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Department of Land, Environment Agriculture and
Forestry

Second Cycle Degree (MSc)
in Forest Science

“Too much land, too little Indians”? A media discourse
analysis of Indigenous Lands under the Bolsonaro
government in Brazil

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ACADEMIC YEAR 2021-2022

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Abbreviations and acronyms

ADPF – The Allegation of Noncompliance with a Fundamental Precept (Arguicao de Descumprimento de Preceito Fundamental)

ANM – The National Mining Agency (Agencia Nacional de Mineracao)

APIB – The Articulation of the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (Articulacao dos Povos Indigenas do Brasil)

FUNAI – The National Indian Foundation (Fundacao Nacional do Indio)

GSI – Institutional Security Office (Gabinete de Seguranca Institucional)

IBAMA – The Brazilian Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis)

ILs – Indigenous Lands (Terras Indigenas, TIs)

ISA – The Socioenvironmental Institute (Instituto Socioambiental)

MPV – Provisory Measure (Medida Provisoria)

PL – Project Law (Projeto de Lei)

STF – The Federal Court of Justice (Supremo Tribunal Federal)

UNGA – The United Nations General Assembly

Acknowledgment

I would like to start this section by thanking my number one source of support and inspiration: my mom, Denise. Thank you for raising me to be the woman I am today.

I am beyond grateful to my supervisor Dr Secco, my co-supervisor, Ms Aurelio Padovezi and Dr Treue, for the guidance and assistance throughout this process, and all my professors for the valuable lessons inside and outside class. Also, I thank the SUTROFOR coordination and staff for their support through the tough times.

All my gratitude to my family for all the encouragement and to my Erasmus friends for sharing this bittersweet experience with me. To Mark: thank you for your love and for being my person these last two years.

To the ones that are not with us anymore: losing you has shown me how life is short. I am sure you will celebrate this accomplishment with me wherever you are.

“Veni, Vidi, Vici” - Julius Ceaser, 47 B.C.

Summary

Brazil's development has caused significant damage to the country's natives and territories. The Constitution of 1988 attempted to repair a historical debt to the Indians by granting them permanent possession of territories essential for their survival. President Bolsonaro was elected in 2018 with the discourse of stopping the demarcation of new Indigenous Lands and expanding exploitative economic activities (e.g. mining and agriculture) in these territories. The government has encountered opposition from the Indigenous Populations, that request that their right to demarcation is respected and report the negative impacts the government's speech is causing in their lives and territories.

The media is an important channel where social actors compete for space and representation. While Central actors –like the government – usually have a privileged position, peripheral actors –such as the Indigenous Populations – fight to get recognition and indirectly influence the political process. This thesis aims to study how Indigenous Lands are displayed in online media during Bolsonaro's presidency. The purpose is to understand how issues around ILs are framed, examine if and how the media discourse evolved (from 2019 to 2022), and identify the current dominant and underrepresented discourses by performing a qualitative-based Content Analysis of Brazilian media.

For this study, 379 articles from two popular online newspapers were analysed. The chosen categories of analysis were Themes, Tones and Actors. The themes were also divided into four subthemes. The results have shown that most articles had a negative tone; the most popular theme was Impacts, and the subtheme was Mining. Lastly, Journalists and Central Actors were the main actors in the discourses. The dominant discourses of the government reinforced the speech of Bolsonaro's campaign and portrayed Indians as an obstacle to the country's development. The media's feud towards Bolsonaro has allowed the Indigenous to shift the discourse towards them from savages to a well-organized group within society. Considering that Brazil is going through an election process, this thesis can serve as a source of reflection for the next government to create policies and promote discourses that can ultimately diminish the threats Indigenous populations currently face in the country

Riassunto

Lo sviluppo del Brasile ha causato danni significativi agli indigeni e ai territori del Paese. La Costituzione del 1988 ha tentato di riparare a un debito storico nei confronti dei nativi, concedendo loro il possesso permanente dei loro territori una volta considerati essenziali per la loro sopravvivenza. Il Presidente Bolsonaro è stato eletto nel 2018 con il proposito di sospendere la demarcazione di nuove terre indigene e di espandere le attività economiche di sfruttamento (ad esempio, l'estrazione mineraria e l'agricoltura) in questi territori. Il governo ha incontrato l'opposizione delle popolazioni indigene, che chiedono il rispetto del loro diritto alla demarcazione e denunciano gli impatti negativi che il discorso del governo sta causando nelle loro vite e nei loro territori.

I media sono un canale importante in cui gli attori sociali competono per ottenere spazio e rappresentanza. Mentre gli attori centrali - come il governo - hanno solitamente una posizione privilegiata, gli attori periferici - come le popolazioni indigene - lottano per ottenere il riconoscimento e influenzare indirettamente il processo politico. Questa tesi si propone di studiare come le Terre Indigene vengono mostrate nei media online durante la presidenza di Bolsonaro. L'obiettivo è capire come vengono inquadrate le questioni relative alle terre indigene, esaminare se e come si è evoluto il discorso mediatico (dal 2019 al 2022) e identificare gli attuali discorsi dominanti e sottorappresentati eseguendo un'analisi qualitativa dei contenuti dei media brasiliani.

Per questo studio sono stati analizzati 379 articoli di due popolari giornali online. Le categorie di analisi scelte sono state Temi, Toni e Attori. I temi sono stati inoltre suddivisi in quattro sottotemi. I risultati hanno mostrato che la maggior parte degli articoli aveva un tono negativo; il tema più popolare era Impatti e il sottotema Attività mineraria. Infine, i giornalisti e gli attori centrali sono stati i principali protagonisti dei discorsi. I discorsi dominanti del governo rafforzano il discorso della campagna di Bolsonaro e ritraggono gli indiani come un ostacolo allo sviluppo del Paese. L'atteggiamento dei media nei confronti di Bolsonaro ha permesso agli indigeni di spostare il discorso nei loro confronti da selvaggi a gruppo ben organizzato all'interno della società. Considerando che il Brasile sta attraversando un processo elettorale, questa tesi può servire come fonte di riflessione per il prossimo governo per creare politiche e promuovere discorsi che possano in ultima analisi diminuire le minacce che le popolazioni indigene attualmente affrontano nel Paese.

1. Introduction

1.1. Background

Of the more than 800.000 habitants that declare themselves as indigenous people in Brazil, 57,7% live in territories called Indigenous Lands (ILs) (IBGE, 2010), corresponding to 1.173.776 km² distributed in 726 areas (ISA,2022a). Most of these areas (98,25%) are concentrated in the Amazon Region.

The 1988's Constitution recognized the Indians as the original people of Brazil. It granted them the permanent tenure of their territories, which are essential for maintaining indigenous "social organisation, customs, languages, beliefs, and traditions" (BRA,1988, Art. 231, § 1). However, Indigenous communities don't have the land title, as the ILs continue to be considered public lands and, therefore, cannot be alienated (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992).

Among the Protected areas, the ILs are considered the most effective in protecting biodiversity and acting as a barrier to deforestation, mainly due to the unique relationship Indigenous people entertain with their lands, territories, and resources, as these are central to their livelihood, spirituality, and cultural identity (Feiring, 2013; Kere et al., 2017).

Following his electoral campaign promise, Brazil's current President, Bolsonaro, has not demarcated any Indigenous Lands. His justification is that there is already too much land destined for Indigenous populations and that setting aside more would "bury" the country's agribusiness sector (Said, 2022). Bolsonaro is also one of the prominent advocates of projects such as the PL191/2020 that aim to legalise mining and other economic activities inside ILs (BRA, 2020).

Throughout Bolsonaro's government, indigenous populations have increasingly been victims of land invasion, persecution, and genocide (APIB, 2021). According to the annual report "Violence Against Indigenous People in Brazil- Data from 2021", the cases of land invasion, illegal exploitation of natural resources and damage to patrimony inside ILs tripled from 2018 (109 cases) to 2021 (305 cases) (CIMI, 2021). There were also 176 murders in 2021 and 182 in 2020, higher than the average of 123 per year recorded from 2015-2019 (CIMI, 2021). In total, there were 1294 cases of violence against the

patrimony, 355 cases of violence against the Indigenous person and 221 cases of violence by public omission (CIMI, 2021).

At the beginning of March 2022, while the conflict between Russia and Ukraine captured the world's attention, Bolsonaro used social media to alert the population of the risk of a potassium shortage in the country – once Brazil imports 85% of the mineral, 26% only from Russia and Belorussia (Prazeres, 2022)– and to press the Congress for the approval of the PL191/20 (Clima Info, 2022). Bolsonaro's speech is backed up by other politicians and entrepreneurs in the agribusiness sector and by some indigenous groups with more western values since it represents a profit opportunity (Lima et al., 2020).

On the opposite side, Indigenous leaders see this manoeuvre as a threat to Indigenous rights and the environment (APIB, 2022), and researchers point out that only 11% of the country's potassium is inside ILs; therefore, this exploitation is not necessary once the other reserves can guarantee the supply for the country up until 2089 (Prazeres, 2022). Members of civil society – such as environmentalists, indigenes, and artists –responded to the government by protesting in front of Congress against its socioenvironmental setbacks. Their protest criticized PL191/20 and others that directly impact Indigenous Lands (ILs) – in what was known as the “Act for the Land” (ISPN, 2022).

To understand the implications of the conflict involving the security of land rights and economic exploitation of Indigenous Lands between the Indigenous populations and the Bolsonaro government, we need to consider a critical site of the actor's interaction that can historically shape public opinion: the news media (Ryan et al., 1998). According to how the media chooses to select, interpret, and showcase environmental issues, more (or less) awareness is experienced in public and governmental spheres (Feindt & Oels, 2005; Uzzel, 2000).

The elite and other powerful actors use their privileged position to promote different discursive strategies as a source of persuasion and legitimisation of their political values, indirectly controlling the beliefs and the recipients' actions (Van Dijk, 2006; Huang, 2020). Marginalised communities and other new actors, on the contrary, try to gain benefits by using strategies such as conflict, critique, and resistance, but their limited access to mainstream media and the low diversity of messages being transmitted

traditionally represent a significant challenge to such groups (Ryan et al., 1998; Shannon, 2003).

The Brazilian media is characterised by an “oligarchic ownership,” in which ten family-owned companies are the owners of the most critical channels. This configuration represents an obstacle to the free press in the country once the sector suffers many interferences from politics, religion, and the economy (RSF, 2022; Hughes & Lawson, 2005).

An important example is how Brazil portrays the agribusiness industry positively once the media owners are closely connected to the agribusiness sector (Gagliardi et al., 2021). Issues that challenge the dominant “*Agro is tech; Agro is Pop, Agro is everything*” – as a reference to a famous commercial in which Agro (short for agribusiness) is portrayed as the country’s leading economic sector (Mitidiero Junior & Goldfarb, 2021) –, are criticised, or more often, underrepresented.

Since his election, Bolsonaro has distanced himself from the “traditional media.” Respected news outlets, such as the *Folha de Sao Paulo*, have positioned themselves against the President, being accused of spreading fake news and suffering boycotts (Machado et al., 2021). Bolsonaro has been – for three consecutive years – the primary author of direct attacks on Brazilian journalists and news vehicles, with 147 occurrences (FENAJ, 2022). His strategy includes constantly using his social media to spread disinformation and hate speeches among his supporters (Tenorio, 2022).

In what I consider a tragic coincidence, the most recent example of violence against a Brazilian journalist – the murder of Dom Phillips and Bruno Pereira in the Vale do Javari (AM) region– is also connected to the indigenous conflicts in the Brazilian Amazon. Well-known activists among the indigenous and environmental communities, their disappearance gained national and international notoriety in the newspapers, especially for the disregard with which the Brazilian government and its President treated the issue (Projeto Comprova, 2022; Almeida, 2022).

Hence, while Bolsonaro’s behaviour has weakened the relationship between the media and the government also created an opportunity for the peripheral actors – including

environmentalists and indigenous populations – to reach higher visibility inside a channel that traditionally focuses on elitist discourses.

1.2. Problem statement and motivation

Indigenous populations have a crucial role in the sustainable management and protection of the Amazon forests, the country, and the world. Their particular relation to nature, in which all creatures are sacred, entails that Indigenes should have not only the right to the usufruct of their traditional lands but also the duty to preserve the environment for future generations (Heinämaa, 2010).

The State's role, in this context, is to design appropriate policies to reduce the threats to this population. But, for many governments and institutions, ILs are 'unoccupied' and 'unproductive', therefore needing to be developed through large-scale agribusiness (IWGIA, 2014). The widespread of this discourse can significantly affect the indigenous populations.

In the case of Brazil, although some publications have used media coverage to showcase Bolsonaro's discourses and their impacts on the environment, public health, and other societal issues (see Araujo & Campos, 2022; Gagliardi et al., 2021; Martins et al., 2022), there is limited attention of scientific publications regarding the role of Bolsonaro's discourses on indigenous people. Only one article – "The Indigenous and their rights threatened by statements of a president" by Pires (2020) – has purportedly attempted to create the link between how his speech has increased the threats to the indigenous populations by analysing 15 news articles.

For this reason, I chose this topic for my thesis. The amplified sample size and time frame will offer a more detailed picture of Bolsonaro's administration's impact on Indigenous populations, primarily through their rights to territories.

Also, by shedding light on the discourses present in the media, this work can contribute to the ongoing discussion of "decolonisation." As many authors point out, the media traditionally portrays the indigenous peoples as savages, a heritage of the colonisation

process that lives inside the collective imaginary of Brazilian society (Nascimento, 2018). According to such a view, Indigenous populations represent, at the same time, irrational beings – and a threat to development – or, if they have contact with modern technology, too civilised to benefit from the rights reserved for the *original* indigenous (Galvao, 2020; Nascimento, 2018). Understanding the current dominant discourses is therefore essential to see if Bolsonaro’s detachment from the traditional media has contributed positively to the indigenous cause, opening space for new discourses to emerge.

Lastly, I have worked with indigenous and other traditional communities in the Brazilian Amazon. Therefore, my experiences with the area's economic pressures are a personal driver for developing this topic for my thesis.

This MSc thesis aims to provide a scientific contribution to a more well-nuanced and consolidated understanding of how Indigenous populations and territories are affected by the dominant discourses promoted by the government and the role of the media in perpetuating such discourses. Considering Brazil is currently going through a presidential election process, this work can also be a source of reflection for the next government, suggesting what to adjust in the actions – both in governmental policy and communication through the media – to ultimately create policies and promote discourses that can diminish the threats these populations face.

1.3.Objectives and research questions

This work aims to fill the research gap related to the effects of media discourses on Indigenous populations and territories, as they are not only essential for the conservation of the Brazilian Amazon Rainforest but also for mitigating the impacts of climate change worldwide. To achieve this, I aim to understand how Indigenous Lands and populations were framed during Bolsonaro’s government, examine if and how the media discourse evolved (from 2019 to 2022), and identify the current dominant and underrepresented discourses. Regarding the objectives, the specific research questions are:

- **How have online media framed ILs throughout Bolsonaro’s government?**

The research question focuses on detecting all the different discourses regarding ILs in

selected online newspapers ¹and news portals during the studied time frame (2019-2022).

- **Which are the dominant/ underrepresented discourses?**

The research question aims to highlight which narratives are dominant/underrepresented in online media and identify the general categories of actors responsible for the different discourses this research portrays.

- **How is the interaction between such discourses and government policies and actions?**

The research question intends to highlight the most important events that showcase Bolsonaro's government speeches and concrete actions that somehow generated a response from the media.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 overviews this work, setting out the research questions and objectives based on the background information, problem statement, and personal motivations to pursue the chosen topic.

Chapter 2 introduces the study's relevant theories, including the terminology used throughout the work and the main theoretical concepts on which this author based the research.

In Chapter 3, the research methodology is presented. After briefly describing the chosen method in the first section, the following section displays the Case Study. The Data Collection and the Data Analysis processes are described step-by-step to ensure the reliability of the work.

The main empirical findings of this analysis are then displayed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 showcases the discussion of the results and their limitations. Finally, Chapter 6 focuses on the conclusions drawn from the results and my recommendations for future research.

¹ The online newspapers were selected based on popularity (See Data Collection). The two selected ones were *Folha de Sao Paulo* and *Estadao*.

2. Theoretical background

This chapter presents the theoretical background on which I have based this work. It is organised into two parts: the definitions (2.1) and the theoretical approach (2.2).

2.1. Definitions

According to the Brazilian Indigenous Statute, an *Indigenous* is: “Any individual of pre-Columbian origin and descent who identifies himself and is identified as belonging to an ethnic group whose cultural characteristics distinguish him from the national society” (BRA, 1973, Art. 3 I).

And an *Indigenous Community* can be defined as: “a group of Indian families or communities, either living in a state of complete isolation from other sectors of the national community or in intermittent or permanent contacts, without, however, being integrated into them” (BRA, 1973, Art. 3, II).

Indigenous Lands, mainly referred to here as IL, are the lands traditionally occupied by indigenous communities. The government must perform its identification and demarcation, therefore, safeguarding them from other exploratory uses, guarantying the indigenous communities’ rights to perform their productive activities, preserving the environmental resources needed for their well-being, and maintaining cultural aspects according to their traditions (BRA, 1988).

The *demarcation* is an administrative process in which the National Indigenous Foundation (FUNAI) and other Executive agencies – according to the decree nº 1775/96 – identify and signalise the limits of an Indigenous Territory throughout a series of steps that, among others: carry out anthropologic studies, identify and remove non-indigenous settlers, and register the ILs in The Union’s Patrimony Secretary (FUNAI, 2022). The *homologation* corresponds to the part of the demarcation process in which the IL is created by a presidential Decree (FUNAI, 2022).

Agribusiness is “an industry engaged in the producing operations of a farm, the manufacture and distribution of farm equipment and supplies, and the processing, storage, and distribution of farm commodities” (Merriam-Webster, 2022).

2.2. Theoretical approach

2.2.1. The Discourses

Although several definitions can be used, this work will focus on *discourses* as "an ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). According to Arts & Buizer (2009), there are four ways discourse can be perceived: as communication, as text, as a frame, and as social practice. For this thesis, I choose the discourse approach as a "frame of meaning" since it is specifically helpful for policy analysis and planning.

To study discourses – performing a *discourse analysis* – is to interpret the language in use, assuming that what is perceived as "truth" is socially constructed. Therefore, its meaning is embedded in a larger historical, cultural, and political context (Wetherell et al., 2003; Hajer & Versteeg, 2005).

Arts & Buizer (2009) argue that discourses result from people's experiences and history and are intimately connected to their thoughts and the social network they belong to. Here, language is seen as a medium from which people try to influence others' behaviour. To gather support and influence, actors often need to translate their grievances into larger discourses. They use specific terms in a text that can lead to the desired interpretation (Lindekilde, 2014).

2.2.2. Actors and the Media

In policy, the term *actors* refer to individuals or groups directly or indirectly connected to the policy process at any stage and affected by its outcomes (Shannon, 2003). *Central actors* are the public stakeholders within the political system – such as national and regional politicians, the judiciary power and government administration. The *peripheral actors* are members of civil society – such as indigenous groups, NGOs, scientists, and entrepreneurs (Park, 2009; Kleinschmit and Krott, 2008; as cited in Feindt and Kleinschmit, 2011).

The Media is a channel where the actors can share their opinions and interests. The media can also selectively display issues that will influence public opinion, therefore having an

indirect role in the policy process once it can impact the actors' reputation – e.g., a politician aiming for re-election (Sadath & Rahman, 2016).

