

Intersectional violence, migrant women in Brazil and Brazilian women in Portugal during and after the COVID-19 pandemic

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Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has had diverse impacts on the lives of migrant women around the world, intensifying inequalities and multiplying intersectional violence. In Brazil, one of the countries that had the highest absolute number of deaths throughout the pandemic (RTVE, 2023), this scenario presented singular nuances. These impacts were present at all stages of displacement, linked to issues such as women's separation from families living at considerable distance and/or the absence of support networks, the lack of specific public policies for migrants, lack of documentation, xenophobia and racism, all which affected women's migration projects. In Portugal, Brazilian migrants have also felt the effects of these factors.

Under these circumstances, several dimensions of violence affected women. The concept of violence is "extremely unstable" (Das, 2008). Its definition and limits, as well as the recognition of victims, derive from particular political-social disputes. With the arrival of COVID-19 pandemic, existing limits were redefined, especially for populations occupying disadvantageous social positions. In this respect, it is essential to think about gender, race and nationality as categories that organize these disputes and the different ways in which violence manifests itself. These disputes take place in different areas and at various scales: in the realms of family and domesticity manifestations, through neighborhood networks and at state level.

In this briefing, we consider violence in its different dimensions in relation to the international mobility of women in Brazil and Brazilian women in Portugal. Violence appears as a structuring element that becomes noticeable in several aspects of the trajectories of migrant women. The intersectional nature of the inequalities experienced by them during the COVID-19 pandemic is expressed in the symbolic and material violence they suffer, including several aspects linked to their well-being and their mobility patterns.

Intersectional Violence

Intersectional violence is linked to the racial orders present in each country, influenced also by a country's colonial past (as a colonized or colonizing country). In Brazil, a country with a slave-owning past, these orders affect especially migrants from regions considered poor in the world, seen as black or of indigenous backgrounds. As an effect of Brazilian racial orders, the experiences of "black refugees", migrants from African countries and Haiti, are harsher than those of the "white refugees". The latter are most often Syrians, considered white in Brazil and who may have easier access to the job market (Branco Pereira, 2018). In Brazil, refugees perceived as black are immediately associated with the Brazilian black population, affected by spatial, social and racial segregation, with the addition of being foreign-born. According to Lobo & Machado (2020), the experience of refugees considered black is marked by radical social exclusion, determining the fact that these persons are often unable to stay in Brazil due to lack of employment and housing. In this context, women of certain nationalities seen as black and as indigenous suffer the effects of sexualized racialization.

In previous research (Piscitelli and Lowenkron, 2015; Ribeiro, 2021), we found that the manifestations of different forms of violence in the lives of migrant and refugee women went beyond what was characterized by state and civil society actors as domestic and family violence. It is important to highlight that this violence can appear even before displacement, acting as motivation to migrate. According to migrants' narratives, these motivations are compounded by other situations considered as equally or more damaging to their migratory journeys, such as the violence they suffer at borders and through bureaucratic state violence, permeated by racism and xenophobia. Lowenkron and Piscitelli's (2015) analysis of human trafficking regimes showed that, in the daily lives of migrant women, the threat of deportation is a form of violence that is more feared than the possibility of "sexual exploitation" at the borders. For the asylum seekers monitored by Ribeiro (2021),

the violence that occurred in the encounters between refugees and employees of state bureaucracies was much more than domestic violence, the topic they were encouraged to speak about in the projects organized by international agencies and social organizations.

Borders and intersectional violence during the COVID-19 pandemic

In Brazil, state attitudes towards migration have been heterogeneous. The intersectional, gendered, racialized/ethnicized and sexualized violence that has affected migrants at the borders during the COVID-19 pandemic and post-pandemic period cannot be separated from the effects of a renewed state concern with securitization¹. This unrest escalated in the political context of an extreme right-wing government².

The reformulation of interest in borders materialized in the government of President Dilma Rousseff (2011-2016), who was considered progressive, with the *National Strategic Border Plan or National Strategy for Public Security at Borders – ENAFRON*³ and became visible in measures aimed at managing transits between neighboring countries, activating the rhetoric of risk of human trafficking, with the declared aim of protecting human rights. However, during the Bolsonaro government, humanitarian discourses dissolved and this debate continued to be publicised from sectors of the state involved in plans to reinforce the prevention, control, surveillance and militarised repression of cross-border crimes, often associated with foreigners.

