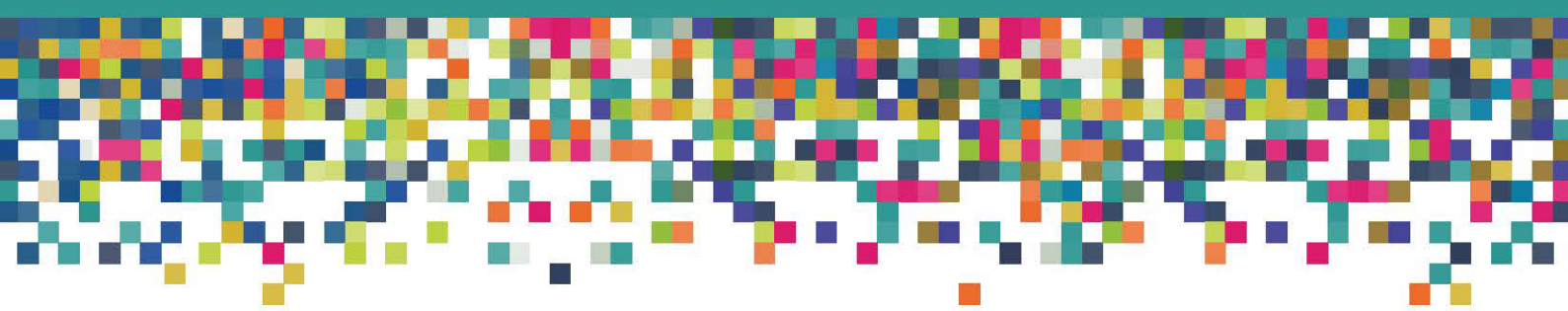




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THE FORCES OF DEVELOPMENT

Communicating Indigenous Identity in Brazil

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ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the types of discourses employed in Brazil by the government, private sector, non-governmental organisations, and indigenous organisations to represent indigenous identity in communications initiatives related to development. By building a debate around representativity and indigeneity, the author proposes six approaches to the understanding of indigenous identity: (1) acculturation; (2) racism; (3) indigenous legislation; (4) indigenous economy; (5) territoriality; and (6) development and indigeneity. Additionally, the study explores communications for development concepts aimed for the liberation of the oppressed. Using complementary methods of Critical Discourse Analysis, the research examines eight texts, among them blogs, press releases, and reportages, highlighting findings that suggest the use of distinct semiotic and textual resources throughout the spectrum analysed. For this, the research considers the shift in the relations between genres, discourses, and styles to identify and address the marginalisation of indigenous populations. In parallel, by employing systemic functional linguistics, the analysis is dedicated as well to study meaning-making through the use of specific words and structures. The results indicate that the Brazilian government and the private sector adopts rather an ethnocentric and absentee attitude to represent indigenous identity, picturing them as hindrances to development, while non-governmental organisations employ a romantic posture in their texts, despite assuming a stance for the protection of indigenous rights. In turn, indigenous organisations emerge in this media landscape to construct texts as sites of resistance, denouncing violations produced by development, while exposing the central elements of a national identity, proposing solutions to address the marginalisation of indigenous peoples in Brazil.

Keywords: *communications for development, colonialism, media representation, indigenous identity, indigenous peoples in Brazil, critical discourse analysis.*

INTRODUCTION

The dirt road was dry, so dry that dirt was suspended in the air, forming a heavy brown curtain of dust along the way, blocking the sight. I could feel the earth in my mouth and throat. The earth that we step on was stepping on me. I was driving fast, after a long journey, to reach the Krenak Indigenous Land, in the State of Minas Gerais, Brazil, before the sunset. Concerned with the interviews I was about to conduct with indigenous leaders, I almost passed through the checkpoint in the road where the Krenak guard the access to their land. I braked the pickup truck suddenly, throwing even more dust in the air. A cloud rose from the ground. The land was arid and parched. No wind in the air. For a moment, I felt the embrace of nature, a sad nature that is changed, mutilated, tired. Then, the dust started to dissipate, and two faces appeared by my window – two Krenak were looking deeply serious at me and my colleagues. I apologised for that. One more non-indigenous apology in the middle of one of the biggest environmental disasters in Brazil: the rupture, in 2015, of a tailings dam in the city of Mariana, that caused a toxic mud avalanche the size of 700 football fields, killing 19 people and destroying more than 668 kilometres of water bodies from the Doce river to the Atlantic Ocean (Carmo et al., 2017). In the pickup truck there were me, a photographer, and a geologist. We were a Greenpeace team on a mission to cover the disaster in loco after five days of the burst of the earth-fill embankment dam owned by the mining company Samarco (Azevedo, 2015). After explaining to the Krenak guards that we had scheduled an interview with the community leaders, they granted us access. We found some hundred people sitting on the train tracks that tear apart the Krenak Indigenous Land to transport mining commodities. They were mourning the Doce river.

“This river death means the death of a relative of ours. This river is, for us, a link between the past, the present and the future”, says Daniel Krenak. In indigenous cultures, the river, the trees, the land, the animals, and their surroundings have life – not only an organic life, but a humanistic-meaning life. These elements are central to the indigenous understanding of the world and the purpose of the body, as it functions in harmony with the environment and serves as recipient and transmitter of life. Socio-environmental impacts brought by development on indigenous livelihoods reflect the erosion of cultural meanings, creating a vacuum where once there were traditional knowledge and beliefs. The indigenous leader

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Shirley Krenak looks in my eyes to say: “We don’t have anything left. Vale [Samarco’s owner, with BHP] destroyed everything. The only thing we want at this exact moment is justice”. Before we leave, I talk to the elder Euclides Krenak, aged 103. He stands up to talk to me. He remembers other times, another uatu [river]: “When I was young, it was all wilderness here. We used to fish, play in the water, take baths in the heat... I was 16 at the time”. His black eyes are at ease, but firm and deep. He seems to observe with them a distant past just in front of him. “Today, we don't even have water to drink, we don't have fish, we can't bathe, we can't even wash our arms in the river anymore”. He goes back to sit on the floor, near the train tracks. While we were leaving, a commission of Krenak comes back from a meeting with Samarco. They inform us that the company agreed to send them water. In exchange for a river, they got a water tank.

This short anecdote is a modest attempt to illustrate how indigenous peoples experience development: a project that impoverishes culture and landscape. Historically, indigenous populations have been subjected to marginalisation and systemic violations in the name of progress, shaping their identities up to date. With the objective to investigate further the topic, this research proposes an exercise about representation: how are indigenous identities represented by the government of Brazil, private sector, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), and indigenous organisations in development-related communications?

To answer this question, this work is divided into two parts. Part one approaches the theories of representation, indigeneity, and communications for development. Starting from analysing what characterises the constructions of discourses to create meaning, it will be necessary to explore the very act of representing and its implications on shaping not only the ideological world, but the physical site of identity disputes between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’. Next, the research presents a brief historicisation of Brazil’s colonial legacy to approach indigeneity, based on scholarships about national and indigenous identity formation. This will lead to six approaches to indigeneity that summarise the theoretical framework to be used in the study. From there, we will focus on the concepts of communications for development, aiming at how this field of study deals with the tensions between economic growth and human rights. This will be imperative to define the common grounds and main characteristics of communications

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artefacts that communicate development in a complex background of representing indigenous identity against the unstoppable will of progress.

The second part accounts for the methodology of the research, focused on Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and the examination of textual communications artefacts authored by the government of Brazil, private sector, national and international non-indigenous NGOs, and indigenous organisations, as well as the discussion of the findings, correlating them with the literature reviewed in the first part. This research will employ a complementary method of CDA, mixing semantic elements and systemic functional linguistics to determine meaning-making practices in communications for development materials. The analysis and results shall reflect a different linguistic architecture used by the media sectors to be studied, resulting in the production of contrasting discourses and regimes of truth.

Inductions and deductions

The indigenous agenda has always been part of my career as a journalist and communicator. I have worked in national and international NGOs, dedicated to communicating complex topics such as indigenous rights, traditional livelihoods, climate change, renewable energy, land use, crimes against human rights, and socio-environmental impacts. I had the privilege to visit indigenous lands in Brazil where I have met different ethnicities and talked to inspiring women and men that are leaders, sages, warriors, workers, hunters, farmers, gatherers, as well as politicians, lawyers, professors, journalists, video makers and so on.

This research, obviously, is not about me: a white male middle-class Brazilian. But my place is beside indigenous peoples, and I am the agent that will attempt to share and produce knowledge about how indigenous issues are communicated by development actors. My background places me in a specific position where, as the Brazilian anthropologist and indigenist Darcy Ribeiro puts it, “the scholar ends up becoming unable to distinguish his inductions from his deductions” (Ribeiro, 1970: 16, my translation). From my experience with indigenous issues, I am a witness that the Brazilian government and private companies employ a set of discourses that decharacterises indigenous to justify development enterprises. On the other hand, national and international NGOs are employing financial and human resources to promote indigenous rights – they may not have the best approach, but some are

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indeed trying. I feel like the anthropologist Stuart Kirsch, who dedicated his ethnographic research to help the Yonggom people in New Guinea to resist the Ok Tedi mining company (Kirsch, 2006). I want this work to promote indigenous rights.

Amid this crossfire between development and indigeneity, I am armed with my own inductions and deductions. This academic problem is pertinent towards the examination of empirical data within a selection criteria, that after careful study, results in impressions that turn into hypotheses. Those are checked with the objective of being confirmed rather than contested. Aware of such challenge, I shall use my experience to analyse theory, samples, and findings, driving to results that dialogues with the reality that I bear witnessed: an abusive and flexible government that, withdrawn by the market from its role of guaranteeing fundamental rights, leave room for development programs that not only maintain the ongoing spoliation, acculturation, and destruction of indigenous populations in Brazil since 1500, but renders it more sophisticated, naturalising violations against human rights.

