



AALBORG UNIVERSITET

The Securitisation of Brazil's Environment
under the Bolsonaro Administration

A Critical Discourse Analysis

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Master's Thesis

Development and International Relations

Specialisation in Latin American Studies

29th May 2020

Abstract

In 2018 when Jair Bolsonaro, a former military captain with extreme right-wing views, won the elections, the international arena was impatiently awaiting if he will fulfil the steps, he promised in his election programme. Bolsonaro promised to open up the Amazon for business in order to strengthen Brazil's position in the world trade and improve the country's economy overall. Since environmental security became a hot topic, Brazil has been an interest for researches in order to analyse the deforestation rates, its relation to the indigenous population and their effect on the proclaimed *'lungs of the world'*. This thesis aims to analyse the approach of Bolsonaro and his administration towards securitising the environment in Brazil. By using the Critical Discourse Analysis developed by Norman Fairclough, this study has analysed interviews with Bolsonaro and his ministers, the speech at the 74th opening of the United Nations, both the Proposal for Governance and the National Development Plan. The theoretical framework, based on the securitisation theory, has then been used to see whether the Bolsonaro administration has taken steps in order to securitise the environment. This study identifies that the language used in the analysed material does not hint at any attempts to securitise the Amazon. However, once placed into context, the analysis has found a shift within Bolsonaro's rhetoric and mainly action which can be considered as the first steps towards securitisation. In conclusion, this thesis argues that the discourse of Bolsonaro is not prioritising the environment due to it being overshadowed by other issues such as public security. However, due to international pressure, there have changes which can lead to the securitisation in the future.

Keywords: *Brazil, Jair Bolsonaro, Amazon, securitisation, environmental security, critical discourse analysis, securitisation theory*

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Introduction

Times have shifted in Brazil. When Lula da Silva took over the presidential office, he focused on decreasing the deforestation and the destruction of the Amazon. It was also under his presidency that the deforestation hit the lowest numbers in years (Jackson, 2015). In the recent years, however, the deforestation rates and destruction of the Amazonian rainforest have spiked to their top. It is not only under the governance of Bolsonaro that the numbers went up, his predecessors faced the same issue. Yet, the change under Bolsonaro is significantly notable as the deforestation rates for April 2020 were 64 percent higher than in April 2019 (INPE, 2020).

One of the main points of Bolsonaro in his Plan for Governance was to open the Amazon for business. Such approach to the World's largest remaining rainforest caused a great deal of upstir. Large companies, such as Nordea Asset Management, has withdrawn their developmental support for Brazil over these environmental concerns (Stott, 2019). Human rights advocates were concerned what will happen to the indigenous populations which heavily rely on the ecosystems and environmental scientists have been worried about the effect more deforestation could have on the overall climate change (Taddei, Bulamah, & Schavelzon, 2020). Furthermore, environmental security has been a scientific discipline which has gained more recognition and attention within the international in the last decades, as it is believed to be the main cause for conflicts, whether in terms of conflicts over essential resource scarcity or displacement of humans (Zurlini & Muller, 2008)

Brazil is not only home to a biodiverse nature, but also to a diverse population in terms of race and cultures. Therefore, Brazil is not represented through one collective identity (Carneiro, de Luca, & Guimaraes, 2013). This leads to clashes between what different groups seek from their leaders. Their new president, Jair Bolsonaro, had his priorities straight – it was necessary to enhance public security and develop Brazil to an economically strong country. Despite the concerns regarding opening up the Amazon for business, Bolsonaro stood by his claims and on his first day of presidency cancelled the plan to expand indigenous territory on his first day in the presidential office. Brazil, under any circumstances, needed to strengthen their position in the globalised World in terms of exporting agricultural goods – which is also one of the main causes of deforestation (Philips, 2019).

Only a few months after taking over the presidential office, however, Bolsonaro faced a great challenge. The summer of 2019 was a crucial time for the Amazonian forest as there were large wildfires taking place in the Amazon forest. Despite Bolivia losing the same amount of rainforest, it was mainly Brazil which was under the spotlight of international media and therefore, received hard critique from around the world. Bolsonaro blamed the NGO's, that they had started the fires in order to his image (Watts, 2019). This event was followed by the G7 Summit where the members wanted to discuss these recent events, however Brazil was not invited to this summit. After Macron, the president of France, posted his suggestion for these discussions on his official twitter account – it only caused an upstir as Bolsonaro defended Brazil and stated the country it is concerning the most should be present at such summit (Bolsonaro, Twitter, 2019).

The discourse of the Bolsonaro administration towards the environment is evident from his claims about opening up the Amazonian rainforest. However, at the same time Bolsonaro is under major critique from other international players, which might cause changes within his discourse. Therefore, the aim of this thesis is to investigate how the Bolsonaro administration perceives the environment. In order investigate this perception, I will ask the following question:

“How is the Bolsonaro administration approaching the securitisation of the Brazilian environment?”

The findings of the thesis' outcome will help create an understanding for steps which Bolsonaro and his administration have been taking in relation with the environment.

Methodology

The following section will outline the methodological aspects which will be applied further in this thesis.

Ontology and Epistemology

Before approaching this thesis further, it is essential to define the ontological and epistemological points of departure.

In terms of ontology, the author takes on a social constructivist stance, also referred to as relativism (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Constructivism perceives reality as a social construct which emerges from the stands of involved actors. In contrast to the objectivist paradigm, constructivism argues there exist multiple realities and social phenomena as reality is created by perceptions and actions of those social actors concerned with their existence (Saunders, Lewis, & Thornhill, 2009). The following research is investigating the securitisation of the Brazilian environment through the reality of the Bolsonaro administration.

Ontology deals with the nature of social realities, whereas epistemology investigates the knowledge and how the social world should be studied (Bryman, 2012). This thesis adopts the Weberian concept of "*erklärendes Verstehen*", in English known as explanatory understanding. This concept allows the researcher to understand the behaviour of the studied subject in precisely this moment and in the context (Swedberg, 2005). Such approach supports the attempt to understand the reality as it is portrayed by the Bolsonaro administration.

Both ontology and epistemology in the analytical framework of this thesis are based on social constructivism. According to social constructivism, the knowledge of the world is dependent on language and social interaction (Burr, 2015). Thus, according to Fairclough (2003) the world is constructed through the use of language. Adopting the social constructivist stance enables the analysis of the language used by the Bolsonaro administration and thus, thoroughly analyse the role of language in the securitisation process.

Case Study

This thesis uses a case study as the research method. Despite many Latin American countries facing issues regarding the environment, Brazil has been chosen as a case study. Brazil is currently governed by the administration of Jair Bolsonaro, a far-right former military officer. During the election campaign a lot of controversy was risen about many points which Bolsonaro wanted to implement regarding minority groups in Brazil and the environment. As

Jair Bolsonaro was elected in 2018, it is a recent case which still has not been analysed often within the field of international relations.

This case study is defined as an exploratory case study, which seeks to understand a phenomenon in context. If the researcher has no or little power over contemporary complex social phenomena, Yin (2018) argues that a case study is the preferred strategy. Additionally, this research is based on a 'how' question and therefore only adds to the suggestion of using a case study. A single case study will allow the author to investigate the case of Brazil into depth and within its real-world context. Amongst other advantages of case studies is they do not rely solely on one source. The need for multiple sources of data creates a triangulating fashion (Yin, 2018). In data collection, the principal aim of triangulation is to find various kinds of sources which can confirm the relevant information (Rahim & Daud, 2015). Through triangulation the researcher is able to combine different levels of techniques, methods, strategies or even theories. Thus, the triangulation allows checks for consistency and increases the credibility of the (Imas, 2009).

As the case study has outline the importance of different types of data, we will now move on to the data collection.

Data Collection and Processing

Alan Bryman (2012) describes purposive sampling as strategically collecting samples which are relevant to the research question and thus, leaving out data which is not directly related to it. In the case of purposive sampling, it is the research question, or questions, which guide the sampling approach. Therefore, in order to conduct this research – only material which is related to the environment and perception of security under the Bolsonaro administration.

According to Bryman (2012) it is essential to determine the criteria for researchers which data is included and excluded for the analysis. This research is approaching the question of securitisation of Brazil's environment under the governance of Bolsonaro. Therefore, the relevant data is consisting of official documents (e.g. The Governmental Plan of Brazil – relevant sections), interviews and governmental statements about the environment¹. However, for the context in the discourse, in this case, the author believes it is essential to include official materials from the electoral campaign of Jair Bolsonaro as well. Documents which do not consist of representatives of the official perspective have been excluded. The analysis of the

¹ The selected material analysis can be found in the Appendix

selected materials will allow this research to contribute to the understanding of the topic regarding securitisation of the environment in Brazil.

Use of NVivo®

In order to analyse the patterns of the language, the author uses the NVivo® 12. The primary function of this program is to help researches coding collected data into categories, also referred to as ‘nodes’ within the program. Further, the nodes can be divided into sub-categories, called ‘sub-nodes’ which can be used to be organise a node’s hierarchal structure (Araujo, Carmo, & Fraga, 2019). Nodes can be created in accordance with the chosen theoretical approach and/or research questions or derive directly from the data. As this thesis is dealing with critical discourse analysis, the categories will take on the second mentioned approach – creating the codes based on the data. Such approach will allow the author to place themselves to have a greater understanding of the studied phenomena. The entire coding process will be iterative, as the categories, themes and codes are subjects to change and adaption during the analysis of the collected data. This ensures the data will be examined to see how far they fit or fail to fit the created categories (Hartley, 1994).

While coding the selected material, there was no minimum unit of coding. Nodes are therefore based on a word a sentence or even a paragraph. In the case of paragraph, the text has been carefully examined in order to include only what is relevant for this research. The codes most relevant in the text, will hence form basis for the categories and themes presented in the analysis. Further, through NVivo® an overview of all codes will be exported and transformed into a coding tree, which will form part of the introduction to the analysis.

Limitations of the Thesis

The materials used for this thesis are statements (including official government documents) and interviews by Jair Bolsonaro. As a politician, in this case, it may cause Bolsonaro to use different types of language when addressing certain topics to the public. In addition to this, it is important to note politicians carry on ‘masks’ as their job many times involve a level of acting in order to be successful. Therefore, not all statements will be in alignment with others as the realities will differ.

Furthermore, the author takes on a standpoint of a discourse analyst, however, is not a subject to be a part of the culture which is being studied. Therefore, some point of views may differ as the author is situated in Europe, with no connection to Brazil.

Framework Analysis

The following chapter, the analytical framework investigating the securitisation of the Brazilian environment under the administration of Bolsonaro is outlined.

Discourse Analysis as a Theory and Method

There are many approaches which allow researchers to use discourse analysis, one of them being the critical discourse analysis. The theories of discourse analysis are built on a social constructionist foundation, stemming from the structuralist/post-structuralist language philosophy. One of the main tools in discourse analysis is the language because from this perspective the language creates an entry-point to reality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). People use different styles of language based on different purposes, this is because each type of language will enact and recognise different identities (Gee, 1999).

Identities of people are not only built through language; the language has to be mixed with another 'element'. James Paul Gee (1999) defines the combination of language, actions, beliefs, and other elements as *Discourse*. Using the term *Discourse*, with emphasis on the capital letter D, Gee argues this term brings together all the important aspects which have been outlined by scholars such as Foucault, Laver and Wenger, Heidegger or, for example, Geertz (Gee, 1999). It is particularly Michel Foucault who has had a significant impact on the popularisation and development of the discourse analysis. Foucault had two main stages of his work, the 'archaeological' and the 'genealogy'. Through his work, Foucault emphasised the role of power in society and that discourse has a historical practice, as stated following:

"Has not the practice of revolutionary discourse and scientific discourse over the past two hundred years freed you from this idea that words are wind, an external whisper, a heating of wings that one has difficulty in hearing in the serious manner of history?" (Foucault, 1972, p. 209)

Even though Foucault's work has had a major influence on discourse, scholars such as Norman Fairclough has only used a base for developing further approaches for analysis (Fairclough, *Discourse and Social Change*, 1992).

Despite the different views on discourse analysis - when assessing the discourse, the questions of who and what are essential to answer in the process of research; *Who is it speaking? What are they doing?* While speaking or writing one projects themselves according to the different circumstances (Gee, 1999).

When analysing discourse, the purpose of the research is not to find out what people really mean when they speak or to look into the reality behind the discourse. Reality cannot be reached outside the discourse; thus, it is the discourse itself which becomes the object of analysis. Furthermore, the analyst has to work with what has been said or written, exploring patterns through statements and identify the different representations of reality (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002)

Critical Discourse Analysis

There has been a recent growth of critical discourse analysis, which corresponds and draws on the upsurge of critical interest in language within our contemporary society. For instance, today's society is much more focused on the 'advertising' politicians use in order to sell their ideas to the public. As well as the awareness has grown around racist or sexist ways of using language. Such critical consciousness about the language practices people encounter in their everyday lives which is a response to important changes in the function of language within social life. Some of the important shifts in the language of social life are long term and characterise modern societies, whereas other are recent and thus, characterise 'late modernity' (Giddens, 1991, as cited in Fairclough et al, 1997).

Modern society has become, and is still is, becoming more centred on media. This is especially notable in the case with politics. Politicians now has access to large audiences on a regular basis, which can be an advantage in terms of shaping opinion and promotion – but also a disadvantage as they are at higher risk of exposure. However, the political language is key to success and therefore, it is carefully calculated (Fairclough et al, 1997).

