

# QUEER AND POSTCOLONIAL THEORIES: UNDERSTANDING BRAZILIAN IMMIGRANT POLICY DURING BOLSONARO'S GOVERNMENT (2019-2022)

Bruna Barcellos<sup>1</sup>

Leonardo Mercher<sup>2</sup>

This paper aims to understand Bolsonaro's government and its immigration agenda by IR postcolonial and queer theories. To identify and to collect data we use content analysis to organize sentences according to four categories from international relations (IR) theories. These four categories are: i) coloniality of knowledge; ii) coloniality of power and being; iii) coloniality of nature; and iv) coloniality of gender. We use these categories to identify sentences in speeches, interviews and public policies which reinforce concepts of coloniality and binary worldview. The main results are: presence of the president and his ministers at critical events against immigrants; xenophobia to specific groups of immigrants, like latinos; sexism, homophobia and the reinforcement of a binary perception of family and gender roles to immigrants.

**Keywords:** immigrants; Brazil; Bolsonaro; queer; postcolonialism.

## TEORIAS *QUEER* E PÓS-COLONIAL: COMPREENDENDO A POLÍTICA BRASILEIRA PARA A IMIGRAÇÃO DURANTE O GOVERNO BOLSONARO (2019-2022)

Este artigo tem como objetivo compreender o governo Bolsonaro e sua agenda imigratória a partir das teorias pós-coloniais e *queer* das relações internacionais (RI). Para identificar e coletar dados utilizamos a análise de conteúdo para organizar as sentenças de acordo com quatro categorias das teorias de RI. Estas quatro categorias são: i) colonialidade do conhecimento; ii) colonialidade do poder e do ser; iii) colonialidade da natureza; e iv) colonialidade de gênero. Utilizamos essas categorias para identificar frases em discursos, entrevistas e políticas públicas que reforçam conceitos de colonialidade e visão de mundo binária. Os principais resultados são: presença do presidente e dos seus ministros em eventos críticos contra os imigrantes; xenofobia em relação a grupos específicos de imigrantes, como os latinos; sexismo, homofobia e o reforço de uma percepção binária da família e dos papéis de gênero para os imigrantes.

**Palavras-chave:** imigrantes; Brasil; Bolsonaro; *queer*; pós-colonialismo.

## TEORÍAS *QUEER* Y POSCOLONIAL: COMPRENDIENDO LA POLÍTICA BRASILEÑA PARA LA INMIGRACIÓN DURANTE EL GOBIERNO DE BOLSONARO (2019-2022)

Este artículo tiene como objetivo comprender el gobierno de Bolsonaro y su agenda de inmigración a partir de teorías de relaciones internacionales poscoloniales y *queer*. Para identificar y recopilar datos, utilizamos análisis de contenido para organizar las oraciones de acuerdo con cuatro

---

1. Doctor of science in public policy from Federal University of Parana (Universidade Federal do Paraná – UFPR); and master's student in public economics from Kyushu University. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4386-4322>. E-mail: [brunalbarcello@gmail.com](mailto:brunalbarcello@gmail.com).

2. Doctor of science in political science from UFPR. Orcid: <https://orcid.org/0000-0003-1812-7803>. E-mail: [leomercher@gmail.com](mailto:leomercher@gmail.com).

categorías de teorías de relaciones internacionales (RI). Estas cuatro categorías son: i) colonialidad del conocimiento; ii) colonialidad del poder y del ser; iii) colonialidad de la naturaleza; y iv) colonialidad de género. Usamos estas categorías para identificar frases en discursos, entrevistas y políticas públicas que refuerzan conceptos de colonialidad y una cosmovisión binaria. Los principales resultados son: presencia del Presidente y sus Ministros en eventos críticos contra los inmigrantes; xenofobia hacia grupos de inmigrantes específicos, como los latinos; sexismo, homofobia y el refuerzo de una percepción binaria de los roles familiares y de género para los inmigrantes.

**Palabras clave:** imigrantes; Brasil; Bolsonaro; *queer*; poscolonialismo.

JEL: J08; J15; J16.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.38116/rtm33art9>

Data de envio do artigo: 28/10/2023. Data de aceite: 27/5/2024.

## 1 INTRODUCTION

During the 19th century immigrants were invited to come to Brazil to build a nation, but something changed in the middle of the 20th century. In the 21st century, during Bolsonaro's national government (2019-2022), we saw aggressive and negative words to describe some groups of immigrants. Why does the Brazilian government start using words like "unwanted" and "unsafe" to describe some groups of human beings according to their origins? To answer this question we analyze the Brazilian foreign policy to immigrants by queer and postcolonialism international relations (IR) theories. We also decided to collect all data by using the content analysis method.

We decided to start showing some tools from IR queer theory to investigate public policy to immigrants as a reflection of our non-binary perception of the world. Queer theory is not limited to understand LGBT+ agenda and dynamics, but we can apply it to explain any situation in IR and public policy. "Curiosity" is the first step to start IR queer research according to Cynthia Weber (2016). On this way, we share our curiosity about Bolsonaro's government (2019-2022) and how it built its public policy on unwanted immigrants. Besides, IR queer theory helps us to identify any reproduction of values like "what is wanted" or "unwanted" and "what is normal" or "a freak" in a society.

Immigration should be understood as a gender problem, specially when public policies differentiate receptions for immigrants based on sex at birth. When a government decides to offer a vocational education policy to an immigrant by his/her/their sex at birth, we should pay attention to how it works in our society. Starting from this point, we are able to link IR queer theory to IR postcolonial theory, when the second one helps us to understand more values among colonizers and colonized nations like "what is right" or "wrong" and "what is safe" or "unsafe" due to coloniality of gender.

IR postcolonial theory helps us to understand the Brazilian public policies as part of South America's decolonial process. Colonizer's generation of cultural knowledge and values could spread inside colonized nations, which reproduce public policies based on racism, prejudices and binarism. IR postcolonial has, at least, four categories: i) coloniality of knowledge (Quijano, 1992); ii) coloniality of power and of being (Quijano, 1992); iii) coloniality of nature (Hirschfeld, Faria and Fonseca, 2023); and iv) coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2008). These four categories are linked to IR queer theory when they criticize the traditional and binary way to explain IR.

Nonetheless, we need to collect data before applying these categories and that is why we decided to use the content analysis (Bardin, 2016) to: delimitate the documents and speeches; classify the content by categories; and to analyze the results by applying IR queer and postcolonial/decolonial theories. Content analysis helps us to collect and to organize data, while IR theories help us to interpret data.

This paper is divided in four sections, starting with the IR queer and postcolonial theories and methods. The second section is the Brazilian immigrant's dynamics to contextualize the local scenario over the years. In the third section, we present Bolsonaro's government and its speeches and public policies to immigrants as an important part of our research. The fourth section is the conclusion where we highlight the main results in order to understand the immigrant situation in Brazil during the last four years.

## **2 IR QUEER AND POSTCOLONIALISM METHODS**

Cynthia Weber (2016) shows us a new way to understand foreign policy and IR beyond old ideas of what is normal and what is pathological/unwanted in our world. To the IR queer theory, our perception of public policies are binary. In other words, we are always identifying what is good and what is bad. However, what is good or bad could be just a question of social values. Weber (2016, p. 24) analyzes "how understandings of the normal and the perverse are frozen, without assuming they are either true or forever fixed". Some groups of immigrants are unwanted by national governments while policymakers speak pathological words against them. But why?

As IR was built on a binary system: "what is development and what is dangerous to a nation?". IR queer theory understands reality as non-binary, giving us a criticism perception of policymakers which try to classify humans beings and human dynamics as good or bad, normal or perverse, safe or unsafe, desired or unwanted. However, more than a red flag, IR queer theory gives us a method. IR queer theory helps us to identify any reproduction of values like "what is wanted" or

“unwanted” and “what is normal” or “a freak” in a society. By a binary perception of reality, public policies should protect the “normal” or the “good citizen” to the detriment of the bad ones. As we can see, the “bad ones” could be reinterpreted as less important on the political agenda by some politicians and media which do not want to share their real values against some groups. “Immigrants? We have more important challenges to spend public money”. This sentence is not rare nowadays and could show us some binary values of our society.