THEORETICAL CHAPTER

Representation: Colonising Realities

The word 'represent' by itself gives us some interesting food for thought. Etymologically, 'represent' is derived from the union of two Latin terms: 're-' (again) and 'praesentare' (to present). So 'representation' is presenting again, or creating once more the present, which is not the present anymore because it has been remade. The contradiction of ideas within these terms creates a sort of dialectic relation, where the contraposition of 'remaking' and 'present' builds a new concept of the very reality. The 'present' is no longer there, it is a new version of it – it is not what once was. Representation, therefore, is transforming, mutating, or even adapting reality into a novel reality, but a constructed one. As Stuart Hall points out, "representation is the process by which members of a culture use language... to produce meaning" (2013: 45). Since representation is a communicational practice – one usually represents something to another, not to oneself – the manipulation of the present is a communicative exercise based on language, texts, and rhetoric. Representation is the way one retells and recreates reality in order for others to assimilate it according to their own beliefs, cosmology, and mythology. If the present, the reality, is real and physical, what about this

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'new present' constructed by representation? Is it real and physical as well? How does it affect the world and the people?

Edward Said's Orientalism is assertive in this debate. By studying how the nations from the Orient were historically perceived by the perspective of the European, Said comes to the conclusion that the Orient is not actually a physical site, but an idea, a representation played by the Occident. In his own words, "the Orient is less a place than a topos, a set of references, a congeries of characteristics" (1979: 198). It is a non-place that only has its fictitious and discursive meaning by producing difference between the European and the Oriental. This contrast among identities is what Said calls the otherness: one has to idealise the other, characterise it, to be able to characterise oneself. From the difference emerges the identity, and from the representation of the other, emerges the difference. This cycle keeps on reproducing reality, manufacturing new 'presents' based on specific types of knowledge and practices. Said argues that knowledge is highly political and determines the circumstances in which power is produced, generating a theory and praxis that "can be understood, not as a sudden access of objective knowledge about the Orient, but as a set of structures inherited from the past" (1979: 143). To apply this idea in this study, we must consider the past of indigenous populations, which is intrinsically connected with the history of Brazil, which in turn is derived from the history of Latin America. The formation of a regional identity in Latin America, as well a national identity in Brazil, is a fruit of a colonialist representation exercise that fixed a unitary knowledge to justify slavery, acculturation, and the feudal architecture that impregnated the New World. It created a non-place: a discursive representation of Latin America that serves as the underdeveloped counterpart to the developed metropolis. I argue this based on the fact that the idea of European modernity was closely intertwined with the process of colonisation and can only be fully understood by considering the formation processes of colonial societies. The concept of 'otherness' is much relevant here: Europe only asserts its enlightened identity by creating the unenlightened other, the colony – and we, as the colonised, assume this given identity and play our role in this re-presentation.

Talking about colonisation, therefore, is much more than talking about the domination and exploitation of certain regions by imperial metropolises. It is also about the colonisation of the mind, as Frantz Fanon says (1965), or an epistemic violence, according to Gaytri Spivak (2010).

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Based on these postcolonialism theorists, one of the fundamental basis of this field of study is that power and knowledge cannot be dissociated, since together they generate a regime of truth that empowers discursively over a subject with physiologic effects. In other words, colonising a nation is rendering hegemonic a regime of truth. For Michel Foucault, each society has its regime of truth, which is “the types of discourse it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances that enable one to distinguish true and false statements; the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth” (2000: 131). By turning hegemonic different nation’s regimes of truth, the West guarantees the control not only over the landscape but also over the mind by shaping the identity of huge contingents of population. In other words, a nation’s identity is an invention, as Homi Bhabha states: “nations, like narratives, lose their origins in the myths of time and only fully realise their horizons in the mind's eye” (1990: 1). For him, the nation emerges not from the disciplinary social apparatus, but from the representation of social life and people’s identity. Thus, the concept of nation is in its own identity as a result of historic processes rather than in its current political ideology. Along these lines, Benedict Anderson tries to unmake the perception that national identity is something essential or natural, but a historical construct that depends on a specific context and also contributes to the construction of certain political, social, and historical frameworks. Dialoguing with Bhabha, Anderson accounts that “nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist” (2016: 3).

To critically assess the historical background concerning indigenous populations in Brazil, this research adopts a postcolonial perspective to examine the formation of an indigenous identity, exploring the binary representations created by colonialism, such as coloniser/colonised, modern/primitive, in order to determine whether these relationships between the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ persist to this day, and under what conditions. Hall argues that the broader process of decolonisation is challenging these entrenched binaries (2021). In our study of representation, it is crucial to analyse the prevailing forms of knowledge in contrast to colonial times, as well as their influence on biopower, or the “micro-physics of power” (Foucault, 1979: 26) – that is, how they shape and regulate the bodies of Latin Americans, Brazilians, and indigenous peoples. We will examine the regimes of truth that contribute to racism and the marginalisation of certain populational groups as impediments

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to development, which is connected to Bhabha's idea of 'fixity' (2004) as the sign of cultural, historical, and racial difference in the discourse, generating stereotypes that are commonly used to represent the other's identity. We shall take into consideration the relation between race and class with power to identify the hierarchical structures (Chowdhry & Nair, 2002; Ponzanesi, 2020) of a neocolonial Brazil and its implication for the protection of indigenous rights.

Indigeneity: six approaches to indigenous identity in Brazil

Defining an indigenous identity in Brazil is by no means a brief exercise. To understand this, it is crucial to recognize that indigenous identity is a counterpart to the Brazilian national identity, which, in turn, was influenced by the economic, political, and cultural formation of Latin America. Being aware of this and considering the limitations of this work's scope, I have included literature reviews as Appendices A, B, and C, which delve into the history of Latin America, Brazil, and indigenous peoples in Brazil. These reviews address complex topics that directly and indirectly contributed to the formation of regional, national, and indigenous identities in relation to development. In this chapter, I have provided a brief summary of these findings. Therefore, I encourage readers to refer to the appendices for further contextualization of this debate.

Drawing on the work of Caio Prado Júnior (1966, 1977), Darcy Ribeiro (1970, 1971), Eduardo Galeano (2010), Fernand Braudel (2002), Celso Furtado (1970), Josué de Castro (1966, 1977), and Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (1967), we come to the conclusion that Latin America was forged as the backwardness land of feudal-capitalism – Brazil included. Since Latin America has a history of slave labour as well as of capitalistic work for wages, it created “hybrid categories as feudal-slave, semi-feudal, semicolonial, and feudal-capitalist formations” (Ribeiro, 1971: 26). According to Castro, Latin America was the “last of the Crusades” (1966: 62, my translation), born under the desire of conquering souls for Christ and gold for kings: it is the essential association of feudalism with capitalism that endures until today in the region. Furtado states that the European landowners in the Americas would, by divine right granted by their kings, “privately exercise functions of public right, which placed them socially in a position only comparable to that of the feudal lord of medieval Europe” (1970: 31, my translation). This condition of land property would create the fundamental architecture of the

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Latin American society, the large farm states, based on a social dominance system of masses by an ethnic and culturally distinct minority. "Thus, the most feudal feudalism that existed after the Renaissance was the feudalism of Latin America" (Castro, 1966: 75, my translation).

In consequence, the plantation system instituted in Brazil, based on enormous portions of land and slavery, is the utmost expression of power on account of its longevity, "able to survive for four centuries and persist even when visibly obsolete and fit only to operate as the essential limiter of the popular standard of living and of the nation's greatness" (Ribeiro, 1971: 204). Likewise, the numerous economic cycles of colonial Brazil, notably sugar cane plantations and mining, left on its way decadence in a "process of regression to economic forms of subsistence and a poverty culture" (Ribeiro, 1971: 195, see also Castro, 1977). This diagnosis, of a feudal Brazil in a feudal Latin America, will be fundamental for our following discourse analysis, since this relation of dispute between latifundia and indigenous peoples, as well the nation's culture of producing poverty under the guise of development, are still one of the main causes of harming indigenous rights for the sake of progress.

The economic cycles of colonial Brazil helped to forge the characteristics of modern Brazilian society. The idea that Brazil is made up of a new kind of people, the product of syncretism of beliefs, miscegenation of ethnicities, and a mixture of cultures and knowledge, carries an inspiring and optimistic view that a full set of possibilities and huge potential can be achieved by the masses. However, these people are worn out, tired, and exploited, serving as an external proletariat. According to the scholar Filipe Pinto, the Brazilians "work as a tool for European expansion and are incapable of existing for themselves" (Pinto, 2018: 154, my translation). For Pinto, structurally, such condition raises the distance between social classes, between dominant groups and subordinates, as a way to assure national and cultural unity. In consequence, the huge gap between classes aggravates the racial prejudice directed to indigenous peoples. Brazil is actually a very racist nation.

Amid such complex context, how can we better understand the identities of 1,693,535 indigenous persons currently living in Brazil (IBGE, 2022)? To address this question, below I propose six approaches that need to be addressed regarding indigenous populations and what shapes their identities. These topics are intrinsically intertwined. Therefore some

overlayed arguments and elements shall be developed transversally between the suggested approaches.

