

## Brazilian Human Rights Foreign Policy Analysis In 2019-2022: *Poliheuristic Theory*

Vania Zahra Nathania<sup>1</sup>, Ummu Hanni<sup>2</sup>, Muhammad Arya Sya'bani<sup>3</sup>, Yonaso Henry Lekawael<sup>4</sup>, Nathanael Advent<sup>5</sup>

<sup>12345</sup> Relations Universitas Pembangunan Nasional "Veteran" Jakarta, Indonesia  
email: [2210412014@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id](mailto:2210412014@mahasiswa.upnvj.ac.id)

### **Abstract**

*This article aims to analyze Brazilian foreign policy in the field of human rights during the 2019-2022 administration of President Jair Bolsonaro using a poliheuristic theoretical framework. This research belongs to the category of qualitative research. Its data collection method is a literature study, and its data analysis method is a descriptive case study. The results show that the reason President Bolsonaro chose a foreign policy that focuses on human rights is to maintain Brazil's image, popularity, and close relations with other countries. President Bolsonaro applied the policy by participating in various UN efforts to solve HR-related issues. Brazilian foreign policy under President Bolsonaro has positive and negative consequences, but the former outweighs the latter. In conclusion, the application of poliheuristic theory worked well and helped the authors strengthen the understanding of decision-making related to Brazilian foreign policy in the field of human rights in the 2019-2022 period.*

**Keywords:** *Brazilian Foreign Policy, Human Rights, Poliheuristic Theory, President Jair Bolsonaro.*

### **Introduction**

Foreign policy, also recognized as international relations policy, constitutes a set of objectives elucidating a country's interactions with other nations across economic, political, social, and military domains. To a limited extent, it delineates the relationships between states and non-state entities. Formulated to safeguard a nation's national interests, security, ideological objectives, and economic well-being, foreign policy serves as a strategic tool for states to pursue their national interests. Each country possesses interests and requirements spanning security, economy, and the preferences of political elites. The discretion to determine the course of policies lies with individual states, allowing them to align strategies with their desired objectives. Nevertheless, countries must also exhibit due regard for the interests of others to prevent interventions that could jeopardize a nation's security (Rachmaniyah, 2014). In the context discussed here, the focus is on the domain of human rights, which has garnered consensus among all nations.

Foreign policy related to human rights is often an agenda of a country. The number of countries that have implemented it makes Human Rights a common agenda to be brought up. Brazil's foreign policy in relation to human rights tends to be based on the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other countries. The Brazilian government emphasizes support for the territorial

integrity of other countries and their foreign policy tends to be concerned with domestic issues. However, during the reign of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, human rights seemed to be ignored. Freedom of speech and information processing is severely restricted by the government. This has led to many press, media, and civil society organizations being investigated and even arrested just for voicing their opinions.

In investigating the impetus behind the policy decisions implemented during President Jair Bolsonaro's regime in Brazil, the author adopts a poliheuristic theory approach in this article. The objective is to establish a connection between the cognitive approach and the rational approach in the realm of policymaking. According to Mintz and DeRouen, two pivotal factors play a significant role in policymaking—cognitive states and rational choice factors. The application of this approach unfolds in two stages, beginning with the consideration of cognitive alternatives that encompass dimensions such as political considerations. If a policy fails to align with the fundamental preferences of political elites, it is unlikely to progress past the decision stage (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010). Consequently, the author endeavors to scrutinize Brazil's foreign policy on human rights during the 2019-2022 period utilizing the Poliheuristic Theory.

Research on foreign policy analysis, or FPA, focuses on results, effects, and performance evaluation in addition to understanding and explaining how and who determines foreign policy. Theories of international relations are essential to FPA to comprehend the opportunities and challenges presented by the global system. States are considered as different entities made up of competing individuals and opposing forces rather than as cohesive organisms that react uniformly. FPA studies how actors, systemic processes, public opinion, bureaucracy, and human decision-making interact at the national and sub-national levels. FPA gives a lot of consideration to the procedures and results of decision-making, including group dynamics, leadership philosophies, and cognitive theories.

FPA helps us comprehend how political actors interact with other governmental, non-governmental, and international institutions and how they decide on policies. FPA is a complicated field where a wide range of players influence the decision-making process by working on structures both inside and outside the state. We are required to have an analytical process model to shed light on the dynamics in this area and aid in the explanation of how the state handles its diplomatic, international relations, and foreign policy endeavors while examining a nation's foreign policy architecture.

To improve the exchange of ideas, research can be freely published in FPA without being constrained by theory, methodology, discipline, location, or other factors. FPA is a resource for integrating theories and methodologies and furthering debates of concepts within various and complicated research traditions, with an emphasis on making information accessible to academics from varied

backgrounds. One way to describe FPA as a subject of research is its emphasis on particular actors. The fundamental and frequently implied claim is that individuals, acting both individually and collectively, are the source of international politics and the drivers of change in that field. FPA is, to put it simply, the study of the comparative and case-specific procedures, impacts, causes, or results of foreign policy decision-making.

In the overall context of FPA, human rights refer to the evaluation of the effects that a nation's foreign policies and activities have on the rights and welfare of people worldwide. This method examines how human rights concepts like freedom, equality, and dignity are taken into account while developing and carrying out a nation's foreign policy. It aims to comprehend how diplomatic relations, international treaties, and geopolitical tactics influence global human rights promotion and/or violations.

