ACTIVIST JOURNALISM IN THE AMAZON:
the narratives from Eliane Brum

ELAINE JAVORSKI
Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luís – Maranhão – Brazil
ORCID: 0000-0003-1530-5264

QUEZIA ALENCAR
Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luís – Maranhão – Brazil
ORCID: 0000-0001-9611-7569

ABSTRACT – This article investigates the characteristics of activist journalism present in the narratives about the Amazon by journalist Eliane Brum, published on the website El País Brasil, between 2017 and 2020. From the perspective of the current of narrative studies associated with journalism, the research seeks to problematize the processes communicative, argumentative strategies and the effects that insert a sense of resistance in the narratives. The study analyzes nine reports from 2017 to 2020 about the Amazon region using the critical narrative analysis method (Motta, 2013) in conjunction with content analysis (Bardin, 2011). The results show that the reports use narrative resources that show journalistic personal identification with themes and sources, which underlies activist journalism
Key words: Narrative studies. Activism. Resistance. Amazon. Eliane Brum.

1 Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luís – Maranhão – Brazil. E-mail: elaine.javorski@ufma.br
2 Universidade Federal do Maranhão, São Luís – Maranhão – Brazil. E-mail: queziz.alencar@gmail.com

JORNALISMO ATIVISTA NA AMAZÔNIA:
as narrativas de Eliane Brum

RESUMO – Este trabalho pretende analisar as características do jornalismo ativista presentes nas narrativas sobre a Amazônia da jornalista Eliane Brum, publicadas no site El País Brasil, entre 2017 e 2020. Sob a perspectiva da corrente dos estudos narrativos associada ao jornalismo, a pesquisa busca problematizar os processos comunicativos, as estratégias argumentativas e os efeitos que inserem um sentido de resistência nas narrativas. O estudo analisa nove reportagens no período de 2017 a 2020 sobre a região amazônica por meio do método da análise crítica da narrativa (Motta, 2013) em conjunto com a análise de conteúdo (Bardin, 2011). Os resultados mostram que as reportagens utilizam recursos narrativos que evidenciam a identificação pessoal jornalística com temas e fontes, o que fundamenta o jornalismo ativista.
Palavras-chave: Estudos narrativos. Ativismo. Resistência. Amazônia. Eliane Brum.

PERIODISMO ACTIVISTA EN LA AMAZONIA:
las narrativas de Eliane Brum

RESUMEN – Este trabajo pretende analizar las características del periodismo activista presentes en las narrativas sobre la Amazonía de la periodista Eliane Brum, publicadas en el sitio web El País Brasil, entre 2017 y 2020. Desde la perspectiva de la corriente de estudios narrativos asociados al periodismo, la investigación busca problematizar los procesos comunicativos, las estrategias argumentativas y los efectos que insertan un sentido de resistencia en las narrativas. El estudio analiza nueve informes de 2017 a 2020 sobre la región amazónica utilizando el método de análisis narrativo crítico (Motta, 2013) en conjunto con el análisis de contenido (Bardin, 2011). Los resultados muestran que los reportajes utilizan recursos narrativos que evidencian la identificación personal periodística con los temas y fuentes, que subyace al periodismo activista.
Palabras clave: Estudios narrativos. Activismo. Resistencia. Amazonia. Eliane Brum.

1 Introduction

The Brazilian Amazon is a region covering around half of northwestern Brazil. It crosses through nine states, most of which are in the north region, but also the Northeast and Midwest. Many experts from various fields of scientific knowledge recognize it as a giant ecosystem, a humid tropical forest with the largest source of biodiversity in the world. Its history is marked by the exploitation of natural resources, and the return has always been underdevelopment for the region's population. Forced expansion promoted inequality, in addition to disastrous impacts on the population and nature. During colonization, the lands were seized by the colonizers and taken from the people who traditionally lived in the regions.

The region's "development" policies were, and continue to be, in the hands of large national and foreign capitals which have displaced entire populations from their place of origin, resulting in irreversible cultural and social transformations (Marques, 2019). This development was based on violence, building roads across the country, and encouraging large farmers, businessmen, and loggers to expand and gain control of the area (Nascimento, 2017).

The Amazon region is home to most of the indigenous population in Brazil, around 440 thousand indigenous people. There are more than 180 tribes, in addition to several isolated groups. The Yanomami tribe, located in Roraima and Amazonas, is a group of more than 25 thousand indigenous people. The entire territory plays a great role in protecting the rights of identities and these tribes have extensive knowledge of the region to maintain a sustainable life.

The identities of traditional people are largely invisible to the rest of the world. As Santos (2007) states, there is no real knowledge of them, only beliefs, opinions, idolatry, or intuitive or subjective understandings, which can ultimately become the object or raw material of scientific investigations. This homogenization of cultures and subjects makes multiple forms of knowledge unfeasible, eliminating any form of diversity.

According to Ijuim (2014, p. 15), "the most influential sectors of the press have focused their reports on conflicts and, for the most part, have characterized indigenous people as inconvenient – the invaders or the aggressors". As a result, there tend to be some recurrent themes about the region in the Brazilian press, such as land demarcation conflicts, ecosystem defenses, major works such as the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant, and the precarious way of life in tribal villages. All these processes and attacks affect how society and institutions such as the press view these peoples. The colonial imagery shows that representations of savagery and barbarism tend to appear in negative movements, such as the portrait of the other.