These examples, provided by van Dijk, suggest the increased importance of language in social life has led to higher level of consciousness regarding control to shape language practices in accordance with political, institutional, and economic objectives (Fairclough et al, 1997). Fairclough (1992) has described the integration of communication design as 'technologization of discourse' and is a distinctive characteristic of linguistic and discourse order in contemporary times. Furthermore, Giddens (Giddens, 1991, as cited in Fairclough et al, 1997) argues that people have adopted a more radical reflexivity in the way they live their lives. A technologization of discourse is a 'top-down' side of modern reflexivity, however there is also a 'bottom-up' side implemented to everyday practices of ordinary people. Such a phenomena can be referred to as general critical awareness. This critical instinct and its application to discourse is primarily a feature of contemporary social life, and secondly an area of academic

work. Thus, critical discourse analysis as an academic discipline is rooted in contemporary life (Fairclough et al., 1997).

The Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is only one of many approaches to discourse analysis. CDA originates from a critical theory of language which seeks to understand the use of language as a form of social practice (Janks, n.d.). One of the most developed approaches within CDA is by Norman Fairclough (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). The objective of the theory is to investigate and outline the power relations within a society, with focus on change (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Furthermore, the ultimate aim within Fairclough's approach is that discourse is an important form of social practice which reproduces and changes knowledge, identities, and social relations, including power relations. As Teun A. van Dijk describes in his work *Discourse Studies: A Multidisciplinary Introduction*: "*in language we do not simply name things but conceptualise things. Thus, discursive practices may have major ideological effects*" (Dijk, 1997, p. 358). Therefore, discursive practices can help produce and reproduce unequal power relations between, for example, social classes, men and women or ethnic groups (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

Language is an important part of our everyday lives. Therefore, Fairclough suggests using detailed text analysis to gain insight into how processes of discourse operate linguistically in specific texts. However, he criticises linguistic approaches for concentrating only on textual analysis in a superficial understanding of the relationship between text and society. In the eyes of Fairclough, text analysis alone is not enough for discourse analysis as it does not investigate thoroughly the links between texts, societal and cultural processes, and structures. It is necessary to use an interdisciplinary perspective which combines textual and social analysis (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002).

For Fairclough's theory the relationship between discursive practice and social structures is a complex and dependent process. Thus, this brings us to the three-dimensional model developed by Fairclough.

Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model

Fairclough identifies three different ways of applying the concept of discourse. The most abstract sense of discourse being 'language use as a social practice'. Second, discourse can be understood as 'a kind of language used with a special field.' Last, probably being the most concrete usage discourse – discourse is used as a count noun, which refers to 'a way of speaking which gives meaning to experiences from a particular perspective' (Jørgensen & Phillips,

2002). In the last-mentioned case, discourse can be distinguished from other discourses by specifying which lenses forms the viewpoint, such as feminist discourse or a Marxist discourse (Fairclough, 1992).

Discourse contributes to the construction of social identities, social relations, and systems of knowledge and meaning. Therefore, discourse serves three functions – an identity function, a relational function, and an ideational function (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Furthermore, there are two dimensions of discourse which are important focal points: the communicative event (newspaper articles, a film, a video, an interview or a political speech) and the order of discourse configuring all of the discourse types which consist of discourses and genres (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). A genre refers to a particular use of language which is part of a social practice, whereas within an order of discourse there are specific discursive practices through which texts and talks can be interpreted and are produced (Fairclough, 1992).

Language use is a communicative event consisting of three dimensions: text, discursive practice, and social practice.

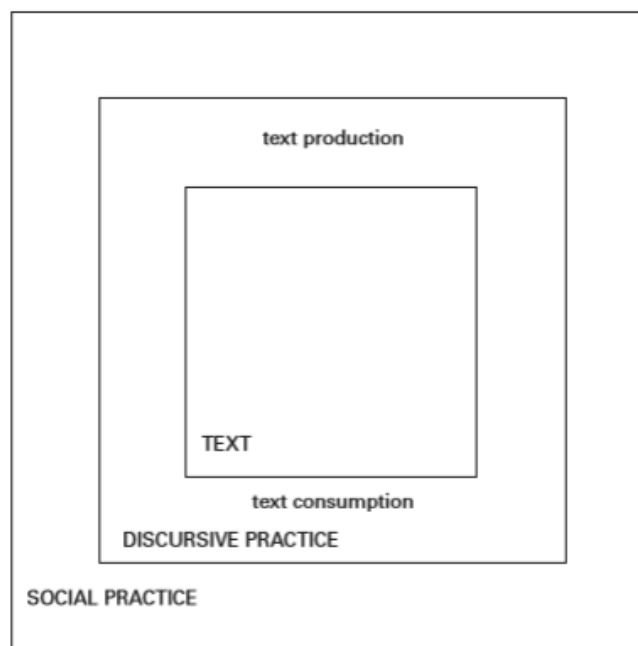


Figure 1 Fairclough's Three-Dimensional Model for Critical Discourse Analysis

(Fairclough, 1992, p. 73)

The Text

The first level 'Text' includes speech, writing, visual images or a combination of all three. In this level the text is broken down and analysed very carefully. Fairclough adds to the linguistic analysis Michael Halliday has created. Meaning the text undergoes a linguistic and detailed analysis which determines the main features of the discourse. In what way the words are used; is it nonverbal language; is it polite or rude language? Furthermore, analysing the materials on a purely textual level helps identifying patterns, which can be sorted into themes and thus see which use is repeated throughout the selected data (Fairclough, 1992).

It is also important to mention that one does not speak about features of a text without the production and/or interpretation. This overlap causes that the level of textual analysis and level of discursive practice do not have such sharp division (Fairclough, 1992).

Discursive Practice

The second level 'Discursive Practice' involves the production, consumption, and distribution of text. In this level the analysis of discourses and genres take place as they are articulated in the production and consumption of the given text. Texts are consumed differently in different social contexts (Fairclough, 1992). Moreover, discursive practice also opens up a path to analyse discourses which co-exist with the primary analysed discourse.

Social Practice

The third level 'Social Practice'. This final level gives space for reflection on whether a discursive practice is reproducing the existing order of discourse and which consequences it has brought to the broader social process (Jørgensen & Phillips, 2002). Fairclough argues this level is important in the framework as it can also explain the shaping of the discourse. This final level helps the researcher gain the absolute understanding of the discourse, what is being said and why its being said.

The general purpose of the model is to provide an analytical framework for discourse analysis. This particular model promotes the principle that texts cannot be understood or analysed without a broader social context.

Theories and Key Concepts

The following chapter will introduce the main theory and key concepts which will guide the research throughout this thesis. Firstly, I will introduce The Securitisation Theory which will form the standpoint of analysis for this thesis. Security is a complex term which has caused major debates within the field of international relations. Therefore, also the concepts of security, human security and environmental security will be included in the following chapter.

The Concept of Security

The traditional understanding of state security stems from the Westphalian Treaty (1648). This Treaty gave space for what today is known as Westphalian Sovereignty, or simply sovereignty, which is considered one of the most important additions to the field of the international relations, as it has shaped sovereignty as we know it today (Bislev, 2004). The topic of sovereignty was already introduced by philosophers such as Thomas Hobbes and John Locke. Moreover, Hobbes and Locke saw sovereignty as a social contract – in the case of Hobbes' infamous work *'Leviathan'* – he describes the state as a monster which protects the citizens. However, in return for the protection, people need to give up a part of their liberty. However, according to both Hobbes and Locke, the state does not only serve a protection purpose, it also performs tasks necessary for the people – such as solving problems and delivering services. This understanding of the mentioned tasks led to the push for the creation of civil society, through which citizens can engage with the modern state (Bislev, 2004).

Nevertheless, the sovereign state became the most important actor within the international field. Establishing sovereignty meant that no one should authorise intervention in matters within the territory of a state – and that states, small or large in size and population, gained the equal right to sovereignty. This system was later developed through the 18th century and pined its importance until the recent decades, when it started to face challenges from humanitarian interventions (Bislev, 2004).

Traditionally, the security model is reflected on the term 'national security' and the survival of state. This traditional approach revolves around the realist paradigm, which sees the international arena as anarchy, where individual nation states compete for their own national interests and fight for power. States rely on military power in order to guarantee the interests and counteract the threats which arise from other sovereign states (Iglesias, 2011). This

approach prevailed as the common view in the international relations until the 1980's when the Cold War was slowly coming to an end.

The Cold War got the academic world to rethink this traditional view of security. Thus, two camps emerged: the narrowers and the wideners. While the narrowers focused on the traditional perception of security, the wideners started to incorporate different ideas which were not solely focused on military threats. Amongst those new perspectives were human security, gender, or regional security (Eroukhmanoff, 2018). In this sense, making something a security issue is possible in the transition from low politics to high politics even when it does not directly threaten national security (Bhal, 2014).

Adding to the definition of the concept of security - Galtung and Øberg formulated an alternative concept of security. They introduced four sets of positive goals related to human needs: survival, development, freedom, and identity. Such an approach towards security makes it possible to analyse security on the individual level (Wæver, 1995). Once the security is analysed on an individual level, it links to all other threats which threaten individual beings and thus everything becomes a potential security issue. However, with such an approach the definition of security will become all-inclusive and therefore emptied by content. Yet, the concepts of individual security or international security do not exist. National security is a term dealing with the security of states, which is a term still used in debate. Meaning, security as such actually is an unclear term (Wæver, 1995). As Wæver (1995) argues in his work *Securitization and De-securitization* the concept of security is a critical idea, played out against the concept and practices of state security. Furthermore, in our minds security is created by the idea which is threatening our nations and its modifications and limitations, rather than thinking 'security' in our everyday lives (Wæver, 1995). Therefore, the discourse of scholars such as Jan Øberg, or even Richard H. Ullman and Jessica T. Mathews works on 'redefining security' are linked to national security, which is the basis for introducing new ideas into the concept of security (Wæver, 1995).

Despite the world going through globalisation, the nation states remain as the actors most important in the international system. However, there has been more focus on internal factors threatening the traditional Westphalian system. States are not equally strong in the international system, and in addition to that each and every state face challenges on their own (Bislev, 2004). Changes within the understanding of security started taking place after the Cold War. However, the shaping on what security means continues till this day. After 9/11, 2001, there was a blur

between internal and external security. Moreover, it became more than clear that now it is not only state actors shaping security and insecurity – but also non-state actors, such as terrorist groups (Ballin, Dijstelbloem, & de Goede, 2020).

With all the widening attempts it has become necessary to ask the following question when dealing with security: Security from what? Security by whom? Security reached through which means? (Liotta, 2002).

The Concept of Identity in Security

In the broadest understanding identity gives place for understanding the humanity, individuals, and society. After the Cold War, the identity in international relations got more space as the constructivist idea approached. One of the most common definitions of identity is a notion to describe the way individuals and groups recognise themselves and recognised by others (Deng, 1995)

The meaning in international relations is based in the distinction between oneself and other. According to constructivism, one has to look into the identity and collective identity of a nation (aside from their interest) if they seek to understand their actions and policies. Moreover, the identity phenomenon indicates the understanding of security and threats exactly through the personification of the self and other (Mikail & Aytakin, 2016)

The globalisation of the world raised the discussion whether security should still be focused on through a state-centred analyses or broaden the concept and universal understanding. The current discussion has shown the Westphalian values such as borders, territorial integrity of national identity and mental boundaries of societies. However, such an approach does not have to fit for all communities around the world as this is a concept from the ‘west’. In a continent like Latin America, let alone Brazil, there are many indigenous tribes which are isolated from the modernised state and therefore do not share these core values. Indigenous identities are connected to a sense of peoplehood, inseparably linked to sacred traditions and traditional homelands (Weaver, 2001)

The main challenge in a country like Brazil is that it consists of a large mixture of people, all with different identities. Firstly, many scholars argue that in Brazil it is almost impossible to find a national identity as most of the approaches are not applicable to such a multicultural country. Moreover, the Brazilian population suffers from a racial issue which is filled by racial discrimination. As many other South American countries, Brazil suffers from the legacy of colonial times and a hierarchy which in many ways determined the course of life of the people,

depending on their race and identity (Carneiro, de Luca, & Guimaraes, 2013). Historically, speaking a foreign language in Brazil was also forbidden in order to force a homogenous identity – despite this attempt, it was not the force that brought Brazilians together. In Brazilian modern history there has been a contemporary episode where the identity was formed. Curiously enough, it was the march against the electrical guitar – as many Brazilians in the 60's saw it as a threat to their music and culture (Carneiro, de Luca, & Guimaraes, 2013).

On the contrary to Brazil, there is the European Union. In many textbooks arguing for constructivism, the European Union is a great example. Several sovereign countries with different cultures came together and through collaboration over a threat, they built a common identity. Moreover, the Union has been expanding also towards common foreign policy – which would mean the hypothesis of constructivist understanding of security is showing promises (Mikail & Aytakin, 2016).

Therefore, it is important to include the different identities within a country in order to understand what can be perceived as a security threat. Historical contexts are mostly based on the challenges to traditional, hence realist, understanding of security. The lenses of constructivism in security has made it possible to develop a variety of factors like social, cultural, and historical factors as causes of security problems and threats. Epistemological preferences of constructivism and the understanding of a threat should therefore be analysed with focus on identities, historical construction of norms and beliefs (Mikail & Aytakin, 2016).

The Securitisation Theory

The widening of the term security, as described in the previous subchapter, also brought the necessity for a reform within the analysis of security issues as it has a much broader scope to analyse. New challenges, risks and threats gave place for The Securitisation Theory to be developed. The securitisation theory itself has been influenced by several scholarship. There is a close interconnection with social constructivism – the status of practice and role of language. Moreover, the securitisation theory also converges with Schmitt's political realism, Bourdieu's sociology, and Foucault's theory of governmentality. Scholars who have been dealing explicitly with the framework outlined by Foucault argue the securitisation theory is compatible with literature on governmentality. Governmentality provides securitisation theory with an 'analytics of government' which equals to an analysis of specific conditions when particular entities emerge, exist or change (Balzacq, Leonard, & Ruzicka, 2016).

