

Neoliberalism's Contribution to Conflict Justification in the Amazonian Regions: Low
Opportunity Costs and High Returns for Strategic Implementation of Ecocide and Genocide on
Indigenous Lands

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Introduction

Research Agenda

This paper will discuss the co-occurrence of genocide and ecocide and the politics of environmental conflicts, contextualized in the entanglement of neoliberalism and globalization, using cases of both implicit and explicit genocide of Indigenous Peoples. It will explore environmental conflicts and the harms on Indigenous communities in the Amazon region with an in-depth focus on Brazil whilst applying the theoretical perspectives described below, and explore various issues with a more general application, including the economics of environmental justice and the contributions of narrative manipulation.

Approach

The exploration of the topics discussed in this paper will take the socioeconomic analysis approach to understand the depth and breadth of power imbalances in global environmental politics. To do so, elements of Marxism within Critical Green Theory, as well as Green Criminology, will be applied. Green Criminology is a more novel field which aims “to expand the analysis of environmental victimization (and social and economic victimization deriving from it) beyond the traditional and selective notions of criminally labelled harmful activities”¹.

Relevance to Peace Studies

The case of genocide, ecocide, and economic justification for conflict carries many contributions

¹ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

to peace studies. Power struggles are evident in various capacities within several dimensions of these conflicts, which holds inherent value as a conviction to international relations theory. Due to the asymmetrical nature of the conflict, and the inherent resource war at play, it is useful to explore the concept of a one-sided resource war, particularly given the grossly simplistic and positivist approach of the traditional resource curse theories. Patently, capitalism and the global market are heavily intertwined with the culpability of neoliberalism as a root cause of resource curse manifestations in the Global South. Micro-ethnocide strategies used to demonize Indigenous populations also contribute to our understanding of the role of memory and narratives in politics, and collective identities and economic incentives as an obstacle to peace.

Background

Ecocide and Genocide of Indigenous Peoples

The relationship between ecocide and genocide is particularly important in the case of Indigenous Peoples because they have maintained sustainable practices of living off the land, which posits a challenge to external groups seeking to profit off the land. Indigenous populations around the globe remain one of the most marginalized and vulnerable populations, with vast disparities existing across disciplines and verticals, and the inherent power imbalance this creates has generated the opportunity for the interdependence of ecocide and genocide to be exploited by powerful actors in the global economy. Neoliberalism adds another layer due to the intrinsically conflicting interests between environmental protection and economic development, and the power imbalances of the groups on each side, which will be discussed in more detail later on. One profound manifestation of this dynamic is demonstrated by the treadmill of

production leading to the killing of activists² as a form of explicit genocide which is enabled by the way green crime is “the product of joint participation between the state and the private sector [...] placing it among the crimes of the powerful and within the analytical category of state-corporate crime”³. Furthermore, the silencing of the Just Transition movement is an example of the more widespread and abstract manifestations of implicit genocide, which are enabled by variables such as lobbying in democracies who have been downgraded in quality due to the impact of neoliberalism, resulting in the silencing of and exploitation of vulnerable groups by those who control the means of production. Furthermore, mainstream manipulation of the narrative around these conflicts in media serves as a form of erasure of historical trauma and collective memory, which is particularly important to the dwindling Indigenous populations whose preservation of memory and wellbeing partly relies on intergenerational storytelling and sacred ceremonies. This force of reduction has historically been exacerbated by forced assimilation, which still occurs contemporarily through the displacement of Indigenous communities for resource exploitation. Evidently, the easily attainable and cloakable genocide of communities who provide the most resistance to environmental destruction is a cost that powerful players in the global economy are willing to accept.

