

ACTIVISM IN JOURNALISM FROM THE CENTER OF THE WORLD:

Sumaúma and the denunciation of the Yanomami genocide



LUIZA GOULD

Universidade Federal Fluminense, Niterói – RJ – Brasil

ORCID: 0000-0002-3192-0331

DOI: 10.25200/BJR.v19n3.2023.1612

Received in: March 31st, 2023

Desk Reviewed in: May 06th, 2023

Desk Review Editor: Laura Storch

Revised on: September 28th, 2023

Approved on: October 10th, 2023

ABSTRACT – This article starts from a critical rescue of the notion of journalistic objectivity to investigate how engaged productions, which reveal positions and biases, can generate confrontations against dehumanization. To this end, the research corpus includes two in-depth reports and an editorial that denounce the genocide faced by the Yanomami indigenous people in Brazil during Jair Bolsonaro's government (2019-2022). Sumaúma, a platform created by Brazilian journalist Eliane Brum with four other colleagues to tell stories about the Amazon and defend it, published both contents. Through discourse analysis (Orlandi, 2005), we found that these texts generate specific meanings based on their inscription in a perspective of subjective journalism (Moraes, 2022), with potential for reflexivity and action.

Key words: Activist journalism. Objectivity. Subjectivity. Reporting. Yanomami.

ATIVISMO NO JORNALISMO DO CENTRO DO MUNDO: Sumaúma e a denúncia do genocídio Yanomami

RESUMO – Este artigo parte de um resgate crítico da noção de objetividade jornalística para investigar como produções engajadas, que deixam transparecer posicionamentos e vieses, podem gerar enfrentamentos à desumanização. Para tanto, integram o corpus da pesquisa duas reportagens e um editorial que denunciam o genocídio do povo indígena Yanomami no Brasil durante o governo de Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022). Os textos foram publicados por Sumaúma, plataforma idealizada pela jornalista brasileira Eliane Brum junto a outros quatro colegas com o intuito de contar histórias da Amazônia e defendê-la. Constatamos, a partir da análise de discurso (Orlandi, 2005), que esses textos geram significados específicos a partir de sua inscrição numa perspectiva de jornalismo de subjetividade (Moraes, 2022), com potencial de reflexividade e ação.

Palavras-chave: Jornalismo ativista. Objetividade. Subjetividade. Reportagem. Yanomami.

ACTIVISMO EN PERIODISMO DESDE EL CENTRO DEL MUNDO: Sumaúma y la denuncia del genocidio Yanomami

RESUMEN – Este artículo parte de un rescate crítico de la noción de objetividad periodística para investigar cómo producciones comprometidas, que revelan posiciones y sesgos, pueden generar confrontaciones con la deshumanización. Para ello, el corpus de investigación incluye dos reportajes en profundidad y un editorial que denuncian el genocidio del pueblo indígena Yanomami en Brasil durante el gobierno de Jair Bolsonaro (2019-2022). Ambos contenidos fueron publicados por Sumaúma, una plataforma creada por la periodista brasileña Eliane Brum junto a otros cuatro colegas para contar historias sobre la Amazonía y defenderla. Verificamos desde el Análisis del Discurso (ORLANDI, 2005) que estos textos generan significados específicos a partir de su inscripción en una perspectiva de Periodismo de la Subjetividad (MORAES, 2022), con potencial para la reflexividad y la acción.

Palabras clave: Periodismo activista. Objetividad. Subjetividad. Informe especial. Yanomami.

1 Introduction

In September 2022, Sumaúma was born, a trilingual journalism platform (Portuguese, Spanish, and English) based in Altamira, Médio Xingu, in the state of Pará (Brazil's Northern region). The manifesto published by its members at the time – journalists Eliane Brum, Carla Jiménez (who left the team in December of that year), Verónica Goyzueta, Talita Bedinelli, and British journalist Jonathan Watts – detailed the underlying position driving the project and the topics that would be developed. This stance is evident primarily in the selection of the name Sumaúma, revered in pre-Columbian cultures as the mother of the trees in the Amazon Rainforest, renowned for its exceptional size and presence not only in the Amazon but also

in other regions of South America and Mexico. “In the Amazon, just say the word *Sumaúma* (or *samaúma*, as it is also pronounced) and everyone will have a story to tell. That’s why we chose the name for our journalism platform. We want to tell stories that live here, in the Amazon” (Brum et al., 2022). *Sumaúma* is a noun and becomes a verb in the text, “*Sumaúme-se*” (*Sumaume yourself*), inviting thought and action from the perspective of the forest and those who live within it.

Even before any publications by the platform, the manifesto signals the emergence of a form of journalism that transcends the positivist foundations on which the profession traditionally relies to narrate the world. A philosophical movement of the 19th century, positivism considers only scientific knowledge as true and is materialized in the field through the emphasis on information objectivity (distinct from the subjective), positive realism, the affirmation of tangible data, and linguistic precision (Medina, 2008, p. 25). For *Sumaúma*, advanced climate science is of interest, yet it is not divorced from the knowledge held by indigenous peoples. There is thorough investigation, fidelity to the quotes of interviewees, reliance on data, and an appreciation for the crafting of these stories. However, there is also a deliberate alignment with one “side” in the conflict between the human minority capable of causing the mass extinction of species and the majority affected by it. This partiality is pertinent, even as many newsrooms continue to attempt its concealment:

As journalists, we stand with the forest-peoples on the front lines of the war now being waged against nature. As well as violence against environmental defenders, the website MapBiomass tells us this conflict killed eighteen trees per second in the Amazon rainforest in 2021, and it is almost certainly killing them at a faster rate now. This war is forcing butterflies to mute their colours, mimicking the brown and grey of the burned forest so they can survive. Instead of tanks, this war uses tractors and chainsaws; instead of traditional bombs, its planes rain agrottoxins down on the earth, rivers, and people; instead of battleships, gold dredgers release mercury that destroys the health of the rivers; instead of regular soldiers, this war relies on hired guns and police officers turned militiamen, because the state has been usurped. Today, this war of unbalanced forces has become a massacre, and the massacre must end. (Brum et al., 2022, emphasis added).

Contrary to the fixed image of journalists solely tasked with reporting facts as if they were detached from the process through selection, framing, interpretation, prioritization, and editing, Eliane, Carla, Verónica, Talita, and Jonathan define their role not only as proactive but also as activist participants, willing to work in favor of

a cause declared since the inception of the project. In this article, we begin with the question: how did this activist stance contribute to the initial reports of violence endured by the Yanomami¹, which were further intensified during Jair Bolsonaro's² administration (2019-2022)?

In order to explore the activism within the independent journalism platform and its implications for this community, and to contemplate potential avenues of resistance through acknowledged influenced action, we delved into our research corpus, consisting of three samples of Sumaúma's productions: the reports '*Why do the miners screw the vaginas of Yanomami women?*' and '*We are not even able to count the bodies*' in addition to the editorial *How did 570 indigenous children die from the negligence of the Bolsonaro government?* The first report was published in September 2022 and marked the platform's debut. Written by Talita Bedinelli and edited by Eliane Brum, the narrative opens with the exposure of the rape of Yanomami women, broadening to depict the humanitarian tragedy endured by their community, whose demarcated territory is a scene of invasion, destruction, and the spread of diseases due to illegal gold mining. Four months later, on January 20th, 2023, the team published an inquiry into one of the aspects alluded to in the initial piece but scarcely addressed: the Yanomami's deaths resulting from malnutrition. While the initial focus was on the reported cases of rape, in '*We are not even able to count the bodies*', readers come to realize that during Jair Bolsonaro's four-year presidency (2019-2022), 570 children under the age of five died in this indigenous territory due to preventable causes including malnutrition, parasitic infections, diarrhea, and pneumonia. Lastly, the article *How did 570 indigenous children die*, published in the 'Our Voice' section, deliberates on the editorial decisions made regarding the report from the 20th, including the addition of photographs depicting malnourished Yanomami children.