So how can we begin a queer analysis? IR queer method starts with an intellectual curiosity (Weber, 2016, p. 19) akin to Cynthia Enloe’s feminist curiosity (Enloe, 2004): “what is normal?”. The next question is: “who’s saying what is normal and why?”. As an analytic tool, the IR queer method tries to identify policymakers’ values as reflections of their social/electoral bases. In this way, policymakers and governments tend to reproduce predominant strengths of predominant identities. Then, how do we measure this? The answer could be seen in the methodological framework to follow.

TABLE 1  
Queer IR method

Queer intellectual curiosity	Tools
What is beyond the ‘normal’ in a specific IR dynamic?	Concept analysis to problematize what is classified as not normal, unsafe, unwanted, pathological.
Who are the agents/policymakers and how are they reflecting their social bases/intersectionalities on policy/IR?	Documental analysis; speech analysis; prosopography; individual/social intersectionalities; process tracing; and cycle of policy analysis.
What do the results show us? Does the IR non-binary research contribute to better understanding our reality?	Concept analysis.

Source: Weber (2016).  
Authors’ elaboration.

By queer curiosity, we start with some questions. Why does a government choose to make public policies and speeches against some human beings? Could decolonial dynamics explain this public policy? Are these public policies a result of presidential personalism or a demanded agenda from voters? According to IR queer theory, a government reflects international and national interests and values. For example, to Cynthia Weber (2016) Donald Trump’s political positioning reflected values from his voter pattern: man, 55+ years old, white, heterosexual, non college degree, mostly conservative and christian.<sup>3</sup> In this way, Trump reproduced his voters demand and values against latinos immigrants. However, more than representing voters’ values, Trump was elected for having this speech.

3. Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/politics/2018/08/09/an-examination-of-the-2016-electorate-based-on-validated-voters/>.

Immigration should be understood as a gender problem, specially when public policies differentiate receptions for immigrants based on sex at birth. When a government decides to offer a vocational education policy to an immigrant by his/her/their sex at birth, we should pay attention to how it works in our society. For example, if we have just two vocational courses for immigrants – mechanic for men and hairdresser for women – we have a gender problem. This is a simple example, but it is not unusual. Social reintegration policies could reproduce coloniality of gender, which reinforces gender roles of men and women in economic dynamics and socialization. Public policies based on sex at birth could reinforce prejudices against minority groups. That is why it is so important to find social values presented in public policies, understanding these values as part of a sexist view which started by our European colonization process.

Starting from this point, we are able to link IR queer theory to IR postcolonial theory, when the second one helps us to understand more values among colonizers and colonized nations like “what is right” or “wrong” and “what is safe” or “unsafe” due to coloniality of gender. “If we have to accept an immigrant flow, what is the right thing to do with these men and women?” or “which of them are safer?” From these binary ideas, we can identify some social values reproduced by the government when it faces the increase of immigration flow. In fact, these questions and values are not a Brazilian particularity, but they are also in our colonizers. Part of the theories and literature which we use here came from the global north by its empirical experiences and dilemmas.

In Brazil, immigrants were not a challenge presented in electoral agendas until Venezuela's crisis, in 2013. Immigrants gained relevance in the public debate when a large number of Venezuelans pressured Federal Police checkpoints in the North of the country. But some years before, Venezuela was pointed as a bad example of Brazilian foreign policy and its agenda to get closer to Latin countries. At this point we can understand that non-Venezuelans immigrants were not a political problem before 2013. Then, to understand this regional scenario, more than voters' values, we also decide to use IR postcolonialism theory.

IR postcolonial theory and decolonialism thinking present to us four categories to investigate historical and social dynamics that could explain some agendas in South America. Starting from coloniality of knowledge (Quijano, 1992) and coloniality of power benign, these two categories help us to identify colonizers' ideas presenting in colonized nations/governments. Coloniality of knowledge is the reproduction of values and truths by a colonized nation which is still absorbing the world perception from colonizers. Coloniality of power and of benign is the perception of the differences among human beings, as a problem (racism and xenophobia) or a solution (multiculturalism) to a potential social development.

For example, in Brazilian immigrant research, if we try to identify words and actions aligned with Western governments we would get the same answer of Ludmila Culpí (2021). Culpí, Mercher and Pereira (2021) noticed an alignment among Argentina, Brazil and colonizer nations in a xenophobia agenda. Racism and xenophobia against different people make no sense coming from Brazilian governments, as it is part of a multiethnic colonized nation.

However, when we see colonized nations reproducing colonizer speech and actions, somehow, we have latinós governments against themselves. Speech and public policies favoring certain immigrants over others, specially favoring immigrants from colonizer nations over neighbors with the same origins, could prove these two categories in a content analysis.

The third category is coloniality of nature: “a conception of nature which conceives it as an object or thing that can be dominated, exploited or reconfigured according to the needs of the current regimes of accumulation, and which therefore has no rights” (Hirschfeld, Faria and Fonseca, 2023, p. 306). In the immigrant agenda we could see this category in economic speech. “Immigrants would destroy our economy”, while the national government and society are destroying natural sources to benefit colonizers. Immigrants are not an economical problem, this is an old idea. Indeed, immigrants create more jobs than they take (Hong, 2015).

The fourth category is coloniality of gender (Lugones, 2008), a critical perception of European colonialism and impositions of a specific gender structure onto the original peoples of the Americas. Cisgender, heterossexual, monogamy and sexual life ruled by christianism. All this values were organized in a binary society of men and women. Diversity and differences were not allowed. According to coloniality of gender the main perception of immigrants follows this binary structure: men are unsafe workers and women are sexually vulnerable/desired. It is not difficult to find speech treating immigrants women as sexually available. Homossexual and transexual immigrants are not even included in governmental data. Then, coloniality of gender helps us to understand how South American governments support colonized values and stereotypes of immigrants, dividing them into men and women.

We use this fourth postcolonial category plus non-binary category from IR queer theory to seek for a way to do the content analysis including gender to measure the government sense of what is desired and unwanted from men and women and, maybe, to find perceptions beyond binary values from colonizer nations. During the data research, we pay attention to words that refers to immigrants by binary values, like sexualizing women and reducing men to the work dimension. Misogyny, homophobia, and culturalization – the act to absorb

the local culture and values over original values – are other intentions to reinforce the coloniality of gender.

Following the orientations of content analysis (Bardin, 2016), we decided to analyze all official speeches from Bolsonaro’s government which the main theme was immigration. We also decided to analyze personal speeches and interview from president, Mr. Jair Bolsonaro (fourthteen speeches), and from minister of Human Rights, Mrs. Damares Alves (two speeches) and minister of Justice Sérgio Moro (one speech), as they were the main players of the immigrant public policies in the government. We use the categories from IR postcolonial and queer theories to identify words and expressions that prove the perception of a binary and colonized public policy to immigrants in Brazil. To better understand these concepts and categories in a content analysis, we created the following framework.

**TABLE 2**  
**Queer and postcolonial content analysis of government positioning**

Speech source	Sentences	Category and interpretation by theories
Here we identify who and to whom the speech was addressed to.	Here we transcribe the original sentences from speech which reinforce some category from theory. Sometimes we need to create another column to translate the sentences.	Here we identify the category reinforced by the sentence explaining why the sentence is reinforcing it. In our research we use four categories from IR postcolonial and queer theories: i) coloniality of knowledge; ii) coloniality of power and of being; iii) coloniality of nature; and iv) coloniality of gender.

Authors’ elaboration.

Table 2 will help us to identify words which reinforce the problems pointed by IR queer and postcolonial theories. If we will not find words according to these theories and their categories could mean that the government is in a high process of decolonization. Otherwise, the current presence of problematic words and values would indicate a low level of decolonization and traditional values from colonizers, like a binary worldview. However, before data, we need to present a brief scenario of immigration dynamics to Brasil.

### 3 BRAZIL AND IMMIGRATION

Pattara and Fernandes (2011, p. 68) argued that the history of immigration in Brazil started when the Portuguese first arrived, bringing with them new ideas of what should be done with the land, but also, new people who were forced to migrate to Brazil as slaves. This event changed the landscape of Brazil in regards to culture, social structure and its future. With the end of slavery in Brazil, in 1888, but the need of cheap labor force to help with the coffee production, we see another strong moment from immigration to Brazil with the arrival of the Japanese immigrants over what can be called “protected immigration” (Seyferth, 2004, p. 25). However, the highest influx of immigrants came from countries

such as Germany and Italy, which was part of the national public policy of whitening the population color.