The central definition of security in the securitisation theory is a matter has undergone the securitisation process with proper used rhetoric. Per say, an issue might not be a matter of security, until presented that way and thus is transformed into a security issue which is dealt with accordingly. It is thus an intersubjective understanding is constructed as an existential threat to a valued referent object, using exceptional measures to deal with the threat. Before moving on further with the process of securitisation, it is essential to outline what is meant with *intersubjective*. Intersubjective means something which differs from the ‘common’ (Guzzini, 2015). The understanding of the security differs from region to region and person to person; thus, the understanding is subjective. Moreover, it is not necessary to create a weapon in order to create a threat— a political move was enough. Despite the possibility of perceiving it as subjective, it would have been necessary to have a shared understanding within the main discourses among foreign policy elites (Guzzini, 2015). Therefore, it became important to look at intersubjectively shared discourses in order to determine what security is.

Williams (2003) notes that the Securitisation Theory has become one of the major contributions in the field of security studies in the last decade. One of the most significant contributors to the Securitisation Theory and the field of security studies was made by the so-called Copenhagen School (CS), with the main scholars being Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver. The CS is based on a framework on the concept of survival. Arguing threats should not be studied objectively for what they ‘really’ are, rather analysts should focus on discourses that frame the issue as a threat. Such an approach is focusing more on understanding instead of explaining an occurrence since securitisation is a matter of mainly articulation (Eroukhmanoff, 2015).

Securitisation Framework

Barry Buzan and Ole Wæver developed a new framework which aims to securitise a matter. Through a social-constructivist perspective they seek to explain how problems become security issues. This framework later became to be known as the core of *The Copenhagen School* (Biswas, 2011). This framework helps defining the term ‘security’ and prevent matters to become a matter of security only because they are politically desirable (Wæver, *Securitization and Desecuritization*, 1993). There are three core elements in this comprehensive theory of securitisation. Those are the:

1. *Referent objects*: things that are seen to be existentially threatened and that have a legitimate claim to survival.

2. *Securitising actors*: actors who securitise issues by declaring something—[f referent object—existentially threatened.

3. *Functional actors*: actors who affect the dynamics of a sector.

(Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998, p. 36)

The Copenhagen School considers the securitisation as an intersubjective act of a securitising actor acting towards significant audience. Thus, the Copenhagen School splits the actor into two camp: the securitising actor – performing a security move based on a security speech act, and the relevant audience, which will either accept or refuse the move. Thus, the interpretation and representation are a form of negotiation between the actor and the audience (Stritzel, 2007).

Scholars have had different opinions on the framework described by the Copenhagen School. Floyd (2010) argues the securitisation process becomes successful once it is simply brought into existence. However, she believes securitisation is not a matter of being an inter-subjective process between a certain audience and the securitising actor. The point Floyd raises is that in securitisation, regarding national security, the power to securitise is solely in the hands of political authorities (Floyd, 2010).

In contrary to Floyd, Balzacq (2005) believes the audience plays an important role in legitimising the securitising actor's decision. The securitisation process is audience based and is understood as a strategic practice which occurs within a configuration of circumstances, including factors such as context or disposition of the audience – in order to enable that both the speaker and listener are engaging in the discussion (Santos, 2018).

Recently, a number of scholars has called for the need to reset the audience's role within the process of securitisation. One of the innovations should be to avoid false generalisations. According to Balzacq (2011) the key argument is that both the successful securitisation, as those who are viewed as failure, are best represented by disaggregating the audience, as different audiences recognise different kinds of arguments and have distinctive types of power (Balzacq T. , 2011). In other words, "*Securitising moves in popular, elite, technocratic, and scientific settings are markedly different—they operate according to different constitutions of actor and audience*" (Salter, 2008, p. 329)

Furthermore, The Copenhagen School describes three stages through which an issue can be securitised: (1) *Non-politicised*; the state does not cope with the issue and is therefore not included in public debate. (2) *Politicised*; the issue is being managed within the standard political system and requires governmental decisions. (3) *Securitized*; the issue is framed as an existential threat and special measures can be applied in order to minimise the threat (Does, 2013).

In this sense securitisation can be seen as an extreme form of politicisation. Once the issue has been securitised it is recognized as an existential threat and allows special actions to take place. The accurate description by Wæver on the securitisation process is the following:

“In naming a certain development a security problem, the ‘state’ can claim a special right, one that will, in the final instance, always be de-fined by the state and its elites [...] Power holders can always try to use the instrument of securitisation of an issue to gain control over it. By definition, something is a security problem when the elites declare it to be so [...]” (Wæver, 1995, p. 45)

However, it is important to note that a securitised issue does not necessarily mean it actually is an existential threat – it might just be presented as one. The presentation itself is called a securitisation move, but once the audience has accepted it – it finally becomes a matter of securitisation (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998, pp. 23-25). Breaking the rules of ‘normal’ politics in the eyes of Buzan et al. means they have been provided with legitimacy. In securitisation - the actor, the framing of the referent object and the proposed actions towards a threat, require legitimacy in order to succeed (Oelsker, 2018).

In his work *‘The ‘Essence’ of securitization: Theory, ideal type, and a sociological science of security’* (2015) Balzacq uses the idea of Weber – finding the ideal type. Finding the ideal type means put together unique traits certain phenomena have in common, which are idealized under the same concept. The ideal type’s description does not apply to what is unavoidable, however it refers to what is empirically possible. Key elements are found within many instances and they build ‘essential tendencies’ of a phenomenon. Through such an approach the ideal type will not create a too wide net, but rather resort to an intentional abstraction that will help it keep all the subsidiary parameters out of its realm (Balzacq T. , *The ‘Essence’ of securitization: Theory, ideal type, and a sociological science of security*, 2015).

The Speech Act

The CS challenged the military-centred and state-centric realist conception of security. This is explained by the fact that *“logic of security itself to discover what differentiates security and the process of securitisation from that which is merely political”* (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998). The critical perspective Buzan et al. adopted was based on the philosophy of language which was created by J. L. Austin in 196. Austin argues there are some declaration which do not only describe the world – they also interfere with it and they cannot be analysed as truth or false. Those declarations ‘do’ things such as betting or giving a promise (Santos, 2018). Thus, the discursive practice which labels ‘security’ to an issue is presenting and dramatizing the specific issue as a supreme priority. In the case the issue has received the label of supreme priority, the state can take extraordinary measures, as described in the previous subchapter.

“How many ways of using language are there?”

(Wittgenstein, 1953)

Buzan et al. (1998) argue that within the securitisation process it is important to introduce the issue as a threat in order to convince the audience about the importance, however, it does not indicate that the securitising actors necessarily have to use the word *security* in their speech. The actor presenting the matter needs to focus on the style in which it is being presented in order to make it a matter of security in the eyes of the audience as well. Wæver has further developed the notion of societal security, which invokes the necessity for community and identity as key elements. Thus, the essence of securitisation is to create a division between ‘us’, the collective community, and the ‘other’ which is an enemy. Another feature of the Speech Act is that it allows the decision-makers to leave out the public of certain decisions. In democracies some information simply cannot be shared with the public in such cases as having the secret service involved – so the information does not get in the hands of the enemy.

Various issues can be transformed into a security matter if the political community manages to construct them through a successful speech of act (Trombetta, 2008). Relating back to the speech of act, Wæver (2004) uses the claim of Derrida: *“there is nothing outside the text,”* to explain the necessity of studying texts in a context. The texts on their own can be a doubtful concept because it tends to imply the traditional sender-receiver view of communication. Adding to this view on how to interpret texts, Judith Butler adds the idea of speech acts having productive power. She argues the performance, speech acts have the power to construct new meanings and patterns in social relations. Hence, according to Butler, it is the speech act itself which is able to create authority and bring change – rather than pre-existing concepts (Butler

J., 1999, as cited in Stritzel, H, 2007). To summarise the speech act debate between scholars – Wæver agrees with both Derrida and Butler that the speech act cannot be placed into an already existing context (Stritzel, 2007).

The Copenhagen School argues that language is performative and that uttering the term security will change the previous state of affairs. Hence, the approach of the speech act within security is to modify the context through utterance. Context in such case remodels depending on the concept of security and how the term security is utilised. In such sense, the concept of security allows new contexts to be ‘activated’ or convert existing contexts into a new understanding. Since the correct usage of words can have such power to change understandings and context, it is essential not only to look into the words, but also beyond them into the context (Balzacq T. , 2011)

Wæver and Balzacq can agree on many points within the securitisation theory, however, they both take a different standpoint on the part of *speech act*. Wæver draws on Sbisà, in the sense that deontologies are inherent in language – which make communication possible and enable illocution to produce their effects and which result from the speaker’s ability to get people to accept the reality they are creating. On the other hand, Balzacq takes the view of John Searle, who believes if audiences accept the claims, the speaker has created a kind of deontology that goes beyond deontology of the speech act (Balzacq T. , The ‘Essence’ of securitization: Theory, ideal type, and a sociological science of security, 2015, p. 109).

Balzacq (2005) builds further on the speech act as he created five different action types within the speech act. Such an action approach makes it possible for to answer the problem which is intended to be solved (a so-called ‘what question’).

A Conceptual Map of the Speech Act²⁶

Action-type	Problem	Communicative purpose	Domain of relevance
Assertive	What is the case?	That H shall come to believe that <i>p</i>	Extra-linguistic reality
Commissive	What does the speaker S want to do?	That H shall be oriented as to a certain future behavior of S	Future behavior of the speaker
Directive	What shall the hearer do?	That H shall do <i>r</i>	Future behavior of the hearer
Declarative	What shall be the case institutionally?	That the institutional reality W shall be maintained or changed into W	Institutional reality
Expressive	What has to be done in view of a new social or personal reality?	That the (un)tranquillization connected with a certain personal or social fact shall be dissolved	Social and personal reality

Figure 2 A Conceptual Map of the Speech Act (Balzacq T. , 2005, p. 189)

There two major propositions which stem from the illustrated map (Table 1.2). First, studying securitisation, it is elucidating how action types are mobilised in discourse to understand and communicate the stakes raised by a threatening development. Second, communicative purposes mediate between the ‘problem’ and the ‘domain of relevance’ as shown in the map. These purposes direct or attention to the result and consequences of actions. Balzacq suggested that if, as people, we give importance what we want done in saying – it is also important to add importance to the effects of that specific action, meaning what is done by saying (Balzacq T. , 2011).

Environmental Security

In the recent years, a larger debate has sparked around the topic of the environment. Whether it is in the terms of security for humans or states, the environment has gained its place within the debates in the international arena. As humans, to what extent do we need the environment? To what limit can we squeeze out natural resources without harming ourselves? Is Mother Nature replaceable by modern technology? What will the destruction of ecosystems eventually lead to?

There is no definition which would be able to describe environmental security in only one sentence as it is such a complex issue. However, the main concern of environmental security are the environmental challenges which are taking place across the planet. It is believed that in

over the next hundred years, one third of the current global land cover will be transformed. Thus, the world will be facing difficult choices regarding the preservation, ecosystem services or restoration. It is also important to highlight, that the environment is not an issue of each state on their own. It is a transnational issue and its security is an important dimension of peace, national security, and human right. Moreover, the environment plays an important role within national security, compromising the dynamics between humans and natural resources (Zurlini & Muller, 2008). More recent studies define environmental security deal with the following range of concerns, which can be divided into three general categories: (a) The impact of human activities on the environment. (b) The direct and indirect effects of various forms of environmental change with emphasis on environmental change which may trigger or generate forms of conflict and instability. (c) The insecurity of individuals and groups, what they experience due to environmental change – with no presumption that traditional security assets will be useful (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Environmental degradation has various impacts on the involved actors and might play a role, either as a reason, trigger, target, channel, or catalyst of conflicts. The growth of the population, unequal resource access are the basic drivers behind the increase in environment related (Zurlini & Muller, 2008).

It was first in 1972 the environment was included in the meeting of the United Nations. After the summit, there was a significant change in how environmental security was viewed on an international level. One of the most significant was the Brundtland Report released in 1992 on the so-called Earth Summit (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Despite the previous reports and summits recognised the importance of the environment and the changes it was going through – it was first in the meeting of United Nations in 2007 that recognised environmental issues as a security threat. Since then the environment and climate change have since then been a reoccurring topic of the G20 Summits (Violeta et al., 2013, as cited in Pereira, 2015).

Environmental security finally gained its place on the international level, particularly Western countries started focusing on the climate change. In 2011, Susan Rice, then the U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, held a speech for the security council declaring the climate change is threatening the security and stability of all nations. Despite having scientific proof for changes in the environment – the traditional view of state survival still is dominant in most of the international arena (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Therefore, even if having scientific proof for human activities and their impact on the environment, Buzan et al. (1998) argue that the environmental sector has one striking feature separating this sector from others. The sector exists in two different agendas: *the scientific* and *the political*. They both overlap and shape

each other; however, the scientific agenda is usually separated in non-governmental activities. It is constructed outside the political spectrum, usually by research institutions and scientists (Buzan, Wæver, & Wilde, 1998). Thus, the two agendas do not always go hand in hand as in some cases the political desire differs. Moreover, the political agenda is facing the dilemma. Despite most actors recognising the environmental changes as a threat; they do not know whether to deal with them as a matter of security or a matter of development (Caballero-Anthony, 2018).