Acculturation

Acculturation is the process of rupturing tribal ethos and forcibly assimilating indigenous groups into the national life. The colonisation legacy causes trauma to cultures, leading to a loss of knowledge and traditional values (B. Ribeiro, 1983; Ribeiro, 1970; Schaden, 1965). The indigenous leader, environmentalist, and philosopher Ailton Krenak accounts that, with acculturation, indigenous groups are inserted in the national life without any particularity: “traditional knowledge suffers such a serious erosion that we in a short time become a community of equals. Impoverished equals” (Krenak, 2015: 330, my translation), who doesn't know about ecosystems and landscapes, and how to interface with them. Krenak states that the universities are a fine example of acculturation because they do not comprehend indigenous knowledge in their scholarship body. Such structures, as the university, work as a “selection machine, which has been selecting only what makes an obvious connection and identity with the complex colonial system to which we are subjected” (2015: 331, my translation). In line with Spivak's idea of epistemic violence (2010), Krenak proposes an epistemology of looting, where from the acculturated and dispossessed communities emerge subjects that reproduce the violence they suffered and “integrate these practices as a tool of affirmation of the colonial extractive project” (Krenak, 2018: 2, my translation). The colonisation of Brazil aimed to destroy indigenous confidence in their own values, leading to feelings of inferiority. Despite assimilation attempts, surviving indigenous people remain differentiated, facing racial and social prejudice as a result of domination (Ribeiro, 1970). This barrier between indigenous and national populations proves insurmountable, perpetuating the cycle of acculturation and marginalisation of indigenous communities.

Racism

This approach explores the delicate relation between indigenous and non-indigenous identities. From the remote XVI century to today, these “difficulties do not stem from the existence of the indigenous per se, but from the white men himself, who is ultimately the one who generates and determines this interaction. Or rather, it is the tensions and needs of

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Brazilian society that are responsible for its antagonism with indigenous peoples” (Oliveira, 1995: 64, my translation). Ribeiro (1970) proposes three attitudes to define this interaction: ethnocentric, romantic, and absentee. The first is an ethnocentric posture that conceives the native populations as holders of undesirable and primate biological, psychic, and cultural traits – those must be changed and assimilated into modern ways of life. The second is a romantic attitude that engenders in the national society the perception of an exotic people that cannot be integrated into civilization, whose livelihoods must be preserved as a museum of human pristine eras. The third is an absentee posture of the inevitability of contact and deculturation of traditional cultures, that places the indigenous groups in a penurious living condition as the poorest Brazilian social strata. Applying these concepts on different social classes, I suggest that the lower social strata assumes an ethnocentric attitude, desiring the assimilation of the indigenous individuals into the Brazilian society so they cannot access more benefits than a national, like the right to land. The rich rural population, allied with an agribusiness sector that exerts huge influence on the legislative, adopts an absentee attitude that has no other plans for the ‘unproductive’ indigenous populations other than evicting them from agricultural lands. For the urban classes, they tend to bear a romantic posture that perceives the natives as archaic and incapable of having autonomous agency in the modern world. According to Hall, “racial discourse is not a form of truth in any case, but rather a ‘regime of truth’” (Hall, 2017: 81). Based on this, I argue that all three attitudes described by Darcy Ribeiro – ethnocentric, romantic, and absentee – are crystalized regimes of truth within the whole spectrum of Brazilian society, naturalising racism towards indigenous peoples.

Indigenous legislation

With regards to the third approach, we draw closer to Foucault’s biopower theory (1979), in this case exploring how laws in the form of text and discourse exert influence over people’s bodies. It was not until 1910 that the Brazilian government implemented the first indigenous policy through the creation of the Indigenous Protection Service (SPI), replaced in 1967 by the Indigenous National Foundation (Funai). However, by assuming a paternalistic and integrationist attitude, both failed in protecting indigenous rights and autonomy (B. Ribeiro, 1983). After the Military Dictatorship, the 1988 Federal Constitution brought important provisions in favour of indigenous populations, recognizing their rights to traditional lands

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and requiring consultation in resource exploitation. In 2002, Brazil also became a signatory of the International Labor Organization's Convention 169, which reinforces indigenous rights and participation in decisions impacting them. While this set of laws and recommendations seem at first progressive, the modern legislation reproduces characteristics of an integrationist policy dated from the creation of SPI, promoting rather dependency and acculturation for indigenous peoples. The Constitution and the ILO Convention often serve as mere façades, with projects like the Belo Monte Dam causing indigenous ethnocide (Justiça Federal, 2020). The government wields its biopower, taking decisions on behalf of indigenous populations, resulting in irreversible harm to bodies and communities, perpetuating the colonial approach of assimilating them into the national society by eroding their culture and way of life.

Indigenous economy

Civilisation brought upon indigenous populations what Ribeiro (1970) calls as techno-cultural coercions and socio-economic coercions. These coercions introduce new techniques and production tools that acculturate indigenous communities and create dependency on external goods. Joana Silva's research shows that the Juína people work on average 3.1 hours a day to produce their food, while the Yanomamo and the Kuikuru need respectively up to 2.5 and 3.5 hours of daily labour, "a time of work that is insignificant compared to the time spent in our society, where an individual, who sometimes works eight, or even twelve hours daily, cannot afford to eat or live with dignity" (Silva, 1995: 345, my translation). According to her, indigenous production practices are rooted in particular cultural and political interests that foster egalitarianism and communal land ownership. Cosmology also influences production, where accumulation is discouraged for the maintenance of a healthy body and environment. As indigenous communities engage with the national society, they experience a loss of economic autonomy and increased dependency on external resources, requiring more labour for less return. The techno-cultural and socio-economic coercions reflect the imposition of a developmental discourse that builds a regime of truth exerting biopower on indigenous populations.

Territoriality

The fifth approach explores the indigenous relationship with the environment and landscape. From talking with indigenous leaders, I heard a lot that the land does not belong to them, but they belong to the land, which means that the occupation of the native territory “is an essential condition for the surviving of the indigenous peoples” (Ribeiro, 1970: 197, my translation). Indigenous scholars like Dagoberto Azevedo (2016), Jaime Fernandes (2018), and João Paulo Barreto (2013, 2021) are dedicated to exploring the relations between humans/non-humans. In indigenous cosmology, there is no environment without a subject, therefore the relations between a society and the components of its landscape are thought and lived as social relations (Barreto, 2013). In other words, it is a connection between person/person and not person/thing. For Ailton Krenak (2018), this perspective challenges colonial binaries like oppressor/oppressed and notions of modernity, where humans are separated from the ecosystem. This violent separation of the subject from the ecosystem creates the place of the other – it is the place where the difference emerges, and this difference must produce the other as inferior, as Said puts it (1979). Therefore, the indigenous concept of territoriality manifests a counter-hegemonic epistemology that seeks to rebuild the relationship between collective subjects and their environment, rejecting individualistic and exploitative practices.

Development and indigeneity

The general agreement among most authors is that development involves change and transformation. However, the concept of progress behind development varies, ranging from creating a mass-consumption system (Rostow, 1991) to progress in the economy through social structure changes (Castro, 1966). Within this framework, the idea of progress is linked to the belief that humans must transform the world through cultural invention, driven by capitalism's forces, which promote accumulation for a better future (Furtado, 1981). Despite these intentions, development often leads to inequality, impoverishment, exploitation, and oppression (Galeano, 2010; Krenak, 2015). As a result, development is not truly materialistic progress, but rather a discourse that perpetuates the inequalities in the world, particularly in the so-called third world (Escobar, 2012). Under capitalism, development serves as a reactionary force that aids in the exploitation of countries for capitalist gain (Ferguson, 1990).

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Following this reasoning, the development discourse produces enemies of progress. In the book *Environmental Defenders: Deadly Struggles for Life and Territory*, there are several examples of conflicts between power structures and insurgent forces, including cases of indigenous peoples. “Often racialized when involving indigenous peoples and historically marginalised populations, these representations form the basis of symbolic violence that characterizes processes of exclusion and criminalization, as well of direct forms of violence” (Menton & Le Billon, 2021: 2). Here lies the heart of the matter: the way indigenous peoples who fight for fundamental rights, guaranteed in the Federal Constitution, are represented by different agents of development. This resistance is against cultural, economic, and environmental impoverishment, because people’s lives are not being improved at all: “the indigenous were never as poor as they are at the beginning of the XXI century... we are managing to transform the indigenous peoples of Brazil into the poor of Brazil” (Krenak, 2015: 333, my translation). Krenak points out that ecology is a white epistemology, because it is the white’s concept of development that invariably and violently separates the people from nature. Ecology only exists from the environmental impacts caused by development, “an expropriation so radical that it throws us all into the condition of miserable and poor: it impoverishes the landscape and the people” (Krenak, 2018: 1, my translation). Such arguments drive the understanding that the encounter of development with indigeneity has several consequences for indigenous peoples, leading to the creation of a discourse that these populations are not only unfitted for progress, but they are a hindrance for the Brazilian developmental agenda.

Communications for Development: a dispute of projects

Communications play an important role on how development controls physically and psychologically through discourse the subjects that are to be improved, made better, civilised (Escobar, 2012; Ferguson, 1990), leading to violations of human rights and irreversible impacts on the environment. This is the civilization of poverty, dependency, and acceptance. The advent of acculturation of indigenous populations and the destruction of natural resources is

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praised as a developmental miracle. So how do communications professionals, experts, and specialists communicate about these conflicts generated by progress?

