

Journal of Global Indigeneity

Silenced guardians of knowledge: indigenous peoples and climate change in Brazilian newspapers

Gabriel Diniz Gruber
University of Campinas
[ORCID](#)

Thamires Ribeiro de Mattos
Adventist University of São Paulo
[ORCID](#)

Journal of Global Indigeneity

© Gruber & Ribeiro de Mattos
Vol.6, Issue 3, 2022
1-15

<https://www.journalofglobalindigeneity.com>

Abstract

This article aims to analyse the participation of indigenous peoples as sources in journalistic articles about the climate crisis. The research was conducted analysing the discourse from top newspapers in Brazil: Folha de S.Paulo, O Globo, O Estado de S.Paulo, Super Notícia and Zero Hora. In March 2021, the UN declared that indigenous people are the best guardians of the forests; and UNESCO, since October 2001, stated a strict connection to the preservation of biodiversity, cultural diversity and linguistic diversity, especially by the indigenous communities. Maffi et al. (2001) created the term logosphere, analogous to the biosphere. But even with their knowledge and specialised science being able to help the climate crisis in the Amazon, their languages, thoughts and actions were mostly ignored by the news outlets. Indigenous peoples suffered journalistic erasure. The loss of language cultures, anthropocentrism and colonialism can be seen as probable causes for this erasure.

Keywords

indigenous peoples; climate crisis; Brazilian journalism; linguistic diversity; epistemology.

Corresponding author:

Thamires Ribeiro de Mattos, Adventist University of São Paulo, Municipal Road Pr. Walter Boger, km 3,4, Postal Box 11, Zip Code 13448900
Email: mattos.thamires@acad.unasp.edu.br

Introduction

Since its beginnings, humanity has been driven by stories (Grodal, 2017; Smith et al., 2017). They can address any kind of subject: moral, ethical, cultural, philosophical, abstract, 'real', loving, angry, natural or constructed and they are not only told by humans since Nature itself tells several stories (Bonneuil, 2015). Climate changes caused by natural (human) agents and their artefacts are the scene of vast discussions in the scientific community and in the public sphere, through products of culture. Although many academics and civil society have different opinions on the matter, it is known that the Earth is no longer the same (Moore III, 2000). Human agency has brought changes to the environment.

Further, to experience the current world is to be immersed, to a greater or lesser extent, in media culture. It shapes behaviours, opinions, and identities; shows what is considered beautiful or ugly, good or bad, positive or negative, etc.; and ignores what 'currently' is considered uninteresting or marginal (Kellner, 2001). Journalism is conveyed through media channels and adheres to the practices of media culture as well as entertainment. After all, it is not disconnected from the world. By 'framing' stories in specific interpretations of the world—whether intentionally or not, after all, reporters' perceptions are shaped by their standpoints, personal experiences and senses—media culture gives voice to certain audiences and silences others, privileging specific experiences.

Kellner & Share (2007) also point out that, nowadays, the media is in itself a form of pedagogy; however, its teachings are often invisible or unconsciously apprehended. A critical analysis of the media would encompass the various forms of mass communication and popular culture, also deepening the potential of education as it becomes capable of critically analysing the relationship between media and public / information and power.

As exposed by Tuchman (1978, p. 1), "News is a window on the world [...]. But, like any frame that outlines a world, the news frame may be considered problematic". It is from these assumptions that we analyse the coverage of the five largest Brazilian newspapers (Super Notícia; O Globo; Folha de S. Paulo; O Estado de S. Paulo; Zero Hora) on climate change and the role of indigenous peoples as protectors of the biosphere during August 2021. In March of the same year, the United Nations (UN) declared that indigenous peoples are the greatest protectors of forests in Latin America in the report *Forest governance by indigenous and tribal peoples: An opportunity for climate action in Latin America and the Caribbean*. The same report stated that Brazilian indigenous territories have the most species of mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians compared to any other national territories. These indigenous territories, called the Brazilian and Bolivian Amazon, avoided about 42.8 to 52.7 million metric tons (MtC) of CO₂ emissions each year between 2002 and 2012. However, between 2016 and 2018, deforestation increased by 150% in indigenous territories in Brazil due to a new highly destructive environmental policy favouring agribusiness to the detriment of native peoples and their territories, or due to increasing illegal invasions. On August 9 2021, relating to the month analysed in this work, the UN also published content announcing that indigenous knowledge can point the way to preventing environmental crisis.

