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Peace and Conflict Transformation

Examining Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policies in the Amazon

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Master's thesis in Peace and Conflict Transformation SVF-3901

May 2023

UiT The Arctic University of Norway

Acknowledgements

Abstract

From the start of 2019, when Jair Bolsonaro had become president of Brazil, the new administration has made significant social and political changes. Changes to government structures, institutions, indigenous rights, environmental policy, and territorial claims has intensified conflict nationally. Major changes made by the Bolsonaro administration has caused reactions from both civil society groups, and government groups. This has lead researches to become increasingly interested in the situation in Brazil under Bolsonaro, with most of the studies on this topic focusing on specific areas of change and conflict. In this thesis, I wish to examine Bolsonaro's policies in the context of fundamental causes and conditions for conflict.

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Abbreviations

SEMA - Special Secretariat for the Environment

Conama - the National Environment Council

IBAMA - Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources

MMA - Ministry of the Environment

ICMBio - Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation

CNAL - National Council of the Legal Amazon

FUNAI - the National Indian Foundation

ANA - National Water Agency

MDR - Ministry of Regional Development

CAR - Rural Environmental Registry

Mapa - Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock and Food Supply

CNRH - National Council for Water Resources

PDL - Draft legislative decree

NPCC - National Policy on Climate Change

1 Introduction

The topic of this thesis is how Brazil's socio-environmental policy under the current president Jair Bolsonaro has contributed to national conflict. Not only is the environment a very relevant aspect of both peace and conflict, but it has become an increasingly important one over the last decade. This because the science shows that the global average temperature has risen around two degrees Celsius in the 20th century. Earth's climate records shows that the average temperature is stable over long periods, and a few degrees increase in average temperature will create changes in the environment (NASA, 2023). Bolsonaro also changed the jurisdiction of indigenous peoples protected territories from the national Indian foundation to the ministry of agriculture. The ministry have been favoring mining and development over environmental protection, and has caused increased mining and exploitation of indigenous territory. There have also been significant changes to institutions that limits representation and participation (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021). Many have protested the administration's policies. Not only indigenous people and national actors, but international actors as well, calling the actions a breach of human rights. Amnesty international has launched a campaign to raise awareness and attempt to convince the Brazilian government to re-evaluate its policies. The European Union and European commission is also involved with over 300 organizations urging the EU to try to influence Brazil's policy (Erasun, 2019).

My reason for pursuing this topic is that I am very interested in how society adapts to changes in the environment. Adaptation to the environment changes society, and the policies around it are important for both peace and conflict. In addition, I wish to understand how conflicts develop and evolve, and possibly turn violent. The case of Jair Bolsonaro is quite interesting, as the relationship and power dynamic between a multitude of invested state and non-state actors is an important element of the conflict. It is also highly relevant today as asymmetrical conflicts, conflict where power and status are unequal, are the most common form of contemporary violent conflicts (Miall, 2004). It can also serve as an example of the consequences when a populist leader prioritize growth and exploitation at the cost of people and environmental preservation. For this reason, I also think the findings from this thesis can contribute positively to this field of research.

The literature argue that these changes to socio-environmental policy is a result of authoritarian populism, economic development, and necropolitics. Some have also mentioned

increased political polarization as reason for the policy changes. The majority of literature on this topic have analyzed specific sectors and policy, but few in the broader context and complexities of conflict (Milhorance, 2022). This will explore a gap that allows me to analyze policy in multiple areas, which is significant for understanding the foundation of the conflict. Central to the conflict is indigenous people and the environment, which is why I will narrow the scope of analysis to examine Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy in the amazon.

In this thesis, I will discuss conflict, and I therefore see it as necessary to define the term. I define it as Johan Galtung has defined conflict. He argues that a conflict emerges from change due to incompatibility within an international system or social structure. He argues that conflict is a dynamic interaction between the incompatibility and contradictions within the situation, the attitudes of the parties and their behavior. The conflict is also dynamic, and while it may arise from a particular issue, it can deepen and broaden beyond the initial issue. (Galtung, 1996)

1.1 Research Problem

Following the election of a new controversial president in Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro implemented new socio-environmental policies. The new governments administrating has created increased tensions through major changes in socio-environmental policies in the Amazon. This has sparked conflict and opposition from many indigenous peoples, NGO's, government branches, and other environmental actors.

I want to examine why Bolsonaro's policy creates conflict, why this administration governs in this way, and through which techniques they carry out their policy. I also want to deepen the understanding of why the environmental policies creates conflict with people in Brazil and, how a conflict of such severity and inequality could occur at a state level in Brazil. The research problem of this thesis is, what are the effects of Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policies in the Amazon, and how does it contribute to conflict?

1.2 Research objectives

- Understand Jair Bolsonaro's environmental policy

- Undersand Jair Bolsonaros Indigenous-social policies

- Examine how and why his socio-environmental policy creates national conflict

- The effect of his policy have on indigenous people and the governing system

- The effect his policy have on the environment

- Understand the foundational causes and enablers of the conflict

1.3 Research questions

- How does Jair Bolsonaro's socio- environmental policy create national conflict?

- What are the effects of Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy?

- Why does Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy create national conflict?

1.4 Sub-Research questions

- What is his socio-environmental policy, and how is it different from previous administrations?

- Why does the environmental policy create conflict?

- Who are the central parties or groups involved in the conflict?

1.5 Structure of the study

Following the introduction chapter, I will present the methodological framework used in this thesis. This consist of the research method, research design, methodological approach, research and ethical considerations, and data collection method. I will also discuss the strengths and limitations with the selected methodological framework.

In the next chapter, I will present the chosen theories for the thesis. The theory applied in this thesis is Hugh Miall's theory on emergent and overt conflicts, and structural and cultural conflicts. I will also include Johan Galtung's theory on forms of structural, cultural and direct violence. This will support Miall's theories on conflict, and provide a comprehensive theoretical foundation for understanding the effects, causes and enablers of conflict.

The next chapter is the analysis chapter, and it is comprised of six main sections. Firstly, I will discuss The Bolsonaro administrations changes and governance of institutions, and its effects. I will in the section after, discuss Bolsonaros legislative and regulatory changes, policy and effects. In the next section I will highlight the Bolsonaro administrations management of budged and funds in the context of the environment and the indigenous

people. In the section after, I will discuss the Bolsonaro administration's behavior and relationship with opposing parties and groups. The next sections discusses the indigenous people and the structural, direct, and cultural violence they experience as a consequence of Bolsonaro's policies. The last two sections discuss conflicts of territory and destruction of forms of deforestation and invasion of indigenous territories. Each of these six main sections conclude with a theoretical analysis and discussion, to interpret the empirical data.

To conclude the thesis I will restate the research question, and present some of the key findings from the analysis. This will form the basis to answer the research question.

2 Method

The two research methods generally applied in research are qualitative and quantitative methods. A central aspect of qualitative method is that the researcher, through the chosen qualitative method gains a deep understanding of a case or theme. A qualitative method is used when you cannot derive meaning or deep understanding solely from the numbers or frequency of events within a topic (Thagaard, 2018). For this thesis, a qualitative method was the most relevant method as it allows for a deep understanding of the complexities of the case. The current administration of Brazil lead by President Jair Bolsonaro has made many controversial policy decisions since assuming office. Some of which are dismantling environmental and administrative institutions, hinder opposition, destroying the Amazonian rainforest and ignoring and breaching the indigenous people's rights. This has led to a conflict between the indigenous peoples and the administration, as well as between the current administration and opposing political parties (Menezes & Barbosa Jr, 2021). A qualitative method to this case will highlight the complexities between the parties involved, and the conflict between them. The goal of the thesis is to understand the complexities of the conflict, and in the context of Hugh Miall's theory of emergent conflict and peaceful change. For this reason, it is important to understand not only the events of the conflict, but their underlying meaning, intentions and effects. A hermeneutical approach to the research involves interpreting meaning behind documents and text through scientific research (Busch, 2013), and therefore necessary to accomplish the goals of the thesis. As the goal of the thesis is to understand the complexities of the Brazilian conflict, and conflict parties. This requires a deep understanding of actors' intentions, the importance of initiatives and events, and contexts. The choice of method is an important part of accomplishing the goals of the thesis. A qualitative hermeneutical approach is relevant when the goal is to develop a deep understanding of various factors and complexities, and when then researcher needs to interpret and derive meaning from the data. Therefore, this is the most relevant approach for accomplishing the goals of this thesis.

2.1 Research design

The research design is the plan for the thesis, as well as how the researcher will use their plan or design to complete the thesis. The researcher has to choose and evaluate what methods will be used and why (Thagaard, 2018). There are a few design evaluations the researcher has to

make, and one of them is the main design. The main design of this thesis is case study. This is characterized by studying a specific phenomenon. It is highly linked with context, and it therefore becomes difficult to understand the case without understanding the context around it (Busch, 2013). Therefore, document analysis is the methodological approach chosen to complete the thesis.

A document analysis is relevant when the purpose of the research is to analyze documents, articles, other forms of written or visual data and use the data as the groundwork for research on a specific case or topic. This research design helps evaluate the credibility of the source, how valid the research is, and relevance (Thagaard, 2018). This will be very valuable in this thesis. There are many different sides to a conflict, and to gain knowledge of the topic it is important to critically evaluate what is being said, and in what context. The Bolsonaro administration has their interpretation of the issue, other parties have their own, and even within independent researchers their focus and interpretation will be different to varying degrees. Therefore, a qualitative document analysis will be the optimal research design for this thesis as it allows the researcher to gain knowledge about the topic while evaluating different perspectives. Conflict research is complex, and there is a need for a deep understanding of the different contributing factors. For this reason an intensive research design if preferred as it is well suited to analyze complex problems with many different variables (Busch, 2013). The research is conducted with an abductive approach. This approach means that the basis of the research is based on both empirical data and theoretical foundation. The data allows the researcher to develop new perspectives and theories, and the theoretical foundation serves as a basis for how to interpret the data. This relationship between theory and data is what characterize the abductive approach (Thagaard, 2018). The reason it applies to this thesis is that the theory is not specific to this case, and not universal. It therefore serves as a basis for understanding, but it is not a formula so the theory and specific context may not correlate fully. I will then have to evolve theories and offer new perspectives. This is likely necessary, as Miall's theory does not heavily focus on causes of structural conflict, and more so on transformation of structural conflict and violence. This may cause the need for incorporating a more comprehensive theory on structural violence and conflict to Miall's theory. For this thesis I have included Johan Galtung's theory on forms of structural, cultural and direct violence. This to support Miall's theories on conflict, and provide a more comprehensive theoretical foundation for understanding the effects, causes and enablers of conflict. The empirical data will form the basis of the thesis, and the data will be analyzed and

interpreted. Additionally, it will be interpreted in the theoretical context in order form a deeper understanding and possibly draw conclusions.

The data itself will consist of mainly secondary data. The data will be in the form of peer-reviewed articles, documents and research. It will provide the thesis with the deep knowledge and complexities necessary to answer the research question. Some form of primary data will also be used. This will be data such as newspaper articles, government documents or reports. They will be used to highlight event in the conflict or to reliably establish government policy changes.

2.2 Data collection process

The data collection process is important in order to understand how the researcher has gathered their sources, and increases the transparency of the thesis.

To start the collection on empirical data for this thesis I originally used the keywords "Jair Bolsonaro environmental policy conflict" and "Bolsonaro policy indigenous people" into the Google scholar and Oria Uit search engine. This was the start of my data collection process. I then used the keywords "Jair Bolsonaro indigenous policy" into the web of science search engine. This gave me round 5 sets of data, and I used the same keywords into the Jstor and Oria search engine. I collected approximately 5 sets of data from each search engine. Lastly, I used the keywords "Bolsonaro indigenous conflict" into web of science and Jstor, and again collected around five sets of data from each search engine.

Total I collected around 20 sets of empirical data. Sets of data refers to documents, articles or studies, with one article or document equaling one set. The data sets collected were peer-reviewed secondary sources from various regional and international researchers, as well as official reports and documents. Not all data sets were equally relevant, and some were discarded due to overlap with other research, or questionable relevance.

2.2 Reliability

Reliability is an evaluation of the credibility of the thesis. What this means is that the results of the thesis is reliable, and that if another researcher would apply the same methods they would come to the same conclusion. In qualitative research this is very difficult, so to strengthen the reliability the research process has to be transparent. This means describing the research design, methods and research strategy so other researchers can fully evaluate the

research process (Thagaard, 2018). The reliability of the study is strengthened by evaluating the data collected, describing the collection process, and the methodology of the research. The method chapter describe all these processes, and strengthen the reliability.

2.3 Validity

Validity is in regards to the results of the research, and how the researcher has interpreted the data. In other words, how valid are the interpretations of the researcher. To strengthen the validity it is important with theoretical transparency. This means being transparent about what theory forms the basis of the researcher's interpretation. Another way to secure validity is to scrutinize the analytical process of the thesis. Being critical of the analysis help to open for other perspectives that can yield a deeper understanding of the problem. Other research within the same topic can give an understanding of the validity. If the research is an outlier in relation to other similar studies, the validity of the research might be questionable (Thagaard, 2018). The validity of this thesis is strengthened by its theoretical foundation. Established theory can help validate the interpretations of the research. Analyzing empirical data and evaluating its significance in relation to the conflict situation also strengthens the validity. Empirical data analysis and a strong theoretical foundation

2.4 External validity

External validity is whether the interpretations of the research can be relevant in other contexts. In qualitative research it is the interpretations of the research that forms the basis for external validity (Thagaard, 2018). Qualitative research is often specific and limited in scope, and not trying to conclude with universal truths. This thesis does not intent to come to a generalized conclusion, but the findings may be relevant in other context due to its theoretical foundation. A comprehensive and more generalized theory can make research relevant in other context. To problems may seem very different, but share foundational similarities (Thagaard, 2018). As mentioned, it is not the goal of the thesis to seek generalization, but to understand the emergence and transformation of a specific conflict. However, due to the generalized and comprehensive nature of Hugh Miall's theory of emergent conflict and peaceful change some findings may be relevant in other conflict contexts.