Eliane Brum is one of the journalists who publishes stories about the region and its population. She had a biweekly column (in Portuguese and Spanish) from 2013 to 2021 in El País, a Spanish-language daily newspaper that stopped publishing in Brazil in 2021. Brum also contributed to the British newspaper The Guardian and has published six books – five non-fiction and one novel – in addition to collections of chronicles, short stories, and essays. Since the 1990s, she has written narratives about the Amazon and the experiences

of the subjects and their political struggles. In 2017, she left São Paulo, one of the largest cities in the world and an important Brazilian journalistic hub, and moved to the city of Altamira, in the state of Pará, in the interior of the Amazon rainforest, one of the most violent in Brazil.

Described as a type of literary journalism, Eliane Brum's writing differs from the standards of daily journalism and its last-minute news as she delves deeper into contemporary themes. This paper analyzes her narrative structures and characteristics of activist journalism in her reports on the Amazon, published on the El País Brazil website between 2017 and 2020. From the perspective of narrative studies associated with journalism, this paper seeks to discuss communicative processes, argumentative strategies, and the effects that portray a sense of resistance and activism in her narratives.

This paper is divided into the following sections: first, we discuss communication processes and narratives as they pertain to current narrative studies in order to better understand the general concepts. The following section discusses the concepts of activist journalism and the importance of journalists' personal attitudes behind selecting and covering news. We then describe the methodological procedures that guided the analysis of the reports and present our main findings and analysis. Lastly, we present our final considerations on the subject.

2 Journalistic narratives and their potential

Journalism is one of the elements that make up reality as a shared social phenomenon, a place for the construction of immediate truth and common sense, and a legitimized way of seeing and understanding the world. It is through journalistic narratives that social mediations occur, the changes in their fabric that provide the reading of the world.

Costa and Silva (2003) argue that journalism operates through a "contract" with society, one established in truthfulness, making it a specialized mediator of social reality, recognized as an agent that builds and gives new meanings to stories yet has the credibility to do so. Journalism does not create fiction; however, reports are constructed from concepts based on the form of language and are thus subject to all its inaccuracies. Regarding its social contract, Charaudeau (2007)

relates the concept to instances of communication production and reception. He explains that the purpose of the media communication contract walks down two paths; one that informs the public and one that follows commercial logic, which is sometimes more evident due to its search for audiences and, consequently, profits. According to the author, the challenge with information is gaining credibility as it bases its legitimacy on "making people believe that what is said is true" (Charaudeau, 2007, p. 90). In this sense, journalists are engaged in a game of truth, which consists of being consistent with the different social imaginaries that question them.

Journalism is still structurally based on modern concepts such as objectivity and impartiality and must follow the rules and logic of simplifying the language (Resende, 2011). Thus, it is important to recognize narratives in journalism as they allow us to see the narrator's choices, intentions, and interests, and all the intricacies involved in the act of communicating.

These "traditional" concepts attempt to do away with narrativity in the journalistic field, potentially masking the power games that can involve gender and place of speech. However, for narrativity it is necessary to admit the presence of subjectivity, understanding that even when there is no subjectivity, there is partiality. Following this line of thought, journalistic narratives are representative of the context in which they are produced; narratives "create social meanings, they are cultural products inserted in certain historical contexts, they crystallize beliefs, values, ideologies, politics, culture, the entire society" (Motta, 2013, p. 121).

Resende (2006) looks at concealed narratives, defining them as narratives that are built exclusively on previously established rules for textual order, and that also "confine" the narrator-journalist. It is an instrumental view of journalism, present in investigations into the field, seeking to understand communication and its objects through the practices that support it. This instrumentalization is mainly due to the ideological and economic interference it is subjected to.

Seeking to understand the world narrated by journalism also helps toward understanding trajectories. Resende (2006) defines narratives of resistance as being able to provide other perspectives on journalism, investigating the important and complex aspects of the practice, for example, mischaracterizing characters, seeing beyond closed stories, and identifying lives under construction.

For Resende, recognizing subjectivity requires the use of

analytical instruments and methods to understand narrative gestures. Since many people speak through various means, it is important to understand who is speaking, what is said, and why it is said. In journalism, it is important to investigate the role of the journalist, who adopts a neutral position and "pretends" to be distanced. For Resende (2011), journalism legitimized a language that aims to erase, as much as possible, marks of enunciation, a legacy of modernity.

Narratives create meaning and help us understand the world. To do so, the narrator must build a discourse to achieve an objective, which is often an argumentative one, in addition to the social and political contexts that have a direct influence on the narrator.

> Narratives and narrations are discursive devices that we use socially, in context, according to our intentions. Narratives and narrations are forms of exercising power and hegemony in different places and situations of communication. Literary, historical, journalistic, scientific, legal, advertising and other narrative discourses participate in language games and power games. Analyzing the narratives turns into observing sociocultural actions and performances, rather than isolated reports. (Motta, 2013, p. 83).

Thus, narratives are always discursive constructions, factual or fictional, as a way of understanding the world and ourselves, increasingly affirming their cultural and social centrality. According to Resende (2006, p. 12), journalists are one of the protagonists "when they place themselves in the human place, creating possibilities of articulating themselves in the fabric of life". Even with the presence of this narrator, journalism still insists on removing the narrative author, placing him or her in the third person, a "distanced" mediator.

3 Journalism and activism

The notions of objectivity and impartiality have always been very important to journalism; they define the practice. In journalism of a militant and activist nature, these concepts have been modified into an intermediary between expertise and engagement. Journalists act as information professionals without necessarily adhering to the principle of impartiality, assuming their position clearly. This hybrid or combined practice is what Prudêncio and Batalha (2009) call "journativism".