"Biodiversity loss and climate change, combined with unsustainable resource management, are pushing natural spaces around the world, from forests and rivers to savannas, to the point of no return," said Siham Drissi, Biodiversity and Land

Management Program Officer at the United Nations Environment Program (UNEP). “We need to protect, preserve and promote traditional knowledge, traditional sustainable use and the experience of indigenous communities if we are to disrupt the damage we are doing - and ultimately save ourselves.” (ONU, 2021)

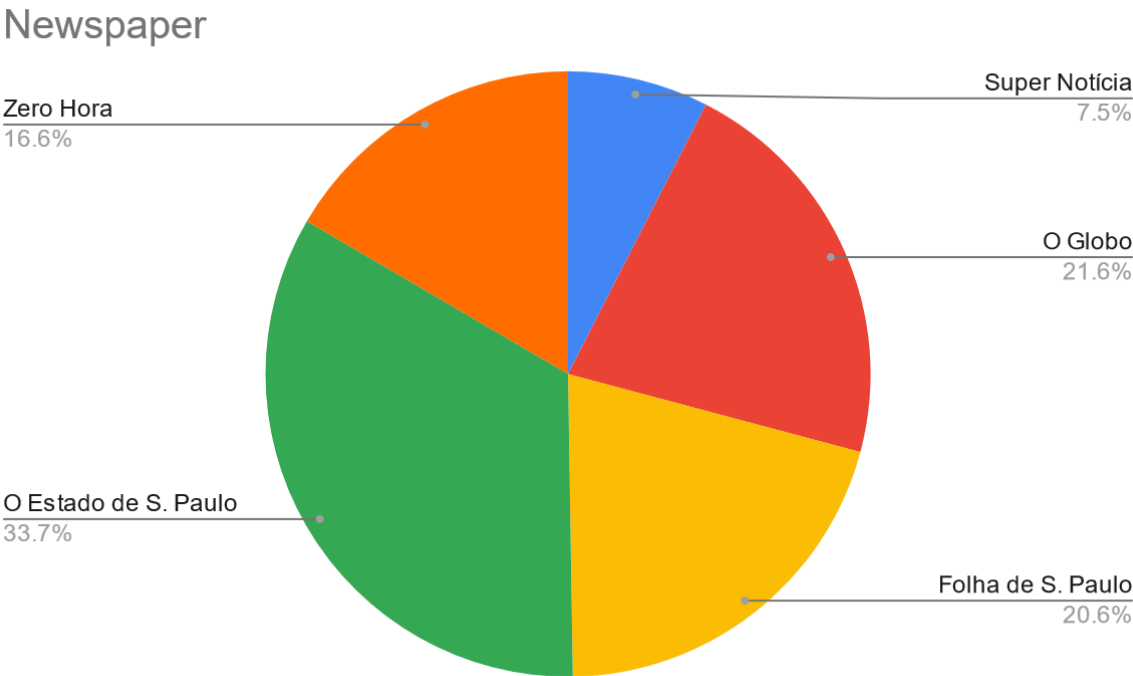
This work aims to find out if indigenous peoples are represented in journalistic content related to climate change in the five largest Brazilian newspapers and, in the case of representation, if it is adequate to show the role of indigenous peoples in the preservation of biodiversity and in the fight against environmental catastrophes.

Data collection and analysis

Due to the design of the search platforms of the five newspapers, which sometimes did not allow for refinement of searches or classification of the “Environment” section, we decided to search by keywords (“climate change”) in each newspaper's online platform. After this initial step, the news was sorted chronologically (as much as possible) and manually grouped by month. As the flow of news published by newspapers on their websites is high, the month of August 2021 was chosen as the research corpus. It was, after all, discussions on the IPCC, fires and deforestation in the Amazon and statements by political figures on climate change, etc. Thus, all reports from the newspapers Super Notícia, O Globo, Folha de S. Paulo, O Estado de S. Paulo, and Zero Hora in August 2021 with the keywords “climate change” were read and classified. In a spreadsheet, we entered, in order: the newspaper in which the news was published; the date of publication of the news; the news headline; the news access link; mentions of indigenous peoples included in the news; interviews with indigenous people in the news; and finally, interviews with indigenous people related to climate change, biodiversity or adjacent themes. The analysis was based on Orlandi's (2005) discourse analysis, which emphasises polysemy, ideology, subject, discourse formation and oblivions.