One year after the project's inception, a search for the term "Yanomami" in the platform's search field generated 10 published works by Sumaúma on the first page. However, acknowledging the vastness of this corpus for analysis, we have chosen to concentrate on the three aforementioned reports. These reports offer the initial context of the theme, the exposé that ignited a national mobilization for food and humanitarian assistance for the Yanomami, and a piece where Sumaúma contemplates its positions concerning the inhabitants of the forest, thus directly relevant to our research objectives. By September 2023, the team has garnered three journalism awards,

produced over 200 texts that have been read by 500.000 people solely on the Sumaúma website, and amassed 103.000 followers on social media. Despite being a fledgling initiative with a relatively short history, it is undeniable that the platform holds a significant position in the contemporary Brazilian landscape, where conversations regarding the forest and its inhabitants continue to grow, thereby validating our selection of this subject for study.

The analysis of the corpus will be conducted within the framework of French discourse analysis, drawing on the insights of Eni Orlandi (2005), who pioneered its application in Brazil during the 1970s. We will follow the analytical framework proposed by Orlandi (2005, p. 77), moving from the linguistic surface (text) to the discursive process (in identifying ideological formations). To accomplish this, we will showcase selected “sequences” from the corpus that contain elements contributing to answering the research question or are central to the explored perspective of activism. The selection of these specific excerpts will be justified throughout the analysis. Before listing them, we will always indicate where they were taken from (whether from the reports or the editorial) and the “discursive formation” to which these excerpts allude. Lastly, we will explore related “ideological formations”, contributing to the comprehension of “how” the text conveys meaning.

The use of “how” is relevant both for our research problem (as we want to know in what manner the activist stance assists in denunciation) and for the discourse analysis. By linking language to external influences and integrating linguistic knowledge with that of the Social Sciences, discourse analysis considers the relationship of language with ideology, with the analyst not extracting meanings from the given text but seeking how they are constituted. The three concepts highlighted in the previous paragraph (discursive sequence, discursive formation, and ideological formation) will be adequately explained in the paper. Thus far, we have introduced them to delineate the proposed systematization, with the aim of enhancing the article’s readability.

The hypothesis steering our quest for answers posits that the engagement, discernible through specific discursive indicators, combined with a sensitive approach and self-critique of both their work and the field, align Sumaúma’s endeavors with the framework of subjective journalism (Moraes, 2022), crucial for safeguarding indigenous populations in the context of genocide³.

2 Activism as a confrontation to exclusionary objectivity

In a recent publication, where he briefly conceptualizes Advocacy Journalism, US scholar Ryan Thomas (2022) asserts: “the dominance of objectivity as a journalistic norm means that insufficient attention has been given to the contribution of advocacy journalism (and opinion-driven journalism more generally) to democracy and public life”. According to the researcher, the term broadly functions as a label applied to genres or journalistic productions advocating for a cause, where a particular viewpoint is explicitly taken. In addition to this specific contribution, Thomas provides references on the topic and makes a distinction between Latin American countries and the United States. In the former, examples of the mainstream press adopting a reporting style based on this advocacy may be found, whereas in the latter, “objective” reporting (in quotation marks, as Thomas uses) characterizes the journalistic mainstream. This claim requires a more in-depth investigation that goes beyond the scope of this article, but it is important to highlight that entities within the so-called traditional Brazilian press have specific guidelines in their manuals regarding objectivity, promoting a sense of “detachment”, as we will explore.

We engage with the author, acknowledging that a discussion on militant journalism, activism, combat journalism, or even Advocacy Journalism cannot ignore the influence of this professional standard on productive routines. Thus, we dedicate this section to critically reviewing objectivity, primarily drawing on Brazilian authors who offer insights from their unique perspectives, within the context that is relevant to our investigation. Subsequently, we will delve into subjective journalism, a concept coined and employed by Fabiana Moraes (2022), a researcher from Pernambuco. This concept is opposed to the non-existent erasure of the journalist.

In the section on “emotion” from the 1996 edition of the *Folha de S.Paulo’s style guide*⁴, the publication advised its reporters to offer the most detailed description possible. It provided an example: rather than stating that the defendant was visibly nervous, it was more valuable to mention that he smoked 45 cigarettes during the four-hour trial. In the 2011 edition of the same guide, this entry was removed, but others contain similar instructions. In the entry for “dimension”, it is advised: “Avoid imprecise adjectives. The bridge measured 75 cm in width, instead of The bridge was narrow. The

building has 32 floors, instead of The building is tall” (Folha de S.Paulo, 2011, p. 64). The entry for “objectivity” begins with a statement: “There is no objectivity in journalism” and continues: “However, this does not exempt (the reporter) from being as objective as possible. To report a fact faithfully, reproducing the form, circumstances, and repercussions, the journalist needs to approach the event with detachment and aloofness” (p. 47).

Not coincidentally, Gaye Tuchman (1993, pp. 79-83) refers to objectivity as a strategic ritual, where journalists protect themselves from questioning their work by presenting both sides of the issue, providing evidence that supports claims, and acknowledging that opinions are within the quotation marks of the interviewees, while facts speak for themselves. This ritual has been historically problematized by several authors, and here we cite Sylvia Moretzsohn (2007, p. 119) merely as an example. She criticizes the mediating process that legitimizes itself by remaining hidden, wherein journalism “washes its hands”, claiming to merely report facts when, in reality, it engages in constructing narratives and holds vested interests in how and what it disseminates.

Notwithstanding this certainty, both in style guides and university classrooms, the emphasis on detachment persists. This is observed in practice by Brazilian researcher Gean Oliveira Gonçalves (2022, p. 145). In his doctoral dissertation, he shares his insights upon taking up the role of teaching Theories of Journalism at a private university in the city of São Paulo in 2020. The course outline dictated that he start with the concepts of impartiality, neutrality, and objectivity, still fundamental today for professional training. However, there is a call for renewal, as he concludes by scrutinizing 20 undergraduate journalism courses in the country and consulting with educators. Gonçalves (2022, p. 157) is interested in discovering whether theories of journalism could be grounded in the criterion of otherness. He arrives at an affirmative answer, provided that, instead of adhering to a “[...] mentality impoverished by a professionalism governed by technique and efficiency”, the instructor shifts the established perspective, rendering it “[...] permeable to viewpoints, which are inherent in the experience and subjectivity of the Other, allowing for the possibility of being influenced by it” (p. 159). In his teaching practice, he appears to attempt this when, during a lecture on journalistic narrative, he draws on the contributions of his mentors Cremilda Medina and Luiz Gonzaga Motta to demonstrate

that language does not need to be restricted to data or the erasure of enunciative marks (p. 150). For the purposes of this article, our aim is not to contribute in an authorial fashion to theories of journalism, which would require a much more substantial immersion. However, we can highlight works such as that of Gonçalves, which undertake this endeavor.