> "Journativism" is, therefore, both the process of activist intervention in the media – by adapting the protest to newsworthiness criteria to obtain journalistic coverage – and the self-production of information (or counter-information) – today quite centralized on the internet. It can be thought of as a specific and privileged field of political action by contemporary collective actors. And this seems to be creating additional space for contemporary political disputes. (Prudêncio & Batalha, 2009, p. 108).

Journalists often tend to defend causes that seem important to them, even if they do so unintentionally. Suggesting an agenda or having a bias in a report are examples of this. For Castilho (2018), the concepts of objectivity and impartiality are used to make the militant brand of the press more invisible, which becomes apparent when discussing freedom of information. "The traditional press, due to its ideological character, classifies activism between that which it considers acceptable — its own activism — and that which it decides to reject based on its own interests" (Castilho, 2018). For this author, the defense of democracy and racial, religious, and gender equality is a form of activism that is just as political as the one used for promoting transparency in public affairs, combating social inequality, and denouncing authoritarianism and antagonism.

Moraes (2019), based on decolonial studies, proposes a critical observation based on criteria that are not assumed neutral and even have an activist nature to them. He believes that activism does not mean the journalist has to stop investigating and ignore research tools and procedures. The professional continues to use these tools and procedures in such a way that, if well worked on, they can shed more light on topics. "It is vital to understand that the path to objectivity in journalism, in addition to technical procedures, must also be guided by the perception of underrepresentation that affects different social groups which, I state again, is also caused by journalism" (Moraes, 2022, p. 153).

Moraes (2018) reflects on the limits of objective ideals and the consequences they generate on people's lives. He proposes using what he calls "subjective journalism", which challenges the reductionist concept of objectivity that undermines a reporter's autonomy and conditions him or her to just report the facts. One of the starting points for this is to reflect on the types of framing. What is often brought to public attention is the spectacular or extraordinary, which frames the other as "different", leaving any similarities to the side in the narratives. Another point is the attention to small details, the unimportant parts of the day, which generally do not attract attention.

Activism is often used to disqualify professionalism in journalism when it is used as a form of lack of objectivity, one of the pillars of the activity. "Subjective journalism" takes on the transformative character of journalism and its products "as means of intervention, of reclaiming humanities, of social positioning, of insurgency" (Moraes, 2022, p. 137). Critical positioning would provide the capacity for action, for transformation. This does not mean elevating the journalist to the role of protagonist, but opening space so that actors who are insufficiently represented can relate their experiences and problems.

Studies in the area of communication have already shown that the absolute exemption does not exist. A journalist's personal view interferes, and shapes and outlines narratives about the facts. Nikole Hannah-Jones, author of 1619, a New York Times project about the legacy of the black population in the USA, understands that every journalist is, to some extent, an activist because when they become an expert on something, they build opinions on the subject. Objectivity lies in objective methods, that is, the construction of a narrative in a fair and precise way.

> In the US, we believe that journalism exists to hold people in positions of power, accountable to speak on behalf of those most vulnerable. We believe that journalism is necessary for democracy. And all these positions are not neutral, but active. My activism takes shape when I write and expose injustices. Other people do it by marching in the streets. I don't think I should be involved on these two fronts, but I can't pretend that there isn't activism in my motivations behind becoming a journalist. (Mena, 2021).

Shultziner and Shoshan (2018) conceptualize these motivations as "journalistic personal identification", which underlies journalistic activism, that is, the importance of a journalist's attitudes for the selection and coverage of news. They drew on several studies to provide a tentative model consisting of possible factors and mechanisms that may explain when this identification is most likely to occur. They analyzed the engagement of journalists during the protest for social justice in Israel in 2011. Interactions include cooperating with activists, some of whom have also contributed to the movement by advising its leadership (on and off duty), writing demonstration speeches, withholding negative information, using professional networks, and generally writing in favor of the movement to stimulate mobilization. The authors propose some factors and mechanisms through which journalistic

personal identification and journalistic activism are more likely to occur: a) when there is an ideological identification; b) it is a new and non-partisan issue; c) there is a personal, intense or intimate connection between journalist and movement actors; d) movement leaders are credible and authentic; e) life experiences are similar; and f) there is moral commotion and empathy.

The definition of "journalistic personal identification" is associated with a professional's conviction about the veracity and importance of certain facts, and the understanding that legitimacy is needed in the media. According to Shultziner and Shoshan (2018), personal identification occurs in the middle of journalistic routines permeated by distance, skepticism in relation to sources and causes, propensity to promote clashes between sources, and favoring government sources. These practices give way to attitudes of affinity and affirmation of claims or information. This can happen according to how a journalist identifies ideologically with a particular cause, group, or political belief, particularly when the media outlet's political partisanship is explicit, but also, to a lesser extent, in organizations committed to neutrality and objectivity.

Another mechanism Shultziner and Shoshan (2018) mention is personal attachment. Intense social interactions with activist sources can lead journalists to empathize with their stories and experiences. Moral conflicts, empathy, and other emotions felt for people who are affected or victimized can also influence identification. "Journalists or editors may become emotionally inclined to think that victims deserve coverage and that the media should encourage mobilization, especially in spontaneous and disorganized events" (Walgrave & Verhulst, 2006). Personal identification can also occur when journalists feel that they share the same life experiences and are negatively affected by the same issues as their sources.

4 Analyses and results

To better understand the characteristics of activist journalism in Eliane Brum's narratives, published in El País, a multi-perspective methodology was used involving content analysis (Bardin, 2011) and critical narrative analysis (Motta, 2013). Content analysis helps define the categories and understand the background of the narratives and the subjects. Critical narrative analysis second helps

us to understand the communicative strategies, the narrative voices, and the representations of the characters in Eliane Brum's narratives on the Amazon.

