Universidade do Minho
Instituto de Ciências Sociais

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Amazon in the international media: Agents, discourses and power

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AMAZONIA IN THE INTERNATIONAL MEDIA: AGENTS, DISCOURSES AND POWER

ABSTRACT

This thesis seeks to understand and discuss the constructions of meaning, representations and discourses about the Amazon region in eight foreign newspapers from four countries (United States, England, India and China). The region is associated with diverse and controversial social and geopolitical clashes since the arrival of European navigators five centuries ago. Additionally, there are growing national and international interests in the Amazon as a major icon in the global struggle for the protection of biodiversity and mitigation of climate change. My focus of interest lies on the international coverage about Amazonia along a seven-year period (2010-2016) and more particularly during a critical moment of discourse, represented by the forest fires of global repercussion in 2019. In this context it is assumed that the combination of diverse, often conflicting, social actors and interests generates important tensions over power. That is, power to define the meaning of the territory, who its inhabitants and beneficiaries are, the role they play and the directions of the region, whether aimed at environmental conservation, development or a debatable third way. In any case, these controversies occur in the midst of "naturalized" discursive practices in journalistic discourses, which constitute one of the main sources of information and perception about distant physical realities for news consumers. Thus, the main objective of this research is to elucidate the dynamics of signification and representation (frames, story-lines), (de)legitimation of social actors and argumentation, used by newspapers in their discourses about the Amazonian territory. By means of Critical Discourse Analysis and frame analysis tools, the thesis shows that the distinct newspapers from different countries have a relatively individualized discursive profile to introduce and elaborate meanings about the Amazon. Still, the sense that the Amazon Rainforest constitutes a global common crosses almost all coverages, although there are dissimilarities in emphasis and solutions to protect the forest. The main differences between newspapers refer to the way they portray political actors, especially the Brazilian president, as well as other social actors, especially Indigenous peoples. It was also possible to identify macro-tendencies in the coverages from global “North” and “South”, mainly in relation to funding the conservation of the Amazon as a global environmental heritage.

Keywords: Amazonia, argumentation, critical discourse analysis, framing, media discourse.

A AMAZÔNIA NA MÍDIA INTERNACIONAL: AGENTES, DISCURSOS E PODER

RESUMO

Esta tese busca compreender e esclarecer as construções de sentido, representações e discursos sobre a região amazônica em oito jornais estrangeiros quatro países (Estados Unidos, Inglaterra, India e China). A região suscita embates sociais e geopolíticos diversos e controversos desde a chegada dos navegantes europeus há pouco mais de cinco séculos, para além dos crescentes interesses nacionais e internacional na Amazônia enquanto grande ícone da luta global pela proteção da biodiversidade e mitigação das mudanças climáticas. O foco de interesse recai sobre a cobertura internacional sobre a Amazônia num período de sete anos (2010-2016), e mais particularmente durante um momento crítico do discurso, representado pelos fogos florestais de repercussão global em 2019. Nesse contexto, assume-se que a combinação de atores sociais e interesses diversificados, seguidamente conflituosos, gera importantes tensões sobre poder. Ou seja, poder de definir o significado do território, quem são seus habitantes e beneficiários, o papel que desempenham e os rumos da região — se voltados à conservação ambiental, ao desenvolvimento ou a uma discutível terceira via. Em qualquer caso, essas polêmicas ocorrem em meio a práticas discursivas "naturalizadas" nos discursos jornalísticos, os quais constituem uma das principais fontes de informação e percepção sobre realidades físicas distantes dos leitores. Assim, o principal objetivo desta pesquisa foi elucidar as dinâmicas de significação e representação (enquadramentos, linhas narrativas, (des)legitimação de atores sociais e argumentação, usadas pelos jornais em seus discursos sobre o território amazônico. Por meio de ferramentas da Análise Crítica do Discurso e análise de enquadramentos, verificou-se que os diferentes jornais dos diferentes países possuem um perfil discursivo relativamente diferenciado para aproximar e elaborar sentidos sobre a Amazonia. Ainda assim, o senso de que a Floresta Amazônica constitui um global common atravessa quase todas as coberturas, apesar de haver diferenças na ênfase e nas soluções para proteger a floresta. As principais diferenças entre jornais se referem ao modo como retratam atores políticos, especialmente o presidente brasileiro, bem como outros atores sociais, especialmente povos Indígenas. Também foi possível notar macro-tendências nas coberturas oriundas do "Norte" e do "Sul" global, sobretudo quanto a financiar a conservação da Amazônia enquanto patrimônio ambiental global.

Palavras-chave: Amazônia, análise crítica do discurso, argumentação, discurso dos *media,* enquadramento.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BASIC	Brazil, South Africa, India and China
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa
COP	Conference of Parties
CND	China Daily
EU	European Union
FARC	Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionárias de Colombia (Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia)
IBAMA	Instituto Brasileiro do Meio Ambiente e dos Recursos Naturais Renováveis (Brazilian Institute of the Environment and Natural Renewable Resources)
IBGE	Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics)
IBSA	India, Brazil and South Africa
INPA	Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas da Amazônia (Brazil's National Institute of Amazon Research)
INPE	Instituto Nacional de Pesquisas Espaciais (Brazil's National Institute of Spacial Research)
IPCC	International Panel on Climate Change
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organizations of the United Nations
FT	Free Translation
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
NYT	The New York Times
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PPD	People's Daily
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation

TDT	The Daily Telegraph
TGD	The Guardian
THD	The Hindu
TOI	The Times of India
UK	United Kingdom
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
US	United States
WSJ	The Wall Street Journal
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

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INTRODUCTION

The Amazon is a large physical territory and a deeply symbolic one. It comprises a set of physical realities that include diverse societies and cultures, flora, fauna and other elements of Nature, but it is also made up of imagination, representations and abstract meanings which undoubtedly go beyond its geographical frontiers. As these heterogeneous layers frequently involve social struggles, two different yet overlapping dimensions stand out when one speaks about Amazonia: symbolic construction and power stakes. This derives from the definition and characterization of the Amazon region. As any peripheral region in a peripheral part of the world — the global "South" — Amazonia tends to be approached under a piecemeal, sporadic and cyclic fashion, both in media and in broad social milieu.

Following media trends, the designations adopted for the main object of study in this thesis are "Amazon forest", "Amazon region" and "Amazonia"[1]. Even if not synonyms, their boundaries include perspectives from hydrography (the relatively undisputed Amazon river basin boundary), ecology (tropical rainforest bio-geographic domain, or the Amazon biome in relation to global rainforests biome) as well as the legal-political-administrative boundaries defined within the Amazon Cooperation Treaty Organization (ACTO). This legal mechanism establishes that nine countries are politically sovereign over the Pan-Amazonia and its transitional biomes: Brazil (roughly 60% of the biome); Peru (11%), Colombia, Bolivia, Venezuela (nearly 7% each), Guiana, Suriname, Ecuador, French Guiana (each one counting for less than 3% of the Amazon biome). Nevertheless, as Brazil owns Amazon's largest share, on the one hand, and Amazon countries have substantial differences in territorial area, on the other hand, there are crucial unbalances regarding both the weight and role of the rainforest for each nation. For instance, Guiana, French Guiana and Suriname have each more than 90% of their territories covered by the Amazon Forest. Under this logic, 60% of Peru is covered by the Amazon biome, 50% of Venezuela and Brazil; followed by Bolivia, Colombia and Ecuador (each approximately with 43% of their area). The Amazon region hence covers approximately 6,75 million square kilometers of South America; if it was a country, it would be world's seventh largest one in total area. It is home to 8% of the continent's population (33 million) distributed in cities, smaller towns, riverside communities and Indigenous villages and tribes, among which there are at least a hundred with little or no contact with other people[2].

[1] Throughout this thesis, the use of quotation marks is generally applied for the established usages. I particularly insist on quotation marks for rather "debatable" concepts such as global "North", global "South" or "global commons". In order to avoid any confusion with the corpus under analysis, the excerpts from the studied newspapers are transcribed both in italics and between quotation marks.

[2] Sources for data cited along this paragraph: OCDE (https://data.oecd.org/environment.htm); Mongabay (mongabay.com); Rede Amazônia Sustentável (rasnetwork.org); WWF Brasil (wwf.org.br); Instituto Socioambiental (www.socioambiental.org).

Brazil is the sole Amazon country which annually publishes degradation data. The systems that capture deforestation images generally consider clear cutting, i.e. areas where the original intact vegetation has been totally wiped out, excluding degraded areas, with severe loss of primary vegetation but still maintaining secondary vegetation, a much less biodiverse ambience, drier and more susceptible to winds and fires. As notably larger and older trees are effective in storing carbon for their metabolism, degraded areas do not function as carbon sinks but actually as carbon dioxide emitters (Gatti et al., 2021). This is why some scholars argue that figures on deforestation do not mirror true forest destruction, which is probably higher than 20% of the original area — the most common figure reported by the media, based on official data[3]. This claim supports the realistic and relatively close (yet difficult to precise) "tipping point" scenario, according to which lack of humidity by insufficient evapotranspiration will make the current rainforest enter into a process of self-destruction and conversion into a poorer, low diverse savannah (distinct from Brazilian Cerrado biodiverse biome) — if current deforestation rates persist over time in the region (Lovejoy & Nobre, 2018).

Undoubtedly, moisture is a key factor in the biome. The Amazon river carries to the sea almost one-fifth of all the fresh water that flows into the oceans[4]. The Amazon region is also a major player in rainfall mechanisms across the South American continent through its invisible "flying rivers" or "atmospheric waterways" (Zorzetto, 2009). The rainforest is surprisingly fertilized by Saharan dust (notably charged by phosphorous, among other key nutrients) travelling a Trans-Atlantic journey[5]. A sophisticated moisture cycle, allied to a beneficial equatorial latitude and a rather infertile sandy soil yet filled with nutrients (mainly provided by hummus made from forest recycling organic matter) enable wonderful conditions for flora and fauna to thrive, as the Amazon stands among the world's most biodiverse places, counting for roughly 15% of Earth's biodiversity, with a high degree of endemism (unique local species). It is rather consensual among the scientific milieu that many species are yet to be found in the forest as well as molecules / substances for a wide range of industrial applicability, mainly in pharmacology, but virtually in all technical areas.

The Amazon is a great icon for social and environmental movements, regionally, nationally and internationally. It is a place where traditional ways of life maintain — (un)willingly — most of their routines and cultures on the fringes of globalized living standards. The latter are largely in force in cities like Belém, Pará State capital with 1,5 million inhabitants, and Manaus, Amazonas State capital at the

[3] Brazilian climatologist and INPE researcher Carlos Nobre calls this distortion a "green lie" in a BBC Brasil article titled "'A grande mentira verde': como a destruição da Amazônia vai além do desmatamento" [(FT)"'The big green lie': how Amazon destruction goes beyond deforestation"]. Source: https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-51317040

[4] Source: World Conservation Society (wcs.org).

[5] "NASA Satellite Reveals How Much Saharan Dust Feeds Amazon's Plants". (https://www.nasa.gov/content/goddard/nasa-satellite-reveals-how-much-saharan-dust-feeds-amazon-s-plants).

heart of the jungle and Brazil's seventh largest (with a population of 2,2 million people). Manaus hosts a large industrial park powered by a set of subsides (occasionally rising controversies) from Brazilian government, with heavy surplus back to the federal government cashier yet, to some critics, questionable efficiency in ensuring formal well-paying work. Implemented by Brazil's military government in the 1960s, Manaus Industrial Pole should favour employment, environmental conservation and regional development, a triad later reformulated by the sustainable development discourse as an activity socially just, environmentally-friendly and economically viable. However, development projects are not restricted to urban areas. As more than one-third of the Amazon territory is located in the Precambrian area, it has huge potential for mineral deposits of iron, manganese, copper, aluminum, zinc, nickel, chrome, titanium, phosphate, gold, silver, platinum, palladium, niobium as well as diamond and natural gas. It is probably unnecessary to recall that the Amazon forest is world's largest timber reserve. Hydroelectric projects, ever planned or already built, also abound in the region, with much less noise than Belo Monte mega-dam[6]. These natural but also economic resources raise great interest from regional and international developers as well as conservationists, from rather divergent standpoints, substantially dividing the public opinion.

Furthermore, environmental movements have sharply raised along the last five decades, spreading messages of holism, concern, hope and / or pessimism. As bad news seemingly reverberate further and longer, the environmental alarm has become a frequent topic in socially shared discourses, from a panoply of legends in different cultures, times and places to science reports, political meetings, fiction books and films, and, partly by consequence, in the mainstream news media. Perhaps one of the greatest symbols of this spirit is the Doomsday Clock (in which midnight hypothetically represents a global technologically- or environmentally-induced catastrophe), set since 1947 by the members of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists. Through this appealing metaphor, scientists point to the "real" risk to human kind caused by unchecked technical and scientific advances. Currently, the hands of the clock mark 100 seconds to midnight. This kind of collective risk concern echoes very wide and ancient cultural contexts, as the Book of Revelation foresees seven trumpets signing the Apocalypse, five of

[6] Belo Monte case generated some documentaries widely showing the side of the affected communities: *Belo Monte: Anúncio de uma Guerra* (2012); *Belo Monte —Depois da Inundação* (2016); *Belo Monte: Usina de Problemas* (2017); *Eu+1: Uma jornada pela Clínica do Cuidado* (2017) and *River Silence* (2019). This four decade-long project raised intense social struggles between development agents and pro-Indigenous / pro-environment groups, as well as considerable (inter)national media attention specially during its final licensing procedures, between 2009-2011 (Fainguelernt, 2016). Brazil's largest hydroelectric — with huge social (displacement of 40,000 people partly dependent on fishing from the Xingu River) and environmental impact (approximately 500 square kilometers of flooded area) and alleged failures to comply with agreed compensations — was licensed for construction during Workers' Party government of president Dilma Rousseff. The plant costed more than three times as much as expected, with a final cost of roughly $13 billion. It was projected to provide energy intermittently, with full capacity exclusively during Amazon's rainier semester, so that, in August 2021, only 1 of the 18 turbines of the power plant was operating (2.2% of the total capacity), because of the low flow of the Xingu River during its dry period. Sources: Poder360 (https://www.poder360.com.br/energia/em-plena-crise-energetica-belo-monte-gera-menos-de-3-da-energia-projetada/#:~:text=Em%20plena%20crise%20energ%C3%A9tica%2C%20a,%2C2%20GW)%20da%20capacidade); Mongabay (https://brasil.mongabay.com/2020/02/o-elefante-branco-de-belo-monte-maior-e-mais-cara-hidreletrica-brasileira-pode-ser-inviavel/).

which related environmental and social disruptions, like natural disasters and large-scale famine (plagues, deadly diseases, animal extinctions, and climate change preceding wars). "The announcement of the end is a recurrent phenomenon, found in the prophetic and apocalyptic discourse, as well as in the theories of modernity, under an apparently secularized form. But the logic is distinct" (FT) (Miranda, 1994, p. 14). However, beyond symbolisms, a wide range of objective data and indicators (in special from IPCC, Convention on Biological Biodiversity, UNFCCC, FAO and The UN Agency on Refugees), providing the minimum common ground recognized by representatives of all countries, point to very serious systemic degradation processes with deeply worrying risks at various social, political, economic and environmental levels. For instance, whereas agriculture and energy as essential items in order to guarantee basic living standards may be framed apart from any apocalyptic fashion, these activities still constantly and increasingly imply threats on natural flows and species survival through loss of habitats (by land conversion, hydroelectric projects, etc.) in a planet sheltering nearly 8 billion human beings. Indeed, historically, threats on food security (as well as on access to freshwater) may easily trigger social turbulence. Not surprisingly, in the Amazon, land conflicts are closely linked to violence and illegal practices, with small and informal land-users (both Indigenous and non-Indigenous) being criminalized and displaced. Meanwhile, transformation pressures include a panoply of local, regional, national and international tensions: land speculation due to insecure land rights; governmental land / environmental regulation and national development goals; global export agenda; dams and export corridors; bio-fuels; international conventions (Schönenberg, 2019, p. 153).

Under this conjecture, claims for Nature's conservation —occasionally depicted between drama and tragedy — may likely appear as a matter of second order for some social groups. Indeed, beyond the more traditional commons (high seas, the deep-sea bed, the atmosphere, Antarctica and outer space), Earth's major environmental assets have been increasingly disputed in geopolitical disputes, such like the subsurface (used as an energy resource and storage space) and even unique biomes and sites of biodiversity. The social "career" of climate change discussions along the last two decades are a good example on how different North and South countries evince the global commons logic[7]. In fact, the world has been experiencing the emergence and consolidation of a local / global metonymy for its remaining natural assets such as tropical forests, the parts counting for the whole and vice-versa. In other words, the Amazon's health would guarantee a thriving future for the world, whereas the Amazon's catastrophe would mean a global catastrophe — a perspective increasingly reverberated by the

[7] The process of "making the commons" does not occur randomly, but rather is subjected to a degree of social construction around their shared — both estimated and symbolic — value. "The commons consists of a vast array of self-provisioning and governance systems that flourish mainly outside of both the market and the State, on the periphery of mainstream politics and economics [...] They generally are not based on money, legal contracts, or bureaucratic fiat, but on self-management and shared responsibility" (Helfrich & Boller, 2015, p. 102).

international media. Although this perspective is sufficiently consensual within an environmental dimension, some scholars argue that policies and budgets – originated from international memberships, conventions or global meetings along the last three decades – hardly consider the local, historical and cultural specifics of the region (Schönenberg, 2019; Zhouri, 2004). Additionally, by assessing the payment for environmental services in the Amazon, Pereira (2010) concluded that a win-win discourse outlining a simultaneous double strike on poverty and on deforestation "may hide vested interests of developed countries' institutions and developing countries' elite" whereas conservation, through the accounting for avoided GHG emissions, tend to prevail over perceivable improvement and valuation of traditional knowledge of local communities (Pereira, 2010, p. 171). On the other hand, Chase (2019) found that, with regard to the empowerment of Indigenous and traditional peoples, the study of global environmental governance is rather limited if focused only on the analysis of environmental conventions – with other (inter)national mechanisms and rhetoric aspects playing important roles for these communities (Chase, 2019).

Still with regard to environmental alarm, aside from cultural and religious narratives on the end of the world, from a geophysical perspective, the planet's history may be seen as a series of occasional catastrophes. The idea that changes in Earth's surface and atmosphere are historically caused by sudden, unusual and violent events is present in commonly accepted theories from the Big Bang (seen as galaxies' and planets' "genealogy") to the asteroid debris which led to a mass extinction, including dinosaurs' disappearance. As in geology the time range comprising a couple of centuries is considered tiny, the Industrial Revolution may be seen as a rather sudden, unusual, occasionally unnatural "event" for the planet. Thereby, anthropic (man-made) climate change has achieved a considerable degree of consensus in environmental, scientific and even political agendas[8] over the last three decades. However, some critics specially from the scientific and economic field argue that the great majority of pessimistic stories and dare scenarios drawn for the future of the planet, and for humanity as a whole, are based on subjects that are either invisible, such as carbon dioxide and ocean acidification (leitmotifs of climate change discourse) and / or extremely distant events, such as polar bears dropping populations and bleached coral reefs (leitmotifs of biodiversity loss discourse). Interestingly, Amazonia is a major centre of convergence of both discourses, among many others, not always including the human factor, in special ethnic minorities as key subjects in safeguarding the rainforest and its biodiversity (environmental justice discourse).

[8] The signature of the Paris Agreement in 2015 by 195 countries is a landmark which exemplifies such level of accordance, despite the US's temporary withdrawal during President Trump's mandate.

On the other hand, "integrationists" agents from politics, agriculture and anthropology defend that Indigenous groups should be free to choose whether they want or not to adhere to "Western" capitalist ways of living. Referring to Brazil's Indigenous tribes in their reserves making up 14% of national territory, development defenders, by making reference to Indigenous reserves, argue that "human zoos for foreign visitors"[9] were created; according to this view, "misinformation" constitutes a major source of distortions about Amazonia. Also, in Brazil, there are more than 100 thousand NGOs operating in the Amazon region, the minority focusing on environmentalism (less than 50)[10]. Ipam and Imazon are the national largest ones, occasionally providing services that the Brazilian State is unable to fully carry out. "NGOs" (homogenized as a whole single profiled entity) are widely criticized by the agricultural lobby which supports President Bolsonaro, who argues that outsiders in fact are trying to buy Amazonia through internationally funded NGOs. By consequence, the national sovereignty discourse (or anti-internationalist) stigmatizes policies aim at supporting the alleged interests of foreign powers by calling public attention to an underlying geopolitical conspiracy to establish a foreign occupation of the Amazon forest in order to appropriate and exploit its natural resources (Sartre & Taravella, 2009). While largely unfounded, these claims find loyal supporters in a scenario marked by large stakes on (sustainable) development, international commitments, protectionism and natural global commons.

Undoubtedly, with regard to stakes, the major (if not all) stakeholders should be carefully scrutinized. That should be the case, for instance, of the (Brazilian) Amazon Fund[11] (2008-2018), a major REDD+ program defected by Brazil following Bolsonaro's views on international relations (Hoie, 2020). While it may be argued that carbon markets have not developed entirely as expected by the early 2000s (Arts; Ingram & Brockhaus, 2020), the distribution of resources of the Amazon Fund in specific "lack a clear strategy that could maximize the results of the fund in terms of deforestation reduction" (Correa, van der Hoff & Rajão, 2019). Despite a significant drop in Brazil's carbon emissions due to deforestation along the first years of the agreement, Norway's effective support is occasionally criticized as a paradox, since Norway allegedly invested an estimated amount of BRL 3 to 4 billion to protect the Amazon while the country also spent five to ten times more in the most polluting industries for the environment — oil drilling, chemicals and pesticides, mining (Leira, 2020). Besides, Norway's

[9] Source: narration of the documentary *Cortina de Fumaça* (2021).

[10] Source: *Folha de São Paulo* (https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/podcasts/2019/09/quais-sao-quantas-sao-e-como-atuam-as-ongs-na-amazonia-ouca.shtml)

[11] The Amazon Fund was created in 2008 aiming to foster projects that fight deforestation in the forest through donations from countries and companies. It was an initiative mainly from Brazilian and Norwegian NGOs, rather than Norway's national government and official institutions (Leira, 2020). Its rules allow 20% of the fund to also be used in other biomes in Brazil and in projects in tropical countries. Operated by Brazilian public bank BNDES, the money could be allocated both to NGOs and to government programmes, such as municipal, state and federal initiatives. Norway and Germany are the major donors (Germany suspended donations 2018), the former counting for 94% of donations, which were occasionally reduced or suspended in years of increased deforestation. Bolsonaro's administration, largely supported by agribusiness and political agents, temporarily suspended the Amazon Fund, questioning the transparency of the cash flow from the 80% share for NGOs.

government is also the largest shareholder of Hydro, a mining company accused of contamination in the Amazon[12].

Other nations might have unclear geopolitical interests linked to the Brazilian Amazon. France's environmental concern on the Brazilian Amazon is occasionally depicted as disguised protectionism, since the country is the largest European agricultural producer and the largest EU exporter of goods to the US — both countries receive large governmental subsidies for their agricultural strength. Coincidentally or not, France was the leading voice to frame the Amazon's August 2019 fires as a global tragedy, by accusing president Bolsonaro's policies of failing to protect the Amazon. President Macron then argued that not only Bolsonaro lied when he made environmental commitments in the name of Brazil, but also that, after all, France is an Amazon country too, since French Guiana is an overseas department. Following a rather circular pattern, issues of national sovereignty are deeply intricate into the Amazon issue.

Indeed, shared by some politicians and other groups, launched and repeated by Brazilian military governments from the mid 1960s, conspiracy theories persist in the Brazilian public sphere, suggesting that wealthy developed nations seek to internationalize the Amazon forest in order to take ownership upon the region's actual and potential richness[13]. Conversely, there is also widely shared idea among conspiracy believers that international NGOs are actually funded by "Northern" foreign governments and companies to undertake environmental lobby aiming to undermine Brazil's agribusiness, by making harsh political pressure in order to implement conservationist laws and to demarcate Indigenous reserves[14]. Also, Brazil's highly technified and thriving tropical agriculture would make global commodities prices drop, demanding larger amounts of subsides to be paid out and shrinking profits of "North" producers. This appealing line of argument was partly revived by a paper, allegedly prepared on behalf of the U.S. Avoided Deforestation Partners and the National Farmers Union, titled Farms here. Forests there. Tropical Deforestation and U.S. Competitiveness in Agriculture and Timber (Friedman, Gardiner & Associates, n.d.). The document — wherein Brazil is by far the most cited country (followed by Argentina, Indonesia and China) — makes the case for the positive financial

[12] Source: Noruega é a maior acionista de mineradora denunciada por contaminação na Amazônia. *BBC Brasil* (https://www.bbc.com/portuguese/brasil-40423002)

[13] Effectively, besides France's President Macron declaration that "Our home is burning", world leaders have stated formal messages about the subject. In the past, former Russian president Mikhail Gorbachev has stated that "Brazil should delegate part of its rights over Amazonia to international bodies"; and former US vice-president Al Gore has claimed that "Contrary to what Brazilians think, Amazonia is not only theirs, but belongs to all of us". Source: http://www.senado.gov.br/noticias/Jornal/emdiscussao/defesa-nacional/razoes-para-a-implementaao-da-estrategia-nacional-de-defesa/brasil-enfrenta-pressoes-internacionais-por-causa-da-amazonia.aspx.

[14] Some critics would go as far as to note a "convenient" overlap between the largest mineral deposits in the Amazon with the contouring frontiers of Indigenous Reserves, which are untouchable. Source: *Cortina de Fumaça* (2020).

impact of tropical forest offsets[15], initially arguing that much of the timber and agricultural expansion in tropical developing countries has come through large-scale and low-cost practices "that do not meet U.S. industry standards for sustainability, labor practices, and basic human rights, providing these overseas agricultural operations a competitive advantage over U.S. producers" (Friedman, Gardiner & Associates, 2009, p. 1). More importantly, the report approaches competitiveness by proposing a sort of double-win by eliminating overseas deforestation (limiting revenues for agricultural expansion and logging in tropical countries, yet allegedly creating much needed well-paying jobs) while protecting the revenues of American farmers. One should also note that the study — which comes to erroneous conclusions, according to Brazilian critics from different groups — might have helped to provide arguments in favour of changes in the Forest Code among Brazil's ruralist parliamentarians during the discussions between 2009—2011[16].

Behind these complex disputes on prevailing narratives, commercial wars involve powerful partners in a globalized world: Europe, U.S., and mainly China as a giant consumer market and economic, rather multi-thematic rival of the U.S. (Amazon fires took place during a scenario of war on tariffs between the two nations), with huge implications to global diplomacy, to Brazil and other commodity producers, specially of soya[17]. Additionally, Brazil appears placed in a symbolic unease triangle between the U.S. and China: if, on the one hand, Bolsonaro has tightened relations of all sorts (including ideological affinity) with Trump administration until 2020, on the other hand, Brazilian goods and services exported to China in 2021 totaled US$ 87.3 billion, counting for half of the country's superavit. In this period, Brazilian exports were driven by agricultural and mineral commodities, especially soy, cotton and iron ore. Also, trade cooperation agreements between Brazil and China were intensified in the last 15 years: Brazil was the destination of 47% of investments from Chinese companies[18].

Beyond these power-related and geopolitical dynamics, the Amazon rainforest is a key biome in Earth's biodiversity and self-regulation. More importantly, one should not ignore that deforestation, land-grabbing and its related criminality, illegal mining, logging and cattle ranching, allied to impunity and loosening surveillance of power state, are among the major problems to be tackled in a region as vast as Western Europe. Specially, the official data on increased deforestation and on considerable budget

[15] Currently, the 2019 cap and trade scheme from California Air Resources Board, named California Tropical Forest Standard, stands among the most rigorous methodologies for assessing programs that reduce deforestation while promoting responsible action and investment. North American experts in emission trading schemes, though, are cautiously optimistic towards the inclusion of forestry in their respective schemes (Sherestha et al., 2021).

[16] The new Forest Code approved under Workers Party government of President Dilma ended up granting amnesty to past deforestation to big land owners.

[17] See:"US—China Trade War Imperils Amazon Forest (Fuchs, 2019).

[18] Source: Comércio Bilateral China—Brasil cresce 44% e alcança US$ 125 bilhões em negociações. Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada (IPEA). URL: https://www.ipea.gov.br/portal/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=38718&catid=4&Itemid=2

reduction for forest surveillance by State institutions are an undeniable legacy of Bolsonaro's administration. Historically, different governments — in special led by different parties, ideologies and their discourses — have had distinct views and policies towards environmental problems, namely the Amazon region. However, the crux of the matter goes beyond such aspects, since a territory full of riches constitutes, almost automatically, a territory of social disputes, tacit or not, largely materialized in the symbolic plane, in this case, through discursive practices — a language process that has been glimpsed by some scholars with regards to Amazonia, but yet unsatisfactorily clarified. More specifically, the problem of the gaps, imprecisions, biases and conflicting "regimes of truth" in the representations and discourses in and outside the media apparently remains unsolved, most of the time offering puzzle pieces rather than a full picture of Amazonia, which per se is extremely challenging to be achieved.

Therefore, in light of the stakes above, it is undoubtedly relevant to understand how the Amazon's complexity is covered by international media, taking into consideration the following features:

- ✓ the environmental, socioeconomic and geopolitical complexity of the Amazon as a social problem as well as the overlooked impact of these South "hinterlands" for daily urban lives around the globe — from climate change to food prices — among other obtrusive factors;
- ✓ the important role that the media play in socially shared sensemaking, in special with regard to distant and abstract realities, like regions far from megalopolis or relevant financial / political centres, but also places / issues implying a double degree of environmental and social risk — although one should also have in mind the impact of social agents strategies, and certain limits of any taken-for-granted "media-centrism" (Schlesinger, 1990);
- ✓ the role of discourses in constructing "regimes of truth" (Foucault; Fairclough) to describe, evaluate and rule physical, social and symbolic realities by consolidating and also sometimes challenging frames, beliefs, values and notably power positions (for instance, neoliberal and sustainability versus degrowth and environmental justice discourses) — in a post-truth[19] era (Keyes, 2004), marked by "alternative facts" in their struggle to replace "actual facts", but also by perceptions having more weight than (scientific) evidence (McIntyre, 2018).

It is precisely at this point that the proposal of this thesis is inserted, as it addresses the problem of the constructions of meaning and power relations that emanate from media discourses on

[19] Albeit it may be argued that this neologism stands for a mere synonym of "lie", it has acquired a significant conceptual development (see Keyes, 2004), with increasingly specific features, dynamics and broad social / communicative implications, specially before sophisticated forms of manipulation.

Amazonia. The sustainable development and pro-environment macro-discourses; clashes of power elites and minorities, social and environmental movements; issues related to urbanization, large infrastructure projects, land and natural resources' ownership and use; and other modern leitmotifs of the "Amazonian paradox" are addressed and discussed, under the three-dimensional socio-political-cultural prism along the subsequent chapters. In this way, the analytical framework is adjusted to a case study of international coverage about Amazonia — its discourses and world / social agents representations — in newspapers from four countries around the world, two from "North" nations (United States and United Kingdom) and two from other "South" nations distant from South America (India and China), a divide largely marked by power inequalities.

If the multifaceted group of Amazon's internal actors by itself makes the public management of the territory challenging, such task becomes harder in a scenario wherein citizens, actors and especially international leaderships express their opinion on the matter, eventually questioning the legitimacy of Brazilian sovereignty over the Amazon. Beyond any purely political dimension, there is a whole set of moral arguments, largely used by foreign social actors, to discuss this legitimacy as international commitments are systematically broken with regard to a "global common" or something that has huge impacts for the rest of the world. Indeed, as in globalized societies and cultures the causes and effects of anthropic activities are beyond national borders, it is understood that such socio-environmental complexity is no longer restricted to the political agendas of the countries holding the Amazon. Thereby, it is important to map and scrutinize which social agents and their respective social fields have easier and larger access to the media, or, conversely, to which agents and discourses the news media resort more frequently to report and represent the Amazon. Additionally, glimpses on how the political game of forces, credibility, authority and decision about issues related to the territory are constructed in / by the media are certainly valuable.

Based on the general objective of this thesis, which is to elucidate the constructions of meaning and the power relations arising from the discursive practices of the media in the international coverage of the Amazon in leading newspapers from different countries/continents, this thesis seeks to find answers the following questions.

Overarching question: How do international newspapers represent Amazonia and the power relations underlying this region as a physical and symbolic reality?

Specific questions:

- ✓ How do the media frame and represent Amazonia and the different social actors involved in the Amazonian issue?

- ✓ How do news reports (un)articulate political, scientific and ecological discourses? Are there other social fields involved? Which are the dominant frames and discourses?
- ✓ What discursive strategies of journalists (de)legitimize different sources? Which strategies enable / constrain power?
- ✓ What argumentation lines are more and less common to explain the problems of the Amazon? Which rhetorical strategies help to provide value judgements and moral questions to the arguments?

Focused on both the explicit and the implicit stakes deriving from these questions, this study is divided into three axes, comprising seven chapters. Chapters 1, 2 and 3 deal with the grounding and theoretical contextualization of notions that are fundamental to this thesis, such as discourse, power, past and present, key narratives about the Amazon region, as well as the relations between Amazonia and the media. Chapter 4 basically describes the methodological choices and procedures, establishing a bridge to Chapters 5, 6 and 7, which are fully analytical in nature, focusing on the empirical assessment of the case study. The following paragraphs better summarize the itinerary taken along this investigation.

Chapter 1 raises important theoretical issues related to discourse and power in the public sphere, including the media, exploring how struggles over meanings may be linked to power rather hidden conflicts. It discusses the role of scientific and ecological discourses in the construction of knowledge while also considering the weight of cultural contexts for the rise of a socially shared sense of global commons, often leading to environmental advocacy. The last part of the chapter situates Amazonia with regard to these dynamics, by describing past and present socio-political stakes related to the region and outlining its most complex and contentious issues.

Chapter 2 approaches the environment as a social problem by discussing the main environmental discourses in the public sphere along the last century. It also contextualizes sensemaking about Nature in the news media, its main motifs and story-lines. The last part of the chapter provides an overview on comparative studies focusing on social / environmental issues in the global media, with an emphasis on climate change — a widely studied environmental "common" problem closely linked to Amazonia.

Chapter 3 outlines a brief history of the interconnections between Amazonia and the media by analyzing the key representations and discourses about the Amazon broadly in "Western" society as well as in the Brazilian, Pan-Amazonia and international media. This historical path is extremely

important in terms of comparison with the shorter one carried out within the scope of this work, as a basis for the identification of both semantic (dis)continuities and the (re)evaluation of the social roles that stakeholders play amid the clashes over meanings and power in (relation to) the region.

Chapter 4 explains in details the methodological procedures on corpora delimitation, justifying the analytical choices made in the scope of this case study: time ranges (2010-2016 as a preliminary panorama + Aug. — Dec. 2019 Amazon fires as a critical moment of discourse); countries and newspapers sampled (United States: *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*; *United Kingdom*: *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*; India: *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*; China: *China Daily* and *People's Daily*); as well as other features related to quantitative and qualitative analysis carried out.

Chapter 5 approaches rather quantitatively Amazonia in the international newspapers, describing its main textual and para-textual characteristics, themes and frames. This chapter is divided into three main parts composing an ever-growing spiral. Firstly, it sketches a panorama of the headlines about the Amazon in the international press (corpus 2010-2016). Secondly, it focuses integrally on articles published during and shortly after Amazon's "great burning weeks" in 2019, a media cycle wherein Amazon forest fires achieved significant global resonance. Thirdly, a frame analysis is carefully conducted for corpus 2019, extracting crucial themes, motifs and narratives turning to be important pieces in the media discourses about the Amazon region.

Chapter 6 kicks off a wholly qualitative turn using tools from Critical Discourse Analysis. It carefully assesses the "global commons" rhetoric (used by news writers and their sources) describing Amazonia as a global heritage metaphor. By examining some rhetorical properties of environmental and other discourses in the media, the chapter dissects drama and metaphorical appeal per newspaper (also per country and per "geopolitical hemisphere"), depicting the main social and political stakes behind the key "Our home" metaphor.

Chapter 7 concentrates exhaustively on discourse agents and their argumentation strategies in the media. In order to achieve this goal, the analysis is exclusively focused in the dynamics of power in / power behind discourse emerging from opinion pieces belonging to corpus 2019. Following Foucault's and Fairclough's theories on "regimes of truth", along with tools from CDA's discourse-historical approach (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017) and social actors representation / legitimation studies (Van Leeuwen, 2008), the chapter contextualizes and demonstrates in-depth representation trends and argumentation schemes in the journalistic discourse. It explores the main arguments employed by agents to signify Amazonia, per newspaper, per country and per "geopolitical hemisphere" ("North" / "South").

Whereas complexity may likely be the only taken-for-granted attribute to describe Amazonia, the following chapters are expected to shed light into part of this intricate web of biodiversity / social diversity, natural flows / environmental services, and economic / geopolitical interests.

CHAPTER 1. DISCOURSE AND POWER STRUGGLES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE

The mechanisms of cohesion and social interaction proper to human societies, historically, presuppose the dynamic performance of discourses. Discourses can be understood, in a broad sense, as specific ways of interpreting and attributing meanings to the world (concrete or abstract elements, objects, subjects, phenomena, etc.). In the scope of this study, this would include elements as related as they are heterogeneous, such as: watershed, flora, biodiversity, nature, ecology, indigenous people, immigration, colonization, environmental preservation, degradation, sustainable development, climate change, social justice, etc.

Highlighting the role of discourse in the social gear, seen both in a synchronic and a diachronic way, means refusing the linearity between signs and things, revealing a far from naive and transparent relationship between man and language. Language, in a broad sense, is a multipurpose tool that also includes the expression of dominance and the configuration of hierarchies (encompassing, in this case, all living beings). Thereby, what one could expect of the capacity of discourse, as a sophisticated, refined and integrated form of language in use, to make complex and sometimes contradictory human relations?

There is no discourse without language, just as there is no power without discourse. However, before presenting and discussing the "power of discourse" and its contribution to the "discourse of power", as far as Amazonian meanings are concerned, it is fundamental to delimit what discourse actually means. What supports of power may be linked to the production of discourses in society? Metaphorically, which actors and spaces emerge as gladiators and arenas of discursive clashes? In this context, how do the media behave as a social agent for the capture, circulation, representation, reconfiguration and reproduction of meanings? These questions will constitute the core of the first part of this chapter. In a second moment, attention will focus more on the role of science and ecology in the dynamics of power: what discourses do they construct and seek to impose, to what motives and meanings do they resort, what roles do they play in the maintenance or reversal of structures related to social power? In a third stage, based on the premise that to speak of (counter)power among human groups is to deal with politics, the national and international political arenas will be described and briefly analyzed, isolating the Amazonian space as a backdrop, thus focusing on the impact of scientific and ecological discourses on social, economic, and environmental aspects. To put it broadly: focusing on the implications of these discourses on collective imagination and on the circuit of culture. Finally, the final section will assess the main nodes that connect the central theme of this thesis, which are the power relations in the Amazon today, from its historical, geographical, multi-ethnic and socioeconomic aspects,

seeking to outline stakes that go beyond the simplistic dichotomy of development versus (eco)social justice. In such a scenario, complexity could be an option for a single-world definition of the Amazon, wherein social representations and discourses function as a key piece interfering on life and nature's multiple fluxes.

1.1 Discourse, social power and media

In this section, the theoretical stakes of discourse and power are contextualized and discussed. They not only guide this work but also underpin the analysis conducted in subsequent chapters. In a first moment, discourse is focused on its function which encompasses communication and action; in a second moment, attention is paid to the discursive function that enables action and forms of social domination. Finally, the role and influence of the news media in this relationship between discourse, symbolic action, and social conflict is discussed, whereas the theoretical orientation towards Critical Discourse Analysis is established and justified.

1.1.1 Discourse: from communication to action

Because discourse constitutes a key theoretical notion in the scope of this work, it is convenient to clarify in detail its meaning here retained, its variants, implications and main interrelations. The conceptualization of discourse is historically broad, with references to philosophy, anthropology, rhetoric and especially linguistics, being aligned with the notion of speech in the binary perspective language x speech, proposed by Ferdinand de Saussure. Discourse refers to an "abstract support that sustains the various (concrete) texts that circulate in a society" (FT) (Gregolin, 1995, p. 17). Therefore, approaching discourse implies the conception of language as a necessary mediation between man, on the one hand, and natural and social reality, on the other hand (Orlandi, 2003).

From a social science perspective, discourse is a fundamental component in the amalgamation of all kinds of human groupings, as it functions as an instance closely linked to social action. By using the term "discourse", Norman Fairclough proposes:

> To regard language as a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables. This has various implications. First, it implies that discourse is a mode of action, one form in which people may act upon the world and especially upon each other, as well as a mode of representation [...] Second, it implies that there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, there being more generally such a relationship between social practice and social structure: the latter is both a condition for, and an effect of, the former. (Fairclough, 1992, p. 63)

Such a conception places discourse in a strategic position in societies, especially in democratic ones, since acting on the world and on others starts with concrete attitudes (be they authoritarian, repressive, oppositional, sympathetic, etc.), operating in a symbolic dimension, not only of representation but also of interference in the social sphere (so much so that one of the most emblematic measures of dictatorial regimes is censorship, which precisely institutes a ban on the free production and circulation of discourses).

Orlandi proposes a triple discursive typology based on the functioning of discourse (its relations between subjects, relation with the senses and with the referents) regarding the performance of polysemy: authoritarian discourse (contained polysemy), polemic discourse (controlled polysemy) and ludic discourse (open polysemy) (Orlandi, 2003, p. 86). Such proposal, however, from a pragmatical perspective, seems much less linear when one realizes that the meanings built in the fields of science, ecology, economics and politics, which come to constitute the bases of the Amazonian question (and of the concept of sustainable development itself), tend to range from the *status quo* to the revolutionary appeal (Hopwood, 2005), from the prosaic to the imaginative, and from reformism to radicalism (Dryzek, 2013). While polysemy should remain minimized in speech regimes geared towards social and political action, a sensitive point in the topic of this thesis rests not necessarily on the plurality of possible meanings, but above all on the conflict about the most appropriate and truest understanding for notions such as nature, development, sustainability, etc.

In the scope of this work, the concept of discourse more akin to the subject under analysis seems to be the one defended by Hajer, to whom discourse is "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995, p. 44). Therefore, a crucial issue in the operational context of discourse would be the verification of its modalities, forces and patterns: "what is produced, what circulates and what produces effects within a society are always *discourses* (of course, *types* of discourses, whose classes must be identified and whose economy of operation must be described)" (FT) (Verón, 2004, p. 61; originally italicized). This economy of functioning would come to constitute, broadly speaking, the banner of the different "discourse analyses" gradually developed from the 1960s onwards.

In terms of functionalities and dimensions of meaning, discourse is a symbolic material used in the construction of what is variously referred to as social identities and subject positions ("identity" function), social relations between people ("relational" function) and knowledge and belief systems ("ideational" function) (Fairclough, 1992, p. 64). This participation of discourse (which is massive but at

the same time subtly intricate) in the social systems of ideas, values and beliefs, is linked to a system of forces — some quite visible, others almost imperceptible —whose effects include the reinforcement of stereotypes, interrelations, rationalities and *modus operandi* related to the *status quo*. This is why, when talking about discourse and its undeniable role in social action, it is imperative to allude to (counter)power relations, which may be much more complex than the simple antithesis "dominant" versus "dominated" group, whose emblem are class struggles.

1.1.2 Discourse: from action to domination

Although guided by different assumptions, authors like Luhmann and Habermas defend that society is basically composed of communication. The former develops the key concept of public sphere within a political theory that explores the interfaces between communication and democracy (Habermas, 1991). On the other hand, it is understood that, for Bourdieu and Foucault, society basically equates, respectively: symbolic capital + social distinction, and knowledge + power. But, after all, what makes us "social animals" effectively differentiated from others, if aspects such as communication, language, hierarchy and dominance are not entirely exclusive to human societies? Our spontaneous answer could be: the ability to weave, share and reinvent narratives and discourses — both understood as essential raw materials of human "imaginaries" — aiming at the double perpetuation of the species and of power (of certain elite groups). While denying any equivalence between both concepts (narrative / discourse), their interrelation is, however, clear. Van Leeuwen, for example, includes *mythopoesis*, the role of narrativization, among the items that confer legitimacy to discourses (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 117). Hajer, in turn, also approximates these concepts, when operating, in his analyses of discourses on the environment, with the notion of story line*,* understood as "a generative sort of narrative that allows actors to draw upon various discursive categories to give meaning to specific physical or social phenomena" (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). From such a perspective, narratives integrate discourses, which contribute not only to give meaning to the physical and social world, but to act upon it. This perception is essential insofar as acting very often means expanding, consolidating or contesting power. Hence, Hajer acknowledges his alignment to Foucault's thought, for whom discourses imply constraints, interdictions, exclusions, rules and disciplines. Hence, power is defined only relationally, that is in relation to other social dynamics. This is fully applicable to Amazonian discourses: minorities (ethnic or ideological) are sometimes silenced, sometimes discredited; political and economic elites establish, almost autocratically, rules for the use of the territory; debates among those involved take place in a

more ritualistic than effectively democratic manner; the media represent Amazonian social agents unequally.

Power permeates social relations through discourses, which influence action and the prevalence of meanings, knowledge and practices. An innovation to be considered Foucauldean is precisely the emphasis on the production of knowledge, to the detriment of the concern with meaning *per se,* typical of semiological and semiotic approaches. In this sense, Hall points out that the fact that semiotics confines representation to language leaves open the issues of knowledge and social power, which are unequal between subjects (Hall, 1997, p. 42). Indeed, language has nothing automatic and transparent, considering that there is no discourse without subject, nor subject without ideology (Pêcheux, 1975). Discourse analysis itself would constitute a reflection "on how language is materialized in ideology and how ideology manifests itself in language" (FT) (Orlandi, 2003, p. 16). However, notions such as subject or ideology tend to be diminished in favour of what could be considered a “metonymic” view of power in society:

> Discourse is a series of elements that operate within the general mechanism of power. Consequently, it is necessary to consider discourse as a series of events, as political events, through which power is bound and oriented. (Foucault, 1980, p. 254)

By suggesting that the whole is in the parts as much as the parts make up the whole, Foucault decentralizes the flow of power, shifting the attention from the typical state apparatuses to a prism in which institutional apparatuses and techniques (including discourses) project a bundle of modes of knowledge and power — a phenomenon described as the "microphysics of power". This capillarity, or focus on the "finer meshes of the network of power" (FT) (Foucault, 1999, p. 5), is essential in the general functioning of the gears of power. Additionally, it denies the possibility of a neutral knowledge, demonstrating that all knowledge is political: there is no power relation without the constitution of a field of knowledge, but, conversely, all knowledge in turn integrates new power relations. For instance, prospecting products from Amazonia, thus enlarging the knowledge about its economic potential, may influence, in a certain degree, political decision-making. It is especially at the intersection between fields of knowledge (economics, science and ecology) that the power relations that define the future of the region are designed. In this context, no matter how much scientific knowledge claims objectivity and impartiality, Foucault reminds that "ideology itself does not exclude scientificity" (FT) (Foucault, 2012, p. 224).

Just as there is no meaning outside of discourse, Foucault states that "truth does not exist outside of power or without power [...] Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth:

that is, the types of discourse that it welcomes and makes function as true'' (FT) (Foucault, 1999, p. 12). Science is a field of knowledge that plays a preponderant role in the subtle coercion of the true, a practice widely naturalized, and which, therefore, spontaneously connects to the instances of power. After all, the meaning of a speech act can also be understood as ''the result of a double process of transformation and transaction of knowledge that produces truth effects'' (FT) (Charaudeau, 2006, p. 57). The issue of regimes of truth is complex, and the discursive formations about the Amazon are a good example in this sense, since the territory has been shaped, at least along the last 50 years, by the sense of truth emanating from powerful discourses, such as the sustainable development story line.

> There is a “struggle for the truth” or, at least, “around the truth” — understanding, once again, that by truth I do not mean 'the set of true things to be discovered or made acceptable, but the “set of rules according to which the true is distinguished from the false and specific effects of power are attributed to the true”; understanding also that it is not a struggle “in favour” of the truth, but around a status of truth and the economic-political role it plays. (FT) (Foucault, 1999, p. 13)

Assumptions about the status of truth in contemporary societies necessarily refer to the role of the mass media in capturing, processing and redistributing discourses from the most diverse fields of knowledge. Understanding the economic-political role that the “established truths” play implies a discussion on the role of elites in the mechanisms of power. By recognizing the media's double capacity to shape or (de)construct knowledge and (de)legitimize power, it becomes imperative to consider these elements as key factors in any reflection on representation, discourses, social practices and power relations.

1.1.3 Media discourses: meaning and power struggles

As the media are powerful instances of elaboration of speeches about reality and knowledge construction, it is crucial to address their technical, corporate, cultural and social specificities. In communication studies, there is broadly a consensus on the weight of the media in the construction of knowledge. Luhmann, for example, begins *The Reality of the Mass Media* with the assertion: ''Whatever we know about our society, or indeed the world in which we live in, we know through the mass media. This is true not only of our knowledge of society and history but also of our knowledge of nature'' (Luhmann, 2000, p. 1). By defining the functioning of the media according to the informative versus non informative code — instead of the binomial, proper to science, true versus false — Luhmann concludes that dissent and plurality of opinions constitute the essence of the media; therefore, the objective would not be the consensual construction of reality. ''Topics, not opinions, are decisive. There

is so much talk of the 'dying of the forests' that in the end we know that we do not know what the causes are, but we do know that there are a variety of opinions about it'' (Luhmann, 2000, p. 68). Even if far from a solid consensus, the media would have, in the scope of its functionality, an important constructivist effect (if not of the truth, at least of reality). Conversely, the much-studied hypothesis of agenda-setting (McCombs & Shaw, 1972) follows this same premise: the media would have an undeniable effect of defining topics of conversation among audiences, what subjects to discuss and worry about.

But, after all, how do the media elicit or inhibit the social and cultural circulation of certain topics, in this case, the environmental (problematic) issue? James Carey outlines the predominance of two visions about communication, centered on transmission and ritual. The notion of transmission is the most evident, because it implies more "mechanical" analyses about (dis)information, social (un)stability and other factors, focused on the extension and effects of messages in space. The ritualistic view, on the other hand, concentrates on the maintenance of society in time, which implies the very concept of news:

> News is a historic reality. It is a form of culture invented by a particular class at a particular point of history — in this case by the middle class largely in the eighteenth century [...] Under a ritual view, then, news is not information but drama. It does not describe the world but portrays an arena of dramatic forces and action; it exists solely in historical time; and it invites our participation on the basis of our assuming, often vicariously, social roles within it. (Carey, 1989, p. 16)

Here again, there is the impression that the fight for power, synchronically, makes use of the resources at its disposal, aiming at guaranteeing the supremacy of certain groups, with the subservience of others being many times implicit, in contemporary societies, under mechanisms (simulacrums) of democracy and/or journalistic impartiality, for example. Social control, therefore, would justify the news, as the "ends justify the means".

Although examining the media may suggest, in some ways, the recourse to communication theories, my target is the multiple social discourses of / in / by the media, a perspective closer to a heterogeneous field of research entitled Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Van Dijk, 2015; Wodak & Chilton, 2005; Wodak & Meyer, 2001). Critical Discourse Studies (Van Dijk, 2015a) would actually constitute a subtle variant. This does not necessarily imply underestimating theories of communication and media (journalism), but stressing that the major horizon of analysis is discourse: its representations, its functioning, its role and action in power relations. However, beyond proceeding to the definitions and discussions about the set of precepts, theories, techniques and

methodologies that integrate CDA, it is important to outline minimally the social and cultural context in which news and facts about ecology, politics, science and economy are inserted.

The maxim "there are no facts: only interpretations" — attributed to Nietzsche (the German philosopher referring, more specifically, to morality) —somehow summarizes the predominant role of discourse in shaping the understanding of events and narratives.In the context of the mass media, it seems pointless, however to discuss whether "there are no facts: only versions". Between the complex mission of "objectively" reporting the facts *per se*, on the one hand, and the rise of an elaborated sensationalism, on the other hand, the media have played games of scenes and words that do justice to the ritualistic and dramatic character described by Carey. In this scenario, it is not a coincidence that the Oxford Dictionary has elected the term "post-truth" as the word of the year 2016, calling attention to "a new situation in which, during the creation and formation of public opinion, objective facts have less influence than appeals to emotions and personal beliefs"[20]. In other words, it would not be enough for dominant groups to monopolize speeches in favour of the *status quo*: they need to do so rhetorically. For instance, the control of information and its manipulation has been a recurrent feature in repressive regimes, such as China, and not so much in democracies. Chinese environmental coverage, for example, included in this research, shows stereotyped traits regarding Amazonia, as demonstrated further in the analytical chapters. Yet this is not a feature exclusive to non-democratic societies. As much as the emphasis is not necessarily on the *pathos* of the audiences, there is essentially an extensive rhetorical work: "the truth is not in the discourse, but only in the effect it produces. In this case, the media information discourse plays with this influence, putting into play, in a variable way and with different consequences, effects of authenticity, verisimilitude and dramatization" (FT) (Charaudeau, 2006, p. 63). These discourse effects act directly on the public perception of certain themes, from the personal and collective construction of meanings to the ranking of priority issues for political discussion and engagement.

A precursor of CDA, Discourse Analysis (DA) emerged as a subfield of the social sciences, at the confluence of three disciplines: linguistics (limited autonomy of language); Marxism (historical materialism); and psychoanalysis (unconscious/ideology relationship), especially, in the latter case, the French tradition of DA. There are, however, those who consider it a "younger cousin" of linguistics (Neto, 2013). Critical Discourse Analysis has roots in domains such as rhetoric, textual linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, social psychology, cognitive sciences, literary studies, pragmatics and sociolinguistics, which implies a multiplicity of methods and objects. CDA's emergence dates back to

[20] Source: https://languages.oup.com/word-of-the-year/2016/

the early 1990s; it brings together discourse-centered studies with at least seven dimensions in common: interest in the properties of "natural" language use; focus on larger units of analysis (than isolated words or sentences); study of action and interaction (beyond phrasal grammar); consideration of non-verbal aspects of interaction (semiotic, visual, multimodal); focus on (socio)cognitive dynamics (specially Van Dijk's works); study of the functions and contexts of language use; analysis of a large number of phenomena of textual grammar and language use (coherence, anaphora, speech acts, argumentation, rhetoric, mental models, etc.) (Wodak & Krzyzanowski, 2008; Wodak & Meyer, 2009). For these authors, the significant difference between discourse studies / analysis and CDS / CDA (critical approaches) rests on:

> [...] the constitutive problem-oriented, interdisciplinary approach of the latter, apart from endorsing all of the above points. CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit *per se* but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multidisciplinary and multi-methodical approach. (Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 2)

According to this perspective, CDA encompasses eclectic approaches, whose shared interest is in elucidating often "naturalized" beliefs and social dominances through the systematic investigation of semiotic data (written, spoken or visual), based on four pillars: discourse, criticism, power and ideology (Wodak & Meyer, 2009). This implies a dialectical relationship between language and society, discourse thereby being a form of social practice that acts as text (sociocultural product), interaction (situational processes of production / interpretation) and context (institutional and social conditions of production / interpretation) (Fairclough, 1989). Therefore, these three elements of discourse refer respectively to three levels of CDA, namely: description of the text, interpretation of the relationship between text and interaction, and explanation of the relationship between interaction and social context. Being nearly inescapable to social gears, discourse is necessarily subject to (discursive) conventions, which in turn align with social conventions in which power (its pursuit, maintenance, reversal) is the centre of contention. "Ideological power, the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense', is a significant complement to economic and political power, and of particular significance here because it is exercised in discourse" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33). By keeping the Foucauldean terminology of "orders of discourse", Fairclough seeks to retain domains of discursive conventions inherent in social practices, which harbour specific ideologies. Changes in discourse orders would thus constitute requirements for broader processes of social change.

Power, ideology and discourse constitute, within CDA, wholly interdependent notions. "CDA is discourse analysis research that primarily studies the way social-power abuse and inequality are enacted, reproduced, legitimated, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van

Dijk, 2015, p. 466). Working from the perspective of CDA thereby requires an approach between social sectors of micro (agency, interaction) and macro (structures, institutions, organizations) scales, aiming to identify, connect and explain more or less perceptible gaps between these different levels of the social chessboard, considering the scarcity of certain social resources (information, knowledge, access, legitimacy, status, etc.) (Van Dijk, 2015a).

In this scenario, the mass media, suggestively nicknamed the "fourth power" by Lord Macauly in the mid-nineteenth century, would have authority and dominance comparable to the other three typical powers of democratic societies (Legislative, Executive and Judicial). Despite being historically considered a positive influence, monitoring the three official powers, the performance of the media is still the object of ambiguities, since it is unclear whether they at last work for the dominant elites or for the democratic citizen. If the media "are not democracy itself, but are the spectacle of democracy" (Charaudeau, 2006, p. 48), this suggests the existence of an undeniable work of staging. What can be stated is that "the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 54). By attributing causality and agency to the media, especially the news media, we are recognizing a work of representation and, eventually, of narrativization of the facts, in which justifications and characters for the reported action are exposed. Now, this does not happen spontaneously, since, from the standpoint of social constructivism, discourses project “imaginaries” of new modes of social life: "narratives which construct a more or less coherent and plausible relationship between what has happened in the past and what might happen in the future" (Fairclough, 1992, p. 8). To explain how the world works, where it comes from and where it goes to, the media not only mediate but to some degree re-elaborate the circulating discourses (as the sum of the discourses of the various social fields), through the selection / omission and framing of themes, data, sources, as well as by the angulation, emphasis and emotions implicitly activated by the news, among other, even more subtle, techniques.

By privileging certain themes and sources of information, the media demonstrate affinity and convergence with specific discourses. However, the requirement to give voice, if not to all, at least to the main parts involved in the news, forces the news media, in the name of the principles of objectivity, impartiality and public interest, to include actors and subjects not necessarily welcome, especially from an ideological point of view. Thus, mapping and critically analyzing imbalances of attention, representation and valuation, not only in relation to environmental coverage but also in all news tags, imposes itself as crucial tasks to understand how certain discourses gain strength and space, while others are silenced. In the case of the coverage about the Amazon region, it is known that the

discourses of ecology and science constitute fundamental instances, whether for the pressure for public policies involving directly or not the environment, or for the formation of public opinion on environmental issues. Therefore, it is deemed relevant to examine in more detail the role of these two social fields, science and ecology, in the dynamics of (media) discourse and (counter)power.

1.2 Discourses from science and ecology in the dynamics of power

Science and ecology are crucial domains to approach discourses about the environment and Amazonia, because they elaborate and defend meanings that, in some cases, can justify opposite public policies and individual actions, from full conservationism to the defense of a so-called sustainable development. For this reason, this section will first explore the extent to which these disciplines may have conflicting natures. Then, I will try to better clarify why they construct knowledge and regimes of truth whose practical effects are linked to the consolidation or, alternatively, to the contestation of values, norms, and actions linked to the power-to-do regarding socially predominant actors and groups. All these dynamics have great implications in the directions that are given to the Amazon space and its local, regional, and even international actors.

1.2.1 Science and ecology: conflicting natures

Virtually as old as humanity itself — even a predecessor of written language[21] — science symbolizes the great differential that sets us apart from other animals: the ability, through observation, experimentation, reasoning and language, to generate and share knowledge and theories about the world. From the discovery of fire and agriculture, as well as the invention of tools or the wheel, science aims at the development of technologies for the benefit of human evolution — although not exclusively. There is a visible connection between the coincidental rise of modern science and the Industrial Revolution.

On the other hand, ecology appears in the mid-nineteenth century, as a branch of biology — at the time inserted in the scope of "Natural History". By studying the complex relationships between living beings and the environment, ecology is somewhat the first discipline to destabilize anthropocentrism, consolidated since the Renaissance. By showing the interrelations of beings among themselves and with the outside world, "classical" ecology, as proposed by Ernst Haeckel in 1866, however much it establishes or maintains hierarchies, recognizes the function and intrinsic value of each species, each

[21] "Science defined simply as knowledge of natural processes is universal among humankind, and it has existed since the dawn of human existence" (Williams, 2018). Source: https://www.britannica.com/science/history-of-science

system integrating a balanced chain. In a little over a century and a half, the discipline has not only expanded into diverse subfields of the natural, social and human sciences, but has also segmented itself into conflicting domains. “Deep ecology”, for example, considers the whole living world to have moral and legal rights, regardless of its degree of utilitarianism to the human species (a notion proper to “shallow environmentalism”) (Naess, 2005). It is noteworthy, however, that deep ecology fits into the set of imaginative and radical approaches under the heading of green radicalism (Dryzek, 2013). Such holistic approaches adopt a deliberate biocentric perspective. Ecocentrism and anthropocentrism constitute inherent poles in debates about conservationism (Kopnina, 2019) and sustainable development (Hopwood et al., 2005).

While eventually prioritizing human well-being — especially of ethnic minorities, the socially excluded, climate refugees, etc. — ecology, by correlating human survival to that of the planet, turns equivalent the statuses of mankind and the environment. Science, on its turn, traditionally seeks knowledge and methods whose final result represents instrumentalizing, synthesizing or controlling nature for the good and progress of humankind (or, when not, at least of businesses). Some examples of this process, applicable to Amazonian territory, would be hydroelectric dams, extraction of wood, rubber and wild fruits, transgenics (GMOs), mining, isolation of molecules for the pharmaceutical/cosmetic industry, etc. One should note that science has been, at least in the last 150 years, a crucial driver of the capitalist economy, notably through the registration of patents, a practice that, in the field of agriculture and ecology, has been denounced by activists such as ecofeminist Vandana Shiva. In *Monocultures of the Mind*, Shiva demonstrates how large seed and input corporations, through the use of agricultural sciences and powerful slogans, have driven the Green Revolution via commodification on a global scale at the expense of local, traditional, holistic and millennial knowledge (Shiva, 2002).