Revisiting the illustration from Folha de S.Paulo, if the smoking defendant was Black and the victim was White, would the news be the same as those in which the roles are reversed, with the crime remaining unchanged? This type of questioning (confrontation) captures the interest of Fabiana Moraes (2022), as the objectivity under discussion here incorporates elements of color, gender, address, and power, interwoven with essential technical procedures of journalism but instrumentalized to validate hegemonic discourses. The author illustrates this assertion based on the objective criterion of seeking diverse and relevant sources for the subject at hand. Despite this demand, historically there has been a lack of selection of Black individuals, particularly as experts, to feature in the country's news content⁵ (Moraes, 2022, p. 15). The world shaped by the male journalist (or by the female journalist, as Fabiana adopts in her book, shifting the focus from the male gender⁶) is portrayed as a product of action above passions, neutral, and disinterested. However, within this construct, individuals and groups are often either overlooked or stigmatized, serving the interests of a larger power structure (p. 21).

This established scenario is the illegitimate product of a colonizing rationality that is white, heterosexual, and wealthy, responsible for subjugating, decimating, and silencing (not without encountering resistance). To reflect on the subject, Fabiana Moraes (2022, p. 42) alludes to the researcher Erick Torrico Villanueva. Advocating for communicational decolonization and the independence of Latin American thought, Villanueva (2018) notes that lack of communication is at the root of the problem: those in power had no interest in engaging with those “below”, leading to the denial of the humanity of women and men deemed inferior. From Christopher Columbus's depictions, the first European to reach the Americas in the 15th century, to contemporary media productions, such as the 21st-century *telenovela Uga Uga* (2000) on Rede Globo, which revolved around a blue-eyed white man lost in the forest and adopted by

indigenous people, various erasures, stereotypes, and processes of exoticization violate our indigenous peoples through the lack of communication, confining them to homogenization as the savage, the naive, or the ones in need of rescue⁷.

In 2021, Amoreira Comunicação conducted a study⁸ that unveiled progress in mapping perceptions and narratives surrounding indigenous peoples over the past decade. Drawing from 350 interviews with representatives from various segments of society, the team, led by journalist Cristiane Fontes in 2022, observed a heightened prominence of issues related to this theme within the mainstream media. This increased attention was notably spurred by the Bolsonaro government's disregard for environmental policy and traditional communities. Participants also noted the expansion of an agenda focused on representation and diversity. Nonetheless, the participants consider the increase in media coverage as unsatisfactory, given the historical omissions and distortions that have taken place. Respondents emphasized the necessity for qualified and consistent coverage on topics such as territorial rights, the involvement of indigenous people as primary sources, and accounts of the diverse daily lives of various ethnicities, embedded within issues that span different ways of life, knowledge, and cultures. They also stressed the importance of heightened visibility for urban indigenous populations.

The observations regarding the absence of ancestral narratives in the Brazilian press pertain to news values and the criteria of newsworthiness. These fundamental attributes serve as the primary criteria determining a fact's eligibility to be featured in the news following an initial selection. Such values are part of a broader domain of standards, involving other processes such as the prioritization of information and the allocation of available space for each piece of news. This entire process is permeated by racism, classism, sexism, misogyny, and other biases, yet it attempts to present itself as impartial:

Hence, I wonder how we can persist in dialogic journalism that is receptive to encountering the other while this technical-subjective network continues to operate as if it does not itself promote the impossibility of such an encounter. It is as if this network is not imbued with the ontological separation that permeates our way of seeing, narrating, speaking, respecting, and valuing. (Moraes, 2022, p. 124).

The researcher endeavors to confront this paradigm by formulating the concept of subjective journalism, through which she critiques the framework of the field of knowledge, aiming to challenge notions that destroy the humanities. She advocates for the use of the subjective as a political tool within a self-reflective professional approach that is acknowledged as activist. In her argument, she observes that the selection of topics and sources, along with the framing used, the preconceived questions, and the approach to the subjects all inherently indicate a stance already taken; it would be up to the professional to undertake this involvement, recognize their presence, the perspective they speak from, and use the agenda as a weapon to combat dehumanization without relinquishing certain notions of objectivity, including thorough research, data authentication, the polyphony, and adherence to factual statements (Moraes, 2022, p. 143).

While contemplating the “indisputable pragmatic contribution” of positivism, and pondering the potential shape of contemporary narratives if discussions were confined to abstract concepts and ambiguous viewpoints, Cremilda Medina (2008, p. 26) underscores, in her unique manner, the importance of these underlying principles. The two authors also converge in considering the legacies of Auguste Comte, the father of positivism, in science. Subjective journalism is inseparable from the academy. We return to the classroom mentioned in Gonçalves’ work. Ultimately, it is through the application of theory to practice, in praxis, that a statement by Fabiana Moraes (2022, p. 124) should echo, stir unease, and instigate action: “We objectively choose who can die”.

3 The diary of war and the voice to halt deaths

The title of Sumaúma’s debut work is a question: “Why do the miners screw the vaginas of Yanomami women?” The inquiry arises from a Yanomami woman, who has witnessed the rape of others and the destruction of her world and is directed towards the realm of emotion. Violence erupts from the text. After the initial impact, perhaps the reader notices above the title a header with the name of the section in which the report was published: Frontline Dispatch (in the Portuguese version is War Diary). Positioning the report within this framework suggests that Sumaúma views the plight of the Yanomami as a form of warfare and unequivocally supports their stance in this

struggle. Arbitrarily selected excerpts from Talita Bedinelli's report (2022, our emphasis), referred to as discursive sequences, will enable us to scrutinize this alignment within the discourse more meticulously.

**DISCURSIVE FORMATION: BATTLEFIELD
(sequences from the report on the rapes)**

A flight over Yanomami territory shows that the forest's body is covered in open sores; its trees swallowed by huge muddy craters, brown encroaching on green. The image resembles the devastation left by **an aerial bombardment**.

In each region we had intended to travel to, people whom Ana Maria has known for over ten years warned us that if we entered, we might not come out. **The Yanomami are under siege** and their voices are increasingly silenced. We tried to figure out a way around this **hurdle** without falling victims ourselves— as happened to Brazilian Indigenous expert Bruno Pereira and British journalist Dom Phillips, **executed** in June of this year in the Javari Valley, **another Amazonian region invaded** by organized crime. Ultimately, the Instituto Socioambiental (ISA)—one of Brazil's largest NGOs—helped us fly witnesses and victims to Demini, the region led by the shaman Davi Kopenawa, where we could listen to their stories of what they were going through without running any risk. We launched a **complex journalism operation in a territory under war—a war between such lopsided forces that a more precise term would be “massacre.”**

In recent decades, the forest and its peoples have been **attacked** by illegal mining interests, large transnational mining concerns, agribusiness, logging companies, and *grilagem* (the theft of public lands), while they and their lands have also been **usurped** by major government projects like hydropower plants, highways, and railways. When Perimetral Norte federal highway was opened in 1973 under the dictatorship, prior to the mining invasion, once-sporadic contact with the Yanomami became incessant. Some Indigenous experts say the inauguration of this road signaled the beginning of a holocaust for one of the planet's most complex cultures.