Media discourse is a form of interaction that "takes place through a broadcast platform, whether spoken or written, in which the discourse is oriented to a non-present reader, listener or viewer." (O'Keeffe, 2011, p.441). Prior the audiences were mere receivers of the discourses. With the technological changes, the Media is instantaneous. The receiver can actively comment, participate in discussions, and share with others through social networks that will also participate, creating a "ripple effect" (O'Keeffe, 2011). Such change can represent an opportunity for other actors to gain power and status once this more democratic participation disrupts the alliance between the traditional media and the political elites (Popkin, 2006).

Usually, the power of influence of an actor is correlated to his *media standing*. This concept refers "to a group being treated as an actor with voice, not merely as an object being discussed by others" (Ferree et al., 2002, p. 13). It relates to the group's resources, the importance it brings to the issue and its strength compared to other groups (Feindt and Kleinschmit, 2011).

Traditionally, central actors have a prominent role in the media once they perform decision-making within the policy framework (Sadath & Rahman, 2016). Peripheral actors, opposingly, influence the media mainly indirectly, organising events or using something that has already happened to generate a debate that can potentially benefit their cause. A common strategy is to use crisis events once they receive more extensive attention from the media, in what is called the 'paradox of disaster' (Prittwez, 1990; Sadath & Rahman, 2016).

2.2.3. The Affective Attribute Agenda Setting

The second level of agenda-setting is concerned with the tone used by the media to emphasise specific characteristics of an object. Such tones (positive, negative, neutral) suggest the evaluation of the media regarding the matter and, therefore, can influence public opinion, affecting the criteria people use to evaluate the performance of political actors (Sheafer, 2007).

3. Research Methodology

The research aims to investigate how the Brazilian Media frames issues around ILs in the period of Bolsonaro's government, the current dominant and underrepresented discourses and explore the interaction between the media and the government actions by performing a Content Analysis.

3.1. Research Approach

This author chose Content Analysis to analyse how the media portrays Indigenous Lands in the Brazilian Amazon. Content Analysis is a research method that aims to make “replicable and valid inferences from texts to the contexts of their use” (Krippendorff, 2004, pg. 18). This work follows the Qualitative Content Analysis scheme that views qualitative research as a dynamic process in which the researcher uses existing literature and personal experience to justify inferences when evaluating a group of texts. Also, part of the process is the recontextualisation, reinterpretation, and redefinition of research questions, eventually leading to a satisfying interpretation (Krippendorff 2004).

Secondary data acquired from online media is the primary data source for this research. The selection of online media to perform the analysis was not randomly chosen. The use of web-based data in content analysis is advantageous once it “allows researchers to perform and prepare data at their convenience without the need for lengthy ethics approval procedures” (Kim & Kuljis, 2010, pg. 287) while also “being suitable to answer research questions about representation and construction to explore the sociocultural implications around a specific topic” (Nam, 2019, pg. 21).

The research investigates how ILs are portrayed by Brazilian online newspapers during Bolsonaro's administration from 2019 to 2022. Such an extended time frame aims to capture the changes in discourse over time. After applying the selection criteria, 379 articles from two online news portals were examined. The articles were then classified according to a Code System, aiming to answer the research questions by identifying,

describing, and summarising the critical meanings inside the researcher's collection of texts (Drisko & Maschi, 2015)².

The Data Analysis was performed by dividing the articles based on three different main categories: Theme, Tone, and Actor. The findings were then compared with the results of a triangulation of media content, a timeline of government and parliamentary movements on IL issues, and a review of grey literature on the subject (Appendix 1).

3.2. Case Study: Indigenous Lands in the Brazilian Amazon

Brazil is once more attracting media attention over its socio-environmental issues. Home to 60% of the Amazon, a rainforest with unprecedented richness in biodiversity and cultural diversity - composed of different cultural groups such as indigenous, “quilombolas” (afro-descendant), and river-basin communities – the country faces a political and environmental crisis (Athayde et al., 2022).

After tackling deforestation rates extensively during the last decade through command-and-control policies and market incentives – achieving the lowest annual deforestation rate in 2012 (4571 km²) (INPE 2021) – Brazil's current government have taken the opposite direction. The deforestation rates in the Amazon region have reached their highest rate in 15 years (13 200 km²) (INPE 2021) under Bolsonaro's administration, mainly due to a range of environmental setbacks that includes the dismantling of public institutions, amnesty for environmental crimes, as well as the advance of infrastructural projects and agribusiness initiatives within Conservation Units and Indigenous Lands (IL) (Trancoso 2021).

Among the Protected areas, the ILs are considered the most effective in protecting biodiversity and acting as a barrier to deforestation. Between 2000 and 2014 (Figure 1),

² To develop the research process and report, I took inspiration from Nam's (2019) MSc thesis: *The conservation of Son Tra Nature Reserve in Da Nang City, Vietnam: A media discourse analysis*. Similarities are found on the selection of newspapers, coding process, reporting of results and table formulations.

only 2% of the total deforestation happened inside Amazonian ILs, while the average for the rest of the region was 19%. Most deforestation is due to illegal invasions of outsiders and is connected to illegal logging, mining, and the expansion of the agricultural frontier (Feiring, 2013; IPAM, 2015).

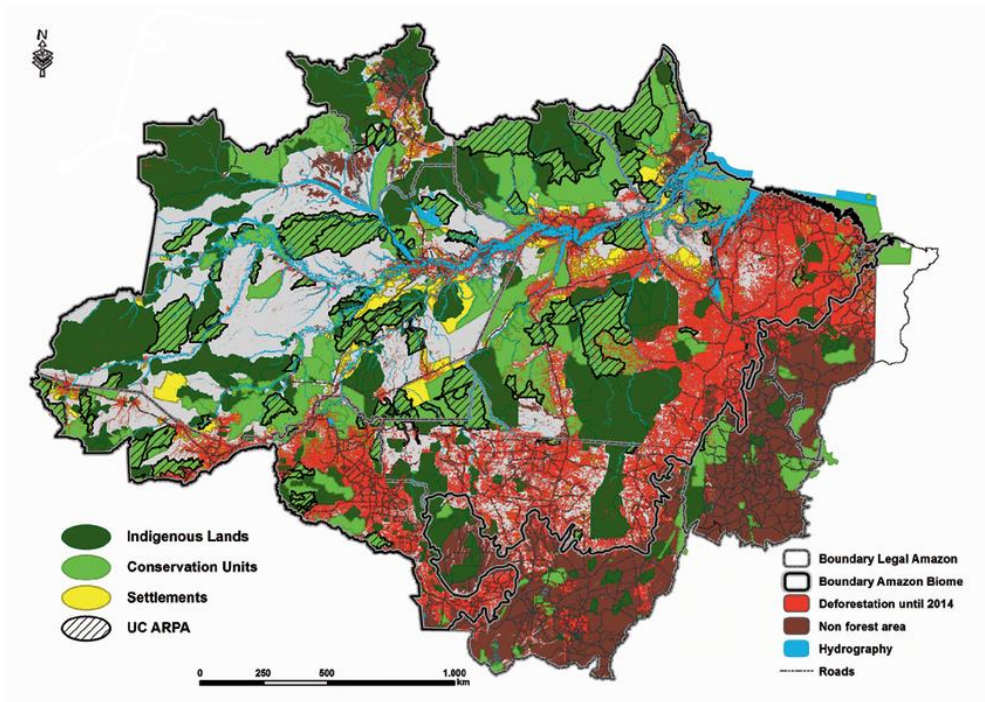


Figure 1: Deforestation in the Brazilian Amazon and the role of Indigenous Lands and Conservation Units in containing forest destruction. (Source: Moutinho et al, 2015)

In Brazil, over 800.000 habitants declare themselves as indigenous people, and from this total, 57,7% live in Indigenous Lands (IBGE, 2010), corresponding to a territory of 1.173.776 km² distributed in 726 areas (ISA, 2022a). Of this total, 98.25% is in the Brazilian Amazon; after Brazil's colonisation—which led to the massacre of entire populations and land grabbing in the coastal region – the remaining indigenous were forced to isolate themselves in remote areas (ISA, 2022a).

Throughout the centuries, indigenous populations were seen as “ignorant,” “lazy,” and “an obstacle to the development of the nation.” As a result, most Brazilian policies aimed to promote their integration through cultural decharacterisation. In 1988, indigenous rights were included in the Constitution due to an indigenous activist movement in the 70s combined with the country's transition from a dictatorship to a democracy (Colaco, 2007).

The Constitution recognises the indigenous populations' right to express their "social organisation, customs, languages, beliefs and traditions" and the permanent possession of the lands traditionally occupied by them, including "the exclusive use of the riches of the soil, rivers, and lakes existing therein" (Art. 231, § 1). In contrast, the Union remains in ownership of the land (Art. 20, XI) and the natural resources once – if considered strategic for the country's development – the National Congress can approve the development of activities such as energy generation research and mining. Such approval can only be carried out "after a prior hearing with the communities involved, being assured of their participation in the exploration results" (Art. 231, § 3) (BRA, 1988).

Although the Constitutional Law represents a significant step in recognising indigenous rights in Brazil, it lacks actual effectiveness. The five-year deadline for the State to finish the demarcation of ILs was not respected, and in 2022, from the 728 Indigenous territories, only 487 were homologated (ISA, 2022b). This situation has been aggravated during the last four years. Since the beginning of his presidential campaign, Bolsonaro made clear that during his government, "not a centimetre more" will be destined for what he calls the "land demarcation industry". Until now, he has kept his promise. His government allies an integrationist speech with strong militarisation as a strategy to develop Brazil's economy, in which the Indigenous Lands are seen as an obstacle.

The government's agenda has brought consequences for the ILs and the Indians. They are represented by the increased rates of deforestation, land invasion, and conflicts – with the highest number (171.625 families involved in 2020) since 1985, in which 96.931(56%) are indigenous families (APIB, 2021) -, the current policy discussions in the National Congress and Federal Supreme Court (STF) that includes the regulation of mining and other economic activities (PL191/2020), and the establishment of a "time frame" for demarcation (PL490/2007) — meaning lands would only be transformed in ILs if they were already occupied by indigenous communities by the time of the approval of Brazil's Constitution, on October 5th, 1988 (APIB, 2021).

The government's lack of assistance to the Indigenes is also notorious during the pandemic. According to the *International Dossier on Complaints by the Indigenous Peoples of Brazil* (APIB, 2021), 1100 indigenes lost their lives for the Covid 19, only 1% of the total vaccination budget was executed, and the government distributed hydrochloroxine – an ineffective medication for treating the disease – to such populations.

The document also lists the several law projects threatening their land rights – and violating human rights – under discussion in the National Congress.

3.3. Data collection

3.3.1. Period of Research

The timeframe for this study is three and a half years of Bolsonaro’s presidency mandate, from January 2019 to July 2022. Such a vast timeline is vital to observe the changes in the discourse over time.

3.3.2. Identifying Suitable Online Platforms

Brazil has diverse digital media channels, including online versions of the country’s most popular newspapers and magazines, web portals, government official channels, organisations’ websites, personal blogs, and social media. However, to be relevant, the portal needs reliable sources of information, owns many readers, and holds numerous regularly shared articles on social networking sites (Nam, 2019).

To select the most influential news websites, the author based on two different popularity rankings made by the websites – Top10 (2022) and MyBest (2022). To increase the confiability, I also consulted the media ranking by likes, created by the portal “*Eleicoes sem Fake*” (Elections without Fake) by the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG, 2022). The selected outlets were the ones that were cited in at least two of the three rankings, as follows:

Table 1: Brazil’s most popular online media portals as ranked by Top10, MyBest, and UFMG.

Source: own elaboration

| Name | Communication Group | Founded in | Number of Likes | Website |
|---------------------------|---------------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>GI</i> | Globo | 1965 | 10.561.801 | www.g1.globo.com |
| <i>UOL</i> | UOL | 1996 | 8.244.078 | www.uol.com.br |
| <i>R7</i> | Record TV | 1953 | 13.530.443 | www.r7.com |
| <i>Folha de Sao Paulo</i> | Grupo Folha | 1921 | 5.855.299 | www.folha.uol.com.br |
| <i>Yahoo! Noticias</i> | Not available | 1994 | Not available | br.noticias.yahoo.com |

| | | | | |
|----------------|---------------|------|-----------|---------------------------|
| <i>Estadão</i> | Grupo Estado | 1875 | 3.575.578 | www.estadao.com.br |
| <i>Terra</i> | Not available | 2000 | 4.902.409 | www.terra.com.br/noticias |

3.3.3. Preliminary Search

After selecting the most popular portals, the author conducted a preliminary search directly on the online interface of the websites by typing the keywords "Terra Indígena Amazonia Governo Bolsonaro" (Indigenous Land Amazon Bolsonaro Government) on the search box. The research is extended by setting up the time frame (01/01/2019-05/07/2022). The selected articles were the ones that obeyed two requirements: (a) content (any article detected article related to ILs) and the period (from 2019 to 2022).

An unexpected outcome was that some portals redirected the search to Google, selecting news from sources other than the actual website or not allowing the author to set up a timeframe. This was because instead of producing their news, they made available the news produced by other media. For this reason, the portals *UOL*, *R7*, *Yahoo! Noticias*, and *Terra* were eliminated and will not be used in this research. For the other websites, the number of related articles for the period of 01/2019 to 07/2022 is listed as follows:

Table 2: Preliminary statistics of the number of related articles in online portals by personal observation during 2019-2022. Source: own elaboration

| Name | Results for the Selected Period |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>G1</i> | Not available |
| <i>Folha de Sao Paulo</i> | 268 |
| <i>Estadão</i> | 679 |

Table 2 showcases the preliminary research, composed of two hybrid newspapers (*Estadão* and *Folha de Sao Paulo*) and national news portals (*G1*). Although all three websites represent reliable sources of information, with a significant number of likes and a long tradition in the sector, the fact that *G1* does not display the number of related articles represents a difficulty in determining the research population. Therefore, the author has decided only to use *Estadão* and *Folha de Sao Paulo* to compose the database, resulting in 947 articles.

3.3.4. Selection Criteria

To ensure validity, the author revisited the search to eliminate the articles that did not follow the research criteria. This was performed by (1) eliminating broken links and articles that only present reader comments (mainly in the *Estadao* platform), (2) reading the title and introduction to eliminate articles not concerned with this research, and (3) using the keywords “Terra indigena” as a strategy for content skimming. The retained articles are the ones in which at least one paragraph discusses the research subject, specifically Indigenous Lands. Table 3 presents the results after this step. 379 articles were queried at this stage, spanning three and a half years, from January 2019 until July 2022.

Table 3: Selected articles in online portals after application of selection criteria for 2019-2022.

(Source: own elaboration)

| Name | Results for the Selected Period |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>Folha de Sao Paulo</i> | 187 |
| <i>Estadao</i> | 192 |

The items were then exported, saved as a PDF and included in the data set, following the DDMMYY_NAME template. Specifically, DDMMYY represents the publications period (day, month, year), while NAME corresponds to the newspaper that published such news (ES for *Estadao* and FL for *Folha de Sao Paulo*). For example, an article published in *Estadao* on 15th July 2020 will be named 160720_ES.

Suppose two or more articles are published on the same day and by the exact information vehicle. In that case, the letters A, B, and so on will be added to the end of the document, following the chronological order of publication, and, when published at the same time, the criteria used was following the alphabetical order by looking at the first word of the title. A table containing the articles' codes, titles, date of publication and newspaper is included in Annex 2.

3.4. Data analysis

This study analyses the data gathered using the Qualitative Content Analysis methodology. In this type of analysis, data collection and analysis are done simultaneously. The codes are generated inductively from the data, allowing the researchers more flexibility to capture Context and Nuance (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). The analysis consists of three steps: reading and familiarising the data (3.4.1), coding (3.4.2) and finalising the code system (3.4.3). More clarification on each step will be given in the following sections.

3.4.1. Reading and Familiarization

Familiarising yourself with the data set is the first step in data analysis. By being “immersed in the data,” one can gather a sense of the context and the actual contents that will then be used to create the code system (Drisko & Maschi, 2015; Nam, 2019). This step was performed concurrently with data collection by skimming through the article’s title and body to decide either to include them or exclude them from my dataset. After that, through the coding process, each article as many times as necessary (but no less than three times) to extract (a) the valence, (b) themes and subthemes, and (c) actors.

3.4.2. Coding

For this work, I chose inductive coding which researchers base themselves on their data to develop categories that best capture the contents found (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). The coding process was then performed on Atlas.ti Web program (licensed version), with each article imported in PDF format.

3.4.2.1. Categories

I started the coding process by identifying “tentative” categories based on my theoretical background and the research questions. Throughout the process, these categories were revised and reduced, creating main categories – which encompass most of the data – and subcategories – describing the details and nuances within each category (Mayring, 2000; Drisko & Maschi, 2015). For this study, the three final categories defined are Themes, Tones, and Actors.

The code system was first reviewed after analysing $\frac{1}{4}$ of the articles to improve reliability and follow the suggestions made by Mayring (2000, figure 1). Such a procedure excludes non or rarely-used codes while reassessing the coding hierarchy (Drisko & Maschi, 2015). A new review was done at the end of the first newspaper (approximately half of the articles). With the code system updated, I moved to the next newspaper. Once the analysis was over, the final adjustments were made to the code, including modifying titles and descriptions and merging similar issues.

3.4.2.2. Coding Rules

Some rules were obeyed during the coding process to minimise errors. They are the following:

- a) *Valid Article* – an article with at least one paragraph discussing Indigenous Lands inside the Brazilian Amazon, either covering a specific IL or general.
- b) *Texts* – for this analysis, only the main text will be considered. Therefore images, captions, schemes, and other visual aids added to the news will not be coded.
- c) *Discourse Quotations* – the unit of analysis is based on paragraphs. Therefore, a paragraph will be condensed and counted as a discourse unit. Unclear and unmeaningful paragraphs will not be selected.
- d) *Code* – The selected units will be classified into tentative categories based on their descriptions and, when ambiguous or hard to classify, based on the coder's understanding. When a new category is identified, the coder can add it to the list. During the first review, codes that were only used a couple of times (less than ten times) will be excluded or, if possible, grouped into another category. The permanent coding list - with descriptions – and theme grouping will be performed during the final review.
- e) *Tone* – corresponds to how the media, based on affective attributes, can influence how society evaluates political performance, the so-called media priming (Sheafer, 2007). According to this idea, the articles' titles and subtitles will be analysed based on the media's position regarding the government (support, criticise, or remain neutral) in the news. The value will be assigned (Positive, Negative, or Neutral), respectively.
- f) *Themes* – There should not be any overlapping of themes. If the coder identifies more than one theme happening in the same paragraph, he must interpret the

paragraphs and choose the central theme, meaning the theme that receives more attention from the writers.

- g) *Actor* – Journalists are considered the authors of any discourse that cannot be pinned on other actors. Direct or indirect citations – such as interviews and speech quotations – were assigned to the authors responsible for them. Quotes can be considered opinions – when the person speaks for himself – or part of an administrative unit or organisation – when the person says in the name of a political party, NGO, company, etc. Both codes shall be applied if two or more authors are cited in the same paragraphs. Also, when the same individual represents two or more different authors (e.g., an indigenous congressperson will be coded as peripheral – indigenous leadership – and central author – Opposition).

Figure 2 brings an example of how the code was performed. The steps were the following: (a) analyse the title and subtitle to determine the tone and (b) attribute one theme for each selected paragraph, and (c) attribute one or more authors for each paragraph. An observation: the paragraphs that were not relevant to the research – meaning they didn't directly relate to ILs – were not coded.

