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Visibility and communication of multi-risk situations among traditional peoples and communities in the Brazilian Amazon: representations in the media

Visibilidade e comunicação de multirriscos entre povos e comunidades tradicionais da Amazônia brasileira: representações na mídia

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Abstract: Journalistic coverage and its focus represent a communication bridge between different political and social actors. The views represented influence perceptions and interests, promoting a discourse based on information selected according to a particular bias. Considering traditional Amazonian peoples and communities as socially, economically, and geographically vulnerable groups, we sought to analyze the visibility and representation of multi-risks, according to their perceptions, in journalistic coverage at different spatial scales. For the study, we focused on the quilombola territory of Abacatal, located in the municipality of Ananindeua (Pará), the Tapajós National Flona, and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, both in the western region of the state of Pará. Using the Google News content mapping tool, we analyzed journalistic coverage on a local, regional, and national scale between 2014 and 2023. In total, we identified 40 news articless about Abacatal, 91 about the Tapajós Flona, and 56 about the Resex. The analysis revealed that although media coverage increased in 2023, the voices of traditional and indigenous communities were underrepresented, with a greater focus on public authorities and external experts. The quilombola territory of Abacatal faces challenges arising from infrastructure projects and environmental contamination, while the Flona and Resex deal with severe droughts and forest fires. Despite the higher incidence of news coverage, the representation of communities remains asymmetrical, with little attention paid to issues such as the COVID-19 pandemic and the social impacts of the climate crisis. The study highlights the need for public policies that integrate traditional knowledge and amplify local voices in environmental conservation and sustainable development. The data suggest that conventional media is not yet an effective tool for articulating these communities, reinforcing the importance of more inclusive and representative communication strategies.

Keywords: traditional communities and indigenous peoples; media visibility; environmental conservation; social representation; public policies.

Resumo: A cobertura jornalística e seu foco representam uma ponte de comunicação entre os diferentes atores políticos e sociais. As visões representadas influenciam percepção e interesses, promovendo um discurso baseado em recortes de informações de acordo com um determinado viés. Considerando-se os povos e comunidades tradicionais amazônicas como grupos sociais, em situação de vulnerabilidade econômica e geográfica, buscamos analisar a visibilidade e a representação de multirriscos, segundo suas percepções, na cobertura jornalística em diferentes escalas espaciais. Para o estudo, focalizamos o território quilombola do Abacatal, localizado no município de Ananindeua (Pará), a Floresta Nacional (Flona) do Tapajós e a Reserva Extrativista (Resex) Tapajós-Arapiuns, ambas na região oeste do estado do Pará. Por meio da ferramenta de mapeamento de conteúdo do Google Notícias, analisamos a cobertura jornalística em escala local, regional e nacional, entre os anos de 2014 e 2023. Ao todo, foram identificadas 40 peças

jornalísticas sobre o Abacatal, 91 sobre a Flona do Tapajós, e 56 sobre a Resex Tapajós-Arapiuns. A análise revelou que embora a cobertura midiática tenha aumentado em 2023, as vozes das comunidades tradicionais e indígenas foram pouco representadas, com maior enfoque em autoridades públicas e especialistas externos. O território quilombola do Abacatal enfrenta desafios decorrentes de projetos de infraestrutura e contaminação ambiental, enquanto a Flona e a Resex lidam com secas severas e incêndios florestais. Apesar da maior incidência de notícias, a representação das comunidades permanece assimétrica, com pouca atenção a questões como a pandemia de COVID-19 e os impactos sociais da crise climática. O estudo destaca a necessidade de políticas públicas que integrem os conhecimentos tradicionais e amplifiquem as vozes locais na conservação ambiental e no desenvolvimento sustentável. Os dados sugerem que a mídia convencional ainda não é uma ferramenta eficaz para a articulação dessas comunidades, reforçando a importância de estratégias de comunicação mais inclusivas e representativas.

Palavras-chave: povos e comunidades tradicionais; visibilidade midiática; conservação ambiental; representação midiática; multirriscos.

1. Introduction

The Brazilian Amazon is globally recognized for its biodiversity and for being home to numerous traditional peoples and communities, which play a fundamental role in environmental conservation and the maintenance of sustainable practices. These groups, however, face complex challenges that affect their territories and ways of life, such as the pressure of infrastructure projects, environmental degradation, and the lack of representation within political and administrative structures, as well as in the media.

The COVID-19 pandemic worsened these vulnerabilities, disproportionately impacting these populations due to limited access to healthcare services, the weakening of traditional economies, and increased exposure to external threats such as illegal deforestation and the invasion of Indigenous lands (United Nations Sustainable Development Group [UNSDG], 2020; Ferrante & Fearnside, 2020). Despite their profound ecological knowledge and resilience strategies, the voices of these populations remain underrepresented in decision-making processes and media narratives, often overshadowed by external actors such as government authorities and scientific experts (Barretto Filho, 2021). Addressing these asymmetries requires policies that not only integrate the traditional knowledge of Indigenous and traditional peoples into risk management and environmental governance, but also strengthen their local actions in territorial protection and sustainable development (Little, 2020). Without structural changes, the impacts of future crises – whether epidemiological, climatic, or economic – will continue to fall disproportionately on these communities and other socially vulnerable groups.

Communication plays a central role in the visibility of and struggle for the rights of traditional populations and Indigenous peoples (Sánchez & Cavalari, 2022). The way these communities are portrayed in the media influences both public perception and policies directed toward their territories; however, conventional media outlets often reinforce stereotypes or neglect their voices, limiting their participation in the public sphere

(Thum, 2017). Therefore, understanding the relationship between the media and traditional populations is essential for assessing the challenges and opportunities surrounding the representation of these communities in public debate.

The silencing of traditional peoples and communities is the result of historical processes of oppression and exclusion stemming from power structures that devalue their knowledge, ethnic diversity, territories, and ways of life. This process, defined by Paulo Freire as the "culture of silence" (Silva & Therrien, 2022), prevents these communities from expressing their identities and actively participating in decisions that affect them. However, since 2004, through Decree No. 5,0511[1], Brazil has incorporated into its legal framework Convention No. 169 of the International Labour Organization (ILO), which establishes the right of Indigenous and traditional peoples to prior, free, and informed consultation. Since then, consultation protocols have gained strength as strategies of resistance and visibility, reaffirming their rights and distinct ways of existence. In this context, the media can play a fundamental role by giving attention to these communities, increasing their presence in public debate, and contributing to overcoming asymmetric power relations.

In Brazil, the official milestone for public policies aimed at Traditional Peoples and Communities (TPCs) was the creation, in 2004, of the National Commission for Traditional Peoples and Communities (CNPCT), linked to the Ministry of the Environment (MMA) in conjunction with the Ministry of Culture (MinC) (Thum, 2017). Through the work of this body, the National Policy for the Sustainable Development of Traditional Peoples and Communities was established by Decree No. 6,040, of February 7, 2007. It is also important to understand that although the struggle of social movements tends to engage with environmental issues and the production of life, political advances are always limited, as they occur within a context marked by conflicting interests (Pacheco & Gomes, 2023).