The material was selected based on the following criteria: a) themes related to the Amazon region; b) period from 2017 to 2020, during which Brum began living in Altamira, Pará; c) indicative of a report and not an opinion article, since the journalist used both headings for her publications. Reports are more suited for providing a space for reporting human life in a contextualized and complex way based on journalistic textual characteristics.

We found nine reports that fit the criteria. The first five are part of a special series for Amazônia Real, an independent and investigative journalism agency, also published in El País Brazil: Gumercinda and Alice want to live" ["Gumercinda e Alice querem viver"], "The predator who became a protector" ["O predador que virou protetor"], "The riverside communities and the turtle" ["O ribeirinho e a tartaruga"], "Eight Horned Turtles and Two Creative Humans" ["Oito tartarugas de chifre e dois humanos criativos"] and "Violations and impunity threaten turtles" ["Desmandos e impunidades ameaçam tartarugas"], all of which were published in January 2018. The remaining reports are entitled "The Venice of Belo Monte" ["A Veneza de Belo Monte"], from 2018, 'Project error puts Belo Monte structure at risk" ["Erro de projeto coloca estrutura Belo Monte em risco"], from 2019, "The city that kills the future: Altamira faces the overwhelming increases in teenage suicides" ["A cidade que mata o futuro: Altamira enfrenta o aumento avassalador de suicídios de adolescentes"], from 2020, and "Yanomami mothers plead for their babies' bodies" ["Mães Yanomami imploram pelos corpos de seus bebês"], also in 2020.

The study is outlined on two thematic analysis points: narrative construction and representation of sources. The first analysis point is divided into two categories: a) Structural tools: identifying the argumentative strategies used for real and aesthetic effects, also analyzing social context and predominant themes; and b) Presence of the narrator: understanding how Eliane Brum uses her presence within the text, identifying how she shows her intentionality and reflections in the narrative. The second analysis point is also divided into two categories: a) Space and diversity: seeking to identify the voices that Brum evokes in her narratives and how she offers this space (whether through direct or indirect quotes, interviews, book excerpts, discourse, etc.); and b) Identity: observing the narration

of subjective aspects of the subjects, their regionalities, expressions and interests, as well as understanding the personalization of these voices – to the so-called journalistic sources – identifying as either villains, victims, ordinary citizens or heroes. The narrative features that demonstrate aspects of resistance and activism in the journalist's text are observed in these categories.

4.1 Structural tools

This section deals with the points of narrative construction that help us identify structural aspects, such as textual strategies, the effects of reality, and aesthetic effects (Motta, 2013), and the social context, identifying how these textual marks appear in the report and how they can lead to activist journalism.

Eliane Brum is known for her authorial voice in texts, characteristics, and ways of writing visibly expressed in textual constructions. In her report "Gumercinda and Alice want do live", which tells the journey of two turtles from Embaubal, locality in the Xingu river basin, in Pará, and their quest for survival, the narrative construction of the story uses textual aspects and linguistic resources to form its discursive text such as onomatopoeia, a figure of speech in which sounds are represented in written language, giving her text a more playful feel: "a little head pops out. Sprouting up from the sand. Poof" (Brum, 2018a). The first four paragraphs introduce the two characters, their physical characteristics, and the reporter's own perceptions of the turtles' journeys.

Describing the environments and subjectivities, such as the representation of feelings, emotions, physical description, and moral characterization of the source, are strategies she also uses in her report "The riverside communities and the turtle", which introduces the character Tuíca. In this text, she reveals the "distress" of Tuíca: the Belo Monte hydroelectric plant, the consequent lack of fish after the plant was installed, and mainly, hunger. Thus, the riverside community and their difficulties are contextualized: "they are great survivors – or surviving", reports Brum, "the imbalance that came with the Belo Monte echoes much further and deeper than the reports of bureaucracy" (Brum, 2018c). The riverside community had to turn to illegal turtle trading to escape hunger. Thus, the reader learns about the reality of living in the Amazon; hunting to survive.

The techniques used to create real effects are also observed in "The predator who became a protector", a report that presents the story of Luiz, a former turtle hunter who became an animal protector. The contextualization of riverside life is presented to help the reader better understand the experiences of the subjects and the region, being part of the construction of the narrative discourse. Turtle hunting, explains the reporter, is a tradition. This phrase distances riverside dwellers from possibly viewing them as "villains". Hunting is part of the identity of these individuals in the community:

> And the man who walked through the community with a turtle on his head was held in high regard. Not because riverside dwellers are bad, but because turtles have always been one of the main sources of protein in their diet. And also a means of survival. When the market dried up, the turtle also became one of the main sources of income in the region. (Brum, 2018b).

Luiz's characteristics are highlighted in this report when Brum talks about the hardness of his face and the "depth" of his eyes. The character's profile is built from observation, providing a detailed description of the senses and enhancing the details, a part of the aesthetic effects found in the text. For Moraes (2018), these are important aspects for including humanization in stories, and understanding an event and the social dynamics. Brum's listening, appreciation, and observation of sources also appear in this text when she emphasizes gestures and expressions: "he laughs. And he explains, with admiration: "If you make a little noise like this (with your mouth) on the shell, and the water sprays from the shell and hits the turtle, you won't catch it again" (Brum, 2018b). Motta (2013) says that these personal qualities, when transformed into characteristics of figures within the discourse, build and produce the effects of meaning. These resources also show how much the journalist explores textual aspects and effects for the "restoration of humanities" (Moraes, 2022), highlighting the characters' resistance and, in this way, acting in their favor.

