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CAPITALOCENE, MIGRATION, GENDER, AND FOOD INSECURITY: A CONCEPTUAL MAP FOR EXAMINING THE SITUATION OF MIGRANT WOMEN IN BRAZIL.

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Capitalocene, Migration, Gender, and Food Insecurity: a conceptual map for examining the situation of migrant women in Brazil.

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Introduction

Over the past centuries, humanity has witnessed a profound transformation in its relationship with the environment, characterized by the rise of the Capitalocene. This period is defined by the intensive exploitation of natural resources driven by profit motives, resulting in widespread global climate change and an undeniable climate crisis. The Capitalocene, characterized by its unrestrained exploitation of natural resources, stands as a pivotal force behind climate change, driving unsustainable economic practices such as deforestation, fossil fuel combustion, and excessive exploitation of natural resources.

The era of the Capitalocene is not merely a chapter in geological history but rather presents itself as a contemporary narrative. The polarization of wealth and uneven development culminate in the formation of impoverished and marginalized communities, which disproportionately bear the environmental consequences.

As a result of these predatory practices, there is an intensification of extreme weather events, such as sea level rise, prolonged droughts, increased hurricanes, earthquakes, and tsunamis, directly impacting the habitability of various regions and forcing communities to migrate. This phenomenon, known as 'climate migration,' particularly impacts women, who often face specific challenges during these displacements.

On the other hand, extreme events caused by climate change not only encourage population displacement but also have a more severe impact on migrant populations, who settle in countries different from their countries of origin. They face serious difficulties such as access to documentation, housing, employment, and, in some cases, communication problems due to language and cultural differences. Without support networks and often without enough resources to restart life in the destination country, these migrants find themselves in a situation of greater social and economic vulnerability, with fewer tools to confront such effects.

Introducing the gender dimension, it becomes imperative to consider the specificities of female migrations induced by the Capitalocene. The sexual division of labor characterizing patriarchal capitalism imposes upon women the responsibility for care and sustaining life and the workforce, placing them in a more vulnerable situation in the face of the consequences of climate change, as environmental pressures intensify their responsibilities, increasing the physical and emotional burden. Additionally, women face greater vulnerability to gender-based violence during migrations, becoming targets of exploitation and abuse.

The feminist and intersectional perspective reveals inequalities and challenges faced by migrant women, highlighting the need to analyze the causes and consequences of migration considering gender, race, and class. Additionally, a decolonial approach is essential to challenge Eurocentric views and recognize the specific experiences of migrants from the Global South.

Recent data on migration and labor in Brazil reveal changes in migratory flows, with impacts on the labor integration of immigrant women, emphasizing the importance of inclusive and equitable policies. The relationship between food and women's migrations reveals an intricate web of challenges and social dynamics. Food sovereignty, understood as the right to decide on the food system, emerges as a crucial element in this context. Migrant women, especially those racialized, face amplified obstacles due to gender discrimination and lack of access to resources.

The central role of women in household food management is emphasized, placing an additional burden on them, exacerbated by food insecurity. Access to culturally appropriate food is a challenge, reflected in dietary practices and the construction of social identities during the migration process. Understanding these nuances is essential to promote policies that guarantee basic rights, including dignified and culturally appropriate nutrition for migrant women.

The intricate relationship between climate change, female migration, and food security in the context of the Capitalocene demands a holistic approach. Interdisciplinary analysis reveals that women are essential agents in both responses and vulnerabilities associated with these phenomena. Addressing the challenges of female migration requires policies that take into account not only climatic aspects but also the gender power structures that shape these experiences.

The main objective of this research is to investigate and understand, using an interdisciplinary approach, the complex relationship between climate change caused by the Capitalocene, population displacements focusing on female migrations from the perspective of feminist economics, and the resulting impacts on global food security. This study will consider the Brazilian case and aims to construct a conceptual map to serve as the foundation for research conducted within the 'Phoenix - Human Mobility, Global Challenges, and Resilience in an Age of Social Stress' project.

Specific Objectives:

1. Critically analyze the concept of the Capitalocene and its implications for global climate change, highlighting the influence of economic practices on the current environmental scenario.

2. Understand the legal and legislative reality of migrants, refugees, and stateless persons through recent normative analysis worldwide and in Brazil.
3. Investigate the patterns and drivers of female migrations, considering gender nuances in population displacements caused by climate change, with emphasis on economic and social inequalities.
4. Examine feminist economics as an analytical framework to understand female migrations, highlighting how gender inequalities are perpetuated and deepened during these displacements.
5. Evaluate the role of women in global food security, exploring how climate change and female migrations impact food production, distribution, and access.
6. Contribute to the advancement of academic knowledge by providing a comprehensive analysis of the interconnection between climate change, female migrations, and food security, aiming to raise awareness in society and inform sustainable practices and policies.

The conceptual map is organized as follows: In addition to this introduction, Chapter 1 presents the main relationships between global and climate changes associated with the Capitalocene, multifaceted crises, and displacements of the most affected populations, particularly focusing on women's migrations, especially racialized women. Chapter 2 introduces the main definitions of various displacement categories and the normative and policy frameworks influencing these migrations in the Global South and particularly in Brazil, as well as current debates around climate migrations and the figure of climate refugees. Chapter 3 analyzes the specificities of female migrations from the perspective of feminist economics, decolonial feminism, and intersectionality, focusing on migration processes in Brazil and the challenges these women face regarding paid and unpaid work. Chapter 4 discusses the main debates on food sovereignty and security and the relationship between food and migrant women from social, cultural, and economic perspectives.

1. Global changes and climate change cause displacements (Capitalocene, environmental racism, and colonial relations)

Anthropocene, Capitalocene, and the multifaceted crisis

The term 'Anthropocene' has gained consensus as a concept to describe the period during which human-induced impacts on the planet became significant, particularly since 1950. While several ecological events and historical milestones are relevant to humanity's evolutionary trajectory, factors such as the scale of these events, the relationship between rate and speed synchronicity, and complexity contribute to the recent anthropogenic processes marking a turning point, defining the Anthropocene as a boundary event.

However, its adoption and interpretation spark debates and narrative disputes within the academic community through different perspectives, including those from natural sciences and social sciences, as well as approaches that emphasize anthropological aspects, such as the idea of a post-human era. Issues related to geoengineering, green capitalism, post-capitalism, and the use of artificial intelligence also influence interpretations of the Anthropocene. These divergences reflect the complexity and interdisciplinary nature of the Anthropocene concept and demonstrate the diversity of perspectives and agendas within the academic and political debate on the subject.

In the introduction of "Anthropocene or Capitalocene? Nature, history and the crisis of capitalism," Jason Moore (2017) argues that:

> The first step in this radical industrialization of the world began with the transformation of the global environment into a production force to create something we call the modern economy, which is much larger than the term "economy" can encompass. (MOORE, 2017, p.3, our translation)

Meanwhile, the IPCC[1] defines climate change as "any change in climate over time, whether due to natural variability or as a result of human activity" (PBMC, 2013a, p. 9). Considering the critical factors outlined earlier, we realize that although climate change and global warming are of great centrality, to speak of the Anthropocene, we need to consider global changes from a structural perspective. Such a perspective has its inaugural milestone

[1] IPCC stands for Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change.

in colonization, its perpetuation through coloniality, and its updating through neoliberalism, as further explained in Section 3 of this paper.

Furthermore, it becomes evident that beyond climate change, this turning point known as the Anthropocene is also associated with critical factors altering biogeochemical cycles. According to Svampa (2019), it is "a concept that underscores the limits of nature and questions dominant development strategies, as well as the cultural paradigm of modernity," bringing alarming consequences for biodiversity loss (both terrestrial and marine) and the destruction of the fabric of life and ecosystems.

In order to analyze what the scientific field, especially the humanities, has been defining as the Anthropocene, it is necessary to take a comprehensive look at the disturbance of vital cycles caused by soil and water contamination due to the action of fertilizers and the increasing numbers of deforestation in protected areas. Additionally, the heavy burden of toxic chemicals from extensive mining, the depletion of lakes and rivers, both above and below ground, the simplification of ecosystems, and large-scale extinctions of species, including humans, in systematically connected patterns, can lead to repeated and devastating collapses of the system.

In the book "Mining, genealogy of disaster: Extractivism in America as the origin of modernity," Horacio Machado Aráoz (2020) asserts that:

> In the end, the violences of the mining model presents itself as practically inexhaustible. Every year, it produces a large quantity of new tragic dimensions. But this novelty is only superficially so: fundamentally, it refers to the same pattern, which implies the systematic and integral degradation of collective life. Opportunism definitively demonstrates that the devastation of territories runs parallel to the violation of the rights of populations — a condition for the possibility of the colonial plot that forges transnational mining in our latitudes. (ARAOZ, 2020, p. 17, our translation).

Thus, the author reflects that, beyond the compromising alteration of biogeochemical cycles, the exploitation model consolidated by predatory capitalism systematically degrades all forms of collective existence, whether human or not. An example of this systematic devastation is the mega infrastructure projects for dam construction and mineral extraction, which result in a large number of people affected by disasters annually. Brazil leads the regional ranking with more than 4 million people affected by dam constructions and breaches in the last 80 years (2023), according to data from the research "Health, water, energy, environment, and work: weaving knowledge in the promotion of sustainable and healthy territories", promoted in cooperation between the Oswaldo Cruz Foundation (Fiocruz) in partnership with the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB).

Considering the ecomarxist perspective,which argues that the Anthropocene is a socio-ecological crisis marked by the beginning of the use of the global environment as a productive force, meaning that it has its origins in the inclusion of the costs of natural resources in capitalist production, the intrinsic relationship with the expansion of the commodity frontier towards the periphery through neo-extractivism becomes clear. According to Moore (2022): "Capital's appropriation and destructive use of labor power, infrastructure, urban space, nature, or the environment stand out." (MOORE, 2022, p. 17). In light of this, this study considers the term "Capitalocene" more suitable for concretely interpreting the reality of neo-extractivism.

Maristella Svampa, in her work "Perspectives from the South: How to Exit the Socio-ecological Crisis?", defines:

> The Anthropocene is unquestionably a diagnostic concept, introducing the idea of a critical 'threshold' in the face of issues such as global warming and biodiversity loss; a concept that highlights the limits of nature and questions dominant development strategies, as well as the cultural paradigm of modernity. (SVAMPA, 2019, p.11, our translation).

Thus, we see that the "limit that is the Anthropocene/Capitalocene means many things, including the fact that immense irreversible destruction is indeed occurring" (HARAWAY, 2016, p. 139), making it urgent to consider ways to make the Capitalocene as brief as possible through the pursuit of partial and robust biological-cultural-political-technological recovery and recomposition, returning to the period of the Holocene, which Anna Tsing (2015) points to as the period before the Anthropocene, in which resources were available for nature and its multispecies to regenerate naturally after extreme events.

As a consequence of the destruction of such refuges, we have refugees. Large contingents of people and other species who are displaced due to the exhaustion of land reserves, systematically drained, burned, depleted, poisoned, and exterminated. It is for this reason that contemplating the sustenance of the rich cultural and biological diversity also entails considering the global migration crisis.

Amidst the impacts of global changes, women are at the forefront, bearing a heavier physical and mental burden and facing increased exposure to extreme events, particularly among those in more vulnerable conditions (OLIVERA et al., 2021). They also have limited access to tools and resources to navigate these changes. In this context, it is evident that refugee and migrant women are currently experiencing migration trajectories in which they are

compelled to deal with the obstacles of forced displacement, as well as the challenges imposed by gender-related structural vulnerabilities.

In this context, there remains one final task in addressing the multifaceted global crisis: understanding care as an inherent part of it (FRASER, 2020). The latent capital-labor contradiction (MARX; ENGELS, 2006[1845]) brings into the center of the debate questions related to the axes that sustain socioeconomic systems. The vicious cycle of care-inequality-exclusion, which nowadays reproduces itself globally, demands the establishment of a right to care that is constitutive of the core of citizenship and development processes.

At a structural level, the question arises as to which logic should underpin this coordination of agents. The reflection revolves around how to ensure a society of care in a Capitalocene society, which has profit at its center instead of life, meaning that its sustenance relies on the accumulation of capital ensured through the systematic devastation of bodies, territories, natural resources, and multispecies. In summary: can socioeconomic systems whose backbone is capital accumulation be responsible for ensuring socioecological transformations?

Global crisis and women's bodies

The sustainability crisis, which can be understood as patterns of production and consumption that are incompatible with the biosphere's capacity to continue providing biophysical conditions to sustain the well-being of present and future generations. For example, women in poverty, often Black women and heads of households, tend to live in more remote or peripheral areas with less infrastructure and are more likely to be affected by floods or storms. Moreover, the burden placed on women also results in less time available for education, training, self-care, and access to paid employment, thereby negatively affecting their potential for income generation and social mobility. In summary, the global changes stemming from the Anthropocene further exacerbate women's time poverty.