The research accounted for 199 analysed news articles. Of them, 67 (33.7%) were published in the newspaper O Estado de S. Paulo, as shown in Figure 1.

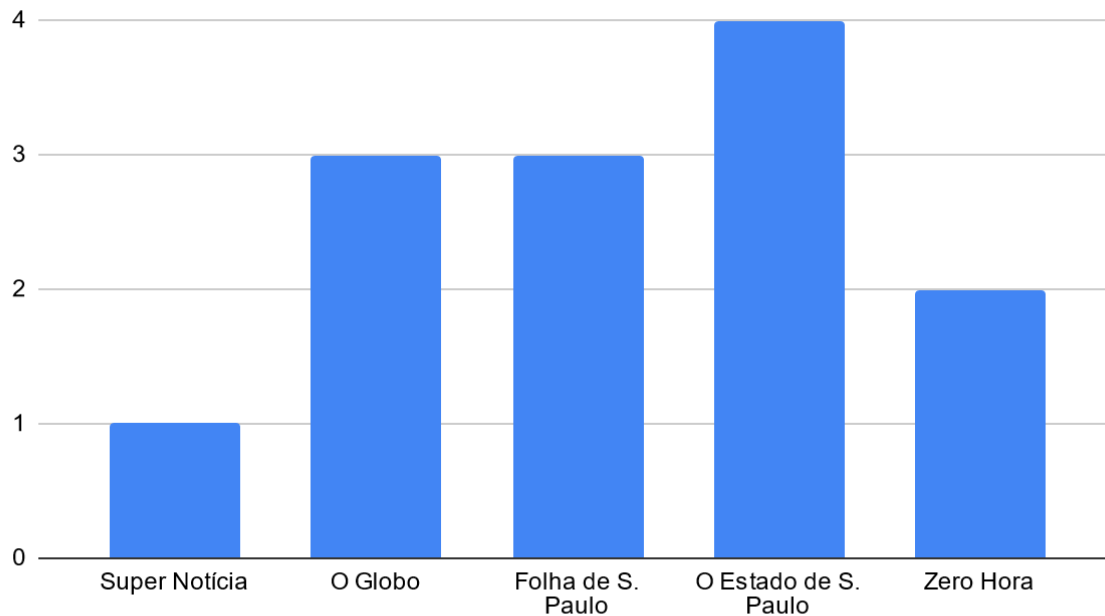
Figure 1
Distribution of news articles analysed by newspaper



Only 13 of the 199 articles (approximately 6.5%) mentioned indigenous peoples. Nine articles mention indigenous people only once; two articles mention indigenous people twice; two articles mention indigenous people six times, totalling 25 mentions (Figure 2).

Figure 2

Articles with mentions of indigenous peoples classified by newspaper



Estado de S. Paulo was the newspaper that mentioned indigenous people the most: there were 14 mentions in four instances of content. The newspaper's approach to climate change is, in general, focused on the economic problems caused by it. However, mentions of indigenous people refer to the growth of mining (Garimpo cresce em unidades protegidas e ocupa área maior que mineração industrial no País, August 29); opinions of politicians (Governo federal tem postura aquém do necessário sobre o clima, diz governador do ES, August 26); analysis of the magazine The Economist on agribusiness (The Economist: Mudanças climáticas vão trocar cultivos de lugar no mundo, August 30); and international protests in solidarity with Brazilian indigenous people (Centenas de pessoas protestam em Londres em solidariedade aos indígenas brasileiros, August 25). Although the protests in solidarity with indigenous people mention climate change, no report on the coverage of protests organised by indigenous people in Brazilian territory covers this topic. In addition, no indigenous people were interviewed by the newspaper.

In Super Notícia, none of the articles talks to or about indigenous peoples; only one mentions them briefly. Most of the climate change-related articles are about agriculture, the IPCC report and/or disasters. Zero Hora has a similar approach to climate change and most of its contents in this area covers disasters or agriculture. Indigenous peoples are never interviewed, and only mentioned briefly in two articles: twice in one talking about agriculture in the Pantanal (Agricultura na Bolívia e no Brasil eleva pressão sobre Pantanal na fronteira, August 30) and twice in an article by an academic who he mentions indigenous peoples, but the ones present in the Americas during the Spanish colonisation (Esforço global de combate à covid é "boa consequência" da pandemia, diz Jared Diamond no Fronteiras do Pensamento, August 25).

Folha de S. Paulo talks extensively about the economy and agribusiness. It mentions indigenous peoples three times but never interviews them. From time to time, the newspaper talks about human rights. The IPCC report was a highlight but mentions of indigenous peoples are sparse.

