I found out that they [PSW] don't have a fixed schedule, you have to stay on call. Ana I think that 80% of the class worked as PSW. I didn't have any contact with people that worked in the field [before]. They were not nurses, but they had this broader perspective. It was really good because they gave me a perspective on how the work here is. Bia Since I entered the government through an agency, I spent two years working there. […] Then I asked for them to proofread my answers and my cover letter. If I were accepted, I would say. 'Guys, I was invited to do the test, how do I do it.' And then they gave me some direction. Everything that they directed me, I would tell my wife because she was also in the process. This is how we were able to get in. Daniel.

Referral of an employer to a person	The person that told me about my current employer was one of my classmates. […] She said that the company pays better and has a lot of demand Ana
Referral of a position to a person	When you get into a social place and have to introduce yourself, I would go with them [husband and friend]. This is what worked. There is a lot of exchange of business cards and information. […] Then you go in the websites, looking for the positions, learning the name of the positions. Most of the positions are in networking, even if you apply for the jobs that are posted. The positions that you find because someone knows that someone knows that it is open and tells you about it, they have a higher chance of being fulfilled. Then you send you email and say, I heard that you were hiring, here is my resume. [someone told you about the position, gave you the contact information and you sent your resume?] Yes, I sent the e-mail, sent the resume. [And has this person made a recommendation of you in any way] I don't know. I think so. But at the interview, no one asked, 'do you know this person? Or did you get a referral?' Ester
Referral of a person to an employer	I only got [current job] because I started to go to a church and a person there referred me. He said, 'oh since you are an architect, you need to talk to my contractor.' Then I said, please, 'make a recommendation of me.' Then he made the referral, and I got in touch with the guy. We set down, and I kept insisting. [...] I can work for you for three months, if you don't like it, it's not a problem One of her friends went to a job interview. At the interview, she said, 'men, I am not the right person, but I know someone.' […] then she made a referral of her, and she was hired This person [work friend] knew someone that knew someone that was looking for someone. Then she made a referral of her. At the same day, she left her resignation letter and got a job offer. This is my wife. Fábio

Annex 5 – Time allocation*

		Interviewees						
		Ana	**Bia**	**Ester**	**Glória**	**Carlos**	**Daniel**	**Fábio**
Laundry								
Wash		S	I	I/S	I	S	S	I/S
Dry		S	I	I/S	I	I/S	S	I/S
Store		I	I	I/S	I	I/S	S	I/S
Kitchen								
Dishes	Wash	I/S	I	I	S	I/S	I/S	I/S
	Dry	-	S	-	-	-	-	-
Cook		S	I	S	I	I	I/S	S

Cleaning/Organization								
Sweep the floor		I	I	I/S	-	I/S	I	-
Vacuum		I	I	I/S	-	I/S	I	I
Floor cloth		-	I	I/S	-	I/S	I	S
Organize things	Personal	-	-	-	I	I/S	S	-
	Children's	-	-	-	-	I/S	S	-
	Pet	-	-	-	-	I/S	-	-
Make the bed		I	I	S	-	-	-	S
Remove the garbage		S		S	-	I	-	I/S
Clean the bathroom		I	I	I	S	I/S	I/S	I/S
Shopping								
Groceries	Big purchase	S	I/S	-	I	I/S	I/S	I/S
	Small purchase	S	I/S	I	I	I/S	I/S	I/S
Clothes/shoes/accessories	Personal	-	-	I	I	I	I	-
	Couple	-	-	I/S	I	-	-	-
	Kids	-	-	-	I	I/S	S	-
Pet supplies		-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Care								
Doctor	Schedule	I	-	I	I (Both)	I	I	-
	Remind	-	-	-	I (Both)	-	S	-
	Medication	-	-	I (Both)	-	I	I	-
Dentist	Schedule	-	-	I	I (Both)	I	I	-
	Remind	-	-	-	I (Both)	-	S	-
	Medication	-	-	I (Both)	-	I	-	-
Vet	Schedule	-	-	-	-	I	-	-
	Remind	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Medication	-	-	-	-	I	-	-
Child	Dress up	-	-	-	-	I	S	-
	Pick up at school	-	-	-	-	S	I	-
	Drop at school	-	-	-	-	I	S	-
	Put to bed	-	-	-	-	-	-	S
	Play	-	-	-	-	I/S	I/S	-
	Doctor/Dentist	-	-	-	-	S	S	I/S
Pet	Litter box	I	-	-	-	I/S	-	-
	Play/Walk	S	-	-	-	I/S	-	-
	Clean fur	S	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bath	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Food/water	I	-	-	-	I/S	-	-