> So, faced with the effects of climate change, women are on the front line, experiencing a greater physical and mental workload and increased exposure, especially in the case of women in more vulnerable conditions, and less access to tools and resources to cope with such changes. (OLIVERA et al., 2021, p. 7, our translation).

The intersection of these oppressions contributes to heightened vulnerability for Black women, Indigenous women, quilombola women, women residing in peripheral areas,

economically disadvantaged women, and gender-nonconforming individuals, amplifying layers of multidimensional discrimination. For instance, women may face discrimination for being both female and Black, Indigenous and lesbian, or transgender and residing in peripheral areas. Consequently, there are multiple possible combinations. In this context, it is important to consider the concept of Environmental Racism (SILVA, 2012), which recognizes social, racial, and gender inequalities as determinants for the degree of exposure of social groups to environmental risks.

Environmental racism is a discussion that contextualizes the environment within the framework of structural racism. This topic cannot be approached from an individual perspective that disregards the environmental aspect as part of social life, intertwined with the structures of inequality rooted in racism. When examining the construction of the Brazilian territory, it becomes evident that the colonial economic cycles were based on the private appropriation of land and territories, impacting Indigenous peoples through the intense exploitation required by this process, relegating them to a place of vulnerability.

The ongoing advancement of the lifestyle established by predatory capitalism underscores these structural disadvantages inherited from the period of civilization, hindering the participation of these populations in the decision-making dimensions of planning, management, and also in the development of environmental regulatory frameworks. As a consequence of the demand for their territories, they often face eviction, militarization, and persecution of the knowledge and ways of life practiced within these territories.

Thus, environmental racism emphasizes the need to consider which bodies are most affected by the outcomes of a social model that produces inequalities. Understanding that this model stems from patriarchal colonization, it becomes evident that women, especially Black women, bear the brunt of vulnerability, as emphasized by Cristiane Faustino (2020):

> In addressing the environmental issue from a perspective of environmental injustices and racism, it means recognizing that power and wealth, privileges and disadvantages are racialized factors influenced by gender, experienced in bodies and life through racist, elitist, misogynistic, masculinist, and hetero-obligatory norms. (FAUSTINO, 2020, p. 77, our translation).

Considering all the issues presented so far, it becomes evident the need for a perspective that moves away from and deconstructs the historical coloniality that has characterized the study of the development of social, economic, and political relations. Social stratification and the disproportionate consequences affecting certain populations and ways of life are directly related to the subalternity created through concepts imposed by modernity.

> Racialized individuals have been subjected to dehumanization, gendered separation, while their bodies were physically and sexually exploited, and their knowledge erased. This division allowed the capitalist heteropatriarchal extractivist system to establish itself and persist throughout the development of modern society. (LUGONES, 2019, p. 361, our translation).

To this day, extractivism and financialization persist as forms of capitalist exploitation in peripheral countries, based on the international division of labor. They dictate a development scheme centered on the production and export of raw materials that necessitates the destruction of the territory. "Therefore, as occurred during colonial times, progress takes place in territories where racialized and feminine bodies are more disposable and vulnerable." (OLIVERA et al, 2021, p. 40)

Bem Viver and other Global Readings from the South: Feminist Readings of the Global Crisis and Socioecological Alternatives to Development.

The author highlights that "The interconnected analysis of different dimensions of power is the revolutionary emergence towards which we must advance" (OROZCO, 2010, p. 20). In this sense, a feminist critique of development discourse is based on a commitment to integral thinking. To conceive feminism as a body of knowledge, as a genealogy, as a proposal for transforming life from a comprehensive perspective, allows us to engage in dialogue both with academia and political discourses, as well as with the individual and collective struggles of women to transform an unequal and unjust political, social, and economic system.

It is within this scope of practical-theoretical knowledge that the processes of Latin American depatriarchalization and decolonization articulate themselves as alternatives to development, centered around the idea of Bem Viver and in opposition to exclusionary development policies for women.

In the neoliberal context, women historically undertake social roles neglected by the State, such as social policies and the creation of self-employment opportunities. Structural adjustment policies have negatively impacted women, increasing inequality in the labor market and the burden of caregiving tasks on women. Despite the supposed inclusion of women in development policies, the persistence of patriarchy has contributed to female impoverishment and the feminization of poverty in subsistence economies.

The inclusion of "Women in Development" (WID) in neoliberal development policies occurred through the global programs of the UN in the 1990s, where:

> The consensus between liberal political ideologies and neoclassical economics, inscribed in the paradigm of modernization, which had characterized development policies in those decades, was not questioned: Our approach critiques both concepts, clarifying that women have always been integrated into the development processes of their respective societies - not just from the 1970s onwards - and that their work, both inside and outside the home, has always contributed to sustaining these societies. (OROZCO, 2010, p.8, our translation).

However, this supposed inclusion of women served only to sustain international structures of inequality since all these perspectives emphasize productive labor while neglecting the significance of reproductive labor.

Consequently, this feminist theory of development, like androcentric theories of dependency, modernity, and political economy itself, situated caregiving tasks within a "private" realm that does not generate value and therefore falls outside the goals of development (RATHGEBER, 1990).

Feminists from the Global South have also criticized development policies as a continuation of colonialism, highlighting their systematic devaluation of traditional attitudes and institutions in "underdeveloped" countries. This was evident at the Second World Conference on Women in Nairobi in 1985, by the Global South women's group DAWN, Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era.

Alternatives to development from the Global South.

The sexual division of labor confined women to reproductive work and made them more dependent on access to common resources, becoming their guardians (FEDERICI, 2019), resulting in an inseparable relationship between these women and the land, their ancestry, common knowledge, and therefore, they have always been more committed to their care and defense. The author also systematizes the connection between women and the commons:

> First, there has been the formation of self-sufficient regional systems aimed at ensuring "food security" and maintaining an economy based on solidarity and rejection of competition, and secondly, women worldwide have led the struggle to prevent commercial logging and to save or rebuild forests, which are the foundation of subsistence economies, providing nutrition, fuel, and medicine, and strengthening community relationships. (FEDERICI, 2019, pp. 296-297, our translation).

Therefore, in order to conceive a local and contextualized response to structural injustices and to highlight syntheses of an alternative vision of politics and society based on solidarity, equality, and care for nature:

1. Postcolonial Feminisms: Postcolonial feminism, which emerged in the 1990s, critiques both feminist essentialism that asserts the innate superiority of women and attempts to homogenize the concept of "Third World women" by hegemonic feminism of the Global North. It emphasizes the importance of recognizing class and ethnicity differences among women, advocating for an intersectional feminism that is not colonialist, imperialist, or racist. Theorists like Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Gayatri Spivak question neocolonial and neoliberal development, pointing out how it perpetuates ecological destruction and social inequality, especially among the poorest women in the Global South. A thorough critique is proposed, encompassing the destabilization of reproductive heterosexuality as an integral aspect of the struggle against patriarchy and colonialism.
2. Ecofeminisms: Ecofeminism emerges as a critique of patriarchy that links the oppression of women with the exploitation of nature. There are essentialist and non-essentialist currents within ecofeminism, each with its own perspectives on the relationship between women and nature. Vandana Shiva and Maria Mies question neoliberal development, highlighting how it perpetuates gender inequality and environmental degradation. An integrated approach is proposed that includes critiquing the sexual division of labor and promoting solidarity among local communities. Brazilian ecofeminist Ivone Gebara addresses the connection between the oppression of women, the domination of nature, and Western modernity. It's also imperative to acknowledge the unpaid environmental work carried out by women and their marginalization from decision-making processes concerning environmental resources.
3. Feminist Economics and Care Economy: Feminist economics challenges the traditional view of the economy by highlighting women's unpaid labor, which sustains the workforce and social reproduction. This approach emphasizes the need for public policies that recognize and redistribute this workload equitably, promoting gender equality both in the domestic and public spheres. Moreover, it critiques the market's centrality in the economy, advocating for an economic ethic that prioritizes human well-being over economic growth. The care economy is crucial in this context, underscoring the importance of care as an essential social need. This perspective challenges the notion that development boils down to economic growth, advocating for a more holistic approach that considers humans' vital needs. Consequently, it proposes a care

revolution and a reconfiguration of political engagement to promote more solidary and egalitarian models of social organization.

4. Feminism and neodevelopmentalist progressive governments in Latin America: The rise of progressive governments in Latin America has highlighted a division within feminism that dates back to the 1970s. On one hand, there is a current that advocates for the inclusion of women in economic development, usually from an institutional perspective, taking advantage of government policies aimed at increasing women's income and consumption. On the other hand, there is a more leftist current that criticizes these policies as paternalistic and welfare-oriented, considering them a form of repatriarchalization. This latter currently questions the development model based on extractivism and agribusiness, advocating for solidarity economy, food sovereignty, and land defense as pillars of its project. Although these currents coexist in many women's organizations, they generate debates about the true purpose of the struggle against patriarchy.
5. Andean, Popular, and Community Feminisms: Over the past decades in Latin America, especially in countries like Ecuador and Bolivia, women from popular, indigenous, mestizo, and peasant sectors have faced a disproportionate burden of unpaid labor and labor precarization due to neoliberal policies and the withdrawal of the state from key social and economic areas. In response to this situation, Andean, popular, and community feminist movements have emerged, articulating resistance against patriarchy, capitalism, and coloniality. These feminist movements are distinguished by their focus on plurinationality, equality, and harmony with nature. They reject the notion of an exclusively Western and white feminism, recognizing the ethnic and cultural diversity of the region and the importance of popular struggles in building a feminist political project. Moreover, they seek to overcome the postmodern fragmentation of identity struggles and the patriarchal focus on equity and inclusion, advocating for a new kind of universality that acknowledges sexual, racial, and contextual diversities. The proposed society is that of "Buen Vivir" (Good Living), in which all women, men, intersex people, and nature fit, respecting differences but equally (PAREDES; GUZMÁN, 2013).

Migration, Gender, Development, and Sustainability: A fair global care regime as a response to the multifaceted crisis.

Considering the premise of care as the foundation of the economic system, it becomes imperative to examine the issues associated with migration in light of the alternatives that a society characterized by equitable distribution of care can provide. Amidst a scenario of global crisis, characterized by the climate crisis of the Anthropocene/Capitalocene and the multiple dimensions addressed earlier, it is essential to contemplate what kind of social order may be viable within the context of the predominant economic regime. In this regard, a global care chain emerges as a crucial element, given that the crisis in question is characterized by its multifaceted and structural nature. Consequently, formulating an effective response requires a structural and long-term approach.

It is urgent to recognize and address the historical connection between care, social inequality, and exclusion from citizenship, which today acquires new and serious global dimensions. This correlation is inherent to caregiving systems, and its consistent association with gender and class disparities is further complicated by migratory status. The absence of social accountability in caregiving, coupled with its relegation to households (primarily women), means that the possibility of receiving care is itself an index and vector of social inequality. Understanding caregiving requires moving beyond a purely economic lens: neither its market provision responds to the simple logic of supply and demand, nor is monetary value the sole factor to consider.

The availability of social networks is a key factor. Care work is neither socially nor economically valued, so those who perform it tend to be those with less choice or decision-making power, resulting in the segmentation by gender, ethnicity, and migratory status of these jobs (PEREIRA, OLIVERA, 2021).

Care work remains invisible: it still does not constitute a substantive part of public debate and, when it transcends the boundaries of the household, it is often treated as individual transactions of buying and selling, rather than as a right. Furthermore, it continues to be unfairly distributed: the sexual division of labor takes on new global dimensions. Both in countries of origin and destination, there have been changes in gender relations that highlight underlying issues. This tends to result in a process of intensifying the privatization of social reproduction and a reconfiguration of the sexual division of labor. Will this be the old solution of avoiding public responsibilities in care through an unjust distribution of work, now with a new transnational dimension?

It's necessary to undergo social transformations and reformulate the aspects that are part of the structure of the socio-economic system, with care rights as a guiding principle.

Finally, it is necessary to prevent the defense of care rights from inheriting the typical problems of liberal and/or ethnocentric feminism. Placing care at the center implies redefining development in new ethical-moral terms. For a fair global care regime: starting from "good living," decent care as an immediate and non-negotiable minimum, and fair care as a horizon of change.

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2. Migrations and Refuge: Definitions and Approach from the Perspective of Climate Change

Within the broad spectrum of transnational migration flows and their multiple causes, in this chapter we present some discussions on the concepts of migration and refuge and address the main international and national legislations and guidelines regarding migrations, refuge, and climate migrations.