Bombs plummeted from above, creating open craters, conjuring recollections of the atomic bombings during World War II. Establishing this connection in search of what has already been said, of a discursive memory⁹, is to understand discourse as a process, indelibly shaped by preceding utterances and antecedents. Words such as sieged, hurdle, operation in a territory, lopsided forces, and massacre also allude to war, as does the excerpt presented below, found in the report '*We are not even able to count the bodies.*' In this excerpt, Ana Maria Machado, Talita Bedinelli, and Eliane Brum (2023, emphasis added) echo the contents of a letter penned by a healthcare practitioner and received by the team in January 2023.

DISCURSIVE FORMATION: BATTLEFIELD
(sequences from the report on Yanomami children's malnutrition)

He described a scenario that was like something out of a **war**. The community could not even hold the cremation ceremony for the dead, as there were not enough healthy people. "In Porapê, four people died. I just found out that another child has died. The tuxaua [leadership] died too. We need to reach those who are the farthest from the airstrips," continues the same source in the message in which he **asked for help**.

Both this sequence and those previously introduced were selected based on the common characteristics they share, thus shaping the meanings of the discursive formation referred to here as the Battlefield. The discursive formation (DF) is defined as what can and should be said from the position of the subject (Orlandi, 2005, p. 43). The Yanomami people are situated within the discourse, occupying a position of confrontation that casts them as victims. From this position, one could assert that the group is undergoing extermination (with the reference to the Holocaust drawing parallels between their experience and that of the Second World War). While acknowledging the existence of conflicts, it would be improbable, at best, to claim that the Yanomami and the gold miners coexist in harmony. We would then be facing a new production of meanings, where individuals are inscribed within a different discursive formation.

Regarding the DF Battlefield, the ideological formation presented – pertaining to the position adopted within a specific socio-historical context – can be identified in the references to warfare and exploitative reasoning. In the recently invaded Amazon region, violence, devastation, and death have emerged as a result of direct confrontations or the implementation of strategies, as denounced by Sumaúma, including the expulsion of healthcare teams from specific areas within the territory. This process is not a recent development; rather, it is inherent to the very establishment of Brazil and other Latin American nations, stemming from their history of colonization. The extermination, subjugation, and expulsion of indigenous communities in contemporary times, whether via mining, agribusiness, the operations of logging corporations, or extensive government projects, is a practice rooted in history and continues to exist in the present. These are actions perpetrated by other agents, with the same aim of exploiting the territory for the generation and accumulation of wealth. Reaching this point of analysis is arriving at the "how it is said," dissecting the stages of Eni Orlandi's analytical framework (2005, p. 77).

During the war, Sumaúma utilizes tactics: when unable to breach the trench, they relocate the victim from the battlefield for an interview in a neutral zone. The Demini region, as referenced in the report on the occurrences of rape, has not been invaded by the miners. Another strategy outlined in the report involves photographer Pablo Albarenga capturing images without revealing the identities of the subjects, as the photographs may pose a risk to the interviewees' safety. The altered focus on their faces and their positioning turned away from the camera is complemented by drawings created by the Yanomami, overlaid on the photographs to convey their viewpoint on how mining impacts their lives. Within this framework, silhouettes of men depicted with exposed genitals and their bodily organs in disproportionate sizes coexist alongside depictions of the helicopters employed by miners to survey the encroached territory.

DISCURSIVE FORMATION RESISTANCE
(texts from the report on the rapes)

Figures 1 e 2

Photos by Pablo Albarenga, with superimposed illustrations by Yanomami women



Each of the illustrations can be understood as text because, as clarified by Eni Orlandi (2005, p. 69), what constitutes a unit of meaning, requires interpretation, and has historicity is text. Commencing the report with an image showcasing the texts of the indigenous women while safeguarding their bodies, which have been subjected to primary violence, from exposure, embodies a dual motion. The initial motion involves the inscription of these utterances within the framework of the DF Resistance. There is an attempt to silence these women who, nonetheless, express themselves. At this juncture, we can refer to

the insights of Michel Foucault (1996), another seminal figure in the discourse analysis domain. According to him, discourse is inseparable from the disparate and heterogeneous relations of power, a concept that only materializes in practice. Furthermore, from the Foucauldian viewpoint, where power operates, there exists resistance, as clarified by Roberto Machado (1979, p. XIV):

Any struggle is always resistance within the network of power itself, a web that spreads throughout society, from which no one can escape: it is always present and operates as a multitude of power relations. And, since where there is power, there is resistance, there is not properly a place of resistance, but rather movable and transitory points that also spread throughout the entire social structure.

Resistance is present in the illustrations, but also when these women access realms of discourse that are not always open and accessible (Foucault, 1996, p. 37). Due to their possession of a dominant and historically validated method of production, journalists wield the power to construct discourses deemed as truth, along with the ability to exercise control over them, thereby dictating the terms of their functioning. Utilizing this power to create space for the voices of the Yanomami women is understood as a form of resistance, intrinsic to the enduring conflict of opposing forces.

We were examining a dual motion concerning the photographs featured in the report '*Why do the miners screw the vaginas of Yanomami women?*'. The second motion entails countering a practice that is as ruthless as it is tactical within the media: confining the Other to suffering, weaknesses, and vulnerabilities to conceal their strengths and thus maintain their subjugation. These women are victims of violence, but they are not limited to it. In her book, Fabiana Moraes (2022, pp. 73-74) delves into this contemplation, questioning the prevalence of poverty-stricken depictions of the African continent and the Northeast region of Brazil within the media. She highlights the persistent portrayal of emaciated, famished, and distressed individuals, labeling this recurring depiction as the "boomerang image". Photographs akin to the description provided by the researcher can be found in the article '*We are not even able to count the bodies*'. However, there is a substantial difference: they are materials released after consultations with indigenous leaders, safeguarding the identity of those depicted. These images are incorporated within the article to spark immediate mobilization.

Figure 3

Photo by Pablo Albarenga with blurred faces of the Yanomami



Source: Sumaúma

In an earlier project¹⁰, I pondered the dilemma represented by the dissemination of these photographs. The Yanomami people consider photos to be an integral part of a person. They are “*utüpe*”, as explained by the anthropologist Hanna Limulja (2023), something that all beings possess within themselves. Upon a Yanomami’s death, they may transition to a place where everyone engages in dancing, singing, adorning themselves, and rejuvenating. However, achieving this entails a complete detachment from the realm of the living, encompassing the imagetic dimension. The immortalized image symbolizes the risk of failing to reach this heaven, known as “*hutu mosi*”. Conversely, drawing from Susan Sontag (2003, p. 70), my argument at the time revolved around how the elicited shock embodies a contemporary and didactic role of photography, emphasizing dynamic action, and aiming to mobilize support for the right to life. Below, I present excerpts where Sumaúma expresses a stance on this matter; these passages signify the beginning of a new discursive formation. The segments are from the editorial *How did 570 indigenous children die* (Brum, 2023a, emphasis added):

DISCOURSE FORMATION DENUNCIATION (discursive sequences from the editorial)