Diversity is seen in the profile of those who arrived in Brazil, as well as the reasons for doing so. Considering the “voluntary” immigration, for example, we can perceive it as a result mostly of the economic changes and challenges that happened with the development of Capitalism and inequality of offer and demand when it comes to the labor market. Migration can also be perceived as a result of what is seen in certain branches of the economy as a “rational behavior” of looking out for the best opportunities when it comes to an individual’s personal gains (Rodrigues et al., 2015, p. 167).

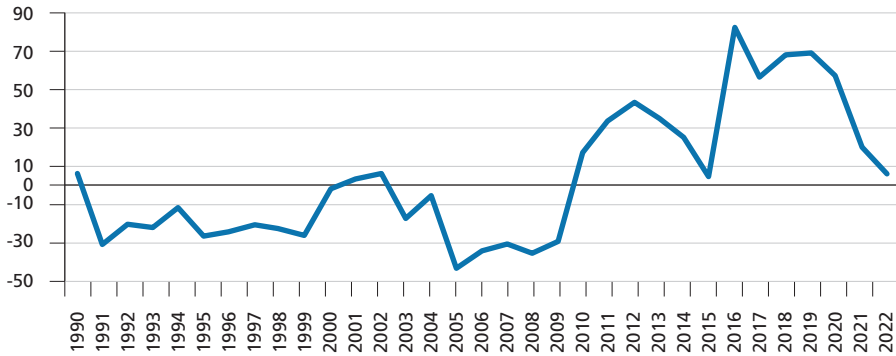
Nonetheless, the current profile of immigrants in Brazil still shows the same pattern of inequality we can see in those who were born in the country. The Annual Report from the International Migration Observatory (Observatório das Migrações Internacionais – OBMigra) (Brazilian Government Agency), in 2020, showed that immigrants in Brazil still suffer with inequality between genders, as well as between races, since those with white or yellow skin color tend to gain more than those who aren’t. The origin of immigrants also seems to end up affecting their earnings since those who come from Europe and North America present a better income rate than those who don’t. The inequality also comes when we are talking about which nationalities occupy the position for immigrants and who occupies the position as a forced immigrant, being Venezuelans the most forced immigrants in 2019 while immigrants from Philippines and the United States occupy the first two positions as those with authorization granted as immigrants.

Moving on into data in order to better analyze the current situation of immigration in Brazil, figure 1 shows the total net migration for Brazil between 1990 and 2022. As noted, between 1990 and 1999 as well as between 2004 and 2009, Brazil had a negative net migration, which indicates a higher number of emigration than of immigration. Nevertheless, the scenario seems to change starting from 2010 and had a more radical rise after 2015. This data is better discussed when compared with figure 2 which shows the total register of immigrants in Brazil between 2010 and 2019.

We gather from figure 2 a rapid rise of immigrants in Brazil mostly starting from 2014 and reaching a visible growth by 2018 and 2019. The profile of the immigrant arriving in Brazil changed between 2010 and 2019, moving from mostly countries such as Bolívia and Peru, to Paraguay by 2013, and Haiti from 2014.

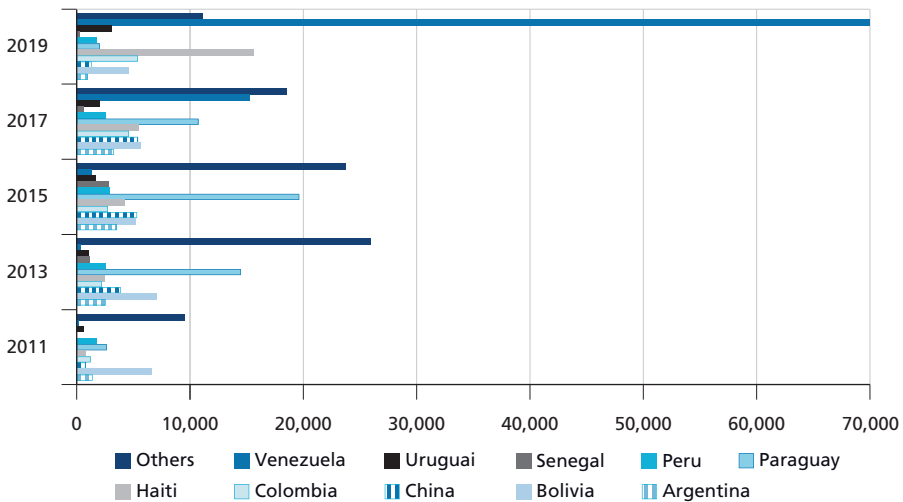


FIGURE 1  
Total net-migration in Brazil (1990-2022)



Source: United Nations, 2023. Available at: <https://brazil.iom.int/pt-br/dados-e-informacoes>.  
Authors' elaboration.

FIGURE 2  
Register of immigrants in Brazil (2010-2019)



Source: OBMigra (2020).  
Authors' elaboration.

We can not avoid discussing the fast rise in the number of immigrants coming from Venezuela between 2018 and 2019, which is more detailed in figure 3. The volume of immigrants from Venezuela to Brazil is justified by what has been called an “economic and political crisis” that has been pushing Venezuelans to migrate to Brazil through the north region, establishing themselves in Roraima.<sup>4</sup>

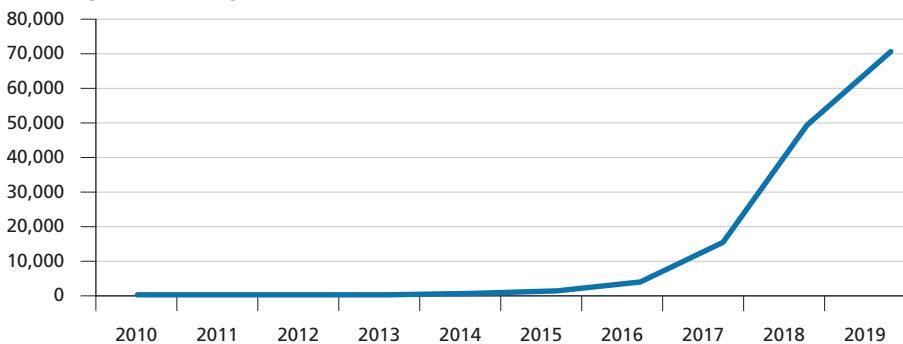
4. Available at: <https://www.unicef.org/brazil/crise-migratoria-venezuelana-no-brasil>.

The number of Venezuelans arriving in Brazil rose to an overwhelming number, prompting the Brazilian government to enact it as a humanitarian crisis (World Bank Group, 2021). The numbers of Venezuelans and their immigration status is better detailed in Shamsuddin et al. (2021, p. 5-6):

the Federal Police database also reveals that half of the Venezuelan refugees and migrants entered Brazil and requested temporary residence permits, while the other half registered as asylum seekers. Of the migrant and asylum seeker population, 95% have residence permits, as opposed to more permanent forms of stay. As of October 2020, there were 145,462 Venezuelan migrants and refugees, 96,556 Venezuelan asylum seekers and 46,647 Venezuelans refugees, who had entered Brazil since July 2017. The quarterly flow of asylum seekers peaked in the third quarter of 2018, while the quarterly flow of migrants peaked in the last quarter of 2019. The Venezuelan refugees and migrants increased from about 14,000 in the first quarter of 2015 to about 263,000 in the second quarter of 2020.

Still following Shamsuddin et al. (2021, p. 6) data, we see that Venezuelans became 30% of those residing in Roraima, which created another problem since Roraima is not only a state with a small population, but also, with a small contribution for the gross domestic product (GDP) of the country, Brazil's government response to the alarming scenario came with the operation Acolhida that mainly focused on the reallocation of Venezuelans from Roraima to other geographical areas of Brazil as a way to soften the impact of the strong immigration in that state. One of the strongest points of the Acolhida operation is to seek "equilibrium" in the national labor market by promoting the transference of immigrants to other regions with more job opportunities,<sup>5</sup> as well as alleviate the pressure over the public health system and other social programs in Roraima.