Within the scope of migrations, we observe diverse forms of mobility. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) suggests that definitions regarding migrant individuals can consider factors like reasons for displacement, country of birth, length of stay, among others. The extensive range of definitions and methodologies for data collection leads to challenges in comparing migration statistics across different countries, as they may not always be entirely compatible (IOM, 2023, p. 22).

However, broadly speaking, international migration can be defined as the "movement of individuals outside their usual place of residence and across an international border to a country of which they are not nationals" (IOM, 2019, p.127, our translation). In this study, migrants will be defined as individuals who cross a national border with the intention of settling in a country different from their own. Naturally, factors such as causes, race, gender, class, occupation, nationality, religion, and documentation status will influence various types of migration (including labor migration, voluntary migration, irregular migration, border migration, etc.), leading to differences and inequalities in the migratory experiences of these individuals.

Today, there are approximately 281 million migrants worldwide, with half of them (48%) being women (IOM, 2023). While in previous centuries migration flows were predominantly from the Global North to the Global South, or from the Global South to the Global North, in the last decades of the 21st century, the prevailing flow is South-South. South-South migrations refer to movements between countries considered as high to middle income, middle to low income, and low income, according to the World Bank (IOM, 2016, p. 221). However, this classification has been criticized for homogenizing the differences among countries within the South and North groups and for overlooking the diversity of incomes and social and economic conditions that may exist within each country or region.

However, we adopt here the denomination South-South Migrations because it allows us to distinguish between the "historical" migrations in Brazil (immigration mainly from Europe promoted by Brazilian migration policy) from the contemporary migratory panorama, where a significant outflow of emigrants (approximately 4.5 million Brazilians live outside Brazil, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs) is combined with approximately 1.2 million

immigrants coming mostly from other countries in Latin America and the Caribbean, Africa, the Middle East, and Asia (OBMigra, 2023, p.24). These diverse migration patterns depict Brazil not just as a country of origin or destination but also as a transit point, serving as a pathway for individuals seeking to migrate to the Global North (BAENINGER, 2017, p.7).

Migrations from a transnational perspective

In the field of Migration Studies, there are several theoretical and policy perspectives for addressing people's movements across national borders. Bipolar approaches, mostly known as push-pull theories, explain migrations as linear movements from a place of origin to a destination where individuals are more or less assimilated. This type of approach has been criticized for promoting both methodological individualism - focusing on economic motivations and rational decisions (VELASCO, 2016) - and methodological nationalism - which analyzes the migratory process according to the boundaries of the national territory, whether of origin or destination (GREGORIO GIL, 2011).

In order to better address the complexity of migratory movements involving migration networks, subjective and identity factors, pendular mobilities, returns, stays in transit countries, immobilities, in an increasingly space-time accelerated context influenced by new communication technologies and the globalization of capitalism, analytical proposals such as "transnational communities" or "transmigration" emerge. These perspectives focus on the multiple aspects and processes of cultural, social, and economic articulation among geographically separated communities and social institutions (CANALES; ZLOLNISKI, 2000), within a context of the consolidation of multi-local spaces.

According to the IOM, "transnationalism" encompasses the bonds and interactions linking individuals and institutions across borders, reflecting the interconnectedness between transnationalism and globalization which in turn refers to the rapid expansion of cross-border transactions and networks in all spheres of life (IOM, 2019, p.236). Consequently, the term "transnational communities" could better describe the reality of contemporary migration experiences, wherein migrants have the capacity to forge and sustain connections with individuals from their home communities or with fellow migrants residing in different countries (IOM, 2018, p.22).

The transnational perspective argues that migrant individuals - whether through remittances, virtual presence, activism networks, or international trade - are part of two or more societies (those of origin, residence, or others), and therefore, construct social fields that

transcend national borders and also traverse different spatialities and temporalities (FELDMAN-BIANCO, 2015, p.14). However, these relationships and the communities that arise are not just extensions of the original communities, but new social fields that connect both the previous and new regions (PRIES, 2002, p.578).

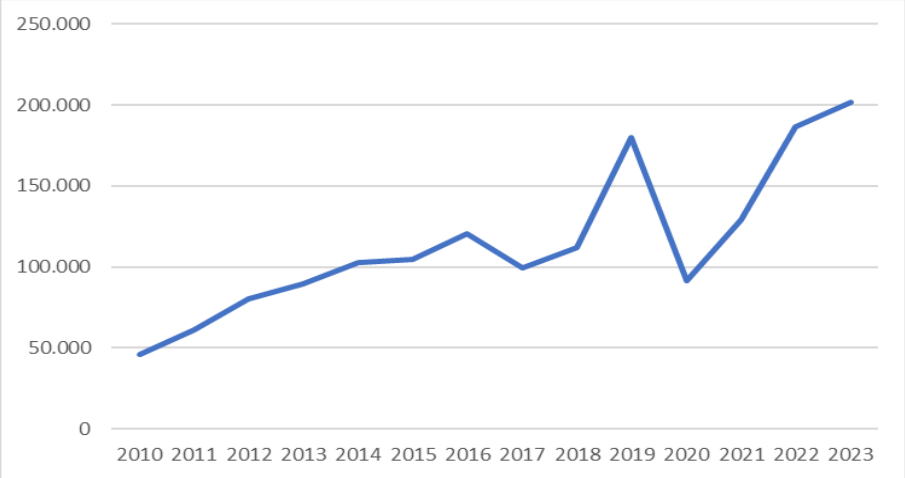
According to Glick Schiller, Basch, and Blanc Szanton (2005), transmigrants develop their identities and operate within social networks that connect them with two or more societies simultaneously. However, transnational migrations are understood within the transnational framework not only as a consequence of technological, transportation, and communication advancements, but also in close relation to the changing conditions of global capitalism and should be analyzed within this context (2005, p.6).

Overview of migration to Brazil in numbers

In order to gain a better understanding of the migratory phenomenon in Brazil, a brief overview of Brazilian migration in the 2010s and early 2020s was conducted. The National Migration Registry System[2] (SisMigra) provides data on temporary and permanent residence permits granted to international immigrants and can be used as a good approximation of regular migratory flows destined for Brazil. According to data compiled by the International Migration Observatory (OBMigra) from SisMigra, there is a significant growth in the volume of migrants arriving in Brazil between 2010 and 2023, increasing from approximately 46,000 in 2010 to over 200,000 in 2023, as evident in Figure 1. There is a noticeable increase in the number of registered immigrants starting in 2018, which was interrupted by the arrival of the Covid-19 pandemic, but appears to have returned to pre-pandemic levels as early as 2022.

[2] The data was obtained through the DataMigra system, provided by the Observatory of International Migrations (OBMigra), available at: https://datamigra.mj.gov.br/#/public.

Figure 1 - Number of long-term resident immigrant registrations by registration year (Brazil, 2010-2023)



Source: OBMigra, based on data from the Federal Police, National Migration Registry System (SisMigra).

Especially in the last decade of the current century, there has been an increase in migratory flow to Brazil, not only from the Latino population, but also from Africans and Asians. The arrival of Haitians stands out as one of the most impactful migratory movements, spurred by the devastating earthquake of 2009. This new flow forced the country to take emergency measures and put the issue of migration on the federal government's agenda, highlighting the need for new legislation (NASCIMENTO, 2017). However, there has been a change in this profile towards the end of the 2010s, especially with the influx of Venezuelans to the country, who migrate to Brazil mainly due to the political crisis affecting their country's economy, food supply, and social assistance (RODRIGUES, 2019).

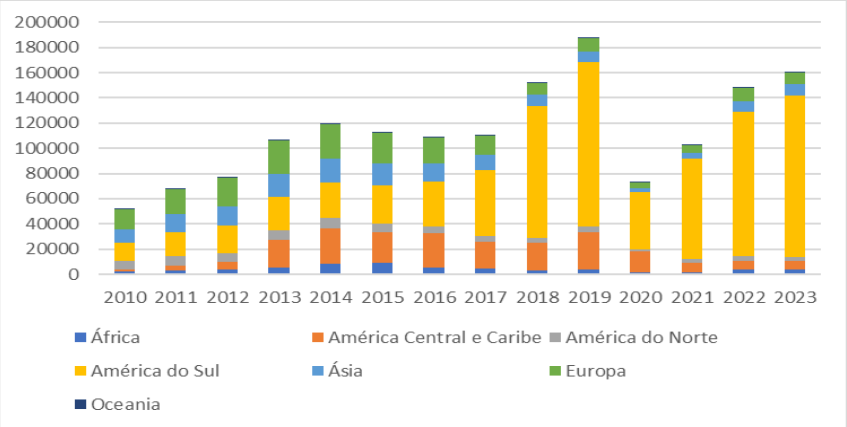
According to Moreira (2019), Brazil experienced two migratory booms from the 2000s onwards, one in 2010 and another in the period of 2013-2014. An explanation provided by the author is that the country took longer to feel the economic effects of the 2008 crisis, which in turn boosted the image of the Brazilian economy globally, attracting immigrants in search of better living conditions. However, the author emphasizes that the crisis and subsequent economic stagnation, particularly from 2015 onwards, are not impediments to the entry of new migrants - in increasingly significant flows, as can be observed in Figure 1. This is because the growth of migration in Brazil is also a reflection of a new context of increased migratory flows among countries of the global South, in the face of tightening migration policies in Northern countries after the 2008 financial crisis. According to Oliveira and Oliveira (2020), another factor driving migration to the country was the Residence Agreement of Mercosur and Associated Countries. In conclusion, it is possible to understand that Brazil is also becoming

a significant recipient of Latin American migrants who previously headed to Europe and the United States.

Figure 2 shows the number of registered resident immigrants by SisMigra between 2010 and 2023 according to the region of origin. It is noted that, in 2010, the two main regions from which migrants originated were Europe and South America, accounting for 31.23% and 29.01% of the migrants' countries of origin, respectively. Between 2013-2020, there is a very significant growth in the percentage of immigrants from Central America and the Caribbean, which accounts for approximately 20% of the total migrations, especially due to Haitian immigration. This number experiences a very significant decline from 2021, remaining at around 4% in 2023. Another important change observed is the decrease in the importance of European migrants, who now represent only about 6% of the total migrants in 2023, and the very significant increase in the relative weight of migrants from South America, who make up about 80% of the total resident migrants in Brazil in 2023.

Oliveira and Oliveira (2020), using data from the 2010 Census, highlight that in that year, among the top ten countries of origin of migrants, five were from the Global North and accounted for nearly half of the total migrants (Portugal, Japan, Italy, Spain, and the United Kingdom), while the other five were Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and China. However, data compiled by OBMigra from SisMigra indicates a significant shift in 2022: among the top ten countries of origin, only two were from the Global North (France and the United States), with the remaining eight originating from Latin America and the Caribbean (Venezuela, Bolivia, Colombia, Argentina, Haiti, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay). It is worth noting that Venezuela was the primary country of origin for more than 55% of the migrants.

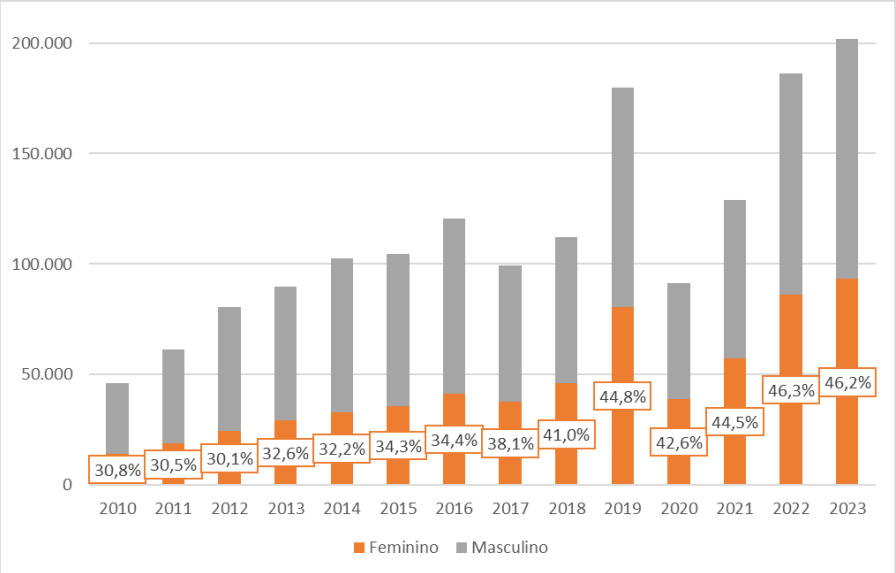
Figure 2 - Number of long-term resident immigrant registrations, by region of origin (Brazil, 2010-2023)



Source: OBMigra, based on data from the Federal Police, National Migration Registry System (SisMigra)

Furthermore, there's been a remarkable shift in the demographics of these migrants, marked by a substantial rise in the presence of migrant women within the migration streams headed towards the country: there is a nearly 15 percentage point increase, with women going from 30.79% of migrants in 2010 to over 46% in 2023 (Figure 3). It is important to note that while they are not the majority in migration flows to Brazil, women seem to be migrating increasingly to the country, and potentially in a more independent manner, as evidenced by the profile of migrants.

