



ISSN:1984-2295

Revista Brasileira de Geografia Física

Homepage: <https://periodicos.ufpe.br/revistas/rbgfe>



Environmental refuge: a perspective of the economic context and legal recognition

Viviany Christine Rodrigues da Silva Cabral¹, Edvânia Torres Aguiar Gomes², João Pinto Cabral Neto³, Vanessa Alexandra de Melo Pedroso⁴, Luís Alberto de Lima⁵, Jocilia de Oliveira Rodrigues⁶

¹Professor at Autarquia Educacional do Belo Jardim; PhD student in the Postgraduate Program in Law – PPGD/UNICAP; e-mail: vivianycrodrigues@gmail.com. ²Professor at Universidade Federal de Pernambuco; Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Development and Environment – PRODEMA/UFPE; e-mail: torres@ufpe.br. ³Professor at Instituto Federal de Alagoas; e-mail: cabralneto7@hotmail.com. ⁴Professor at Universidade Católica de Pernambuco; Professor of the Postgraduate Program in Law – PPGD/UNICAP; e-mail: vanessa.pedroso@unicap.br. ⁵Professor at Universidade Estadual do Rio Grande do Norte; e-mail: luisalberto@uern.br. ⁶Professor at Instituto Federal de Alagoas; e-mail: jociliarodrigues@hotmail.com.

Artigo recebido em 06/02/2023 e aceito em 18/09/2023

ABSTRACT

The environmental refuge concept is becoming increasingly important as the climate change effects and environmental degradation become more severe. Addressing these challenges is becoming increasingly urgent, both to prevent further displacement and to support those who have already been affected. In this way, the research proposes to deepen the discussion about the environmental refuge, observing the legal recognition and, the economic context reflections from the analysis of some Brazilian refuge cases. Therefore, the following were carried out: the analysis of the term refugee in Portuguese, English, Spanish, French, Italian and German, in order to demonstrate the etymological meaning in each language mentioned; the analysis of legal texts and official documents; in addition to the economic context analysis, based on situations such as the cyclical phenomenon of drought in the Brazilian Northeast and the environmental accidents that occurred in the cities of Mariana/MG and Brumadinho/MG. As main results, in addition to the general contextualization of the refuge situation, the research revealed that the legal diplomas conceptualize the refuge only under its most primitive definition, established in the Convention on the Status of Refugees, without major innovations. Thus, the refuge from the environmental perspective ends up not appearing in official legal instruments. And, from the cases analyzed, it was found that the economic aspect of the affected regions is shown as a decisive and essential element of the displacements. Therefore, the discussion about political and social issues that potentiate damage to the environment should receive special attention in the refuge's agenda, in order to reinforce the connection between environmental refuge and economic vulnerability.

Keywords: Migrations. Environmental Refuge. Human Rights. Economic Vulnerability.

Refúgio ambiental: uma perspectiva do contexto econômico e reconhecimento jurídico

RESUMO

O conceito de refúgio ambiental está se tornando cada vez mais importante à medida que os efeitos das mudanças climáticas e da degradação ambiental se tornam mais graves. O enfrentamento a esses desafios vem se tornando mais urgentes, tanto para evitar mais deslocamentos, quanto para apoiar aqueles que já foram afetados. Desta forma, a pesquisa em questão se propõe a aprofundar a discussão acerca do refúgio ambiental, com observância ao reconhecimento jurídico e, aos reflexos do contexto econômico a partir da análise de alguns casos brasileiros de refúgio. Para tanto, foram realizadas: a análise do termo refugiado nas línguas portuguesa, inglesa, espanhola, francesa, italiana e alemã, a fim de demonstrar inicialmente o significado etimológico da palavra em cada idioma citado; a análise de textos legais e documentos oficiais; além da análise do contexto econômico, tomando como base situações como o fenômeno cíclico da seca no Nordeste brasileiro e os acidentes ambientais ocorridos nas cidades de Mariana/MG e Brumadinho/MG. Como principais resultados, além da contextualização geral da situação de refúgio, a pesquisa revelou que os diplomas legais conceituam o refúgio apenas sob sua definição mais primitiva, disposta na Convenção Relativa ao Estatuto dos Refugiados, sem grandes atualizações. Assim, o refúgio pela ótica ambiental acaba não figurando em instrumentos jurídicos oficiais. E, a partir dos casos analisados, constatou-se que o aspecto econômico das regiões atingidas mostra-se

2811

como elemento decisivo e essencial dos deslocamentos. Portanto, a discussão acerca das questões político-sociais que potencializam danos ao meio ambiente, devem receber atenção especial na agenda relativa ao refúgio, de modo a reforçar a conexão entre refúgio ambiental e vulnerabilidade econômica.

Palavras-chave: Migrações. Refúgio Ambiental. Direitos Humanos. Vulnerabilidade Econômica.

Introduction

Human displacement has occurred since the beginning of civilization. Nomadic communities sought new places to establish themselves whenever conditions in the environment became disadvantageous. With the advent of new models of production and development, marked by an exacerbatedly capitalist vision and the imposition of accelerated production by states, in order to meet the dominant economic models, environmental issues across the planet are worsening. Imbalances that reflect mainly in nature are perceived, promoting changes that require special attention from governments and the community in general (Corella, 2021; Cabral et al., 2022).

The constant exploitation of nature by man, irrationally and absent from sustainable planning, causes environmental disasters that generate implications far beyond the place where environmental damage is verified. Moreover, nature is not the only one to suffer the consequences of the unbridled exploitation of natural resources, as well as the insufficient treatment of natural environments: man is also the victim of negative environmental impacts. As discussed by Garbini et al. (2020), the notion of sustainable development loses ground for a race for progress dictated by capital, where the environment suffers losses.

Climate change perceived over the years, as well as changes in natural environments, in Costa's words (2011), "put humanity facing the question of the very survival of the human species, as it produces effects and disasters on ecosystems, causing irreparable damage (...)". In view of the impossibility of the permanence of the populations due to the irreparability of the damage, a new class of people who are forced to leave their places of origin emerges: environmental refugees.

The discussion about environmental refugees, in addition to an environmental issue, has a social and political character, since the refuge caused by environmental changes not only entails the change of geographical environment, but, above all, social, cultural and economic and subject displaced populations to situations of abandonment or difficulties of insertion in public policies that may exist or executed in the localities to which they migrate (Sales and Oliveira, 2019).

The term "environmental refugee" is not currently recognized by international law as a distinct legal category of refugees. Refugees are defined by the 1951 Convention on Refugees as people who are persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinions, and who therefore cannot or do not want to return to their origin country.

Although the issue of environmental refugees is gaining more attention and concern, there is still no clear legal definition or set of rights and protections for these people. Some countries have offered humanitarian aid and assistance to environmental refugees on a voluntary basis, but there is no legal obligation to protect them or provide them with refugee status.

The disregard of other categories of refugees in addition to those listed in the official documents reflects a limited approach to the concept, as well as a deeply narrow view of the subject. Relating refuge only to formally recognized situations means charting a single path to a situation that presents several particularities and nuances, considering that it involves environmental, social, political, economic and human dignity issues, factors that are not static and should not be analyzed from a single perspective. In view of this panorama, there is a need to analyze the possible relationship between environmental factors and human displacement.

Therefore, the research in question aims at discussing the legal recognition of the environmental refuge, as well as the influence of the economic context, based on situations such as the cyclical phenomenon of drought in northeastern Brazil and environmental accidents in the cities of Mariana/MG and Brumadinho/MG.

The involuntary displacement of populations

Human mobility takes different forms, ranging from voluntary migration to predominantly forced displacement. In the period between 2008 and 2016, on average more than 25 million people were displaced each year in the context of meteorological phenomena, sudden and extreme disasters, and geophysical as earthquakes (IDMC, 2017).

Forced displacements are increasing significantly around the world. Currently, it is estimated that every second a person suffers from forced displacement due to disasters. It should also be

emphasized that, if threats of slow evolution, such as droughts, are considered, the number of displacements may be much higher. The displaced population involuntarily increased worldwide in 2017 by more than 2.9 million people (UNHCR, 2017).

According to data from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), developing regions in 2017 took in an average of 85% of refugees from around the world. The least developed countries gave asylum to a higher proportion of around a third of the refugee population. It is important to note that these figures include refugees formally recognised in the face of documents and legislation. The displacements due to phenomena not included in the Convention on the Status of Refugees - CRER, are not included in this statistic.

The Organization of African Unity (OAU) gathered through its Heads of State and Government in September 1969, agreed on the specific aspects of refugee problems on the African continent. Based on the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees, as well as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the 1969 Convention innovated by recognizing the need to address refugee problems in an essentially humanitarian manner, in order to find a solution on the African continent. It also sought to “establish a distinction between a refugee who seeks to lead a normal and peaceful life and a person who flees his country with the sole purpose of fomenting subversion from abroad”, making it clear that refuge is recognized only to those who have peaceful interests in the establishment in a location other than their origin (Sharpe, 2019).

The OAU Convention favors the humanitarian aspect and expands the chances of refuge beyond the Geneva Convention provisions. A refugee, according to this document, is an individual who fits the hypotheses provided in the CRER, or even one who, due to aggression, external occupation, foreign domination or events that seriously disturb public order in part or in full origin country or the country of which he is a national, leaves his place of habitual residence in order to seek cross-border refuge.

The innovative criteria contained in this Convention corroborate the transition from an individual perspective to a collective perspective of refugee protection, which highlights its humanitarian character. The situation of the individual, which is the focus of CRER, in the African Convention gives way to the analysis of the political situation in the origin State of the asylum seeker, taking into account social

factors, economic indices and institutional stability of the origin country (Sharpe, 2019).

The Declaration of Cartagena de Indias (DCI), an instrument that deals with the protection of refugees in the American continent, was adopted on November 22, 1984, in the homonymous city, in Colombia (Andrade, 2019). The document resulted from an international meeting called “Colloquium on International Protection of Refugees in Central America, Mexico and Panama: Legal and Humanitarian Problems”, promoted by UNHCR, the Government of Colombia and the Center for Regional Studies of the Third World (CERTM).