Drawing on the work of Karl Marx and Arturo Escobar, the Communications for Development scholar Linje Manyozo establishes that “development is a conflict over representation and even over the instruments and discourses of that representation” (2012: 3). In this sense, the practice of communicating for development assumes a postcolonial attitude of defying the notion of development and the discourses it propagates, which are narratives of power, and ultimately regimes of truth. By challenging such paradigms, including the political economy of progress, this field of study is a struggle to redefine identities forged by colonialism and reproduced by the media. It is a Dantean task that comprehends “the unpacking and uprooting of the root causes of structural inequality, marginalisation, disempowerment that prevent individuals and societies from making radical changes to improve lives and welfare” (Manyozo, 2012: 10). According to Srinivas Melkote, there are four perspectives of practising development: modernisation, critical development, liberation development, and empowerment. For each one of these fronts, Melkote draws the characteristics of their communications efforts, and it is clear that some can better address root causes than others. While the modernisation perspective is imbued with social marketing strategies and mass media entertainment-education that aim to influence people’s behaviour towards specific attitudes, leading for example to more consumption, the other three perspectives lean to an alternative paradigm for social change, such as the participatory approach to communications and development (Melkote, 2003). Participation is key to communicate development, because development has been producing throughout history nations of oppressed people who carry within them their very oppressor. The Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire proposes a debate around the liberation of the oppressed, and the way of doing that is via participation and inclusion processes of knowledge exchange: “dialogue is an existential requirement. And if it is the encounter in which the reflection and action of its subjects come together to address the world to be transformed and humanised, it cannot be reduced to an act of depositing one subject's ideas onto another” (Freire, 2019: 109, my translation). Freire argues that the act of conquest, which we can relate to colonialism, is an antidialogical action that individualises and reifies the subject, rendering people into mere things, while dividing them to facilitate the exercise of

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power. The liberation process is, therefore, to rehumanise the oppressed and to unify the people in collaboration to secure their autonomy.

Under this lens, communications for development is inclined to facilitate the liberation of the oppressed by employing participatory tools through different kinds of campaigns, such as going in loco, dialoguing with communities, and building networks, as well as offering inclusive media platforms and producing media artefacts to be disseminated through mass outlets. Moreover, we shall bear in mind that the oppressed will not be the recipient of this 'liberation', but the agent of it. Therefore, the role of communications is to develop means, tools, and space for people's autonomy to take place (Arnstein, 1969). In this sense, for this research, who is the oppressed seeking for liberation? We shall focus on indigenous populations. But it is worthwhile to consider that the Brazilian is also an oppressed contingent. The modern conflict indigenous/non-indigenous is a dispute between oppressed people, fighting for the leftovers of the Global North feast.

Furthermore, one cannot deny that the mediatic apparatus is subjugated by economic forces of capitalism, namely neoliberalism. If we then turn to the humanitarian theory, a number of authors will agree that humanitarian communications, and the institutions that work in this front, are positioned within the logic of a liberal market, confounding cultural imperialism with empowerment, and using inequality as a commodity (Ademolu & Warrington, 2019; Barnett, 2018; Chouliaraki & Vestergaard, 2021; Powers, 2014). Along with these lines, Mohan Dutta and Ambar Basu tailor a very insightful critique that places participation and empowerment as market initiatives. For them, "the freeing of subaltern communities through participatory empowerment and poverty alleviation is the gloss of neoliberal development" (Dutta & Basu, 2018: 81). Those are challenges yet not addressed, but that communications for development practitioners have to overcome in order to facilitate the liberation of the oppressed.

With that, we conclude the first part of this research, having explored and correlated the theories of representation, identity, indigeneity, and communications for development, examining concepts of colonialism under a postcolonial lens while considering the effects of capitalism and neoliberalism. Such exercise results in a solid conceptual framework that will be the basis of our following CDA. A transversal reading of the six approaches proposed in

the indigeneity chapter will be essential, focusing mainly on degrees of acculturation, racial discrimination, territoriality, and development discourse in the representation of an indigenous identity in Brazil, considering the three attitudes drawn by Ribeiro: ethnocentric, romantic, and absentee. With such procedure, I will attempt to identify the regimes of truth imbued in communications for development initiatives, while taking into account the political economic forces that shape the production of the artefacts to be studied.

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

The scrutiny of language-action: Critical Discourse Analysis

The research question that this work intends to address is based on the study of the spectrum of discourses of indigenous-related communications for development initiatives in Brazil. The spectrum I refer to comprehends four actors: the Brazilian government, the private sector, national and international non-indigenous NGOs, and indigenous organisations. Although indigenous organisations are fitted in the NGO category, I shall analyse it separately to delimit the discursive boundaries between indigenous and non-indigenous content. Moreover, news media outlets are not included in the spectrum of discourses due to the brevity of this research. Our analysis, then, will consider the already mentioned four actors of the social communications spectrum and their respective communications products that build regimes of truth around the indigenous issue, shaping an indigenous identity within a developmental agenda.

Methodologically, to answer the research question, I will employ Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) on selected texts to conduct a careful reading for the identification of semiotic elements that build discourses that, in turn, re-present reality and define identities in order to communicate an ideological project to the audiences. There are multiple types of CDA and all of them share the idea that language “is the most prominent resource for the social construction of reality and the storage of social knowledge” (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 181). Teun van Dijk (1993) focuses on social cognition and how people from different classes receive and multiply information. Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (2014) rely on Foucauldian theory of discourse to use a post-Marxist and post-structuralist methodological approach. Ruth

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Wodak and Michael Mayer (2001) prefer to employ a discursive-historical analysis, while Michael Halliday (1978) developed a linguistic oriented approach to contextualise text-based grammar for the study of meaning-making. Bob Jessop (2004) focuses on knowledge-based economy to understand how semiosis impacts actions of transformation. Norman Fairclough (2013) makes use of a Marxist orientation to identify and act upon social problems in order to overcome the obstacles that restrain human well-being. This list does not exhaust the CDA approaches, but states how correlated and complementary they are. In summary, CDA is a methodology that aims to transform reality through language-action in an activist way of researching. In identifying rhetorical-dogmatic social constructs, this methodology tends to unmask discourse and narratives that generate inequalities, challenging the status quo.

For this study, I shall employ Fairclough and Halliday complementary methods as my research methodology. My proposition is to use the first as a macroscopic approach and the latter as a microscopic approach to the analysis of texts. According to Fairclough, semiotics is related to meaning-making as an element of the social process in three ways: “as a facet of action; in the construal (representation) of aspects of the world; and in the constitution of identities” (Fairclough, 2013: 11). From this, the author derives three semiotic categories: genre, discourse, and style. Genres relate to the ways of interacting, namely the vehicle or the act of the communication. Discourses are the semantic aspects used by different social actors to construe physical and ideologically the reality. Styles are directly connected to identity and how to build an identity socially accepted. Therefore, by identifying such aspects in the text as part of the analytical exercise, one can suggest evidence on how society is produced and understood in relation to indigenous identity. Since this CDA approach is based on “a focus on shifts in the structuring of semiotic difference (orders of discourse) and a focus on strategies of social agents that manifest themselves in texts” (Fairclough, 2013: 12), the next phase in the analysis is to identify shifts in the relations between genres, discourses, and styles to address ‘social wrongs’. This method proposes four steps for doing so: identify a social problem, identify the obstacles to address it, consider if the social order needs this problem, and identify solutions for the social wrong (Fairclough, 2013). In this research, I elect as the social wrong in question the marginalisation of indigenous populations, that leads to an identity crisis and the crystallisation of social practices that places these groups as ‘anti-development’, therefore against Brazil’s progress. I shall, then, as a macroscopic approach, put in practice in the

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analysis the four steps to address this social wrong, considering not only what is present in the texts but as well what is absent.

Focusing on a microscopic approach, I intend to apply Halliday's systemic functional linguistics (SFL) to approximate my viewpoint on the text and better analyse the language functions of the discourse, considering denotations (the literal meanings) and connotations (the semantic meanings) of words and clauses. According to Mary Schleppegrell (2013), the foundation of analysing a text from a SFL perspective lies in functional grammar. It involves understanding how each clause can be analysed from three metafunctional perspectives – ideational, interpersonal, and textual – unveiling the complexity of meanings inherent in every language use. The ideational metafunction expresses experiences, the interpersonal metafunction enacts a role relationship with the reader, and the textual metafunction relates our messages to the preceding and subsequent texts and contexts. "We present meanings about things in nouns; meanings about processes in verbs; meanings about connections in conjunctions, meanings about qualities in adjectives" (Schleppegrell, 2013: 23). From this perspective, SFL helps us to answer how a text means what it means, and how it contributes to shaping the social context.

In regard to the limitations of CDA, it is important to highlight that the central challenge of this method is to develop a research design that results in valid inferences from the text (Schweizer, 2019). One instance where the validity of the results can be impaired is the coding process. Whether the researcher opts to use a structured or inductive system of annotation, since CDA is based on subjective interpretation, "embrace the fact that each person 'constructs' reality differently. Providing information about the coders background, motivation and affiliation is therefore especially important" (Schweizer, 2019: 267). This leads us to another red flag about this method, which is the analysis of the results. According to Christopher Ali, "we too are part of the discourse of what we are studying and cannot divorce ourselves from the discourse" (2019: 408), hence a CDA cannot exist outside the discourse it is studying. To address that issue, the researcher must bear in mind that the findings are not a reflection of reality, because "media content analysts mainly grasp the reality as it is 'constructed' or 'mediated' by the media" (Schweizer, 2019: 267).