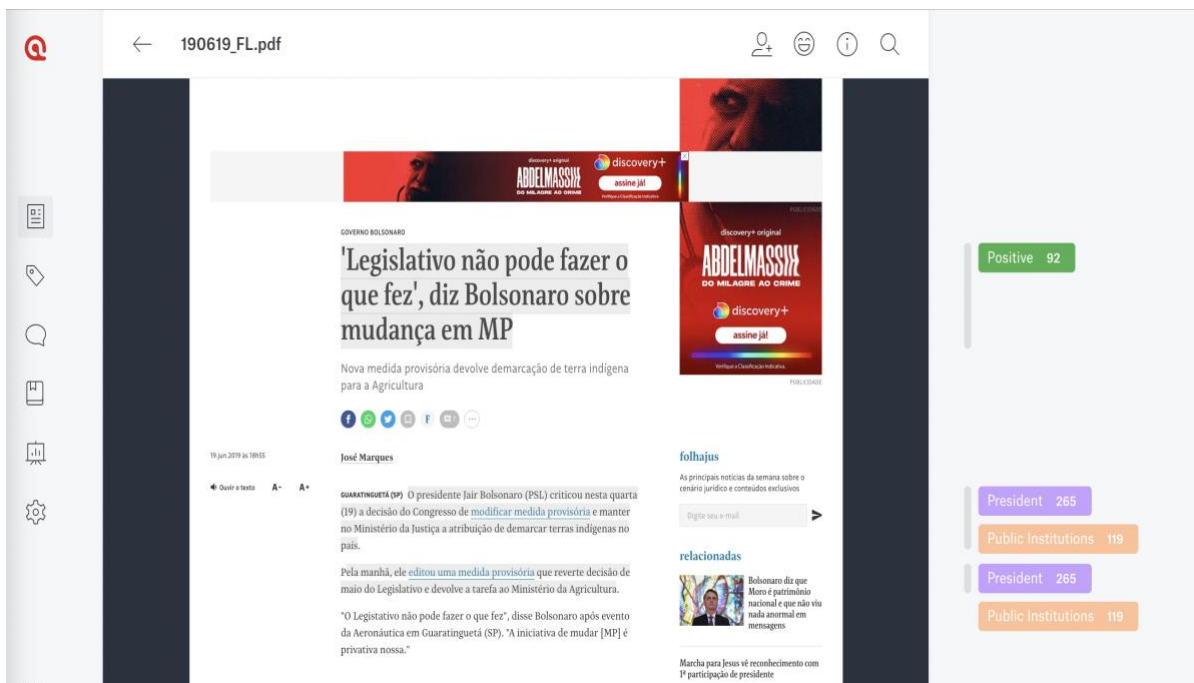


Figure 2: Example of a coded article using the Atlas.ti Web. Each file corresponds to one news article containing the file name, text, and applied codes. (Source: screenshot, own elaboration)

3.4.3. The Code System

Table 4 presents the final version of the Code System, obtained after analysing the 379 articles and the performance of the last review. The table contains the codes and descriptions corresponding to the criteria used to separate them into each category.

Table 4: Codes and descriptions for the final categories: Tone, Actors, and Themes.
(Source: own elaboration)

| TONE | |
|---------------------------------|--|
| Positive | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> News articles that support the current government concerning the ILs |
| Negative | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> News articles that oppose the current government concerning the ILs |
| Neutral | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> News articles that neither oppose nor support the current government concerning the ILs News articles that bring up other issues that involve the ILs but are not related to the government |
| ACTORS | |
| Journalists | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Journalists:</i> journalists, columnists, consultants, and others that represent the newspaper's opinion |
| Central Actors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>the President</i> <i>Central government (allies):</i> representatives of the Ministry of Justice, Ministry of Agriculture, IBAMA, FUNAI, National Congress, Chamber of Deputies, and others <i>Opposition:</i> authors that are part of the central government (Legislative, Executive or Judiciary) but position themselves against the current government <i>Regional/local government:</i> governmental authorities from the Amazon states or municipalities such as mayors, city councillors, governors, etc |
| Peripheral Actors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Indigenous:</i> Indigenous leadership, communities, and associations <i>Scientists & Experts</i> <i>Civil Society:</i> Civil society individuals, NGOs, church representatives, land invaders, and miners. <i>Enterprises:</i> members of enterprises in mining, agribusiness, and associations of enterprises |
| THEMES | |
| <i>Indigenous Rights</i> | |
| Consultation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> the process of Consultation and consent of Indigenous Communities regarding initiatives in their lands |

| | |
|--|--|
| Land Demarcation & Homologation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • demarcation of new ILs; ILs in which the process was completed (homologated); discussion regarding the “time frame” of 1988 |
| Land Protection | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the duty of the State to protect Indigenous Territories, according to the Brazilian Constitution |
| Traditional Lands | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • extension of ILs, expression of culture and identity, indigenous rights to the land, and self-determination |
| <i>Government Actions</i> | |
| Development Projects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Development of roads and other infrastructure projects inside ILs |
| Operations | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Operations that are performed by governmental agencies (such as FUNAI, IBAMA, and Federal Police) with the objectives of monitoring deforestation and land invasions and providing indigenous healthcare, among others |
| Project Law | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refers to Project Law 191/20, which aims to regulate the exploitation of mineral, water, and organic resources in ILs |
| Public Institutions | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes inside the FUNAI and other government agencies responsible for the Indigenous Populations |
| <i>Economic Activities</i> | |
| Agribusiness | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activities such as Agriculture, cattle ranching, plantation of transgenics inside ILs |
| Mining | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mining activity inside ILs, including licenses to research the mining potential and illegal/legal mining activities |
| <i>Impacts</i> | |
| Environmental Degradation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Adverse impacts on the environment due to deforestation, forest degradation, fires, timber exploitation, contamination of water and soil, etc |
| Environmental Protection & Conservation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positive impacts on the environment due to the presence of ILs and populations, such as carbon storage, climate regulation, a barrier to deforestation, protection of habitats |
| Indigenous Activism & Resistance | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Acts performed by the Indigenous Populations to protect their land and other rights, such as national/international campaigns, protests, barriers, letters to the State |
| Land Conflicts | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Land invasions, land grabbing, land leases, overlapping property titles |
| Violence | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Physical violence against indigenous populations and supporters of the indigenous cause, including the destruction of patrimony, armed conflicts, murder |

| | |
|--|--|
| | <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Moral damages, such as the spread of fake news, defamation, calumny, persecution• Threats to the physical health of Indigenous Populations, such as Covid-19 and other diseases |
|--|--|

4. Results

In this chapter, the results of the data analysis are presented. Section 4.1 focuses on the main events connected to the ILs, while Section 4.2 explores the tone used by the journalists. Section 4.3. aims to showcase the actors behind the discourses, while Section 4.4. shows the different discourses found in online media during the selected time frame.

4.1.Relevant Political Events Related to the Topic

Table 5 summarises the most important events connected to the ILs during the studied period. The sections below describe each event in more detail, according to what was found in official government documents and speeches. For comparison, the media's coverage (meaning the number of discourses for the period, according to quartiles) was also included.

Table 5: The most outstanding events related to ILs from 2019 until 2022 (source: own elaboration)

| Period (month/year) | Main Event | Media Response (discourses/quartile) |
|--------------------------------|--|---|
| 01/2019 | Bolsonaro signs the MPV870/19 that transfers the ILs demarcation to the Ministry of Agriculture | 118 |
| 09/2019 | Bolsonaro's speech at the 74 th UNGA. "The natives are human beings just like us." | 343 |
| 02/2020 | The government presents the PL191/20, which aims to regulate mining and other economic activities inside ILs | 164 |
| 08/2020 | The STF demands action from the government to protect indigenous against the Covid-19 | 169 |
| 09/2021 | Bolsonaro's speech at the 76 th UNGA. "The Indigenous wish to use their land for agriculture and other activities." | 161 |
| 12/2021 | the Chamber of Deputies demands (RIC 1457/21) a response from the government regarding the approval of 81 authorizations for the exploration of gold inside ILs and other reserves | 144 |
| 03/2022 | The Chamber of Deputies approves the Urgency Request n. 2 7/2022 to vote for the PL191/20 | 229 |
| 06/2022 | DPU (Civil Public Action 1004249-82.2018.4.01.3200) reported FUNAI's posture regarding the disappearance of Bruno and Dom. | 273 |

| | | |
|--|--|--|
| | | |
|--|--|--|

1. *01.2019* – Bolsonaro signs the MPV870 that reconfigures the organisation of the leading entities related to the Presidency and the Ministries. The decision that directly affected the ILs was transferring the obligation of demarcating lands from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Agriculture (BRA, 2019). Later, the measure was approved and transformed in Law n.13844/19, but the National Congress vetoed this specific change, keeping the demarcation process and the FUNAI under the Ministry of Justice.
2. *09.2019* – Bolsonaro gives a speech at the 74th United Nations General Assembly (UNGA) opening. Some of the remarks the President made concerning Indigenous People and Territories were: attributing the responsibility behind fires to cultural practices made by indigenous and other traditional communities; declaring that Brazil will not increase the territory marked as ILs from 14% to 20% and that “native peoples are human beings, exactly like any one of us”; and criticising the power foreign governments and NGOs have over Indigenous Populations personally citing Cacique Raoni, a well-known Indigenous leadership in the country (FUNAG, 2019).
3. *02.2020* – The government presents the PL191/20, which aims to alter articles 176 and 231 of the Constitution, establishing the specific conditions for mining and other economic activities inside ILs and compensation for the Indigenous Populations. According to the proposal, the President forward requests of financial exploitation inside ILs even if the affected communities are against it if dully justified (Art 14, 2); the mining activities inside areas considered strategics regarding the presence of minerals can be defined by the ANM (National Mining Agency) without previous technical studies (Art. 33, 2); in case of the mining exploitation happens inside an IL not demarcated, the Congress has four years to approve the activity, and in the meantime, the economic activities can still be performed temporarily while waiting for their authorisation (Art 37, 3) (BRA, 2020a).
4. *08.2020* – Based on a requirement by the APIB and opposition parties, the STF presents the ADPF709 (Argument of Brach of Fundamental Precautions), in which the government inertia regarding the contention of the Covid-19 inside ILs is considered to put indigenous populations in danger of genocide. The document

- also demands action from the government to protect these populations, including installing barriers and removing invaders from ILs (BRA, 2020b).
5. *09/2021* – Bolsonaro’s speech at the 76th UNGA. The President once more reiterated the fact that 14% of the Brazilian Territory is destined for ILs, and that within this area, “600.000 indigenous lives freely and each time more wishes to use their land for agriculture and other activities”; Bolsonaro also claimed 80% of the indigenous population had been vaccinated against the Covid-19 (UN, 2021).
 6. *12/2021* – After a series of articles published by *Folha de Sao Paulo*, the Chamber of Deputies demands (RIC 1457/21) that the Minister of the Institutional Security Office (GSI) of the Presidency, General Augusto Heleno, clarify the reasoning behind his approval of 81 authorisations for the exploration of gold inside ILs and other reserves in the Amazon Region since 2019 (45 only in 2021) (BRA, 2021).
 7. *03/2022* – The Chamber of Deputies approves the Urgency Request (REQ n. 227/2022) to vote for the PL191/20 (BRA, 2022a). According to the internal rules, when an Urgency request is approved, the matter can be included in the daily priorities with an immediate vote (Camara, 2022a). What was decided is that a working group would be created, and the voting would happen in the first half of the following month (Camara, 2022b). Commenting on the topic, during an interview for a radio channel, Bolsonaro said he sees the war between Russia and Ukraine as a “good opportunity” to explore the potassium reserves inside ILs³, once Brazil imports around 85% of its fertilizers, with a significant number coming from Russia (Bolsonaro, 2022).
 8. *06.2022* – After the disappearance of Dom Philips and Bruno Pereira – a well-known indigenist and a journalist inside the IL “Vale do Javari” territory – gained national and international prominence, The Union Public Defender (DPU) through the Civil Public Action (1004249-82.2018.4.01.3200) denounce FUNAI’s posture regarding the matter. The document also required that the agency, among others, cease the spread of information that could denigrate Bruno Pereira’s image, not persecute indigenous or their employees on their manifestations regarding the case, and lastly, send public agents to the region to support the institution’s local bases (BRA, 2022b)

³ Once the depends on the importation of such mineral from Russia (Clima Info, 2022).

4.2. Tones

The tones presented here indicate how the media vehicles have chosen to showcase the issue. The tones were divided between Positive, Neutral, and Negative according to the position of each article regarding supporting or criticising the current government approach to ILs. The positive articles were the ones in which the media supported the government. The negative articles criticized the government, and the neutrals did not express a direct opinion.

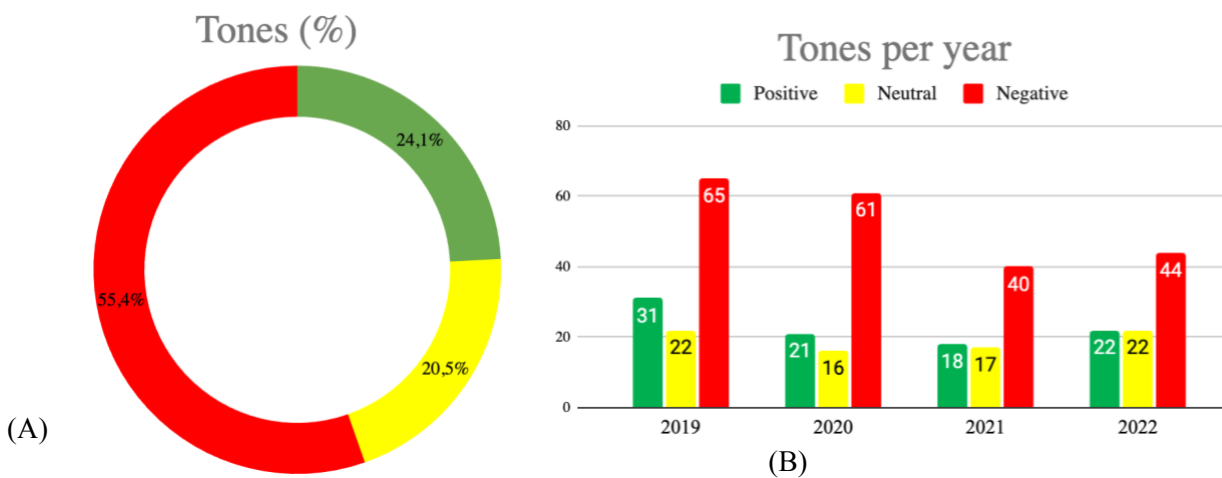


Figure 3: (A) Percentage of articles per tone and (B) Number of articles per tone per year.

(Source: own elaboration).

Overall, over half of the selected news articles had a negative tone (55,4%), while positive and neutral articles accounted for 24,1% and 20,5%, respectively (Figure 3A). When analysing the composition per year (Figure 3B), negative articles were also the majority for the entire study period. Although the difference between this tone for the others was higher in the first two years – corresponding to three-fifths of the total –it became smaller in the subsequent years when the number of negative articles decreased. Meanwhile, positive and neutral articles have followed similar behaviour. Although positive articles started relatively bigger than neutrals in 2019, both experienced some decrease in 2020. In the following years, the two categories shared similar numbers, with a smaller amount in 2020-2021 followed by a discreet increase in 2022.

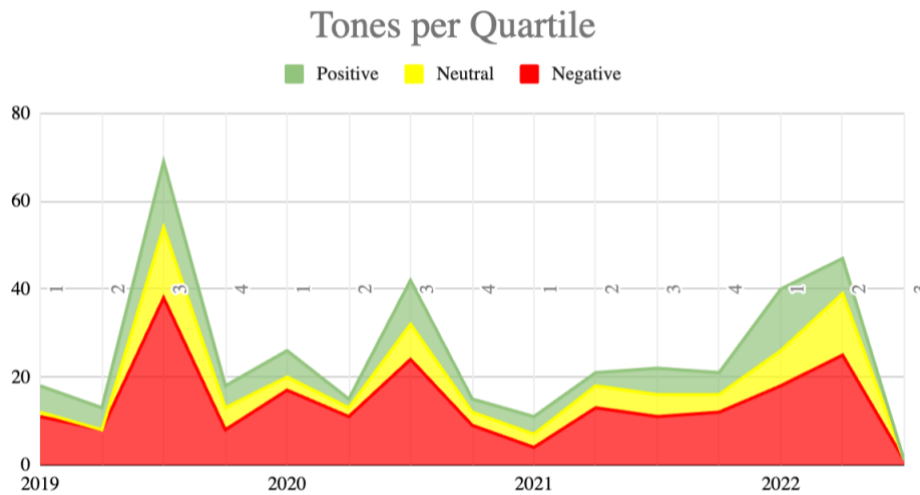


Figure 4: The change of tones by quartiles from 2019 to 2022⁴. (Source: own elaboration)

By observing Figure 4 regarding the change of tone values among articles throughout the quartiles of each year, we can confirm that the negative tone was dominant for this period. For 2019 and 2020, we see the most noticeable increases in the neutral and positive values during each year's third quartile. In 2021, both neutral and positive articles remained low. They experience a boost from the fourth to the second quartile of 2022.

4.3. Actors

To understand which are the dominant and the underrepresented discourses, we investigated who are the main actors behind the ideas presented in the selected articles. They were divided into three categories: Central Actors, Peripheral Actors, and Journalists.

⁴ The numbers 1,2,3 and 4 in the graph corresponds to each year quartile, where 1 = First quartile (January, February, March), 2= Second Quartile (April, May, June), 3 = Third quartile (July, August, September) and 4 = Fourth Quartile (October, November, December).

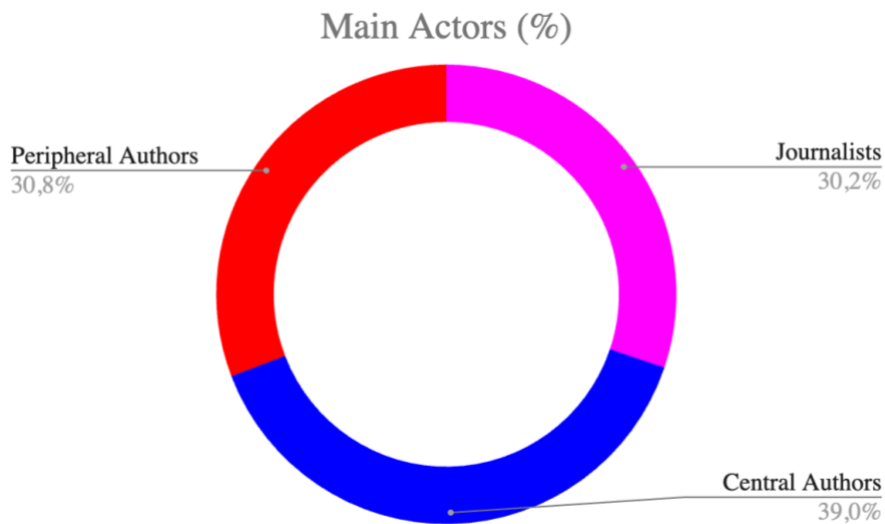


Figure 5: Percentage of media actors involved in framing the media discourse. (Source: own elaboration).

As shown in Figure 5, the study detected that all three categories of actors play a significant role in framing media discourse. The dominant actors are the Central Actors accounting for 39,0% of the total discourses. With similar shares, the Peripheral Authors correspond for 30,8%, and the Journalists for 30,2%.