Politics and Economics of Environmental Justice

It is well-known that Indigenous communities, albeit a marginal percentage of the population, protect the vast majority of the world’s biodiversity, and biodiversity carries immense value not only for current environmental health impacts on vulnerable populations, but real-world fiscal

² Lynch et al., 2018

³ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

values. However, this is ignored in a global economic system ruled by a certain political ideology. Neoliberalism has survived and been brought to new extremes *because* of, rather than despite, its continuous failures and shortcomings, and “works by stimulating consumer demand to promote economic growth [which are] the motors of environmental destruction”⁴. Thus, there is a direct conflict between those who desire to stimulate economic growth and those who desire to protect the planet, which is also well described in the coining of the involvement of the IMF and the World Bank as “a second wave of economic colonization of the Amazon”⁵ which parallels Monbiot’s statement on global institutions and how “through the IMF, the World Bank, the Maastricht treaty and the World Trade Organisation, neoliberal policies were imposed – often without democratic consent – on much of the world”⁶. This also corresponds with the paradigm shift in the second wave of Critical Green Theory to see fault in global institutions, such as the World Trade Organization, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and United Nations⁷. In this new world, not only are Indigenous populations in an absurdly asymmetrical conflict with their land’s national governing bodies, but also with global institutions not accountable to any one nation-state. Furthermore, despite the claims of neoliberalism to democratize the global economy, it has created economic incentives to lower the quality of democracy through the business lobbying phenomenon, a large-scale form of corporate-state collusion that is widely accepted in hegemonic democracies. In these contexts, enforcement loopholes “can be and are used in favour of companies, which distribute their production according to the lowest production costs, at the expense of human rights violations in countries

⁴ Monbiot 2016

⁵ Toohey 2012

⁶ Monbiot 2016

⁷ Gibson 2021

most vulnerable to corporate violence”.⁸

Other theories beyond those which are primarily system-critical have been explored in this research process but seem to leave out key nuances. A contemporary article on environmental justice as a potentially hegemonic concept argues that the power struggle of environmental groups, Indigenous communities, and public policy is similar enough to more general issues that it results in zero-sum politics due to the advantageous positioning of groups with innate privileges in the political arena, perpetuating hierarchies to “signal the quintessence of hegemony – the systemic unidirectional displacement and dispersion of violence in a system built on violence”.⁹ In this theory, the conflict still remains a power struggle, albeit with less of an economic focus. However, Toohey’s analysis of political and community network dynamics in the destruction of the Amazonian ecosystems argues that “the fact that environmentalists are subject to murders and disappearances in retribution for their activism may mean that their ties to Indigenous peoples are not simply strategic, short-term ties as they too suffer from asymmetric violence” indicating that the zero-sum politics and hegemonic dynamic theory may be grossly oversimplified¹⁰. Thus, analysis of green criminology with elements of critical theory gives context to fill in these gaps.

Democratization and High-Level Corruption in Latin America

It is important to note that a key background issue assisting to escalate issues relating to the Amazon region is its geopolitical position. The Amazon Rainforest mainly spans Brazil, but

⁸ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

⁹ Hendlin 2019

¹⁰ Toohey 2012

extends into various parts of neighboring countries in Latin America. Latin America has a complex political history, in part due to the youth of democracy in the region, which is considered to be in its third wave of democratization, a period that started in the 1980s.¹¹ However, a factor in the stability of new democracies is the international field, and the re-emergence of neoliberalism with the fall of the Soviet Bloc coincided with the early years of Latin America's third wave of democratization. A profound factor that has manifested as a result of this coincidence is that every country in Latin America (except for Uruguay, Chile¹², and Costa Rica) has experienced what is classified high-level corruption, which encompasses judicial, administrative, and political corruption.¹³ This is evident in the analysis of green criminology in the Amazon region by Lynch et al., 2018 as well as Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021, which will be explored further. Brazil has had multiple cases and forms of corruption beyond environmental crimes where corruption schemes involving the country's most powerful politicians and business leaders were exposed.¹⁴

Toohy's analysis of the ecological and ethnic conflict in the Amazon indicates that Brazil's history of high-level corruption involving state-corporate collusion sets a precedent for barriers to conflict resolution as a present possibility, because "the relationship between Brazil, its inhabitants, and polluting multinational corporations may not be durable in the long run".¹⁵ This is representative of how neoliberalism invokes a destabilizing effect on younger