FIGURE 3  
Register of immigrants from Venezuela (2010-2019)

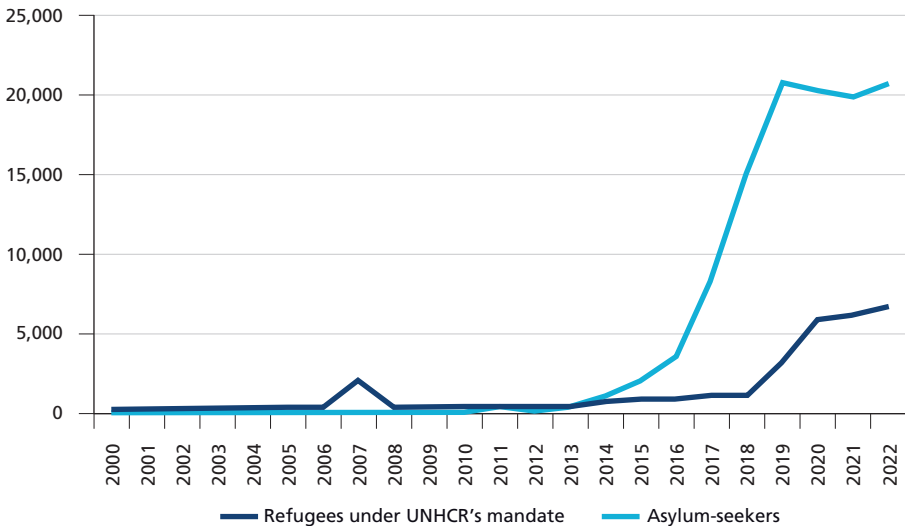


Source: OBMigra (2020).  
Authors' elaboration.

5. Available at: <https://www.gov.br/mds/pt-br/acoes-e-programas/operacao-acolhida>.

Trying to understand the number of Venezuelans arriving in Brazil requires us to also use the data based on the number of refugees and asylum-seekers during the last two decades in the country. As figure 4 shows, we have a fast rise in the number of asylum-seekers starting from 2014, while those who make up the group of “refugees” under the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) mandate, stayed more or less stable during almost the full period with exception of the years between 2018 and 2022.

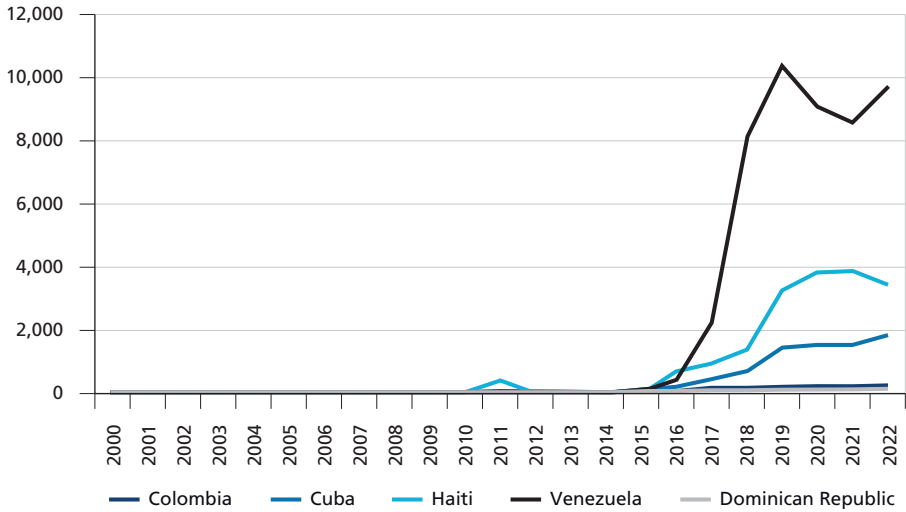
FIGURE 4  
Refugees and asylum-seekers (2000-2022)



Source: UNHCR, 2023.  
Authors' elaboration.

Figure 5 confirms our previous analysis by showing that after 2015, the main group seeking asylum in Brazil were from Venezuela. Asylum-seekers from Haiti are the second group with the most requests for asylum in Brazil, nonetheless, the difference in number between both groups is more than double. In 2019, for example, while 32.788 Haitians were seeking asylum, the number amounted to 103.657 for Venezuelans. The presence of Haitians in Brazil was mostly influenced by the 2010's earthquake in Haiti, as well as the presence of the Brazilian military force on Haiti's territory. At that time, getting a visa for Brazil was not easy, which led to many Haitians to go directly to Brazil's border, forcing them to accept a refugee status during their arrival in the country (Baeninger and Peres, 2017, p. 123-124).

FIGURE 5  
Asylum-seekers by country of origin



Source: UNCHR, 2023.

Authors' elaboration.

Obs.: Data selection was based on the main five origin countries with the highest number of asylum-seekers in 2022.

When looking at the data of immigrants and refugees in Brazil, it becomes clear that we can not discuss one without considering the other. While Brazil has been suffering with a growing inequality between its own society, it is still a place to be called home for those who are forced out of their own countries. The impact of immigration in a country can vary depending on the profile of those who migrate, nonetheless, an argument can be made that the way that the new labor force is allocated in the country is what can impact more the economy in the long term. Operations such as *Acolhida* can be helpful not only for immigrants to find a job, but also, fill the vacancy job positions in the country and motivate consumption and domestic productivity.

A study made in the United Kingdom shows that there is no exact response when it comes to the impact of migration in the labor market. While migration can cause some level of competitiveness for some sectors, it might also generate new job positions due to the increase of demand by immigrants. Small effects were found about the impact of immigrants over wages and employment, being more visible between the low-paid workers, but not enough to draw deeper conclusions.<sup>6</sup> In general, immigrants do not steal jobs, they consume and increase the local economy (Hong, 2015).

6. Available at: <https://migrationobservatory.ox.ac.uk/resources/briefings/the-labour-market-effects-of-immigration/#kp3>.

We can build the argument that the impact of immigrants might be beneficial in the long term, but there is still need for government action to better prepare not only those arriving in the country, but to also educate Brazilians regarding their role and acceptance of immigrants. That's when not only public policy matters, but also, the image of a country's leader and their perception of immigrants. A leader who takes a position against immigration and refugees might ignite an aggressive and negative response from society against these groups (Culpi, Mercher and Pereira, 2021). This generates a harder process of adaptation for those arriving, also leading to a loss for the country's economy since the less the immigrants are able to be part of the labor market, the more they'll weigh on the public system.

#### **4 BOLSONARO'S GOVERNMENT AND IMMIGRANTS**

Jair Messias Bolsonaro is a former militar born in 1955 and he declares himself as man, heterossexual, white and christian. These characteristics reinforce normality/superiority/majority identification based on local values. According to Datafolha researches (Pesquisa..., 2018; Datafolha..., 2022) Bolsonaro's ordinary voter profile is male, white, older and richer than others. From these databases and using IR queer theory (Weber, 2016), it is easy to connect Bolsonaro intersectionality to his voters. One of the main characteristics of Bolsonaro's pattern of speech during his time as Brazil's president was the mention of "God" and religion as guidance for social and moral behavior, being his catchphrase "Brazil above everything, God above all" the guide of his populist campaign (Roost and Thomsson, 2022).

We decided to look more into Bolsonaro's government speeches, from the president and his ministers, focusing on official statements and interviews that are still on the government's website and that in some way mention words such as "migration", "immigrant" and "refugee". We found 17 speeches and interviews, 14 from the president and 3 from his ministers. The goal is to understand what type of message and views Bolsonaro's words related to migration and refugees could carry, also taking into consideration how he as a leader at the time could be representing a group in society and their own views related to the subject.

During four years of government, Bolsonaro and his ministers decided that many immigrants were unsafe and unwanted. Following the methodology of IR postcolonial and queer theories, plus content analysis, it is time to fill up the table 2 and get the table 3, by our research from official speeches and public interviews. The words here were chosen by the orientations of the four categories presented by IR theories: (1) coloniality of knowledge; (2) coloniality of power and of being; (3) coloniality of nature; and (4) coloniality of gender.