Research on the communication processes that characterize social movements in Latin America, especially in the Amazon, represents a significant challenge. One identified difficulty stems from the lack of studies that build perspectives from, and in collaboration with, the voices of Indigenous and traditional peoples (Machado, 2019). According to data from the 2022 Census, the Northern region, as well as the state of Amazonas, concentrates the largest Indigenous population in the country; despite this, research on digital communication among Indigenous peoples remains scarce and is generally not centered on Indigenous perspectives (Costa, 2024). Although Indigenous organizations have, in recent years,

1 Revoked by Decree No. 10,088, of November 5, 2019, which "consolidates normative acts issued by the Federal Executive Branch concerning the promulgation of conventions and recommendations of the International Labour Organization (ILO) ratified by the Federative Republic of Brazil".

invested in the training of Indigenous communicators – and this movement has gained strength among young people, resulting in the creation of numerous social media channels – these initiatives still reach a limited audience, composed mainly of sectors of society already engaged with environmental and Indigenous issues.

Studies on mediatization demonstrate how new forms of sociability transform the social context, analyzing the interaction between virtualized social relations and the "mediatized world" (Hepp, 2013), as well as their impact on historical events and social participation through digital devices. These investigations engage with Milton Santos (2000), who approaches globalization as a process marked by contradictions and inequalities, distancing himself from the idea of homogeneity. Furthermore, these studies emphasize the need to observe the "sociotechnological" conditions driven by Big Tech companies, which reorganize social relations around a globalized discourse and virtualized localities.

The intersection between multimedia, multirisk scenarios, and the health crisis caused by the novel coronavirus highlighted both challenges and opportunities for traditional peoples and communities. During the COVID-19 pandemic, multimedia tools, as instruments of digital communication, became essential for disseminating information about multirisk situations – such as environmental disasters, health crises, and climate change – that directly affect these social groups. On the one hand, the pandemic further exposed the lack of equitable access to the internet and new technologies, increasing vulnerabilities and hindering both the fight against COVID-19 and the continuity of traditional knowledge. On the other hand, in the context of social isolation, these tools represented new possibilities for the struggle for rights, as illustrated by the actions of the Indigenous movement, which suspended the in-person Free Land Camp (ATL), replacing it with an online event, followed by the organization of the National Assembly of Indigenous Resistance, the establishment of the National Committee for Indigenous Life and Memory, the development of the Indigenous Emergency Plan, and the International Mobilization Maracá – Indigenous Emergency (Rosa, 2021).

During the COVID-19 vaccination campaign, social media once again became a platform for social mobilization "for the inclusion of all Indigenous peoples in the COVID-19 immunization schedule, whether they were in situations of migration, temporary transnational mobility, or living in urban areas and/or territories still undergoing land regularization processes" (Rosa, 2022, p. 509). During this same period, the international press also gave visibility to Indigenous voices, although it privileged the Amazon region and environmental appeals, reproducing the silencing and erasure of other contexts (Le Bouler Pavelic, 2022). At that moment, the internet opened new channels of communication and enabled a true arena

for debate, with the participation of a multiplicity of voices and greater capillarity within the public sphere (Suárez-Mutis et al., 2021).

As can be observed, attention to multimedia enables traditional peoples and communities to amplify their voices, strengthening networks of solidarity and resistance amid a context of expanding risks. Thus, while the COVID-19 pandemic exposed structural inequalities, it also highlighted the potential of digital technologies as allies in the struggle for visibility and rights for these populations.

This article aims to analyze the visibility and communication of multirisks among traditional peoples and communities in the Brazilian Amazon based on representations in local, regional, and national media between 2014 and 2023. The study focused on the quilombola territory of Abacatal, located in the municipality of Ananindeua (Pará), the Tapajós National Flona, and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, both located in western Pará, where traditional and Indigenous peoples and communities live. In addition to mapping the presence or absence of these social groups in the media, the research also sought to understand how communication outlets may serve as tools of articulation between these populations and society, highlighting both the challenges and opportunities for amplifying their voices. Historically, the way these social groups are portrayed in the media has perpetuated stereotypes, influencing not only public perception about them but also directly impacting the formulation of public policies. The study sought to demonstrate how the focus of journalistic coverage is defined through particular biases that neglect the sociobiodiversity of these territories and other underlying issues that permeate the lives of these communities.

From this perspective, multirisk becomes a central concept for the analysis of multiple hazards, whether natural or otherwise (Kappes et al., 2012), and is defined as the totality of relevant hazards within a given area. This encompasses all conditions, whether environmental or human-induced, that have the potential to cause harm (Kappes et al., 2012). It is important to emphasize that understanding the concept of multirisk requires an integrated approach to the threats and vulnerabilities affecting specific populations, taking into account their social, political, economic, and territorial conditions. According to Wisner et al. (2004), risks should not be understood as exclusively natural phenomena, but rather as historically produced social constructions in which structural vulnerabilities – such as poverty, environmental racism, denial of territorial rights, and the absence of public policies – play a determining role. Multirisks are therefore configured as the overlap of various threats (environmental, health-related, technological, political, etc.) that occur simultaneously or sequentially, disproportionately affecting the most vulnerable groups. In this sense, as pointed out by Cardona (2006), disaster risk reduction depends on overcoming the social causes of vulnerability, which implies considering

local contexts in the formulation of public policies and communication strategies. The analysis of multirisks is not a simple task and remains at an early stage of development in several scientific fields, presenting numerous challenges for the integration of concepts, variables, and models, both theoretical and quantitative. We understand that there are challenges in analysis and comparison, including: (1) the heterogeneity of hazards, which differ in nature, intensity, return period, and in the effects they may have on exposed elements, making comparison difficult. Standardization, generally through classification systems or indices, is a common approach to overcoming this issue; nevertheless, such schemes are often designed for specific purposes and are not easily comparable across sources; (2) another challenge concerns the relationships and interactions among the hazards examined in numerous studies. Natural and/or anthropogenic processes are interconnected and may influence one another, resulting in phenomena such as hazard chains, cascading effects, or domino effects. Neglecting these relationships may lead to an incorrect assessment of the actual level of hazard. Understanding these relationships and cascading effects remains very limited, making research difficult, and attempts to address this discussion within a limited text tend to be insufficient, as they require further studies (and even additional articles) in themselves. Finally, (3) there is a lack of uniform terminology in academic debates across schools of thought and fields of knowledge. Despite growing awareness regarding the relationships among hazards, there is still no uniform concept or generally established terminology adopted across different scientific disciplines. In any case, there is a consensus that isolated approaches to such hazards are insufficient, and that there is a need for an integrated and holistic perspective that considers interactions and cumulative effects for effective risk management.

In the case of the Brazilian Amazon, traditional peoples and communities face a complex set of multirisks that include health crises (such as the COVID-19 pandemic), increasingly recurrent extreme climate events (droughts, extreme temperatures, floods, and wildfires), environmental contamination resulting from mining and illegal gold mining, the impacts of infrastructure projects, and the pressure exerted by capital over their territories.

This article is organized into six sections that seek to encompass analyses of the visibility and representation of multirisks in traditional communities in the Brazilian Amazon. In the first section, we briefly present the focus areas of this study, indicating the administrative, political, and governance differences among them. In the following section, we explain the process of data collection and the systematization of journalistic materials, highlighting the limitations of the adopted methodology. In the third section, we provide a general analysis of the 187 materials identified, showing their incidence over a ten-year period. In the fourth section, we

reflect on the axes and themes addressed by the journalistic materials for each of the areas studied. In the fifth section, we problematize the presence or absence of these voices in the media, demonstrating that an increase in the number of journalistic materials does not necessarily reflect greater representation of these communities by communication outlets. Finally, in the sixth section, we discuss the representation of socio-environmental disaster issues in the media.