2.5 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is a process of self-reflection by the researcher in order to recognize their role and subjectivity in the research, and the potential consequences it may have on the thesis. There is personal and interpersonal reflexivity. Personal refers to the researchers own position, values, social background that may influence the thesis. Interpersonal reflexivity is about the relationship between the researcher and the researched (Hennink, et al., 2020). Because the methodological approach of the thesis is a document analysis, there will be no relationship between researcher and participant. I will therefore focus on personal reflexivity. It is however important to reflect on how the data is collected, and understand how it might be affected by their background and values. This also applies to the data interpretation process (Hennink, et al., 2020).

As a Norwegian, I am an outsider to the situation. This will allow me to remain objective throughout the study in regards to issues regarding Brazil, but it will also be more important to fully understand the context. However, because I don't like to see marginalized people treated badly, I wish for the conflict to end, even as an outsider. This may be obvious as not many people wish conflict, but due to the power balance I am more sympathetic to the indigenous peoples situation. In addition, as the environment is a global issue it does have an effect on me even as a Norwegian. I am also aware that I am pro-environment and human rights. This means that my values can contribute to subjectivity even subconsciously. The researcher must try to be objective, which is why I have to be very mindful when analyzing data. For example, scrutinize different sources and arguments equally.

2.6 Limitations/challenges

A limitation of the thesis is the absence of interviews. Interviews with local people and actor may provide more depth regarding their interests, goals and issues. Interviews would create a stronger empirical foundation by being able to verify other researchers' interpretations. Because policy creates this change, it is more specific. This makes interviews less necessary. In cases where participants' interests and goals are not expressed through legislation, it can be harder to point to the specific reasons for change and its effect (Miall, 2007). This is clearer with changes in policy. A policy change will show specifically what change is happening, and often have observable effects due to this.

A challenge with the thesis and research project is the language barrier. This thesis is primarily based on secondary data, and there is a lot of international research on the case. At the same time some articles that could provide relevant data might be in Portuguese, this also applies to official documents. It will not necessarily create a challenge, however in the instance that this creates challenges I have access to a translator based in Brazil. Translation may affect data, but this is more likely to happen in interviews. The data will not have to be translated in real time, and this removes the issue of missing important information when translating. Data translated will be text based or video on demand.

2.7 Ethical considerations

The perspectives presented by the researcher are comprised of empirical data analysis and theoretical foundations. The data analysis is how we interpret the data collected. Due to the interpretive element, the interpretations of the research might be different from the participant's perspective (Thagaard, 2018).

The main methodological approach for this thesis is document analysis. This means that the researcher participant relationship is not present. However, I am interpreting intentions and motives of two sides to a conflict, and therefore the interpretations represents a group's values and strategies. I have to interpret data in a way the groups involved can relate to, so they feel accurately represented. This is a bigger challenge without interviews, but since policy changes are clearer, it can often give both a more concrete indication of goal and source of change.

3 Theory

The theory in this thesis are chosen for two main reasons. Firstly, it provides perspectives on the fundamentals of conflict and conflict evolution, which allows me to investigate a gap in the literature. Secondly, Johan Galtung and Hugh Miall are two influencial scolars of peace and conflict studies, and the theories heavily researched. In addition, as Miall's work builds on Galtung's theories, among others, they will supplement and support each other to form a comprehensive and detailed theoretical framework.

3.1 Peaceful change

First, I would like to discuss the concept of peaceful change. This because it illustrates how peace can be achieved, as well as highlight how it prevents conflict. This will can give some idea of what elements are lacking in a conflict situation that could transform it peacefully. The concept of peaceful change is not straightforward. Some label peaceful change as a way to avoid violent conflict, and other view it as to actively promote peaceful change and improve the political system. It can be understood in terms of avoiding war, stopping war or preventing war, but central to many is the absence of violence. However, what about unequal power dynamics, threats and coercion? If those elements are the foundations for change, how can it still be peaceful? This created the discussion around positive and negative peace (Miall, 2007). Negative peace is what is commonly referred to as peace today, however, this was criticized by Johan Galtung who argued this type of negative peace only refers to the absence of physical violence. Galtung attempted to improve the definition of peace by expanding on the definition of violence. He argued that indirect harm or "structural violence" should be considered violence. By structural violence Galtung referred to indirect harm both intended and unintended. He then expands on the definition of peace by arguing that peace is the absence of both structural and direct violence. Galtung had a relevant point about the concept of negative peace, however his solution has been criticized as being too broad. It would be unrealistic to make all forms of structural violence gone from the world. Too many things and situations can cause indirect harm. For some forms of indirect harm, it is also more difficult to find the source (Miall, 2007). Who should take the responsibility for the indirect harm caused by climate change? Questions like this illustrates the limitations of Galtung's concept of peace. So the criticism is valid, however as mentioned large parts of Galtung's concepts of peace and structural violence have merit. The argument that peace is not only the absence of

direct violence is very valid, and there is therefore a need to address the issue of indirect harm.

Miall suggest the concept of positive peace. He defines positive peace as mutual trust, cooperation, development and respect. This notion of positive peace is linked with human wellbeing and individual realization. It is the idea of wholeness and flourishing of the whole. This is achieved through individual realization, which in turn positively affects the whole. This creating a positive feedback loop where the flourishing of the whole improves conditions for the individual. Positive and negative peace lay the foundation for strong and weak peaceful change. Weak peaceful change means that change is achieved without direct violence. This directly links with the definition of negative peace. Strong peaceful change links directly with the idea of positive peace. It means not only the absence of violence, but enabling cooperation, mutual respect and developing common goals (Miall, 2007). Miall applies this into his four paths for conflict model shown in figure 1.
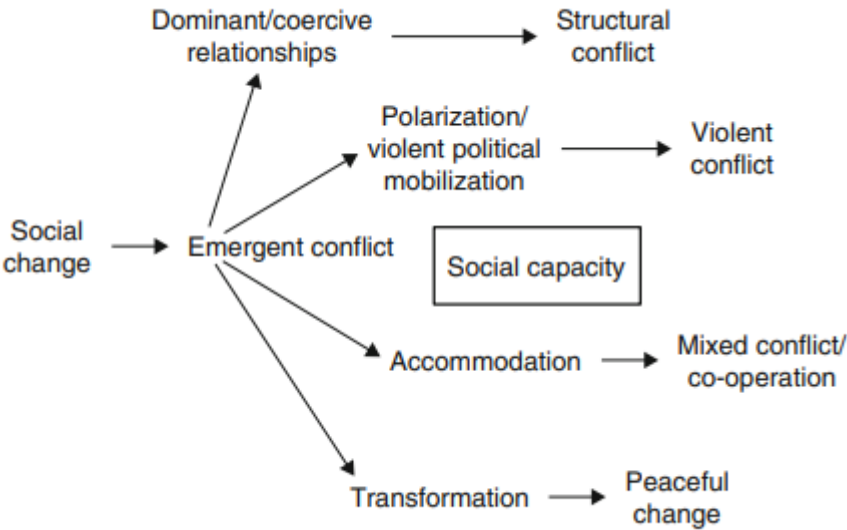
Figure 1, (Miall, 2007:13)

The conflict will start with some form of social change, such as unpopular new law or increased unemployment. This creates the foundation for an emergent conflict, and the model shows that the emergent conflict can develop in four ways. Accommodation and transformation is the process of peaceful change. Accommodation is weak peaceful change, which is the avoidance of violent conflict by compensating the ones negatively affected to an acceptable extent. Transformation is linked with strong peaceful change. It is structuring

goals, cooperating and transforming the emergent conflict into a situation that can benefit all affected parties (Miall, 2007).

The structural and violent conflict is the other side of peaceful change and will be discussed in the section of emergent conflicts. Conflicts can broaden evolve and deepen, they are not static. This makes each conflict unique and the social and historical context therefore becomes important to the cause of conflict. This is what is referred to as the social context or capacity. The specific context determine the ability to manage conflicts. The context can amplify or dampen emergent conflicts, so the social capacity and context can indicate the likelihood of conflict (Miall, 2007). It is relevant to emergent conflict, overt conflicts, violent conflicts and peaceful change and effectively surrounds every part of the model.

3.2 Conflict prevention and democracy

Miall distinguishes between light and deep conflict prevention. Light conflict prevention consists of preventing situations to develop into violent conflicts. This through early conflict detection, conflict triggers and escalators. Deep conflict prevention is a deeper structural prevention of conflict. It involves improvements in the governmental structure, democratization, participation, human rights, economic equality and opportunity, and social support. The existence of these elements should contribute to conflict prevention, as it allows conflicts to be addressed through proper institutions and channels (Miall, 2003).

Contested democratization appears likely to increase the risk of armed conflicts between democratic states and autocracies. Miall argues this on the background of relationship between international governments (Miall, 2003). Seen in the context of Brazil, I think it can be relevant for exploring the relationship between the national congress, the Bolsonaro administration, and other governmental groups. There has been increased polarization within the governmental system. Bolsonaro's populism and policies creates a democratic/autocratic relationship between them. A higher level of civil war is found in 'semi-democracies' (Miall, 2003).While this is not exactly the case in Brazil, the Bolsonaro administration is moving toward that direction. Additionally, in multi-ethnic societies, semi- and quasi-democratization can contribute to the emergence of conflict.

Democratic governance often serves as structural preventor of conflict long-term. Establishment of democratic institutions that allow active discussion of conflict are an

important part of is preventative effect, however quasi-, semi- or manipulative democratization have not shown to prevent violent conflict (Miall, 2003).

3.3 Emergent conflict theory

The theory of emergent conflicts explains how interests and goal of parties form and change, and how this change can lead to emergent conflict. In addition, how this develops onto overt, violent, structural and cultural conflicts.

Organizations are ever changing in their goals and interests, and their position within the system also changes. They are adapting to change and their relationship with other social organizations also changes. This means that interests and goals are fluid, and organizations and their relationships are in in a constant back and forth between common interests and conflicting interests. So relationships between organizations are based on both conflicting and common interests. When Miall (2007) refers to an emergent conflict, he means a new conflict formation that changes the existing relationship between organizations. A new conflict formation can also evolve from existing conflict or conflicting interests, and often does. So emergent conflict is not that organizations are in perfect harmony until conflict forms, rather when a conflict forms that changes the relationship between parties.

Based on its goals and interests the organization adapts to changing environmental conditions in order to achieve the goals set. Organizations want to improve their position in order to reach certain goals, but a social organization will not always achieve optimum conditions. Changes in environment can alter an organizations position and condition. It will function well in some environments and worse in others. The organization cannot work under unlimited conditions so there has to be a limit to when the organization can no longer function. This is referred to as the viability of the organization (the same is true for limit or tolerance for social preferences, or interests between sub-groups or organizations (Miall, 2007).

3.3.1 Links between interests

Organizations relation to others interests, and the evolution of different interests are significant. An organizations position may change because another organization changes their position in the same environment, they are affected by others actions and movement. Interests are also connected with other interests. This means that an organization may have one interest

and want to pursue it. However, pursuing that interest makes other interests important (Miall, 2007). Therefore, the connection between different interests are important to understanding conflict and goal formation. As well as, how changes in interests can have a broad effect, and extend to other interests.

3.3.2 Complex actor conflict

A complex actor conflict is a when the contradictory conflict is more than one (Galtung, 1996). The Bolsonaro case can be viewed as a complex actor conflict as there are multiple contradictory elements surrounding the conflict. Relevant and connected issues are indigenous violence, environmental conflict, intra-governmental conflict, and dismantling of policy and institutions. Normally the easiest and more convenient way parties deal with complex actor conflicts is by simplifying the conflict. What can often happen with this is increased polarization along the conflict axis, which in turn often intensifies the conflict (Galtung, 1996). In the case of Brazil this simplification has evolved to a state of increased polarization among involved parties.

3.3.3 Conflict behavior

Changes that contribute to conflict and conflicting interests occur from the organization itself as well as by the environment around it. According to Miall (2007), conflict behavior contribute to conflict of interests. A social organization controls its own environment and constructs its own behavior based on different variables such as needs and values. The behavior of the organization affect its relationship with other organization, and can influence their behaviors and interests. Therefore, changes in behavior by an organization can evoke reactions in other organizations and create conflict.

Social organizations construct and change their own behavior; however, changes in behavior often occur as a response to environmental change. This change creates a reaction and response from one or more organizations. Their behavior is now changed, and their perception of the other organizations behavior can be enough to construct a conflicted relationship. This again affects the original organization causing its behavior to change. This can create a negative feedback loop of conflict; however, social organizations can choose how to react to change in order to avoid this deterministic process of conflict. This means that depending on how organizations react to behavioral changes, conflict behavior can be both destructive and transformative. It is destructive when reactions enable this negative feedback

loop, and can transform conflict if the organization responds in a more constructive way. Behavior interests and goals of organizations are dynamic and affects both the organization itself and other organizations, which can create conflict. Behavior, interests and goals are constructed by the organization based on different environmental conditions (Miall, 2007).

According to Galtung (1996) conflict is the combination of attitudes, behavior, and contradiction conflict in relation to the incompatibility. Meaning what the parties want, and how they achieve it. Conflict can evolve from all three, and spreads easily to the other areas.

3.4 A cognitive theory of goal formation

Organizations construct their own interests and goals, but the environmental conditions, behavior of other actors, context, unexpected change, are all factor often outside the organizations control. The creation of goals and interests are connected to all of these factors. This means that the formation of goals and interests are very complicated, and dependent highly on context and environmental conditions. Miall (2007) therefore creates a theory of goal formation that takes into account the complexities of behavior, context and other actors in the formation of goals and interests.

People and social actors work towards their goal with meaning and purpose. They are aware of their environment, and attempts to manipulate it to achieve their goals (Miall, 2007). Therefore, while historical trends and contexts are important, that alone it is not enough to develop a deep understanding of conflict. The theory of goal formation highlights the significance of both the historical context, and the teleology of social actors. This contributes to an understanding of how past trends and actions have shaped conflict, and the reason behind parties actions.

The reason why the teleological aspect of goal formation is necessary is that conflicting interests does not always form through actions. Actions are not the only source of conflict because it can also develop due to the fear of an action, perceptions, or conflicting plans. Conflicting goals and interests are prevalent in just about any situation between any parties, but they are expressed to secure interest, values and goals. Organizations has to balance conflicting interests in the context of their overall goals. Actors and organizations have to act in a way that moves them further towards their goal, as well as preventing moving further from it. Therefore, actions by people and organizations are deeply connected with their values, goals and reasoning (Miall, 2007).