Faced with the sharp increase in the number of refugees in Central America, the Cartagena Colloquium (1984) highlighted the importance of an internal instrument established in harmony with the external refugee protection system.

Thus, reaffirming the importance of the CRER and the 1967 Protocol, the Colloquium recommended that countries in the region that had not yet adopted the CRER and the 1967 Protocol, that they do so, promoting the necessary constitutional changes. In addition, underscored the importance of establishing the necessary internal mechanisms to apply the provisions of the aforementioned Convention and Protocol, when accession is verified (Andrade, 2019).

The refugee conception was expanded in the Cartagena Declaration, as it had already occurred in the OAU Convention. Faced with the mass influx of refugees in Central America, the observance of human rights was highlighted in the DCI text.

It can be seen that this definition has a broader nature than that provided in CRER and in the 1967 Protocol, following what is already contained in the African Convention, but with two major innovations: the mention of the possibility of persecution fear, as a result of a “generalized violence” situation and the prediction that the fear may be justified on the grounds of a massive human rights violation. In addition to a broader conceptualization, the DCI was also concerned with the refugees situation in their reception places.

As Salles et al. (2019) explains, despite not being an instrument capable of generating a legal obligation for the States with regard to compliance with its terms, the DCI has become an important instrument that has implemented a solid political basis for understanding and conceptualization of who is effectively considered a refugee in the region. Given its importance, the DCI has been effectively incorporated into the legal system of the adopting

American States, always following the discretion of each one.

Migrations

According to Gonçalves (2001), "migrations tend to appear as the visible side of invisible phenomena." The author stresses that the migratory context precedes or follows profound changes, either from an economic or political point of view, or linked to social or cultural aspects.

According to Silva and Xavier (2022), immigration is directly related to the conditions of development of capitalism and results from constraints. Capitalism is an economic system that is based on the production and accumulation of wealth through private property and free markets. In this system, companies seek to maximize their profits and expand their businesses, often through the exploitation of natural resources and human labor.

Migration, on the other hand, is the people movement from one place to another, usually in search of better economic, social, or political opportunities. In the capitalism context, migration is often motivated by economic inequality between countries and regions, with people leaving poor areas with few opportunities in search of better jobs and living conditions.

However, capitalism can also be responsible for negative forms of migration, as companies seek cheap labor and exploit immigrant workers without labor and social guarantees. Additionally, the search for natural resources in remote areas can lead to the expulsion of traditional communities and environmental degradation, forcing people to migrate.

In summary, the relationship between capitalism and migration is complex and multifaceted, and involves both positive and negative aspects. Capitalism can generate economic and social opportunities for people, but it can also be responsible for inequalities and injustices that drive people to migrate in search of a better life.

The political and economic aspects of migration are based on processes of expropriation and exploitation, which involve contradictory interests, following the convenience of large landowners, who sometimes encourage immigration in search of cheap labor but, depending on the movement of the workers' policy, begin to induce migration, since there is no interest in keeping a working class politically engaged: disposal meets landowners' interests (Dias and Tassigny, 2021).

Thus, migrations and displacements are not isolated phenomena, but are inserted within a political and economic context that seeks to perpetuate the power of a dominating class (Vettorassi and Amorim, 2021). Capitalist interests are placed ahead of the interests of the populations and, despite being coated by an individual's spontaneity in seeking new living conditions in a locality different from its origin, the migratory act maintains its character covered with forced act. For this reason, it is imperative to analyze displacements beyond conceptual formalisms.

Material and methods

The present research was developed under the hypothetical method - deductive, with a dialectical approach. Dialectics is a word that comes from the *Greek term dialektiké* and means the art of dialogue, the art of debating, of persuading or reasoning.

Hegel bases the modern conception of dialectics and argues that "logic and the history of humanity follow a dialectical trajectory, in which contradictions transcend, but give rise to new contradictions that now require solutions" (Gil, 2008). The philosopher identified three moments that make up the dialectical method: the thesis, the antithesis and the synthesis. The *thesis* constitutes a pretense of truth, the denial to this thesis *will come from the antithesis* and the *synthesis* arises precisely from the clash between the thesis and the antithesis, constituting, in turn, a new thesis, which will be denied by an antithesis and will begin a new cycle of thought.

The dialectical method assumes that things do not exist isolatedly, but as a united, coherent whole. As Lakatos and Marconi (2003) emphasize, "both nature and society are composed of objects and phenomena organically linked to each other, depending on each other and, at the same time, conditioning each other." The quantitative change of objects is not undefined; of the gradual quantitative changes, qualitative changes occur, from one state to another.

Thus, the dialectical approach was used in the analysis performed in this study. The research is qualitative, because it is concerned with a level of reality that is not fully understood only through quantification, since the statistics of displacements do not reflect the deeper causes of its occurrence; it

necessary to deepen in the world the meanings of human actions and relationships.

In this way, the activities were divided into four stages: research and bibliographic review; identification and discussion about the refuge situations possibilities, and etymological analysis of the term "refugee" in Portuguese, English, Spanish, French, Italian and German; identification and analysis of the refuge situation from an environmental

perspective; and the economic context assessment of the environmental refuge situation, based on the cyclical phenomenon of drought in the Brazilian Northeast and the environmental accidents that occurred in the cities of Mariana/MG and Brumadinho/MG.

Figure 1 shows the methodological flowchart that stratifies the four stages of activities carried out.

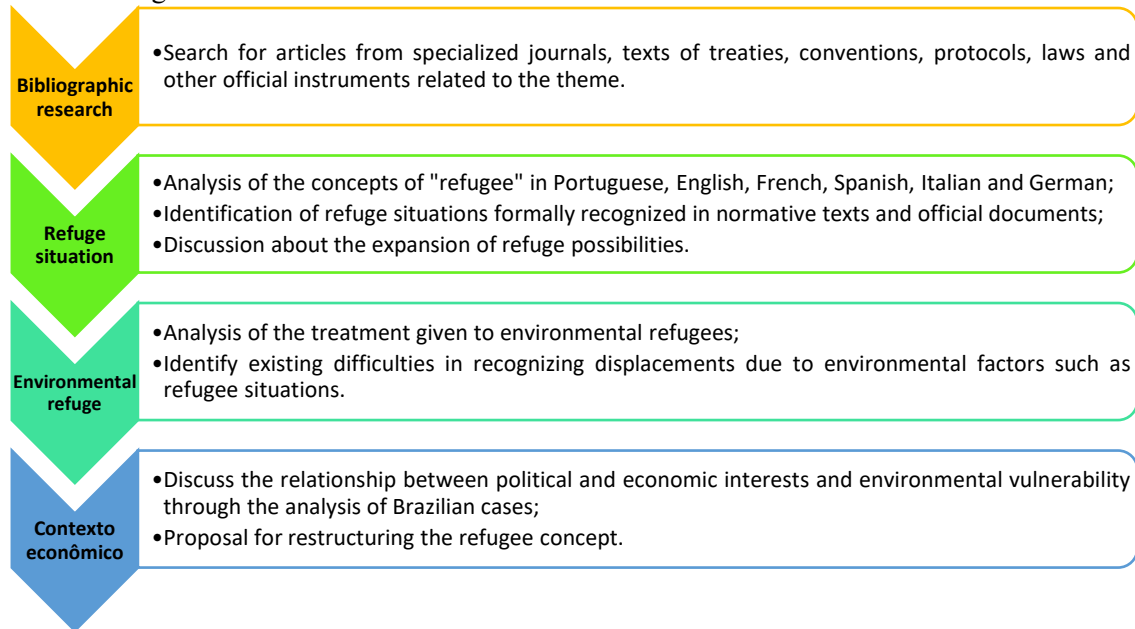


Figure 1: Methodological flowchart. Source: The authors, 2023.

The results were defined using data obtained and analyzed following the steps: reduction, display and completion/verification.

Results and discussions

Formal recognition

Environmental refugees are not yet a legally recognized class and the very conceptualization of the term stems from a path that initially addresses the figure of refugee, a concept already consolidated in public international law and in several international documents, based on efforts made by the United Nations (UN) in the post-World War II context (Claro, 2020).

Despite effectively receiving international protection in the post-World War II period, the refugee situation was already discussed in previous contexts: still in the 1920s, in the period between World War I and World War II. The displaced populations in the period, mainly as a result of the

Russian Revolution – which generated about one million refugees – were the subject of actions within the League of Nations, through the work of the High Commissioner for Russian Refugees, created in 1921, when international protection for refugees began (Bradley et al., 2022).

As the refugee situation worsened, the competence of the High Commissioner was extended, covering Armenian refugees in 1924 and Assyrians, Assyrian-Calbees and Turks in 1927. The advances in the protection of refugees were the result of the work of Norwegian Fridtjof Nansen, whose efforts resulted in the creation of so-called "Nansen passports", which consisted of an identification and travel document for the use of stateless refugees.

In 1930, with Nansen's death, regular bodies of the League of Nations became responsible for the protection of refugees. The Nansen Office for Refugees was established, whose prominent activity was the adoption by 14 countries of the 1933 Convention on the Status of Refugees - a document pioneering the positivization of international refugee law but, which despite the remarkable progress, has

not progressed in the definition of the term "refugee" (ACNUR, 1933). In addition, it was a Convention applied only to Russian, Armenian and assimilated refugees (Aleshkovski et al., 2021).

After World War II, Europe was devastated and many populations were migrating from one place to another on the continent or even to other localities in an attempt to lead a minimally dignified life, since the destruction caused by the conflict had been immense.

In this context, the UN created in 1950 the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) through United Nations Assembly Resolution 428. Based in Geneva, Switzerland, the UNHCR has the important mission of providing support and protection to refugees from around the world with effective lasting solutions such as voluntary repatriation, local integration and resettlement in a third country.

In 1951, the Convention on the Status of Refugees (CRER), also known as the Geneva Convention, was adopted. In this way, the Geneva Convention of 1951 structured the figure of the refugee, providing its formal recognition and taking as a time events before January 1, 1951, which denote the fear of persecution by virtue of race, religion, nationality, membership in a certain social group or political opinions; in order to provoke a withdrawal from the country of which these individuals have nationality and or habitual residence and, because of these fears, they cannot or do not want to return.