2. Study Areas

The research focused on three territories that present distinct characteristics regarding occupation, cultures, ways of life, social composition, and sources of income. On the other hand, they share similar challenges due to their dependence on and connection with the forest and rivers, being subject to multiple socio-environmental and political threats, ranging from climate extremes such as droughts, floods, and heat waves, to environmental degradation caused by illegal deforestation, forest fires, mining activities, the implementation of large-scale development projects, and the weakening of laws protecting their territories (Andrade & Spínola, 2022). The quilombola territory of Abacatal, the Tapajós National Flona,

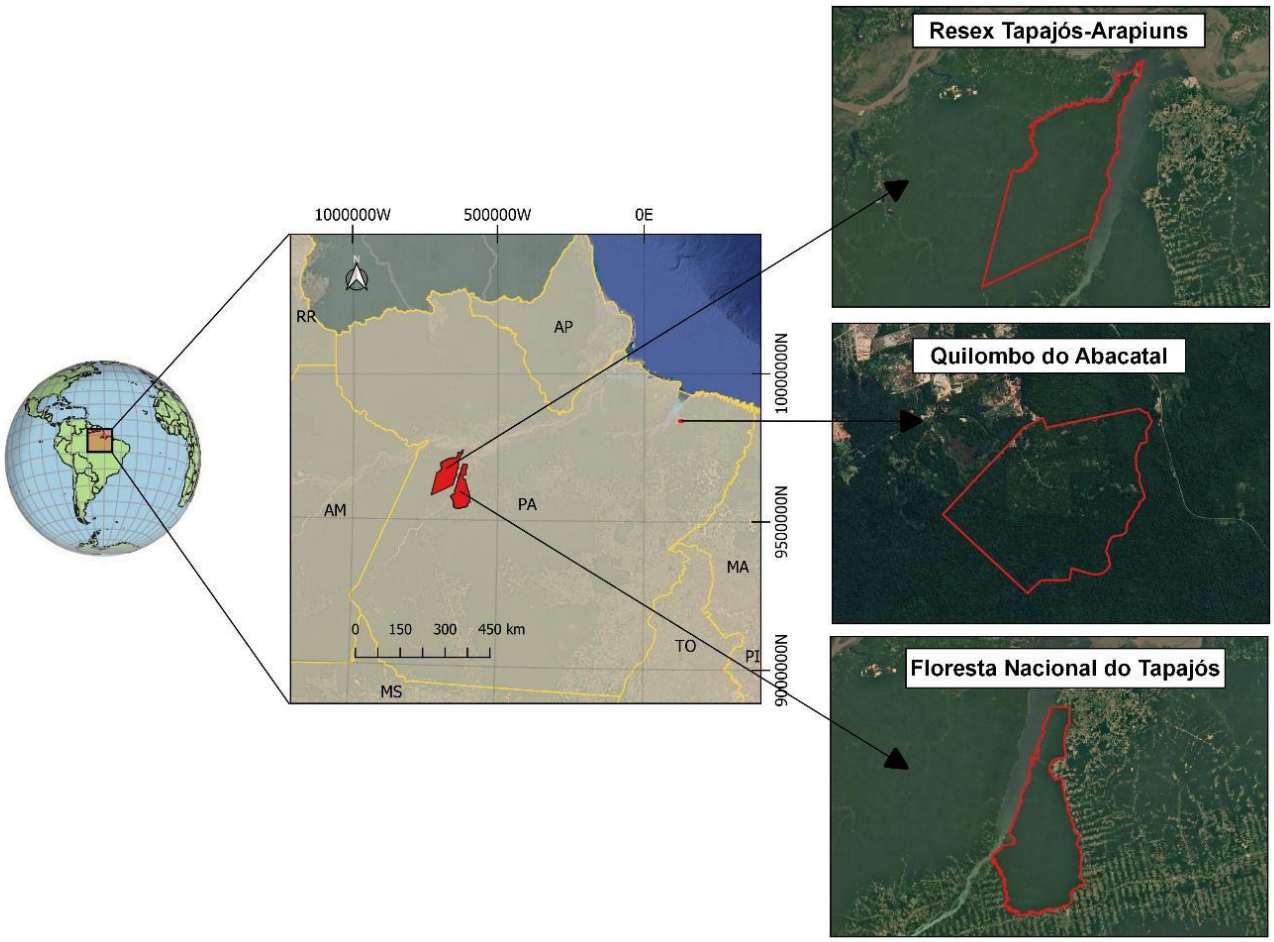


Figure 1
Location of the study areas.
Source: Santos (2024).

and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, as shown in Figure 1, are located in the state of Pará, in the western Amazon.

The quilombola territory of Abacatal, as the community prefers to be called, is located in Ananindeua (Pará), in the metropolitan region of Belém, eight kilometers from the municipality's administrative center and 16 kilometers from the capital of Pará. A quilombola community, according to Article 2 of Decree No. 4,887/2003, is defined as one composed of "ethnic-racial groups, according to criteria of self-identification, with their own historical trajectory, endowed with specific territorial relations, and presumed Black ancestry related to resistance against the historical oppression they have suffered" (*Decreto nº 4.887*, 2003).

The occupation of the territory, located on the banks of the Uriboquinha stream (a tributary of the Guamá River), dates back to 1710, but its formal land titling only occurred in 1999, when the Pará State Land Institute (Iterpa) issued the Land Ownership Recognition Title for 317.9366 hectares. In 2008, a new land title recognized the collective ownership of an additional 265.3472 hectares, totaling 583.2838 hectares. According to the 2022 Demographic Census, Abacatal currently has 368 residents, of whom 316 self-identify as quilombolas (Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística [IBGE], 2022a). The 2022 Census also indicates that 54.89% of the population of Abacatal is composed of women. The quilombo's main economic activities are extractivism and family farming (Marin & Castro, 2004).

The Tapajós National Flona, in turn, is a federal conservation unit (CU), created in 1974 through Decree No. 73,684. Its area covers 530,620 hectares, encompassing the municipalities of Aveiro (7.88%), Belterra (56.45%), Placas (2.73%), and Rurópolis (17.76%). According to a mapping survey conducted in 2020 by the Chico Mendes Institute for Biodiversity Conservation (ICMBio), it is estimated that 1,100 families, totaling approximately four thousand people, reside within the conservation unit. The Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE, 2022b), through the 2022 Demographic Census, reported a similar figure, indicating that 3,679 people live within the Tapajós National Forest. This population is distributed among 24 communities and three Indigenous villages of the Munduruku people[2], located along the Tapajós and Cupari rivers, as well as along the BR-163 highway – where agrarian reform settlers, landowners, and/or occupants of plots reside, which, although located within the boundaries of the Flona, belong to the external communities of São Pedro and Revolta (Brito & Castro, 2021).

The Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex is also a conservation unit, but one designated for sustainable use. According to Article 7, Paragraph 2 of

2 The Indigenous population totals 574 people, according to data from the 2022 Census (IBGE, 2022c).

Law No. 9,985/2000, this category of conservation unit aims to "reconcile nature conservation with the sustainable use of a portion of its natural resources" (*Lei nº 9.985*, 2000). An extractive reserve, based on Article 18 of the same law:

> [...] is an area used by traditional extractive populations whose subsistence is based on extractivism and, complementarily, on subsistence agriculture and the raising of small animals, with the primary objectives of protecting the livelihoods and culture of these populations and ensuring the sustainable use of the unit's natural resources (*Lei nº 9.985*, 2000).