Organizations base their actions on a goal. This can be for either the overall goal, or sub-goals necessary to move towards the overall goal (Miall, 2007).

The formation of the goals are done based on their understanding of the current situation, and their position in the current environment. They have to assess the strengths and weaknesses of their current position, and values of changes in position. They then adapt their behavior in order to improve their position. Upon reaching a goal, the organization is now in a new position, and has to evaluate it current situation again. This repeats the process of improving and moving towards an overall goal. It is a constant adaptation and evaluation of their current environment and position. The organization has to evaluate their goals in accordance to their payoff. Goals that yield positive payoff are continued, and goals that yield insufficient payoff are discarded. (Miall, 2007).

It is similar to how evolution works, which also is characterized by pursuit of goals in changing complex environments. Implementations that yield a payoff can be seen as rules. The idea is to keep rules that yield positive payoff and discard rules that gives negative payoff (Miall, 2007). Take for example a lion whose goal is to be a successful hunter. If the lion hunts for food and steps on a twig, the meal will run away. The lion then learns that stepping on a twig gives a negative payoff. If at another hunt the lion uses vegetation to sneak up on prey it will be more successful. The lion learns that hiding in vegetation gives a positive payoff. The implementation of these as rules improves the lion's ability as a hunter. The lion will follow the rules - do not step on twigs, and hide in vegetation. These individual rules contribute to the overall goal of being a successful hunter. All of the rules and goals are contributing factors in decisions and actions. Similarly, actors and organizations rules and goals influence their decisions. The lion example is an illustration of how organizations would form rules and goals, but it is not an accurate representation of a lion. The lion knows what to do as it has been developed instinctively through evolution. In a social context, what Miall (2007) refers to as cultural evolution, actors choose their own rules. This means that the evolution is not limited by randomness and mutation to the extent natural evolution is. Cultural evolution is selective and teleological, and this causes the evolution to be significantly faster than natural selection. Being allowed to choose the rules also increases rate of change in cultural evolution, as well as actors control over their environment.

The aspect of choice also affects the internal group dynamics. As mentioned groups have a collective goal and interest, even when individuals in the group do not all share the same

ones. What this creates competition and division of sub-groups within the larger group. Different sub-groups may have different opinions on how to achieve a goal or goals. They may also have different interests, and different gains from certain actions. These sub-groups and the competition between them makes plans and actions change. Plans evolve and change as different plans are implemented in different environments, or old plans adapted with new elements (Miall, 2007).

Goals and new goals are adopted based on an if-then principle. In a changing environment, new issues will occur and organizations have to adapt. The principle is if (the actor), take a certain action in relation to the new issue, in suitable conditions, then we will move towards our goal, or improve our position (Miall, 2007).

Because groups' interests and goals are constructed and not given, it gives actors and organizations huge responsibility in managing conflict. The likelihood of conflict can increase or decrease depending on their own, and others, decisions and goals. If goals and interests are contentious, it is likely to increase conflict. If goals and interests are considerate of other group's interests, it is likely to decrease, or mitigate conflict. In addition, actions and goals are based on the cultural and social environment of the organization, and their most immediate needs. Goals therefore, forms in context of exogenous influence, internal group dynamics, and teleological and cognitive processes (Miall, 2007).

3.5 Overt, structural, cultural, and violent conflict

I will now discuss how conflict of interests evolve into overt and violent conflicts. I want first to establish Galtung's definition of violence. Galtung (1996) define violence as avoidable insults to basic human needs, life, needs, and satisfaction, within the realm of possibility. He also consider threats of violence a form of violence in itself. I will also discuss processes of structural conflict as it is very relevant in the context of Brazil v indigenous peoples conflict. As I touched on earlier in the section of conflicting interests, there is a balance of conflict, tolerance, and cooperation between parties.

Groups and actors attempt to balance these factors in a way that allows them to pursue their goal, but in some instances conflicting interests evolve and become more essential. This attributes a lot of weight to the issue, which can tip the balance in a way that it becomes to reach their goal. In can also in fact become the most important issue as other interests starts to link with the issue. This is one way conflict of interests can intensify and possibly develop

into overt conflicts. The importance of an issue does not directly have to threaten the goal of an organization, it is enough that it is perceived as important. The organization may perceive an issue as important if it is linked to a bigger goal, or other vital interests. An issues importance can also increase if it can create a loss or negative effect for the organization. Actions in the context of the issue may then be necessary to prevent loss (Miall, 2007).

Loss can also be linked with attributing significance to an issue based on fear. Although it is not the same, as preventing a loss represents the reality of the situation. This does not have to be the case for increased significance based on fear. Fear can increase a conflict of interest significance even when it does not in reality threaten the organizations position. If issues increase in significance to the point where different interests and goals become connected with it, then the conflict starts to evolve, grow and widen. Once linked with other issues the conflict can spread into new areas, and further divide the parties (Miall, 2007). When this happens, it tends to cause polarization. Opinions become concentrated on the issue, and other areas or actors place themselves on a side of the conflict. Threats and escalation is the next step, and can be observed as a change from polarization around an issue to, an increased focus on damaging the other side. Typically, this stage is initiated by a warning, like a threat. One side will give an ultimatum, and noncompliance will cause them damage. It can be an effort to secure the party's goal, but an ultimatum is not a reliable tool to secure a goal. Once presented the reaction of the other is out of your control (Miall, 2007).

There is a psychological element to threats as well. It can be viewed as a Hail Mary done out of fear. If an organization fears that their position can be damaged, or the other side is perceived as powerful, threats can be used to prevent major losses. One key element with actions based on fear is that it can be based on delusion. The expected loss only needs to be perceived, it is not always realistic. Many conflict situations are escalated by actions based on fear and delusion (Miall, 2007). The foundational element here is the organizations position. The idea behind threats are often to back the other side down in order to improve your position. What often ends up happening is that it solidifies the opinion of the other to not back down, and make their own threat in response. This greatly escalates the conflict as noncompliance is likely, and if that is the case, has to be followed by a damaging action.

Another very important part of a growing conflict is power dynamics. The side that holds the power, or most power, have the advantage in the conflict. This is also the case for conflict management, as the more powerful side will have more influence in compromise due to its

ability to cause damage. Power is expressed differently in different contexts. In some contexts having allies, or attached parties will gain you power (Miall, 2007). For example in international contexts as seen with the NATO alliance. In other contexts control over a certain position will gain you power, for example control over a government.

All these factors pushes the conflict into a situation where parties see no alternative solutions other than overt and violent conflict. This stage can be seen as the point where the lid on the casserole starts to jump as the water is boiling. It illustrates that unless the heat is turned down, something changes, it will boil over. It the same way, if these factors continue to spread and evolve violent conflict is likely to happen. While these factors are the foundation of overt and violent conflict, every conflict is different.

3.5.1 Conflict management, resolution and transformation

Miall argue that conflict transformation, conflict management, and conflict resolution are not the same, which is something that is unclear in the field of peace and conflict research. He argue that each has distinct elements different form one another (Miall, 2004).

Conflict management consist of appropriate intervention. This means adequate involvement in the conflict in order to defuse or settle the conflict politically. Institutions and forums for expression are important element to appropriate conflict management. Typically, powerful actors have the responsibility and intervene as their power allows them to pressure the less powerful party to accept settlement (Miall, 2004).

Conflict resolution is not an attempt to settle as it applies to identity conflicts. It highlights the importance of retaining fundamental needs and identity. In order to transform conflict sides should discuss their interests and positions with assistance of a mediating third party. This would help them explore and evaluate their own perspectives and interests to reach a form of understanding and create a transformed relationship between parties (Miall 2004). This is what institutions are meant to do, help discuss disagreements and needs in a shared environment.

Asymmetrical conflicts are connected with structural conflict as is entails an unequal distribution of power between conflict parties. Critics of conflict resolution has argued that in these types of conflict, negotiation, dialogue and compromise is an inadequate conflict preventor. This because negotiation and compromise approaches assumes a form of equality between them. The critique has contributed to a development of conflict transformation.

Conflict transformation emphasizes that negotiation, institutional dialogue and discussion can only be legitimate when they it comes from a foundation of participation, free expression and inclusion. Miall bases this interpretation on Habermas theory of argument, which states that the pragmatic nature of argumentation dictates that its communication is free from coercion. If not, it can be considered strategic manipulation or violence (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse, & Miall, 2011).

Most contemporary violent conflicts are asymmetric, marked by inequalities of power and status. This is the case between the Bolsonaro administration and indigenous people. Transformation is a central part of structural or asymmetrical conflicts. This is because these types of conflicts can't be transformed without first changing the structures that creates uneven distribution of power. Due to the imbalance of power in the relationship, structural transformation of societal and relational structures like goals, interest, parties involved, policy, and economy becomes necessary to prevent reoccurrence of conflict and stable peace. (Miall, 2004)

3.5.2 Social conflicts

Miall's adaptation of Azar's model of protracted conflicts show formation evolvement and transformation of social conflicts. It illustrates conflict between communal groups and state actors. It can be transferred to the conflict between the Bolsonaro administration and indigenous communities. It show how societal conflicts can be transformed with structural support, or alternatively, become manifested through structural violence.
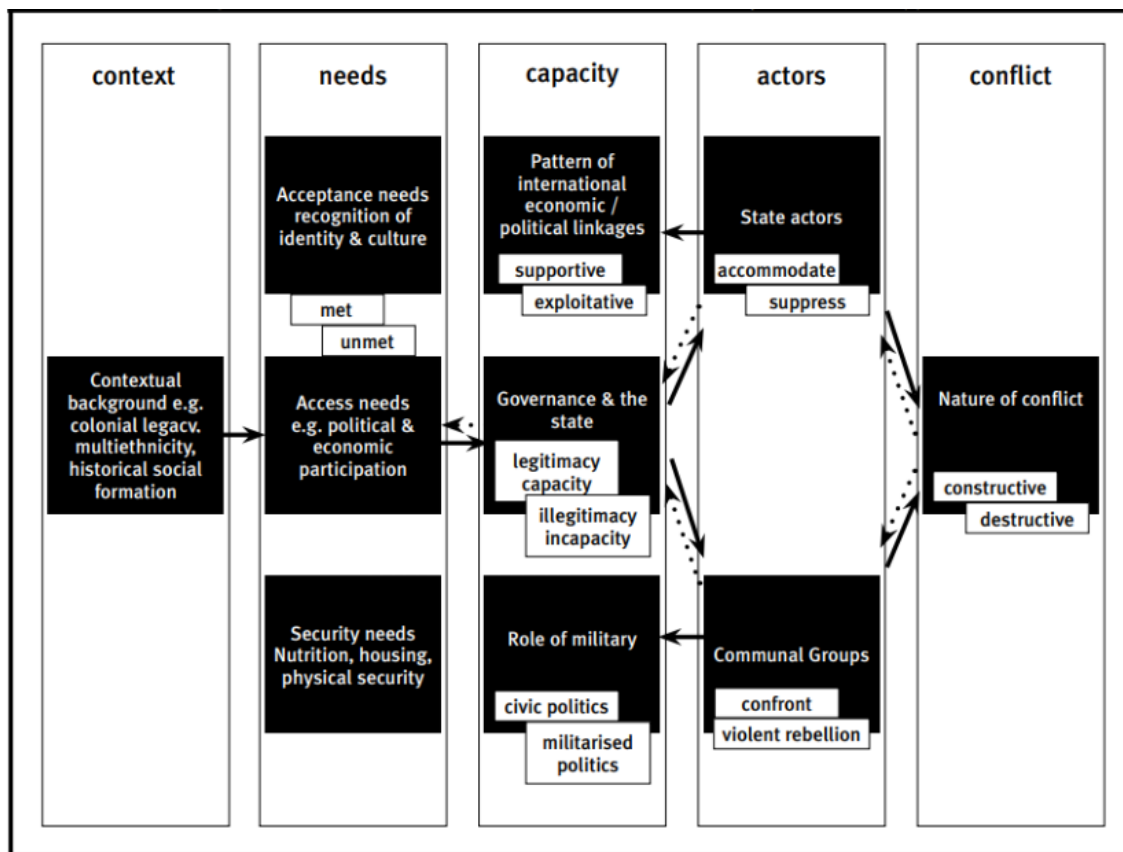
Figure 2 (Miall, 2004:6)

A conflict arises through a multitude of historical and environmental factors. The needs, capacity and actors pillars shows how reactions to the conflict can transform or manifest it. If needs like recognition of identity, political representation and participation, and security it challenges their legitimacy and personhood, which as seen from the figure is the role of the state to ensure. The state's role is also connected with the economic and international capacity. The states relationship with the other conflict parties affects the supportive or exploitative nature of economic and international actors. The states position of societal needs affect parties actions. The denial of needs through suppression prevents communal groups to confront issues through political institutions. Suppression often includes militarizing the political arena. It enables exploitative relationships and need for violence to create change, or be heard. It creates a negative feedback loop of neglected needs, increased exploitative relationships, more militarization and less participation. The conflict becomes protractive and destructive for society and its institutions. A constructive evolution of conflict includes accommodation of needs and security, which opens up for discussions of conflict, and enables supportive relationships. (Miall, 2004)

3.5.3 Structural conflict and violence

Conflicts of interests become structural conflicts when the relationship and power dynamics are unequal. This form of structural conflict in embedded in all of society. There is inequality and conflicting interests in all parts of society. There are variations of tolerance and reaction structural conflict based on norms and expectations from society. Some of these structural conflicts are integrated in society in such a way that it does not create huge challenges, and is therefore tolerable. In other cases, it creates huge challenges and evoke strong reactions from society (Miall, 2007).

Structural conflicts emerge as a consequence of uneven development, and concentration of resources. Uneven development and concentration of resources are key characteristics of today's capitalist system. Now, these characteristics does not mean that a conflict of interest needs to develop, but it provides an opportunity for the ones with more power and resource to do take actions without much consequence. This can create structural conflict. When an organization acts in a way that damage other parties, who do not have the influence to challenge the action, it creates structural conflict. Because the ones with power and resource have the power to act without considering other interests, some interested parties can be neglected, and this can unintentionally create structural conflict. Some actions may inadvertently damage other parties. While the extent of damage and reaction vary significantly, it shows just how easy it can be for these structural conflicts to develop. Even minor actions that might seem insignificant can be significant for others (Miall, 2007).