Figure 3 - Number of long-term resident immigrant registrations, by year of registration, by gender (Brazil, 2010-2023)



Source: OBMigra, based on data from the Federal Police, National Migration Registry System (SisMigra).

It is noted that at the beginning of the decade (2011-2015), Bolivian immigration was particularly prominent among women in Brazil. However, there is a shift in this pattern from 2015 onwards, when Haitian women (5,301) significantly surpassed Bolivian women (3,206) and became the leading nationality in terms of migration registrations until 2018 when they were overtaken by Venezuelan women. Regarding the spatial distribution of female, child, and adolescent immigration, at the beginning of the decade (2011-2015), São Paulo had a greater weight in absolute numbers in the investigated segments. From 2019, there is an increase in the weight of Roraima, although São Paulo and the three southern states of Brazil remain the ones that absorb the most migrants (TONHATI; MACEDO, 2020).

The data regarding movements from the Immigration Traffic System (STI), provided by the Federal Police, also show that female migrants play a significant role in repositioning Brazil as a destination. Overall, it is South American and Caribbean immigrants who migrate to

Brazil, especially Venezuelans and Haitians, contributing to shaping a new female migratory profile (TONHATI; MACEDO, 2020).

Based on data from SisMigra, it is observed that between 2010 and 2019, 69% of female immigrants were single when registering in the country, and they were divided among the age groups of 15 to 25 years old (24%) and 26 to 40 years old (43%). Therefore, the predominant profile of migrants arriving in Brazil was young and single. As for educational attainment, there was a significant increase in the number of female migrants who had completed high school (rising from 39.4% to 49.5% between 2011 and 2019), but a decrease in the percentage of these women who had completed higher education (dropping from 32.7% in 2011 to 22.2% in 2019), according to Tonhati and Macedo (2020).

Migration and Refugee

Regarding the voluntariness of people crossing national borders, we can find a special type of migratory movement: migrations involving force, coercion, or compulsion, known as forced migrations (IOM, 2019, p.126). However, the term is not an international legal concept and is criticized due to the recognition of a continuum in the spectrum of international mobility that does not always allow differentiation between voluntary and forced migrations.

Without minimizing the impacts of material and symbolic violence on the migratory experiences of those who suffer persecution, human rights violations, risk of death penalty, among others, it becomes difficult to classify as voluntary migration the displacement of someone who migrates as a means of their own or family subsistence, for example. Furthermore, the use of the term forced migrations could undermine the international protection regime (IOM, 2019, p.127).

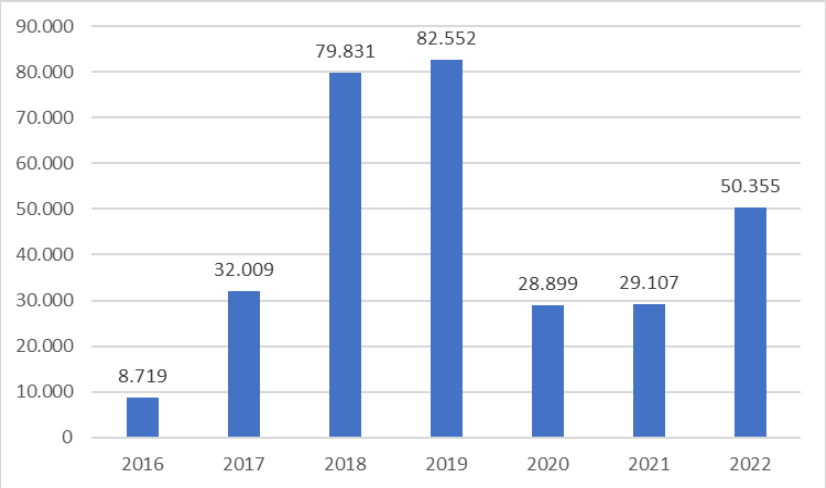
Therefore, we prefer to refer to this type of displacement as refuge. A refugee is someone who has had to flee their country of origin in search of international protection. Unlike the broad definition of forced migrant, which lacks a consensus legal definition, the definition of refugee is based on international legal instruments, which will be discussed in the next topic.

Refuge in Brazil in numbers

This section analyzes refuge in Brazil using data from the International Traffic System - Alert and Restriction Module (STI-MAR), provided by the Federal Police and compiled by OBMigra. According to Tonhati and Macedo (2020), due to methodological issues related to database consistency, only data from 2016 onwards are compatible for analysis.

As seen in Figure 4, there is a very significant growth in the number of asylum seekers in Brazil between 2016 and 2022. In the first year of the analyzed series, there were approximately 8,700 asylum requests registered, with this number increasing to over 82,000 in 2019 and approaching 50,000 in the last year of the series.

Figure 4 - Number of asylum seekers, per year (Brazil, 2016-2022)



Source: Own elaboration based on data from the Federal Police, STI-MAR.

According to the Refuge in Numbers Report (JUNGER DA SILVA et al., 2023), prepared by OBMigra, Brazil received asylum requests from 139 countries in 2022, with the top three being Venezuela (67%), Cuba (10.9%), and Angola (6.8%). In that year, men accounted for 54.6% of asylum seekers, while women represented 45.4% of the total. Additionally, it is noteworthy that the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE) recognized 5,795 individuals as refugees in 2022.

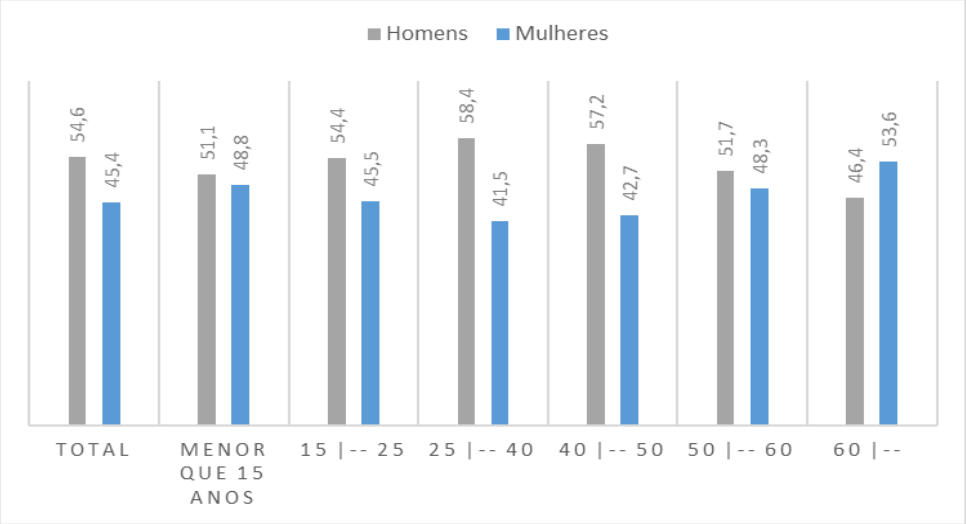
It is important to highlight that 57.8% of the requests reviewed by CONARE were registered in the Federal Units (UFs) comprising the Northern Region of Brazil. The state of Roraima accounted for the largest volume of asylum requests reviewed by CONARE in 2022, at 41.6%, followed by the states of Amazonas (11.3%) and Acre (3.3%).

Analyzing the countries of origin of refugee applications from 2016 onwards, it is observed that the three main nationalities that stand out are Venezuela, Haiti, and Cuba, both for men and women. Venezuela is the country with the highest number of applicants in the analyzed series, representing 65% of the requests in 2018.

Regarding the profile of applicants seeking recognition as refugees, it is possible to observe that men represent an average of 55% of the total applicants when comparing

different age groups, and women only outnumber men in the case of individuals over 60 years old, as indicated by Figure 5.

Figure 5 - Distribution of applicants seeking recognition as refugees, by gender, according to age groups (Brazil, 2022)



Source: Junger da Silva et al, 2023, p. 18

Definition and evolution of the concept of refuge

In 1951, following the Second World War, the Refugee Statute was established through the Convention relating to the Status of Refugees[3]. Due to its origin, the Statute was based on European situations and contexts, establishing that refugee status only applied to individuals who became refugees as a result of events occurring before January 1, 1951:

> "(...) the term “refugee” shall apply to any person who: (...) 2) As a result of events occurring before 1 January 1951 and owing to well- founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country;" (ONU, art.1, 1951, our translation).

Moreover,according to the text:

> For the purposes of this Convention, the words “events occurring before 1 January 1951” in article 1, section A, shall be understood to mean either: (a)

[3] Convention relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951

> "events occurring in Europe before 1 January 1951"; or (b) "events occurring in Europe or elsewhere before 1 January 1951", and each Contracting State shall make a declaration at the time of signature, ratification or accession, specifying which of these meanings it applies for the purpose of its obligations under this Convention. (ONU, art.1., 1951, our translation).

In 1967, with the "Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees"[4], there was an attempt to expand the Convention to cover other situations. It no longer limited itself to the 1951 time frame or a specific geographical context. However, it maintained the same definition of refuge as in the 1951 Convention - the fear of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion - excluding economic, environmental, and other issues. According to experts, both the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol provided depoliticized but also politically instrumental readings of the refugee issue, for example during the Cold War (FISCHER, 2023; CHIMNI, 1998).

Beginning in the 1980s, amidst the regional political upheaval that saw numerous Central American dictatorships forcibly displacing large populations, many of whom did not meet the existing definition of refugees at that time, the concept of refuge began to be reexamined from a Latin American perspective. Consequently, the Cartagena Declaration on Refugees[5], adopted in 1987, aimed to establish a welcoming and inclusive region, addressing the protection and humanitarian challenges within the region itself (Almeida; Minchola, 2015). Expanding upon the definitions outlined in the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, the Cartagena Declaration broadened and tailored the refugee definition to the local context, incorporating references to serious and widespread human rights violations:

> Hence the definition or concept of a refugee to be recommended for use in the region is one which, in addition to containing the elements of the 1951 Convention and the 1967 Protocol, includes among refugees persons who have fled their country because their lives, safety or freedom have been threatened by generalized violence, foreign aggression, internal conflicts, massive violation of human rights or other circumstances which have seriously disturbed public order (Cartagena Declaration, 3rd conclusion, 1984, our translation).

This new definition introduced the fundamental idea of the interrelation and indivisibility of human rights and the widespread impact of different types of violence on the population.

[4] Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1967
[5] Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1987

Thus, even when individuals cannot demonstrate individualized persecution, states can recognize the need for refuge based on broader situations of vulnerability.

The Cartagena Declaration is not legally binding, but many countries, including Brazil, have adhered to it. Incorporating the definitions of the 1951 Convention and the Cartagena Declaration, Brazil's Refugee Law Nº 9474[6] was enacted in 1997. This law, considered pioneering in the region, advanced in ensuring the protection of refugees. However, in some cases, the recognition of the existence of situations involving serious and widespread human rights violations has been politically influenced by Brazil's external relations (Martuscelli, 2022). For example, Brazil's failure to recognize Haitian nationals as refugees was related, among other issues, to Brazil's presence in Haiti through MINUSTAH, or in the case of the recent influx of Venezuelan people with the position adopted by the Bolsonaro government regarding Venezuela.

The agency responsible for the refugee process and public policies on the topic in Brazil is the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE). CONARE reviews and approves or denies refugee applications in Brazil. According to the latest report from OBMIGRA, in 2022, Brazil received 50,355 refugee applications from 139 countries. The main nationalities of applicants were Venezuelan (67%), Cuban (10.9%), and Angolan (6.8%). In 2022, CONARE reviewed 41,297 applications, of which 5,795 were approved. Of the total, 56% were men and 44% were women. Additionally, 46.8% of those recognized as refugees were children, adolescents, and young people up to the age of 24.

The most commonly cited grounds for recognizing refugee status were "Serious and Widespread Violation of Human Rights (GGVDH)," accounting for 82.4% of the total grounds. This was followed by "Political Opinion," which represented 10.9% of the total.

In Brazil, there is another category - and administrative procedure - that applies to people who migrate due to humanitarian crises but do not fit into the refugee category. It is the temporary humanitarian shelter visa, provided for in the Migration Law (13.445/2017):

> The temporary visa for humanitarian reception may be granted to stateless persons or nationals of any country in a situation of serious or imminent institutional instability, armed conflict, major calamity, environmental disaster, or serious violation of human rights or international humanitarian law (Article 14. 3rd, 2017, our translation).

