The Effects of Brazil’s Belo Monte Dam Complex on the Cultural and Ecological Diversity in the Xingu River Watershed

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ABSTRACT

The culture and livelihood of the indigenous people of the Xingu Watershed is under threat. Dams are being built that will drastically alter the landscape of the region as well as cause a large amount of, if not all of the tribes in the area, to become displaced from their homes. If removed from this area, these people will not only no longer have access to the abundance of foods and plant medicines that it has provided to them for centuries, but it will also sever the invisible connection with the land that since the time of their ancestors, has been the basis for their cultural and spiritual beliefs.
INTRODUCTION

Belo Dam Complex

The Belo Monte Dam Complex is a collection of three hydroelectric dams that located in the Xingu Watershed of Brazil’s rainforest and is the world’s 3rd largest hydroelectric project. The dam project itself was developed by the Norte Energia Company and is backed by the Brazilian government, with main stakeholders being Eletrobras and its subsidiaries CHESF and Eletronorte having a 49.98% stake in the project (Millikan 2010). The Dam complex will be a combination of multiple canals, dykes, and 3 large dams. The Pimental Dam will be 6,248 meters long, 36 meters high and will have a structural volume of 4,768,000 cubic meters. This dam will hold the water creating the Calha Do Xingu Reservoir with a surface area of 333 square kilometers and an average capacity of 2,069,000,000 cubic meters of water. The dam will generate power from its onsite power station. The spillway it created will be the Belo Dam Complex’s main spillway with 17 floodgates and a maximum discharge of 47,400 cubic meters per second. The reservoir created by this dam will divert some of the water into two 12 km canals, which will supply water to the Dos Canais Reservoir. This reservoir will have an average surface area of 108 square kilometers, an average capacity of 1,889,000,000 cubic meters and an average elevation of 97 meters above sea level. The Dos Canais Reservoir is created by the main dam (Belo Monte), 28 dykes that are around the reservoir’s perimeter and the Belo Vista Dam (the complex’s secondary spillway, a 14,600 cubic meter per second maximum discharge capacity), which lies along the eastern perimeter of the Dos Canais Reservoir. The Belo Monte Dam itself will be 3,545 meters in length, 90 meters in height, will have a structural volume of 25,356,000 cubic meters, and will be the location of the main power station in the dam complex. This power station will hold twenty separate vertical Francis turbines which have a capacity of
550 Mega Watts each. These in turn will be supplied with water from a 11.2 meter diameter by
113 meter long penstock (water intake control gate) providing an average 89.3 meters of
hydraulic head to the power plant (zip file 2011). The Belo Monte Hydroelectric Dam complex
is planned to generate an average energy output of around 4,000 Mega Watts with a peak energy
generation rate of around 11,000 Mega Watts (Norte 2011). The Brazilian government is relying
heavily on these dams to provide the energy output for their 2011-2020 energy expansion plan.
This plan is projected to provide a 22 million home surplus of power once completed and the
government views it as a necessity to sustain the country’s economic growth, as demands for
dependable irrigation systems, water sources, and power systems increase (Berger 2012).

**The Xingu Indians**

There are fifteen different tribes that inhabit the Xingu River Basin (pronounced “Shingoo”) consisting of over 25,000 indigenous people (Santos 2011). Even though the tribes in the basin speak different languages and dialects, they have a close relationship with one another. For the most part, the Xingu Indians have similar ceremonies and feasts that they celebrate, and share the same superstitions and beliefs. They also share the same religious concepts and cosmology. Most rites of passage are the same in the villages even though they have different ethnologies. The villages even share a strict temperamental and psychological similarity (Smith 2012).

The natives of the Xingu River Basin (Xinguanos) believe the river is the “house of God”, as its waters are used when performing symbolic rituals. They also believe that the place of the world’s creation is where the Culuene and 5 other rivers join and form the Xingu (Santos 2011). The Xinguanos believe the interconnectedness of water, humans and the earth is represented when tribes exchange water. The Xingu River’s water is the embodiment of social
unity for its natives, and serves as the main source of transportation for the natives. As Chief Ze Carlos Arara once said, “For us the river means many things. For everything we do, we depend on the river. For us to go out, to take our parents around, to get medical attention, we need the river for all of these things”. It is evident when looking at this information why the Xinguanos give the Xingu River such reverence and consider it sacred (Santos 2011).