In spite of the fact that, in many aspects, science and ecology tend towards, if not interests, perhaps results and conclusions that are not very reconcilable, it should be noted that ecology, even though it has conquered a strong presence in contemporary culture and a broad multidisciplinary character, remains a small compartment of science, which *per se* constitutes an “umbrella” concept. Moreover, scientific knowledge is recognized as essentially provisional and subject to revision over time, so that both ecology and sciences in general share the risk of misunderstanding. After all, "scientific knowledge of the world is only partial, and the progress of science follows the ability of humans to make phenomena perceivable" (Williams, 2018). Furthermore, with regard to the set of ecological and scientific discourses on the environment, including the role of tropical forests for the balance of the

entire planet, the status of knowledge has a deep influence on aspects such as environmental risk (often contrasted with socioeconomic risks) and scientific credibility. These factors are key in the construction of regimes of truth and social struggles for the power to define and decide about environmental issues. The mega-hydroelectric Belo Monte is among the best and most recent examples of how knowledge from the sciences of engineering and energy production techniques have substantiated developmentist and powerful political discourses. The well-known result is the flood and destruction of a huge natural and social area (home to many indigenous communities) in order to dam the Xingu River. Many environmentalists and conservationists labeled the plan(t) as "ecocide" — besides claims that Belo Monte's planners seemingly were over-optimistic regarding the dam's effective capacity to produce the initially forecast amount of energy[22].

It is necessary to agree, however, that, more recently, now that the greatest uncertainties about the validity of global climate change have been overcome, science in general and ecology have been aligned towards certain discourses. As for the Amazon, there is little discussion about the existence of a tipping point, but, at best, about when this could effectively occur[23]. Another fundamental question concerns the function of "carbon sink": not even the various cultural contexts have yet abandoned the earlier (erroneous) metaphor referring to the "lungs of the planet" and already climate science shows that some regions in the Amazon are no longer able to absorb carbon dioxide[24]. This knowledge, which stands for a specific regime of truth, does not operate isolated from ideological power, since it integrates speeches, practices, intended legitimizations, etc., from a wide range of social actors.

1.2.2 Scientific and ecological discourses: knowledge, truth and power

From the perspective of social constructivism — according to which social problems are the product of a collective definition (Blumer, 1971) — the mere perception of social phenomena is not enough: it is necessary to problematize them minimally, to structure them discursively so that they are considered important and subject to deliberation both in the public sphere (Fairclough, 2001; Hannigan, 2006) and in the media (Anderson, 1997). This largely entails rejecting the idea that reality lends itself to a purely neutral and objective approach — which clashes with the obligatory *leitmotiv* of scientism. If science and ecology are fields geared towards the cold and impartial examination of natural phenomena, could they fall into contradiction by participating in collective social elaborations? It is

[22] *The Guardian*, 8 November 2019. Poorly planned Amazon dam project "poses serious threat to life". URL: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2019/nov/08/death-of-a-river-the-ruinous-design-flaw-in-a-vast-amazon-rainforest-dam

[23] When will the Amazon hit a tipping point? *Nature*, 25 February 2020. .
URL: https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-020-00508-4

[24] Southeast Amazonia is no longer a carbon sink. *Nature*, 14 July 2021. URL: https://www.nature.com/articles/d41586-021-01871-6

coherent to state that science is a "construction that makes emerge an irreducible discovery of the construction and social conditions that made it possible" (FT) (Bourdieu, 2001: p. 68). Nevertheless, even though they obtain information about the world from logical and rigorous methods, the agents (in name) of science / ecology socially use such knowledge under a discursive logic. They express a set of related statements, which are supported by the same discursive formation, which, in turn, is governed by culturally prevailing discursive practices. As proposed by Foucault, a discursive practice refers to the "set of anonymous, historical rules, always determined in time and space, which defined, at a given time, and for a given social, economic, geographical or linguistic area, the conditions for the exercise of the enunciation function" (FT) (Foucault, 2012, p. 144). That is why the investigation of knowledge should focus on the power relations that integrate it, since all knowledge is —ultimately —political, and there is no neutral knowledge (Foucault, 1999). Thus, no knowledge about the world (natural / human) endures in naivety: even the “greenest” (pro-life), idealistic, alternative, humanistic, altruistic, socially just and inclusive ecological strands are ultimately modes of social control. In the light of CDA and certain Foucauldean concepts, "eco-speak is no longer 'innocent', but can be seen as yet another attempt to discipline society" (Hajer & Wytske, 2005, p. 180). Indeed, this is particularly relevant in a discursive scenario in which the Amazon increasingly achieves visibility and concern on a global scale, with emphasis on the conservationist discourse uttered specially by social actors from outside the region.

The importance and legitimacy of many social areas or fields is often based on manifest and / or implicit assumptions, repeated over time by specific, legitimized and authorized instances. "Science never has any other foundation than the collective belief in its foundations that is produced and assumed by the very functioning of the scientific field" (FT) (Bourdieu, 1976, p. 99). Behind such tacit functioning there are necessarily specific interests, involving not only acquired knowledge, but also constructions (allegedly “achievement”) of truths: interpretations of “objective” data, obtained “scientifically”, aiming to ground and consolidate certain discourses. Although the notion of discourse is rather sparsely cited in Bourdieu's thought, one can understand that it is implicit as a means or instrument (even weapon) in the clashes within each specific field and between different social fields.

> A field is a structured social space, a field of forces — there are dominant and dominated, there are constant, permanent relations of inequality, which are exercised within this space — which is also a field of struggles to transform or preserve this field of forces. Each one, within this universe, commits in its competition with others the (relative) strength it holds and which defines its position in the field and, consequently, its strategies. (FT) (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 57)

Among the strategies mentioned, it seems quite presumable that the discursive ones are included. This is because the sociology of the fields operates essentially with the idea of symbolic social capital, in which the term capital goes beyond the domain of economic goods and wealth, coming to designate any resource or power, such as authority, legitimation and prestige, for example. Consider the scientific jargon, the linguistic precision required for conceptualization, the meticulous methodological description, the objectivity in stating the results, the inescapable inter-textual allusion to other theories and experts: all this involves issues of discourse that make up or enable, at least partially, the accumulation and circulation of social capital.

In the case of science, it is worth to outline that, as it is a highly autonomous field, its "clients", or the target aimed by the producers of scientific authority, end up being the competitors themselves (Bourdieu, 1976). This is why science is an independent and reserved field, with its meetings or gatherings restricted to agents with a more advanced level of knowledge (the "initiated" in scientific knowledge, methods and advances), its own rituals (the importance of the professional / academic biography before a scientist begins his speech, specific awards, etc.), its consultancies for subjects of great social relevance, etc.

> The seemingly "pure" and "disinterested" universe of science is a social field like any other, with its power relationships and monopolies, its conflicts and strategies, its interests and profits. A kind of game whose particular stakes consist in the monopoly of scientific authority (prestige, recognition, fame and so forth), the scientific field owes its main characteristics to the fact that the producers generally have no other possible clients than their direct competitors. (Bourdieu, 1976, p. 89)

In this social game, the major point of contention lies in the demonstration (to peers and the internal community, ultimately to society as a whole), prevalence and consequent renown (symbolic capital) along the pursuit of the truth: such is the mechanism that makes the agents of the scientific field preserve their interests. From this perspective, the use by and / or support of political actors to scientific discourses has a powerful weight, by the double accumulation of symbolic capital from two fields. Behind these discursive alignments there are important deliberation stakes on collective environmental assets, from the license for the construction of mega hydroelectric dams to the political use of complex documents prepared by huge teams of scientists, such as the IPCC reports, which are substantially cited (both for consideration and for refutation — be it morally) by social agents of civil society and political power.

In this sense, knowledge, truth and power are perhaps more interdependent in the microcosm and in the discourses of science than in any other social arena — to reach the truth represents the legitime essence of the scientific field. Furthermore, ecology, as a subfield of the biological sciences,

struggles for authority and above all for the prevalence of a more interactionist perspective of truth (between the one of humanity and that presumed worthy for the other beings on the planet). Such questions, however, do not operate exclusively in their zones of origin. On the contrary, they are inserted into the tangle of discourses circulating in society, with direct implications for culture, politics and above all for the economy, which stands as the "Achilles heel" of capitalist societies. Thus, considering that the Amazon territory belongs to democratic and capitalist countries (despite some controversial features in these respects, especially in Venezuela, but not only there), the role and the pressure from the developmentist discourse is similar as in any other region of the global "South". While scientific propositions in general can be harnessed by both pro-development and pro-nature actors, on the other hand, ecological thinking tends to favor the latter perspective. This does not necessarily occur according to watertight dynamics, since different political, cultural, socioeconomic and environmental contexts certainly imply different configurations of collective perception and public debates. The next section will deal with some of these issues in more detail.

1.3 (Inter)national social arenas: cultural and environmental contexts

Along this section, the discussion moves slightly away from the notion of discourses and conflicts of different social fields in the construction of meanings and knowledge. Notwithstanding, it tries to reach broader social practices, which make up the social environment itself that both influences and is influenced by discursive practices. Thus, I firstly address aspects related to the environment in the circuits of culture — a key concept that provides clues on, for example, how "hinterlands" like the Amazon can culturally resonate in distant urban (both domestic and foreign) social contexts. Then, I discuss how such cultural interconnections enable and elicit environmental advocacy and the sense of the global commons (which, in turn, tend to strengthen such social / cultural circuits).

1.3.1 The environment in cultural circuits

The environment, especially through typified elements of nature (stars, landscapes, flora, fauna, physical phenomena, etc.), has always been intensely impregnated in cultures around the world. Far beyond its omnipresence in mythologies and traditional narratives, religions, architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, heraldry, etc., the environment persists — consciously or not — in contemporary imaginaries and daily life in cinema, arts, fashion, advertising, lifestyles, consumption habits, etc. As a matter of fact, since consumerism represents the main engine of capitalism, societies today face the

challenge of reconciling consumption (virtually incessant, as it aims to ensure the survival/expansion of the human species) and availability of raw materials (known to be exhaustible, due to the mismatch between, on the one hand, human needs — a disputable concept — and the renewal capacity of nature's resources, on the other).

In contemporary societies, issues hitherto merely economic have been increasingly questioned and intertwined with environmental issues. What the discourses of ecology have achieved with great success in the last 50 years is precisely to alter the social perception of the rather "distant" environment in order to demonstrate the direct connection between natural resources and human, especially urban, everyday life (Dryzek, 2013). For instance, urban mobility is an example of individual choice (private commuting) embedded in a larger context, which involves collective trends and social behaviours, from aspects not only socioeconomic (air pollution, traffic congestion, cost of public transport, etc.) but socio-cultural, such as culturally shared values and beliefs (purity, cleanliness, well-being, health, etc.). At the intersection of these two dimensions lies governance or the capacity of governments to implement public policies and infrastructures capable of reconciling the — often divergent — economic and environmental demands. There is evidence that the media play a crucial role in personal and collective understandings and information flows related to these processes.

Furthermore, unrelated to the existence or influence of the media, history periodically shows that culture is transformed by collective action. Despite the polysemic nature of media texts and the increasingly perception that media consumers in many cases and degrees are not passively influenced, there are problems in sticking too closely to the notion of "active" audiences (Anderson, 1997). This latter perspective inserts the media as just one more element within the circuit of culture —and not necessarily its main motor, contrary to a whole tradition, consolidated in the course of the twentieth century, of theories of effects attesting to the dominance of broadcasters and the passivity of audiences. On the other hand, there is a clear recognition of the key role the media play in the collective perception of risks (Beck, 1992), including environmental risks (Allan et al., 2000; Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). After all, communication is a crucial process in multilevel social interactions.

An interesting question, therefore, is to analyse more closely how environmental themes and practices transit the circuits of communication (Johnson, 1986; quoted in Anderson, 1997) and those of culture (Du Gay, 1997). Both in a way mirror each other, and more specifically:

> Our "circuit of the culture" suggests that, in fact, meanings are produced at several different sites and circulated through several different processes and practices (the cultural circuit) [...] This suggests that meaning-making processes operating in any one site are always partially dependent upon the meaning-making processes and practices operating in other sites for their effect. In other words, meaning is not

> simply sent from one autonomous sphere — production, say — and received in another autonomous sphere — consumption. Meaning-making function less in terms of such a 'transmission' flow model, and more like the model of a dialogue. It is an ongoing process. It rarely ends at a pre-ordained place. (Du Gay, 1997, p. 10)

In this context, there is a convergence between communication and the processes of construction of meaning, turning them, if not interdependent, at least into complementary circuits: cultural and communicative. In both cases, it is inferred the coexistence of two parallel vertical axes, referring to the social conditions of production and interpretation of "texts" (in a broad sense). The axis of conditions of production has private lives (⇩) and public representations (⇧) as its poles, while the axis of reading or interpretation oscillates between concrete, particular conditions (⇩) and conditions of the abstract, "universal" (⇧) (Johnson, 1986, quoted in Anderson, 1997). According to Johnson, it is in the space between these two axes that texts and their forms cyclically transit in the zone between the upper poles (⇧ — marked by the public, abstract and "universal" — but acquiring new significations as they pass through the zone of the lower poles (⇩), characterized by the concreteness of cultures experienced in everyday life and social relations at the practical level. The circuit conception implies saying that the socially produced contents (texts, messages, news, speeches), no matter their field of origin (politics, economics, science, ecology, etc.), require minimum cultural resonance with the target audiences, otherwise they will not arouse due interest and / or will not enable the intended understanding, behaviour or effect. That is why, in this circuit, cultural experience and social interaction in its full materiality somehow also provide the conditions to the (re)emission of (new) texts, better adapted and more faithful to the "thermometer" of sociocultural daily life.

Consequently, there is an explanation, even if partial, for the growing and —seemingly — consolidated dual process of mediatization and popularization (cultural familiarity) of environmental issues around the world. While it is often argued that the Industrial Revolution and the urban explosion have distanced people from (public concern for) nature, there are, with strong momentum in recent decades, stimuli, lessons and general conditions for a rapprochement between humanity and the environment (Morin, 2011; Dryzek, 2013).

> The union took place between ecological awareness and a modern vision of the romantic feeling about nature that had developed, mainly among youths, during the 1960s. This feeling found a rational justification in the ecological message. Until then, any return to nature had been seen, in modern western history, as irrational, utopian and in contradiction with the evolution of "progress". (FT) (Morin, 2011, p. 102)

From the atomic bomb in Hiroshima with its devastating socio-environmental effects, still at the end of World War II, to the Green Revolution (with its restricted set of monocultures and dependence on pesticides), alarming nuclear accidents, destruction of the ozone layer, air pollution, loss of biodiversity, shortage of drinking water and excess of waste (plastics, contaminants, etc..), climate change and deforestation, the circuits of contemporary cultures have witnessed the inclusion and exponential participation of environmental agendas problematized not only socially (within and outside the media), but culturally, inducted by the physical reality.

In this context, the Amazonian issues, as much as they are related to the environmental woes recently mentioned, are more indirectly established in people's daily lives through new values, behaviors and lifestyles, encompassing several aspects such as: ecological and socioeconomic advantages of reuse/recycling, product traceability, minimalism culture, clean energies, eco-efficient urban mobility, claims for green(er) areas, organic and/or environmentally friendly products, rational / conscious consumption, cancer prevention and other habit- and environment-related diseases, anti-zoo and animal protection movements, healthy eating, veganism, etc. Evidently, consumption remains the standard operating mode in industrialized and industrializing societies, so companies have captured with great precision such contemporary cultural developments, investing in self-image and especially creating messages related to the sense of social and environmental responsibility and (capitalist) “green” performance. The idea of the circuit of culture as a dialogue then emerges (Du Gay, 1997), aimed at tuning the conditions of production and reception of texts: for example, it is no longer the advertisers who unilaterally define needs to the consumers, but also the opposite. In the field of journalism, the logic is the same: facilitated feedback from the audiences, especially in electronic media and social networks, and more sensitive media groups when facing pressure from social actors, with repercussions in people's daily lives (cultural aspects). Within these dynamics, the cultural resonance that a media report can establish becomes more obvious, for example, by linking domestic meat consumption, the supply practices of a meat packing plant, the beef production chain, and, at the edge, the pressure for the conversion of natural areas, such as the Brazilian Cerrado or the Amazon, into pastureland or soybeans, used widely in the domestic and foreign markets for animal feed composition. Facilitated by the media, these connections, beyond the constructions of senses of a planetary communion / sharing and extended cultural resonances, favor public engagement regarding environmental issues.

1.3.2 Environmental advocacy and the sense of the global commons

There is no way to advance much in the debates on contemporary culture without dealing with the concept of globalization — a somewhat controversial term — which is both an economic and a cultural phenomenon, started at the end of the twentieth century. Du Gay (1997) states that it is the materialization of the "global village" predicted by the media theorist Marshall McLuhan in the 1960s, representing intense mobility (of products, information, people, etc.) beyond traditional national borders. Reiterating the logic of the culture circuit, the new world economy ("global information economy") gives rise to the reinvention, rearrangement or reaffirmation of cultures (cultural messages) now subjected to the global versus local paradox:

> In one of its aspects, globalization is bringing about convergence and homogenization in world culture. But, at the same time, there are also more cosmopolitan developments, with new cultural encounters across frontiers creating new and productive kinds of cultural fusion and hybridity. In yet another of its aspects, cultural globalization manifests itself as the revalidations of particular cultures and identities (often against the perceived threats of either homogenization or cosmopolitanization), reinforcing diversity. (Du Gay, 1997, p. 33)

Thus, on the one hand, the "return to the roots" movements or return to the traditions lived by ordinary people ("grassroots"), the processes of cultural hybridization constitute new syntheses instigated by globalizing dynamics. On the other hand, a new cosmopolitanism emerges, the multicultural megalopolises, the culture of the "citizen of the world", the blurred borders: a whole horizon propitious to the consolidation of the sense of common heritage or "global commons"[25]. Besides considering Antarctica as a common international territory, the high seas (international waters) and outer space, some sites hitherto restricted to national borders have acquired the *s*tatus of global (natural/cultural) heritage. This is exemplified by the UNESCO World Heritage List which, for Latin America and the Caribbean alone, lists 38 worldwide natural "properties", including the Central Amazon Conservation Complex and six other Brazilian natural sanctuaries.

Once again, this new culture is not established in a vacuum; quite the contrary, it is the result of a convergence of discourses, agendas, claims, feelings shared socially among diverse instances, in which the media also is proned to a transnational posture: "Media geographies are thus becoming detached from the symbolic spaces of national cuture, and realigned on the basis of more 'universal' principles of international consumer culture" (Du Gay, 1997, pp. 33-34). In this scenario, spaces such

[25] "Global commons are natural assets outside national jurisdiction such as the oceans, outer space and the Antarctic". Source: OECD. *Glossary of Statistical Terms*.

as the Amazonian Forest, the Great Barrier Reef, the Boreal Forest, among others (in)directly responsible for regulating climate and global biodiversity and the health of the oceans and the planet as a whole (goods shared across borders), are increasingly being felt as "global commons". However, this new worldview does not occur without major geopolitical implications. One must also consider, given the multidimensional character of culture, a new spiritual and religious reverberation, via Christianity, of global ecology, especially when the Supreme Pontiff of Catholicism dedicates an entire encyclical letter "On the care of our common home" (Pope Francis, *Laudato Si'*, 2015).

Political culture and political action exert great influence on the semantic directions of environmental assets. For the definition, debate and signature agreements, from the World Heritage List to the Climate Agreements, every United Nations convention represents at a global or transnational level the result of capillary political clashes from local, regional and national levels. In fact, there are undeniable economic and geopolitical interests between countries / blocs behind the alibi of shared environmental concerns under the label "global commons". Internally, each nation has to deal with its interest and pressure groups inherent to the political arena, and in democratic societies such arenas require more complex political strategies and developments, especially through discourse.

> The political field in fact exerts an effect of censorship by limiting the universe of political discourse and, in this way. This refers the universe of what is politically thinkable, to the finite space of discourses capable of being produced or reproduced within the limits of the political problematic as the space of position-taking effectively realized in the field, that is, sociologically possible, given the laws governing entrance into the field. The boundary between what is politically pronounceable or unpronounceable, thinkable or unthinkable for a class of profane people is determined in the relation between the interests that express this class and the capacity of expression of these interests assured by its position in the relations of cultural, hence political, production. (FT) (Bourdieu, 2006, p. 165)

Bourdieu reminds us that the modes of speech and political action are also culturally defined, which implies that they are subject to the mechanisms of social distinction, especially with regard to access and participation in forums for discussion and deliberation. In this sense, even if under unequal conditions, an atmosphere of solution construction and consensus is required, in which environmental claims (such as, for instance, international forest certification) were transformed during the 1990s from a "political ecology" to an "environmentalism of results" (Zhouri, 2004). This denotes, albeit timidly, a chain-linked change — of tenor, register and style of ecological discourse — in the related political culture, with implications at various geographic and environmental levels.

Pinto and Oliveira propose that we are experiencing, on a global scale, the phenomenon of the "tragedy of the commons"[26], identified by Garrett Hardin at more local levels (Pinto & Oliveira, 2008). However, contrary to the solutions proposed by the American ecologist (the privatization of pastures or a coercive State), these authors recognize that, in turn, globalization is both part of the problem and part of the solution. "Globalization requires effective global governance mechanisms to balance short-term national and individual gains with global long-term sustainability through a process which raises global awareness" (Pinto & Oliveira, 2008, p. 340).

Global awareness[27], synchronized multi-scale action (from the individual to the global), harmonization of the interests of opposing groups, inclusive discourses and qualified political debates, effective and balanced governance: these would be the nearly utopian paths towards the effective sustainability of the "global commons". Reality shows that the situation is quite different, involving challenging cultural complexity, clashes that go beyond geopolitics and socioeconomics with strong appeal to philosophy, ethics and morality, and strategic discursive and political game — at least in relation to what is inferred from the "Amazon paradox". Next subsection will assess some aspects related to this perspective, according to which the Amazon stands as a unity of irreconcilable diversity.

1.4 Power relations in Amazonia: beyond development versus (eco)social justice

In this section aspects related to the historically complex "Amazonian question" will be discussed. First, some minimal data regarding the history and geopolitical relevance of the region is contextualized. Then, the contentious essence of this space is highlighted, wherein the human being is a key player, even if not necessarily the pivotal element. Despite the commonest social duality between claims for development and for (mostly Indigenous) social justice, the fundamental role that representations and discourses play in these processes of structuring meanings and realities is ultimately outlined.

1.4.1 A picture of past and present socio-political stakes

If there is one understanding that needs to be kept in the minds of those who approach and discuss Amazonia, it is precisely that there is no such thing as "The Amazon", since this is a metonymy to refer to what Aragón calls the "Pan-Amazon".

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[26] "The Tragedy of the Commons", *Science*, 13 Dec 1968, Vol. 162, Issue 3859, pp. 1243-1248.
Articles abstract says: "The population problem has no technical solution; it requires a fundamental extension in morality".

[27] A rationality which, metonymically, can not refer to the sum of local/regional/national consciousnesses, as suggested by Santos, 2002.

> Throughout the history of the Amazon, the forest has taken it upon itself to cover up the heterogeneity of the region. It has been perceived as an enormous homogeneous green mantle. But science has shown the opposite; Amazonia is, above all, characterized by its rich diversity, in all aspects: physical, biological, cultural, political and social. This very diversity makes it unique; the region in fact represents the unity of the diverse [...] The struggles for domination of the region have drawn artificial borders, politically dividing the region into nine pieces, each under a different sovereignty. Consequently, each country treats its own Amazon differently, resulting in a diversity of often contradictory policies. There is [...] no political unity of Pan-Amazonian action. (FT) (Aragón, 2015, pp. 5-6)

It seems also relevant to specify how the Pan-Amazon has traditionally represented in ethnic and cartographic terms: 8 million square kilometers (about 92 times the area of Portugal), covering the territorial “backyards” of eight sovereign countries (Suriname, Guyana, Venezuela, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil) plus the French overseas (colonial) territory of French Guiana. With the exception of the indirect possession by France, whose share of the Amazon is minimal, it historically stands as a “backwater” region not only in relation to the nations that own it. In their turn, these developing nations are also former colonies, peripheral countries of the global South (Santos, 2002). The social groups and peoples of the Pan-Amazon would therefore be "subalterns who, by virtue of this subaltern position within a peripheral region of peripheral countries, are subjected to invisibility", for "scales are not simply cartographic measures but also power relations, as there is no scale that is not affirmed by a certain group/social class" (FT) (Gonçalves, 2015a, pp. 64-65). This author maintains that the growing emphasis on the global scale (globalisms, globalizations) is not without the preponderance of the groups that establish themselves in it, forcing other groups — hitherto guided by other scales — to shape themselves to the dominance of this new scope.

One of the few consensual standpoint about the Amazon is that contradictions abound (Fearnside, 2009; Gonçalves, 2015; London & Kelly, 2007; Mello, 2015; Acosta, 2015), since it is "the centre of the world's attention and simultaneously the periphery of Brazil's interests" (FT) (Mello, 2015, p. 91), being a space that shelters "above all two dichotomies: abundance and violence; it is permanently torn between life and death" (FT) (Acosta, 2015, p. 39). Currently, Amazonia is the result — rather chaotic — of the controversial constructions of meaning elaborated and historically integrated to the term. To make this rich imaginary even more instigating, in the recent past, two American anthropologists, analogically, acting like true “Amazons” (legendary female warriors who would have inspired the naming of the territory by the Europeans), fought an important scientific battle. The hypotheses underlying this theoretical confrontation imply and symbolically direct a large part of the perceptions, discourses and approaches to this multifaceted space.

An adherent of the anthropological current of "ecological determinism" (also ecologism or human adaptationism to the environment), Betty Meggers defines Amazonia as an "illusory paradise", in which pre-Columbian communities would have been exclusively nomadic, originally from the Andes and other lowlands of the continent. The high acidity of Amazonian soils, making any effectively productive agricultural activity unfeasible, would justify the "demographic vacuum" in the region and the absence of a "complex culture" (in comparison with the pre-colonial societies of the Andes and Mesoamerica). Thus, the Amazonian environmental conditions would have, throughout (pre)history, restricted their communities to the (rudimentary) level typical of “rainforest peoples” (Meggers, 1971). This vision, dominant along the 1960s and 1970s, would have supported Brazilian military governments in the legitimization of progressive projects for the inhospitable region, “naturally” doomed to underdevelopment. As from the 1980s, Anna Roosevelt’s research questioned ecological determinism: the Marajoara culture (the target of rigorous scrutiny by Betty Meggers), for example, could not have an Andean origin, as it had survived for over a thousand years (4th to 16th centuries). Roosevelt analyzed cave paintings from Pedra Pintada (dated at 11,000 years old), as well as ceramics from the Marajoara culture itself (7,000 years old). She concluded that the Amazon, especially around the floodable lowlands, was home to complex and socially hierarchical societies until the European invasion of the 16th century, with tens of thousands of inhabitants, involved in a more sedentary lifestyle based on manioc cultivation (Roosevelt, 1992). This new look, alluding to a veritable Eldorado, attributes a more detailed and “honourable” historicity to the peoples of the region, as well as reinforcing the importance of respectful and friendly human coexistence with the forest for collective survival. Historically, metaphors about the Amazonian “paradise” and “hell” were shaped in the foreign view soon after the first contacts with the natives, and continue to the present day.

In addition to gold, precious gems and hardwoods — items that adorned European courts beyond the Iberian Peninsula in the spirit of the “plunder economy” (Mello, 2015) — rubber was the first Amazonian export-type raw material inserted into the context of the Industrial Revolution at the end of the nineteenth century. The rubber cycle, in addition to enriching its barons, gave rise to great urbanization and architectural and cultural opulence in Manaus and Belém (Brazilian Amazon’s major state capitals). It demanded from the population — already then highly ethnically and culturally mixed — an almost exclusive focus on rubber extraction, with consequent abandonment of other collection activities and agriculture. "The rubber arguably triggered the most important settlement flow to the Amazon" (FT) (Gonçalves, 2015, p. 86). But rubber also represents one of the most notable cases of biopiracy in the world: in 1876, British botanist Henry Alexander Wickham took 70,000 rubber tree

seeds from the Amazon to Southeast Asia — a move that would gradually ruin the international trade of Amazonian rubber in the following decades[28]. In practice, biopiracy has never differed significantly from ethnobiopiracy (Gonçalves, 2015a), implying millionaire patents from the appropriation of traditional indigenous and peasant knowledge. From this perspective, Shiva draws attention to how intellectual property systems, combined with advances in the exploitation of biodiversity, are generating conflicts between private property and community property, between global and local uses (Shiva, 2001).

Although currently the range of Amazonian products and services (hydroelectric potential, carbon credits, molecules isolated from fauna and flora, minerals, timber, vegetal extractivism, raw materials for biotechnology and other areas, etc.) — allegedly "sustainable" or not — is virtually incalculable, the history of economic exploitation of the forest teaches that the same approaches and methodologies tend to bring about generally identical results (or mistakes). "The various economic cycles that the region has experienced have meant momentary prosperity and the transfer of problems and social ills to the next cycle" (FT) (Homma, 2013, p. 244). Therefore, the biggest challenge is to find out whether, after all, a symbiotic relationship between humanity and forest is truly feasible and applicable, beyond mere subsistence activities (supposedly, the ways of life of more traditional groups, Indigenous and others). If so — corresponding the story lines akin to sustainability — how could such a relationship, now likely capitalist, be effectively established without the undesirable legacy of environmental, social and economic ills? And more: how to approach the large and small urban and industrial agglomerations already implanted in the heart of Amazonia (people no longer integrally inhabitants of the forest, nor yet citizens with access to decent public services), who suffer from the typical problems of social inequality and underdevelopment[29]? Finally, how can environmental degradation be halted, whose dire consequences are stakes both for nature and for the future of the next generations?

> More than creating extractive reserves, in order to reduce deforestation in the Amazon it is necessary to technify agriculture, increasing the productivity of land and labour. The major option for achieving zero deforestation in the Amazon, as desired by the international community and the Brazilian society, implies the partial use, on a technified basis, of more than 71 million hectares that have already been deforested [*up to 2006*]. (FT) (Homma, 2008, p. 88)

[28] "In 1908, the Amazonian extractive rubber production accounted for 94.4% of the world total; by 1913 Southeast Asian rubber production caught up with Amazon Valley production; and by 1918, Amazonian extractive rubber production fell to 10.9% of the world total. Two years later, Henry Alexander Wickham was knighted, 44 years after his feat." (FT) (Homma, 2003, p. 79). In several writings about the Amazon, the Brazilian engineer and journalist Euclides da Cunha reports on the ordeal of the rubber tappers: their working conditions analogous to slavery, at the time recently abolished in the country. Later during the Second World War, there was a strong governmental appeal for migration (especially of *nordestinos* or "northeasterners") and work in the rubber plantations, due to Brazil's support to the Allies by supplying rubber for the manufacture of tyres for the United States military fleet. The saga of the "rubber soldiers" is described in detail by Garfield, 2013. It is important to note that "the indigenous people already manipulated gum for multiple activities, and, as early as in the 1820s, millions of pairs of rubber shoes were exported to the United States" (FT) (Gonçalves, 2015, p. 18).

[29] Manaus and Belém, the main capitals of the Amazon region, currently have populations estimated at 2.2 million and 1.5 million inhabitants; the HDI of the states of Amazonas and Pará are below the national average. Source: IBGE, 2018.

Recovering degraded areas through technified agriculture may still seem unacceptable to conservationists. In fact, to certain leanings of environmental conservation, high productivity monocultures would always seem incompatible with the intense biodiversity of the Amazon Biome, representing dishonorable exceptions (like soybean plantations) to serve as "precedent" cases for further destruction — this is why some approaches defend the recuperation (through reforestation) of degraded areas. Furthermore, it is known that large commodity traders require high input loads and logistical infrastructure, such as fertilizers, water, energy, roads, silos, access to ports, waste management, etc., which are also responsible for significant direct and indirect alterations in the territory. Homma accuses ecological movements of crystallizing "anti-developmentalist proposals", turning the Amazonian environmental issue into a big "ecological business". In theoretical terms, Homma's solution is formulated simply: "It is possible to stop the deforestation of the [*Brazilian*] Amazon, provided that its 23 million inhabitants [*in 2007*] have access to economic and technological alternatives" (FT) (Homma, 2007, p. 18). Indeed, there are many opinions that converge towards development as a form of preservation, whose greatest emblem — or successful case —is perhaps the Manaus Free Trade Zone, a tax-exempt area that manufactures and exports, to the rest of Brazil and the world, vehicles and a multitude of electronic products.

> The Free Trade Zone is one of the most successful environmental initiatives in world history, even though it was never intended to be so [...] By creating a prodigious source of jobs, the Free Trade Zone has attracted tens of thousands of individuals from the rainforest and kept tens of thousands in the city. All of them could have resorted to deforestation to survive. The Free Trade Zone answers the question of how to stop deforestation. Just give people decent jobs. (FT) (London & Kelly, 2007, p. 322)

Problems and solutions to the Amazon region are not autonomous entities: they arise from socially unequal (culture / media) representations, discourses, ideals and practices, where unequal access to and exercise of power by different groups (especially, powers of representation, speech and decision, as emphasized by Foucault and Bourdieu) influence both the cause and the result of this cycle of inequality. A significant portion of the actors qualified to address the Amazonian issue (government agents, politicians, entrepreneurs, third sector agents and scientists, whether external or integrated to institutions based in the region) hold discourses that, a priori, seem to circulate through a mixed zone of transition, which brings together elements of the "tragedy of the commons", limited (global) growth, technological solution, sustainability and ecological modernization (reformist and prosaic visions, as proposed by Dryzek, 2013). From the perspective of the solution of environmental problems, the appeal to administrative and / or economic rationalism has been common by Amazonian scientists, actors

whose prestige and authority may have real influence on the decision-making agents, occupants of the top of this specific power chain:

> The most promising long-term strategy for sustaining people in the region is based on maintaining the forest as a source of three categories of environmental services: biodiversity, water cycling and greenhouse mitigation [...] The worst enemy of taking action to curb deforestation is a tendency to fatalism about the fate of the Amazon forest. Fortunately, the fate of the forest depends fundamentally on human decisions and, based on reliable information about deforestation processes, government actions can have real effects on rates of forest loss in the region. (FT) (Fearnside, 2009, p. 122)

In the intergovernmental scenario, a major stage for politically rationalized discussions — as expected — few proposals raise more controversy than payment for global environmental services, making developed countries the main clients of the world environmental market within a compensation mechanism for their widely polluting and impactful industrial activities. Despite the thematic alignment to the negotiations of the Kyoto Protocol — a political-discursive clash which dominated the global environmental agenda at the turn of the 21st century — the discussions on REDD+[30] (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation), in which the Amazon emerges as the protagonist of a carbon credit policy, among other expected benefits to the regulation of the global climate, were not part of this agreement. Within the scope of REDD+, the supposed cooperation between countries at different stages of development has generated controversy by reproducing the logic of differentiated responsibilities already established within the International Climate Conventions (Conventions of the Parties; UN COPs). This is because this mecanism obliged the maintenance and conservation of forests and, in a certain way, restricted the options for progress to developing countries (since they could no longer be able to grow by polluting in the same way that developed countries did until then). Financed by the richest countries, developing countries would need to invest in sustainable growth and low-carbon practices, especially for agriculture, in order to reduce atmospheric carbon emissions, so as to follow a path of progress that is less destructive (and supposedly less "immoral") than the one that generated wealth and quality of life in actual developed countries. As this is a highly relevant topic, some studies have noted disinterest and / or imbalances in the way the media have presented REDD+ to the wider public (Cronin & Santoso, 2010; DiGregorio, 2013; Khatri et al., 2016). Beyond the most logically plausible and technically reasonable terms of these global negotiations, in

[30] The + sign adds conservation, sustainable management and increase of carbon stocks in forests, going beyond avoided deforestation and forest restoration, initially targeted by the incentives package. This mechanism is quite controversial, due to its capitalist essence (privatization of climate and biomass) and the degree of speculation involved: the carbon market, for many critics, would be literally intangible (prone to "bubbles" and *subprime*) by dealing with "fictitious" commodities. For Acosta, "this rowdy mercantile logic reflects the spirit of the little mirrors with which the Europeans began their conquest of America" (2015, p. 51).

between the moral and practical lines of the discourses and especially the arguments raised by the various actors, hovers a whole range of assumptions, unspoken, hidden (group) interests:

> The issue of saving tropical forests as a greenhouse mitigation measure has provoked tremendous controversy and division between and within NGOs and governments. The divisions are as great as the best-known differences between the positions of different countries' governments. While the debate is often couched in scientific terms and with appeals to high universal principles, the positions of different partisans are best understood in terms of unstated motives, consciously or not. (FT) (Fearnside, 2009, p. 108)

Some of the silenced motives or technical distortions, sensitive points referring to the varied (discursive) action groups in the search for or maintenance of power about the Amazonian question, would encompass: interest in improved competitiveness with the United States, on the part of European governments; conspiracy theories regarding the internationalization of the Amazon, on the part of Brazil; ideological strategy of undermining the US emblematic culture of consumerism, on the part of European and Euro-dominated NGOs; prioritization of opportunities for agile monetary flows for forest maintenance, on the part of Brazilian NGOs (Fearnside, 2009, p. 109). No matter how necessary, and urgent, the implementation of a "green knowledge economy" (Mello, 2015) — an effective mechanism for reconciling appropriate technologies with the democratization of the region's strategic assets — may be, the tension between nationalism and global communion represents only the "tip of the iceberg" of power relations over territory.

> Even if the lack of resources favors pragmatic postures of the actors and institutions that carry out environmental policies in the region, the nationalist discourse, which highlights the primacy of sovereignty over natural resources, still maintains its strength in broad social sectors, among governments, the military, diplomats, researchers and NGOs, which see foreign aid as an attempt at *ecological colonialism* and interference in strictly national matters. (FT) (Abdala, 2000, p. I; *originally italicized*)

In this scenario, a mix of interests and discourses that are calculatedly (un)speakable in the public space has dominated not only debates on the Amazon in specific, but the environmental scenario as a whole, especially on a national and global scale, regarding issues ranging from the construction of hydroelectric dams in the Amazon to the Paris Agreement, for example. At the same time, although counter-hegemonic voices might be silenced or controlled, their discourses and those of social minorities subsist (even if for scenic purposes of simulating democracy and freedom of opinion), involving a whole range of agents with (unfavourable) disparities regarding the access to, consideration by and valuation of the media and political instances. In this way, the emblematic case of the Belo Monte Dam, "indigenous and environmental catastrophe of Amazonian proportions" (FT) (Brum, 2014), the "most brutal — and still unpunished — work of Brazilian re-democratization" (FT) (Brum, 2015), is

certainly the most recent and traumatic among the massacres on Amazonian soil, under discursive, dialogical (in this case, "monological"), legal, political, and ideological (neoliberal) aspects. The "timeless controversy" called Belo Monte (Silva, 2015) has involved numerous social actors for decades (especially at the beginning of this century, when the construction began), with vehement support and protests on scales from local to global, including activism by international celebrities.

> Struggles over large hydroelectric dams in the Amazon reveal the central role of the public hearing and environmental impact assessment process that is leveraged differently by activists depending on local or transnational status. Legal claims leveraged by domestic social movements appear to make a critical difference in these cases, although such arguments can be overcome if the political stakes involved in passage of a project are high enough. (McCormick, 2010, p. 44)

However, as the dominant political power historically tend to represent the most powerful side in social battles, any move was successful to effectively prevent the Brazilian government from implementing the project, whose socio-environmental consequences (destruction of thousands of hectares of forest, precarious housing and education, poverty, unemployment, exclusion) are evident in the surroundings of the plant. "It was chosen not to modify a sad Brazilian reality, in which economic and political interests speak louder than the rights and wishes of historically invisible peoples, who even today wait to have an active voice on the destiny of their own territory" (FT) (Silva, 2015, p. 292). This is a result from the fact that power of capital and political power are very likely to constitute the two sides of the same totalitarian coin, common to the world's ruling elites, whose greatest power is to extinguish any possibility of exchange. In practice, this currency literally buys either the redemption or the annihilation of the resistance sub-powers, denying individual rights (private property of poor people), group rights (Indigenous reserves supposedly protected by law), and broader rights to life (biodiversity rights, especially animal rights as sentient beings, for example). For many of those affected (mostly human, but also non-human[31]), these socio-environmental wounds are opened in the name of an utilitarian thought, which denounces itself as incoherent by ignoring the basic and logical principle of planetary finitude:

> In the last decades especially, hegemonic globalization and its developmental discourse has acquired a format associated with a globalized character of market relations and neoliberal forms of government. That is, the process of globalization based on the development model of capitalist values is exactly what is challenged by the ecological crisis, based on a very simple idea: infinite growth is not possible on a finite planet. The idea of infinite growth in this development model is nothing more than the promotion of the capitalist idea of infinite profit. (FT) (Pereira, 2014, p. 9)

[31] Activism for nature- and animal-specific rights (e.g. *Animal Critical Studies*), in philosophical as well as political and legal arenas, has expanded with great force since the turn of the millennium. For more details, see: Svärd, Per-Anderse et al. (2015): *Politics and Animals*; Wissenburg & Schlossberg (2014): *Political Animals and Animal Politics*.

In this sense, Gonçalves points out that, until the 1960s, the Amazon was exploited under the hegemony of commercial capital (local and regional), which, even assuming the control of access and circulation routes (especially waterways), would not have *per se* the means to ensure effective territorial and political domination. Starting especially in the 1970s, financial and industrial capital began to prevail (Manaus Free Trade Zone, large logging and mining companies, energy and oil companies), with a strong tendency toward monopoly, lobbying, and influence peddling: "it was that capital that could venture over great distances beyond its place of departure," in which numbers are expressed "in an accounting whose difference is profit indifferent to the social and ecological reality of the region" (FT) (Gonçalves, 2015, p. 115).

As of the 21st century, Amazonia has become the world centre of the "mercantilism of natural capital" (Becker, 2004), whose most valuable assets are based on the tripod: 1) biodiversity (it is virtually impossible to specify its economic potential for multi-sector industries); 2) oil and minerals (iron, gold, alumina, bauxite, tin, manganese, titanium, chrome, copper, nickel, niobium, diamonds, gems and semi-precious stones, etc.); 3) fresh water — metaphorically designated as "blue gold" — capable of triggering international hydro-conflicts, including armed ones, during the course of this century, such is the likelihood of its scarcity for human consumption. "Given the possibility of the [water] crisis consolidating at the global level, water will no longer be treated as a *common good* but as an *economic good*" (FT) (Amin, 2015, p. 31, originally italicized). As one can deduce, timber only makes up the tangible and visible natural capital, even though it is known to be finite (noble forest species do not have production systems developed for commercial reforestation). The essence of the Amazonian capital flows through all natural components of the region (subsoils, small and large rivers, trees and other flora specimens, microfauna, macrofauna, etc.). In this perspective, the human capital could also be integrated into the natural capital, after all, the traditional knowledge developed and transmitted by the peoples of the region for at least 11,000 years also represents an Amazonian patrimony, with direct implications for the resistance to the dominant, colonial, utilitarian and speculative logics. Resistance, in fact, is the standard slogan of contemporary Amazonian actors for social and / or ecological justice, whether they are fishermen, rubber tappers, remaining *quilombola* (descendants of escaped slaves), populations affected by dams, African descendants, settlers, Indigenous and traditional communities, babassu coconut breakers, migrant rural workers, river dwellers, conservationists, animal defenders, ecologists, religious groups, in any cases mobilized or not around associations or non-governmental organizations, national or international. "They are r-existence movements, since they not only fight to resist against those who kill and deforest, but against a certain form of *existence*, a certain way of life

and production, for differentiated ways of feeling, acting and thinking"[32] (FT) (Gonçalves, 2015, p. 130, originally italicized). However, it is also important to remind that many other Amazonian citizens resist, in this case urban ones, survivors of deficient education; unemployment; lack of sanitation; poor health services; insecurity; neglect and disregard of public power to corruption scandals — evils that devastate the Global South and, in a large scale, both urban and rural Brazil and other South America's countries. From what can be gleaned from such a tangle of competing and varying issues, Amazonia seemingly requires minimal "expertise": it is a space — a physical place at the same time as a place of discourse — full of complexities.

1.4.2 Amazonia as a contentious and complex space

The environmental crisis is an "inconvenient truth" in multiple aspects. While the Amazon region enjoys global attention — albeit perhaps distorted and diffuse — the second largest biome in South America, the Cerrado (Brazilian savannah), adjacent to the Amazon territory, continues to be extensively devastated for the sake of agribusiness and foreign trade (Lahsen et al., 2016). But why, for instance, is still there relatively little talk about the destruction of the Brazilian Cerrado? Such disparity seems to result, first of all, from imbalances in discourse: in the public sphere, the Amazon territory is spoken about, discussed, interpreted, imagined and represented more quantitatively and qualitatively (despite recalcitrant stereotypes). All this despite the fact that, broadly speaking, socio-environmental ills and the development pressure are relatively similar in both biomes. Currently, the greatest threats to fauna, flora and the livelihood of Amazonian minorities are cattle ranching, soybean cultivation, timber industry, infrastructure projects, oil and natural gas exploration (Jong et al., 2009). Cattle and soybean, in fact, stand for the trophy of the Green Revolution, the capitalist opulence of the Cerrado, pride of the Brazilian trade balance.

In turn, the Amazon represents, metaphorically, a forest of discourses. Addressing the multiple Amazonias is a complex undertaking — vacillating between utopia and dystopia — not only because it involves conflicts of power over geopolitical, strategic territories and natural resources, but above all because it implies cultural, ideological and political disparities between socially unequal actors around

[32] It is worth considering the two sides of re-existence: resisting, but also integrating / delivering (by free will or convenience). It is not uncommon for individuals or peoples, not only Indigenous groups, who, for various reasons, "opt" for the adoption of cultural habits alien to their traditions. Detailed studies could perhaps indicate whether this attitude tends more towards cultural assimilation or hybridism: Santos (2002) admits the possibility of transcultural consensus, from areas of transcultural contact. In the Brazilian case, the Indigenous cultural legacy is vast, although in many ways unknown to contemporary urban generations, even after centuries of ethnic and cultural miscegenation. "Many historians show bleak figures about the genocide the Indians suffered after the Portuguese conquest. They say that the native population decreased ten, twenty times. The tribes really shrank, but not only because of disease and attacks. It is usually left out of these accounts the colonial Indian who left the tribe, adopted a Portuguese name and went to make up the known Brazilian miscegenation alongside whites, blacks and mestizos — and whose children, shortly after, no longer identified themselves as Indians" (FT) (Narloch, 2009, p. 40).

the discourses on the "Amazon question" and how to solve it. The adjective "Amazonian" itself refers to a discursive, socio-cultural and diachronic construction, since the very inhabitants of this region needed, over the last five centuries, to relocate their multiple identities and historicities under the nomenclature imposed by Europeans, inspired by the Greco-Roman culture — the supposed female warriors sighted by the navigator Francisco de Orellana. To this is added the term "question": doubt, problem, interrogation, indecision. Explore without preserving? To preserve without benefiting? How to develop it without transforming, without uprooting lives and identities? Puns on the historical and violent "de-envelopment" inflicted on Indigenous peoples by the "invaders of Pindorama" (an Indigenous term to designate those homelands before the arrival of the Europeans) are not rare, a counter-hegemonic discursive perspective in opposition to the "discovery of Brazil". To each actor, in the game of social domination, their perspectives, words, discourses and possible moves. Evidently, it is important to avoid stereotypes for any sides, including regarding the tendency of "romanticization" of the Indigenous ways of being ("peaceful") and living ("balanced") by the hegemonic discourses of History, at least concerning the beginning of the 16th century, when the encounter with the Europeans took place. "One of the most mistaken conceptions about the colonization of Brazil is to believe that the Portuguese did everything by themselves" (FT) (Narloch, 2009, p. 32), when — as some evidence show — it was necessary to establish a dialogic relationship, even symbiotic, involving military alliances with tribes, who traditionally disputed territories among themselves:

> By giving and receiving gifts, the Indigenous believed that they had sealed agreements of peace and support when there was a war. And getting into wars was something they knew how to do very well. The massacre began long before the Portuguese arrived. The most consolidated archaeological hypotheses suggest that the Indians of the Tupi-Guarani linguistic family, originally from the Amazon, were slowly expanding throughout Brazil [...] It would still take some centuries for these tribes to recognize themselves in the unique identity of Indigenous, a concept created by the Europeans. At that time, a *tupinambá* found a *botocudo* as foreign as a Portuguese. He would wage war against a *tupiniquim* with the same gusto as he would devour a Jesuit. Among all these peoples, war was not only common — it was also part of the tribes' calendar, like a ritual that had a more or less certain time to take place. The Tupi Indians, above all, were obsessed with war [...] With the arrival of the Europeans, who also enjoyed war, this warlike potential multiplied. The Indigenous fought very hard wars among themselves in the dispute for the alliance with the newcomers (FT) (Narloch, 2009, p. 34)[33].

Questioning the dominant discourse of history is not only about communing with conspiracy theories, but seeking new looks and new interpretations for texts and narratives crystallized by secular "truth effects". The fact that blood used to be brutally spilled also during the pre-colombian history of the Amazon territories evidently does not justify the adoption of this model, whose morbid essence is anti-

[33] Italicized terms refer to different Indigenous tribes in Brazil. Mr. Narloch's perspective, based on several historians, is unexpectedly confirmed by the Kayapó Chief Raoni Metuktire: "Only a generation ago, many of our tribes were fighting each other, but now we are together against our common enemy" (*The Guardian*, 2 September 2019; also TGD_A31). Both Mr. Narloch and Chief Raoni are authors of opinion pieces analyzed in Chapter 7.

discursive, or, at least, “hyperpragmatic”. However, no matter how much progress has been made in human rights, universal values and dialogical inclusion, the clashes over the Amazonian space remain violent and, unfortunately, deadly for many. Chico Mendes, a rubber tapper and trade unionist, assassinated in 1988, became the first international Amazonian martyr: "For the first time, a problem originated in the jungle presented itself with a human component. Not only trees were dying, people were dying too" (FT) (London & Kelly, 2007, p. 75). In 1996, the massacre of Eldorado dos Carajás, a group of landless peasants summarily decimated during the occupation of a highway, ratified the perception of collective agony experienced on a daily basis by minorities in the region. Within religious missions (Pastoral Land Commission), the murder of Sister Dorothy Stang in 2005 was a brutal message to human rights defenders involved in agrarian conflicts (land tenure and exploitation). A 2018 survey showed that Brazil is among the most lethal country for environmental defenders. In 2017, at least 207 environmental activists were killed worldwide, 57 of them in Brazil: 80% of them in the Brazilian Amazon[34].

Although the nearly spontaneous tendency to correlate economic power with social power — the capitalist logic which, historically, monetizes nature while it devalues the human element — Foucault states that this automatic connection proves to be illusory. Referring to Marxism, a thought whose premise (and promise) is based on the solution of economic imbalances in order to overcome imbalances of social power, the French theorist concludes: "the twentieth century has discovered the opposite: you can solve all the economic problems you want, the excesses of power remain" (Foucault, 2010, p. 225). This observation leads to the hypothesis that economic power constitutes the consequence, not necessarily the cause, of social power. The power (behind) developmentist / capitalist discourse, as a mantra of the actors who recite it, could precede the financial advantages it actually enables. This means that, in order to ensure the preservation of the Amazon, the ecological awareness should be discursively integrated to the worldview of the multiple agents involved in decision making on the region. After all, "global social justice is not possible without global cognitive justice" (FT) (Santos, 2002, p. 273).

Moreover, taking into consideration power and cognition, three key ideas emerge: the reintegration of the environment into our social and anthropological consciousness, the ability of the concept of ecosystem to resurrect from the idea of nature, and the decisive contribution of the biosphere to our planetary consciousness (Morin, 2011, p. 102). Certainly, the mere rise and circulation of these ideas in the public sphere is not enough. As much as they may, over time, become *mainstream*

[34] Source: Global Witness. https://www.globalwitness.org/en/press-releases/deadliest-year-record-land-and-environmental-defenders-agribusiness-shown-be-industry-most-linked-killings/.

within the culture, it is necessary that they elicit group interest and become relevant by instances of power, especially the system of values and beliefs of political power. This paradigm shift would require a drastic reversal of values, starting with the refusal of anthropocentrism in the middle of the “Anthropocene” (a term popularized by the chemist Paul Crutzen). It would require a holistic dimension of the planet, in which humanity would be only one among many components: "The divinisation of man in the world must cease. We must certainly value the human being man, but today we know that we cannot do so without also valuing life: profound respect for man involves profound respect for life. The religion of the insular man is an inhuman religion" (Morin, 2011, p. 106). Indeed, any ideological and / or religious approach finds in the power of discourse its supreme vector of values, ideas, principles, explanations, norms, precepts, etc.

Specifically with regard to ecology in the broad sense or the Amazon in particular, it seems essential to constantly proceed to an arduous cognitive exercise — also dependent on activation via discourse. This implies revising concepts, demystifying stereotypes and unfounded beliefs, and opening up to other logics whenever necessary. For instance, one can cite the typical figure of the Indigenous as an epic “guardian of the forest”. In reality, due to population-related and economic factors, it cannot be assumed that Indigenous communities unconditionally have an entirely benign relationship with the environment (Kopnina, 2019). On the other hand, the typical figure of the powerful capitalist who is fully negligent towards people and nature also needs to be deconstructed, considering that large companies have been concerned with the effective sustainability and traceability of their products, sometimes aiming for a little more than just selling a corporate image of “protecting the environment” (Dryzek, 2013). Indeed, a better understanding of the Amazonian complex realities imply the need to overcome the classic story line that merely confronts heroes and villains. This challenge is crucial to establish the basis for a “bio-eco-social” justice as balanced as possible, in consideration to the colossal diversity of living beings that depend — directly and indirectly — on the decisions and actions of humans.

> Although recognition of the need for social justice is widespread, equal commitment to justice for wilderness is lacking. Whereas proponents of indigenous rights rightly argue for the need to include the voices of the powerless, the "voices" of billions of non-humans (or at least their human proxies) are not currently involved in this debate. What is important to advance for both social and ecological justice is the ability to determine how environmental and human values overlap, conflict, and where the opportunity for reconciliation lies (Kopnina, 2019, pp. 85-86)

Ultimately, all this makes a timeless tacit game of survival, competition, coexistence and interdependence between countless individuals and species, highly differentiated creatures, but confined in the same monumental home: our restricted and common planetary space. Within this

mixture of chaos and harmony, the human species stands out as the thinking, rationalizing — presumably —and dominant species endowed with the great differential of complex language, through which perceptions, desires and powers are channeled. Even though these factors also apply to other beings, the rational and moral (or generally both) performance of representations, values, and discourses is exclusive to humanity. Such symbolic forces have been shaping the Amazonian imaginaries and territories throughout history.

> Conjured by outsiders as a pristine realm, Amazonian landscapes have been embedded in social and (geo)political conflicts since the Iberian conquest. Bounded by maps and academic disciplines, the Brazilian Amazon has been shaped by competing and far-flung networks of peoples, goods, and ideas. Indeed, because the Amazon encompasses not only distinct tropical ecosystems, but fundamental debates about the meanings of modernity, the nature of the region will stir controversy for time to come (Garfield, 2013, p. 228).

In brief, this condenses the essence of the "Amazon question": the unsolvable discursive dissent about its *leitmotivs*. Moving forward in any direction, whether towards preservation, development or "the middle way" (sustainability), requires, within the public and especially political sphere, equalizing senses, principles, narratives and common horizons for the Pan-Amazon.

In summary

- ✓ Following a set of resonant theoretical perspectives, discourse functions as a form of social practice. It considerably helps to shape meanings and social (abstract / concrete) realities in the public sphere. It also enables — broadly speaking — political events, through which power (domination / resistance) is oriented. The media constitute a key player in this process, since it connects, transforms and broadcasts discourses from different social fields, with great implications for social problems and social struggles.
- ✓ Science —notably the sciences applied for the progress of humankind — and ecology represent the major knowledge areas involving environmental issues. Most of the time, their respective "regimes of truth" appear poorly aligned, implying discourse struggles and conflict over humans' behavior and limits towards the natural world.
- ✓ The growing social concern towards the environment constitutes both an effect of and a reaction to globalization. In any case, one must consider how environmental issues have been increasingly synchronized in the circuits of culture, where beliefs, values, behaviors, ideas, etc. circulate in and out of the media — both at a more abstract and a more concrete level. It is thanks to this dynamic

that key concepts, such as global commons, and also relevant political practices, such as environmental activism, emerge, sound culturally meaningful and gain space among a variety of social groups.

- ✓ What is usually and simply labeled as Amazonia in fact makes up a heterogeneous set of irreconcilable geopolitical and social realities, to a greater or lesser extent, actually better designated as Pan-Amazonia. This implies a mosaic of discourses and practices, which overcomes the far from simplistic dichotomy of development versus (social) environmental justice. It actually constitutes the very essence of this space, built by past and a present profoundly marked by dissent and violence. For this reason, thinking about discourse and power relations in / about the Amazon turns to be a quite challenging venture, due to its inherent complexity.

Along this chapter, I have discussed the main macro-factors at stake regarding issues of discourse and power over the Amazon, as well as the potential of Critical Discourse Analysis and related theories to better clarify them. The next chapter will analyze more specifically aspects related to media and environmental sociology, in order to better contextualize our object of study.

CHAPTER 2. ENVIRONMENTAL SOCIOLOGY AND THE MEDIA

Power disputes in democratic societies today imply, as advanced in the previous chapter, the ability to influence the public sphere, notably public opinion. Given the key role of the media in this mechanism, this chapter aims to discuss the environment as a socially constructed problem, that is, a consolidated agenda for participation in the process of shaping public opinion. The chapter's first section debates how social recognition and legitimacy are key factors that enable environmental issues to reach a minimal level of validity to achieve media attention, citizen engagement and public policy deliberation. Then, the perspective of social constructionism is presented and explained, and the main discourses on the environment in the public sphere (and eventually in the media) are mapped and discussed. Specially, a necessary reflection on the quite influential "sustainable development" discourse is offered, taking into consideration some of its implications for the Amazon issue. In a third section, some of the most frequent modes of insertion and treatment of socio-environmental problems in the news media are presented, mainly from a theoretical point of view. Finally, a panorama of the cross-national approaches to the environment in the media is drafted, subsequently providing a glimpse at the situation of the Amazon towards its topic-related context.

2.1. The environment as a social problem

Along this section, the constructionist perspective, an important theoretical background in the scope of this thesis, is described and debated. Influential yet not consensual in the social sciences, social constructionism provides precious clues on the interconnections but also disjunctures between social realities and the natural world.

Significantly, could the environment, in its most raw state, as in the space designated as "Nature", with its inherent flows and dynamics, be absolutely indifferent to the human and social element? At first glance, the idea of "problematizing" nature (as an entity free of human intervention) perhaps could not sound like very logic. But even if alive, sentient and "natural" (originally), the contemporaneous human species appears as deeply dissociated from nature. In fact, rationality may simultaneously function as both the cause and the effect of humankind's reflection on his own existence and on the world around him. Approaching as indispensable the conceptual distinction between humanity and nature, British philosopher Kate Soper states that nature "is opposed to culture, history, convention, to what is artificially worked or produced, in short, to everything that defines the order of humanity. This conception of nature as 'otherness' to humanity is fundamental" (Soper, 1995, p. 15).

Because this is an anthropocentric, unilaterally established duality, Soper argues that the very idea of nature, by default opposed to that of culture, constitutes itself a "cultural formation". On the other hand, more pragmatic approaches counter this view, according to which Nature, through the direct or indirect influence of anthropic activities, is no longer able to operate completely independently to the human being on Earth. If even the atmosphere is already adulterated by man, as in the case of the ozone layer and acid rain and, more recently, (anthropic) climate change, what level of purity and autonomy could we expect from terrestrial and marine spaces? The American journalist and environmentalist Bill McKibben uses the analogy of slavery, according to which, just as white “Westerners” have dominated African groups, humanity has subjugated and exploited the natural world in a selfish and predatory way. Each method of domination is replaced by another as it loses effectiveness, ignoring the exhaustion of the enslaved entity: "We deprive nature of her independence, and that is fatal to her meaning. The independence of nature is its meaning" (McKibben, 1989, p. 58). The former US Vice President, Al Gore, summarized this relationship quite clearly: “we have become so successful at controlling nature that we have lost our connection to it” (Gore, 1992, p. 225). Finally, among the different theoretical perspectives on the relationship between humanity and nature emerges the ontological argument, advocated by some scholars, according to which man's own intervention and influence on the natural world is also part of nature (Bell & Carolan, 2012; Levy, 2005).

If the conceptualization of nature is woven by the humankind as a sociocultural creature, the inexistence of watertight concepts should be emphasized, given the impact of historicity and multiculturalism inherent to humanity. At different points in space and time, constants and variables are brought together in the meaning of what is understood as nature and the environment. However, the independent and amoral character of the natural world tend to be a universal principle. "Although nature inspires different responses in us, nature is ethically and politically silent" (Cox, 2006, p. 17). Therefore, the environment gives rise to different readings, perceptions and attitudes in humanity, at the same time that it becomes the target or object of anthropic action, guided by axiological, moral and social demands / structures.