Later, it was noticed that the concept of refugee demanded factors beyond a temporal relationship, because the events that caused situations of refuge do not necessarily occur in the same space of time. Far beyond a time perspective, the situation of refuge is the recognition of political and social circumstances that require special attention. Since then, the 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees – better known as the New York Protocol – removed from the text of the Convention the temporal delimitation of events prior to January 1, 1951 (UNHCR, 1967), expanding the recognition of refugee status.

By expanding its action goals, the UNHCR has acted to promote the voluntary repatriation of refugees in dignified and safe conditions and promote respect for human rights in the countries of origin of the displaced, with the aim of preventing the increase in the number of refugees.

It is also important to highlight that the promulgation of official laws, treaties and protocols on the protection and assistance of refugees is also the result of the creation of the Universal Declaration of

Human Rights (UDHR) of 1948, which promoted a new stance on the rights of displaced persons, which is corroborated by the wording of Art. 14 of the UDHR, which provides that "Every man, a victim of persecution, has the right to seek and to seek asylum in other countries".

Far beyond an environmental issue, the discussion about environmental refugees has a social nature, as the refuge does not only entail a change in geographic environment, but above all social and cultural. As Costa (2011) emphasizes, "the situation of refuge presents itself to the individual as a form of veiled violence, generated by the fragmentation and devaluation of the individual as a human person". The fact is that, in the situation of refuge, the subject goes through a process of rupture in relation to his culture, social recognition, as well as recognition as a citizen. The flight from origin territory mainly generates an absence of the individual's most primitive social and cultural references, emptying the notion of citizenship that the subject in a situation of refuge once experienced.

Approaching refuge only within formally recognized situations privileges a gnosiological point of view, that is, an approach that has only the subject as its axis. Exemplifying this situation, Gawayed (2020) criticizes, in his work, the only way to produce knowledge. Taking a single direction empties the debate on the issue, preventing the real confrontation of the problem.

With regard to refuge, translating the various nuances it presents means observing the real situation in which the affected populations find themselves and, from there, verifying whether there is an effective experience of a situation of refuge. It is not about translating a legal diploma or official document, but about seeing the experience truly experienced. The attitude of placing the subject as the axis of knowledge, as a central element, constitutes a paradigm shift that dates back to the transition from the medieval world to the modern world.

The in-depth analysis of the real situation of environmental refugees brings with it the debate about citizenship itself and the human dignity, being of fundamental importance the understanding of the concept "environmental refugee", as well as the effective people displacement causes and populations in regions environmentally harmed to the point of preventing or nullifying conditions worthy of survival (Atapattu, 2020).

The disregard of other refugee categories in addition to those listed in official documents reflects a limited approach to the concept, as well as a deeply restricted view of the subject. Relating refuge only to

formally recognized situations means tracing a single path for a situation that presents different particularities and nuances, considering that it involves environmental, social, political, economic and human dignity issues; factors that are not static and should not be analyzed from a single point of view. In view of this scenario, there is a latent need to analyze the possible relationship between environmental factors and human displacement.

The concept of refugee - an etymological analysis

Given the negative of governments and official bodies in recognizing experiences beyond those listed in the Geneva Convention (persecution due to race, religion, nationality, affiliation in a certain social group or political opinions), it is important to perform an etymological analysis of the term "Refugee", in order to understand the origins of the word and its interrelationship between the primitive meaning and its current application. The use of etymology is carried out precisely because this is the part of the grammar in which the origin of the words is studied, thus promoting the explanation of their meanings, through the analysis of their integral elements and their historical evolution.

The term "Refugee" was analyzed in Portuguese, English, Spanish, Italian, French and German. And it was observed whether the etymological origin of the word has undergone significant changes. The initial objective was to verify whether, among the mentioned languages, there was a significant change in the etymology of the word. Subsequently, the analysis of the correlation between the etymological meaning and the application of the term in official documents was carried out.

Derived from the Latin "refugium", the term is understood as the protected place to which a person addresses when fleeing. It should be emphasized the basis that Latin represents for the languages cited – except English, which did not originate directly from Latin, but later received influences from the language. As far as the German language is, there are words derived from Latin and Greek and a minority from French and English. – and in which the term was analyzed.

In Portuguese, the word "refugiado", past participle of the verb *refugiar*, is a concept that is associated with the verb *refugiar*, which has as synonyms the verbs *escape*, *shelter*, *escape*. The term is used with reference to the individual who, due to political persecution, a war conflict or other situation

that puts his life at risk, is obliged to seek refuge beyond the borders of his country of origin.

In the Michaelis dictionary (2019), the word refugee means "that or the one who took refuge". The dictionary also brings the meaning of expressions such as "environmental refugee": individual or human group moving to another country or to another region within their own country, due to environmental-related problems such as tsunamis, hurricanes, earthquakes, droughts etc. that make life unsustainable in their original habitats. Michaelis also addresses the expression "political refugee", defining it as the individual who, for reasons of political or ideological persecution in his own country, seeks asylum in a foreign country.

It is important to point out that the central meaning of the word refugee in the Portuguese language covers the terms to flee, to seek shelter. From the reading of dictionaries, it is perceived that the refuge is directly related to displacement. And such displacement occurs with the purpose of ceasing situations that involve danger to healthy quality of life.

It is interesting to highlight that, with regard to the term "environmental refugee", internal displacement, in addition to the foreign, is considered as a characterizer of a situation of refuge. The central scope of expression is the environmental issue, the phenomena related to the environment that are intended to cause displacement of individuals or populations. Therefore, the formalism of the primitive term "refugee" – with regard to the transposition of borders – is abandoned when talking about "environmental refuge".

In the English language, the term refugee is translated as "refugee" and has its origin in the French language, from the term "*réfugié*", meaning "gone in search of refuge" and dates from the end of the seventeenth century the law that granted religious freedom and civil rights to Huguenots, reformed Protestants who felt unable to follow their faith under the Catholic monarchy of France. With the repeal of the aforementioned legal bill, more than 400,000 French Protestants left France in the following years, seeking other non-Catholic countries and, from there, many went to Protestant England.

From the initial application of the word to Protestants who left France within a decade, "refugee" became a term used to refer to anyone who was forced to flee to a safe place, usually because of danger or persecution because of religious or political beliefs.

At the time when "refugee" brought along its meaning the action of fleeing, an idea that composes

other words of Latin root and possesses the "fugere" in its composition, the very term "fugitive", used both as a noun ("who flees or escapes") and as an adjective, that over time it became less literal to also mean "wandering" or "moving from one place to another", withdrawal from urgency or the danger of escape, assuming more figurative meanings, such as "evasive". Therefore, it is perceived that the literal act of fleeing is more related to terms equivalent to "refugee", than to the word of origin itself, that is, "fugere".

As in Portuguese, in the English language the term "refugee" is directly linked to the act of fleeing and, this escape is not random, and has the purpose of protection, search for security, whether related to political, social or religious contexts.

The meaning of refugee in Portuguese and English denotes the need to escape to achieve effective protection against a danger that comes from the State, directly or indirectly. This is because the persecutions related to the term have their origin in acts related to the State, considering that they reflect mainly in the political, social and religious scenarios. In addition, they touch civil and political rights.

The research of the meaning of refugee (has the same spelling of the Portuguese language) in the Spanish language is similar to the terms in the languages already addressed to this point: a person who, as a result of wars, revolutions or political persecutions, is obliged to seek refuge outside his country.

From the definitions sought, it is noted that there is a great approach to the issue of seeking protection in a foreign country. The Larousse dictionary (2019) defines refugees (in the Spanish language) as one who emigrated from his country for political, religious, racial reasons and mostly as a consequence of wars.

A concept related to the verb "refugiar", which in Spanish is synonymous with sheltering (coveting), the term is also linked to the lexical root "fugere", which means to escape. Once again escape is an element present in the meaning of "refugee", as well as it is linked to other words of this same context, such as "refuge". In addition, it is important to highlight the fact that the escape from the locality of origin occurs in search of survival and safety.

The term used in the French language is "réfugié", defined as a person who left his country of origin for political, religious or racial reasons and who does not enjoy, in the country in which he resides, the same status as the populations whose nationality he did not acquire.

The records of the word date back to 1435, with the meaning of "finding asylum". Among the synonyms: stateless (stateless), asilado (asilé), displaced (déplacé), exiled (exile), Protestant (Protestant), emigrant (émigré) and foreigner (étranger). The French-speaking refugee withdraws from somewhere in search of security; in order to find themselves out of a dangerous or hostile situation.

Once again, the search for refuge is highlighted as a search for security and protection, faced with an uncontrollable situation by the one who is taken by the need to take refuge. It is important to highlight that basically all synonyms bring the criterion "nationality" embedded in their meanings – with the exception of "Protestant", but if we referred to the origin of the term in English, there will still be the connection with nationality, given that the first nominated refugees in the English language, were French Protestants who fled from France so as not to suffer religious violations.

Used the term "rifugiato" in Italian, which is derived from the Latin "refugium", the word is formed by the past participle of the verb "rifugiarsi" (to take refuge) and comes from the French translation "réfugié". From the political point of view, it applies to the individual who, already belonging to a State by nationality, is accepted, after political events, in the territory of another State and becomes the object of international standards aimed at ensuring its protection. It is also employed in case of religious persecution and, in particular cases, environmental issues, which culminates in the expression "rifugio ambientali", which refers to those individuals who had to leave their countries due to a natural disaster or particularly serious environmental events.

In the German language, the term used is "Flüchtling", composed etymologically of the junction of the terms *Flucht* (escape) + *-ling* (suffix that indicates possession or connection with a quality or property or functions as modifier of nouns, meaning a follower or resident) or *luchten* (escape) + *-ling* (suffix). In addition to the translation "refugee", the term still contemplates the meaning of "fugitive", that is, someone who is literally in a situation of escape (from the police or a danger). With regard to interpretation, "refugee" concerns a person who, by virtue of war, disaster or persecution, seeks shelter, especially in another country.