Maintenance								
Remove snow		-	-	-	S	I	I	-
Upkeep garden		-	-	-	I	I	I	-
General (fix, hang, replace)		-	-	-	-	-	I	I
Car maintenance		S	-	I	-	-	I	-
Budget								
Pay bills	Rent	S	S	I/S	-	-	-	S
	Water	S	S	I/S	-	-	-	S
	Hydro	S	S	I/S	-	-	-	S
	Heating	S	S	I/S	-	-	-	S
Control expenses		S	I/S	I/S	-	-	-	I/S
Go to the bank		I/S	I/S	-	-	-	-	-

* The letter I indicates when the individuals themselves are mainly responsible for the listed activities, and S indicates when their spouses mainly responsible.

Annex 6 – Unequal time allocation

Time allocation	Quotes
Females	My spouse is working around 30 hours a week. […] He also works for 3,4 hours in Uber or studies […] When he is not working, he is studying […] If I get home and he only gets at 10 pm, I do it [the dishes]. Ana
	He is working almost every day, and I have more free time [not studying or working]. I am cleaning the house by myself on Friday. Once a week, I do the laundry. [...] But I miss it [working]. This is strange. It seems like its not my money. But he doesn't want it. He said, no, stay during this time [before school starts], don't go back to work. Bia
	If I work 35 to 37 hours a week, he must work 40 to 45 a week. Way more than me. […] He told me that he is going to find another job during the weekend. […] I don't know how he is going to find the time. […] Usually, who leaves work earlier, do the groceries before getting home. We call each other and check. [who usually leaves [work] first?] Me. Ester
	[They don't like cooking?] They don't do anything. […] If I don't cook the rice, if I don't heat up the rice and the beans, do a salad and put them together, they don't do it. They eat bread. Glória
Males	I studied English for four or five months. […] We were able to let our daughter in [a publicly funded] childcare for the whole day. […] In this first year I had more free time to find connections. Not my wife, she always worked. Carlos

Annex 7 – Support with work-related issues

Familismo	Quotes
Support with work-related issues	During some time, my brother was studying for concurso. So, he had some [studying] materials […] and he also gave some advice for my spouse about some courses he could do. Ana
	The job that I had at the time he [father] had gotten for me. Due to political influence. Daniel
	I would work in administrative at the firm of my mother´s friend Ester
	He worked with his uncle […] my husband's uncle used to be a business owner Glória

Annex 8 – Provider role

In Brazil	Quotes
Males had the priority	I was in the northeast of Brazil; I had my jobs. When he was approved in the *concurso* [written exam that people take to be admitted to a government position. It is often difficult to be admitted and people that usually have to dedicate several hours of studying to be approved] we moved to the west-central of Brazil. When we got there, I did another *concurso* to the technical school, and I was approved. I was there teaching. Let's go to the south of Brazil [job transfer]. I resigned again. […] Then, I did a *concurso* and was approved. Let's go to Canada [laughs]. My life has been like this since 2014. Starting over every time. Ana
	I worked only for one year before coming here. I have never worked a lot, almost nothing. Glória
In Canada	**Quotes**
Males had the priority	We came with the idea that first, he is going to start his college degree and I would only work. […] He would finish and graduate first. Then I would start studying. […] Our idea was that I would help him pay for his college, and then he would help me pay for mine. […] He is working almost every day, and I have more free time [not studying or working]. I am cleaning the house by myself on Friday. Once a week, I do the laundry. [...]. Bia

> [Here [in Canada] have you worked?] I was forced. […] He was unemployed for 10 months. Then I started working at a restaurant. […] I studied Business Administration [in Brazil]. But I can't, I study, and then I don´t get a job afterwards. […] Now, I don't want to study anymore. […] My husband asks me if I want to go back to study. Then I say, "study for what?" I don't know what I should study. […] Now I don't have time nor money. […] I pressure my husband to get a better job, but I know that this is not going to happen. Glória