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Taking such limitations in consideration, I propose the following research design. The data collection is composed of 40 texts, where ten texts are from the Brazilian government, ten from the private sector, ten from national and international NGOs, and ten from indigenous organisations. A total of eight texts will be analysed in the study – two of each sector. The texts are from 2010 to 2022, comprehending the time frame I have been working with indigenous issues, which gives me enough familiarity to better select my sample according to specific periods of development projects. The genres of the texts will vary between blogs, press releases, and reportages, all publicly available in Portuguese or English. NGOs where I have worked at or in partnership with will be also considered, since the exercise of reviewing and scrutinising such content under a research lens is of extreme importance. Regarding the government texts, I shall not make argumentations based on different administrations and their specificities; I will consider the government as a continuous social practice of Brazilian democracy, therefore reflecting what the national identity wants for the country instead of personifying it in political leaders. About the methodological theories I am employing, I shall not use all approaches in all texts, but balance them in each analysis for more objective and complementary results. In respect to the coding, I intend to employ an inductive mode of annotation, providing grounds for my decisions throughout the study. And for the analysis of results, I shall reflect my own positionality in favour of indigenous rights instead of simulating an impartial approach as if I am not inserted in the discourse I am studying. This way, I believe that my analysis will highlight results with social validity, trying to address the social wrong in question in lieu of only identifying it. Again, my analysis will assume an activist approach based on CDA theory, since this research intends to support the protection of indigenous rights in Brazil.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

Brazilian government: two doomed fates for indigenous identity

We shall start the analysis with one emblematic moment of Brazil's developmental agenda in recent years: the inauguration of the Belo Monte Dam in 2016 as part of the national Growth Acceleration Programme. Fruit of a partnership between government and the private company Norte Energia, the construction of the fourth biggest hydroelectric dam in the world

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was only possible after years of violence and disrespect against traditional and indigenous populations living in the Xingu river, with lack of proper consultation process and the non-compliance with the environmental conditions of the project, resulting in dispossession and displacement of many communities (Weißermel, 2021). The text *Belo Monte hydroelectric plant is inaugurated* (MME, 2016) is a press release from the Ministry of Mines and Energy that presents to the media and the public the dam as a symbol of “reduced environmental impact in comparison with the electrical energy it will be capable of generating”. From this short period, one can suggest a set of elements that are important to our analysis. Using Fairclough’s concepts, the genre of the text is in the form of a press release: it does not provide space for dialogue, but rather a one-way information transmission to the media and its audiences. It is the journalists’ role to contact the ministry’s press office to further investigate and challenge the government’s arguments, which characterises a limited genre of communication regarding knowledge sharing. The discourse constructs a reality where generating energy results in the reduction of environmental impacts, which can lead to the misunderstanding that it is acceptable to damage the environment – and the lives that depend on the landscape to survive – if the goal of production is attained. For the style, the interaction between genre and discourse produces a national development identity of *laissez-faire*, inducing the country to behave as if the government and the market could partner to freely destroy landscapes and livelihoods to rebuild them under a capitalist production and accumulation logic. The text follows with a statement of Marco Almeida, the then Minister of Mines and Energy, about the population surrounding Belo Monte:

“This construction is emblematic due to the social aspect it brought, the social change it brought. For the citizenship dimension it implemented for this population, for the programmes that reach the entire area of influence of this power plant and beyond, for the uncountable families that have already been benefited, with benefits brought by these social programmes. Families that lived in inadequate conditions were resettled, schools, hospitals, health and security centres have been made available”.

As it is possible to remark, indigenous populations are completely omitted in this artefact, which discursively promotes the implementation of citizenship for these populations as an

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emblematic social change – hence, as a way to progress civilisation. From this, we can suggest the presence of the selected social wrong of this research analysis, the marginalisation of indigenous peoples. By negating them space in the discourse, their identities are suppressed to give endorsement to the idea that development is justified as a governance act for the nation's progress, which does not include the indigenous communities from the Xingu river. Moreover, the text argues that the impacted families were already living in inappropriate conditions, dehumanising traditional livelihoods to justify a forced civilisational process in modern times. For the government, welfare is met by resettling populations from their homelands, while this movement gives room to development projects. It implies that the social order needs the marginalisation of indigenous populations to provide social improvements for Brazilians.

The second piece to be analysed in this session is a blog from the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply, dated from 2019, where the former Minister Tereza Cristina, during the 1st National Meeting of Indigenous Farmers, defended the alteration of the legislation to permit indigenous farmers to produce in large scale in their lands (MAPA, 2019). She said that it is “a revolution in agriculture, livestock, and indigenous tradition, showing to Brazil and the world that it is possible to be indigenous, to cultivate the culture, but also to produce”. For this excerpt, I will employ Halliday's SFL to suggest that ideationally, it construes a national and global perception that indigeneity is opposed to growth – and that it has to be revolutionised by assimilating indigenous populations in the capitalistic production. Interpersonally, it establishes a dominant relationship with the reader since a revolution in indigenous tradition is the only way to prove to Brazil and the world the value of indigeneity. Textually, it presents a specific meaning of connection by using the conjunction ‘but’ between to be indigenous and to produce, stating that even if an indigenous can produce, such concepts are not compatible. SFL helps us to suggest the linguistic mechanisms the government uses to create a regime of truth where indigenous identity is always falling behind, it is backward, and lacks civilisational characteristics, strengthening the marginalisation of these populations in relation to a national identity.

Both texts are vivid examples of the insurmountable barrier created by the colonial legacy between the indigenous and the non-indigenous identities (D. Ribeiro, 1970). To make Belo

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Monte viable, or to grow the agricultural production, indigenous populations must dream to become white, to resettle to modern and organised communities and to produce as capitalists, only strengthening the sentiment of frustration and marginalisation among these populations because they must, according to the government, be what they are not. And in trying to be part of an alien accumulative culture, development projects stereotypes the indigenous identity as the beneficiaries of progress, rendering them and the impacts over their livelihoods invisible. Based on these arguments, I suggest that the Brazilian government adopts a mixed ethnocentric and absentee attitude towards indigenous populations. It is ethnocentric because indigenous traits are undesirable and must be changed – revolutionised – in new ways of life. And it is absentee because of the inevitability of progress: while the nation develops, indigenous must become non-indigenous, assimilated in the poorest social strata. This mixed posture of the government supports the establishment of discourses of power that reinforce racism towards indigenous populations, leading to the marginalisation of these groups either if they remain indigenous or if they are assimilated as non-indigenous. The first is undesirable to the nation's development agenda, and the latter is forgotten rather by the lack of general living conditions for Brazilians than the lack of a solid indigenous policy.

Private sector: exchanging rights for progress

For this section, the first text to be analysed was selected to proposedly dialogue with the government's press release about Belo Monte Dam. It is also a press release from the private company Norte Energia, responsible for the construction of the power plant in the Xingu river, dated from 2019, that is, three years after its inauguration (Norte Energia, 2019). The title of the piece is Belo Monte: energy generation and sustainable development for Brazil's growth, pointing out that "the investments in the socio-environmental area are impressive". The genre, discourse, and style of the piece are quite similar to the government's press release. By reinforcing the governmental discourse, the company highlights that development brought by the dam construction resulted in positive outcomes to the impacted indigenous communities, rendering invisible the negative impacts and the struggles for guaranteeing indigenous rights during the process of licensing and construction of the enterprise. The text states that "Norte Energia puts in practice and supports public policies aimed at indigenous communities", like "the construction of 518 kilometres of roads and access branches to

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communities, 16 landing strips [for aeroplanes], and 31 water supply systems". In terms of style, it builds a national developmental identity where development projects are needed to bring benefits to indigenous communities in a retroactive relation: first we build, then we address the problems. It suggests that the path to progress is in the destruction of indigenous livelihoods to after repair them. In relation to the social wrong in question, the company reflects its concerns in aiding indigenous communities by bringing infrastructure to the region, which facilitates the legibility of these populations by the government and the market, hence securing control over the territories. The anthropologist James Scott makes this point in his book *Seeing Like a State: modernising societies means rendering them legible to enhance state capacity for large scale social engineering and development projects* (1998). Based on this, one can suggest that while Norte Energia sells the idea that the company is providing retroactive benefits to address negative impacts caused by their own project, it builds state capacity of control over the affected indigenous populations, integrating them in the government developmental agenda, but again as marginal players that benefit from the national developmental agenda only in a reflexive way. In line with the government's text about Belo Monte, the social wrong is imperative for the social order to prosper: by marginalising indigenous, it integrates Brazilian society under a project of progress and production.

Moving on to the next piece of this session, a blog authored by the Brazilian National Agriculture Confederation (CNA), a patronal union entity that represents five million Brazilian commercial rural producers, is a communications effort to defend the Marco Temporal (Temporal Landmark), a judiciary ongoing process that only recognizes the right to land for indigenous populations that were in their territory in 1988, when the current Federal Constitution was published. It happens that many of these groups were displaced in this period, as a result from decades of Military Regime in Brazil. According to the text, "the temporal landmark is the only tool that brings legal safety, predictability, and stability to the social relations in the country" (CNA, 2021). Ideationally, it constructs a reductionist approach where the temporal landmark is the only solution available to bring peace to social relations, therefore permitting the development of agricultural production resulting in economic growth. Interpersonally, it is an authoritarian affirmation that offers no interaction with the reader. Textually, it creates meaning about Brazil's social relations, which are unstable because if indigenous peoples indeed have the right to land without the temporal landmark,

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the rural producers will face legal uncertainty. The piece also says that the objective “is not the extinction or regression of indigenous rights” but “to ensure compatibility between the rights of indigenous people and the rights of producers who already possess the right to property”. This excerpt suggests that CNA textually recognizes the impacts of its positioning by using the nouns ‘extinction’ and ‘regression’ – even by negating it, CNA makes the scenario real.

Based on these brief extracts of private sector texts, it is possible to suggest that companies are employing the same ethnocentric and absentee attitudes used by the government towards indigenous identity in relation to development projects. Under this logic, and according to the elements identified in the texts, indigenous communities cannot receive benefits only by the sake of promoting their rights. They will only be subject to better conditions of living by suffering an enormous toll caused by development projects. Meanwhile, the rights that indigenous have that do not depend on development practices and interventions are targeted by the private sector as a hindrance to progress. The ethnocentric response, then, should be changing the Federal Constitution in order to give the indigenous the same rights as rural producers – assimilating them into the Brazilian society not by giving them more rights, but by suppressing their fundamental rights. The absentee posture, on the other hand, would be illustrated in how the outcomes of development for indigenous peoples do not serve their interests directly, but serve the state capacity of exerting control. This suggests a powerful regime of truth that marginalises indigenous as future non-indigenous: to be assimilated means to lose their rights to make development viable.