In her text "Yanomami Mothers Plead for their Babies' Bodies", women from the Sanöma people, who live in the Yanomami Indigenous Land on the border between Brazil and Venezuela, are suffering from the disappearance of their children's bodies. Eliane Brum uses aesthetic effects in her narrative, choosing words that demonstrate their feelings and the degree of violence experienced by Yanomami women. When talking about her interaction with one

of the mothers, Brum reports: "I listen to her message before I listen to the translation. I don't understand the words. But I understand the horror. The universal language of that which is being ripped away from the world of humans" (Brum, 2020b). The strategies for producing aesthetic effects help readers identify with the narrative and the subjects, and better understand the human dramas and tragedies, thus making the story more interesting to readers (Motta, 2013). It is based on frames that overcome stereotypes and can denaturalize issues that are rooted deep in society, such as classism and racism (Moraes, 2022).

4.2 Presence of the narrator

To analyze the narrator's presence in the report, we first needed to understand how journalist Eliane Brum's intentions are presented in the text and how they are reflected in the narratives. In "Gumercinda and Alice Want to Live", the reporter portrays herself as an observer by accompanying the researchers during the turtle saga. This is present in the text and, more than that, appeals to the reader for their own perceptions when she asks them to imagine the size of the baby turtle, for example. She also appears to be immersed in the story, showing her emotions and discoveries.

> The ecstasy is all mine, she might just be scared. Or curious. Still inside, there is the rest of her small body. Open your thumb and index finger, just a little, and you will know how big it is. I'll call her Alice, because we humans like to give names to things. But it must know itself in ways that we do not know. (Brum, 2018a).

Intentionality is present throughout the text, the textual aspects that guide the narrative discourse help the reader to feel effects such as anguish, indignation, sadness, or joy, building a narrative plot that separates the experiences of all the characters, such as the turtles, the biologists, and the narrator herself. There are moments when the journalist puts her profession in question and reflects on her daily life. Ijuim (2014) observes that a reporter's daily life is important and constant reflection comes with the territory. The narrator follows the turtles using the first person point of view, expressing her own observations: "it is my deepest experience as a foreigner. I should say astronaut. That's how I feel" (Brum, 2018a).

The presence of the reporter can also be seen in the text "Yanomami mothers plead for their babies' bodies". In a behind-the-

scenes account of the narrative, Eliane Brum states how she managed to contact one of the mothers: "With the help of several people, one of them managed to send me a recorded message in Sanöma" (Brum, 2020b). In fact, this shows that the character sought out the reporter to relate the events, strengthening the conventional relationship between institution and source as a genuine opportunity for space. This is what Shultziner and Shoshan (2018) categorize as a personal, intense, or intimate connection between journalists and sources, a motivation that underpins journalistic activism. Her lack of knowledge of the indigenous language appears in her own statement: "I listen to her message before I listen to the translation. I don't understand the words. But I understand the horror. The universal language of that which is being ripped away from the world of humans" (Brum, 2020b). The relationship between the self and the other is apparent, and the reporter positions herself subjectively, seeking to understand the situation more humanly, moving away from the neutrality sought in journalism.

The narration and the journalist's first-person point of view highlight the textual marks. According to Medina (2003), the presence and voice of the journalist in the narrative can be a way of revealing her discomfort, by inverting the relationship from subject-object to subject-subject, from information technician to social mediator, which stops the mechanical rhythm of the journalistic exercise.

Many texts highlight the journalist's critical position, and not always in the first person, as with the end of the first paragraph of "Violations and impunity threaten turtles", which contextualizes the social and political issues in the region and how they undermine the necessary legal protection, referring to the city's mayor. She goes on to argue that it is because of these situations that the turtles' protection is compromised.

> Just a reminder: on November 29, Dirceu Biancardi (PSDB) invaded the auditorium at the Federal University of Pará, in Belém, and proceeded to lock professors, researchers, and students in the room in order to stop debate on the installation of the Canadian mining company Belo Sun, which had received bad press on an international level. It's easy to see why the turtles' protection is compromised. (Brum, 2020a).

In the same report, she harshly criticizes the workplace of several professionals who should be protecting the turtles, including the structure of the inspection base.

> The inspection base on the banks of the Xingu is beautiful from the outside. Inside, there was clearly a design problem. This is the only way to explain how air cannot circulate in the middle of the Amazon forest. Technicians, police officers, and agents who work there face almost unbearable heat, even in winter, which is the rainy season and the temperature is a few degrees lower. So, they look for trees outside that they can tie a hammock to so they can sleep (Brum, 2020a).

Brum chooses "one side" here, that of the local workers. As Moraes (2022, p. 137) understands, "taking sides" is something that is in the DNA of journalism and was once declared (for example, in the opinion of 19th-century newspapers), however, it began to be covered up precisely by the mantle of objectivity". This attitude stimulates debate on the subject, as in "The city that kills the future: in 2020, Altamira faces overwhelming increases in teenage suicides". This story is about the high number of suicides in Altamira, Pará, with direct consequences on life in the region after the installation of the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Plant. Brum suggests holding a broad public debate on the topic, which has been discussed on social media, especially among teenagers, and makes an effort to show her stance. "If society does not debate the topic in all spaces, with knowledge, responsibility, and desire to understand, all that will be left are the underground networks and the sensationalist programs and reports that turn suicide into a spectacle" (Brum, 2020a).