John McNeill (2000) published his work *Something New Under the Sun* which presented the environmental history of the twentieth century. This work has become a frequent source of references also for The World Watch Institute (2015) which produce reports showing the human impact on the global environment. The work furthermore introduced deals with global environmental system stability which is a great concern in many subsystems where large-scale changes are in rapid progress (Cottey, 2018). Some of the changes are the following; soil erosion, deforestation, water scarcity and pollution; whether of land, air or water) (Smith, 2018). The environmental changes that are taking place are not predictable and cannot be studied in isolation from other factors. It rather entails unexpected discontinuities, feedback loops and cascading effects (Renner, 2015). The main driver behind the rise in the environmental changes – is the human denial. Despite there is evidence which shows a rapid human influence on the environment after the World War II., important actors in the international arena still seem to deny the changes (Cottey, 2018). A great example in this case, is the United States of America. Under the governance of Barack Obama, one of the main statements of the Security Strategy was: “*Today, there is no greater threat to our planet than climate change*” (Obama, 2015). However, after the elections of Donald Trump, the United States drastically changed the course of their agenda, and climate change is no longer considered a threat to national security (Dennis, Idso, & Stover, 2018).

As demonstrated previously, environmental security is a complex concept in terms of how to define it, how to approach it – but also whose security matter is it? The essential part is also to acknowledge that environmental security is not only about security of states and people – it actually involves the environment as well. Moreover, the term environment is broad. It involves the atmosphere, the marine and terrestrial ecosystems. Thus, those also become referents of security (Caballero-Anthony, 2018). Furthermore, the environment is not a factor only one state can tackle on its own. Surely, issues such as deforestation is in the hands of the state. Yet the affects deforestation cause can influence neighbouring countries. This is to say

environmental issues are transnational and need to be tackled on an international level, which in today's world has led to cooperation initiatives all around the globe (Matthews, 2011). Regional cooperation can lead to success but can also lead to the prisoner's dilemma paradox in which case individual actors will rationalise strategies leading to regional irrational outcomes. The cooperation based on environmental issues has often been based on the need for resources (Lopez, 2010).

Human Security, Environment and Conflict

The concept of human security represents a controversial attempt to redefine and broaden the term, and meaning, of security. This concept challenges the traditional state-centric understand of security or the main protected entity. For human security, security is about the people – not about the state or government. Therefore, the controversial concept has caused a lot of debate. Some of the critique raised is whether such lenses will broaden the agenda too much or whether securitising individuals is the most efficient way to address issues faced by the international community in a globalised world (Acharya, 2020).

The origin of the concept of human security trace back to the publication of Human Development Report by the United Nations in 1994. In this report the United Nations created a new dimension for environmental security as well. To say; there are seven elements which affect the security of humans. Including the environment in a report on such a global level was an important step in broadening the term security (Brklacich, Chazan, & Bohle, 2010).

Focusing on human security was however the main initiative of this report. Therefore, it was necessary to create distinctions in human vulnerability and connect the bridge to human security. Groups or individuals facing vulnerability slide back and forth between vulnerability and security. However, in order to achieve human security, it is essential that individuals and communities live with three basic conditions; (1) end or adapt to threats which affect their human, environmental, and social rights. (2) having the capacity and freedom to exercise these options. (3) the opportunity to actively participate in achieving the mentioned options (Brklacich, Chazan, & Bohle, 2010).

Another driver behind a major debate regarding human security is the scope of the concept. Should the concept primarily be '*freedom from want*' or '*freedom from fear*'? Freedom from fear was developed mainly by western governments, such as Canada and Norway and focuses on armed conflicts and violence against individuals. Thus, the main goal is to protect people in conflict zones, reducing human costs in conflicts and protect human rights (United Nations

Development Programme , 2005, pp. 18-19). Freedom from want focuses on non-military, non-traditional security concerns such as poverty, environmental degradation, and diseases. The aim therefore is to promote human development and build human capabilities. Amongst the most basic capabilities for human development are leading a long and healthy life, being educated, and having adequate resources for a decent standard of living (United Nations Development Programme , 2005).

Bohle (2001) argues there are two sides of vulnerability. The external side involves exposure to environmental stress and focuses on factors which cannot be influenced by the communities such as climate change or economic globalisation. The internal side deals with the capacity to cope with insecurities and factors which are enabling the human agency. If these two sides cooperate together, it is possible to analyse, for example, how a community is able to recover from a natural disaster, such as a hurricane and thus, the community maintain an advanced level of security (Brklacich, Chazan, & Bohle, 2010). There is now evidence that environmental change is a driver behind human insecurity.

The environment is often heavily affected when there is an ongoing conflict or war. Methods are used to destroy the environment, one of the most famous cases being Agent Orange in the Vietnam War, which was used to destroy vegetations of all kind (United Nations, 2019). However, the environment itself can be a cause for conflict. In his work, Stephan Libiszewski (1992) already outlined the types of environmental conflict. In most academic work the environment has been recognised as the source of conflict due to the natural resources.

Water is one of the main concerns for the future. However, it is not enough to say, ‘water is an issue we will have to deal with in the future.’ In order to understand the issue of water scarcity, it is essential to look into conflicts which are intra-national. Conflicts over water has mostly appeared in or between developing countries. Intra-state conflicts over water can be a result of unequal social distribution of water, relocation of groups due to large projects such as building dams or weak states which cannot provide a sufficient amount of water for their citizens (Sosland, 2018). As this thesis focuses on Latin America, it is a continent which has a history of conflict over resources, even in more modern history. One of the famous cases of water scarcity took place in 2000 in Bolivia. The so called ‘*Water War of Cochabamba*’ happened due to an attempt to privatise water. Despite this was not a direct disappearance of water in the region, people mobilised as many would not be able to afford the access to water. The privatisation brought together people from both professional circles and local circles in order

to protect their access to water. Ultimately, the whole issue evolved into a conflict fought on the streets (Fuente, 2003).

Barnett and Adger (2007) have formulated four key factors which play a vital role in creating an environmental conflict: poverty, vulnerable livelihoods, migration, and weak state institutions. The observed conflicts in the past do indeed show that environmental conflict took place in a wider context. For example, in 2007 the violent clash in Haiti took place after a climate shock but was intensified by the already existing tensions (Atkins, 2016).

Another factor which is important to consider is the perception of the environment. The environment is not a feature close to only one community or nation. It varies in terms such as biodiversity, the connection to the environment or how it is utilised by a group. The interpretation is essential because what may be understood as a route to sustainable energy and development, can be understood as displacement of local communities (Atkins, 2016). An example for such understanding can be the Belo Monte in Brazil. In attempts to create a powerful dam which would supply the large cities of the country – the Brazilian government initiated a dam project on the Xingu river which changed the nature of the river which is an important source for food of the indigenous communities (Higgins, 2020).

In human history people have been moving for many reasons. Some of the reasons which force the migration are conflict and persecution. Natural disasters such as like flooding or drought also cause a flow of migration, either temporarily or permanently. If a region vulnerable to environmental changes also has poor governance, limited land management and face social tension it is likely to contribute to conflict, eruption, and displacement. One of the main obstacles in defining which groups are forced to migrate because of the difficulty to untangle how many migrate solely because of the environment (Stapleton, Nadin, Watson, & Kellett, 2017). The so-called '*Soccer War*' of 1969 was between El Salvador and Honduras is often used as an example of migration caused by economic and ecological marginalisation during an international conflict. The conflict was triggered by crowd violence at an international football match; however, the tension was created seven years earlier when the Honduran authorities redistributed the land of Salvadoran migrants to native Hondurans (Kapusinski, 1992)

Thus, historically it is difficult to link the environment directly to conflict without any broader context. Very often in literature there is a confusion between what is caused by natural resources with an economic value and environmental degradation which result in conflict. Therefore, it is essential to move away from conflicts over scarcity to food security,

development, and livelihood. Environmental issues cannot be seen as neutral and detached from the social world, it is essential to view it in a broader context linked with political problems with social drivers (Atkins, 2016).

Application of Theories and Key Concepts

The chosen theory of securitisation will allow me, the author, to analyse the case of Brazil under the governance of Bolsonaro. In order to deepen the research, I have chosen the following concepts: The Concept of Security and the identity within security, Human Security and Environmental Security. The chosen concepts are essential to understand the challenges Brazil has been, and is, facing in terms of securitising the environment and what roles the identities play in the process.

Critical Discourse Analysis Coding Tree

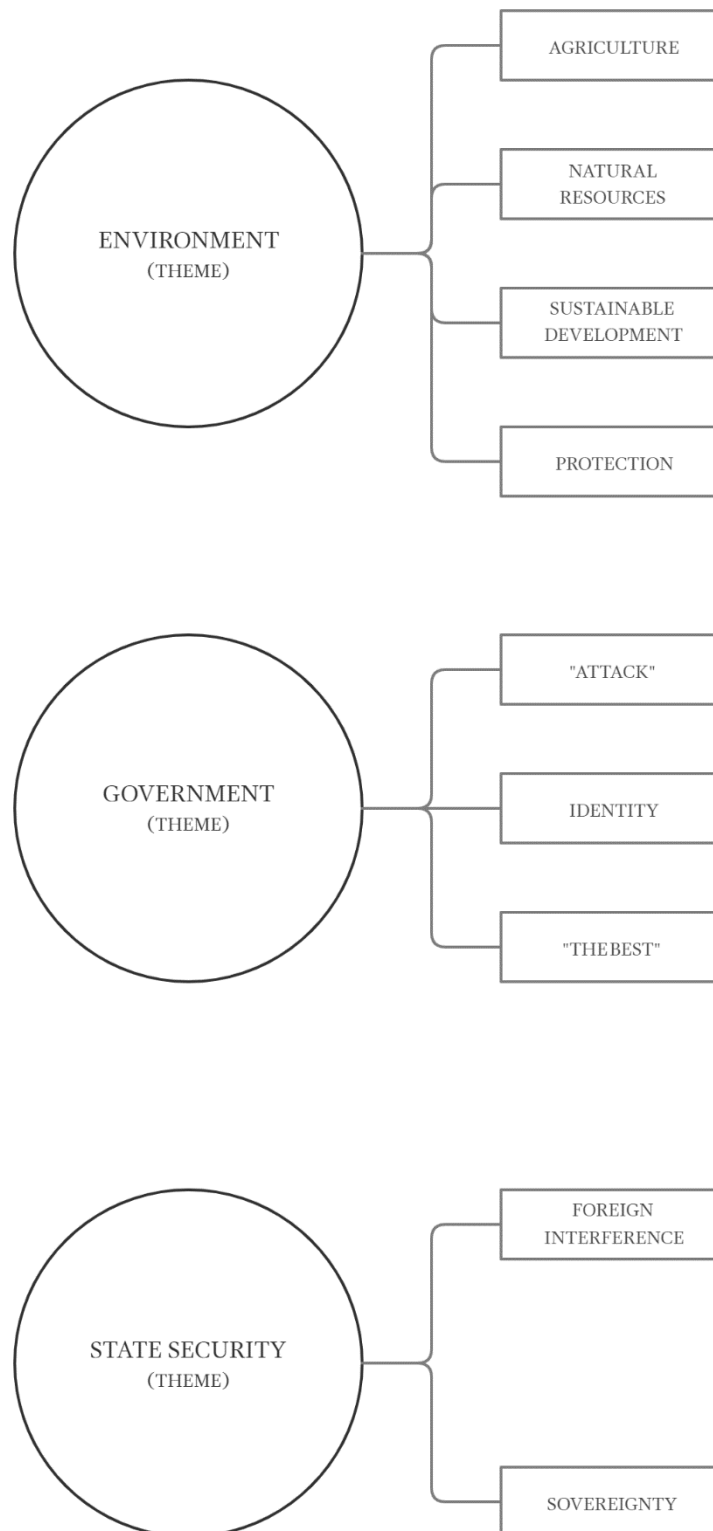


Figure 3 Coding Tree based on the export of 'nodes' from NVivo® 12

The provided graph is the coding tree which will guide the following analysis. As described in the subchapter of data processing (see under Data Collection and Data in the Methodology chapter), the themes and codes are created based on the text. The three main themes which have been identified are: Environment, Government and State Security (can be seen in the circle in the graph). Under each theme falls the following categories (can be seen in the squares in the graph):

- Environment: Agriculture, Natural Resources, Sustainable Development, Protection
- Government: “Attack”, Identity, “The Best”
- State Security: Foreign Interference, Sovereignty

This leads us to the next chapter, applying the Three-dimensional mode based on Fairclough.

The Text

The first step in the Three-dimensional model created by Fairclough (see subchapter ‘Fairclough’s Three-Dimensional Model’) is the text level, where the linguistic analysis is being applied. Such an analysis gives place to identifying the characteristics of a discourse by looking at the choice of words and their meaning or relations between each other. As described in the previous chapter, the text has been divided into three themes: Environment, Government and State Security based on the frequency of topics which have been identified throughout the analysed materials. Some of the statements and quotes which are being used in the following analysis are originally in Portuguese and has therefore been translated to English, however, the original text in Portuguese is provided in the footnotes.

The Environment

In the Coding Tree for analysis, the four categories identified under the ‘Theme of the Environment’ are agriculture, natural resources, sustainable development, and protection. Before investigating each category thoroughly, it is essential to highlight most of the material where Bolsonaro addresses the environment – is in the relation with the Amazon, the term ‘*Amazon*’ on its own has been mentioned 41 times throughout the analysed materials. The Amazon, is the world’s largest remaining rainforest and home to the most biodiverse environment on Earth and more than 50 percent of its area falls within the Brazilian borders (Maletta, 2010). Thus, the frequent usage of words related to the Amazon forest cannot be overseen.