The people of the Xingu consider not only the river sacred, but all of the surrounding forest as well. The tribes of the Xingu believe that divine beings manifest themselves in the plants of the rainforest. The Xinguanos rely on the plants for food, ceremonial uses, as well as sacred medicines. The natives claim that their extensive knowledge of the plethora of plants in the rainforest was given to them by the plants themselves, thus showing an indication of the great depth of respect and reverence for the rainforest (Santos 2011).

There are two main concentrations of tribes in the Xingu River Basin, those about halfway down the river in the center of the basin, and those of the upper river. The tribes of the lower river near the Von Maritius Waterfall are the Suya and Kayapo, who speak languages from the linguistic family Macro-Ge. Near the mouth of the Maritsaua-Mitau River (slightly above the waterfall area) reside the Kayabi who speak a Tupi dialect, and The Juruna who also speak a Tupi language. The Trumai who speak a language that is isolated to themselves and not related to any known family of languages. The upper river tribes consist of the Nauqua, Kuikuru, Ikpeng, Matipuhy, and the Kalapalo, who speak Carib linguistic branch languages, the Kamayura and Aweti who speak a Tupi Language, and the Yawalapiti, Waura and Mehinaku tribes speak with Arawakan dialects (Smith 2012).

Except the Suya and Kayapo who are nomadic hunter-gatherers, all of the Xinguanos are sedentary and practice fishing and agriculture for their primary food sources. The principle
crops that they grow are the same as they were in time before Columbus’s arrival and include potatoes, corn, yams and manioc (Smith 2012). The Kayabi agriculture is particularly impressive because in addition to growing the above species, they cultivate red potatoes, a species of tuber, twelve different types of peanuts and giant yams on a large scale. The general diet of the Xingu natives consists of fish and manioc. For the most part the only meat that they consume is fish and only certain types of fish are eaten. In general, they choose to not eat fish without scales. They do however eat a few species of bird such as the guan, curassow and jocobins. Elder men (mostly shaman) consume a large amount of pepper to enhance their powers (Smith 2012).

The Xingu Indians are well adapted to the environment that they live in and it shows through the buildings in their villages. Villages are typically constructed on well-built foundations that allow the buildings to stay out of flood zones and are often built away from typical mosquito areas. These long houses are very open inside and generally measure 15 meters wide by 25 meters long. The dwellings have straw roofs and doors at opposite ends. Due to the communal aspect of the villages each of these longhouses has a large common room which is where all ceremonies and feasts for the villages are held (Smith 2012). The beds in the houses consist of hammocks woven from palm tree sprout fibers and native cottons and are made by the women. The Xingu people normally bury their deceased in front of their homes. Xingu parents are unique in raising their children as they don’t generally punish them. They treat them with respect and give them the responsibility of adults, and as a result, the children generally do not misbehave. Each of the long houses has one head of the house or chief who is responsible for the group’s economic activities. This chief of the house is responsible for choosing the places
where they will plant their crops, overseeing all of the maintenance of that land and leading the people who work it (Smith 2012).

Although there is a chief of the household there is also a village chief (Cacique). His primary role is not to control or monitor the village inhabitants, but to host the ceremonial rites. After talking with the village’s medicine man, who gives the Cacique advice, he does things such as inviting the villagers to ceremonies, arranges trade, maintains the tribal traditions of the village and helps aid in directing the field preparation for crops (Smith 2012). In addition to these things, he addresses the village every morning holding a bow and arrows from his huts doorway. Even though the Cacique is the chief of the village he has very little power over the individuals of the tribe. Villagers act for themselves and determine on their own what it is that they should do. The cacique cannot impose punishment or penalties on the individual. Xingu people learn at a very early age what their position in the community is and act like an adult early in life as a result. This is a outcome of tribal traditions and knowing their culture which leads a greater unity in the tribe and village (Smith 2012).

Men and woman in the villages have very different and separate jobs, and in addition men and woman generally stay out of each other’s area, and their personal belonging are very private. Females’ jobs are doing things such as making ceramics and pottery, and because they made the pots it is their logic that they also do the things that utilize them such as going to get water. There are times when men and woman do work in collaboration such as fishing expeditions. The woman and children collect and bake the fish that are caught using traps that the men make. There are exclusive male activities, such as when bows and arrows are utilized to fish, and female only activities such as the making of salt. This is done by drying pond lily
leaves in the sun and then burning them and filtering the ashes giving them potassium chloride salt to use in things such as cooking (Smith 2012).