O Globo is the only newspaper analysed that interviewed an indigenous person (Ailton Krenak, a Brazilian academic) about several topics, including climate change. It mentions indigenous peoples in only two other pieces, both about the 'Temporal mark'. The newspaper focuses heavily on the economy and national politics while talking about climate change.

Overall, none of the analysed newspapers presented indigenous peoples in an unfavourable light. However, they were only briefly and sparsely mentioned, not being considered as journalistic sources. Coverage of COP26, for instance, does not mention indigenous peoples fighting for climate justice. Therefore, Indigenous peoples seem to have been silenced by the five newspapers studied here. Next, we propose a deeper understanding of indigenous thinking and its importance for the biosphere and the logosphere (the latter encompasses journalism), while debating the origins of this 'silencing'.

Biosphere and logosphere

Journalism is always carried through language and is socially situated (Richardson, 2008). Language, by itself, carries the universe of the speaker's experience, as well as the knowledge based on that experience. UNESCO (2003, p. 6), in a report on the vitality and danger of extinction of languages, states:

Conservation biology needs to be paralleled by conservation linguistics. Researchers are exploring not just the parallels, but the links between the world's biodiversity and linguistic/cultural diversity, as well as the causes and consequences of diversity loss at all levels. This connection is significant in itself, because it suggests that the diversity of life is made up of diversity in nature, culture, and language. This has been called biocultural diversity by Luisa Maffi; and Michael Krauss has introduced the term logosphere to describe the web linking the world's languages (analogous to biosphere, the web linking the world's ecosystems; Maffi, Krauss, and Yamamoto 2001:74).

Taking the terms biosphere and logosphere, the second carries the knowledge, categorisation and experience of/with the first. Just as the first is perceived by the senses that will receive meanings by the second. What is clear is the intrinsic relationship between both parties, which is also perceived by the destruction of each of them. David Harmon (1996) in his research links the various forms of deforestation and destruction of biodiversity with the destruction of marginalised languages that were born in damaged habitats. There is a strong correlation between the greater the number of endemic species, the greater the number of endemic languages, and this does not seem to be a mere coincidence, as both have the same danger factors (Harmon, 1996, p. 96). Like Australia and Papua New Guinea, Brazil ranks high in languages and species (Harmon,

1996, p. 97), and it is a great example to see the consequences of this correlation on the skin.

Wurm (1991) mentions that the conditions for the extinction of animals and plants are very similar to the conditions for the extinction of languages because both can come from a drastic change in their ecology, the reduction and alteration of constituent elements, as well as the insertion of new alien elements. From their habitat, they can take away the conditions of their existence (Wurm, 1991, p. 1).

David Harmon (1996, p. 100) said: "Unfortunately, as more and more native groups are set adrift in the flood tide of globalised pop culture, this knowledge runs the risk of being lost." This knowledge dwells in words, which were formed out of knowledge, just as knowledge began to arise largely from words passed from one to the other.

The hegemonic society does not tolerate competition, therefore it excludes and erases any difference from its uniformity. Ailton Krenak (2017), one of the most recognised indigenous thinkers in Brazil affirms several times and in different ways the dangers of common social logic. He states: "Our time specialises in creating absences: from the meaning of living in society, from the very meaning of the experience of life" (Krenak, 2017, p. 26).

Krenak is in accord with information reiterated by the UN in its reports, showing that indigenous people are the most prepared to guide society towards a healthier relationship with nature. But such a statement is taken as a kind of intolerable insubordination to the owners of the world and the country. Even more so in countries with colonial construction as peculiar as ours in Brazil, where practices of folklorisation and infantilisation of indigenous people have been applied for centuries to ensure their marginalisation and social silencing. The struggle of cosmologies, indigenous and hegemonic, has become, for threatened peoples, the only way to seek to preserve their right to exist, and resistance as a practice of existence has become more inescapable each year (Albert & Kopenawa, 2017, p. 354).

As UNESCO (2003) had already stated, nature preservation cannot be done without holistic action to preserve nature's beings, this includes the diversity of knowledge, cultures and languages (p. 3). In the relationship between the logosphere and the biosphere, it is necessary to remember that the Greek word *logos* (*λόγος*) is used not only as a word, but as knowledge. The logosphere could then fit not only the term biosphere but also its interpretation, and governments should recognise the importance of indigenous peoples and ancestral communities in the work of conservation and action on climate change (Drissi apud ONU, 2021). Recognising indigenous knowledge as relevant to society would also imply recognising that, as was the case for Kopenawa, taking the risk of using the ghost language of whites is an arduous task, because this hegemonic language contains the hegemonic economic-ideological philosophy as its own logosphere.