Examining a state's interactions with other states, international organizations, and worldwide concerns about human rights norms is necessary to relate human rights to FPA. This viewpoint places a strong emphasis on the moral implications of foreign policy choices, seeking to guarantee that a state's actions uphold international human rights standards and assist the development of a fair and just global order.

The analysis of human rights by FPA highlights the relationship between international relations and people's welfare on a global scale and stresses the significance of including human rights concerns in the larger conversation about international relations.

The utilization of foreign policy as a platform for addressing human rights concerns is a common practice among countries, with numerous nations incorporating it into their agendas. Brazil, a significant player in both the Latin American region and the global arena, exemplifies this trend. As the largest and most populous country in South America, boasting a population exceeding 200 million and a gross domestic product (GDP) of approximately 1.8 trillion US dollars, Brazil assumes a pivotal role. Additionally, Brazil is actively engaged in various international organizations, including the United Nations (UN), Organization of American States (OAS), Group of Five (G5), BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, and South Africa), and Mercosur (Southern Common Market).

The period 2019-2022 is an interesting period to observe Brazil's foreign policy on human rights, as it is characterized by a significant change of government. In January 2019, Jair Bolsonaro was sworn in as president of Brazil, replacing Michel Temer who had been in office since 2016. Bolsonaro is a former military officer known as a controversial right-wing politician. He has conservative, nationalist, and anti-globalist views, and often criticizes international organizations, human rights groups, and the media. Bolsonaro also has a close relationship with US President Donald Trump, who shares similar views. Brazil's foreign policy under Bolsonaro shows a drastic shift from its previous foreign

policy, which was more oriented towards multilateralism, cooperation, and the promotion of human rights. Bolsonaro has prioritized Brazil's national interests, bilateral relations with allied countries, and support for the US agenda.

Earlier in 2017, Freedom House gave Brazil a score of "2" for political rights and civil liberties; "1" representing the freest, and "7", the least free according to the World Freedom Report. During the reign of President Jair Bolsonaro in Brazil, human rights have been largely ignored. The freedom to speak and process information is severely restricted by the government. This has led to many press, media and civil society bodies being investigated and even arrested for voicing their opinions.

In examining a particular incident, the author seeks to unravel the motivations behind the policy decisions enacted during President Jair Bolsonaro's administration in Brazil. Employing a poliheuristic theory approach, the author endeavors to establish a nexus between the cognitive and rational approaches in the policymaking process. Mintz and DeRouen posit that two pivotal factors, namely cognitive states and rational choice factors, significantly influence policymaking. This theoretical framework unfolds in a dual-stage process, commencing with the exploration of cognitive alternatives that consider dimensions such as the political aspect. If the proposed policy fails to align with the fundamental preferences of political elites, it is unlikely to progress beyond the decision stage (Mintz & DeRouen, 2010). Consequently, the author adopts the poliheuristic theory as the primary lens for scrutinizing the policies implemented during President Jair Bolsonaro's regime in Brazil.

Brazil's human rights foreign policy is based on sovereignty, non-intervention, peaceful settlement of disputes, and cooperation between states, as stated in the Brazilian Constitution and the 2019-2022 Foreign Policy Agenda. The policy aims to promote and protect human rights at the national and international levels, with a focus on vulnerable groups, such as women, children, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, refugees, and migrants. Brazil's human rights foreign policy also seeks to strengthen democracy, fight corruption, promote sustainable development, and encourage social inclusion as essential elements for the realization of human rights.

Brazil's human rights foreign policy is implemented through various bilateral, regional, and multilateral initiatives, such as the Universal Periodic Review of the UN Human Rights Council, the Inter-American Human Rights System, the Community of Portuguese-speaking Countries, and the BRICS Human Rights Forum that face several challenges and criticisms, such as the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on human rights, allegations of human rights violations in the Amazon region, tensions with some neighboring countries over migration issues, and differences with some Western countries over human rights priorities.

In 1988, Brazil promulgated a Constitution (Title I, Article 4, Point II) that

explicitly acknowledges human rights as a fundamental guiding principle of the country's foreign policy. President Bolsonaro, on January 22, 2019, articulated the pursuit of "authentic human rights" as a new objective in Brazil's foreign policy, emphasizing the defense of the global human rights protection system. Brazil, under Bolsonaro's leadership, seeks to challenge and reconstruct the normative foundations of this system. While President Bolsonaro, in his inaugural address to the UN General Assembly, affirmed Brazil's "unwavering commitment to the highest standards of human rights," the focal points on family, faith, and the imperative to safeguard society from criminal elements indicate a notably narrow and conservative interpretation of human rights.

Of all the literature reviews that the author has read and compared, the research that the author conducts is more focused on Brazil's foreign policy in the context of human rights in the 2019-2022 period or during the reign of President Jair Bolsonaro. In this study, the author wants to examine and find answers to foreign policy in the context of human rights in Brazil that have never been studied before, namely whether the policy has positive and negative impacts if analyzed through poliheuristic theory and whether there are other solutions to overcome the problems that exist in Brazil's foreign policy in the context of human rights.

## **Research Methods**

In terms of characteristics and objectives, this research is classified as a type of qualitative research. This statement is based on an explanation from Gramedia (2023). According to this source, qualitative research is research that aims to find meaning that cannot be measured from phenomena in the field by using a theoretical basis as a discussion material and analysis guide. The characteristics of qualitative research include having a fairly limited research object, the results are highly dependent on the in-depth analysis of the researcher, and the process is relatively less systematic and structured.