Villages have a formal ceremony for trade called the *Moitara*, which is a Kamayura word meaning trade. It is a separated activity with women trading among women and men trading among men. The womens’ trading can seem completely disorganized, with women haggling over prices in a confusing noisy environment. The men however follow a recognized set of rules, it is well organized and they have fixed prices for what they are trading. Items traded by both men and women are necklaces, weapons, hammocks, ceramics, feathered adornments, canoes, flutes, salt, spices, fishing nets, foods, and even animals (Smith 2012).

The Xingu River Basin

The source of the Xingu River is in central Mato Grosso’s tropical savanna in Brazil (Britannica 2014). From here the river flows northward and eventually connects with the Amazon River (Santos 2011). The Tapajos-Xingu is the moist forest region that lies south of the Amazon River in central-eastern Brazil. It is an interfluvial plain between the two major tributaries of the Amazon (the Tapajos and Xingu Rivers). This region goes southward to the bottom of the Serra do Cahimbo I Brazil’s State of Para’s southwest corner. This region’s floor is mostly composed of the Brazilian shield which is a well weathered hard crystalline basement that was formed one billion years ago. Many areas have eutrophic soils, some of the uplands have more oligotrophic soils (Sears 2014). The average annual rainfall is between 1,500 mm to 2,000 mm and the region has an elevation range from 5m on the river itself up to 200m in the uplands. In areas of eutrophic soils there is a high amount of biotic diversity with many plants that are endemic to the region. The forests are mostly evergreen tropical rainforests on the non-flooded areas and have patches spread throughout of dense sub montane forest within open
canopy sub montane forests. There is also a peculiar forest type in the area composed of thousands of square kilometers of liana forests, which are large woody vines. This area has over 161 species of mammals and an astounding 556 species of birds. There are very few protected areas in these forests and as a result they are being threatened by ranching, colonization, logging, and large-scale development projects that are degrading the land and resulting in large scale deforestation (Sears 2014).

The Belo Monte Dam Complex likely threatens the very essence of these unique peoples’ homeland and cultural identity. An evaluation of the effects of the dam on the Xingu population has not been conducted, so this paper will examine other case studies to document what similar developments on other indigenous lands have resulted in. The paper will then analyze whether the Xinguans’ cultural, social, and spiritual identity can remain intact after the river that has for so long been their home, is dramatically altered and they are forced out of their native lands.

EFFECTS OF ENVIRONMENTAL PERTURBATION ON INDIGENOUS PEOPLE

Why They Are So Tied To Their Land

For indigenous people, their culture and how they perceive the universe is directly tied to the understanding that the land they live on is a part of their unique identity. When things such as environmental perturbation force them to be relocated to different areas, the cultural link between what they view as the invisible world and their environment is severed (McDowell 1996). Their culture believes that spiritual presence and historical contiguity are a part of the environment the surrounds them and the resources that it provides. Environmental effects and cultural effects are not viewed as separate things but as one homogenized issue. Chris
McDowell states that, “Social and environmental effects are culturally drawn together through the invisible world which guarantees ownership, mediates resource allocation and endows meaning and identity on both collective and personal levels.” When forced to move they are forced to part with that which makes them who they are (McDowell 1996).

**What Is Culture Loss**

Culture loss addresses two different yet connected categories of loss: loss of belonging or kinship, and loss of possession. Loss of possession can be anything from a loss of customs and livelihood practices to the loss of tangible things, such as natural resources. Indigenous people have an intimate bond with the land that they inhabit, and this relationship takes on what could be considered a kinship or belonging. Jentof, Minde & Nilsen illustrate this well by stating, “The very concept of a culture – its ways of life and subsistence practices, systems of meaning, social organization, and identity – cannot, as modern economic concepts presume, easily be separated from its geographical location (Jentoft, Minde, & Nilsen 2003).” This is because so much of what makes up that culture is part of localized meaning and spatial patterns. To move a culture from a place that it has resided for centuries would destroy it because, embedded in this place is what the culture values. If the culture is removed from this place, the practices and knowledge that make the culture what it is will begin to lose meaning and eventually result in the loss of the culture as a whole (Jentoft et al. 2003).