[6] Law 9474. Brazil. 1997

Unlike refugee status, the humanitarian visa does not require individual case analyses or proof by the applicant. It is granted through ordinances issued by Brazil in response to disasters occurring in specific countries. Brazil has previously issued humanitarian visas to individuals from Haiti, Syria, Venezuela, Afghanistan, and Ukraine.

Climate migrations

Within this overview of migrations, the present work focuses on the migratory flow resulting from climate change. The SVR Annual Report Summary 2023, from the Expert Council on Integration and Migration, presents some data related to climate migration.

It highlights that the impacts of climate change do not affect all people in the same way; they can exacerbate existing issues, such as social, economic, and political issues. In this sense, climate change is not the sole catalyst for migration, but rather associated with a complex interaction of multiple factors:

> (…) it is becoming increasingly clear that the relationships between climate change and migration are often indirect, smallscale and context-specific, and depend on numerous socio-economic and political factors. (SVR Annual Repport Summary, 2023, our translation)

According to data presented in the report, the majority of cases of climate-induced migration in 2022 were internal displacements, primarily due to storms, with 11.5 million people displaced, and floods, with 10.1 million people displaced. In the case of cross-border migrations, they occurred over short distances, generally to neighboring countries. Longer-distance migrations, such as intercontinental ones, were rare in relation to climate change. In the case of sudden and extreme weather events, they result in short-term migrations, referred to as survival migrations. Permanent migrations, on the other hand, occur in contexts of gradual or long-term environmental changes, such as coastal erosion, soil salinization, or desertification.

Furthermore, the report indicates that migration resulting from climate change has primarily manifested in countries of the Global South. This dynamic is attributed to the unequal distribution of financial resources allocated to adapting to the consequences of these environmental changes. Disparity in the capacity to respond to extreme weather events and implement mitigation measures intensifies migratory pressure, especially in countries facing challenges in mobilizing significant resources to adapt to climate change.

Several studies suggest a rise in migrations triggered by climate change. According to the SVR Annual Report Summary, recent projections range from 143 million to 1.2 billion by 2050, encompassing both internal displacements and cross-border migrations. Given this scenario, the debate centers on the instruments that will regulate specific legal protections for this type of migration.

The term "climate refugees" does not exist under international law, and there is still no universally established terminology for this type of displacement. Common expressions used to characterize the affected individuals include "environmental refugees," "climate refugees," and "environmental migrants" (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020).

The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) defines "environmental refugee" as someone who is compelled to leave their residence, either temporarily or permanently, due to environmental disturbances. These disturbances can originate from natural causes or result from human activities and have the potential to severely impact the quality of life and existence of these individuals (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020).

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) offers a comprehensive definition of "environmental migrants" or "climate migrants," who are individuals or groups who, due to sudden or progressive environmental changes adversely affecting their lives or living conditions, are compelled to leave their habitual residences, either temporarily or permanently, within their own countries or beyond their borders.

The UN Refugee Agency (UNHCR) states that under the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugee status recognition due to the adverse effects of climate change and disasters may occur when they intersect with conflicts and violence. The criterion of "events seriously disturbing public order" may be invoked for recognizing refugee status by regional legal instruments. This applies if the impacts of climate change qualify as such. Therefore, a person compelled to leave their country due to environmental reasons would only be granted refugee status if this situation also involves a context of conflict or violence (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020).

Vettorassi and Amorim (2020) delineate two key factors that hinder the classification of environmental migrants as refugees: the requirement of a well-founded fear of persecution and the availability of state protection. The 1951 Convention's definition of a refugee necessitates the presence of a well-founded fear of persecution, typically attributed to identifiable persecuting agents, often associated with human actions. In the case of climate refugees, the absence of clearly identifiable persecuting agents poses a challenge, except in instances of environmental degradation resulting from armed conflicts. Additionally, the criterion of state protection plays a crucial role, as the absence of adequate support from the

state, prompting individuals to seek refuge, triggers international protection by the receiving state. Unlike victims of persecution, individuals displaced by climate events may have access to some level of assistance and support from their own government, albeit often limited.

Therefore, according to advocates of International Refugee Law, the term refugee would not apply to environmental or climate migrations. However, Vettorassi and Amorim (2020) point out that:

> This outdated perspective on the Convention stems from the absence of efforts to modernize and expand its scope, especially considering that the International System has evolved significantly since the Cold War era. This failure to adapt has resulted in a notable legal void, prompting regional initiatives to introduce criteria aimed at accommodating a broader range of individuals under refugee status. (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020, p.33, our translation)

Claro (2018) argues that confining the discourse on environmental refugees to terminological and conceptual nuances sidetracks from the central concern: the protection of migrants. This includes the necessary normative framework to ensure their rights and enforce obligations on states. Claro advocates for a broader definition of environmental refugees, considering them non-conventional refugees. While they may not fit the specifications of the Convention, they are still refugees insofar as they are forced to migrate:

> Environmental refugees are those individuals who have been compelled to leave their traditional habitat, either temporarily or permanently, due to an environmental disruption (natural and/or human-induced) that threatened their existence and/or severely affected their quality of life." (EL-HINNAWI, 1985, cited in CLARO, 2018, p. 4, our translation).

According to the author, the broader definition is grounded in the concept of collective responsibility for human impacts on the environment, suggesting a shared duty to ensure the well-being and protection of these migrants (CLARO, 2018). Furthermore, efforts to expand the refugee definition have been observed in regional legal frameworks. For instance, the 1969 Convention of the Organization of African Unity, which sets out refugee criteria in Africa, extends the definition established in the 1951 Convention. It includes circumstances where serious disturbances to public order occur in part or all of one's country of origin as grounds for refuge. This extension encompasses natural disasters as events disrupting public order, thereby offering legal support for those seeking refuge due to such occurrences (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020).

Another example of broadening the refugee definition is the Cartagena Declaration. As previously noted, it characterizes mass violations of human rights or other circumstances severely disrupting public order as grounds for refuge. Situations of natural disasters fall under severe disturbance to public order. Both definitions expand the concept of refuge and allow for interpretations that encompass environmental refugees. However, there remains a significant gap when it comes to this specific type of refuge. These definitions fail to encompass all the complexities associated with natural disasters and, as a result, do not provide all the necessary protections for these refugees (VETTORASSI; AMORIM, 2020).

The debate surrounding the definition of refugees directly implicates the regulation of this type of migration. The lack of consensus in establishing this regulation, as argued by Claro (2020), stems from countries persisting in prioritizing legal and political norms based on sovereignty, security, and national interests, while showing resistance to those related to the protection of human rights. In this context, Claro (2020) concludes that migration laws are becoming the last refuge of sovereignty. Faced with this lack of consensus regarding legal protection for environmental refugees, Vettorassi and Amorim (2020) suggest that regional mechanisms aimed at these local flows and their specificities could be a possible solution. This strategy is also supported in the SVR Annual Report Summary 2023, which advocates for addressing climate migration politically at the regional level, where the potential for consensus among regional political actors is higher compared to the global level.

Migration Policies in Brazil and Climate Migration

In the Brazilian context, concerning environmental migrations, data from the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre - IDMC reveals that in 2022, the number of internal displacements associated with disasters reached 708,000 people, marking the highest increase recorded since 2008. The report underscores that one-third of these displacements stemmed from two major events in the states of Pernambuco and Minas Gerais. In Pernambuco, 131,000 people were internally displaced due to heavy rains, which caused floods and landslides. In Minas Gerais, heavy rains led to the displacement of 107,000 people.

Regarding the number of environmental refugees hosted in Brazil, there are no specific data available for these cases. This same scenario is reflected in the political and legal realms; there is no specific policy for environmental refugees, and these cases are addressed within the broader context of the country's immigration and refugee policy. Brazil is a signatory to the United Nations Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees of 1951 and its Additional Protocol of 1967. Law No. 9,474, enacted on July 22, 1997, incorporates the provisions of

these documents, delineating the criteria for granting refugee status and defining the rights and responsibilities of individuals in such circumstances.

The main legislation on the subject, Law No. 9,474/1997 establishes procedures for recognizing refugee status, ensuring access to Brazilian territory and the necessary legal assistance for asylum seekers. Additionally, the law provides protection against refoulement for refugees to countries where they may face persecution or risk to life. In addition to Law No. 9,474/1997, the National Committee for Refugees (CONARE), established in 1997, is responsible for coordinating the national refugee policy and assessing refugee applications in Brazil. CONARE is composed of representatives from various ministries and government agencies, as well as members of civil society.

In 2017, Law No. 13,445, known as the Migration Law, was approved, which repealed the old Foreigner Statute and established a new approach to Brazilian migration policy. This law expands rights and guarantees for migrants, including refugees, and reinforces Brazil's commitment to the principles of international protection of human rights.

According to Chaves and Oliveira (2019), Brazilian legislation, by adopting the broadened definition of a refugee from the Cartagena Declaration (1984) and including the notion of serious and widespread human rights violations as a criterion for seeking asylum, has established legal parameters that enable the inclusion of cases of environmental refugees. Additionally, they highlight that the Federal Constitution of 1988, in its article 225, guarantees the "right to an ecologically balanced environment as a common good of the people, essential for the quality of life, and imposes on the Public Power and the community the duty to defend it and preserve it for present and future generations" (BRAZIL, 1988). Thus, the expanded definition of refuge, coupled with the constitutional guarantee of the right to a balanced environment, constitutes the legal basis for cases of environmental refuge.

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3. Female migrations and their specificities

Migration, gender, and climate

The acceleration of production, consumption, accumulation, and financialization processes associated with the Capitalocene, especially in the neoliberal phase of capitalism, stands out as threats to the sustainability of life on the planet, as evidenced in Chapter 1. This change has as a consequence an interaction between different crisis processes – economic, climatic, and care-related – worldwide (FRASER, 2016), all resulting from a capitalist mode of production based on extractivism, the exploitation of human labor, bodies, and territories (PEREIRA, OLIVERA, 2021; CARRASCO, TELLO, 2011; HERRERO, 2014).

The impacts of climate and global changes, such as heatwaves, extreme cold events, sea-level rise, prolonged droughts, landslides, ocean acidification, and glacier melting, along with various other forms of transformation - socioeconomic, political, environmental, or cultural - have very significant consequences, including loss of food sovereignty, restricted access to clean water, food shortages, job loss, among others (OLIVERA et al, 2021; PULEO, 2019). All these factors are currently significant drivers of mobility, resulting in increased migratory flows around the world, whether voluntary or forced, as highlighted in Chapter 2.

These occurrences result in a range of consequences, including a rise in diseases, injuries, and amputations, necessitating increased care. Moreover, they often prolong the time required for tasks like fetching water, obtaining or growing food, and preparing meals for the family. Consequently, households must adjust their cleaning and sanitization practices accordingly.

Within the existing sexual division of labor in patriarchal capitalism, which is accentuated in the capitalist era through the separation between the domestic and productive spheres (FEDERICI, 2017), women bear the responsibility of care, whether paid or unpaid, in the domestic environment. It's crucial to recognize that addressing the impacts of climate change places an additional burden on women, both physically and mentally, particularly for those in more vulnerable situations who have limited resources to address these challenges. These circumstances are exacerbated by wage gaps, unequal job opportunities, access to public goods and services, political representation, and rights in general (BIROLI, 2018).

As indicated by the ECLAC report (2019), despite advancements in women's rights and their inclusion in the labor market, there persists a trend of increasing overrepresentation of women in households living in poverty, reflected in the femininity index of poor and

extremely poor families. Globally, women comprise 70% of the 1.3 billion people living in poverty (European Parliament, 2017), implying that they have fewer resources to adapt to the effects of climate change. Women face both monetary and time poverty, often encountering challenges in terms of financial resources and available time, while also taking on unpaid care work. They are subject to precarious working conditions, low wages, and limited labor protections, increasing their vulnerability to job loss and income reduction during crises (TEXEIRA, 2017; OLIVEIRA, VIEIRA, BAETA, 2021). Despite these challenges, their representation in decision-making, particularly in political and organizational contexts, remains limited, while they continue to bear primary responsibilities for both paid and unpaid domestic tasks.

These women are significantly impacted by the loss of "commons" and sanctuary spaces resulting from global changes, which restricts their access to rivers, lands, and forests (PULEO, 2019). Land can be considered a crucial productive element, serving as the material foundation for subsistence labor and, consequently, ensuring the food security of millions of people worldwide, particularly women (SHIVA, 2014). Furthermore, Silvia Federici (2019) argues that the feminist struggle for the non-commercial utilization of natural resources and the reappropriation of land is vital. This struggle not only enables the survival of a significant portion of the population but also presents alternative living models that do not endanger planet Earth.