Among the languages cited, German holds the sense of refugee only and primarily related to escape. Displacement is a term related to Flüchtling, but it should be emphasized that this displacement comes from a critical situation. Unlike the other languages analyzed, German does not unite the term

refugee with expressions related to the environmental, social and political spheres. Refuge, in this case, is essentially an escape from a circumstance that denotes danger or reflects on human displacement.

From the analysis of the word "refugee" in the languages listed above, the act of fleeing stands out as a central etymological element, whether of political, religious persecution or a war conflict. The refuge, in its primitive sense, is the search for security, peace. The subject's question to live according to his political or religious convictions as a result of a hinder of freedom by the State.

It is important to emphasize that expressions derived from the original term are endorsed with significant weight, and here stands out the expressions "political refugee", but above all, "environmental refugee", considering that the environmental criterion is not related to any of the primitive meanings of the word. The environmental refuge is easily connected to the word "refugee", even without being within its translation or initial meaning. Even though it does not compose a central element of the studied term, the environment is not ignored as an element linked to the situation of refuge. From a systematic interpretation, the need for escape is established, arising from a serious environmental disturbance, with a focus on human survival.

Therefore, it is possible to explain the concepts assigned, as well as expressions associated

with the term "refugee", in the analyzed languages, through Table 1.

Starting from the detailed analysis of the term, it is observed that the "refugee" comprises an individual who leaves his place of origin, that is, he moves involuntarily with the aim of putting an end to the circumstance that is sustaining his possibility of survival, as a result of danger or persecution arising from an atypical situation, which involves interrelates economic, political, social or environmental contexts.

It is noticed that the formal terms mostly refer to displacements caused by persecution that prevent the individual from staying in his place of origin and, above all, that such persecution translates into an imminent risk to life. The political, religious and racial contexts are the ones that most influence involuntary displacement translated in the analyzes carried out.

The combination of refuge with other expressions that give a different meaning to the one listed is rare and, in fact, is not included in the formal meaning of the term "refugee". In reality, they are more modern terms that seek to explain new aspects of the theme. Therefore, the study of expressions not contemplated in legal texts and official documents – such as "Environmental Refuge" –, not only expresses the new aspects of refuge, but also highlights the need to understand the basis of these new displacement dynamics.

Table 1: Concepts and expressions related to the term "refugee".

Language	Used term	Origin and meaning	References
Portuguese	Refugiado	1. Concept that is associated with the verb to take refuge, which has as synonyms the verbs to flee, to take shelter, to escape. 2. The one who took refuge.	1. Political persecution, military conflict or other life-threatening situation. 2. Environmental refugee.
English	Refugee	1. Origin in the French language, from the term "refugié". 2. Gone in search of refuge.	1. Any person forced to flee to safety, usually because of danger or persecution because of religious or political beliefs. 2. Purpose of protection, search for security.
Spanish	Refugiado	Concept related to "refuge", which in Spanish is synonymous with shelter (cobijar).	Convention Relating to the Refugees Status (CRER)

Italian	Rifugiato	The word is formed by the past participle of the verb “rifugiarsi” (to take refuge) and comes from the French translation “réfugié”.	1. One who is persecuted in another state due to political persecution. 2. It is also used in case of religious persecution and, in particular cases, environmental issues.
French	Refugié	Find asylum. Synonyms include stateless person (apatride), asylum seeker (asilé), displaced person (déplacé), exiled (exilé), protestant (protestant), emigrant (émigré) and foreigner (étranger).	A person who has left their country of origin for political, religious or racial reasons and does not enjoy the same status as citizens of the country to which they have moved.
German	Flüchtling	1. Conjunction of the terms Flucht (escape) + -ling (suffix that indicates possession or connection with a quality or property or works as a noun modifier, meaning a follower or resident) or lüchten (flee) + -ling (suffix). 2. The term still contemplates the sense of fugitive.	A person who, because of war, disaster or persecution, seeks shelter, especially in another country.

Source: The authors, 2023.

The political-economic scenario as a driver of the refuge

The interaction of man with nature is an essential element to be analyzed within the context of the environmental refuge. This is because as man interacts with nature and modifies it as he is creating relationships that can be beneficial or harmful for his own existence, depending on the way in which society-nature relationship is established, that is, the way man transforms nature into a second nature, according to his economic interests (Cabral-Neto et al., 2022).

The relationship between man and nature has changed over the centuries, because the view that nature must be respected and that the balance of it comes from its balance. As Passmore (1980) points out, nature has already been seen from a purely utilitarian approach, in which "the vision that all things exist to serve man" prevails. In this light, nature is not seen as something to be respected, but rather used.

The fact is that the environmental refuge is not a phenomenon whose impulse factor is only changes in the environment. Political and economic reasons are connected to the refuge situation (Martins, 2019). And, therefore, to see the environmental refuge only as the situation that comes so unique and essentially from environmental factors,

is to stop interpreting the problem from its real causes, adopting a narrow view.

The perception of environmental refuge related only to the natural environment is limited and prevents the very restructuring of the concept of refugee, because the relationship between society and nature (the changes that man implements in nature, due to/in the care of economic factors) is not foreseen in the hypotheses contained in the Geneva Convention and in other official documents dealing with the theme.

From the very analysis of the concept of "environmental refuge" in the literature, it is verified that the causal link between environmental factors and displacement of people or populations is not effectively explained, since events that appear to be environmental catastrophes, in reality, are the fruit of economic disputes. According to Pacífico and Gaudêncio (2014), those who move due to changes in the environment are commonly confused with economic migrants, a factor that makes it impossible to receive specific rights and adequate responses directed to forced migrants.

Areas where there is a larger contingent of environmental refugees are the most vulnerable to sudden changes in the natural environment, such as desertification, floods, tsunamis and droughts (UNHCR, 2015). This vulnerability does not occur by

chance. According to the UNHCR report entitled "UNHCR, Environment and Climate Change", people living in areas of social and political vulnerability - where the likelihood of armed conflict is greater - are particularly more vulnerable to the effects of climate change, as political vulnerability itself leads to an economic deficiency, which reflects the absence of state structure in dealing with changes in the natural environment.

Pacífico and Gaudêncio (2014) highlight that natural disasters accentuate pre-existing inequalities, fostering discrimination and contributing to the marginalization of the poorest portion of the population, in addition to affecting the right of minorities.

The environmental refuge is perceived more easily from the occurrence of extreme phenomena and drastic climate change. In addition, the so-called effects of slow evolution from climate change are also factors that receive special attention from organizations involved with the theme. However, the environmental issue is not the decisive element for the effects of extreme phenomena and climate change to affect everyday life and are the only driving factor for population displacement.

It is interesting to highlight the problem of "environmental conflicts" in Cabral et al. (2022), which emphasizes the impossibility of categorically stating that environmental factors are capable of promoting, by themselves, a population displacement, considering that the intrinsic economic character in these "environmental conflicts" is a significant factor for the exodus.

It should be noted that for migration to be justified as a result of essentially environmental factors, it is necessary to establish a direct link between the events, that is, to find an environment-displacement link, where there is no influence of any other element. However, many of the environmental conflicts are, in fact, conflicts of an economic nature, dispute between rival countries or groups for the control of strategic natural resources. It should also be noted the cases in which the dispute for these strategic resources increases environmental degradation and makes life unsustainable in the regions involved, as the conflict destroys nature.

According to Vieira (2012), "although environmental factors play a relevant role within the logic of forced migration, they are closely linked to a number of other political and economic agents". Thus, to be isolated from environmental issues does not allow a satisfactory understanding of the specific situations related to population displacement. The great issue is the difficulty in demonstrating, in many

cases, that environmental damage actually comes from economic issues. Still according to the author, "it is the situation of the environment, which, as much as another factor, makes them economically impoverished". That is, the refuge is environmental in the sense that the environment suffers losses. However, the reason for the situation of refuge, of forced displacement is much more linked to economic factors than to environmental factors.

To demonstrate the relationship between economic factors and forced displacement so far as the false impression that the environmental perspective alone promotes refuge, it is also important to highlight the relationship between globalization and migration.

In the work of Castles and Wise (2007), a line is drawn between the widespread notion of "globalization" and the promotion of migrations within this context. For the authors, the term globalization is used to designate a complex and profound process of restructuring economy, politics and society. However, globalization is still an illusory concept used vaguely and arbitrarily. It is promoted with the prospect that social inequalities will disappear among nations. Although, as shown by the authors in their research, over the years, these differences have increased, because from 1970 to the 2000s, the share of world income that advanced countries received have increased, while the share of other countries have decreased. In addition, during the same period, the proportion of the world population of advanced countries declined from 20 to 16 percent.

Migration in the scenario of globalization is masked by the mantra of development, since underdeveloped countries are seduced by the possibility of a settlement of their nationals in the labor market of the richest countries and this full employment would have positive implications in the economy of the localities of origin, since the emigrants would send money to their nations, stimulating the economy and local development. This practice has been called refugee sponsorship, as reported by Cortés (2021).

According to Marinucci (2019) and Silva et al. (2020), the fact is that the intentions of nations with regard to migration are masked: while the receiving countries seek cheap labor and political and economic dominance over developing countries. The latter see in migration the possibility of alleviating problems arising from globalization, such as growing inequality, impoverishment and marginalization of large sectors of the population.

Given this scenario, it is easy to see that the alignment of development and migration serves much more to the interests of the richest countries of the globe than to the populations of peripheral countries (Silva et al., 2022). The promotion of conflicts in underprivileged areas from an economic point of view responds to capitalist longings for political dominance. From this conception, the relationship between environmental degradation, political and economic interests and population displacements emerges.

Thus, the relationship between capitalism and refugee situations is complex and multifaceted. In many cases, conflicts and inequalities generated by the capitalist system are factors that drive people to seek refuge in other countries.

For example, the exploitation of natural resources in developing countries is often carried out by multinational corporations without consideration for local communities, causing environmental and social damage. This can result in conflicts and forced displacement of people who depend on these resources to live.

Moreover, economic inequality generated by capitalism can lead people to seek better opportunities for work and quality of life in other countries, often without necessary protections and rights. The lack of effective migration policies and protection of migrant rights often places these people in precarious and vulnerable situations.

Therefore, it is important to recognize the influence of the capitalist system on refugee situations and to seek more just and humane solutions to deal with these global challenges.