Essentially how the inequality develops is through specialization in society, which yields different modes of control, power and resource, this in turn leads to the emergence of "vertical structures" between social organizations and actors. These vertical structures are the uneven distribution of power and resource in society. The reason for this specialization is that it is more efficient in an organized society (Miall, 2007). One group is responsible for one area of society, and in this way people do not have to do everything themselves. So different groups and people contribute to the overall society, to different degrees and importance, and gain benefits back.

Fundamentally, structural conflict includes forms of structural violence. The inherent contradiction between them lies in the vertical structure, and the political and economic repression enabled by their position within the structure (Galtung, 1996)

Forms of structural violence according to Galtung are:

"preventing consciousness-formation, conscientization: penetration, conditioning of the mind from above, segmentation, those below getting limited vision of reality; preventing mobilization, organization of those below: fragmentation, splitting those below away from each other, marginalization, setting those below apart from the rest." (Galtung, 1996:93) In the case of Brazil many of these elements are very relevant. Galtung mentions that everything has to be gone for a structural conflict to end.

To understand different types of direct and structural violence I will present Galtung's table on typology of violence. Galtung's typology of violence divides types of direct and structural violence into four categories of basic needs.

Table 1.1   *A Typology of Violence*

	Survival needs	Well-being needs	Identity needs	Freedom needs
Direct violence	Killing	Maiming Siege, sanctions Misery	Desocialization Resocialization Secondary citizen	Repression Detention Expulsion
Structural violence	Exploitation A (strong)	Exploitation B (weak)	Penetration Segmentation	Marginalization Fragmentation

Table 1 (Galtung, 1996:197)

Maiming in its classic definition, but it's also, argued by Galtung, to include forms of sanctions of siege of nutrition, food, and healthcare. Galtung views it as violence because it causes harm, and the origins are neglect of these elements. Identity needs are forms of socialization. It is the internalization of culture through either desocialization, which is to be removed from one's own culture; or resocialization, being assimilated into a new culture. Repression is the violation of human rights as established in the international bill of human rights. Expulsion and detention is the imprisonment or exile of people (Galtung, 1996).

Exploitation A is about the uneven distribution of needs and resources, and that they are exploited to a degree that causes starvation, diseases. Exploitation B is a less physically severe form of violence where people are affected by ailments, mental health problems or hunger (Galtung, 1996).

Penetration and segmentation are forms of control of others worldview (segmentation) and imprinting their vertical relationship as norm (penetration). They are forms of controlling the mind. Marginalization and fragmentation are preventing others from participating or ignoring their voices, and prevent them from cooperating with each other (Galtung, 1996). These forms of structural violence to freedom needs are clearly present under the Bolsonaro administration.

3.5.4 Cultural conflict and violence

Also tied strongly to this case is cultural conflict. This can be seen as damage to a party caused by incompatible values, identity, ethnicity etc. This can create conflict and conflict of interests in the same way as structural or violent conflict. When important elements such as location, language, social position are very different, cultural differences start to develop. The group develops a collective identity, which is connected to the individual's personal identity. Therefore, damage to the group can be perceived as a personal attack, and targeted individual attacks may be perceived as hate towards the group (Miall, 2007).

Cultural differences does not automatically increase likelihood of conflict, as it can create a transformative environment. It does however, create groups with different perceptions, values and worldviews that can lead to conflicting interests or misunderstandings. The management of different interests and changing environment is a more important factor for emergence of conflicts. In the same way organizations adapt interests, and social environment to changing conditions; they also adapt and evolve culture, values and beliefs to changing condition. Culture and cultural conflict is therefore connected with an organizations material interests and social environment. Furthermore, an organizations culture, social systems and interests are all connected to its environment, and organizations adapt to changing environments (Miall, 2007).

Cultural violence is the justification and legitimization of forms of violence (structural or direct) based on factors of culture, language, identity, religion etc. The psychological elements of cultural violence are internalization or assimilation. The justification of violence based on culture, changes acts that might otherwise be considered wrong become more acceptable because it is based on a form of argument. Cultural violence highlights how direct violence and structural violence become legitimized within society (Galtung, 1996).

Typically, the evolution of violence is cultural violence, to structural violence, to direct violence. This because cultural violence justifies and legitimize the other forms of violence. It does not necessarily mean acceptance, it can mean that exploitation is okay because the people are not seen or heard. It then becomes a form of acceptance through ignorance. This evolves into conflict and violent conflict to try to escape the structures, and for keeping the structures intact. Because it typically evolves from cultural violence does not mean it has to. Violence can start with any of these types of violence, and is easily spreads to other forms of violence (Galtung, 1996).

4 Analysis

I am going to preface the analysis by reiterating the research problem, explaining the logic and flow of the analysis, and providing some contextual background.

"Examining the effects of Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policies in the Amazon, and how it contributes to conflict."

I will start each section by discussing events, policy and effects. I will then discuss it in the theoretical context of cultural, structural and violent conflicts, and offer insight into the fundamental reasons, effects and contributors of conflict.

"Ruralistas" or "Bancada ruralista" or "Ruralists", are commonly mentioned in the scientific literature regarding Bolsonaro and the amazon. I will therefore explain who they are, and their significance. Internationally referred to as Ruralists, they are a group of large landholders and their representatives, who are a key part of Bolsonaro's political base. (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019:261)

4.1 Background

All the way from the 1960 to the 1990s exploitation of Brazil's rainforest and resources were very much prevalent. Large private companies both national and international were given subsidies to establish plants, build infrastructure and collect natural resources. The effect of the environment and the indigenous people in Brazil was significant, however this was ignored as the economic benefits were too great (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021).

During the early 2000s, the World Bank revised its development program to highlight the importance of humans' relationship with nature. This shifted development in a more sustainable direction. This was reflected in Brazil as the administration in the early 2000s adopted the World Bank development program to its economic policy, and implemented new structural reforms. Lula da Silva, the president at the time, was quite outspoken against the new World Bank program. He was opposed to international actors and organization effectively influencing Brazil's development and economic policy. While the early 2000s seemed to feature significant change in economic and developmental policy, in the second term the administration backtracked more towards the historical developmental and economic policies. Brazil once again became more open for exploitation and development to promote

economic growth. The difference from the historical trends was that development would promote social inclusion and sustainability. This was the idea, but heavy development and extraction of natural resources did not promote sustainability. Secondly, new projects, developments etc. created huge energy demands that in turn created the necessity for more projects to keep up with energy demands. In terms of social inclusion policy, more food policies were implemented, but this in turn grew agribusiness as they had to keep up with increased food demand. What all this creates more development, more projects, less sustainability, and exploitation of nature. This negatively affects nature, the indigenous people who live there, and their land area (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021).

What this history of development shows is firstly that extraction and exploitation of Brazil's natural resources for economic growth is not new. Secondly, the historical structural violence experienced by the indigenous people. It has been going on for decades and really highlights how limited they are in controlling their environment. This is because of the power dynamics at play. The people in power has a big influence on them, and who that is therefore becomes important. Liberal administrations in the 21 century seem to engage in negative peace efforts. There are policies that damage indigenous interests, but within a more acceptable degree. Intent of previous administrations appears to be a balance between development and sustainability. Therefore, while there is historically forms of structural violence and conflicting interest, forms of accommodation and care was also provided. The conditions have historically been challenging for the indigenous people, but the Bolsonaro administration has moved away from negative peace towards increased conflict and violence.

I will shortly discuss important developments in the establishment of environmental institutions, before the Bolsonaro era. During the period from 1970 to the late 1980s environmental institutions such as SEMA (Special secretariat for the Environment), and Conama (The National Environment Council) were established. Around 1990 IBAMA (Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources), and the Ministry for the Environment. Although there were still environmental issues after their establishment, it provided a foundation to improve environmental policy and development. These institutions have been an important part of preventing the exploitation of land and resources by guiding policy decisions. Michel Temer, the president directly before Bolsonaro enacted some economic policies that prioritized economic gain over environmental protection, but this has been exacerbated by the Bolsonaro administration. (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021). The

foundation that the environmental institutions provide have been significantly challenged under the Bolsonaro administration.

4.2 Institutions

The Bolsonaro administration has made efforts to restrict participation and representation from opposing sides or civil society. This has been expressed through changes in environmental institutions.

Instead of closing the ministry of the environment, as was promised in the election campaign, the Bolsonaro administration deployed another strategy for changing environmental regulations. Restructure is and centralize power within institutions, and concentrate power in fewer people. By keeping the ministry the Bolsonaro administration was able to change policy more legitimately than would be possible without the ministry. In addition, it is likely less harmful for Brazil's international reputation (Araujo, 2020).

Shortly after gaining control, Bolsonaro dramatically changed the structure of the Ministry of the Environment. He closed down sections within it such as the Climate Change and Forestry division, and restructured personnel of the ministry. One important personnel change was the appointment of Ricardo Salles as head of the MMA (Ministry of the Evironment). Appointing someone like Salles to the position was done to secure success of Bolsonaros environmental policy. Salles shared the same views on environment and economic development as Bolsonaro. Salles actions as head of the ministry includes termination of public employees who are pro-environment or anti-extractivist, and replacing employees with military personnel aligned with the Bolsonaro administration. The effects of this is a centralized ministry with increased level of control by the bolsonaro adminstration. This restructuring was additionally done within the ICMBio (Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation), which is the administrative branch of the ministry. The changes made to this branch was a reduction in active members and employment of military personnel and organizational structure (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021).

Conama (the National Environmental Council) has had a significant reduction in available seats. Previously, Conama had over 90 seats occupied by different actors. Now this has been reduced to just over 20 seats with only a few allotted for civil representation. The number of civil representative seats was previously over 20. In addition, the balance of power within Conama is now heavily skewed towards the extractivist sector, supported by Bolsonaro. This

change limits and to a significant degree prevents society from participating in environmental policy decisions (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021).

CNAL (National Council of the Legal Amazon) has also gone through significant changes to its structure and jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of CNAL has been transferred from the Ministry of the Environment to the vice presidents administration. Hamilton Mourao is the vice president and leader of the institution, and became composed of him and 14 ministers. This prevented participation from civil society representatives and Amazonian governors, who previously held all the seats in CNAL (Menezes & Barbosa). The significance of CNAL has also increased. It has become more important in environmental policy as more environmental decision-making now goes through CNAL. Menezes & Barbosa Jr. (2021) argue its strategic significance has also increased. It serves as a way to control international perception by representing a commitment to environmental conservation. This perception is important to ensure a positive relationship with international trade partners, and prevent international backlash, which would create unwanted challenges. These changes centralizes the power, and makes it extremely difficult for outsiders to influence policy. These institutions are now less diverse, in regards to the number of different representatives from different parts of society, and much smaller in numbers. In addition, actors closely aligned with the Bolsonaro administration and their interests occupy the positions within them. This takes power and autonomy from indigenous groups and environmental defenders, and is an example of the structural violence and conflict the administration creates. Control over environmental institutions enables the administration to create change without considering others interests.

Bolsonaro attempted to transfer the responsibility of FUNAI (the National Indian Foundation), concerned with protecting and granting indigenous land area, from the ministry of justice to the Ministry for agriculture (Branford & Torres, 2019). This action clearly illustrates Bolsonaro's plan for indigenous land, with the ministry for agriculture occupied mostly by ruralists (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). Bolsonaro was however, unsuccessful in this effort, and the National Congress blocked the act by voting to keep FUNAI under the ministry of justice (Mendes, 2019). The national congress' blocking of Bolsonaro's plan to transfer FUNAI's power was important for indigenous interests. However, shortly after this Bolsonaro appointed Marcelo Xavier da Silva as head of FUNAI. Da Silva is closely connected with Bolsonaro and ruralists, which limits the effectiveness of FUNAI as an institution (Phillips, 2019). At the same time, the responsibilities of FUNAI remains under the

ministry of justice where Bolsonaros influence is limited (Mendes, 2019). As opposed to ministry of agriculture where he has big influence (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019).

The Bolsonaro administration issued the transfer of demarcating indigenous land from FUNAI, to the ministry of agriculture. The justification for this change was based on lands in the amazon being unproductive, and would be best prioritized to aid economic development (Milhorance, 2022).

The National Water Agency (ANA) was transferred away from the MMA to the Ministry of Regional Development (MDR). This limited the possibilities of interaction between ANA and other environmental organizations and institutions (Araujo, 2020). In addition, the transfer to the ministry of regional development shows a clear priority of resources towards development. Rural environmental registry (CAR), along with the oversight of fisheries, was also transferred from the MMA to the Ministry of Agriculture (Mapa) (Araujo, 2020). Responsibilities of CAR are registration of land for indigenous people, protect indigenous people and their environment, and provide important information for enabling sustainable agribusiness (Roitman, et al., 2018).

Majority of top level positions within environmental institutions was now also occupied by high ranking military officers supported by Bolsonaro. The ICMBio board became exclusively military officers, with both the director of environmental protection and director for planning at IBAMA being military officers (Araujo, 2020).

The administration's attempt to prevent participation from civil society in environmental and indigenous policy is a sign of a move away from democratic processes towards an authoritarian system of governance. Transfer societies are more unstable, and a significant element in civil conflict (Miall, 2007). Various environmental and rural institutions have been restructured or removed. The opportunities for participation have also been heavily restricted. Institutions such as the Amazon council, National council for the environment (Conama), and national council for water resources (CNRH), became administratively run by military officers with close ties to the Bolsonaro administration. It also effectively eliminated opportunities for civil society to participate in socio-environmental policy. This centralized decision-making power to the administration, and prevents civil actors from viewing or commenting on suggested policy changes (Milhorance, 2022).