These measures have become particularly visible during the COVID-19 pandemic. During pandemic times, the expulsion and confinement processes of foreigners in Brazilian territory gained visibility, when health barriers were created in border cities. In 2020, federal ordinances that restricted crossing land borders led to a 969% increase in the number of deportations compared to the previous year (Obmigra, 2020), something unusual in Brazil's recent history. Since the beginning of 2020,

thirty-three ordinances have been published providing for "exceptional and temporary measures for entry into the country"⁴.

Land borders were closed while the almost unrestricted opening of Brazilian air borders continued, reinforcing the selectivity of the subjects of migratory transits in the country. These restrictions, non-admissions and expulsions, violent in themselves, provoked even more violence, forcing migrants to enter Brazil through irregular paths, which pose a greater risk, particularly for women and girls, as the middlemen were reported to demand sexual favors as a form of payment. The violence spread to cities in the border region of the North of Brazil, particularly to the state of Roraima. Investigative media denounced the violence, including state violence, marked by gender, race and nationality, to which Venezuelan migrants were subjected, also in shelters managed by the military.

In 2021, under one of the restrictive ordinances, hooded and armed Federal Police invaded a refugee shelter in Pacaraima, exclusively occupied by Venezuelan women and children. The invasion resulted in the attempted mass deportation of people sheltered there, and the imprisonment of a nun who managed the shelter on charges of "crimes against public health". At the time, the nun told a journalist that she felt "like a drug dealer", given the treatment she received from the Federal Police, which was perceived as criminalization. The use of security forces indicates the attempt to delegitimize and frighten people who provide humanitarian support to the Venezuelan migrants (Fernandes and Oliveira, 2021).

During the pandemic period, with the closure of land borders, the movements of migrant and refugee women in Brazil was greatly impacted, either due to the impossibility of migrating and leaving situations of violence, or due to the search for alternative routes for cross-border travel. On these routes, as Rigirozzi et al. (2023) pointed out, many women traveled alone and with their children, and were exposed to situations of humiliation and physical, psychological and sexual violence.

Reports from international agencies such as UNODC (2021), indicate an increase in situations of vulnerability to human trafficking at borders during the COVID-19 pandemic. Difficulties related to supervision and reporting of traffickers faced during this period contributed to such vulnerabilities to human trafficking. In Brazil, interest in human trafficking is often the result of external demands, especially from international organizations (Sprandel, 2016). Piscitelli et al. (2021) pointed out that the dissemination of these regimes on a local scale also responds to the logics and interests of specific agents, with the appropriation of this language deployed in particular ways and in different contexts. A substantial part of the work that addresses the issue is concerned with the articulation between regimes to combat human trafficking and anti-prostitution initiatives. Studies evidence that the language of protection of human rights used by these regimes ends up, in practice, strengthening security actions that repress prostitution and makes more difficult the movement of migrants across borders, intensifying violence against migrants. These academic perspectives also emphasise that anti-trafficking regimes, despite the rhetoric of protecting victims, offer little protection to people identified as victims of this crime (Kempadoo, 2016; Piscitelli, 2013; Piscitelli and Lowenkron, 2015).

The facilitation of irregular migration, in this context, starts to be treated as a correlation or even a modality of human trafficking. Regarding this association, Piscitelli (2021) explored the mobility of Haitian nationals from the 2010s onwards, and Venezuelans afterwards, showing how the links between migration and trafficking of people were made more forcefully in Brazil since. This has been expressed since as a greater concern with border control bringing migration increasingly closer to the notion of crime (Olivar, 2015; Piscitelli et al., 2021). Piscitelli et al. (2021) also draw attention to formulation of the new Brazilian human trafficking law, which includes the category of “slave labour” in the classification of human trafficking. Thus, in recent years, the discussion about human trafficking and “slave labour” begins to consider other mobilities and different modes of labour exploitation in the urban context. One example was the case

of women from the Philippines subjected to slave labour in São Paulo homes from the year 2017 onwards. These relationships challenge the notion that trafficking is only practiced by networks of transnational criminals, given that contractors of domestic work are upper-class families living in luxury condominiums (Ferreira, 2022).