Considering the media as an important contemporary social arena, the initial intent of section is to discuss the processes which enables the conversion of the "alienated" environment into a socially constructed, consolidated and recognized problematic. Although it may also be valid to analyze — mainly through the lens of power and social submission —the "non-problematization" of environmental issues and the non-emergence of environmental conflicts (Freudenburg, 2000), the constructionist perspective implies accessing the layer of the more immediate perception of social disagreement. One

should note that ecology, even before sociology, provides clues on the characterization of what might be understood as a problem as difficulty, conflict, or dysfunction in the natural world. This alludes, notably, to intraspecific (between individuals of the same species) and interspecific (between different species) ecological relationships. If, on the one hand, there are symbiotic interactions like partnership and colony, as well as mutualism and commensalism, conversely, there seems to be disharmony (for human's "universal" values) in the relations of competition, parasitism, predation, etc. Analogically, unrestricted development and truly sustainable development could respectively represent parasitism and commensalism in the relationship between humans and nature. Now, the notion of a (social) environmental problem lies precisely on the recognition of harm, dispute, disproportion and / or disadvantage involving nature's elements and living beings, in a context in which the action of the human species is most of the time decisive (for the sake of the other elements).

Humans' unequal competition with other species and systemic exploitation of natural resources (beyond subsistence levels) are far from sufficient features to the configuration of an environmental problem. For many scholars from Sociology, the mere existence of a social problem (in this case, an environmental problem) does not occur automatically: environmental problematization itself is built through a social process involving different social groups, their ideologies, interests and discourses. In other words, this implies a constructionist approach, which functions as a theoretical perspective, shared by authors such as John Hannigan (2006), Anders Hansen (2010), Robert Cox (2006), Libby Lester (2010) and John Dryzek (2013), based notably on the writings of Blumer (1971), Spector & Kitsuse (1977), and others. Oppositely, other scholars critically question the usefulness of this concept, arguing, among other aspects, that constructionism tends to ignore the scale of different problems and foster an artificial division between the "natural" and the "social" (Anderson, 1997, pp. 204-205). Additionally, from a more philosophical standpoint, environmental facts and knowledge would be part of the political debate, "rather than as a pre-prepared basis from which to start environmental debate" (Forsyth, 2003, p. 16).

One of the basic arguments of social constructionism is that social problems do not emerge autonomously from independent, objective conditions, but rather result from "collective behavior", more precisely from a "process of collective definition" (Blumer, 1971). For Blumer, this process is composed of five stages: 1) emergence of a social problem; 2) legitimization of the problem; 3) mobilization of action towards the problem; 4) formation of an official plan of action; 5) transformation of the official plan into empirical implementation (Blumer, 1971). By establishing that no social issue can be considered a problem until it does not raise social acceptability and public concern, the constructionist

perspective recognizes the centrality of forums for communication, debate, and formation of public opinion, especially the political and media spheres.

In the domain of socio-environmental issues, one must take into consideration some specificities, especially regarding the "mute" essence of nature and the relative role of translator / spokesperson that science plays. Still, the logic of analysis from other social problems remains, which is "to establish why and by which means some claims gain prominence and acceptance, while others – which may be equally valid – do not" (Hansen, 2010, p. 17). In this context, the main task is to map and understand the trajectory or career of different environmental issues, whereby even random, isolate events, including natural disasters, often have their significance socially constructed (Hansen, 2010).

The sociologist John Hannigan (2006) organizes the construction of environmental problems according to three fields (the claims themselves; the claims-makers; and the claims-making process), as well as three key activities (assembling; presenting; contesting environmental claims). This subdivision helps in better discerning between all that is at stake (individuals, groups, institutions, values, ideologies, actions, forums, strategies, tones, styles, etc.). For instance, regarding Amazonia, environmental conflicts in general tend to be complex and controversial, sometimes supported more ideologically and morally than legally, not least because in many cases they arise from omissions, allegations of injustice or non-compliance with applicable law. Indeed, the Amazon question is quite representative of the socio-environmental problematization, with its claims and spokespersons on behalf of nature, ethnic minorities, urban populations, economic and commercial growth, and global climate balance, among other variables. Such a heterogeneity of forces imposes the need to question the multiplicity of Amazonian "claiming processes": would there be one for biodiversity, another for the Indigenous cause, a third one for the improvement of living conditions in the cities, and so on? Evidently, it seems more logical to conceive the Amazon issue as a holistic macro-process, a huge umbrella that shelters groups and interests as heterogeneous as they may be irreconcilable. More than most other public arenas, the media have great influence in the way meanings are socially constructed, more precisely in the way Amazonia is framed and presented to the audiences.

If the mass media constitute the central forum of the presentation and dissemination of socio-environmental problems, it is because they literally build bridges between the two other key activities, namely, assembly and competition, whose central forums are, respectively, science and politics. In order to attract public attention and legitimize a given claim, the key activity of presentation by the media, despite potential pitfalls, such as low visibility and decrease of novelty as a news value, may resort to three main strategies of success: linkage to popular causes, use of dramatic images (visual

and verbal), and rhetorical tactics (Hannigan, 2006). Such strategies may easily become the media's modus operandi towards some environmental problems, which, in turn, may end up partially approximating some coverages to sensationalist press and brown journalism.

Despite the role played by the media in simultaneously defining and multiplying the popularization of environmental problems, it is crucial that they can be internalized and legitimized in their four basic instances, which are science, society, government, and the media. In this expanded scenario, claims, claims-makers and the claiming process itself depend directly on a range of variables, condensed by Hannigan into six success factors for the construction of an environmental problem. These are: 1) scientific authority for the validation of the claims; 2) existence of "popularisers" who can bridge environmentalism and science; 3) media attention by framing the problem as novel and relevant; 4) dramatization of the problem in visual and symbolic terms; 5) economic incentives for taking positive action; 6) institutional sponsorship to ensure legitimacy and continuity (Hannigan, 2006, p. 78). At a first glance, the Amazon issue seemingly fulfills all the criteria to configure a satisfactorily constructed environmental problem. However, perhaps beyond such a suitability also lays a sense of "Amazonian impasse", due to the action of pressure groups with antagonistic, unequal and diffuse forces, on the one hand, and to the historical persistence in exploiting the region and the aggravation of environmental degradation, on the other.

In order to close this preamble about socio-environmental problematization, the characteristics listed in the introduction of *Environment, Media and Communication* are considered to be succinct and heuristic, thereby worth to be recalled:

- ✓ the highly "constructed" essence of communication, interaction, and public debate about environment and nature;
- ✓ the very notion of environment as a "problem" or "issue" resulting from active rhetorical work and discursive construction in the public sphere;
- ✓ power in society as the primary target: power to define our relationship with nature and the environment, as well as that of identifying responsibilities and actions (Hansen, 2010, p. 7).

In short, the pragmatic aspect of the social construction of the environment could constitute not only an unveiled coercion to act upon the natural world, but fundamentally another strategy of power. Therefore, it seems vital to carefully examine the elements and steps that contribute to this end. The next section will assess the role and the appeal of environmental discourses in the social construction of environmental problems, in special in order to better situate the idea of sustainability within the environmental discursive spectrum.

2.2. Main environmental discourses in the public sphere

Like any other social field, ecology possesses its own heterogeneous set of story-lines in order to explain and make collective sense about the physical realities, in this case, offering particular lenses to perceive and (not to) act upon Nature. Thereby, the following paragraphs will map and explain some of the most relevant environmental discourses, including the sustainable development discourse, which has a considerable impact on the environmental debate about Amazonia.

Both in the so-called traditional societies and in those that are culturally more eclectic, the definition of what is understood as "nature" originates from mythological and / or religious references. In the case of societies wherein the solidity of oral tradition and the sacredness of nature have been shaken by refutations from philosophy, science, and technicality itself, the idea of nature remains, even so, a cultural construct in a given moment and space of civilization. From a practical point of view, as much as we may want to "(post)modernly" demarcate ourselves from each other as individuals and groups, we all share the same physical (macro)space. Meanwhile, from the standpoint of the common home, the Earth has a mystical aura, a magical status for being the only planet where the miracle of life is evident. The space we share actually still symbolically emanates some sacred power:

> Now, despite all the techniques for appropriating space, despite the whole network of knowledge that enables us to delimit or to formalize it, contemporary space is perhaps still not entirely desanctified (apparently unlike time, it would seem, which was detached from the sacred in the nineteenth century). To be sure a certain theoretical desanctification of space (the one signaled by Galileo's work) has occurred, but we may still not have reached the point of a practical desanctification of space[35]. (Foucault, 2005, p. 245)

Few elements better represent space as a sacred "entity" than the exuberance of nature. In the imagery of the most diverse cultures, in all times, nature is an archetype of divine emanation, most of the time assuming a feminine personality, characterizing an association with the idea of fertility and procreation. Mother Nature, Great Goddess, Gaia, Pacha Mama, Anima mundi... Throughout the various historical and cultural contexts, there are countless possible designations for the same entity, but feminization is a constant. For instance, alchemy considered the matter as an external body of Mother Nature, i.e., in both there was a divine dimension, and it is not a coincidence that the word matter derives from the Latin (*mater* meaning mother) (Boscato, 2001). By approaching nature from a benign feminine perspective, goddess figures — in addition to Mother Nature — integrate one of the most important key metaphors of environmental discourse (Dryzek, 2013).

[35] Translated from the French by Jay Miskowiec. URL: https://web.mit.edu/allanmc/www/foucault1.pdf

Throughout the 20th century, which is admittedly the era of environmental problematization, at least three major discourses have risen in the social arenas, not only in Western but globally: the Arcadian discourse, the ecological discourse, and the environmental justice discourse (Hannigan, 2006). The Arcadian discourse, as the name suggests, refers to the utopian Arcadia — an imaginary and idyllic land described by artists and poets of the Renaissance and Romantic periods — where human beings would live in the fullest and most harmonious communion with nature, that is, in a romantic and sublime relationship. Rooted in the notion of the wild as a mythical and fascinating space — something still widely explored and recycled in contemporary fiction — the Arcadian discourse resurfaced in America at the beginning of the last century, within the "Back to Nature" movement, attributing to nature inestimable spiritual and aesthetic value. In this context, we should also mention the emergence of transcendentalism as a philosophical perspective crucial to the reevaluation of the wild nature (Cox, 2006: 41).

From the 1970s, however, science began to give theoretical support to the view that the balance of nature and ecosystems was been effectively undermined by human action, shaping the dominant ecological discourse of the final third of the 20th century, which was more political, universal, subversive, and ethical. "Ecology, then, was transformed from a scientific model for understanding plant and animal communities to a kind of 'organizational weapon' that could be used to systematize, expand, and morally reinvigorate the environmental" (Hannigan, 2006, p. 46). A more recent development of this ecological discourse is "grassroot activism", according to which traditional knowledge is superior to science when it comes to human understanding and management of ecosystems interrelationships. Such a perspective is partially aligned with the environmental justice discourse, which is centered on the concept of social and environmental responsibility, aiming to combine civil rights with the rights of nature. Originally, this discourse emerged in the US in the early 1980s, from social actors that had been "marginalized" by ecological movements until then: economic and ethnic minorities in urban space, affected by problems such as industrial contamination, urban garbage, toxic waste, etc. Since environmental problems were until then constructed around three axes (nature preservation, rural planning, and "atmospheric dysfunctions" such as the acid rain or the destruction of the ozone layer), the environmental justice movement redefined the notion of environment for the place "where we live, work, play, and learn". That is, for the everyday spaces of all human beings, indirectly questioning the automatic synonymy between nature and environment, and pleading for effective socio-environmental health and equity.

Without properly resorting to the nomenclature of "discourses," Robert Cox (2006), like Hannigan, maps out some antagonisms or so-called zones of debate about the relationship between society and environment, thereby retracing the history of US environmental movements. Besides mentioning issues such as conservation vs. exploitation of nature, human health vs. corporate and industrial activity, environmental justice vs. nature as a space dissociated from people's everyday environment, Cox draws attention to a fourth important dimension of the ecological movement: protection of communities and global commons vs. economic globalization. Now, it is precisely from this perspective that Amazonia tends to be more relevant in the international news: perhaps this is the best journalistic "hook" capable of arousing the interest of readers so culturally and geographically distant. It is possible that the rise of global environmentalism has raised the Amazon issue to a differentiated level of global engagement, even if it is still insufficient. This is a gradual process, whose embryo was formed in the Rio Declaration (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, 1992) and its emphasis on the international dissemination of environmental values (Cox, 2006), and whose maturation was accelerated by the recent "burning" debates about the role of the Amazon in global.

However, the typology of environmental discourses that best reflects Amazonian complexity today[36] seems to be the one that John Dryzek elaborates in *The Politics of the Earth* (2013), precisely because it recognizes the centrality and weight of political arenas in the public shaping of environmental problems. By stating that "environmental discourse begins in industrial society, and so has to be positioned in the context of the discourse of industrialism" (2013, p. 14), Dryzek establishes a first dimension, referring to the degree of critical attitude towards the hegemonic industrialist value, grounded in economic growth and the production of goods through the exploitation of natural resources. Within this first dimension there are two possible attitudes: reformist or radical. The second critical dimension of the environmental discourse would be the mode of counter-argumentation to industrialism: prosaic or imaginative.

> Prosaic departures take the political-economic chessboard set by industrial society as pretty much given. On that chessboard, environmental problems are seen mainly in terms of troubles encountered by the established industrial political economy. They require action, but they do not point to a new kind of society [...] In contrast, imaginative departures seek to redefine the chessboard. Notably, environmental problems are seen as opportunities rather than troubles. Imaginative redefinition may dissolve old dilemmas, treating environmental concerns not in opposition to economic ones, but potentially in harmony. (Dryzek, 2013, pp. 14-15)

The intersection of these two dimensions with their two variables results in the four main environmental discourses. Dryzek admits the existence of variations or ramifications, but all necessarily connected to

[36] Such typology is summarized by DeLaurier and Salvador (2016) after investigating the US media national (environmental) coverage between 2009-2011: "nature-as-out-of-reach discourse"; "nature-as-antagonist discourse"; "nature-as-co-present".

some of the following categories to socially approach the environment: problem solving, limits and survival, sustainability, and green radicalism (Table 1). Such concepts, their variations, and internal points of contention, as well as their possible implications for the Amazonian issue, will be briefly discussed along the following paragraphs.

Table 1: Classification of environmental discourses

	Reformist	Radical
Prosaic	Problem solving	Limits and survival
Imaginative	Sustainability	Green radicalism

Source: Dryzek, 2013.

Environmental problem solving is a prosaic, reformist perspective, thus aligned with the political-economic status quo — predominantly capitalist — and resistant to major changes and impacts. As Dryzek warns, problem solving, a sort of conservative treatment of the (environmental) side effects of intense industrialization, encompasses major internal disagreements in relation to the best methods of action. One of the most recent and controversial one is the market-based economic incentive mechanism entitled "Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation" (REDD), later expanded to REDD+ to incorporate climate change mitigation aspects. Under REDD+, for example, companies invest in carbon credits — literally, they buy standing forests (from developing countries) with the commitment to preserve them — in order to offset emissions from their activities. This would represent an incentive for developing countries to grow without resorting to environmental degradation, but the main criticism to this model is precisely the maintenance of the capitalist and polluting business logic. In addition, Brazilian social policies linked to REDD+, such as the “Bolsa Floresta” and “Bolsa Verde” (federal and state cash transfer programs) — which aim to pay for environmental services to low-income families — as well as the National REDD+ Strategy (ENREDD+) itself, get relatively little attention from the national media.

According to a study focused on major Brazilian newspapers between 2005 and 2009, REDD+ was framed as an incipient process full of conflicts and uncertainties, contrary to what would be happening in the political arenas of the country, considering Brazilian prominence in the matter (May et al., 2011). In fact, one quite controversial aspect is the way REDD+ presents itself as so closely related to the maintenance of the capitalist modus operandi (Brokhaus et al., 2013), and, in many cases, basically focused on global aspects, such as fair treatment between countries under international

treaties (DiGregorio et al., 2013). More recently, it was found that Brazilian newspapers have devoted ample coverage to REDD+ (2005-2011), but the emphasis persisted on economic aspects, notably global financing, neglecting many of the debates on social rights implied within the mechanism (Gebara et al., 2017).

Still in the realm of the prosaic, the perspective of limits and survival defend that population and economic growth, via expansion of agriculture and industry, must necessarily consider and respect the planet's capacity to support life, especially human life. It is a radical discourse because it demands a profound reorganization of industrialism and redistribution of political-economic power, especially through tighter controls on market systems and the power of elites. The discourse of limits and survival was structured within the international organization Club of Rome, which in 1972 funded an influential report of dire projections for the planet, entitled “The Limits of Growth” (Meadows et al., 1972). Four years earlier, Science magazine had published an analysis on the irreconcilable nature between individual interests and collective welfare, and the impact of such an impasse on the economy and the health of the planet — the article "The Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin, 1968) actually went viral for years to come.

The emergence of the concept of a planetary finitude was also greatly influenced by the publication of the first photograph of the Earth, published in 1972, depicting our planet as a fragile space bounded by well-defined edges. This image was predominant in the consolidation of an important rhetorical figure of the discourse of limits and survival: the metaphor of the “spaceship Earth” (Dryzek, 2013). The discourse of limits and survival, by rousing unease among the business elites, quickly faced discredit and opposition, notably by what Dryzek calls Promethean discourse. From the Promethean point of view, the intelligence and ingenuity of men throughout history have invariably found technological solutions in favor of human activities, as in the mythological narrative according to which Prometheus steals fire from the gods — a myth that, we might say, founded humanity as an "energivorous"[37] species. It should be emphasized, by the time of the greatest repercussion of the discourse of limits and survival (1970s), Brazil — as well as other Latin American countries —lived under a military dictatorship of progressive and liberal vision, but with press censorship. It was the period of the so-called “economic miracle”, which justified the extensive deforestation and the mega-developments in the Amazon, such as the large highways. That is, a socio-political context not very propitious to the propagation of ecological ideologies, especially radical ones. Finally, it seems worthy to

[37] A term used by the Brazilian ecotheologian Leonardo Boff in reference to the type of society built in the last 400 years. "Ecological Challenges at the End of the Millennium". URL: http://www.leonardoboff.com/site/vista/2001-2002/desafios.htm.

mention that the notion of limits has been reset in the 21st century to the idea of "planetary boundaries", with emphasis on dysfunctions / unbalances regarding nine aspects of anthropic action, ecosystems, and Earth's geochemical cycles: carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, ocean acidity, stratospheric ozone, nitrogen and phosphorus cycles, freshwater use, land use change, biodiversity loss, chemical pollution, and aerosol discharges into the atmosphere (Dryzek, 2013). It should be noted that, roughly, in at least half of these boundaries or variables, the Amazon plays some relevant balancing or regulating function.

Moving our attention to the imaginative domain of environmental discourses, we have in the moderate wing a very heterogeneous set of constructions, meanings and convictions merged into the term "sustainability". This discourse gained strength in the 1980s, with great influence on the Brundtland Report (*Our Common Future*, World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), definitively integrating the idea of "sustainable development" into the international political agenda[38]. By defining sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Brundtland Report, 1987, p. 54), the document proposes the nearly utopian reconciliation of environmental values, such as preservation and respect for the environment, on the one hand, and socioeconomic values, such as economic development, social justice, and poverty eradication, on the other hand.

The commitment to sustainability was vehemently reiterated during the Earth Summit (Eco-92), in Rio de Janeiro, in the publication of the "Agenda 21" document, with 2,500 recommendations and strategies, spread over 40 chapters, to enable sustainable development globally both North and South. Quickly, the discourses of ecological modernization and green economy became the flagship of sustainability, with, for example, the race for renewable energy being quite representative of the "ecomodernist" spirit. In this scenario, the focus remains on the production and consumption of goods but through less polluting energy sources, or, in Dryzek's words, on how "capitalist society shall be guided into an environmentally enlightened era, and so involves commitments on the part of the entire society, not just industry" (Dryzek, 2013, pp. 171-172).

Hopwood et al. (2005), by mapping different approaches on the idea of sustainability, demonstrate and discuss the almost contradictory scope of the sustainable development discourse, since the concept runs through fuzzy points between two axes: from extreme inequality to greater equality and socioeconomic well-being (corresponding to the "development" vertical axis), and from the more technocentric to the more ecocentric vision (corresponding to the "sustainability" horizontal axis). While Dryzek elects basically the discourse of ecological modernization as the main developed root of

[38] Hajer (1995) sees the Brundtland Report as a key document of the ecological modernization discourse (*The Politics of Environmental Discourse. Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*. Oxford: Oxford University Press).

the idea of sustainability, Hopwood et al. (2005), in turn, admit more radical or transformative perspectives, as somehow both heirs and multipliers of the sustainable development discourse. These authors situate views on sustainable development such as the Brundtland Report (UN), green economy, ecological modernization and green consumption in a border zone between the status quo (neoliberal discourse and like-minded) and reformist approaches, which make up the horizon of the major global ecological institutions and NGOs (IUCN, UNEP, WWF) and of the mainstream environmental groups. On the more revolutionary side of the border between reformist and transformative approaches lies the anti-capitalist and environmental justice movements. At the core of the transformation mode is social ecology: ecofeminism, ecosocialism, Indigenous and global "South" movements. Thus, the idea of the green economy as the standard operating mode of sustainable development would be nothing but one among numerous possible perspectives within the notion of sustainability.

> All proponents of sustainable development agree that society needs to change, though there are major debates as to the nature of sustainable development, the changes necessary and the tools and actors for these changes. There is no such thing as a single unified philosophy of sustainable development; there is no sustainable development 'ism'. In most cases people bring to the debates on sustainable development already existing political and philosophical outlooks. Further confusion about sustainable development arises as people use the same words to mean a wide divergence of views on the goals, routes and the methods of moving towards sustainable development. This is further complicated because, as in many political issues, some people may say one thing and mean another. (Hopwood et al., 2005, p. 47)

Although dense, complex and controversial, the concept of sustainability is key in the discourses about the Amazon, since this space houses and attracts actors and interest groups from the most varied political, scientific, and ecological leanings. Moreover, the discourse of ecological modernization has a special appeal in the far from consensual construction of the gigantic Belo Monte hydroelectric dam in the heart of the Brazilian Amazon, a project that has sparked extensive debates and conflicts, and for this reason, has sporadically attracted attention in the foreign newspapers that are the object of this investigation[39].

Further, on should note that the ideologies from the domain which Hopwood et al. (2005) call "transformation" correspond to the discourse of "green radicalism" in Dryzek's (2013) classification. The imaginative and revolutionary essence of these standpoints effectively positions them at the pole of ecocentrism, with some of them aiming at greater or lesser socioeconomic well-being for people. Green radicalism would be divided into two categories: one focused on a new ecological awareness, and the other more explicitly focused on green policies. In the green consciousness branch would fit movements

[39] For a better understanding of the long and troubled socio-environmental clash around the Belo Monte Hydroelectric Development, see Fearnside (2017) and Silva (2015).

such as deep ecology, ecofeminism, bioregionalism, ecological citizenship, ecological lifestyles, and ecotheology. In the green politics branch there would be green parties, social ecology, cities in transition and new materialism, ecomarxism, environmental justice, "Southern" environmentalism and the anti-globalization movement[40]. Broadly speaking, it can be inferred that some of these ramifications of green radicalism, at a greater or lesser extent, circulate peripherally in the social arenas, and therefore tend to be more present in alternative than in the mainstream media, especially when it comes to journalistic outlets (Espinosa, 1998; Norland, 2012). The social justice discourse — fully in line with the Amazonian issue — has achieved sporadic peaks of attention in the environmental news of quality newspapers, as exemplified by the coverage not only on the Belo Monte case in Brazil, but also on the Yasunidos movement in Peru (Davidsen, 2011).

Ultimately, it is important to mention the so-called "discursive matrices" used specifically in the discussion about the directions of the Brazilian Amazon, through an analytical framework elaborated by Quintsrl (2009). By analyzing theoretical proposals and documents from different social actors in the Amazonian debate, the author — using concepts from Enrique Leff's "environmental epistemology" — identifies a tension between three rationalities. Quintsrl takes into consideration, in addition to the discursive constructions about nature, also the position referring to the best forms of property and use of natural areas for environmental conservation. Thereby, there is: 1) an economic rationality, which covers the discourses of development and the commodification of nature; 2) an ecological rationality, which underlies the conservationist discourse; 3) a socioenvironmental rationality, constituting the socio-environmental discourse itself (Quintsrl, 2009). Although this discursive matrix largely reproduces the typologies of environmental discourses presented and discussed above, it stresses the potential impact regarding more pragmatic aspects (like the types of ownership and use of Amazonian lands) in the argumentation, propagation, and refutation of different discourses, since they construct contrasting meanings and paths regarding the future of the Amazon.

In the context of the economic rationality, the question of private land ownership could virtually refer to the idea of full autonomy of the holder — which is actually largely restricted by legal mechanisms in and outside the Amazon. But the type of ownership / use of rural / natural areas may consolidate, for instance, the pro-agribusiness discourse as a crucial factor in Amazon countries GDP. Albeit discourses on development and commodification of nature in general resort to the argument that income and employment generation compete in parallel, only socio-environmental rationality prioritizes and aims at socially equal access to and distribution of the resources available in nature. Hence, the

[40] For more details on these movements and their specific discourses, see Dryzek (2013).

socio-environmental perspective constitutes an alternative or counter-hegemonic one, and some media are increasingly open to the necessary perception of these dissonant voices. Having this feature in mind, next section will try to better clarify how environmental problems effectively get media attention.

2.3. Environmental journalism and meaning construction about nature

In this section, I approach the more theoretical aspects on how the media, through environmental journalism, effectively processes environmental issues into environmental news. In this context, some perspectives may be relevant in relation to Amazon coverage, like agenda-setting and attention cycles, newsworthiness and news framing. Additionally, the role of different social actors, such as authorities, issue "popularizers" and others, in facilitating connections between environmental problems and media attention is also taken into consideration.

If, on the one hand, the social construction of environmental problems and the great discursive axes about the environment depend directly on the public arenas, on the other hand, the media not only integrate one of the most influential forums of social discussion, but also (dis)connects all the other social fields. In fact, the opposition between the articulation or disarticulation of voices, actors, or themes results from aspects linked to a wide range of interests and conditions from the newspapers profiles, targets and routines to the news form, content, culturally shared values and other aspects. Communication is so much a key element in the process of defining and constructing social / environmental issues that the very perception that a society has about the environment in a given historical moment is, in some relevant way, impacted by the mass media:

> From a communication perspective, the history of human behavior toward the natural world is one of competing voices and interests struggling in various public spheres to define, shape, redefine, and challenge prevailing social and political attitudes about the environment. What the term environment symbolizes at any particular time depends upon the specific communications of these differing interests. (Cox, 2006, pp. 38-39)

Historically, the meaning of nature, besides varying substantially between different cultural contexts, has been mediated by religions, philosophy, music, literature, and other arts, etc. However, it can be said that in contemporary times cinema, photography, advertising, journalism, and the internet itself — the latter even as an amalgam of the previous items — are powerful agents of meaning about the environment. This role played by the media throughout the 21st century refers to "how specific groups in society are able to control the definition (i.e., mental models) of — and emotions about — public events, general sociocultural knowledge and common sense, attitudes about controversial issues" (Van

Dijk, 2015, p. 24). For instance, the notion of controversy itself may or may not be the product of a double operation of social conflict and media framing, since undermining the degree of consensus on certain issues is a way to raise discredit, and therefore to exert power[41].

The media perform a selective and formative role with regard to socially constructed meanings about the natural world, specifically in deciding whether, when, and how the environment is amenable to attention and thus newsworthy. However, media agendas are influenced by and dependent on other agendas, especially political one. Therefore, the most adequate understanding of these decision mechanisms goes through a careful observation of the modes and criteria usually dominant in environmental journalism. In this way, there are optimal conditions for the rise and maintenance of environmental problems on the media agenda. According to Hannigan, a potential problem, in which the media could "invest", should have the following five attributes: 1) be cast in terms which resonate with existing and widely held cultural concepts; 2) must be articulated through the agendas of established "authority fora", notably politics and science; 3) elicit, whenever possible, a "social drama" appeal; 4) be related to the present rather than to the distant future; 5) have an "action agenda" both at the international level and at the local or community level (Hannigan, 2006, p. 88, quotation marks from the original). Once again, the Amazon issue apparently meets all these criteria; nevertheless, following a recurrent trend of journalistic routines, inside and outside the Amazon countries the sporadic character of the coverage is remarkable. Thereby, the Amazon in theory would not be an exception in the dynamics of the ups and downs that make up the cycles of media attention or "issue-attention cycles" (Downs, 1972).

These cycles would generally be composed of five stages of varying duration: pre-problem stage, alarming discovery and euphoric enthusiasm, awareness about the cost of solutions, gradual decline of intense public interest, and the post-problem stage. Theorized in the context of domestic US socio-environmental problems, especially from the 1960s, attention cycles would have the greatest effect on problems concerning a relatively small minority of the population, generated by social arrangements that provide benefits either to the majority, or to a powerful minority or elite. Moreover, a third and important factor would be the low capacity of the problem to attract public attention in the long run, especially after the decline of the issue in the news: "the problem has no intrinsically exciting qualities — or no longer has them" (Downs, 1972, p. 41). The impression one might have, with regard to the Amazon in the media, is that each major violent event, fire season, road, hydroelectric, or large magnitude project leverages its own cycle of attention. However, the more permanent Amazonian

[41] In this sense, a well-known environmental issue, object of questionable accuracy in media coverage, would be climate change, as argued by Al Gore in *An Inconvenient Truth*, citing a study by Naomi Oreskes (2004), titled "The Scientific Consensus on Climate Change".

problems, such as deforestation, the expansion of soy and cattle ranching, conflicts and irregularities on public and Indigenous lands, among others, even though they have all the three main characteristics to compose attention cycles, tend to have media coverage guided by isolated events, such as the publication of reports, violent episodes, involvement of notorious characters, etc.

The reflection about the sporadic or cyclical nature of environmental news leads to the consideration of a recurrent theory in media studies: that of agenda-setting. Widespread in communication studies, agenda-setting or agenda-building is inserted in a tradition of studies about power, and proposes that the media exerts influence not only in the choice of agenda, but mainly in the degree of importance given to some topics by the media consumers (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). Regarding environmental coverage, Hansen cites, from the compilation of results obtained from other studies, two complementary aspects of the agenda-setting hypothesis, namely: 1) the dynamics of agenda-setting are related to the attributes of the themes / subjects; 2) the media influence would be inversely proportional to the degree of unobtrusiveness of the environmental issue (Hansen, 2010). Perceiving the environment as an unobtrusive issue means that the public's direct experience and testimony with the issue / problem is quite difficult and unlikely, favoring the media as the protagonist as an information source. This is why the frequent correlation between low noteworthiness and greater possibility of agenda-setting (for instance, climate change) occurs, and, according to this logic, the media would have considerably greater power of impact on public opinion regarding global or national issues, compared to local or regional environmental issues (Hansen, 2010; based on Gooch, 1996). Thus, from the expected agenda effect raised by international meetings such as the Earth Summit (Rio+20, in 2012) or the annual UN Climate Conferences, Amazonia would be more debated by the media, and consequently by the public, especially internationally, through frames such as global climate change, impact of deforestation and biodiversity decline for the world, or global markets demand for environmentally sustainable raw materials and products.

Another hypothesis, this one more restricted to the circulation of scientific / environmental issues in the media, suggests that the volume of articles may be higher than the content of the news coverage in terms of its power to influence public opinion (Mazur, 1981), implying prevalence of news quantity over quality. This would mean that, more than merely reporting, the media would be directly impacting the attitude towards controversies: "The rise in reaction against a scientific technology appears to coincide with a rise in quantity of media coverage, suggesting that media attention tends to elicit a conservative public bias" (Mazur, 1981, p. 106). Mazur's quantitative effect represents an unfolding of the agenda-setting, by configuring among the information receivers not only what to think,

but mainly how to position themselves (distrust, fear, etc.) before a specific theme. Notwithstanding, there are frequent arguments countering the basically unilateral effects of the media and the passivity of audiences — in general articulated in the scope of the press and electronic media, especially TV. In the post-internet era, and even before, the dynamics of the relationship between social problems, media and their audiences have been shown to be much less linear, to the point that, for example, some authors admit more diffuse and even inverse flows, including the notion of agenda "counter-setting" (FT) (Rossy, 2006; Silva, 2007)[42], wherein the public issues can substantially set the media agenda.

Particularly, contrary to the theories of vertical and short-term effects, there are more holistic and horizontal approaches, such as the idea of "circulation of claims", which settles the environmental debate in a broader, dialectical and dynamic socio-political and cultural context / circuit. This approach falls within the cultural studies perspective (Hall et al., 1978) and proposes that "the media, rather than being a single unified factor influencing public opinion and understanding about the environment, are understood as a complex, often contradictory, cultural reservoir of images, vocabularies, and definitions" (Hansen, 2010, p. 180). The role of the environment in the cultural circuits seem considerably underestimated, even though studies on issue dynamics have brought to evidence that media interest to one category of environmental problem generates attention to other related environmental issues (Djerf-Pierre, 2012).

Interestingly, in the scope of (possible) effects analysis, it may also be relevant to look at the concept of framing in the construction of news about environmental problems. The idea of framing implies selection, circumscription, contextualization, that is, delimiting the portion of reality that one wishes to highlight. Thereby, framing analyses of news discourse focus on two crucial aspects, "selection" and "salience" (Entman, 1993), which pragmatically means choices for emphasis. The main functions of framing would be, according to Entman, to define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest solutions. It might be useful to clarify that, from a functional point of view, framing is a mandatory operation, since it is impossible not to have choices about how to approach or report an issue:

> I do not view framing as an optional intervention in discourse [...] Instead, it is something inherent to the construction of texts. Framing is not something that you choose to do or not, but a necessary operation in talking about reality. Therefore, what is at stake in the analysis of framing as a discursive strategy is how, and not whether, an actor frames reality (Carvalho, 2008: 169, originally italicized).

[42] These authors originally propose the term *contra-agendamento* (in Brazilian Portuguese).

This is particularly relevant in socially shaping meanings, since the stress on specific features necessarily implies the omission of other ones, and what calls attention to a journalist reporting on the Amazon may not be appealing to other social actors. Yet the news readers have no choice than following journalists frames in order to get informed. From this point of view, the modes of speech and construction of meanings about the Amazon in the media should correspond to geographic frames not necessarily diversified, but perhaps with some alternation between the local and the global. Still, there is a chance that a closer zoom could be nothing but reverberations of the idea of the global as a sum of local contexts. "Local environmental images can also be framed as global, as settings for global action, or for globally representative or significant processes and events" (Szerszynski & Toogood, 2000). Further, Chapter 5 will develop a more in-depth approach to Amazon frames in the international coverage — including an expanded discussion about news framing — while Chapter 6 will focus on the Amazon forest as a "global commons". Prior to that, the next section will describe some of the main environmental frameworks adopted by the media, dully identified and discussed through cross-national approaches.

2.4. Environment in the media: cross-national approaches

As concerns about the environment began to emerge and consolidate as social problems in the public sphere, also gradually the media began to integrate environmental issues into their agendas — rising also the interest of environmental communication research. Most scholars in the field of environmental communication attribute to the 20th century — especially to its second half — the emergence of environmental journalism. In this scenario, some relevant aspects to be highlighted would be: the transition from the Arcadian discourse to the ecological one in the social arenas (whose greatest emblem is perhaps the publication and impact of the hitherto influential book *Silent Spring*, by Rachel Carson, in 1962); the growing urbanization and industrialization mainly in the United States and Europe (with the rise of adjacent environmental problems), as well as the professionalization and modernization of the media itself. According to Cox (2006), a relative prominence of ecological images and stories in the (US) media occurred between the 1960s and the 1980s, with an upsurge from the 1990s onwards. Aligned with the issue-attention cycles theory, proposed by Downs, many academic studies, in the most varied scopes and theoretical / methodological profiles, continue to observe the factual and sparse character of the relation / attention of the media towards environmental themes. However, as the field of ecology has become increasingly intertwined with political, economic and social justice issues, it is fundamental to briefly examine situations in which the environment acquires the status of "hard news".

Taking into consideration the cross-national nature of this research, the paragraphs to come will take a closer look at the media studies from this perspective.

Some valuable studies focus on discursive constructions in society and the media. Regarding, for example, REDD+ and its implications for environmental governance, analysis were conducted on social equality (Di Gregorio et al., 2013) and political influence on the design of REDD+ actions (Brockhaus et al., 2013). Di Gregorio et al., by comparing journalistic articles published between 2005-2010 in four countries (Brazil, Indonesia, Vietnam, and Peru), found that in the first two nations the media play the predominant role of presenting REDD+ and adjacent themes on social equity to the public. However, the fact that such coverages outlined global equity issues discussed by state actors — rather than domestic aspects linked to REDD+ in promoting social justice — suggests that Brazil and Indonesia's major concern may be more related to fair treatment in international negotiations focusing on REDD+ (Di Gregorio et al., 2013). Above all, one should agree that the REDD+ mechanism is inserted in a broader context, socio-political as well as environmental and cultural, by virtue of being a possible response to the threat of global warming. Certainly, in view of its "globalized" feature, climate change has been one of the most analyzed environmental issues from a comparative and international point of view. The theme has pervaded events and agendas of worldwide impact in the last two decades, such as the publication of reports by the International Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the signing of the Kyoto Protocol, the implementation of REDD+, as well as the meetings of the COP (Conference of the Parties), the supreme body of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This justifies, at least partially, the abundance of scientific and academic articles about the related debates and discourses, including in this scenario the role of the media in the construction of collective significance about this worrying and still controversial environmental issue.

Among the most recent, cross-cutting, quantitative research designs on communication and the environment, focusing climate change, stands the extensive study conducted by Schmidt et al. (2013), which compared news coverage on the topic in 27 countries across all continents. These authors found that climate change receives considerable attention from newspapers in all countries analyzed. Moreover, interest in the subject grew significantly between 1996 and 2010, but quite unevenly among different nations, however being particularly high in countries committed to carbon emissions under the Kyoto Protocol (Schmidt et al., 2013).

Additionally, while working within a slightly smaller transnational scope, Broadbent et al. (2016) compared media frames of climate change in 17 countries by assessing differentiated national newspapers (one conservative, one middle-view, one progressive) between 2007-2008. In addition to

the widespread expansion of coverage over the period, 131 frames were identified, corresponding to four broad dimensions: acceptance / rejection of climate science; global / national ecological concern; global / national political concern; degree of support for policies on reduction / mitigation of carbon emissions (Broadbent et al., 2016). These results pointed to contrasting contexts and behaviors between developed and developing countries — but also to important internal differences among North / South nations — providing evidence for theories both centered on national interests and advocating the idea of a global society.

> Although some regions of the world are embracing a more cosmopolitan framework for interpreting climate change and its politics, there are other key parts of the world where there appear to be significant social-cultural barriers for a more cosmopolitan approach of these issues. (Broadbent et al., 2016, p. 13)

These results may also serve as a parameter for this research on the Amazon in the international press. Therefore, its most important findings by country (all four nations retained in our study are encompassed in the study of Broadbent et al.) may be detailed further on, according to pertinence and convenience.

Another content-related analysis, more extended in time than in space, compared the journalistic frames of climate change in newspapers from the United States, England, Germany and France for a period longer than 20 years (1984-2007) (Grundman & Krishnamurthy, 2010). It found a proportionally greater increase in coverage in the latter two countries (which are still EU members), as well as a more political focus, a sense of moral responsibility, international openness (frequent mention to the United States), and also greater dramatization of the issue. In contrast, along the US articles, a dominance of the self-referential and scientific framing was observed, as well as relatively smaller increase in coverage on the issue. Surprisingly, cycles of attention to climate change were not detected in none of the four countries, although the year 2007 represented the peak of interest for all newspapers (Grundman & Krishnamurthy, 2010).

Furthermore, by focusing narrowly on the coverage of international climate conferences (COPs), Wessler et al. compared text and illustrations / photos from articles published between 2012-2013 in five countries (Brazil, Germany, India, South Africa, and the United States). The frames that stood out were the following: victims of global warming, civil society demands, political negotiations, and sustainable energy. These authors found great similarity in coverage across countries, despite differences in media and political systems, demonstrating the event-related convergence of news frames. (Wessler et al., 2016).

Also, in order to comprehend how a sense of climate justice is constructed by the media — a perspective considerably resonant with the delicate issue of social justice in the Amazon as well — Schmidt & Schäfer (2015) compared debates in the mainstream press (national newspapers of different ideological leanings) in the United States, Germany and India. They identified five competing patterns in the construction of climate justice: freedom and resilience of people; fairness and effectiveness through market mechanisms; provident global government for both people and the planet; international solidarity in an unequal world; economic growth and social justice (Schmidt & Schäfer, 2015). Despite significant disparities among countries, these five ideal types — while identified in all coverages — denote a lack of consensus on how to deal with climate change. This situation tends to hinder a joint international action and, above all, tends to keep unchallenged most of the time the prevalence of the market as a mechanism for coordinating interests, even if the ideal relationship between state and market is proposed plurally (Schmidt & Schäfer, 2015). Overall, there is a plethora of academic work on various aspects of climate change communication, such as the role of online media (Schäfer, 2012) or the images that accompany news on climate change (O'Neill, 2013). There is also cross-national comparative research on the degree of public perception (Knight, 2016) or the degree of skepticism (Painter & Ashe, 2012; Tranter & Booth, 2015) about climate change.

In brief, a wide range of cross-cutting approaches devoted to the relationship between media and the environment is available (see especially Hansen & Cox, 2015). Specially, media studies on the environment from the perspective of climate change represent an important datum point, by the high content of controversies and synchronized global cooperation. Besides, similarly to the Amazon issue, climate change debates leave open to question the modus operandi of neoliberalism and industrial capitalism (in the latter case the problem of acid rain had already done so in the 1980s, in particular). Indeed, it is quite understandable that the climate dispute has acquired such prominence since, among other factors, it emerged relatively along with the rise of the very notion of globalization. Thus, it is important to note that, despite the fact that the topic of global warming has a direct connection with the contemporary Amazon issue (notably Amazon fires) — explaining the greater emphasis on comparative studies along this subsection — this does not imply a lesser interest in other related environmental aspects, such as: deforestation and biodiversity; water availability; pollution / contamination of oceans, soils, waterways and cities; biofuels and renewable energies; genetically modified organisms (GMOs), health and food safety; extensive livestock farming and monocultures; among others. Unfortunately, the availability of cross-national media studies on such aspects is much more limited. Nevertheless, studies that assess and clarify the connections between media and environment, on the one hand, and issues

of power, legitimacy, social rights, etc., (Benford & Snow, 2000; Entman, 2007; D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010) on the other hand, certainly have their contribution and inter-textual role, specially within the scope of this thesis. We will get back to some of these works more specifically in Chapter 5 (from the perspective of frame analysis).

In summary

- ✓ Environmental sociology raises important questions while it provides illuminating insights into the relationship between society, environment and power in the public sphere. Moreover, the perspective of constructionism illuminates from various perspectives the key steps, factors, and interrelationships that enable the rise and, in theory, the search for solutions to environmental problems in the public sphere.
- ✓ "Environmental discourse" is nothing but a large tangle of competing narratives, sometimes hardly consensual at all, whose central core is the connection and forms of action between humanity and the physical/natural world. Therefore, the sustainable development discourse remains a simple-to-define story-line, but one that entangles major controversies in various spheres. Its effective implementation requires the socially improbable absolute harmony between the flows of nature and the complex flows of economy and social welfare in various geopolitical, cultural, and other contexts.
- ✓ The media actively assist its news consumers in the perception, understanding, and valuation of elements related to the environment, and have captured the growing problematization of the environment in society, yet this does not necessarily mean constancy and quality of news. The way they assemble, frame and offer competing perspectives can virtually be quite impactful, if not decisive (even temporarily), on the trajectory of social problems.

From the point of view of comparative studies on news coverage of environmental issues, some results give indications of important trends in framing. However, the overwhelming majority of cross-national studies focus on how climate change (and its discourses) are reported / constructed in the press worldwide. The relative paucity of comparative studies focusing on other environmental issues is quite noticeable, which seemingly narrows the environmental communication research. Based on the contributions of sociology and some key concepts in the approach of social problems, it appears that the circulation and consolidation of environmental discourses in the media involves multiple factors, many of which are complex to assess qualitatively. This does not preclude, however, the development of studies, both cross-nationally and cross-culturally, about these dynamics.

Having reviewed some of the main theoretical and analytical assumptions about the relationship between environment and media, the next chapter will focus exclusively on the interfaces within the triangle environmental discourse, Amazonia, and the media.

CHAPTER 3. INTERTWINING AMAZONIA AND THE MEDIA

Based on the guiding questions of this research, it is essential to dissect in details the two main variables under analysis, namely, Amazonia (a physical, bio-social, geopolitical but also symbolic environment) and the media (a whole technical, communicational, socio-cultural apparatus, yet also the subject and object of symbolic constructions). Thus, aiming at a careful approach to the object of study, this chapter intends to present and discuss some of the main socio-historical connections between the Amazon, the media (in a broad sense), and their discourses, simultaneously to the elaboration of a state of the art on the Amazon in / by the media. In a first stage, a preliminary reflection upon the link Amazonia x (primitive) media is made in order to apprehend, along a second moment, certain social and cultural frameworks and discursive flows about Amazonia. Next, I provide a general panorama of media coverage on Amazonia according to three scopes: largest Amazon country (Brazil), regionally (within the Pan-Amazon) and internationally.

3.1. Brief history of the interconnections between Amazonia and the media

By drafting a broader historical background about the two main topics of this research, the following paragraphs briefly explore an interesting (relative) coincidence in History: the advent of the press along with the "discovery" of America (and Amazonia). Thus, symbolically, as the first "pre-media" writings appeared, Amazonia was also rising for the "Old Continent". Although obviously the true history might be much more complex than what is asymmetrically reported by official sources — largely because it misses the register of Indigenous oral narratives and other silenced sides — these first cultural contacts constitute the genesis of what centuries later would embody the sense of global commons.

From the point of view of the circulation of people, goods and knowledge, the great navigations and the advent of the printing press, both of which dating to the 15th century, can be understood as embryonic stages of the globalizing process now in full swing in contemporary societies. In fact, the first foundations for important material and cultural exchanges or transfers between culturally and geographically distant civilizations were based on intercontinental contacts propitiated by mainly European peoples, referred to as "discoveries" or "colonization". This represented not only the first incursions into distant frontiers, inter-oceanic or overseas, but the literal discovery of other contents (material and symbolic) and new border zones on the globe. Hence, it can be seen as a crucial requisite for a globalization in which "territories and frontiers, political regimes and lifestyles, cultures and

civilizations seem to merge, tense and dynamize in other modalities, directions or possibilities" (FT) (Ianni, 1998, p. 33).

If the human presence in the Amazon region, dating back at least 11,000 years, was allegedly characterized by nomadism, tribalism and, above all, orality, in turn, the European pioneers, at the time of the "colonization" of America, were abandoning oral traditions and being initiated into the world of the press. In a section aiming to analyze the relationship between the Amazon and the media, it is worth to briefly highlight some aspects of the relative historical coincidence between two important "discoveries" by Europeans: that of the "New World", and that of the primitive mass media[43] (books and pamphlets) and "pre-journalistic devices"[44] (non-periodicals), such as letters, chronicles and relations (travel / news reports) (Sousa, 2008a).

There are hints that at least three navigators were in the vicinity and in front of the mouth of the Amazon River before official Brazil's "discoverer" Pedro Álvares Cabral[45]. In 1500 the Portuguese navigators (Amerigo Vespucci, Alonso Ojeda and Vicente Pinzón), before landing in Porto Seguro, would have named the (Amazon) river as Santa Maria de la Mar Dulce (Homma, 2003). However, historical records point to Francisco Orellana as, in 1541, the pioneer to sail through and thus designate the "Amazon River", according to the travel report of the Spanish friar Gaspar de Carvajal. Although in Portugal the first periodical, A Gazeta, only appeared a century later, in 1641, there are several historical writings, although not media writings, about the Amazon region dating from the 16th century. The Caribbean Amazon, for example, was first described in the account of Columbus' third voyage to America, in 1498, along the North Atlantic coast (Oliveira, 2011).

From the perspective of the effects on the readers, contemporary or not to such writings, one could argue that travel accounts function as texts that are simultaneously historical, literary, and even journalistic, since they are descriptive and opinionated narratives aimed at informing a limited "target audience". One could also say that as autobiographical narratives they tend toward literature. Nevertheless, if seen as testimonies or records of an unknown reality but of public interest, they are more like historical reportage and, thereby, journalistic chronicles. Interestingly, *Mundus novus* (1503) itself, whose authorship is attributed to Amerigo Vespucci, has a sensationalist appeal, according to Brotton (2013). This feature, one could add, constitutes a striking and "viral" aspect of modern media:

[43] This is evidently an imperfect designation, it must be acknowledged, since the "mass" was illiterate and such writings circulated among a tiny literate portion of the population (basically royalty, aristocracy and clergy).

[44] Sousa (2008b), however, claims that the journalistic phenomenon is quite old, "since Antiquity, there have been devices for the regular and organized exchange of current information, that is, for the exchange of news" (2008b: 2).

[45] Even though Cabral's voyage, which is better documented, is the official landmark of colonization in Brazil, it is known that in the last years of the 15th century a Portuguese ship commanded by Duarte Pacheco crossed the Equator and sailed through Brazilian seas (Gadelha, 2002)

> By claiming the discovery of a "new world" (in contrast to Columbus' belief that he had docked in Asia), and adding some astonishing accounts of the sexual and dietary customs of the natives, the success of *Mundus Novus* was assured. Within weeks, it was hastily printed in Venice, Paris, and Antwerp, and by 1505 there were at least five printed editions published in German [...]. (Brotton, 2013, p. 219)

From sensationalism to indifference, the latter as a characteristic detected by several studies on the contemporary way of representing the human element in the Amazon (Dutra, 2001; Morbach, 2006; Steinbrenner, 2007; Vicentini, 2013), the media play a predominant role in the internal and external signification of this place. Internally, they imposed, within the scope of European cultural and colonial domination, the gradual homogenization, detribalization and demoralization of Indigenous peoples. For instance, one can cite the role of literacy and books in this process, notably through the Jesuit catechization of the Indians, including the teaching of Latin, its grammar and rhetoric, and the — until then nonexistent — writing of Indigenous languages, which culminated with the printing of the first grammar book of the tupi-guarni language, in 1595, by the priest José de Anchieta[46]. Externally, the press favored the circulation of perceptions about the territories unknown to Europeans, the material bases for the expansion of Renaissance scientific rationalist thought, and the consolidation of national languages. "Print, in turning the vernaculars into mass media, or closed systems, created the uniform, centralizing forces of modern nationalism" (McLuhan, 1962, p. 199). In this sense, it is worth considering the implicit relationship between nationalism and discourses of (counter)domination, crucial in the dynamics of colonization and political independence that occurred in all exploited nations of the "New World". This is because, just as the Jesuits needed to learn Indigenous languages in order to evangelize, contemporary Indigenous remnants are forced to use writing in order to make their voices of resistance echo, whether through printed (newspapers, magazines, pamphlets) or electronic media (blogs, websites, social networks, etc.).

To close this preamble, the theories of the author of The Gutemberg galaxy seem heuristic for a reflection about Amazonia and the media. He proposes that ("Western" / European) "alphabetic man was disposed to desacralize his mode of being" (McLuhan, 1962, p. 69). This assertion is particularly true in the way the Indigenous holistic and spiritual worldview was systematically overshadowed by Eurocentric thinking, in favor of a utilitarian and rationalistic relationship with nature. Paradoxically, the Edenic or resacralized motif, prompted by the feeling of "lost paradise", is recurrent in European narratives on the occasion of the arrival to the American continent (Aquino, 2011; Guimarães, 2010;

[46] The controversial initiative of the Jesuits, expelled from Brazil by the Marquis of Pombal (1760), under charges of conspiracy against the Portuguese kingdom, still generates debates today on the benefits and evils of Indian schooling. Our intent here is restricted to reflect on writing and the book as a medium and its impact on the Amazonian / Brazilian historical and social context.

Stefanello & Castro, 2005). On the other hand, it may not be mere chance that the rise of the ecological movement coincides with that of electronic media, responsible, according to McLuhan, for a return to orality, although in this case a mediated one, and for a consequent retribalization. In the complex and dynamic Amazonian power relations that we intend to analyze in the course of this work, the capacity of agglutination and social mobilization undertaken by some groups / tribes, is quite visible. The growing pressures for environmental and climate control mechanisms make the last natural reserves "ecological sanctuaries", implying, in this sense, a return to the "sacred", profaned by insatiable capitalism, whose hegemony has been increasingly questioned socially and politically, not only in alternative by also mainstream media. Among other stakes, this leads to the necessary identification of the main discourses about the Amazon region, a task carried out along the next section.

3.2. Key discourses about Amazonia in society and in the media

This section is dedicated to the most embryonic, perhaps not always remembered, links between the Amazon, and some of its more ancient events and representations, which help to shed light to present challenges. Conversely, the idea of a "primitive media", referring to books and more literary genres such like travel reports and letters, aims at demonstrating how meanings and discourses have had the timeless potential to justify actions and power struggles.

There is no reported or mediated discourse originating from outside the social milieu. This very basic premise guides the following paragraphs, in which a variety of narratives and facts are brought together from a social-historical perspective. Hence, the objective of this section is precisely to outline a brief Amazonian panorama of such discursive flows, which constantly feedback according to the logic of social action. Therefore, discourses will be examined in the light of their performative and / or constitutive potential upon reality, that is, in a three-dimensional conception: text (oral / written; media / documentary, etc.) integrated to a discursive practice, which in turn is inserted in a social practice (Fairclough, 1992).

The first meaning of the word "discourse" refers to oratory, as a solemn, persuasive oral message, a significance perhaps more closely related to Indigenous cultures. But in practice most discourses on the Amazon until the end of the 20th century (pre-internet era) were written and authored by Europeans or Brazilians, generally exogenous to the Amazonian space[47]. Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, these chronicles report on the "discovery" of unknown lands and people, the prospection of

[47] Some of the main chroniclers responsible for constructions of meanings about Brazil / Amazonia in Europe in the first three centuries after the "discovery" of America were the Portuguese Pero Vaz de Caminha, Fernão Cardim, Pero Lopes de Souza, Gabriel Soares de Souza, Pero de Magalhães Gandavo, Ambrósio Fernandes Brandão, Simão de Vasconcelos, Father José de Anchieta, and Manuel da Nóbrega; as well as the Europeans from elsewhere Hans Staden, André Thevet, Jean de Léry, João Andreoni (Antonil), Claude d'Abbeville, Yves d'Evreux, Alexander von Humboldt, and Charles-Marie de La Condamine.

riches, natural products and raw materials, the cultural discrepancy between pioneers and natives and, later on, about the biological diversity of the "new" continent, responsible for the intense flow of naturalists (botanists and zoologists) in the Amazon. Consequently, this also led to a flow of species to be planted, domesticated or to compose the collections of the great natural history museums in Europe and other continents. Specially, some of these discourses can be labeled as historical and scientific rather than journalistic, beyond the socio-political role of travel narratives / reports during this period. With the appearance of the first newspaper in Brazil, the Gazeta do Rio de Janeiro, in 1808, on the occasion of the arrival of Portuguese monarch Dom João VI and his court, the Amazonian theme likely might have aroused some regime of attention in the Brazilian press in the 19th century, but no specific studies providing clear clues on this direction were retrieved[48]. It is known, for example, that besides opening the ports to nations friendly to Portugal, the monarch authorized scientific expeditions in the country, an illegal activity until then (Gomes, 2014).

In the early years of the 20th century, two visions about the Amazon had repercussions in Brazilian literature, which by then was already sketching out journalistic (documentary) outlines: the collection of short stories *Inferno verde* (FT: *Green Hell*) (1908), by Alberto Rangel, prefaced by the author of several "Amazonian essays" (1907-1909), the writer Euclides da Cunha, later collected behind the title of *Paraíso perdido* (FT: *Lost paradise*). In addition to some biographical coincidences between Rangel and Cunha (both were engineers in the service of the Brazilian government in the Amazon region), there is an important thematic resonance between the two works, notably with regard to the destruction of the Eldorado myth, through social denunciation of the precarious living and working conditions faced mainly by mestizo Indians and migrants from Brazil's Northeast region, attracted by the Rubber Cycle. For the first time there were discourses in which the native Amazonian, even though showing some moral flaws, is somehow humanized, no longer being portrayed as exotic, picturesque, bestial or infantilized (the predominant and nearly unique exogenous vision until then). However, from the universe described by Euclides da Cunha, focused especially on life in the rubber plantations and the Amazonian cities at the beginning of the last century, some ambiguities emerged, such as "land without history" and "incomplete page of Genesis". This is because the author "oscillates between the wonders that nature provides, and the horror of the societies which settle there. Under this paradox, nothing is harmonious" (FT) (Guillen, 2000).

[48] Yet, interestingly, *The New York Times* published at least four articles between 1867 and 1899 with the expression "Amazon basin". Withdrawing the quotation marks, the same search parameters yield 21 results between 1851 and 1899. Given the circumstances of the time for the activity of international journalism, the number of results may not be insignificant. Source: NYT Archives

It was also at the start of the 20th century that the first major construction projects were inaugurated in Amazonia, the Madeira-Mamoré (1912) and Tucuruí (1908) railroads. Another venture worth mentioning within the scope of the rise of the developmentist spirit — and no longer colonialist, considering the political independence of Brazil still in the first half of the 19th century — refers to the coming, with a concession from the Pará State Government, of Henry Ford to Amazonia in 1927[49], as already referred in Chapter 1. Ford's industrial achievement had considerable repercussion both in the national and international press, since journalists and public opinion evaluated such project as a "Dantesque confrontation between two irreducible forces. On the one hand, Ford, herald of the performance and determination of American capitalism. On the other, the Amazon Forest, untamable, closed in its wild and mysterious world" (FT) (Battagion, n.d.).

In the perspective of the full expansion of populist developmentist, the political discourse of the statesman Getúlio Vargas marked the Brazilian scenario between the 1930s and 1950s. The rise of this Brazilian president is directly related to that of radio as the electronic media in the first half of the 20th century. An important speech by Vargas about the Amazon was even published in the *Revista Brasileira de Geografia* (FT: *Brazilian Journal of Geography*), in 1942, in an edition alluding to the fourth centennial of the "discovery" of the Amazon River. It is, in general terms, a powerful rhetorical amalgam of stereotypes, mythification, nationalism and neocolonialism, imperialist heritage from Europe (in the following excerpt, referred to as "major Motherland"), but here replicated into inter-regional context:

> With the first knowledge from the major Motherland, this marvellous valley appears to the young spirit, symbolizing the territorial grandeur, the unequalled feracity, the phenomena peculiar to primitive life and the struggle for existence in all its picturesque and dangerous extension [...] Conquering the land, dominating the water, subduing the forest were our tasks. And in this struggle, which has lasted for centuries, we are gaining victory upon victory. The city of Manaus is not the least of them. Many others reserve for us the constancy of effort and the persistent courage to achieve them. (FT) (Vargas, 194, p.: 259)

Giving ideological continuity to the nationalization of the Amazonian territory, by suggesting a persistent demographic, civilizational and human vacuum in the region, the Brazilian military governments (1964-1984) intensified the economic exploitation of the Amazon, legitimizing such predatory action through the slogan "integrate so as not to hand over". In a study on the advertising campaign of the agrarian colonization project for Amazonia during the military government of General Médici (1969-1975), Morbach (2006) identified narrative and imagetic elements of the construction of a "subaltern identity", in which the (Brazilian) northeasterner would constitute a kind of ideal type,

[49] With the rising price of latex in the early 20th century, the automobile magnate decided to build his own rubber factory in the locality that would later be called Fordlandia, on the banks of the Tapajós River. The Companhia Ford Industrial do Brasil was handed over to the Brazilian government in 1945, producing only 2% of capacity. The failure of the experiment was mainly due to technological deficiencies related to monocultures in tropical zones, although there were some innovations in terms of infrastructure (Homma, 2003).

enabling a media standard of the diffusion of social exclusion. In this context, it is known that the massification of the slogan "Land without men for men without land" substantially implies the invisibility of the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon (Dutra, 2001) and the subservience of the poor farmer, concealing complex social issues, such as huge private properties and agrarian reform, not only in the Northeast region, but in the country as a whole. We must also emphasize the cooperation between the dictatorship and the popularization of television in Brazil as a key factor in the military propagandist appeal, especially for the unprecedented images of the Amazon in movement (first in black and white, then in color), representing the jungle as multiple obstacles to development, sovereignty and national integration. Such strategy, disguised by nationalism and an alleged social valorization, basically aimed at legitimizing the Green Revolution underway in the country and the exploitation of forest and mineral wealth, serving almost exclusively the (inter)national economic elites[50] (Steinbrenner, 2007).

Although, formally, freedom of expression, inside and outside the media, was the target of censorship during the military regime in Brazil, counter-hegemonic voices were able to resonate with some ecological and pro-Indigenous messages especially from the 1980s, a decade that was marked by the internationalization of the Amazon as a topic of global interest. As we will see later on, the assassination of the rubber tapper, trade unionist and environmentalist Chico Mendes (in 1988) had great repercussions in the foreign media and, consequently, in the national political-environmental scenario.