4.2.1 Analysis and discussion

The Bolsonaro administration is not cooperative with other parties with different interests or beliefs. Cooperation is a central feature of peaceful change, and the lack of it significantly degrease the possibilities of achieving it. These changes also contribute to uneven power dynamics within both the MMA and ICMBio, and gains the administration centralization of power and control over important environmental institutions. It changes the previous relationship between these institutions, indigenous people, and environmental defenders. They are not adequately represented, society's voice on policy can't be expressed, and creates mistrust between the institution and relevant parties. It highlights how actions like this from the Bolsonaro administration creates structural violence. The centralization of these institutions limits indigenous people and environmental defenders to change their environment. The ability to participate is a part of people's fundamental needs. When participation is restricted it challenges the legitimacy of people, and is often accompanied by exploitation and militarization of the political arena. It prevents people from confronting issues politically, and makes the conflict destructive instead of constructive. The control over environmental institutions are linked interests to Bolsonaro's goal of development in the amazon and indigenous territories. Participation, opportunity, equality and rights are elements of deep conflict prevention, and conflict transformation. Bolsonaro's actions therefore does little to prevent conflict.

Actions by the Bolsonaro administration show that they understand their current environment. The administrations conflict with congress, and various other actors, makes constitutional and legislative changes very difficult to achieve. The centralization and dismantling of central institutions and ministries therefore provides the Bolsonaro administration the opportunity of successfully creating changes. Additionally, they recognize their own, and CNAL's position, internationally and adapts differently to maintain viability and optimum conditions in both national and international environments. This adaptation of international and national environments is also observed in Bolsonaros restructuring and centralization of the MMA.

The centralization, restructuring and militarization of governmental institutions is structural violence through fragmentation. Changes to ANA and prevents institutions from cooperating with each other, and centralization of institutions prevent people from organizing in a political arena. It is also marginalization as it excludes certain groups, such as environmentalists and indigenous people, from being part of decision-making. The centralization of power enforces

the vertical structures between the government and its opposition. It increases their power and ability to create change compared to what it was previously.

Contested democratization appears likely to increase the risk of armed conflicts between democratic states and autocracies. Miall (2003) argues this on the background of relationship between international governments. Seen in the context of Brazil, I still think it can be significant for exploring the relationship between the national congress, the Bolsonaro administration, and other governmental groups. There has been increased polarization within the governmental system. Bolsonaros policies creates a democratic/autocratic relationship within different areas of government. A higher level of civil war is found in 'semi-democracies'. While this is not exactly the case in Brazil, the Bolsonaro administration is moving toward that direction by restricting participation and militarizing politics. While civil war seems unlikely, this can increase likelihood of conflict.

Conflict resolution is discussion of issues in a political arena. It creates a place where relationships and perspectives are evaluated in the context of an issue. Institutions are the foundation of such discussions. Bolsonaro's control over institutions, and accompanying exclusion, prevents conflict resolution.

The changes made by the Bolsonaro administration has illustrated clear intentions and goals with regards to indigenous people and the amazon. This has caused the relationship between the indigenous people and government change. Their relationship with a series of governmental institutions has also changed due to Bolsonaros policies. Changes like this in relationships can create conflict. The relationship between indigenous people and the government has not been strong historically, but such significant changes in their dynamic has exacerbated old conflicts and created new ones.

4.3 Legislation and regulation

Control over CAR is also closely linked with Bolsonaros policy proposal for simplified land registration rules. Environmentalists referred to it as MP da Grilagem. The goal was to increase the land size where landowners would be eligible for the simplified registration rules. This increase was triple the previous maximum size with what was stated as 15 modules, previously 4, could be as much as 1500 hectar. The CAR would be used to check and verify claim for land under these rules. This makes it an important tool for control of land, which is a significant interest for the Bolsonaro administration. This was not successful after

significant reactions and pushback form society, environmental actors, and institutions (Araujo, 2020:6). It shows that "the other side" also harms Bolsonaro's interests by blocking proposed legislation. I will not attempt to comment which of the parties are morally right or wrong, or considerate of others, but fundamentally, it shows how both sides harms one another's interests. Damage to others interest increase the likelihood of overt conflict, and when the conflict parties both conflict damage to the others interest, peace is not achievable.

A new slightly modified version of the proposal was again put forward in 2021 titled PL 510/2021. Connected to the PL 510/2021 bill is the PL 191/2020 that opens for development of electric plants, agriculture or mining in indigenous land areas without their consent. This is currently not allowed (Apib; ISA; Conectas; OC; WWF-Brazil, 2022). As of march 2022 it was still up for review, but it can be predicted that the new president, Da Silva, likely will not support the bill (Mendes, 2023).

While the administration has been to an extent limited in their efforts to change environmental policy, the administration has taken advantage of instances where congressional majority is not necessary to perform the action. Salles confirmed that this was their intent by claiming "we [they] don't need the congress, as in their current situation things that goes to congress will not pass". Salles also stated their intent of using the coverage of the recent COVID-19 pandemic to make changes in environmental legislation without pushback. The intent here was to change legislation and weaken environmental regulations while the news focused on the pandemic, effectively using it as a distraction (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021:238).

Increased opposition and conflict is reflected through an increase in PDLs (draft legislative decrees), which is a way of protesting Bolsonaro's policies. In 2018 two PDL's were filed under environment, in 2019 it was eighteen, 2020 seven. Significant increase in requested and sent information under the topic of environment to and from the administration. 108 requests for information of environment in 2019, compared to 11 in 2018. Significantly more PDLs in the contexts of environment than before. It signals that policy regarding the environment has increased in conflict and importance within the governmental system (Araujo, 2020:12-13).

Institutional constraints are an important factor in dismantling efforts. If there are too many possibilities for policy change to be prevented within the governmental structure, it creates limitations for dismantling. The Bolsonaro administration has attempted to implement legislation that have been blocked by the national congress. It shows that that policy

dismantling is more challenging in cases where there are forms of institutional or governmental constraints (Milhorance, 2022). Because they were unsuccessful in passing regulatory laws as shown in the example previously, they began attempting changes in ways that fell outside the congress' jurisdiction in order to secure their goal. This through control over environmental institutions such as IBAMA and MMA where the leaders are aligned with the Bolsonaro administration and their interests. They make use of their control of institutions to loosen regulations for agribusiness interests (Araujo, 2020).

Changes in IBAMA normative instructions to now include establishments and developments of agriculture and commercial projects in indigenous territories that have yet to be recognized. The regulations for agriculture and business in indigenous territories should also be revised (Rapozo, 2021). This also illustrates the strategic aspect of freezing demarcation of new indigenous land. It opens up more possibilities for land to be officially available for development. He attempted to bind it to law in the Da Grilagem bill, which as discussed caused a significant pushback, and counterproposal that remained under consideration up until the administration left office (Rapozo, 2021).

Revision to the identification of indigenous people has also been done by the Bolsonaro administration, to weaken and restrict indigenous people's life and rights. At the start of 2021 the administration through their control in FUNAI, established new criteria as to who can officially identify as indigenous. The new criteria was widely criticized by different indigenous groups, actors and defenders as violates their constitutional rights and significantly limits indigenous peoples claim to land. This creates a direct conflict with indigenous people who may lose their status as a result. In addition, an introduction of a normative instruction that establishes opportunities for partnerships between indigenous people and non-indigenous people in indigenous territory. What this means is opportunities for development and agriculture in indigenous lands. This allows development interests to enter into indigenous territory to extract their resources. What this partnership provides for developmental interests is less external control due to its partnership status. The need for environmental licensing it not mandatory, neither are external economic actors, or indigenous representatives (Rapozo, 2021). All this creates conditions where exploitation, domination, and rights violations become increasingly possible.

The Bolsonaro administrations strategy of issuing presidential decrees in order to change and implement policy have created challenges and conflict within the governmental system.

Conflicts between congress and the administration has been prevalent since Bolsonaro. Legislation and restructuring efforts suggested by the administration were blocked by congress due to conflicting interests and values. In addition, conflicts over budgetary issues have also been present between groups within the governing body. Clear conflict of interests and priorities in the government system. Creates a weaker state and polarization. Dismantling efforts were started on the basis of reducing bureaucracy and making private developmental projects easier. It has evolved into dismantling of important democratic institutions with a perceived intent on weakening the amazon and its people for economic growth (Milhorance, 2022).

Even though the Bolsonaro administration has received strong opposition from congress, actors, and society, it has not been enough to prevent significant changes by the administration. It has prevented new laws and legislation, but it has lead the administration to adapt, and concentrate on regulatory measures that do not need congressional approval.

4.3.1 Analysis and discussion

Salles' statements make it clear that the administration is manipulation environments to further their interest. Not only are they adapting to environmental change, but manipulating their media and political environments. It shows how teleological processes creates foundation for action. Importantly it also highlights the level of polarization and lack of cooperation within the political system. The administration can attempt to create change through congress, but that would mean not achieving their goal. Salles recognizes the position of the administration within the political system and adapts accordingly. Their strategies have create contested democratization, and a step towards more autocratic processes of governance.

These issues around legislation and regulation highlight significant polarization and division within government structure. It also includes the division of subgroups within congress and the administration. For example ruralistas, a very powerful group. They are more competitive and powerful than many other groups, and pushed in hard in favor of the PM da Grilagem bill (Araujo, 2020). They appear to be growing more apart and more conflict of interests have developed. The conflict surrounds issues of environment, indigenous people between different invested parties, and can be considered a complex actor conflict. Polarization is a typical reaction to such conflicts. It exposes the fundamental contradictions in their goals and

interests. This division and polarization has made compromise is less likely. The optimal position and the ways of achieving it excludes the other party's interests. It is also clear the issues of environment and indigenous rights has increased in importance. As other issues and areas of interests connects to the conflict is starts to intensify.

This also contributes to cultural violence towards the indigenous people. By revising criteria for indigenous people, Bolsonaro employs a form of desocialization. This is to remove people from their culture, and the revisions removes certain groups from their collective identity. It also limits their rights as indigenous people. Their restricted rights enables further exploitation of their areas, and justifies invasion of the territory.

The administration and congress are adapting to environmental conditions within the governing system to reach goals. However, because their power and specialization binds them closely the conflict and polarization means that both parties are adapting to undesirable conditions. The administration with limited power for changing laws and regulation due to push back from actors and congress. Congress having to manage conflicting interests with the Bolsonaro administration, and the indigenous people significant threats to their rights, land and personhood. Their viability is limited, and it has increased frustration and worsen the conflict, especially in terms of cooperation.

4.4 Budged and funding

Bolsonaro's economic and budget policy has significantly weakened indigenous people and environmental institutions. Bolsonaros 2020-2023 plan on environmental protection and conservation included around 30 percent less funds for environmental protection and conservation than in 2019. It has been effective for weakening environmental institutions' ability to prevent agribusiness in the amazon (Araujo, 2020).

There has also been a drop in available funds for environmental protection and conservation programs. It has declined by 90 percent from 2016 to 2019, and environmental institutions such as IBAMA and the MMA have in the last years spent even less than the budget allows. There is a reduction in overall budget for environmental conservation, and additionally, important environmental institutions spend fewer percent of their budget than in previous years. Consequences are more deforestation, and less environmental protection due to

institutions having fewer resources to address it (Apib; ISA; Conectas; OC; WWF-Brazil, 2022).

Bolsonaro has criminalized international NGOs from profiting from public funds for promoting the rights of indigenous people in the amazon. Environmental NGOs have been accused of trying to exploit Brazil's natural resources by involving themselves in the amazon. Another way of weakening civil society groups in support of indigenous communities and the amazon, was the dismantling of the Amazon Fund. In 2019 Bolsonaro administration took control over its central committees on grounds of suspicious activity. The fund has received billions of dollars in support of conservation of rural communities (Milhorance, 2022:758). Over 500 million dollars was available when it effectively closed in 2019. Big supporters to the amazon fund such as Norway and Germany withdrew their support. This was significant as Norway contributed 94 percent of total donations. The fund was closed for four years and prevented very important support for the amazon and its people. The fund has now, under Lula da Silva (November 2022), been reactivated. However, the consequences are significant, and will be take time to rebuild (Downie, 2022). The administration also eliminated the special departments for indigenous health, and indigenous special health were shut down. This, combined with power of the far right populist agenda may be a significant factor for the rise of violence against indigenous people (Milhorance, 2022).

In addition to IBAMA, the ICMBio also saw significant budget cuts. The ICMBio's budget was cut around 30 percent. Extreme budget cuts were implemented to the national policy on climate, 95 percent decrease in available budget (Milhorance, 2022:759).

Reductions in budgets was simultaneously accompanied by an increased military in spending, as well as significant salary increases to high level military officers. It reflects Bolsonaro's close relationship with the military. Increased military spending and salaries was an attempt to balance out the effects of military pension reforms. Bolsonaros military support is a key element to Bolsonaro's level of control both within government and control of national security system. It allows the Bolsonaro administration to maintain power and stability in government. The bancada ruralistas are another important Bolsonaro ally. The ruralists have such an influence on policy both currently and historically. With Bolsonaro as president and as their ally, it has increased their level of influence on policy (Milhorance, 2022).

Policy that have concentrated costs and diffused benefits are not attractive to big interest groups, who bear the costs. Environmental protection is that type of policy, where large economic actors like the have to invest extra to protect environment for the public good. Policies like that directly conflict with the interest of ruralists and Bolsonaro. Social welfare, public health policies etc. are the opposite type of policy, concentrated benefits with spread cost. Dismantling these types of policies can provide a benefit to a concentrated group and spread costs. Social policy dismantling is more challenging to justify as the cost of these policies are payed for through taxes and government budgets. Politicians typically get criticized for making cuts in these areas and wish to avoid blame (Milhorance, 2022).

4.4.1 Analysis and discussion

The decrease of financial support has limited the opportunity for indigenous people important health benefits, less protection from invaders and limited their resources. This marginalization is structural violence against the indigenous communities. Limited resources has contributed to fragmentation as coordinating projects becomes challenging. Less institutional resources to properly support Amazonian interests has made indigenous communities more isolated. This has created payoff for the administration, as less money goes to environmental protection, and a weaker indigenous collective. Bolsonaro's policies has suppressed international financial support, and increased international and private financial exploitation of the amazon.