¹¹ Munck 2022

¹² *Although Chile was indeed a part of the re-emergence of neoliberalism by their adoption of liberalism in 1975, what differentiates Chile from the issues relevant to this topic is that mining of copper, the nation's main export, is publicly owned, eliminating corruption by way of state-corporate collusion or resource war.*

¹³ Munck 2022

¹⁴ Munck 2022

¹⁵ Toohy 2012

democracies. Toohey also goes on to utilize this concept as an explanation for how economic development has been pursued at the cost of the livelihood of Indigenous Peoples, due to the manner where Brazil's transition to democracy, as "like many Latin American countries its politics remained controlled by asymmetrical global financial relationships"¹⁶.

As authors employing green criminology¹⁷ and others cited in this paper agree on, it is more difficult to objectively define crime on consensus when the harms are environmental, the victims are a marginalized minority, and the actors are economically incentivized in addition to having a strong influence on narrative formation for the purpose of justifying political agendas. Additionally, Latin American democracies have made comparably exponential strides in the political inclusion arena for women, yet no amelioration for the political inclusion of their Indigenous peoples¹⁸.

Case Study: Brazil

Land History

Early concerns over deforestation in Brazil date back to the 1960s along with discussions regarding the exportation of food and minerals, but primary concern arose in the 1970s due to the Trans-Amazonian Highway of 1972 involving "increased efforts by the government to expand access to, 'settle' and extract resources from rainforests inhabited by INP".¹⁹ Thus,

¹⁶ Toohey 2012

¹⁷ Lynch et al., 2018 and Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

¹⁸ Munck 2022

¹⁹ Lynch et al., 2018

similar to Indigenous populations in the United States, the historical trauma of the Indigenous Brazilian experience with state-corporate violence is rooted in colonialism.

When it comes to land rights, explicit efforts have been made to take away the land rights of Indigenous Peoples in Brazil for the purpose of economic gain, such as with the proposal of amendment PEC 215. The effects of this proposal exemplifies Toohey's claim that "ecological conflicts are often characterized by asymmetric relationships between people polluting environments and people defending the environment" because it generated responses from both sides.²⁰ While INP leaders organized a resistance movement, "from 2010 to 2016, 256 INPs in Brazil have been killed, and perhaps it is appropriate to think of these killings as assassinations"²¹. Many of these killings were shootings, with one most profoundly standing out as a form of assassination (or, explicit genocide and silencing): in March 2016, men from three cars shot unarmed INP civilians living in Ita Poty, and the reporting organization counts 1150 rural environmental activist deaths despite less than 100 reaching trial.²² Indeed, justice tends to favor the powerful, as seen through both the lenses of green criminology and fundamental international relations theories.

It is true that the global INP populations' protection of biodiversity and ecosystem preservation is vital to reducing global carbon emissions and maintaining hydrological and climate cycles, but for many Indigenous communities, the need to protect ecosystems runs much deeper: for example, the Yanomami forest groups, "the forest is more than a carbon sink or timber stock, and biodiversity has intrinsic value aside from its medicinal, food, scientific, or recreational uses

²⁰ Toohey 2012

²¹ Lynch et al., 2018

²² Lynch et al., 2018

[...] there is much more to the struggle to keep the forest. The forest is their world.”²³ As this notion of the entanglement of ecosystem and identity is explored further, the connection between ecocide and genocide appears both more evident and more insidious. The connection to neoliberalism as a colonization practice over the global economy is also evident here, as “the systematic reproduction of environmental victimization today in Brazil remains a direct legacy of the mechanisms of colonization”²⁴.