There are about 826 indigenous peoples in Latin America, comprising 45 million people, with about 200 of them being isolated by choice—one of the greatest recorded ethnolinguistic diversities, contrasted with political-legal organisations in their countries declaring themselves monolingual nation-states. Where even the legal material that "defends" indigenous peoples and their territories, claiming them as fully human, is not

accessible to them unless they use the language of their invaders (Corbera, 2014, pp. 54, 64).

Along with their languages, their expertise and their voice in the mainstream media has been denied. Nenquimo (a South American indigenous leader) was recorded in the UN report as saying:

The extractivists, the capitalists, the government – they say that the indigenous people are ignorant”, he says. “We indigenous peoples know why climate change is happening... [humanity] damaging and destroying our planet. As indigenous people, we must unite in a single objective: to demand that they respect us. (ONU, 2021)

Language as a space for dispute of knowledge

Chanelle Dupuis (2020) states that: “For this reason, it is important to look at how discussing endangered languages coincides with discussions of indigenous rights and indigenous representations” (Dupuis, 2020, p. 8). For Dupuis (2020), “There are close ties between questions of language, identity, citizenship, and environment and they are ones that make this discussion multi-faceted.” Because of these ties, it is necessary to analyse indigenous representations or the absence of them, as in the case of this paper. By taking seriously the data offered by international entities that indigenous knowledge can present ways to avoid the climatic disasters that our systems have engineered, and contrast this information with the colonial history of rejection and destruction of this knowledge, a revealing scenario is found:

We live in a very painful moment. As if five centuries of conflict were not enough, we now have a pandemic that further accentuates inequalities, violence against women and against our peoples. In 2020 and 2021, the Covid-19 pandemic and the negligent and genocidal stance of the federal government contribute to further accentuating social and economic vulnerabilities, exposing indigenous peoples to more unequal and, consequently, more violent situations. (APIB, 2021, p.13)

Another report issued by the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) states that:

If in other historical moments this discourse presented itself more as a fallacy of inclusion, today it is wide open and presents itself with the face of hate. A hatred that is fueled by the official discourse of the federal government and that stems from the frustration of layers of Brazilian society who would like to see us occupy a certain place to which we will no longer submit. This place is that of the “noble savage”, as they say, of that indigenous person who follows the terms of the “white inclusion” booklet. One who obeys. If we dare to speak or think something different, we receive a fence, prison and bullet. This is how they want to insert indigenous peoples into society. You cannot react. Anyone who accepts agribusiness with its package of royalties and pesticides or the opening of land for mining, receives this inclusion. This, may be included, “has a right”. But that indigenous person who dares to think that another model of development is

possible, receives criminalization and exclusion, and that is when he is not murdered. (APIB, 2021, p.14)

Ailton Krenak (2017) opens his book *Ideas to Postpone the End of the World* with the presentation of the myth of a humanity that was created by the privileged elite of true humanity. "How, over the last 2,000 or 3,000 years, have we constructed the idea of humanity? Is it not at the basis of many of the wrong choices we have made, justifying the use of violence?" (Krenak, 2017, p.10). The discourses that are used to protect, care, invest in humanity do not include sub-humanity.

Has this discourse really changed? All peoples who move away from the archetype of humanity established by whiteness are still hostages to having their stories retold and interpreted in the light of this 'one humanity', white. Humanity is a closed club that limits the conduct of its members to a single standard (Krenak, 2017, p.13), and anyone who does not distort its form in a long and impossible odyssey to reach enlightened standards is condemned to be part of a sub-humanity, a quasi-humanity. However, such a discourse cannot be objectively declared by whites, so it is necessary to create a discourse that preaches difference and inclusion, but without allowing this 'inclusion' and 'respect for diversity' to change the status quo of the powerful and privileged. For the Argentine sociologist Walter Mignolo, in territories marked by the colonial experience, there would be today a neoliberal discourse ethics that argues in favour of the recognition of difference and the inclusion of the other, with a benevolence that suggests that those to be included do not have much to say about the way they are recognised and included (Mignolo, 2008).