The data analysis method used is a case study. The word "Case" is derived from the word "Case" which, according to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (1989; 173), is defined as 1) "an instance or example of something occurring" 2) "current state of affairs; situation," and 3) "circumstances or special conditions about a person or thing." So, it can be concluded that the case study qualitative research method is an analytical method that focuses and focuses on a certain limited object. According to Yin (2008), case studies are a more appropriate strategy when the main research question is how or why. So, it can also be concluded that the purpose of using case studies is to get richer information and a deeper understanding of the object.

The research employs a descriptive case study method as its chosen investigative approach. Descriptive methodology involves the examination of the current status of a specific group of people, an object, a situation, a system of thought, or a category of events. The primary objective of this descriptive research

is to construct a methodical and precise depiction of certain facts, along with an exploration of the inherent nature and relationships among the phenomena under scrutiny. Whitney (1960) succinctly characterizes the descriptive method as a quest for facts accompanied by appropriate interpretation. In essence, descriptive research delves into a spectrum of community issues and processes relevant to society and specific circumstances, encompassing aspects such as relationships, activities, attitudes, perspectives, ongoing processes, and the impacts of various phenomena.

The data collection technique in this research is a literature study, which is a technique of collecting the necessary data using secondary data sources. This means sources that come from data and information that have been collected and published previously by other parties, either based on specific research purposes or other purposes. Examples of secondary data sources include books, journal articles, internet sites, theses, theses, and dissertations.

## **Results and Discussion**

### **Brazilian Foreign Policy on Human Rights Issues**

Brazil, as a participant in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, has pledged to uphold principles of equality, dignity, and freedom for every individual. Regrettably, the current human rights situation in Brazil falls short of the envisioned standards, marked by numerous instances of rights infringements. These transgressions encompass acts of violence targeting the LGBTQ+ community, deplorable conditions within prisons, extrajudicial killings, mistreatment of refugees, and encroachments upon religious freedom.

Since assuming the presidency in 2018, Jair Bolsonaro has ushered in a shift in Brazil's foreign policy. Under his leadership, the country's standing in the eyes of other nations has transformed, accompanied by an atmosphere of unpredictability. According to global observers, Bolsonaro has departed from established domestic norms, altering the customary practices of Brazilian diplomacy. This departure has not only instilled a profound sense of uncertainty regarding the trajectory and execution of Brazil's foreign policy but has also conveyed the impression of a disordered state within the nation's foreign ministry.

The alterations in foreign policy enacted during the Bolsonaro administration serve to accentuate perceptions of a dearth of a well-defined agenda, the onset of disorder, and an overarching sense of unpredictability. Under Bolsonaro's leadership, Brazil finds itself without a cohesive and transparent international agenda, a crucial element in formulating a comprehensive strategy to advance the nation's interests. The ramifications of this deficiency in clarity pose challenges for the future trajectory of Brazil's foreign policy, as the fractures introduced by Bolsonaro may prove detrimental in the long term. Convincing the international community that the country will steadfastly adhere to established state policies in the face of potential shifts becomes increasingly challenging, given

the administration's apparent immunity to the caprices and radical perspectives of successive governments.

Brazil maintains its opposition to references to "sexual and reproductive" rights in global forums. Furthermore, in the UN Human Rights Council, Brazil opted for abstention on a resolution proposing an inquiry into the crimes committed during the conflict between Israel and Hamas in Gaza. Brazil has also taken a stance against World Health Organization (WHO) resolutions aimed at providing health assistance, including the COVID-19 vaccine, to Palestinians. In the World Trade Organization, Brazil initially opposed the waiver of specific intellectual property rights to boost the production of COVID-19 vaccines and ensure equitable access for low-income countries. However, authorities signaled a potential reassessment of this position in June 2021. Notably, in May 2021, Brazil ratified the Inter-American Convention against Racism, Racial Discrimination, and Related Forms of Intolerance.

### **Human Rights Violations in Brazil**

Brazil, the largest and most populous country in Latin America, faces significant challenges in ensuring the protection of human rights for its citizens. During the 2019-2022 period, several crucial human rights issues emerged in the region.

Crucial Human Rights Issues First, Excessive and arbitrary police violence, especially against the poor, people of color, and indigenous communities, is a serious concern in Brazil. According to a report by Amnesty International, in 2019, Brazilian police were involved in more than 5,800 homicides, representing a 1.5% increase from the previous year. The majority of victims were young black men living in favelas (slums). In 2020, the number of police killings increased, particularly in the states of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, amid the COVID-19 pandemic. In 2021, the largest anti-drug operation in Brazil's history was recorded in the Jacarezinho favela, which killed at least 28 people, including a police officer. The operation drew sharp criticism from human rights groups, the UN, and Brazil's Supreme Court, which deemed that it violated the rights to life, liberty, and the protection of the law.

Second, violations of environmental and indigenous rights, related to deforestation, forest fires, illegal mining and infrastructure development in the Amazon region, are a focus of concern. According to a Global Witness report, Brazil was rated as the most risky country for environmental defenders, with 212 murders recorded in 2019. In 2020, deforestation rates in the Amazon reached a 12-year peak, causing land loss equivalent to eight Sao Paulo cities. In 2021, the Brazilian government issued a decree allowing commercial mining activities in indigenous territories without involving consultation or consent from indigenous communities. This move sparked protests and condemnation from various parties, including the indigenous organization APIB (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do

Brazil) and the environmental organization Greenpeace.