Examples of “Green Crime” in Brazil and Harms on Indigenous Groups

The ongoing power struggles between indigenous peoples, environmental activists, and government forces in Brazil and the Amazon helps to serve as a primary example of the significance of the coincidence of ecocide and genocide in the context of the neoliberal capitalist global political and environmental economy. An estimated 1376 environmental activists were killed in the Amazon region between 2002-2016, 80% of which were dispersed among 5 nations: Brazil, Honduras, Philippines, Colombia and Peru.²⁵ Lynch et al. explore the nation’s conflict with its indigenous populations in part, in one instance focusing on the building of the Belo Monte Dam, which faced significant organized resistance by Indigenous Peoples from the Juruna and Arara, and the subsequent displacement into homes built by construction firm Norte Energia. The building of the dam “which affects approximately 3000 INP in 34 villages in 11 INP territories” performed as both a method for ecocide and genocide because not only was the ecosystem fundamentally destroyed, but the Juruna and Arara communities were

²³ Inoue 2018

²⁴ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

²⁵ Lynch et al., 2018

forced to change their way of life by preventing fishing.²⁶ While this may seem minor, just one of many forms of micro-level nuances, such as evolutionary biological adaptations, begs to differ, as the human body is not equipped to smoothly transition from a locally sourced diet to a foreign or processed diet overnight. Indeed, the local populations “filed suit to stop dam construction under laws related to the prevention of ethnocide” and “for more appropriate compensation, which they said should include enough land to farm because this was an important part of their livelihood” in response to the \$1286 cash per family offered by Norte Energia, which built homes in urban areas “consistent with genocidal efforts to eradicate INP” and many more were either homeless or displaced far from the river.²⁷ The ethnocide and implicit genocide associated with the Belo Monte Dam was not an isolated incident, and exemplifies patterned behavior of asymmetrical conflict between Indigenous communities and the state’s encroachment on land rights. Other cases include but are not limited to the Itapacrica hydroelectric dam, which left the Pankararu without land, fishing access, their ceremonial waterfall, or any compensation; the Tele Pires Dam; which reduced fishing and rice farming for the Xoko; and over 40 other projects.²⁸

Unsurprisingly, these threats to livelihood of Brazilian INPs were not met without resistance, despite consequent, systemic, and lethal retaliation. This retaliation is further identified as a consequence of neoliberalism, “which promotes the global spread of economic policies that do not protect people with the persistent, implicit threat of military implementation if not voluntarily done”²⁹. This will be explored further and contextualized within the manipulation of

²⁶ Lynch et al., 2018

²⁷ Lynch et al., 2018

²⁸ Lynch et al., 2018

²⁹ Toohey 2012

narrative as a form of strategic politics in international policy.

Contemporary Issues and High-Level Corruption

As a consequence of the collapse of Brazil's healthcare system during the COVID-19 pandemic, Ricardo Salles, the former Environmental Minister now being investigated for corruption and political crime, urged the government to deregulate environmental issues to simplify large-scale regulation of the Amazon "using the pandemic as a cover" and succeeded in getting executive orders to do so, which "are responsible for inflicting harm on indigenous territories and the Amazon fauna and flora" and "allowed private actors to grab land that was originally public and destined for the creation of conservation areas for indigenous peoples".³⁰ This is consistent with the rise of mining near Indigenous lands in Brazil³¹ and draws parallels to Top 40 mining industry trends encouraging mining of ores with increased prices due to increasing demand related to COVID in industrialized countries³². Aside from purely economic incentives, these rollbacks are also reflective of the destabilizing effects of neoliberalism on young democracies of Latin America and the coincidence of high-level corruption - Brazilian national agencies responsible for enforcement of environmental protection such as "IBAMA, ICMBio, and FUNAI have suffered from cuts in funding and a drastic reduction in the number of employees"³³.