> Undoubtedly, 1988 was a watershed year for Amazonia. The negative side stemmed from the importance of international pressure to modify the country's internal policies and the mimicry that began to prevail in public policies and in Amazonia, as a commodity in exchange, showing the inability of Brazilian society to solve environmental and human rights problems, which in needs have always been subject to international pressure for their solution. (FT) (Homma, 2003, p. 168)

A few months after the Chico Mendes episode (crime, repercussion and international pressure from various groups and NGOs), the first meeting of Amazonian businessmen took place in Manaus (1989), which culminated in the publication of a manifesto entitled "Letter from Amazonia", signed by around 40 entities. The text recognizes in its first paragraph that "in recent times, Amazonia has become the centre of worldwide attention, being projected in Brazil and abroad only as the stage for indiscriminate devastation for speculative purposes, unnecessary burning and the genocide of its Indians" (FT) (Homma, 2003, p. 191). This discourse aims at legitimizing economic and social development in the region, financially neglected and unjustly accused of all the environmental wounds of the planet, arguing

[50] Evidence of these phenomena can be seen in the current Human Development Index and Gini Coefficient in Brazil's North region, generally lower than the national average, which is already quite low compared to the Brazilian GDP. The works and economic activities (mining) with the greatest impact on the Amazon region date back to the military period in Brazil: Transamazon Highway (1972), Manaus Free Trade Zone (1967), Programa Grande Carajás (1980). The 1970s, when the first chainsaw factory was set up in the country, can be considered the decade of gigantic deforestation in the region (Homma, 2003).

that "public opinion cannot be unaware that the greatest ecological threat to the world is poverty" (Homma, 2003, p. 191).

In terms of media coverage, the United Nations Conference on the Environment (Eco-92) was decisive in defining both biodiversity and the Amazon as focal points in the political and international discourses on the subject. The re-edition of the conference in 2012 (Rio+20) would substantially incorporate the growing social concerns about global climate change. On the eve of Eco-92, however, members of the scientific and intellectual community signed a manifesto entitled "Heidelberg Appeal", against primitivism for ecological solutions in the world. The document expresses concern at the "emergence of an irrational ideology that opposes scientific and industrial progress and undermines economic and social development" (FT) (Homma, 2003: 205). This exemplifies the high degree of disagreement involved in ecological and socioeconomic issues at the same time. Moreover, at the turn of the 21st century, the much ancient, controversial socio-political and environmental agenda marked both celebrations and protests — in the foreign media, more vexation than anything else[51] — when the nation's "birthday", an event known as "Brazil 500 years", took place during the year 2000.

As Amazonia represents a territory of considerable appeal to the human imagination, the numerous and interesting stories of exogenous people seduced by this space would certainly deserve a separate study. Many were and still are, for example, the international celebrities attracted to Amazonia, whether from the political or artistic world, in addition to notorious men from the political-economic-scientific world and the aforementioned adventurers and explorers hopeful and eager for treasures. Since the 20th century, Henry Ford was not the only famous foreigner to travel through Amazonian lands: also did so — and the list is by no means exhaustive — the former US president Theodore Roosevelt (whose journey gave rise to the book *Through the Brazilian wilderness*), the British singer Sting, the US filmmaker James Cameron[52], the football player David Beckham (in a partial recording of the documentary Into the Unknown), the Austro-American actor and politician Arnold Schwarznegger, the American actor and activist Leonardo Di Caprio, among many others. The performance and even militancy from celebrities raise controversy, for defending the environment and ethnic minorities, at the same time as these public figures come from rich, ex-imperialist and capitalist countries (not to mention

[51] Indigenous people, Afro-descendants and activists of social and cultural movements, in peaceful protest were violently repressed by police during the "Brasil 500 years" festivities, in Porto Seguro. The event caused embarrassment among the authorities present, among them the presidents of Brazil (Fernando Henrique Cardoso) and Portugal (Jorge Sampaio) and wide publicity in the foreign media — not to mention the fact that a replica of Cabral's ship sank during the event. Some foreign headlines said: "Brazil celebrates 500 years by repressing Indians" (*Le Monde*); "Bitter fifth centenary in Brazil" (*El País*); "Indians lead protests as Brazil celebrates" (*The Observer*).

[52] Some critics interpret(ed) the plot of *Avatar*, one of the highest-grossing feature films in cinema history, as emblematic of the Amazonian ethnic and social drama, pointing to the film as "a masterpiece of politically correct thinking, with messages in favour of an old-fashioned thesis for the internationalization of Amazonia" (FT) (Roberto Amado, "O mala da selva está (quase) sempre na hora certa e no lugar certo". URL: http://exame.abril.com.br/estilo-de-vida/noticias/o-mala-da-selva-esta-quase-sempre-na-hora-certa-e-no-lugar-certo.

consumerist personal lifestyles in some cases). Among the visits by illustrious characters, it is worth highlighting the scientific expedition called Roosevelt-Rondon (1913-1914; in partnership with the Brazilian military engineer Cândido Rondon[53]), undertaken at the request of the former president of the United States, with the aim of collecting specimens of Amazonian fauna and flora, to be sent to the American Museum of Natural History. In his travel journal, Roosevelt reiterates the tropical climate hostility, expressed by Amazon's "hellish nature", since "the very pathetic myth of 'beneficent nature' could not deceive even the least wise being if he once saw for himself the iron cruelty of life in the tropics"[54] (Roosevelt, 2004, p. 524)[55].

Ultimately, I conclude this brief flight over Amazonian discourses by outlining the paramount importance that the Amazon has acquired in international political agendas, such as the latest Conferences of the Parties (COPs), within the scope of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCC). Since COP 20 (in Lima, Peru, 2014), there have been editions of the "Amazon Solutions Day", a multi-sectoral meeting (government leaders, private sectors, NGOs, civil society and scientific institutions) in search of a joint vision regarding the strategies and agendas for the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the Amazon, as well as their financing mechanisms.

Keeping in mind the diversity of voices and discourses from / about Amazonia along time, the next section will concentrate on media discourses.

3.3 Media coverage about Amazonia

Some of the main links that make up the historical-social discursive matrix about Amazonia space having been addressed, time has come to adjust the focus to the relationship between the two main axes that underpin this work: Amazonia and the media. In a zoom out movement — from local to global — I describe along the next subsections some instances in which the Amazon was represented and (discursively) constructed by the media: Brazilian, regional (Amazonian countries in northwestern South America) and international.

[53] The later Marechal Rondon, of European and Indigenous descent, was an important integrationist and pacifist, having been the first and longest-lasting director of the Indian Protection Service (1910-1948). Recognized and awarded inside and outside Brazil (including in the name of the state of Rondônia), he was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1957.

[54] Source: Projeto Memória Rondon: a construção do Brasil e a causa indígena (Project Rondon Memory: the construction of Brazil and the Indigenous cause). URL: http://www.projetomemoria.art.br/rondon/principios-expedicao-roosevelt-rondon.jsp. A recent HBO Max miniseries portrays Roosevelt as a man tired of politics who decides to explore the Amazon — and almost dies during the expedition.

[55] Epub downloaded from Gutenberg Project. URL: https://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/11746

3.3.1 Amazonia in the Brazilian media

Whether through the countless writings over the last five centuries, with emphasis on narratives full of exoticism, elaborate descriptions and varied metaphors, or through the images of painting, photography and video, or even through the multiple voices and sounds of the forest, the contemporary Amazonian imaginary is vast and, in this sense, the media in particular have played an important role in accessing, representing and (re)building this collection. Despite the wide range of fictional products, especially films and TV (mini / macro) series[56], it is the allegedly journalistic materials that interest us the most, for presenting themselves as an objective and reliable representation of truth of the "facts".

One of the most influential Brazilian illustrated magazines, *O Cruzeiro* (1928-1975), dedicated some photographic reports to Amazonia (Figure 1), offering to middle-class readers the same stereotypical, almost monolithic, view of the region and the Amazonian human factor. "Especially between the 1940s and 1950s the Amazon frequented Brazilian homes through the pages of Cruzeiro, presenting scenarios and faces that marked the gigantic physical difference between 'us' [whites] and 'them' [Indians], between the civilized Brazil and the lost paradise" (FT) (Almeida, 2014, p. 9).



Figure 1: Especial report from *O Cruzeiro* magazine about Amazonia, published in 1929.
Its title reads: "In the mysteries of the jungles: hunting in the hinterlands of Brazil" (FT).
Source: Collection of Museu de Arte de São Paulo (reproduced from Almeida, 2014).

[56] Some examples are: "Amazônia" (TV Bandeirantes, 1985); "Amazônia" (TV Manchete, 1992); "Mad Maria" (about the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré railway, TV Globo, 2005); "Amazônia, de Galvez a Chico Mendes" (TV Globo, 2007).

Another weekly magazine with a large circulation (the largest contemporary Brazilian magazine, in fact) and impact in Brazil is *Veja* magazine, published uninterruptedly since 1968 to the present day. *Veja* was the most influential news magazine in Brazil along the second half of the 20th century [57], bringing the publication closer to a national version of the American magazines *Time* and *Newsweek*. The magazine dedicated its first cover to Amazonia in 1970, with the title "A Década da Amazônia" (FT: "The Amazon Decade") (Figure 2). In the pages of the special report the headline highlighted "The last frontier. Amazonia: from myth to disbelief to hope", with texts and images on the following topics: nature threatened by large road undertakings; the myth surrounding the doubtful foreign action in Amazonia, according to a logic of silent threat of international occupation (a myth questioned by the journalist of the article)[58]; the overthrow of the myth of "happy misery", according to which extreme poverty and insalubrity would be more bearable where there is natural beauty and potential food via fishing / hunting; denunciation of the social problems (unemployment) and economic problems (speculation) caused by large federal projects in Brazil's North region, especially in Manaus; revision of the myth of absolute fecundity, pointing out the scarcity of knowledge and technologies for the appropriate use of Amazonian soils for agriculture, but presenting successful cases and the economic viability of native products of the region.

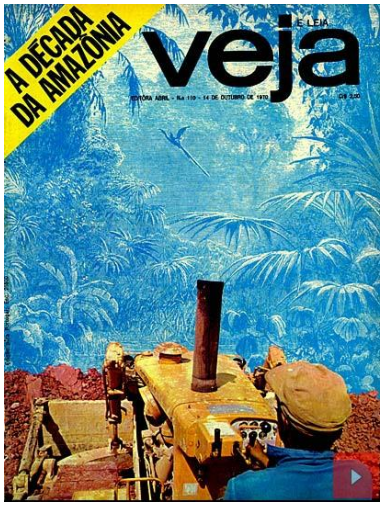


Figure 2: First cover of *Veja* magazine dedicated to Amazonia (October, 1970)
Source: *Veja*'s digital collection.

[57] In the past, *Veja* was one of the largest in the world in terms of printed circulation. For a long time its circulation exceeded 1 million copies per week. However, it ended 2020 with an average of 144,141 hard copies per issue. Source: Poder 360. URL: https://www.poder360.com.br/midia/revistas-em-2020-circulacao-impressa-e-digital-despencam/

[58] Edition available at www.veja.abril.com.br/acervodigital/home.aspx (edition n° 110). The journalist Raimundo Pereira concludes his section on "Invaders and spies" in the following terms (perhaps a little bold for a time of censorship): "Even though the 'occupation' by foreign capital is peaceful and officially well-received, with the action of possible 'spy' [religious] missionaries limited to petty actions, the supposed international greed has been used as an element — practically publicity — of certain campaigns" (FT) (p. 58).

Since this first Amazonian dossier in the great national press — making up to ten pages, three of which covered by images of natural exuberance — Amazonia was the front page highlight in Veja alone more than a dozen times. For the period 1969-2008, one should consider that:

> The magazine builds its discourse by dissociating the representation of the Amazon already crystallized and attributed (by the magazine itself) as common sense, while highlighting aspects considered unknown to the reader of Veja: the Amazon as an abandoned place, marginalized by the official instances, with serious social problems, miserable population, shelter of numerous diseases, stage of armed conflicts, among others. One can note that the magazine proposes a rupture of the romantic image associated, in the Brazilian imaginary, to the Amazon. The attempt to construct a realistic discourse (within the limits allowed by the magazine's editorial line, of course) is visible in the first reports, especially up to 1991. (FT) (Coelho & Julião, 2008, p. 6)

This finding is in line with what is usually pointed about the publication: its interpretative and investigative posture, based on the principles of objectivity and impartiality — Veja does not have a publicly expressed editorial line, apart from the section "Letter to the Reader", which comments on current affairs in general covered by the edition. Furthermore, its trajectory was marked in the 1970s and 1980s by social criticism, with center-left tendencies, within the edges allowed in a scenario of political dictatorship. It was a model of quality journalism until the early 1990s, when it began to practice brown right-wing, liberal and propagandist journalism, and whose credibility, circulation and budget have been diminishing in recent years (Dines, 2005; Dines, 2014; Luz, 2013). This is, in short, a classic case in which environmental agendas mask political interests and debates, since the environmental discourse of the magazine is built "as an instrument to criticize the political instances in the historical periods analyzed (especially the military government and Lula da Silva) acting, therefore, in order to legitimize its ideological orientation, configuring itself much more political than environmental" (FT) (Coelho & Julião, 2008, p. 9). Although *Veja* is one of the Brazilian mass media that, proportionally to its periodicity, most constructed meanings about the Amazon in recent decades, this theme is also recurrent in isolated articles, inserted or not in environmental editorials, and also in cover stories of other printed periodicals (Figure 3).

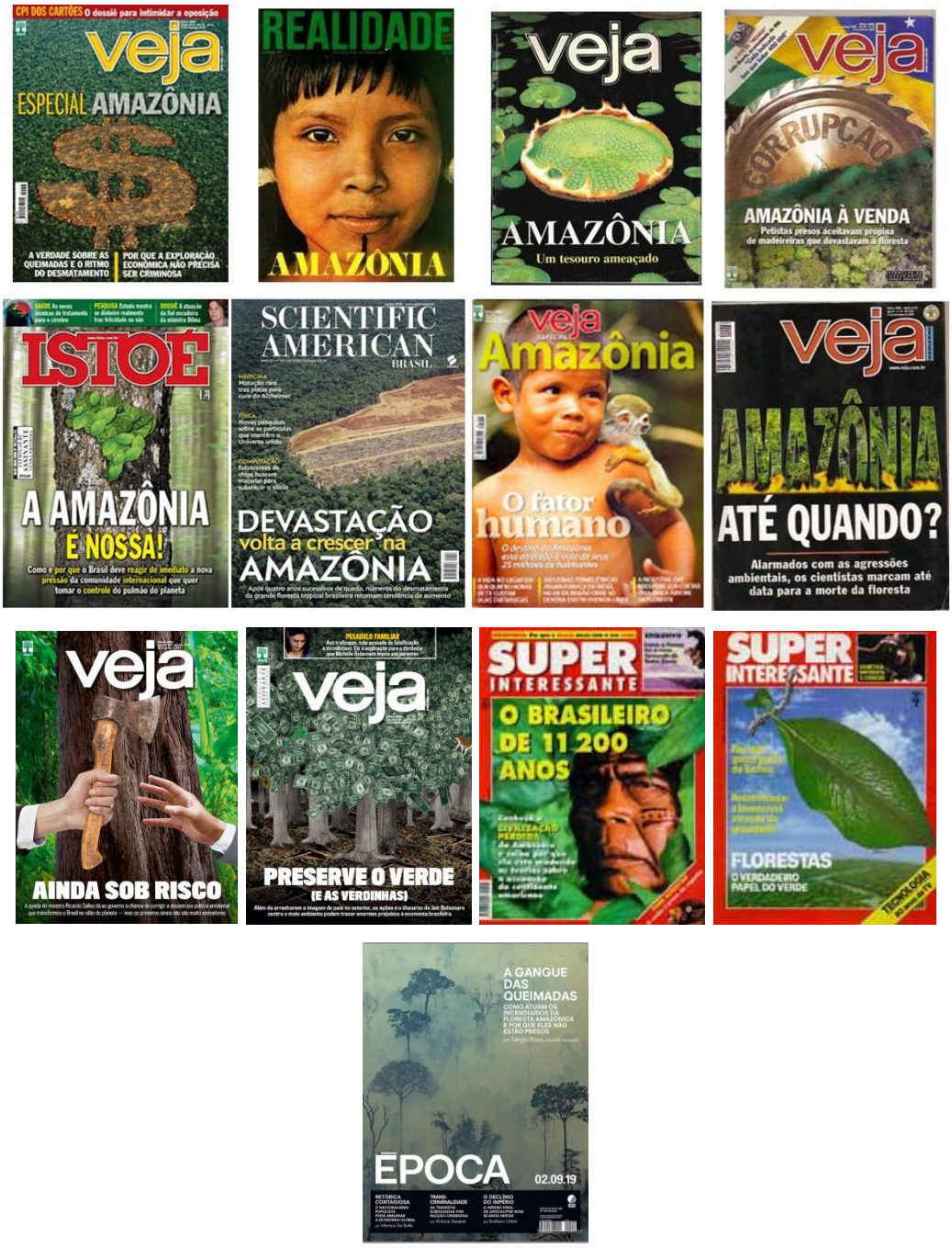


Figure 3: Covers about the Amazon in magazines published in Brazil

As far as Amazon coverage in Brazilian press is concerned, there is still relatively little data, since most studies focus on less than half a dozen newspapers, and in a period generally restricted to a few years. Besides, the diversity of local, regional and national news outlets, together with the multifaceted nature of the theme, generate media reports in such diversified editorials as environment, economy, politics, culture, society, etc., turning coverage analysis quite complex and challenging. Also the geographic distance between the headquarters of the major national newspapers and the territory of news interest plays a crucial role, since, for example, the perspective of vision and speech about the

Amazon changes between a newspaper edited in (Amazon State of) Pará or in São Paulo (Santos, 2002; Fujiyoshi, 2006).

Despite having hardly addressed the Amazon complexity in its cover calls, the weekly magazine *Época* (published by Globo; in circulation since 1998), one of the four largest Brazilian magazines along with *Veja*, *Isto É* and *Carta Capital*, has the differential of sporadically publishing, since 2006, some self-styled "green editions", focused on reports on sustainability, ecology, green economy, etc. The magazine rarely elected the Amazon as its main headline. Still, the second special issue ("Amazônia vigiada", 1998) (FT: "The Amazon surveyed"), makes reference to the implementation of the old and controversial project called the Amazon Surveillance System (SIVAM)[59]. The green editions of *Época* claim to be sustainable, as they trigger the calculation of carbon released in the production, printing and distribution of copies, and the subsequent allocation of resources for the planting of trees, aiming to neutralize emissions from editorial activity. However, the meanings that the magazine builds for readers about what is "being green" refer to neoliberal capitalism and consumerism, since environmental issues are treated as market opportunities, centered at three attitudes: "optimistic engagement", "citizen consumer" and "green as a business" (Schwaab, 2010, p. 213).

If the press is capable of elaborating powerful messages about the Amazon, what can be said about television, a medium that has consecrated the image as an imperious discursive engine? Within the scope of reportage journalism, the natural wealth of Brazil and South America, especially the Amazon, has been — and still frequently is —the recurring theme of the program *Globo Repórter*, aired on TV Globo since 1973. The current format and periodicity — one subject per weekly program — was consolidated ten years later, but the TV program has always been broadcast in prime time (at night), usually after Brazil's rather traditional "9 p.m. soap opera" produced by the largest open TV network and largest media conglomerate in Brazil. Dutra (2001) and Vicentini (2013) examined the discourses and meanings about the Amazon in Globo Repórter emissions in two different eras (in the year 2000, in the scope of the programming "Brazil 500 years", and in 2010, respectively), observing convergent representations: exuberance of nature, human erasure, disqualification of the Indigenous, colonialist stereotype (Dutra, 2001); also naturalist look, stereotype of the "ribeirinho" (riverside communities), idea of the lost paradise (Vicentini, 2013). Journalistic programs like *Globo Repórter* are broadcast by

[59] SIVAM, whose conception had begun in the early 1990s, was a billionaire project coordinated by the Brazilian body that currently corresponds to the Ministry of Defence, in the heat of alleged threats of internationalization of the territory. It gave rise to great controversy and suspicions of irregularities, such as influence peddling, espionage and fraudulent bidding, and was made possible by the US company Raytheon Company, one of the leading manufacturers of military hardware in the US. SIVAM was officially inaugurated in 2002, with the aim of controlling air traffic in the Amazon and monitoring the region's environment. At the time, reports by the *Folha de São Paulo* newspaper and *Veja* magazine demonstrated that SIVAM would be unable to monitor skies, deforestation and drug trafficking in the Legal Amazon.

Globo TV International, with premium subscribers spread in more than a hundred countries, specially lusophones.

It is also worth mentioning that Rede Cultura, a São Paulo-based Brazilian public television network with limited national reach—except via subscription channels—has a weekly program called *Nova Amazônia* (FT: "New Amazonia"), which aims at uniting "all forms of knowledge originated in the Amazon region: from the rigor of scientific research to the wisdom of the forest peoples"[60]. On the other hand, Brazil's giant media empire TV Globo broadcast for a period along the 2010s, in commercial breaks of low to medium audience, very short reports of no more than one minute, entitled *Globo Natureza* (FT: "Globo Nature"), in which aspects mainly from Amazon's flora and fauna are an eventual agenda. At the end of each insertion the credits of the sponsor are mentioned, a tactic attempting to ally consumption with environmentally friendly companies. More recently, these short insertions have adopted an open pro-pro-agriculture content, by exploring cultural, consumption-related, and economic links of Brazil's most important agricultural and livestock products / commodities (hence abandoning the pro-nature slogan by highlighting the importance of agribusiness to Brazil).

Regarding the national coverage of newspapers and news sites on the theme, some of the main studies available should be mentioned. Oliveira (1990) performed a content analysis on newspaper articles from the Brazilian mainstream press (*O Estado de São Paulo*, *Folha de São Paulo*, *Jornal do Brasil* and *O Globo*), published in the late 1980s (Aug. 1988 to Dec. 1989). Even if centered on the Amazon as an ecological-scientific field, the study demonstrated that the selection of topics and sources of information were visibly influenced by international pressures, scientific and political as well as journalistic ones (Oliveira, 1990). Another academic work of greater temporal scope, but focused on the imaginary and myths in the Amazonian narratives of the two main newspapers in São Paulo (*Estadão* and *Folha*)[61], showed that during the Brazilian dictatorship a positivist vision of the Amazon predominated, associated with the industrial bourgeoisie, while during the period of democracy in Brazil the discourse of sustainable development emerged ("ecobusiness"), associated with the monopolist bourgeoisie (Stefanello, 2005). Additionally, Brianezi (2013), who examined journalistic and institutional articles, as well as pronouncements by parliamentarians from the State of Amazonas on the project to renew the Manaus Free Trade Zone for another 50 years, also identified the shift from the progressive discourse, dominant at the time of the creation of this industrial hub by military governments in the heart of the Amazon, to the sustainability and ecological modernization discourses.

[60] Source: TV Cultura website. URL: https://cultura.uol.com.br/programas/novaamazonia/
[61] Short names for the newspapers *O Estado de São Paulo* and *Folha de São Paulo*.

Adopting a complementary perspective, Mendes and Mello (2010) analyzed the contribution of the media to the formation of Brazilian public opinion about the Amazon, comparing the coverage of three major newspapers (*Folha*, *Estadão* and *O Globo*) with data obtained in a survey on the perception and position of Brazilians regarding Amazonian issues. Although the title of the study makes reference to "national public opinion in the long term", but the corpus is restricted to a few months between the end of 2007 and mid 2008, the study identified some convergences between the opinion of respondents regarding (inter)national occupation, political attitude and origin of funding for the Amazon, on the one hand, and the dominant frames in the media, representing inattention, inefficiency or discredit of State power, on the other hand. Furthermore, Santos (2002) carried out a more heterogeneous analysis of print coverage of the Amazon in 1999, comparing a national newspaper (*Folha de São Paulo*) and two regional newspapers (*O Liberal*, published in Belém, State of Pará; and *A crítica*, published in Manaus, State of Amazonas). Among the general conclusions reached by the author, typical characteristics of the journalistic activity emerge: the dominant role of official sources, as well as the agenda-setting push from the axes of economic and political power, (inter)nationally. The national newspaper was the one that most neglected the human factor, pointing out the possibilities of ecological tourism in the region, and briefly mentioning the "forest people", without however giving them a voice, an aspect that brought it closer to the other newspaper, under a logic of emptiness as an effect of meaning. Between the regional newspapers of the eastern and western Amazon, the coverage was rather similar, with emphasis on stories about regional development and forest preservation, despite the privileged space given to promoters of development (Santos, 2002).

Focusing on biodiversity issues, Fujiyoshi (2006) also confronted the coverage from newspapers of different scopes (*Folha* and *O Liberal*), within the period 2000-2003. According to the author, the national / regional coverage complemented each other, diversified sources and focused on different perspectives, although in both newspapers the use of local sources was rather rare, even for scientists linked to Amazonian institutions. The study ratified the simultaneous role of the press as the scenario and actor of a network, showing that only major controversies tend to become news; the topic "biotechnology" was the most covered in the newspapers, followed by bioprospecting, biobusiness and biodiversity (Fujiyoshi, 2006).

Some studies have assessed news about deforestation in the Amazon, a key element in development debates and in international discussions about carbon emissions and climate change. News coverage of the Amazon, with a focus on deforestation and fires, was examined by Costa (2006) in widely circulated Brazilian newspapers and magazines for the approximate period 1975 to 2002. The

study found that until the 1980s there was a predominance of descriptive and factual articles, with a preference for government sources, and that as of the 1990s the media legitimized the scientific and environmental discourses (especially from NGOs), and voices from the political field (Costa, 2006). One of the most interesting results is that social actors, such as family farmers, Indians, ranchers and loggers, as well as their respective representative bodies, were treated during the entire period as secondary actors, sometimes as villains, sometimes as victims of environmental degradation in the Amazon (Costa, 2006).

Another study partially complemented the previous one, analyzing Brazilian leading newspapers (*Folha*, *Estadão* and *O Globo*) between 2005 and 2008. It was concluded that the deforestation of the Amazon in the domestic media has a sporadic treatment, being an issue that quickly loses importance in the absence of notable political conflicts or high impact events. This would result in a fragmented and superficial public perception of socio-environmental issues (Carvalho, 2009). The author ratifies the partial omission towards local actors' discourses in the analyzed media. In turn, a content analysis on climate change in two newspapers of Amazonian states (*O Liberal*, from Belém, State of Pará, and *A Gazeta*, from Cuiabá, State of Mato Grosso), with higher rates of deforestation (at the time of the study), showed decontextualization and subordination of news to (inter)national socio-political and scientific macro-agendas (Saviatto, 2009).

Also from a regional perspective, there are the studies by Beltrão (1997; 1998) on the opinion leaders and journalists from the Amazon region regarding the idea of sustainable development and the role of agencies and the media towards the sustainability agenda. Interviews with opinion leaders in the Amazon region identified four types of agents: locally oriented idealists, internationally oriented pragmatists, regional architects, and issue specifics (Beltrão, 1998). According to this typology, the discursive gradient is quite controversial, if not conflicting. Locally oriented idealists believe in a balance between economic growth and natural resource preservation; internationally oriented pragmatists envision environmental conservation through the investment and expertise of foreign corporations; regional architects plan for the construction of an economic future for the Amazon in defense of the region's right to enjoy the benefits of growth; and issue specifics argue, for instance, that large-scale commercial agriculture is feasible in the Amazonian lowlands (Beltrão, 1998). The only common horizon to these views is precisely the defense, to a greater or lesser extent, of the concept of sustainable development. An important conclusion is that, already at the beginning of the 1990s (in the context of re-democratization in Brazil; and in the pre- and post-Rio 92 period), in regional media

coverage, the concept of sustainable development acquired a hegemonic status, marked by dynamic yet contradictory meanings (Beltrão, 1997).

Through content and language analysis of the newspapers *O Liberal* (Belém) and *A Crítica* (Manaus), integrated to interviews with its respective journalists, Beltrão also examined how the concept of sustainable development was constructed in the Amazonian press between 1991-1994. The results showed four types of discourse in the region: nationalist / developmentalist, conservationist, negotiator, and that of the excluded (Beltrão, 1997). In the poles corresponding to hegemony and counter-hegemony are, respectively, the nationalist / developmentist discourse, with an approach focused on the production of commodities and on the exploitation of natural resources, dominating the discourse of the excluded (from the speech and deliberation shperes), basically Indigenous and rural workers, based on the right and respect for self-denomination and cultural differences. The author notes that in some cases the media do not wholly recognize the status of citizens to such groups, as they often do not even mention the names of these sources, thus considered as inferior. In the intermediate position of this discursive gradient are conservationists and negotiators, who disagree on the possibility of harmonizing the use of natural resources, protection of ecosystems, and improvement of infrastructure and living conditions in the region (Beltrão, 1997).

To sum up, one can notice that dualisms and reductionist conceptions persist in the media, besides worrying biases. It is also worth to remember that even "non-Amazonian" (urban / distant) Brazilians tend to perceive the Amazon according to archetypes such as paradise / hell and civilization / barbarism (Bueno, 2002). In a way, one suspects that the strong ecological, conservationist, pro-minority, and similar movements have little destabilized the metonymy-like approach adopted by the media, according to which some part(s) is taken for the whole (Pereira, 2014; Vicentini, 2013)[62].

Recently, focusing on the issue of climate change and assessing domestic media coverage on Amazon fires (2019), Gagliardi et al. (2021) analyzed the different actors and their dissonant constructions of temporality. The authors found that Brazilian military has shared the view of the need to defend the Amazon against an alleged international greed that would threaten national sovereignty in the region, while president Bolsonaro builds a nationalistic discourse through a nostalgic understanding of Brazil's past and through science denialism (Gagliardi et al., 2021). These are important results which directly connect to the object of this thesis, since they partly share their temporal scope. Albeit I do not focus on Brazilian coverage, the international media also reverberate issues regarding

[62] Both studies are partially based on the concept of "metonymyc" reason developed by Boaventura Santos (2002) in the article "Para uma sociologia das ausências e uma sociologia das emergências", published in *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, 63.

nationalism, foreign interference, refutation of scientific discourse, among others, according to chapters to come.

Overall, one gets an impression of the sporadic and rather restrict character of both the journalistic coverage and the respective studies. This is due to the tendency to assess, on the one hand, the Amazon generally in the same Brazilian newspapers, following routine framings and stereotyped representations, and on the other hand to the fact that the respective analyses frequently focus on the same types of media and, in the case of press, in the same newspapers, slightly changing the focus and the time scope. This observation is not meant to disqualify the always welcome and necessary efforts to understand the constructions of meaning and the consequent implications in the public opinion on the subject. It is rather a matter of outlining the routes already laid out to better plan new incursions into the debates about a space of crucial importance to life in its multiplicity of forms and to the well-being of human societies.

Bearing in mind some of the main results of both media productions and studies about Amazonia in the Brazilian newspapers, in the next section we try to understand the constructions of meaning coming from other parts of the Amazon.

3.3.2. Media and the Pan-Amazonia

There is certainly a range of literary productions simultaneously from and about the Amazon, especially from the 19th century on. Specially, the rubber cycle's opulence and urbanization enabled both art and intellectual expression along with deepened social inequalities, for instance, in Peruvian city of Iquitos (Herrera, 2018; Vírhuez, 2020) — a phenomenon that marked the Amazon region as a whole, trespassing the national borders at that time already demarcated. On the other hand, mass media productions about Amazonia outside Brazil turns out to be rather difficult to locate (even in times of Google advanced searches). In terms of audiovisual production, one can cite the recent television program *Partiu Amazônia*, shown on TV Rede Amazônica, the largest regional branch of the giant Globo broadcaster. Focused on tourism, it shows the various faces of the Brazilian North, but also many places of the Pan-Amazon, with its natural, cultural, ethnic, architectural and gastronomic diversity (yet this is still a Brazilian media production).

Furthermore, there seems to be a relative scarcity of analysis on the Pan-Amazon or the Amazon beyond Brazil, which may give the impression that these nations, in the scope of this research, are being neglected due to Brazil's spotlights in the Amazonian scenario. However, some academic studies have assessed the role of the media in political-environmental coverage in countries such as

Peru (Davidsen, 2011) and Ecuador (Coryat, 2015). Both are dedicated to the triangular tensions between social movements and / or minorities, government power, and the media at critical moments of discourse, periods that involve specific events that may challenge "established" discursive positions (Carvalho, 2008). In the case of Peru, the scope was restricted to national news coverage of massive Indigenous protests in 2008-2009 in the face of the imminent commercialization of public lands for natural resource extraction. Despite being a regionalized issue, the media managed, according to Davidsen (2011), to establish important shortcuts between the local and the global (or transregional), facilitating crossed empowerment between Indigenous and environmentalists. Nevertheless, in the struggle for voice / space in the public sphere, Indigenous people found themselves forced to articulate their arguments in terms validated by the global North (land ownership; territory; economics), rather than in terms of their own culture (Davidsen, 2011). In Ecuador, the target of analysis was the rise and performance (2013-2014) of the independent, non-partisan, anti-extractivist social movement called "Yasunidos," opposed to the public communication controlled in practice by President Rafael Correa. According to its author, the increasing manipulation perpetrated by the presidential discourse revealed excesses and limits in the power of the media, while subtle tactics of citizen journalism used by the Yasunidos proved to be more effective within public opinion, hence enabling a mediated and more horizontally constructed political culture (Coryat, 2015). Additionally, I could also mention a study focused on the discursive construction about the inhabitants of the Peruvian Amazon, departing from the speech of the former President Alan García as an example of antiamazonic political discourses. It showed that Peruvian president's discourse is related to two discriminatory beliefs: between two classes of citizens (the Amazonians as second-class citizens); the perception that economic growth is hindered by primitive groups such as the Amazonian (Cueva, 2019). This kind of construction on local actors is particularly significant in the context of discussions about sustainable development.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that beyond South America, the concept that one might have about the Amazon may be differentiated, so that the rainforest and its immense hydrographic basin are perhaps a more striking unit than the national divisions made in the continental scope. Thereby, the next item will analyze the relation between the Amazonian space and foreign media (in relation to Amazonia's region / continent).

3.3.3 Amazonia in the international media

To minimally retrace the main trajectories of the Amazon in foreign media at all times sounds like an undertaking imbued with boldness and ingenuity, especially with regard to printed media. Since

it is a work doomed to incompleteness and failure, the item we now begin will be restricted to some media productions on the Amazon that go through a group of countries — therefore, of transnational nature — despite the scattered studies to be mentioned being concentrated on one or a few nations. It is also necessary to consider, in this scenario, the value and impact of a multitude of fiction and non-fiction films and books on the Amazon published abroad, especially in the last three decades.

In view of the above, regarding the media production of transnational scope, it is believed that audiovisual materials have achieved great capacity for cultural transit, not only via film fiction, usually adventurous — the various titles of exemplary films basically consolidate both the paradisiacal and hellish stereotypes — but also through documentaries. In this sense, Jacques Cousteau's *Amazon Journey*[63] (released in Brazil as *A Amazônia de Jacques Cousteau*) stands out, which premiered worldwide in 1984. Produced by the French oceanographer, the documentary was aired on Brazilian broadcast television, fragmented in episodes, on the already cited program *Globo Repórter*. In addition to impressing the public by using state-of-the-art technology for environmental research, as well as bringing unprecedented images and messages of the Amazon to the world, from the mouth (in Peru) to the source of the world's largest river (Amazon River), Jacques Yves Cousteau provided Brazilians themselves with a different and inspiring environmental perspective, mixed with science and adventure. Twenty-five years after the first expedition, his son and companion from the first journey, Jean Michel Cousteau, travelled once again through a large part of the Amazon for the edition of the documentary *Return to the Amazon* (2007), shown on North American television by the Public Broadcast System (PBS). More recently, the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) produced the series Wild Brazil (Brasil selvagem, 2014), with frequent features on Amazonian fauna, shown in several countries, including Brazil, but generally on cable TV.

Reporting on Ecuadorian Amazon, *Crude. The real price of oil* is a 2009 American documentary film directed and produced by Joe Berlinger. It follows a two-year portion of a lawsuit against the Chevron Corporation in Ecuador. The multi-billionaire legal case was brought against the Chevron Corporation due to the drilling of the Lago Agrio oil field by Texaco (latter bought by Chevron), within a case labeled by activists as an "Amazon Chernobyl". But another documentary expands and complements *Crude. Toxitour* (2017), from Brazilian filmmaker Raoni Maddalena, progresses in the unfolding of one of the biggest environmental disputes in history, since Chevron, in turn, declared that Texaco recovered the areas proportional to what it exploited in the site and accused the residents'

[63] The title corresponds to both a set of documentaries (TV series) as a book.

lawyers of fraud in the process[64]. This episode in Ecuadorian Amazon history received considerable media attention in the US — as evidence from this research shows — specially because of the involvement of an American enterprise. It actually reached much more media than Belo Monte dam, which in the long run constitutes a Brazilian internal issue.

Having made this very brief mention to some media materials of wide cross-national audience, it is important to also enumerate and comment on the scientific works that have been interested in observing how the foreign news media have approached the Amazon. Given the relevance of the theme, the state of the art is considered rather deficient, yet the available studies point to some general tendencies.

Silva (2005) conducted a cross-national study comparing framing devices and media discourse in weekly news magazines (*Veja*, *Time* and *The Economist*) in three countries (Brazil, US and UK). By observing that deforestation is a recurrent topic in the environmental coverage about the Amazon, the author concluded that there is a consensus on the ideia that the forest is poorly protected. More importantly, regarding the analyzed years (1992 for Rio-92; 1997 for Rio+5; and 2002 for Rio+10), the Brazilian magazine *Veja* endorsed the pro-internationalization discourse of magazines from rich countries (Silva, 2005). This suggests that the "global common" spirit derives from a relatively long process of international construction in social and media arenas.

Focusing exclusively in American media, Bendix and Liebler (1991) used the theme of deforestation of the Brazilian Amazon to evaluate the way in which the American press reports and theoretically frames environmental issues in the "third world" (hegemonic designation at the time of the study). Based on the coverage between 1988-1989 of three elite newspapers (*Los Angeles Times*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times*), the study showed a disproportionate attention (up to five times greater) of the latter newspaper to the Amazon, in relation to the others. Furthermore, at least 80% of articles included a scientific-theoretical explanation for environmental degradation, which did not exempt the coverage from ideological bias. Among the main results, the authors highlight: 1) the confirmation that environmental and / or third world coverage responds to crises and negative news, such as the great repercussion of the assassination of environmental leader Chico Mendes; 2) in many articles, the simultaneous presentation of distinct geographic explanatory models, with no mention to possible contradictions among them: for example, the model of the "tragedy of the commons" and that

[64] The company launched a website and published a series of public videos, both entitled *Crude Judgement* to explain its version of the facts. In 2015, American actor Brad Pitt bought the filming rights to the book *The Law of the Jungle* by author Paul M. Barrett, which chronicles the alleged fraud advocated by Chevron. The film was not produced to the present day; some observers argue that it was precisely bought to never be actually filmed.

of land speculation; 3) no scientist identified with the branch of geography was used as a source in the newspapers (Bendix & Liebler, 1991).

Another study refers to the media coverage of *The New York Times* (NYT) on the Amazon in 2012, conducted by Assumpção et al. (2015). This is a content analysis restricted to the reports signed by *The NYT*'s correspondent in Brazil, Simon Romero, aiming to identify angulation and news-values related to the theme. Although the authors have attributed to the articles a generally positive and argumentative character, they also identified the following aspects: scarce and superficial historical contextualization of regional themes; centralization of the reporter's positions in the arguments of the characters (sources); news-values favoring the representation of the Amazon as a space of disparities and conflicts; use of photos and links directly proportional to the degree of controversy of the reports (Assumpção et al., 2015).

In the European sociocultural environment, it is worth mentioning the main results obtained by a study comparing the representations of the Amazon in television news in Portugal (daily TV news program of RTP) and Brazil (*Jornal Nacional*; Rede Globo). According to the author, these media weave a narrative in which stands out a "coloniality of power acting in stereotypical constructions and homogenizing conceptions that hinder the fruition of the environmental information for democratic debate [. ..] in different ways, marked by different cognitions by the interpretative communities, the Portuguese and the Brazilian one" (FT) (Pereira, 2014: 313). By observing the predominance of the slogan "Amazonia, lung of the world" in Portuguese television, opposed to "Amazonia is ours" in Brazilian television, the author effectively points to the dissonance between national and foreign discourses. We must admit that this study has as strong points the comparative character in relation to broadcast journalism — since most of the analyses of coverage on the Amazon elect the printed media — as well as the reasonable temporal amplitude (2005-2011). However, by inserting the analysis within the post-colonialist perspective of North-South contrasts, in line with the "sociology of absences" proposed by Boaventura Santos, this work privileges the inventory of news values and predominant frames, in part highlighting more the what than the how in the examined TV news programs.

Moving from both Portuguese- and English-language press, Silva (1999) assessed the media representations about the Amazon in French daily newspapers (*Le Monde* and *l'Humanité*) between 1997-1999. The author found that *Le Monde* advocated for a conciliation between rational development and the safeguard of the environment, while *l'Humanité*, while showing a more event-based coverage, advocated that the preservation of the Amazon is not only a matter for Brazilians, but also for the whole planet (Silva, 1999). In a wider perspective, there is also an analysis of the journalistic coverage on

environmental issues in the European press in the period 1977-1997, focusing on the Amazon, conducted by Castro (2008). Although there is no evident mention to all the countries retained for evaluation, reference newspapers from England, France and Switzerland are included. According to the author, the main themes / frameworks of the coverage were: environment / ecology (32%), economy / development (26%) and violence / human rights (22%). In general, the flow of information was considerably reduced, with only a note from time to time and more rarely an article on the Amazon. Castro points out, however, that the assassination of Chico Mendes marked the period of greatest publication of news on the Amazon in the European press (Castro, 2008).

Additionally, also in European context, Barrenechea (2012) analyzed the online content of four Swedish newspapers about Brazil, the Amazon and the environment between 2003-2010, a period corresponding to President Lula da Silva's government. The main results of this research show that more than 50% of Swedish journalistic articles were dedicated to the topic of sports (football), while coverage on the environment and Brazil varied from approximately 1.5% to 3.5% among newspapers (in average 2.3%). The media interest on Brazilian environmental policies and on Amazonia's issues was very low: a total of 57 articles on the Brazilian Amazon (out of a universe of almost 14,000 on the country), and only 20 articles specifically framed public policies for Amazonian environmental protection. The author emphasizes, in addition to the visible lack of interest from Swedish press in these issues, the ambiguous content of the restricted coverage, focused on disagreements between government and environmental protection agencies, possibly raising a contradictory perception by the Swedish readers (Barrenechea, 2012).

Finally, I outline Tollefson's (2015) general analysis about the international media coverage on the Amazon (without concrete mention to any specific press). For this author, only more recently the scientific, political and environmental communities are acquiring a better comprehension on what happened in Brazil between 2005 and 2014 (namely, the factors that made the 75% reduction in deforestation possible, compared to the average of the period 1996-2005). This is because, by lack of adequate contextualization, few articles have managed to capture the complexity of the forces at work in the Amazon: "The International media [...] have focused on the basics: who, what, when, where. What we have missed is the why and the how, and these are precisely the questions that need to be answered" (Tollefson, 2015, p. 2). From this perspective, my objective is to partially verify the validity of this assertion, which will enable, indirectly, a comparison with existing comparative analyses on the Brazilian environmental / Amazonian coverage.

In summary

Taking into consideration the various issues presented and discussed throughout this chapter, it is important to keep in mind some understandings regarding the history of the discourses on the Amazon in society and in the media.

- ✓ The relation Amazonia and / in the media does not emerge from a temporal coincidence or a socio-cultural void, but has been constituted along the centuries, since the historically complex contact, reported by the information devices of the time, between European travelers and the native peoples of the Amazon region. In this fusion, the perception and version of European prospectors — guided by values and interests almost incompatible with those of the forest inhabitants, especially regarding the worldview in relation to nature — stand for those that entered the official history.
- ✓ Within this context, the (not so) different meanings attributed in the representation of the Amazon region throughout time may help understand those built in the contemporary times. After all, talking about exploitation or conservation in the region is nothing new for at least a century, and in the meantime the Indigenous social actors have basically been ignored or homogenized by the main socially constructed discourses on the region.
- ✓ Both the presence of the Amazon in the media and the studies that focus on this relationship point to generally consonant trends as to framing, representations, meanings, *leitmotifs*, voices, agency. Nevertheless, it is not clear how these variables actually evolve over time, nor the actual discursive differences in diverse cultural environments.

Based, on these gaps and on the objectives, both general and specific, of this research, the next chapters will directly analyze the Amazon both cross-nationally and cross-culturally.

CHAPTER 4. APPROACHING AMAZONIA IN THE MEDIA: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH CORPORA

In the previous chapters, important theoretical aspects intertwining discourse, environmental sociology, the media and the Amazon were discussed. Throughout this chapter, I thoroughly explain the methodological procedures undertaken to approach discourses on Amazonia in international media. Firstly, the main justifications and steps in the composition of the research corpus are introduced. Then, in a second moment, the general methodological procedures and the analytical framework — which guides the following chapters — are presented and explained.

4.1 Methodological procedures on corpora delimitation

In this section, I explain the research design in detail, including both the justification and contextualization of this cross-national comparative study, as well as the choices and features of countries, sampling periods, newspapers and articles.

The major purpose of this thesis is to critically assess international news coverage about Amazonia, a vast social, ecological and geopolitical territory located in the core of South America. The territory has increasingly received worldwide attention for being home to the largest tropical rainforest, the spot of greatest biodiversity in the world and homeland to at least a hundred Indigenous tribes. Its role in regulating the global climate has been consolidating for decades, especially since the Rio-92 conference, a global meeting whose greatest achievement was perhaps the better understanding of the importance of preserving the planet's biodiversity and habitats. The Amazon reached worrying levels of deforestation during the 1990s, but after 2004 this environmental problem began to show signs of a relatively constant decrease. Since 2015, marked by the landmark Paris Agreement to mitigate climate change was signed, the Amazon region has suffered from intensified deforestation mainly due to unplanned or poorly planned, eventually illegal, development pressures. This constitutes a sort of ever bleeding wound that has never been effectively controlled, despite regional and international efforts along the last decades. Based on the growing relevance of this territory in the global scenario and the increasing geopolitical complexity surrounding environmental assets of worldwide interest, as is the case of the Amazon, the comparative analysis of different external perspectives on such a hotspot for environmental justice (locally and globally) can provide clues for a better understanding of this cross-bordering social / environmental space, which stands as both a problem and a solution. Indirectly, it could also indicate the meanings and importance that different social, political and cultural contexts give to issues such as the environment, environmental preservation, development, sustainability, and even

democracy, a concept that might be linked to other important key social-political and economic issues like freedom of speech, deliberation and public policies, among others.

With regard to comparative studies, there are a number of theoretical and methodological challenges and pitfalls, for which some explanations may be helpful. In the social sciences, cross-national comparisons are "exciting but difficult, creative but problematic [...] both attacked as impossible and defended as necessary" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 478). Globalization integrates one of the most significant calls for conducting transnational research as it refers to a process of connection between local and distant social forms and events. Globalization can thus be defined as the "intensification of social relations on a global level, linking distant localities in such a way that local events are shaped by events taking place many miles away and vice versa" (Giddens, 1990, p. 64). This phenomenon is particularly visible in the social-economic dynamics of the market, behavior, culture, ideas, etc., in which, unexpectedly, locations in the Amazon are interconnected with a whole sum of locations around the world, either, for example, by the increase in global demand for soy and beef, driving the expansion of the production area in the Amazon region, or by the growing demand for a cleaner, safer and preserved planet for all living species, in which any form of development should require effective sustainability. In this respect, Livingstone proposes that, in a time of globalization, "one might even argue that the choice not to conduct a piece of research cross-nationally requires as much justification as the choice to conduct cross-national research" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 478). When we think about the meanings, feelings and values that the environment and the last great biodiverse natural spaces, such as the Amazon, arouse in a wide range of social actors from different parts of the globe, we have a visible effect of globalization. This is a phenomenon that is both economic and cultural, which implies the confluence of a set of discourses on conservation, sustainability, consumerism, development, poverty, social and environmental justice, and joint action for the health of our common planet.

Globalization is about the dissolution of the old structures and boundaries of national states and communities. It is about the increasing transnationalization of economic and cultural life, frequently imagined in terms of the creation of a global space and community in which we shall all be global citizens and neighbours. With these globalizing dynamics we come upon new experiences and encounters, with the promise of new possibilities, but also with the prospect of new uncertainties and anxieties (Du Gay, 1997, p. 12).

It is in such a context that the sense of the Amazon as a "global commons" comes out, in which citizens from all parts of the world are seen as global agents with rights and duties regarding the

direct and indirect use of this and other natural spaces in a common planet. Actually, globalization stands as an uncontrolled and unequal process, insofar as the global economy embraces the whole planet, but not all its regions and all its peoples. "Only a minority of the people are truly integrated into the global economy, although all the dominant economic and political centres on which people depend are indeed integrated in the global economic networks" (Castells, 1993, p. 249). This process partly strengthens the North—South dichotomy, besides other power divides, leading to a reflection upon the importance of conducting comparative research, specially between developed / developing countries.

To the extent that comparative studies are necessary in a scenario of globalized markets, climate change, planetary "communal" environmental assets, and continuous geopolitical tensions, especially within North (US)—North (EU) and North—South axes, the consideration of countries as units of analysis may not necessarily be the ideal choice. In fact, from a wide range of perspectives, nations are far from homogeneous and self-contained. Oppositely, some cultural phenomena may, on the other hand, easily trespass national frontiers. Nevertheless, within the scope of a research focused on "media discourse", countries constitute reasonably autonomous units of analysis, in a way that, despite risks of oversimplification, they represent important spots of trends, specially in times of rising nationalism in some parts of the world. "Notwithstanding the onward march of globalization, it is surely still defensible to claim that nation-states continue to serve as convenient shorthand for distinctive histories, cultures and policy environments" (Livingstone, 2003, p. 480). Indeed, precisely because nationalism appears among some of the reactions to globalism, the nation-based approach can generate significant results when issues such as sovereignty, nationalization, public policy, democracy, and international cooperation, among others directly and indirectly connected to Amazonia, come up. "Nationalism stands in an antagonistic relation to globalization. Capitalist globalization has advanced and deepened social problems, to which nationalism is an ideological reaction" (Fuchs, 2020, p. 257). In this way, calls from Brazilian authorities that "The Amazon is ours" (Gagliardi et al., 2021) function as a patriotic denial of any common or internationalized status regarding the Amazonian territory.

Finally, there was the problem of finding the best possible balance in the choice of the nations (units) to be compared. Beforehand, it was decided to select at least two representatives from the "North", and two from the global "South". At least three guiding aspects were taken into account. First, relevance on the global power stage: countries with a high level of leadership in their respective groups: G7 and BRICS (which are supposed to lead the sustainable development turn). Secondly, some kind of relationship, current or at least recent, pertinent to the environment. Here we can cite domestic circumstances with high international visibility, either pro and / or against environmental protection:

disasters, movements, history of public policy-making related to the environment, NGOs that have gained transnational projection, etc. Thirdly, a degree of direct or indirect, real or symbolic link to natural spaces, whether forest or non-forest, so that, based on its reality, the Amazonian space may have a meaning minimally consonant with a country's cultural, political, social, economic, etc. context. Additionally, other two secondary yet still important criteria were taken into consideration, such as: minimal geographical distance, excluding any possibility of overlapping with regional coverage (also in relation to South American countries); and existence of an English language press with a minimum degree of domestic / regional relevance (option for comparing discourses from a single language). Although studies about climate change strongly concentrate on Western countries and print media (Schäfer & Schlichting, 2014), one should note that this investigation (which deals rather indirectly with climate change), by focusing on the Amazon region as a transnational discourse zone, tries to link perspectives from well-studied contexts like the US and the UK, with less common contexts, like India and China (albeit comparative studies on the Amazon even in the US or the UK are not abundant at all). In this sense, further below I explain why the United States, the United Kingdom, India and China were selected.

This research was then designed inside both quantitative and qualitative approaches, of applied nature, performing a descriptive-analytical case study, within the framework of the inductive method, including explanatory and critical dimensions. The delimitation of time edges applied to this study follows partly a historical-diachronic, partly a comparative-synchronic perspective (Carvalho, 2008). Such time-related perspectives respectively favor the emphasis to be given to the trajectory of a social issue and / in its wider, multiple (social, political, cultural, economic, etc.) contexts over time (years / decades), or to its social-discursive complexity at a specific point or short stretch of history (specially at a critical discourse moment). Due to the (dis)continuous comparative nature of this research along time, it has aspects of both a historical-diachronic analysis (which was labeled as corpus 2010-2016; focused on a temporal continuity; here approached rather quantitatively) and a comparative-synchronic analysis (which was labeled as corpus 2019; here approached qualitatively via CDA). These cross-national research designs whose logic is closely related to the (vertical / horizontal) dimensions of time and / or space could also be designated by diachronic (pooled) cross-time comparisons and synchronic cross-sectional comparisons (Pennings et al., 2008). By discussing the strengths and weaknesses of global comparative methods, Pennings et al. (2008) conclude that although diachronic methods (which, according to these authors, often adopt statistical analysis) are more advanced, they cannot replace synchronic methods. Notably, automatic equivalences between diachronic / synchronic perspectives

and quantitative / qualitative methods are far from being suggested here. Rather, I call attention to the complexity of theoretical and statistical models (not employed in this investigation), taking into consideration that quantitative methods in general "may easily lead up to misleading results" (Pennings et al., 2008: 47). In this way, I argue that a both sensible and feasible combination of quantitative with qualitative methods can be an interesting path in the search for richer and more reliable results.

Seeking to answer the research questions of this thesis' introduction, two corpora of study were surveyed, the first one broader in the medium historical term, covering the period of seven years (corpus 2010-2016); and the second focused on a shorter period, corresponding to a critical moment of discourse, Amazon fires globally reported in August and September 2019, including therein the three subsequent months (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019). For global and local political environmental issues, the period 2010-2016 includes a series of events of social and (geo)political relevance, with emphasis on a phase of reduction in deforestation in the Amazon and operationalization of the works of the Belo Monte hydroelectric dam, accelerated concern over loss of biodiversity, the Rio+20 Conference, the signature of the Paris Agreement and the adoption of the 17 Sustainable Development Goals, among others. Thus, minimal contextual data is of utmost importance to understand what is socially at stake behind political and media discourses.

Besides tracing the history of public issues (the sequence of texts appearing in the media and the evolution of their meaning), a time-sensitive discourse analysis also means considering the particular context of a given period, from specific events and developments related to the issue under examination to wider aspects of the social environment (Carvalho, 2008, p. 164).

From such a perspective, Table 2 below outlines a brief timeline recalling some of the main events and developments that marked the 2010-2016 period.

Table 2: Outline of relevant environmental events (local, regional, national, global) directly and indirectly related to the Amazon as a public issue.

YEAR	IMPORTANT ENVIRONMENT-RELATED EVENTS
2010	✓ IBAMA finally releases the license for the initial works of Belo Monte in the Xingu river basin, imposing a set of controversial social and environmental conditions; ✓ discussions on the new Forest Code start in the Brazilian congress; ✓ electric cars start circulating on the streets of São Paulo; ✓ (Brazilian) National Policy on Solid Waste is published, establishing the reverse logistics and setting targets to the elimination of landfills ✓ environmental accident at British Petroleum in Florida; ✓ COP16 creates the Green Climate Fund to help developing countries find ways to reduce emissions and adapt to the effects of climate change; ✓ UN General Assembly declares the International Year of Biodiversity;
2011	✓ leak of a large quantity of oil in Rio de Janeiro by the American company Chevron, which dumped about 3,000 barrels of oil into the sea, causing a slick 160 kilometres long in Rio de Janeiro coast; ✓ the world population reaches 7 billion; ✓ the second worst nuclear disaster takes place in Fukushima (Japan) ✓ a series of 21st century records on climate and environmental events, rise in temperatures and drought/floods; Arctic meltdown and ocean acidification, among others*;
2012	✓ President Dilma Rousseff sanctions the law for Brazilian new Forest Code, granting amnesty to more than 90% of rural properties nationwide for past deforestation, as well as reducing Areas of Permanent Conservation in multiple circumstances; ✓ the Conference Rio+20 (United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development) basically repeats the Rio 92 principles, not yet fully implemented;
2013	✓ the city of Beijing struggles through months of life-threatening toxic smog, with increases in cancer rates, among other effects**; ✓ Cardinal Jorge Mario Bergoglio is elected Pope, choosing the name Francis after St. Francis of Assisi, the patron saint of the poor, the animals and the environment; ✓ Minamata Convention on mercury poisoning signed on October by delegates from 140 nations (but not the US); this treaty controls the use and trade of mercury; ✓ Chevron is ordered to pay Ecuador $9.5 billion on appeal (the company never worked directly in the country but inherited the pollution lawsuit when it acquired former rival Texaco in 2001);

2014	✓ the BRICS during a summit in Fortaleza (Brazil) agree on the creation of a bank to foster economic sustainable development in the 21st century; ✓ COP 20 in New York shows evidence that the ozone layer is recovering, thanks to the Montreal Protocol, highlighting the power of collective action;
2015	✓ rupture of Samarco's Fundão dam, in Mariana (Minas Gerais state, Brazil), releasing a wave of mud of more than ten meters high, containing 60 million cubic meters of tailings; ✓ air pollution in Delhi, India, gets worse than in Beijing***; ✓ Pope Francis issues "Laudato Si", an encyclical calling for environmental justice and dialogue in the international community, especially on climate change; ✓ COP 21 leads to the signature of the Paris Agreement by 175 countries, the first universal and legally binding global climate agreement; ✓ global adoption of the UN 17 Sustainable Development Goals;
2016	✓ US judge approves a $18 billion civil settlement by British Petroleum oil company over the 2010 Gulf of Mexico (Florida) oil well blowout; ✓ Donald Trump wins US presidential election, showing support for oil business: ex-CEO of Exxon-Mobil and others with financial ties to the oil industry are confirmed as cabinet members; ✓ wildlife populations decreases by 60 percent since 1970****; ✓ 24 nations, including the US, join in the creation of 40 new marine sanctuaries in oceans around the world;

* Source: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2011/dec/22/environment-2011-year-review

**Sources: https://www.scmp.com/business/article/1144842/clear-evidence-obscures-truth-beijings-pollution-data; http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2013-02/04/content_16199689.htm

*** Source: https://www.nytimes.com/2015/02/15/world/asia/delhi-wakes-up-to-an-air-pollution-problem-it-cannot-ignore.html?partner=socialflow&smid=tw-nytimes

**** Source: https://www.reuters.com/article/us-environment-wildlife-idUSKCN12R00F

Briefly, in the global scope, the period of analysis 2010-2016 comprises several years post-COP 15 (Copenhagen, 2009), when Brazil consolidated a global leadership among developing countries, taking on bold international commitments. The country not only presented such commitments in Copenhagen but also converted into law in its national congress that, by 2020, it would reduce greenhouse gas emissions by 36% as well as Amazon deforestation by 80%, in addition to improving the country's energy matrix, which, at least domestically, is repeatedly described as one of the cleanest in the world. The period 2010-2016 also covers the 2015 Paris Agreement during COP 21 which is a fundamental climate milestone of the 21st century, follow its unfolding in the media for another 13 months.

From a regional perspective for the Amazon, the period 2010-2016 is quite paradoxical, with a significant reduction in deforestation until 2014, but with a new steady rise from 2015 to the days of this writing. The years of deforestation control coincide with those corresponding to the final licensing and construction of the controversial, and for many local social actors, traumatic Belo Monte hydroelectric plant (most conditions to mitigate its social and environmental impacts not having been met, specially regarding Indigenous resettlements), whose operationalization began in the last days of 2015. Despite some internet petitions, including one from Avaaz, launched in 2011 (receiving 760,000 signatures internationally and in Brazil) (Fearnside, 2017), constant harassment of dam's opponents (mainly during works along 2010-2015) and struggle at the local and national level, led by both Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, this chapter in Amazon's recent history seemingly did not achieve a fraction of the global repercussion of 2019 fires (corresponding to corpus 2019). The American researcher on the Brazilian Amazon (INPA), Philip Fearnside, declared that at Belo Monte "the proponents succeeded in keeping the 'institutionalized lie' concerning plans for upstream dams out of the discussion inside Brazil. It is virtually completely absent from the Brazilian mainstream press" (Fearnside, 2017, p. 177). Indeed, development agents of all sorts, on the one hand, against defenders of Indigenous, traditional and Nature's rights, on the other hand, entered into the final phase of conflicts about the dam during 2010-2016, eliciting several studies on their discourse and use of the media (Bingham, 2010; McCormick, 2011; Bratman, 2014), or focused more exclusively on the decision-making process (Silva, 2015).

A second time cut refers to the second half of 2019, when the Amazon reached global media repercussions because of the number of forest fires reported in August of that same year, turning its last 12 days and September's first week into Amazon's "great burning weeks". Albeit this corpus is restricted to the period August—December, covering the three months following the "global backlash", the year of 2019 is an important time mark. In 2019, the United Nations General Assembly declared

2021-2030 as the United Nations Decade of Ecosystem Restoration, which aims to combat the climate crisis and enhance food security, water supply and biodiversity. #ClimateStrike's tenth edition (on September, 2019) gathered millions of protesters for the climate action around the globe; 16-year-old climate activist Greta Thunberg was elected *Time* magazine's person of the year. The fact that tons of dust from Amazon blazes hit the skies of São Paulo — darkening the city at least 90 minutes earlier on August, 19th 2019 — is symbolic. It helped citizens from Brazil's big cities to perceive the effects of deforestation taking place thousands miles away, adding to the well-known problems of regional air pollution by carbon monoxide. São Paulo has one of the cleanest road matrices in South America, with around 50% of its car fleet using bio-fuels (ethanol). Thereby, such a landmark event served to warn dwellers from big city that none of this is yet enough in terms of nature's conservation and climate change mitigation.