**Peru**

Indigenous people are feeling the effects of environmental perturbation all over the world. Not only is it affecting their way of life but in some cases it can even cause their homes to become an unhealthy place to live in. An excellent example of this is the impacts of oil-related
activities in the Peruvian Amazon. Oil-related activities in the area have been identified as a major factor of severe health impact of the indigenous people due to oil pollution, sexual abuses by the workforce, and prostitution. There was even a court case in Ecuador that documents actions such as pollution and sexual abuse perpetrated by Chevron-Texaco (Orta-Martinez 2010). But in the Peruvian Amazon, the impacts have been poorly described. The deaths of 21 children in a Kichwa community in 1AB oil block were found to be most likely due to oil industry byproducts that caused acute intoxication and hepatitis B. In another area of the Peruvian Amazon a hepatitis D outbreak was attributed to oil drilling activities done against the will of the local indigenous people. This is all done without free, prior, and informed consent (the FPIC) as established by Convention 169 of the ILO, which is now mandated by the UN Indigenous Peoples Declaration. The search for oil in areas of indigenous people puts the inhabitants of the area at risk for “novel” diseases that are brought in by outsiders (Orta-Martinez 2010). The indigenous people of the area also must cope with unwanted migration of outsiders due to the oil industry opening the area to human settlement (such as hunting, agriculture and cattle), and illegal logging. Because their land appears to be unsettled people think that it is simply open for anyone to build. The loss of indigenous peoples’ traditional cultural and ecological knowledge, epistemological assimilation and integration into the market economy are an indirect effect of oil activities. Multiple studies have shown that high biodiversity conservation is closely related to cultural diversity in indigenous people (Orta-Martinez 2010).

**Botswana**

In Botswana, the Bushmen have slowly been getting evicted by their government over the past ten years from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve to promote development. They do this with the claim that they wish to improve social services such as schools, healthcare and
increasing their chances at economic opportunity. One of the sites that these people have been moved to is the town of New Xade (Schimmel 2009). Though this place has a large hospital and a school, there is no electricity or running water. There are some jobs available but it is unlikely that Bushmen will get them because a majority of them are filled by Tswana government employees. These people also are the ones who get the nicest houses, which have electricity and running water. When children attend the school in New Xade they are taught in the Tswana language instead of the native language of their culture. This sends the message that they become linguistically and culturally assimilated into the Tswana culture and causes a degeneration of their native beliefs at a young age (Schimmel 2009). The rampant poverty and eviction rates have even lead to a high amounts of AIDS cases in the Bushmen, which was never a significant threat prior to being moved to New Xade. The women become prostitutes out of necessity to have money for basic supplies such as food, and contract sexually transmitted diseases from the construction and government workers. This proud group of people who were at one time able to live off the land in a self-sufficient manner by hunting and gathering meat and plants are no longer allowed to hunt on their homelands. They have become dependent on handouts from the government and suffer from the loss of social capital, self-respect, and dignity (Schimmel 2009).

**Australia**

When looking at the impacts of agricultural and hydrological development of Aboriginal homelands in Australia there is a detrimental effect on the environment with fairly modest monetary returns to the government and even less for the displaced Indigenous people (up to five times less). In addition to earning less than everyone else, the Indigenous people also suffer from the loss of terrestrial and aquatic plants and animals. These people and their economic and
social activity are based largely around these resources (Stoeckl et al. 2013). Many if not all of their resources are gathered from the surrounding area and many of these things are used to make various arts and crafts. These arts and crafts can account for up to 40% of the peoples’ income. The Indigenous people also host tourist trips that inform and educate people on their indigenous cultural heritage and take the tourists on things such as fishing trips, these are both income sources for isolated communities. The natural resources of the area make up part of the culturally and socially significant landscape for the people, this is due to the fact that hunting and fishing help to maintain the social relations and help to keep the influence and cultural practices of the Indigenous community alive. When lands become developed and the indigenous people lose these resources they are not only losing out on their sources of income but their cultural identity begins to disappear (Stoeckl et al. 2013).