Based on this perspective, it is indispensable to discuss the probable reasons that mystify the environmental refuge as a situation related solely to the natural environment, leaving decisive elements for human movements distant or even out of the subject.

The protection of refugees in Brazil - Law nº 9,474

Brazil is a signatory to the Geneva Convention, as well as the 1967 Protocol and, in order to promote legal protection for refugees in the national territory, has issued Law nº 9,474/97, which defines mechanisms for the implementation of the Refugee Statute of 1951, and determines other measures. According to the aforementioned legal act, every individual who: I) due to well-founded fears of persecution on grounds of race, religion, nationality, social group or political opinions is considered to be outside his country of nationality and cannot or does not wish to accept the protection of such country; II)

not having nationality and being outside the country where he had previously had his habitual residence, cannot or does not wish to return to it, depending on the circumstances described in the preceding paragraph; III) due to serious and widespread violation of human rights, is obliged to leave his country of nationality to seek refuge in another country. The legal hypotheses of refuge include the same as those included in the Geneva Convention, plus the "serious and widespread violation of human rights" (the result of the Cartagena Declaration) as a configuring element of the refugee situation (UNHCR, 1951).

This law created the National Committee for Refugees – CONARE that has as its task the decision-making regarding the status of refugees in the country. According to the report "Refuge in Numbers", CONARE is a "collegiate and interministerial body under the coordination of the Ministry of Justice. It is responsible for the analysis of recognition of refugee status at first instance and for declarations of cessation and loss of refugee status". It has representatives in the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of Labor, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education and Sport and representative of the Department of the Federal Police and non-governmental organization, which is dedicated to activities of assistance and protection of refugees in the country.

Brazil has experienced some situations of refuge and is even currently being elected by Syrian (which, according to Lodetti and Borges (2020), represent 51% of the total number of refugees recognized in Brazil) and Venezuelans as a host country, due to the war conflict experienced in the former country and the serious political and economic situation of Venezuela. The latter country even led the statistics of asylum applications in Brazil until the year 2018, with 85,438 requests for recognition of refugee status. Of these requests, 61,681 were submitted in 2018 alone, with 81% of the applications directed to the state of Roraima, in the northern region of the country. This exponential increase in the number of asylum applications from Venezuelans was due precisely to Conare's recognition of the situation of "serious and widespread violation of human rights" in Venezuela, based on item III of Article 1 of Law nº 9,474 of 1997.

Despite the recent wave of refugees coming from Venezuela to Brazil due to social conflicts, as reported by Calais et al. (2020) and Cirino (2020), Brazil has been receiving Venezuelan refugees for decades, including for reasons of environmental refuge, as is the case of the forced immigration of the

Venezuelan Warao Indians in as a result of the socio-environmental impacts that occurred from the 1960s onwards in the territories they traditionally occupied.

In addition to these two examples, we highlight the case of Haitians in Brazil, who only in 2018 formalized 7,030 asylum applications, equivalent to 9% (nine percent) of the total applications in that year. In January 2010, Haiti was struck by an earthquake, which caused great destruction in the country. Thousands of people no longer had living conditions in their home locations, which triggered an intense migratory flow. According to data released in a report by the Institute for refugee reintegration, about 60% of the administrative, governmental and economic structure was destroyed. Around 23% of all schools in Haiti were affected by the earthquake (4,992 schools), 80% of which were located in Port-au-Prince and 60% of schools in the Southern and Western states.

The situation of Haitians could not be framed in any of the hypotheses foreseen for the granting of refuge provided for in the UN documents and national legal documents. Faced with this impasse and seeing the Haitian population grow in Brazil, the Brazilian government decided to grant a humanitarian visa to Haitians who crossed the national border, victims of the destruction caused by the 2010 earthquake. This position of the Brazilian government shows an advance in the granting of refuge in the country, because Haitians were given minimally dignified conditions to stay in Brazil, through the granting of the visa and formal recognition of the situation experienced.

According to a report released by the Ministry of Justice, Venezuela is currently the country from which the largest number of people who apply for recognition of refugee status in Brazil come, but Syrians lead formally recognized asylum applications. In 2017, 17,865 Venezuelans applied for recognition of refugee status before the Brazilian authorities (Carbonari and Librelotto, 2020). Of the more than 33,000 asylum applications in 2017, CONARE recognized 587 refugees, the largest number of which were Syrians (310). In 2018, 777 refugees were recognized and once again the Syrian community led the statistics, with 476 applications recognized. In the last ten years, Brazil has been experiencing an increase in asylum applications. By 2007, 3,361 applications had been granted and in 2018 this number jumped to 11,231. Therefore, the Brazilian government has developed an agenda of measures to be adopted in the Brazilian asylum system, all of which are foreseen in the report "Refuge in Numbers", and can be listed as examples

the simplification of procedures, resettlement actions and the collaborative action of various institutions in the form of partnerships.

The asylum procedure in Brazil, in addition to complying with the provisions of Law No. 9,474/97, also observes international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, the Convention on the Status of Refugees of 1951, the Protocol on the Status of Refugees of 1967 and all relevant provisions of an international instrument for the protection of human rights with which the Brazilian Government is committed.

With regard to the protection of refugee rights in Brazil, when a systematic interpretation of the Brazilian legal system is carried out, there is a minimum legal content of rights inherent to foreigners under Brazilian jurisdiction, provided for in the Federal Constitution, in its 5th art. *caput*, which expressly guarantees both Brazilians and foreigners equality, the inviolability of the right to life, freedom, security and property.

It is certain that much has been made legally in relation to the recognition of refugees in Brazil, as pointed out by Consalter and Cruz (2020). However, the country legislation did not indicate the assumptions of recognition of refugee status, since it inserted in its text the negotiations of the 1951 Convention and the provisions of the Cartagena de Indias Declaration on the serious and widespread violation of human rights.

The Brazilian legal diploma is covered with a perceived humanitarian character from the Convention of African Unity and the Cartagena de Indias Declaration. It is a fact that we sought to simplify the procedure for analyzing the application for refugee recognition in Brazil, but it should be highlighted that the efforts made by the Brazilian authorities remain restricted to the formal field, that is, the very conceptualization of the term Refugee does not find any innovation, when compared to the legal system related to the theme (Giroto and Paula, 2020). Concrete cases that cause instability in the lives of people in their localities of origin are analyzed in the light of legislative formalism and thus contingent population are marginalized, because they are denied basic rights, such as survival with dignity.

Although Brazil has advanced legislation regarding the right of asylum and protection for refugees, there is no legal definition for environmental refugees. However, civil society organizations and human rights advocacy groups have been pressuring the Brazilian government to create measures to protect people who are forced to

move due to environmental disasters, climate change, and other forms of environmental degradation.

Recently, in 2021, a bill was introduced in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies that aims to recognize and protect environmental refugees in Brazil. The bill proposes that people who need to leave their homes or communities due to natural or environmental disasters, as well as those who suffer from the impacts of climate change, can request protection and assistance from the Brazilian government. The bill is still awaiting analysis and voting.

The Brazilian Northeast and its vulnerability

The Brazilian Northeast is a region that lives with drought situations (Figure 2). It is the most populous region in the country, but the poorest. The semi-arid northeast makes up a significant portion of the territory. Due to the own characteristics of the region, it is believed that the effects of climate change will be more felt by the northeastern people, due to their socioeconomic vulnerability (Barbieri et al., 2010).



Figure 2: Water scarcity to supply the population.
Source: Águas para Vidas, 2017.

The migrations of the Brazilian northeast due to drought have been a recurring phenomenon in the region for many decades (França et al., 2019). Drought is one of the main environmental factors that have impacted the lives and subsistence of people living in the region, especially rural populations who depend on agriculture and livestock for survival.

During times of severe drought, many people are forced to leave their homes and communities in search of better living conditions in other regions of the country. Some migrate to large cities in search of jobs and opportunities, while others move to more fertile rural areas in search of work and subsistence means.

However, migration due to drought can also bring many challenges and difficulties for the affected

people. Often, they need to leave behind their homes, families, and communities, and face precarious conditions and a lack of access to basic services such as clean water, sanitation, and medical assistance. Additionally, migrations can lead to social and cultural conflicts in the destination areas, as people need to adapt to new environments and lifestyles.

In addition to facing problems regarding the own climate of the region, some communities have faced forced displacement in the past due to the construction of dams. An emblematic case is in the region of Petrolândia, state of Pernambuco, where, in 1988, to make way for the construction of the Luiz Gonzaga Hydroelectric Power Plant, the city was completely flooded and was moved to another location. This event promoted resettlements in the region and the need for a resumption by the population. The economy of the region was predominantly based on subsistence agriculture. The main crops were corn, arboreal cotton, banana, beans, rice, cassava, tomato, onion, melon and watermelon (CODEVASF, 2023). In the context of the construction of works that require displacement, the local populations are the ones who experience the greatest losses (Scherer et al., 2021).

The migrations of the Northeastern people are not only a response to drought. Especially since it is a cyclical and natural phenomenon of the region, the drought in the Northeast should not be understood as an extreme event, but its effects, since the characteristics of climate and soil of the region, are not known to the authorities (Cabral et al., 2022).

Since the occupation of the Northeast itself, economic and political interests have prevailed over social concerns. The region began its settlement from the culture of sugarcane, in a context in which the Portuguese enslaved the Indians and, with the resistance of the indigenous, began to bring black slaves from Africa.

For a long time, the region depended economically on sugarcane and the mill masters, and they tried to make the workers independent – given that the acquisition of slaves demanded monetary values that they did not always have – subject to their economic power (Faria et al., 2021; Silva and Teixeira, 2021). From this, the so-called "residents of condition", which constituted a large portion of the residents of the camp and were allowed by the landowners to tear down stretches of forests, make small swiddens, giving in return weekly workdays at low cost or even unpaid (Andrade, 1980). However, this permission was not only endorsed with an interest in cheap labour: land occupation took place in a more orderly manner.

The relationship between the lords of ingenuity and the man of the field was based from the beginning on the domination of the interests of the owners of the land. The occupation followed the interests of the land, just as the plantation culture itself was determined by the economy, because, often, small plantations were destroyed to make way for sugarcane, which deprived the population lacking access to food (Andrade, 1980).