The Bolsonaro administration has dismantled both environmental and social policy, which both creates concentrated benefits, and consequences such as pushback, blame, or frustration do not outweigh the benefits. It highlights that the administration and its partners are very driven towards their goal, and concerned with little other than own interest except some international consideration. Other parties and their perception does not seem to have significant effect on their dismantling efforts. The efforts to dismantle socio-environmental policy has led to extreme deforestation numbers, increased use of pesticides, and more territorial conflicts. This has had significant consequences for the indigenous population and destabilized their rights, and sense of place.

4.5 Opposition, other parties, responses

The consequences from the 2008 financial crisis, and economic recession that followed, led to challenges and limitations in handling adequate social policy. This gave rise to the far right

movement in Brazil and eventual coup from Michel Temer. Temer signaled a clear shift from liberal administration towards conservative. The Temer period already initiated policy dismantling efforts. The majority of which was implemented during the liberal parties and Lula da Silva's terms, in the early 2000-2010s. The strategic justification of Bolsonaro's dismantling processes can be evidenced by the cooperation with different conservative groups. This is a populist strategy intended to secure support from extreme groups with the intention of representing their interests. These target groups include evangelist Christians with conservative family values, military groups, actors critical to the previous liberal administration and international economic actors. They connect through the perceived economic failure of the previous liberal administrations. Bolsonaro has expressed intent to clear out the ones responsible. This us against them is a central element of populism to bind people against an urgent common threat, and in the process overlook some of their fundamental differences. This threat is also often people that don't share the same values or culture as the group. This brings increased support and increased power to change policy (Milhorance, 2022). Bolsonaro blamed the economic crisis effectively on the liberal administration. Populism gives justification to create change by dismantling policy implemented by the enemy, in this case the liberal administration. Populism at its core also assumes that if power is transferred to the populist group, change will happen. The populist agenda therefore view policy dismantling as a necessary action (Milhorance, 2022).

During the Bolsonaro administration, there has been a decline in environmental control and more lenient attitude towards environmental regulations. In addition, the administration has made efforts to censor of environmental defenders and scientist, as well as government employees who support them (Rapozo, 2021).

The administration has delegitimized various pro-environment actors and minority groups. The head scientist of governmental agency was fired by the administration over a disagreement over deforestation. The scientist, Ricardo Galvao, claimed that based on satellite images deforestation had increased by over 80 percent over the past year. This was contradictory to the belief of the Bolsonaro administration (McKenzie, Fernandez, & Wells, 2019). Bolsonaro has also accused NGOs of interfering with national politics by internationalizing the amazon. This undermines their legitimacy in in regards to policy decisions regarding the amazon (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021).

These strategies of restricting participation and delegitimizing opposing voices, allow the Bolsonaro administration to create changes. Menezes & Barbosa Jr. (2021) argue that policy in regards to the environment has now moved beyond economic growth and development. It is now economic prosperity and power for the few. The few being different interest groups who, like Bolsonaro, wish unrestricted access to the amazon's natural resources and space. This is done based on their interest for financial gain and power.

Ruralists connected with the Bolsonaro administration, in an effort to delegitimized the indigenous people, claims the land currently assigned to indigenous people were only created through international influence and internationalizing the amazon. This in an effort to prevent competition by limiting the growth of Brazilian agribusiness (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). It is an illustration of the populist strategy applied by Bolsonaro. Creating an "us" against "them" narrative is central feature of populism. The foundation of this is based on conflict, and contributes to a more divided and polarized environment.

The relationship between the congressional environmental coalition and the MMA has become one of conflict. The conflict spreads to other parties and branches, and it concentrates conflict across a conflict axis that increase polarization. For example, closer cooperation between indigenous people and representatives, with pro-environment branches of government. This has strengthened relations between the coalition and environmental organizations, previous environmental groups have also had increased cooperation as a result. The polarization has increased conflict, but also provided more strength to the indigenous people. Although, their ability to limit the administration's policies remains challenging (Araujo, 2020). The de-prioritization and neglect of indigenous peoples rights and health have also caused external actors to respond. Various actors, researchers, and civil society groups collectively mobilized to assist indigenous communities in the face of covid-19. They assisted with important equipment such as masks, sanitizers, and health kits. Provisions and financial assistance was provided. In addition, important education around health issues, and translation of information (Rapozo, 2021).

4.5.1 Analysis and discussion

There is a clear payoff in economic power, and is why the administration keep delegitimizing opposition, dismantling socio-environmental institutions and restricting participation. Arguments can be made regarding the likelihood of long-term payoff for the administration.

What is important to understand is that they perceive a payoff, or are possibly only aiming for short-term payoff. Shortly after the election, influential ruralists convinced the new president not to extinguish the Environment Ministry because such a move might induce restrictions on Brazil's exports. (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). It shows that the administration adapts values and behavior so some extent in an international environment. Based on their belief or fear that it may yield a negative pay-off, they mask some interests and values to change how they are perceived.

Delegitimizing and suppressing opposing organizations and actors enforces a destructive path in protracted social conflicts. This creates destructive conflicts that further marginalizes minority groups' needs. The most powerful party involved in the conflict typically have the responsibility of managing conflict. However, their inequality makes this impossible, as nothing would be solved by pressuring the indigenous people to settle. Bolsonaro has also shown no attempt of conflict transformation. This would be needed to address the inequality between them and prevent structural conflict.

Their views on climate change are a clear true or false conflict between the Bolsonaro administration, environmental groups and scientists. Silencing and dismissal of actors with opposing beliefs is a clear example of conflict behavior. there is no alternative is the implication here, and due to the balance of power opposing actors become damaged without much opportunity to respond. This has changed the dynamic of their relationship to become destructive instead of transformative.

I would argue that Bolsonaro's populism tactics is a form of conflict behavior. These tactics are based on creating opposition and prioritizing group interest often at the cost of others, both of which connect with a lack of cooperation. Conflict behavior can change relationships, cause reactions and create conflict. It's constructed and adaptive, which is why behavior is also central for peace. Perceptions of something or someone are enough to spark conflict, and destructive behavior creates a negative feedback loop of reactions. Behaviors are based on values and needs. The values expressed by the Bolsonaro administration are a lack of respect and recognition of indigenous people and the environment. Their needs, economic growth and space for development, which the behavior of the administration clearly reflect. The conflict behavior is also manifested in the socio-environmental changes by the Bolsonaro administration.

4.6 Indigenous people

Bolsonaros argued for the dismantling of inequality-reduction policies that sought to benefit minority groups, especially in the amazon. Bolsonaro based the argument on the idea of a universal Brazilian citizen, fundamentally supporting the idea of assimilating the indigenous people. This was an effort to justify and prioritize revisions to the government policy on minority constitutional laws and rights (Milhorance, 2022).

The people directly affected by the administration's actions are the indigenous people who lives in the amazon. The administration has attacked the culture, rights and personhood of the indigenous people. Bolsonaro has made statements such as "they are almost human like us" and "not good enough to breed" when talking about the indigenous people. Dehumanizing and delegitimizing the indigenous people challenges their right to influence land and environmental policy. The indigenous people are intimately connected with the environment and nature of Brazil and the effects of environmental policy cannot be separated from the indigenous people (Menezes & Barbosa Jr., 2021:240). They therefore argue that environmental protection in the context of Brazil, would be more appropriately referred to as socio-environmental protection. Underlying the argument is the fact that protection of indigenous peoples land and rights has been one of the primary factors for environmental protection in the amazon. Bolsonaro began extractivist efforts in the amazon. These efforts were in areas that were not yet protected as indigenous land, but was populated by a large majority of the amazon's indigenous people.

The Bolsonaro administration states that no more indigenous or natural land will be granted protection status. He goes further by stating that agriculture, development and mining should be allowed in indigenous territories. This agenda is supported by ruralists who have economic interest in less environmental or land restriction (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019)

There has been drawn connections between Bolsonaros socio-environmental policy, and the rise in attacks on environmental actors and indigenous people. Multiple reports of loggers and miners threatening and attacking indigenous people has been noted after Bolsonaro's presidency. Loggers chased environmental representatives from IBAMA away from areas in the amazon. The people were publicly supporting the Bolsonaro administration during these acts. Other indigenous people has had areas invaded and faced threat of death if they should reclaim their land. Also in this case, their connection to the Bolsonaro administration was

stated openly with statements like "you [indigenous people] have no rights to the land now that Bolsonaro is president" (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019:262).

Bolsonaro has also shown conflict behavior towards the indigenous people through threats on their existence. The threat from bolsonaro stated that minorities have to bow down to the majority, they can adapt or disappear (Barbosa, Oderich, & Camana, 2022).

The occurrence of direct violence against indigenous people in recent years illustrates the current administrations level of oversight on indigenous wellbeing. Policies and the lack of accountability and consequences from the government, and attackers, enables conditions for violence. The lack of accountability and the current state of Brazils criminal justice system allows various actors to extract resources in indigenous lands, while at the same time creating violent conflict between developers and indigenous communities (Rapozo, 2021). It is both direct violence and structural violence through delegitimizing, and neglecting the indigenous people. As it threatens their way of life, it is also directly connected with their culture.

The effect of the government's policy on environment and indigenous people is reflected in an increased frequency and severity of direct violence towards indigenous people in recent years. Internationally Brazil ranks very high in murder rates of environmental activists and indigenous/world leaders. Given the fact that over 80 percent of these murders occurred in the amazon region, there is a strong argument that Bolsonaro's indigenous and environmental policy is responsible for this increased violence. Number of murders in rural areas of Brazil increased by 15 percent from 2018 to 2019. There was an increase of 7 percent for attempted murder, but the biggest increase was in death threats with 22 percent more reported cases. This increase is significant, especially considering a majority of these murders were on indigenous leaders or community leaders (Rapozo, 2021:10)

Some forms of violence towards indigenous people can be directly linked to the government, not through direct violent acts, but through serious neglect in indigenous governance. The cases of violence caused by neglect in social assistance, welfare and health care have significantly increased from 2018-2019. The effects of this has also contributed to an increase in child mortality rates in the majority of indigenous states in the amazon. This increase is connected to the decrease in demarcation and recognition of indigenous territory as important health institutions, such as the special Indigenous Health District, are restricted to assist official and legal indigenous territories. This means that indigenous collectives that are

already more vulnerable to exploitation, invasion, uncertainty, becomes even more vulnerable. This became evident during the recent covid-19 pandemic where again the most vulnerable indigenous groups, who are not legally recognized by government, were not prioritized for immunization (Rapozo, 2021).

4.6.1 Analysis and discussion

Statements from Bolsonaro are efforts to weaken and delegitimize the indigenous peoples claim to certain rights. It is a form of cultural violence, not in a physical sense, but a social and political sense by damaging their rights and personhood based on differences in culture and lifestyle. Bolsonaro's threat of adapting to the majority neglects indigenous peoples identity needs through desocialization of own culture, and resocialization into a new culture. De- and resocialization are forms of direct violence, and while the threat is immaterialized, threats are also a form of violence. I also intensifies conflict by attempting to force submission. Cultural violence is to damage to a group based on values, beliefs or ethnicity. When groups location is divided, and language and lifestyle is different it necessitates being open to other perspectives, if not it can lead to conflict. Managing different interests is important to avoid conflict, and the Bolsonaro administration demonstrate significant forms of cultural violence towards indigenous communities.

The way he talks about them is diminishing their worth as people, and as they are secondary citizens. Viewing them as less than others "almost like us", and "not good enough to breed", better justifies their de-prioritization, neglect and marginalization. It creates Isolation and segregation based on culture, by preventing health institutions from providing support to indigenous communities who live in non-officially demarcated territories.

The reason why the protection of amazon and indigenous people are so connected is because indigenous land area is one fifth of all the Amazonian rainforest. Its huge size means that any effect on either indigenous land area, or the rest of the amazon will have consequences for all of the amazon (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). because of the size of the land area structural violence towards the indigenous people through lack of representation and rights becomes important for access to the huge land area. The significant size is also an element of what ties it so closely with the amazon and the environment. It illustrates the fundamental links between environmental and indigenous interests, and Bolsonaro's interest for development

with environmental interest. This is what contribute to conflicting interest in socio-economic policy between ruralists, and environmental and indigenous defenders.

The structural violence towards indigenous communities has affected their cultural expressions. The Kaingang people performs hunting dances and rituals to express their relationship with the government. This adaptation in behavior from the Kaingang people means that they are preparing to fight against parties who wish to damage them (Barbosa, Oderich, & Camana, 2022). A hunting dance now used in preparation to fight government. Signifies how cultures and people adapt to their environment, but also illustrates the severity of structural and cultural damage they experience.

Significant cultural differences necessitates increased management of different interest and values to secure peace. The Bolsonaro administration have demonstrated a severe lack of interest management. Due to the significant cultural differences in Brazil adequate cultural management is very impactful. The indigenous people has additionally experienced forms of direct and structural violence. Viewing indigenous people as lesser citizens with fewer rights can legitimize direct and structural violence.

Galtung considers violence as avoidable insults to basic human needs, life, needs, and satisfaction, within the realm of possibility. He also consider threats of violence a form of violence in itself. Galtungs concept of violence will be used to discuss how the Bolsonaro administration exposes indigenous groups to forms of structural and direct violence.

The Bolsonaro administration exposes indigenous people to maiming, which are forms of sanctions or siege to nutrition, food, and healthcare. Bolsonaro has deprioritized healthcare for indigenous groups, and lack of demarcation can be argued a form of territorial sanction. Indigenous people are subject to exploitation through uneven distribution of needs resources. The actions regarding covid-19 vaccination for indigenous groups can be seen as this type of exploitation, as this exploitation causes diseases. This uneven distribution of resources creates structural violence. When Bolsonaro states indigenous people need to adapt, it can likely understood as assimilation. Forced to disappear can be viewed as a threat to their existence, and likely through direct violence. Threats from Bolsonaro can be argued as a fear response to the opposition by indigenous and environmental defenders. It significantly escalates a conflict situation as it indicates no consideration of the other parties' interest, exhibits conflict behavior, and violence in case of noncompliance to threat. Policies from the government

directly damages the indigenous people. Deprioritizing health care and support for Brazilian people contributes to isolation and segregation of indigenous communities. They are also Brazilian citizens, and de-prioritizing, isolation and segregation of these people are both forms of structural and cultural violence.