This was the situation of Chara, Jahzara and Anette, three Ethiopian women whose trajectories could have been included in the victim figures provided by the law, to combat human trafficking in Brazil. The three arrived in Brazil with their employers, coming from Lebanon, where they had migrated with the intention of working as maids. They were all deceived, thinking that they would come to Brazil on holiday. After arrival, they discovered that they would not return to Lebanon, but be subject to labour exploitation. They all worked without days off, without fair pay, with no contacts in Brazil and without speaking Portuguese. Two also had their passports confiscated. Having suffered physical and psychological violence at work, none of them were interested in seeking recognition as victims of human trafficking. Their justifications ranged from “fear of the police” to the inability to identify the people who exploited them and provide evidence of the exploitation.

Several situations of violence, such as physical, sexual and psychological abuse, in addition to human trafficking, are directly linked to precarious conditions such as lack of housing and employment, labour informality, hunger and poverty, lack of access to care services and protection and migratory irregularity (Ministry of Health et al., 2022). Research carried out in cities in the North of Brazil indicate that Venezuelan women reported psychological, physical and sexual violence in their homes and workplaces. Sexualized Venezuelan women and teenage girls reported constant approaches from men on the streets, with sexual proposals, as men believe that they had come to Brazil to work as sex workers.

Institutional violence experienced by migrant women during the COVID-19 pandemic

The difficulty in accessing public services and institutional violence perpetrated by state agents are key concerns raised by migrants and refugees in Brazil. In addition to the increase in the number of deportations and expulsions during the COVID-19 pandemic (Villarreal et al., 2020), this violence was manifested in instances of racism and xenophobia experienced by migrants during medical appointments and in preventing access to social benefits, such as emergency aid (Salati, 2020). The financial benefits offered by the government during the pandemic to which people in extreme social vulnerability would be entitled was often refused in the case of migrants.

Women also suffered violence in terms of access to healthcare. Organizations that work with migrant groups have long denounced practices of exclusion and discrimination suffered by migrant women, especially in cases of obstetric violence. Brazil has emerged as the country with the highest number of maternal deaths due to COVID-19, with a fatality rate of 7% for the migrant group, more than double the country's fatality rate at that time, which was less than 3% for the general population (Fiocruz, 2021).

Investigative journalism narratives draw attention to alarming aspects of the violence suffered by Venezuelan migrants in the northern region of the country. According to this information, professionals from the protection network said they had to assist girls and women who were victims of rape in the shelters. In these cases, if there is a pregnancy, abortion is permitted by Brazilian legislation and must be provided through the Unified Health System, free of charge. There are plans to establish reference services for abortion in public hospitals that have a multidisciplinary team for medical, psychological and social assistance. Access to this right, however, is still very restricted. Many regions of the country do not have any referral services and those that offer the service lack the structures and personnel to carry out procedures. There is also enormous resistance to abortion in Brazilian

society, for moral and religious reasons, which means that many health professionals refuse to perform the procedure. Women who seek these services continue to suffer institutional violence in health units. The right to abortion in these cases, as well as the existence of care services for women victims of sexual violence, has not been publicized within the scope of Operação Acolhida⁵, although it can be activated if the woman requests it. This has made the abortion of unwanted pregnancies resulting from sexual violence among Venezuelan adolescents and women unfeasible, intensifying processes of violence.

The cases of institutional violence perpetrated by the Brazilian justice system against negatively racialized migrants and refugees are also significant. This year, a Togolese refugee, Falilatou Sarouna, was sentenced to 11 years in prison for fraud. Bank accounts were opened in her name as a result of her falling victim to online sentimental fraud, and the accounts were then used to deposit money from scams. The woman was provisionally detained for 6 months without a trial, which violates Brazilian law. During the trial, no translation was offered (she did not speak Portuguese) and the facts that she can not read or write and the signature on the application to opening the accounts was not hers were ignored.

In the assessment of many migrant women, especially those who have children or are single mothers, they are often perceived and treated as a “problem” by state actors. Many women experience challenges in entering the job market, require specialist support, access public services more and tend to be in a situation of greater vulnerability. Furthermore, the perception is that during the pandemic the demands of migrants and the issue of xenophobia were not considered in the institutional protocols established by governments, and issues such as the impact of irregular migrants were not considered in the measures adopted, for example in relation to difficulties in accessing social benefits. These gaps continue to exist post-pandemic.

Domestic violence (DV) against migrant women in Brazil

In 2006, after years of debate, popular mobilization and studies, Brazil enacted Law No. 11,340, known as “Maria da Penha Law”. The legislation, although considered one of the most advanced in the world for combating domestic and family violence, still does not have full applicability regarding preventing DV, due to the lack of public policies to help curb this serious aggression. According to data from the World Health Organization (WHO), Brazil ranked fifth in female murder rates in 2017, out of the 83 countries for which statistics were available.