As the Amazon region is easily mixed up by search engines with Amazon Inc. the global retailer, 11 specific search terms were employed in order to obtain the desired results: Amazon basin; Amazon forest; Amazon rainforest (also rain forest); Amazon region; Amazon people; Amazon trees; Amazon tropical; Amazon river; Amazonian (also amazonian); Amazon jungle and Amazonia. Corpus 2010-2016 was obtained through Factiva database, verified with a "manual" individualized search in the website of each newspaper. Regarding corpus 2019, only the latter method was applied, exhaustively, including the temporary subscription to premium access of newspapers contents, whenever necessary. Corpus 2010-2016 implied a search of articles issued between January 1st 2010 to December 31st 2016. Corpus 2019 encompass articles published between August 1st and December 31st of that year.

Having described the temporal axis delimited by the research design, it is important to emit some considerations about the spatial axis. The inclusion of the US in this study could be justified by its undeniable capitalist and developmentist power, with a dubious attitude towards environmental protection and sustainability. Followed by Australia, the US has the world's largest per capita carbon footprint. It did not ratify the Kyoto Protocol— arguing specially that no targets were set for developing countries —and later withdrew from Paris Agreement (respectively under Republican presidents Bush and Trump). On the other hand, the country shows a notable worldwide pioneering spirit in environmental preservation movements (the first National Park designated by law in the US — Yellowstone — dates back to 1872). National parks, where nature is practically untouched, cover 3.6% of the national territory (however, more than half of this is located in Alaska), while national forests (with differentiated status as to whether controlled commercial and recreational activities are allowed), correspond to approximately 8.2% of the territory. The World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC) of

the United Nations Environment Program has identified a total of 17 mega-diverse countries, which together hold more than 2/3 of world's species, including the United States and Australia as the only North nations on the list — making Europe the only continent without any representative. Brazil, which holds 60% of the Amazon forest, tops this ranking.

According to data from 2018[65] (World Bank & Protected Planet database), protected areas of the United States constitute 13% of the total national land area. Some political and non-political sectors, based on the perception that American citizens mostly express pro-environment concern[66], advocate the adoption of the "30x30 goal", according to which the country should follow scientific recommendations (Baillie & Zhang, 2018) to protect at least 30 percent of its lands and oceans in a natural state by 2030 (in the long-term, 50 percent by 2050). In the most recent American political history, voters refused to re-elect Trump, despite US high pre-pandemic economic performance and low unemployment. In 2020, Democrat Joe Biden took over the White House, vehemently advocating an environmental agenda of climate change mitigation among national priorities.

As for the UK — an island nation consisting of England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland — besides its past imperialist power and pioneering role in the Industrial Revolution, the country is one of the largest developed democracies in Europe, and a globally influential financial and cultural center. Terrestrial protected areas in the United Kingdom were reported at 28.7% in 2018, according to the World Bank collection of development indicators. Among the countries under study, the UK has the closest index of protected land in comparison to Brazil's one, which reaches 29.4%. In both cases, this corresponds roughly to twice the world average (14.6%). Although these rates are similar, landscapes in the UK shelter a quite restricted biodiversity. The country was heavily involved in international debates around acid rain (put simplistically: rain resulting from extreme air pollution from burning fossil fuels) during the 20th century, so much so that in the 1980s and 1990s, the phenomenon was a major environmental concern in Europe and North America. Within the European continent, England was responsible for high emissions of sulphur dioxide from industrial sources causing transboundary acid rain. Environmental policies and treaties adopted since then have been successful in solving this problem, at least in the UK. Former Britain's prime minister Margaret Thatcher helped put environmental issues such as climate change, acid rain and pollution onto the mainstream political

[65] Source: World Bank & Protected Planet database. URLs: https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/ER.LND.PTLD.ZS & .protectedplanet.net. Along this section, all occurrences of protected area data come from this source.
[66] Source: Center for American Progress. URL: https://www.americanprogress.org/press/release/2017/01/18/296675/release-new-research-finds-public-opinion-stacked-against-anti-environmental-agenda-of-new-congress/

map, thanks to some important environmental speeches in the late 1980s[67]. As Britain's withdrawal from the European Union became a reality in January 2020 after more than three years of negotiations, the UK's trade relations, including those with Latin American countries such as Brazil, have been facilitated by the country's greater autonomy.

The inclusion of China and India in this corpus of analysis is justified by their comparable status with Brazil in terms of developing nations, despite major social, political, and cultural differences. These super-populated countries are among the most visible globally among those that make up the global South, being associated with multilateral mechanisms, both in the BRICS group and in BASIC, wherein the biggest difference is the exclusion of Russia, in the latter case (this country formally constitutes a democracy, whose political spectrum has, however, been restricted to the permanence of a single individual in power, despite a degree of opposition or dissidence). Under the Kyoto Protocol, BRICS countries did not commit to targets and obligations to reduce their emissions, a situation that changed substantially under the Paris Agreement.

In India, terrestrial protected areas make up only 6% of the country's territory. This figure seemingly does not do justice to the country's rich biodiversity and variety of ecosystems and landscapes. India is among the 17 mega-diverse countries in the world because it is home to over 7% of all recorded species of plants and animals — many of them are uniquely endemic. It is tied with Peru — whose territory is almost three times smaller — for the tenth position among the countries with the largest forest area in 2020[68]. Regarding its global climate impact, electricity is the biggest driver of India's carbon emissions due to its high reliance on coal-based power plants. Coal accounts for more than half of India's generation of electricity, and the country faces significant levels of air and water pollution. But it is also moving to renewable sources at a remarkable pace, specially by reference to wind power.

From geopolitical and multi-lateral perspectives, the world's largest democracy, India in specific, since 2003, joins Brazil and South Africa in the IBSA forum, which brings together major democracies and economies from three different continents, facing similar challenges and willing to engage in deeper economic aspects and discuss security related issues. Official website IBSA Trilateral outlines that "all three countries are developing, pluralistic, multi-cultural, multi-ethnic, multi-lingual and multi-religious

[67] Source: "Margaret Thatcher: Un unlikely green hero?"; *The Guardian*, April, 09th, 2013. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/environment/blog/2013/apr/09/margaret-thatcher-green-hero

[68] Source: Statista, 2021. URL: https://www.statista.com/statistics/238893/ten-countries-with-most-forest-area/

nations"[69]. Independent scientific analysis from Climate Action Tracker indicate that India is currently the only G20 country leading policies compatible with the Paris Agreement target[70].

Further, in China, which hosts world's largest population, terrestrial protected areas were reported at 15.5 % in 2018. The country belongs to the group of mega-diverse nations, albeit human high pressure on the environment in the last decades by extreme development push. In its race to "catch up and overtake the US" (Smith, 2020), soaring carbon dioxide emissions have made China by far the leading driver of global climate "collapse". In 2019, China's CO_2 emissions were nearly as much as those of the next four largest emitters altogether (the US, India, EU-27 and Indonesia), but also surpassed all developed nations combined[71]. The country is heavily reliant on coal power, with the coal industry representing around 3/4 of emissions.

Finally, it is worth noting the role of outsourcing emissions usually calculated as territorial emissions in the global "South". Despite their relatively low per capita emissions (specially in India) — which makes these countries evenly correspond to one-third of world's population and emissions[72] — part of their carbon footprint is linked to the manufacturing of globally traded items. Global "North" heavily industrialized countries have been increasingly outsourcing key parts of their industrial processes from developing nations, specially China, which is world's major steel producer. France's Climate Action Network has been claiming the need to count (North's) consumption-based emissions, which would consider the carbon footprint of imported goods and deduct the emissions of exported ones[73] — a perspective that, even if not new, still tends to be overlooked from official figures.

Considering the issues discussed in relation to the selection of countries, the choice of newspapers was based on the national relevance and reach of these media outlets (beyond the English language publication). Thus, care was taken to opt for newspapers with diversified editorial profiles. In this way, the following newspapers were selected: *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* as representatives of the US press; *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, for the UK; *The Hindu* and *The Times of India*, for India; and *China Daily* and *People's Daily*, for China.

Newspapers from the United States

[69] URL: https://www.ibsa-trilateral.org/
[70] URL: https://climateactiontracker.org/countries/
[71] Source: Rhodium Group. Cited by BBC's article: "Report: China emissions exceed all developed nations combined". May, 7, 2021. URL: https://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-57018837
[72] Source: World Carbon Atlas. URL: http://www.globalcarbonatlas.org/en/CO2-emissions
[73] Source: https://reseauactionclimat.org/thematiques/emissions-cachees/. Cited by Euronews article: "Why we're all to blame for China and India's 'filthy' CO2 emissions". URL: https://www.euronews.com/green/2021/02/06/why-we-re-all-to-blame-for-china-and-india-s-filthy-co2-emissions

The New York Times (or simply The NYT) is a liberal, rather left-leaning newspaper founded in 1851, based in New York City, with a worldwide readership. It is owned by a publicly traded company: The New York Times Company. Almost doubling its nearest competitor, The NYT has honor for its quality journalism, having won 132 Pulitzer Prizes[74]. The online NYT, one of the most popular news websites in the US, comes out in five versions: "US", "International", "Canada", "Español" and "中文" (Chinese). Within this research, only the first and the second one were integrated to corpora.

Founded in 1889, *The Wall Street Journal* (WSJ) is a conservative, rather right-leaning, business-focused, international daily newspaper based in New York City, with international editions also available in Chinese and Japanese. Founded in 1889 and actually owned by News Corporation (in turn, belonging to Murdoch family), it advocates neoliberal, free-market economy and a low profile State. The WSJ is one of the largest newspapers in the United States by circulation.

It should be noted that US news coverage, beyond the sporadic treatment of environmental issues via "attention cycles" (Trumbo, 1996), for a long time preferred scientific controversy to frame its articles on climate change (Boykoff, 2007; Boykoff & Boykoff, 2007; Corbett & Durfee, 2004; Kuha, 2009; Zehr, 2000;).

Newspapers from the United Kingdom

The Guardian (TGD) is a liberal and progressive newspaper based in London, with a tendency towards left-wing ideological alignment (social democracy). Founded in 1821 as *The Manchester Guardian*, the newspaper has two sister papers: *The Observer* and *The Guardian Weekly*. *The Guardian* is part of the Guardian Media Group, owned by the Scott Trust. TGD firmly raises the flag of independent high-impact journalism. Its website states that "with the funding of more than 1.5 million readers in 180 countries, the Guardian remains open to all and fiercely independent, and can continue chasing the truth". Within the scope of this research, electronic searches were made only in *The Guardian* (UK edition) as a news source, hence ignoring International, US and Australia editions.

Founded in 1855, *The Daily Telegraph* (or simply *The Telegraph*; TDT) is a conservative vehicle, with influences from the political right-wing and a rather federalist behavior. Published in London by the Telegraph Media Group, it is distributed throughout the UK and internationally. From an arrangement made in 2014, the newspaper started to publish some pro-Kremlin articles supplied by Russia's government official publication (through the supplement "Russia Beyond the Headlines"). A similar business agreement was then made with the Chinese state in relation to the pro-Beijing "China Watch"

[74] Source: https://www.nytco.com/company/prizes-awards/

supplement (supplied by state newspaper *China Daily*). Such commercial relations with "Eastern" state advertisers generate speculations on the degree of impartiality from *The Daily Telegraph*'s coverage[75].

These two newspapers have been the subject of comparative studies in various areas of science and environmental-political communication, with an emphasis on climate change (Boykoff, 2007) and its politics (Antilla, 2010) in cultural circuits (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005). In general, the coverage of environmental issues in the British media differs substantially from that practiced by North Americans over time. Carvalho and Burgess (2005) identified three phases in British media coverage of the greenhouse effect, concluding that the three main patterns of newspapers' discursive strategies coincided with the mandates of three different chancellors (M. Thatcher, J. Major, T. Blair). While *The Independent* and especially *The Times* spared criticism to neoliberalism, *The Guardian* systematically challenged it (Carvalho & Burgess, 2005).

Newspapers from India

In India the media is not linked to the state, i.e. the press is commercial and, in the case of English-speaking newspapers, the circulation is national and aimed primarily at the elites.

First published in 1838, *The Times of India* (TOI) is headquartered in Mumbai. It is owned and managed by The Times Group. TOI carries the controversial leadership of being India's first newspaper to institutionalize the practice of paid news (even the whole front page is potentially on sale for ads). Under a purely client / service provider relationship, agents from politics and corporations as well as celebrities can hire the newspaper and its journalists to delivery public relations content. Still, the newspaper has eventually been associated with right-wing content, while it has also shown fragile editorial independence[76].

The Hindu was founded in 1878, in Chennai, and is owned by The Hindu group. Along the last decades, the newspaper adopted a rather left-leaning profile. It is the second most circulated English-language newspaper in India, after TOI, and one of the Indian newspapers of public record. These and two other national media outlets were studied by Billett (2009) in relation to Indian coverage on climate change. The result is that the Indian (Anglophone) media have, far more frequently than the coverage in the West, used science to frame climate change. Meanwhile, a nationalist political framing prevails, whereby the discourse that there is a neo-colonialist (from developed countries) desire to inhibit and control the country's economic growth is consolidated (Billett, 2009). In this scenario, pro-climate public

[75] Other international newspapers seemingly in the past had already published for a period the sponsored content labeled as "China Watch": *The New York Times*, *The Wall Street Journal* and The *Washington Post*. *The Daily Telegraph* suspended the Chinese supplement in 2020.

[76] Source: "Why India's newspaper is thriving". *The New Yorker*, 1st October 2012. URL: https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2012/10/08/citizens-jain

support would tend to weaken, although in recent years the engagement of Indian celebrities for the climate cause, for example, has increased. However, in the face of linguistic, social, cultural and religious complexity, one is aware that the micro-universe of Anglophone newspapers corresponds to a very small portion of the discourses and constructions on the international Amazonian environment in India. For instance, in the realm of public understanding and expectations vis-à-vis climate change, a global research project has identified six audience groups in the country: the informed, the experienced, the undecided, the unconcerned, the indifferent and the disengaged (Leiserowitz et al., 2013).

Newspapers from China

In China, where the press as a whole is subject to censorship, the newspapers under study will be the are *People's Daily* (PPD) and *China Daily* (CND). *People's Daily* is state-owned, edited by the central committee of the Chinese Communist Party, published originally in Chinese since 1948. The newspaper represents China's largest group of newspapers and maintains a multilingual presence in the internet. Editorials in the *PPD* are regarded both by foreign observers and Chinese readers as authoritative statements of official government policy.

China Daily (CND) circulates since 1981 and is directly published as an English-language newspaper aimed at foreigners in China and abroad. The newspaper is effectively controlled by the Propaganda Department of the Chinese Communist Party and, in terms of editorial profile, tends to adopt similar perspectives to the *People's Daily*.

Hietanen (2018) found that *China Daily*'s discourse before Xi Jinping's government generally portrayed China as a particular kind of democracy, by highlighting specific democratic ideals, while from 2013 it became more critic, particularly denouncing the "vices" of West democracies, like the US. In a study that included *PPD* and other Chinese news sites on climate change coverage, Tolan (2007) observed a number of trends, such as: large amount of articles recycled from scientific reports from the West; few articles focusing on regional impacts of climate change; assessment of blame focused on other (developed) countries; influence of the IPCC report in changing the content of articles; and Chinese coverage as a mirror of the government in self-defense of its policies (Tolan, 2007). Additionally, Liu (2015) assessed the discourse of climate change skepticism in Chinese publications, linking it to nationalism. In this context, science would only tend to be truly credible if produced by Chinese, since the scientific discourse is dominated by scientists from the West. Thus, a (US) "low-carbon plot" would be at stake to undermine China's growth and sovereignty.

Having clarified the major choices for the configuration of the corpus of analysis and for the conduct of this research, next section will better explain how the trajectory of analysis will take place over the next chapters.

4.2 Analytical choices for an Amazonian itinerary

The next three chapters constitute a kind of prism, offering three complementary perspectives to the understanding of the frames, representations, metaphors, constructions of meaning, agency and power relations emanating from the journalistic discourses under analysis.

Knowing that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the theoretical horizon of this study, the next chapters will employ different analytical resources, which make up part of an interdisciplinary multi-method toolbox for approaching journalistic discourse as a component of both social praxis and the circuit of different cultures / countries under investigation. Thus, as Chapter 1 has already discussed the main general aspects of CDA relevant within the scope of this study, the subsequent chapters are structured in a mixed way. That is, in an introductory part of each chapter, both the more specific theoretical foundations and the tools used in the respective analyses to come are explained in more detail. In this way, such elements will be better contextualized and, above all, presented and explained right before their effective use or discussion.

In view of the feature mentioned above, Chapter 5, following this one, has a substantially exploratory and quantitative character, aiming to outline a panorama of the news contexts, themes, contents and frames. It therefore addresses both corpora, according to the understanding that the 2010-2016 corpus (totaling 257 articles) serves as an important historical background preceding the 2019 corpus (totaling 215 articles), which largely sets up a "critical moment of discourse" on Amazon. Corpus 2010-2016 is approached exclusively: from a quantitative approach; from its headlines; and within a preliminary assessment conducted in Chapter 5. Hence, this means that qualitative (CDA) Chapter 6 and Chapter 7 focus on news coverage between Aug.—Dec. 2019 (corpus 2019): the former on this coverage as whole, the latter restricted to its opinion pieces.

Among the content surveys carried out on the 2010-2016 headlines, a vast content analysis about the Amazon in this period is initially conducted. In a two-step quantitative approach, the first step consisted of searching for terms presumably related to broad environmental issues, i.e., key terms and expressions expected for environmental coverage on a biome that is vital to the planet. Then, the inverse exercise was undertaken: a survey is made of several terms that help to compose the semantic field and shape senses for public perception as to what is happening in the Amazon region. Additionally, a

numerical overview is presented regarding the characteristics of this first news group: distribution of articles over the years, by country and newspaper, identification of peaks in coverage, frequency of Amazon-related terms in headlines, newspaper sections (tags), news types, size, authors / sources, social agents, etc.

Next, I proceed to the quantitative evaluation with regard to the corpus of greatest interest, referring to the period Aug.—Dec. 2019, in the same way as before, with the difference that the search for presumed terms is not performed (in the case of a "critical moment of discourse", this type of exploratory analysis would no longer seem useful). However, as it progresses, the chapter acquires a more analytical profile, especially from the both qualitative and quantitative assessment of the main frames that condition modes of signification of Amazonian environmental conflicts. Thereby, framing patterns regarding not only headlines but the whole corpus of 2019 are identified and discussed, outlining tendencies in values, beliefs, story-lines, agents tensions, metaphors, etc. in discourses on the Amazon.

Chapter 6, in turn, closely examines the rhetorical appeal of the metaphor of the common home, which is an image abundantly exploited by international coverage. In this sense, it seeks to interconnect and qualitatively interpret the main meanings expressed in the media discourses, in which the semantic field of warfare / battle cooperate with that of global heritage (and “global commons”). Therefore, the analysis is undertaken individually for each newspaper, in order to isolate and highlight the most striking figures of speech and meanings case by case, keeping in mind that behind these mechanisms are also set up senses related to social power.

Finally, Chapter 7 focuses on the main power stakes implicated by the coverage on the Amazon, firmly shedding light on aspects of power in / power behind discourse. To this end, it adopts a more "classical" CDA perspective, partly adapted from the discourse-historical approach. It focuses exclusively on opinion articles published within the scope of the 2019 corpus, in order to thoroughly and exhaustively examine the modes of representation / legitimation of social actors and argumentation in international news. Opinion articles in the press have a prominent function in the expression and construction of public opinion. Editorials, specially, “help to make up their [readers’] mind about the events of the world, even if often by critical opposition against them” (Van Dijk, 1996). In fact, Van Dijk proposes a multidisciplinary conception of opinions, which may work as mental representations, evaluative and social beliefs, as well as mental and contextual models. Besides, the authors of opinion pieces play a dualistic role as both informers and commentators: “ it is the opinion article writer who adds commentary regarding the implications of the event, whether it is favorable or unfavorable, and

why" (Rivolta, 2011, p. 3). Because this final chapter (7) directly assesses issues of power, beyond the distinction by countries, it also establishes cross-glances on the global "North" and "South" geopolitical dynamics.

In Summary

- ✓ The analytical path proposed for this case study allows for a growing approximation to the object of study. The initial, more quantitative, approach draws a panorama of the contextual and semantic landscape concerning the news coverages under analysis.
- ✓ Subsequently, the mapping of the main frames makes a turn from the quantitative to the qualitative, especially regarding the media production of meanings about the Amazon during a "critical discourse moment."
- ✓ The CDA approach is then carefully applied in order to align the focus between the contextual and the textual; in other words, between power in and power behind discourse. Keeping in mind the preponderant role of social agents in the production and circulation of discourses, a maximal zoom closely dissects the power dynamics emanating from opinion articles, which are the texts of greatest political appeal in journalism.

The following chapters will focus on the empirical analysis in order to finally tackle the research questions linked to the aims of this thesis.

CHAPTER 5. THE AMAZONIA IN INTERNATIONAL NEWS OUTLETS: FEATURES, THEMES AND FRAMES

In the previous chapters, it was argued that discourses on the environment and the Amazon are largely constructed through a process of social problematization, in which the mass media play a key role. The social perception and recognition of environmental problems depend in a certain degree on the quantity and quality of the news. Thereby, the purpose of this chapter is to show in numbers the main contexts of enunciation (topics, sections and other contextual data) of the news corpora, in order to examine, even if only partially, the media's attention to Amazonia during the 2010-2020 decade. Once this useful preliminary quantitative survey is completed, I start to examine the international journalistic discourse on Amazonia regarding a tense period in recent history, marked by intensities and ephemerality, emotions and disinformation, specific images and narratives, in a war of accusations, arguments, perspectives and statistics. Therefore, to better understand the general profile of corpus 2019, news frames are carefully mapped and interpreted. Since the notion of framing corresponds to a concept that requires a brief contextualization about its theoretical assumptions and analytical applicability, the next few paragraphs will briefly discuss some of these issues.

News framing is among the most frequently used theory[77] in mass media communication in the 21st century (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010). The term "frame analysis" was coined to describe the process of individuals' "organization of experience", from primary frameworks, referring to the most basic and general level of human understanding (Goffman, 1974). Frames are the object of a variety of multidisciplinary approaches, from psychology and interpretative sociology to information theory and media studies. In sociology and communication studies, framing process broadly refer to the varying portrayals of issues and events shaping distinct sense making and interpretations of the same social phenomenon. Along this section, I focus on a secondary framing subprocess[78] according to which journalists use framing elements to construct news stories. For Gamson & Modigliani (1989), media discourse is a set of "interpretive packages" which provide meaning to an issue. Such "packages" or "framings" are manifold, eliciting both discourse and power struggles. "A package has an internal structure. At its core is a central organizing idea, or *frame*, for making sense of relevant events, suggesting what is at issue" (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989, p. 3; originally italicized).

As already referred in Chapter 2 (item 2.3), within a social constructivist approach, frames are important devices in the construction of meanings in news, once they operate directly in key aspects,

[77] According to these authors, "framing" has been considered by scholars as concept, approach, theory, class of media effects, perspective, analytical technique and paradigm.
[78] The first framing subprocess implies journalists as audiences for the framing behaviour of other social actors (D'Angelo & Kuypers, 2010).

like "selection" and "salience" (Entman, 1993). In this context, it was mentioned the somewhat "inescapable", that is, mandatory character of frames: talking about reality implies the selection of words and above all the selection of certain perspectives. Thereby, in the analysis of framing as a discursive strategy it is crucial to comprehend how social actors (journalists and their sources) frame worldviews — delimit boundaries and (de)emphasize elements, including other agents, in the exposition of environmental problems.

Following Reese (2007), frames are not mere equivalent to discourse topics, since they both structure / organize receivers' comprehension of the latter. Within interpretive critical research, framing analysis enables a more direct assessment of ideological concepts regarding "definition of the situation" and issues' "naturalization" rather than simply assuming that power instances can set and naturalize these definitions "unproblematically" (Reese, 2007). By proposing a "bridging" model, this author states that frames "are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time, that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world" (Reese, 2007, p. 150).

Such a wider definition is perhaps the one that best fits the frame analysis conducted in this chapter, in which, differently from Gamson & Modigliani (1989) and other scholars, I do not distinguish the more "traditional" framing devices (metaphors, exemplars, catchphrases, depictions and visual images) — which suggest how to think about an issue — from those that justify what should be done about it (reasoning devices: roots, consequences and moral claims). As a result, frames are taken here as quite broader "interpretative packages", which may subtly include explanations and narratives about causes, effects and individual / social handling on the problem / situation (a standpoint closer to Entman's view). Besides, a much more in-depth analysis on reasoning devices (discourse legitimation and argumentation) is carried out using CDA tools in Chapter 7. The rather simple purpose of the following frame analysis is to better "qualify" data by providing a semantic overview on news articles covering Amazon fires and its developments in 2019 (evidently, this does not mean that a purely thematic survey is made). In fact, as a key (yet controversial) concept in communication studies, framing / frames virtually can show important discourse trends, by pointing the main topics, agents, motifs, descriptions, narratives and other language elements which structure and stress particular meanings. Overall, contrary to the recommendations of some scholars (Cacciatore et al., 2015), I keep the frame / framing rather synonymous terminology and inductive approach for basically two reasons. Firstly, despite claims that frame constitute a "fractured paradigm" (Entman, 1993) whose results validity may be open to question (Vliegenthart & Zoonen, 2011), I try to follow the advice from the latter authors by maintaining as much as possible the notion of power within the (2019) corpus' frame

analysis. Secondly, this thesis is far from restricted to a frame analysis, which nevertheless is undertaken as a part of a preliminary exploratory survey in order to better seize the general content and ideological profile of news pieces, before carrying out CDA in the chapters to come. After all, as Lakoff (2010) raised the question of "hypocognition" or tragic absence of frames (denouncing scarcity of ideas in the environmental debate), the examination of interpretative "schemas" during a critical moment of discourse may be useful. Additionally, some scholars defend the importance and versatility of framing (D'Angelo, 2002; Reese, 2007) in the social construction of meaning, as well as its impact on how the public perceives social problems (Callaghan & Schnell, 2001; Downs, 2002; Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Trumbo, 1996; Nisbet, 2009; Oliveira & Carvalho, 2012). Although framing is an unavoidable reality of the communication process (Nisbet, 2009), it is also the result of more or less conscious journalists' choices (on topics, tones, modes, etc.), enabling, for instance, elaborated or restricted, positive or negative frames, and expressing continuity or change over time — thus turning framing processes also dependent on the degree of consensus or conflict of an issue (Eriksson & Reischl, 2019).

In terms of operationalization, the frame analysis carried out further in this chapter follows a holistic content-oriented approach. This implies that, differently from studies which held that the frame is essentially the claim being made by the media at the top of the inverted pyramid (mainly in the headline and the lead paragraph) (Trumbo, 1996), I argue that even routinized newsmaking may structure meanings rather non-linearly, adopting a "dominant" foregrounded frame but also enabling secondary, less explored backgrounded frames within a single article. Surprisingly, headlines may not always necessarily invoke the foregrounded frame, news titles thus being the result of other, sometimes standardized, sometimes rhetorical choices. Besides, articles show quite distinct features depending on their type (editorials, "short" news notes / reports, news features, interviews), allowing different levels of freedom in the construction of titles and also multiple levels of resonance with cultural frames. Following a rigorous and systematic (although in part unavoidably subjective) procedure substantially focused on descriptions, evaluations, agents and narratives, for the purpose of a frame analysis, I keep Entman's five functions of frames as a general framework, namely: definition of the problem, causal interpretation, consequences, treatment recommendation, and moral evaluation (Entman, 1993).

Nevertheless, as the Amazon may be problematized from very different, often conflicting perspectives, it is considered that articles as a whole can virtually adopt more than one frame, a feature more easily perceivable through the division of articles' internal subtitles, but not necessarily only in this case. A sequence (linear or not) of short paragraphs (or even a single one) which somewhat radically

changes the perspective of a topic, as well as agents' discourse offering alternative meaning structures, among other shifts in sense making, story-lines and values / beliefs — in the scope of the frame analysis to come — are identified as secondary or alternative frames, here designated as backgrounded frames.

Finally — briefly going off at a tangent — one should note that within CDA, at least its discourse-historical approach (DHA; to be partly discussed and applied further in this thesis), frames are quite discretely taken into consideration. Although Reisigl & Wodak (2017) include "perspectivation, framing or discourse representation" among five discourse strategies, the idea of framing for these scholars addresses the speaker's position or the writer's point of view, expressing involvement or distance (deictics, direct / indirect speech, quotation marks, prosody, etc.). Hence, for these authors, inter-relations between a core discourse topic and other (sub)topics have to do with interdiscursivity, whereas they consider that complementary "fields of action" indicate "a segment of social reality which constitute the 'frame' of a discourse" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 90) — different fields of action being defined by different functions of discursive practices. I call attention to such a theoretical distinction to stress that, although I do not take frames from DHA's perspective, further in Chapter 7 newspapers' main frames (both foregrounded and backgrounded) identified in this chapter may be recalled in analytic tables using CDA / DHA tools.

Having made the more relevant justifications and contextualizations regarding the specific analytical procedures of this chapter, the next sections kick off the analyses of the case study examined in this thesis: the Amazon in the international media.

5.1 Preliminary meanings: a panorama of Amazon headlines in the press (corpus 2010-2016)

This research was designed as a descriptive-analytical case study approach, aiming at studying international news coverage about Amazonia, a vast social, ecological and geopolitical territory located in the core of South America. Significant international articles were retrieved from Factiva database, covering seven years (2010-2016). By significant I refer to those articles wherein the Amazon is not randomly cited (e.g. Manaus hosting matches of the World Soccer Cup) nor the object of pure marketing (e.g. travel reports basically focused on promoting tourism agencies). Besides, as images about Amazonia are studied strictly through the lenses of metaphorical discourse, "news" types like "image of the day" (containing whensoever a headline and / or only a photo's subtitle) were also considered

poorly significant to this analysis. The following paragraphs in this section refer exclusively to this coverage, named the corpus 2010-2016 , and quantitatively describe it. The first half of the section presents contextual / structural data of the articles as a whole, while the second half deals with more semantic aspects, focusing on the headlines covering the 2010-2016 period.

Contextual aspects

As the Amazon region is easily mixed up by search engines with Amazon Inc. the global retailer, 11 specific search terms were employed in order to obtain the desired results (Figure 4). In all newspapers databases, these terms were used both with and without quotation marks, in order to maximize data retrieval.



Figure 4: Search terms used to obtain proper results about the Amazon region in South America

The search in Factiva database generated 525 articles. After a set of relevance and retention criteria, the corpus effectively subjected to analysis gathers 257 articles, whose main features, contexts and headlines are described below. The following graphics and charts show articles' time, spatial and search terms distribution within corpus 2010-2016 (Figures 5, 6 and 7).

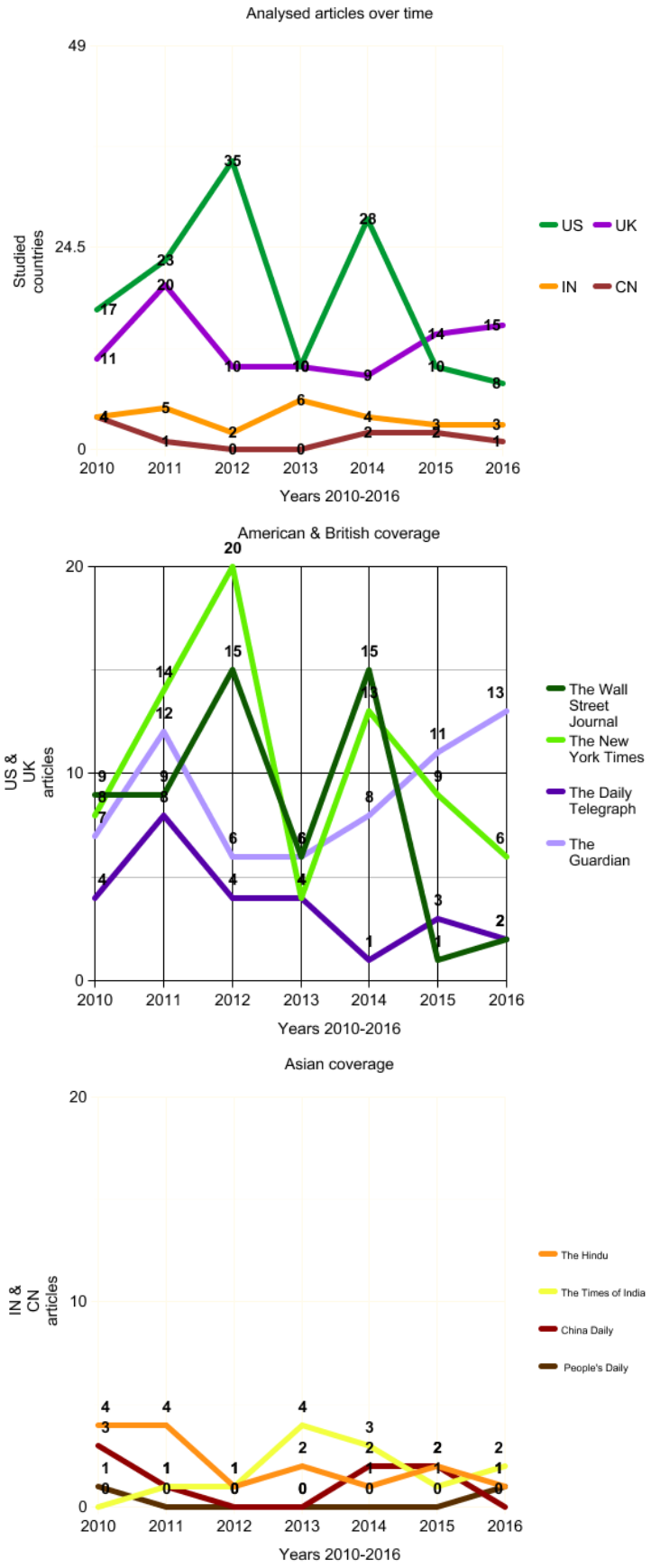


Figure 5: Amazon coverage in analyzed newspapers around the globe (*upper graphic*), in American and British coverages (*middle*) and in Indian and Chinese coverages (*bottom*).

According to Figure 5, American newspapers *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* show a peak in Amazon articles between 2012 and 2014, while British *The Guardian*'s peaks occur in 2011 and 2016. The other newspapers — British *The Daily Telegraph* (TDT) and Asian's *The Hindu*, *The Times of India*, *China Daily* and *People's Daily* present a more regular coverage, tending to decline over time, specially for TDT case.

Peaks in 2012 could be related to Chevron's appeal against the $18 billion fine for pollution damages, a case that made headlines specially in *T*he WSJ, but also related to the considerable decrease in Brazilian deforestation rate in a decade. Peaks during 2014 could be explained by the Brazilian international front stage in the context of World Soccer Cup. Some matches took place in Arena Manaus, in the middle of the jungle, and somehow the Amazon region might have called attention of media professionals due to other aspects beyond soccer games (2014's articles mentioning Amazonia but exclusively reporting on the World Cup were not retained for analysis, though). Besides, Belo Monte dam's major inconvenient consequences among locals also arouse during the period. Finally, *The Guardian*'s peak in 2016 could be linked to the increase of Venezuelan migration through Amazonian states, to the rising internationalization of anti-dam movements (within Belo Monte case) and / or to the amazing images of Amazon uncontacted tribes that became viral that year.

In general, spatial distribution of Amazon coverage appears strongly disproportionate among studied countries, with very few articles from Indian and Chinese selected newspapers. Still, such imbalanced results may be partially explained by limitations in Factiva database engine search.

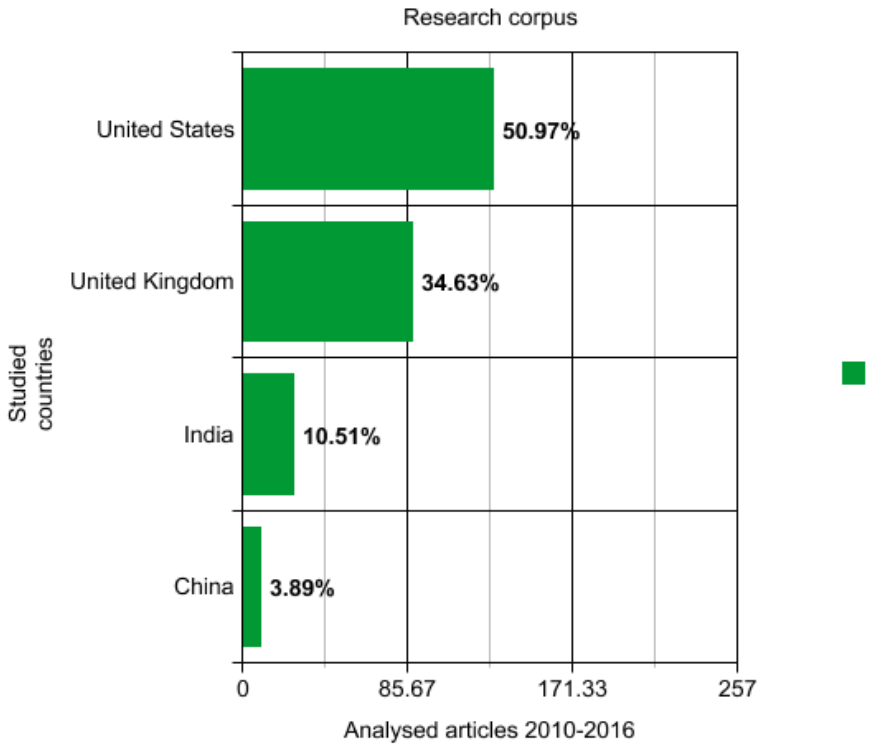


Figure 6: Distribution of news articles generated by Factiva, per country.

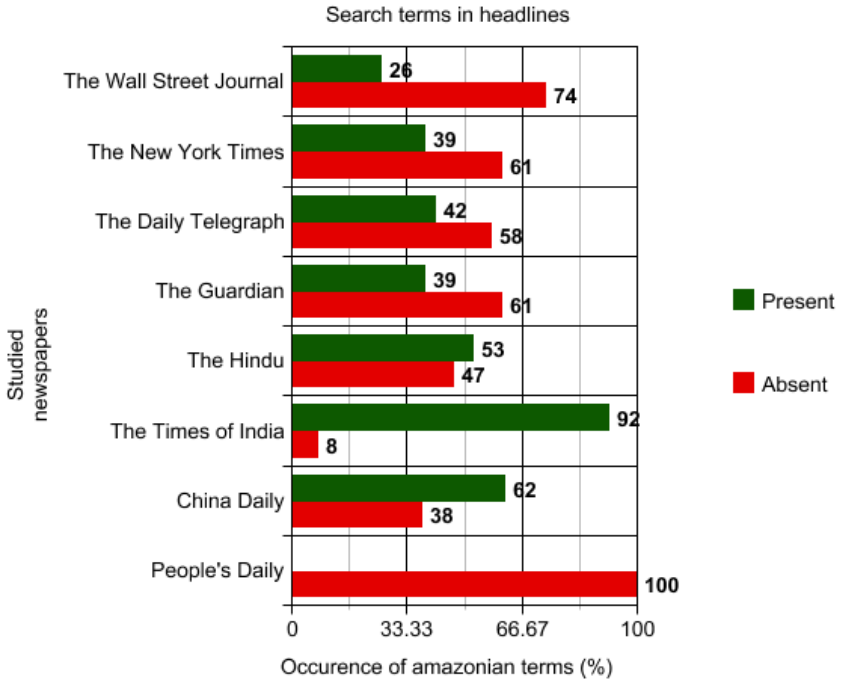


Figure 7: Distribution of 11 Amazonia-related search terms in headlines

Half of the Amazonian coverage comes from US newspapers, while Asian selected newspapers count for less than half of UK selected coverage, which in turn corresponds to approximately 1/3 of Amazonian articles. Additionally, The WSJ has the lowest occurrence of Amazonian terms in headlines while TOI has the highest. The NYT, TDT and TGD are balanced, with approximately 2/5 of headlines

appealing straight to the topic. Such features, however, should not be taken for granted, since absolute number of entries and also article's exclusion index (data not shown) may vary radically between Asian and "Western" newspapers. Below, the following charts provide a better idea of the recurrence of search terms in headlines, denoting that strictly "Amazon" is the most common access to the topic by readers. Still, most of the time articles frame the Amazon from other textual devices rather than headlines (sections, subheads, subtitles, leading paragraphs, photos' subtitles).

Search terms in headlines: *The Wall Street Journal*

SEARCH TERMS:	WSJ: 57 articles in total
'Amazon'	10
'Amazon basin'	1
'Amazon rain forest'	1
'Amazon [...] rainforest'	1
OTHER RELATED TERMS:	
Amazon projects	1
Amazon trees	1
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	42 (74%)

Search terms in headlines: *The New York Times*

SEARCH TERMS:	NYT: 74 articles in total
'Amazon'	26
'Amazon forest'	2
'AmazoniAN'	1
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	45 (61%)

Search terms in headlines: *The Daily Telegraph*

SEARCH TERMS:	TDT: 26 articles in total
'Amazon'	8
'Amazon jungle'	1
'AmazoniAN'	2
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	15 (58%)

Search terms in headlines: *The Guardian*

SEARCH TERMS:	TGD: 63 articles in total
'Amazon'	21
'Amazon rainforest'	6
'AmazoniAN'	5
'Amazon forest'	4
'Amazonia'	2
'Amazon river'	2

*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	45 (61%)

Search terms in headlines: *The Hindu*

SEARCH TERMS:	THD: 15 articles in total
'Amazon'	7
'AmazoniAN'	1
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	7 (47%)

Search terms in headlines: *The Times of India*

SEARCH TERMS:	TOI: 12 articles in total
'Amazon'	5
'Amazon rainforest'	2
'Amazon forest'	3
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	2 (8%)

Search terms in headlines: *China Daily*

SEARCH TERMS:	CND: 8 articles in total
'Amazon'	3
'Amazon rain forest'	1
'Amazon river'	1
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	3 (38%)

Search terms in headlines: *People's Daily*

SEARCH TERMS:	PPD: 2 articles in total
*Articles without Amazonia-related terms in headlines	2 (100%)

The nomination of the Amazon region appears coherent with articles' section labeling, considering that environment and science sections are not the most adopted. Besides, some newspapers apparently do not identify sections for these disciplines, specially Asian newspapers, a feature that might be aligned to Chinese and Indian media culture (CND does not name any section at all).

In fact, world, (inter)national and politics sections dominate Amazon coverage (Figure 8). In The WSJ, law, economy and business sections even surpass world / politics topic framing, a finding coherent with its editorial profile and target readers. The NYT has a considerable number of Amazon articles published in editorials, opinion sections and blogs. On the other hand, British TGD holds the most prominent science and environment section framing, but still counting for only one-third of world / politics top framing.

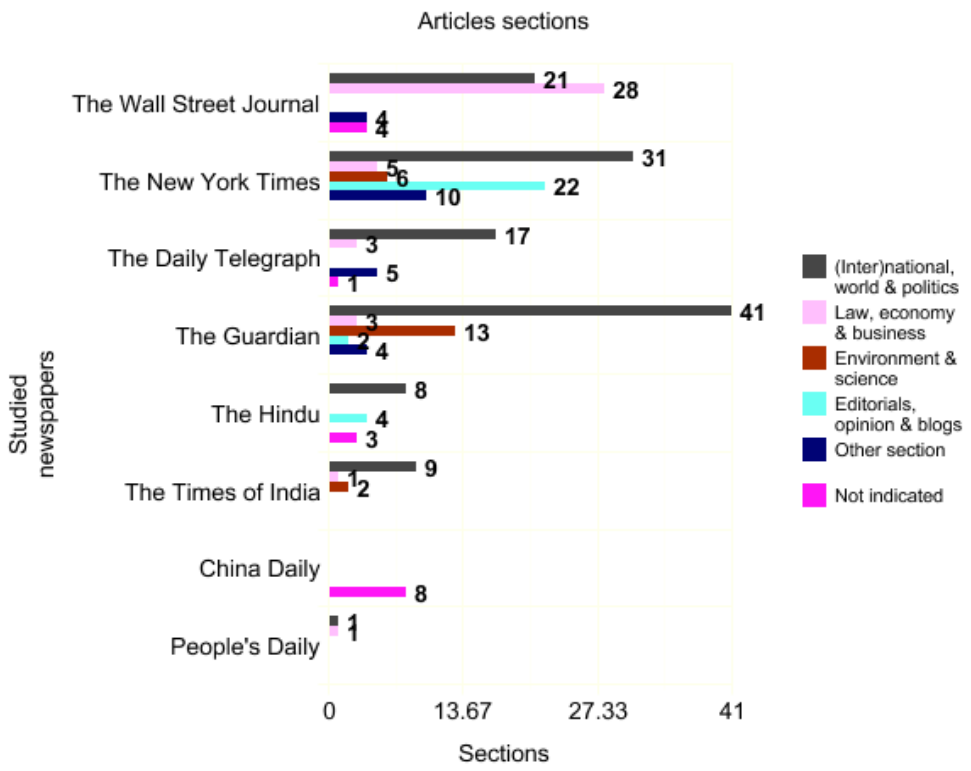


Figure 8: Sections of the analyzed articles: coverage of the Amazon appears intensively filtered by (inter)national and politics frames (sections). Only The NYT and TGD published news about the Amazon in environmental and scientific sections (*dark red bars*).

There might be two possible explanations for the prominence of the international / political orientation along the 2010-2016 coverage: one more symbolic, related to power issues; and another more practical, related to media culture. As the Amazon region plays a strategic geopolitical role among the lasting world natural resources (specially fresh water, pristine timber, metal ores, gems and precious extracts from the flora/fauna), international politics is somehow expected to be the major framework by the media (economic and trade issues being usually veiled by "uninterested" concerns). Besides, articles' type and size – corresponding to the second argument – reinforce this idea, since international / political news may demand less time (for news staffs) and space (in print media), in comparison to environmental / scientific news, which usually demand better contextualization as well as conceptual explanations (i.e. scientific vulgarization). The abundance of shorter merely informative hard news texts configures a significant clue in this sense (Figures 9 and 10).

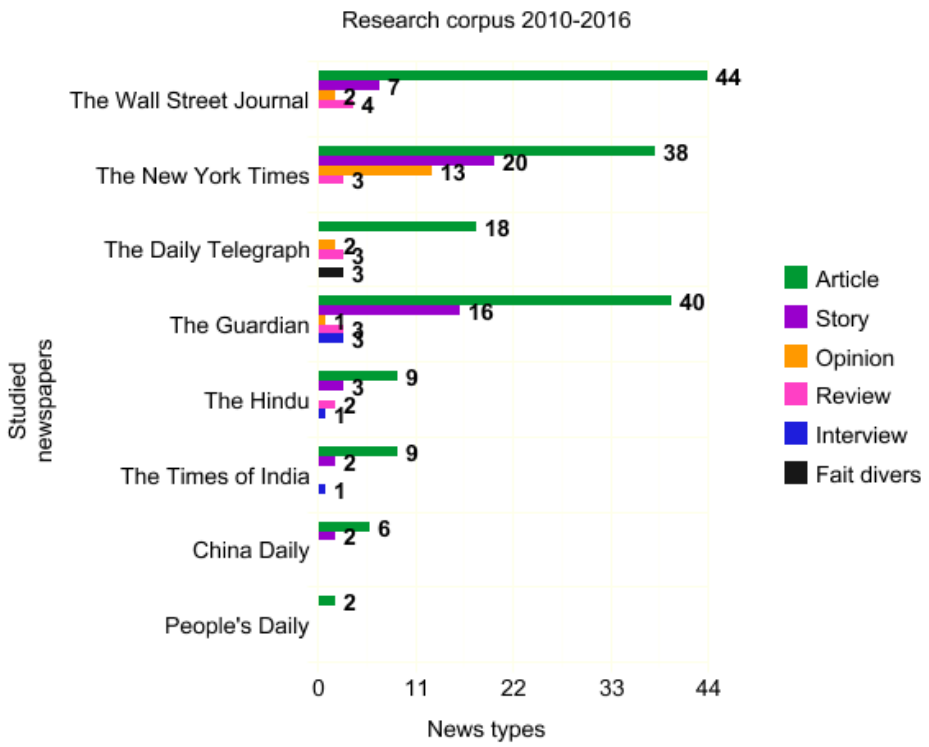


Figure 9: News types in articles: more interpretative, contextualized, in-depth news stories (*purple bars*) count for a minor part of Amazon coverage

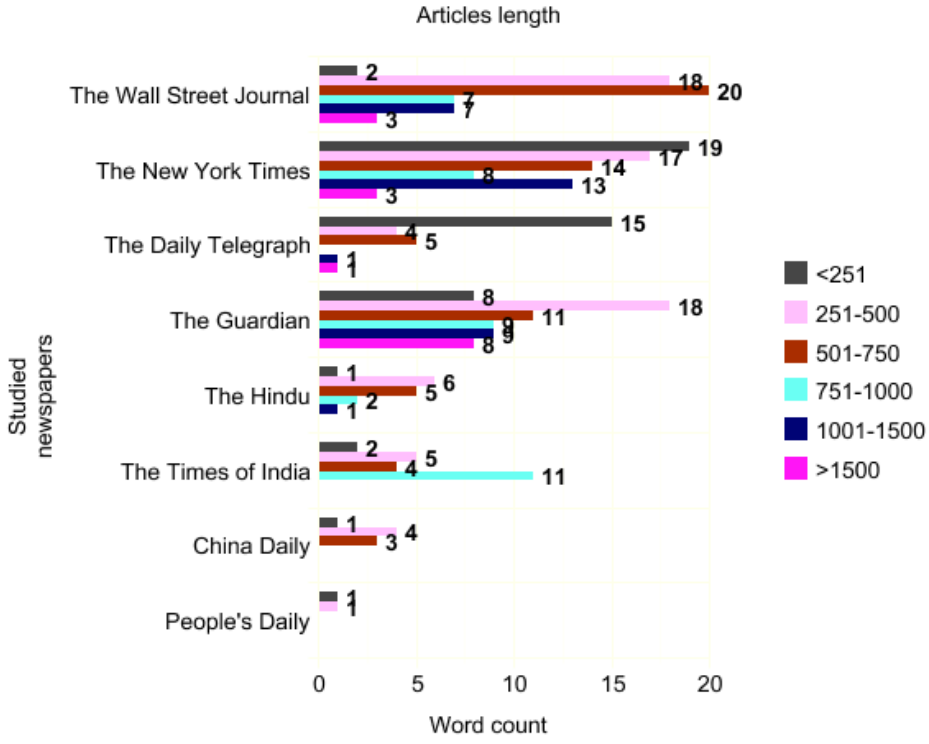


Figure 10: Short articles (less than 500 words) dominate Amazon 2010-2016 coverage

Roughly, merely factual news articles (news texts composed by the lead followed by 2-3 brief paragraphs) correspond to the <501 words news. This kind of quick informative reports seem incompatible with Amazon's complex issues, probably compromising a truly informed reading. On the other hand, it must be mentioned that some stories — specially >1001-words —although rare, appear quite well contextualized and able to minimally enlighten Amazon's greatest challenges.

Semantic aspects

Moving to the semantic field of 2010-2016 coverage, I focus on headlines, trying to explore both the content and recurrence of the vocabulary (words / expressions) which make reference to Amazonia. Below, Table 3 enumerates a set of presumed key terms and expressions expected to come alongside or linked to the Amazon (specially environmental) semantic field. This exercise generated some interesting surprises, since some terms perhaps expected to appear integrated into the Amazonian semantic field simply did not occur in headlines (i.e. "protection" or "conservation"). On the other hand, other terms appeared, which have been intially excluded from the expectations list (e.g. "tribe", "dam" or "hydroelectric").

Basically, the expectations — yet subjectively defined — were fulfilled by the recurrence of terms such as "(rain)forest", "deforestation", "environment", "climate change" and "biodiversity", confirming that the natural resource view stands among the most influential semantic perspectives attached to the Amazon region. On the other hand, a wide range of somehow unexpected terms and expressions was detected in headlines (Table 3). These terms called attention for multiple reasons, from their dramatic or tragic charge (e.g. "Amazon's Chernobyl") to a degree of incompatibility with Amazonian mainstream imagery (e.g. "first-time customers"). In any case, even if most of these terms occur only once, the whole set establishes a meaningful link to the warfare semantic field. Surprisingly, the top-5 terms found in headlines are: "threat(s)" / "threaten(ed)"; "die off" / "dead(ly)" / "death(s)"; "battle"; "safe(ty)" / "save"; and "fight(er)". This finding suggests that the Amazonian issues not only are shaped in a risk frame, but such frame, rather than purely environmental, points to a sense of war and peace, life or death. Many other words, with only 2-3 entries, corroborate such impression, for example: "killing", "opponent", "alarm", "damage", "defend", "destruction", "disaster", "endangered", "frontline".

Certainly, one should consider that a significant part of the coverage deals with a long and controversial legal "battle" between Ecuadorean Indigenous minorities and the oil company Chevron, regarding alleged environmental damage in Amazon's wildlife and tribal areas – a story that dominates

The WSJ's headlines during the analyzed period. However, it must also be noted that The WSJ's articles account for only 10% of the corpus, and that a significant portion of such warfare semantics comes from the other seven analyzed newspapers.

Table 3: Research corpus 2010-2016: presumed and meaningful terms and expressions in headlines

15 presumed key terms & expressions in headlines	WSJ	NYT	TDT	TGD	THD	TOI	CND	PPD	Total
biodiversity / species				4		1	1		6
climate (change)*	2	3		1	1	1	1		9
deforestation / destruction*	3	1		3	1				8
develop(ment)	3	1							4
Earth		1							1
(eco)justice		1							1
ecosystem		1							1
energy	1								1
environment(_al/_alist)*	3	3		2					8
emission / carbon	1			1					2
(rain)forest / forestry*	1	6		9					16
indian / indigenous	1	1	1	1	1		1		6
(global) warming	1								1
pollution									0
protection / conservation									0
Total score:	16	18	1	21	3	2	3	0	64
Meaningful terms & expressions found in headlines	TWJ	NYT	TDT	TGD	THD	TOI	CND	PPD	Total
abduct		1							1
accuses		1							1
adventure(r)	1								1
(sparks) alarm	2								2
attack		1							1
battle (to save)*	3	2		2					7
bizarre (impacts)				1					1
(need better) care				1					1
Amazon's Chernobyl				1					1
clears (hurdle)		1							1
(climate of) crisis	1								1
confront (violence)		1							1
conspiracy	1								1
contamination				1					1
criminal (sale)			1						1
damage (claim)	1					1			2
(found) deep				1					1
defends (himself)	2								2
destruction / destroy				2					2
(king) dethroned				1					1
disagreement		1							1
(hidden) disaster		1		1					2

die / dying off / (mass) deaths / deadly*	2	1	1	2	1			7
discover(ed)				1		1		2
distant (lands)				1				1
dramatic					1			1
emergency				1				1
endangered				2				2
endless		1						1
(true price is) ethnocide				1				1
fighting (for rights) / fighter*		2		1	1			4
future		1						1
falls	1	1						2
first-time customers	1							1
frontline				2				2
(seafood) fraud				1				1
free			1					1
(oil) giant				1				1
global consciousness				1				1
guard		1						1
harder line	1							1
(to gauge) health				1				1
hinterlands	1							1
(world's / global) hunger	1			1				1
(rampant) illegal				2				2
invaded				1				1
jungle			1	1				2
killing / killer / killed	1		1	1				3
lost (tribe / world); looses (green)				2	1			3
massacre(d)		1						1
military (presence)		1						1
murders				1				1
obstacle	1							1
(spied) opponent		1		2				3
outsiders / outside (world)				2				2
(more) police		1						1
no law		1						1
precarious (balancing act)				1				1
protest	1			1				2
raises concern	1							1
raises fears	1							1
(tribe) resist				1				1
resource rush		1						1
risks				1				1
ruined (lives)				1				1
safety / save (tribe)*		1		4				4
secret plan		1						1
sensitive region	1							1
shelter				1				1
splits nation	1							1
strange (case)			1					1
(social) tensions				1				1
surprises			1					1
survivable		1						1

tipping point									1		1									2
threat / threaten*	1		2						6				1							10
turns its back					1															1
tradition (is swept)									1											1
trading (scams)									1											1
trap(ped)					1															1
unethically															1					1
(double) win			1																	
warning									1											1
worried (view)			1																	1

***** The top-three terms of each category are highlighted in bold.

To sum up, keeping in mind that headlines are supposed to condense the core message of their respective texts – among other communicative functions – one could infer that, for the studied newspapers and time range, Amazonia is depicted as a controversial and disputed territory, where risk, violence and disagreement abound. Such representation, even if slightly sensationalist – apparently – seemingly corresponds to the Amazon region's main challenges, where conflicting social / environmental interests and power struggles are constant, despite its "hinterlands" status. This is one of the most important aspects to be stressed, namely media (and public) awareness over important battles taking place not only far from large cities and their citizens, but in a region not commonly seen as a war zone. Still, this does not mean that the 2010-2016 coverage seems sufficiently contextualized or exempt from stereotypes and other homogenizing concepts. After all, the warfare framing trend ratifies media's taste for conflict.

In terms of agency and inclusion of social actors, both omissions and the frequency of citations may also point to interesting framing trends. Regarding the 2010-2016 headlines, social actors correspond to the sources cited directly and indirectly in the articles. For the purpose of this classification, two types of social actors are retrieved: single individualized agents, who are effectively named in headlines, and "amplified" agents, such as corporations, institutions and even nations. Additionally, whereas content attribution may also play an overlooked role in shaping reception and interpretation, the authorship of news articles is summarized below, taking into consideration only the most recurrent news authors.

- ✓ *The Wall Street Journal* : John Lyons, Mercedes Alvaro and Chad Bray are the most frequent journalists signing the published articles.
- ✓ *The New York Times* : Andrew C. Revkin, Simon Romero and The Associated Press are the top-3 news writers.

- ✓ *The Daily Telegraph* : Geoffrey Lean is the most cited author, though the largest part of articles does not mention any authorship.
- ✓ *The Guardian* : Jonathan Watts, John Vidal and Dan Collyns are the top-3 journalists responsible for the news contents.
- ✓ *The Hindu* : Damian Carrington, environment editor from The Guardian by the time, is the most frequent news writer.
- ✓ *The Times of India* : Subodh Varma and TNN (Times News Network, TOI's own news agency) are the most recurrent news authors, although the majority of articles are not authored.
- ✓ *China Daily* : international news agencies dominate the coverage, specially Reuters and Agence France Press.
- ✓ *People's Daily* : represented by only two articles, which were not authored.

Regarding other complementary characteristics of news authoring, it must be added that the Indian newspaper THD reproduces and / or rewrites many articles from the British TGD. TOI and the other two Chinese papers tend to use their own or well-known foreign news agencies, but, again, PPD's corpus retrieved from Factiva is so limited that any statement about it would lack a minimal foundation. Furthermore, The NYT is the only "Western" newspaper that consistently sources from a news agency (The Associated Press). Nevertheless, many news stories are signed by its (actually) former correspondent in Amazon countries, Simon Romero; and also by Andrew Revkin, its environment editor at the time, who signs a considerable number of opinion pieces, including from Dot Earth, NYT's environmental blog.

Back to the news sources used in articles published along 2010—2016, there seems not to be any clear recurrence pattern, apart from Chevron, the Big Oil member which, not surprisingly, dominates The WSJ's coverage, but is also mentioned in some NYT's headlines. For the totality of the corpus, almost one in ten articles cites the giant company in its headlines. Mentions to other companies occur rarely. Authorities such as presidents, head of states, ministers, CEOs, celebrities or experts are consistently avoided in the studied headlines, in all newspapers (Table 4).

Table 4: Research corpus 2010-2016: authorities, corporations and institutions in headlines

	**	Not mentionned	Chevron	Roussef*	Correa*	Pope	British Museum	Belo Monte	Vale	Ivanhoe Energy	United Cacao	Tesco	U.N.*	Nasa
TWJ	57	32 (56%)	18	1	1				3	1	1			
NYT	74	65 (88%)	8			1								
TDT	26	26 (100%)												
TGD	63	59 (94%)	1	1			1	1				1		
THD	15	14 (93%)											1	
TOI	12	11 (92%)												1
CND	8	8 (100%)												
PPD	2	2 (100%)												
Total	257	227 (88%)	27	2	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	1

*****Roussef: Dilma Roussef, (actually) former Brazilian president; Rafael Correa: (actually) former president of Ecuador; U.N.: United Nations.

******Number of articles under analysis: each article may eventually cite more than one agent.

Note: Other single entries (less known in the international stage): Katia Abreu (Brazilian Agricultural Minister by the time of coverage; included in the same headline with Roussef in The WSJ); Cemig (Minas Gerais State Energy Company; in same headline with Vale; The WSJ).

Finally, regarding citations of nations, Ecuador (due to its long Court battle with Chevron) stands out as the most cited Amazon country in The WSJ. Yet, even in this newspaper, Brazil is often mentioned in headlines. Brazil is the most cited country also in news from The NYT and TGD (Figure 11).