Conflict transformation is a necessary part of structural conflicts. It is extremely challenging to end the conflict without first changing the structures that creates uneven distribution of power and resource. Due to the imbalance of power in the relationship, structural transformation of societal and relational structures like goals, interest, parties involved, policy, and economy needs to be restructured to prevent reoccurrence of conflict and stable peace. The Bolsonaro administration has made no attempt of transformation, and creates conditions that prevents it.

The administration marginalizes the indigenous people through neglect and de-prioritization. Instances of marginalization have been observed within many of Bolsonaros socio-environmental policies. His push of new regulations, and control over institutions are other examples of the administrations marginalizing actions.

Food, security, health and social welfare have been subject to direct dismantling efforts by the Bolsonaro administration. This overt dismantling of policy can also be contrasted in the historical context of Brazil. Previous administrations such as Lula da Silva also has some cases of dismantling policies regarding environment and indigenous people for economic growth. This was however not the overt and clear strategic dismantling of the indigenous system. Strategy for overt or hidden dismantling can be evaluated in terms of cost-benefit. If an actor wants to achieve a goal and with it comes consequences. The cost of the consequences have to be evaluated. If the cost is too big, a discrete approach is more advantageous (Milhorance, 2022). In the case of Brazil the economic benefit, and powerful backing from ruralists, can be argued to outweigh the consequences. The administration's position is achieved through support from powerful allies, and they want certain policies dismantled.

4.7 Land and territory

The expansion and support for agribusiness has made the issue around land area and possession of land more important. Ruralists attempt to possess land for developments and

agriculture, and this has negatively affected indigenous people. This has led to the indigenous people resisting and opposing what they see as invasion of their land. All this has made border and land disputes highly sensitive. It has led to conflict behavior from both indigenous people and farmers, developers and miners in the amazon (Barbosa, Oderich, & Camana, 2022).

Indigenous people have seen big demographic growth in recent decades, which is a big reason for their push for more demarcated land and retaining current land. Both of which the Bolsonaro administration attempt to prevent. Their argument for more land is rooted in article 231 in the constitution, passed in 1988. This says the indigenous people are the original inhabitants of Brazil, and has the right to pursue their own cultural lifestyle without pressure to assimilate (Johnson-steffey, 2010). However, the Bolsonaro administration and extractivist interest are rooted in the previous law from 1973, the Indian Statute, which was never repealed. This states that the indigenous people should be assimilated through an indigenous institution, to become fully integrated in Brazil's society (Povos Indígenas no Brasil, 2018). Therefore, they argue they should have no special rights. As a collective they have more land that anyone, and should have less in order to promote economic growth in Brazil (Barbosa, Oderich, & Camana, 2022).

No new land has been demarcated despite over 200 remaining under review to be approved. Because demarcated land for indigenous communities are the most protected areas in Brazil it makes large parts of the amazon unprotected, and vulnerable for exploitation (Apib; ISA; Conectas; OC; WWF-Brazil, 2022). According to the constitution around 13 percent of Brazils land area is recognized as indigenous territory, 117 mill hectar total of which 115 mill is in the amazon (Araujo, 2020:8)

The decline in demarcation and process of recognizing indigenous land has a historical contexts as well. Even though the Bolsonaro administration has more significantly delayed processes of demarcation, this process has been affected by the capitalist system for over a decade. The need for growth in development and agricultural sectors has led to increased restrictions in demarcation of indigenous land. At the same time, the degree to which the demarcation and recognition of indigenous land is restricted under the Bolsonaro administration is more severe than any administration in the past decades (Rapozo, 2021).

4.7.1 Analysis and discussion

This conflict behavior and cases of direct violence, and threats has contributed further polarization between these groups. It exaggerates their already divided positions along the conflict axis, and cause them to connect closer with their respective allies. Issues around territory have become more important. Environmental policy and changes in governmental institutions are tied to this conflicting issue. It is based on a goal of acquiring more land for their respective party. Ruralists for development and farming, and indigenous people for settlements and its cultural significance.

Indigenous people and Bolsonaro administration have conflicting views, both argue based on laws that is beneficial to their own party. On a fundamental level, they have the same goal. To increase or keep the most amount of territory. It's possible to argue that the Bolsonaro's argument based on an outdated law is less relevant, but its application demonstrates a high level of awareness of their position and environment. They have the same goal, but their reasons are contradictory. The structural violence towards the indigenous community is a way of ensuring their interest, due to the contradiction of their interest and power relationship it also damages the indigenous people and their interests.

Capacity or context becomes an important part of the cause of conflict. This can dampen or amplify conflict, based on historical and social context. I would actually argue that in the case of Brazil, the context dampen the conflict due to historical structural violence. This limits the amount of significant change needed for the Bolsonaro administration to achieve the same outcome. Viewed in the historical context, the prolonged experience of structural violence by the indigenous people may have built a tolerance. The extent of structural violence towards indigenous people under Bolsonaro are among the most severe in recent decades. However, the existence of structural violence and conflict historically has laid the foundation that the administration built upon. It may be a significant factor as to why the consequences for the administration was not more severe, and why it creates payoff rather than overwhelming costs. Had the indigenous people historically not been subject to structural violence, a change to the extent seen under Bolsonaro would take away more rights and freedoms. Therefore, while they would be in the same position, a change of such degree may be perceived as more damaging, and less tolerable.

4.8 Deforestation, invasion and pesticides

The NPCC (national policy on climate change) stated that deforestation had to be less than 4000 square kilometer total annually by 2020. This statement was made in 2017 after deforestation number reached almost 7000km2. Since then Brazil has not even come close to this number, mainly due to actions by the Bolsonaro administration. It has in fact increased significantly; in 2018, the total deforestation number was 7500, in 2019 the number rose to over 10 000, in 2020 almost 11 000. This shows not only that it has risen well over the recommended number set by the NPCC, but well over the actual annual deforestation in 2017. In 2021 it reached over 13 000 in total, which is the highest deforestation number in Brazil since 2006. This increased deforestation rates correlate with deforestation rate in indigenous and protected areas. Deforestation in these areas has increased as well since 2018 with deforestation numbers over 1000km2 in 2019 and 2020, and almost 1400 in 2021. This is almost double of what it has been for the last 10 years (Apib; ISA; Conectas; OC; WWF-Brazil, 2022).

While the law prohibits deforestation in these areas, this increase can be linked with the administrations attitude of less enforcement and looser regulations. The government's policy enables and contributes to this increased deforestation. Over 90 percent of the deforestation in the amazon is illegal. The administration has made little efforts to perform inspection of illegal deforestation, and even abandoned the NCPPs action plan to control and prevent deforestation. An important part of this plan was inspection of illegal deforestation activities. Now its abandoned inspections are even more rare, and contributing to the increase in deforestations. This because the lack of consequences encourages deforestation. In addition, warnings for illegal deforestation issued by IBAMA has significantly decreased since 2017. In 2019, warnings decreased by 30 percent and in 2020 almost by 50 percent. Not only were there fewer warnings, but 98 percent of warnings were never followed up with any form of penalty. Deforestation in indigenous lands have increased by over 130 percent under the Bolsonaro administration. In addition, all other forms of land invasion and destruction has risen at around the same rate. Logging, mining, land development in addition to deforestation numbers have combined risen by over 140 percent since 2019 (Apib; ISA; Conectas; OC; WWF-Brazil, 2022). The consequences are violation of indigenous peoples' rights and land in the form of destruction and invasion.

Forest fires in indigenous territory doubled from 2018 to 2019, including indigenous territories outside the amazon as well this increase is over 80 percent. 345 different territories were impacted by fires, and of those 272 are officially recognized, and catalogued as indigenous territory (Rapozo, 2021:5-6). This means that regardless of disputes about all indigenous land, at minimum, these 272 territories should be protected. The failure of the administration to protect these areas, and even support for agriculture and development in indigenous territory shows neglect in recognizing indigenous peoples' rights.

The administration has supported increased use of pesticides in the amazon, which is harmful for its people and environment. The introduction of the pesticides bill in 2022 approved the import and use of pesticides in the amazon. Moreover, pesticides usage had already increased significantly from 2019 to 2022. Ruralistas and extractivist interests have been advocating for decreased regulation, less bureaucracy and removal of environmental licensing. Some lobbying efforts in this regard during the 2010s were successful, but limited due to opposition from the Rousseff administration, prior to Michel Temer's term. The Bolsonaro administration has not sought to limit this, but endorse and support the initiatives (Milhorance, 2022).

4.8.1 Analysis and discussion

The Bolsonaro administration enables exploitation by creating conditions where increased deforestation and invasion is easier and tolerated, creates destructive conflict and this exploitative relationship is also enables international exploitative relationships. Failure to protect demarcated land neglects the constitutional rights of indigenous people and is a form of repression. Repression, not respecting peoples' fundamental rights, constitutes direct violence.

Increased deforestation is a threat to indigenous people's livelihood. This through the invasion and destruction of their land, some areas that have cultural significance for the indigenous people. Additionally, pesticides cause direct harm to environment and people. It constitutes as violence by causing avoidable insults to basic human needs, life, needs, and satisfaction. It creates a cultural conflict because collective identity can make the invasion and destruction of land seem like an attack on their collective. This is the perception of indigenous people who collectively have to fight for their rights, even if not all experience extreme deforestation. The environmental impact is also significant, and contributes to additional contradictory elements surrounding the conflict.

The lack of consequences for these actions illustrates the structural violence experienced by the indigenous people. It is enabled through the inequality of their relationship. Their neglect enables deforestation, violence, destruction and invasion by international and private actors. This creates a threat response, and intensifies conflict and violence between indigenous people and invading developers.

5 Conclusion

Before the conclusive discussion I will restate the research questions of the thesis. Thereafter summarizing what the administration has done, how this creates conflict, and why it creates conflict.

"What are the effects of Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy?"

"How does Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy create conflict?"

"Why does Jair Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policy create conflict?"

The administration has restructured and centralized the Ministry of environment (MMA). They closed down sections on climate and appointed military personnel to high-level positions, such as Ricardo Salles as head of the MMA. The same is also true for institutions like ICMBio, Conama, IBAMA, and CNAL. There were reduction in active members and employees, and in the process termination of environmental defenders. Additionally, fewer to no seats for civil society representatives. Bolsonaro appointed Marcelo Silva as head of FUNAI to secure power, but could not transfer the jurisdiction over FUNAI due to blocking from the national congress. The administration transferred ANA and CAR, from the MMA to agriculture and development ministries, and in the process fragmenting institutional collaboration and communication.

The restructuring, removal, militarization, and preventing participation of institutions shows the administration is not cooperative. It contributes to more unequal power divisions, and the centralization increases vertical structures. It makes the conflict destructive by preventing participation, and creates contested democratization within the governing structure, which creates a higher likelihood for violent conflict. Changes in institutions has changed the administrations relationship with indigenous people, NGO's, environmental defenders, and government groups. Limiting their participation and excluding them is an expression of conflict behavior.

Bolsonaro attempted new legislation with the MP da Grilagem bill. This was unsuccessful due to opposition from the national congress, and other affected parties. They re-attempted to push it through with the PL 510/2021 bill. Increased opposition through PDLs have been observed, and illustrates the environment has become a more important issue. The

administration adapted by realizing congress would block legislative efforts. They began making change outside congress jurisdiction through their control over governmental institutions. It allowed them to establish development in indigenous territories that are yet to be demarcated, through new normative instructions from IBAMA. FUNAI presented revision of identification of indigenous people through new criteria for identification.

It has created significant polarization within the government structure and civil groups, versus the Bolsonaro administration and ruralists. There are fundamental contradictions in their goals, and none show consideration of the others interest. It has created increased polarization, and compromise becomes impossible. Both the administration's side and the congress' side operate in undesirable conditions. Challenges to their viability creates frustration towards one another. To achieve the goal, causing the other harm may be seen as necessary. Revisions in indigenous identification is cultural and structural violence towards indigenous communities that now are removed from their culture and rights. This helps to justify invasion and destruction of their territory, and force violent conflict or submission.

They have limited resources for indigenous people and the environment by significantly decreasing budgets. The administration also closed the amazon fund. It affects their access to health benefits, protection and support. It has fragmented the relationship between indigenous people and institutions. It has increased isolation of the indigenous people, and limited their resources. It has additionally, enabled increased exploitation of their territories.

The Bolsonaro administration use populist strategies to connect different extreme groups, against what they view as the larger problem. The larger problem is the liberal administrations responsible for destroying the economy, and not managing Brazil's interests. This contributes to the polarization underlying in the conflict. Additionally, they delegitimized organizations, scientists and other actors that contradict their perspective. Delegitimized indigenous people and their rights by stating their claim to land is a result of corrupt international corporative interests.

Prioritizing the interest of the group at the cost of others is a key feature of populist strategies. Ignoring other perspectives yields the administration a positive payoff, and incentives to stop does not outweigh the payoff. The consequence of delegitimizing and silencing opposition is that it contributes to a destructive conflict, where issues cannot be solved. Ignoring interest and perspectives of others, and silencing them through populist strategies expresses conflict

behavior toward other invested parties. This creates changes in their relationship, and negative reactions and responses creates negative feedback loop of conflict behavior and intensifies issues. It has created a conflict relationship between the National congress and the MMA. It has also strengthened collaboration between groups on each side. This has given indigenous people more influence, but contributed to increased polarization.

The administration has made actions of direct, structural, and cultural violence against the indigenous people. They dismantled of inequality-reduction policies that provided benefits for indigenous people, and promoted ideas of a universal Brazilian citizen. Additionally, statements about how they are less than others are, and not good enough, dehumanizes and delegitimizes indigenous peoples rights. It illustrates a threat of assimilation, and loss of their territory and culture. Bolsonaro has also issued direct threats toward indigenous people to force assimilation. It is a form of violence through de- and resocialization. Statements from the administration are cultural violence as it promotes a view of indigenous people as secondary citizens.

The administration has been clear about not demarcating more indigenous land, and have increasingly supported extractivist actions in unrecognized territory. Rise in third party attacks on institutional employees and indigenous people have been observed. The attacks have been from developers in the amazon, who claim their right based on Bolsonaro's statements and policies. The administrations lack of accountability enables rise in violence, and invasion of indigenous territory. The neglect and delegitimization of their rights imposes structural violence on indigenous people, and threaten their way of life. The administration marginalizes the indigenous people through these actions as well, which is a direct form of violence.