Category: Agriculture

In the initial documents Bolsonaro released when running for presidency, there has not been a frequent use of language related to the agricultural sector on its own, nor in the relations with the environment. However, within *The Path to Prosperity: Proposals for a Plan of Government*², the essential document for his presidential campaign, Bolsonaro did address a few points regarding agriculture. In his governmental plan, Bolsonaro highlights the importance of reform the agricultural sector, bring knowledge from countries such as Israel – and stresses the fact that he, himself, has already started conversations about possible partnerships (Bolsonaro, *The Path of Prosperity*, 2018). Further on in the governmental plan, Bolsonaro introduces a new institutional model which aims to implement new agricultural policies for the development of this specific sector (2018).

The agricultural sector is vital for Brazil and its economy. In the global agricultural trade Brazil plays a major role with being a leader in production and export of soybeans and sugar. In the forecast created by OECD, Brazil is further expected to increase their position in global trade with products such as beef and veal (OECD, 2017). The first time Bolsonaro was attending the opening of the United Nations General Assembly in 2019, he addressed the issue of agriculture, also in relation with the environment:

“We cannot forget that the world must be fed. France and Germany, for instance, use more than 50% of their territories for agriculture, while Brazil uses merely 8% of its lands for the production of food – 61% of our territory is preserved.”

– Jair Bolsonaro, The opening of the 74th United Nations General Assembly (2019)

This quote is the only statement directed directly at the agriculture within the United Nations General Assembly opening in September 2019 despite critique which arose after the rainforest fires taking place throughout the summer of 2019 in the Amazon. However, in other interview Bolsonaro and members of his administration address the question about the agriculture more thoroughly. In an interview from the January 2020, Bolsonaro’s response to the question if Brazil’s liberal agricultural policy is a threat to the Amazon was the following: *“No country protects its environment more than Brazil. About 60% of our territory is consisting of nature reserves, national parks, environmental protection zones or natural reserves indigenous*

² ‘O Caminho da Prosperidade’ - Proposta de Plano de Governo

peoples. This is unique in the world. Less than 3% of the area of the Amazon rainforest is dedicated to agriculture. This forest does not burn, as it is very humid.”³ (Jair Bolsonaro for Die Weltwoche, 2020). As the interview continues, the reporter of Die Weltwoche asks why, in such case Brazil is constantly viewed as an environmental sinner. The answer is more complex, as Bolsonaro does connect several points: *“The reason is agricultural protectionism. The powerful countries of the world want to hinder the trade. Unfortunately, the Brazilian press is dedicated to spreading lies. Most news false news in this area appears here in Brazil, because it is known that this is how they are generated the biggest headlines, to the point that Time Magazine declared a brat of sixteen as “Personality of the Year”. Behind this, there is nothing more than a business.”*⁴ (Jair Bolsonaro for Die Weltwoche, 2020)

In such perspective, Bolsonaro tend to answer questions regarding agriculture in a manner which attempts to highlight the achievements of Brazil rather than focus on issues such as illegal agricultural or environmental crimes. This is no to say, that Bolsonaro does not address the issue of such crimes – specifically in his UN speech, Jair Bolsonaro stated *“Our policy is zero tolerance for crime, including environmental crimes”* (2019).

Category: Natural Resources

When Bolsonaro was running for president, in his campaign he promised to open the Amazon for business. During his presidential campaign Bolsonaro said: *“Where there is indigenous land, there is wealth underneath it,”*⁵ (2017). Frequently, Bolsonaro has been speaking about mining and natural resources of Brazil – not only in relation with the Amazon, but specifically about land that is home to indigenous tribes. Thus, in the analysed material it is common find the terms *‘minerals’*, *‘natural resources’*, and *‘indigenous’* in a coloration. The willingness of Bolsonaro to open up the Amazonian rainforest caused a stir in global politics, tt therefore became essential to address the topic of natural resources of Brazil In the opening of the UN General Assembly, Jair Bolsonaro briefly addresses the richness of Brazil’s territory in terms of natural resources. Brazil is in his words: *“[...] one of the wealthiest countries in biodiversity*

³ “Nenhum país protege seu meio ambiente mais que o Brasil. Cerca de 60% do nosso território é constituído por reservas naturais, parques nacionais, zonas de proteção ambiental ou reservas indígenas. Isso é único no mundo. Menos de 3% da área da floresta amazônica é dedicada à agricultura. Essa floresta não queima, por ser muito úmida.”

⁴ “A razão é o protecionismo agrícola. Os países poderosos do mundo querem dificultar o comércio. Infelizmente, a imprensa brasileira se dedica a espalhar mentiras. A maioria das notícias falsas (fake news) nesta área surge aqui no Brasil, porque se sabe que é assim que são geradas as maiores manchetes, a ponto de a revista Time Magazine ter declarado uma pirralha de dezesseis anos como “Personalidade do Ano”. Por trás disso, não há nada mais que um negócio.”

⁵ “Onde tem uma terra indígena, tem uma riqueza embaixo dela.”

and mineral riches,” (2019). Further in the speech, Bolsonaro justifies this willingness to enter the Amazon, explaining the richness and listing all the materials which can be found on the ground of natural reserves: *“It is the case of the Yanomami and Raposa Serra do Sol reservations. In these reservations, there is an abundance of gold, diamond, uranium, niobium, and rare earth elements, among others,”* (2019). In relation to this statement, Bolsonaro underlines the statement saying he is a President who worries about those before the arrival of the Portuguese – the indigenous people, and defends the policies of his administration by claiming: *“The indigenous people do not want to be poor land owners on top of rich lands,”* (2019). Followed by the explanation that The Yanomami reservation is a large area, and accounts for approximately 95 thousand km² – the size of Portugal or Hungary. Thus, the final marks of Bolsonaro addressing the natural resources in relation with environmental degradation was the following: *“This shows that those who attack us are not concerned with the indigenous human being, but with the mineral riches and biodiversity that exist in these areas,”* (2019). In this case, the explanation behind using such a statement is that Jair Bolsonaro believes other sovereign nation states wants to hinder Brazil in developing through using their natural richness (Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Brazil, 2019).

Despite promising to fight environmental crime, as cited in the previous sub-chapter, Bolsonaro introduced a new approach in an interview with Die Weltwoche taking place in January 2020: *“There are many gold miners, gold miners and illegal gems in reserves. Instead of just fighting against illegality, we should allow legal exploration,”*⁶ (Jair Bolsonaro for Die Weltwoche, 2020). With this statement, Bolsonaro continues to address the indigenous population which is living in the Amazon and is at risk by illegal mining activities. He afterwards proceeds to suggest the mining should be available to the Indigenous in order for them to be integrated in modern Brazil, therefore, they would not be losing a profit – as now the minerals are sold on the black market.

Category: Sustainable Development

In the analysed material the word *sustainable*, in relation to development, has been used 34 times. Here it is essential to highlight, that Bolsonaro or members of his administration have not addressed the matter of sustainable development as much through the analysed interviews

⁶ “Existem muitos garimpeiros, mineradores de ouro e pedras preciosas ilegais nas reservas. Em vez de lutarmos apenas contra a ilegalidade, deveríamos permitir uma exploração legal.”

or the speech given in the United Nations. Mostly, sustainable development has been introduced through the National Development Plan⁷.

One of the first points within the National Development Plan, for years 2020 and 2031, regarding sustainable development created by the Bolsonaro administration is: *“Encourage the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity in national biomes and marine environments, mineral, water resources and energy potential in Brazilian territory”*⁸ (Ministerio do Planejamento, n.d.). The point in this case is in the connection with the Forest Codes, which have been implemented in Brazil since 1965 and later revised in 2012 (Azeveda, Reis, Ortega, & Lopes, 2017). The Forest Code’s main function is to develop Brazil in terms of using their environmental richness, however, in a sustainable matter. The relation to the Forest Code can be seen in the point: *“Encourage economic activities for the sustainable use of the forest and biodiversity, promoting the social and productive inclusion of local communities,”*⁹ (Ministerio do Planejamento, n.d.). Distributing the power over areas of land in Brazil is an essential part in the Forest Code, as the basis is to rely on the knowledge of local communities (Azeveda, Reis, Ortega, & Lopes, 2017).

In the National Development Plan – the administration of Bolsonaro also acknowledges that one of the main challenges in the upcoming years is to promote the sustainable business of the environment. Further on, the points within this analysed document mainly connect the words *‘business’, ‘sustainable’* and *‘forest management’*. In such manner the analysed document continues to explain that through scientific research on the densification of the bioeconomy production chain it is possible to develop Brazil’s use of the environment in a sustainable aspect. One of the main interest areas are pharmaceuticals, phytopharmaceuticals, medicines and cosmetic products. This is one of the few points regarding sustainable development which have been built up on throughout the analysed interview of the Minister of the Environment: *“The tropical forest has great economic potential that can be explored without deforestation: pharmaceutical companies and cosmetics manufacturers can use vegetable substances to manufacture pharmaceuticals and beauty products”*¹⁰ (MMA, 2019).

⁷ Estratégia Nacional de Desenvolvimento Econômico e Social

⁸ Estimular a conservação e o uso sustentável da biodiversidade dos biomas nacionais e ambientes marinhos, dos recursos minerais, hídricos e do potencial energético no território brasileiro.

⁹ Incentivar atividades econômicas de uso sustentável da floresta e da biodiversidade, propiciando a inclusão social e produtiva das comunidades locais.

¹⁰ A floresta tropical tem grande potencial econômico que pode ser explorado sem desmatamento: empresas farmacêuticas e fabricantes de cosméticos podem usar substâncias vegetais para fabricar produtos farmacêuticos e produtos de beleza

Despite the term *sustainable* have been used 34 times in relations with development and the environment throughout the analysed materials, it is essential to point out many of the points within the National Development Plan are repetitive. Thus, they mainly discuss the forest management in alignment with the Forest Code, how to use the environment for business in a sustainable matter and how to economically develop Brazil on a global level through their natural resources.

Category: Protection

In his election campaign, Jair Bolsonaro did not address the environment in the sense of protection. Speaking about opening up the Amazon for business has been discussed previously (see sub-chapter *Category: Natural Resources*) was the strategy Bolsonaro elected when running for his presidency. Neither in the National Development Plan many points dedicated to the protection and conversation of the environment can be found. Yet, as mentioned in the previous chapter – the National Development Plan stresses the need to implement the function of the Forest Code effectively, which in theory should cause a decline in deforestation. Further in this document, the topic of protection overlaps with other categories which have been introduced earlier in this chapter. In addition to encourage a sustainable use of Brazil's environment, the National Development Plan aims to “*boost the recovery of deforested/degraded land by using technologies adapted to each biome*”¹¹ (Ministerio do Planejamento, n.d.).

In the speech given at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly, Bolsonaro directly addresses Miss Ysani Kalapalo, an indigenous influencer from Brazil who accompanied Jair Bolsonaro to the United Nations as she has made statements about Bolsonaro mistreating the indigenous population of Brazil (Galvani, 2019). The first opening point of his speech regarding the Amazon is: “*Firstly, my government has a solemn commitment to the preservation of the environment and of sustainable development in benefit of Brazil and the world*” (2019). In the speech Bolsonaro acknowledges the richness in terms of the biodiversity which can be found within the borders of Brazil. As the United Nations Summit was taking place during the time the rainforest fires were still taking place, Bolsonaro briefly mentions the illegal activities within the Amazon, however, stresses that local communities and indigenous people play a role in these fires as well, in relation to their cultures and form of subsistence. Further, he speaks

¹¹ Impulsionar a recuperação de terras desmatadas/degradadas utilizando tecnologias adaptadas a cada bioma

about the G7 Summit, where there had been talks about sanctions towards Brazil because of the Amazon.

Jair Bolsonaro reaffirms his position to any initiative for assistance or support to the preservation of the Amazonian Rainforest or any other biomes, however such assistance have to take place in accordance with respect toward Brazil's sovereignty. *"We are ready to, in partnership and adding value, embrace in a sustainable manner all our potential"* (2019). After this point in his speech, he turns to the rights of indigenous people and into achievements he has achieved within his short presidency, however the following points are not related to the environment.

In the analysed video interviews, Bolsonaro addresses the climate change and environmental meetings which are conducted on a global level: *"Naturally it is discussed when there are climate meetings, the external world sees the potential of the Amazon. So, the world is watching her"*¹² (2019). In other interviews, conducted in the beginning of 2020, Bolsonaro highlights less than three percent of the Amazon is dedicated to agriculture – and that Brazil is dedicated to the fighting illegal deforestation and the illegal fires which are taking place in the territory of this rainforest. In the interview for the Swiss Die Weltwoche, the reporter asks if Bolsonaro has something he would like to say to a Swiss regarding the environment, to which Bolsonaro responded: *"I would say to the Swiss: come even us, look at the country with your own eyes, fly from Boa Vista to Manaus, for example (approximately 700 km, editorial note), about the Amazon rainforest, look out the window, and you will see neither fire nor deforested hectares"*¹³ (2020). He then proceeds to make a connection with agriculture again, stating that the Brazilian farmers are only performing their part in the global fight against hunger.

The Minister of Infrastructure, Tarcísio Gomes de Freitas, of Bolsonaro's government did an interview with the Spanish La Vanguardia, where he was questioned about the image of Brazil in relation with the rainforest fires in the summer of 2019. Firstly, he himself has been living and worked in the Amazon for six years. Followed by this statement: *"We are going to show the commitment we have to the Amazon, what we are going to do to preserve this Brazilian*

¹² "Naturalmente, é discutido quando há reuniões climáticas, o mundo externo vê o potencial da Amazônia. Então, o mundo está assistindo ela."