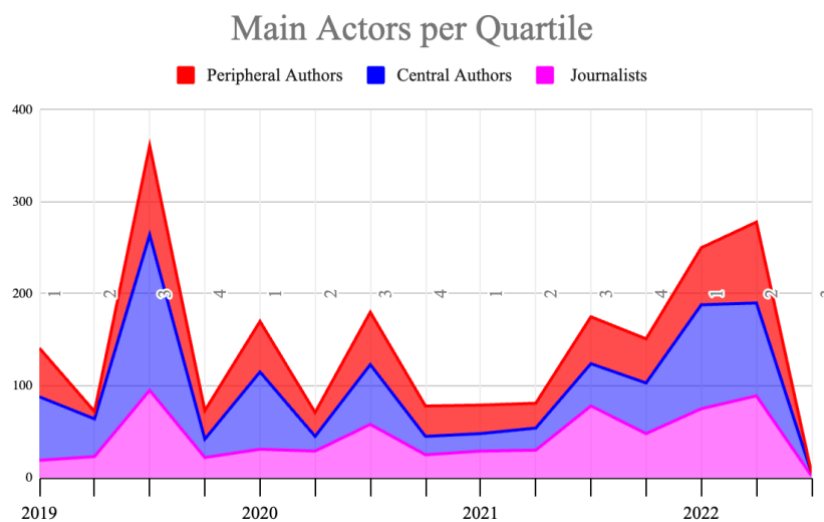


Figure 6: The change of actors by quartiles from 2019 to 2022⁵. (Source: own elaboration)

⁵ See footnote n. 4.

Figure 6 shows the distribution of actors per quartile. What can be observed is that there is an overall dominance of the central actors throughout the research period, with peaks followed by significant decreases in the third quartile of 2019 (around 170 discourses), the first quartile of 2020 (about 80 discourses), and the third quartile of 2020 (approximately 60 discourses). After the low achieved in the fourth quartile of 2020 (about 20 discourses), the numbers slowly increased until peaking again in the first quartile of 2022 around 110 discourses). The peripheral actors presented a similar behaviour but with lower coverage. The only time they were more prominent than the central authors was during some decrease periods, including the period that corresponded from the fourth quartile of 2020 to the second quartile of 2021 (with an average of 30-40 discourses).

On the other hand, journalists have started 2019 with a smaller share of discourses, peaking similarly to the other actors in the third quartile of 2019 (95 discourses) and the third quartile of 2020 (around 60 discourses). Contrary to the others, it didn't follow the peak in the first quartile of 2020, remaining with a smaller number of discourses. In the opposite situation, the journalists peaked during the third quartile of 2021 (with approximately 70 discourses), while the other two actors presented lower numbers.

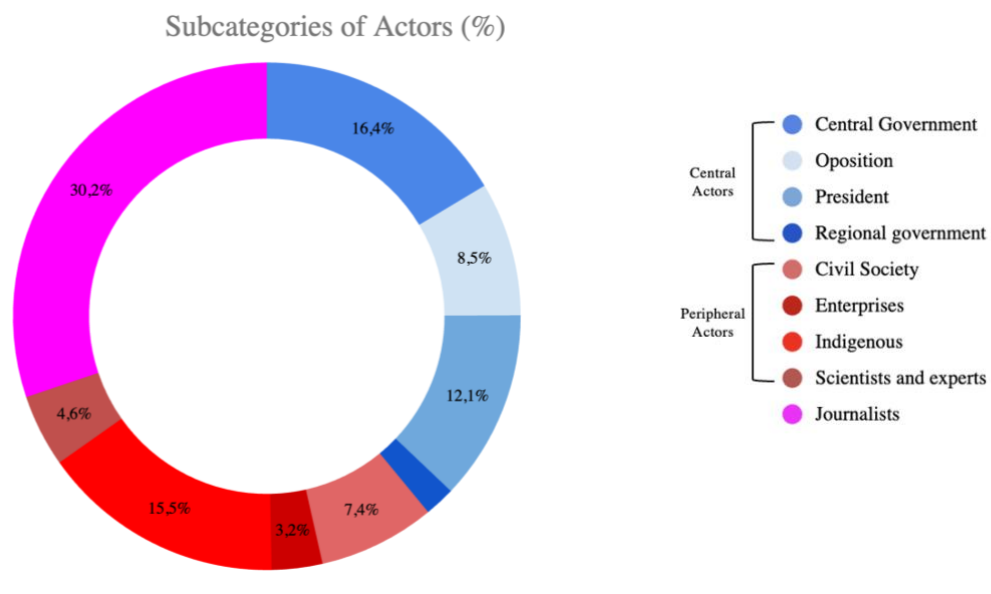


Figure 7: Percentage of media actors' subcategories in framing the media discourse. (Source: own elaboration)

Figure 7 shows the different contributions of the media actor's subcategories in framing the total number of discourses. When considering only the subcategories, the journalists become the most dominant actors, accounting for 30,2% of the total discourses.

Among the Central Actors, the most expressive were the Central Government (16,4%) and the President (12,1%), followed by the Opposition (8,5%). The Regional Government was not very expressive, accounting for less than 2% of the total.

The leading actors were the Indigenous, accounting for 15,5% of the total selected discourses for the peripheral actors. The other stakeholders had a more limited impact, with Civil society influencing 7,4% of the discourses, followed by Scientists and Experts (4,6%) and enterprises (3,2%).

4.4. Themes and Subthemes

This section highlights the main themes and subthemes related to the Indigenous Lands that were framed by the two selected media channels from 2018 to 2022.

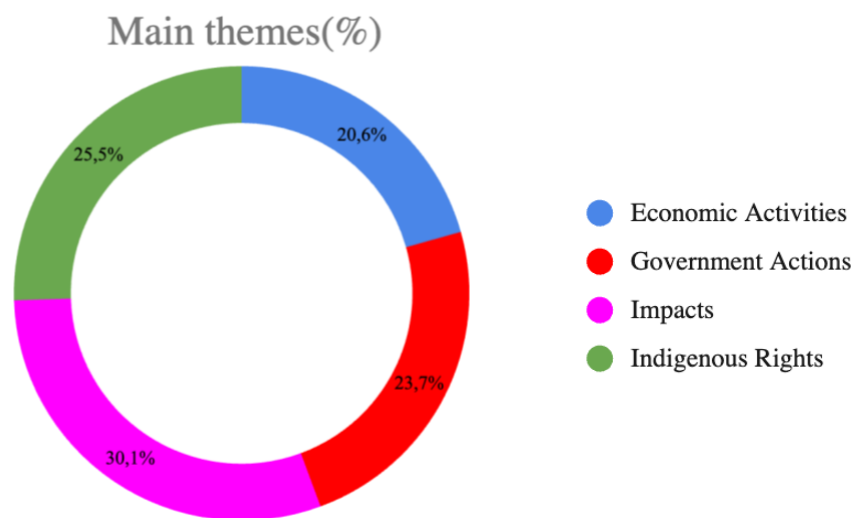


Figure 8:Percentage of the main themes regarding ILs from the selected newspapers from 2019 to 2022 (Source: own elaboration)

Figure 8 illustrates how much emphasis which topic has received. As we can see, the dominant central theme was composed of the Bolsonaro government's Impacts on the ILs, corresponding to 30,1% of the findings. The second most popular theme was related to Indigenous Rights (25,5%), followed by Government Actions (23,7%) and Economic Activities (20,6%).

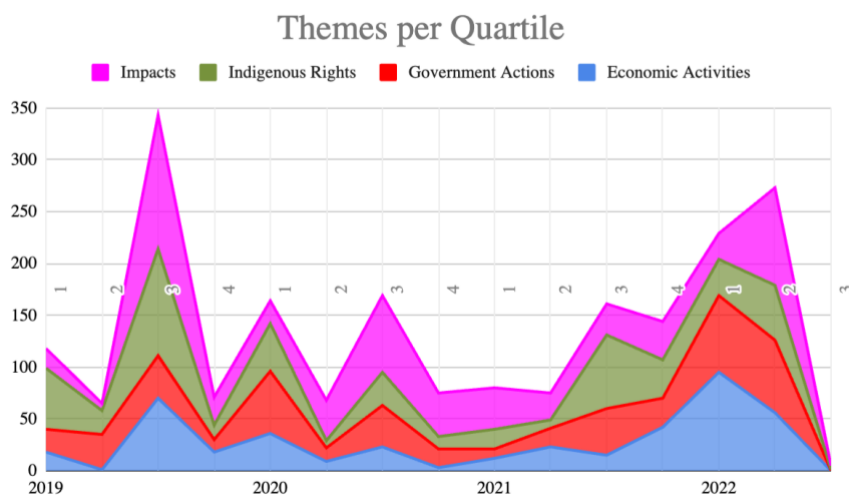


Figure 9: The topics change by quartiles from 2019 to 2022⁶. (Source: own elaboration)

Figure 9 introduces the changes in topic over time. Overall, the ILs have alternated from periods where the media coverage was smaller, with peaks of interest, to a more accentuated presence within the last year and a half of the study. For the first two and a half years, the general interest has an average of 50-100 discourses, with a high peak of interest happening in the third quartile of 2019 (approx. 350 discourses) and, on a smaller scale, in the first and third quartiles of 2020, with an average of 150 discourses for each period roughly. The increase observed in the third quartile of 2021 (approx. 150 discourses) continues throughout the following periods, achieving another accentuated peak of interest in the second quartile of 2022 (over 250 discourses).

Noteworthy are the changes between each topic throughout the research period. In early 2019, the most popular theme was Indigenous Rights (approx. 60 discourses), followed by Government Actions and Economic Activities (around 20 discourses each), with little to no attention to Impacts. The situation changed a bit during the third quartile of 2019. Although Indigenous Rights kept considerable coverage in the media (approximately 100 discourses), Impacts, with around 140 discourses, have gained significant notoriety. From 2020-2021, some issues gained more prominence than others in different periods, but overall, the most covered problem was Impacts. From the second half of 2021, the other issues start to gain notoriety again, first with Indigenous Issues (third quartile of 2021 –

⁶ See Footnote n. 4.

70 discourses) followed by Economic Activities and Government Actions (First quartile of 2022, with 74 and 95 discourses, respectively).

Table 6: Prominence of subthemes from the main categories and their changes from 2019-2022.
(Source: own elaboration; based on Nam, 2019, pg. 33)

| Topics | Discourses | The change of discourses per year |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Indigenous Rights | 520 (25,5%) | |
| Consultation | 35 (1,7%) | |
| Land Demarcation & Homologation | 304 (14,9%) | |
| Land Protection | 65 (3,2%) | |
| Traditional Lands | 116 (5,7%) | |
| Governmental Actions | 484 (23,7%) | |
| Development Projects | 119 (5,8%) | |
| Operations | 95 (4,7%) | |
| Project Law | 151 (7,4%) | |
| Public Institutions | 119 (5,8%) | |
| Economic Activities | 421(20,6%) | |
| Agribusiness | 43 (2,1%) | |
| Mining | 378 (18,5%) | |
| Impacts | 615 (30,1%) | |
| Environmental Degradation | 134 (6,6%) | |

Figure 10: Indigenous Rights discourses over the years

Figure 11: Government Actions discourses over the years

Figure 12: Economic Activities discourses over the years

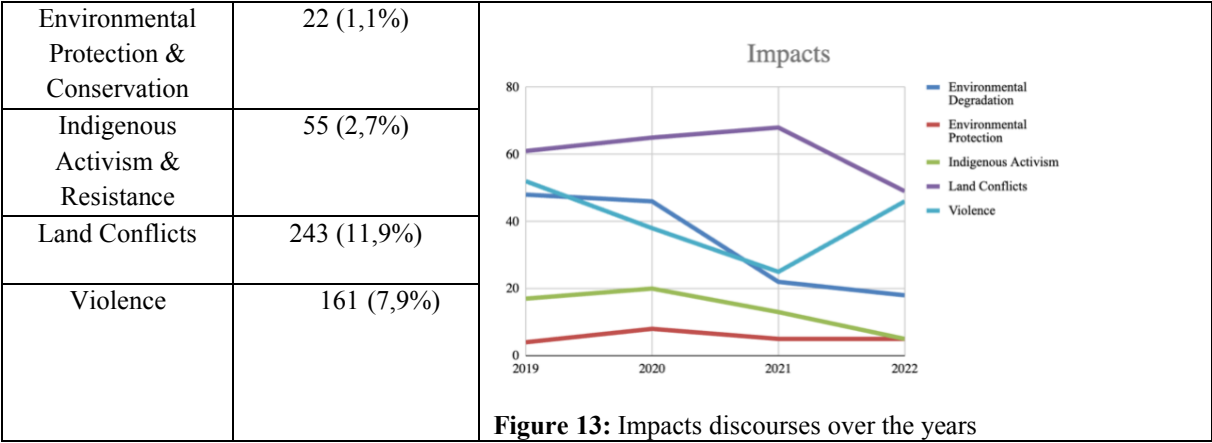


Table 5 brings an overview of the reach each of the subthemes has received in the total number of discourses.

The first theme, Indigenous Rights (Figure 10), was responsible for 25,5% of the total discourses. Within the subthemes, Land Demarcation & Homologation was the leading, with 14,9% of the discourses. The second most popular, Traditional Lands (5,7%), started 2019 on trend but has decreased already in 2020, adopting similar numbers to the other less popular categories, Land Protection (3,2%) and Consultation (1,7%).

The Government Action (Figure 11) subthemes observed a more dynamic situation. The top category, Project Law (7,4%), started to gain notoriety only in 2020, having another boom of coverage in 2022. Development Projects and Public Institutions correspond to 5,8% of the total discourses. Still, while the first remained constant for most years, with more significant momentum in 2021, the latter started 2019 trending, losing momentum in the following years. The last subtheme, Operations (4,7%), has remained relatively with the same coverage throughout the years, with slow increases in 2020 and 2022.

For Economic Activities (Figure 12), most of the discourses found belonged to the Mining subtheme. Mining is also the most popular subtheme for the entire research, with 18,5% of the total articles. We can observe that this topic has always been on trend, gaining even more projections in the years 2021 and 2022. The other category, Agribusiness (2,1%), displayed the opposite behaviour, starting in 2019 with some recognition that was lost in the following years.

Within the Impacts (Figure 13), the most popular subtheme was Land Conflicts, corresponding to 11,9% of the total. Although it has always been the leading topic, it

suffered some reduction in coverage during 2022, almost being surpassed by Violence (7,9%) – a subtheme that started 2019 with a significant presence in the media has suffered reductions throughout 2020 and 2021 and gained another momentum in 2022. Environmental Degradation (6,6%) is another subtheme that was relatively prominent and stable in the first two years of the research but lost significant impact during 2021 and continued the trend in 2022. A similar situation can be observed for the Indigenous Activism subtheme (2,7%). Environment Protection has received minor importance among all subthemes, accounting for only 1,1% of the total.

5. Discussion

This work seeks to fill the research gap related to the effects of media discourses on Indigenous populations and territories and has the guiding research questions: (a) How have online media framed ILs throughout Bolsonaro's government? (b) Which are the dominant/ underrepresented discourses? (c) How is the interaction between such discourses and government policies and actions?

This chapter discusses this study's results, aiming to answer the proposed research questions and the implications of the findings.

Section 5.1. focuses on the media framing of ILs during the research. Section 5.2. focuses on who are the actors behind the discourses. Section 5.3 presents the dominant and underrepresented discourses, while section 5.4. will focus on the impacts of the discourses and how Bolsonaro's government speeches and concrete actions generated a response from the media, or vice-versa. The last section identifies the limitations existing in this study, and the recommendations for further research are presented in the following text.

5.1.The Framing of ILs Throughout Bolsonaro's Government

Indigenous Lands were a theme that received media attention because they represent the competition over natural resources between the exploitation interests in the agribusiness sector and the traditional populations that have collective rights to their original lands but struggle to have political and economic representation (Silva, 2018). The study has identified four major categories associated with Indigenous Lands in the two studied newspapers from 2019 to 2022. They are – in order from the most prominent to the least) – Impacts (30,1%), Indigenous Rights (25,5%), Government Actions (23,7%) and Economic Activities (20,6%).

5.1.1. The Media Tones

According to Scheafer (2007), message salience (coverage) – and valence (tone) are essential in agenda setting. To start this analysis, I must first consider the tone in which the media portrayed the issue throughout the years.

News content is known to be predominantly negative, as humans tend to answer more strongly to negative information (Soroka et al., 2021). It also is interesting to highlight the troubled relationship between the Brazilian media and Bolsonaro's government. In a scenario where the President personally attacks the press, accusing them of spreading fake news and having an "agenda" against him and his government (FENAJ, 2022), I can infer that this can be an incentive for negative coverage from the media.

In his study that analyses the *Folha de Sao Paulo*'s position regarding Bolsonaro's speech at the 74th UNGA in 2019, Machado et al. (2021) highlight the defiance that the newspaper personally performed against the current President, discrediting his speech with research data, and giving space for opposite discourses. My findings confirm this tendency since *Folha de Sao Paulo* and *Estadao* have adopted negative tones for most of the researched articles (55,4%).

Both positive and neutral articles received lower importance if compared to the negative, gaining momentum during strategic moments when the topic coverage was high. Through the neutral-toned reports, the media has informed the public regarding issues without imprinting a criticism on the government. They mainly reported problems such as fires in the Amazon region, land invasions, and murders. But some space was given to portray Indigenous people beyond the crisis speech, such as their positive impact on nature conservation, how they organize politically and culturally and noticing a documentary filmed inside an IL that gained international attention (100422_FL).

Although a complete discussion linking competition between actors and an agenda setting cannot be done here because of the method chosen in which tone values were assigned for the articles instead of each media discourse (Nam, 2019), I can correlate the articles with a positive tone were used by the government to display its political agenda, as well respond to criticism.

5.1.2. The impacts: Growing Land Invasions, Deforestation and Violence

The category Impacts are related to the consequences experienced by the Indigenous people and territories due to the discourses propagated. Within this category, the subtheme that has received the most coverage from the media is Land Conflicts. Such conflicts are not new. Martins (1980) was already showcasing media coverage of several

land disputes inside territories occupied by indigenous communities even before the Constitution of 1988.

Bolsonaro's campaign promise of not demarcating any more ILs has created an incentive to land invasions once it encourages land grabbing. The government also is a fierce critic of the destruction of illegal machinery during monitoring Operations by public agents (Art 111 of Federal Decree n° 6.514/2008), one of the most successful instruments used by the previous governments to control deforestation. Consequently, already in 2019, the number of land invasions grew by 135% (Reis, 2022):

“After the government backed down, there were new invasions and the opening of new mines. This movement exploded at the end of 2018 and the beginning of 2019, with Jair Bolsonaro's promise to review the Land demarcations. Deforestation spread to the Trincheira Bacajá, of the Xikrin people, while the illegal market for lands within the ILs gained strength” (050920_FL; journalists; President; land conflicts).

Land Conflicts can generate other Impacts, such as increased Environment Degradation through deforestation and fires. This subtheme received a lot of attention in the first year of Bolsonaro's government due to the proportion the fires and deforestation have taken (051120_FL). Research made by the NGO Global Forest Watch has shown that:

“The Indigenous Lands were devastated by more than 116,531 thousand fires that occurred from the beginning of the year until October 29. Satellite data also reveal that the Indigenous Lands most affected this year were Xingu (MT), Parque do Araguaia (TO) and Kayapó (PA)” (051120_FL; scientists and experts; environmental degradation).

When confronted about the issue, Bolsonaro's government decided to blame the indigenous and other traditional populations for the problem. The President said, during the opening of the 74th UNGA:

“There are also burnings practiced by Indians and local populations, as part of their respective culture and form of survival” (151019_FL; president, land degradation).

Violence was a subtheme that was also relatively important in the research and worth mentioning, primarily because of the momentum experienced in 2022 when the media covered the disappearance of Bruno Pereira and Dom Philips inside the IL Vale do Javari. But throughout the years, other cases of armed conflicts, murder, and persecution of indigenous leaderships, NGOs and FUNAI agents have received less attention. The Brazilian media also reported the government's inertia regarding protecting ILs against invasions during Covid-19 and the president's racist speeches on many occasions.

In fact, many Brazilian researchers accuse Bolsonaro and his government of promoting ethnocide. Reis (2021) highlights Bolsonaro's hate speech against traditional communities and the reduction of monitoring inside the ILs as clear signs of what he calls a 'colonialist necrophily'.