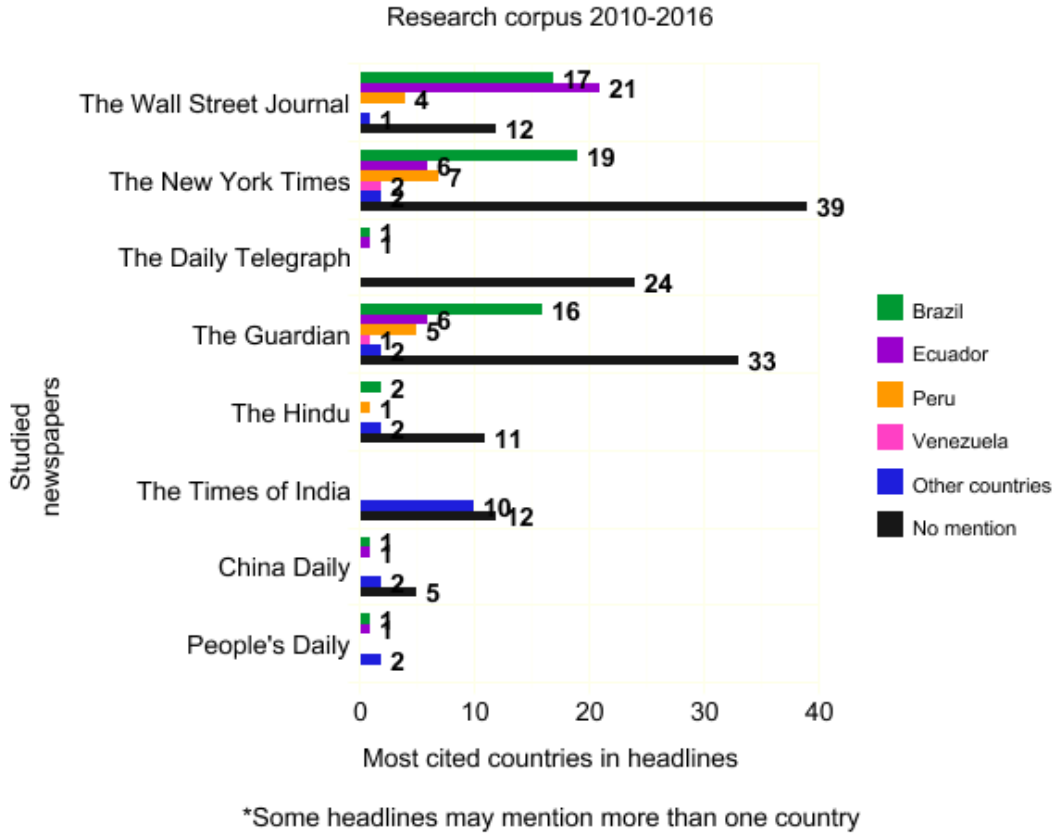


Figure 11: Most cited Amazon countries in 2010-2016 headlines

Peru also appears in at least three newspapers, nevertheless, it must be noted that the largest part of the coverage omits references to countries in headlines (subheadings are not included in this analysis, specially because not all newspapers include them). Among non-Amazonian nations, China is the most cited, providing a possible glimpse to geopolitical tensions present in the news coverage (Table 5). Even if an Amazon nation, Bolivia is rarely cited, so that it is also included below.

Table 5: Other countries cited in headlines (number of entries)

	Bolivia	Britain	Canada	Colombia	China	Haiti	India	US
WSJ	1		1	1				
NYT	1				1	1		
TDT								
TGD		1			1			
THD					1			
TOI							1	
CND		1						1
PPD					2			
Total	2	2	1	1	5	1	1	1

Having concluded the quantitative presentation of the 2010-2016 corpus (for further details, see Annex A), which functions as a preliminary contextual approach to Amazonia in international news, the next section will depict the general profile of the 2019 corpus, which will henceforth constitute the sole object of analytical reference, unless otherwise mentioned.

5.2 Burning environmental issues: a picture of Amazonia's global resonance

By the first days of August 2019, the Amazon hit (inter)national headlines (mostly Brazilian, but not exclusively) due to the dismissal of an important scientist, the head of National Institute of Space Research (INPE), a renowned public institution which monitors deforestation and other crucial data from Brazilian skies. The fact would be rather irrelevant per se, but its justification quickly called public / media attention: INPE's head was supposedly fired for doing his job: releasing official deforestation data that showed an increase in deforestation rates in relation to past measurements. Approximately two weeks later, raging fires in the Amazon were in headlines and front pages in the international media, as well as trend topics in social media, in a global backlash. During these days and the following weeks, by the end of August and beginning of September 2019, the Amazon was raised to a level of global attention and concern never seen before, precisely because its previous global peak had happen probably in the middle of the 1990s, when the internet and social media were not yet popularized. While the 2010-2016 corpus provided a general notion about how (much) the Amazon was reported and represented, the Aug.—Dec. 2019 corpus covers a specific media cycle, centered on a specific event and its developments shaking up discursive positions, with the virtual rise of new arguments and views — a critical discourse moment (Chilton, 1988; Carvalho, 2000). The following set of analysis along this chapter and those to come may or not corroborate this assumption.

Contextual aspects

Seeking to circumscribe the 2019 corpus, individual searches in newspapers' websites generated 214 valid articles (Table 6), whose contextual features and headlines are examined in detail along the next paragraphs. Headlines are crucial semantic and rhetorical devices, since they play a key role in defining readers' interest on investing attention and time to access the message of the whole article. For a better visual depiction, the following figures show articles' time and spatial distribution graphically (Figures 12, 13 and 14). Amazon news published in August totalize more than all the following months together.

Table 6: Time distribution of Amazon coverage in corpus 201.

	Aug.	**Sep.**	**Oct.**	**Nov.**	**Dec.**	**TOTAL**
WSJ	10	4	1	2	2	19
NYT	20	3	1	3	6	33
TDT	13	2	1	1	2	24
TGD	19	8	3	10	10	50
THD	34	4	1	4	1	44
TOI	9	2	0	1	2	14
CND	19	4	1	0	2	26
PPD	5	0	0	0	0	5
TOTAL	131	29	8	21	25	215

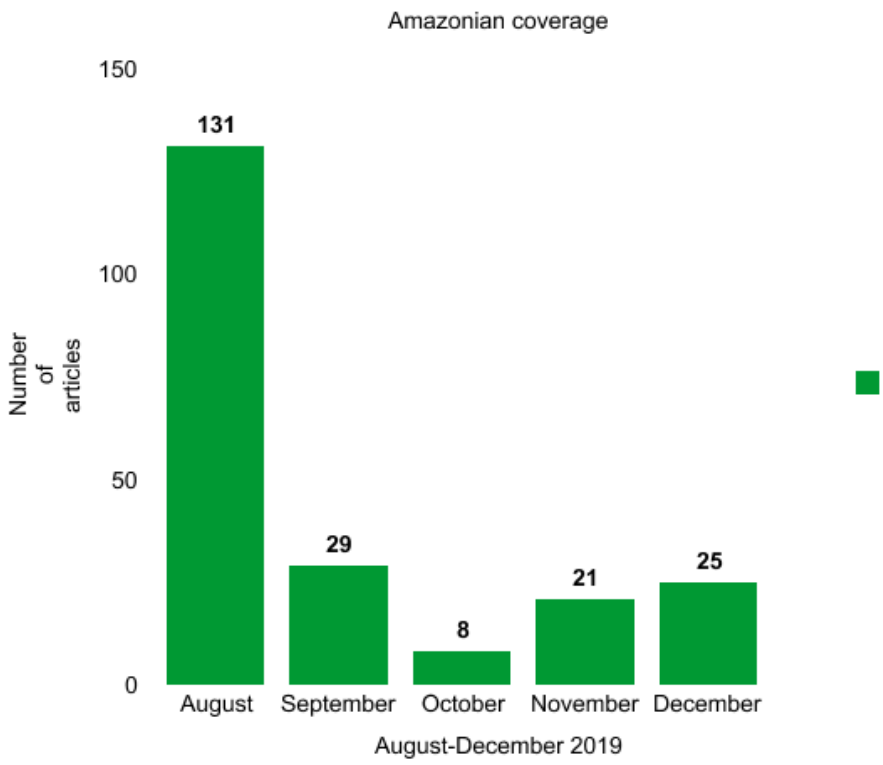


Figure 12: Media attention to Amazonia between Aug. - Dec. 2019 in newspapers from US, UK, India and China

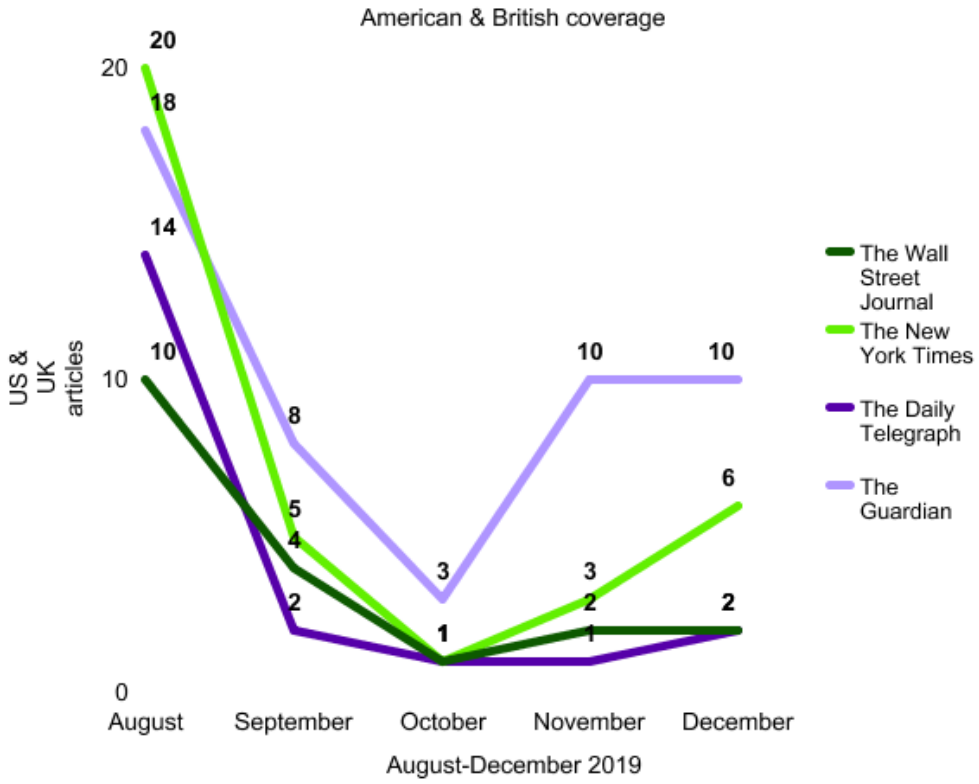


Figure 13: US & UK articles' distribution between Aug. - Dec. 2019.. Newspapers dedicated substantially more attention to Amazonia on August 2019, notably *The Guardian* and *The New York Times*.

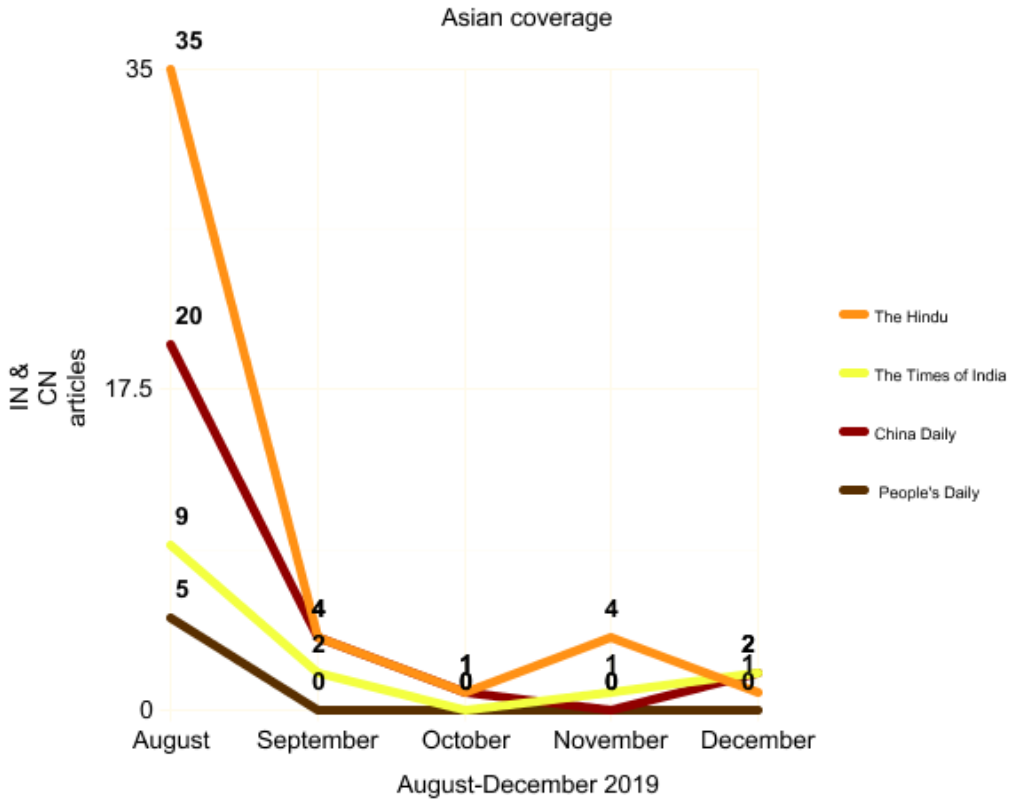


Figure 14: Indian and Chinese articles distribution between Aug. - Dec. 2019. Newspapers dedicated substantially more attention to Amazonia on August 2019, notably *The Hindu*.

Indeed, in August 2019 the Amazon forest was consistently targeted by news media, representing approximately 60% of corpus 2019. In absolute numbers, *The Hindu*'s (THD) coverage (35 articles) largely overcomes the other newspapers', specially *China Daily*, *The Guardian* (*TGD*) and *The New York Times* , which published individually between 18-20 articles during the same month. Nevertheless, as quantity may not exactly represent quality, one should note that THD's higher performance relies greatly on standard materials provided by news agencies, specially The Associated Press (AP). But one must also have in mind that THD, despite its limitations, stands for the most interested newspaper on Amazon destruction. Here I mean that not publishing agencies articles, even online, would have been another possible editorial option in comparison to a complete omission due to operational limits. As CND also heavily relies on agencies, specially its state-owned Xinhua, it can be argued that The NYT and TGD, despite their lower number of articles, elaborate more in-depth articles, as a result of an apparently extensive field work from special correspondents and editors, an advantage that make alternative sources more accessible and news texts more contextualized and overall better elaborated.

On the other hand, chronological distribution of Amazon coverage appears strongly disproportional among studied countries, with very few articles from Indian and Chinese selected newspapers after the fire "boom" in the Amazon Forest during August 2019's last week. This result suggests that Indian and Chinese media tend to follow "Western" media agenda (as well as agencies): as coverage simply decline in American and British news vehicles during the following months, Asian interest on Amazon issues also practically vanishes. However, we must recognize important limitations (geographic, logistic, etc.) of Asian newspapers in order to directly cover South American events, and vice-verse. Such limitations partly explain Asian newspapers greater dependence on international news agencies, which generally provide basic and shorter informational news texts, since more in-depth articles tend to be produced by correspondents, not easily affordable in many situations. Figure 15, below provides an overview of articles' length.

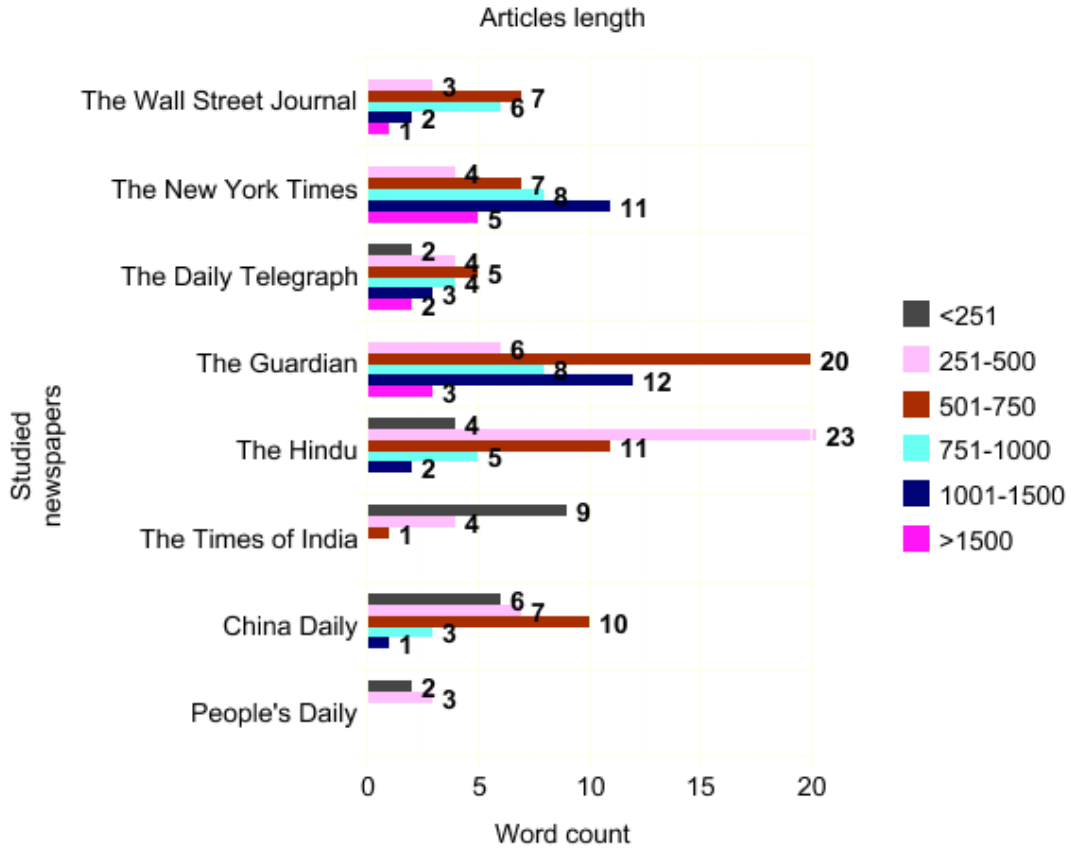


Figure 15: Word count or articles' length in analyzed articles

The New York Times and *The Guardian* published the highest number of longer texts. Stories longer than 1,500 words (dark pink bars) appear exclusively in "Western" newspapers. Roughly, it can be argued that merely informative news articles (for instance, texts composed by the lead with 2-3 other brief paragraphs added) correspond to the <501 words news. This kind of quick reports seem

incompatible with the Amazon's complex issues, probably compromising a truly informed reading, and also reinforcing stereotypes. On the other hand, it must be mentioned that some stories with >1,001 words overall seem sufficiently well contextualized and able to minimally enlighten some Amazon's greatest challenges.

Concerning articles' length, not only "newsmaking" or media culture but also broader cultural variables should be considered, such as public literacy. Even if newspapers, specially those published in English language, are hardly accessible for the majority of the population in India, THD occasionally includes Amazon news in sections labeld "In School"[79] and "Young World", with brief texts with clear educational purpose. This characteristic is exclusive to Indian media, in comparison to the other nations integrating the corpus. The studied articles are mostly published under broad hard news sections, considering that environment and science sections are not the most common choices. Besides, some newspapers apparently do not name sections for such topics, specially Chinese analyzed newspapers, a feature that might be part of its media culture (PPD does not adopt any classification at all).

Additionally, world or international sections (including "America", "Americas" or "Latin America") dominate Amazon coverage (Figure 16). In The WSJ, it counts for three-quarts of coverage. On average, The NYT publishes one opinion article for every three under world / international tag. On the other hand, British TGD holds the most prominent science and environment section framing, however counting for less than one-third of world / international top sections. TGD even establishes four interesting subdivisions for its "Environment" tag: "Climate change", "Wildlife", "Energy" and "Pollution" (almost all corpus entries referring to the former). TDT seemingly refuses specific sections, almost all texts being simply classified as "News".

For Asian newspapers, THD calls attention for its considerable number of texts in environment and opinion sections (around 9% of coverage for each label), surpassing The NYT's namely environmental articles (in both absolute and relative numbers). TOI's most common section is "Entertainment", counting for half of coverage. This is indeed an editorial tag unexpected for Amazonia, which involves very serious public / environmental stakes. The explanation for such a surprise resides in texts about Hollywood (DiCaprio) and mainly Bollywood celebrities reacting to Amazonian fires on social media, notably Tweeter and Instagram. Therefore, news "hook" do not lie on Amazonian issues, but on comments about it, a concerning detour from experts to lay "influencers" for an issue of high complexity. Finally, Chinese newspapers — having in mind that only CND adopts editorial tags — follow the "international" classification trend. Despite its status of State property, CND grants space for some

[79] Articles under this section were not retained for analysis due to their briefness and resemblance to "Image of the Day" (merely photographic"'news"), following methodological selection criteria.

opinion texts from editors and contributors, an openness that somehow helps to provide a democratic aura.

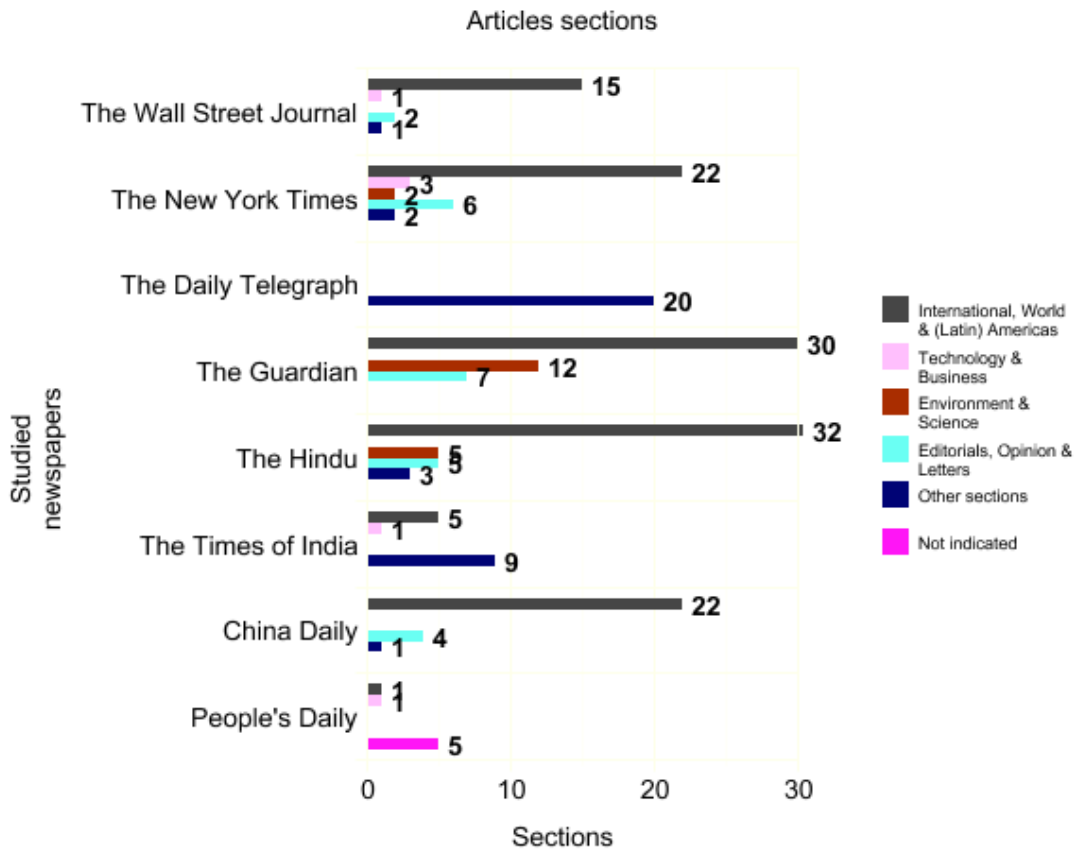


Figure 16: Sections related to analyzed articles: Amazon coverage appears intensively filtered by "international" and "world" sections.

Only *The New York Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Hindu* published Amazon news in environment and science specific sections. The possible explanations for the prevalence of the broad international orientation along this coverage are the same already risen for corpus 2010-2016: the weight of power issues, on the one hand, and very likely country's media culture, on the other hand. News types composing corpus 2019 are shown in Figure 17, below.

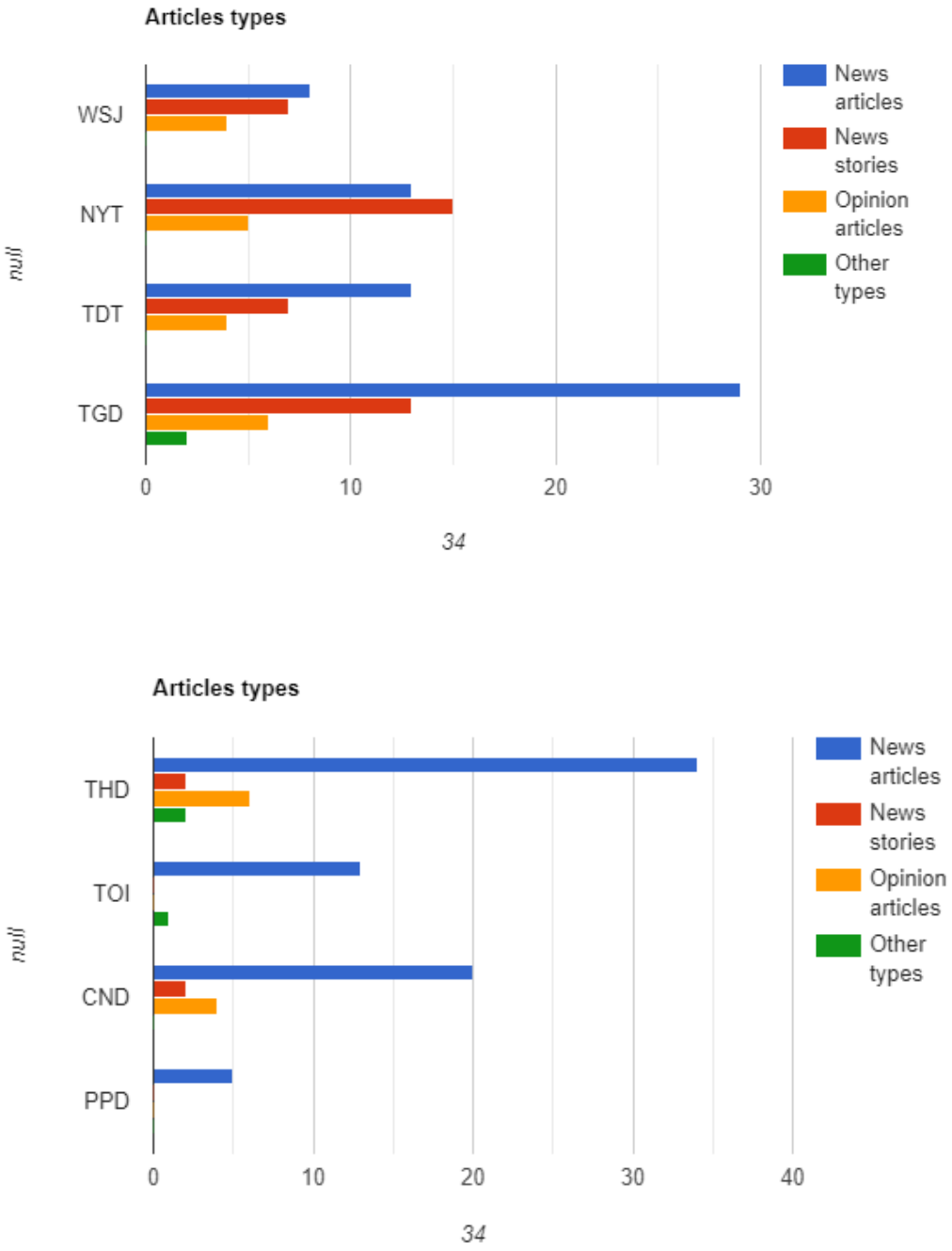


Figure 17: News types of Aug. - Dec. 2019 articles: more interpretative, contextualized, in-depth news stories (*red bars*) count for a minor part of Amazon coverage. Other types make reference to readers' letters, interviews and educational articles (exclusive in Indian media).

The distinction here made between news articles and news stories refers to shorter, event-oriented texts with hard-lead paragraphs ("5W"s trended) for the former, and less standardized, soft-lead and better contextualized news features, for the latter. Such difference almost automatically — but not necessarily — establishes longer news texts as "feature" stories (at least >750 words) and shorter texts as straight-

news articles. In this sense, The NYT and TGD stand out for publishing longer, in-depth, often multi-framed stories.

Semantic aspects

Considering the semantic field that emerges from the coverage, some meaningful — mostly expected —terms and expressions were occasionally detected in headlines. Notwithstanding, differently from the previous analysis carried out for corpus 2010-2016, for 2019 coverage I do not undertake an entirely identical procedure, since Amazon Aug. — Dec. 2019 coverage is the object of a frame analysis (section 5.3 of this chapter), hence partly overlapping other semantic surveys. Still, it should be noted that some terms call attention specially for their dramatic or tragic charge (e.g. “chaos”, “inferno”, “irreversible tipping point”, “catastrophic”, “apocalypse”, “shameful”, “disaster”, “impunity”). In any case, even if some of them occur only once or a few times, the whole set resonates with a security and apocalypse semantic field. Conversely, international sections most of the time refer to political (inter)national affairs, since “Bolsonaro”, “president”, “development”, “deforestation” and “climate” are among the most recurrent words attached to the coverage’s main topic (Brazil’s Amazon forest destruction by fires). Headlines in general tend to polarize these semantic fields (risk and policy imagery), suggesting they somehow feed each other.

Overall, given that headlines are supposed to condense the semantic core of their respective texts – among other communicative and rhetorical functions – for the studied newspapers and time range, Amazonia in corpus 2019 seems to be depicted as a fragile, exploited and neglected territory, where risk, violence and political omission and / or improper interference prevail. This representation, even if somehow sensationalist – apparently – corresponds to the Amazon region challenges, where conflicting social / environmental interests and power struggles are constant, with crucial climatic and other impacts worldwide. In this context, regional, national and global actors play a key role in the dispute for meanings and power in the region. As already done in the previous section, social actors used as news sources are taken into account right after a brief presentation of the main journalists which sign Amazon articlese. News authoring trends in Aug. — Dec. 2019 coverage are described below, taking into consideration the most recurrent news writers.

- ✓ *The Wall Street Journal* : Paulo Trevisani (correspondent in Brasilia), Jeffrey T. Lewis (reporter) and Mary Anastasia O'Grady (‘The Americas’ editor) are the most frequent authors of analyzed articles.
- ✓ *The New York Times* : Ernesto Londoño (*NYT*’s Brazil bureau chief in Rio), The Associated Press, Reuters and Letícia Casado (stringer) are the top-four names responsible for articles content.

- ✓ *The Daily Telegraph* : Joe Shute (senior feature writer), David Chazan (reporting from France), "Our Foreing Staff" and Euan Marshall (reporting from Brazil) are the top-four authors.
- ✓ *The Guardian* : Jonathan Watts (global environment editor), Dom Phillips (reporter from Brazil) and Tom Phillips (Latin America correspondent) are the top-three cited authors.
- ✓ *The Hindu* : AFP, Reuters and not sourced articles prevail in coverage.
- ✓ *The Times of India* : any names of journalists appear; the agencies Times News Network (TNN) and Asian News International (ANI) prevail in coverage.
- ✓ *China Daily* : Xinhua, Sergio Held (free lancer journalist reporting from Colombia), Reuters and "Agencies" are the most recurrent authors.

People's Daily only five retrieved articles are all sourced from Xinhua (meaning "New China"), which is the official news agency from Popular Republic of China. Founded in 1931 by the Chinese Comunist Party (CCP), Xinhua guides nearly the majority of Chinese news media, putting China among the world's most restrictive media. Another particularity in coverage refers to The NYT, the only "Western" studied newspaper that consistently refers a news agency as source (The Associated Press, an American not-for-profit news agency headquartered in New York City). Nevertheless, many news stories are also signed by Brazil's bureau chief (Ernesto Londoño, from The NYT).

Regarding internal actors in headlines, authorities such as ministers, CEOs, or experts are generally avoided in 2019 headlines, in all newspapers. An exception is made for presidents Bolsonaro and Macron, who performed both a personal and a political quarrel incited by Amazon fires, with vast repercussion in the media. Besides news internal and external sources, other agency-related contents, for the purpose of this subsection, refer to "amplified" agents, such as corporations, institutions and even nations — not commonly cited in headlines, apart from Brazil, the main international stage of Amazon fires (Table 7). In fact, "Brazil" and "Bolsonaro" are notably the most cited agents in the headlines (see Annex B for an overview).

Table 7: Social agents (authorities, nations, institutions, etc.) cited at least twice - minimally once in at least two different newspapers - in headlines from Aug. - Dec. 2019 coverage (by number of entries).

	Brazil*	Bolsonaro	G7	Macron	DiCaprio	EU / Europe	Pope	South America*	Bolivia	UK	H&M	Norway
WSJ	10	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
NYT	15	7	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	1
TDT	7	5	2	2	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	-
TGD	22	11	1	1	1	-	2	-	-	1	-	1
THD	21	4	3	-	1	3	1	-	-	-	-	-
TOI	4	-	-	1	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
CND	11	2	4	1	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-
PPD	2	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	93	32	11	7	6	5	5	3	3	2	2	2

***** These entries exclude their related adjectives Brazilian and South American.

The distribution (presence and recurrence) of social actors points to interesting features in newspapers. For instance, even if TOI and PPD do not namely cite Bolsonaro, these newspapers occasionally refer to the "Brazilian president" in their headlines. The avoidance of a proper nomination may be interpreted from at least two different perspectives: it could denote a voluntary refusal to nominate Bolsonaro, but perhaps Brazil's president name is not sufficiently known in the Asian political context, considering that Brazil's head of state does not often appear in the other "Eastern" newspapers, like THD and CND, which in turn have a considerable number of articles about the Amazon.

In the case of TOI, the absence of Bolsonaro, compared to the repeated mention to the American actorLeonardo DiCaprio in headlines, confirms the soft news tendency of this Indian newspaper with regard to Amazon coverage. Besides, this characteristic partly creates a distortion according to which DiCaprio's mentions in the 2019 coverage appears almost even with citations of Macron, an agent that stood out among G7 leaders due to more than strictly political issues with Bolsonaro. Pope (Francis) is cited specially within the occasion of an anticipated Amazon Synod, which took place after the "great burning weeks".

Finally, regarding the most cited geographic proper names (mainly nations, but not only) — which may function like collective social actors too, as I better explore and explain in Chapter 7 — the prevalence of Brazil is patent (even if sometimes it refers to the person of "Brazil's president"). Bolivia is the sole Amazon country minimally cited besides Brazil, albeit nations / regions in and outside Amazonia occasionally integrate headlines at least once (Peru and Colombia, as well as Puerto Rico, United States, France, Siberia, Indonesia and China). Additionally, G7, which stands for the group of world's richest and politically most powerful countries, is also sparsely mentioned. In this context, the United Kingdom and Norway are eventually cited within the context of international funding mechanisms for conservation, while H&M is cited in the context of companies moves to boycott Amazon products in order to avoid links with environmental degradation.

Having drafted, even if merely quantitatively, the more important contextual and semantic aspects of headlines from corpus 2019, the next section goes beyond the surface of headlines, by focusing on articles' framing patterns.

5.3 Framing beyond environmental conflict: themes, values and narratives shaping Amazonia

The final part of this chapter offers an overview on articles from corpus 2019 by conducting an exploratory content-related exercise of frame analysis. Having in mind that this type of survey is inevitably affected by a degree of subjectivity, Tables 8 and 9 below summarize, as objectively as possible, the rationale behind this analysis, which was wholly inductive and built on the basis of articles' careful reading and interpretation. Five pillars were established in order to better distinguish and attribute frames: 1) state of the Amazon and the environment; 2) agents and their motives; 3) values and beliefs; 4) power and social struggles; 5) visions of society and future governance. Although theoretically they refer to rather well-defined concepts, these pillars may still present overlapping features: for instance, agents motives surely entail a set of values and beliefs, as well as some power struggles very likely enable glimpsed scenarios of governance, among other inescapable connections. Still, it is assumed that such blurring zones do not substantially interfere in the comprehension of this survey nor invalidate it.

These pillars in part constitute an alternative classification in relation to Entman's frames, based on problem definition; causes of the problem; remedies for the problem and moral judgements about it (1993), notably because Amazon's social / environmental complexity demands a more specific and refined model. Specially, taking into consideration the way the media approach and reports Amazonia and its specific topics (forest fires and others), pillar 1 (state of the Amazon and the environment) is mainly descriptive; pillar 2 (agents and their motives) is mainly evaluative; and pillars 3, 4 and 5 (values and beliefs, power and social struggles, visions of society and future governance) are mainly normative. Therefore, by adopting such pillars as major discourse fields, 22 different frames were identified in corpus 2019 (Table 8), considering that each article had a core foregrounded frame, but occasionally on average one or two extra frames, backgrounded frames which are less explored. Despite their level of performance, they are all taken as frames for explanatory and operational reasons, since a specific frame can be foregrounded in a number of articles and simultaneously can function as a backgrounded frame in several others, and so forth. Still, for simplification purposes, only foregrounded frames are quantitatively counted in this analysis, while backgrounded frames are merely identified — a rather simple operation that *per se* sheds significant light to the discourses adopted by the different newspapers around the world. Indeed, this methodology indirectly aims to both explore new models and improve more "traditional" frame analyses, whose smaller operational stages are not often mentioned by scholars, or are focused only on headlines and leading paragraph(s) (for instance,

Trumbo, 1996), in any case attributing solely a single frame per article. However, it is a fact that these textual parts do have a crucial framing role, mainly in order to function as a "tie-breaker" between equally used frames in a specific text, in the scope of this analysis.

Finally, it should be considered that frames (apart the rather descriptive pillar 1) here acquire as much as possible specific policy positions. While in some studies frames unspecifically imply "pro", "anti" and "neutral" arguments (Anderson et al., 2005; Nisbet, 2009), this analysis tried to virtually suggest systems of values, ideological beliefs and even narrative roles (e.g. villains and victims) in the attribution of frames, whenever possible. However, in some more complex cases this was not possible, for example with regard to the frame which I labeled "political pressure" — seemingly, in part resonating with "conflict and strategy" (Nisbet, 2009) but also with the "ongoing conflict" narrative, developed under a "political dispute" frame (Lück et al., 2018). Yet, in the case of "political pressure", some concrete examples are provided below in the frame descriptions.

Table 8: Pillars underpinning journalistic discourse about Amazonia and their respective frames identified in corpus 2019

State of the Amazon and the environment (descriptive)	Agents and their motives (evaluative)	Values and beliefs (normative)	Power and social struggles (normative)	Visions of society and future governance (normative)
Environmental degradation Environmental criminality	Stereotype rupture Pro-Bolsonaro Bolsonaro's nonsense Media criticism Business as usual Risk sense	Conservation versus poverty Apocalypse Anti-Apocalypse Pro-environment Tipping point Climate change Spiritual dimension Pro-development	Lawlessness Political pressure International financial implications Environmental justice	Sustainable development Green economy
2 frames	6 frames	8 frames	4 frames	2 frames

This frame distribution indicates that 2 frames are characterized by a descriptive dimension, 6 frames by an evaluative dimension, and 14 frames by a normative dimension.

Descriptive frames

- ✓ Environmental degradation: describes and statistically quantifies the destruction of Nature and biodiversity, most of the time linking the loss of natural assets to anthropic action, with side effects on humanity.
- ✓ Environmental criminality: outlines violence and criminal activities involving the environment and social minorities, as well as their defenders.

Evaluative frames

- ✓ Stereotype rupture: rejection of common imagery and / or common place ideas; relativism and less homogenized concepts or views, specially about social groups.
- ✓ Pro-Bolsonaro: defence of President Jair Bolsonaro government, specially his neoliberal policies.
- ✓ Bosonaro's nonsense: remarks that Jair Bolsonaro makes stupid, impolite, not elaborated and / or inappropriate comments and accusations.
- ✓ Media criticism: criticism on media coverage and / or social media uses, including sensationalism, distortions, as well as fake news and fake photographs.
- ✓ Business as usual: "greenwashed" economic concern, usually from companies willing to preserve an environmentally friendly image for consumers, whereas degradation is bad to business.
- ✓ Risk sense: not apocalyptic, not referring to tipping points nor to (environmental) criminality. The motif of Insecurity or instability emerges among subjects' genuine worryings about other social spheres, eventually under a dystopian tone, mainly related to government Bolsonaro's far-right political ambience.

Normative frames

- ✓ Conservation versus poverty: economic wealth ensures better environmental care while poverty leads to nature's degradation.
- ✓ Apocalypse: clear apocalyptic tone, full of drama and tragedy with regard to environmental issues.
- ✓ Anti-Apocalypse: refuses hysteria and criticizes any apocalyptic view of events, data and prognosis.
- ✓ Pro-environment: broad conservationist approach considering of vital importance nature and its complex fluxes, with direct positive effects on human life.
- ✓ Tipping point: expresses the sense that a situation is close to a point of no return, with inevitable changes and new configurations and challenges, but not under an apocalyptic tone.

- ✓ Climate change: emphasizes the direct cause-effect link between environmental degradation and global climate changes, with several impacts on nature and human life, implying the need of a global cooperation agenda.
- ✓ Spiritual dimension: cosmological connection of places and living creatures; universal importance of nature totally apart from utilitarian issues and fully integrated into abstract, non-materialistic human sensations.
- ✓ Pro-development: ideas, comments and arguments that support economic growth and development under democratic, capitalist / liberal standards, usually implying that development stands as a sort of universal human right.
- ✓ Lawlessness: perception of institutional abandonment, denouncing fragility in law and specially absence of monitoring of competent authorities, also implying precariousness or corruption of State force and regulatory institutions.
- ✓ Political pressure: outlines the game of ideological and discursive struggles between competing social actors (powerful or willing to get power) aiming to make prevail their respective discourses of truth, including, frequently, assertions / discussions on national sovereignty and global commons.
- ✓ International financial implications: refers to millionaire / billionnaire economic stakes, from G7 funding requirements to trade deals like the EU-Mercosur, as well as other financial and "big money" issues, from huge agribusiness exports to US-China trade war.
- ✓ Environmental justice: recognition of the central role of minorities (Indigenous and other forest dwellers) in protecting the environment, implying the need of balanced market, legal and political mechanisms in order to achieve social inclusion and justice.
- ✓ Sustainable development: rational development, production and consumption is the key to preserve the environment in the long term for future generations.
- ✓ Green economy: refers to carbon markets (cap-and-trade programs), suggesting that standing forests should symbolically be converted to a commodity as a strategy to avoid deforestation, and setting financial and market incentives as an imperative measure to protect forests.

In order to keep the notion of power as much as possible as a major guideline, Table 9 below bridges contextual extra-linguistic elements (cultural, sociological, political, etc.) associated to frames, like implicit power and truth stakes, values and ideas, as well as shared story-lines linked to frames. Whenever deemed pertinent, the bibliographic source was also included.

Table 9: Frames retrieved from international news articles about Amazonia and their implicit contextual links

	Frame *	Power & Truth dilemma	Values & Ideas at stake	Main discourses or story-lines
DESCRIPTIVE	environmental degradation	Can humans really act as they please towards nature?	human activity impacts on the natural world; environmental destruction impacts human livelihoods	sustainable development discourse; law-and-order discourse
	environmental criminality	Who are the forest criminals and who are the martyrs / heros?	romantic (hero x villain; good x evil) worldview; limits of the State in controlling the Amazon	law-and-order discourse
EVALUATIVE	stereotype rupture	Is it possible to both correspond and divert from culturally "expected" characteristics?	segmented policies; cultural discrimination	group homogenization
	pro-Bolsonaro	What are the real and legitime intentions of such a (controversial) leader?	media "impartiality" vs. politically engaged media	neoliberal discourse; the misunderstood leader
	Bolsonaro's nonsense	Is it possible to be credible while breaking social and cultural norms?	media "impartiality" x politically engaged media	politically (in)correct discourse
	media criticism	What is pure information and what is a mere emotional appeal? What separates facts from manipulation?	free speech; media regulation	media's social relevance story-line
	business as usual	Is it possible to expand consumerism despite public opinion?	economic rationalism (Dryzek, 2013); sustainability	free markets and neoliberal discourse
	risk sense	How safe and stable are established routines and daily modern life?	(State) transparency / reliability; social stability	risk discourse (Beck, 1992)
NORMATIVE	conservation vs. poverty	Who impose the greater stresses on nature's ecosystems: the richest or the poorest?	global limits & planetary boundaries; Hardin's (1968) tragedy of the commons;	limits and survival discourse; neoliberal discourse
	Apocalypse	Is the end of the world and the human species really predictable?	global limits (Dryzek, 2013)	religious discourse
	anti-Apocalypse	Is this issue / phenomenon really worth worrying about?	Promethean response + administrative solution (Dryzek, 2013)	skeptical discourse (philosophy); "faith in science' discourse
	pro-environment	Does Nature matter equally or even more than humans?	green politics + green radicalism (Dryzek, 2013); nature promotion (Anderson, 1997)	Arcadian discourse (Hannigan, 2006)

	tipping point	When exactly might ever happen a supposed point of no return?	global limits & planetary boundaries; green radicalism (Dryzek, 2013)	risk discourse (Beck, 1992)
	climate change	How predictable and accurate could be any climate prognosis, if ever concrete?	global limits & planetary boundaries; green radicalism (Dryzek, 2013)	risk discourse (Beck, 1992); sustainable development discourse
	lawlessness	How trustable and efficient are State institutions and law enforcement?	State interference on private property / private activities; State efficiency in social control	law-and-order discourse
	spiritual dimension	Could Nature fulfill human needs other than basic and utilitarian ones?	Nature as a gateway to the intangible and supernatural; holly dimension of Nature; holistic view between concreteness and abstractness	religious discourse; Arcadian discourse
	political pressure	What / how individuals / groups (pretend not to) dominate others?	Problem solving approach: democratic pragmatism (Dryzek, 2013); regimes of truth (Fairclough, 1989; Foucault, 1980); symbolic power (2006)	status quo discourse; patriotic discourse; democratic discourse
	international financial implications	Is there an alternative to fix things apart from big money circuits?	economic rationalism (Dryzek, 2013)	free markets and neoliberal discourse
	environmental justice	Could human justice effectively rule special relationships between people and the natural world?	social rights and duties; affirmative policies; compensation for past mistakes (by elite groups)	fairness and social justice discourse; pro-minorities discourse
	sustainable development	What is the balance point that simultaneously ensures growth in the present and equal possibilities for the future?	administrative & economic solution (Dryzek, 2013); sustainability; ecological modernization (Hajer, 1995)	Promethean discourse (Dryzek, 2013); Brundtland Report; green politics
	pro-development	Are development and economic growth really the sole way leading to social prosperity?	economic rationalism (Dryzek, 2013)	prosperity and growth discourse
	green economy	Is there a way to integrate natural assets into existing market mechanisms?	market speculation; science modelling	free markets and neoliberal discourse; pro-environment discourse

5.3.1 Frame distribution per newspaper

The Wall Street Journal (19 articles)

In The WSJ 18 different frames were identified (9 functioning as foregrounded frames + 9 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 18). The most recurrent foregrounded frames are international financial implications (5 results) and pro-development (4 results). Together, these frames make up nearly half of The WSJ articles. This result seems aligned to the editorial profile of The WSJ, which praises neoliberal, free market, stock trade, among other economic and elite values. It is also aligned to the total omission of frames such like environmental justice. Interestingly, a single article can eventually adopt conflicting frames, e.g. pro-Bolsonaro and Bolsonaro's nonsense, as is the case of the opinion piece WSJ_A03 (*"Burning Questions About the Amazon Fires"*). Yet, this does not really imply contradictions but merely concessions, since the former stands as the article's foregrounded frame while the latter is among its backgrounded frames.

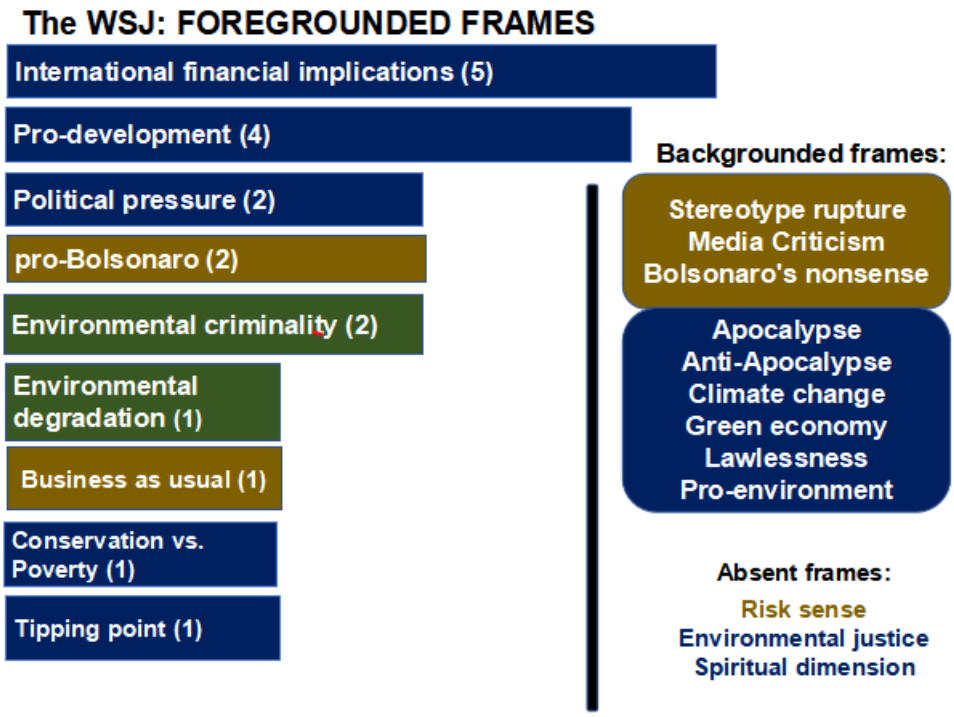


Figure 18: framing pattern in The WSJ coverage about Amazonia (Aug. - Dec. 2019; 19 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

The New York Times (33 articles)

In The NYT 19 different frames were identified (13 functioning as foregrounded frames + 6 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 19). The two most recurrent frames are evenly adopted: international financial implications and political pressure (8 results each). Together, these frames make up nearly half of The NYT articles. With regard to the other American newspaper under study, we can see that important frames backgrounded in The WSJ acquire more prominence in The NYT, which publishes articles centered on sustainable development, media criticism and Bolsonaro's nonsense. Taking into account that NYT's articles are overall longer, in general the newspaper tends to develop each angle more deeply. While climate change slightly acquires more visibility and pro-development is backgrounded, frames like environmental justice, pro-Bolsonaro and conservation versus poverty remain fully absent from The NYT coverage.

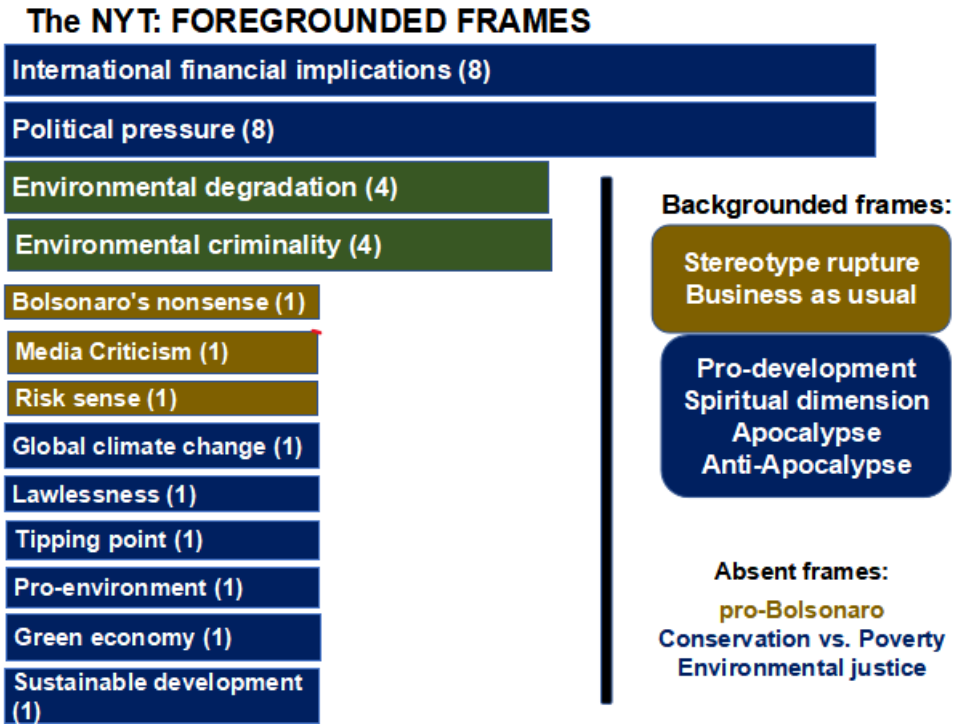


Figure 19: Framing pattern in The NYT coverage about Amazonia (Aug. - Dec. 2019; 33 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

The Daily Telegraph (24 articles)

TDT, 15 different frames were identified (8 functioning as foregrounded frames + 7 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 20). The top-three most recurrent frames are relatively balanced in this newspaper's coverage: environmental degradation (7 entries), international financial implications (6

entries) and political pressure (5 entries). Together, these frames make up three-quarters of TDT coverage. Environmental degradation, it is worth recalling, is linked to a rather descriptive report by the media. The prevalence of this frame could be related to the fact that TDT publishes both short (<501) and long (>1,000 & >1,500 words) articles about the Amazon (its 2,255-word news story, for instance, stands for the longest article in corpus 2019). I call attention to the fact that climate change is (foregrounded) framed by TDT exclusively in the article originally produced by *China Daily* (via the supplement "China Watch", within a partnership between the British and the Chinese newspaper). This is particularly surprising in a newspaper that often depicts Brazilian president as a "climate skeptic". Frames like sustainable development and environmental justice do not really appear in *The Daily Telegraph*.

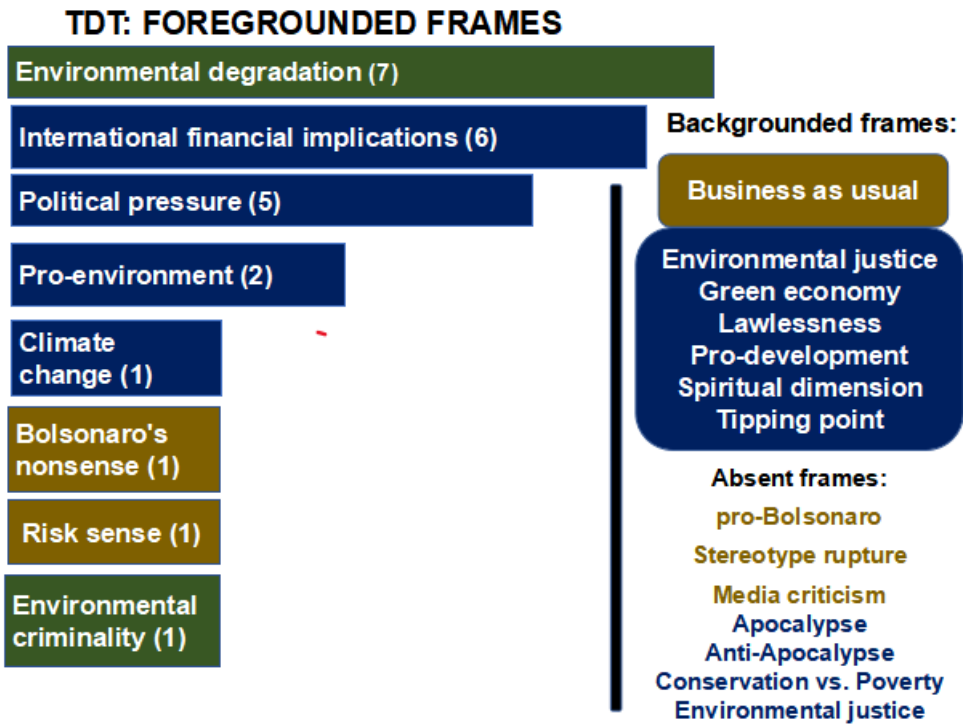


Figure 20: Framing pattern in TDT coverage about Amazonia (Aug. – Dec. 2019; 24 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

The Guardian (50 articles)

In TGD, 18 different frames were identified (12 functioning as foregrounded frames + 6 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 21). The most recurrent frames are political pressure (15 entries) and environmental degradation (10 entries). Together, these frames make up half of coverage. Climate change appears intensely (quantitative data is not shown for recurrence of "secondary"

frames), but most of the time backgrounded, despite its effective prevalence in two articles. According to its website, *The Guardian* is "committed to carbon neutrality by 2030, divested from the oil and gas sectors and renounced fossil fuel advertising". Considering such commitments, climate change, on the one hand, perhaps could be more often primarily framed (or foregrounded) in TGD coverage. Yet, on the other hand, it is substantially intricate in articles focused on political pressures and specially in articles framing environmental justice — a frame that acquires prevalence only in *The Guardian*'s coverage about the Amazon.

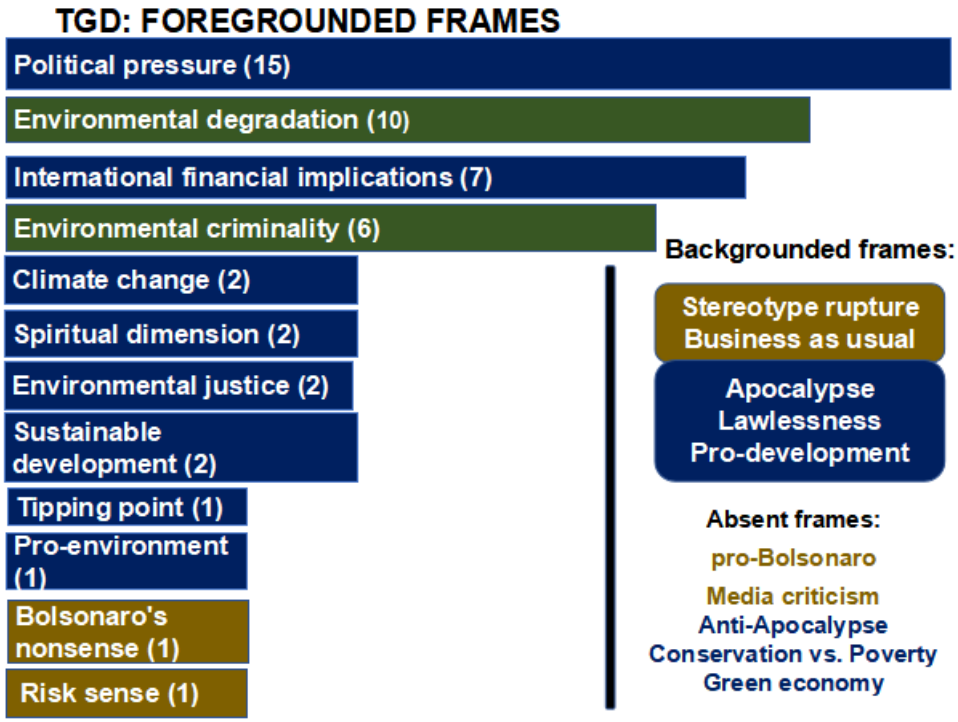


Figure 21: Framing pattern in TGD coverage about Amazonia (Aug. - Dec. 2019; 50 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

The Hindu (44 articles)

In THD, 11 different frames were identified (8 functioning as foregrounded frames + 3 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 22). The most recurrent frames are political pressure (19 entries) and environmental degradation (9 entries). Together, these frames make up nearly one-third of *The Hindu*'s coverage, which in general tends to present fewer frames per article. The international financial implications are present in the Indian newspaper, but not as much as in the previous "Western" newspapers. Pro-environment and sustainable development are more recurrent framed than climate change, despite the relative — yet backgrounded — frequency of the latter (data not shown).

Considering India's broad social and cultural contexts, the absence of frames like environmental justice and spiritual dimension may lead to important clues on the (mis)representation of complex social realities.

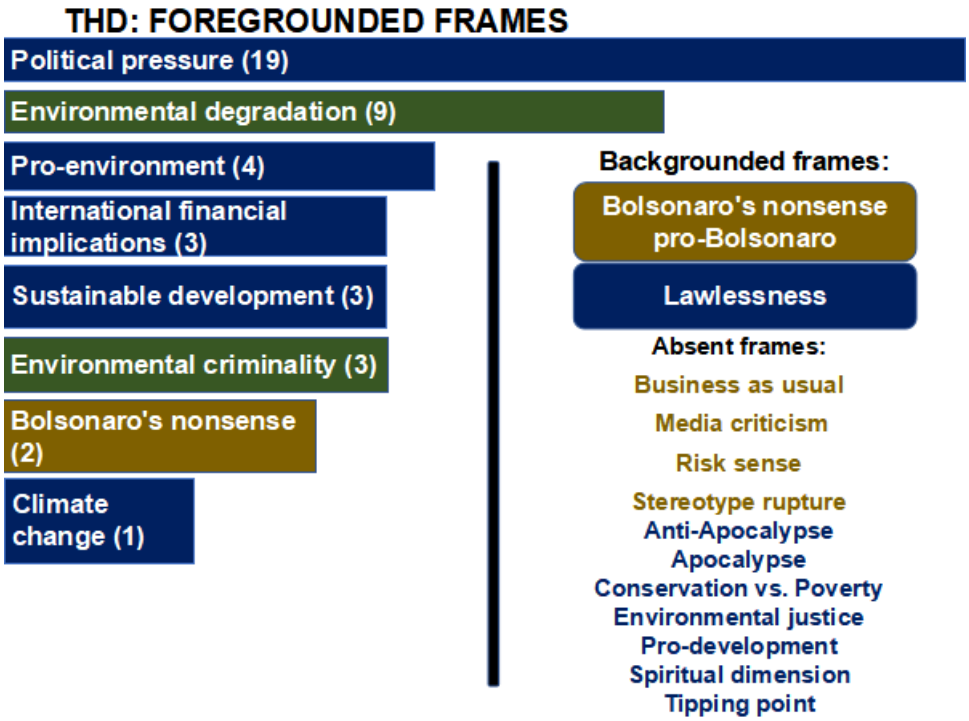


Figure 22: Framing pattern in THD coverage about Amazonia (Aug. - Dec. 2019; 44 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

The Times of India (14 articles)

In TOI, 6 different frames were identified (5 functioning as foregrounded frames + 1 secondary frame, namely climate change) (Figure 23). The most recurrent frame is political pressure (7 entries or half of coverage), followed by environmental degradation (3). Bolsonaro's nonsense appears as a single foregrounded frame for the first time in a quite short article (less than 100 words) (TOI_A11: *"Poop less for a cleaner planet, says Brazil's President"*), leading to the hint that semantics around "nonsense", though culturally shared, may have minimal universal resonance. In such particular case, considering that this article avoids judgement and maintains a respectful tone, "nonsense" seems rather linked to surprise / oddness news values. It must be also recalled that TOI's political pressure has a particular feature. In this particular case, opinions and statements of truth about the Amazon, its defenders and its enemies, are far from exclusively focused on stakeholders. Instead, TOI consistently targets on how celebrities (Bollywood / Hollywood) react and express concern on Amazon fires, exploring an angle

according to which what celebrities say about Amazonia seems more important (as news values) than Amazonia itself. In this scenario, frames like sustainable development, environmental justice and spiritual dimension (the latter somewhat expected for a rather religious cultural context) are entirely absent.