National and international NGOs: a transformative but romantic approach

Now we reach the session where we will analyse texts from non-indigenous national and international civil society organisations that aim to promote indigenous rights in Brazil. The first artefact is a Greenpeace blog from 2015 entitled *The struggle for the River of Life*. It is about the Tapajós river, an 800 kilometres body of water that allows many indigenous and traditional communities to live off its resources, and the acts of resistance of the Munduruku people against the construction of the Tapajós Dam (Greenpeace, 2015). The blog announces the launch of a report documenting the struggles of the Munduruku by listing the impacts of

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previous hydroelectric dams in the Amazon: “among the impacts already observed are increased deforestation, reduced biodiversity, forced displacement of indigenous and traditional communities, as well as the opening of illegal roads and the invasion of indigenous lands by loggers and land grabbers”. Let us then compare the relations between genres, discourses, and styles of this text with the previous analysis of governmental and private sector communications. In this case, the genre is a blog that generates dialogue with the audiences by offering a way to act against the construction of the dam: a popular petition that promotes the engagement of the public with the problem. Discursively, the text constructs a menacing reality for indigenous peoples and the environment based on documented facts. The production of knowledge – documenting previous impacts – supports the creation of a discourse that challenges the developmental agenda that is labelled by the government and private sector as sustainable. For the style, Greenpeace promotes to the audiences an identity of resistance and not acceptance with the laissez-faire state of development. The text follows: “to avoid these impacts in the region and significant changes in their way of life, the Munduruku people are organising to block the construction of hydroelectric dams in the area, for the legal demarcation of their lands, and for the recognition of the need to preserve the lands that encompass the Tapajós river basin, in the heart of the Amazon”. This passage suggests that the organisation does not talk for the indigenous, but gives visibility to their issues based on technical information collected in field research (impacts, demarcation of land, preservation of the basin) with semantic resources (the heart of the Amazon). Despite investing in a report that points for the need to invest in other models of energy production, and offering the public a petition to resist against the dam, by characterising the Munduruku territory and the Tapajós river as “the heart of the Amazon”, it renders less important other regions, ethnicities, and conflicts of the world’s biggest rainforest.

The second piece to be analysed in this session is a blog by the Brazilian NGO Missionary Indigenist Council (CIMI) where it is announced the launch of the 2012 report Violence against indigenous peoples in Brazil, produced and published by the same organisation. The text brings to public attention impactful data about different forms of violence committed against indigenous, from death threat, murder, and omission in demarcating land to the lack of health and education assistance, many of them consequences of developmental projects (CIMI, 2013). The representative of the organisation, Cleber Buzatto, says the following in the article: “the

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life of indigenous peoples is linked to the land. It is on their ancestral land that 'the indigenous is'. The federal government urgently needs to settle this historical debt with indigenous peoples. This is the only way to provide the fundamental conditions for the physical and cultural survival of these peoples". Using the SFL lens, one can suggest that the ideational facet of this passage reinforces the indigenous identity as something completely intertwined with the land, and only by having rights to their ancestral territory, the indigenous can be indigenous. For the interpersonal metafunction, the excerpt engages with the public administration to demand reparation for the historical violence under which indigenous identity has been subdued. In regard to the textuality, I want to focus on the expression "the indigenous is", which verbally constructs the idea of the basic conditions for indigenous groups to live. However, semantically, it excludes any possibilities of physical and cultural survival of indigenous populations out of their territory, suppressing the identity of indigenous persons forced displaced or even individuals that moved freely to urban areas in search for other ways of living.

According to these findings, there are two main assumptions that I would highlight. The first is that, compared with the texts from the government and private sector, the relation between genres, discourses, and styles have changed from a more authoritarian, modernising, and distant communicational practice to an engaging, preservationist, and empathic one. Since the shifts in the relations between these semiotic categories lead to addressing social wrongs (Fairclough, 2013), I would argue that national and international NGOs' communications initiatives for development change the semiosphere to respond to the ongoing marginalisation of indigenous populations, producing an alternative knowledge connected with indigenous culture of territoriality that, in turn, builds a discourse to balance the power relations between indigenous and non-indigenous. The second point, however, suggests that non-indigenous civil society organisations employ a romantic attitude towards native populations, referring to their lands as 'the heart of the forest' or 'the only way to be indigenous'. This posture may be present to respond to the political economy context under which these institutions operate, generating content in a capitalistic and liberal media environment where diffusion platforms are embedded with social marketing practices.

Indigenous organisations: a site of resistance

In this last session, we shall analyse how indigenous organisations communicate development. The Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) is one of the biggest national indigenous organisations, including seven indigenous confederations representing all the regions of the country. In 2022, APIB published a blog with the 2021 retrospective, co-authored by Sonia Guajajara, who would be, one year later, the first indigenous to be a government minister, assuming the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples created in 2023. The text illustrates how indigenous populations resist against the Brazilian developmental agenda:

“The destruction of biomes, the invasion of indigenous lands, and the contamination of soil and rivers are primarily carried out as a project aimed at eliminating indigenous peoples. This is a project common to populist nationalist governments that impose an exclusionary and homogenous view of who should be considered part of the ‘Brazilian people’; those who do not fit this definition should be eliminated or destroyed. On more than one occasion, President Jair Bolsonaro has stated that indigenous peoples would only have rights if they were ‘assimilated’, meaning their indigenous identity would be destroyed” (Guajajara & Terena, 2022).

Regarding the semiotic categories of this piece, the genre is a reportage backed up by 82 references with the objective to denounce the violations against indigenous populations. It generates dialogue with the audiences by employing a particular structure connected with social manifestos and communications of resistance, where the reader is emotionally instigated to brew indignation against the exposed context. Discursively, APIB builds a counter-narrative against the developmental *modus-operandi* by exposing how the violations of indigenous rights are impacted by the idea of a national identity and the ongoing cultural assimilation, resulting in the destruction of the indigenous identity. The semiotic style of the text could be identified as the negation of a passive indigenous identity against development, which would be socially acceptable, to represent native populations as agents of resistance who are fighting to survive. The semiotic architecture of the text indicates a communications artefact that defies the social structures within which indigenous marginalisation occurs, bringing us to the fourth step proposed by Fairclough: identifying the solutions for the social wrong, which is inverting the situation exposed by preventing environmental destruction,

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respecting indigenous lands, not hegemonizing the national identity, and deconstructing the idea that to assimilate indigenous peoples is to acculturate and marginalise them. With that, it would be possible to prevent the elimination of indigenous ethnicities and give the conditions for them to nurture and practise their own identity.

The last text this research will analyse is the Statement of Repudiation on the Installed Commission of PEC 215, by the Indigenous Council of Roraima, a Brazilian state (CIR, 2013). PEC 215 is a proposed constitutional amendment that aims to transfer the right to identify and demarcate indigenous lands from the Ministry of Justice to the National Congress, where more than half of the congressmen are part of the Ruralist Bench (Câmara dos Deputados, 2023a), which created the proposed constitutional amendment to be able to control more land and produce more. The text says: “PEC 215 is a declared war by ruralists and agribusiness against indigenous peoples, and that is why the wealth of our territories are not up for negotiation and will not be handed over to economic and political interests”. Let us contextualise the functional grammar of this passage. Ideationally, it creates a state of war between agribusiness and indigenous peoples, meaning that lives are at risk. This war is caused by economic and political interests over indigenous lands, and the text positions a strong resistance against such forces to preserve the natural wealth of the landscape. Interpersonally, the role relation with the reader is characterised by the manifesto structure of the text, where it is denounced the great power imbalance between indigenous populations and the dominant political strata plus the rich rural classes. The text is built, therefore, to evoke empathy in the audiences, generating engagement to the cause. Textually, there is a clear connection of cause and effect between the concept of declaring war and the resistance to not negotiate the wealth of the territories. In other words, the text leaves open the possibility that if it was not by a violent process, indigenous populations in Roraima could, perhaps, negotiate the use and access to their lands for the interest of both parties.

Here, the research can suggest that the relations between genres, discourses, and styles suffer an even deeper shift in comparison to texts from the government, private sector, and non-indigenous NGOs. By employing a social manifesto approach, indigenous organisations create sites of resistance within the texts, denouncing violations against their rights, power imbalances, institutional strategies to suppress indigenous identity, as well exposing the

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central element of a national identity of which they are not part of – a Brazilian identity that to be prosperous and globally affluent must eliminate other forms of cultures, reproducing the colonialist legacy still very present in the country. With that, a discourse is built where the social wrong is identified, the obstacles to resolve it are enlightened, the need of the social wrong is negated as part of the social order, and finally the solutions to address the marginalisation of indigenous populations are disseminated. Regarding the attitude of indigenous populations in respect to themselves, I suggest that it is neither ethnocentric, absentee, or romantic. For this exercise, I would propose a new one, the emergent attitude, which is the portrait of indigenous populations as survivors of not only historical violence, but the ongoing process of decimation. In this case, the indigenous are strategically integrated in the national identity to be able to emerge in the media landscape to express and communicate their identity, producing resistance texts to engage with society in order to defend their fundamental rights guaranteed in the Federal Constitution of 1988.