Beyond environmental protection agencies, the general attempt at the reduction of the powers of institutions for social protection and anti-corruption is a frequent strategy employed by Latin

³⁰ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

³¹ Terena et al., 2022 and Surma 2022

³² Price Waterhouse Cooper 2021

³³ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

American leaders engaged in high-level corruption.³⁴ However, international institutions are often cited as protective or reductive variables for local corruption. As previously mentioned, Toohey (2012) and Monbiot (2016) as well as the second wave of Critical Green Theory criticize the involvement of international organizations in the Global South as a form of new age colonization. One common criticism of the IMF and World Bank is the overlending practices inhibiting the development of countries in the Global South, and in 2001, the lending of \$30 billion from the IMF in response to Brazil's economic collapse is a prime example of this, as the loan required Brazil to implement the IMF's fiscal policies, and "using poverty reduction as a justification, Lula de Silva expanded the agricultural frontier, which environmentalists claimed was only of real benefit to agribusiness" leading to 3 million acres of land being used to export beef between 2007 and 2008, which resulted in the "Arch of Destruction" where deforestation decimated the region's borders³⁵.

Brazil faces continuous political barriers to environmental protection and the reduction of deforestation for various reasons, even under leaders with environmental interests, such as through lobbying by agribusiness and pressure from other politicians. Conversely, corrupt political leaders in Brazil, like Jair Bolsonaro (who is "the subject of at least four requests filed with the International Criminal Court" although none have been taken as of 2022), support bills that would explicitly erase the rights of INP, such as Bills 191/2020 and 490/2007 which would allow mining in Indigenous territories and undermine land rights, respectively.³⁶ Resource mining is more recently a growing threat to INP in the

³⁴ Munck 2022

³⁵ Toohey 2012

³⁶ Surma 2022

Amazon due to both the COVID-19 pandemic and neo-liberalism in the global economy, but the adverse impacts of resource mining have severely displaced, killed, and destabilized non-indigenous communities in the Global South as outlined in well-esteemed Resource Curse literature in foreign relations, such as the hypotheses of resource conflicts³⁷. The key differentiating factor in the ideological source of conflict in the context of the Amazon is the INP communities' spiritual and cultural valuation of their environment rather than as a source of fiscal value.³⁸

Narrative Manipulation and Conflict Justification

National Political Agendas and Economic Justifications

The factors involved in the manner that conviction for green crime is evaded by both state and corporate actors are nuanced, complexly intertwined, and fraudtly influenced by tempo-spatial contextualization, but is generally enabled by large-scale narrative formation, typically by national leaders, “usually neutralized, naturalized or routinized away through the development of moral justifications regarding national or corporate economic development”³⁹. Saad-Diniz and Gianecchini cite specific elements involved in justification as the creation of jobs through the rise of profits in the private sector, or the trickle-down approach to socio-economic development (which has been disproven across various economic, social, and political disciplines countless times, but as mentioned

³⁷ Ross 2004

³⁸ Inoue 2018

³⁹ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

previously⁴⁰, the failure of neoliberalism tends to result in more extreme manifestations of it).

Other false narratives come from the mining industry and its allies, who argue “that transitioning away from fossil fuels as soon as possible justifies cutting or modifying many environmental regulations on mining practices”⁴¹ which is not only a logical fallacy, but carries the ethical issues of placing the responsibility for climate catastrophe on the populations most adversely affected by it and least responsible for it. These narratives further supplement the illustration of pattern where “the analysis of harms reveals a reproduction of colonial exploitation structures, characterized by the collusion between state and corporate interests under the pretence of economic development”⁴²

“Other-ing” and Role Reversal: Media Reporting in Peru

INP across the globe, despite their distinct differences, are often given a similar homogenous narrative by the western world, commonly referred to as savages, and experiencing mass under-reporting of crimes and injustices affecting their communities. Due to colonization, Indigenous populations have become a small minority of the world population as well as small minorities within populations inhabiting their homelands, making them vulnerable to “other-ing” and diabolism by more powerful and privileged groups, particularly groups with greater political influence⁴³. Garcia, the Peruvian leader at the time of the 2009 US-Peru trade agreement incident, was willing to increase the exploitation of raw materials on Indigenous