"Tolerance to diversity" would restore the secular history of usurpations attributed to groups hierarchically positioned in a condition of inferiority (Ponso, 2018, p. 1520). However, this tolerance would end when the guiding norm of society is questioned as hegemonic, its form, its knowledge, its validity, its morality. Therefore, "As a manifestation of the conquest, the cultural invasion leads to the inauthenticity of the being of the invaded" (Freire, 2005, p. 174-175).

While the mainstream media continues to silence the inhabitants and connoisseurs of the forest in order to keep the narrative linked to those who claimed to dominate it, these peoples need to go through a process of 'humanisation' along the lines of a dehumanising society so that they can have some trace of respect and voice. If their intellectual and material products are not supported by the scientific formats of their colonisers, they are as disposable as their habitats have been. The language of the dominator, the clothes of the dominator, the references of the dominators, and their research, are the passport to escape the exoticisation and invalidation of their discourse. However, this strategy makes them need to break the chains of the folkloric stereotype attributed to them as Indigenous, on the one hand, and makes them run the risk of losing their true identity associated with their ancestral-territorial connection with, on the other hand (Fanon, 2008).

To ensure power over the colonial narrative, colonisers shaped stereotypes about colonised beings, especially about indigenous people through their folklorisation, making them elements of a prehistory, a pre-humanity. When born static in time, in a process of social stagnation without any 'development', in the mould of development of the dominating society, the native peoples are born in the past, already dead in the present and in certainty of complete disappearance in the future. The knowledge outdated by the

techniques of the civilised is rendered useless, but still romanticised by the narratives that define for him and her what it is to be indigenous (Gonzaga, 2021, p. 64).

Even though Brazil has great ethnic wealth with more than 300 peoples and 270 different languages, this wealth has been seen as a problem by the country's elite (Gonzaga, 2021, p. 150; Ponso, 2018, p. 1522). This resonates with Krenak (2017, p. 41), who says that indigenous knowledge is always subordinated because it is based on a logic that does not favour the system. While the latter seeks to maintain life as a whole, the other seeks a battle for power against the lives of others. While one deals with nature as part of a whole, the other sees nature as a source of resources and not an essential part of who we are.

Indigenous people are often seen as socially useless, or lazy, because in ideological systems different from those instituted by whites, they do not base the history of humanity on the history of what humanity produces. Kopenawa (Kopenawa and Albert, 2019, p. 408) explains that "they [white people] wanted to possess all the goods, they were seized with an inordinate desire", and because of it, "began to cut down all the trees, mistreat the land and dirty the rivers." After deforesting and polluting their own lands, they want to do the same to the indigenous peoples' lands.

Criticising the logic of hyper-capitalist production, Krenak (2017, p. 27) says: "It is important to live the experience of our own circulation around the world, not as a metaphor, but as friction, being able to count on each other." Due to a lack of reflection on the human experience as something real, the consequences of the systems on marginalised bodies and on the Earth violated by our greed are not measured. While the human being behaves as a metaphor, their sub-humanity is reminded daily that it is made of flesh and blood, as Albert and Kopenawa (2017) reflect.

Conclusion

How to reconcile this epistemic clash? Can the colonising model generate conditions to get out of the way it created? The answers lie in the bowels of history and the system. Álvaro Gonçalves (2021) in his work *Decolonialismo Indígena* says:

Coloniality, in its form as a model of power, had great consequences for the composition of Latin American societies, after all, it based the composition of the new republics, shaping their institutions and causing historical-structural submission in this act. Coloniality imposed the repetition, integrated to Capitalism, of other forms of exploitation of the labour force and with this, a path of social/racial stratification was improved between the white man and the other racial typologies seen as inferior. Despite the fact that in each of the various societies the white male portions were a small minority of the entire local population, they exercised dominion and subjugation of the indigenous, afro-descendent and mestizo groups that lived in the nascent republics. These collectives did not obtain access to control over the means of production and were forced to submit the production of their subjectivities in the same way as European cultural molds. Therefore, the coloniality of power made it historically impossible to institute real democratisation in these nations. As a result, Latin American

history is identified by the partiality and precariousness of nation-states, as well as by the characteristic conflagration of their societies (Gonzaga, 2021, p. 121)

But why would it be so difficult to perceive the precariousness of this system? Power colonialism is part of that answer. The ruling classes have generated privileged classes to such an extent that they are protected from questioning the system itself even when it is failing around them, as the real impacts happen on the social edges, on the margins of the world, on the margins of humanity. For discussions about climate effects to be within the mainstream media and major intellectual academies, it is because the entire marginal community has been affected by these consequences for centuries and only now have the effects reached the hegemonic community, which is once again looking for answers in its own right. Science, which caused the disaster, acts like Mariátegui's ostrich (Ponso, 2018; Krenak, 2017; Mairátegui, 2019).