A guiding narrative, one that is critical and reflective, is often used for events that involve innocent people who have been victimized or when revealing wrongful or immoral actions that affect the public. In this sense, activist journalism can mobilize the public to demand government action or simply to demonstrate solidarity (Walgrave & Verhulst 2006). A journalist's personal identification can encourage collective action and lead to a kind of spontaneous public movement.

4.3 Space and diversity

Another point of analysis is the voices evoked in the narratives and how this space is offered. The narrative strategies in each report are varied, but we were able to observe the presence of popular sources/witnesses, of people who live in the region and have witnessed the events that are being related. Based on Lage's (2009) classification, we found 13 official voices, 23 experts, and 17 witnesses in the nine stories we analyzed. Only one of these stories

was not a life story. The emphasis given to specialist sources in search of versions or interpretations is an attempt to analyze reality based on what is studied and experienced, and not from the point of view of institutions, which normally tend to preserve some state power (Lage, 2009). The need to tell life stories not only humanizes the narrative but shows the concern from the perspective of those who are experiencing them. Even animals become main characters, as in the story of Gumercinda the turtle and her baby Alice, starting with her journey, giving birth, and the opening of the egg. The human sources in "Gumercinda and Alice Want to Live" (the experts) are only introduced in the fourth paragraph, and briefly at that. They do not have much of a voice within the narrative using traditional journalism techniques, such as quotation marks.

The plurality of sources in some of the reports highlights the extensive research done on the subjects. Building the reality of the problems with the Belo Monte hydroelectric plant, reported in "Project error puts Belo Monte structure at risk", was done through eight sources, five of them experts who speak throughout the narrative about the consequences and risks of the plant. Stories of those whose lives have been affected occur throughout the entire text. The report about the high number of suicides in the city of Pará, "The city that kills the future: in 2020, Altamira faces overwhelming increases in teenage suicides", is told from 18 sources, five of whom related life stories.

In the report "Yanomami Mothers Plead for their Babies' Bodies", the voices of the indigenous people in the story help create the narrative, direct participation emphasizes their perspectives and strengthens the dialogical language. All the stages of the mourning ritual are told by the journalist, drawing attention to the brutality experienced by the Yanomami. One expert source, anthropology professor Silvia Guimarães, who has been conducting research on the Sanöma people for many years, was used as a witness in an argumentative strategy to help convince the readers that the reality being depicted is true. The source assumes its traditional role in information and, at times, becomes an alter-ego of the reporter who cultivates these specialized sources of scientific knowledge, as described by Medina (2003).

Eliane Brum also works on texts closer to the profile style, showing that the narrative does not only value data or official sources. "The predator who became the protector" only uses a single source as

part of the report. It tells the story of Luiz, who started to work as an inspection agent after he saw turtles as not just meat and income, but life and beauty. The journalist creates a plot between man and nature. The protector who was once a predator is not depicted as a villain or a hero, his layers are not that simple. Just like Luiz, the people from the riverside communities cannot be analyzed based on an isolated event such as turtle hunting, one must consider the context in which they are inserted. This profile harkens to narrative principles in accordance with Motta (2013), who clarifies that, from the point of view of narratology, the character is a strategic construct of the narrator, used to invoke certain impressions, feelings, or identifications in the reader.

The sources are part of the search for journalism ideals such as objectivity and neutrality and, according to Marcondes Filho (2009), they help remove the direct mediation between the journalist and the facts of the world, as a form of impersonality. Filho reports that the sources represent a "true vision" of the "real" events that a journalist could not have witnessed because he or she was not at the scene. Even if the journalist were at the scene, it would not be possible to use direct testimony because discursive "neutrality" needs to be upheld.

The sources used in the reports also represent activism in relation to the topics covered and a personal journalistic identification that differs from journalistic routines, normally giving preference to official sources. Instead, favor and identification with characters from the region's traditional community are valued.

4.4 Identity

Here, we observe the narration of subjective aspects of the subjects and the personalization of these voices. In many of Eliane Brum's reports, the narrative content occurs through the complexity that each human being reveals. For example, the duality in "The river community and the turtle", where the character Tuíca is not described as a villain or a good guy, but as someone who experiences the dichotomy between living in nature and depending on it to survive: "In the past, he was also a great turtle hunter. And this pride continues to be one of those contradictions of a man who lives between worlds".

Biologist Cristiane Costa, present in other reports in the series, in an attempt to perhaps place her present reality among

riverside communities, proposes the integration of families from the region through observing the birth of turtles: "it is also a strategy for children and adults to have an encounter that is not just between hunger and food" (Brum, 2018c).

However, the reality is already known and experienced by the children of the riverside communities, they know there are hardly any choices or opportunities, as Eliane Brum narrates: "I asked two children: 'why are you helping the little turtle get out of the nest?'. Maxwell da Conceição, 9 years old, said: 'So she can get bigger'. Max Abreu, 7, added: 'So we can have something to eat later" (Brum, 2018c). The voices present bring the meanings necessary to understand the story, when we observe the biologist's intentions and Max's needs, the sources dialogue in a way that helps readers understand the different realities, becoming aware of the other's narrative.

Other narratives bring reality without any pretenses. In the report "Project error puts Belo Monte structure at risk", one of the angles is to show that food insecurity has become one of the biggest problems for the riverside population and the indigenous people, the "forest people". The Amazonian subjects are represented through suffering, hunger, and neglect, "when they are interviewed, men and women who are accustomed to an extremely hard life, cry. They experience the tragedy of days on end without any food for the first time" (Brum, 2019).