⁴⁰ Monbiot 2016

⁴¹ Surma 2022

⁴² Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

⁴³ Hendlin 2019

lands for economic purposes in a manner that would lead to the ecocide and genocide of two local Indigenous groups, the Wampis and Awajun, who had resisted through peaceful protests, to which he “referred to the INP as “confused savages”, “barbaric”, “second-class citizens”, “criminals” and “ignorant”, and compared them to the Peruvian terrorist group, the Shining Path”.⁴⁴ While this is an example of a leader utilizing the media to construct a national narrative to support a political agenda, there are also examples of bottom-up level narrative reconstructions regarding the same conflict in Peru. Following a protest at Petroperu, “the media claimed that INPs had kidnapped and held 38 police hostage” when in reality, “national police fired on the unarmed INP protestors” which resulted in around 175 Indigenous casualties, including 25 murders.⁴⁵ Low-quality democracies, a category many Latin American countries fluctuate in and out of, can have issues with media coverage and freedom of expression, such as if media publication is censored or otherwise influenced by bribery or threat, whether implicit or explicit⁴⁶. By comparing the INP victimized by the state to national terrorists and restructuring the narrative as a role reversal, Garcia exemplifies the strategy a state may employ in “a recognition of its own victimhood [to] potentially create a moral equivalency argument to blunt criticism against the state for its own crimes,” underscoring how “states are defined therefore by their image rather than objectively through their actions” and why narrative formation is such a vital piece of the public psyche⁴⁷.

⁴⁴ Lynch et al., 2018

⁴⁵ Lynch et al., 2018

⁴⁶ Munck 2022

⁴⁷ Becker 2016

Discussion

Asymmetric Conflict Shifting Norms for Violence

Indigenous Populations, for the most part, have continued to exercise non-violent resistance (such as the peaceful protests cited by Lynch et al.) in response to a lack of protection, continued assassinations and violence on unarmed INP, and lack of access to a functional legal system, despite the narratives projected on the communities; in rare instances, the inefficacy of nonviolence and increasing impact of genocide and ecocide has led others to turn to armed methods of defending the Amazon. In response to Bolsonaro's agenda to eliminate INP land rights to allow for mining and exploitation of resources for economic development, the Munduruku Indigenous group of the Sawré Muybu have engaged in auto-demarcation mobilization to drive out illegal loggers successfully "without federal support of any kind".⁴⁸ Dozens of Munduruku warriors gave the illegal loggers three days to vacate the region, which is consistent with the preference of nonviolent resistance by INP. In a more active approach, to deter logging in the Eastern region, the Guajajara and Ka'apor groups have created a guardian system, placing armed guards on roadways and taking more active measures to drive loggers off of Indigenous land, such as destroying loggers property, which "led to a decline in logging truck traffic leaving the forest by 92 percent".⁴⁹

Complex Issues, Complex Solutions

The argument could be made that the most straightforward solution seems to be emphasizing

⁴⁸ Poirier 2019

⁴⁹ Lynch et al., 2018

the fiscal value of biodiversity, which includes both certain world values (explicit) and uncertain world values (implicit) an example of a conceptual framework for which is provided below.

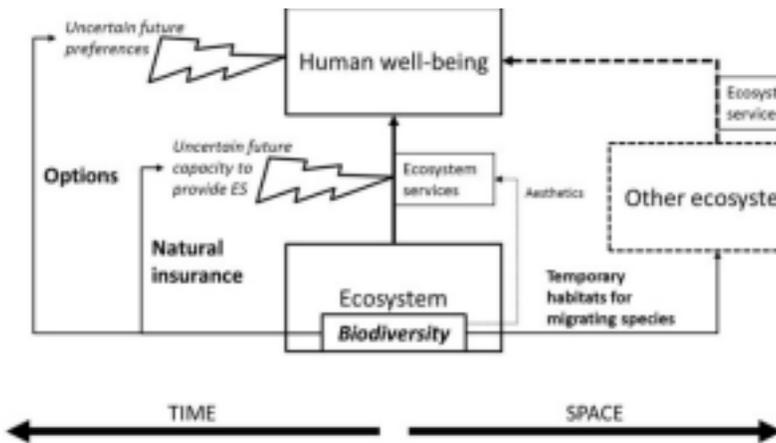


Figure 1. “Conceptual framework of biodiversity’s economic value. Bold terms indicate biodiversity values.” (Bartkowski 2017)