Not much attention was given to the Environmental Protection and the Indigenous Activism subthemes. While the first is related to the positive impacts ILs have on the environment, the second illustrates the indigenous act of resistance. A reasonable explanation would be that more attention was given to the negative portrayal of issues, especially the ones that could be used to criticize the current government.

5.1.3. The Indigenous Rights: Essential, Inalienable and Non-Transferable?

The second most popular theme analysed was Indigenous Rights. The 1988's Constitution establishes such rights: the possession of their traditional lands, social organization, cultural traditions, beliefs and languages, and the right to Consultation. Also, it establishes the duty of the State to demarcate and protect Indigenous Lands (BRA, 1988).

Land Demarcation is the administrative process of recognising the permanent possession of lands traditionally occupied by indigenous communities. Although the 1988 constitution established a five-year deadline for the State to finish the demarcation of ILs, in 2022, from the 728 Indigenous territories, only 487 are homologated (ISA, 2022b). One of the reasons this topic was so prominent in the media is that Bolsonaro has not demarcated any ILs during his government. He and his government repeatedly reassured this campaign promise many times throughout the years, and he even promised to review lands that were already homologated. Within the maxima that "there are too many lands for too few Indians", the ex-minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, said:

“When there is a demarcation of 13% of the national territory for only 1% of the Brazilian population, and precisely this 13% is where the greatest mineral wealth of the country is located, it does not seem to me an adequate public choice to increase the demarcations over mineral reserves and place such vast territories for such a small population.” (150819_FL; central government; land demarcation & homologation).

The media also emphasized the importance of the approval or not of a time frame that established that Indigenous People would only have the right to the lands they already occupied by the time the Constitution was approved (PL490/07). The journalists alerted to the threat such a decision could represent for the Indigenous territories:

“Many of these lands have been awaiting the progress of their processes for decades without receiving any response from the federal government. In practice, the eventual confirmation of the concept of the temporal mark would put all these claims in check since the movements opposed to demarcation, which are driven by agricultural producers throughout the country, usually resort to the criterion of the legal mark to confront the indigenous” (240821_ES; journalists; land demarcation & homologation).

Brazilian researchers echo the same point of view found in this research. In their article, Brabo and Bentes (2020) highlight that by accepting such a Law Project, the Supreme violates rights that are both parts of the National Constitution and the International Treaties Brazil is a signature.

The other three subthemes: Land Protection, Traditional Lands and Consultation, did not receive much attention from the media. While Land Protection mostly blames the government for its absence of the duty to protect the ILs – especially considering how vulnerable Indigenous Populations were within the Covid-19 context –, Consultation showcases the conflicts between economic initiatives prospecting ILs without performing Consultation with the affected populations, which is a requirement from the Constitution. The low coverage of Traditional Lands indicated that the media focused more on the conflict of economic exploitation and that speeches that aimed to educate the general population regarding traditions and costumes unique to the Indigenous peoples were underrepresented.

5.1.4. Government Actions: the economic exploitation of the ILs

The most covered subtheme was Project Law. It refers to PL191/20 (Table 6), the government's main project for the ILs, which consists of opening them for economic exploitation, especially mining activity. The PL received the most attention in two moments: in 2020, when it was announced, and in 2022 when the government used the war between Russia and Ukraine and the country's dependency on Russia's potassium to justify an urgency to approve the project (Table 6).

While Brazil imports 85% of the mineral, 26% only from Russia and Belorussia and it is proven that there is potassium inside ILs, researchers point out that from the country's reserve of 1,15 billion tons, 894 million tons (77,8%) are outside the Amazon (Prazeres, 2022). Therefore, this exploitation is unjustified once the other reserves can guarantee the supply for the country up until 2089 (Prazeres, 2022).

The Civil Society protested the measure in what was known as the "Act for the Land". Suely Araujo, a specialist in public policy from the *Observatorio do Clima* (a coalition of NGOs that monitors climate change in Brazil (OC,2022)), said about the measure:

"What the Bolsonaro government wants, from the outset, is to implode with the rights of indigenous populations and other traditional peoples and communities guaranteed by the Constitution of 1988. PL 191 is one of the pieces of this process. It was written to be a 'general liberation' mainly for mining on indigenous lands without due environmental care, contrary to the Constitution. That is what is in focus" (030322A_ES; civil society, project law)

Although Public Institutions were not the most popular subtheme, it is worth highlighting that the very first action taken by the government is related to this subtheme, which justifies a very high prominence in 2019. On the first day of government, Bolsonaro establishes the MPV870/19 (Table 6), transferring the demarcation process to the Ministry of Agriculture and the FUNAI to the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights. The measure was criticized mainly due to two reasons: the first being the demarcation falling under a Ministry that defends the agribusiness, therefore constituting a threat to the Indigenous Populations; and the second is the figure of Minister Damares Alves, the head of the Ministry of Women, Family and Human Rights, that is:

“An evangelical pastor who has militated in the NGO ‘Atini Voz pela Vida’, accused by the Public Ministry of inciting hatred against indigenous people by campaigning against alleged infanticides” (060119_FL; public institutions; Journalists)

The National Congress later vetoed the measure. But throughout the years, the media featured the dismantling of the FUNAI, how the indigenous organ has been dominated by ruralists and the military, the internal persecution suffered by employees, and the threat to isolated indigenous communities when Ricardo Lopes Dias was appointed general coordinator of the isolated indigenous peoples:

“Dias was linked to the New Tribes Mission of Brazil and worked as a missionary, evangelizing Indians in the Vale do Javari (AM), which has the largest number of isolated peoples in the world. The appointment had already been criticised by indigenous entities, which claimed that Funai's policy maintained over the last 30 years is one of non-contact and respect for the way of life of traditional peoples” (070220B_ES; journalists; public institutions).

The government has included development projects that were old interests of the State (existing even during the populist government of PT). The presidency spokesman, General Barros, when indagated what the obstacles to the government’s aspirations, said:

“Environmental issues being resolved by the Environment and eventually indigenous issues. We will always consult them [Indians], but obviously, the interest of national sovereignty has to be considered above certain issues that may hinder this process” (170319B_FL; central government; development projects).

Among the proposed projects is the pavement of the BR-319 – a federal highway that links the State of Amazonas to the State of Rondonia – and the ‘Linhao do Tucuruí’ – an energy transmission line that connects the state of Roraima to the National Energy System. Both initiatives directly cross ILs and have received indigenous resistance, mainly due to their right to consultation and the environmental impacts that can be caused within their lands. Another issue was the Belo Monte hydroelectric, a project initiated by Dilma Rousseff’s government that, until today:

“Did not comply with the environmental conditionalities with the Arara people of removal of non-indigenous people from their territory and the installation of two surveillance bases on access roads” (140522_FL; journalists; development projects).

The last subtheme was Operations. It relates to campaigns made by governmental agencies that interfere inside the ILs. The media have focused most of the attention on this issue during 2020. First, due to the exoneration of IBAMA agents after destroying machinery apprehended in operation, Bolsonaro is clearly against (191120_ES). The government was also criticized for distributing chloroquine during an operation (medicine the government defended for treating Covid-19 without scientific proof) (240820_ES). Lastly, Operation Verde Brazil 2, the government’s primary response to the deforestation in the Amazon, gained the media’s attention since only 0,7% of the financial resources were used, which was inflation of the results (060720_ES).

5.1.5. Economic Activities: The Agro *versus* the Indians

Two of the most important producers of the commodities Brazil exports, the agribusiness and mining sectors, are Bolsonaro supporters. Alentejano (2020) clarifies that, to keep expanding, these sectors need – in a very Marxist way – constant Land Acquisition at the expense of Indigenous and other poor rural populations. Their two main objectives are (a) to prevent new lands from being converted into public lands and (b) the re-conversion of public lands into private property, therefore legalizing rural settlements and, what interests us most: opening ILs for economic exploitation (Alentejano, 2020).

Considering this context, the Economic Activities Theme aimed to highlight the advance of economic activities inside the ILs. The pursuit of Mining was by far the most commented subtheme of this research.

In 2019, the *Estadao* published a study by the Socio-environmental Institute (ISA) alerting the danger of approving mining inside ILs. The study showed that there were:

“4,332 requests for subsoil exploration in 214 of the 735 indigenous areas registered with the ANM - 29.1% of the total, (...). 88% are research requests, that is, without scientific proof that there are ores in those areas. According to specialists, many of these requests are from the 1980s and 1990s, filed before the

demarcation of indigenous lands. They have the objective of guaranteeing the authors of the priority of the requests if exploration is authorized, a common practice in the sector” (050819_ES; mining; civil society).

But the subject gained momentum, especially after the PL191/20, presented in February 2020 by Bolsonaro’s government. The Vice-President, General Mourao, defends the pursuit of mining activities inside ILs, once they

“Would contribute to containing illegalities and environmental crimes, in addition to providing income for indigenous peoples” (080920_FL; central government; mining).

In December 2021, the *Folha de Sao Paulo* published a series of accusations against General Heleno, the chief of GSI, regarding his approval of seven gold exploration projects in São Gabriel da Cachoeira (AM), where 23 indigenous groups are located. It is an unprecedented gesture of the National Defense Council in the last ten years. In total, 81 authorizations for mining in the Amazon have been approved since 2019 (051221_FL).

The series resulted in a Civil Process by the MPF demanding explanations from Heleno (Table 6), ultimately backing down the government and reversing the approvals (180322B_FL).

The agribusiness subtheme almost didn’t receive any attention from the media. This is concerning, considering that this industry has the same interests in the region. Bolsonaro himself said, at the opening of the 74th UNGA:

“Brazil now has a president who cares about those who were there before the arrival of the Portuguese. The Indian does not want to be a poor landowner on rich land. Especially not the richest lands in the world” (240919A_FL; president; agribusiness).

This research pointed out that part of what is proposed by PL191/20 is the plantation of transgenic seeds, a practice that is currently forbidden in the ILs. Cattle ranching is also pressuring the region.

5.2. Who Are the Actors Behind the Discourses?

This study tries to understand who are the actors that shaped the media discourses regarding ILs during the studied period. They were divided between Central Actors, representing the government and other public institutions; Journalists; and Peripheral Actors, composed of Indigenous leadership, organizations, and other members of the civil society. The most influential category was Journalists, with 30,2% of the total discourses.

5.2.1. Central Actors

Within Central Actors, most attention was given to the Central Government (allies of the government) and the President, and both categories were responsible for 28,5% of the total discourses, very high visibility compared to the other Central Actors: The Opposition and the Regional Government. Following Kleinschmit and Krott (2008), the dominance in the policy sector is also correlated with the prominence of central actors in the media; I understand that in the Brazilian context, these actors have the most decision-making power.

Ricardo Sales (Ex-Minister of the Environment), Mourao (vice-president) and General Augusto Heleno (Chief Minister of Institutional Security) are some of the members of the government with the most visibility in the newspapers. They all have a speech aligned with Bolsonaro. When talking about Project Law n. 191/20, Minister Onyx Lorenzoni compares the initiative to the Aurea Law – Imperial Law n. 3.353 – signed in 1988 and extinguished slavery in Brazil (BRA, 1988):

“It will be possible to mine, generate energy, transmit energy, exploit oil and gas, and cultivate indigenous lands. In other words, it will be the Aurea Law”
(050220_FL; Central Government; Development Projects)

Although less visible, the Opposition had some interesting remarks. Most discourses highlighted the Federal Public Prosecutor's Office (MPF) figure – an independent organ whose responsibilities include laws supervision and protecting society's interests (MPF, 2022). The MPF was responsible for denouncing actions of the government, such as:

“The MPF points out "incurable vice", "fallacy" and "sponsorship of conflict of interests" in the Law Project that allows mining in indigenous lands and predict

a contradiction to the law, in the case of approval by the Congress”
(090322A_FL; Opposition, Project Law)

Also, a part of the Opposition, Congresswoman Joenia Wapichana is the first indigene to be elected to the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies. She publicly opposed the government on many occasions throughout my research. Her statements aim to reassure the Indigenous Rights and bring visibility to the Indigenous Cause. Such protagonism is essential to create an interethnic dialogue within the public sphere, with Indigenous representatives being recognised as a legitimate voice that can contradict generalisations that oversimplify their role and ambitions (Brum, 2015; Silva & Junior, 2018). Joenia says:

“We simply demand the demarcation of Indigenous Lands and respect for the right to the Prior Consultation. This is the law. The country has already confirmed it. We are just exercising our rights as citizens” (070119_FL; Land Demarcation; Opposition; Indigenous)

5.2.2. Peripheral Actors

Peripheral actors influence the media mainly indirectly, organising events or using something that has already happened to generate a debate that can potentially benefit their cause. (Sadath & Rahman, 2021). Among the Peripheral Actors, the category that has received the most attention was the Indigenous. Essentially, most mediatic coverages reflected the collective opinion of Indigenous Associations, such as Brazil’s Indigenous People Articulation (APIB), with a minor focus on the individual leaderships, such as Cacique Raoni, Sonia Guajajara, Congresswoman Joenia Wapichana and Txai Surui. Such a phenomenon can be explained following the premise that within marginalised groups, individual members do not often propagate their agendas in the media due to their lack of resources and influence (Carragee, 2019).

The media exposure was negligible for Civil Society, represented chiefly by NGOs related to Indigenous or Environmental causes. The Church was also given some notoriety, mainly through the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI). Generally, both groups of actors have primarily used events that happened to criticise the current government and show support for the indigenous populations. As an example:

In a public note read this Tuesday by the President of the council, Dom Roque Paloschi, archbishop of Porto Velho (RO), CIMI stated that "the aggressiveness in the speech of the President of the Republic and members of the government serves as fuel for the violence committed against the territories and native peoples" (240919B_FL; Civil Society; Violence).

Interesting to note that, although a tiny proportion within such a category, I could observe the presence of individuals represented by the figure of miners and land invaders that support the government and see in Bolsonaro a hope to have their aspirations legalised by the law.

Although not receiving much attention, Scientists and Experts endorsed the discussion with reliable data used by journalists and other actors to discredit the government's false information and report the increase of environmental degradation and land conflicts inside ILs. Enterprises were also not very present in the discussion. Within this category, that is a clash of discourses, with some Institutions opposing Bolsonaro's development projects – mainly worried about the negative repercussion his actions have brought to Brazilian Agribusiness internationally – others saw the opportunity as beneficial, causing the number of permissions to research gold and other minerals to grow exponentially in the region, including inside the ILs.

5.3. Dominant and Underrepresented Discourses in the Brazilian Media

When discoursing digital activism, Carragee (2019) alerts researchers not to ignore power inequalities within the digital realm. On one side, these media channels provide opportunities for social movements to share their causes. But they also offer the same opportunity to the elites, that traditionally have more access to resources. Furthermore, the fragmented information prevents minority groups “from reaching broader publics who lack knowledge of these groups and their issues” (Carragee, 2019, p. 363).

Carragee's observations can be endorsed by this study since the most prominent actors in this research were Journalists and Central Actors – mainly representing Bolsonaro and his allies in the Central Government. Together, these three categories controlled about

60% of the total discourses, which indicates that, even though there is tension between the media and the government, the country's elite still controls the political discourse.

Although Indigenous was a category of actors that received relatively considerable attention from the media, I considered this attention a “selective notoriety”. Therefore, I classify their discourses as undermined. I will deepen my analysis later in the following sections.

5.3.1. Jair Bolsonaro: “Not a centimetre more”

Bolsonaro's government has the dominant speech regarding ILs in the Brazilian Media. What emerged from this research was the perpetuation of a colonialist and paternalistic view aligned with a neoliberal economic agenda — unfortunately, nothing new to Brazilian society.

The Amazon region is portrayed as isolated and underdeveloped compared to the rest of the country. In Brazil's modern history, many attempts to develop the Amazon were made. In 1958, Getulio Vargas launched the “Plan for the Economic Valorization of the Amazon” to implement agribusiness in the region (Baretto Filho, 2020). In the dictatorship, the motto was to “conquer the obstacles” of the area – the enormous distances, the harsh environment, and the demographic vacuum – through military intervention (Baretto Filho, 2020).

Bolsonaro's government shares many ties with the dictatorship. In addition to being a former military himself, most of the leadership in his ministries and other public organs are generals and other members of the Brazilian Army. They perpetuate the idea that NGOs and foreign countries are behind the “land demarcation industry” because they have interests in exploring the reserves themselves (050220B_ES) and therefore threaten the Brazilian sovereignty over the territory.

In her thesis, Moreira (2019, p38-39) lists other discourses the current government “inherited” from the country's dictatorship period: (a) there is a need to integrate indigenous peoples into the Brazilian society; (b) ILs represent an obstacle for the country's economic development; (c) the extension of ILs and other reserves in border regions threaten national security, and (d) International Agreements limit the economic

exploitation of the Amazon, therefore constraining the country's sovereignty in the region. This research corroborated her statements once my findings were pretty similar to hers.

For example, in my research, his phrases often reproduce speeches that separate the indigenes from him and the rest of the country, to referring to them in the third person, like in this excerpt:

“The Indian has changed. He is evolving. More and more, the Indian is a human being just like us. We must ensure that Indians surrender more and more to society and become more and more the owners of their indigenous land”
(240120_ES; president; violence).

Such words indicate that, in his view, the Indians are not active members of society and, therefore, justify the need to integrate them into the Brazilian Population. Posta (2020) also endorse this idea describing Bolsonaro's sense of identity, in which the president separates his government and the general population as 'us' while viewing the indigenous peoples as 'the other'.

Another manoeuvre used by the government throughout this research is to speak in the name of indigenes, assuming the government “knows” what is best for these populations or their aspirations. Reis shares a similar observation in his work. According to him, the government constantly rejects the indigenous population's right to self-determination, promoting their acculturation to integrate them into the occidental society (Reis, 2021).

In the government's neoliberalist agenda, the Indigenous and the environmentalists are seen as “enemies of progress”. Aligned with the agribusiness and mining sectors, the president seems determined to open these territories for economic exploitation. Although the Constitution grants the possession of traditional lands to the indigenous populations, the resources that are “below the ground” are considered National Patrimony (Santos & Silva, 2021). Therefore, passive exploitation is deemed in the best interest of the country.

On many occasions, the government signaled his support for miners – the ex-Ministry of environment Ricardo Salles met with miners during his visit to the IL Munduruku (060820_ES), and Bolsonaro said that presenting PL191/20 was an ‘old dream’

(030420_ES). He also defended rural settlers that illegally occupied the ILs, and criticized the destruction of machinery on IBAMA and FUNAI operations.

The government also constantly denied scientific information regarding deforestation and morally attacked journalists and NGOs connected to the Indigenous Cause. It blamed the fire crisis that ravaged the Amazon in 2019 on the subsistence fires practised by indigenous and other traditional communities. A representative of the Ministry of Agriculture said:

“It was even recognized in this episode of the creation of the GLO [Guarantee of Law and Order] in the Amazonian states by some indigenous communities that say: yes, we burned. It is a practice adopted by the indigenous community”.
(151019_FL; Central government; environmental degradation)

5.3.2. Indigenous: Warriors or Victims?

Indigenous populations share a history of resistance in Brazil. They were the most prominent victims of the country’s economic development. Research claims that during the dictatorship, in 10 Indigenous populations, over 8.350 Indians lost their lives to the “Economic Miracle”⁹ (Barreto Filho, 2020).

Indigenous activism during the 1970s has granted them – through the Constitution of 1988 – the protection of the law and the right to reside in their territories. But the demarcation process – which should have been completed within five years – has turned into a fight of over 30 years.