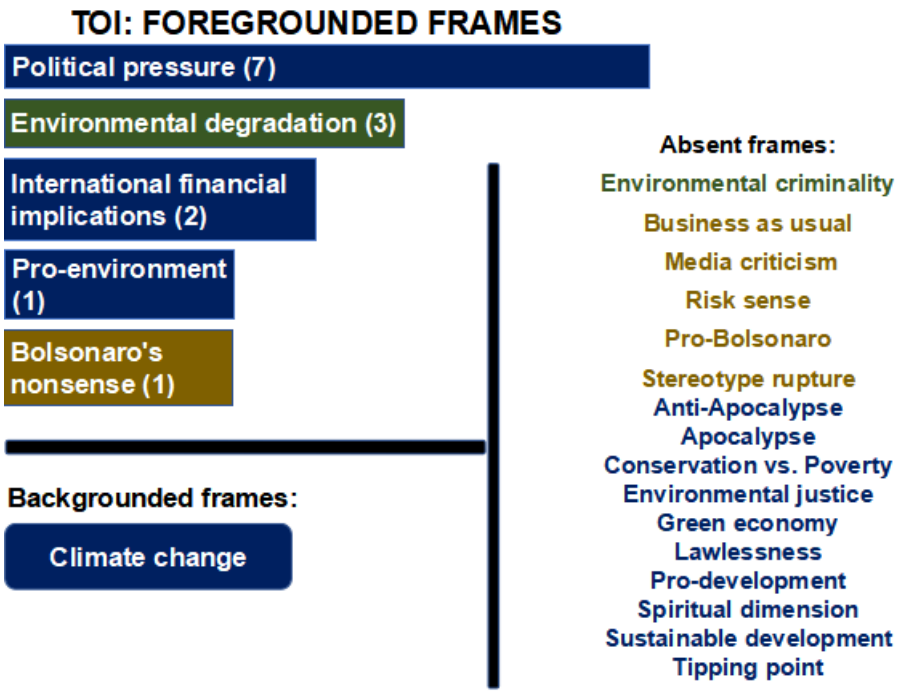


Figure 23: Framing pattern in TOI coverage about Amazonia (Aug. - Dec. 2019; 14 articles)). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

China Daily (26 articles):

In CND, 12 different frames were identified (8 functioning as foregrounded frames + 3 functioning as backgrounded frames) (Figure 24). The most recurrent frame is by far political pressure (14 entries) —consistently referring to Brazil's issue of national sovereignty (yet, not necessarily taking sides) — corresponding to more than half of CND articles, overshadowing, for instance, international financial implications (4 entries). Media criticism appears as a foregrounded frame in an opinion piece expressing counterarguments to a specific — by the time recently published — *The Wall Street Journal* article (WSJ_A19: *"Brazil's Shrinking Rainforest Prompts Nestlé, H&M, Others to Shake Up Supply Chains"*), enabling a palpable case of intertextuality within corpus 2019. Additionally, there is the double occurrence of rather rare frames, such like spiritual dimension and stereotype rupture, in both cases related to articles focused on Indigenous ways of life.

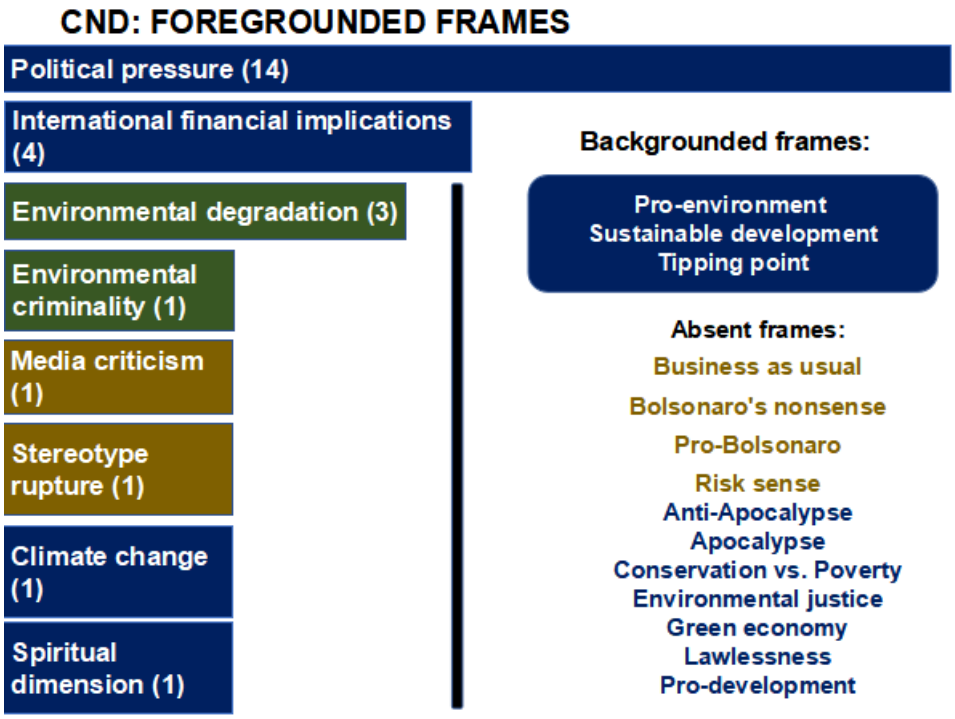


Figure 24: Framing pattern in CND coverage about Amazonia (Aug. – Dec. 2019; 26 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

People's Daily (5 entries)

In PPD, 4 different frames were identified (3 functioning as foregrounded frames + 1 functioning only as a backgrounded frame) (Figure 25). In PPD case numbers must be considered with caution, because of the restrict quantity of retrieved articles. Notwithstanding, such a small sample points to the typical prominence of political pressure among major frames.

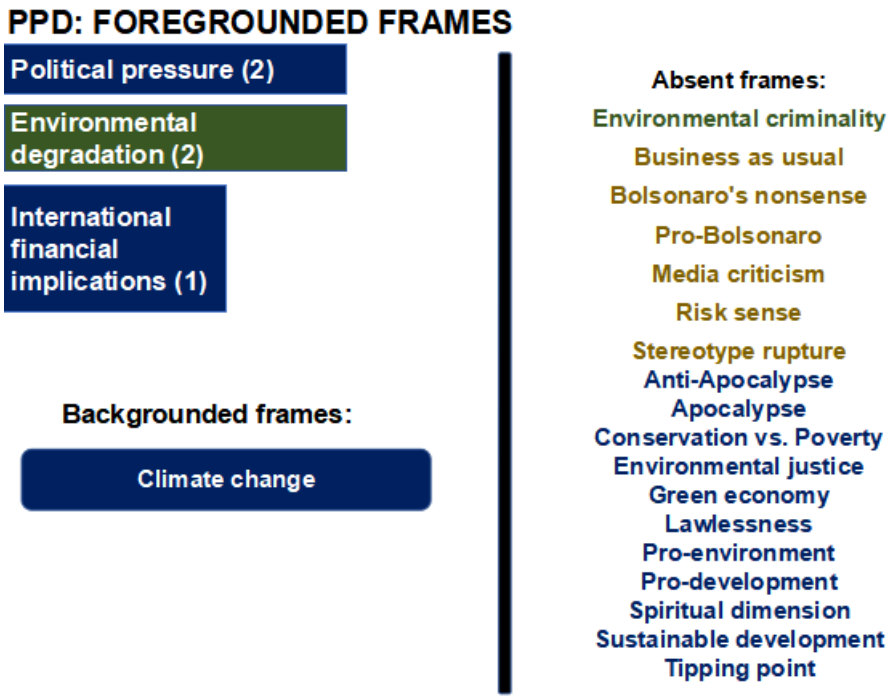


Figure 25: Framing pattern in PPD coverage about Amazonia (Aug. – Dec. 2019; 5 articles). Frames (number of results inside bars) with a descriptive dimension appear in green, with an evaluative dimension in brown , and with a normative dimension in dark blue.

Framing trends in "North" and "South" coverages

As general remarks regarding this section, I outline that "North" coverage overall tends to adopt a higher variety of frames, including a higher co-presence of frames in articles, with direct results on the total number of retrieved both foregrounded or backgrounded frames. Also in "North" newspapers, the major recurrent frames like political pressure and international financial implications appear well balanced, specially because of the funding stakes implied by the latter within developed G7 countries, such as the US and the UK. On the other hand, in "South" newspapers, political pressure is much more often framed than international financial implications; in these newspapers, the variety of frames visibly decreases, suggesting that less angles are minimally explored per article and / or news texts are in general shorter.

Anti-Apocalypse frame appears only in American newspapers, even if backgrounded and rather rarely. Pro-Bolsonaro and conservation versus poverty[80] are framed exclusively by The WSJ, leading to the hint that they are more linked to the newspaper's editorial profile than to any "North" trend (specially because The NYT explores solely Bolsonaro's nonsense). In general terms, climate change,

[80] This particular frame in part demystifies the idea that giant, greedy, capitalist companies are careless and irresponsible towards nature. It particularly clashes with the standpoints and reports of Joan Martinez Alier in the influential book *The environmentalism of the poor – a study of ecological conflicts and valuation.*

sustainable development and green economy are poorly framed in all newspapers. Due to their overall secondary importance (albeit climate change is not wholly backgrounded), it could be assumed that these frames: a) are somewhat included in articles framed by political pressure, wherein debates on countries' sovereignty, global cooperation and so on may very likely refer to these issues; and / or b) are no longer intrinsically controversial, in a sense that they dispense extensive conceptualization and discussion and can be minimally connected to other related frames, such as, respectively, pro-environment, pro-development and international financial implications.

Environmental justice is wholly absent from American, Indian and Chinese coverages, appearing exclusively in British newspapers: significantly backgrounded in *The Daily Telegraph* but acquiring a certain degree of visibility in *The Guardian*. This feature also seems aligned to the newspapers expressed values and principles rather than any other contextual trend.

In brief, there is a relative low recurrence of science-related frames (tipping point and climate change), in contrast to the high recurrence of rather descriptive environment-related frames (mainly environmental degradation but also environmental criminality), pointing to important discourse features. These trends appear shadowed by the great prominence of rather normative frames on politics and economics (notably political pressure and international financial implications). A study by Lück et al. (2018), which compared media frames in different "North" and "South" frames (including India), found that issue frames converge more strongly across countries, while narratives are more closely related to the cultural context and political particularities of a specific country. The patterns identified along this section, corresponding to a simpler analysis, tend to converge to this result. Undoubtedly, the Amazon question goes far beyond the strict environmental domain. In fact, its prevalent frames in corpus 2019 confirm the centrality of "power and social struggles" (pillar 4) in the construction of meanings and bases for social debates on the region.

In summary

Along this first properly analytic chapter, a panoramic survey was made in order to clarify as much as possible the corpora under study, with emphasis on corpus 2019.

- ✓ This chapter's first sections aimed to basically describe "paratextual" (this concept is borrowed from literary theory) and formal aspects of Amazon coverage (headlines, sections, sources, texts' dimensions, social actors, major lexical choices and related semantic fields, etc.). Such a simple task, by outlining main formal similarities and differences, provides clues for a more refined qualitative investigation.

- ✓ Frames basically delimit zones through which certain topics, story-lines, values and can take place and action. Mapping these zones may be particularly useful for structuring critical discourse analysis, specially if centered on aspects related to political struggles.

As this chapter offered a transition from quantitative to qualitative data about Amazon coverage, the next chapter will finally focus on discourse, specially a discourse topic closely implied within the political pressure top frame about Amazonia: the sense of "global commons" and the urgency in both sharing and protecting them.

CHAPTER 6. "OUR HOME" RHETORIC: THE AMAZON AS A GLOBAL HERITAGE METAPHOR

The previous chapter identified and discussed corpus 2019 framing patterns, highlighting themes, values, beliefs, story-lines, agents, etc. in articles about the Amazon. In this chapter, I intend to assess more carefully rhetorical devices that impact on representation and meaning construction about Amazon issues, while constantly keeping in mind their power implications. In fact, rhetorical analysis integrates several Critical Discourse Analysis approaches, following Aristotelian tradition — considering man as a "political animal" — and specific Linguistics and Sociology principles of texts / social contexts. In this way, the approach taken here adopts, albeit under different levels of possible inferences (which are constrained by the research design and other features), a multiple view of context, taking into account four dimensions: the immediate language or text internal co-text; the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses; the extralinguistic social/sociological variables and institutional frames of a specific context of situation; and, finally, the broader socio-political and historical contexts, to which the discursive practices are embedded in and related (Wodak & Krzyzanonowski, 2008, p. 13).

Rhetorical properties of discourse, such as metaphors, despite their textual basis, are able to crossover language microlevel into broader social macrolevel, extrapolating mere semantic purposes. Indeed, among their rhetoric functions, metaphors have a consistent link to argumentation goals, notably to produce agreement (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), specially in political discourse but also in the media. Taking for a quick example corpus 2010-2016's probably most remarkable metaphor, "Amazon's Chernobyl" (TGD/2010): the comparison between Amazon's alleged brutal degradation and the world's major catastrophes in recent decades very likely seeks to persuade and create consensus that Amazon's destruction is as tragic as a huge nuclear disaster. Of course, other co-textual and contextual factors might confirm or eventually reshape such primary link. In this sense, the goal of studies using "sister disciplines" like rhetorical and discursive approaches is to understand "the relationship between the material and the symbolic and textual and the ideological as they are reflected and constructed in a variety of venues and contexts", thus investigating "how discourses socially construct an invested, partial and always subjective understanding of the environment" (Peeples, 2015, p. 40). Thereby, an integrated multilevel analysis, rather than missing focus, offers interesting insights for discursive rhetorical studies. This means discourse is assessed from its co-textual (dis)similarities (e.g. a single interesting metaphor and other meaningful persuasive / argumentative expressions within the same news article) to its immediate intertexts (e.g. the relationship of metaphors between different news articles, from the same newspaper and among different newspapers). Therefore, the major

objective of this chapter is to search for the most important textual links with external factors, such as resonances and dissonances with other genres, story-lines, as well as material, institutional and broad cultural contexts (e. g. the global North—South divide).

In Chapter 3, metaphors about Amazonia throughout history were enumerated, including Eden, Eldorado, green hell, no man's land, among others. Echoing a contemporary environmental conception, corpus 2019's leitmotif is undoubtedly French President's, Emmanuel Macron, appealing statement: "Our home is burning". This utterance largely reverberated among critics but also supporters of its implicit "worldview", specially in the political milieu and in the social media — as widely reported by the newspapers under study — with complex geopolitical, diplomatic and trade implications. Metaphors in discourse virtually have an amazing yet underestimated political power:

> Each metaphor is a cultural expression and a necessary simplification that allows certain kinds of insights into how people interact with the world around them. Inevitably, moreover, these metaphors carry with them assumptions and categorical definitions that predefine and profoundly influence how to make decisions, inform policy, set priorities, or allocate resources and decision-making authorities. (Robbins, 2013, p. 316)

In this chapter, I explore cues on how the Amazon as a global common appears as a "naturalized" statement in contemporary media and broad cultural contexts. As some authors suggest, we are experiencing in the 21st century, at the global level, Hardin's "tragedy of the commons" (Hardin, 1968). Since globalization represents simultaneously part of the problem and part of the solution (Pinto & Oliveira, 2008), discourse arenas acquire major social and political significance, given that — as these authors put it — Hardin's solutions (privatization or a coercive state) are not feasible for modern global commons. This seems to be applicable for the atmosphere, global climate patterns, as well as for the Amazon. Indeed, the very idea of "commons", along with "spaceship Earth" and images of doom and redemption make up key metaphors and rhetorical devices from limits and survival discourse (Dryzek, 2013). At the same time, contemporary global commons sense seemingly transcends a mere survivalism view, implying the Amazon as a global common might be a point of departure for a more complex discourse construct. Thereby, the approach adopted along this chapter is aligned to CDA, but rather freely in terms of specific tools or analytical categories. Part of the interest on metaphors derives from the (DHA) discourse strategy called "perspectivization, framing or discourse representation" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2008). These authors, albeit focusing on political discourse, include metaphors within a list of strategies centered on representational aspects of discourse. Although they also include other categories in this strategy (deictics, quotation marks, types of speech, discourse marks / particles, prosody, etc.), for the analytical purpose of this chapter — and taking into consideration the main

features of the journalistic genre — the analysis here strictly concentrates on metaphors, and yet is expected to shed proper light on rhetorical properties of Amazon discourses, notably the most meaningful implications of the "our home" metaphoric appealing. The chapter's core section to come will thoroughly explore these representational issues, focusing mainly on metaphors, but occasionally on other figures of speech, and their capacity to reverberate drama. Following the analytical pattern established in Chapter 5, right after a theoretical discussion, I focus separately on metaphorical discourse from each newspaper, including a brief commentary on "North" and "South" more specific features.

6.1. Rhetorical properties of environmental discourse: drama and metaphorical appeal

Metaphors integrate probably the most concrete linguistic experience of words becoming mental images. "Metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 3). In different societies metaphors play an often underestimated key role in everyday private and social dynamics, even if they actually depend on shared meanings and experiences, embedded in complex cultural networks. "The success of a metaphor is a function of the sociocultural format of the interpreting subjects' encyclopedia. In this perspective, metaphors are produced solely on the basis of a rich cultural framework" (Eco, 1984, p. 269). Therefore, metaphors related to the Amazon Forest mobilize a vast number of semantic layers, from individual encyclopedic stock to more universal and homogenized senses, notably consolidated by globalized markets, which trades goods as much as concepts. In this regard, an emblematic yet anecdotal example lies on a global retailer's name: Amazon Inc. CEO and founder Jeff Bezos, looking through the A section of a dictionary, would have passed by the word "Amazon", which seemed a perfect choice, because it is Earth's largest river and he was about to build the world's largest bookstore.

In order to explain scientific concepts to non-specialists, journalists often use the same metaphors that scientists use for the purpose of theoretical elaboration (Koteyko & Atanasova, 2017). To illustrate it, these authors cite Newton's "universe as a machine", Dawkins' "evolution as the progression of a selfish gene", and the idea that human genome is "the book of life". Regarding the environment, metaphorical expressions go as prolific as unchanged from science to media discourse: "greenhouse gas emissions", "carbon footprint", "flying rivers", "carbon sink", "tipping point", "population bomb", "green politics / markets", among others. Biodiversity itself, an important environment sub-field, can be referred by the media through appealing metaphors like "the library of

life" and "green medicine" (Väliverronen & Hellsten, 2002). On the other hand, some metaphors have the potential to bring distortion and confusion. In this sense, Tynkkynen (2010, p. 303) cites "carbon capture and storage as a weapon", but even the largely reverberated concept of Anthropocene, "a metaphor insistence that people are like forces of geology" (Robbins, 2013, p. 316), may not be fully seized by lay public. In general, the most currently seen metaphors about Amazonia are easily self-explainable yet rich, and such feature is maintained for the new occurrences detected along this analysis.

Among the more evident semantic resonances between "Amazon's Chernobyl" and "Our home is burning" (respectively, extreme appealing metaphors in quality in corpus 2010-2016, and in quantity in corpus 2019), one can note their remarkable melodramatic tone. On the other hand, among other important contextual differences, it must be considered that the latter is pronounced several thousand miles further from the fire occurrence, on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Not even France's indirect and minuscule participation in the Amazon Forest could be pondered here, since overseas department French Guiana is still at least a thousand kilometers further from the burning areas reported by the media. In fact, the perception of the Amazon as a global common, far from popping up in aleatory political speeches, is well grounded in a whole environmental reasoning and tradition, dating from the middle of the 20th century. Indeed, a better comprehension of such matrix metaphor — precisely, "our home" metaphor, the Amazon functioning as a metonymy of the whole planet — under the scope of this research, must be aligned to the examination of other key metaphorical expressions in Amazon and broad environmental discourse. This chapter is entirely dedicated to this crucial CDA-related task.

It is not evident to precise the origins of "our home" as a metaphor for the planet that shelters human and all kinds of life, but this appealing image seemingly has been used for decades among astrophysicists with reference to "our home planet". As an environmental key metaphor, it might have evolved into a better rhetorical rearrangement for the "spaceship Earth". As these metaphorical expressions partly imply a degree of antagonism (movement vs. inertia; or even nomadism vs. sedentarism), one could hypothesize that they hardly coexisted for long (or ever). The collective vision behind "our home" seemingly better clarifies the sense that we do not easily travel across the universe and that other planets are totally inhospitable for humans. It also strengthens a global cross-borders perception which more recently has lead to the idea that "there is no planet B". The activist Greta Thunberg and other environmental groups have been widely using the "our home" metaphor in their discourses. In the context of this thesis, it is adopted as an emblem of 2019's forest fires because

French president Macron posted it in the social media — a tweet that yielded dozens of citations in the newspapers under analysis.

In Chapter 5, it was mentioned that coverage about the Amazon in both 2010-2016 and 2019 privileged warfare frames in both periods, considering corpus headlines. In the following subsections, such features are to be considered from a properly rhetorical perspective, assessing exclusively 2019 articles (whole texts). As a "critical moment of discourse", 2019 coverage entangles crucial discursive dynamics, inter-relating key events, actors, ideas and concepts, especially metaphorical ones.

Not surprisingly, a war-related semantic field partly occupies front stage in a coverage reporting on events that actually involved a degree of military action (Brazilian troops were effectively deployed to help forest fire brigades tackle the furious blazes). Taking into consideration that the described situation involves truly dramatic aspects, like massive flora destruction, animal deaths, carbonized soil, severe choking hazards due to intense dark smoke, among others, it seems crucial to check for a possible degree of drama exacerbation in some articles, including authors constructs and sources speeches. Indeed, drama splits into conflicting polarized fields, exciting nerves of social agents from both sides, environment defenders and attackers, and rarely bringing reasonable arguments to the Amazon debate. Evidently, social debates have other dimensions beyond reasoning and argumentation. Yet, the mainly — yet not exclusively — metaphorical analysis identifies and discusses rhetorical strategies from these and other sides in all "North" / "South" newspapers, by trying to connect texts, co-texts (coverage's intertexts) and their retrievable multiple contexts.

Nevertheless, in order to avoid superficial inferences, I try as much as possible to establish along the following paragraphs a tighter relationship within news (con)texts. One must keep in mind, though, the role that dramatic metaphorical expressions can play in social struggles, since for environmental advocates melodrama provides a "rhetorical framework that can articulate multiple concerns that are hidden, ignored, or repressed in a culture that operates according to a simplistic calculus of 'progress' and 'economic growth'" (Schwarze, 2006, p. 255). However, one could argue that for all types of advocates and social actors defending particular standpoints, the *pathos* play a crucial role in the construction and socialization of a problem, inclusively to deepen social debates in democracies (Mouffe, 2004). In fact, it is crucial to analyse rhetorical and specifically melodramatic appeal in Amazon coverage, precisely because melodrama can:

> [...] bring emotion into the foreground, complicating public discourse that takes a purely scientific and technical approach to environmental problems. It can polarize situations so that victims of environmental degradation might have a voice, complicating public discourse systematically dominated by producers of that degradation. And it forces moral questions onto the agenda, complicating public discourse that focuses on technical matters to the exclusion of issues of right and wrong. To the extent it

> synthesizes these oppositional rhetorical actions, melodrama presents itself as a productive inventional resource for countering the ideological simplifications of dominant public discourses and prying spheres of controversy open to a wider range of voices. (Schwarze, 2006, p. 255)

Taking into account melodrama's ability to insert moral questions in the technical / scientific environment agenda, a careful examination of the relationship between language, emotions and moral questions seems inescapable. For this reason, a more careful exploratory and context-based analysis is individually conducted for newspapers outlets. I call attention for the fact that the term "frame" is employed rather generically, hence having a slightly different (wider) reference in relation to the previous chapter (Chapter 5).

6.2 Analysis of newspapers from the global North

Along this section, the newspapers from the US and the UK are under analysis with regard to their rhetorical / metaphorical discourse features, especially considering actors / writers position towards two "poles": pro-environment and pro-development (occasionally: anti-environment), considering a "neutral" position the more or less explicit adherence to the key discourse of sustainable development, which is per se a rather ambiguous and widely controversial "buzzword". Thus, in the case of the sustainable development discourse(s), one should not expect a relevant number of examples, since it essentially calls for more rationality (thus less emotions); besides, drama has the tendency to reinforce polarization — at least in this coverage under analysis. As the major number of Amazon articles come from the global "North", it is important to establish how these texts speak to each other and to the broader social milieu as well as how they (dramatically or not) represent Amazonia. For this purpose, the more representative texts are analyzed in-depth, while coverage's general metaphorical features are condensed in tables.

6.2.1 *The Wall Street Journal* (The WSJ)

The WSJ's rhetorical features overall strongly correspond to its major trends in framing (international financial implications and pro-development), which in turn are perfectly aligned to its editorial profile. Indeed, it is worth recalling the front inscription in the webpage of The WSJ's Editorial Board:

> We speak for free markets and free people, the principles, if you will, marked in the watershed year of 1776 by Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence and Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations." So over the past century and into the next, the Journal stands for free trade and sound money; against confiscatory taxation and the ukases of kings and other collectivists; and for individual autonomy against dictators, bullies and even the tempers of momentary majorities. (The WSJ)

This important ideological landmark explains why The WSJ in general lines does not explore much metaphors, but eventually ironies to deconstruct, demoralize or simply express mockery with regard to environmentalism. In this way, metaphors — rather rare present in The WSJ articles — appear nearly exclusively in agents' (in)direct speech, while metaphorical to ironical[81] constructs appear in speeches from all types of agents functioning as news sources or news authors (Table 10).

Table 10: Some excerpts containing metaphorical / ironical and other connotative expressions in The WSJ coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	**News authors' speech**
Pro-environment	
Macron warns of a "real ecocide" + "The lungs of the Earth are in flames" says an Instagram post (WSJ_A02); "Our house is burning. Literally" [...] wrote Mr. Macron (WSJ_A06).	*Not found*
Anti-environment	
the Amazon is not just a zoo to be observed + trying to turn the region into an "open-air museum" for trees (WSJ_A12); treating indigenous people as if they were cavemen (WSJ_A14); the need to tap the wealth of the Amazon rainforest (WSJ_A17);	now its warming seas rather than jungle infernos that we need to obsess about (WSJ_A03); environmental regulation that suffocates their [*farmers and ranchers*] productivity (WSJ_A11); trying to turn the region into an untouchable sanctuary (WSJ_A12)

The WSJ avoids metaphorical expressions when sources or authors communicate pro-environment messages[82]. On the contrary, rhetorical figures are more likely found in anti-environmental statements (which may indirectly function as pro-development ones), a feature that resonates with The WSJ's preference for the conservation versus poverty (backgrounded) frame (according to Chapter 5). This means more persuasive language constructs are employed to stress development as the best way to achieve nature's conservation (usually by attacking pro-environment / anti-development actors). In this sense, the recurrent argument that starving people do not care about nature is eventually complemented by moral questions[83] and / or warfare sense. Poor people consider the Amazon a "green hell and see forest rangers as enemies" (WSJ_A01: *"How to Save the Amazon"*). Not surprisingly, this is an opinion article, signed by Leandro Narloch, a Brazilian journalist and author of books that deconstructs — or at least reshapes — national and international History's mainstream narratives.

[81] The clear distinction of each figure is partly irrelevant here, since the weight of irony stands out solely for *The WSJ*, being rather incipient for the other seven newspapers.

[82] Notwithstanding, The WSJ transcripts in a headline a dramatic source speech: "*'I Thought the World Was Ending': What's Fueling the Amazon Rainforest Fires* (TWJ_A11). The apocalyptic feeling refers to the day when skies in the megacity of São Paulo got dark just after noon (Aug. 30), blanketed by smoke from Amazon fires (coming aproximately from 1,500 miles Northwest). On the other hand, for instance, in the same text appears a defiant metaphor expressed by the Brazilian president: "*The fire that burns the brightest is that of our own sovereignty over the Amazon*".

[83] Moral questions will be carefully examined in Chapter 7.

Taking into consideration such contextual connections, on the one hand, the drama tone persists, within a symbolic war to "save the forest" (which stands as the persistent "green hell" for the poorest) from degradation due to illegal activities, in a scenario where forest rangers represent enemies of the progress. On the other hand, these metaphorical structures effectively seem to raise awareness about moral questions, balancing Amazonian living standards and resources in order to legitimize economic development.

The same date (August, 26), The WSJ's Editorial Board publishes the article *"Fire and Fury in the Amazon"* (WSJ_A02), recognizing the dramatic scenes of forest destruction and reporting Macron's warn of a "real ecocide". *"For a casual news consumer, the pictures and apocalyptic rhetoric may be the end of the story [...] "But 'ecocide'?"*, questions the text, agreeing that Brazil should certainly punish perpetrators but not to demonize development. Frequently, the newspaper reuses sources' speeches mixing metaphor / comparison and irony, for instance, Bolsonaro's speech a UN conference: *"Unfortunately, some people, inside and outside Brazil [...] insist on treating and trying to maintain our indigenous people like true cavemen"* (WSJ_A15). These suggests that poverty and underdevelopment might be more dramatic than forest depletion. This specific perspective of reality entangles a crucial moral debate, which calls for a decision on whether the life of trees and other living things is more important than the life a human being. However, the holistic views of humanity thriving happily along with nature (depicted by the sustainable development related approaches) are totally absent in this polarized coverage.

Alternatively, maybe The WSJ intends to promote what Brazil's Environment Minister, Ricardo Salles, describes as his job: *"to encourage a more rational, less emotional debate about the future of the Amazon"* (WSJ_A12). Still, keeping in mind that language is a heavily influential factor in power struggles, it would be naïve to consider The WSJ's pure compassion for the most disadvantaged. One should not neglect the recurrence of the frame international financial implications, along with the co-presence of business as usual and green economy (see Chapter 5), which are somehow "naturally" expected for a business-focused newspaper. Hence, given that the newspaper "speak[s] for free markets and free people" — exactly in this order, according to its Editorial Board — it seems plausible to deduce that the defence of people is likely a means for doing the defence of markets, after all there is great potential for commodities trade and consumer market from / in the Amazon region. Conversely, it is also crucial to consider the role of stereotype rupture's framing, compatible to excerpts such as *"most people, including indigenous groups, want real money. They want SUVs and smartphones, medications and electricity"* (WSJ_A01). This indicates, beyond the literal resonance with The WSJ's capitalist and

neoliberal principles, that argumentation is closely related to rhetorical devices, yet not always through identifiable figures of speech. In any case, this kind of argument[84] may express the "drama" of being excluded from a consumption society, in this particular case assuming Western capitalist living standards as the sole possible pattern (specially with reference to SUVs and smartphones).

Among the more altruistic perspectives, The WSJ could be fighting what some scholars have called conservation-investment poverty, a consequence of the combined lack of knowledge, technology, markets for goods and capital (Jong et al., 2010). These remarks also allow to suppose that The WSJ's net pro-development trend, beyond wide (neo)liberal values, focuses on Brazil's markets as a strategy to ease US—China commercial and diplomatic tensions. This hypothesis, although difficult to be tested solely through this analysis of media texts, actually finds other sparse glimpses throughout some articles, especially by means of the CDA carried out in Chapter 7.

In brief, it is vital to stress that The WSJ stands for the only newspaper in which an international shared sense of the Amazon as "global common" is not retrievable. This is perhaps associated to the newspaper's defense of a rational debate, wherein melodrama is mainly used to ironically depict the passionate, apocalyptic, pro-environment side of the story.

6.2.2 *The New York Times* (The NYT)

The NYT's metaphorical profile in general resonates its major trends in framing, which are marked by political pressure and international financial implications. The fact of having both Apocalypse and anti-Apocalypse (backgrounded) frames suggest that, at least regarding the former, a degree of melodrama may be part of The NYT coverage. The only anti-environment metaphorical expression is used by a notable source with ever controversial statements: president Bolsonaro (Table 11).

[84] Argumentation will be carefully examined in Chapter 7.

Table 11: Some excerpts containing metaphorical / ironical and other connotative expressions in The NYT coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	**News authors' speech**
Pro-environment	
you've got rain forest, and then there's just an ocean of soybean (NYT_A18)	it [Amazon] serves as an important 'carbon sink' (NYT_A01); the bare idea of the millions of Notre-Dames, high cathedrals of terrestrial biodiversity, burning to the ground + The Amazon is often described as Earth's 'lungs' (NYT_A07); deforestation at breakneck rates is depleting vast expanses of the Amazon forest (NYT_A12); fire steals breath, but smoke smells of money (NYT_A25); a nightmare scenario that could see much of the world's largest rainforest erased from earth (NYT_22); welcome to the lawless heart of the Brazilian Amazon' + 'cattle laundering' subverts the supply chain (NYT_A32); chaos reigns + the real Brazil wants to bet on the marriage of intelligence and nature (NYT_A33)
Anti-environment*	
Brazil suffers from an "environmental psychosis" + Brazil and its resources are a "virgin" that every pervert outsider wants (NYT_07)	*Not found*

* Includes other rather topics negatively expressed.

Regarding both drama tone with war-related imagery and the use of metaphors in news articles, The NYT tends to privilege pro-environment metaphorical speeches, but rarely through sources' citations. This feature might be partly explained by The NYT's number of opinion pieces, wherein figures of speech could be more freely employed. Still, at least half of its pro-environment metaphors appear in more ordinary informative texts. Indeed, news authors frequently refer to Amazon issues (notably fires and degradation) in correlated terms / expressions: "global panic", "global outrage", "international pressure", "global concern", "global backlash", "global crisis", "global alarm". The emphasis on globalism seems undeniable, and even constant, when we take a closer attention to co(n)texts. Article NYT_01, for example, not only approaches readers by framing the "global panic over thousands of forest fires in the Amazon", but also recalls Bolsonaro's declaration that Brazil would not accept foreign demands *"as though we were a colony or no man's land"*, while world leaders and environmentalists see the Amazon as *"an invaluable piece of world heritage that must be zealously conserved"* (NYT_A01). Hence, tied to the global commons leitmotif, tensions persist opposing two battle poles: a war on nature's attackers, at one side, and a war on Brazil's sovereignty challengers, at the other side. Actually, it is important to notice that metaphorical expressions clearly extrapolate pro/anti-environment

issues, thereby spilling drama onto self-determination disputes. The same article makes it clear when citing two other sources: a Brazilian historian, that says "international pressure to conserve the Amazon may backfire" (if external interference is felt among Brazil's government); and a farmers leader in the Amazon, that warns: "we're not going to surrender control of the Amazon and that's a fact" (NYT_A01). This demonstrates that, even when metaphors are not employed, a dramatic tone a warfare semantics characterize the political pressure frame.

An intermediate level of discursive / rhetorical conflict takes place to represent the power struggles between environmental officials from Brazil's Environment Agency (IBAMA) and Brazil's president, The NYT being the only newspaper to dedicate an entire article about this dispute (NYT_02): "*With Amazon on Fire, Environmental Officials in Open Revolt Against Bolsonaro*")[85]. The article focuses on major negative changes in IBAMA, from the beginning of the Bolsonaro administration, which lead the group to sign an open letter "*warning their work has been hampered by President Jair Bolsonaro*" and that "*Brazil's environmental protection could 'collapse' if nothing changes"* (configuring the frame called risk sense). The article mentions that police forces, who frequently escort IBAMA's agents in dangerous missions, "*have become more reluctant to cooperate*". Yet, albeit drama is more linked to content than form in this internal political pressure, the cited sources help to shape the warfare / censorship imagery: "*it creates a sense of persecution [...] I don't know of any organization that can develop in a climate of fear and terror*". Such war, in this particular case, targets on (pro)environment official operations (which are accused by Bolsonaro, in many other articles, to promote an "*industry of fines*"). Nonetheless, such situation simultaneously backfires into Brazil's image in the foreign scenario, since major import / export negotiations are intertwined with climate and environment commitments. In this sense, NYT_02 ends up with another source outlining that the "need to contain damages on the country's image in the international market, in connection to Amazon issues, is undeniable".

Another meaningful aspect of such semantic and rhetorical trends that The NYT partially overcomes the recurrent Brazil — Amazonia common metonymy by the media (in 2019 coverage), showing a larger panorama of Amazon's issues. Article NYT_A12 ("*Where is the Amazon Forest Vanishing? Not only in Brazil*"), signed by the long-standing Latin America correspondent Simon Romero, calls attention for environmental ravaging in Peru (deforestation driven by a growth in coca cultivation for cocaine and illegal gold mining), in Bolivia (where the opening of China's beef market to Bolivian exporters would be driving some forest loss), and in Colombia, after the 2016 peace deal (FARC rebels hitherto had maintained forest cover to protect encampments from aerial bombing and drone

[85] This situation is, however, sparsely mentioned by other articles / websites within the corpus. A greater number of newspapers published news articles about the dismissal of the head of INPE, the Brazilian agency tracking Amazon deforestation in Brazil, a few days before the "great burning weeks".

surveillance). This last situation is summarized by NYT_A12's first cited source as it follows: "we've gone in Colombia from gunpoint conservation under the guerillas to a massive deforestation spike". Hence, a share of violence, political / institutional struggle and melodrama stands out when it comes to frame environmental issues in this newspaper. Nevertheless, the completely unexpected angle, which undoubtedly enriches public debate, is precisely how a criminal activity could contribute to nature's preservation — a condition that also implies, if not moral questions in between the lines, at least advantages for the environment (through the maintenance of another social problem).

Interestingly, these tensions are not exclusively explored during the "great burning weeks". Occasionally, The NYT metaphorically revives Amazonia and global degradation by updating its readers three months later: *"'The Amazon is Completely Lawless': The Rainforest After Bolsonaro's First Year"*, announces NYT_A10 (Dec. 5). A substantial part of the leading paragraph binds symbolic language into a naturalized global common feeling: "when the smoke cleared, the Amazon could breathe easy again [...] Now the rainy season had arrived, offering a respite to the jungle and a clearer view of the damage to the world". By quantifying the situation, the independent news author Matt Sandy explains that, according to INPE, in one year, more than 3,700 square miles of the Amazon had been razed, *"a swath of jungle nearly the size of Lebanon torn from the world's largest rainforest"*. Further — and finally — a slightly less romanticized view upon a global uninterested concern: *"in the absence of federal agents, waves of loggers, ranchers and miners moved in, emboldened by the president and eager to satisfy global demand"* (NYT_A10). This implies that global consumers are, in their turn, eager to access a set of cheap and / or alternative Amazonian goods and products. Indeed, this is a much different, and more realistic perspective when compared to NYT_A07, and its *"bare idea of the millions of Notre-Dames, high cathedrals of terrestrial biodiversity, burning to the ground [...] A monumental universe, turning, as I* [contributing opinion writer Vanessa Barbara] *write this, into pasture and soy*". A detail often missing the mark regards exactly such repeated story-line: cattle ranchers and soy farmers are ravaging pristine areas, pushing development to the Amazon, and so on. But, on the other hand, the perception that the global community (not exclusively China and other emergent markets) has its share in the broad stakeholders list still sounds a sparse and under-explored topic[86] in The NYT.

[86] For instance, a metaphorically titled *Science* article estimates that the "Amazon and Cerrado are responsible for 62% of all potentially illegal deforestation and that roughly 20% of soy exports and at least 17% of beef exports from both biomes to the EU may be contaminated with illegal deforestation" (Rajão et al., 2020). This magazine stands among the most influential and respectful of its genre, one should pay great attention to the attenuation formulas "potentially" and "may be", suggesting that there might be major political and scientific contend about these figures. Source: "The rotten apples of Brazil's agribusiness". *Science*. 17 Jul 2020 Vol 369, Issue 6501 pp. 246-248. DOI: 10.1126/science.aba6646. Excerpt is taken from the article's abstract.

6.2.3 American coverage about the Amazon

In brief, The WSJ and The NYT tend to explore metaphors, drama and conflict in visibly opposite ways. While the former recurs to rhetorical / semantic devices mostly for pro-development, eventually ironic, statements, the latter helps to empower pro-environment voices throughout more dramatic and emotional utterances (while indirectly filling "neutrality" requirements behind sources' speech). The fact that The NYT published two opinion articles (signed by independent contributors) during the "great burning weeks", while The WSJ issued three opinion articles during the same period, may also be significant. Specially because The WSJ essentially released three pro-development articles (one through conservation versus poverty frame; two marked by pro-Bolsonaro frame), filled with calls for a more "rational" approach to the Amazon (by the media but also, indirectly, by the audiences). Therefore, as The WSJ's readers have to deal with metaphorical, sometimes ironic expressions, mainly from developmentist writers and environment critics used as sources, the shared sense of "global commons" becomes partially dazzled by the moral appeal implicit to the conservation versus poverty paradigm. On the other hand, The NYT's readers tend to access the other side of the same moral question, when elaborating meanings from melodramatic metaphors establishing the whole planet as a common house where places like the Amazon are nearly a sacred. The major dilemma for American readers, considering the studied newspapers, lays on the fact that part of the public perception may be formed from a "nature as antagonist" discourse (The WSJ), while another significant part would derive from a "nature as co-present" discourse (The NYT). However, as the media and the public opinion are often polarized for a range of topics in the US, it must be also considered that The WSJ and The NYT likely meet different profiles of readers.

6.2.4 *The Daily Telegraph* (TDT)

TDT's metaphorical profile is rather discrete, specially if one takes into consideration that environmental degradation constitutes the newspaper's most recurrent frame (substantially marked by a descriptive mode), followed by international financial implications. Hence, metaphorical and other connotative excerpts are basically employed to describe and denounce deforestation, for this reason they are all gathered in the pro-environment pole (Table 12).

Table 12: Some excerpts containing metaphorical and other connotative expressions in TDT coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	News authors' speech
Pro-environment	
an ever-expanding patchwork of cultivation + Chiribiquete and the wider Amazon rainforest are "the last line of defence" (TDT_A05); [Bolsonaro] has given farmers and ranchers free rein to cut down trees without impunity (TDT_07); The Amazon, [Bolsonaro] Captain Chainsaw insists, is his to do with as he pleases (TDT_A08)	South America's leaders are wrong about the "lungs of the planet" (TDT_A01); urged on by "Captain Chainsaw", Brazilians pick up tools to chop down the Amazon (TDT_A23); the defence of the Amazon [...] is today's 'last great cause' (TGD_A06)

In this newspaper, a dramatic tone is also present, but not necessarily as inflated. Mostly, rhetorical patterns are set by frozen and dormant metaphors (Grey, 2000) — respectively, metaphors degenerated into *cliché* or commonplace, and those in between expired and living metaphors. In this coverage, some examples of more naturalized "metaphors" would be: *"blamed for turning a blind eye to Amazon degradation"* (TDT_A08); *"a new Amazon gold rush stemming"* (TDT_A11); *"green flag to accelerating development"* (TDT_A02). The absence of more specific metaphorical expressions on Amazon's global relevance does not imply that TDT coverage is exempt of the "global commons" perception or emotional appeal, since expressions like "global outcry", "global role", "global significance" and "lungs of the Earth/planet" are not rare. Occasionally, Amazon degradation is depicted in a competition imagery, especially suggested by the headline *"Race to save the rainforest"* (TDT_A05). This specific article conducts readers to a specific angle summarized in its subheading: "*why replacing cocaine barons with cattle ranchers is destroying the Amazon*"[87]. Simultaneously, a "*race to cash in on the virgin jungle*" (TDT_A22) takes place. Such features converge to a more detectable warfare / risk imagery, marked by excerpts like "Amazon emergency: two-thirds of species are under threat from deforestation; apocalyptic fires" (TDT_A08); "*It's a tragedy... a crime against the planet, and a crime against humankind*" (TDT_A07); "*[Merkel] called the fires 'shocking and threatening' for 'the whole world'*" (TDT_A06); "*the international market does not want to buy products contaminated with environmental destruction and violence*" (TDT_A19). And, finally, the very explicit declaration (from an Amazon dweller) that "*'It's almost a war here' [....] 'Actually it is a war' [...] 'It's not right that anyone tells me what to do on my own land'*" (TDT_A23). In this last case, an implicit moral question lies on

[87] Note that only The NYT and TDT explored this interesting paradox as news stories. Wile The NYT related degradation in Amazon countries neighbouring Brazil during the "great burning weeks" (NYT_A12), *TDT* focused on Colombia's former coca growers who became forest guardians (benefited by compensation schemes), despite income losses, but proud of withdrawing from a criminal supply chain, and now battling for the environment (this story was published a couple of days before Amazon fires reached the international mainstream media).

the limits between the right to private ownership and rights from the "global commons" public perception.

It is important to stress that TDT seemingly does not publish any editorial during 2019 coverage. Conversely, it does not indicate to readers what type are the articles, whether information or opinion (almost the totality of coverage appears under the neutral "News" editorial tag). The fact is at least four opinion articles were found disguised as 'News' and, in this context, these specimens stand out in terms of "global commons", metaphorically or not, dramatic appeals (specially, "*We will never save the rainforest until a living tree is worth more to Brazil than an incinerated one*"; TDT_A21; authored by Johan Eliasch). In fact, Mr. Eliasch is a rather controversial character: co-founder of the environmental NGO Cool Earth and founder of the Rainforest Trust, the London-based Swedish millionaire businessman and banker purchased around 400,000 acres of Amazonian rainforest in Brazil — an area larger than São Paulo city — from a logging company, "solely" to conserve the rainforest[88]. In Mr. Eliasch's article, apart the interesting way personal pronouns "we" / "our" / "us" appear along this text, an ensemble of collective designations draws the Amazon as a common horizon in readers' experience. Indeed, it not only "*drives the weather that irrigates America's bread baskets*" (somehow uniting all Americas and their multicultural profile), but along with the world's other great rainforest basins, the "*Amazon is the dynamo behind life on Earth*". The article insistently refers to the "*role that rainforests play in our survival*", indirectly reversing the concept that energy for human progress derives from deforestation (e.g. thermoelectric, hydroelectric, nuclear power). On the contrary, it establishes Amazon's ecosystemic services as the real "dynamo" for humankind maintenance and prosperity balanced with nature's thrive. These sparser metaphors in TDT contribute for shaping a broad Earth's allegiance. They also improve collective awareness —if not affection — by spreading a sense of human interdependence, among peoples and all living creatures. Such flow of meanings is underpinned with a universal morality implying shared responsibility beyond the pure common symbolic belonging: "*The lack of effective global funding schemes to halt deforestation is a source of great shame*" points the author (TDT_A21). In fact, shame, understood as the reverse of pride, dignity or honour, emerges as a negative emotion associated to the self-destruction, a non-natural and non-rational path humans are taking.

[88] While Cool Earth website's front inscription says "There's still time left. Indigenous peoples and local communities are fighting for climate justice — join them", in an interview to the documentary *Cortina de Fumaça*, Mr. Eliasch, when asked about the purpose of such a huge purchase, simply replied: "I love trees". The private property of such an enormous plot of land by an foreign European elicits among some groups the well-known conspiracy theory suggesting rich countries aim at nothing but to make money on Amazon's hidden treasures (plants, fungi, molecules, substances, and other precious inputs).

6.2.5 *The Guardian* (TGD)

The Guardian's coverage overall shows a more dramatic than properly metaphorical feature, although one property does not necessarily exclude the other one. Still, both converge to the newspaper's top frame political pressure, followed by environmental degradation — occasionally described passionately, by news authors as well as by their cited sources. Similarly to The NYT, in *The Guardian* the sole metaphorical anti-environment statements refer to Bolsonaro's speech (Table13).

Table 13: Some excerpts containing metaphorical and other connotative expressions in TGD coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	News authors' speech
Pro-environment	
an "island of green amid a sea of deforestation" (TGD_A09); the young from the cities are listening to the cry of the Amazon + the rainforest functions as the heart of the world + future generations are born dead (TGD_A10); "we represent many people from many places to defend Mother Earth" (TGD_A15); Amazon fires created a "negative synergy" that is accelerating its destruction (TGD_A16); the world must hear "both the cry of the earth and that of the poor" (TGD_A17); accountable for the "cultural and environmental genocide" in the world's largest wilderness (TGD_A20); "The end of the forest is the end of our life" (TGD_A25); attack on the spirits of the Earth (TGD_A31); as Bolsonaro competes with himself in a marathon of foolishness (TGD_A43); 'The forest is shedding tears' (TGD_A48); the wildfires raging the Amazon are a visible metaphor for the effect of our unrestrained passion for limitless economic growth (TGD_A49); "Chaos, chaos, chaos": a journey through Bolsonaro's Amazon inferno (TGD_A29)	the assault on the planet's biggest terrestrial carbon sink by land-grabbers (TGD_A11); how healthy rainforests create "flying rivers" (TGD_A15)
Anti-environment*	
what [Bolsonaro] he called the "psychotic" demarcation of indigenous reserves (TGD_A34); "Brazil is the virgin that every foreign pervert wants to get their hands on", Bolsonaro told reporters (TGD_A29)	*Not found*

* Includes other rather topics negatively expressed.

The largest coverage of the corpus 2019 seemingly communicates the greatest "global commons" perception, suggesting quantity (perhaps by "homeopathic" or drop by drop dosage in the media) may have crucial impacts in some cases, as much as the rhetorical quality of statements. Apart from clues for the well-known agenda-setting hypothesis, TGD coverage pushes the "our home" metaphor, along with climate change and environmental justice, to an upper level in relation to corpus average (again, both in quantitative and qualitative terms). Risk and warfare imagery is as frequent as specially

supported by threats to "our home", a connection that requires emotional investment in order to elicit readers active engagement. Indeed, several articles explore these meaningful constructs in which pro-environment and pro-humanity stand as synonyms.

A singular characteristic in TGD coverage lies on its particular focus on the "Forest COP", an international meeting gathering Indigenous groups, forest communities, scientists, Church members and activists in the middle of the Amazon jungle a few weeks before the official COP 25 in Madrid, in December 2019. *Per se*, publishing two articles (both signed by Jonathan Watts, *The Guardian*'s global environment editor) about this denotes a crucial deviation in terms of general news values (and indirectly in power dynamics), given the very counter-hegemonic nature of such event, and the emphasis on alternative perspectives. By the end of another article broadly reporting on deforestation issues, the same news author cites the gathering taking place at the date, titled *"Amazon: The Centre of the World"*, recognizing that *"many powerful interests in this region do not want global attention on their activities"* (TDT_A11). Even global North—South power asymmetries may implicitly be at stake in a gathering aiming to view the *"climate debate from the forest rather than the city, and to put people and nature at its heart"*. Mr. Watts adds that "*this is a deliberate contrast to the top-down approach of official UN COP meetings, where the emphasis is more on economics, technology and urbanization*" (not surprisingly, the event reportedly had pro-agribusiness nationalist demonstrations). Such considerations might seem misplaced in a section dedicated to corpus rhetorical properties, nevertheless the aim here is to better contextualize dramatic and metaphorical excerpts that binds power traces into the shared sense of "global commons", especially in TGD.

The most developed Forest COP story, larger than 1,500 words, widely embraces the "war for the planet" spirit: "*The sixth extinction*" (upper heading); "*The Amazon: on the frontline of a global battle to tackle the climate crisis*" (headline); "*A diverse band of river communities, activists and academics are meeting in the heart of the rainforest to fight for the planet's future*" (subheading) (TDT_A10). Among the most valued social actors in the news text, the youth climate movement not only gains voice but is referred by an Indigenous source as "*the new generation wants to save the life of the forest and the planet"*, given that *"the young from the cities are listening to the cry of the Amazon*". Indeed, beyond appealing metaphors and solemn calls for keeping the endangered forest safe, the Amazon in TGD — more than in any other newspaper — is represented as a metonymy of the whole Earth. "*The rainforest functions as the heart of the world* [...] *the forest's most crucial role is to pump water — the blood of the planet"* (Idem), explains a scientific expert used as source. By comparing the

planet to a colossal living body, one can figure how reader's deepest sensorial experiences can be poked, the topic of health here reinforcing the broader war / risk semantic field.

Interestingly, another emblematic article in this context ("*In Bolsonaro's burning Brazilian Amazon, all our futures are being consumed*"; TGD_A50) is the opinion text signed by Eliane Brum (Brazilian journalist and novelist based in the Amazon, also an initiator of the forthcoming Forest COP in November, 2019). Its greatest leitmotif states that "*Bolsonarism, it bears repeating, is not a threat just to Brazil but to our planet"*, insisting that the forest is "*at the very core of all we have. This is the real home of humanity"*. In fact, from the headline to its last word, the author repeats this chant declaring "the Am*azon is the centre of world*" (lead's first sentence); "*the rainforest might seem a remote place, but it is the heart of the planet — and it is under attack as never before*" (subhead); "*our best chance lies in joining forces with the real centre of the world where the battle for the future is being waged"* (article's last sentence). Therefore, by claiming the Amazon is not only a common home but the very crucial non-negotiable epicentre of life on Earth, once again, global North — South taken-for-granted positions are implicitly shaken, demonstrating how far romantic and apparently naïve metaphors can dig into complex social and power structures.

Undoubtedly, these power-related issues become even more salient when associated to strong emotional metaphors, which generally come under the warfare semantic field. Despite its objective frankly descriptive title (*"The Observer view on Jair Bolsonaro and the Amazon wildfires"*), the only *TGD* opinion article — signed as The Observer's editorial — immediately compensates the headline's apparent "neutrality" in the article's subhead: "*The ecological carnage we are witnessing will reverberate far beyond the borders of Brazil"*. Most simply, it seems that *The Observer*, *TGD*'s Sunday edition, found and even more shocking designation for the Amazon crisis than Macron's much quoted "ecocide" (which may sound vague for some readers). Semantically, both terms work as close synonyms; from a rhetorical point of view, the very idea of cold-blooded violent killing of a massive number of living creatures — evoked by "carnage" — seems able to hit the ultimate degree in an universal scale of outrage. More interestingly, this article, beyond its appealing subhead, effectively points that Europeans have been omissive witnesses (or active accomplices) of Amazon deforestation (i.e. through Western demand for Brazilian beef). Hence, the transition from passionate to morality-based senses may be subtle, implying they may be more intertwined than previously thought (the argumentation analysis in the next chapter will return to these interconnections).

Furthermore, it must be emphasized that the *mea culpa* traces regarding Amazon degradation also appear in another opinion article, this time with no concern about language finesse: "*Amazon fires*

are a shameful indictment of our lust for excess" (head); "*The flames engulfing the world's biggest rainforest are a human tragedy as well as an environmental one. We are all to blame*" (subhead) (TGD_A49). Even though a mix of drama and morality usually make up such well-known plot of tragedies performed by villains, the choice for recurring to a deadly sin may be explained by the author's credentials (Rowan Williams, former Archbishop of Canterbury and chair of Christian Aid). In this sense, this moral perspective somehow ratifies the "global commons" idea towards the Amazon, recognizing implicit rights and duties, but explicitly sharing worldwide responsibility (and blame). Indirectly, this perspective also relieves the burden of all Amazon disgraces from Bolsonaro's shoulders. Notwithstanding that Church members tend to speak for the powerless, in this text not only the peoples of the Amazon but its whole environment stand as fragile and oppressed. In this context, the wildfires raging in the Amazon are "*a visible metaphor for the effect of our unrestrained passion for limitless economic growth*", implying the well-being of nature and communities should precede "Western's" selfish greed. "*The fact that this does not seem to be an obvious moral priority should make us all ashamed*", states the author. Hence, since passions and sins drive Northern attitudes towards the Amazon (personal pronoun "our" seemingly here amplified for readers from UK and other developed nations), shame may function as a symbolic fuel for a moral war, for the Amazon and against the lust of rich nations.

Finally, I wish to highlight some other TGD's interesting particularities, in the context of this specific analysis, like the newspaper's exclusive article following up huge Belo Monte Dam's long-standing implications [89] (*"Poorly planned Amazon dam project 'poses serious threat to life'"*; TGD_A13). The article reports the structure's risks of collapse, stating from the lead that Belo Monte's design flaw poses a very serious "*threat to human life and globally important systems*". The selected sources somewhat revive the "ecocide" idea and observe the "*new system 'will turn the river into a cemetery'"*, reinforcing coverage's risk and drama as major trends. On the other hand, it is also worth to mention at least one out of the three articles that TGD published about the Amazon Synod[90], a Church gathering with multiple purposes, but mainly to set out "*a new view of ecology based on Christian faith in God as the creator of a 'common home'"* (*"Death and resurrection of forest in the rainforest as bishops meet for Amazon summit"*; TGD_A17). The very idea of "common home" derives from Pope Francis' encyclical letter *Laudato Si* (*On Care For our Common Home*). An Indigenous schoolteacher cited as source sees "*the church as a key ally to save the rainforest. Eden is here in the Amazon and we*

[89] *The Guardian* was the only newspaper writing about the Belo Monte Dam in the Amazon during the 2019 analyzed coverage.
[90] Articles about this event were retained in the corpus only if wider social/environmental issues regarding the Amazon were fairly developed in parallel with Church internal debates about allowing married priests to work in remote forest communities.

are destroying it". These meaningful excerpts help to strength not only human's collective feeling towards the Amazon but also the need to join the "war" to preserve this sacred place. We will look closer at some of the articles cited above in the next chapter (focused on argumentation and on social actors).

6.2.6 British coverage about the Amazon

The overall picture in British coverage seems at first reasonably homogeneous, with the Amazon being more clearly depicted as a metonymy of the world (the part meaning the whole). However, the message that the Amazon truly represents a global common — yet consensual — is rather individually manufactured in each newspaper. While TDT's articles shift from race to war imagery, opting for more literal yet still dramatic formulations and using more inconspicuous metaphors, TGD explores rhetorical devices more heavily for the journalistic genre (although opinion articles generally enjoy a freer style). Consequently, climate change issues also acquire somewhat more significance among these rhetorical dynamics, especially in terms of multilateral commitments (stronger in TDT case) and environmental justice (stronger in TGD case). Indeed, power struggles become more transparent in TGD coverage, specially from a counter-hegemonic perspective, such as (but not exclusively) the Forest COP — a finding partially explained by its editorial status: "the world's leading liberal voice", according to TGD's website. In brief, both coverages raise consistently the Amazon to the status of an evident "global common". Besides, important moral questions involving "Western" indifference, omission, lust and shame are also raised, albeit in a reduced number of news texts. Finally, it is interesting that TDT had covered Amazonia rather differently from American newspaper The WSJ, while both have a net pro-market profile.

6.3 Analysis of newspapers from the global South

In this section, the newspapers from India and China will be analyzed with regard to their rhetorical / metaphorical discourse features, maintaining the focus on actors' / writers' position towards two "poles": pro-environment and pro-development (occasionally: anti-environment), considering a likely "neutral" position to be the more or less explicit adherence to the key discourse of sustainable development. Albeit the global "South" coverage corresponds to a diminished half of corpus 2019, it is still important to establish how these texts speak to each other regionally, to the global "North" and to the broader social and cultural context (whenever minimally grounded inferences are possible). Indeed, the role of the stricter cultural contexts should not be overlooked regarding the representation of

Amazonia. The very perception of nature, the idea of development, the use and meaning of metaphors as well as the concept of drama might resonate differently.

6.3.1 *The Hindu (THD)*

In this newspaper, which amounts to half of the "Southern" coverage (quantitavely) metaphorical speak is rather discrete, with regard to the number of articles. As political pressure is the newspaper's most recurrent frame, followed by environmental degradation, metaphorical formulas are more salient in excerpts describing Amazonia itself (Table 14).

Table 14: Some excerpts containing metaphorical and connotative expressions in THD coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	**News authors' speech**
Pro-environment	
Bol$onaro is burning our future + the lung of the whole Earth is affected, and so we must find common solutions (THD_A18); we need to heed nature's wake-up call (THD_A42)	rainforests are universal treasures (THD_A02); take serious measures to save the world's lungs (THD_A07); the country at the epicentre of the Amazon inferno, Brazil (THD_A22); deal with the voracious fires (THD_A24); one of the most important ecosystems for the planet's resilience (THD_A27);

The Hindu consistently embraces the "global commons" sense, establishing constant — yet poorly developed — links with global climate change issues. Even if THD headlines seem less appealing in terms of metaphors and / or drama, the sense that the world's largest rainforest is symbolically a shared space flows little by little among articles. "Earth's lungs" is a frequent, yet scientifically inaccurate[91], novelty free metaphorical expression: "*Earth's burning lungs: On Amazon's rainforest fires*" (THD_A21) and "*How did the planet's lungs catch fire*" (THD_A35) are some examples of headlines. But in most cases, greater attention must be paid to go beyond such an overused stereotype. In this way, a subhead declaring "*Brazil must recognize that the Amazon rainforest is a universal treasure*"[92] (THD_A02) seems to compensate for a poorly influential editorial headline, such as "*On protecting the Amazon rainforest"*. Besides, the very idea of treasure is connected to a warning in the text, namely "*that fragile legacy is now imperiled"* (Idem). This semantic resonance, while reinforcing Amazon's values and riches, implies that all peoples on Earth deserve a share of it, hence defending a "global common" spirit, but just not naming it. The very depiction that "*Amazon forests are a natural treasure*" also appears in other articles, including a reader's letter (THD_A17). Additionally, recurrent expressions

[91] Differently from US and UK newspapers, Indian studied articles overall do not explain that the Amazon Forest roughly consumes all the amount of oxygen that it releases in the atmosphere.