TABLE 3  
Queer and postcolonial content analysis of Bolsonaro's government

Speech source	Original sentences	Translated sentences	Category and interpretation
Bolsonaro about summary deportation (Bolsonaro, 2019a)	"Eu não sou xenófobo, mas na minha casa, entra quem eu quero" ..	I'm not xenophobic, but in my house just come in who I want to.	(1) Reproducing a public policy from the United States. (2) Immigrant judgment based on personal preferences of wanted and unwanted people.
Bolsonaro about the wall between United States and Mexico (Resende, 2019)	"Nós vemos com bons olhos a construção do muro (...) A maioria dos imigrantes não tem boas intenções".	We welcome the construction of the wall (...) Most immigrants don't have good intentions.	(1) Reinforces a public policy from the United States against latinos. (2) Xenophobia against latinos.
Alves trying to create a global compact against gays, feminists and immigrants (Bolsonaro, 2019b)	"Imigração deve ser evitada (...) famílias são apenas aquelas entre homem e mulher" ..	Immigration must be avoid (...) family consists only of husband and wife.	(1) Xenophobia. (4) Binary sexism and homophobia.
Bolsonaro about Venezuelans girls in Brazil (Pintou..., 2022)	"14, 15 anos, arrumadinhas (...) pintou um clima".	14, 15 years old, tidy (...) There was a bit of a thing going between us.	(1) Sexualization of immigrants when they are latinas and women. (2) Safe and wanted immigrants when they are young women. (4) Binary sexism.

Authors' elaboration.

Many depreciative words and expressions were used to identify different peoples during Bolsonaro's government. Venezuelans became an usual target in presidential speech, but Haitians, Bolivians and other latinos and africans were too. By the category of coloniality of knowledge (1) and coloniality of power and of benign (2), we identified sentences reinforcing colonizers values of xenophobia against latinos, like the alignment between Brazil and United States against same-continent peoples. Sentences against any kind of immigrants were pronounced, but Venezuelans were the preferential target from Bolsonaro's government.

We did not find sentences about coloniality of nature (3), probably it is because environment was not a priority agenda for the government. We did not find terms like nature, lost of jobs and resources linked to immigrants. There are only sentences about the government's perception of immigrants having more rights than Brazilians.

Coloniality of gender, as part of IR postcolonial and IR queer theories, we can identify many words and expressions which reinforce binary sexism, gender stereotypes and homophobia. The proposal of a Global Compact against gays, feminists and immigrants, in 2019, is one of many contents reproducing gender colonized values. We can not forget that gender is a sensitive agenda to Bolsonaro's voters. Bolsonaro's government believed in a global gender agenda against the order and against the traditional family - husband and wife - as at the same time immigrants were unsafe too. United Nations (UN) was one of the dangerous

international institutions promoting this global gender agenda, which explains many speeches against the organization and human rights.

However, even the government was reinforcing three categories, it does not mean that all the Ministers and players in the government reproduce more than one. For example, minister Damares Alves reproduces coloniality of gender in public policies of immigrant reception as Beauty Beyond Borders project (projeto Beleza Além das Fronteiras). In this project the government supported immigrant women who wanted to become hairdressers, reinforcing many stereotypes and colonial values of what a woman is and her role in society. This public policy is not a problem, but how the government uses it to reinforce gender prejudices and the binary perception of reality. However, we did not find words or sentences reinforcing the coloniality of power being. Instead, Alves shows respect and empathy for the Venezuelans people,<sup>7</sup> even though she still reinforces a binary sexism about female jobs. Another example of disagreement came from minister of Justice Sérgio Moro when he said that a huge flux of immigrants does not mean the increase in crimes (Félix, 2020).

In public policy, in the first month of government Bolsonaro withdrew Brazil from Global Compact for Migration, the international migration agreement. Bolsonaro justified this attitude to get out of the Global Compact in a speech which identified immigrants as unsafe and unwanted. Minister of Human Rights, Mrs. Damares Alves reinforced this decision saying at UN Human Rights Council: "We have our own way to take care of immigrants" (Maniero, 2019) and, some months after she demanded in UN some sort of global alliance against gays, feminists and immigrants (Damares..., 2019). However, Brazil is not alone in this position.

According to Culpi, Mercher and Pereira (2021) Argentina and Brazil were aligned in their xenophobia-tone policies against immigrants during the governments of Macri and Bolsonaro, especially against latin immigrants. In this way, IR postcolonial theory reinforces the need to analyze the region as part of a historical process of colonization and decolonization, in which, sometimes, we still see speeches and actions against themselves. Colonized nations tend to deny their common origins and neighbors as a result of colonizers' interests.

But why did Brazil get out of the Global Compact for Migration? This agreement uses the principle of global governance and international cooperation to achieve a level of support for migrants that would tackle issues such as human rights and humanitarian development. The responsibilities presented in the agreement were faced by the Brazilian government as a problematic national

---

7. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iAz7qWwxx30&t=4527s>.

agenda. For example, the agreement document shows understanding over the contribution of migrants to their host countries, as well as the need to guarantee human rights regardless of migration status. Point 6 of annex II makes a clear statement when it comes to international cooperation by stating that:

we emphasize the multidimensional character of international migration, the importance of international, regional, and bilateral cooperation and dialogue in this regard, and the need to protect the human rights of all migrants, regardless of status, particularly at a time when migration flows have increased (UN, 2016, p. 23).

While this was the first proposal for the Global Compact for Migration, most of its intent remain in the final document formulated in 2018. Words such as “collective commitment”, and “improving cooperation” are used as a way to establish the responsibility over the issue as collective, not singular. The same argument can be easily find on the document’s section that declares:

we acknowledge our shared responsibilities to one another as States Members of the United Nations to address each other’s needs and concerns over migration, and an overarching obligation to respect, protect and fulfill the human rights of all migrants, regardless of their migration status, while promoting the security and prosperity of all our communities (UN, 2018, p. 4).

In the same document, the principles established for the Global Compact are determined as shown in the table 4 below.

TABLE 4  
Principles of the Global Compact

People-centred	Individuals as the main core of the agreement
International cooperation	The cooperation relies on a consensual nature and cooperation between its members.
National sovereignty	States have the right to establish their own national migration policy and status.
Rule of law and due process	All actors involved, including civil society and private sector, are still “accountable to laws”.
Sustainable development	The cooperation is part of the mechanism to achieve the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.
Human rights	The cooperation aims to eliminate discrimination, fight for human rights, and have the principle of non-regression.
Gender-responsive	Promotes gender equality.
Child-sensitive	Defends the already existing legal obligations to ensure children’s rights.
Whole-of-government approach	Argues in favor for the whole government to be part of the actions to be implemented with the agreement.
Whole-of-society approach	Invites all actors and stakeholders interested in the subject to be part of the process.

Source: UN (2018).

Authors’ elaboration.

Obs.: Table created based on the information available at the No. 73/195 Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration.



Besides the principles cited above, many other goals are present in the Global Compact. Those range from avoiding the need for migration by tackling issues such as the environmental crisis, as well as the inclusion of migrants in their host society. Nevertheless, one important objective for our discussion might be “Objective 23”, which argues in favor of more international cooperation to discuss and act over the migration subject. We cite this objective since it seems to be the most vulnerable to wrong interpretations about a possible lack of national sovereignty, even if this is a principle already cited in the document.

The points of “implementation” and “follow-up and review” also seem as possible targets for those who see the agreement as a pattern of behavior where the national state gives up some of its power as a “sacrifice” to the collective. This is because both make a point of creating a “safety net” where actors could rely on each other and ask for help to better plan their policies for migration. The idea of sharing data or simply accepting suggestions from an international organization might lead to a sense of insecurity for those who do not perceive international cooperation as important for the migration issue.

The truth is that we cannot clearly define which was the part of the agreement that led to Bolsonaro’s government’s decision to leave the Global Compact, as well as we cannot argue that it was only an individual action since other countries such as the United States and Italy also decided to leave the agreement. At the time, Ernesto Araújo, minister of Foreign Affairs of Bolsonaro’s government, argued that migration should be dealt with locally, considering the “reality and sovereignty of each nation” (Em comunicado..., 2019).

Araújo’s perception goes against what both the Global Compact and New York declaration’s document established. Both official documents make clear the UN vision of the migration as a global issue that could get better and faster results by cooperation between national and private actors. The minister’s behavior could be explained by what would be seen as an “anti globalist” agenda perceived during Bolsonaro’s government. Since the 1990s some authors have been proclaiming that globalism puts national states in a position of submission in regards to the international forces such as the market and institutions. There seems to be also an understanding of globalism as a mechanism of cultural marxism against some of the traditionalist views of society (Magalhães, 2022, p. 121-122).