¹³ Eu diria aos suíços: venham até nós, olhem o país com seus próprios olhos, voem de Boa Vista para Manaus, por exemplo (aproximadamente 700 km, nota da redação), sobre a floresta amazônica, olhem pela janela, e vocês não verão nem fogo nem hectares desmatados.

heritage, rich in biodiversity, show that there is, in fact, a commitment to preserve forests”¹⁴ (2019). Further in the interview, Minister Gomes de Freitas again stresses that Brazil is trying to show they are committed to preserving the environment and that in fact the Brazilian government is not the ‘*villains*’ in this story.

In September 2019, the Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, was travelling through the United States and Europe, where he gave an interview to the German Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. The interview is opened by asking what the Minister would have said if he had had the chance to speak on the United Nations Climate Change Summit. Which was not the case that year. Salles confirms the legal framework which has been implemented in 2012 to protect the environment is a good basis for further protection. In addition to that statement, he highlights figures about the Brazilian environment – more than eighty percent of the Amazon rainforest are protected (2019).

Throughout the interview, Ricardo Salles also adds to the points made by Bolsonaro regarding modern technology which can help preserve the environment: *“Now I’m traveling through Europe and the States United States, because we want to attract international companies to support us technologically in implementation of our bioeconomic agenda. We believe that this is the best way to protect the rainforest”*¹⁵ (2019)

The last point in the analysed material regarding the protection of the environment stems from a tweet Bolsonaro posted on his twitter in January 2020. In this tweet, the president of Brazil announces that his government is creating a council for the Amazon. The main purpose of this council is to protect, defend and use the Amazon in a sustainable matter (Bolsonaro, Twitter, 2020). In a thread related to this tweet, Bolsonaro further explains: *Among other determined measures is also the creation of a National Environmental Force, similar to the National Public Security Force, aimed at protecting the environment of the Amazon*¹⁶ (Bolsonaro, Twitter, 2020).

¹⁴ “Vamos mostrar o compromisso que temos com a Amazônia, o que vamos fazer para preservar esse patrimônio brasileiro, rico em biodiversidade, mostrar que há, de fato, um compromisso de preservar as florestas”

¹⁵ “Agora estou viajando pela Europa e Estados Unidos, porque queremos atrair empresas internacionais para nos apoiar tecnologicamente na implementação de nossa agenda bioeconômica. Acreditamos que esta é a melhor maneira de proteger a floresta tropical.”

¹⁶ Dentre outras medidas determinadas está também a criação de uma Força Nacional Ambiental, à semelhança da Força Nacional de Segurança Pública, voltada à proteção do meio ambiente da Amazônia.

The Government

The theme government is based on how Bolsonaro connects the use of words throughout the analysed material. As described in the Coding Tree analysis, the main three categories which fall under the theme ‘government’ are: ‘attack’, identity and ‘the best’.

Category: ‘Attack’

The category ‘Attack’ was identified on the basis of word connections which Bolsonaro and his administration have used through the analysed data. It is not unusual that when addressing the environmental issue, Bolsonaro uses data in order to highlight cases of the nation states. Amongst the two which have been mentioned mostly in this connection are France and Germany. *“This debate started with my trip to Osaka when the French president was worried about Brazil. He apparently failed to contain the controversy surrounding the devastating fire in Notre-Dame cathedral, then spoke of the fires in Brazil and the indigenous territories”*¹⁷ (2020). This quote is from the interview with Die Weltwoche, where Bolsonaro further provides data for how large the indigenous reserves are.

Further on in this interview, the reporter asks whether Brazil will leave the Paris Agreement. Firstly, Bolsonaro answers that Brazil is doing its part in fighting illegal deforestation and illegal fires. Then, in his second point he states: *“We are on the side of the law. But I wonder: how much natural forest remains in the countries Europeans? Last August, Germany withdrew its contribution to the reforestation of the Amazon, about \$ 25 million a year, I don’t have the exact amount in mind. Well, the Germany should use the money to reforest its own virgin forests!”*¹⁸ (2020).

These two points explained are only one part of the category ‘Attack’, which has coded the language to turn around the answer to a question. However, Bolsonaro also addresses the media and scientific research, in other words calls it ‘fake news’ – either against Brazil or his administration specifically. Therefore, the ‘attack’ is not only in between Bolsonaro and other states, but also within the borders of Brazil.

¹⁷ Esse debate começou com minha viagem a Osaka, ocasião em que o presidente francês estava preocupado com o Brasil. Ele aparentemente não conseguiu conter a controvérsia em torno do devastador incêndio na catedral de Notre-Dame, então falou dos incêndios no Brasil e dos territórios indígenas.

¹⁸ Estamos do lado da lei. Mas eu me pergunto: quanto sobrou de floresta natural nos países europeus? Em agosto passado, a Alemanha retirou sua contribuição para o reflorestamento da Amazônia, cerca de US\$ 25 milhões por ano, não tenho a quantia exata na cabeça. Pois bem, a Alemanha deveria usar o dinheiro para reflorestar as suas próprias florestas virgens!

In the interview with Die Weltwoche, Bolsonaro, directly quoted, said: “*Unfortunately, the Brazilian press is dedicated to spreading lies*”¹⁹ (2020). This statement was used in response to the question why Brazil is viewed as an environmental sinner. In the response there is a combination of words which have been used to code the language as ‘attack’. Firstly, Bolsonaro states Brazil is viewed as an environmental sinner because of agricultural protectionism, where the powerful countries of the world want to hinder trade. From there, the president continues to address the fake news in Brazil, and explains the news are created as ‘fake news’ in order to generate the biggest headlines (2020). In relation with the category ‘protection’ (See chapter The Environment), Bolsonaro states that what rich industrialised countries can do for Brazil is to stop spreading untruths about Brazil (2020).

Ricardo Salles, the Minister of the Environment, in the interview with Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung discards the scientific claim as fake news: “*The Amazon is not the lung of the world. It is proven that this concept is not true*”²⁰ (2019). After this claim he explains that the Amazon generates the same amount of oxygen that it consumes in the end, therefore it is a closed cycle.

Category: Identity

The category of identity has been based on the words used by Bolsonaro to mainly differentiate between the his government and the indigenous population. In his Plan of Governance²¹ Bolsonaro promised the Brazilian nation a government which defends and rescues the freedom of citizens. Further on in this Plan, Bolsonaro highlights that Brazil is a diverse country, and the only thing that matters it to be Brazilian at heart (2018). Another strong factor which Bolsonaro promotes as an identity feature is religion. The main motto in the Governmental Plan is: ‘*Brazil above everything, God above all*’²² (2018). With emphasis on the Biblical code: “*And you will know the truth, and the truth will set you free*”²³ (2018). The religion is connected in relation to tradition.

When giving the speech at the UN, Bolsonaro opened his speech by the sentence: “*I present to you a new Brazil, resurgent after being on the brink of socialism*” (2019). The presentation of Bolsonaro’s identity throughout the analysed materials is mainly connected with the words ‘*military*’ and creating a distinction from ‘*socialism*’, or other leftist views. Further throughout

¹⁹ Infelizmente, a imprensa brasileira se dedica a espalhar mentiras.

²⁰ A Amazônia não é o pulmão do mundo. Está comprovado que este conceito não é verdadeiro

²¹ ‘O Caminho da Prosperidade’ - Proposta de Plano de Governo

²² Brasil Acima de Tudo, Deus Acima de Todos

²³ E conhecereis a verdade, e a verdade vos libertará.

the speech, Bolsonaro highlights Brazil is being rebuilt on the aspirations and ideals of its people. In this speech, the president also connects the categories *'attack'* and *'identity'*, claiming the sensationalist attacks from international media has awoken a patriotic feeling in the Brazilians.

In the interview with Die Weltwoche, Bolsonaro describes the so-called *'Bolsonaro wave'* which has a strong nationalist component. When asked about leadership across South America, Bolsonaro said it is automatically Brazil will be put in the leadership of this region due to their advances science research and technologies. After this statement, he again stresses his identity as a former military personnel when highlighting he wants to increase the military defense of Brazil. Later throughout the interview, Bolsonaro describes that as a military man – he is used to deal with the indigenous, as directly separating the Brazilian population between his *'own kind'* and *'the other'*. However, he also states: *"From the point of view of many Europeans, the Indians stopped developing at some point"*²⁴ (2020). He claims the Europeans want to see them being as *'cavemen'*, whereas actually many of them have approached the civilisation in order to be a part of modern Brazil.

Category: "The Best"

The category *'The Best'* is based on the frequent use of Bolsonaro, and his administration, in describing Brazil or the Bolsonaro administration itself being the best in relation to the environment. *'The Best'* varies from topics of richness of land or policies implemented. Just as the other categories, also this one overlaps with others – especially from the theme *'Environment'* as it is commonly addressed throughout the speech and interviews in order to defend the policies of his administration.

Brazil is a country that has everything – arable land, is rich in diversity. That is how Bolsonaro describes Brazil as country. In his speech for the United Nations Bolsonaro claims: *"Our Amazon is larger than the entirety of Western Europe and remains practically untouched. Proof that we are one of the countries which best protect the environment"* (2019). The statements of being *'the best'* are very often associated directly with the *'preservation'* and *'protection'* of the environment. In relation to the wildfires of the summer 2019, Bolsonaro points out that his government has the lowest averages of fire outbreaks or heat in the history of Brazil (2019).

²⁴ Do ponto de vista de muitos europeus, os índios pararam de se desenvolver em algum ponto.

After the United Nations Summit, the Minister of Environment, Ricardo Salles, also defends the policies and steps taken by the Bolsonaro government, stating: *“Brazil is doing very well in the fight against climate change. We bet on energy renewable, we reduce deforestation in the tropical forest, we promote reforestation. Our national contribution to climate protection is probably the most ambitious in the world”*²⁵ (2019). He later speaks about how Brazil has committed themselves to deforest five million square meters, which is not an easy task as many people live in the regions – however, the Brazilian authorities have it under control.

*“No country protects its environment more than Brazil”*²⁶ (2020) was the answer of Bolsonaro to the question why Brazil is viewed as a threat to the Amazon. He then continues to explain that about sixty percent of the Brazilian territory is consisting of nature reserves, national parks, and environmental protection zones, which in his words is *“unique in this world.”* In the same manner Bolsonaro speaks about the Paris Agreement, despite having criticized it – as he admits – the president states Brazil is not only the only country which complies with the Paris Agreement, but also goes beyond it. In relation to agriculture, Bolsonaro also highlights the importance of Brazilian farmers which are doing their best work in order to fight hunger in the world (Jair Bolsonaro for Die Weltwoche, 2020).

As mentioned in the previous subchapter (see sub-chapter ‘Identity’), Bolsonaro describes Brazil as the most developed in the region. Whether it is in terms of size, gross domestic product. Moreover, Brazil has escaped socialism – therefore, in his words Brazil is the best and automatically should be into the role of leadership within the South American region (2020).

²⁵ O Brasil está indo muito bem na luta contra a mudança climática. Apostamos em energia renovável, reduzimos o desmatamento da floresta tropical, promovemos o reflorestamento. Nossa contribuição nacional à proteção do clima é provavelmente a mais ambiciosa do mundo.

²⁶ “Nenhum país protege seu meio ambiente mais que o Brasil.”

State Security

The last theme has been based on the findings in the use of language. Through the analysis there has been identified two categories: Foreign Interference and Sovereignty. Both categories, again, are in the relations of the Environment in general and therefore is overlapping with some of the previously investigated categories.

Category: Foreign Interference

When the large wildfires were taking place in 2019, Bolsonaro said: “*Brazil was severely attacked by a European head of state on the question of the Amazon*” (2019). Bolsonaro acknowledges several times that his administration is targeted by other wealthy nation states when there are summits regarding the climate change and the environment. The connection with foreign interference is usually with Germany and France, in a negative tone. However, Bolsonaro has also spoken in foreign interference in a positive manner – about Donald Trump.

In his speech given at the United Nations, Bolsonaro addresses the G7 summit on climate change. At this summit there had been talks about sanctioning Brazil, which in the words of Jair Bolsonaro is completely unacceptable – especially because ‘*no one wanted to hear us*’²⁷ (2019). He then proceeds to thank those who did not allow such absurd proposals to be taken forward – which in this case was the Donald Trump administration of the United States of America.

As described in sub-category ‘Attack’, Bolsonaro had addressed both the external and internal attacks by medias and world leaders. However, in the speech from the United Nations he also touches on the topic of NGO’s supporting people – internally and externally, insist the indigenous people as cavemen. Therefore, they intervene and criticise the steps of his administration as they do not see the fact that some indigenous groups wish to be incorporated in modern society (2019). In this connection, the last point Bolsonaro addresses in his speech regarding foreign interference is that the United Nations had a fundamental role to overcome colonialism and that Bolsonaro himself cannot accept that the mentality of colonialism is returning to the halls of the United Nations under any circumstances (2019). This statement builds on directly on his tweets from the 23rd August, 2013.

Ricardo Salles, the Minister of Environment, hinted on the possibility of giving place for the two largest contributors – Germany and Norway, in order to consult actions taken in the

²⁷ Note: ‘us’ equals Brazil in this case

Amazon (2019). Not even six months later in the interview with Die Weltwoche, Bolsonaro claims the foreign interference by powerful countries is only to hinder trade. The Amazon Fund has lost money from Germany after critique, however, Bolsonaro believes that Brazil can manage to move forward without that money.