International organizations have highlighted an increase in requests for help in services aimed at victims of DV across the world during the pandemic. While cases increased, however, during the period, the number of police reports decreased. The same was observed in the Brazilian case. Between the months of April-June 2020, the Brazilian Public Security Forum released three technical notes (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2020a) which reported a drop in police records of intentional bodily injury, threats and rape. However, femicides and homicides of women increased significantly during the period, which indicates an increase in conflicts.

The 2020 Brazilian Public Security Yearbook (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2020b) noted an increase in calls registered as DV to 190, compared to the first half of 2019. In this regard, data on the drop in registrations by the police, faced with those who pointed out an increase in lethal violence and calls from services aimed at women who are victims of violence indicated that women were having more difficulties in reporting rather than a decrease in violence. Research carried out by the Brazilian Public Security Forum and the Datafolha Research Institute (Lima et al., 2021) showed that 1 in 4 Brazilian women over the age of 16 stated that they had suffered some type of violence or aggression during the first year of the COVID-19 pandemic. This means that around 17 million women suffered physical, psychological or sexual violence that year. In total, 51% of Brazilians

reported having seen a woman suffer some type of violence throughout 2020.

In the same report in 2020, women also reported higher levels of stress at home during the pandemic (51% compared to 37% for men), in addition to spending more time at home than men. Among women who suffered violence, living conditions were more precarious, with 62% of women who suffered violence stating that their family income had decreased. Among those who did not suffer violence, this percentage was 50%. From the women who reported violence, 47% said they had lost their jobs, while the average among those who did not suffer violence was 29%. It was also found that younger women and black women suffered more violence. In total, 35% of women aged 16-24 reported having experienced some type of violence, compared to 29% of women aged 25-34 and 24% of women aged 35-44. Black women also experienced higher levels of violence (28%) than brown women (25%) or white women (23%). When it comes to sexual harassment, race also appears to be a significant marker. In the sample, 52% of black women said they had suffered harassment in the first 12 months of the pandemic, compared to 41% of brown women and 30% of white women. In cases of violence, 73% of the perpetrators were known to the women, often being their spouses, partners or boyfriends. In this aspect, the decline in complaints mentioned above occurred mainly in relation to women who suffered violence on the streets. While in 2017, 39% of women had suffered violence on the street, this percentage decreased to 19% in 2020. On the other hand, violence at home increased from 43% in 2017 to 49% in 2020.

The drop in police reports has been related to social isolation measures, which required women to remain indoors, often with their aggressor, which made reporting more difficult. Furthermore, the literature on the subject found that the main causes for the increase in cases of DV were restrictions on institutional and family support networks for women, the decrease in their family income, the increase in time spent together by families at home and increased control over women’s lives, increased stress levels and alcohol consumption (Vieira et al., 2020; Marques et al, 2020).

With regard specifically to migrant women, there are no official or statistically datasets. It was observed, however, that this type of violence was also present in domestic and care dynamics among migrant and refugee women, who were significantly affected during the COVID-19 pandemic. According to a UNHCR report (2020), many migrant women workers in informal sectors had their sources of income dramatically affected, which increased their social vulnerabilities, but also reinforced situations of food insecurity and economic dependence. Furthermore, the need for social isolation to avoid infection by the virus meant that many migrant women were confined with their aggressors, increasing cases of domestic violence. Many women were also far from their families and other support networks, which made reporting and breaking these cycles difficult. Added to this is the fact that, as Morales (2004) points out, migrant and refugee women are less likely to seek help from authorities when exposed to situations of violence, due to factors such as the language barrier, fear of revictimization or judgment, distrust of state services and fear of deportation or reprisal.

The work trajectories of Bolivian women in Brazil, and specifically in the city of São Paulo, are an example in this sense. Work in clothes making is organized through subcontracting networks, which facilitate their migration and entry into the informal job market, but also constrain their mobility and can lead to labour exploitation. The workshops are spaces in which husbands, cousins, brothers, friends and acquaintances are also those who invite and entice the women, pay and can also exploit them. In this space, relationships are given new meanings, highlighting new hierarchies of gender, race, and nation. Conflict and violence in personal and family relationships overlap with various other forms of violence related to labour exploitation. Figueiredo and Rocha (2021) describe trajectories in which situations of human trafficking, slavery and violence intertwine. In one of the stories narrated, a couple from Bolivia came to Brazil through friends, with the promise of working in a clothing factory. When they arrived in São Paulo, the salary, working and living conditions were different from what was promised. The couple left the initial employment and set up their own

sewing shop, working on their own, a situation in which the husband started to subject his wife to a regime of labour exploitation. The authors point out that the employment relationship did not consist of a mere relationship between employer and employee, but “between affectionate, autonomous companions, who work in the informal market, in hierarchical conditions of exploitation and subordination” (p.315).