Brazil

Brazil’s Tucurui Dam, which was built in 1984 had many negative social impacts for the indigenous population of the area. It was calculated that roughly 15,000 people would have to move from their homelands with over two thirds of them receiving no compensation whatsoever from the government. However after the displaced people filed indemnity claims the official number of the amount of displaced people rose to around 24,000. The people who were compensated by the Eletronorte company (builders of the dam) were paid in cash, which due to the fact these people had little to no experience with managing money and finances disappeared quickly leaving most family with no money only a few short months later (Fearnside 1999).

The dam radically altered the aquatic environment above and below it. There was once a large fishery which provided most of the animal based food for the area as well as a large amount of their cash income that was effectively ruined by the dam with the fishery total yearly catch
dropping to one third of what it once was. The amount of local production of fish dropped by 66% due to the fact that the water passing through the turbines is very low in oxygen during the dry season which in turn leads to a decreased fish population. The dam flooded part of three different areas of indigenous villages and as a result of how they were zoned by the government many of the tribes were denied access to the reservoir that was created (Fearnside 1999). Tribes downstream from the dam suffered from water pollution and the loss of fish. All of this area was also invaded by non-indigenous poachers with the government doing nothing about it. The reservoir created by the dam has also become a huge breeding ground for the *Mansonria* mosquitoes, which have plagued the Gelba Parakana settlement, and although they do not transmit malaria the mosquitoes still transmit many arboviruses and can even transfer the parasitic worm which causes elephantitis (Fearnside 1999). Due to methylation many of the fish in the reservoirs have over double what is considered to be a safe amount of mercury to consume and yet are still consumed by the natives. People in the area even have a mean amount of Hg in their hair of 65 mg/kg of hair. The Hg concentrations in hair are already over twice as much than what has been found to cause damage to the fetus which results in psychomotor retardation. The health issues around mercury can be particularly bad in the Amazon due to the fact that most people do not realize that mercury poisoning builds up over time and can have no apparent health effects until you have enough to cause significant harm or death (Fearnside 1999).

**The Philippines**

The Philippines is another good example of where the government has shown that they favor the promotion of economic development goals to the detriment of their indigenous people and their cultures. Mining in the Philippines has many negative impacts on the surrounding environment and thus on the people who are native to that area. Mining activities and their run
off are drying out and polluting the area’s water supplies which has a large impact on everything around it. Simply put, water is a necessity for any sort of life and without it cultures cannot survive in the area. Without a reliable safe water supply indigenous people cannot grow the crops that they need to survive. This has caused a large amount of indigenous people to have to vacate their lands just to survive. Which, due to the fact that they are so closely tied to the land, damages their culture and livelihood. In addition to mining, dam projects cause damage to the environment and the culture of the area by reshaping and changing the environment around them. This often leads to large amounts of displaced people and a disconnect from their cultural identity. In addition there are often unwanted results such as siltation of the area surrounding the dams as well as a chance that the impounded water could possibly increase the amounts of chemicals that are dissolved in the water, causing the water to be unsuitable for human consumption, unsuitable for agricultural use and even become toxic for sensitive aquatic organisms (Hughes 2000).

**Malaysia**

Malaysia’s indigenous peoples have long occupied their land and have a deep sense of connection with it. This land is what they base their cultural practices and identities on. When this land is taken from them or they are disposed from it often the result is one of poverty and degradation. The government wants to develop land and sees the indigenous people as “backward”. It believes that their sustainable land use practices such as shifting cultivation are economically unproductive and that they hamper the efficiency of the market forces. As a result of this, the government has ignored what would be considered the indigenous peoples’ customary land rights and has targeted their lands for development to spur economic growth. Large amounts of the rainforest have been replaced with plantations for rubber, palm-oil and
timber trees. Dams have been built that cause disposition and a loss of the resources in the area that they used for their everyday survival causing increased dependence on government assistance simply to survive. The development in these areas causes a loss of the people’s way of life and culture and forces them to assimilate into the mainstream society or die out (Aikens and Leigh 2011).