It is much more obvious to the Indigenous than to the white that colonisation was not a past stage of human history but evolved into a new type of process even in the 'emancipation' of colonising peoples. For Vergès (2019, p. 41):

We must not underestimate the speed with which capital is able to absorb certain notions to transform them into slogans emptied of their content; why wouldn't capital then be able to incorporate the idea of decolonization and decoloniality? Capital is a coloniser, the colony is consubstantial with it, and to understand how it lasts, it is necessary to free oneself from an approach that sees the colony only in the form given to it by Europe in the 19th century and not confuse colonisation with colonialism. In this sense, the distinction made by Peter Ekeh is useful: colonisation is a process/movement, a total social movement whose perpetuation is explained by the persistence of social formations resulting from these sequences.

Therefore, it is almost unimaginable to have spaces within our current system that allow the existence of the indigenous without it being through resistance to the system or complete assimilation into it. Examples of this would be to deny the rulers exploitation of the last crumbs of indigenous land. This seems absurd to the system, as it is seen as doing the indigenous a favour to be able to live in these lands until their need to increase their demand for more raw material (Mariátegui, 2019, p. 136).

President Jair Bolsonaro's administration of the Brazilian federal government has established a relationship of open hatred and deep disrespect with indigenous communities. His past signalled that this kind of behaviour could happen. The website of the international organisation Survival (<https://www.survivalbrasil.org/>) records several public statements by Bolsonaro regarding Brazilian Indigenous peoples in national newspapers (<https://www.survivalbrasil.org/articles/3543-Bolsonaro>). In 1998, before his candidacy, he was quoted in a newspaper as saying, "It's a pity that the Brazilian cavalry was not as efficient as the American one, which exterminated the Indians". As for more recent speeches, such as in 2018, the President has said, "Indians do not speak our language, they do not have our money, they are poor people, they have to be integrated into society, not raised in millionaire zoos" (2015 for Midiamax). In 2016, he said at the national congress "we are going to deselect [the indigenous reserve] Raposa Serra do Sol. We are going to give rifles and weapons to all the farmers." In Campo Grande News, in 2015, the president said, "There are no indigenous people, there are no minerals. Gold,

tin and magnesium are in these lands, especially in the Amazon, the richest area in the world. Indians". And in December 2018 he stated that, "Our project for the Indian is to make him just like us."

From this scenario, a serious critique of the colonial discourse of silencing indigenous beings and knowledge is necessary. Catherine Walsh (2007) urges us to constantly question where so-called knowledge is produced, and what are the limits between academia and society. Being socially located, journalism is a part of knowledge production and can lead to reaffirmations of projects of hegemonic power. The absence of indigenous peoples interviewed by Brazil's biggest news outlets is, for us, proof that a silencing is occurring. Indigenous thoughts, languages and actions, considered exemplary by global authorities, are not being vehiculated.

As we indicated before, colonialism plays a significant role in the silencing and oppression of indigenous peoples. Colonialism and its reverberations reaches the majority (if not all) of Brazil (Krenak, 2007; Kopenawa & Albert, 2019). With that in mind, it would be fair to say that most journalists in Brazil do not know how to start covering climate change taking the indigenous peoples' actions and thoughts into consideration, and that most news outlets do not offer these kinds of stories for reporters. Therefore, we invite journalists to think with the indigenous peoples and with the forest, taking holistic action against climate change in order to postpone the end of the world (Krenak, 2017).

References

APIB. (2021). (rep.). APIB. Retrieved March 23, 2022, from <https://apiboficial.org/files/2021/05/UMA-ANATOMIA-DAS-PRA%CC%81TICAS-DE-SILENCIAMENTO-INDI%CC%81GENA-1.pdf>.

Bagno, M. (2016). *Preconceito linguístico* (5th ed.). Edições Loyola.

Bernardino-Costa, J., Maldonado-Torres, N., Grosfoguel, R., Bernardino-Costa, J., Maldonado-Torres, N., & Grosfoguel, R. (2019). Decolonialidade e pensamento afro-diaspórico, Ramón. Decolonialidade e pensamento afrodiaspórico. In: (Orgs.). Decolonialidade e pensamento afro-diaspórico. Belo Horizonte: Autêntica Editora, 2019. p. 9-26. In Decolonialidade e pensamento afro-diaspórico (pp. 9–26). essay, Autêntica Editora.