Category: Sovereignty

Very often when Bolsonaro, or his administration, is speaking about protection and the international interference it is in connection with Brazil's sovereignty. "*The Amazon is Ours, not Yours*"²⁸ (2019) was a message Bolsonaro sent to the international community after critique which strengthened against Brazil during the wildfires.

In the speech from the United Nations, Bolsonaro again addresses the G7 Summit – how the rich world countries '*dare*' speak about Brazil whose concern the Amazon is. Adding that the United Nations is returning to the colonial mentality. Further on Bolsonaro raises the point that the spirit which must prevail in the United Nations is '*respect for freedom and sovereignty of each member*' (2019). In the speech, Bolsonaro also speaks about individual members which have criticised Brazil in regard with the Environment: "*Availing themselves of such fallacies, one or another country, instead of assisting, fell in with the press's lies and behaved disrespectfully, with a colonialist spirit. They questioned that which is most sacred to us: our sovereignty!*" (2019). He ends this part of the speech by stating Brazil is willing to receive assistance and support to protect the environment – however only under the circumstances that it will not be a threat to the Brazilian sovereignty.

In the interview conducted by Die Weltwoche, Bolsonaro addresses the case of Germany withdrawing money from the reforestation project in Brazil. After stating Germany should focus on their own reforestation attempts, he notes: "*We are doing very well, we don't need that help. Brazil does not renounce sovereignty over its territory in exchange for alms*"²⁹ (2020).

Sub-Conclusion

Throughout the analysis of the data the three main themes of the coding tree have been interconnected with one another. However, they all play an important role in how Bolsonaro has been using the language regarding the matter of the environment.

²⁸ "A Amazônia é nossa, não sua"

²⁹ Estamos indo muito bem, não precisamos dessa ajuda. O Brasil não renuncia à soberania sobre seu território em troca de esmolas.

From the analysed material one can see that Bolsonaro believes Brazil is doing the best efforts in order to protect the environment. However, he believes the Amazon should be open to use it for business. Both in exploring the richness of minerals, but also for more sustainable matters. In terms of his use of language also creates a division between 'us' and 'them'. This is in the case of the distinction between his administration and the indigenous population of Brazil. However, Bolsonaro creates an even stronger distinction between Brazil and other sovereign member states, as in almost the sense of *'Brazil against the World'* (in this case mostly western European countries, as his specific examples are mostly France and Germany).

Further, he claims that the international interference and spreading of 'lies' is a threat to Brazilian sovereignty. Bolsonaro does not rule out international cooperation in the matters of environmental protection. Yet, he stresses the fact that such assistance and support has to be through compliance of Brazilian policies and with respect to the country's sovereignty.

The Discursive Practice

The second part of Fairclough's Three-dimensional Model is Discursive Practice, which analyses the processes of production, consumption, and distribution of the discourse itself. It is the stage of the model which connects 'the text' and 'the social practice'. In the case of this thesis the main material used are interviews, political speech, political documents, and tweets by Bolsonaro. All four of these falls under the category of 'political discourse'. This domain is broad as is a 'way of doing politics' (Dijk, 1997).

Political Interviews

Interviews are one of the most widely used and developed formats for public communication in the world (Corner, 1999). The main features all interview share, no matter if they are political or survey research interviews, is that they all incorporate the discourse practice of questioning and answers. This creates a question-answer sequence, with or without expansion. Furthermore, interviews are characterised by the same role distribution – all having a representative of a media organisation, the interviewer, and the interviewee (Lauerbach, 2007). The role of the interviewer is to guide the interview and deliver an interesting perspective on events. A successful interview includes questions which is interesting for the audience (Lauerbach, 2007). In the case of the analysed interviews of this thesis, the topic of the interest of the audience – is the environment.

Politicians express their main standpoints and their opinions in order to influence and convince potential voters. Wilson (1990) points out *"politicians use words and sentences in an emotive manner; it is part of their aim to create a feeling of solidarity, to arouse emotions such as fear, hate or joy"* (1990, p.19). Moreover, the topics which are being discussed in political interviews are associated with current news events.

Throughout the interviews, Bolsonaro and his ministers their main role is to defend the policies and actions taken by the current administration. The responses in the interviews are structured through emotions. In a way Bolsonaro unites Brazil, when he speaks about the indigenous people, who want to join the modern Brazil. However, through the method of speaking – Bolsonaro turns the words around to developed countries with statements such as *"Many ex-nomads have long established and developed their own businesses, and there is an indigenous middle class. That process is called evolution. Nobody is forcing the Indians to do it, but neither*

should we deny them that right, which is obvious to us”³⁰ (2020). This implies a notion, that Bolsonaro and Brazil understand what the indigenous population wants, but the rest of the world does not. Through such use of words, Bolsonaro is indirectly pointing at the plans of opening the Amazonian forest.

Official Governmental Documents

The Proposal for Governance created by Bolsonaro was a shift from a socialist view to a right-wing perspective of governance and naturally, the National Strategy Plan follows in the same ideology. Official documents like these, are based on identity and ideology of the political party or person in charge. These documents also have a promotional discourse, promoting their beliefs and their plans for future development. It is also essential to highlight that official documents avoid and exclude political dialogue (Fairclough, 2010).

When running for president, Bolsonaro did promote a view on life in Brazil in the terms of giving stability to traditional family structures, promoting evangelistic religion – and as well strengthening the military. All these points reflect only Bolsonaro’s identity and this is what he presented in his election campaign. The military and traditionalist identity which is being project in the Plan for Governance also creates an emphasis on a united Brazil. Firstly, the motto, as mentioned, is *‘Brazil above everything, God above all’*³¹ promotes a unity under the state of Brazil and under God, even though Brazil is a diverse country in both terms of religion and identity. Which brings us to the second point of calling for unity, when Bolsonaro uses the statement *“This is a country of all of us, Brazilians born or at heart. A Brazil of diverse opinions, colours, and orientations”*³² (2018).

The National Development Plan focuses mainly on the areas of social and economic issues, where the environment is also involved in the level of protection. As it is a strategic plan, it does not reflect many points regarding the identity, however, the points which are put into the strategic plan mostly reflect the ideology of the administration in charge. Therefore, different points are given different priorities.

³⁰ Muitos ex-nômades há muito tempo se estabeleceram e desenvolveram seus próprios negócios, e há uma classe média indígena. Esse processo se chama evolução. Ninguém está forçando os índios a fazê-lo, mas tampouco devemos negar-lhes esse direito, o que para nós é algo evidente

³¹ Brasil Acima de Tudo, Deus Acima de Todos

³² Este é um país de todos nós, brasileiros natos ou de coração. Um Brasil de diversas opiniões, cores e orientações

Political Speech

The last discourse is the political speech, which is a genre of political discourse and a part of public discourse. In order for a political speech to be successful, it is necessary to be accepted within the social sphere. This can happen once the speech fulfils expectations, objectives and norms which are connected to a certain topic. Furthermore, a political speech is expected to be conducted in a formal manner. Jair Bolsonaro giving his speech to the United Nations, was not a speech targeted just for the ordinary citizens, but mainly to the delegations of the member states. It is a feature of political speech to influence the behaviour, opinions, or attitudes of the target audience (Uvehammer, 2005). *“The main goal of political speech is to convince the listeners of the speech maker’s opinion by choosing the most powerful linguistic devices.”* (Uvehammer, 2005, p. 24).

In political speeches, the politician needs to appeal to the attitudes and emotions which are already existent in the listeners. If the speaker has created connections to the policy and the listeners feel understood. It is essential the speaker communicates on an emotional level which seems to be morally correct. Furthermore, the listener must perceive the arguments are relevant for the issue (Sharndama, 2016).

In the speech in the United Nations, Bolsonaro addresses the issue of the environment. It is important to state his audience, the other member states, were already sceptical of his approach towards the environment. Bolsonaro speaks about how Brazil is handling the environmental situation and that they are handling the situation very well. However, he does touch upon emotions of members who are not directly involved with interfering in the environmental issues which are taking place within the borders of Brazil. Speaking about how these members are trying to take something away that is very sacred for Brazilians – their sovereignty. He builds up on this point by stating: *“Brazilian civilians and military personnel were killed and many others had their reputations destroyed, but we won that war and safeguarded our freedom”* (2019). The topic of sovereignty is a sensitive topic, therefore highlighting the suffering in achieving it. These points are strengthened further on in the speech by him saying: *“However, the sensationalist attacks we have suffered from a large portion of the international media due to the fires in the Amazon have awoken our patriotic feeling”* (2019).

Further on in the speech, Bolsonaro speaks about the caring side of his administration for the indigenous population and how he will open up the Amazon in a careful matter. He ends the points regarding the environment in this speech by stating that Brazil is open to cooperation as long as it is with respect to Brazilian sovereignty.

Interdiscursivity

Interdiscursivity refers to discourse which has been produced alongside the main discourse which has been analysed, thus it allows to read ‘between the lines’. Thus, through the speech and interview with Bolsonaro has identified a new discourse which will help to understand the text in social practice.

A Populist Discourse

Throughout the interview and speech, Bolsonaro himself uses a populist language. The basic idea of populism is that it aims to divide society into two camps: the people versus the corrupt elite. However, in order for the ‘populist style’ to be successful the populist discourse must do more than simply construct a division between ‘people’ and ‘corrupt elite’ it must “*perform a broader communicative repertoire that resonates with an audience’s cognitions and emotions*” (Chilton, 2017). In addition to this, Wodak & Krzyżanowski (2017) note populism is a style of rhetoric which tends to succeed when people are pessimistic about their prospects and the ability of the existing political system to address their concerns. However, it is important to highlight not everyone who uses the terms ‘we the people’ or who criticises the establishment are necessarily a populist. In order to identify a populist, one should look at the language which blames ‘the elite’ (Wodak & M., 2017).

Left-wing populists emphasise the national sovereignty as something that is only symbolically exclusive in terms that it excludes certain elites from the nation, right-wing populism is characterised by the urge to exclude anyone who is viewed as ‘foreign’ – on a symbolical, material and political level (De Cleen, 2017). However, in general, both of the political scopes overlap in the urging to retrieve sovereignty and national identity. It is not uncommon for them to speak out against the globalised world and topics which are being discussed on the international level, such as climate change. This topic is typically labelled by populists as ‘climate change hysteria’ (Wodak R. , 2019).

However, one of the core features of populism is that it is ‘thin-centred’, which means it can attach itself to diverse (in some cases even contradictory) ideological projects depending on the political moment (Mudde & Kaltwasser, 2018). Due to the broad agenda and the nature of populism being driven by a wide variety of factors – it makes it almost impossible to create general properties or logics to populism (Gagnon, et al., 2018).

Sub-Conclusion

The second level ‘discursive order’ has been explained based on the textual level. The materials are of the genre ‘political discourse’. The interview and speech are both essential for a politician when carrying out their duties as they both must be based on emotions and cause a response in their audience. The official documents are in accordance with the identity and ideology of Bolsonaro himself. Moreover, the analysis has identified the ‘a populist discourse’ which also influenced how his statements has been interpreted within the society.

And now, we can move to the last level of the three-dimensional model.

The Social Practice

The final level of the Three-dimensional model, social practice, aims to analyse the discourse in a socio-cultural context. On the third level, discourse can be understood from a macro-perspective. In this following part of the analysis, the theoretical framework will be applied in order to better understand how the discourses are affected by the surrounding context.

Brazil under Bolsonaro

Brazil was governed by the progressive left-wing party PT between the years 2003 and 2017. It therefore caused a stir in international politics when conservative Jair Bolsonaro was elected president in 2018. The victory of Bolsonaro came as a surprise to many, however the strategy Bolsonaro implemented also caught attention of people who normally would have given their vote to a centralist candidate (Spektor, 2018).

The background for his victory, however, has roots in the two crises Brazil had been undergoing. Brazil had a strong economic growth, which was disrupted by the financial crisis. Thus, more Brazilians ended up at the brink of poverty (Vartanian & Garbe, 2019). In addition to these two crises, the Brazilian society has been troubled by insuring security for its citizens. Between the years 2006 and 2016, roughly 150 people died daily due to intentional violent crime (Picanço, Prado, & Allen, 2018). Therefore, the agenda for increasing public security has been on the lists of presidential candidates for years. Many people have lost a part of their identity during this security crisis. For example, men lost their jobs and could not provide food for their families. In a society which is influenced by masculinity like the Brazilian society, this caused major identity crisis. Thus, when citizens of Brazil heard the promises of Jair Bolsonaro, they were convinced his radical solutions to complex issues would stabilise the situation in Brazil (Silva & Larkins, 2019).

Bolsonaro has promised to lead Brazil on the *'path to prosperity'*. In order to develop Brazil, Bolsonaro promised to open up the Amazonian rainforest, especially for the natural resources which can be found within its territory. This concern many human rights defenders, as such moves affects the indigenous population in these territories, which are essential for their survival as they rely on the functioning ecosystems (Taddei, Bulamah, & Schavelzon, 2020). However, Bolsonaro takes on a different strategy to develop Brazil.

Only a few hours after taking over the presidential office on the 1st January 2019 he sent out a tweet where he announced his administration had cut back more than 15 percent of land that belonged to the indigenous population and for the quilombolas³³ *"[...] In reality, fewer than a million people live in these isolated areas of Brazil, and they are exploited and manipulated by nongovernmental organizations. Together, we're going to integrate those citizens and take care of all Brazilians"* (Bolsonaro, 2019, as cited in Savarese, M., 2019). Bolsonaro when he announced his plans for a united Brazil, no matter of colour or orientations. The only factor which mattered was the they were Brazilian at heart.