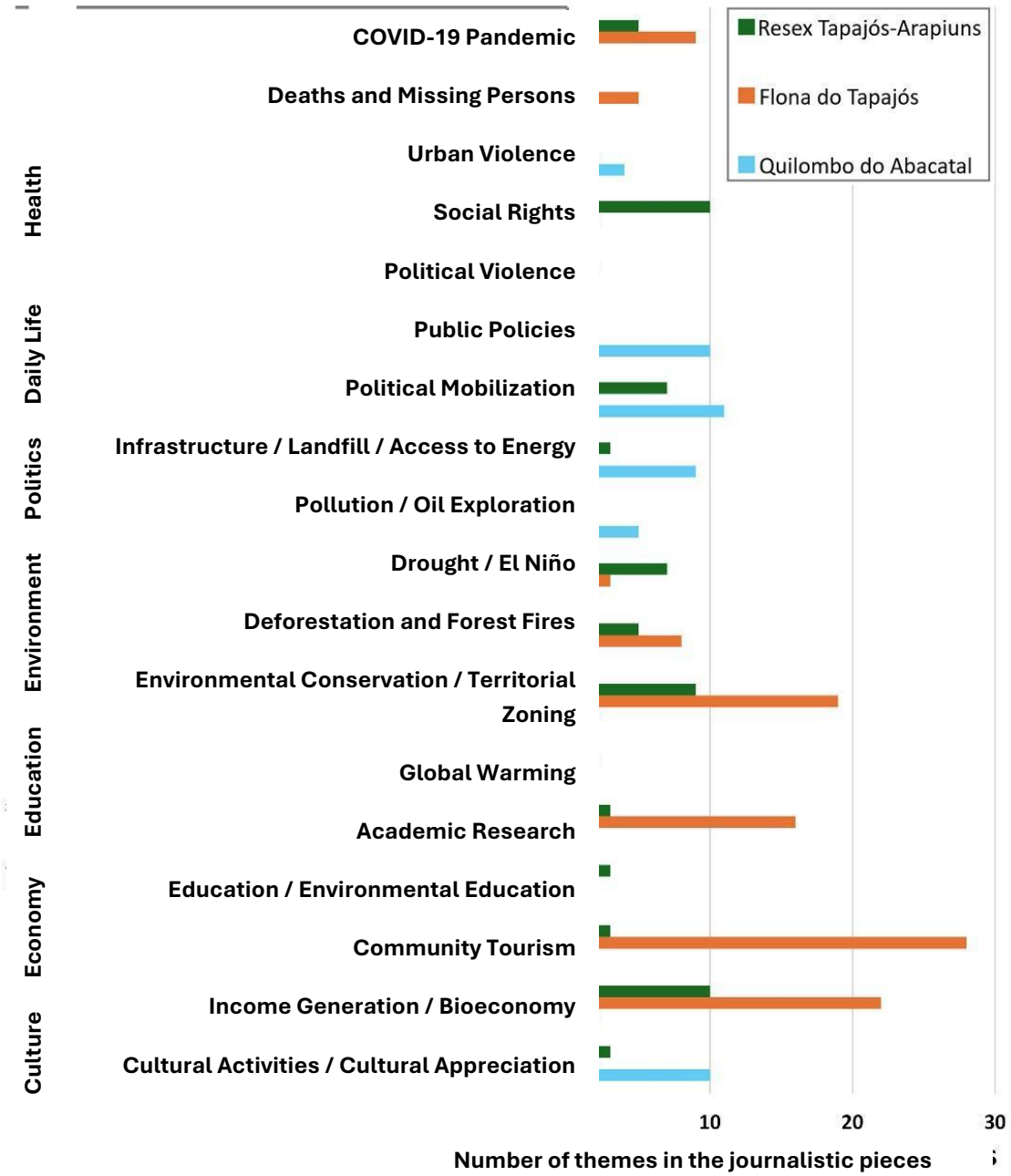
The Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, created in 1998, covers an area of 677,513.24 hectares, located in the municipalities of Santarém (66%) and Aveiro (34%), in western Pará. The 74 traditional communities that make up this territory are distributed along the Tapajós River (48 communities), the Arapiuns River (18 communities), and the Mentai stream, as well as the Maró and Inambú rivers (8 communities) (Instituto Chico Mendes de Conservação da Biodiversidade [ICMBio], 2022). Three of these communities self-identify as Indigenous, although the presence of Indigenous peoples is common throughout the territory. According to the 2022 Census, the Resex has a population of 10,345 inhabitants (IBGE, 2022b), of whom 4,583 self-identify as Indigenous (IBGE, 2022c).

3. Systematization of Journalistic Materials

The survey of journalistic materials was conducted using the Google search engine, applying the "News" filter and configuring a custom date range from January 1, 2014, to December 31, 2023. For the Abacatal territory, we used the descriptors "Quilombo do Abacatal", "Abacatal COVID-19", "Comunidade Quilombola Abacatal", and "Abacatal Ananindeua". For the Tapajós National Flona, we applied the descriptors "Floresta Nacional do Tapajós", "Flona do Tapajós", "Flona do Tapajós COVID-19", and "Floresta Nacional do Tapajós COVID-19". For the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, the descriptors used were "Resex Tapajós-Arapiuns", "Reserva Extrativista Tapajós-Arapiuns", "Reserva Extrativista Tapajós Arapiuns", "Reserva Tapajós-Arapiuns", and "Resex Tapajós-Arapiuns COVID-19".

A total of 187 journalistic materials were identified, distributed across 48 communication outlets[3] with national, regional, and local coverage. These

3 They are: Agência Brasil, Agência Cenarium, Agência Pará, Amazonas Atual, Amazônia Real, BBC News Brasil, Brasil de Fato, Catraca Livre, Cimi, Colabora, Combate Racismo Ambiental, Correio, Diário do Pará, DOL, Eco, El País, Estadão, Folha do Progresso, G1 Natureza, G1 Pará, G1 Santarém and region, Hypeness, Ibama, IFPA, Imazon, Jornal São Paulo Zona Sul, Jornalistas Livres, Mídia Ninja, Nexo, Nonada Jornalismo, O Eco, O Globo, O Impacto, O Liberal, Pará Terra Boa, Piauí, Portal Amazônia, Portal Santarém, Portal Terra, Pública, Rede Pará, Repórter Brasil, Tapajós de Fato, Portal da UFMG, Portal da Ufopa, UOL, Veja, and Viagem em Pauta.



materials were classified into seven thematic axes: everyday life, culture, economy, education, environment, politics, and health, further subdivided into 18 specific themes. Since a single journalistic material may address multiple themes, the total number of thematic records across the three study areas reached 246 (Figure 2 and Table 1). For analytical purposes, information regarding the communication outlets, publication dates, access links, authorship, circulation scope, identification of communities, references to Traditional Peoples and Communities (TPCs), and citations of local social actors or authorities was systematized in a spreadsheet.

Figure 2

Identification of the number of journalistic materials according to the thematic axes and their detailed classification for the three study areas.

It should be noted, however, that the absence of clear thematic delimitation, as well as the imprecise identification of the traditional peoples and communities addressed in the articles, made the process of mapping journalistic materials more difficult, revealing the fragility of indexing mechanisms and, consequently, the underrepresentation of their main subjects (Souza, 2005). Given this limitation, it is important to clarify that the research method adopted was not capable of encompassing the totality of journalistic materials existing about each of the study areas. This is partly due to the functioning of Google's search mechanism, which, regardless of the descriptors used, tends to rank content in such a way that certain articles do not appear in the results, especially when they do not explicitly mention, in the title or *lead*[4], the names of the communities or peoples involved (Pedrosa, 2020).