Overall, the Indigenous People were ready to fight for their rights and demanded that they were respected. The Constitution is constantly invoked, and they show organization and union by communicating through institutions, such as the APIB. Such portrayal in the media is essential because it “represents the Indigenous peoples as knowledgeable, capable and aware of their political situation” (Mosurska et al., 2022).

⁹ As was known the period from 1968-1973 when Brazil experienced hi achieved “very high and unprecedented average growth rates, which resulted in part from the economic policy then implemented (...) and in part to a favorable international environment” (FGV, 2022,)

The Indigenous also raise attention to the fact that, among public lands, ILs are the most preserved, being one of the country's barriers to deforestation. Sonia Guajajara says:

“Inside Brazil, what is not IL is threatened. All you need to do is compare ILs demarcated or inhabited by indigenous people with other Public Lands. And, when compared to private lands, that's where the difference is higher”
(031021_FL; Indigenous; land demarcation).

Although on a smaller scale, Indigenous Activism was also shown in acts such as the construction of barriers against land invasion, protests, letters, and the pursuit of international support, with participation in conferences such as the participation of Txai Surui at the COP96 in 2021 (060122_ES).

Indigenous populations are historically more vulnerable to diseases, and Covid-19 represents an extraordinary threat to these populations. Within this context, the Indians' reports against the government's inertia to protect them and their territories have generated responses in the Supreme Court. Mosurska et al. (2022) performed a Critical Analysis of how the media have portrayed Indigenous in the context of the pandemic. They discovered that “by reframing the governments as uncaring, genocidal, and manipulative”, Indigenous People can question the legitimacy of the State's authority, affirming their self-determination and sovereignty (Mosurska et al., 2022, p. 18).

Considering that, in 1989, the media's portrayed the Indian as “savage and hostile, devoid of rationality and, also, an object of great fear” (Galvao, 2020, p. 14), the current research shows an evolution in this regard.

But here is where I would like to incorporate my view of “selective notoriety”. First, these newspapers are both from Sao Paulo, which per se limits their scope. I can infer this by looking at the Indigenous representation, which primarily focused on a few influential leaders. It worries me that not much voice was given to diversity.

For example, some initiatives in Brazil promote financial revenue for indigenous communities, such as selling the Assissi spices of the WaiWai people (Imaflora, 2022). Virtually no space was given for such initiatives. Most articles implied a romantic view of indigeneity, which Dove (2006) criticised when he studied the Kayapos. He highlights

the need to acknowledge that the indigenous “environment and their regimes for managing it, their identity and their modes of representing it” is constantly changing (Dove, 2006, p. 203).

Another point is that 176 Indians were murdered in 2021 and 182 in 2020 (Valporto, 2022). The discourses covering such events did not receive the same mediatic coverage as the murder of Dom Philips and Bruno Pereira. Although Bruno and Dom were two well-known activists who worked for the indigenous cause's benefit, they were not Indians. They were both white. And Dom was British.

The case went viral, and the support of International and National Organizations (090622_FL) was primordial for the case to be solved. It also disclosed the government's neglect of the region and led to a response from the Judiciary (Table 6). Ultimately, it sheds light on how limited the salience of Indigenous Groups still is in Brazilian society.

5.4. The Interaction Between Bolsonaro's government and the Media

The research question intends to highlight the most important events that showcase Bolsonaro's government speeches and concrete actions that somehow generated a response from the media. To do this, we correlated the main events of the period (gathered from official governmental documents and speeches) and the media response (corresponding to the number of discourses per quartile). A total of 8 main events were identified.

On a general tendency, this research portrayed the newspapers as critics of the government, adopting a negative tone while reporting the government's actions. While the media sells itself as idoneous and compromised with the Brazilian population, Bolsonaro counterattacks proclaiming he is the victim of a defamation campaign of the press (Mello, 2021). And vice-versa

What is interesting for us is the cases in which the event's media coverage has resulted in the government's actions. Drawing on Robinson (2001), I hypothesise that, in such circumstances, there is a combination of elite dissensus regarding an issue and policy uncertainty that drives the media to take one side of the discussion while pressing the

government to act. The government then faces three consequences: the negative impact on public opinion, the loss of credibility and the own politicians questioning the existing policies (Robinson, 2001).

Bas Arts and Buizer (2013) points out that studying the interaction between the discourses propagated and the institutional responses is essential because it provides new insights regarding how the emergence of new discourses can lead to the institutionalization of social practices that will ultimately affect social outcomes. In their research, they observed a “materialization’ of discursive shifts in institutional practices in forest management, implying policy innovation, management change as well as sustainability effects on the ground” (Arts & Buizer, 2013, pg. 346).

In my research, two empirical cases showcased how the discourses propagated by the media affected the government’s actions and, thus, the consequent practices. The first case concerns General Augusto Heleno’s approval of 81 authorisations for exploring gold inside ILs and other reserves in the Amazon Region. After the *Folha de Sao Paulo* newspaper, one of the sources of this study, made a series of articles that showcased the issue, the Legislative responded by asking for clarifications. The issue's coverage was essential to raise attention to the fact and pressure the government to back off in the decisions.

The second situation was the disappearance of Dom Philips and Bruno Pereira, two well-known indigenists inside the IL “Vale do Javari” territory, gaining national and international prominence. After the constant attention in the media, the Union Public Defender (DPU) responded to safeguard the image of Bruno Pereira from the government's attacks, which tried to minimize its lack of attention to the region and the case by blaming him and Dom for their disappearance. The media coverage was essential in this case because most of the murders in the Amazon Region are left without any resolution. In fact, between 1985 and 2020, only 170 murders – from a total of 1536 murders in rural conflicts – were judged in Brazil (Brandino, 2022).

5.5.Thesis Limitations and Suggestions

Although the research considers only the ILs in the Amazon region, both selected portals are from the state of Sao Paulo, which can negatively impact this thesis' results by not including local themes and sub-themes. This is mainly because a significant percentage (22%) of the Brazilian population lives in the state of Sao Paulo – around 46.649.132 inhabitants (IBGE, 2021) –therefore partially explaining why such portals have such reach. For comparison, the newspaper *A Critica* (one of the most recognised in the North Region of Brazil) only has 500,000 likes (Facebook, 2022). Such consideration can be addressed in future research – to identify differences and similarities with this thesis – by expanding the selection criteria to include newspapers representative of the Amazon region.

This research can also be expanded to other forest-related topics. By identifying how the (re) production of discourses can impact social practices, one can understand how, in a contemporary world, less powerful actors can use the more open and dynamic nature of the information to challenge dominant discourses and ultimately influence the policy outcome.

6. Conclusions

This thesis represents an opportunity to understand how Indigenous Lands and other issues were displayed in two popular online newspapers in Brazil during Bolsonaro's presidency (from 2019 to 2022). By performing a Content Analysis on the selected articles and comparing them to the most outstanding events connected to the issue, the study aimed to answer the three proposed Research Questions.

First, although the Brazilian media is composed of oligarchical media channels with traditionally strong ties to the agribusiness sector and the government, Bolsonaro's attacks have provided a discourse shift. Therefore, the media adopted a negative tone towards the government's agenda for ILs during the studied period, and the Indigenous cause benefited. Among the topics, most attention was given to the government's project of pursuing Mining inside the ILs, and how such an initiative impacts the indigenous populations, with land conflicts, environmental degradation and violence being exacerbated since the beginning of Bolsonaro's mandate.

Second, journalists were the category that presented the most discourses, followed by Central Actors (mainly represented by the President and his allies in the Central Government). This suggests that the media's most prominent narrative strategy regarding the theme was to present the government's speech and counterpoint it by using scientific information and discourses of other members of society, such as the Indigenes.

Third, by analysing Bolsonaro's speech, I have identified it as a reflection of a historical process in Brazil in which the Indigenous are seen as a threat to the country's development, sharing a tight connection to the discourses proclaimed during the dictatorship. Although Indigenous actors have gained some media attention – therefore being able to revert their portrayal as savages to an activist and organized opposition to the government – I raised the awareness of the fact that this was selective notoriety once it failed in portray a more diverse picture of the indigenous populations, in which, they, for example, have interest in economically develop their lands. Also, because the newspapers are located far from the Amazon region, I argued that they represent an elitist view and, therefore, mainstream issues such as the disappearance of Bruno and Dom that gained international attention over the everyday struggles of the indigenous populations.

Lastly, I raised attention to the fact that the combative position between the government and the media has been affecting the portrayal of news, with the media assuming a critical role in reporting government actions. But notoriety should be given to the situations in which the media's coverage has generated government response to an issue, such as the case of General Heleno's approval of mining exploitation in reserve areas and the solving of the murder of Bruno and Dom.

By showcasing Bolsonaro's agenda regarding ILs, this study has made significant inferences regarding the country's current political position:

- a) The Brazilian media has positioned itself as an opposition to the current government. Such a situation has increased the visibility of groups, such as the Indigenous people and the Civil Society, that traditionally struggle to receive attention from the media.
- b) Bolsonaro's speech represents the historical portrayal of Indigenous as outsiders in Brazilian society, therefore, justifying the need to be culturally integrated. Such an image is supported by the agribusiness sector, which sees indigenous lands as an obstacle to the development of economic activities.
- c) By portraying the government as uncaring and genocidal towards the Indigenous populations, the patronizing discourse of the government is challenged, while the discourse of self-determination of Indians is stimulated. This represents a representation shift from salvages to a united and socially organized part of society.
- d) The clash between the media and Bolsonaro created a polarized view of society, divided between the government's supporters and its critics.

Considering Brazil is ongoing a presidential election, these reflections are essential to showcase how the agribusiness sector plays a significant role in shaping the government's priorities and how the media can act as a critical actor within the political framework. It remains for us to discover that if a new government is elected, the media will continue to prioritize the indigenous causes or shift its attention to developmental speech. Time will tell.

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Appendix

Appendix 1- The Use of Triangulation

As a last step in the research, a timeline was constructed to correlate the media's responses to the government's official registries and speeches. To achieve this I used triangulation, a technique in which more than one research approach is used so this combination can “provide a more comprehensive picture of the results than either approach could do alone” (Heale & Forbes, 2013, pg. 98). This process was adopted with two main objectives: (a) increase the validity and reliability of the study and (b) complement the data to highlight the connection between different phenomena.

In the first step, I used the results obtained in the Content Analysis to identify the periods in which the journalistic coverage of issues related to the ILs was trending (corresponding to the peak periods we can visualise in the graphs of the Results section).

After, I consulted official government websites, such as the Federal Supreme Court (STF) and the Chamber of Deputies, to look for legislation connected to the topic. The speeches were obtained on official channels, such as the UN (United Nations) YouTube Channel and the website of the Alexandre de Gusmao Foundation (FUNAG), a government institution connected to the Ministry of International Affairs.

Lastly, the timeline with the events related to the analysed period was constructed, including the media's response for that quartile, to compare the government practices and the impacts such practices have caused on the media discourses.

Appendix 2 – Table of the articles selected for this study (Source: own elaboration).

| Code | Title of the Article | Date of Publication | Newspaper |
|----------------|---|----------------------------|-------------------|
| 040119_FL.pdf | Em carta a Bolsonaro, lideranças indígenas pedem diálogo e criticam medidas | 04/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 060119_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro faz Rondon se revirar no túmulo | 06/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070119_FL.pdf | Temos de mudar ideia de que impedimos desenvolvimento, diz deputada indígena | 07/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 110119_ES.pdf | Com a Funai, problemas; mas como será sem ela? | 11/01/2019 | Estadao |
| 110119_FL.pdf | Não vejo necessidade de explorar terra indígena, diz governador do Acre | 11/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 130119_FL.pdf | Maioria dos brasileiros é contrária à redução de terras indígenas | 13/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 140119_ES.pdf | General Franklimberg volta à presidência da Funai | 14/01/2019 | Estadao |
| 180119_FL.pdf | A Funai morreu, foi extinta', diz sertanista que presidiu o órgão | 18/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 220119_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz em Davos que o Brasil, 'por ora', permanece no Acordo de Paris | 22/01/2019 | Estadao |
| 230119_FL.pdf | Ministro de Meio Ambiente fala em 'excesso de demarcações' e é rebatido por indígena | 23/01/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 110219B_FL.pdf | Apesar de declarações de Bolsonaro, Serra do Sol não é 'Eldorado amazônico' | 11/02/2019 | Estadao |
| 110219A_FL.pdf | Dez anos após vitória no STF, indígenas se preparam para enfrentar Bolsonaro em RR | 11/02/2019 | Estadao |
| 140219_FL.pdf | Ministro do Ambiente visita terra indígena que arrenda área para plantar soja | 14/02/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 230219_ES.pdf | 'Hoje, o maior latifundiário do País é o índio', diz Nabhan | 23/02/2019 | Estadao |
| 060319_ES.pdf | A quem de fato pertence a floresta amazônica? | 06/03/2019 | Estadao |
| 170319B_FL.pdf | Governo Bolsonaro renova temor de conflito em tribo da Amazônia | 17/03/2019 | Estadao |
| 170319A_FL.pdf | Crime organizado na Amazônia ameaça sobrevivência coletiva | 17/03/2019 | Estadao |
| 190319_ES.pdf | Artigo: proteger terras indígenas é proteger o meio ambiente; Trump e Bolsonaro ameaçam ambos | 19/03/2019 | Estadao |
| 040419_FL.pdf | Agendas ambiental e indígena são maior retrocesso de Bolsonaro, diz Marina | 04/04/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 050419_FL.pdf | Funai localiza 34 índios isolados e reduz tensão na Amazônia | 05/04/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 130419_FL.pdf | Subprocurador se lança para PGR por fora de lista tríplice e acena a Bolsonaro | 13/04/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 240419B_ES.pdf | O recado dos povos da floresta | 24/04/2019 | Estadao |
| 080519_ES.pdf | Ex-ministros do Meio Ambiente divulgam manifesto com críticas ao governo Bolsonaro | 08/05/2019 | Estadao |
| 140519_ES.pdf | Devolve! Devolve! A FUNAI é da Justiça e não dos Ruralistas | 14/05/2019 | Estadao |
| 170519_FL.pdf | Anúncio de Salles pega de surpresa doadores internacionais do Fundo Amazônia | 17/05/2019 | Estadao |

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|----------------|--|------------|-------------------|
| 040619_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro ameaça acabar com o povo indígena, diz líder Raon | 04/06/2019 | Estadao |
| 190619_FL.pdf | 'Legislativo não pode fazer o que fez', diz Bolsonaro sobre mudança em MP | 19/06/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 190619_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro: 'Também não tenho apego ao cargo, mas Moro não sai | 19/06/2019 | Estadao |
| 200619_FL.pdf | 'Quem manda sou eu', diz Bolsonaro sobre criação de novas terras indígenas | 20/06/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 210619_FL.pdf | A não questão indígena | 21/06/2019 | Estadao |
| 240619_FL.pdf | Barroso, do STF, suspende medida de Bolsonaro sobre demarcação de terra indígena | 24/06/2019 | Estadao |
| 010719_ES.pdf | O que menos sobra na Funai é foco no índio | 01/07/2019 | Estadao |
| 010719_FL.pdf | Terras sem dono somam 1/6 do território brasileiro | 01/07/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 060719_ES.pdf | Prefeitos de cidades amazônicas lançam pacto pelo desenvolvimento com 'floresta em pé' | 06/07/2019 | Estadao |
| 190719_ES.pdf | Texto usa dado falso para relacionar pavimentação da Transamazônica a Bolsonaro | 19/07/2019 | Estadao |
| 270719_FL.pdf | Índio é assassinado durante invasão de garimpeiros no Amapá, dizem moradores | 27/07/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 280719_FL.pdf | Invasores têm armas e tomaram aldeia no Amapá, dizem Funai e indígenas | 28/07/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 290719_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro cancela reunião com ministro francês e publica 'live' cortando o cabelo | 29/07/2019 | Estadao |
| 290719_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro põe em dúvida assassinato de líder indígena waiãpi em conflito no Amapá | 29/07/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 300719_ES.pdf | Réquiem para os índios | 30/07/2019 | Estadao |
| 010819_ES.pdf | Supremo deve manter demarcação com Funai | 01/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 050819_ES.pdf | Mineração pode atingir 1/3 das áreas indígenas do País | 05/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 070819B_ES.pdf | País está ficando muito chato', diz ministro da Infraestrutura sobre debate ambiental | 07/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 070819A_ES.pdf | Relembra polêmicas ambientais do governo de Jair Bolsonaro | 07/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 110819_FL.pdf | No primeiro semestre sob Bolsonaro, 44 indicadores pioram e 28 melhoram | 11/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 150819_FL.pdf | Amazônia precisa de 'soluções capitalistas', diz ministro do Meio Ambiente | 15/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 160819_FL.pdf | Líder waiãpi morreu por afogamento e sem sinais de violência, aponta laudo | 16/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 180819_FL.pdf | Não é só porque a Amazônia é nossa que devemos acabar com ela, diz pecuarista | 18/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 200819_FL.pdf | Onda de queimadas já atinge 68 áreas protegidas somente nesta semana | 20/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 210819_FL.pdf | A explosão do desmate | 21/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 210819B_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro retoma plano de erguer grandes hidrelétricas na Amazônia | 21/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 210819A_ES.pdf | Recorde de queimadas reflete irresponsabilidade de Bolsonaro', rebatem ONGs | 21/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 220819_ES.pdf | Procuradoria investiga aumento no desmatamento e nas queimadas na Amazônia | 22/08/2019 | Estadao |

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|----------------|--|------------|-------------------|
| 230819_ES.pdf | Governo orienta embaixadas a defender políticas de Bolsonaro para Amazônia | 23/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 230819_FL.pdf | Teoria conspiratória da ditadura guia Bolsonaro na Amazônia | 23/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 240819_ES.pdf | 'Essa história de que a Amazônia pertence à humanidade é bobagem', diz Ricardo Salles | 24/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 240819_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro contraria dados do governo e diz que fogo é restrito a regiões desmatadas | 24/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 250819B_FL.pdf | Retrocesso fumegante de três décadas | 25/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 260819_FL.pdf | Abandonados pelo governo federal, índios xikrin retomam área de grileiros noPA | 26/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 260819A_ES.pdf | CCJ vota atividade agropecuária em terras indígenas | 26/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 260819B_ES.pdf | Gestão Bolsonaro não enviou 'tropa de elite' do Ibama à Amazônia este ano, apesar de alta no desmate | 26/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819D_ES.pdf | Avança na Câmara proposta que permite exploração agropecuária em terra indígena | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819A_FL.pdf | De Fordlândia a 'bem comum': as contradições na história do interesse estrangeiro na Amazônia | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819B_FL.pdf | Ministério Público Federal pede operação urgente da PF para proteger índios ameaçados no PA | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819C_ES.pdf | Notícias do dia: Bolsonaro e Amazônia, Bendine, Moro, Previdência e Neymar em 'La Casa de Papel' | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819B_ES.pdf | Reunião com Bolsonaro expõe divisão de governadores da Amazônia | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 270819A_ES.pdf | Sob pressão por incêndios na Amazônia, Bolsonaro defende exploração de terras indígenas | 27/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 280819B_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro apagou ofensa a esposa de Macron para evitar dupla interpretação, diz porta-voz | 28/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 280819_FL.pdf | Para cardeal, Bolsonaro nega visão comunitária ao recusar ajuda internacional à Amazônia | 28/08/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 290819_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que dinheiro do G-7 é 'esmola' | 29/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 310819C_ES.pdf | 'Bolsonaro tem visão colonial dos indígenas' | 31/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 310819D_ES.pdf | Equipe do Ibama é alvo de tiros em operação perto de área indígena no Pará | 31/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 310819B_ES.pdf | Freios e contrapesos | 31/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 310819A_ES.pdf | Investigações revelam quadrilhas e ganho milionário por trás do desmate | 31/08/2019 | Estadao |
| 010919_FL.pdf | No Brasil todo mundo é índio, exceto quem não é | 01/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 020919_FL .pdf | Ao falar de indulto a policiais, Bolsonaro diz que não esquece quem esteve ao seu lado | 02/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 030919B_FL.pdf | Governo vai iniciar regulamentação da mineração em terra indígena, diz Ony | 03/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 030919A_FL.pdf | Índios lamentam fim de brigadas de incêndio em aldeia em Mato Grosso | 03/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 030919_ES.pdf | Onyx diz que governo vai iniciar regulamentação de mineração em terra indígena | 03/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 040919_FL.pdf | Questão da Amazônia nasceu com ataques de Bolsonaro, diz ex-diretor do Inpe | 04/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 050919_ES.pdf | A Amazônia é brasileira, mas é de interesse universal', diz prefeito de Manaus | 05/09/2019 | Estadao |