Third, the inadequate handling of the COVID-19 pandemic has caused Brazil to become one of the countries with the highest number of cases and deaths in the world. According to Worldometer data as of December 6, 2023, Brazil has reported more than 30 million cases and more than 800 thousand deaths due to COVID-19. The Brazilian government under the leadership of President Bolsonaro has faced criticism for ignoring scientific advice, refusing to use masks and vaccines, and spreading false information about the pandemic. The result has been a severe health, social and economic crisis, which has exacerbated inequality and poverty in the country. Vulnerable groups, such as informal workers, women, children and indigenous people, have been more negatively impacted by the pandemic.

Lastly, the threat to civil and press freedoms in Brazil is linked to the authoritarian and intolerant attitude of President Bolsonaro and his supporters towards criticism, opposition and diversity. According to the Freedom House report, Brazil saw its freedom score drop from 75 in 2019 to 70 in 2021, with its status changing from "free" to "partly free". This is due to various factors, such as verbal and physical attacks on journalists, activists, and opposition politicians, attempts to control and intimidate law enforcement and judicial institutions, the use of law and power to obstruct corruption investigations, and the spread of propaganda and media information through social media. The impact is a threat to democracy and human rights in Brazil, while also creating tension and polarization in society.

Year	Number of human rights violations
2019	10.984
2020	7.487
2021	222.000
2022	295.000

In 2019, Brazil experienced significant issues related to violence and human rights abuses:

1. Police Violence: The Brazilian Public Security Forum reported that police killed 5,804 civilians. Gender-specific data indicated 3,913 women and 1,891 men among the victims. The São Paulo state government noted 218 deaths from military police street operations from January to April.
2. Prison Violence: The National Council of the Public Ministry reported 2,676 cases of guards and other personnel inflicting bodily harm on prisoners, a decrease from 3,261 cases in 2018.
3. Gender-Based Violence: There were 1,326 femicides reported. A study by Patricia Galvao and Locomotiva found that 97% of women experienced



sexual harassment in public transportation, taxis, or rideshare services.

4. Indigenous and LGBTQ+ Violence: The CIMI (Indigenist Missionary Council/*Conselho Indigenista Missionário*) report recorded 113 killings of indigenous persons. Additionally, 124 transgender individuals were killed, according to the National Association of Transvestites and Transsexuals in Brazil.
5. Slave Labor: Authorities identified 1,054 victims of slave labor during 45 labor inspections.

Meanwhile in 2020 :

1. The nongovernmental organization (NGO) Brazilian Public Security Forum reported that police killed 6,424 persons in 2020 for unjustified loss of life and other illegal or politically driven killings.
2. A report by the Human Rights Commission of the Brasilia Federal District Legislative Chamber documented 46 complaints of torture and mistreatment in the Federal District's prison system in 2020. Additionally, the Pernambuco Department of Social Development reported 957 cases of sexual abuse and 60 cases of sexual exploitation involving children and adolescents in Pernambuco State in the same year.

In 2021, Brazil experienced significant issues related to violence and human rights abuses:

1. Police Violence

Brazil Public Safety Forum, In 2021 Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) reported that police killed 6,133 people nationwide. The Brazil Public Safety Forum reported that people killed by police were 84% black, compared to 56% of the country's black population.

2. Prison Violence

According to the National Department of Corrections (DEPEN). In 2021 there were 204,185 inmates more than the designed capacity leading to overcrowding across the country. Prison conditions are inadequate, prisoners often lack access to adequate nutrition, water, hygiene supplies. Many cells are infested with cockroaches and rats. In the Federal District prison system problems include poor food quality and hygiene conditions, lack of access to health services, and inadequate infrastructure.

Reports of mistreatment by guards continue to include torture, cruel punishment, and degrading treatment. A Catholic Church entity, Pastoral Catcerari Defending the Human Rights of Prisoners, reported 90 complaints of torture and other abuses in prisons across the country between March 15 and October 31, 2020. This represents an increase of more than 70 percent over the same period. In 2019, 53 cases were reported.

3. Gender-Based Violence

According to a study released by the Brazilian Public Security Forum, more than 1,300 women were victims of femicide in 2021. The data shows that 98 percent of the victims were killed by their relatives and partners, 67 percent of the victims were black women, more than 70 percent of the victims were between 18 and 44 years old. The state of Minas Gerais recorded that there were 135 homicide victims from January to October and a total of 294 victims of domestic violence through victims of domestic violence during the same period, according to the Secretariat of Public Security of Minas Gerais. In 2021, there were nearly 6,300 cases of homicide against women, more than one million cases of domestic violence.

#### 4. Indigenous and LGBTQ+ Violence

According to the Indigenous Missionary Council's report entitled Violence against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil in 2021, there were 305 territorial occupations in 22 states, affecting 226 indigenous lands. The number of occupations in 2021 was three times higher than in 2018, which counted 109 cases. In 2021, 176 indigenous people were killed, some of which were related to occupations.

The Office of the National Human Rights Ombudsman (ONDH) received around 1,100 complaints about discrimination, violence and other crimes against lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender (LGBT) people between January and October 2021.

#### 5. Immigrants

In 2020 according to UNICEF, the [refugee] support organization identified more than 1,580 unaccompanied Venezuelan adolescents and children in Pacaraima, Roraima State and in the first three months of this year the number reached 1,070. According to civil society contacts, some minors are at risk of sexual exploitation and trafficking.