For the Yanomami, an image captured in a photo (*utupë*, in the Yanomam language) is one of the components of a person. When

a baby, an old person, or someone who is ill is photographed, the individual, already in a condition of great vulnerability, becomes even frailer. The consequences can be serious, as by being photographed or filmed, a Yanomami may find themselves in the world of the dead. Using the photos in a news story, even with the intention of **denouncing an absolute violation of rights**, cannot be a further violation. **One act of violence does not authorize us to commit another.** Even so, it is extremely difficult to bear the anguish of witnessing such a tragedy, even through the voices of others, and control the desire to **scream so loud the world will hear.** We know, however, that **only when journalism is responsible can it move that which needs to be moved.**

We published the report in the early hours of January 20 with the **faces blurred, as agreed with the indigenous leaders**, to minimize the impact of publicizing the photographs on the Yanomami culture, on the one hand, and, on the other, to protect indigenous people and health professionals from suffering retaliation within the territory. Any possible identification on the clothes of staff, nurses and doctors was also blurred, through the dedicated work of our image editor, Pablo Albarenga. **No report is more important than people's lives, even if it is a report that denounces a tragedy that devours lives.**

In the above excerpts, within the discourse, journalism occupies a specific position: that of society's guardian, ensuring that no rights are violated. However, the expectations from this position are under stress; not everything is permissible in the pursuit of exposing wrongdoing. Whether to publish images that deeply offend the Yanomami in their unique beliefs is regarded as an ethical dilemma, one that is addressed through dialogue with indigenous leaders and self-critique. It represents the team's introspective approach regarding their own practices, a characteristic that aligns with Subjective Journalism, along with the inquiries raised about the field. This second action is evident in the report '*Why do the miners screw the vaginas of Yanomami women?*' (Bedinelli, 2022, emphasis added):

DISCOURSE FORMATION DENUNCIATION (sequence from the report on the rapes)

During the nearly four years that Jair Bolsonaro has been in office, the situation has deteriorated further, **as public authorities have failed to take any consistent or truly efficacious action.** Under international pressure, **the government has engaged in ostentatious one-time operations, during which they spend two weeks destroying machinery and aircraft. This yields good photo opportunities but changes nothing.** Three such operations were conducted in 2021. This year saw only one, in early August, and the miners are already back.

By spotlighting the government's primary concern with

producing positive and media-friendly images, journalist Talita Bedinelli reveals not just a lack of political resolve to confront illegal mining, but also the machinery that makes the press complicit. The reporter possesses knowledge of the inner workings of this field and brings attention to it so as to challenge it, thereby generating a particular possible interpretation: ultimately, why should the press value an image that is both impactful and isolated (remember that visual appeal is a newsworthy value) when it fails to address the absence of effective, long-term actions to transform that reality?

By considering the significance of the demanding position – which I do not contest – while remaining cognizant of the analyst's responsibility to decipher the gestures of interpretation (Orlandi, 2005, p. 26) in the text's construction, I discern that associating the press with the potential for transformation is to establish its position once more discursively as a guardian. One of the DF's ideological formations, which we call Denunciation, is based on a previously expressed thought from the nineteenth century. Amidst the liberal revolutions that gave rise to the premise of enlightenment¹¹, British politician Thomas Macaulay expanded and consecrated the division of powers that Montesquieu had proposed a century prior. In doing so, he suggested the existence of a fourth power with the capacity to supervise others and safeguard society against potential abuses by the State. This origin is rescued by Sylvia Moretzsohn (2007), who affirms that this designation ensures journalists are acknowledged for their role as mediators. However, she is also critical of it, whether because this justification has historically been used to cloak the pursuit of public interest by capital or because the concept of the fourth estate is predicated on the oversimplified principle of objectivity: this guardian is neutral and impartial.

Beyond interdiscourse – that is, prior discourses that influence how the subject signifies – there is the dimension of intradiscourse, the axis of meaning formulation, “[...] what we are saying at that given moment, given the circumstances” (Orlandi, 2005, p. 33). In 2022, following four years of a government characterized by a rise in violence against indigenous¹² people and a re-election bid, the act of demanding public authorities to address the issue of 20.000 illegal miners entering demarcated territory in Brazil does not reflect impartiality; rather, it is the activism that is valued here. And it will appear in several sequences, both in the report about the rapes and in the investigation of the death of Yanomami children:

DISCOURSE FORMATION DENUNCIATION

Sequence from the report on the rapes:

More than forty years later, **Jair Bolsonaro, a notorious defender of the dictatorship**, has magnified and accelerated the destruction of the forest at a moment when the climate collapse is triggering ever more extreme weather disasters, and he has done so **with the collaboration of the current Congress**, dominated by representatives of agribusiness and predatory mining. **Bolsonaro, a prominent face in the new global far right, did his own illegal mining when he was in the army.** After taking office as president in 2019, he oversaw the structural dismantling of the agencies charged with oversight of environmental crimes in Brazil, at the same time making public statements to incentivize exploitation of the forest. "For my part, I would open up mining. There's a project to open up mining on Indigenous land," he said in 2020. (Bedinelli, 2022, emphasis added).

Sequence from the report on the rapes:

During the pandemic, the International Criminal Court received official requests to investigate Bolsonaro for **Indigenous genocide**, based on the president's actions. **His veto of a measure to provide original peoples with potable water was among various decisions that hampered an effective fight against COVID-19 and resulted in the deaths of some of Brazil's key Indigenous leaders.** (Bedinelli, 2022, emphasis added).

Sequences from the report on Yanomami children's malnutrition:

On top of this, **the dismantling of indigenous health care during the four years of Bolsonaro's government** has led a number of villages to health collapse. With little access to health care and a shortage of medicines, children and old people are dying of malnutrition or treatable diseases such as worms, pneumonia, and diarrhea. (Machado et al., 2023, emphasis added).

Sequences from the report on Yanomami children's malnutrition:

This leads to cases like that of the Homoxi region, where the health center was taken over by criminals, became a fuel depot, and was burned down by miners in December in retaliation for a Federal Police operation to combat the illegal activity. According to the statistics, no children there are malnourished, which does not reflect the true situation. Since there is no monitoring by health teams, there are no figures either. **The children who are hungry, falling sick and often dying were also deleted from the system. Statistical deletion is yet another way of encouraging death.** (Machado et al., 2023, emphasis added).

Sumaúma assigns names and surnames to those who are responsible for the indigenous genocide. It delves back in time to reveal the connection between Bolsonaro and the mining business, as well as the military dictatorship, during which the inauguration of the Northern Perimetral Road resulted in the massive interaction with

the Yanomami. By referring to the dictatorship, it evokes discursive memories that intensify the notion of violence, while remaining cognizant of contemporary occurrences that substantiate it, such as the dissolution of territorial oversight, the endorsement of forest exploitation, choices that resulted in the demise of indigenous populations during the pandemic, in addition to the virus itself, the deliberate concealment of statistics, and the dismantling of healthcare infrastructure that impeded access to treatments. These are statements inscribed in the discursive formation *Denúncia*, but the ideological formation that corresponds to them in these passages must be investigated in the context of necropolitics. This notion, developed by Cameroonian scholar Joseph-Achille Mbembe in 2003, relates to ultimate sovereignty, which defines who can live and who can die. Threatening to shoot enemies and criminals in the head, arming the population and denying science, and allowing the spread of a disease that killed more poor people in Brazil, are just a few of the characteristics highlighted by Rodrigo Nunes (2020), a Philosophy professor at PUC-Rio, regarding the actions of the Bolsonaro government; a government that designated certain bodies as more “killable” than others. Sumaúma’s denunciation includes discursive markers that relate to this policy, which classifies indigenous peoples as individuals who can die.