The fact is that since its occupation, the Northeast has experienced the supremacy of the interests of landowners, to the detriment of creating quality of life for workers. The distance from the Sertão of the forest area, for example, kept it away from progress, since there was great difficulty in communication between these poles.

The northeastern man dedicated to agricultural activities, takes from the land his livelihood and his possibility of life, but finds an obstacle in the political and economic context, because insufficient actions and public policies aimed at mitigating the effects of drought in the region.

Communities learn from an early age to overcome the difficulties arising from the environmental imbalance arising from the political interest. Just as at the time of the occupation of the region, the promotion of dependence on the population effectively meets political arrangements that seek to perpetuate power (Teixeira et al., 2021). Treating drought as a natural phenomenon, which can have its mitigated consequences, does not meet the ultimate goal of maintaining power of specific groups.

If concrete actions have been verified to mitigate the effects of natural and cyclical phenomena such as drought, it will be perceived that they favored localities, even attracting new residents. However, the mismanagement of public money aimed at combating drought, as well as corruption schemes, are primarily responsible for perpetuation of environmental-related losses that are actually fuelled by the lack of political interest in improvement.

If drought were the only factor responsible for the migration of northeastern population to other parts of the country, the region would have no attractive potential even in the face of government actions such as irrigation projects, construction of cisterns or other programs aimed at mitigating the effects of drought, since this is a cyclical phenomenon and composes the local environmental dynamics.

Assuming that the displacement of northeasterners comes from an unfavorable economic context and this context causes environmental damage that makes the quality of life compromised in

the region, the Environmental Refuge of northeasterners is evidenced, highlighting that this category of refuge is discussed below its effective causes: the search for the perpetuation of a political domain of small groups, in view of the economic dependence of the population whose survival is directly linked to rural production.

During the Covid-19 pandemic, the phenomenon of return migration was verified in the Northeast region. People from the Northeast who lived on the Rio-São Paulo axis, with the pandemic decree by the World Health Organization (WHO) and due to the consequences of the virus spread in Brazil, they left the urban centers and started a process of migration back to their hometowns. Social isolation imposed restrictions on the functioning of various economic activities and, fearing being in need in strange territories, many northeasterners decided to make the return trip to their origin places, which was even pointed out as one of the “interiorization” factors of the virus in some states, such as Ceará, Bahia and Piauí (Nardella-Dellova et al., 2022).

Only in Bahia state, at least 20 cities registered the first disease case after the arrival of people from the São Paulo state, who returned to their families' homes (Marinelli et al., 2020). This fact occurred in cities like Jussiape, Caetanópolis, Pirituba, Jaborandi and São Domingos. To contain the virus spread, measures such as the suspension of interstate and intercity transport were adopted; however, these Northeasterners who are migrating back to the Northeast take the risk of being transported by clandestine transport, which is part of the way on dirt roads, in order to escape the sanitary barriers that were installed on the highways.

This scenario emphasizes the northeasterners vulnerability in large centers, which is also a situation experienced by other migrants and refugees who sought to return to their origin places at the beginning of the pandemic and were faced with closed borders and more restrictive migration policies, as occurred with Colombians and Venezuelans (Cavalcanti and Oliveira, 2020).

The scenario of the coronavirus pandemic corroborates the economic character behind migrations in the Northeast. If the environment were the impact factor for the northeastern displacement, in difficult times like the one currently experienced with the pandemic, return migration would not call the governments attention and would not even provoke the need for planning for the reception of those who left the region Southeast for fear of a life lacking the minimum structure for survival.

A concrete case of when there is political interest the drought situation can be resolved, is the case of Petrolina, a city located in the semi-arid region of Pernambuco, Brazil, an area historically affected by long periods of drought and water scarcity (Jatobá et al., 2017). However, in recent years, Petrolina has stood out as a successful example in combating drought and managing water resources.

One of the main strategies adopted by Petrolina was the implementation of modern and efficient irrigation systems, which allowed agricultural production throughout the year, even in drought periods. In addition, the city invested in rainwater capture, storage, and distribution, which allowed for the supply of drinking water to the population during the most intense drought periods (Araújo et al., 2019).

Another important strategy adopted by Petrolina was the economy diversification, with the creation of new industries and services, reducing the city's dependence on agriculture and livestock, which are more vulnerable activities to drought.

Moreover, Petrolina has invested in awareness and environmental education policies,

promoting sustainable water use and encouraging the adoption of more efficient and sustainable agricultural practices.

The disasters of Brazilian mining: Mariana and Brumadinho, Minas Gerais

On November 5, 2015, the city of Mariana, in the state of Minas Gerais, was the scene of Brazil's biggest environmental disaster: the rupture of the Fundão tailings dam (Figure 3). The rupture of this dam, which contained residues from the extraction of iron ore, reached the entire rio Doce Basin, as well as the cities belonging to this basin, among them the city of Colatina, located in the northwest region of the state of Espírito Santo. The responsible actors were the Samarco Company, controlled by Vale, in partnership with Anglo-Australian BHP Billiton and the consequences were unavoidable for populations dependent on the rio Doce area.



Figure 3: Mariana/MG - before (a) and after (b) the dam collapse. Source: GLOBALGEO, 2015.

According to Rocha et. al. (2016), water analyses showed the presence of arsenic (2.6394 mg/L), lead (1.03 mg/L), aluminum (1,405.5mg/L), iron (2.784 mg/L), manganese (61.222 mg/L) and barrio (5,385 mg/L), among other elements, at levels far above the recommended, which contaminated the entire length of the rio Doce, from the city of Mariana - MG to the coast of Espírito Santo. In addition to the severe environmental impact, the arrival of the

tailings "mud" provided a great impact in the psychosocial sphere by reaching the river considered as a symbol of the city. In situations like this, as reported by Mello and Martínez-Ávila (2022), the psychosocial issue acquires new relevance and must be observed from another perspective. Schmid (2019), in a medical case study, discusses the issue of suicide and the specificity of such issue for the group of refugees and asylum seekers attended, as well as

the discovery of a new clinical diagnosis called resignation syndrome.

Tailings dams are reservoirs made with the objective of retaining water and solid residues resulting from the extraction of minerals in order to avoid environmental damage. In Brazil, there are hundreds and despite all the technology involved, ruptures continue to happen and bring enormous environmental and social damage to the population. Another recent example is the case of the Córrego do Feijão dam, located in the municipality of Brumadinho, in Minas Gerais, which collapsed on January 25, 2019 (Figure 4), resulting in a huge industrial, humanitarian and environmental disaster, directly impacting all inhabitants of the city, leading to a large number of fatalities, disappearances and homelessness, in addition to several dead animals,

soil and rivers contaminated by ore tailings (Laurino et al., 2020).

In the case of Brumadinho, Pinheiro et al. (2020) concluded that the municipality did not take advantage of the flow of short-term resources from mining (royalties) to invest in development projects that diversified local productive structures, not prioritizing spending on economic activities with greater potential for productive inclusion of the population, such as Cultural Tourism and Agriculture. In addition, few resources were allocated to Environmental Management. Leaving the population economically hostage to the mining activity. Finally, the disaster that occurred disrupted municipal finances and impacted other economic activities related to mining.

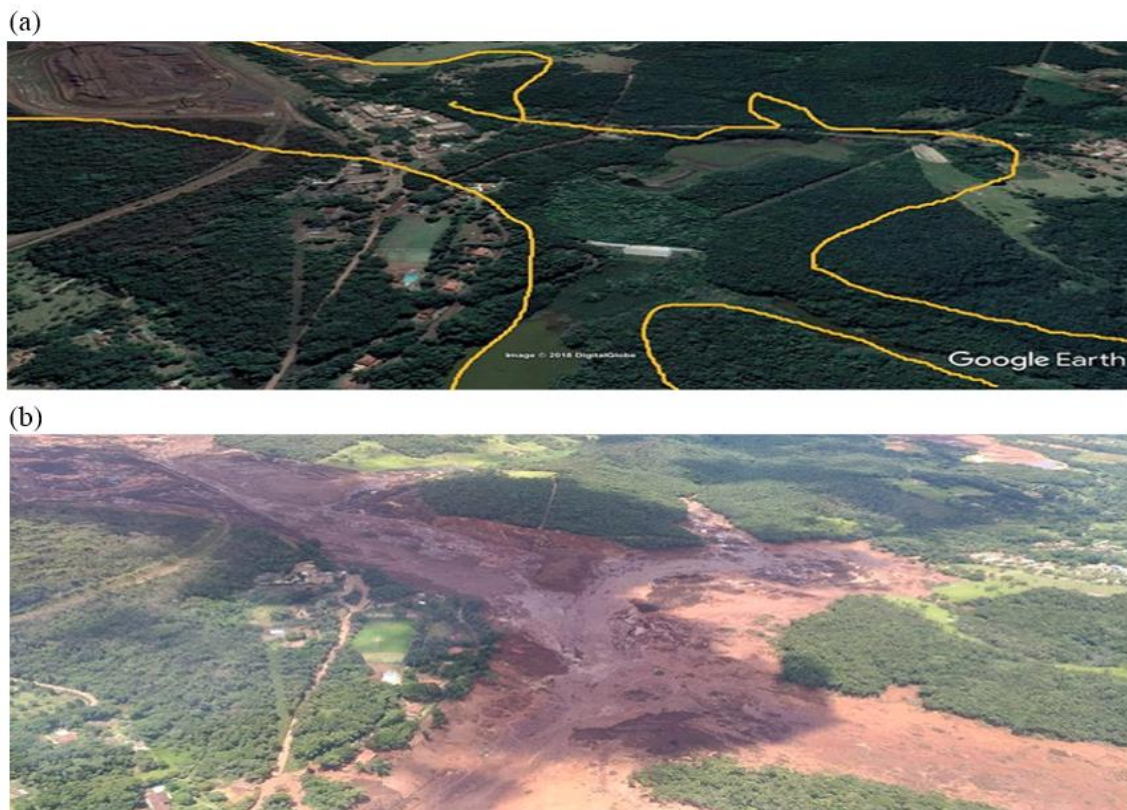


Figure 4: Brumadinho/MG - before (a) and after (b) the dam collapse. Source: CBHSF, 2019.