In 2022, Brazil experienced significant issues related to violence and human rights abuses:

##### 1. Police Violence

From January to October of 2022 Rio state police killed 1,011 people. In Sergipe, a black man with psychosocial disabilities choked to death, on May 25, after Federal Highway Police officers detained him in the back of a patrol vehicle and threw what appeared to be a tear gas grenade. Three officers were charged with torture, murder and abuse of power:

##### 2. Indigenous and LGBTQ+ Violence

In the first six months of 2022, across Brazil there were 135 violent deaths of LGBTQIA+ people. The data from Grupo Gay da Bahia shows that the Northeast is the most unsafe region for LGBTQIA+ people, especially

Bahia and Pernambuco.

### 3. Gender Based Violence

A study released by the Brazilian Public Security Forum on March 2, reported that one-third of women over the age of 16 experienced sexual or physical violence from a former partner or spouse. In addition, by 2022 all forms of violence against women increased, such as threats with guns or knives, beatings. In 2022, more than 1,440 women were victims of femicide, 80 percent of whom were killed by relatives, former or current partners.

Implication of Human Rights Violations in Brazil

During the period from 2019 to 2022, Brazil faced serious challenges related to Human Rights. Several implications arose from Human Rights violations in the country.

Brazil's political landscape has been marked by controversy and human rights violations, particularly during the 2019-2022 period. These controversies vary such as, the inadequate handling of the COVID-19 pandemic has had severe consequences for Brazil's health, social, and economic systems. As noted by a study published in the journal "The Lancet," "the country's politics and science walked in opposite directions, creating a scenario of insecurity and uncertainty for the population". This politicization of science led to a significant delay in the country's response to the pandemic, resulting in a higher number of cases and deaths compared to other countries. The study emphasizes that if the country had invested in its health system and heeded WHO guidelines, the pandemic would have taken a different course. This highlights the critical role of science in informing policy decisions and the devastating consequences of political interference in public health crises.

The excessive and arbitrary use of police force, particularly against marginalized communities, is another pressing concern in Brazil. A report by Amnesty International notes that in 2019, Brazilian police were involved in more than 5,800 homicides, with the majority of victims being young black men living in favelas. This pattern of violence has continued, with the 2021 anti-drug operation in the Jacarezinho favela killing at least 28 people, including a police officer. The operation was widely criticized by human rights groups and the UN, underscoring the need for greater accountability and transparency in law enforcement practices. The politicization of police violence and the lack of effective measures to address these issues have contributed to a culture of fear and mistrust among marginalized communities, further eroding trust in the political system.

The violations of environmental and indigenous rights in Brazil are also deeply intertwined with the country's political landscape. The Brazilian government's decision to allow commercial mining activities in indigenous territories without consultation or consent from indigenous communities has sparked widespread protests and condemnation. As noted by a Global Witness

report, Brazil was rated as the most risky country for environmental defenders, with 212 murders recorded in 2019. This highlights the urgent need for greater protection of environmental and indigenous rights, as well as the importance of involving local communities in decision-making processes related to their lands and resources. The politicization of these issues has significant implications for the country's environmental and social sustainability, as well as its international reputation.

In the area of security, the implications of human rights violations in Brazil consist of implications for Brazil's foreign relations and implications for Brazil's sustainability.

The author will begin by dividing the first group of implications into positive and negative implications. The negative implication is the weakening of Brazil's relationship with pro-Human Rights countries, while the negative implication is the strengthening of Brazil's relationship with countries that are less pro-Human Rights. This change can lead to changes in Brazil's foreign policy and even cause changes in global political patterns, considering that Brazil is one of the countries that strongly emphasizes human rights aspects in its foreign policy.

The author will continue the discussion on the implications of the second group, namely the implications of domestic human rights violations for the sustainability of Brazil, both as a country and as a society. Unlike the previous group, in this group the implications are more negative. This is due to the following three main factors:

- 1) The number of world leaders in the pro-human rights camp still exceeds the number of world leaders in the counter-human rights camp. The Human Rights Index for 2023 shows that three of the five current world leaders—the United Kingdom, the United States, and France—highly value and emphasize human rights (OurWorldinData, 2024). This would be a loss for Brazil, whose image as the world's human rights partner has begun to fade.
- 2) In contrast to normative assumptions, pro-Human Rights states can be aggressive internationally. Burke-White (2004) reveals that normatively, according to the social belief argument, pro-Human Rights states take a universalist approach to human rights. They argue that human rights are owned by all individuals without exception, including the people of counter-human rights countries, so they try their best to avoid international aggression that can damage or limit the fulfillment of these human rights. However, in practice, the premise of the argument is actually used as a basis for international aggression on the grounds that the aggression is a process of safeguarding the human rights of citizens in the target country, as happened in the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. It is not impossible that someday in the future the United States will carry out 'Brazil's version of Operation Iraqi Liberation' due to many domestic human rights violations in Brazil. This will certainly be dangerous for the sustainability of the government and society in

Brazil.

- 3) Domestic human rights violations have the potential to cause internal aggression as well, which is driven by transnational criminal groups such as terrorism networks. Annan (2005) argues that upholding human rights is one of the key elements in countering terrorism. The reason is domestic human rights violations give higher moral ground to terrorists and enable them to influence citizens to fight against their government and their own fellow countrymen. Of course, if that bad scenario happens, a civil war will erupt, weakening the country politically, socially and economically. This is related to another key element of counterterrorism according to Annan, namely state capability. A weak state clearly does not have the capability to fight back. Thus, the state will be forced to let terrorism network continue flourishing it.