Iteratively and backed by historical analysis and empirical data, the platform consistently holds the far-right government accountable, taking a resolute stance in opposition. This is exemplified even in an editorial choice: the report addressing the cases of sexual assault culminates with the signatures of Eliane Brum, steering the editorial direction, Ana Maria Machado in the anthropological advisory, and Rodolfo Almeida crafting an illustrative infographic, and only then does the “other side” present itself, part of the strategic ritual (Tuchman, 1993) of journalism. Instead of reproducing the entire note, the platform includes a section titled *What the Bolsonaro government says*, featuring pertinent quotes from entities like Funai and the Ministry of Defense when faced with inquiries.

Indeed, the thorough investigation, a fundamental element of objectivity, stands out as a key feature in both reports within our corpus. In the exposé concerning the deaths of Yanomami children, the numbers reveal the scope of disease proliferation (the Auaris region is cited with 896 families and 2.868 malaria cases in two years) and encompass the diversity of the territory (not only Auaris

is mentioned, but also other locations such as the Maloca Paapiu, where six out of 10 children are malnourished, and the Xitei region, where in 2022, 13 children under the age of five died from treatable causes). It is worth noting that the main accusation (570 children have died in Yanomami territory in the previous four years, a 29% increase) emerges in the text through data cross-referencing. Talita Bedinelli collated the figures from Datasus¹³ for the year 2022 and juxtaposed them with data from preceding years, as elaborated upon in the editorial *How did 570 indigenous children die from the negligence of the Bolsonaro government?*

In the inaugural report, various data points (from the invasion in the 1980s with 40,000 men in the region and the extermination of 14% of the population, to the current activities of 20,000 gold miners affecting 273 out of the 350 villages) provide an in-depth analysis of Yanomami rights violations over time, woven together with humanizing testimonies. Initially, distinct facts are brought together (a connection is established between the deforestation of the Amazon and the emergence of pandemics such as covid-19, emphasizing the paradox in the ongoing escalation of forest degradation) illuminating the intricate layers within the unfolding narrative. By consulting an array of sources (from the Yanomami presiding over the District Council of Indigenous Health to the Fiocruz expert explaining effects of mercury exposure from mining activities on human health), but primarily drawing from the multiple voices of the indigenous women (from the Yanomami women at risk in regions like Missão Catrimani, Parima, Xitei, and Hakoma, to those in the Demini village where mining has not yet reached), the report is enriched. The narrative, interwoven with the words of the ancestral people (“The women of Demini look in fear at the visitors’ drawings of big *moxi xawarapë* – the Yanomami words for “diseased penises”. They know what the *napëpë* and their *moxi xawarapë* have reserved for Indigenous women”), embraces the potential of self-narrative to convey the ineffable with clarity and fluidity.

In the process of discourse, where meanings are also shaped by narratives, the unity between the forest and the Yanomami becomes apparent through their shared embodiment. The Ancestral Communion DF is then introduced as a new discursive formation, specific to the report ‘*Why do the miners screw the vaginas of Yanomami women?*’ (Bedinelli, 2022, emphasis added):

ANCESTRAL COMMUNION DISCURSIVE FORMATION (sequence from the report on the rapes)

The body of the world's largest tropical forest, a major regulator of the planet's climate, **has been violated and invaded** by some twenty thousand illegal miners in Yanomami Indigenous Territory, an area of over 37,000 square miles (96,000 square kilometers) between the states of Roraima and Amazonas in northern Brazil, close to the Venezuela border.

Is both the testimony of a shaman about the **colonizing advance on the body of the forest and the body of forest beings** as well as the testimony of a forest human about the climate collapse. Shamans hold up the sky, but shamans are being killed by napëpë and their xawara. Employing poetic expression consonant with the best science, Kopenawa shows how the action of the forest—**this complex, high-tech being formed through constant exchange between so many other beings**—is what “creates” the sky, that is, the earth's atmosphere. If today's accelerated destruction means the forest ceases to act as a forest, the sky will fall.

Following on the heels of 21 years of business-military dictatorship, which **transformed the forest into a body open for predatory exploitation**, the demarcation of the Yanomami Indigenous Territory and democratization of Brazil represented the possibility that we might change how we treat both **nature and the people who have never cut themselves off from it**.

None of the women know how to respond to the question of why they screw Yanomami women, **why they invade the forest and their bodies, why they rape them and the forest**. Not a single answer, not even whispered. Only the napëpë understand this brutal mystery.

Sumaúma's first major report focuses on the rape of Yanomami girls and women in their territory by invading gold miners. This complex issue encompasses not just the heinous act itself, but also the omission of public authorities, the recruitment of indigenous adolescents to lure their friends in exchange for cell phones, prostitution, and a host of violations affecting not just their physical and psychological well-being but also their very way of life, intricately intertwined with the forest they call home, as underscored by the research team. In the selected excerpts, the metaphorical effect emerges, as conceptualized by Michel Pêcheux and explained by Eni Orlandi (2005, p. 78). A semantic phenomenon in which the meanings of what is said and an alternative way to express it are exchanged. When Sumaúma speaks of the violated and invaded body of the forest, transformed into a realm of predatory exploitation and rape, it is also speaking of the deforested jungle, the contaminated river, and deceased beings, but equally about the violated, invaded, preyed upon, and raped bodies of women; a body that is an integral

part of this whole and cannot be distinguished from it.

Ailton Krenak (2019) has in the surname of his ethnicity the same understanding that man is part of the Earth organism. In his book, *Ideas to Postpone the End of the World*, he explains that “kre” means head and “nak” means earth: “Krenak is the inheritance we received from our ancestors, from our memories of origin, which identifies us as the ‘head of the earth’, as a humanity that cannot conceive of itself without this connection, without this deep communion with the earth” (Krenak, 2019, p. 48). This profound comprehension is not exclusive to the Krenak or the Yanomami; rather, it resonates with the ancestral essence of all humanity, embodying a shared sense of connection to the Earth.

By narrating from the perspectives of the forest’s logic, the platform is adopting a particular position. The editorial, typically a platform for journalistic expression, may not be required reading to grasp that Sumaúma tactfully crafts its content from the vantage point of the Yanomami, safeguarding their own and autonomous voice, an ancestral voice.

4 Conclusions

Sumaúma moves from the Amazon. From this center of the world from which its journalism originates, the team continued to cover the humanitarian catastrophe in Yanomami territory after the publication of that first report in 2022. A little over three months later, utilizing the Brazilian Freedom of Information Act¹⁴ and Datasus data, Talita Bedinelli uncovered the statistic of 570 children from this ethnic group who died due to preventable causes during Jair Bolsonaro’s presidential tenure. Between January 6, 2023, and the 18th, Talita awaited a response from the recently inaugurated government of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva. The investigation was published in the early hours of January 20th, and on the same date, the Ministry of Health declared a public health emergency to address the lack of sanitary assistance to the Yanomami people. The repercussion of the data and the decree was immediate, as was the announcement of President Lula’s visit to Roraima, alongside ministers Sônia Guajajara (Indigenous Peoples) and Nísia Trindade (Health). Urgent measures, including the provision of medical aid and the dispatch of five thousand food baskets to the indigenous population, were implemented to prevent further fatalities.