Former minister Araújo shared this view over what is globalism, which is reinforced by his paper published in 2019 where he claims that globalism uses “pseudo values” to create a new religion based on ideas such as human rights and environmental protection (Araújo, 2019, p. 5). Finally we can then make the point that the exit of Brazil from the Compact Global was to be expected considering how the former minister of Foreign Affairs perceived international

cooperation to be more an act of domination by a few, than as an agreement between all.

In the institutional scenario, in 2019, the minister of Justice, Mr. Sérgio Moro issued Ordinance No. 666, later replaced by Ordinance No. 770, which established summary deportation. This law was based on the idea of “dangerous person” without being properly judged. During the covid pandemic, the government closed the land borders with Venezuela, but allowed the air passengers, demonstrating different treatment between those who could pay to enter and those who tried their luck crossing on foot. In 2020, the Government published the Ordinance No. 220 which suspended asylum request, instituting specific discrimination against Venezuelans and overloading the justice system (Pereira and Quintanilha, 2021).

After pressure from Human Rights organizations, on June 23, a new regulation was published (Ordinance No. 655/2021), which suppresses discrimination against Venezuelan people. However, the provision maintained restrictions to request asylum. Immigrants who entered by land during the discriminatory period (2019-2021), especially Haitians, remained in a legal limbo: prevented from regularizing and threatened by public policies of deportation.

The Brazilian Government has also promoted record deportations during the pandemic – an increase of 5,700% in 2020 compared to 2019 – and even signed an alliance with Donald Trump to forcibly return undocumented Brazilians from the United States in degrading conditions. In Brazilian border cities, the press reported cases of Bolivian migrants being deported after seeking health care – in a flagrant violation of the universality of the SUS [Brazilian Public Health Care] and indicating the existence of a dangerous link between health professionals and security forces. At the same time deportation and undocumented immigrants are naturalized.

Besides these juridical changes, Bolsonaro’s government was based on white cisgender heterosexual voters. As we can see from the database, Venezuelans and Haitians are the major immigrants coming to Brazil during the last ten years. The stereotype of a Venezuelan or Haitian is colored, in other words, they are latino and black – not white. As they are coming from nations in social and economical crises, they are seen as poor and costly to the government. According to stereotypes, Haitians are still demonized for having a religion based on voodoo. In the end, they are unwanted because they are different. “They are not like us”. That is why IR queer theory is so important, by this research we understand how voters define public policy by supporting hate speeches by the government, even though these speeches (and public policies) were not allowed by other national and international institutions. Even when part of the government does not agree, like some ministers, they follow their leader in consonance to his voters’ audience: in a binary worldview of us and them.

However, we noticed two moments where Bolsonaro mentions immigration in a positive light. One was during the celebration of Brazil's Independence in 2020, when he cites how Brazil's identity was a result of the miscegenation between races and how immigrants beliefs and religion were respected once they reached Brazil, being later assimilated into the national identity (Bolsonaro, 2020a). The second instance happened in the same year during the Brazil-Arab Countries Economic Forum, when the former president mentioned how immigrants from Arab countries helped build Brazil's society before focusing his discourse on the investments of companies from Arab countries in Brazil (Bolsonaro, 2020b).

During the Summits of the Americas in 2022, Bolsonaro mentions how the gathering is a good opportunity to debate emerging issues, such as migration, but doesn't add any more commentaries about the subject (Bolsonaro, 2022). Still focusing on the world "immigration" and "migrant", Bolsonaro's more aggressive speeches were visible in 2019 when a reporter asked about the government's new measures for deportation of foreigners. Bolsonaro's response was an analogy where he compared Brazil, a country, with his private home. The former president argued that at his home, only those who are welcomed by him should be allowed to enter. He also cites how people sleep with their "windows" closed, as a way to compare the entrance of immigrants with those who might enter someone's home through the window without invitation.

Bolsonaro even argued that for immigrants, Brazil is an easy country that gives them as much or more rights than nationals have, which from his speech is deemed as a negative point (Bolsonaro, 2019a). The window analogy was used again by him in the same year during the ceremony of the program *Mais Médicos*. At the time Bolsonaro seemed to defend Trump's policy for immigrants, also arguing with the journalist to not start talking about "human rights" or to attack Trump, which he called his "idol" (Bolsonaro, 2019b).

As mentioned before, while the main focus of this research is immigration, we perceive the analysis of refugees in the country as relevant too. Mostly because many of the current immigrants arrived in Brazil with a refugee status, as it is the case for Haitians, for example. Furthermore, during Bolsonaro's speeches we decided to also look for the mention of the word "refugee" in order to evaluate the tone and behavior of the former president when the subject was the refugees in Brazil or globally.

One of the moments highlighted is from 2019, when in a meeting with governors, Bolsonaro seemed to ignore the governor of Roraima and his plea for help with the refugees arriving in the state at that time. The governor argues that the weight over Roraima's public health system has been too much for the local government and inquiry about future help from the federal government.

However, in return, Bolsonaro seems to prefer to focus on the subject of lands demarcated as being native territory. The governor repeats himself, again focusing on refugees, but Bolsonaro seems to not care about the subject and again, argues about the land demarcated as being from the native as that being the main problem (Bolsonaro, 2019c).

Bolsonaro seems to ignore that the problem of Roraima at that time is not physical space to accommodate new refugees, but lack of funds to provide healthcare, education and food. His focus on such a subject that is not considered an issue by others might come from a personal agenda of his own government, but certainly shows his lack of focus in more personal and local meetings when it comes to debates about immigrants and refugees.

In 2022 Bolsonaro used the XII BRICS's summit as an opportunity to ask for help dealing with the refugees from Venezuela. His speech focused on bringing back "democracy" to Venezuela as a way to make the refugees go back home, not necessary in ways to accommodate these individuals (Bolsonaro, 2021a). During the General Assembly of the UN for 2020 and 2021, Bolsonaro used the operation Acolhida and the overall action of Brazil in accommodating refugees as a positive point to be noticed about the country, mentioning how Brazil has always been open to refugees (Bolsonaro, 2020c; 2021b).

The pattern we noticed so far is that during more important conferences Bolsonaro seems to present a more optimistic and friendly image when it comes to the subject of immigrants and refugees. Nonetheless, this behavior doesn't seem to follow him for every speech and creates the question if the more friendly speech is just a result of a more strong and big group behind the scenes preparing the lines that the former president should say.

When talking about the tensions in Argentina, Bolsonaro mentioned more than once how he did not want to receive them as refugees, but as tourists, comparing their country's situation with Venezuela and mentioning the stress over Roraima due to the influx of refugees (Bolsonaro, 2019d; 2019e). Two last mentions need to be done about refugees and it was when Bolsonaro mentioned how terrorists were in Brazil under the identity of political refugees, which should not be acceptable in Brazil, as he says (Bolsonaro, 2019f; 2019g).

Nonetheless, it is hard to analyze Bolsonaro's tone during his speeches and interviews since his focus seems to change very quickly and his persona also fluctuates depending on the environment he is in. It is noted that during interviews with more journalists Bolsonaro appears to be more expressive of his opinions as an individual, not only as a president, also being less focused than normally and more aggressive in his words. One example of his chaotic persona comes from the interview that was later removed from the government's official

website. During this interview in 2019, the president argues that immigrants in the United States have “bad intentions”, when asked about the “wall” Trump wanted to build (Governo..., 2019).

Bolsonaro seemed regretful of his words and as we mentioned before, the former president seemed to have a hard time managing his ideas during interviews with journalists, which could justify his harsh words and aggressive position over the subject. Nonetheless, considering the speeches we analyzed, we can also create the argument that Bolsonaro's regret is only a result of the backlash and that his words might as well represent his sincere vision of the issue.

## 5 CONCLUSION

Bolsonaro's government created an insecure scenario for immigrants by not respecting national law and human rights. In our research we found many sentences reinforcing racism, xenophobia, binary sexism and the reproduction of colonized values of hatred towards our equals from South America. The categories from IR postcolonial and queer theories helped us to identify these sentences and to measure the reproduction of values between colonizers and colonized nations of what is right or wrong, what is safe or unsafe, what is wanted or unwanted, what is normal or a freak. Bolsonaro's voters are the profile of what is normal, allowing speeches and public policies against differences.