In the text "The predator who became the protector", Luiz, the inspection agent, is also presented as a professor, "there is a generation of doctors from the academy, like Cristiane Costa Carneiro herself (...) who learned much of what they know about Amazon turtles from Luiz and other riverside communities members". Carneiro posits that valid knowledge is not only scientific, it is also constructed from everyday experiences. Additionally, it is resistance and a counterpoint to scholarly perspectives. This is why Eliane Brum counters academic research that neglects the subjects who hold this knowledge, "when publishing their work, they 'forget' to give credit to the holders of knowledge, maintaining an inequality between knowledge" (Brum, 2018b). By raising these points she is exercising her critical point of view in opposition to the colonizing and positivist view of knowledge.

Almost all of the texts about Embaubal turtles highlight the in-depth knowledge that riverside community members have about life in the region. In "Eight horned turtles and two creative humans", Eliane

Brum reports that it was through radio monitoring that the origin of the turtles that lay their eggs was discovered and emphasizes: "the discovery is a direct consequence of the knowledge of riverside community members Luiz Cardoso da Costa and Antonio Davi Gil, known as Tuíca" (Brum, 2018d). These two sources were presented in previous reports as producers of knowledge. Brum says that researcher Cris listened to her teachers, "they saved our research!".

Thus, the rhetoric Brum uses in her reports is to problematize, criticize, and argue how the subjects from the Amazon region are represented and viewed, she attempts to seek a new form of representation. This helps counter any preconceived conceptions, "those capable of undermining, of causing ruin in the existence of people and groups" (Moraes, 2022, p. 137). This shows what activist journalism is about, using the professional's personal identification with credible and authentic sources (Shultziner & Shoshan, 2018), who are praised for their knowledge.

5 Final considerations

The objective of this article was to discuss the characteristics of activist journalism in narratives about the Amazon by journalist Eliane Brum, published in El País Brazil. We analyzed texts that focused on human protagonism with strong subjectivity, which never fails to present its purposes, intentions, and arguments. These factors alone demonstrate the activist nature of journalism practiced by Eliane Brum. As a narrator of experiences, she draws attention to the experiences and shares her discoveries, different from the colonial logic because she presents the riverside community as the true holders of knowledge about life in that place. The main characters in the stories range from fishermen to riverside dwellers to turtles, and the narrator attempts to encourage readers to expand their worldviews, by exposing the realities lived in the environments presented. The "villains" in the reports are very noticeable: large projects, institutions, public figures – everything that takes away and destroys life in the region. Using a historical-cultural perspective, Brum points out how the Amazon region is neglected, emphasizing the premise that "development" is based on violence.

The narratives were analyzed using categories to discuss the tools and textual structures, the presence of the journalist as a

narrator of realities, the space given to the sources, and the subjective aspects of the identities portrayed. Added to this was the observation of the mechanisms listed by Shultziner and Shoshan (2018), from which journalistic personal identification and journalistic activism occur. An ideological identification was demonstrated since the cause is linked to personal convictions about what is right and true. It is also linked to the need to expand discussions about the Amazon which, especially in recent years, has made headlines around the world due to the socio-environmental (anti)policy applied by Jair Bolsonaro's government. Emerging issues are part of the debate, they are an environmental issue of a non-partisan nature.

The personal and intensive connection between the journalist and local sources is evident throughout the texts and might have even been made more possible by Eliane Brum's move from São Paulo to Altamira, in Pará, as she was able to more easily find and select the themes she wanted to report on and the sources that made her texts more authentic and credible. Although it is not possible to fully experience everything that happens in the Amazon, proximity does help one perceive the ways of life more passionately, evidenced by the empathy contained in her reports. These aspects are present in narratives that use aesthetic and reality-effect strategies to contextualize scenarios and life stories. The presence of Brum in her stories draws more attention to her perceptions, producing a narrative that is sometimes emotional, outraged, pensive, and critical. Her choice of sources shows the research but also the preference for history from the point of view of those who have experienced, or are experiencing, the problems, and not from data and institutional voices loaded with intentions of power. The identities show an Amazon that is "full" of knowledge, not a place that is unfortunately seen and treated as "devoid" of humanities and cultures.

This analysis has shown us that more attention needs to be paid to the attitudes of reporters and editors in relation to social issues and possibly mobilizing society. Brum's defense of minorities, opting to include common subjects and assimilate their historical and cultural aspects, ultimately humanizing them, does not violate professional journalism; on the contrary, it works to combat the underrepresentation of different social groups.

REFERENCES

Bardin, L. (2011). Análise de Conteúdo. Edições 70.

Brum, E. (2018a, January 7). Gumercinda e Alice querem viver. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/01/05/ciencia/1515172862_322540.html

Brum, E. (2018b, January 7). O predador que virou protetor. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/01/05/ciencia/1515175403_825363.html

Brum, E. (2018c, January 7). O ribeirinho e a tartaruga. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/01/05/politica/1515181096_383988.html

Brum, E. (2018d, January 7). Oito tartarugas de chifre e dois humanos criativos. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/01/06/ciencia/1515260643_593427.html

Brum, E. (2018e, January 7). Desmandos e impunidades ameaçam tartarugas. Amazônia Real. Retrieved from https://amazoniareal.com.br/desmandos-e-impunidade-ameacam-tartarugas/

Brum, E. (2018f, May 15). A Veneza de Belo Monte. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2018/05/14/politica/1526322899_121198.html