Throughout the pandemic period, there were no specific public policies aimed at curbing violence against migrant women in Brazil. Failing this, migrant groups and associations needed to find solutions in their communities. Media sources (Modelli, 2020) announced the creation of a support network for migrant women who were victims of DV in the East Zone of the city of São Paulo. Through WhatsApp, migrant women who worked in sewing workshops received requests for help and offered help to victims of violence. Among the 180 women participating in the network, 41 reported being victims of psychological domestic violence and another 23 women reported having suffered physical violence. Women also stated that family environments that were already violent before the pandemic became more aggressive due to the lack of work and money, given the closure of sewing workshops. They also pointed out the full-time interaction of family members at home as an aggravating factor.

Brazilian legislation provides women who are victims of DV with the emergency removal of the aggressor from the home in cases of threat to the woman’s physical integrity, in addition to women’s access to shelters maintained by the public authorities. However, there is no provision in legislation or even at public policy level for specific shelters for migrant and refugee women victims of violence, as well as for women victims of human trafficking. Migrant women are, in practice, sent either to shelters for women victims of DV, which seek to guarantee their physical integrity through anonymity, or to shelters that welcome migrant people (both mixed and specific for women). In this case, there is no guarantee of psychological care or even physical protection against the aggressors. In previous research, we have seen cases of

physical aggression within migrant shelters run by religious organizations, as well as abusive husbands who discovered where their wives were and came to the shelters.

Violence against Brazilian migrants in Portugal

Portugal is one of the main destinations for Brazilian immigrants in the world, being the largest community of foreign-born nationals in the country⁶. According to França and Padilla (2018), from 2016 onwards, there was a change in the profiles of Brazilian immigrants to Portugal. The authors point to an increased diversity of Brazilian migrants, including migrants with high levels of professional qualification, academic training and entrepreneurship and also retired Brazilian citizens, who sought greater security (see also Gaspar and Iorio, 2022). These migrants do not go through the same hardships as other, lower skilled migrants, who may have little material resources, face racism and discrimination, in conjunction with xenophobia and gender issues. These are constant concerns for Brazilian women, as documented by organizations supporting migrants and debated in the media, especially via social networks.

Understanding these racisms requires considering the racial orders present in Portugal, constituted through a Portuguese imperial history. According to Machado (2003), this history contains the idea that Brazil is like an “older brother” in relation to the African colonies. When Brazilians arrive in Portugal through recent migrations, they faced the shock of being marked by other racial orders in Portugal, particularly those considered white in Brazil. Women realized that they were racialized for being Brazilian, regardless of their skin color and their social class and also sexualized.

Among the measures to regularize the situation of foreign-born nationals in Portugal during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Immigration and Borders Service (SEF) extended the deadline for migrants to renew their residence permits, visas, and documents, if these were to expire before 24th February 2020, validating them until 31st December 2021 (Decree-Law no. 22-A/202). The Portuguese government’s measures were

praised in the media, considered “an example of humanitarian action”, recognizing equal rights between migrants and Portuguese citizens and facilitating access to health services and emergency basic income. With the measure, foreign-born residents were in a legal situation with the authorities and had access to the same rights as all citizens, including use of the healthcare system, social and financial support from the state.

Despite these legal protections, the reality of Brazilian women in Portugal was however one of countless difficulties during the pandemic period, especially in relation to accessing public health services and renewing documentation. Most attributed this difficulty to their nationality. In a flagrant case of institutional violence, one Brazilian student stated that she was told by a health worker that Brazilians were a burden for the Portuguese state, which she attributes to the increase in the number of Brazilians in Portugal. She was also told to seek the university’s health services, as she was a student, which did not happen to her Portuguese colleagues. Brazilian women in Portugal also identified a perception of Brazilian women as “coming to Portugal to steal husbands”, as has been reported before (Gomes, 2018; Dias and Ramos, 2019; Costa and Ruviano, 2020). These perceptions are strongly linked to xenophobia and racial discrimination, reviving old slogans – “go back to the favela”; “Portugal is white”, “Black people, go back to Africa!” (Piscitelli and Beleli, 2022).