The social implications resulting from Human Rights violations in Brazil include, first, Amazon deforestation. Amazon deforestation threatens environmental sustainability and the lives of indigenous peoples. The loss of forests affects global climate and biodiversity. The Brazilian government's policies that loosen regulations on land clearing for economic and agricultural purposes contribute to deforestation. This creates tensions with the international community and reduces Brazil's compliance with global environmental agreements. Second, Police Violence and Human Rights Violations. Police violence and human rights violations against Brazilian citizens provoke distrust in security institutions and the government. Brazil's foreign policy must advocate for the protection of human rights and ensure the accountability of security forces. Diplomatic actions and international cooperation are necessary to address this issue. Lastly, Involvement in International Organizations. Brazil's involvement in international organizations affects its image in the eyes of the world. Brazil needs to strengthen cooperation with human rights bodies such as the United Nations and take concrete steps to improve the human rights situation domestically.

Human rights violations have significant economic impacts in Brazil during the period from 2019 to 2022. Some economic implications include, first, Investment and Trade. Human rights violations can reduce investor confidence and affect the investment climate in Brazil. Foreign policy should strengthen human rights protection to ensure the sustainability of investment and trade. Second, Economic Sanctions. Human rights violations can trigger economic sanctions from partner countries and international organizations. A poor human rights record can harm Brazil's economy. Lastly, Social Welfare. Human rights violations impede social and community welfare. Foreign policy must prioritize human rights protection for the sustainability of economic and social development. Additionally, the economic crisis affects rising food and fuel prices, increasing pressure on health and social services. Marginalized groups, including women, girls, and LGBTI communities, face discrimination and gender-based violence.

## Brazilian Poliheuristic Theory Analysis on Human Rights Issues

Poliheuristic Theory suggests that the decision-making process involves two stages, namely the screening of alternatives and the evaluation of consequences, intending to reach a rational decision and optimize profits while minimizing risks. In addition, this theory considers the influence of psychological and situational factors on decision-makers.

In the Brazilian context, a key figure in the decision-making process is President Jair Bolsonaro, who has shown controversial views on human rights issues during the 2019-2022 period. Bolsonaro is known as an authoritarian, nationalist and conservative leader, often ignoring or defying international human rights norms. Nonetheless, in the international arena, Brazil has also implemented some foreign policies that are considered successful in addressing human rights violations.

Furthermore, the author will explain using poliheuristic theory as follows:

### 1. Alternative Screening Stage

In the alternative screening stage, Bolsonaro tends to choose options that are in line with his views and preferences. This selection is influenced by his background as a former soldier, right-wing parliamentarian and leader of a populist movement. Bolsonaro is also influenced by conservative ideology and religion, which rejects the values of human rights as liberal, secular and foreign concepts.

Bolsonaro's choices favor alternatives that support Brazil's national, economic, and security interests while maintaining his authority and popularity as president. Nonetheless, Bolsonaro realizes that Brazil cannot be isolated from the world and needs to maintain good relations with other countries, especially those with great influence and power such as the United States, China, and the European Union. Therefore, Bolsonaro is also considering several alternatives that demonstrate Brazil's involvement and cooperation in global human rights issues, such as membership of the UN Human Rights Council, signing a Joint Declaration with the UN, and a role as one of the founding countries of the ICC.

### 2. Consequence Evaluation Stage

In the consequence evaluation stage, Bolsonaro tends to consider the impact of his chosen alternatives on Brazil's population, environment and international relations.

Bolsonaro's main focus is on the positive consequences he anticipates, such as increasing economic growth, reducing crime rates, and strengthening the country's sovereignty and independence.

In addition, Bolsonaro hopes that by demonstrating a cooperative and responsible stance on global human rights issues, Brazil can improve its image and

reputation in the world, and gain support and assistance from other countries. However, Bolsonaro tends to ignore or downplay the negative consequences of his decisions on Brazil's population, environment and international relations. He considers human rights violations in the country as an internal matter that does not need external interference and considers criticism and protests from various parties as an attempt to weaken and intervene in Brazil.

In addition, Bolsonaro's decision-making is also influenced by situational factors, such as pressure from his support groups such as the military, business, religion and the media, which have special interests and agendas. Psychological factors such as emotions, ego and beliefs also play an important role, making it difficult for him to change or admit mistakes in his decisions.

The following author presents in the form of an alternative table Brazilian Foreign Policy on the issue of Human Rights.

Code	Alternative	Component
1	Brazil continues Foreign Policy on Human Rights Issues	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Brazil chooses alternatives that demonstrate commitment and cooperation on global human rights issues, such as becoming a member of the UN Human Rights Council, signing the Joint Declaration with the UN, and becoming one of the founding countries of the ICC.</li> <li>● Brazil tries to maintain good relations with other countries, especially those with great influence and power, such as the United States, China, and the European Union.</li> <li>● By showing a cooperative and responsible stance on global human rights issues, Brazil can improve its image and reputation in the eyes of the world, and gain support and assistance from other countries.</li> <li>● Brazil also recognizes that global</li> </ul>

		<p>human rights issues have a direct or indirect impact on the people and environment of Brazil.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Brazil gains the risk of 'image backfire'. It could unexpectedly lose its entire valuable international reputation because its contrasting foreign and domestic policies could lead the world to believe that the current Brazilian governor is a hypocrite.</li> </ul>
A2	Brazil does not continue Foreign Policy on Human Rights Issues	<p>Brazil risks losing its image and reputation as a democratic, multicultural and committed to human rights country, an image that has been built since the end of the military regime in 1985. Brazil could be seen as a country that ignores or defies international human rights norms and becomes the object of criticism and protest from various parties, both domestically and internationally.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Brazil risks losing support and assistance from other countries, especially those with great influence and power such as the United States, China, and the European Union. The possibility of economic, political, or military sanctions from these countries could also confront</li> </ul>