Within the context of mining, it remains clear that the damage suffered by communities installed in areas of interest to mining companies begins even before the occurrence of any major environmental disaster: the control exercised by capital interferes in the identity of these individuals. Passos et. al. (2017) uses the concept of territorial fascism, which he conceptualizes as "a form of social fascism that occurs whenever social actors with strong patrimonial

capital take the state against the territory where they act or neutralize this control, co-opting or raping state institutions and exercising social regulation".

The tragedies of Mariana and Brumadinho are the result of speculation concretized by mining companies, with eminently capitalist objectives. Communities residing in the territories of interest to mining companies are victims of tragedies driven by the capital. This is because it is clear that adequate

maintenance was not promoted in the ruptured dams. Furthermore, dam managers have not made the necessary monetary efforts to exploit the ore with low environmental costs.

Eight and four years after the tragedies of Mariana and Brumadinho, respectively, the two cities are currently still in the process of reconstruction and recovery, with reparations and compensation actions underway for the victims and affected communities. However, the severity of the disasters and the slow pace of repair and prevention measures continue to be issues of concern and criticism by social movements, environmentalists, and local communities.

With the disasters that occurred in these two mining towns, the affected communities were forced to rebuild their lives in other locations. There was a forced displacement, resulting from an extreme situation, caused by an economic vulnerability already experienced by the residents around the mining companies, even before the catastrophic events.

Faced with the factual situations experienced by the communities affected by the rupture of the dams, the configuration of the refuge situation is latent. Here, the Environmental Refuge stands out, which contrary to what the expression proposes, is not characterized only by the environmental factor, but above all by the degradation of the environment arising from an illegitimate economic interest, which does not take into account social well-being, but as only the dependency provoked by capital.

Therefore, the losses experienced from the disruption of the dams are not only linked to the environmental area: the distaste promoted by the race for profit was decisive for the occurrence of disasters. Entire families were irreversibly impacted not only on their home, but also on their means of survival, their cultural identity, such as affective ties of neighborhood, religious festivities, agricultural production networks, among other singularities.

Conclusions

The situation of refuge is not only limited to those provided for in the official documents, especially in the Refugee Statute of the United Nations. Climate change that is being observed throughout the globe, combined with the vulnerability of large populations, are factors that gain prominence as a major factor in the displacement of people.

From the detailed analysis of the term, it is highlighted that the "refugee" comprises an individual who leaves his place of origin, that is, moves involuntarily with the aim of ending a

circumstance that is suppressing his possibility of survival, due to danger or persecution arising from an atypical situation, involving or interrelating economic and political contexts, social or environmental impacts.

The disregard of other categories of refugees, in addition to those listed in the official documents, reflects a limited approach to the concept, as well as a deeply narrow view of the subject.

From the analyses performed, some relevant elements regarding the Environmental Refuge are observed: 1) the dynamics of displacements are inserted in contexts beyond environmental damage; 2) environmental disasters at their origin and in their consequences cannot be dissociated from political and economic circumstances; 3) The Environmental Refuge consists of a relational problem marked by power; 4) the tensions that emerge from environmental disasters express different codes and narratives, as the actors are affected, causators, mediators or assistants, in the different sociopolitical, economic and sociocultural spheres.

Thus, discussing refuge only from the hypotheses formally recognized in legal instruments and official documents, corresponds to emptying the theme and covering up the real reasons for migration and displacement: contexts based on imperialist political and economic dynamics. Capitalism and its effects cannot be dissociated from the reality of the search for refuge in localities different from those of origin, while the environment is not an isolated factor of displacement, but an aspect within a search for perpetuation of political and economic power.

Acknowledgements

The authors would like to thank Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior (CAPES).

References

- ACNUR. Alto-comissariado das Nações Unidas para os Refugiados, 1933. Convention on the Status of Refugees. Available: https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BDL/Convencao_relativa_ao_Estatuto_dos_Refugiados.pdf. Access: 10 jul. 2020.
- Águas para Vidas, 2017. ONG Habitat para a Humanidade Brasil. Available: <https://autossustentavel.com/2017/03/ong-cisternas-nordeste.html>. Access: 02 jul. 2022.
- Aleshkovski, I.A., Botcharova, Z.S., Grebenyuk,

- A.A., 2021. The Evolution of the International Protection of Refugees between the World Wars. *Social Evolution & History* 20, 109-132. DOI: 10.30884/seh/2021.02.05.
- Andrade, J.H.F., 2019. The 1984 Cartagena Declaration: A Critical Review of Some Aspects of Its Emergence and Relevance. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 38, 341-362, DOI: 10.1093/rsq/hdz012.
- Andrade, M.C., 1980. A terra e o homem no Nordeste, 4 ed. Ciências Humanas, São Paulo.
- Araújo, W.B.C., Campos, R.T., Campos, K.C., 2019. Análise da cadeia produtiva da manga em Petrolina. *Revista de Política Agrícola* 27, 122-133.
- Atapattu, S., 2020. Climate change and displacement: protecting 'climate refugees' within a framework of justice and human rights. *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment* 11, 86-113. DOI: 10.4337/jhre.2020.01.04.
- Barbieri, A.F., Domingues, E., Queiroz, B.L., Ruiz, R.M., Rigotti, J.I., Carvalho, J.A.M., Resende, M.F., 2010. Climate change and population migration in Brazil's Northeast: scenarios for 2025–2050. *Population and environment* 31, 344-370. DOI: 10.1007/s11111-010-0105-1.
- Bradley, M., Madokoro, L., Erdilmen, M., Chanco, C., 2022. Whither the Refugees? International Organisations and “Solutions” to Displacement, 1921–1960. *Refugee Survey Quarterly* 41, 159-195. DOI: 10.1093/rsq/hdac003.
- Cabral, V.C.R.S., Gomes, E.T.A., Cabral-Neto, J.P., Nóbrega, J.V.S., Santos, C.P., 2022. Refugiados ambientais: uma perspectiva do reconhecimento jurídico versus a conceituação fática. *Revista Ibero-Americana de Ciências Ambientais* 13, 315-327. DOI: 10.6008/CBPC2179-6858.2022.002.0027.
- Cabral-Neto, J.P., Pimentel, R.M.M., Santos, S.M., Silva, M.M., 2022. Estimation of lithium-ion battery scrap generation from electric vehicles in Brazil. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research* 11, 1-9. DOI: 10.1007/s11356-022-23730-1.
- Calais, B.A., Lima, C.N., Vidal, H., Pazos, L.M., Mokdeci, L.A., Goldstain, P., 2020. A crise dos refugiados venezuelanos e os impactos no Brasil. *Jornal Eletrônico Faculdades Integradas Vianna Júnior* 12, 157-175.
- Carbonari, L.T., Librelotto, L.I., 2020. Abrigo Temporário para Refugiados Venezuelanos Indígenas em Boa Vista, Roraima. *Revista Gestão & Sustentabilidade Ambiental* 9, 372-391. DOI: 10.19177/rgsa.v9e0I2020372-391.
- Castles, S., Wise, R.D., 2007. Migracion y desarrollo perspectivas desde el sur. *Zacatecas* 1, 5-336. DOI: 10.13140/RG.2.1.4919.5126.
- Cavalcanti, L., Oliveira, W.F., 2020. Os efeitos da pandemia de COVID-19 sobre a imigração e o refúgio no Brasil: uma primeira aproximação a partir dos registros administrativos. *Revista de Estudos Sobre Migrações* 4, 11-34.
- CBHSF. Comitê da Bacia Hidrográfica do Rio São Francisco, 2019. Barragem de rejeitos de minério da Vale se rompe em Brumadinho (MG). Available: <https://cbhsaofrancisco.org.br/noticias/comites-afluentes/barragem-de-rejeitos-de-minerio-da-vale-se-rompe-em-brumadinho-mg/>. Access: 05 jul. 2022.
- Cirino, C.A.M., 2020. Indígenas, imigrantes e refugiados: os Warao e a proteção jurídica do Estado brasileiro. *Revista Entreprios* 3, 124-136. DOI: 10.26694/rer.v3i02.11028.
- Claro, C.A.B., 2020. A Proteção Jurídica dos “Refugiados Ambientais” nas Três Vertentes da Proteção Internacional da Pessoa Humana. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana* 28, 221-241. DOI: 10.1590/1980-85852503880005813.
- CODEVASF. Companhia de Desenvolvimento dos Vales do São Francisco e do Parnaíba, 2023. Territorial Development. Available: <https://www.codevasf.gov.br/linhas-de-negocio/desenvolvimento-territorial>. Access: 24 jan. 2023.
- Consalter, Z.M., Cruz, T.V., 2020. A Proteção Integral como Direito Fundamental da Criança e do Adolescente Refugiados no Brasil: Contradições para a Proteção no Plano Jurídico Nacional. *International Journal of Digital Law - Edição Suplementar: Comunicações Científicas do Congresso Internacional de Direitos Fundamentais* 2, 71-74. DOI: 10.47975/IJDL.20.consalter.cruz.
- Corella, A.S., 2021. Desplazados y refugiados climáticos. La necesidad de protección por causas ambientales. *Anales de la Cátedra Francisco Suárez* 55, 433-460. DOI: 10.30827/acfs.v55i0.15534.
- Cortés, A.I.R., 2021. El patrocinio de refugiados: una revisión sistemática descriptiva. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana* 29, 211-231. DOI: 10.1590/1980-85852503880006313.
- Costa, C.S., 2011. Refugiados ambientais, sujeitos em construção pelos efeitos das mudanças climáticas. *Revista Fabibe* 4, 1-6.
- Dias, T.A., Tassigny, M.M., 2021. Das Acepções dos Direitos dos Refugiados às Vozes Silenciadas nas Políticas Públicas. *Revista Brasileira de Políticas Públicas* 11, 371-393. DOI: 10.1590/1980-85852503880006313.