In addition, it was observed that the "News" filter failed to include productions from independent media outlets, such as those produced by the Amazônia Real agency, which were later located through direct searches on its website. The same occurs with Sumaúma, a trilingual journalism platform that has gained prominence for giving visibility to socio-environmental issues in the Amazon, particularly Indigenous and traditional population narratives. However, its publications also do not systematically appear in automated searches, highlighting the limitations of conventional journalistic indexing mechanisms.

4. General Assessment

The identified and analyzed journalistic materials reveal general aspects that indicate distinctions among the three study areas regarding the themes explored by the media, while also highlighting convergent elements among the territories. Within the Economy axis, for example, the relevance of the bioeconomy and local cultures linked to sustainable practices, as well as the importance of environmental conservation for the populations of the three territories, was identified. Activities such as meliponiculture, ecological leather (latex), vegetable oils – such as andiroba oil – community-based tourism through ecological trails, bio-jewelry handicrafts, timber processing for furniture production, the sale of traditional foods – such as cassava vatapá – and artisanal fishing constitute the primary source of income for most families in the study areas. On the other hand, regarding the Education axis, the results of academic research reported by local, regional, and national media disseminated products developed mainly for the Flona and the Resex, such as books, reports on the identification of new fauna and flora species, as well as the development of phytotherapeutic

4 The journalistic lead is intended to convey the main information of the news story to the reader; it is the first part of a news article, usually the opening paragraph (Pedrosa, 2020).

medicines. The quilombola territory of Abacatal, in turn, did not present news related to this thematic axis, which may be attributed both to the smaller number of studies conducted there in comparison with the Flona and the Resex[5], and to the absence of media coverage captured through the mechanism used in this research. It is important to highlight, however, that public universities are located within or near the municipalities where these three territories are situated, and an increasing number of students from these communities have gained access to higher education.

Extreme drought events, in turn, were reported by the media only in relation to the two conservation units. These events occurred during *El Niño* years (2015/16 and 2023/24), and no records were found for the quilombola territory of Abacatal, probably because it was not affected due to its geographical location. As reported, the impacts of extreme droughts included both tree mortality within the forest and the occurrence of forest fires, as well as reduced river water levels, affecting water availability and fishing activities. Within the Health axis, the central theme was the COVID-19 pandemic, although only 15 journalistic materials were identified: 10 in 2020, four in 2021, and one in 2023. The reports addressed issues ranging from the negative impacts of the pandemic on communities – such as reduced income from the sale of local products, the interruption of tourism, and the suspension of forest management activities – to the intensification of threats resulting from the weakening of environmental laws, aggravated by political discourse and budget cuts directed toward environmental management. This context resulted, on the one hand, in reduced inspection and enforcement, which was reported as an expression of abandonment, racism, and necropolitics, and, on the other hand, in an increase in illegal logging activities. Some journalistic materials also presented positive aspects, such as social mobilization in support of the communities through the donation of hygiene kits and protective equipment, the appreciation of traditional knowledge through healing practices and the use of medicinal herbs, as well as logistical support, including the deployment of a hospital ship to serve the Flona and the Resex. The study also identified innovation driven by the health crisis, which led to the development of a virtual visitation tool for Brazilian national parks.

Regarding the analyzed period, spanning from January 1, 2014, to December 31, 2023, an increase in the number of journalistic materials concerning the three territories was identified in the most recent years, especially after 2020 (Figure 3). It is also noteworthy to observe the peak in news coverage in 2016, when an extreme drought caused by the El

5 According to the Biodiversity Information System (Sisbio), Tapajós is the most researched national forest in Brazil. Learn more at: https://www.gov.br/icmbio/pt-br/assuntos/noticias/ultimas-noticias/tapajos-e-a-floresta-nacional-mais-pesquisada-do-pais

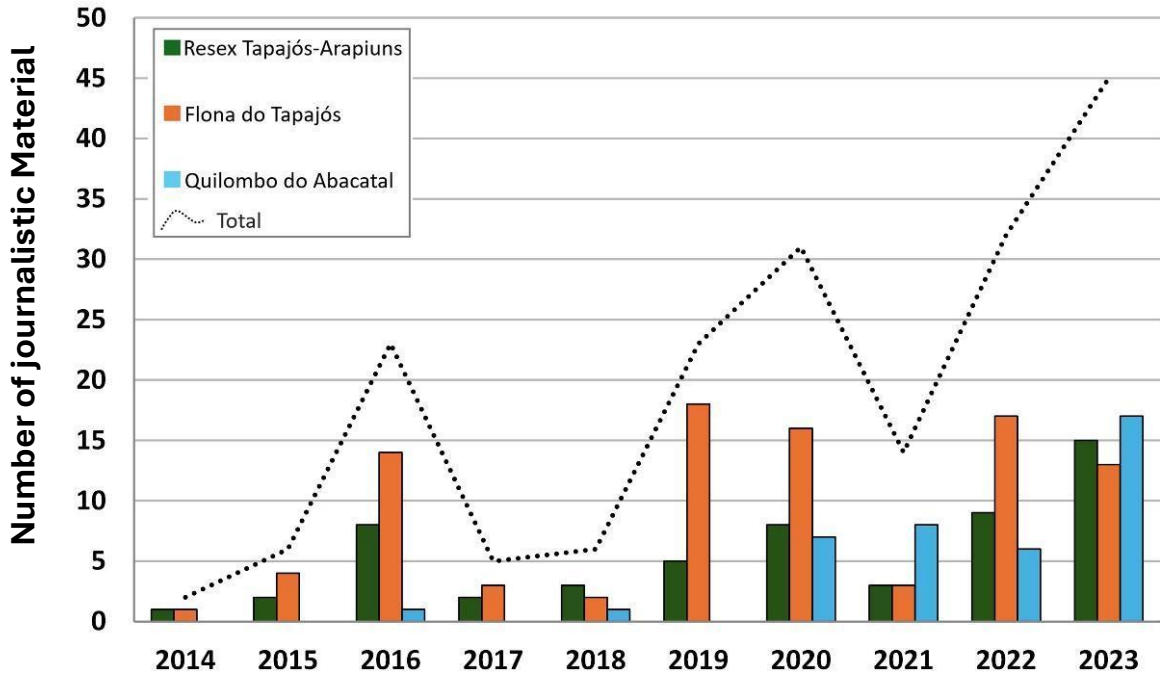


Figure 3
Number of journalistic materials by study area according to year.

Niño climatic phenomenon generated a series of impacts. In 2023, which recorded the highest number of journalistic materials, for example, articles addressed six of the seven thematic axes, with no coverage only for the Education axis.

The largest number of journalistic materials corresponded to outlets with national circulation (116), followed by regional circulation (49) and local circulation (22), which at first glance may appear counterintuitive. In addition, locally circulated materials began appearing in 2019, with two articles, reaching their peak in 2022 and 2023, with nine articles each year. At the regional circulation level, there was one journalistic material in 2016 and another in 2018, whereas in subsequent years between nine and 15 materials were published annually. In media outlets with national circulation, the years 2016, 2019, 2020, and 2023 recorded the highest numbers of journalistic materials, ranging from 19 to 24 publications.