Coloniality of power and of being and coloniality of gender were the best categories to explain what was going on during Bolsonaro's government. Some groups of immigrants were unwanted because of racism and the binary sexism based on stereotypes in which men are unsafe and latin women are sexually available to national men. A foreign policy based on an agenda of a supposed gay and feminist global wave against traditional family (gender agenda) was also presented in Bolsonaro's governments speeches and public policies. Immigrants were also perceived as threats to the national order, in a dimension beyond economic field.

Immigrants from Venezuela, for example, were a risk to the political ideology presented in Bolsonaro's government. The Venezuelans were perceived as the result of communism crises and were used to criticize the Brazilian last government and current political opposition to Bolsonaro's government and its free market agenda. This scenario turns hard to see if Bolsonaro's government empathy to Venezuelans, in some specific situations like from minister Damares Alves in her speeches, was true or just a question of political manipulation. At the same time the government imposes summary deportation and other public policies against Venezuelans, Alves was saying Venezuelans were nice people

and we should help them because they were running away from communism in Venezuela.

The exercise to analyze a government and its speeches and public policies by IR postcolonial and queer theories helped us to understand how much our reality is far from an isolated scenario. Colonized nations are linked to colonizers' agendas and values of what is wanted and unwanted, even though the unwanted people are us – and we reproduce their agendas against ourselves.

By IR queer theory we can see the binary worldview based on man and woman heterosexual and cisgenders against the dangerous world of diversity. Gender is not just a question of sexuality, but can explain values that support national and international policies in all areas. Then, the capability to understand diversity and to accept different peoples are reduced to the insecurity of a nation based on Christians values from colonizers. In this way, speeches and public policies were also reduced to hatred and forced assimilation of local values. An example is binary sexism which helped immigrants by professional training according to their binary gender identification, like Alves speech in the governmental support to Beauty Beyond Borderlines Program to Venezuelan women, in 2021, created by Virada Feminina and International Organization for Migration (IOM) (United Nations).

We can build the argument that the flaws over the past Brazilian government policies for the immigration are visible throughout the current government's plans. Currently, experts claim for the implementation of a national policy to help not only the immigrant to adjust to the country, but also for Brazilians to be better prepared to receive and interact with the influx of immigrants and refugees on national soil. Programs to help immigrants to learn the language, to offer shelter or even to ease the adaptation of children in the education system are some of the points perceived as in need of adjustments (Filho, 2023).

Brazil is a nation built with those who immigrate, forcefully or not, and the future doesn't seem to shift away from this fact. Human mobility is growing due to social and political conflict, environmental disasters and labor dynamics. Receiving more immigrants should be a good help for the future of most nations considering the prospect of a lower labor force in the short future. Building an environment that can best treat immigrants and that allow for their growth is a way to not only give them human decency, but also build economic growth.

## REFERENCES

ARAÚJO, Ernesto. Globalismo: uma visão a partir do pensamento de Nietzsche. **Cadernos de Política Exterior**, ano V, n. 8, 2019. Retrieved from: <https://funag.gov.br/biblioteca/download/CadernosN%C2%BA8.pdf>.

BAENINGER, Rosana; PERES, Roberta. Migração de crise: a migração haitiana pro Brasil. **Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População**, v. 43, n. 1, 2017. Retrieved from: <https://www.scielo.br/j/rbepop/a/MzJ5nmHG5RfN87c387kkH7g/?format=pdf&lang=pt>.

BARDIN, Laurence. **Análise de conteúdo**. São Paulo: Edições 70, 2016.

BOLSONARO, Jair Messias. Entrevista concedida pelo Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, após a Cerimônia de Brevetação dos Novos Paraquedistas. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 27 jul. 2019a. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/entrevistas/entrevista-concedida-pelo-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-apos-a-cerimonia-de-brevetacao-dos-novos-paraquedistas-rio-de-janeiro-rj>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Entrevista coletiva concedida pelo Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, após a Cerimônia de Lançamento do Programa Médicos pelo Brasil. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 1 ago. 2019b. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/entrevistas/entrevista-coletiva-concedida-pelo-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-apos-a-cerimonia-de-lancamento-do-programa-medicos-pelo-brasil-brasilia-df>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Falas do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, e governadores durante reunião sobre Amazônia Legal. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 27 ago. 2019c. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/falas-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-e-governadores-durante-reuniao-sobre-amazonia-legal-palacio-do-planalto>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, durante Congresso Aço Brasil 2019. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 21 ago. 2019d. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-durante-congresso-aco-brasil-2019-brasilia-df>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Entrevista coletiva concedida pelo Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, após Cerimônia de Liberação de Trecho (47 Km) de Duplicação da Rodovia BR-116. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 12 ago. 2019e. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/entrevistas/entrevista-coletiva-concedida-pelo-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-apos-cerimonia-de-liberacao-de-trecho-47-km-de-duplicacao-da-rodovia-br-116-pelotas-rs>.



\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, durante Abertura do Debate Geral da 74ª Sessão da Assembleia Geral das Nações Unidas (AGNU). **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 24 set. 2019f. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-durante-abertura-do-debate-geral-da-74a-sessao-da-assembleia-geral-das-nacoes-unidas-agnu-nova-iorque-eua>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Declaração à imprensa do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, após reunião ampliada com o Presidente da República do Paraguai, senhor Mario Abdo Benítez. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 12 mar. 2019g. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/declaracao-a-imprensa-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-apos-reuniao-ampliada-com-o-presidente-da-republica-do-paraguai-senhor-mario-abdo-benitez-brasilia-df>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Pronunciamento do Senhor Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, em cadeia nacional de rádio e televisão. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 7 set. 2020a. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/pronunciamentos-oficiais/pronunciamento-do-senhor-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-em-cadeia-nacional-de-radio-e-televisao-07-de-setembro-2020>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, no Fórum Econômico Brasil-Países Árabes. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 19 out. 2020b. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-no-forum-economico-brasil-paises-arabes>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, na abertura da 75ª Assembleia Geral da Organização das Nações Unidas (ONU). **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 22 set. 2020c. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-na-abertura-da-75a-assembleia-geral-da-organizacao-das-nacoes-unidas-onu>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, na 13ª Cúpula do BRICS. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 9 set. 2021a. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-na-13deg-cupula-do-brics-videoconferencia-palacio-do-planalto>.



\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, na abertura da 76ª Assembleia-Geral da ONU. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, Brasília, 21 set. 2021b. Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-na-abertura-da-76deg-assembleia-geral-da-onu>.

\_\_\_\_\_. Discurso do Presidente da República, Jair Bolsonaro, na plenária da IX Cúpula das Américas. **Biblioteca da Presidência da República**, 10 jun. 2022. Brasília, Retrieved from: <http://www.biblioteca.presidencia.gov.br/presidencia/ex-presidentes/bolsonaro/discursos/discurso-do-presidente-da-republica-jair-bolsonaro-na-plenaria-da-ix-cupula-das-americas>.

CULPI, Ludmila; MERCHER, Leonardo; PEREIRA, Alexsandro. Argentina e Brasil no alinhamento das práticas de xenofobia. **Conjuntura Global**, v. 10, n. especial, p. 1-19, 2021. Retrieved from: <https://revistas.ufpr.br/conjglobal/article/view/82466>.

DAMARES pede aliança na ONU contra gays, feministas e imigrantes que “ameaçam” a “família tradicional”. **Jornal GGN**, 21 set. 2019. Retrieved from: <https://jornalgggn.com.br/noticia/damares-pede-alianca-na-onu-contragays-feministas-e-imigrantes-que-ameacam-a-familia-tradicional/>.

DATAFOLHA: eleitor de Bolsonaro desconfia das urnas, defende armas e vê otimismo na economia. **G1**, 31 maio 2022. Retrieved from: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/poder/2022/05/datafolha-eleitor-de-bolsonaro-se-vacinou-menos-contracovid-e-desconfia-das-urnas.shtml#:~:text=>.