In both rural and urban areas, women produce the majority of the food consumed and traded by the global population. However, it is worth noting that much of this production is unpaid and often occurs in informal settings (FEDERICI, 2019). Faced with global changes, women are the first to be affected, experiencing greater exposure to extreme events and facing increased physical and mental stress, as well as violence, especially those in vulnerable circumstances with limited access to coping tools and resources (BATTHACHARYA, 2013). In this sense, migrant women, particularly those from the Global South, who are characterized by being in more vulnerable situations, experience these effects in an accentuated manner.

Feminist and Intersectional Perspective

Currently, there is increasing attention on the feminization of migration, particularly in international contexts.This pattern is also observed in migration flows to Brazil. According to the OBMigra report (2022), the number of female immigrants registered in SisMigra in 2021 was approximately three times higher than in 2011. It is noted that women accounted for

32.6% of the total migrants in 2011 (considering men, women, children, and adolescents), and this figure jumped to 44.8% in 2021, an increase of over 12 percentage points.

It is emphasized that the concept of the feminization of migrations encompasses not only the quantitative increase in the presence of women in global migration circuits but also holds a crucial qualitative dimension (DUTRA, 2013). In this sense, the need to study the reasons, forms, and means of women's migration becomes evident. It is noteworthy that various scholars argue that women have historically been independent migrants, and what we observe today is not merely a transformation in the scale and scope of female migration but also a shift in how scholars themselves interpret this phenomenon.

Migration should be considered a non-neutral process, as it is marked by gender, race, class, and other social markers asymmetries and inequalities (FRANÇA, 2012; PISCITELLI, 2008). Taking a feminist and intersectional perspective as a starting point, this process is permeated by social relations and hierarchies that may change at different stages—pre-migration, during the process, and after migrants' establishment in the destination country—simply because these relations can be affected by migration itself. It is therefore important to identify, interpret, and analyze the causes of differences, asymmetries, and inequalities that occur not only between men and women but also among different groups of women.

A feminist perspective in migration studies entails addressing the following questions. How does patriarchy affect the ability to migrate, the timing of migration, and the destination country? How are gender relations altered or reconstructed in the post-migration period? It is worth noting that gender influences who moves, what and how decisions are made in the migration process, and the outcomes of migrations. On the other hand, migration influences gender dynamics, either reinforcing certain gender norms or challenging and transforming them (BOYD; GRIECO, 2003; DONATO et al, 2006).

Therefore, it is imperative that any research on migration considers how gender shapes (and reshapes) the causes, experiences, and outcomes of migration in the context of global climate change, influenced by gender roles and the division of labor. It is crucial to recognize that both factors significantly impact the risks and challenges encountered by men and women during migration, as well as their opportunities for migration and the available routes (UN WOMEN, 2018). Consequently, the intersection of climate change and gender issues will produce varied effects before and after migration. For instance, there is an increase in the time spent on unpaid domestic tasks, primarily undertaken by women globally, such as childcare, elderly care, household chores, and providing food and clean water to family members (OLIVERA et al., 2021). These responsibilities may become more demanding for women before the migration process, prompting the need for mobility, or they may become

more challenging after settling in a new location due to the necessity of adapting to a different culture.

As previously stated, it is necessary to adopt an intersectional lens for the study of climate migrations. Intersectionality can be defined as the multiple association of different forms of discrimination that interact and overlap. This interaction has structural and dynamic consequences and specifically concerns how racism, patriarchy, sexism, and other forms of discrimination and segregation create basic inequalities that translate into hierarchical structures that socially position individuals depending on race, class, sexual orientation, nationality, and so forth (CRENSHAW, 2002).

A feminist perspective emphasizes that men and women face different risks and challenges before, during, and after the migration process, being confronted with different opportunities. An intersectional perspective sheds light on the fact that these gender distinctions are specific to certain contexts and can vary greatly depending on countries and cultures, as well as other socioeconomic characteristics, such as class (FAUSTINO, 2017).

In this sense, the overlap between gender, race, and social class discrimination influences the social and market positions of migrant women, making them a particularly vulnerable group. When it comes to the labor market, for instance, the combination of gender, race, class, and migratory status serves as justification for their employment in highly precarious positions. Studies on the migration of women in South-North and South-South corridors (HOCHSCHILD, 2015; PÉREZ OROZCO, 2014; VALENZUELA; SCURO; VACA TRIGO, 2020) indicate that they are particularly inserted as domestic workers, nurses, and caregivers, positions characterized by low pay and low prestige. A phenomenon observed currently is the increasing migratory flow of women from the Global South to perform tasks in the care sector in countries of the Global North, especially in Europe and the United States, which Lisbon (2007) terms "the globalization of care." Indeed, this type of "care corridor" is also observed among Latin American and Caribbean women who migrate within Latin America (VALENZUELA; SCURO; VACA TRIGO, 2020). However, this does not seem to be the case for Latin American and Caribbean women migrating to Brazil.

Tonhati and Macedo (2020) reinforce that studies on migration and gender, for the most part, have their theoretical constructions based on South-North migration flows, being produced by researchers who reflect on migrations to and within the Global North. Such investigative lens has led to the predominant paradigm for studying migrations to be directly related to demand and labor insertion in care-related activities.

However, the authors emphasize that such a paradigm should not be directly imported to study the migratory flows of women migrating to Brazil without a deeper analysis of the local

reality, considering that the scenario can be quite distinct. One of the factors to consider is that in Brazil, unlike in Northern countries, there is no labor shortage in this occupational niche; on the contrary (TONHATI; MACEDO, 2020).

Decolonial approach

It is essential that in addition to an intersectional approach, we also adopt a decolonial approach to study the intersection of migration, gender, and climate. Often, we observe a binary approach in migration studies, between women from the "first world" and the "third world," which places immigrants in the latter category and, therefore, conceives these women as primitive, victimized, defenseless, ignorant, and apolitical. By positioning themselves as central and defining emancipation based on their own experiences, feminists from the global North turn immigrants from the South into "yet to be emancipated others," into subaltern and inferior subjects who need to be rescued by truly emancipated women.

As a way to explain this process, decolonial studies bring to light the notion of "coloniality of knowledge" (GROSFOGUEL, 2008), which can be defined as the imposition of knowledge from a Eurocentric lens, erasing and diminishing other forms of knowledge and reinforcing systemic racism. It is vital to consider how the coloniality of knowledge shapes perceptions and the production of knowledge in a process of becoming aware of the importance of studying migration in the global South from a perspective based on the experiences of these specific migrants, who may not be the same as those who migrate to Europe and the United States.

In its approach, decolonial studies seek to dismantle multiple aspects of domination, particularly questioning the notions of civilization that have emerged from colonial experiences. The primary objective of these studies is to break away from a Eurocentric and neocolonial worldview. One of the most important concepts in decolonial studies is the coloniality of power and its relationship with the modern/colonial world system. In decolonial studies, modernity and coloniality are practically two sides of the same coin, with one being the dark side of the other; therefore, these concepts cannot be dissociated from each other (GROSFOGUEL, 2008).

The coloniality of power (QUIJANO, 2005) can be described as the pattern of power consolidated within the modern/colonial world system, which generates hierarchies that are assigned based on race. In this process, there is an association between race and labor, so that lower-prestige jobs and more precarious conditions are relegated to the Black and

Indigenous populations. The coloniality of power creates a distinction between white "civilized" colonizers and "uncivilized/barbaric" colonized groups of Black and Indigenous peoples, thereby diminishing not only the labor of these individuals but also their cultures, worldviews, and religions.

Another important concept is the coloniality of gender (LUGONES, 2014). This concept seeks to abolish the notion of "universal woman" to draw attention to the fact that behind it lies the experience of a select group of women, predominantly white. The coloniality of gender brings to light that the colonization of the Americas imposed a specific pattern of femininity on white women (submissive, docile, domestic) that did not apply to Black women, who, like their male counterparts, were expected to participate in (often very heavy) work outside the home and were frequently hypersexualized and subjected to different forms of violence. In this sense, Black women in the Global South experienced (and still experience) the coloniality of gender very differently from white women.

Studies on migration flows in the Global South should take into account these two concepts, as the intersection of gender, race, class, and migratory status can create a particularly vulnerable situation for these migrants. Furthermore, it is important to consider that migration experiences in the Global South can be very different from migration flows from the Global South to the Global North.

Migration and labor data in Brazil

According to a report by OBMigra (CAVALCANTI et al., 2022), female immigrants substantially increased their participation in the formal labor market in the country during the period from 2011 to 2021. In 2011, there were 19,095 female immigrants in the formal labor market in Brazil. By the end of the decade, this number rose to 60,775, representing a growth of 68.6% over ten years.

It is noteworthy that there has been a very significant increase in the issuance of work permits for migrant women in the past decade. According to Tonhati and Macedo (2020), as can be seen in Table 1, in 2011 only 3,722 work permits were issued for women, whereas this number rose to 39,813 in 2019, an increase of 970%. The authors infer, from this data, that the search for employment has been one of the objectives of migrant women arriving in the country in recent years. The table also shows that in 2019, women received 43.15% of the work permits issued to immigrants.

Table 1 - Number of work permits issued to immigrants, by gender (Brazil, 2010-2019)

Ano	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	2019
Feminino	2.759	3.722	6.593	9.942	12.291	12.525	12.175	13.612	27.059	39.813
Masculino	5.890	9.320	16.651	27.108	33.404	28.827	19.888	22.103	41.927	52.445

Source: OBMigra, based on data from the Ministry of Labor and Employment, RAIS.

Currently, there is a noticeable shift in migration flows to Brazil. According to the OBMigra report (CAVALCANTI et al., 2022), in 2011, among the main nationalities migrating to Brazil, four originated from the Global North: Portugal, Italy, the United States, and Spain, with these women primarily migrating to the state of São Paulo and, to a lesser extent, Rio de Janeiro. Ten years later, Venezuelans, Haitians, and Colombians have emerged as prominent among the immigrants residing in Brazil, with Portuguese women being the only representatives of the Global North among the main nationalities.

Such changes in the origins and characteristics of migrants have been reflected in their labor market integration. In 2011, migrant women were employed in positions such as administrative assistants or office clerks, and in various sectors of the public administration. Another significant portion worked as retail salespersons. In recent years, different sectors have emerged as prominent occupations for migrant women. For instance, jobs linked to the industry, such as production line feeders, which employed only 125 migrants in 2011, increased to 5,095 in 2021. There has also been a significant growth in occupations such as cleaners. It is important to note that these data refer to cleaning work in companies and not domestic work in households, which increased from 203 in 2011 to 4,951 in 2021. Finally, there has been an increase in occupations such as food service assistants, which rose from 29 in 2011 to 2,326 in 2021, and general cooks, which increased from 273 in 2011 to 1,434 in 2021. These have also been spaces of labor market integration for immigrant women in the country (CAVALCANTI et al., 2022).

Tonhati e Macedo (2020) delve deeper into the labor integration of Haitian and Venezuelan women, migrants who have seen the highest growth in numbers in the country in the recent decade. Regarding Haitian women, the authors found that the most prevalent occupations include cleaner, production line feeder, assistant in food services, and meat processor. These occupations fall under what has been conventionally termed "3D jobs: Dirty, dangerous, and demeaning", which often entail work in environments that are unsanitary, hazardous, and socially undervalued, despite being part of the formal labor market. It is worth noting that by grouping different cleaning activities (cleaner, hotel chambermaid, and worker in cleaning and conservation services for public areas), it is observed that this was the labor

niche that represented the most movement for Haitian migrants in the 2010s, accounting for 27% of occupations.

When it comes to Venezuelan women, their primary occupations are within the service sector, encompassing roles such as retail salespersons, cashiers, office assistants, store and market attendants, and administrative assistants. However, it's worth mentioning that their predominant occupation, individually, is also that of cleaners (TONHATI; MACEDO, 2020). Unlike Haitian women, Venezuelan workers are not typically engaged in positions within the meat processing industry.

Another significant aspect underscored by Tonhati and Macedo (2020) is the prevalence of high turnover rates and a consistently low net employment balance among immigrant women in the country throughout the entire historical period analyzed by the authors (2011-2019). This frequent turnover, as emphasized, suggests a potentially heightened vulnerability for immigrant women within the country. Furthermore, it's worth noting that migrant women occupy less than 30% of formal employment positions when considering both men and women in the formal sector of the economy.

Over the analyzed period, there's been a gradual reduction in the average income of migrant workers who were part of the formal labor market: in 2011, the real average income was R$8,283, and by 2020, it had dropped to R$4,326. These significant changes in migrant workers' average earnings are primarily associated with a shift in the workers' profile, as previously they came from the Global North and were able to secure higher-paying positions (CAVALCANTI et al., 2022).