- 10.5102/rbpp.v11i1.6666.
- Faria, J.H., Ragnini, E.C.S., Brüning, C., 2021. Human displacement and social recognition: the working conditions and relations of refugees and displaced people in Brazil. *Cad. EBAPE.BR* 19, 278-291. DOI: 10.1590/1679-395120200018.
- França, R.A., Ramos, W.M., Montagner, M.I., 2019. Mapeamento de políticas públicas para os refugiados no Brasil. *Estudos e Pesquisas em Psicologia* 19, 89-106.
- Garbini, V.G., Squeff, T.A.F.R.C., Santo, T.F.S.A., 2020. A vulnerabilidade agravada dos refugiados na sociedade de consumo. *Revista de Direito do Consumidor* 119, 19-47.
- Gil, A.C., 2008. Métodos e Técnicas de Pesquisa Social, 6ª ed. Atlas, São Paulo.
- GLOBALGEO. GlobalGeo Geotecnologias, 2015. CBH Rio das Velhas. Available: <https://cbhvelhas.org.br/noticias/danos-causados-pelo-rompimento-da-barragem-de-mariana-preocupam-o-cbh-rio-das-velhas/>. Access: 02 jul. 2022.
- Gowayed, H., 2020. Resettled and unsettled: Syrian refugees and the intersection of race and legal status in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 43, 275-293. DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2019.1583350.
- Giroto, G., Paula, E.M.A.T., 2020. Imigrantes e Refugiados no Brasil: uma análise sobre escolarização, currículo e inclusão. *Revista Espaço do Currículo* 13, 164-175. DOI: 10.22478/ufpb.1983-1579.2020v13n1.43867.
- Gonçalves, A.J., 2001. Migrações internas: evoluções e desafios. *Estudos Avançados* 15, 173-184. DOI: 10.1590/S0103-40142001000300014.
- IDMC. Internal Displacement Monitoring Center, 2017. Global Estimates 2017: People Displaced by Disasters. Available: <http://www.internal-displacement.org/publications/global-estimates-2017-people-displaced-by-disasters>. Access: 31 aug. 2020.
- Jatobá, L., Silva, A.F., Galvíncio, J.D., 2017. A dinâmica climática do semiárido em Petrolina – PE. *Revista Brasileira de Geografia Física* 10, 136-149. DOI: 10.5935/1984-2295.20170006.
- Lakatos, E.M., Marconi, M.A., 2003. Fundamentos de metodologia científica, 5 ed. Atlas, São Paulo.
- Larousse. Larousse dictionnaires, 2019. Réfugié. Available: <https://www.larousse.fr/dictionnaires/francais/réfugié/67560>. Access: 26 jul. 2019.
- Laurino, B.I., Preto, C.T.J.O., Ferreira-Júnior, C.P., 2020. Análise acidente em Brumadinho/Minas Gerais - utilização de rejeitos de barragens na construção civil. *Brazilian Journal of Natural Sciences* 3, 231-238. DOI: 10.31415/bjns.v3i1.86.
- Lodetti, M.B., Borges, L.M., 2020. Processo migratório de refugiados sírios em Florianópolis (Brasil): significações, fatores de risco e de proteção. *Journal Alterstice* 9, 95-106. DOI: 10.7202/1075253ar.
- Marinelli, N.P., Albuquerque, L.P.A., Sousa, I.D.B., Batista, F.M.A., Mascarenhas, M.D.M., Rodrigues, M.T.P., 2020. Evolution of indicators and service capacity at the beginning of the COVID-19 epidemic in Northeast Brazil, 2020. *Epidemiologia e Serviços de Saúde* 29, 1-9. DOI: 10.5123/S1679-49742020000300008.
- Marinucci, R., 2019. "Não são apenas números". Olhares psicossociais sobre migrantes e refugiados. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana* 27, 7-12. DOI: 10.1590/1980-85852503880005501.
- Martins, M.L., 2019. A “crise dos refugiados” na Europa – entre totalidade e infinito. *Comunicação e Sociedade* 1, 21-36. DOI: 10.17231/comsoc.0(2019).3058.
- Mello, M.R.G., Martínez-Ávila, D., 2022. Competência crítica em informação em saúde: reflexões teóricas sobre a condição de vulnerabilidade de refugiados. *Asklepiion: Informação em Saúde* 2, 19–36. DOI: 10.21728/asklepiion.2022v2n1.p19-36.
- Michaelis. Michaelis dictionnaires, 2019. Refugiado. Available: <http://michaelis.uol.com.br/busca?id=Qw3zy>. Access: 25 jul. 2019.
- Nardella-Dellova, P., Bertoli, L.T.F., Fonseca, M.L., Torqueto, M., Bezerra, P.H.S., 2022. *Revista de Direito Civil* 4, 80-96.
- Pacífico, A.P., Gaudêncio, M.R.B., 2014. A proteção dos deslocados ambientais no regime internacional dos refugiados. *Revista Interdisciplinar da Mobilidade Humana* 22, 133-148. DOI: 10.1590/1980-85852503880004309.
- Passmore, J., 1980. *Man's Responsibility to Nature. Ecological Problems and Western Traditions*, 1 ed. Duckworth, London.
- Passos, F.L., Coelho, P., Dias, A., 2017. (Des) territórios da mineração: planejamento territorial a partir do rompimento em Mariana, MG. *Cadernos Metrópole* 19, 269-297. DOI: 10.1590/2236-9996.2017-3811.
- Pinheiro, A.C., Barbosa, W.L.R., Sobrinho, M.V., 2020. Public Resource Spending and its Impact on Territorial Development: the Brumadinho Case. *Research, Society and Development* 9, 1-28. DOI: 10.33448/rsd-v9i1.1878.
- Rocha, E.M., Moraes, L.G.M., Almeida, L.V., Dalvi, L.R., Andriato, L.C., Bergamaschi, L.K., Dala-

- Bernardina, L.S., Pereira, W.B., Gimenez, V.G., Chiarelli-Neto, O., Almeida, H.S., 2016. Impacto do rompimento da barragem em Mariana – MG na saúde da população ribeirinha da cidade de Colatina–ES. *Revista Tempus – Actas de Saúde Coletiva* 10, 31-45. DOI: 10.18569/tempus.v10i3.1902.
- Sales, A.G., Oliveira, R.M.F., 2019. Proteção Internacional aos Refugiados Ambientais. *Revista de Direitos Humanos em Perspectiva* 5, 18-34.
- Salles, D.M.N.N.L., Leomil, L.F.S.C., Silva, V.M., 2019. Os Refugiados e o “Espírito” de Cartagena na América Latina: Brasil X Equador. *CIPPUS* 7, 1-9. DOI: 10.18316/cippus.v7i1.4622.
- Scherer, L.A., Grisci, C.L.I., Chanlat, J-F., 2021. Immaterial labor and civil society organizations: an alternative to refugee ways of working and living. *Cad. EBAPE.BR* 19, 377-390. DOI: 10.1590/1679-395120200013.
- Schmid, P.C., 2019. Mental health and deprivation of liberty: experience report as a psychiatrist in a refugee detention center. *Saúde debate* 43, 626-636. DOI: 10.1590/0103-1104201912126.
- Sharpe, M., 2019. The Supervision (or Not) of the 1969 OAU Refugee Convention. *International Journal of Refugee Law* 31, 261-289. DOI: 10.1093/ijrl/eez025.
- Silva, K.S., Rocha, C.N.M.C., D’Avila, L., 2020. Invisibilizados na Ilha do Desterro: os Novos Fluxos de Imigrantes e Refugiados em Florianópolis. *Revista Eletrônica do Curso de Direito da UFSM* 15, 1-23. DOI: 10.5902/1981369433488.
- Silva, L.M.M., Teixeira, R.D., 2021. A Vulnerabilidade dos Refugiados no Brasil e o Tráfico de Pessoas: o Trabalho Escravo e seus Reflexos na Dignidade da Pessoa Humana. *Revista da Faculdade de Direito da UERJ* 39, 130-150. DOI: 10.12957/rfd.2021.51573.
- Silva, M.H.M., Xavier, G.L., 2022. Crise Venezuelana, Políticas Migratórias e os Refugiados no Contexto do Capitalismo Dependente. *Revista de Economia da UEG* 18, 8-20. DOI: 10.31668/reueg.v18i1.
- Silva, P.M.M., Cardoso, J.G., Iwaya, G.H., Paula, B.S., Silva, A.W.P., Oliveira, W.F.M., 2022. Barriers towards the refugee employment in Brazil and their impacts on long-term integration. *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População* 39, 1-13. DOI: 10.20947/S0102-3098a0210.
- Teixeira, A.C.C., Bourry, E.C.M.S., Balog, D.L.T., Sá, B., 2021. Why is it so hard to belong? The difficulties of refugees in their integration processes within Brazilian society and labor market. *Cad. EBAPE.BR* 19, 276-277. DOI: 10.1590/1679-395120200016.
- UNHCR. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2017. Tendencias Globales - Desplazamiento forzado em 2017. Available: <https://www.acnur.org/stats/globaltrends/5b2956a04/tendencias-globales-desplazamiento-forzado-en-2017.html>. Access: 10 jul. 2021.
- UNHCR. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2015. Environment and Climate Change. Available: <http://www.acnur.org.br/>. Access: 10 jul. 2021.
- UNHCR. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1967. 1967 Protocol on the Status of Refugees. Available: https://acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BD_Legal/Instrumentos_Internacionais/Protocolo_de_1967.pdf?file=fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BD_Legal/Instrumentos_Internacionais/Protocolo_de_1967. Access: 10 jul. 2020.
- UNHCR. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 1951. Cartagena Declaration. Available: https://www.acnur.org/fileadmin/Documentos/portugues/BD_Legal/Instrumentos_Internacionais/Declaracao_de_Cartagena.pdf. Access: 10 jul. 2020.
- Vettorassi, A., Amorim, O., 2021. Refugiados ambientales: reflexiones sobre el concepto y retos contemporáneos. *Revista de Estudios Sociales* 76, 24-40. DOI: 10.7440/res76.2021.03.
- Vieira, L.R., 2012. Refugiados Ambientais: desafios à sua aceitação pelo Direito Internacional. Thesis (Master). Florianópolis, UFSC.