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|----------------|--|------------|-------------------|
| 080919_FL.pdf | Garimpeiros reagem a ação do Ibama e cobram proteção de Bolsonaro | 08/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 090919C_FL.pdf | Novo chefe no PA diz que Ibama vai parar de queimar máquinas de garimpo ilegal | 09/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 090919B_FL.pdf | Salles contraria Ministério Público Federal e volta a criticar Ibama e ICMBio | 09/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 100919B_FL.pdf | Após dizer que pararia queima de máquinas de garimpo, chefe do Ibama no PA é demitido | 10/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 100919A_FL.pdf | Mato Grosso decreta situação de emergência após queimadas | 10/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 200919_FL.pdf | Guardiões da floresta' perseguem madeireiros ilegais na Amazônia | 20/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 210919_FL.pdf | Raoni diz que Bolsonaro não tem 'coração bom' e quer destruir indígenas | 21/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 240919B_ES.pdf | Checamos o discurso de Bolsonaro na Assembleia-Geral da ONU: veja o resultado | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 240919C_ES.pdf | Entenda os fatos citados por Bolsonaro em seu discurso | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 240919B_FL.pdf | Invasões a terras indígenas disparam sob Bolsonaro, aponta conselho da CNBB | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 240919A_FL.pdf | Leia a íntegra do discurso de Bolsonaro na ONU | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 240919D_ES.pdf | Questão indígena domina discurso de Bolsonaro na ONU; lideranças criticam | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 240919A_ES.pdf | Veja o discurso completo de Bolsonaro na Assembleia-Geral das Nações Unidas | 24/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 250919_FL.pdf | Veja a íntegra do discurso de Bolsonaro na ONU com checagens e contextualizações | 25/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 260919_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que cacique Raoni foi cooptado por chefes de Estado | 26/09/2019 | Estadao |
| 260919_FL.pdf | Maioria dos brasileiros defende proteção de florestas onde vivem índios isolados | 26/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 290919_FL.pdf | O presidente mente | 29/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 300919_FL.pdf | Ibama diz que comandos militares se recusaram a apoiar ações de fiscalização | 30/09/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 031019_FL.pdf | É preciso uma igreja com rosto indígena', diz teólogo sobre encontro no Vaticano | 03/10/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 031019_ES.pdf | Proposta que regulamenta o garimpo, inclusive em terras indígenas, está em fase final, diz governo | 03/10/2019 | Estadao |
| 051019A_FL.pdf | Carta aberta em 2019 alertou sobre 'genocídio' indígena e exoneração de Bruno Pereira | 05/10/2019 | Estadao |
| 051019B_FL.pdf | O conceito de ecologia integral que o papa proporá em cúpula sobre Amazônia | 05/10/2019 | Estadao |
| 071019_FL.pdf | Excluir mulheres da igreja é nonsense, diz assessor do papa para a Amazônia | 07/10/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 121019_FL.pdf | Governo Bolsonaro 'vai dar tão certo que vamos ficar 4,8, 12 anos', afirma Damares | 12/10/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 151019_ES.pdf | Não sei por que Bolsonaro faz esses ataques contra mim, diz índio Raoni | 15/10/2019 | Estadao |
| 151019_FL.pdf | Secretário de Bolsonaro atribui queimadas a índios e isenta ruralista | 15/10/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |

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| 041119_ES.pdf | O tiro que matou Paulo Guajajara e a certeza de que o genocídio indígena segue seu curso | 04/11/2019 | Estadao |
| 221119_ES.pdf | Desmate em unidades federais protegidas sobe 84% e supera média de toda a Amazônia | 22/11/2019 | Estadao |
| 231119_ES.pdf | Chocolate Yanomami versus garimpo | 23/11/2019 | Estadao |
| 271119_ES.pdf | Em Manaus, Bolsonaro diz que índios são 'condenados a viver como homens pré-históricos' | 27/11/2019 | Estadao |
| 061219B_ES.pdf | Alvo do governo, mineração na Amazônia Legal é proibida hoje em 40% do território | 06/12/2019 | Estadao |
| 061219A_ES.pdf | Direito Ambiental: incertezas, polêmicas, graves desastres ambientais e alguns avanços | 06/12/2019 | Estadao |
| 081219_ES.pdf | Conselho ligado à Igreja Católica responsabiliza governo Bolsonaro por morte de índios | 08/12/2019 | Estadao |
| 101219_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro chama Greta de pirralha e diz ser contra desmatamento ilegal | 10/12/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 211219_FL.pdf | Garimpeiros clandestinos ameaçam paraíso ianomâmi | 21/12/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 281219_FL.pdf | Indígenas resistem a invasões e produzem alimentos para vendê-los em SP | 28/12/2019 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 030120_FL.pdf | Em livro, indigenista vê uma direita que perdeu a memória e se degenerou | 03/01/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 040120_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro anistia grilagem, freia novas áreas indígenas e estaciona reforma agrária | 04/01/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 180120_ES.pdf | Indígenas denunciam projeto político de 'genocídio' em encontro de lideranças | 18/01/2020 | Estadao |
| 240120_ES.pdf | 'Cada vez mais humano', 'fedorentos' e 'massa de manobra': as declarações de Bolsonaro sobre índios | 24/01/2020 | Estadao |
| 240120_FL.pdf | Líder indígena vai à Justiça contra Bolsonaro por racismo | 24/01/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 280120_FL.pdf | Moro usa parecer de Temer e trava demarcação de 17 terras indígenas | 28/01/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 310120A_ES.pdf | Ex-missionário evangélico deve assumir área de índios isolados na Funai | 31/01/2020 | Estadao |
| 310120_FL.pdf | Funai planeja colocar evangelizador de indígenas na chefia de índios isolados | 31/01/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 310120B_ES.pdf | Organizações indígenas repudiam indicação de pastor para cuidar de povos isolados | 31/01/2020 | Estadao |
| 050220_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro assina projeto que autoriza garimpo em terras indígenas | 05/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 050220B_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro assina projeto que autoriza mineração em terra indígena | 05/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 060220_FL.pdf | Projeto de mineração também libera plantio de transgênico em terra indígena | 06/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070220_FL.pdf | Neto de Raoni é exonerado da Funai após cacique organizar carta crítica a Bolsonaro | 07/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070220A_ES.pdf | Bancada ruralista pede que Câmara discuta projeto de Bolsonaro sobre exploração de terra indígena | 07/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 070220B_ES.pdf | Propostas do governo para área ambiental geram críticas | 07/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 100220_ES.pdf | Projeto de mineração em terras indígenas pode levar à destruição de áreas protegidas e ao desaparecimento de povos, diz Procuradoria | 10/02/2020 | Estadao |

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| 120220A_ES.pdf | CNBB vai na 'contramão' de propostas do governo Bolsonaro | 12/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 120220B_ES.pdf | Instituto não defende mineração em terras indígenas; ato vem do governo, diz presidente do Ibram | 12/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 130220_ES.pdf | Regulamentar atividades em terras indígenas é favor que fazemos ao País, diz Bento Albuquerque | 13/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 140220_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro: 'Não estou preocupado com reeleição, com trabalho ela vem | 14/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 150220_ES.pdf | O joio e o trigo nas terras indígenas | 15/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 160220_FL.pdf | No 1º ano de Bolsonaro, educação, saúde e social pioram, criminalidade recua e economia vê equilíbrio | 16/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 220220_FL.pdf | O projeto do governo que libera a mineração em terras indígenas é adequado? NÃO | 22/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 270220_ES.pdf | Anistia Internacional condena 'retórica da linha-dura' de autoridades brasileiras | 27/02/2020 | Estadao |
| 280220_FL.pdf | Raposa Serra do Sol registra primeira invasão garimpeira desde demarcação | 28/02/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 060320_ES.pdf | O Brasil está à deriva, não vejo nenhuma estratégia', diz economista | 06/03/2020 | Estadao |
| 030420_FL.pdf | Sem esperar governo, indígenas fecham estradas e expulsam garimpeiros contra coronavírus | 03/04/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 030420_ES.pdf | Violações de direitos humanos | 03/04/2020 | Estadao |
| 070420_FL.pdf | Com 'quem manda sou eu', Bolsonaro repete tática de reafirmar a sua própria autoridade; relembre outros casos | 07/04/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 140420_FL.pdf | Ricardo Salles exonerado diretor de proteção ambiental do Ibama | 14/04/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 240420A_ES.pdf | 'Cada vez mais, o índio é um ser humano igual aos', diz Jair Bolsonaro | 24/04/2020 | Estadao |
| 260420_FL.pdf | Força-tarefa pede ações na Amazônia contra riscos de devastação e de Covid-19 | 26/04/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 080520_ES.pdf | Nabhan diz que Câmara faz 'uso político' de MP; Maia diz que secretário mente | 08/05/2020 | Estadao |
| 200520_FL.pdf | Amazônia vive pandemia de destruição com Covid-19 e ofensiva de Bolsonaro | 20/05/2020 | Estadao |
| 220520_ES.pdf | 'Não temos mais medo', diz primeira curadora indígena do Brasil | 22/05/2020 | Estadao |
| 290520_ES.pdf | Retrocedemos na questão ambiental', diz Pedro de Camargo Neto | 29/05/2020 | Estadao |
| 050620_ES.pdf | Alertas de desmatamento na Amazônia em 10 meses já respondem por 92% das perdas no ano anterior | 05/06/2020 | Estadao |
| 090620_ES.pdf | Desmatamento consolidado da Amazônia em 2019 superou 10 mil km², afirma Inpe | 09/06/2020 | Estadao |
| 230620_ES.pdf | Governo demite fiscais, mas usa resultado de ação do grupo para turbinar balanço sobre Amazônia | 23/06/2020 | Estadao |
| 250620B_FL.pdf | Amazônia tem maior número de queimadas nas primeiras semanas de junho desde 2007 | 25/06/2020 | Estadao |
| 250620A_FL.pdf | Terras Indígenas e Ucs federais concentram 72% do desmatamento para garimpos na Amazônia em 2020 | 25/06/2020 | Estadao |
| 030720_FL.pdf | Justiça determina retirada de garimpeiros de território ianomâmi | 03/07/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |

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| 060720_ES.pdf | Operação militar na Amazônia contra desmatamento gastou 0,7% do que prometeu | 06/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 070720_ES.pdf | Exército paralisa operação contra desmatamento no Pará e deixa fiscais do Ibama sem apoio | 07/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 080720A_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro avalizou ações de Salles, diz MP em peça que pede saída do ministro | 08/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 080720B_ES.pdf | Pressionado, governo chama empresários para tentar explicar ações contra desmatamento | 08/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 080720C_ES.pdf | Servidores demitidos por Salles após ação contra garimpo relatam pressão do governo: 'ficou insustentável' | 08/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 090720B_ES.pdf | Bastidores: Por que o índio precisa de água potável? Porque contaminaram seus rios, vice-presidente | 09/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 090720A_ES.pdf | Cobrado, Mourão defende índio 'mais integrado' e evita compromisso contra garimpo ilegal | 09/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 100720B_ES.pdf | Desafio para religiosos: o 'não contato' com grupos indígenas isolados | 10/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 100720A_ES.pdf | Desmatamento na Amazônia em junho é maior em 5 anos, apesar de ação militar e pressão externa | 10/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 120720_ES.pdf | Corregedoria pede explicações de procuradores que cobram afastamento de Ricardo Salles | 12/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 170720_ES.pdf | Coalizão do agronegócio e de ambientalistas pede proteção a povos indígenas contra pandemia | 17/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 180720_ES.pdf | Líder indígena cacique Raoni é internado com quadro de hemorragia digestiva | 18/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 240720_FL.pdf | Regularização fundiária é eficaz para reduzir queimadas e desmatamento na Amazônia? NÃO | 24/07/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 250720_ES.pdf | Cacique Raoni tem alta hospitalar após mais de uma semana de internação | 25/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 310720B_FL.pdf | Após exoneração de coordenadores do Ibama, desmate volta a crescer em área indígena do PA | 31/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 310720A_FL.pdf | Governo admite falta de barreira sanitária contra a Covid-19 em 8 terras indígenas | 31/07/2020 | Estadao |
| 010820_ES.pdf | Queimadas na Amazônia têm alta de 28% no mês de julho, informa Inpe | 01/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 030820_ES.pdf | O mundo não está nos olhando horrorizado por acaso', diz Barroso sobre desmatamento na Amazônia | 03/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 060820B_FL.pdf | Ministério da Defesa barra fiscalização do Ibama contra garimpo ilegal no PA | 06/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 060820A_FL.pdf | Mourão atravessa o Inpe e divulga supostos dados de desmate de julho | 06/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 060820_ES.pdf | Operação do Ibama contra garimpo em terra indígena no Pará é suspensa pela Defesa | 06/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 120820_ES.pdf | Deputados da oposição cobram do Itamaraty explicação sobre agenda ambiental | 12/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 170820_ES.pdf | Barroso diz que ameaças à democracia são 'retóricas' e que não há 'risco institucional' | 17/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 240820_ES.pdf | Gestão Pazuello faz cem dias, chega a 100 mil mortes por covid e veta Médicos Sem Fronteiras | 24/08/2020 | Estadao |
| 310820_ES.pdf | Cacique Raoni é diagnosticado com covid | 31/08/2020 | Estadao |

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| 010920_FL.pdf | Com anticorpos para coronavírus, cacique Raoni é internado pela segunda vez em dois meses | 01/09/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 030920_ES.pdf | Não consigo matar esse câncer chamado ONG', diz Bolsonaro | 03/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 040920A_ES.pdf | É possível melhorar a preservação da Amazônia', diz general Heleno | 04/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 040920B_ES.pdf | Mourão diz que governo entrou tarde para frear desmate e se compromete a reduzir perda na Amazônia | 04/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 050920_FL.pdf | Desmate, invasões e garimpo se alastram por terras indígenas perto do rio Xingu | 05/09/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070920_ES.pdf | Ruído entre índios e militares ameaça legado de Rondon | 07/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 080920_FL.pdf | Mourão diz que é hora de discutir mineração em terra indígena | 08/09/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 100920_ES.pdf | Morto com uma flechada de índio isolado, sertanista queria um Brasil preservado | 10/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 130920_FL.pdf | Post usa foto antiga de madeireiros para acusar ONGs de incêndios na Amazônia | 13/09/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 140920_ES.pdf | Funai e MME querem videoconferência com indígenas para avançar com linha de energia na Amazônia | 14/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 160920A_ES.pdf | Parte do mundo tem visão distorcida sobre desmatamento ilegal e queimadas na Amazônia, diz Mourão | 16/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 160920B_ES.pdf | Vídeo compartilhado por Mourão e Salles distorce dados sobre queimadas na Amazônia | 16/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 220920_ES.pdf | Checamos o discurso de Bolsonaro na Assembleia-Geral da ONU | 22/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 230920_ES.pdf | No Acre, Mourão diz que divulgação de queimadas no País está sendo superdimensionada | 23/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 290920_FL.pdf | A desproteção das terras eo genocídio dos povos indígenas | 29/09/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 300920_ES.pdf | Invasões em terras indígenas crescem 135% no governo Bolsonaro | 30/09/2020 | Estadao |
| 051020_ES.pdf | Mourão afirma que ataques ao País e a Bolsonaro na área ambiental têm viés ideológico | 05/10/2020 | Estadao |
| 081020A_ES.pdf | Sabemos como parar os incêndios na floresta amazônica | 08/10/2020 | Estadao |
| 081020B_ES.pdf | Talvez em nenhum outro lugar represas sejam tão ameaçadoras quanto na bacia amazônica | 08/10/2020 | Estadao |
| 081020C_ES.pdf | Uma conquista evangélica está acontecendo. E a Amazônia é um prêmio muito procurado | 08/10/2020 | Estadao |
| 121020_FL.pdf | Liderança indígena do Pará ganha Prêmio Robert F.Kennedy de direitos humanos | 12/10/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 241020_FL.pdf | Aumento de invasões de áreas protegidas revela a ascensão dos 'sem-terra de direita' | 24/10/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 051120_FL.pdf | Sem brigadistas, 60% das terras indígenas sofrem com mais de 100 mil focos de incêndio em 2020 | 05/11/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 111120_ES.pdf | Criticado por queimadas, governo ensaia expropriar terras e reduzir verba de município que desmata | 11/11/2020 | Estadao |
| 191120_ES.pdf | Invasores ocupam base de terra indígena no Pará; Ministério da Justiça vai enviar reforço | 19/11/2020 | Estadao |
| 191120_FL.pdf | Invasores de terra indígena cercam base e ameaçam fiscais do Ibama no Pará | 19/11/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |

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| 221120_ES.pdf | Governo planeja nova estrada no meio da Amazônia | 22/11/2020 | Estadao |
| 271120_ES.pdf | Governo demite pastor evangélico que chefiava área de índios isolados | 27/11/2020 | Estadao |
| 011220_ES.pdf | Barroso dá 48 horas para governo explicar como vai concluir implementação de bloqueios sanitários contra covid-19 em terras indígenas | 01/12/2020 | Estadao |
| 121220_FL.pdf | Reduto do presidente, polo madeireiro no Pará vê cerco apertar | 12/12/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 281220_FL.pdf | Em dois anos, Bolsonaro esvaziou órgãos que cuidam de questões ambientais, indígenas e agrárias | 28/12/2020 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 040121_FL.pdf | Cerca de 40% do Pantanal mato-grossense queimou em 2020 | 04/01/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 120121_ES.pdf | 'PT resolveu apoiar quem eu tenho simpatia no Senado', diz Bolsonaro | 12/01/2021 | Estadao |
| 280121_FL.pdf | Investigações de assassinatos no campo no 1º ano de Bolsonaro empacam; só 1 caso é considerado encerrado | 28/01/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 020221_ES.pdf | Bancada ruralista vê 'melhor momento' no Congresso para liberação de agrotóxicos | 02/02/2021 | Estadao |
| 080221_FL.pdf | Incentivado pelo 'senador da cueca', garimpo ilegal empurra cachoeiras em terra indígena de RR | 08/02/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 260221B_FL.pdf | Investigação revela terras protegidas da Amazônia à venda no Facebook | 26/02/2021 | Estadao |
| 260221A_FL.pdf | Número de pedidos para lavra de ouro em terra indígena bate recorde à espera de projeto de lei | 26/02/2021 | Estadao |
| 020321_FL.pdf | Deputados usam imagem de parlamentar indígena para defender pauta bolsonarista Amazônia | 02/03/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 030321_ES.pdf | Beleza e resistência: 'A Última Floresta' é um retrato dos ianomâmis no Festival de Berlim | 03/03/2021 | Estadao |
| 130321_ES.pdf | ONU cita preocupação com projeto de contraterrorismo e ataques a indígenas no Brasil | 13/03/2021 | Estadao |
| 280321_FL .pdf | Não existe democracia para indígenas do Brasil', diz líder munduruku Alessandra Korap | 28/03/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 160421B_ES.pdf | Cacique Raoni diz que Bolsonaro mente e pede a Biden para ignorá-lo | 16/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 160421A_ES.pdf | O maior grileiro de terras indígenas da Amazônia ,multado pelo Ibama em R\$ 105 milhões | 16/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 180421_FL.pdf | Vaquinha do garimpo paga ônibus até Brasília para indígenas apoiarem mineração | 18/04/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 190421B_FL.pdf | Desmatamento pode cortar Xingu em dois, aponta relatório de ONG | 19/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 190421C_FL.pdf | Todo brasileiro hoje sente o que é ser tratado como indígena | 19/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 200421B_ES.pdf | A necessária preservação da Amazônia | 20/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 200421A_ES.pdf | Plataforma do Instituto Igarapé expõe áreas de crimes ambientais na Amazônia | 20/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 210421_FL.pdf* | 14 vezes em que ações d o governo Bolsonaro tiveram impacto negativo no ambiente | 21/04/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 210421_ES.pdf | O pária e a cúpula do Clima | 21/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 250421B_FL.pdf | Ressuscitada por Bolsonaro, rodovia ameaça região de maior biodiversidade do Brasil | 25/04/2021 | Estadao |
| 270421_ES.pdf | Em busca do ouro | 27/04/2021 | Estadao |