This contradicts with the wave of racism his election has created within Brazil. The country suffers from a hierarchical race structure which is a legacy from their post-colonial times. With the Portuguese settling in Brazil and bringing slaves, the country became a mix for people of different ethnicities. However, from the colonial perspective being 'white' was the identified as being the universal subject for identity and thus, allowed the legitimisation or delegitimization of other identities. Such perspective gave passage to the hierarchisation and control of the population, which structures still can be seen in the Brazilian society (Souza, 2018). The election of Bolsonaro created a spike in racial hatred in Brazil because now the country had a president who made it possible to express the racial hatred (Silva & Larkins, 2019).

Despite Bolsonaro offering radical solutions for Brazil's large problems – such as insuring public security and an economic growth of the country. It is essential to highlight the identity of Bolsonaro in order to understand his position towards the environment of Brazil. Jair

³³ Quilombolas are Afro-Brazilian residents of hinterland settlement. These settlements were founded in the 16th century by escaped slaves who found shelter by the native populations of Brazil.

Bolsonaro is a white man, coming from a family with Italian origin. In addition to that, he is a former military officer with conservative ideologies. The identity differs strongly from those who are dependent on the Amazon. While for the isolated indigenous tribes their territory forms a part of their identity (Weaver, 2001), for Bolsonaro it is just a tool to strengthen Brazil's economy.

As discussed in the Theoretical Framework, Brazil does not have a united national identity. Therefore, a large percentage does not feel a connection to the Amazon, like the indigenous tribes highly dependent on it. Therefore, the expectations from Brazil's president of those who voted for him is to reform Brazil to a secure country with a growing economy. This case highlights the priorities of the majority of Brazil (Spektor, 2018).

Since the election of Bolsonaro, acts of vandalism and attacks on environmental and indigenous agencies by loggers and ruralist have increased across the Amazon which only underlines the discourse of the president towards the environment (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). Land grabbers, also known as 'grileiros' have been staging attacks on the indigenous communities. These groups start cutting down trees for the large bosses, usually companies which want to exploit the natural resources, and afterwards the territories are sold through the black market. In Brazil only about 0.4 percent of its population lives in federally protected indigenous lands, which covers approximately 13 percent of national territory. Scientists believe that empowering the indigenous populations who live in these territories will serve as a strong weapon in the climate change fight. Yet, it does not seem the recent presidents of Brazil prioritise such a political move (Cowie, 2019).

However, in the summer of 2019, Bolsonaro felt the pressure of the international community as Brazil experienced its most disastrous rainforest fires in decades, which were covered by the international media and covered great concern amongst world leaders. The rainforest fires are not uncommon in Brazil, they are a traditional technique to clean land and clear fallen trees (Silvério, Silva, Alencar, & Moutinho, 2019). However, in dry season these practices can be more dangerous, especially when they leave the intended fields for land clearance. Bolsonaro blamed the NGOs for having started the fires: *"I am under the impression it could have been*

set by the NGOs because they had asked for money. What was their intention? To bring about problems for Brazil”³⁴ (Bolsonaro, 2019).

On the 22nd August 2019 Macron, the president of France, posted a tweet stating the crisis of the Amazonian wildfires were an international crisis and should be discussed on the G7 Summit. Bolsonaro responded on his twitter one day later, tweeting: *“I regret that President Macron seeks to use an internal issue surrounding Brazil and other Amazonian countries for personal political gain. The sensationalist tone with which he refers to the Amazon (even using fake photos) does nothing to solve the problem*”³⁵ (Bolsonaro, Twitter, 2019). Jair Bolsonaro continued his twitter thread: *“The Brazilian government remains open to dialogue, based on objective data and mutual respect. The French President's suggestion that Amazonian issues be discussed at the G7 without the participation of the countries of the region evokes a misplaced colonialist mindset in the 21st century*”³⁶ (Bolsonaro, Twitter, 2019). Despite the large rainforest fires, Bolsonaro did not want to send in military troops at first. It was first after the Mercosur-EU trade was in danger, that Bolsonaro sent in airplanes with water and forces which tried to get the fires under control (Casarões & Fledes, 2019).

In the beginning of 2020, the Bolsonaro sent a bill to the congress which would allow his administration to make changes within *Article 231* in the Brazilian Constitution from 1988, with reforms in 1996, which promises the right to lands the indigenous population traditionally occupy (1988). After harsh critique by other world leaders, and the necessity to defend the steps taken by his government in the United Nations – Jair Bolsonaro stated: *“This is a big step forward, but it will face pressure from environmentalists,*”³⁷ (2020). Thus, when looking through the analysed material from the beginning of Bolsonaro’s election campaign to the early months of 2020, the rhetoric has not changed in terms of how he perceives the natural resources in Brazil and their usage in regard to the environment. However, only a few days later in January 2020 Bolsonaro announced the creation of a new council solely dedicated to the Amazon. Already the following month the official document was published with the outlined

³⁴Com relação aos incêndios na Amazônia, tenho a impressão de que poderia ter sido definido pelas ONGs, porque eles pediram dinheiro. Qual foi a intenção deles? Trazer problemas para o Brasil

³⁵ Lamento que o presidente Macron busque instrumentalizar uma questão interna do Brasil e de outros países amazônicos p/ ganhos políticos pessoais. O tom sensacionalista com que se refere à Amazônia (apelando até p/ fotos falsas) não contribui em nada para a solução do problema.

³⁶ O Governo brasileiro segue aberto ao diálogo, com base em dados objetivos e no respeito mútuo. A sugestão do presidente francês, de que assuntos amazônicos sejam discutidos no G7 sem a participação dos países da região, evoca mentalidade colonialista descabida no século XXI.

³⁷ “Este é um grande passo adiante, mas enfrentará pressão d (Ministerio do Planejamento, n.d.)e ambientalistas.”

responsibilities of this new institution, The National Council of the Amazon³⁸. This step was Bolsonaro's response to the harsh critique received during 2019 over the forest fires. Thus, at the press conference the Vice President Hamilton Mourão, who also will be head of this council, announced the first steps of this new institution would be to anticipate any problems related to the fires which had taken place (Soares, 2020).

³⁸ Conselho Nacional da Amazônia

Discussion

Through the Critical Discourse Analysis there have been identified three main themes, which are repetitive in the approach of Bolsonaro towards the securitisation of the environment. The three-dimensional model which had been applied in the analysis has shown three main themes which are repeated throughout his administration's language, the manner used while presenting their points and at last, the whole linguistic analysis in context.

The text analysis has revealed that the main feature of Bolsonaro is to connect his speech to the environment in a positive manner. "Brazil being 'the best' at ensuring protection of the Amazon. Brazil has reforested 'more' areas than Germany." However, when asked about the international critique or actions taken about Brazil, Bolsonaro directly connects it with a threat towards Brazil's sovereignty.

This is connected to the Discursive Practice, where the analysis revealed the features typical to a populist manner of speaking. The main style of populism, as described, is the performance seeks to shape and influence the audience's cognition and emotions. One of the typical features is to place the people against the corrupt elite, however in order to be successful, a populist leader must do more than that. In the speech and interview by Bolsonaro one can identify this topic by claiming Brazil is being attacked by rich countries, who have less forests, to protect the environment when Brazilian farmers are doing their best in fighting world hunger. Such a statement will help convince a large enough population of Brazil in order to gain support.

The findings of the analysis have shown that the discourse of Bolsonaro has been influenced by the international pressure. In the earliest selected material Bolsonaro and his administration only perceived the environment as a tool for the development of Brazil. Bolsonaro wanted to open the Amazon in order to gain access to the natural resources. However, the claim that it is necessary to exploit land for natural resources in order to develop a country is outdated as this approach does not consider the environmental consequences (Filho, 2004). The analysed interview with Bolsonaro, and the speech from the opening of the United Nations, has notable changes in the rhetoric from the initial proposals for governance, which demonstrates that the international pressure have had an impact. This international pressure ultimately resulted in the creation of the Council for the Amazon (Soares, 2020). Even though this contradicts with the decisions made only a few days before announcing the creation of the council, when Bolsonaro requested the permission to change the conditions of use of the indigenous territories (2020).

The Council of the Amazon was created under environmental pressure. Thus, in a way this action can be adopted to the securitisation process in the following three phases:

1. The concerns about the Amazon have been communicated to Brazil by nation states
2. The speech has been accepted by Brazil
3. Special actions have been taken, as the Council for the Amazon has been created

The ‘speech act’ carried out by nations states against the environmental issues in Brazil has involved critique and, in some cases, such as Germany or Norway, the countries have stopped providing funds for sustainable development projects. However, the fact that Bolsonaro has repeated several times throughout his speech and interview that the critique by others is a threat to the Brazilian sovereignty indicates that his primary concern is not the Amazon itself. In the broader picture, it is the connection between the environment and state security that has created such a reaction.

Furthermore, on the scale which guides the securitisation process, there are three stages: (1) non-political; (2) politicised, and (3) extra politicised (or securitised) (Romaniuk, 2018). The responses of Bolsonaro can be considered to be on the second state as politicization refers to acting by governmental decision. Despite having taken some measures already which should protect the environment, the deforestation rates in Brazil have continued to rise. Therefore, in the beginning of May 2020 Bolsonaro ordered the military to enter the protected territories in order to fight the illegal activities (Spring, 2020). This move could therefore lead Brazil to place the environment on the third stage – extra politicised, as the government is taking extraordinary measures.

Bolsonaro ordered the military to enter the protected territories in order to destroy machines and tools used for deforestation, even though that he claimed that was something he would not do as a president. However, with the continuous rise in the deforestation rates it was necessary in order to prevent illegal loggers to continue in their activities (Spring, 2020). Comparing this political decision of sending in the military to fight illegal activities is not an action which contradicts the language he has used. In the speech he gave at the UN, Bolsonaro claimed: “*Our policy is zero tolerance for crime, including environmental crimes*” (2019). Thus, it is debateable whether the international pressure has played as a significant role as one might believe.

With the illustrated changes in Brazil, one could ask to which extent the sustainable policies will be implemented in accordance to the wishes of the indigenous population, as there is an underrepresentation of the indigenous population (Peduzzi, 2018). One could also ask if the countries which have boycotted Brazil over Bolsonaro's controversial steps will consider these improvements enough to return to their former agreements? What more sustainable activities will Bolsonaro focus on in order to keep the promises for an economically stronger Brazil?

It is also important to point out, with this thesis, that Bolsonaro has fulfilled very little of his promises which he had outlined in his election campaign. This is caused by Bolsonaro being almost powerless against the parliament. However, Bolsonaro has still not yet passed even half of his presidential term. Thus, changes can still arrive – whether they will lead to the environment being entirely securitised or entirely exploited.

Conclusion

The aim of the study was to answer the research question stated in the beginning of the thesis:

“How is the Bolsonaro administration approaching the securitisation of the Brazilian environment?”

In order to answer this question, the critical discourse analysis was used as the analytical framework guiding the thesis. The main basis for the analysis was the three-dimensional model developed by Norman Fairclough (1992), which enabled the understanding of the analysed discourse in a social context and the shaping how the perception of the environment.

The analysis was based on three interviews with Bolsonaro and two of his ministers, the Plan of Governance, guiding Bolsonaro’s presidential campaign, the National Development Plan, and the speech Bolsonaro gave at the 74th Opening of the United Nations Summit. The first level of the three-dimensional model, the analysis of text identified three main themes consistent throughout the material: The Environment, The Government and State Security. Bolsonaro often uses the words such as ‘protection’ and ‘sustainable’, which form the most important basis for the theme of Environment. The large part of the Government theme is the ‘identity’ which forms Bolsonaro and his administration. And the last theme ‘State Security’ identified the ‘foreign interference’ and ‘sovereignty’ as the most important categories.

The second part of the analysis, the discursive practice, explained how the text had been redistributed and produced and through which ways. Furthermore, the second level identified the populist discourse as a feature based on the interview conducted by Bolsonaro and his speech at the UN.

In the last level of analysis, social practice, the discourses were analysed in relation to the social context in which they exist and impact. Moreover, the last part of the analytical models gave insight to the latest developments regarding the environment and its securitisation under Bolsonaro.

The whole analysis identified three main points in Bolsonaro’s approach towards the environment:

1. The elections of Bolsonaro was supported by the lack of public security in Brazil and slow economic growth. These factors added to the victory of Jair Bolsonaro in the race of becoming president. This also significates that the concern about securitising the

environment has not been a priority in the agenda of Bolsonaro. Rather the environmental issues have been overshadowed by other topics.

2. The diversity of the Brazilian society has added to the lack of concern to the securitisation of the environment. Due to the differences in priorities in the use of the Amazon, the threats to the biodiverse ecosystem and the indigenous population has caused great concerns in the international arena and therefore resulted in pressure which changed the discourse towards the environment.
3. Bolsonaro perceives the international interference in the case of the environmental protection as a threat to the Brazilian sovereignty. Therefore, steps in increasing security measures has been taken towards the Amazon in order to soften the international critique. The result of one of these steps is the creation of the Council of the Amazon.

Despite Bolsonaro cutting the protected areas of indigenous territory and having the intentions to open it up for business, the wildfires of 2019 put a tremendous amount of international pressure on Brazil. Thus, his administration introduced the Council of the Amazon which should ensure the protection and development in a sustainable matter. Despite the contradiction to the council by requesting changes in conditions of use of indigenous territory, which was a contradictive step - Bolsonaro has sent military forces into this tropical rainforest in order to fight illegal environmental crime, which is a step towards securitising the environment according to the securitisation process.

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