5. Thematic Axes and Topics Addressed

Among the journalistic materials identified, 30% correspond to the Environment axis, encompassing issues related to global warming, environmental conservation, wildlife, territorial zoning, reforestation, deforestation, forest fires, droughts, *El Niño*, pollution, oil exploitation, and other matters associated with large infrastructure projects surrounding these territories, such as the installation of landfills and electrical substations. Following this, with 24.6%, are the materials classified within the Economy axis, addressing topics related to income generation – especially through

Table 1 Journalistic Materials by Study Area According to the Thematic Axis and Topic Addressed.

Axis	Theme	Community			Total
		Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
Culture	Cultural activities / Cinema / Cultural appreciation / Grassroots communication	10	2	3	15
Economy	Income generation / Bioeconomy / Technical training	2	22	10	**34**
	Community-based tourism	0	28	3	**31**
Education	Education / Environmental education	1	0	3	**4**
	Academic research	0	16	3	**19**
Environment	Global warming	0	2	0	**2**
	Conservação ambiental/ Fauna Environmental conservation / Wildlife / Territorial zoning / Reforestation	2	19	9	**30**
	Deforestation and forest fires	1	8	5	**14**
	Drought / El Niño	0	3	7	**10**
	Pollution / Oil exploitation	5	1	0	**6**
	Infrastructure / Landfills / Access to electricity	9	0	3	**12**
Politics	Political mobilization	11	0	7	**18**
	Public policies	10	0	0	**10**
	Political violence	0	0	2	**2**
	Social rights	1	2	10	**13**
Everyday life	Urban violence	4	2	0	**6**
	Deaths and missing persons	0	5	0	**5**
Health	COVID-19 pandemic	1	9	5	**15**
Total		**57**	**119**	**70**	**246**

the bioeconomy – technical training, and community-based tourism. Journalistic materials linked to the Politics axis account for 17.4%, covering subjects related to political mobilization, public policies, political violence, and social rights. The Education axis, in turn, represents 9.3% of the analyzed materials, focusing on topics related to academic research results, access to education, and environmental education initiatives. Another 6% fall within the Culture axis, highlighting cultural activities, cinema, cultural appreciation, and grassroots communication; similarly, 6% belong to the Health axis, focusing on the COVID-19 pandemic. Finally, representing 4.4%, are the articles classified under the Everyday Life axis, addressing issues related to urban violence and missing persons.

An analysis by study area reveals that the journalistic materials concerning the quilombola territory of Abacatal focused primarily on issues related to the Culture and Politics axes, with 10 records for the former and 22 for the latter. For the Tapajós National Flona, the main axes were Economy, with 50 records, followed by Environment, with 31,

and Education, with 16 occurrences. In the Resex, in turn, the journalistic materials focused on the Environment axis, with 24 records; the Politics axis, with 19 records; and the Economy axis, with 13 occurrences (Table 1). It should be noted that a single journalistic material may address more than one theme; therefore, the number of occurrences is greater than the number of reports for each community (40 for Abacatal, 91 for the Flona, and 56 for the Resex). The total number of journalistic materials across the three study areas, according to the themes addressed, reached 246 records.

6. Presence or Absence in the Media

The quilombola territory of Abacatal faces a series of challenges arising from infrastructure projects, such as the construction of an energy substation and an express highway, which directly affect its territory, ways of life, and the livelihoods of the local population (Barbosa, 2020). In addition, contamination of rivers and streams caused by the landfill in the municipality of Marituba has rendered these waters unsuitable for bathing and fishing, further worsening the community's living conditions.

Despite these challenges, media coverage of Abacatal has been limited, with only 40 journalistic articles identified during the analyzed period, mainly concentrated in 2023 (Table 2). This recent increase may indicate a new communication strategy adopted by the community, as the political and cultural articulation of its leaders has gained greater visibility in the media, especially in independent news outlets such as Amazônia Real.

On the other hand, the Tapajós National Flona presents a different trajectory in terms of media visibility. During the same period, 91 journalistic materials were identified, with greater incidence in the years 2019, 2020, and 2022. Unlike the quilombola territory of Abacatal, the

Table 2 Journalistic materials by study area according to the year of publication.

Year	Community			Total
	Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
2014	0	1	1	**2**
2015	0	4	2	**6**
2016	1	14	8	**23**
2017	0	3	2	**5**
2018	1	2	3	**6**
2019	0	18	5	**23**
2020	7	16	8	**31**
2021	8	3	3	**14**
2022	6	17	9	**32**
2023	17	13	15	**45**
Total	**40**	**91**	**56**	**187**

Source: Rosa, 2024.

Table 3 Journalistic Materials by Community According to the Circulation Scope of Communication Outlets.

Circulation	Community			Total
	Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
Local	1	13	8	**22**
Regional	21	15	13	**49**
National	18	63	35	**116**
Total	**40**	**91**	**56**	**187**

Source: Rosa, 2024.

Tapajós Flona maintains historical continuity, with at least one journalistic material identified per year. The Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex follows the same pattern, with 56 journalistic materials identified over the 10-year interval, also maintaining a constant media presence, with peaks in coverage during specific years, such as 2023, when the region faced a severe drought associated with the *El Niño* phenomenon (Table 2).

Most of the news concerning the quilombola territory of Abacatal was published in regional communication outlets, whereas those related to the Flona and the Resex were predominantly published in media outlets with national coverage. This difference may be related to the status of these two areas as federal Conservation Units, the greater ease of access to the media through the intermediation of ICMBio, or the significant volume of research conducted within these territories (Table 3).

The journalistic materials concerning the quilombola territory of Abacatal showed the highest occurrence in the O Liberal news portal, with 10 reports, followed by Agência Pará, linked to the Pará State Secretariat of Communication, with seven, both with regional circulation. The G1 Pará portal, with six reports, and Brasil de Fato, with four, were the nationally circulated outlets with the highest number of occurrences related to Abacatal. For the Tapajós National Flona, the highest incidence was found in the G1 Santarém e Região news portal, with 33 occurrences, followed by G1 Natureza, with 10, both with national circulation. The Resex also showed the highest occurrence in G1 Santarém e Região, with 20 records, followed by Agência Brasil, linked to the Brazilian Communication Company of the Federal Government, with six, both with national circulation.

The analysis of the journalistic materials reveals that, although there has been an increase in the number of records concerning these communities, the representation of their voices remains limited. In many cases, the consulted sources are public authorities (government officials, public managers, legal professionals, politicians, and public security agents) or external specialists (researchers, representatives of non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and human rights activists), rather than members of the traditional and Indigenous communities themselves (Rosa, 2024; Santos, 2024). This points to an asymmetry in power relations, in which

narratives are often shaped by external interests or perspectives, not necessarily reflecting the viewpoints and needs of local communities.

A single journalistic material identified through a descriptor related to the quilombola territory of Abacatal, for example, does not necessarily refer specifically to the quilombola population. In some cases, it may refer more broadly to traditional peoples and communities in general, or to Indigenous peoples, citing one or more groups individually or discussing them collectively. A journalistic material may also specifically mention the quilombola community while simultaneously referring to one or more Indigenous peoples or another specific traditional community. In this sense, in an attempt to assess the degree of access these communities and peoples have to the media, the same journalistic materials were evaluated according to two different variables: Indigenous peoples and traditional peoples and communities.

Among the three study areas, 66% of the journalistic materials do not cite traditional populations as sources. The quilombola territory of Abacatal presents a distinction in comparison with the conservation units, since sources belonging to traditional populations were consulted in 24 out of the 40 journalistic materials, representing 60% of the cases. In the Resex, approximately 41% of the journalistic materials consulted sources from traditional populations, whereas in the Flona this figure reached only 17.6% of the publications (Table 4).