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| 100521_ES.pdf | Nove ex-ministros do Meio Ambiente protestam contra projeto da Lei Geral do Licenciamento | 10/05/2021 | Estadao |
| 140521_ES.pdf | Não é justo querer criminalizar o garimpeiro no Brasil, defende Bolsonaro | 14/05/2021 | Estadao |
| 150521_FL.pdf | Yanomamis dizem que duas crianças morreram durante ataques de garimpeiros | 15/05/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 260521_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro inaugura ponte ao lado da maior jazida de nióbio do mundo | 26/05/2021 | Estadao |
| 260521_ES.pdf | Garimpeiros bloqueiam cidade no Pará e incendiam casas de indígenas | 26/05/2021 | Estadao |
| 270521_FL.pdf | Em ritmo de campanha, Bolsonaro cruza o país e inaugura obras que incluem até microponte de madeira | 27/05/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 010621_ES.pdf | Doas historinhas indígenas | 01/06/2021 | Estadao |
| 030621_ES.pdf | 'The Economist' critica Bolsonaro e diz que Brasil é 'década sombria' em edição especial | 03/06/2021 | Estadao |
| 220621_FL.pdf | Autoritário, Bolsonaro diz que faz o que quer; lembre episódios em que fez mesmo | 22/06/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 230621_ES.pdf | Empresários e executivos do mercado financeiro cobram Lira contra retrocessos ambientais | 23/06/2021 | Estadao |
| 010721_ES.pdf | Amazônia tem junho com maior nº de focos de incendio desde 2007 | 01/07/2021 | Estadao |
| 030721_ES.pdf | Genocídio anunciado, genocídio calculado, genocídio ignorado: seremos cobrados | 03/07/2021 | Estadao |
| 200721_ES.pdf | PF faz busca e apreensão contra maior grileiro deterra indígenas da Amazônia | 20/07/2021 | Estadao |
| 220721_ES.pdf | Quando o "Agro" vai se diferenciar do "Ogro" negócio no Parlamento Brasileiro? | 22/07/2021 | Estadao |
| 240821_ES.pdf | 'Marco temporal' em julgamento no STF hoje põe em xeque demarcação de mais de 300 terras indígenas | 24/08/2021 | Estadao |
| 260821_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que Pacheco 'agiu de maneira diferente de como agiu no passado' | 26/08/2021 | Estadao |
| 290821_FL.pdf | Marco temporal para demarcar terras indígenas deve unir Congresso e Planalto contra STF | 29/08/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 310821_ES.pdf | Cresce o número de assassinatos de indígenas na última década, mostra estudo | 31/08/2021 | Estadao |
| 310821B_FL.pdf | Nada justifica o olho gordo em nossas terras | 31/08/2021 | Estadao |
| 310821A_FL.pdf | Terras indígenas na Amazônia têm alta dedesmatamento, garimpo e extração de madeira | 31/08/2021 | Estadao |
| 130921_ES.pdf | 2020 teve recorde de mortes de ativistas ambientais; Brasil fica em 4º no ranking | 13/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 160921_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que vaidefender na ONU marco temporal para demarcação de terras indígena | 16/09/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 190921A_FL.pdf | Governo Bolsonaro pagou R\$ 75 mi a empresas ligadas a aeronaves suspeitas degarimpo em terra indígena | 19/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 190921B_FL.pdf | Helicóptero com registro da Polícia Civil do Rio éapreendido por suspeita deuso em garimpo em terra yanomami | 19/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 210921A_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro mente e exagera em discurso na Assembleia-Geral da ONU | 21/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 210921B_ES.pdf | Brasil verde descrito por Bolsonaro na ONU é ficção sem respaldo na realidade; leia análise | 21/09/2021 | Estadao |

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| 210921_FL.pdf | Vale decide devolver processos de mineração em terras indígenas | 21/09/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 290921B_ES.pdf | Funai liberou linha de energia na Amazônia sem definir acordo de compensações com indígenas | 29/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 290921C_ES.pdf | Indígenas de Roraima afirmam que licença de 'linha de Tucuruí' é ilegal e recorrem ao MPF | 29/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 290921A_ES.pdf | 'Linha de Tucuruí', que corta reserva indígena na Amazônia, tem sinal verde do Ibama | 29/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 300921_FL.pdf | Funai dá aval a linha de energia sem definir compensações com indígenas | 30/09/2021 | Folha de Sao Paulo |
| 300921_ES.pdf | Gasto militar na Amazônia cresce 178%, mas desmatamento se mantém em alta | 30/09/2021 | Estadao |
| 031021_FL.pdf | Indígenas não vão abrir mão de territórios se marco temporal passar, diz Sonia Guajajara | 03/10/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 191021_ES.pdf | CPI da Covid: veja argumentos de Renan para pedir indiciamento de Bolsonaro pelo crime de genocídio | 19/10/2021 | Estadao |
| 251021_FL.pdf | Contra guerra total, indígenas respondem com unidade | 25/10/2021 | Estadao |
| 281021_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro é criticado após visitar área de garimpo ilegal em terra indígena que prometeu anular | 28/10/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 281021_ES.pdf | Invasões a terras indígenas aumentam em 2020 e mortes têm alta de 63% | 28/10/2021 | Estadao |
| 021121_FL.pdf | Destaque na COP26, jovem indígena tem pai perseguido pelo governo Bolsonaro e mãe ameaçada de morte | 02/11/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 041121_ES.pdf | O golpe na COP 26 está aí, cai quem quer | 04/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 151121_ES.pdf | Resultados na área ambiental contradizem discurso do Brasil na COP-26; entenda | 15/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 251121A_FL.pdf | É absurdo falar em genocídio de indígenas, diz secretário do Ministério da Saúde | 25/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 251121_ES.pdf | Garimpeiros no AM falam em buscar representação política para barrar ação policial | 25/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 251121B_FL.pdf | Garimpo no rio Madeira é menos destrutivo do que mineração em terras indígenas | 25/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 271121_FL.pdf | Balsas de garimpo no rio Madeira são queimadas em operação policial | 27/11/2021 | Estadao |
| 011221_FL.pdf | Cooperativas quase dobraram pedidos para garimpar ouro na Amazônia desde 2019 | 01/12/2021 | Estadao |
| 051221_FL.pdf | General Heleno autoriza avanço de garimpo em áreas preservadas na Amazônia | 05/12/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 051221_ES.pdf | Vídeo recicla boatos antigos para dizer que europeus estão 'de olho' na Amazônia | 05/12/2021 | Estadao |
| 071221A_FL.pdf | Pesquisadoras descobrem contaminação por mercúrio em garimpo na Amazônia | 07/12/2021 | Estadao |
| 071221B_FL.pdf | MPF suspeita que atos de Heleno buscam preparar terreno para mineração em terra indígena | 07/12/2021 | Estadao |
| 081221_FL.pdf | Os projetos herdados da ditadura militar que ameaçam terras de indígenas isolados | 08/12/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 171221_FL.pdf | Heleno autorizou avanço de garimpo em rio que divide terras indígenas intocadas | 17/12/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 221221_ES.pdf | Justiça condiciona obra de linha de energia na Amazônia a medidas firmadas com povos indígenas | 22/12/2021 | Estadao |

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| 231221_FL.pdf | Helena autorizou exploração de diamantes em terra de reforma agrária na fronteira | 23/12/2021 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 050122_FL.pdf | Juíza aliada do clã Bolsonaro libera aeronaves suspeitas de atuação em garimpo | 05/01/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 060122_ES.pdf | Ativista indígena Txai Suruí relata ameaças após COP, mas fala em esperança: 'Vamos reconstruir' | 06/01/2022 | Estadao |
| 240122_ES.pdf | Sérgio Moro: 'Destempero de Bolsonaro abalou economia do País' | 24/01/2022 | Estadao |
| 250122_ES.pdf | Sundance 2022: 'The Territory' mostra luta do povo Uru-eu-wau-wau para proteger a floresta amazônica | 25/01/2022 | Estadao |
| 020222_ES.pdf | Obra de linhão na Amazônia segue parada quatro meses após ser anunciada por Bolsonaro | 02/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 040222_ES.pdf | Dona de Linhão de Tucuruí, na Amazônia, diz que 'é impossível' indenizar indígenas por impacto | 04/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 060222_FL.pdf | Sob Bolsonaro, autorizações para exploração de nióbio explodem na Amazônia | 06/02/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 090222_FL.pdf | Microempresário ganhou direito de explorar nióbio em áreas do tamanho de São Paulo na Amazônia | 09/02/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 140222_ES.pdf | Na defesa do garimpo, Bolsonaro cria programa de 'apoio ao desenvolvimento da mineração artesanal' | 14/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 150222_FL.pdf | PF faz operação contragarimpo ilegal que turvou água do Caribe da Amazônia | 15/02/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 160222B_ES.pdf | Estímulo à devastação | 16/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 160222A_ES.pdf | Garimpeiros fazem levante no Pará e bloqueiam sede do ICMBio em Itaituba | 16/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 180222_ES.pdf | PF e Ibama encerram operação contra garimpo no Pará com destruição de 21 escavadeiras | 18/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 230222_ES.pdf | Ato pela Terra e meio ambiente vai reunir Caetano Veloso e convidados em frente ao Congresso | 23/02/2022 | Estadao |
| 030322B_ES.pdf | Exploração de terras indígenas 'corrige lacunas' da Constituição, diz Ministério de Minas e Energia | 03/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 030322A_ES.pdf | Governo pressiona Congresso por votação urgente de projeto que libera exploração em terra indígena | 03/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 070322_FL.pdf | Governo faz ofensiva para liberar mineração em terra indígena | 07/03/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 080322B_ES.pdf | No Amazonas, minas de potássio ficam em sua maioria fora das terras indígenas | 08/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 080322C_ES.pdf | Oposição reage à revelação de que potássio não sobrepõe terras indígenas e tenta barrar projeto | 08/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 080322A_ES.pdf | Guerra nunca é 'boa oportunidade' | 08/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 090322C_FL.pdf | Câmara aprova urgência para projeto de mineração em terra indígena, mas votação fica para abril | 09/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 090322B_FL.pdf | Em vitória indígena, STF nega anulação de terra demarcada no Pará | 09/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 090322A_FL.pdf | MPF vê falácia em liberação de garimpo em terra indígena e diz que vai contestar projeto | 09/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 100322A_ES.pdf | Garimpeiros avisam Bolsonaro que farão bloqueio total da BR-163 na madrugada desta sexta | 10/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 100322B_ES.pdf | Presidente diz que projeto de exploração mineral terá de esperar algumas semanas para ir ao plenário | 10/03/2022 | Estadao |

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| 100322_FL.pdf | Projeto favorece empresa acusada de cooptar indígenas para explorar potássio na Amazônia | 10/03/2022 | Folha de Sao Paulo |
| 110322A_FL.pdf | Jazidas de potássio estão for a de terras indígenas, diz análise de dados oficiais | 11/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 110322B_FL.pdf | Meu banquete para Caetano Veloso | 11/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 110322C_FL.pdf | Réplica: Não olhe para baixo | 11/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 160322A_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro recebe medalha do mérito indigenista | 16/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 160322B_FL.pdf | Projeto de mineração em terra indígena é crime e chance perdida, dizem empresários | 16/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 170322C_FL.pdf | Ex-presidente da Funai devolve medalha após premiação de Bolsonaro | 17/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 170322A_FL.pdf | PF prende militar lotado na Funai por suspeita de arrendamento ilegal de terra indígena | 17/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 170322B_FL.pdf | Fundador da Localiza defende projeto de Bolsonaro sobre mineração em terra indígena | 17/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 180322_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro usa cocar e recebe homenagem por política indígena enquanto quer legalizar exploração | 18/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 180322B_FL.pdf | GSI indica aval a garimpo de ouro em terra indígena na Amazônia com aprovação de lei | 18/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 180322A_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro ganha medalha do mérito indigenista, põe cocar e cita Deus em discurso | 18/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 260322_ES.pdf | Senador ligado a grileiros no Pará articula encontro de garimpeiros com ministros de Bolsonaro | 26/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 270322_FL.pdf | Genocídio de indígenas em curso | 27/03/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 300322_ES.pdf | STF deve impor derrota a Bolsonaro em julgamento sobre questões ambientais | 30/03/2022 | Estadao |
| 020422B_FL.pdf | Governo Bolsonaro utiliza AGU para defender mineração em terras indígenas mesmo sem lei | 02/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 020422A_FL.pdf | Terras indígenas são chave para metas climáticas de Brasil, Colômbia, México e Peru | 02/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 040422_FL.pdf | Projeto de Bolsonaro para mineração em terra indígena é incompetência, diz fundador da Natura | 04/04/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 050422_FL.pdf | Despacho da Funai indica assédio e suposta tentativa de retaliação a servidores | 05/04/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 080422_ES.pdf | Desmatamento na Amazônia cai em março, mas região registra pior trimestre da série histórica | 08/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 100422_FL.pdf | O Território' escuta invasores e indígenas em disputa angustiante | 10/04/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 110422_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz ainda não ter maioria para aprovar exploração em terra indígena | 11/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 180422_ES.pdf | Garimpo e desmatamento em terras indígenas dobraram nos últimos três anos, revela levantamento | 18/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 180422_FL.pdf | União Europeia não sabe o que é a Amazônia, diz ex-ministra Tereza Cristina | 18/04/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 220422_FL.pdf | Povos isolados no Brasil? | 22/04/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 260422_FL.pdf | Quatro povos indígenas isolados na Amazônia estão com proteção vencida ou perto de expirar | 26/04/2022 | Estadao |
| 270422_ES.pdf | Garimpo ilegal tomou pistas de pouso de postos de saúde indígena em área Yanomami, diz MPF | 27/04/2022 | Estadao |

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| 030522_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro volta a criticar DiCaprio: 'É bom ficar de boca fechada' | 03/05/2022 | Estadao |
| 040522_FL.pdf | Projeto que libera linha de transmissão de energia em terra indígena é aprovado no Senado | 04/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 060522_ES.pdf | Quem são os responsáveis pelo desaparecimento dos Yanomami? | 06/05/2022 | Estadao |
| 090522_FL.pdf | MPF pede suspensão de garimpo em terras indígenas no Amazonas liberado por Heleno | 09/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 140522_FL.pdf | Povo de território indígena mais desmatado da Amazônia cria protocolo para discutir obras | 14/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 160522_FL.pdf | Garimpeiro ilegal mostra no YouTube fugas e dribles à fiscalização em terra yanomami | 16/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 210522_FL.pdf | Brasil devastou quase 90% da mata atlântica e 20% da Amazônia depois da Independência | 21/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 260522_FL.pdf | 10 anos após demarcação, terra Yanomami vê crescimento de garimpo e destruição | 26/05/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 270522_ES.pdf | Nacionalismo como álibi na Amazônia | 27/05/2022 | Estadao |
| 040622_FL.pdf | Lula cita guerra de Bolsonaro, esquece elo Salles-Alckmin e defende lei ambiental dura | 04/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070622_FL.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que jornalista e indigenista estavam em 'aventura não recomendada' | 07/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 070622A_ES.pdf | Indigenista Bruno Pereira foi ameaçado por invasores em bilhete: 'Vamos acertar as contas'; veja | 07/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 070622B_ES.pdf | Indigenistas sob ataque | 07/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 080622A_FL.pdf | Indigenista Bruno Pereira acumula anos de experiência e ameaças na Amazônia | 08/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 080622B_FL.pdf | Justiça determina reforços nas buscas por desaparecidos no AM e fala em omissão | 08/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 090622_FL.pdf | Entenda o que se sabe sobre o crime contra indigenista e jornalista no AM | 09/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 100622B_ES.pdf | Barroso prevê Amazônia 'terra sem lei' e manda governo usar 'todos os meios e forças' para encontrar Bruno Pereira e Dom Phillips | 10/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 100622A_ES.pdf | Uma nova política ambiental deve começar por revogar o que foi feito no governo Bolsonaro | 10/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 130622_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que 'é dispensável' Barroso dar prazo ao governo para explicar sumiço | 13/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 140622_ES.pdf | Garimpo e desaparecimentos: a Democracia Brasileira sangra por socorro | 14/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 150622C_ES.pdf | Bolsonaro diz que Dom Phillips seria 'malvisto' na região do Vale do Javari | 15/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 150622B_ES.pdf | Em meio a buscas por Dom Phillips e Bruno Pereira, PF relata ao Supremo 'dificuldades' de logística e recursos financeiros para proteger terras indígenas | 15/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 150622A_ES.pdf | Governo destaca só 6 agentes da Força Nacional para todo o Vale do Javari | 15/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 150622_FL.pdf | Lula homenageia Bruno e Dom e diz que demarcação de terra indígena é 'compromisso moral e ético' | 15/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 160622A_FL.pdf | Assassinatos no campo e na floresta têm histórico de impunidade; relembre casos | 16/06/2022 | Estadao |

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| 160622B_ES.pdf | Dois meses antes do assassinato de Dom e Bruno, André Mendonça interrompeu julgamento no STF que poderia obrigar União e Funai a entregarem plano de proteção a terras indígenas | 16/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 160622B_FL.pdf | Entidades falam em crime político na Amazônia e que região é dominada pela violência | 16/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 160622A_ES.pdf | 'Rusga' entre presidente e Congresso travou Força Nacional, diz Moro | 16/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 180622A_FL.pdf | 'Difícil, cansativo, perigoso', disse Bruno à Folha antes de ir à floresta pela última vez | 18/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 180622B_FL.pdf | Brasil sofrerá pressão da OCDE por questão ambiental, diz número 2 da Economia | 18/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 200622_ES.pdf | Amazônia Legal tem de janeiro a maio pior desmatamento em 15 anos, diz Imazon | 20/06/2022 | Estadao |
| 200622_FL.pdf | Mourão diz que Dom 'entrou de gaiato' ao ser morto no AM, e entidade critica | 20/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 220622_FL.pdf | Presidente da Funai precisa sair já | 22/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 230622_FL.pdf | Suspeito de morte de Bruno e Dom é preso em SP e confessa crime; veja vídeo | 23/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 250622_FL.pdf | Desmate acelera no Brasil sob receio de maior fiscalização em 2023, dizem especialistas | 25/06/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |
| 040722_FL.pdf | Defensoria e Ministério Público pedem indenização de R\$ 50 milhões à União após mortes de Dom e Bruno | 04/07/2022 | Folha de S. Paulo |