		<p>Brazil if it is implicated in gross human rights violations, such as genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes, or crimes of aggression. In addition, Brazil may lose opportunities to participate in international forums and organizations relevant to Human Rights issues including the UN Human Rights Council, ICC, and others.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>● Brazil is potentially negatively impacted by global human rights issues, which may directly or indirectly affect its citizens and the country's environment.</li> <li>● Brazil is free from the risk of 'image backfire' due to the existing</li> <li>● strong prediction that expects Brazilian foreign policy to lead the country into global controversy. After all, a person can't commit criminal acts without accepting the great risk of getting arrested by the police. On the other hand, it also could increase the chance of Brazil's international image improving, since the country consistently shows its true face at the international and domestic levels.</li> </ul>
--	--	--

Table 1.0 Brazilian alternative foreign policies on human rights issues

The following is the Table of Score the Value of Brazilian Foreign Policy Alternatives on the issue of Human Rights.

Code	Dimension	Basis for Consideration	Score A1	Score A2
B1	Security	Did the Decision taken keep Brazil safe?	2	0
B2	Politics	Will the decision improve Brazil's international image and reputation?	2	1
Total			4	1

Table 2.0 Score the Value of Brazilian Foreign Policy Alternatives on the issue of Human Rights.

It can be seen from the table above that two things are the basis for Brazil's consideration to continue or not its foreign policy on human rights, namely the security dimension and the political dimension. When viewed from the security dimension, the basis for consideration is whether the decisions taken by Brazil can maintain Brazil's security, which in the table shows that the security dimension in the A1 weight gets 2 points while in the A2 weight gets a value of 0, which means that this policy will be continued because the A1 weight is greater than the A2 weight.

Then when viewed in the political dimension, the basis for consideration is whether the decision taken will improve Brazil's image and reputation in the international eyes. In this political dimension table, the total weighted value of A1 (2) gets a greater value than A2 (1), which means that foreign policy on human rights is continued.

From the results of the author's discussion, this policy will have a good impact on the security and political dimensions of Brazil. This policy will show the international community that Brazil commits to cooperation in global human rights issues, such as becoming a member of the UN Human Rights Council, signing a Joint Declaration with the UN, and becoming one of the founding countries of the ICC. Brazil can also maintain good relations with other countries, especially those with great influence and power, such as the United States, China, and the European Union. Brazil can improve its image and reputation in the eyes of the world, and gain support and assistance from other countries. Brazil can also realize that global human rights issues have a direct or indirect impact on the people and the environment.

Overall, Brazil's Human Rights-oriented foreign policy option excels with a total weight of 4. This shows that before implementing the policy, the Brazilian government at that time conducted a poliheuristic analysis first.

However, the superiority of this option can still be improved through optimization. The author argues that to optimize the operationalization of Brazil's foreign policy in the context of human rights, several things need to be considered.

First, Brazil should engage in more active diplomacy. Brazil should try to be more active in promoting human rights in international forums. The country could take a leadership role in setting global standards and encouraging other countries to respect human rights.

Second, engage in multilateral cooperation. Brazil should strengthen its multilateral cooperation, especially through the UN and regional organizations such as the Organization of American States (OAS). This can help strengthen human rights norms and standards.

Third, do a better job of protecting migrants and refugees than before. Given its geographical position, Brazil can play an important role in protecting the rights of migrants and refugees. The country should seek to strengthen regional and international cooperation in this regard.

Fourth, enforce the law more vigorously. Brazil must ensure that human rights laws are enforced both at home and abroad, setting an example for other countries. This could include enforcing laws against crimes against human rights and corruption. This could reduce the risk of Brazil being perceived as hypocritical or two-faced.

Fifth, promote human rights in trade and investment. Brazil should ensure that its international trade and investment agreements include strong clauses on human rights protection.

Finally, carry out education and training activities. Brazil should expand its human rights education and training programs for diplomats and other government officials. This will help them understand and promote human rights more effectively.

## Conclusion

The author concludes that Brazil's foreign policy on human rights can be analyzed using poliheuristic theory. Poliheuristic theory helps the author to understand the decision-making in Brazil's foreign policy and how it impacts Brazil's diplomatic relations, and impact on Brazil's diplomatic relations. According to the poliheuristic analysis that has been conducted, Brazil's human rights-oriented foreign policy option have their risks and opportunities. However, the pro-Human Rights Brazil Foreign Policy option has a superior total weight. The author also argues that the superiority of this option can still be improved by optimizing the operationalization of Brazil's foreign policy in the context of human rights. Several things need to be considered in this optimization, namely Brazil must be more active in diplomacy, conduct multilateral cooperation, protect migrants and refugees better than before, enforce laws and human rights more strictly both at home and abroad, promote human rights in trade and investment,

and expand human rights education and training programs for diplomats and other government officials.