Bonneuil, C. (2015). The Geological Turn. In *Anthropocene and the Global Environmental Crisis: Rethinking Modernity in a new epoch* (pp. 17–30). essay, Routledge.

Corbera, A. M. (2014). Uma breve abordagem tipológica dos processos de incorporação em línguas ameríndias. *REVISTA ELETRÔNICA LÍNGUA VIVA*, 4(1).

Dupuis, C. (2020). Falar é existir: o caso de línguas ameaçadas no Brasil e no Equador. *Revista Amazônia Latitude Review*, 1(1), 70–75.

Evans, N. (2009). *Dying words: Endangered languages and what they have to tell us*. John Wiley & Sons.

Freire, P. (2005). *Pedagogia do oprimido*. Paz e Terra.

Gomes, A. Q. (2015). Línguas Indígenas Brasileiras: o novo campo de provas dos universais linguísticos. , 15(1), 149–165.

Gonzaga, A. de A. (2021). *Decolonialismo Indígena*. Matrioska Editora.

Grodal, T. (2017). How film genres are a product of biology, evolution and culture – an embodied approach. *Palgrave Communications*, 3, 1–8.

Hale, K. (1992). Endangered languages: On endangered languages and the safeguarding of diversity. *Language*, 68(1), 1–42.

Harmon, D. (1996). Losing species, losing languages: connections between biological and linguistic diversity. *Southwest Journal of Linguistics*, 15(1 & 2), 89–108.

Kellner, D. (2001). *A cultura da mídia - Estudos Culturais: Identidade e política entre o moderno e o pós-moderno*. EDUSC.

Kopenawa, D., & Albert, B. (2019). A queda do céu: palavras de um xamã yanomami. Companhia das Letras.

Krenak, A. (2017). Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo. Companhia das Letras.

Mariátegui, J. C. (2011). Por um socialismo indo-americano. Editora UFRJ.

Moore III, B. (2000). Sustaining Earth's life support systems – the challenge for the next decade and beyond. *Global Change Newsletter*, (41), 1–2.

Maffi, L., Michael, K., & Yamamoto, A. (2001). The World Languages in Crisis: Questions, Challenges, and a Call for Action. 2th International Conference on Endangered Languages of the Pacific Rim. Kyoto.

ONU. (2021, August 9). Conhecimento indígena pode ajudar no enfrentamento da crise ambiental. ONU Brasil. Retrieved March 23, 2022, from <https://www.unep.org/pt-br/noticias-e-reportagens/reportagem/como-o-conhecimento-indigena-pode-ajudar-prevenir-crises#:~:text=Os%20povos%20ind%C3%ADgenas%20geralmente%20est%C3%A3o,observou%20o%20relat%C3%B3rio%20do%20IPBES>.

Ponso, L. C. (2018). Letramento acadêmico indígena e quilombola: uma política linguística afirmativa voltada à interculturalidade crítica. *Trabalhos Em Linguística Aplicada*, 57, 1512–1533.

Richardson, J. E. (2008). Language and Journalism. *Journalism Studies*, 9 (2), 152-160.

Smith, D., Schlaepfer, P., Major, K. et al. Cooperation and the evolution of hunter-gatherer storytelling. *Nat Common* 8, 1853 (2017). <https://doi.org/10.1038/s41467-017-02036-8c>

Steinberg, S. R., Kellner, D., & Share, J. (2007). Critical media literacy, democracy, and the reconstruction of education. In D. P. Macedo (Ed.), *Media Literacy: A reader* (pp. 3–23). essay, P. Lang.

Unesco. (2003). (rep.). Language Vitality and Endangerment.

Vergès, F. (2019). Um feminismo decolonial. Ubu Editora.

Walsh, Catherine. (2007). Interctalidad y colonialidad del poder. Um pensamiento y posicionamiento “otro” desde la diferencia colonial. *El giro decolonial. Reflexiones para una diversidad epistémica más alla del capitalismo global*, 47-62.

Wurm, S. A. (1991). Language death and disappearance: Causes and circumstances. *Diogenes*, 39(153), 1–18.

Tuchman, G. (1978). Making News: A Study in the Construction of Reality. The Free Press.