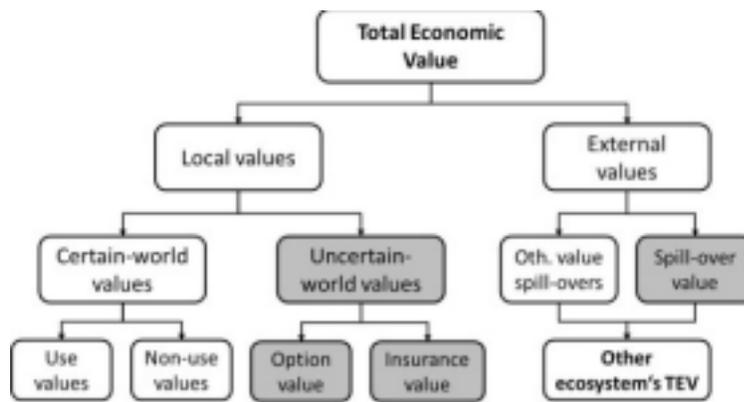


Figure 2. “An extension along a temporal axis helps to include insurance value (and make better place for option value, which usually has an unclarified role somewhere between use and non-use values in many versions of the framework), while spill-over value necessitates the addition of a spatial dimension. [...] values attributable to biodiversity are

highlighted in darker grey” (Bartkowski 2017)

However, there are a multitude of reasons why attempts of non-system-critical approaches have failed, most of which boil down to the dynamic of economic power struggles according to Marxist elements of Critical Green Theory, in which soft or hard power across dimensions

(social, political, economical) is conflated with control over the means of production — and those that control the means of production have no incentive or true accountability or enforcement mechanisms to push them away from the pursuit of immediate profits at the cost of the livelihoods of groups that provide resistance, as the neglect of INP community needs is a social cost that benefits the private sector and reduces costs.

Some would say a less straightforward solution would be to address the political corruption that enables green crime to perpetuate: “the federal government's misconduct will likely persevere amid immense social, economic and environmental victimization” leading to “‘necropolitics of regulation,’ a scenario where the state has the power to decide who are to live and those who should die”.⁵⁰ This is especially relevant due to the history of unstable or low-quality democracies and the prevalence of high-level corruption in Latin America.

A more complicated but more comprehensive solution would be to dismantle the oppressive systems at the root of systemic genocide, which involves a plethora of entangled disciplines. To explore just one discipline relevant to narrative manipulation, mainstream media, this would involve universally adopted pedagogies for effective and conscious communication that prevents narrative manipulation and is less vulnerable to bribery, which is difficult as it would require decentralization from the global financial system.

In the global economy, it is evident that “problematic relationships between the deepening of corporate violence and environmental exploitation are responsible for causing large-scale victimization”⁵¹ and that these relationships are exacerbated by the propensity of neoliberalism

⁵⁰ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

⁵¹ Saad-Diniz & Gianecchini 2021

to reach new extremes with every failure or crisis it causes. While our current system continues to augment inequalities and worsen the climate catastrophe, discourse regarding new systems is sparse, with even less consensus about directives. However, a starting point would be to utilize Indigenous Knowledge and Traditional Ecological Knowledge and place Indigenous community stakeholders at the forefront of decision making. This is already happening in discourse regarding the Just Transition Movement, the only true proposition of a new system that does not rely on the codependent exploitative and destructive practices that benefit an exclusive sector of the population while projecting false narratives on the rest of the population experiencing a class war.

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