Tonhati e Macedo (2020) observe two important points regarding the remuneration of migrant workers in Brazil: the massive wage gap between workers from the Global North and South, and the distinct income gap between male and female migrants from the Global North and South. According to the authors, the sum of the top ten incomes among immigrant workers, who are mostly women from the Global North, is 83% higher than the sum of the bottom ten incomes among migrants, mostly from the Global South. When comparing the income gap between male and female immigrants earning the lowest incomes, the authors point out that the difference is much smaller, only 3.6% more for men, noting that most of these migrants with lower incomes come from poor countries in the Global South. However, a different scenario emerges when comparing the incomes of men and women with higher incomes (predominantly from the Global North).

According to Tonhati and Macedo (2020) there are two significant aspects regarding the pay of migrant workers in Brazil: the substantial wage disparity between those from the Global North and South, and the noticeable income gap between male and female migrants

from these regions. The authors reveal that the total income of the top ten earners among immigrant workers, mainly women from the Global North, is 83% higher than the combined income of the bottom ten earners, predominantly from the Global South. When examining the income gap between male and female migrants earning the lowest wages, the authors note a much smaller difference, with men earning only 3.6% more. They point out that most of these lower-earning migrants come from economically disadvantaged countries in the Global South. However, a contrasting picture emerges when comparing the earnings of men and women with higher incomes, who are primarily from the Global North.

The data analyzed by the OBMigra report (CAVALCANTI et al., 2022) and by Tonhati and Macedo (2020) are based on information provided in the Annual List of Social Information (RAIS), produced by the Ministry of Labor and Employment (MTE), which refers only to the formal labor market. Considering that the Brazilian labor market is still profoundly marked by informality, it is necessary to regard the above-presented data as a specific snapshot.

Oliveira e Oliveira (2020), using data from the 2010 Census, analyze international migration and labor market integration of migrants, considering the informal labor market. According to the analyzed data, there was a stock of 431,318 immigrants in the country, with 53.6% being men and 46.46% women, with 56.8% of this total being of working age. It was observed that, among the top ten nationalities, five originated from the northern hemisphere and represented about half of the immigration (Portugal, Japan, Italy, Spain, and the United States), with the other five countries being Bolivia, Argentina, Paraguay, Uruguay, and China.

Analyzing the Economically Active Population (EAP), the Census estimated that around 199.2 thousand immigrants resided in the country, with 192.7 thousand being employed, indicating an unemployment rate of only 3.4%, significantly lower than the unemployment rate for non-migrants. Additionally, the estimate found that out of the total, 107.5 thousand were formalized and 85.2 thousand (44.2%) were in the informal labor market[7]. These findings are based on the 2010 census, as data for recent years (2022 census) have not yet been released, and the Census is the only database that collects data on migration for both formal and informal labor markets. In this sense, considering the worsening conditions in the labor market, it is expected that this scenario will worsen when the most recent data is published.

[7]Oliveira and Oliveira (2020) define informal work as labor in which social security contributions are not made.

In terms of occupational position, it was observed that among those employed in the formal labor market, the majority were wage workers with signed contracts (50.3%), followed by self-employed workers (25.2%), and employers (14.0%). Conversely, among informal workers, it was noted that more than half (59.3%) were self-employed, with only 5.8% being employers.

When specifically analyzing the informal labor market, Oliveira and Oliveira (2020) found that the majority of the workforce was concentrated in the Southeast (64.2%) and South (17.2%) regions. Regarding occupation, it was observed that informal immigrant labor is concentrated in the trade and services sectors, followed by machine operators, and professionals in science and intellectual fields, which together represent 52.2% of workers. In a more detailed breakdown, the main occupations were sewing machine operators, shopkeepers, domestic workers, shop assistants, and masons.

In addition, the authors found that the average monthly income from informal work earned by migrant women in the country amounted to only 56.6% of that received by men, although the participation of both groups in the distribution of occupation groups was quite similar. However, it was noted that immigrant labor faced average weekly hours of 41.5 and 36.4, respectively, for men and women. In this regard, the authors believe that part of the gender wage gap is likely due to the average working hours. Finally, it was observed that a significant portion of the immigrant workforce (39.1% of male workers and 30.1% of female workers) experienced excessive working hours, exceeding those established by law (which set the maximum at 44 hours per week).

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4. Food Sovereignty, Women, and Climate Change.

The change in climate and its negative impacts on agri-food systems have been decisive factors in the phenomenon of migration. Populations from the Global South have migrated in search of better living conditions both internally, between regions within a country, and internationally, to other countries. Part of the motivations for migration revolve around the expectation of achieving a secure standard of living, which also addresses uncertainties related to access to adequate and dignified food. (PATEL, 2008; SHIVA, 2014).

In this context of multifaceted crises, highlighted in the previous chapters, it is observed that issues surrounding food (production, supply, and consumption) are identified as critical points. The rise in temperature, changes in rainfall patterns, and extreme weather events directly harm crops, affecting the availability and quality of food. The result of the current agro-industrial model is food scarcity, rising prices, and consequently, hunger and food insecurity. These conditions are experienced daily by a significant portion of the global population (FAO, 2016).

Despite the climate crisis not impeding recent agricultural growth in Latin America, this expansion has disproportionately favored large-scale producers who cultivate specific crops like soy and corn for international markets, rather than local consumption. Consequently, the majority of Latin Americans vulnerable to hunger reside in rural areas where food is produced but faces limited access to markets. These individuals often function as consumers rather than producers of food. The rising cost of food further strains the already stretched budgets of vulnerable rural dwellers and millions of impoverished urban residents (DE SCHUTTER, 2012).

Therefore, evidence is accumulating that the causes associated with the climate crisis and the rise in global temperatures are inherent dynamics of the current agro-industrial development model that characterizes this phase of financialized capitalism, within the context of the aforementioned Capitalocene. Among these causes are the continuous and unchecked exploitation of natural resources, large-scale monocultures oriented towards exportation, deforestation, and industrial dependence on fossil fuels. In this sense, it is argued that the environmental crisis is not the responsibility of "humanity" in abstract, as it does not affect everyone in the same way, and there are even those who profit from the economic activities that have produced it. This means that some individuals and companies benefit from environmental degradation, while others suffer its impacts disproportionately (MOORE, 2022).

In this debate, it becomes crucial to consider the differentiated impacts of the climate crisis on rural and urban communities, specific populations, traditional communities, and women, especially racialized women. The cornerstone of traditional rural communities'

livelihoods and sustainability lies in agriculture and their relationship with land and territory (BRANDÃO, 1981; SOUZA, 2006). The current agro-industrial model and climate change go hand in hand, altering political, socioeconomic, and environmental dynamics crucial for ensuring the food sovereignty of populations, or their right to define their own food and agricultural policies and strategies. Urban communities, on the other hand, face challenges related primarily to food insecurity, as supply issues and price increases, for example, can compromise access to food (FAO, 2016).

It is safe to say that Food Sovereignty and security occupy a relevant place within the scope of migrations, whether as a cause or a consequence of the displacement of thousands of people from their territories and countries of origin. In general, migrants leave behind a context where they face challenges in producing, marketing, and accessing food to another where, precisely because they are migrants, they encounter daily obstacles in accessing fundamental rights, including the human right to adequate food, security, and food sovereignty.

Here we understand Food Sovereignty (FS) as a multidimensional concept rooted in ensuring the right of individuals and communities to decide on their food system, including the production, distribution, and consumption of food. It is also characterized as a counter-hegemonic proposal that questions the "commodity-food" system as one of the main impositions of destructive and predatory capitalism (VIA CAMPESINA, 2002; VIEIRA, 2007). Food Sovereignty is also seen as an essential condition for achieving full food and nutritional security, which translates as "the right to regular and permanent access to quality food in sufficient quantity, based on food practices that promote health, respect cultural diversity, and are environmentally, culturally, economically, and socially sustainable" (BRAZIL, Organic Law on Food Security, 2006).

The lack of financial resources, discrimination, and lack of access to land for agricultural production are among the challenges faced by migrants in the contemporary world. Despite food and nutritional security being recognized as a Human Right (VALENTE, 2002) in national and international legislation, migration processes demonstrate that this right is not guaranteed for a significant portion of the global population (DE SCHUTTER, 2012; UN, 2002).

As mentioned earlier, the phenomenon of migration is marked by gender, race, class, and other asymmetries and inequalities (FRANÇA, 2012). In addition to the array of issues related to food and food production in this context, we also signal an equally important dimension, which is gender. Furthermore, there is a need for an intersectional approach to the study of climate migrations, noting that gender distinctions vary according to countries, cultures, and other socioeconomic characteristics (FAUSTINO, 2017).

Feminized bodies, Black and Indigenous women, face additional challenges and vulnerabilities when migrating due to cultural norms, gender/racial/ethnic discrimination, and lack of access to resources. While they encounter greater difficulties - such as in seeking employment, accessing basic services, and protection against violence during the migration process - these women have demonstrated greater resilience to socio-environmental challenges. Thus, despite the obstacles faced, they have assumed a central role in migration processes. They are recognized as autonomous migrant subjects who seek and find solutions, responses, and alternatives to the experienced precarities.

Baeninger (2020) reflects on how women have become protagonists in migration processes, seeking improvements and solutions for their lives, often autonomously. In this sense, our approach also aims to move away from the common portrayal of migrant women solely as victims or passive agents in their own stories.

However, even though migrant women have a diversity of individual experiences and desires that challenge the gender, race, and ethnic stereotypes associated with them, personal, professional, and familial success in a foreign country cannot be guaranteed solely by individual efforts. Social and structural barriers, coupled with other challenges in accessing rights, which hinder migrants' adaptation and advancement within the new culture, need to be identified and perceived as experiences that also shape their humanity as they condition their existence in the world (ADICHIE, 2014).

Food, Care, and Food and Nutrition (In)Security

"You may ask me why I take care of the world.
It's because I was born tasked with it."

(Clarice Lispector, in Água Viva, our translation)

The arguments presented in the previous sections demonstrate that migrant women - especially poor, Black, and Indigenous women - face greater difficulties in the migratory and adaptation process compared to white migrants and male migrants. Additionally, in Latin America, a significant portion of these women have gradually taken on the role of head of household, as single mothers, assuming multiple responsibilities in sustaining their own lives and families. These responsibilities are primarily related to entering the workforce, reorganizing family nutrition, and other aspects observed from the perspective of the care economy.

According to a survey conducted across Brazil by the Data Popular Institute (2001), it is women who predominantly decide on the purchase of food, furniture, electronics, and even on the clothes their husbands wear. The study shows that 86% of Brazilian women are responsible for choosing the family's food. It is known that in Latin America, women are the managers of household food. Managing and deciding how the family eats is a powerful job that, although commonly undervalued, has cultural and economic impacts on society, affecting both markets and the formation of eating habits (MILLER, 2002).

In this context, it is undeniable that food, its accessibility, preparation, and eating habits within families play a crucial role in caregiving. Planning meals, managing household supplies, grocery shopping, cooking, and cleaning (Devault cited in Jung, 2017) consume a significant amount of time dedicated by women to domestic duties. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 3, the climate and environmental crisis has led to an increase in unpaid domestic labor performed by women worldwide. This includes tasks such as childcare, elderly care, housekeeping, and providing clean water and food for the family. These responsibilities may become even more demanding for women during the migration process, necessitating mobility, or even after the family has settled, as they adapt to a new culture.

Women in general, including migrants, are predominantly responsible for caring for their families, placing an additional burden on them, especially if there is inadequate support to balance domestic responsibilities with paid work. However, reflecting on women's involvement in food production and consumption systems requires looking at one aspect: reproduction is considered a sphere under women's responsibility, through the daily performance of domestic and care work. This is a naturalized view of femininity, linked to motherhood, and it defines what it means to be a woman in the world (FARIA, 2009). Furthermore, regarding roles, gender divisions, and inequalities, while migrant women, considering their various specificities, are at the forefront of care services for sustaining life, including those related to family food provision, on the other hand, these same women are the most exposed to food and nutritional insecurity, especially racialized women.

In Brazil, data presented by the II VIGISAN, based on a breakdown by race and gender, revealed that many individuals experiencing severe food insecurity live in households headed by Black women - individuals who self-identify as Brown or Black. Approximately, one in every five households headed by individuals self-identified as Brown or Black experiences hunger (17% and 20.6% respectively) - double the rate compared to households led by White individuals (10.6%). The situation becomes even more dire when considering skin color as a variable: 22% of households headed by self-identified Brown or Black women suffer from hunger, nearly double the rate of households led by White women (13.5%). The fact that food insecurity and hunger are greater among families led by Black individuals, especially Black

women, underscores the need to reaffirm the importance of an approach that promotes the intersection of racism and sexism in the structural formation of Brazilian society and the impact of this structure on migration-related issues.