When specifically referring to the consultation of Indigenous sources, the data are also revealing of power asymmetries in the construction of narratives about these communities, given that in 88% of the journalistic materials no Indigenous sources were consulted. Within the Tapajós National Flona and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, there are different Indigenous communities which, as the data demonstrate, are rarely heard in reports related to either conservation unit. Among the journalistic materials concerning the quilombola territory of Abacatal that mention Indigenous peoples, only five cite sources belonging to these groups. In the Tapajós Flona, only four cite Indigenous sources, whereas in the Resex, only 12 consulted Indigenous sources (Table 5).

Several factors may explain the low number of news reports citing Indigenous peoples in the region, including the hypothesis that the media tends to prioritize subjects that attract greater audiences, such as

Table 4 Journalistic Materials by Community According to Consultation of Sources from Traditional Populations.

Sources from Traditional Populations	Community			Total
	Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
No	16	75	33	**124**
Yes	24	16	23	**63**
Total	**40**	**91**	**56**	**187**

Source: Rosa, 2024.

Table 5 Journalistic Materials by Community According to Consultation of Indigenous Sources.

Indigenous Sources	Community			Total
	Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
No	35	87	44	166
Yes	5	4	12	21
Total	**40**	**91**	**56**	**187**

Source: Rosa, 2024.

broader environmental issues and economic conflicts, while overlooking the experiences and challenges of Indigenous communities. In addition, there is the issue of limited telephone and internet coverage in Indigenous lands and traditional territories. It is important to emphasize that none of the three analyzed territories has broad communication coverage or extensive access networks, with services being available only at strategic points, such as public facilities and community associations. In many cases, traveling to an Indigenous territory involves high costs, which are not always feasible for newsrooms. Combined with the limited number of journalists specialized in Indigenous issues, this contributes to the reduced quantity of news coverage concerning these communities. The difficulty in obtaining funding for journalistic coverage involving Indigenous peoples and climate change also affects these results.

The findings obtained for the three localities therefore demonstrate the importance of increasing the visibility of traditional peoples and communities in the media, as well as the need for more inclusive and representative approaches that recognize not only their perceptions of risk and the impacts experienced locally, but also their knowledge and contributions to environmental sustainability.

It is also noteworthy that, although sources belonging to traditional populations are cited, journalistic coverage does not take into account data produced by Indigenous and traditional population organizations. The figures are negligible or nonexistent, as in the case of the quilombola territory of Abacatal, where, despite the existence of the Association of Residents and Producers of Abacatal and Aurá (AMPQUA), there is no reference to it in any of the 40 journalistic materials analyzed. In the Flona, similarly, although the Mixed Cooperative of the Tapajós National Forest (Coomflona) has existed since 2005, in addition to other intercommunity associations of fishers, producers, rural workers, and rubber tappers, community-generated references are rarely accessed by the media, with only two mentions among the 91 journalistic materials identified.

In the Resex, despite the existence of the Organization of Associations of the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex (Tapajoara), several community associations, and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Indigenous Council (Cita), both headquartered in the city of Santarém, only four of the 56 journalistic materials mention data produced by these entities (Table 6). As exemplified by Indigenous

Table 6 Journalistic pieces by community according to consultation of data from Indigenous or traditional population organizations.

Indigenous and traditional population organizations	Community			Total
	Abacatal Quilombo	Tapajós National Flora	Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex	
No	40	89	52	**181**
Yes	0	2	4	**6**
Total	**40**	**91**	**56**	**187**

Source: Rosa, 2024.

mobilization during the COVID-19 pandemic, the data produced by these organizations – by denouncing and confronting the underreporting of official data regarding the number of Indigenous people infected by or killed by the novel coronavirus – challenged state omission and demanded proper attention to healthcare (Rosa, 2021).

The creation of Conservation Units (CUs) in Brazil, especially during the Military Dictatorship, occurred in an authoritarian manner, without consultation with the traditional communities inhabiting these areas. This imposition generated conflicts and restrictions on land use, affecting the way of life of these populations. The Tapajós National Flona, for example, created in 1974, was one of the first protected areas in the Brazilian Amazon. Over time, its residents organized themselves to defend the territory, which led to the formation of cooperatives, the development of new models of production and commercialization, and the promotion of research activities in the region.

In contrast, the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, created in 1998, emerged from the demands of the residents themselves to protect their lands from exploitation by loggers, illegal miners, and ranchers, representing a more democratic and participatory process.

7. Representation of Socio-Environmental Disaster Issues

Climate change and its impacts, such as rising temperatures, reduced rainfall, and increased wildfire risk, have also become central themes in discussions about the Amazon. These phenomena, together with biodiversity and the local bioeconomy, have gained prominence in the national media. The quilombola territory of Abacatal, as previously mentioned, faces additional challenges arising from infrastructure projects, which did not cease even during the pandemic, as demonstrated by some journalistic materials. Despite the importance of the media in denouncing these problems, the community received limited visibility over the years, achieving greater prominence only after 2020, with a peak in 2023, when there was a significant increase in publications. This phenomenon may be related either to a new communication strategy adopted by the community itself or to growing interest from certain media outlets.

In the Tapajós National Flona and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, media

presence was more consistent throughout the decade, with particular emphasis on 2023, when the region was severely affected by a drought associated with the El Niño phenomenon. The fact that these areas are federal Conservation Units contributes to their greater access to national communication outlets, which explains the higher incidence of coverage within this segment. In contrast, the quilombola territory of Abacatal, located in the metropolitan region of Belém, obtained greater visibility in regional media outlets, reflecting the administrative, political, and governance differences among the territories.

Tourism was a recurring topic in the analyzed journalistic materials; however, few reports warned about the socioeconomic and political realities of these municipalities, and even fewer addressed the modality of community-based tourism, which is strongly affected by climate extremes and epidemiological crises such as the COVID-19 pandemic. One report pointed to the lack of healthcare facilities in the six communities most frequently visited by tourists, requiring residents to travel to Belterra, which has a precarious healthcare structure or, occasionally, access to a hospital ship coordinated by a non-governmental organization. The problem worsened between May and July 2020, the peak period of the COVID-19 pandemic in the state of Pará.

In the Tapajós region, one of the economic sectors affected was the production of ecological leather made from latex extracted from rubber trees, which, prior to the pandemic, had a broad customer base extending across several Brazilian states and even abroad. With the onset of the COVID-19 pandemic, the Flona was closed to visitors, resulting in a considerable decline in the sales of latex-based products and, consequently, economic losses for the families involved in the activity. In general, the journalistic materials presented diverse focuses, many of them addressing more than one issue simultaneously, such as environmental conservation and income generation, social rights, the COVID-19 pandemic and remote education, infrastructure, pollution, landfills, and political mobilization.

It is important to note, however, that the number of journalistic materials does not necessarily correspond to greater amplification of local voices, given that Indigenous peoples and traditional populations are often not consulted as sources. Furthermore, many journalistic materials address issues that align with the interests of public authorities, such as those disseminated by Agência Pará, which primarily seek to demonstrate the presence of the State within these territories.

Records concerning drought were concentrated in 2023, a period during which the Amazon experienced a severe dry season. It is noteworthy that, despite the intense occurrence of forest fires during the same year, only three reports addressed the issue. This finding draws attention to the way such events are socially perceived in a region heavily affected by deforestation associated with the expansion of the soybean agricultural

frontier. Also noteworthy is the lack of representation of news concerning floods, such as the event that occurred in 2022, when the Tapajós River reached record flood levels, surpassing the indices of the previous 13 years, with peaks previously recorded in 2014 and 2021, according to Civil Defense bulletins (Coordenadoria Municipal de Defesa Civil, 2022). Several riverside communities may be affected by floods above the historical average, compromising not only the infrastructure of their homes but also the use of canoes as their primary means of transportation. In addition, flooding hinders access to fishing – both due to the elevated water volume and the reduced availability of fish – and may lead to the loss of fish farms located in streams near the main river, as well as cultivated fields and other crops.