CONCLUSION

The analysis conducted in this research aimed to identify the kind of discourses that are present in the spectrum of institutions in Brazil that communicate development. The CDA findings correlating semiotic elements and textual functions suggest that there are fundamental differences in the linguistic resources employed by the government, private sector, NGOs, and indigenous organisations to represent indigenous identity. For the government and private companies, the discourse tends to portray indigenous peoples as obstacles to progress, adopting a posture that is ethnocentric and absentee at the same time. In the case of NGOs, the discourse is shaped to promote indigenous rights and culture, however under a romanticised posture. Finally, indigenous organisations build a strong space of resistance and counter-narrative under an emergent attitude, with factual denunciation of rights violations and solutions to address the marginalisation of indigenous peoples.

It was not explored and lacks further research, however, the intersections that exist in these different discourses and how the clash of the semiospheres of each regime of truth produces linguistic transformations generating cultural miscegenation. Likewise, the role of media outlets in representing indigenous identity is also an important area of study to be developed

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and could not be done here due to the brevity of the analysis conducted. I suggest a scrutiny of the communications artefacts produced by traditional and independent media, including indigenous outlets, to further expand the academic understanding of how different types of media shape indigenous identity.

Taking into consideration the limitations of the findings, it is important to highlight that in 2023, indigenous leaderships took office in pivotal governmental institutions in Brazil. It is the case of Sonia Guajajara as State Minister of the Indigenous Peoples and Joenia Waphicana as president of the Indigenous National Foundation. As well regarding the private sector, many institutional texts are constructed to communicate a respectful relation between companies and indigenous peoples. Thus, if the researcher had selected another timeframe or distinct texts, the analysis could lead to different findings.

To conclude, I want to revisit the anecdote that opens this research. The Krenak are fighting up to date in Brazil for reparation after the Mariana disaster (Câmara dos Deputados, 2023b), and recently they joined a collective action against BHP in England (BBC News Brasil, 2023). Vestiges of sensations that I felt in the Krenak land still follow me: the embrace of a saddened nature, the mourning of a river, the patience of the elder. Such feelings and experiences help me to reflect about the big picture of indigenous issues in Brazil. I am inserted in the national class structures and the power discourses generated by them. Am I part of marginalising indigenous peoples? Are all non-indigenous part of it? If this research is about indigenous identities, it is about the non-indigenous identities as well. When I see the big picture, I see the environmental protection uniting both cultures. Indigenous communications are drawing the audience's attention to the protection of indigenous rights that ultimately drives the protection of natural resources, fundamental for the living conditions of humanity on this planet. The indigenous discourse is sophisticated. It links the very individualist characteristic of capitalism with a communitary attitude towards indigenous populations and the planet – to save myself I must save the community. Although one approach could be the complete revolution of the economic system, the indigenous discourse suggests conciliation and finding a middle-ground between identities. It employs a Freirean participation logic much needed in communication initiatives. Therefore, Communications for Development practices are essential for the indigenous culture to influence more and more the non-indigenous identity

towards the preservation of life. The patience of the elder is wise: it grows slowly as a tree, but it eventually flowers.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX A (Bridged from publication)

Latin America: The land of feudal-capitalism

The Latin American

APPENDIX B (Bridged from publication)

Brazil: cycles of deprivation

APPENDIX C (Bridged from publication)

APPENDIX D: Research Sample

The present study is structured around the selection of 40 texts, among blogs, reportages, and press releases. The texts are dated from 2010 to 2022, where ten texts are from the Brazilian government, ten texts are from the private sector (Brazilian and foreign companies), ten texts are from national and international non-indigenous NGOs, and ten texts are from indigenous organisations. All 40 publications are available online to the public. Below, the reader can find the complete list of the samples used in this study. The texts 5, 7, 17, 18, 23, 24, 31, and 38 were used in the Critical Discourse Analysis presented in this research.

Brazilian government

Text 1

Source: Ministry of Environment

Title: **Concessão estimula economia florestal sustentável na BR-163** (*Concession encourages sustainable forest economy on BR-163 [highway]*)

Date: 2010, September 14

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mma/pt-br/noticias/concessao-estimula-economia-florestal-sustentavel-na-br163>

Text 2

Source: Ministry of Environment

Title: **Garantias aos povos indígenas** (*Assurances to indigenous peoples*)

Date: 2013, April 19

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mma/pt-br/noticias/garantias-aos-povos-indigenas>

Text 3

Source: Ministry of Mines and Energy

Title: **Ibama autoriza enchimento de Belo Monte** (*Ibama [Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources] authorizes reservoir filling of Belo Monte*)

Date: 2015, November 24

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mme/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/ibama-autoriza-enchimento-de-belo-monte>

Text 4

Source: Ministry of Mines and Energy

Title: **Eletrobras mobiliza comunidades indígenas contra o Aedes aegypti** (*Eletrobras [Brazilian private energy company] mobilizes indigenous communities against Aedes aegypti [the dengue fever mosquito]*)

Date: 2016, February 23

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mme/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/eletrobras-mobiliza-comunidades-indigenas-contra-o-aedes-aegypti>

Text 5

Source: Ministry of Mines and Energy

Title: **Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte é inaugurada** (*Belo Monte hydroelectric plant is inaugurated*)

Date: 2016, May 5

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mme/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/hidreletrica-de-belo-monte-e-inaugurada>

Text 6

Source: Ministry of Environment

Title: **Lideranças indígenas recebidas no Ministério** (*Indigenous leaders received at the*

ministry)

Date: 2016, December 1

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mma/pt-br/noticias/noticia-acom-2016-12-2034>

Text 7

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply

Title: **Em aldeia, Tereza Cristina defende que índios tenham direito de produzir em larga escala em suas terras** (*In indigenous community, Tereza Cristina [Minister of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply] advocates for indigenous people's right to large-scale production on their lands*)

Date: 2019, February 13

Link: <https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/em-aldeia-tereza-cristina-defende-que-indios-tenham-direito-de-produzir-em-larga-escala-em-suas-terras>

Text 8

Source: Indigenous National Foundation

Title: **Indígenas do Pará e Maranhão discutem restauração florestal em Terras Indígenas** (*Indigenous from Pará and Maranhão [Brazilian states] debate forest restoration in Indigenous Lands*)

Date: 2019, June 4

Link: <https://www.gov.br/funai/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/2019/indigenas-do-para-e-maranhao-discutem-restauracao-florestal-em-terras-indigenas>

Text 9

Source: Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Supply

Title: **Agricultores indígenas plantam quase 18 mil hectares de grãos em Mato Grosso** (*Indigenous farmers cultivate nearly 18 thousand hectares of crops in Mato Grosso [Brazilian state]*)

Date: 2019, December 2

Link: <https://www.gov.br/agricultura/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/agricultores-indigenas-plantam-quase-18-mil-hectares-de-graos-em-mato-grosso>

Text 10

Source: Ministry of Mines and Energy

Title: **Secretário do MME defende regulamentação da mineração em terras indígenas durante webinar** (*MME [Ministry of Mines and Energy] secretary advocates for regulation of mining on indigenous lands during webinar*)

Date: 2021, May 24

Link: <https://www.gov.br/mme/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/secretario-do-mme-defende-regulamentacao-da-mineracao-em-terras-indigenas-durante-webinar>

Private sector

Text 11

Source: Brazilian National Industry Confederation

Title: **Índigenas recebem certificados do Senai em Sidrolândia e estão prontos para o mercado** (*Indigenous receive Senai [National Service for Industrial Learning] certificates in Sidrolândia [Brazilian municipality in the state of Mato Grosso do Sul] and are ready for the market*)

Date: 2013, April 30

Link: <https://noticias.portaldaindustria.com.br/noticias/educacao/indigenas-recebem-certificados-do-senai-em-sidrolandia-e-estao-prontos-para-o-mercado/>

Text 12

Source: Samarco

Title: **Índios Krenak recebem água mineral** (*Krenak indigenous receive drinkable water*)

Date: 2015, Novembro 16

Link: <https://www.samarco.com/indios-krenak-recebem-agua-mineral/>

Text 13

Source: Belo Sun

Title: **Belo Sun reports that the agrarian court has lifted the injunction related to the construction licence for the Volta Grande project**

Date: 2017, June 22

Link: https://belosun.com/news/releases/index.php?content_id=105

Text 14

Source: Belo Sun

Title: **Belo Sun reports that the federal court of appeals has ruled to uphold the suspension order against the Volta Grande project construction licence**

Date: 2017, December 6

Link: https://belosun.com/news/releases/index.php?content_id=106

Text 15

Source: Brazilian National Agriculture Confederation

Title: **CNA defende no STF que demarcação de terras indígenas fique no Ministério da Agricultura** (*National Agriculture Confederation defends at the Federal Supreme Court that indigenous lands demarcation stay under the Ministry of Agriculture*)

Date: 2019, February 21

Link: <https://www.cnabrasil.org.br/noticias/cna-defende-no-stf-que-demarcacao-de-terras-indigenas-fique-no-ministerio-da-agricultura>

Text 16

Source: Norte Energia

Title: **Posicionamento da Norte Energia sobre bloqueio da BR-230** (*Norte Energia's position on the blocking of BR-230 [highway]*)

Date: 2019, April 29

Link: <https://www.norteenergiasa.com.br/pt-br/imprensa/releases/posicionamento-da-norte-energia-sobre-bloqueio-da-br-230-29-04-2019-100609>

Text 17

Source: Norte Energia

Title: **Belo Monte: geração de energia e desenvolvimento sustentável para o crescimento do Brasil** (*Belo Monte: energy generation and sustainable development for Brazil's growth*)

Date: 2019, November 17

Link: https://www.norteenergiasa.com.br/assets/norteenergia-pt-br/media/documents/attachments/source/20191127173846881-2019_Release%20Norte%20Energia%20UHE%20Belo%20Monte_Socioambiental.pdf