Sumaúma’s engaged denunciation, which subsequently

established the framework for other media outlets, enabled Brazil to confront the ongoing situation in Roraima and Amazonas while maintaining a commitment to objective protocols. The very number of Yanomami lives lost to malnutrition and malaria resulted from a cross-referencing of information and data verification, two premises cited by Fabiana Moraes (2022, p. 14) as integral to the necessary objectivity. Sumaúma opted for precise words to describe the scenario, such as genocide, war, and massacre (Discursive Formation: Battlefield); by giving first and last names to those responsible, making a direct demand (Discursive Formation: Denunciation); by contextualizing pain and violence, providing the reader with a broad dimension of the problem; by reflecting on its own work and that of the journalistic field (Discursive Formation: Denunciation); by being mindful not to occupy a place of speech, but rather by allowing for the expression of indigenous voices and their logics (Discursive Formations: Resistance and Ancestral Communion), seeking to understand them to make them accessible – proof of this is the concern to include Ana Maria Machado in the interviews. She is one of the few translators of one of the six languages spoken by the Yanomami and was included in the team because Sumaúma wants “[...] to understand what the Yanomami people are experiencing, in their own terms” (Bedinelli, 2022).

Based on these deliberate activist choices, which interconnect historical contexts with contemporary attributes, Sumaúma effectively aids in exposing violence and, despite its brief existence, contributes significantly to essential dialogues within the profession. This domain has been traversed by the ideal of rationality, in a progression wherein the problematic facet lies in the advocacy for an exclusive objectivity rather than one that correlates with subjectivity. References are made to “detachment”, “aloofness”, or even “neutrality”, when in reality a stance is adopted, and frequently, the chosen position does not align with that of the marginalized majorities. This field undergoes cycles in the country. As per Adelmo Genro Filho (2012, pp. 148-149), there exists a phase where newspapers cater to the supply and demand of products, functioning as a source of social integration. Then, there is an overtly political phase where journalism serves as a tool to challenge feudal power. Subsequently, there arises a phase where information itself becomes a commodity, sustained by the dissemination of advertising to sustain operations. We might be on the brink of a new era, where

the distinct involvement that characterized the past is not dismissed; instead, it is fostered, from academia to practical application, with professionals carving out niches in the mainstream media or in novel arenas, like platforms funded by advocates (as observed in the case of Sumaúma). Nonetheless, this remains a hypothesis that warrants further investigation.

For now, and within the context of this article's objectives, it is evident that Sumaúma's choices within the examined corpus are aligned with the principles of subjective journalism (Moraes, 2022), sustaining an intrinsic potential for confrontation that will remain indispensable. Ultimately, the press will persist in its *modus operandi*, where the current news must inevitably give way to fresh developments within a short timeframe. Sumaúma stands as a steadfast pillar for agendas (or, more fittingly, instruments of combat, as alluded to by Fabiana Moraes), concerning the heart of the world, persisting and resisting, fulfilling its duty to confront devastation and dehumanization.

NOTES

- 1 The Yanomami indigenous people's territory spans across Brazil's Northern Amazon and the state of Roraima, as well as parts of Venezuela. As per the data provided by *Sumaúma* (Machado et al., 2023), the present indigenous population in the two Brazilian states totals approximately 30.000 individuals, residing within 350 villages scattered across 9.6 million hectares of forest. This stands as the most extensive officially demarcated indigenous land in the country, a milestone accomplished in 1992, seven years after Brazil's process of redemocratization. Nevertheless, the provisions of the law were insufficient in preventing the encroachment of miners interested in mineral extraction on these lands. As emphasized by Talita Bedinelli (2022) in a segment of her report to be dissected in this article, Jair Bolsonaro's presidential administration, known for its pro-mining stance, expedited the widespread invasion of this territory through a series of initiatives, notably including the dismantling of environmental law enforcement in Brazil.
- 2 Claiming victory in October 2018 with 55% of the valid votes, Jair Messias Bolsonaro, a former army captain and seasoned congressman, secured popular support by extensively leveraging

the propagation of fake news during a period of heightened polarization in the country, characterized by a conservative stance on social and economic matters. His ascent occurred against the backdrop of a global surge in the far-right's influence, and parallels can be drawn between his strategies and those employed by Donald Trump in the United States. Throughout his four-year tenure, Bolsonaro refuted scientific findings, facilitated wider access to firearms, fomented an environment of violence, marginalized LGBTQIA+ communities, indigenous groups, and *quilombolas*, reduced financial support for universities, fostered relationships with authoritarian regimes, pursued the privatization of state-owned corporations, and endangered press freedoms in Brazil.

- 3 In the editorial *Justice for the Yanomami People*, Eliane Brum (2023b) cites the 570 children who died over four years (data gathered by Sumaúma) to clarify that the use of the term genocide in this context is intentional and necessary. Beyond taking a stance, she urges readers to advocate for the prosecution of Jair Bolsonaro for his crimes, stating: "The Yanomami genocide, which Sumaúma reported on January 20, needs to be referred to as what it is: genocide. Naming what happened accurately is the first step for guilty parties to be tried and held accountable".
- 4 According to the Instituto Verificador de Comunicação (IVC), the authority on assessing performance metrics for national media, Folha de S.Paulo, a newspaper established in 1921, remains the circulation frontrunner in Brazil for the year 2023, with a distribution of 796.000 paid copies.
- 5 Indeed, it is pertinent to underscore the predominant demographic composition of the nation, which is primarily characterized by its substantial self-declared black populace. As evidenced by the data released in the 2022 census, individuals self-identifying as black or *pardo* – an umbrella term employed by the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics to encompass diverse shades of brown – collectively constitute 56% of the Brazilian populace.
- 6 In the English language, grammatical gender is typically absent in nouns. However, Portuguese diverges from this convention. While "the journalist" in English is a gender-neutral term applicable to both men and women, in Portuguese, the term "*a jornalista*" is designated for a female professional, whereas "*o jornalista*" denotes a male professional. Notably, the latter form, "*o jornalista*," remains the more prevalent usage in Portuguese.

- 7 An illustration of Brazilian journalistic content characterized by a redemptive premise can be observed in the article “Rescue of a Tribe,” featured in the magazine *Realidade* in 1966. Reporters Carlos Azevedo and Luigi Mamprin took part in the transfer of indigenous people from the Kaiabi ethnic group from the Tatu region to the Xingu National Park. The piece extols the group’s daring odyssey, spanning 40 days, encompassing 300 kilometers, and encountering a multitude of obstacles, from hunger to malaria. It also integrates subjective assessments concerning those who opted to remain in their initial territory, despite the encroachment of rubber tappers.
- 8 The study *Ancestral Narratives, a Gift from the Future* is organized into 17 chapters, providing insights into mainstream media coverage, highlighting key voices, organizations, indigenous influencers, communication initiatives, and other pertinent subjects. As a result, it offers a comprehensive overview of Brazilian indigenous communities, their stories, and the narratives surrounding them.
- 9 In discourse analysis, the concept of interdiscourse anchors the idea of discursive memory, suggesting that speech is not an isolated entity. While the speaker articulates, they lack complete control over the construction of meaning within their speech, as words inherently carry significance shaped by history and language. Consequently, there is a movement of constant return, of an already-said that underlies what can be said. When engaging with a text, the analyst endeavors to identify these preexisting statements to elucidate how the text signifies. For more information on this topic, refer to Orlandi, 2005, pp. 31-34.
- 10 This is a work presented in May 2023 at the V Fórum de Cidadania e Garantia de Direitos (5th Citizenship and Rights Guarantee Forum, in English), an event promoted by the Centro Universitário La Salle in Rio de Janeiro. The abstract booklet with the full article (entitled *Yanomami and the image of pain: the impasse between the denunciation of genocide and the right to the Hutumosi, the heaven of this ancestral people*) is scheduled for publication in February 2024.
- 11 The Enlightenment, an intellectual movement of the 18th century, championed the superiority of the light of reason over the obscurity of the medieval legacy. Similar to René Descartes’ meth-

od and Auguste Comte's positivism, the Enlightenment notion instilled in the Brazilian press is also critiqued by Fabiana Moraes (2022, p. 48), who argues that the pursuit of the supremacy of reason “[...] effectively left entire populations on the sidelines, or rather: the very condition of being human did not extend to all people”.