## References

- (2021, October 14). Brazil's 7 priorities in the Security Council - 2022-2023 — Ministério das Relações Exteriores. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.gov.br/mre/en/Brazil-UNSC/the-2022-2023-mandate/braziils-7-priorities-in-the-security-council-2022-2023>
- A, Q. (n.d.). *5 Jenis-Jenis Penelitian: Kuantitatif, Kualitatif sampai Campuran*. Gramedia. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.gramedia.com/literasi/jenis-jenis-penelitian/>
- Amnesty International. (2023). *LAPORAN AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL 2022/23*. Amnesty International Indonesia. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from [https://www.amnesty.id/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/FIN\\_03212023\\_Annual-Report-2022-2023\\_IDN-Version\\_Web.pdf](https://www.amnesty.id/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/FIN_03212023_Annual-Report-2022-2023_IDN-Version_Web.pdf)
- Amnesty International. (2023, Maret 27). *Laporan Amnesty International 2022/23: Situasi hak asasi manusia secara global*. Amnesty International. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/pol10/5670/2023/id/>
- Amnesty International. (2023, Maret 28). *Situasi Hak Asasi Manusia Global: Laporan Tahunan Amnesty International 2022/23*. International. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from <https://www.amnesty.id/referensi-ham/situasi-hak-asasi-manusia-global-laporan-tahunan-amnesty-international-2022-23/03/2023/>
- Amnesty International. (2023, June 16). *Brazil: Human rights under assault : Submission to the 41st session of the UPR working group*. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/amr19/5432/2022/en>
- Brazil: Secret Process to Change Human Rights Policy*. (2021, February 15). Human Rights Watch. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.hrw.org/news/2021/02/15/brazil-secret-process-change-human-rights-policy>
- Brazil - United States Department of State*. (n.d.). State Department. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2021-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/brazil/>
- Brazil - United States Department of State*. (n.d.). State Department. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/brazil/>
- Buarque, D. (2022, September 13). *The decline of Brazil's foreign policy and international status under Bolsonaro*. the Loop: ECPR. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://theloop.ecpr.eu/the-decline-of-brazils-foreign-policy-and-international-status-under-bolsonaro/>

- Fact Sheet: Democracy and Human Rights - U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Brazil.* (2023, February 10). U.S. Embassy in Brazil. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://br.usembassy.gov/fact-sheet-democracy-and-human-rights/>
- Fact Sheet: Democracy and Human Rights - U.S. Embassy & Consulates in Brazil.* (2023, February 10). U.S. Embassy in Brazil. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://br.usembassy.gov/fact-sheet-democracy-and-human-rights/>
- Fathurrahmi, F., Rachman, N. N., Amalia, R. F., & Masihuddin, A. (2014, Maret). *Hak Asasi Manusia dalam Kebijakan Luar Negeri*. KontraS. Retrieved May 23, 2024, from <https://www.kontras.org/backup/buku/majalah%20revisi%20FINAL2%20web.pdf>
- Guimarães, S. (2023, July 31). (PDF) *The Quest for Status: Brazil's Activism in the UN Human Rights Council 2006–2020*. ResearchGate. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from [https://www.researchgate.net/publication/356477162\\_The\\_Quest\\_for\\_Status\\_Brazil's\\_Activism\\_in\\_the\\_UN\\_Human\\_Rights\\_Council\\_2006-2020](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/356477162_The_Quest_for_Status_Brazil's_Activism_in_the_UN_Human_Rights_Council_2006-2020)
- Hassan, T. (n.d.). *World Report 2023: Brazil*. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2023/country-chapters/brazil>
- Husna, N., Rosyidin, M., & Alfian, M. F. (2022). Dilema Prioritas: Analisis Perubahan Kebijakan Luar Negeri Brazil Era Bolsonaro Dalam Isu Lingkungan Global. *Journal of International Relation UNDIP*, 8, 1087-1104. <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jihi/article/download/36926/28263>
- KING'S College LONDON. (2023, June 16). *Foreign Policy Analysis*. KING'S College LONDON. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.kcl.ac.uk/abroad/module-options/foreign-policy-analysis>
- Mintz, A., & DeReun, K. (2010). *Understanding Foreign Policy Decision Making*. Cambridge University Press.
- Norwich University. (n.d.). *5 Key Approaches to Foreign Policy Analysis*. Norwich University - Online. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://online.norwich.edu/5-key-approaches-foreign-policy-analysis>
- Oxford University Press. (1989). *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English*.
- Picanco, L. B., Prado, M. N., & Allen, A. (2018, August 14). *Human Rights - Brazil 2018 Understanding the Issues*. Wilson Center. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.wilsoncenter.org/article/human-rights-brazil-2018-understanding-the-issues>
- Rachmaniyah, A. (2014). *Kebijakan Luar Negeri*. UIN Syarif Hidayatullah.
- Roth, K. (n.d.). *World Report 2022: Brazil*. Human Rights Watch. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2022/country-chapters/brazil>
- Situasi Hak Asasi Manusia Global: Laporan Tahunan Amnesty International 2022/23* •

- Amnesty International Indonesia*. (2023, March 28). Amnesty International Indonesia.  
Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.amnesty.id/situasi-hak-asasi-manusia-global-laporan-tahunan-amnesty-international-2022-23/>
- U.S. Department of State. (2022). *Brazil - United States Department of State*. State Department. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.state.gov/reports/2022-country-reports-on-human-rights-practices/brazil/>
- Werneck, J., & Rosa, E. G. (2021, October 20). *1000 days of Bolsonaro and Brazil's grave human rights crisis*. Amnesty International. Retrieved December 7, 2023, from <https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2021/10/mil-dias-bolsonaro-grave-crisis-derechos-humanos-brasil/>
- Whitney, F. (1960). *The Element Of Research*. Prentice-Hall.
- Yin, R. K. (2008). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (4th ed.). Sage Publications.