Text 18

Source: Brazilian National Agriculture Confederation

Title: **CNA defende no STF marco temporal para demarcações de terras indígenas** (*National Agriculture Confederation defends at the Federal Supreme Court temporal landmark for indigenous lands demarcations*)

Date: 2021, September 2

Link: <https://www.cnabrazil.org.br/noticias/cna-defende-no-stf-marco-temporal-para-demarcacoes-de-terras-indigenas-1>

Text 19

Source: Belo Sun

Title: **Belo Sun announces signing of definitive use of land agreement with INCRA**

Date: 2021, December 17

Link: <https://belosun.com/news/belo-sun-announces-signing-of-definitive-use-of-land-agreement-with-incra>

Text 20

Source: Norte Energia

Title: **Diálogo permanente com os povos indígenas** (*Permanent dialogue with indigenous peoples*)

Date: 2023

Link: <https://www.norteenergiasa.com.br/pt-br/socioambiental/povos-tradicionais/protagonismo-indigena>

Non-indigenous NGOs

Text 21

Source: CIMI – Conselho Indigenista Missionário (*Missionary Indigenist Council*)

Title: **Funai aciona Justiça Federal contra lideranças em Brasília** (*Funai takes legal action in Federal Court against [indigenous] leaders in Brasília*)

Date: 2010, January 14

Link: <https://cimi.org.br/2010/01/29742/>

Text 22

Source: ISA – Instituto Socioambiental (*Socioenvironmental Institute*)

Title: **Manifestação exige a retirada imediata dos ocupantes da Terra Indígena Yanomami**
(*Protest demands immediate removal of occupants from Yanomami Indigenous Land*)

Date: 2013, April 23

Link: <https://site-antigo.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/manifestacao-exige-a-retirada-imediata-dos-ocupantes-da-terra-indigena>

Text 23

Source: CIMI – Conselho Indigenista Missionário (*Missionary Indigenist Council*)

Title: **Violências contra os povos indígenas aumentaram em 2012** (*Violence against indigenous peoples increased in 2012*)

Date: 2013, June 27

Link: <https://cimi.org.br/2013/06/34994/>

Text 24

Source: Greenpeace

Title: **A luta pelo Rio da Vida** (*The struggle for the River of Life*)

Date: 2015, August 1

Link: <https://www.greenpeace.org/brasil/publicacoes/a-luta-pelo-rio-da-vida/>

Text 25

Source: Uma Gota no Oceano (*A Drop in the Ocean*)

Title: **Sem licença para Belo Sun** (*No licensing for Belo Sun*)

Date: 2017, April 12

Link: <https://umagotanooceano.org/belo-sun-xingu-2/>

Text 26

Source: CTI - Centro de Trabalho Indigenista (*Indigenist Work Centre*)

Title: **Dia Internacional dos Povos Indígenas é marcado por protesto em Brasília**
(*International Day of Indigenous Peoples marked by protest in Brasília [Brazil's capital]*)

Date: 2018, August 10

Link: <https://trabalhoindigenista.org.br/dia-internacional-dos-povos-indigenas-e-marcado-por-protesto-em-brasilia/>

Text 27

Source: Survival International

Title: **Uncontacted nomads flee loggers' bulldozers**

Date: 2018, August 15

Link: <https://www.survivalinternational.org/news/4167>

Text 28

Source: Greenpeace

Title: **Mulheres indígenas debatem mudanças climáticas para garantir proteção territorial**

(Indigenous women discuss climate changes to ensure territorial protection)

Date: 2019, June 21

Link: <https://www.greenpeace.org/brasil/blog/mulheres-indigenas-debatem-mudancas-climaticas-para-garantir-protecao-territorial/>

Text 29

Source: TNC – The Nature Conservancy

Title: **Comunicadores Indígenas da Amazônia fazem cobertura do Acampamento Terra**

Livre 2022 *(Indigenous communicators from the Amazon cover the 2022 Free Land Camp)*

Date: 2022, April 5

Link: <https://www.tnc.org.br/conecte-se/comunicacao/noticias/comunicadores-indigenas-do-para-cobertura-atl2022/>

Text 30

Source: ISA – Instituto Socioambiental *(Socioenvironmental Institute)*

Title: **Julgamento decisivo pode liberar licenciamento para projeto de mineração da Belo**

Sun no Pará *(Decisive ruling could approve licensing for Belo Sun mining project in Pará)*

Date: 2022, April 22

Link: <https://site-antigo.socioambiental.org/pt-br/noticias-socioambientais/julgamento-decisivo-pode-liberar-licenciamento-para-projeto-de-mineracao-da-belo-sun-no-para>

Indigenous organisations

Text 31

Source: CIR – Conselho Indígena de Roraima (*Indigenous Council of Roraima [Brazilian state]*)

Title: **Nota de Repúdio sobre comissão instalada da PEC 215** (*Statement of Repudiation on the Installed Commission of PEC 215 [Proposition of Amendment to the Constitution]*)

Date: 2013, September 11

Link: http://www.hutukara.org/images/stories/nota_repudio_pec215.pdf

Text 32

Source: HAY - Hutukara Associação Yanomami (*Hutukara Yanomami Association*)

Title: **Garimpeiros controlam pista na TIY próximo aos índios isolados** (*Miners control runway in the Yanomami Indigenous Land near the territory of isolated indigenous people*)

Date: 2015, October 1

Link:

http://www.hutukara.org/images/stories/pdf/GARIMPEIROS_CONTROLA_PISTA_NA_TIY_PRXIMO_AOS_NDIOS_ISOLADOS.pdf

Text 33

Source: FEPOIMT - Federação dos Povos e Organizações Indígenas do Mato Grosso (*Federation of Indigenous Peoples and Organizations of Mato Grosso [Brazilian state]*)

Title: **Amazônia Indígena: Direitos e Recursos** (*Indigenous Amazon: Rights and Resources*)

Date: 2020

Link: <https://fepoint.org/amaztnia-indmgena-direitos-e-recursos>

Text 34

Source: Movimento Munduruku Ipereg Ayu (*Munduruku Ipereg Ayu Movement*)

Title: **Carta das Organizações Munduruku contra reunião de Componente Indígena para implantação da Ferrogrão** (*Letter from the Munduruku organizations against the meeting of*

indigenous component for the implementation of Ferrogrão [railway]

Date: 2020, December 1

Link: <https://movimentomundurukuperegayui.wordpress.com/2020/12/01/carta-das-organizacoes-munduruku-contrareuniao-de-componente-indigena-para-implantacao-da-ferrograo/>

Text 35

Source: Movimento Munduruku Ipereg Ayu (*Munduruku Ipereg Ayu Movement*)

Title: **Carta de aliança contra o garimpo, Yanomami, Ye'kwana, Kayapó, Xikrin e Munduruku** (*Yanomami, Ye'kwana, Kayapó, Xikrin and Munduruku alliance letter against mining*)

Date: 2021, August 27

Link: <https://movimentomundurukuperegayui.wordpress.com/2021/08/27/carta-de-alianca-contrao-garimpo-yanomami-yekwana-kayapo-xikrin-e-munduruku/>

Text 36

Source: COICA - Coordenadoria das Organizações Indígenas da Bacia Amazônica (*Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Amazon Basin*)

Title: **Povos indígenas da Bacia Amazônica e os resultados da COP 26** (*Indigenous peoples from the Amazon Basin and the results of COP 26*)

Date: 2021, December 1

Link: <https://coicamazonia.org/pueblos-indigenas-de-la-cuenca-amazonica-frente-a-los-resultados-de-la-cop26/>

Text 37

Source: COIAB - Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira (*Coordination of Indigenous Organizations of the Brazilian Amazon*)

Title: **Gigante do setor elétrico instalou postes de luz para invasores em terra indígena com isolados** (*Major electric company installs light posts for invaders in indigenous land with isolated [indigenous groups isolated from contact with non-indigenous]*)

Date: 2021, December 7

Link: <https://coiab.org.br/conteudo/gigante-do-setor-el%C3%A9trico-instalou-postes-de-luz-para-invasores-em-terra-1638891130236x284508162301624300>

Text 38

Source: APIB – Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (*Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil*)

Title: **Diga ao povo que avance! Retrospectiva 2021** (*Tell the people to advance! 2021 Retrospective*)

Date: 2022

Link: <https://apiboficial.org/retrospectiva-2021/>

Text 39

Source: APIB – Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (*Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil*)

Title: **Agrobanditismo mata e fere indígenas durante ataque contra os povos Kaiowá e Guarani** (*Agro-banditry kills and injures indigenous during an attack against the Kaiowá and Guarani peoples*)

Date: 2022, June 25

Link: <https://apiboficial.org/2022/06/25/agrobanditismo-mata-e-fere-indigenas-durante-ataque-contra-os-povos-kaiowa-e-guarani/>

Text 40

Source: APIB – Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil (*Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil*)

Title: **Retomada ancestral Kaingang e Laklãno Xokleng** (*Kaingang and Laklãno Xokleng ancestral retake [of their indigenous land]*)

Date: 2022, October 21

Link: <https://apiboficial.org/2022/10/21/retomada-ancestral-kaingang-e-laklano-xokleng/>

APPENDIX E: Critical discourse analysis annotations (Abridged from publication)

APPENDIX F: List of indigenous peoples in Brazil (Partially abridged from publication)

In this session, you will find a comprehensive list of indigenous peoples in Brazil, produced by Instituto Socioambiental (ISA) and updated in 2023. By including the name of indigenous ethnicities in this work, I intend to make this research a site of cultural resistance, where the according denomination of different peoples will be registered and remembered in the archives of the London School of Economics and Political Science, likewise serving as a source for scholars and other readers. However, it is important to note that this table accounts for a population of 1,333,081 indigenous, differing from the 2022 Demographic Census in Brazil, which indicates 1,693,535.