- 12 According to the report *Violência contra os povos indígenas no Brasil (Violence against Indigenous Peoples in Brazil, in English)* in 2022, there were 416 documented instances of violence targeting indigenous communities. Throughout Jair Bolsonaro's presidential term, the average number of cases per year was 373.8, in contrast to 242.5 during the preceding four-year period under the administrations of Dilma Rousseff and Michel Temer. This information, compiled by the Conselho Indigenista Missionário, is available here: <https://cimi.org.br/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/relatorio-violencia-povos-indigenas-2022-cimi.pdf>
- 13 According to the Ministry of Health of Brazil, “Datasus provides information that can be used to support objective analyses of the health situation, evidence-based decision-making, and the development of health action programs”. Find out more at: <https://datasus.saude.gov.br/acesso-a-informacao/>
- 14 This refers to the Brazilian Federal Law of 2011, which safeguards the fundamental right, as outlined in the Brazilian Constitution, to access information generated or held by government entities at the federal, state, or municipal levels.

REFERENCES

- Azevedo, C. (1966). Resgate de uma tribo. *Realidade*, (9), 37-54. Retrieved from <http://memoria.bn.br/DocReader/213659/1119>
- Bedinelli, T. (2022, January 20). ‘Por que os garimpeiros comem as vaginas das mulheres Yanomami?’. Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/por-que-os-garimpeiros-comem-as-vaginas-das-mulheres-yanomami/>
- Brum, E., Watts, J., Goyzueta, V., Bedinelli, T., & Jiménez, C. (2022, September 13). *Sumaúma: jornalismo do centro do mundo*. Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/quem-somos/>
- Brum, E. (2023a, January 24). *Como chegamos aos 570 pequenos in-*

dígenas mortos. Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/editorial-crise-humanitaria-yanomami-sumauma-jornalismo-quem-somos-como-nos-movemos/>

Brum, E. (2023b, January 31). *Justiça para o povo Yanomami*. Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/justica-ao-povo-yanomami/>

Círculo folha. (1996). *Folha Online*. Retrieved from www1.folha.uol.com.br/folha/circulo/manual_producao_e.htm

Folha de S.Paulo. (2023, August 24). *IVC muda cálculo para assinaturas; Folha é líder em circulação*. Folha Online. Retrieved from www1.folha.uol.com.br/mercado/2023/08/ivc-muda-calculo-para-assinaturas-folha-e-lider-em-circulacao.shtml

Foucault, M. (1996). *A ordem do discurso* (3rd ed). Edições Loyola.

Fontes, C. (2022). *Narrativas ancestrais, presente do futuro*. Amoreira Comunicação. Retrieved from www.amoreira.info/narrativasancestrais/

Genro Filho, A. (2012). *O segredo da pirâmide: para uma teoria marxista do jornalismo*. Insular.

Gonçalves, G. O. (2022). *Por uma autoria solidária no jornalismo: o ensino de Teorias do Jornalismo e de epistemologias de alteridade* [doctoral dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo]. Biblioteca Digital USP.

Krenak, A. (2019). *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo*. Companhia das Letras.

Limulja, H. (2023, January 26). *Como alcançar o céu Yanomami se a imagem capturada está disseminada na internet?* Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/ceu-yanomami-imagem-hutu-mosi-hanna-limulja/>

Machado, R. (1979) Por uma genealogia do poder. In M. Foucault (Ed.), *Microfísica do poder* (pp. VII-XXIII). Edições Graal.

Machado, A. M., Bedinelli, T., & Brum, E. (2023, jan. 20). *'Não estamos conseguindo contar os corpos'*. Sumaúma. Retrieved from <https://sumauma.com/nao-estamos-consequindo-contar-os-corpos/>

Manual da redação: Folha de S.Paulo. (2011). *Folha de S. Paulo* (17th ed.). Publifolha.

Medina, C. (2008). *Ciência e jornalismo: da herança positivista ao diálogo dos afetos*. Summus.

Moraes, F. (2022). *A pauta é uma arma de combate: subjetividade,*

prática reflexiva e posicionamento para superar um jornalismo que desumaniza. Arquipélago.

Moretzsohn, S. (2007). *Pensando contra os fatos: jornalismo e cotidiano: do senso comum ao senso crítico*. Revan.

Nunes, R. (2020, June 18). *Necropolítica de Bolsonaro aponta para um futuro distópico*. Folha de S.Paulo. Retrieved from www1.folha.uol.com.br/ilustrissima/2020/06/vidas-de-negros-e-pobres-se-tornam-descartaveis-na-pandemia-afirma-professor.shtml

Orlandi, E. P. (2005). *Análise de Discurso: princípios & procedimentos*. Pontes.

Sontag, S. (2003). *Diante da dor dos outros*. Companhia das Letras.

Tuchman, G. (1993). A objectividade como ritual estratégico: uma análise das noções de objectividade dos jornalistas. In N. Traquina (Ed.), *Jornalismo: questões, teorias e 'estórias'* (pp. 74-90). Bega.

Thomas, R. (2022, October 22). *Advocacy Journalism*. Oxford Bibliographies. Retrieved from www.oxfordbibliographies.com/display/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0281.xml

Villanueva, E. R. T. (2018). Pilares teóricos latinoamericanos para la decolonización comunicacional. *Otros Logos*, (9), 62-84. Retrieved from www.ceapedi.com.ar/otroslogos/revista.php?num=2018

LUIZA GOULD. Ph.D. student and received her Master's in Media and Everyday Life (PPGMC) from the Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) in 2020, with her dissertation, winning the 2021 edition of the Prêmio Adelmo Genro Filho de Pesquisa em Jornalismo. Journalist and author of the book *A "arte de sujar os sapatos" com a grande reportagem social (Appris, 2022)*. Currently, her research revolves around exploring empathy during journalistic investigations. E-mail: luiza-gould@gmail.com

RESEARCH FUNDING: This article was translated with the financial support of the Postgraduate Program Mídia e Cotidiano, through FAPERJ's Support for Emerging Programs in the State of Rio de Janeiro/2019.

TRANSLATED BY: MELINA MEIMARIDIS

One review used in the evaluation of this article can be accessed at: <https://osf.io/9ypg4> | Following BJR's open science policy, the reviewers authorized this publication and the disclosure of his/her names.