Brum, E. (2019, November 08). Erro de projeto coloca estrutura de Belo Monte em risco. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2019/11/08/politica/1573170248_680351.html

Brum, E. (2020a, April 27). A cidade que mata o futuro. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/sociedade/2020-04-27/a-cidade-que-mata-o-futuro-em-2020-altamira-enfrenta-um-aumento-avassalador-de-suicidios-de-adolescentes.html

Brum, E. (2020b, June 24). Mães Yanomami imploram pelos corpos de seus bebês. Jornal El País. Retrieved from https://brasil.elpais.com/brasil/2020-06-24/maes-yanomami-imploram-pelos-corpos-de-seus-bebes.html

Castilho, C. (2018, April 07). O jornalismo é uma forma de ativismo? Medium. Retrieved from https://ccastilho.medium.com/o-jornalismo-%C3%A9-uma-forma-de-ativismo-b63fd906614d

Charaudeau, P. (2007). Discurso das mídias. Contexto.

Costa, G., & Silva, J. L. (2003). Análise da narrativa jornalística: construção de sentido pela notícia. Proceedings of the VIII Congresso Internacional ABRALIC. Associação Brasileira de Literatura Comparada.

Retrieved from www.abralic.org.br/eventos/

Ijuim, J. K. (2014). As diferenças e o diferente: o respeito ao outro como forma de humanizar o jornalismo. Proceedings of the XIII Congresso Internacional Ibercom. Associação Ibero-americana de Comunicação. Recuperado de www.estudosaudiovisuais.org/lusofonia/

Lage, Nilson. (2009). A reportagem: teoria e técnica de entrevista e pesquisa jornalística. Record.

Marcondes Filho, C. (2009). Ser jornalista: O desafio das tecnologias e o fim das ilusões. Paulus.

Marques, G. (2019). Amazônia: riqueza, degradação e saque. Expressão Popular.

Medina, C. (2003). A arte de tecer o presente: narrativa e cotidiano. Summus.

Mena, F. (2021, February 23). 'Diversidade é crucial para fazer bom jornalismo', diz vencedora do Pulitzer. Folha de S.Paulo. Retrieved from www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha-100-anos/2021/02/diversidade-e-crucial-para-fazer-bom-jornalismo-diz-vencedora-do-pulitzer.shtml

Moraes, F. (2018). Para além do robô, a reportagem: pavimentando uma metodologia do jornalismo de subjetividade. In M. Martinez & M. R. Maia (Eds.), Narrativas midiáticas contemporâneas: perspectivas metodológicas (pp. 99 - 114). Editora Catarse.

Moraes, F. (2019). A objetividade jornalística tem raça e gênero: a subjetividade como estratégia descolonizadora. Proceedings of the XXVIII Encontro Anual da Compós. Associação Nacional dos Programas de Pós-Graduação em Comunicação. Retrieved from https://proceedings.science/compos

Moraes, F. (2022). A pauta é uma arma de combate: subjetividade, prática reflexiva e posicionamento para superar um jornalismo que desumaniza. Arquipélago.

Motta, L. G. (2013). Análise Crítica da Narrativa. Editora Universidade de Brasília.

Nascimento, S. M. do. (2017). Violência e Estado de exceção na Amazônia Brasileira: um estudo sobre a implantação da Hidrelétrica de Belo Monte no Rio Xingu (PA) [doctoral dissertation, Universidade Federal do Pará]. Repositório Institucional da UFPA.

Prudêncio, K., & Batalha, M. L. (2009). Mídia ativista e ação política na internet: a experiência do Centro de Mídia Independente. Revista Eco-Pós, 12(3), 100-122. DOI: 10.29146/eco-pos.v12i3.934

Shultziner, D., & Shoshan, A. (2018). A journalists' protest? personal

identification and journalistic activism in the Israel social justice protest movement. The International Journal of Press/Politics, 23(1), 44-69. DOI: 10.1177/194016121773688

Resende, F. (2006). O Jornalismo e a enunciação: perspectivas para um narrador-jornalista. In A. Lemos, C. Berger, & M. Barbosa (Eds.), Narrativas midiáticas contemporâneas (pp. 85 - 101). Sulina.

Resende, F. (2011). Às desordens e aos sentidos: a narrativa como problema de pesquisa. In G. Silva, D. Kunsch, C. Berger, & A. Albuquerque (Eds.), Jornalismo Contemporâneo: figurações, impasses e perspectivas (pp. 120 - 134). EDUFBA.

Santos, B. de S. (2007). Para além do Pensamento Abissal: Das linhas globais a uma ecologia de saberes. Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais, (78), 1–45. DOI: 10.4000/rccs.753

Walgrave, S., & Verhulst, J. (2006). Towards 'New Emotional Movements'? A Comparative Exploration into a Specific Movement Type. Social Movement Studies, 5(3), 275–304. DOI: 10.1080/14742830600991651

ELAINE JAVORSKI. Adjunct professor of the Journalism course and the Postgraduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Maranhão, Imperatriz campus. Ph.D. in Communication and Media Sciences from the University of Coimbra. Collaboration on the article: conceptualization, data curation and formal analysis, investigation, resources, writing (review and editing) and supervision. E-mail: elaine.javorski@ufma.br

QUEZIA ALENCAR. PJournalist and communications supervisor at the State University of Tocantins, Araguatins campus. Master in Communication from the Postgraduate Program in Communication at the Federal University of Maranhão, Imperatriz campus. Collaboration on the article: conceptualization, data curation and formal analysis, investigation, resources, methodology and writing (original draft). E-mail: queziz.alencar@gmail.com