As previously mentioned, hunger can be a significant driver of migration (BARCELOS, 2023). By the end of 2020, the number of forcibly displaced individuals worldwide reached 82.4 million, marking the largest recorded figure in history, equivalent to 1% of the global population. Approximately 80% of these individuals are in countries affected by severe food insecurity (BARCELOS, 2023). A survey conducted by the Nucleus for Studies and Research of the Brazilian Federal Senate in 2022 in border regions of the extreme north and south of Brazil revealed a clear trend: the majority of these migrants and refugees, experiencing some level of food insecurity, stated during the interview that they would stay in any city along the migration route if that city offered consistent access to food.

According to a report from the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (IACHR, as cited in Barcelos, 2023) presented in 2021 on the situation of refugees in Brazil, one of the primary challenges faced by foreigners forced to leave their countries and enter Brazil is food and nutritional insecurity, particularly in its most severe form: hunger. Thus, in addition to be a motivating factor for migration, food and nutritional insecurity also persist as ongoing challenges for migrants and refugee families.

It is observed that one of the main determinants of food insecurity is low income or poverty, which limits financial resources for food acquisition (RAMSEY; GISKES; TURRELL cited in JUNG, 2017). In this sense, women and girls are typically part of the primary group of people suffering the effects of food insecurity (SILIPRANDI, 2004). It is worth noting that gender also affects access to healthcare and nutritional outcomes, especially in societies where women face discrimination (DARNTON-HILL; WEBB; HARVEY, as cited in JUNG, 2017).

Gender inequality manifests in unequal patterns of food distribution and caregiving, where women and girls often receive fewer, particularly less nutritious, foods compared to men and boys within the family dynamic. Harriet Friedmann (1999) highlights that gender disparities can take various forms, including the uneven allocation of food and care responsibilities within households. Across many cultures worldwide, there exists a prevailing bias towards prioritizing men and boys in food distribution over women and girls. This underscores deeply ingrained cultural norms that reinforce the notion of men being more valuable and deserving of resources than women. Consequently, women and girls frequently receive smaller portions of food, particularly lacking in nutritious options like proteins, fruits, and vegetables (DEVAULT, 1991).

In the context of migration, additional factors contribute to food and nutritional insecurity. For instance, challenges arise in accessing suitable and healthy food due to language barriers, unfamiliarity with local food systems, and time constraints resulting from demanding work schedules. Moreover, migrant women encounter heightened levels of discrimination and social exclusion, constraining their access to formal, well-paying, and stable employment opportunities. Consequently, they often struggle with inadequate income to provide sufficient food for themselves and their families (BARCELOS, 2023).

When it comes to hunger and food insecurity, attention is drawn to situations that may be associated with the taboo surrounding the experience of hunger, which isn't always easily recognized or acknowledged. Hunger, particularly the concept of "hidden hunger" as described by Josué de Castro (1984), exposes the taboo that exists regarding this consequence of poverty within our society. Therefore, while invisibility surrounding caregiving work is typical in "normal" contexts where there's consistent access to food, in socially deprived environments, the efforts to access food resources may be even more concealed. Recognizing this, hunger must be addressed as a pervasive political and social issue in Brazil, ingrained structurally rather than merely emerging situationally, both in endemic and epidemic contexts (CASTRO, 1984).

When addressing the experience of hunger and food insecurity within migrant families, it's crucial to approach it with careful consideration from two angles: firstly, as a physiological, individual, and subjective experience that impacts both body and mind in the face of insecurity, shaping strategies for resilience. Secondly, as an objective and collective phenomenon, the violation of this right by States stems from political decisions that significantly reshape important cultural and agri-food systems aspects (See EBIA in SAGI, 2014).

An integrated approach to food production, reproduction, and consumption is crucial for comprehending the practices of migrant women, characterized by the gendered division of labor. This division often demands that they prioritize the care and sustenance of human life, leading to a considerable burden of work. Accepting this naturalized role, without recognizing it as a political and economic concern, paves the way for responses to the challenges faced by migrant women to originate primarily from market forces and their integration into them.

Diverse practice/Cultural eating

In this section, we address some issues related to the eating habits in the daily lives of migrant women and the potential intercultural dialogues of these practices around "food" with local contexts, in the migration and adaptation process. Firstly, our approach focuses on observing in this context the dynamics related to food access and their cultural

appropriateness as fundamental prerogatives of the Human Right to Adequate Food (VALENTE, 2002), as well as food sovereignty and security. Secondly, we aim to identify how the strategies, practices, and eating habits of migrant women impact and what are the consequences in the receiving society.

The definition of "eating habits," as explained by Fischler (1995), is a set of dietary rules dictated by culturally assigned classifications of food. According to the author, the eating habits of a people, group, or nation are expressed through their "cuisine." This "cuisine" holds meanings that primarily depend on how culinary rules are applied, rather than simply the combination of ingredients and techniques used in food preparation (FISCHLER, 1995). This means that, in a different, broader, and more specific sense, a people's cuisine pertains to the representations, beliefs, and practices associated with it, which are shared among individuals, thus forming part of a culture or group within this culture. Dietary practices and eating habits constitute privileged spaces for grasping certain processes through which social groups mark their distinction, recognize themselves, and are recognized by others. In other words, the ways in which they construct their social identities through "food."

According to Da Matta (1986), the meaning of "food" encompasses everything that is foodstuff. However, foodstuff includes only the "food" that "feeds," "nourishes the person's body," or that which is associated with the health of the body in a biological sense and, therefore, does not necessarily concern "taste." For Da Matta (1986), "foodstuff" always means what can be eaten in a more universal way, and "food" is characterized by establishing identity connections.

This means that "food" is not just a substance for sustenance, but also a manner, a style, and a way of eating. The way of eating defines not only what is consumed but also the one who consumes it. One dimension of this phenomenon is related to the construction of social/cultural identities. In the process of constructing, affirming, and reconstructing these identities, certain cultural elements (such as food) can become identity markers, appropriated and utilized by the group as diacritical signs, symbols of a claimed identity. Through the meanings attributed to "food," we understand the subjective aspect of eating (DA MATTA apud MIELNICZUK, 2004), or that which expresses identity, pleasure, habitus, and "taste."

It becomes necessary to engage in an examination that enables the elucidation of a knowledge system around food, whose access is associated with the conditions of existence that shape practices and perceptions inscribed in habitus. According to Pierre Bourdieu (1983), habitus is a social construct that perpetuates established frameworks over time, integrating past experiences into current thoughts and actions, while also remaining susceptible to modification

Above the body, where habitus is present, power relations are inscribed, reproducing the system of domination of society, unlike models that consider externally imposed values on social agents. Bourdieu (2015) analyzes tastes from a class perspective based on the analysis of French food consumption. He distinguishes between luxury tastes (or freedom tastes) and tastes of necessity, graphically organizing the following correlation: objectively classifiable conditions of existence (conditioning classes) and position in the structure of conditions of existence (structuring structure) ends conditioning habitus (structured and structuring structure) that engenders systems of schemes generating practices and acts of perception/appreciation ("taste") that constitute lifestyles, systems of practices classified and classifying of distinctive signs.

The economic and/or cultural capital is associated with the conditions of existence that, through food, construct systems of practices and acts of perception/appreciation of food and beverages that constitute lifestyles, thus determining the social systems of classification of material and symbolic order. The formation of taste is thus inscribed in a complex network of practices and perceptions that are articulated and processed both at the individual level (structuring) and at the collective level (marked by the context of socio-economic class conditions and contradictions that reiterate domination through canons relatively organized in a given culture) (BOURDIEU, 2001).

We affirm that when food is treated only or primarily in its biological condition, it excludes its social function of expressing individual and group identities and tastes in a cultural context. In this sense, it is not uncommon for the term "food" to be accompanied by a noun or adjective that gives it sense and meaning. Because in fact, there is no universal food. It is observed that the noun "food" in Brazil almost always comes with some complement that informs about identities, social roles, places, contexts, prohibitions, preferences, and tastes that are also identity markers. Such as "food of the poor" and "food of the rich," "children's food," "party food," "saint's food," "street food," "home-cooked food," "man's food," "woman's food," "vegan food," "real food," "fake food," among others.

Furthermore, the development of culinary traditions within any given community (whether at the national, regional, ethnic, or other level) is influenced by its unique historical context, shaping distinct paths of culinary evolution. Thus, when focusing on cuisines, it is necessary to take into consideration the historical-cultural process, contextualizing and particularizing its existence (MACIEL, 2005). In the context of migration, there are certain aspects worth considering that shed light on what could be described, to some extent, as "migrant cuisine," and its variations based on the nationality of the migrant, like "Venezuelan cuisine" or "Bolivian cuisine." This involves examining historical and cultural influences, places

of origin, means of access, and the repercussions of this cuisine in the communities where migrants settle.

It is important to emphasize that the meanings of food, especially those that express the identity of a social group - a central issue in the debate on food culture - are also prerogatives of food security and nutrition, rights, and citizenship. Eating habits are part of a cultural system full of symbols, meanings, and classifications, so that no food is detached from the cultural associations and meanings attributed to it by society. It is worth noting that such associations determine what we eat and drink, as well as what is edible and what is not. In this sense, food culture concerns what gives meaning to food choices and habits: social identities. Whether modern or traditional choices, food-related behavior is directly associated with the sense we confer on ourselves and our social, political, and citizen identity (BRAGA, 2004).

In order to locate and adjust the analysis categories we intend to use, it is necessary to consider some specificities of migrant, refugee, and internally displaced groups. Among these groups, there are peasant farmers, small family farmers, indigenous peoples, quilombola communities, riverside populations, and others who migrate due to climate-related issues, economic reasons, and difficulties in accessing land. Therefore, we highlight the importance of the relationship between this group of migrants and their original territories, which goes beyond mere land ownership. The territory is a vibrant space, imbued with meanings and symbols, where communities establish their cultural practices, social organization, and relationships. Through their relationship with the territory, traditional rural communities build their collective identity and strengthen their communal ties (BRANDÃO, 1981).

In an integrative review of the literature on forced migration, refugee issues, and nutrition, with a focus on food and nutrition security, published in the Journal of Collective Health in 2022, it becomes evident that the primary obstacles to accessing food and nutrition security for these population groups stem from integration challenges, notably highlighted by cultural issues, such as language and dietary practices.

When it comes to factors that could affect the attainment of culturally suitable food, several have been identified: the limited ability to preserve food freshness; challenges in obtaining and using familiar kitchen utensils and equipment; obstacles in traveling from residential areas to food vendors; lack of awareness about food sales locations and difficulties in understanding the new food environment; restricted access to culturally appropriate foods and lands for cultivating desired crops. Additionally, age, gender, and generational disparities, along with educational attainment, family size, and duration of residency in the host country,

all influence dietary behaviors. Furthermore, acculturation has led to a decline in family meals, shifts in shopping and meal patterns, and changes in social roles, such as increased female workforce participation, as well as struggles in accessing adequate health services and care.

On the other hand, the coping strategies identified to address hunger and food insecurity were deemed insufficient to permanently alter the situation. The most prominent strategies included borrowing money, accepting gifts or donations, and relying on social support networks. The research also identified some social programs targeting migrants and refugees, such as orientation services for newcomers, food vouchers, food fortification initiatives, and food distribution at food banks or churches. However, these programs were sporadic and did not provide a long-term perspective to ensure regular and permanent access to culturally appropriate food.

In the case of migrants and refugees in urban contexts, language difficulties pose the main obstacles to accessing food, whether for updating documentation, seeking employment, or enrolling in social programs. In this sense, food security policies appear to be insufficient to simultaneously address food scarcity (hunger) and issues stemming from inadequate dietary habits (leading to obesity and other diseases), recognizing the problem of hunger and food insecurity as multifaceted.

It becomes evident that basic rights, such as access to food, or rather, to nutritious and culturally appropriate meals, are not being guaranteed. In the current pattern, the diet for the poor, increasingly homogenized, revolves around carbohydrates, processed foods, and mass-produced items, while the wealthy benefit from food rich in experience and culture, sourced from controlled and organic origins (MARCHA MUNDIAL DAS MULHERES, 2008).

Considering the daily food experiences of migrants and refugees, using concepts like Food Security or Food Sovereignty mainly involves examining aspects related to preserving dietary habits as part of identity and cultural heritage, which is a central theme in the Food Sovereignty discourse. Recognizing that the ability to make dietary choices is essential for a dignified existence, we assert that culturally appropriate nutrition is a right for these individuals, families, and groups to affirm their belongingness within the same social fabric. Therefore, it's crucial to determine whether, during the migration process, conditions are ensured to maintain these dietary practices during adaptation and beyond, and what strategies are employed to safeguard this. Additionally, it's important to assess the impact of these strategies on the lives of migrant women and their social context.

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