Understanding these racisms requires considering the racial orders in force in Portugal, constituted from a Portuguese imperial history. According to Machado (2003), this story contains the idea that Brazil is like an “older brother” in relation to the African colonies. The persistent imaginary that associates Brazilian women with a colonial, hypersexualized and available body marks the experience of migrants (Padilla, 2008; Gomes, 2013). The impact of colonialism on the construction of a global gender order created a colonial imaginary associated with the erotic and the exotic, encouraging violence against women in the colonies. This stereotype, which has long been reproduced by the media (Pontes, 2004), has been exposed by social media, initiating

discussions among migrants through websites, blogs and investigative journalism. Some institutional discourses reproduce elements of the imaginary of hypersexualization of Brazilian women: “it is a body that, for SEF, needs to be controlled and convinced that it is ‘not for sale’” (Gomes, 2018).

The stereotypes of Brazilian women, linked to hypersexualized images (Assis y Siqueira, 2021; Beleli, 2012; Gomes, 2011) have repercussions on the insertion of Brazilian immigrants into the job market, but also on their everyday lives. Nationality, initially detected by “speaking Brazilian”, had long been a factor of distrust, leading for example to not renting properties to Brazilians. In this context, being “morena” (brown) could be a factor in increasing discrimination, including for those who are in the country to study, financed by Brazilian or Portuguese scholarships. Women and institutions helping or representing them have become thus targets of attacks. During the pandemic period, institutions supporting migrants suffered attacks, such as Casa do Brasil, being targeted through far-right pages with hate speech (Udupa, 2020), endorsing the idea that Brazilians burden the Portuguese state, used as justification to develop further violent policies against immigration.

Conclusion

In summary, the COVID-19 pandemic has intensified inequalities and intersectional situations of violence in Brazil, particularly among migrant and refugee women. Among the various dimensions of violence that affected migrants during this period, state violence, institutional violence and domestic-family violence stood out. Considering the racial orders present in Brazil, as a colonized country, migrants and refugees from poor regions of the world were more intensely affected by intersectional violence during the pandemic.

Such inequalities are also evident in the Brazil-Portugal relations, considering the significant presence of Brazilian women in the European country. Racism and sexualization associated with the nationality and “color” attributed to Brazilian women in Portugal deeply mark their

experiences in Portugal, indicating that the analysis of different forms of violence that affect women cannot be done without an intersectional perspective. This also needs to lead to further development of policies that tackle inequalities experienced by women at state, local and family level.

The GEN-MIGRA Project is jointly funded under the Trans-Atlantic Platform for Social Sciences and Humanities (T-AP). Bringing together researchers and practitioners from four countries- Brazil, Germany, Poland and the United Kingdom- it researches the impact of the pandemic on migrant women and their families. Find out more at: www.genmigra.org

Footnotes

¹ Processes in which some politicized issues, such as flows of unwanted migrants, are perceived as threats and security issues. (Viana Silva Corderro, 2019)

² We refer to the period of government of Jair Messias Bolsonaro, from 01/01/2018 to 01/01/2022, replaced by that of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva, considered progressive.

³ ENAFRON was established by the Federal Government by Decree No. 7,496 of 2011, revoked by Decree 8,903 of 16th November 2016. The Plan is defined as a “set of policies and projects of the Federal Government, which aims to improve the perception of security public relations with society and guarantee the permanent presence of police and inspection institutions in the border region of Brazil, optimizing the prevention and repression of cross-border crimes” (2011, p.6).

⁴ The Federal Government’s framework of normative acts on COVID-19 can be consulted at: http://www.planalto.gov.br/ccivil_03/Portaria/quadro_portaria.htm In 2020, 23 ordinances were published relating to entry into the country. In 2021, 9 other ordinances were issued and in 2022, one ordinance followed- ordinance 666/2022, which remains in force.

⁵ Task Force launched by the federal government in 2018, which includes the Armed Forces, UN agencies, civil society organizations and private entities.

⁶ According to data from the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF), the Brazilian population in Portugal has increased from 85,426 to 204,694 between 2017 and 2021. <https://www.sef.pt/pt/Pages/homepage.aspx> Data from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Brazil point to an even higher number of 360,000 in 2022 <https://www.gov.br/mre/pt-br>.

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