This also applies to the limited importance attributed to forest fires in the Santarém region, where the two conservation units studied are located (Aragão et al., 2018, Withey et al., 2018, Freitas et al., 2023). Wildfires frequently originate from slash-and-burn practices that escalate into uncontrolled fires due to deforestation, the expansion of the agricultural frontier, and climate change, which have intensified forest flammability. The health impacts caused by smoke exposure among traditional communities were not a subject of media interest, even though it is known that smoke from the fires covered the city of Santarém, leading many people to seek healthcare services due to respiratory problems and eye irritation (G1, 2023). The drought led the then mayor, Nélio Aguiar, to declare a state of emergency in certain areas of the municipality. A Civil Defense report indicated that more than 177 families, accessible exclusively by water transport, lacked access to potable water. The reduced navigability of the rivers also affected access to services, education, and healthcare for populations living in rural areas (Vieira & Andrade, 2023).

Therefore, although the data reveal an increase in the incidence of reports concerning these communities in 2023 – the final year of the analyzed series – the content of the articles and the sources consulted (public authorities, researchers, etc.) indicate the persistence of asymmetrical power relations, as well as the continued invisibilization of the impacts experienced by the populations of these territories. The increase in the media presence of these communities after 2020 is also related to the effects of social distancing imposed by the pandemic. During this period, significant advances in the field of communication were observed, a sociotechnical phenomenon that helped mitigate the impacts of isolation while simultaneously amplifying the visibility of different experiences related to the pandemic and its consequences (Suárez-Mutis et al., 2021). The health crisis required communities to adapt to a new logic, as stated by Sônia Guajajara, then Executive Coordinator of the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (Apib), during the opening of ATL 2020: "*this*

is resistance. [...] with each new attack, we also innovate our strategies of struggle[6]" As Rosa (2021, p. 74) observes:

> New technologies have become tools in the struggle of Indigenous peoples, who now make use of the very same means often employed to attack them; this time, they were the ones "occupying the networks and demarcating the screens", as suggested by the slogan of ATL 2020.

The analysis of the news coverage reveals the logistical challenges and access difficulties that limit media coverage in the Amazon region, while also highlighting the need to expand the visibility and representativeness of Indigenous voices and those of traditional peoples and communities within communication outlets. More holistic and balanced media coverage may foster a broader understanding of the relevance of the socio-environmental transformations experienced by these communities and encourage reflection on how traditional knowledge, combined with the complex interactions between environmental conservation and ways of life, may point toward a path of sustainable development – not only for populations directly dependent on the forest, but for society as a whole.

8. Conclusions

This article sought to analyze the visibility and communication of multirisks among traditional peoples and communities in the Brazilian Amazon between 2014 and 2023, based on media representations. The research focused on the quilombola territory of Abacatal, the Tapajós National Flona, and the Tapajós-Arapiuns Resex, all located in the state of Pará. As demonstrated throughout the text, these communities are exposed to multiple and interconnected risks that characterize what Wisner et al. (2004) define as multirisks. Such risks, however, according to the authors, should not be understood merely as the overlap of threats, but rather as concrete expressions of historical and structural inequalities, including environmental and structural racism, the absence of public policies, and the fragility of social protection systems, resulting primarily from the absence of the State in these territories.

By analyzing the journalistic materials published between 2014 and 2023, it was possible to identify the perpetuation of asymmetrical power relations and the silencing of local voices. Although there was an increase in the number of publications after 2020, especially in 2023, this did not necessarily imply greater protagonism of traditional peoples and communities within the produced content, since, as noted, most reports

6 Comment made during the opening of the ATL on social media: "with each new attack, a new strategy of struggle", held on April 27, 2020. Available at: https://www.facebook.com/1838357019767792/videos/226979435235495/.

relied on external sources to the detriment of community leaders and organizations.

The underrepresentation of local voices in the reports, the scarcity of data produced by Indigenous and traditional organizations, and the concentration of coverage in nationally circulated media outlets suggest a logic of reporting still guided by hegemonic interests and agendas external to the realities experienced within these territories. Independent media outlets, such as Amazônia Real and Sumaúma, which stand out for adopting counter-hegemonic approaches and for centering socio-environmental issues in the Amazon, as well as Indigenous and traditional population narratives, tend to be disadvantaged by conventional journalistic indexing mechanisms. This reinforces what Barretto Filho (2021) describes as the political, media, and epistemological invisibility of Amazonian traditional populations.

It is important to emphasize, however, that the absence of these voices not only compromises the plurality of representations and the understanding of how different social groups experience risk, but also contradicts international recommendations for multirisk management, as outlined in the 2022 Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction (GAR) of the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR). According to the UNDRR, multirisk management requires integrated, contextually grounded, and socially just approaches that articulate technical knowledge and traditional knowledge. Cardona (2006) follows the same perspective, arguing that disaster risk reduction is not limited to mitigating immediate damages, but requires confronting the structural causes of vulnerability, which includes considering local contexts in the formulation of public policies and communication strategies.

Communication, therefore, plays a central role in the construction of socio-environmental justice and in promoting equity in access to fundamental rights. When centered on communities and their own ways of narrating reality, communication ceases to be merely a channel of information and becomes a field of symbolic and political dispute. It becomes an arena in which struggles for rights, recognition, and representation are carried out, denouncing the social injustices to which minority groups have historically been relegated. For this reason, the spaces conquered by Indigenous communication are so significant. There is still a long path ahead in confronting the hegemony of mainstream media, but the fundamental role of young Indigenous communicators – such as Alice Pataxó, Samela Sateré Mawé, Tukumã Pataxó, among others – in producing counter-narratives to fake news and hate speech that incite violence against Indigenous peoples and other traditional populations is undeniable.

In this sense, the research reinforces the need to rethink communication strategies in confronting multirisks, especially within the Amazonian context. It is urgent that the media incorporate decolonial and intersectional

perspectives, recognizing the epistemic diversity of these populations and the centrality of their knowledge in constructing sustainable alternatives to the current predatory development model.

In conclusion, it becomes evident that visibility is not synonymous with representation. Overcoming the multirisks experienced by traditional peoples and communities in the Brazilian Amazon requires, among other actions, the democratization of communication in order to create space for other voices, interests, and forms of knowledge that have historically been rendered invisible. Communication must be recognized as a collective right, aligned with the construction of public policies that respect the principles of prior, free, and informed consultation, as established by ILO Convention No. 169. This implies not merely "speaking about" these communities, but creating space for them to speak for themselves – occupying screens, microphones, networks, institutions, and the decision-making processes that shape their present and future. In a call for collective responsibility, the former Minister of Indigenous Peoples, Sônia Guajajara, stated during her inauguration on January 11, 2023: "Never again a Brazil without us![7]" It is no longer possible for a society to invisibilize and disrespect its own sociodiversity and deny its fundamental role in the conservation of life on the planet.

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7 See more at: https://www.socioambiental.org/noticias-socioambientais/nunca-mais-um-brasil-sem-nos-sonia-guajajara-e-anielle-franco-tomam-posse

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