ANALYSIS

The Xingu watershed and everything that lives in it is coming under threat. The Belo Monte Dam complex is set to use two large canals to divert over 80% of the Xingu Rivers Flow. This will cause a permanent drought in a 62 mile zone of the river known as the Big Bend, and in addition will flood part of the city of Altamira and over 193 square miles of the rainforest (Diamond and Poirier 2010). This will take a huge toll on the indigenous people in the area who rely on the river for everything from travel to feeding their families. The drop in water levels would make it nearly impossible for the tribes to travel to get and sell the goods that they need. In addition, the rise in flooded areas would likely cause an increase in mosquito population and an increase in the mercury in fish as was the case with Brazil’s Tucurui Dam and in the Philippines which leads to health issues. The changes from this dam are expected to result in a marked decline in the water table and as a result there is expected to be a large loss of terrestrial and aquatic fauna. Much like the Aboriginals in Australia and Malaysia’s indigenous natives, the Xingu people are connected to the river in a social, cultural, and spiritual aspect and the loss of it would likely result in a major loss of their cultural identity. In addition to the destruction of the ecosystem the dam complex is expected to displace somewhere between 20,000 to 40,000 people. If the Xinguanos experience anything at all like the Bushman in Botswana did, then they could suffer from venereal diseases, poverty and children who are taught a culture other than
their own at school because the government deems their culture backwards. Even upstream tribes will be negatively affected due to the loss of migratory fish that they eat for survival being blocked by the dams. The Brazilian government claims that they have done hearings and met with the heads of the tribes and come to agreements but many of the chiefs such as Jose Carlos Arara claim that such meetings never took place. Social watchdog groups even claim that the environmental assessment impact for the dam was not done up to standards causing a panel of 40 independent international experts to analyze it (Diamond and Poirier 2010). The conclusions that they came to were that any public hearings were accelerated and forced and the information that was given to the public was incomplete and misleading (Diamond and Poirier 2010). The assessment did not provide studies of adequate sufficiency on how the water table would be effected and what sedimentation could cause, or how likely deforestation would be and the dams’ effect on aquatic mammals. There was also a lack of analysis of how the downstream communities would be effected economically, culturally or socially. They also concluded that there was a severe negligence in the evaluation of the environmental and health risks and that there were underestimations of the size of the population that would be effected and overestimation on how much energy will be generated (Diamond and Poirier 2010). The reason that things such as a loss of resources, forced relocation, and everything stated above will lead to a destruction of the Xinguanos culture is because their culture is directly tied to both the geographic area that they reside in. Their systems of meaning, ways of life, social organizations and identity only exist because they relate to and are embedded specifically in the area that they and their ancestors have lived for centuries (Jentof et al. 2003). To remove them from their home and, or natural resources is to sever the invisible connection of their spirituality and
cultural tie to the land, and as a result will sever the bond that hold that culture together (McDowell 1996).

These people are also protected by the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a 46 article declaration that goes into great detail of what exactly is protected for indigenous people. It states that indigenous people have all the rights and fundamental freedoms as anyone else would have, as well as the right to maintain their social, cultural, political and legal institutions. Something that applies directly to the development of their cultures can be found in Article 8 which states “(1.) Indigenous peoples and individuals have the right not to be subjected to forced assimilation or destruction of their culture. 2.) States shall provide effective mechanisms for prevention of, and redress for: (a) Any action which has the aim or effect of depriving them of their integrity as a distinct peoples, or of their cultural values or ethnic identities; (b) Any action which has the aim or effect of dispossessing them of their lands, territories or resources; (c) Any form of forced population transfer which has the aim or effect of violating or undermining any of their rights; (d) Any form of forced assimilation or integration; (e) Any form of propaganda designed to promote or incite racial or ethnic discrimination directed against them (UN 2008).” If this declaration were actually followed, the government would not be able to build this dam at all, however Brazil’s Lula government has perpetuated a long history of ignoring and violating the rights of its indigenous people to do what it wants (Diamond and Poirier 2010).

**Conclusion**

By connecting the above case studies on development and its effects on the indigenous people, to the information of what is recognized as culture loss and why indigenous people are so tied to their land, it is evident that the Belo Monte Dam Complex will take a very large if not
unfixable toll on the culture of these indigenous people that has been the same for centuries. If the building of the Belo Monte Dam Complex is not stopped, and what has been built be removed, then we can expect the irreplaceable knowledge that these tribes of the Xingu River Basin hold in their society to be lost forever. Unless we follow the articles put down by the United Nations, this river and rainforest that has for so long been a home and source of sustenance and spirituality for these unique people to change in such a way that they will no longer be who they once were. They will be forced to move from their lifelong homes and assimilate into a society that does not share the same values and beliefs that they do and that will lead to the loss of their culture as a whole.
References


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