Murder rates have increased in the amazon, and is one of the countries where most political leaders are killed. This due to the number of indigenous community leaders killed. Acts of violence from the government include neglect in social and health assistance. Child mortality rates has increased, and health institutions are prevented from assisting indigenous communities who are not officially recognized. Policies from the government directly damages the indigenous people. Deprioritizing health care and support for Brazilian people contributes to isolation and segregation of indigenous communities. They are also Brazilian citizens, and de-prioritizing, isolation and segregation of these people are both forms of structural and cultural violence. The historical context of exploitation of indigenous people

can have dampened the perceived severity of the conflict, as fewer significant changes were needed to reach such extreme conditions.

Land and territorial borders and rights have become increasingly important and contested. Contesting claims to land and rights have led to conflict behavior from both indigenous people, and developers. There has been no new demarcation of indigenous land, and hundreds of applications remain under review. The conflict behavior, threats and violence due to disputes of land has further increased polarization. Their fundamental contradictions and arguments are based on contradictory world perspectives, where recognition of one excludes the other.

The Bolsonaro administration enables exploitation by creating conditions where increased deforestation and invasion is easier and tolerated. It creates a destructive conflict, and international and national exploitative relationships. The failure to protect recognized indigenous land is a form of repression as it breaches indigenous people's constitutional rights. Increased deforestation is a threat to indigenous people's livelihood. The lack of consequences for these actions enables deforestation, violence, destruction and invasion by international and private actors. This is a form of structural violence experienced by the indigenous people. It creates a threat response, and intensifies conflict and violence between indigenous people and invading developers.

Bolsonaro's policies enforces unequal power divisions and vertical structures between the state and indigenous people. He prevents participation and representation, and is not cooperative. The way in which the administration can create such conditions is through militarization and centralization of governmental institutions. The administration discards others interests to create policy changes and express overt conflict behavior. It has intensified the conflict and made compromise unlikely. The administration has manipulated the governing structure to allow them to create change through institutions when faced with congressional opposition. The silencing and delegitimization of actors with opposing views contribute to the displayed conflict behavior. The populist tactics creates polarization and fundamentally illustrates conflict behavior. Uneven distribution of funds, budget and healthcare has solidified the vertical structures of their relationship, and made exploitation easier, and more prevalent. The administration has conflicted forms of structural, cultural and direct violence on the indigenous people, which has created cultural and structural conflict. The destruction and invasion of their land, repress indigenous people's rights, enables

exploitative relationships, marginalizes and fragments indigenous communities. Conditions created by the Bolsonaro administration contrasts to conditions that enable conflict resolution and transformation. Conflict resolution and transformation is to retain fundamental needs and identity, and to transform conflict, sides should discuss their interests, positions, and perspectives to reach an understanding. Additionally, that this can only come from a foundation of participation, free expression and inclusion. Bolsonaro's socio-environmental policies therefore create fundamental conditions for conflict, and prevent conflict transformation.

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Appendix A

Hugh Miall's eights propositions for social organizations

In regards to who forms interests, Miall develops his concept of social organizations. He sets forth eights propositions of what constitutes a social organization:

1. Social organizations in general are not to be regarded as fixed entities, but rather as states of a society in a continuous process of historical and social development.

2. A social organization can be defined by the position it takes on a set of variables or indicators of historical and social development.

3. Social organizations are affected by developments in their environments to which they must respond to by constant adaptation.

4. Social organizations tend to specialize in certain niches of the environment. They occupy a particular geographical, economic and social position in which they can make a living. Each organization is adapted to its own particular sub-environment, and is most responsive to circumstances affecting that sub-environment.

5. Social organizations are not only reactive, they are also purposive. They define their own interests and goals on the basis of their niche position, their needs, values and identity.

6. Social organizations are made up of sub-groups, which may respond differentially to change. Under pressure the sub-groups can take up distinct positions and may ultimately become new organizations, occupying new niches.

7. Social organizations are affected not only by exogenous change but also by the moves and positions of other organizations.

8. The set of organizations that are in existence at any one time, as well as the set of environmental variables on which they depend, are a function of previous historical developments and selective pressures. They are responsive to the environment but are shaped by their past history, which they carry with them.

It is important to understand that Miall views social systems as a set of these social organizations (Miall). So for example, a government would be a social system, and the political parties can be seen as social organizations. This can apply on bigger or smaller scales as well. For example, the government could be a sub-group in the contexts of a larger international collective. This means that a social organization are always connected to some form of social structure or system.

Appendix B

Organizations viability, interests, and environmental changes

Based on its goals and interests the organization adapts to changing environmental conditions in order to achieve the goals set. Organizations want to improve their position in order to reach certain goals, but a social organization will not always achieve optimum conditions. Changes in environment can alter an organizations position and condition. It will function well in some environments and worse in others. The organization cannot work under unlimited conditions so there has to be a limit to when the organization can no longer function. This is referred to as the viability of the organization (Miall, 2007). It can be expressed visually as a peaked curve.
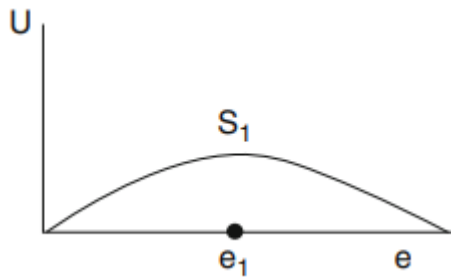
Figure 2, (Miall, 2007:34)

The horizontal line represents the range of conditions and the curve the adaptiveness of the organization to those conditions. The peak of the curve at any point represents the organizations viability. The highest point of the curve is the optimum condition for the organization. Changes in conditions that moves away from the peak makes the organization less viable (Miall, 2007).

Organizations adapt to conditions around them to improve their viability. Some organizations are specialized and some unspecialized. In addition, organizations can change from one position to another. This means that the curve can change depending on how the organization adapts and what the conditions are. Imagine a social organization has to adapt to two very different conditions.
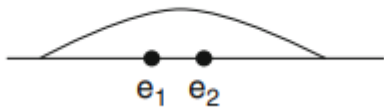
Figure 3, (Miall, 2007:35)

It will create two pressure points on the horizontal line. The organization adapts by becoming less specialized and the curve flattens and broadens to become more viable in a range of conditions.

If the different conditional pressures move further away, the curve will become too flat to be viable and it instead becomes double peaked. This creates such differences that the organization is almost separated in two.
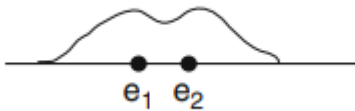

Figure 4 (Miall, 2007:36)

The same concept can be applied to social interests as well. This is illustrated in Figure 5.
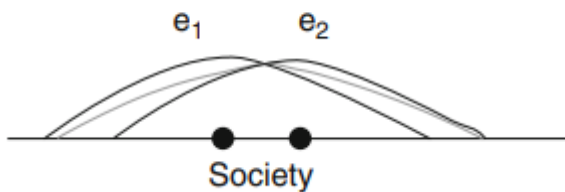
Figure 5 (Miall, 2007:36)

Here environmental conditions are placed at the peak of the curve, the horizontal line now represents social variation, and the points on that line represents different social organizations. The curve represents social attributes that best suit each environment. This is similar to the double peaked curve, and while there is some differences, they are quite similar. This means that compromises are more likely to happen.

Now if we apply this same concept to two different sub-groups of an organization we get something like figure 6.
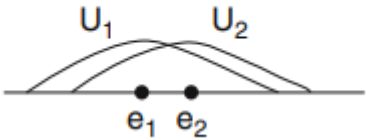

Figure 6 (Miall, 2007:36)

Here the curves represents the specialization of the groups. The U their interest, in this case social preference, and the horizontal line shows the different sub-groups. As in figure 5, they are overlapping and similar, which indicates compromises are likely. However, if the curves move further apart is creates more differences. Compromises become harder to achieve, and separate interests develop.
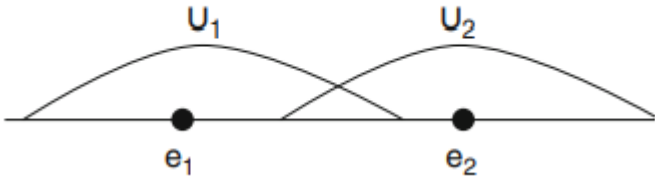
Figure 7 (Miall, 2007:36)

When the difference becomes two great it can split and create new organizations. Increased differences and interests does not have to create conflict. If they operate in very different specialized environments, and there is no conflict of interest, there is no need for conflict.

If the variable can only take one value, for example issues where sides position themselves between yes or no, higher or lower, it is likely to create a conflict of interest. Plotting interests into a bargaining curve can highlight conflicting interests. Figure 8 illustrates the yes or no, higher or lower difference in interest through a bargaining curve.
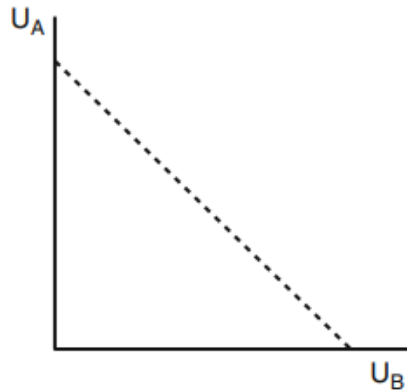
Figure 8 (Miall, 2007:38)

Here, two parts positions themselves at opposite sides of an issue, and have conflicting interests. There are clearly defined interests, and inserted in a bargaining curve it clearly shows a conflicting interest. It illustrates a constant sum game, where one party's interest is alternative A and the other's interest is alternative B. It shows that the optimum position of each sides is at the far end of the line. Their gain is the others loss.

If the variables in figure 6 are expressed through a bargaining curve, it will look concave and not straight.
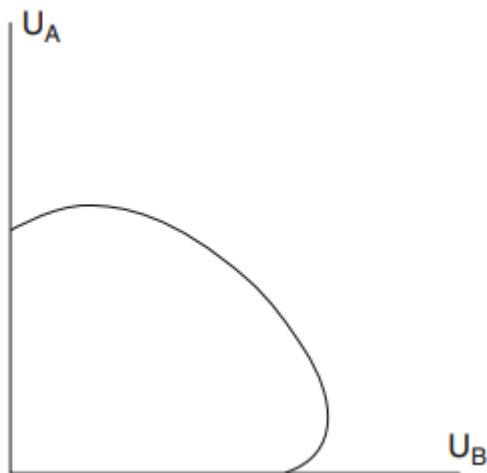
Figure 9 (Miall, 2007:38)

The reason is that as seen in the model of sub-groups with overlapping similar interest compromise is often the preferred option for both parties, and neither functions optimally too far from the other environment. Some form of compromise is optimal and it creates a peak

between the groups. The outermost part of the line is here less optimal than some form of middle ground.

If the variables in figure 7 are expressed through a bargaining curve, it becomes convex. It illustrates two sub-groups that has become increasingly separated and developed different interests. This makes the curve uneven, with two concave and one convex part.
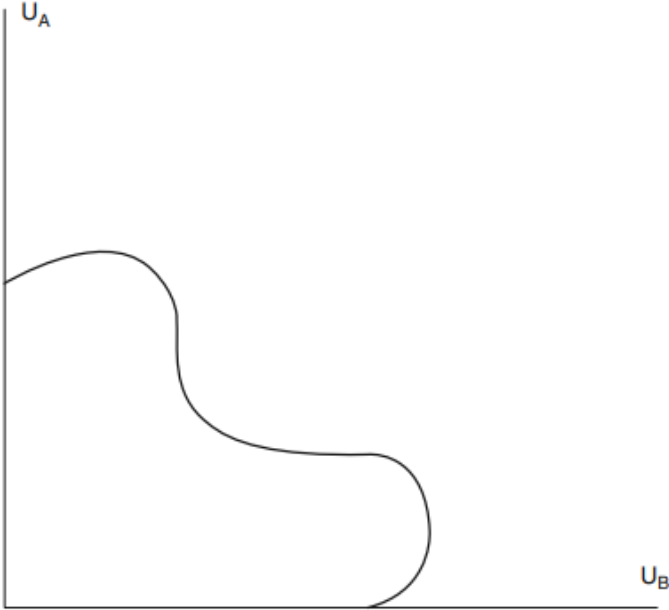

Figure 10 (Miall, 2007:39)

The two concave represent the optimum outcome for each group. Different from figure 9 the middle compromise is worse for both parts, and gaining the advantage, or their own optimum position becomes a significant interest. This can create a conflict, and compromise is difficult.

If groups move even further apart to the point where they do not overlap the bargaining curve disappears. The optimal position and the ways of achieving it excludes the other party's interests.
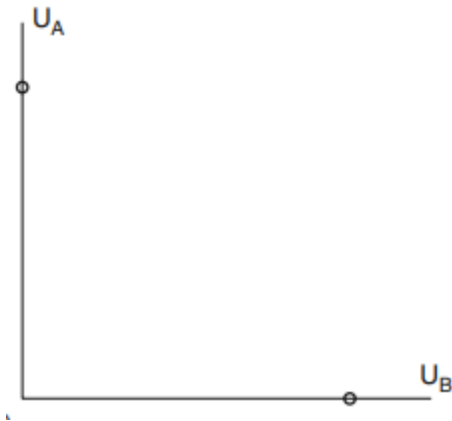
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Figure 11 (Miall, 2007:39)

Represented as a peaked or viability curve the two parties will simply not overlap at all.
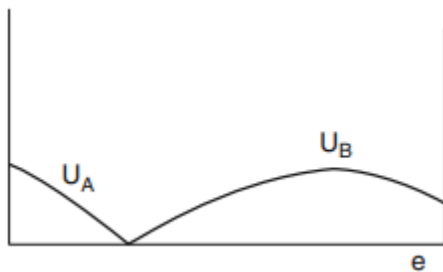
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Figure 12 (Miall, 2007:39)

This process of gradual change illustrates how interests can grow and develop from a point of similarity to development of sub-groups and new organizations. In addition how organizations can transform from a place of similar interests to complete contradiction, where each party excludes the other's interests in favor of improving their own position or viability. It also shows that this development can happen in social contexts, within the organization itself, and between organizations.