EM COMUNICADO a diplomatas, governo Bolsonaro confirma saída de pacto de migração da ONU. **G1**, 8 jan. 2019. Retrieved from: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/noticia/2019/01/08/em-comunicado-a-diplomatas-governo-bolsonaro-confirma-saida-de-pacto-de-migracao-da-onu.ghtml>.

ENLOE, Cynthia. **The curious feminist**. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004.

FÉLIX, Jackson. Moro diz que fluxo de imigrantes em RR gera sensação de insegurança, mas não se reflete nos indicadores de crimes violentos. **G1**, 3 fev. 2020. Retrieved from: <https://g1.globo.com/rr/roraima/noticia/2020/02/13/moro-diz-que-fluxo-de-imigrantes-em-rr-gera-sensacao-de-inseguranca-mas-nao-se-reflete-nos-indicadores-de-crimes-violentos.ghtml>.

FILHO, Floriano. Acolhimento de imigrantes e refugiados no Brasil precisa melhorar na maioria dos municípios. **Rádio Senado**, 14 set. 2023. Retrieved from: <https://www12.senado.leg.br/radio/1/noticia/2023/09/14/acolhimento-de-imigrantes-e-refugiados-no-brasil-precisa-melhorar-na-maioria-dos-municipios>.

GOVERNO tira do ar a criticada entrevista de Bolsonaro sobre imigrantes. **Correio Braziliense**, 20 mar. 2019. Retrieved from: [https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2019/03/20/interna\\_politica,744134/governo-tira-dor-a-criticada-entrevista-de-bolsonaro-sobre-imigrante.shtml](https://www.correiobraziliense.com.br/app/noticia/politica/2019/03/20/interna_politica,744134/governo-tira-dor-a-criticada-entrevista-de-bolsonaro-sobre-imigrante.shtml).

HIRSCHFELD, Maria; FARIA, Luiz; FONSECA, Carlos. Avoid the reproduction of coloniality in decolonial studies in ecology. **Nature, Ecology and Evolution**, n. 7, p. 306-309, 2023. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41559-022-01971-0>.

HONG, Gihoon. **Are immigrants a shot in the arm for the local economy?** Cambridge: NBER, 2015. (Working Papers, n. 21123). Retrieved from: [https://www.nber.org/system/files/working\\_papers/w21123/w21123.pdf](https://www.nber.org/system/files/working_papers/w21123/w21123.pdf).

LUGONES, Maria. The coloniality of gender. **Worlds and Knowledges Otherwise**, v. 2, p. 1-17, 2008. Retrieved from: [https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/sites/globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/files/file-attachments/v2d2\\_Lugones.pdf](https://globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/sites/globalstudies.trinity.duke.edu/files/file-attachments/v2d2_Lugones.pdf).

MAGALHÃES, Diego Trindade D'ávila. Efeitos do antiglobalismo brasileiro sobre as relações Brasil-China (2018-2020). **Revista de Ciências Humanas**, v. 1, n. 22, 2022. Retrieved from: <https://periodicos.ufv.br/RCH/article/view/13748>.

MANIERO, Valeria. Temos nosso próprio jeito de cuidar dos imigrantes, diz Damares sobre saída do Brasil do Pacto Global. **O Globo**, 25 fev. 2019. Retrieved from: <https://oglobo.globo.com/brasil/temos-nosso-proprio-jeito-de-cuidar-dos-imigrantes-diz-damares-sobre-saida-do-brasil-do-pacto-global-de-migracao-23479853>.

OBMIGRA – OBSERVATÓRIO DAS MIGRAÇÕES INTERNACIONAIS. **Relatório anual do OBMigra**: resumo executivo. Brasília: MJ, 2020. Retrieved from: [https://portaldeimigracao.mj.gov.br/images/dados/relatorio-anual/2020/Resumo%20Executivo%20\\_Relat%C3%B3rio%20Anual.pdf](https://portaldeimigracao.mj.gov.br/images/dados/relatorio-anual/2020/Resumo%20Executivo%20_Relat%C3%B3rio%20Anual.pdf).

PATARRA, Neide L.; FERNANDES, Duval. Brasil: país de imigração? **Revista Internacional em Língua Portuguesa**: Imigrações, v. 3, n. 24, 2011. Retrieved from: <https://aulp.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/RILP24.pdf#page=360>.

PEREIRA, Alexandre Branco; QUINTANILHA, Karina. Deportação e trabalho escravo: governo e Exército tornam política migratória um desastre humanitário. **Intercept Brasil**, 23 jul. 2021. Retrieved from: <https://www.intercept.com.br/2021/07/23/deportacao-trabalho-escravo-governo-exercito-migrantes-desastre-humanitario/>.

PESQUISA Datafolha: veja perfil dos eleitores de cada candidato a presidente por sexo, idade, escolaridade, renda e região. **G1**, 3 out. 2018. Retrieved from: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2018/eleicao-em-numeros/noticia/2018/10/03/pesquisa-datafolha-veja-perfil-dos-eleitores-de-cada-candidato-a-presidente-por-sexo-idade-escolaridade-renda-e-regiao.ghtml>.

PINTOU um clima: fala de Bolsonaro sobre meninas venezuelanas repercute e gera críticas nas redes. **G1**, 10 out. 2022. Retrieved from: <https://g1.globo.com/politica/eleicoes/2022/noticia/2022/10/15/pintou-um-clima-fala-de-bolsonaro-sobre-meninas-venezuelanas-repercute-e-gera-criticas-nas-redes.ghtml>.

QUIJANO, Anibal. Colonialidad y modernidad /racionalidad. **Peru Indígena**, Lima, v. 13, n. 29, 1992. Retrieved from: <https://www.lavaca.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/quijano.pdf>.

RESENDE, Sarah Mota. Bolsonaro diz que maioria de imigrantes não tem boas intenções e que apoia o muro de Trump. **Folha de São Paulo**, 19 mar. 2019. Retrieved from: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/mundo/2019/03/bolsonaro-diz-que-maioria-de-imigrantes-nao-tem-boas-intencoes-e-que-apoia-muro-de-trump.shtml>.

RODRIGUES, Karla Cristina Tyskowsiki Teodoro. et al. Uma análise espacial da imigração no Brasil. **Economia e Desenvolvimento**, Santa Maria, v. 27, n. 1, 2015. Retrieved from: <https://periodicos.ufsm.br/eed/article/view/18297/pdf>.

ROOST, Stefanie; THOMSSON, Kaj. **Brazil above everything, God above everyone: the drivers of the populist vote in the 2018 Brazilian elections**. [s.l.]: SSRN, 2022. Retrieved from: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.4285658>.

SEYFERTH, Giralda. A imigração no Brasil: comentários sobre a contribuição das ciências sociais. **BIB**, n. 57, p. 7-47, 2004. Retrieved from: <https://bibanpocs.emnuvens.com.br/revista/article/view/270/551>.

SHAMSUDDIN, Mrittika et al. **Integration of Venezuelan refugees and migrants in Brazil**. Washington: World Bank Group, 2021. (Policy Research Working Paper). Retrieved from: <https://documents1.worldbank.org/curated/en/498351617118028819/pdf/Integration-of-Venezuelan-Refugees-and-Migrants-in-Brazil.pdf>.

UN – UNITED NATIONS. **New York declaration for refugees and migrants**. General Assembly. New York: UN, 2016. Retrieved from: [https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl486/files/our\\_work/ODG/GCM/NY\\_Declaration.pdf](https://www.iom.int/sites/g/files/tmzbdl486/files/our_work/ODG/GCM/NY_Declaration.pdf).

\_\_\_\_\_. **Global compact for safe, orderly and regular migration: final draft**. New York: UN, 2018. Retrieved from: [https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180711\\_final\\_draft\\_0.pdf](https://refugeesmigrants.un.org/sites/default/files/180711_final_draft_0.pdf).

WEBER, Cynthia. **Queer international relations: sovereignty, sexuality and the will to knowledge**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

WORLD BANK GROUP. **Integração de venezuelanos refugiados e migrantes no Brasil**: sumário de um Policy Research Working Paper do Banco Mundial. [s.l.]: UNHCR, 2021. Retrieved from: <https://www.acnur.org/portugues/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/5-pages-Integration-of-Venezuelan-Refugees-and-Migrants-in-Brazil-pt.pdf>.