[92] The article's penultimate sentence reformulates its subject / object, pointing that "*Brazil's President must recognize that rainforests are universal treasures"* (THD_A02).

along the coverage corroborate it: "*save world's lungs*", "*global outrage*", "*growing international anger*" and "*globe sparked protests*", "*international outcry*", "*global uproar*", "*global peril*", among others. In a move that promotes sources' anonymity, the news author cites a text from a sign exhibited during a demonstration in a Brazilian diplomatic mission abroad: "*The Amazon belongs to Earth not to the Brazilian president"* (THD_A10). In another article reporting protests in Rio de Janeiro, "*some held banners that read: 'Bol$onaro is burning our future'"* (THD_A18). This suggests that, apart opinion / editorial articles, in more "ordinary" news informative articles, less controversial actors / sources are used for a more appealing "global commons" representation. Most importantly, power struggles, like (international) political pressure on the Brazilian president's speeches and policies, acquire more salience behind the selection of these apparently "neutral" sources (ordinary concerned citizens). This does not mean that official sources are not employed in this sense, however it does not happen very often.

Interestingly, a discrete body / health imagery appears in excerpts like "*disrupting the delicate balance of nature*" (THD_A17), "*[forests] their protection is of the utmost importance for the planet's health*" (THD_A17), or "*a region seen as vital to the health of the planet"* (THD_28). This trend seems almost unpretentiously spread all over *THD* articles, suggesting it may have more profound cultural resonance than the war / race imagery that features in other (North) newspapers. This does not mean that the warfare imagery or even emotions are absent in *THD* coverage, but their diminished weight in texts is not hard to be perceived[93].

Even sources' discourses tend to be selected differently, privileging the body- / health-related metaphors. For example, the following declaration of German Chancellor Angela Merkel appears solely in THD coverage: "*Of course (this is) Brazilian territory, but we have a question here of the rainforests that is really a global question [...] The lung of our whole Earth is affected, and so we must find common solutions*" (THD_A18). Within the proposal of an emergency Amazon summit, made by Peruvian and Colombian presidents during the "great burning weeks", Colombia's leader Ivan Duque stated the Amazon was "'*a lung that benefits the world in capturing greenhouse gases, water sources and the protection of biodiversity' and its protection needs to be coordinated on a global scale*" (THD_A27). In this context, the appreciation of local / regional sources ratifying the global cooperation helps to legitimate "global commons" discourse, since it supposes a more direct experience and knowledge about the subject.

[93] Kayapo Indigenous groups are reported to be "*on the front line of firefighting efforts and in an ever-acrimonious feud with Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro"* and "*altogether standing in defence of the Amazon"* (THD_A31). Also, "*deforestation for farming is the most serious threat to the forest"* (THD_A37) and Bolsonaro's spat with Macron is depicted by Brazilian novel writer Paulo Coelho (used as a source exclusively in *THD,* hence providing an extra cultural hint) as "*hysteria"* (THD_A28).

Finally, taking into account the particularity of the broad preference for body / health imagery, clues for its explanation may also be along coverage. When a senior IBAMA official, speaking on condition of anonymity, complains "*we've been reduced to a toothless tiger by our government*" (THD_A35), one could question if the more appropriate animal in such metaphor could be the jaguar. South America's largest feline is definitely not the former (actually, idioms expressions like "toothless tiger" or "paper tiger" are rare, if not absent, in Brazil, where tigers are exotic). Very likely, the anonymous source employed a Brazilian idiomatic express to make reference to the powerless or to an empty threat. Hence, the point here is to briefly demonstrate the role of cultural contextualization, and how the "global common" spirit seems to be at the core of THD's worldview. In this sense, interestingly, "*the only God's own planet is planet Earth. It is the only home we will ever have, and we need to nurture its environment"* (THD_A33), states Wing Commander Rakesh Sharma, the first Indian to visit space. Not only this is *THD*'s sole article reporting on "celebrities" comments about Amazon fires — a very different situation in comparison to the other studied Indian newspaper, *The Times of India* — but, actually, this article comes out as a reported interview in indirect speech (instead of a mere reproduction of a famous profile from social media, which is TOI's main feature). Indeed, albeit a scientist talking about God may sound "unscientific" (for some critics), the fact that an astronaut's speech is used to warn people that there is no other "common home" than Earth stands as a strong (moral) call for joint action. In this context, it is crucial to have in mind that the body / health motif is never left behind, given the need to "nurture" our planet's environment. Thus, from a discursive point of view, the "global commons" idea embraces at the same time human and nature, body and spirit, all in a single complex living Earth dimension. This scenario in part implies that drama, emotions and language exacerbation can be dismissed, since the degradation of the Amazon naturally (hence, automatically) means a tragedy for all living creatures. Under this holistic perspective, one could infer that THD coverage may reflect (and also be reflected by) India's broad cultural context, specially regarding the role of religion in people's worldview, but also the mostly respectful relationship Indians cultivate with nature (specially under Hinduism)[94]. Nevertheless, it is crucial to constantly keep in mind the limited reach of print / on-line English media in the country.

[94] According to a 2015 Pew Research Center survey, eight-in-ten Indians say religion is very important in their lives. Also, approximately 80% of the population follow Hinduism. Among other important shared values, Hindus believe every life and living thing is sacred, deserving love and respect (a concept known as *ahimsa*). On the other hand, air pollution (the only environmental issue appearing in the list) comes in 9th position among 13 domestic top issues, reaching 54% of importance, tied with health care (Source: Spring2017 Global Attitudes Survey; Pew Research Center: https://pewrsr.ch/2IJYGmh).

6.3.2 *The Times of India* (TOI)

In TOI, the use of metaphorical expressions is very rare (Table 15). Albeit political pressure and environmental degradation are the main frames, this coverage is constructed very descriptively.

Table 15: Some excerpts containing metaphorical / ironical expressions in TOI coverage about Amazonia

Sources' direct / indirect speech	News authors' speech
Pro-environment	
The lung of our whole Earth is affected, and so we must find common solutions (TOI_A09)	remedial measures to resurrect our beloved planet (TOI_A04);

As already noted, TOI presents a relatively small coverage, but intensively marked by public (domestic and notorious) opinions about Amazon fires[95]. Hence, from a "global commons" point of view, the fact that artists and other celebrities take their time to comment and express concern over an issue taking place at the other side of the planet (and that a newspaper praise it among news values) may have a degree of significance. This does not mean, however, that opinions and dramatic expressions are restricted to sources direct or indirect quotes: "*Amazon Fires [...] celebs to express concern over the fires spell disaster"* says a headline (TOI_A08).

Metaphors, when employed, tend to reproduce ordinary climate change imagery, specially "*planet's carbon sink*" (TOI_A03) and "*one of the world's key bulwarks against climate change*" (TOI_A11; Aug. 22) — metaphors widely expressed in newspapers from the US and the UK. Drama tone in some cases is patently generalized: "*the entire world is shocked by the current situation of Brazil's Amazon rainforests*" (TOI_A12); as "*weather experts say that [the Amazon] is a massive carbon sink and it may lead to dangerous climate change, threating to human existence*" (sic) (TOI_A08). Conversely, the "global commons" perspective is openly offered. Not only Angela Merkel's words not seen in "Northern" coverage reappear (referring to the lung of the whole Earth and the need for "*common solutions*"), but also: "*the entire world finally had the time to turn its attention to the fire that's ravaging Brazil's Amazon*" (TOI_A07), as it is "*one of the world's most important ecosystems*" (TOI_A13).

In brief, even if small in number and size of texts, TOI coverage expresses a "global commons" sense, albeit articles clearly privilege Bollywood celebrities' reactions to Amazon degradation. A coverage that puts authorities, scientists, politicians and other "experts" in a back seat among

[95] Almost 50% of articles (precisely 6/14) report from its headlines celebrities comments about Amazon fires. In at least three of them Hollywood actor and environment activist Leonardo Di Caprio is cited. "North" newspapers eventually cited Di Caprio, specially after he was unfoundedly accused by Bolsonaro of financially supporting NGOs that allegedly ignited fires in order to get more funding and undermine Brazilian government's image abroad. By contrast, Di Caprio appears in nothing but a single THD headline, within a universe of 44 news texts.

stakeholders does not necessarily invalidate the public debate, given that other social agents may have a perception and / or a voice to talk about a "global common". The major problem refers to lack of grounded information in order to minimally support celebrities' opinions, which basically integrate dramatized reactions, but whose political impact should not be overlooked.

On the other hand, there is a rather constant reference to the connection between Amazon destruction and global climate change — much cited but never really developed. Even if not at all mentioned by TOI, annual monsoon disruption, provoking imbalanced heat, droughts and floods, has been well felt in many regions of India in recent decades (Dash & Hunt, 2007; Shiva, 2019). These and other contextual inter-relations could have been done without difficulty, nevertheless the newspaper clearly bets on soft news regarding Amazonia.

6.3.3 Indian coverage about the Amazon

Some similarities can be observed, starting by the presence of drama with relative low recurrence to metaphorical expressions, although in general THD and TOI have visibly different styles. The main differences may easily be explained by the role of more standardized hard news in the former, and sports and entertainment in the latter. This feature could, for instance, justify the presence of editorials and other opinion pieces in THD, contrasting to the absence of this type of articles in TOI. Both newspapers occasionally offer youth / children content[96] making in all cases constant links between deforestation in the Amazon and climate change worldwide, including India, but without any further development. Earth as a common home for humanity and the Amazon as a global heritage and a vital buffer for fighting climate change are frequent representations in Indian media.

6.3.4 *China Daily* (CND)

CND's articles about the Amazon in general have a "neutral" tone regarding melodrama and rhetoric potentials. As CND corresponds to the newspaper in which the political pressure frame is more salient, texts are constructed rather soberly, according to standardized news formula. Very few connotative expressions were actually retrieved (Table 16).

Some excerpts containing metaphorical and other connotative expressions in CND coverage about Amazonia

[96] Some examples are: "*In the heart of the JUNGLE"; "September 5 is Amazon Rainforest Day. Let's take a look at some incredible facts about one of the largest natural wonders of the world*" (THD_A32; "Youth" section); "*What you need to tell your kids about the burning Amazon rainforest"* (TOI_A03). In both newspapers, articles restricted to a "picture of the day" plus a single sentence or paragraph (totaling less than 50-100 words), targeting or not young readers, were not included in corpus.

Table 16: Some excerpts containing metaphorical / ironical expressions in CND coverage about Amazonia

News authors' speech*
Pro-environment
Global concern over Amazon fires escalates (CND_A21); the Amazon is one of the "best defenses" against climate change (CND_A27); fire season in the Amazon is igniting a global debate (CND_A18)

* All excerpts refer to news authors' speech.

This newspaper shows a very marked agenda-setting interest in Amazon issues, with many texts from news agencies, and roughly 90% of articles published between August and middle September, 2019. A specific angle relatively absent in newspapers from other countries calls attention: approximately one in five articles reports (from headline) on Brazilian and / or international military air forces to fight the fires. This helps to inflate the role and importance of state agents, as they seem to be the only heroes likely to deal with the voracious blazes, a move somehow expected for a nation and media ruled by state authority and censorship. It also reinforces dramatic aspects intrinsically attached to the topic, by implying that the situation is so dire that ordinary civil or minor instances could not solve it by themselves.

Overall, CND coverage seems to support the "global commons" spirit: "*while mostly Brazilian,* [Amazon] *is a world issue and* [Macron's] *his message to Bolsonaro is: 'We cannot allow you to destroy everything'"* (CND_A14); "*a global outcry over the threat to the world's largest tropical rainforest"* (CND_A15); *"fire season in the Amazon is igniting a global debate on climate change"; "Brazilian rainforests are vital for world's climate*" (CND_A18); "[Amazon] degradation could have severe consequences for global climate and rainfall" (CND_A22); "*Amazon fires have become a global issue*" (CND_A20); "*preserve this forest that we all need because it is a treasure of our biodiversity and our climate*" (CND_A20). Occasionally, dramatic expressions are employed to describe a situation seemingly marked by risk: "*it is time* [G7 leaders] *they spoke in one voice on climate change and act with a due sense of urgency"* (CND_A19); "*a pledge of more than $20 million to combat the horrendous fires*" (CND_A12).

Another remarkable feature involves the return of the so-called "media criticism" in one Chinese article (CND_A01) — a frame only found in American newspapers, yet not very often. Undoubtedly, the most interesting features for CDA in this special article, in which a *China Daily*'s contributor severely criticizes a story from *The Wall Street Journal*, refer to social actors and argumentation (to be analyzed throughout Chapter 7). However at least two aspects concerning emotions and "global commons" sense deserve to be cited immediately, in this section. Firstly, a call for an anti-dramatic (thus, rational) approach to Amazon issues, in order to avoid distortions and fake news. The Chinese article observes that The WSJ title is "*repeating the August 2019 mistakes with the 'global fever' that the Amazon was*

being completely burned and destroyed" (CND_A01; Dec. 30). Actually, the main point of this CND text is to deconstruct the story-line according to which environmental degradation is an obvious consequence of agribusiness pressure. Its author systematically tries to demolish a metonymy match (insisting on the concept, but not naming it) according to which the whole Amazon forest and all biomes in Brazil are under threat given that some specific areas of the Amazon are burning. Secondly, a sophisticated inversion (or at least reorientation) of the "global commons" sense, unrelated to the more expected national sovereignty's patriotic flag, in this case interestingly stressing Brazil's breadbasket as a common benefit for all humankind. This can be perceived in excerpts like "*Brazilian farmers' efficiency was transferred to global commodity and food prices helping to alleviate hunger in the world via cheaper food*" or "[Brazil] *uses only 8 percent of its area to generate food production to the world*" (Idem). From a discursive perspective, affordable food as an alternative "global common" entails the recurrent moral questioning over the value of humans versus the value of other forms of life, implying an inseparable degree of nature preservation directly proportional to a certain degree of world hunger. Notwithstanding, it seems that such simplistic "global common" sense upside down, in its turn, also proposes a metonymy perception, by lacking contextual deepening and simply ignoring multiple social / economic factors attached to food prices, like import / export tariffs, broad demand / supply issues, access to land, crop funding, technical expertise, among others that heavily vary worldwide. Hence, no matter how articles' postscripts insist that "*opinions expressed here are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the views of China Daily and China Daily website*", all we can infer before a Chinese media article signed by a "featured contributor" is that the writer's opinions certainly do not oppose CND's views. A possible explanation for the (seemingly welcome) presence of this counter-perspective might be linked to China—Brazil trade relations, specially considering the US—China tariffs war. Brazil stands as an important commercial partner to China, exporting key commodities, like soya, beef, poultry, swine, sugar and coffee.

However, as previously mentioned, while a single text provides a less orthodox sense of global commons, CND coverage as a whole tend to carry the torch of the Amazon as a global heritage. In this context, war and body imagery work simultaneously, occasionally raising moral issues, both depending on articles sources and / or authors. Authored by "Agencies", the article "*Indigenous people pray for protection*" (CND_A07) reports that people from the tribe of Shanenawa "*performed a ritual to find peace between humans and nature*". A tribe's leader explains: "*our rituals pray for planet Earth, to always keep it healthy and safe [...] we pray for mother water, for father sun, for mother forest and for mother earth, whom today feel very wounded*" (Idem). Thereby, the body imagery comprises here two

dimensions: Earth and Nature's personification, on the one hand, and their need for healing, on the other. Although CND also publishes another report on Amazon Indigenous daily life, article CND_A07 just mentioned above one is still the most developed under a spiritual dimension, a perspective whose significance remains unclear in a nation in which the Communist Party rules, among other social / individual fields, religious affairs.

Indeed, body / health imagery, as well as sparse warfare, appears in other types of news. The words of an environmental engineer used as source, explaining the phenomenon of the "flying rivers" formed in the Amazon, help to illustrate it: "*this leads us to conclude that the Amazon rainforest is not only the main lungs of the world, but the heart of planet Earth*" (CND_A09). A few lines below, as the article reports that Bolsonaro has argued that the global alarms are politically motivated, an environmental consultant analyzes that "*the problem is the media war against the current government, not a fire increase*". Actually, such statement offers an alternative perspective, since war frames related to other CND articles tend to be chosen by environment defenders under a defence stance.

Finally, following other studied newspapers, editorial articles represent important discursive arenas to construct meaningful representations about the Amazon, and in CND this is not different. The title "*One voice needed over Amazon fires*" (CND_A19) corresponds to the only so-called editorials in *CND* coverage. Opinion pieces are the object of a thorough CDA approach along the next chapter, yet for the purpose of this section this CND editorial not only admits consequences "*far beyond"* Amazon countries but also states that "*it is no exaggeration to address it as an 'international crisis'"* (Idem), making reference (and reverence) to the expression used by French President Emmanuel Macron — converging to the "global commons" sense. Indeed, keeping a sober tone not fully exempt of emotions (e.g. sadness), the CND's editorial adopts the rhetorical strategy of balancing positive and negative attitudes from both sides (Brazil and G7), arguing that "*it would be sadder still if global leaders continue to remain divided over what the fires mean for the global environment"*. By the way, this is a magnificent example of China's pro-harmony discourse widely spread along the 21st. But the necessary conclusion comes in the article's final sentence, suggesting climate change is, after all, the most important issue beyond spats about international crisis, interference on national sovereignty, and so on: "*No matter how the G7 leaders define the Amazon fires, it is time they spoke in one voice on climate change and acted with due sense of urgency*". From a rhetorical perspective, a "sense of urgency" implies anxiety and risk. Trying to interpret beyond the lines, it could be inferred that the CND editorial seems to support the relatively common speaking position from developing countries, according to which discourses tend to focus on greater responsibility of developed nations (over past degradation and, consequently, over

present mitigation actions), implying that developing ones are not guilty, sometimes even standing as victims, towards environment destruction (specially ex-colonies of Europe, although this is definitely not China's case). Very likely, the "*one voice needed"* on Amazon fires echoes on president Trump's *nonchalance* towards climate change along with his compliance with Bolsonaro's policies (suggesting US president's firm pro-environmental attitude is much necessary in the global stage).

As the newspaper consistently acknowledges, the Amazon's degradation and climate change are a joint global concern, another opinion article, signed by a senior op-editor contributor to *China Daily*, and even republished in British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*, cites development as a crucial factor of impact on the global commons: "*without forests there won't be any development"* (CND_A11; "*The planet's future burns along with Amazon*"). This title not only repeats a recurrent metaphor used specially by *The Guardian*, but it also grants some space for emotions while describing the global mood towards Amazon fires: "*from frustration to mourning, the community of concerned individuals and organizations the world over are trying to find ways to curb the man-made devastation in the Amazon*" (Idem). These excerpts are aligned to China's more recent shift to become a world leader in environmental protection, mainly through massive national reforestation and huge investments in renewable energy, domestically and abroad — albeit there are ecological as well as geopolitical reasons for this shift (Chiu, 2017). Indeed, as we must see further, the sense of a very soft "cold war" specially on the US tend to be subtly spread along some CND news stories. However, such particularity seems not to interfere on the overall moderate "global common" sense expressed along its coverage.

6.3.5 *People's Daily* (PPD)

Considering the very small number of articles in PPD, it is difficult to identify discourse and / or rhetorical patterns in this coverage. All five strictly informational titles retrieved were published during the "great burning weeks". Traces of a "global common" sense can be detected in the headline "*Amazon forest fires rage at record rate amid global concern*", more specifically through the discourse of a UN spokesperson: "*Forests are essential for the health of the entire world, he said, emphasizing that 'sustaining the forests is crucial in the fight for climate change'"* (PPD_A04). Another title reports a very specific event that confirms such UN statement: "*Climate change activists protest outside Brazilian consulate in Mumbai over Amazon fire*" (PPD_A03), "*to show solidarity with the people of the Amazon Rainforest"*, completes the title's subhead. This text highlights that similar demonstrations were held in New Delhi as well as in "*several other cities across the globe to put combined pressure on the Brazilian government"* (Idem).

Overall, it seems that the Amazon as a "global common" emerges from speeches as well as from the concrete reported action. The report on this Indian protest is the only article accompanied by images: two close photographs of young activists holding signs with the following messages: "*Forests = O_2 / All our lungs at stake*"; "*We are helpless but we are together / Brazil + India*". In fact, these hints barely point to the repetition of the body / health imagery, with an implicit degree of drama sparkling from the "helpless" common feeling. However, even if not embedded into the news text, such messages integrate broad newspaper discourse, suggesting a strong concern with global climate change.

6.3.6 Chinese coverage about the Amazon

The most disparate national coverage in quantitative terms seems not to necessarily show significant differences in qualitative terms. Even though inferences about PPD must be expressed very carefully, traces of its discourse are reasonably compatible with CND major features (Xinhua being the exclusive source in PPD coverage, but an occasional one in CND coverage). In general, metaphors and dramatic tone are uncommon in Chinese coverage, a feature that might be both culturally and politically explained. That does not hamper agencies and other individual authors to express concern about the role of the Amazon forest towards global climate change, implying worldwide shared consequences of forests destruction, thus eliciting a "global common" spirit.

Specially in CND, two virtually conflicting discourse aspects emerge from analysis. On the one hand, the CND editorial subtly reaffirms the well-known "North's" (G7) duty of greater environmental accountability, while another opinion text, signed by a Brazilian contributor, suggests even more subtly an unexpected inversion: Brazil's cheap food products may configure a more realistic "global common". On the other hand, as the latter article broadly performs a criticism on US media, it helps fueling the tacit (most of the time silent) competition between US and China, moreover considering China's more recently audacious goals announced to reach zero carbon emissions (while the US temporarily retreated from the Paris Agreement under Trump administration) — a favorable scenario to discursively defend the Amazon and the broad climate change challenges. This perception disrupts the argument that, for large emitters, the climate issue does not evince the "global commons" logic often attributed to it (Hochstetler & Viola, 2012). China effectively reshaped a different profile along the last decade, specially from 2013, when Xi Jinping became the nation's president and most prominent political character. Also, the rather moderate tone of Chinese (state-owned) newspapers is in line with China's policy of non-intrusion in other countries' policies.

6.4 Final remarks

Regarding global "North" coverage, under many aspects already raised above with reference to US and UK coverages, in terms of eliciting the sense of "global commons", The NYT, TDT and TGD visibly express consonant messages. The WSJ does not openly adopt an opposite path, but its articles about (the right to) development, associated to an alternative story-line according to which poverty is the main culprit for deforestation, provide clues that a "globalization common" might be among the best solutions for the Amazon. The WSJ also stands out as the newspaper in which metaphors — when employed — tend to break stereotypes and counter argument pro-environment discourses. Instead, the other "Northern" newspapers explore such rhetorical devices in order to bring more emotion to warfare-framed texts often filled with melodramatic excerpts (implying The WSJ's reports about Amazon degradation seem to pursue a more sober style). Regarding these features, American readers of The NYT along with those from British newspapers likely made sense of the Amazon (2019 fires) on the basis of slightly different discourses, with small nuances. American readers of The WSJ readers faced an implicit moral dilemma derived from a conservation versus poverty paradigm: Is Nature more important than human livelihoods? However, the public of The NYT, along with British readers, in distinct levels of interpretation, had to also implicitly deal with the very same moral question implied by a sense of shame, but raised upside down: Are humans more important than the other living creatures? Not surprisingly, the "global common" path could be an answer for both perspectives.

Taking into consideration "Southern" newspapers, Indian and Chinese coverage heavily rely on news agencies in order to disseminate information about the Amazon forest. This explains the more standardized, usually short and repetitive news articles. More in-depth stories are rare, and — whenever present in "Southern" coverage — they very likely function as opinion texts from op-ed contributors rather than interpretative well contextualized stories from international correspondents. Despite the moderate presence of the body / health frame in both nations (more evident in India; more subtle in China), metaphors and drama are not recurrent rhetorical devices. Still, both countries express the Amazon as a "global common", underlining the role of tropical rainforests in mitigating the effects of climate change around the globe, as well as the need to respect and protect the environment. Nevertheless, moral questions are not evident, despite that in both countries there are a few articles glimpsing spiritual dimensions towards nature.

The metaphor mapping here carried out, even if not exhaustive[97] seems to reflect quite net trends for pro/anti- environment rhetorical appeal. For instance, there is a remarkable imbalance between both attitudes, since metaphors are heavily employed to report pro-environment utterances, especially in TGD (in contrast to anti-environment or pro-development statements exclusively found in The WSJ). Focusing on "global commons" as a key environmental metaphor, this chapter explored how, rhetorically, analyzed articles tend to adopt particular language constructs — occasionally requesting reader's emotions and / or a particular morality —in order to make sense of the Amazon. Whether the environment represents a social / political bone of contention under a recurrent war frame[98], or is represented through personification under a body / health imagery, or even performs an invaluable prize under the more occasional images invoking race and treasure, it seems that in all cases the very idea of the Amazon as a "global common" entangles important nuances.

Comparing Germany, UK and US coverage on climate change[99], Atanasova & Koteyko (2017) found an increased use of war metaphors (the only type used with the same functions across newspapers) to communicate the urgency of climate change, outlining simultaneously seriousness and divisiveness. They also observed the presence of race / movement ideas in arguments to support carbon capture. Besides, body / patient and health / illness metaphors have been employed, respectively, to express supportive views on geoengineering or to delegitimize it. In any case, based on what was assessed along this section, the warfare-related imagery describes the quite unambiguous scenario of at least two sides who disagree on something and are willing to fight for it. Hence, persuasive and political dimensions of these discourse components are far from negligible. In relation to body / health metaphors found along this analysis, a spiritual holistic dimension is recurrent, implying humankind heavily relies on Earth's healthiness and /or resilience.

But, after all, by raising the "global common" flag in the media, whose livelihoods really matter? The Earth's community? Amazon dwellers? Global "North" and / or "South"? It seems that implicit social asymmetries may go unchecked behind such a vague idea of a planetary commonality. Thereby, one could agree that the Amazon is a "discursive field where different cultural, social and economic perspectives engage and compete. It is an arena of tension that involves communication and power relations" (Zhouri, 2004: 72). Interestingly, by examining global cultural and political aspects from international campaigners, Zhouri identified three tendencies: "trees" (stress on environmental and biodiversity concerns); "people" (focus on those who defend development and social justice issues);

[97] Occasionally, doubled / tripled or more repeated occurrences in different newspapers are set aside. As explained in tables' titles, the precise limit between metaphor and simpler connotative language was not among the objectives of the analysis carried out in this chapter.
[98] The war metaphor is among the most prevalent ones in climate change media studies (Tynkkynen, 2010).
[99] These authors found the prevalence of war metaphors in the UK and journey metaphors in US coverage.

and "trees and people" (pointing to the synthesis of these two tendencies). Seemingly, all these perspectives fit into the "global common" metaphor. In the context of this investigation, despite rare exceptions, the global "South" intensively underlines tree-related aspects. "Northern" coverage undoubtedly does it, although *The Guardian* also adopts more visibly the "people" standpoint (from the prism of environmental justice), but also the combination of "trees + people". On the other hand, *The Wall Street Journal* not rarely favors another "people" perspective (under the developmentist prism).

The analysis made along this chapter illustrates how relatively consensual concepts may have discursive nuances with great implications on meaning making, power relations and, ultimately, on actors' behavior (e.g. public engagement). Given the relevance of the "global commons" discourse in the press coverage, Table 17 below summarizes the main topics and findings discussed along this chapter.

Table 17: "Global commons" metaphors and other related aspects in analyzed articles

	Global Commons sense	Drama tone	Top imagery	Exemplar rhetorical figures	Implicit moral issues
WSJ	absent	moderate	---	***	hypocrisy
NYT	intense	intense	war	"cathedrals of terrestrial biodiversity"	inestimable value of life
TDT	intense	moderate	risk; war	"Amazon is the dynamo behind life on Earth"	shame due to failure to protect the Amazon
TGD	intense	intense	risk; war; body / health	"the heart of the world"; "the cry of the Amazon"	shame on West's lust for excess
THD	intense	moderate	body / health	"Amazon rainforest is a universal treasure"	duty to protect life
TOI	intense	intense	risk (moderate)	---	---
CND	moderate	intense	war; body (moderate)	---	sense of urgency
PPD	moderate	absent	---	---	---

--- Undetectable presence or prevalence

*** Absent regarding "global commons" and pro-environment senses, despite considerable occurrence of other figures, specially irony, often to deconstruct (Indigenous) stereotypes which homogenize these groups as uninterested agents in "Western" way of live.

Since meanings do not flow randomly in the social milieu, social actors, as subjects and objects of discourse, effectively play a key role in shaping values and meanings, but also in eliciting social action. Therefore, the next chapter will focus on agents of discourse: their (mis)representation or

obliteration, their legitimation and argumentation for global / local action / resistance (from foreign policy and market dynamics to national sovereignty and environmental justice, among other crucial issues).

CHAPTER 7. SOCIAL ACTORS AND ARGUMENTATION IN MEDIA ARENAS: POWER IN / POWER BEHIND DISCOURSE

In the previous chapter, aspects related to semantics and symbolisms in language were discussed, like themes, frames and metaphors, considering their ability to shape media discourses about the Amazon. This final chapter will approach power and its more practical "materialist" implications. As a form of social practice, discourse operates in three dimensions (texts, interactions and contexts), in which power struggles are hardly absent. Proposed by linguist Norman Fairclough, power in and power behind discourse represent two major aspects of the power / language relationship. "Power in discourse is to do with powerful participants *controlling and constraining the contributions of non-powerful participants*" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 46, originally italicized). This implies constraints on contents (socially shared knowledge and beliefs), relations (social relationships) and subjects (social identities). On the other hand, the idea of power behind discourse is that "the whole social order of discourse is put together and held together as a hidden effect of power"[100] (Fairclough, 1989, p. 55). Borrowed from Michel Foucault, the expressions "orders of discourse" refers to clusters of discourse conventions which embody particular ideologies. Therefore, the main goal of the critical discourse analysis undertaken along this chapter is to shed light into the operation of the mechanisms of power in / behind in Amazon coverage.

Starting off from the analysis of (mis)representations of discourse agents and (de)legitimization of their arguments, the following sections focus on crucial political and economic factors regarding sovereignty, agribusiness, international trade, solidarity economy, among others. Beyond deforestation per se, this involves the way newspapers represent to their readers the relation between production and consumption. Following the binary model from Chapter 6, global "North" and global "South" are approached as major geopolitical clusters, around which discourse categories and other contextual linkages are examined. Keeping in mind the social constructionist approach discussed in Chapter 2, under a CDA framework, the analysis from this point onwards will concentrate mainly on social agents and their arguments, aiming at unfolding agency (a)symmetries and argumentation engineering in news discourse, performing a crucial role in modelling public opinion and social power (which are concepts widely studied under Habermasian and Foucauldian traditions referred in Chapter 1).

I condense under the notion of argumentation engineering the whole cognitive and discursive task of conceiving arguments (implying design, building and control of premises and their derived

[100] There would also be the possibility of recognizing the power "of" discourse and its effect in shaping social reality. For example, the discourse of those who contest and resist gives them some power to create meanings and affect societies — sometimes leading to profound changes in a particular social order. However, for a better assessment of this dimension, it would be important to include in the analysis aspects of the reception of news texts (e.g., readers' comments and reactions, among others), which are outside the scope of this thesis.

conclusions) for their best rhetorical performance. This implies the careful selection, wise combination and an effective formulation of causes, consequences and purposes through argumentation strategies focused on plausibility and persuasion, providing reasons for beliefs and, at least virtually, reasons for behaviors. Under such perspective, discourse, among other major features, is intrinsically "linked to the argumentation about validity claims such as truth and normative validity involving several social actors who have different points of view" (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 89). This is not different within media discourse, despite its specific formal features (in great part related to journalistic genres) and content constraints (in great part reliable on news values — but not exclusively). In the "mediatization" process, opinion articles (editorials, op-eds, guest columns, and even interviews and readers' letters[101]) are texts in which claims, norms and beliefs are more freely expressed.

The chapter is as follows. Firstly, some theoretical and analytical aspects of representation and argumentation are briefly presented, in order to better frame them in the specific context of this investigation. Secondly, articles representing the Global North's opinion pieces about the Amazon are individually analyzed per newspaper: *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times*, from the United States, followed by *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*, from England. Thirdly, articles representing the Global South's opinion pieces are examined, corresponding to the newspapers *The Hindu*, from India, and *China Daily*, from China. *The Times of India* and *People's Daily* are thus excluded in the scope of this chapter because any type of opinion article was retrieved for these newspapers.

7.1. Contextualizing representation and argumentation in journalistic discourse

This section will start by introducing some analytical categories applicable to the representation and legitimation of discourse agents, which consist of the social actors who effectively perform active or passive roles in language and power dynamics. Such agency-related concepts tend to reallocate the analysis of Amazon coverage into a rhetorical frontier, as a result of a blurring discourse zone between the representation of Amazonian space, issues and stakeholders, on the one hand, and the political-environmental claim-making processes (recurring to narratives, story-lines, justifications, descriptions, propositions), on the other hand. For this reason, selected argumentative and power-related discourse strategies (nomination, argumentation, perspectivation, as well as *topoi* and fallacies) are then

[101] Interviews and readers' letters are considered opinion articles in the scope of this analysis under specific conditions. Interviews in fact are a special modality of press articles (not wholly informational, if ever; not written by journalists; partly driven by the interviewer part by the interviewee; with most of the time unclear indication if the interviewee's speech is edited or not; and also unclear definition on author / source roles — among other variables). The only interview of the whole 2019 coverage (from *The Hindu*) was hence included among opinion pieces. Justifications about readers' letters partial inclusion are expressed further in this chapter.

discussed, in the hope to better demonstrate how these tools, when integrated, collaborate to establish at the same time solid meanings (homogenized or not) and plural lines of reasoning (compatible or not) about the Amazon region. Finally, I explain how such multidisciplinar whole can shape a triangular approach to assess the Amazon in the media, in which agents, arguments and power are major factors intricately intertwined.

Representation and legitimation of social actors (SA) in discourse have been examined by various scholars, including Van Leeuwen (2008), who proposed a detailed and very influential framework building on actors' inclusion and exclusion in discourses (taken as social practices), and then considering aspects like (im)personalisation, (in)determination, individualisation, assimilation, (de)titulation, among other categories (Figure 26). Regarding actors' legitimation, Van Leeuwen proposed four key categories: authorization (legitimization by reference to authority), moral evaluation (legitimization by reference to discourses of value), rationalisation (legitimization by reference to rational instrumentalisation) and mythopoiesis (legitimation by reference to selected narratives) (Van Leeuwen, 2007).

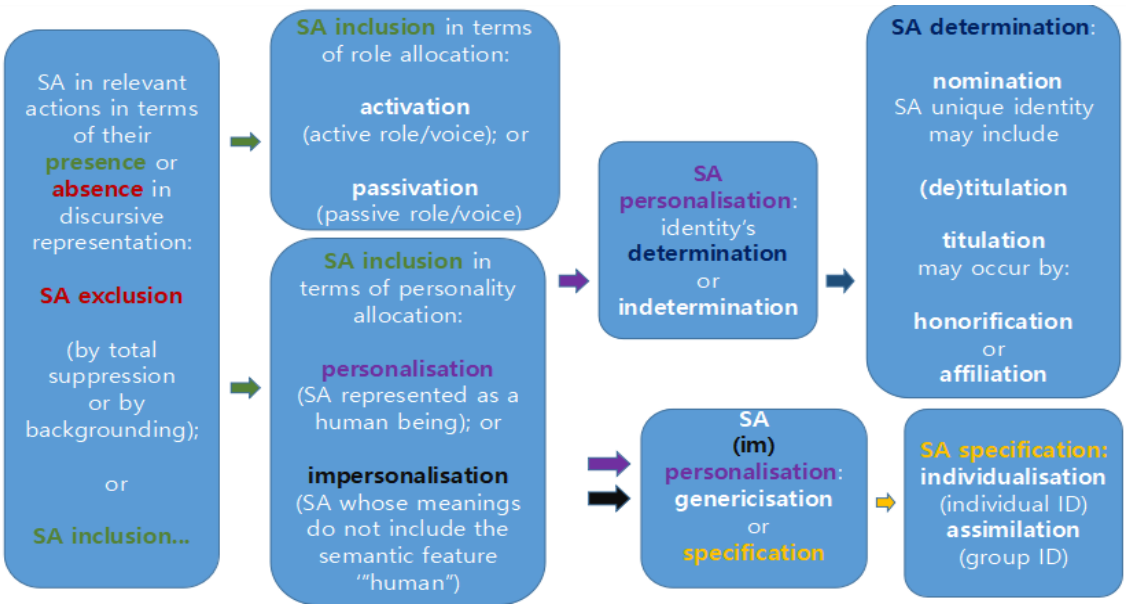


Figure 26: Part of Van Leeuwen's (2008) system network for the representation of social actors in discourse (excluding SA categories that are not applicable in the scope of this research).

Thereby, our aim is far from simply testing such theoretical categories in selected newspapers, but to employ them as useful guidelines for mapping and comprehending social actors in Amazon coverage. They can help to understand the role of key players, like Brazil's and France's presidents, other politicians and authorities, environmentalists, scientists, Indigenous and other local actors. Furthermore,

since legitimation does not take place separately from other contextual variables – judgements of legitimacy being necessarily related to a background of norms, beliefs and values – it is deeply associated to argumentation, "because it is only in arguments (not in explanations) that we are giving reasons in support of a controversial proposition that stands in need of justification" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 110). In the context of Amazon discourses, its agents and its contents, justification stands much more as a rhetorical than a merely cognitive operation. Frequently, the establishment of causal relations significantly corresponds to the establishment of a game of forces, either hegemonic or counter-hegemonic.

> Power is legitimized or de-legitimized in discourses. Texts are often sites of social struggle in that they manifest traces of differing ideological fights for dominance and hegemony. Thus, we focus on the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is discursively exerted not only by grammatical forms, but also by a person's control of the social occasion by means of the genre of a text, or by the regulation of access to certain public spheres". (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 89)

Indeed, while approaching practical argumentation in political discourse, and considering the representation of agents' practical reasoning (arguments in a means-end perspective), Fairclough & Fairclough (2012) claim that the major focus of analysis should be on decision making and action, hence not restricted to representation. Because "representations (including metaphors and other forms of rhetorically motivated representations) provide *premises in arguments for action"* (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 21, originally italicized), which means it should be integrated within an account of action. In the context of this thesis, given that our research corpus consists solely of media texts, the assessment of political argumentation as reasons for action might not provide reliable results. Nonetheless, the assessment of argumentation as reasons for believing – a mandatory requirement in political engagement with environmental issues – may offer insightful perspectives on how newspaper articles virtually elicit a set of attitudes towards the Amazon rainforest. In this respect, the analysis of discourse strategies could shed light into crucial aspects of news and their protagonists.

In discourse-historical approach (DHA), which is three-dimensional, discourse strategies constitute an intermediate level of analysis between the identification of specific contents or topics of a discourse (which more or less converge with Entman's framing approach) and its specific context-dependent realizations. Hence, we partly use the following five analytical categories proposed by Reisigl & Wodak (2017) in the field of political discourse, namely: 1) nomination (construction of in-groups and out-groups); 2) predication (labeling social actors more or less positively or negatively) (this strategy clearly

mirrors techniques of representation); 3) argumentation [102] (justification of positive or negative attributions); 4) perspectivization (setting the position of a speaker's point of view and expressing involvement or distance); 5) intensification / mitigation (modifying the illocutionary force of utterances) (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 95). For the analytical purpose of this investigation, mainly the three first strategies listed above check for applicability in journalistic texts, given that the last ones would make more sense to assess television (videos), especially interviews, which is a genre that involves dialogues.

Overall, as these features have distinct levels of application in the context of this study, they also partially overlap with questions of representation and argumentation proposed by other previously cited authors (Entman, Leuween, Fairclough & Fairclough). Taken individually, such discourse strategies nevertheless offer complementary perspectives to better explore aspects related to agency and power (Figure 27).

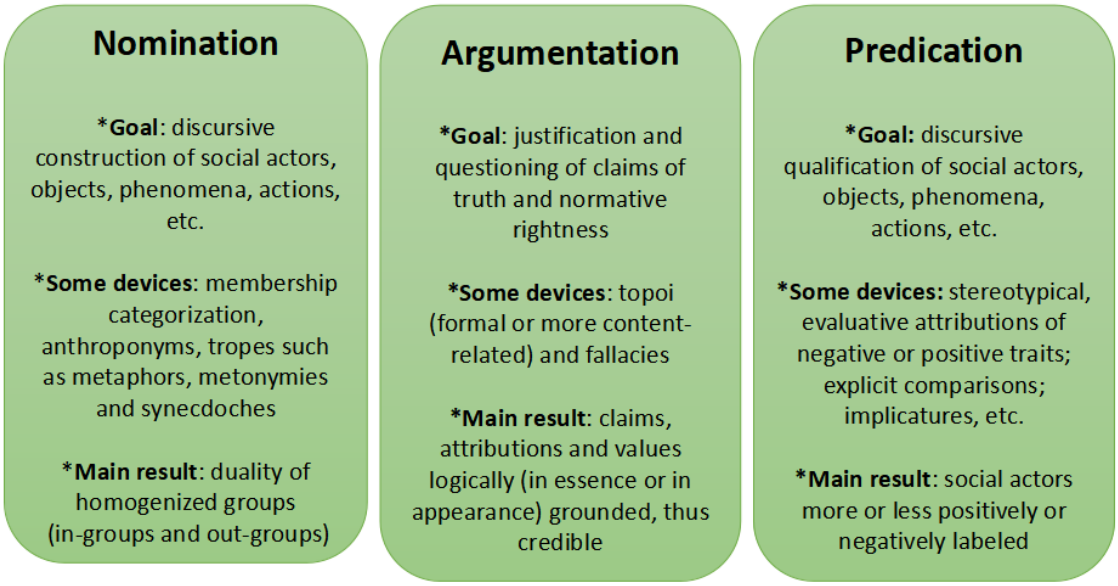


Figure 27: Discourse strategies, summarized from Reisigl & Wodak's CDA/DHA approach (2017), partly applied in the analysis conducted along this chapter.

Despite the fact that Reisigl & Wodak's discourse strategies like nomination, argumentation and predication may be more evidently applicable to political speeches (the main genre studied by these authors), it turns out that journalistic genres, especially opinion pieces — but not exclusively — check most of the boxes for an argumentative profile. That is why Amossy (2008) argues it is necessary to differentiate between the programmed persuasion enterprise and the tendency of any discourse to

[102] A clear distinction between Reisigl & Wodak's (2017) and my view upon the concept of argumentation is made at the end of this section.

orient the ways of seeing and thinking of the participant(s). In the first case, the discourse manifests an argumentative aim (political speeches, slogans), while in the second case it simply has an argumentative dimension, as in the case of a news article intended to be neutral, a colloquial conversation or a large part of fictional narratives.

> Things are different in the case of the argumentative dimension, where the persuasive enterprise is indirect and often unspoken. It appears in the putting into words of a speech whose avowed objective is other than argumentative [...] Hence, it is the way in which the discourse aims above all to inform, describe, narrate, testify, directing the look of the addressee to make him perceive things in a certain way, which is important to be released and analyzed. (FT) (Amossy, 2008, p. 4).

This means there is a nuance among genres and the levels of vowed intentions of the speaker / writer; nevertheless, the argumentative essence (or persuasive enterprise) remains active in many opinion pieces in the news media. Thus, some adaptations are necessary for an effective analytical purpose, implying the need of a selected multidisciplinary toolbox to approach and understand journalistic argumentative dimension.

Most of the time, discussion of environmental issues implies political deliberation, involving discursive representation of uncertainty, risk and persistent disagreement. For instance, this is the case regarding Belo Monte, as well as other controversial damming and development projects in the Amazon region. Thereby, practical "means-ends" arguments encompass elements such as descriptions, narratives, explanations. Hence, the procedure undertaken throughout this chapter is largely aligned to Fairclough & Fairclough's main goal of "showing how these representations connect with human agency, how they function as reasons for action" (2012, p. 6).

Conversely, legitimation must be kept as a key element along an analysis of arguments, considering the argumentative approach conceives "politics as a struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality. The dynamics of this argumentative game is determined by three factors: credibility, acceptability, and trust" (Hajer, 1997, p. 59). Hence, the following sections will focus on how conflictual or cooperative discourses from different social fields (science, ecology, economy, law, geography, etc.) converge into the representation of political (environment-related) struggles in the media.

In democratic societies, implicit / explicit (micro)power struggles usually take place by constant argumentation, targeting beliefs and, ultimately, actions. Discursive processes – undertaken by social agents to achieve their individual or group goals – comprise description, explanation, justification and legitimization of facts and values. These processes are part of an argumentative macro-process linking discourse to public engagement (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012). Indeed, retracing part of this itinerary

is among the major goals of this chapter, in order to answer some of the research questions presented in the introduction of this thesis.

Argumentation is intrinsically attached to agents' interests, values and world views – which are the basis of ideologies and power struggles, albeit news corporations rarely give up on raising the flags of independence, objectivity and impartiality. Notably, in the context of this thesis, ideology corresponds to the notion of worldview or a set of "naturalized" practices, ideas and values shared by social groups. At the same time, it is also "a strategy of reproducing domination and exploitation that operates in the realms of communication, culture, psychology, emotions, and beliefs" (Fuchs, 2020, p. 217). Besides, "ideological power, the power to project one's practices as universal and 'common sense', is a significant complement to economic and political power, and of particular significance here because it is exercised in discourse" (Fairclough, 1989, p. 33). This author proposes that power relations can not be reductible to class relations, a point that Amazon struggles, with its wars on (common; national; international) belongings and (pro-human; pro-Nature; pro-business) values, illustrate how these social dynamics prove to be much more complex than they seem to all appearances. Hence, it is more aligned to the following conceptualization:

> Ideology, for the DHA, is seen as an (often) one-sided perspective or world view composed of related mental representations, convictions, opinions, attitudes and evaluations, which is shared by members of a specific social group. Ideologies serve as an important means of establishing and maintaining unequal power relations through discourse: for example, by establishing hegemonic identity narratives, or by controlling the access to specific discourses or public spheres ("gate-keeping"). In addition, ideologies also function as a means of transforming power relations more or less radically". (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 88)

Such complexity is a result of several factors, ranging from specificities of the media system itself, to news corporations routines, and the newspapers editorial profile and targeted public. The media system operates in the public sphere as a "system of political information that provides inputs for political communication. Capitalist media limit the public sphere in many respects, and hamper democratic communication" (Fuchs, 2020, p. 215). Additionally, the comercial press, by making politics in silence, has developed methods of disguise, from a variety of bias (Entman, 2007) to simulated balance and "objective" transcription of social agents' speeches.

Such ideological mechanisms implies "the highly active role of the media in this social process, despite the careful stance of neutrality suggested by the way in which most of the representation is attributed to sources other than the writer himself" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 69). Conversely, claims on the idea of "active" audiences often clash with cultural variables, for instance, the individual degree of prior knowledge and cultural capital, as "individuals have different cultural repertoires that are available

to them in making sense of the environment" (Anderson, 1997, p. 200). Conversely, ideologies in discourse tend to function differently not only among readers but also across nations. Also, if environmental conflict is socially constructed, it is expected to show international variation (Hajer, 1995).

Finally, hoping to establish a continuous connection with topics discussed in the previous chapter, due attention must be paid to the role of emotions in logical argumentation: "the premises of practical arguments necessarily include what we shall call 'concerns' as well as beliefs, and concerns subsume emotions and emotional dispositions" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 15). This involves a subtle yet sophisticated fusion of discourse elements simultaneously appealing to individuals' cognition, principles and feelings, in a world scenario that, beyond markets and politics, remains volatile, uncertain, complex and ambiguous (VUCA) – especially for the environment.

In this context, aspects related to drama and morality, mentioned in Chapter 6, must be further explored in the next paragraphs, taking into consideration the role of emotions and principles in argumentation and discourse legitimization. Metaphors and frames, which were discussed previously, also have a connection to argumentation. They can actually be integrated into a theory of practical reasoning – in a special case in which the premises (or the claim) involve a metaphorical definition (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 94). For instance, "The Amazon is our home". Other theoretical perspectives may be less demanding, proposing that metaphors may function as an argument whenever they work at the service of a thesis or an opinion (Breton, 1996).

Futhermore, rather differently from the notion of frames, under a rhetorical-argumentative perspective, the notion of *topoi* is interesting in the context of this chapter, since it gathers a repertoire of key concepts or key ideas, shared by a group or culture within its system of beliefs, enabling specific links between arguments and their conclusions. "Within argumentation theory, 'topoi' or 'loci' can be described as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or 'conclusion rules' which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim" (Wodak, 2001, p. 74). Regarding Amazon discourses, it is expected that its main social actors (politicians, environmentalists, and Amazon dwellers) may recur to at least three *topoi*, among those listed and described by Wodak (2001)[103]. Firstly, the *topos* of usefulness (advantage), implying an action should be performed whenever it is socially considered useful from a specific point of view. This item poses complex sometimes ambiguous struggles in discourses about the Amazon region, given that both developmentist and conservationist story-lines claim their respective views are valuable,

[103] This typology is established within a Discourse Historical Approach (DHA), which does not pose methodological incompatibilities with the critical discourse (media-political) analysis adopted throughout this chapter.

convenient and useful for actual and future generations. Secondly, the *topos* of responsibility, which entails the premise that whenever (State) members or a group is considered responsible for the emergence of a problem, then they should be able to fix it. In discourses about the Amazon, it widely involves historic and present accountability involving themes like colonization, imperialism, land occupation (specially in Indigenous demarcated reserves), resource (over)exploitation, violence, contamination, loss of biodiversity, degradation by deforestation and fires, and controversial megaprojects (dams) in the more recent years. And thirdly, the *topos* of burdening (or weighing down), functioning as a *topos* of consequence: if a person, an institution or a country is burdened by specific problems, one (third party) should act in order to mitigate such burden. This *topos* acquires an interesting role if we take into consideration that a significant part of the analyzed coverage reports on financial and technical foreign help to combat the fires in the Amazon forest, an initiative that aroused hot speeches about nationalism and sovereignty among Brazilian politicians. Hence, *topoi* are central elements in order to examine persuasive arguments, including also those that may turn to be fallacious (when more carefully interpreted); they also are very recurrent in the media and widely employed in political discourse. In fact, *topoi* derive from plausible argumentation schemes, while fallacies derive from fallacious argumentation schemes:

> There are rules for rational disputes and constructive arguing which allow discerning reasonable topoi from fallacies [...] If these rules are flouted, fallacies occur. However, we must admit, it is not always easy to distinguish precisely without context knowledge whether an argumentation scheme has been employed as reasonable topos or as fallacy. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 102)

Fallacies (also called paralogisms), in general, work like sophisms, implying illusory truth by the use of logical reasoning but through erroneous premises, leading to false (or at least very imprecise) conclusions. “The imputation of paralogism presupposes that there is a precise operation or a codified reasoning which can be said to have been transgressed or applied unduly” (FT) (Plantin, 1995, p. 252). For this author, one can speak of fallacy to designate: any erroneous application of a formal technique of deduction; any violation of the rules of induction; any defective analogy; any faulty conclusion obtained by incorrect application of statistical methods or of the calculation of probabilities (*Ibid*). As the duality of *topoi* and fallacies (made by Reisigl & Wodak, 2017) may not always be applicable in the context of this corpus (which partially lacks context knowledge), I alternatively recur to the fallacy typology proposed by Roberts-Miller (2017). Nevertheless, in some arguments about the Amazon, it may be the case of the operation of a rational persuasiveness (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012), referring to claim a priori “good” under informal logic, but not necessarily under its rhetoric and dialectical perspectives. A good argument depends on three criteria: premise acceptability, relevance and sufficiency: “Sometimes,

premises may be acceptable and relevant but insufficient to establish the acceptability of the claim, for instance in an inductively weak argument, in which a general conclusion is hastily drawn on the basis of insufficient evidence" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 52). As a result, it is assumed that argument's rational persuasiveness operate halfway between *topoi* and fallacies.

Accordingly, as the media have become a key player in political issues – sometimes closely becoming politics itself – and as deliberation about the environment has become increasingly politicized, agency analysis along the coming paragraphs gathers crucial questions involving power struggles. For instance, tensions on Indigenous ownership, national sovereignty and global commons (Whose Amazon?); on sustainable development, right to develop and duty to preserve (Whose rules?); on world trade, green (and not so green) markets, consumption and traceability, changes in climate and in agricultural predictability, food safety, deforestation, biodiversity, environmental justice and social fairness (Whose benefits? / Whose prejudice?). These issues are deeply pervaded – while also motivated – by agents' interests and emotions, implying the master question: What / whose values? In order to address it, the following sections maintain the North-South duality along with analyses focused on each newspaper and on each nation.

The analysis of newspaper discourse will rely on a triangular framework focused on: argumentation and social actors or agent's representation (on the basis) and power (on top angle) (Figure 28). In all cases, representation, rhetorical / discourse patterns, legitimization, value judgement, domination and resistance strategies through discourse stand as broad analytical guidelines, to be better discussed and applied in accordance with the articles' analysis.

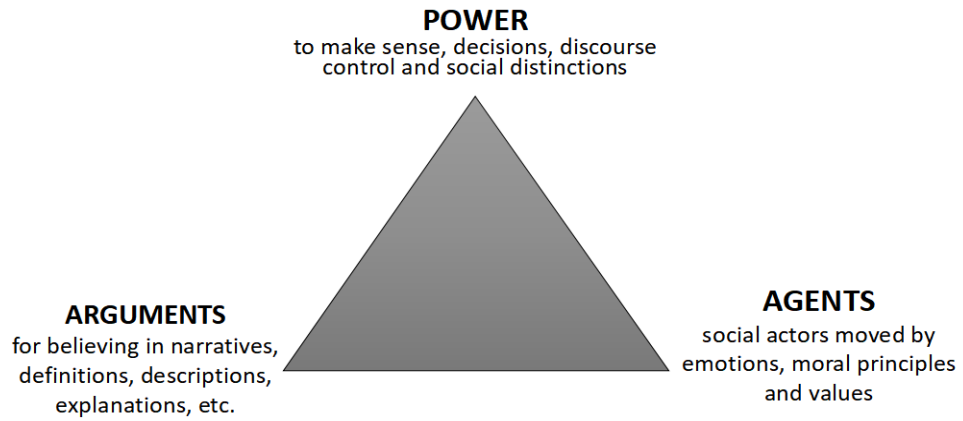


Figure 28: Triangular framework designed for CDA of international media coverage of the Amazon in the scope of this research.

Due to the need to achieve a deeper level of analysis and discussion, the number of cited articles (but not necessarily excerpts) in this chapter is reduced, when compared to the previous one. Hence, beyond the geographic distinction made for newspapers (per nation and per global location), we propose here a supplementary separation between, on the one hand, opinion articles (columns of op-eds contributors, editorials, interviews and readers letters), and on the other hand informational and interpretative articles (respectively corresponding mainly to news and press stories). The purpose of such distinction lies on the almost contradictory nature of these texts or media sub-genres. While opinion pieces firmly express explanations, arguments, values, and even sometimes subjectivities, putting in the background facts per se, informational and interpretative articles take the opposite way, rebuking as much as possible authors' opinions and worldviews and putting in the foreground facts, narratives and descriptions. That obviously does not mean strictly factual news are exempt of ideologies, since framing and other linguistic, semantic and stylistic devices can shape opinions, especially through the selection and transcription of source's (ind)direct speech. But from a rhetorical perspective opinion texts are more aligned to persuasion techniques, since they represent a discursive locus in which arguments are more freely expressed, and ideologies and reality tend to be better scrambled, making an easier way for power to thrive.

> "Power" relates to an asymmetric relationship among social actors who assume different social positions or belong to different social groups [...] Power is legitimized or de-legitimized in discourses. Texts are often sites of social struggle in that they manifest traces of differing ideological fights for dominance and hegemony. Thus, we focus on the ways in which linguistic forms are used in various expressions and manipulations of power. Power is discursively exerted not only by grammatical forms, but also by a person's control of the social occasion by means of the genre of a text, or by the regulation of access to certain public spheres. (Reisigl & Wodak, 2017, p. 87-88)
> .

Under such perspective, social actors (or discourse active / passive agents) at the same time undergo and influence power in a circular mechanism according to which power unable / enable (social / discursive) agents' dominance/resistance, while, reversely, social actors struggle to maintain / challenge established or hegemonic power. For this reason, social actors (along with their representation, legitimation and argumentation) acquire such a special status in the scope of this research: they are essential mediators of principles, values and story-lines about the Amazon, a task that socially shapes its present perception as well as its future reality. They can be an underestimated piece in the social engines of power, since more abstract concepts, from framing to social practices, tend to background them. For instance, Carvalho (2015) argues that, since the representation of social issues is largely a function of the discursive construction of events, problems and positions by social

actors, the discursive strategies employed by them in a variety of arenas and channels also "before" and "after" journalistic texts could bring precious insights for CDA (Carvalho, 2015, p. 161). Here, though, it is assumed that even "during" their appearance in journalistic texts the effective power of these agents (including journalists themselves) tend be overlooked. These aspects unveil important yet opaque tensions in power relations not only in but also behind discourse. "The idea of 'power behind discourse' is that orders of discourse, the semiotic aspect of social practices, emerge and are sustained or changed within particular (asymmetrical) relations of power and through the application of power" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 113). Such dynamics are here considered synergistically reliant on agents' participation and investment in meaning making, including news discourse mediators (more specifically, the authors of opinion pieces), along with their argumentation strategies.

In summary, this section presented and discussed the main theoretical and analytical landmarks and selected tools to assess opinion pieces in Amazon coverage. They are condensed below:

- ✓ In the absence, or insufficiency, of a "ready-to-use" CDA approach to elucidate both immanent and transcendent power stakes in journalistic (opinion) articles, contributions from different CDA authors are combined. A substantial number of single approaches focus on political discourse (often privileging the genre of political speech) and / or deliberation, which do not exactly fit into this corpus, while keeping wider contextual and sociological affinities. Nevertheless, they offer a significant range of methodological insights and analytical categories perfectly adaptable to media assessment.
- ✓ Such contributions are based on the assumption that power struggles do not take place in a vacuum, automatically nor remotely, but demands constant involvement of two major entities: agency — or participation of social actors (their non-participation or omission also being relevant to shape meanings and social structures) — and argumentation (Figure 28 above illustrates my triangular framework). By analogy, one could say that agents and their arguments respectively function as the brain and the energy of the social body (thus, the processor and its fueling circuits of the power machine).
- ✓ For the analysis of representation and legitimation of social actors, Van Leuween's (2007; 2008) categories are applied, but also Reisgl & Wodak's (2018) nomination (discourse strategy), in order to identify possible oppositions of in / out groups, and predication, for positive / negative agents' labeling.
- ✓ For the arguments' analysis, searching to shed light into the functioning of newspapers' argumentation engineering, a multiple approach is undertaken, initially mapping *topoi* —

interpretative (most of the time common sense-related) shortcuts in reasoning often used to justify political inclusion or exclusion — derived from argumentation proposed by Reisgl & Wodak (2018). Besides, due to constraints imposed by a non-political corpus (in which some rhetorical inferences are not necessarily evident), fallacies are examined from a more traditional logical / rhetorical perspective, following Roberts-Miller (2017) repertoire. This choice is hence based on the nature of argumentation in journalistic discourse, in which dialogism is not only mediated (and filtered by news authors) but restricted by genre-related requirements for texts' form. For instance, within a pragma-dialectical approach (e.g. Van Eemeren & Grootendorst, 2016), analysis of fallacies could virtually provide useful insights by reaching a variety of interactional standpoints. Though, at most, it would only be applicable for opinion pieces suchlike interviews (a type of media article retrieved only once in this corpus, for Indian newspaper *The Hindu*).

- ✓ Above all, I once again highlight that (discourse strategy called) argumentation for Reisgl & Wodak (2018) correspond to a fraction of argumentation as understood in the scope of this chapter (and thesis). Here, it is conceived as an inescapable requirement for power to be naturalized or disguised: it has to do not merely with a set of goals but with shaping meanings, mindsets, shared values and social (dis)positions. This point of view is in part aligned to Fairclough & Fairclough (2012), to whom argumentation stands as a social practice focused on agreement and deliberation.
- ✓ On the whole, theoretical basis for argumentation in this chapter relies on Fairclough & Fairclough. According to these authors, practical arguments are plausible arguments, but practical reasoning is essentially defeasible (2012: 39) — a position quite suitable for Amazon problems in which socially complex pros and cons abound for propositions in any sense. Although, their analysis of political speeches, simultaneously scrutinizing values, goals, circumstances, means-goal and claims for action cannot be easily replicated in journalistic articles.
- ✓ As not even the mere persuasiveness nor a plausible justification do not necessarily ensure argument's rationality, the concept of "rational persuasiveness" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 52) is nevertheless kept to assess agent's argumentation over the Amazon. In the absence of well-known *topoi* and fallacies, it is not always evident to tell which premises are true and which are not. Rational persuasiveness (or the idea of having good reasons to believe in something) "takes into account the fallibility of human knowledge claims, and replaces 'soundness' as a cogency criterion" (*Ibid.*). This may include, among other categories of uncertainty, fallibility of science, which stands as a social authority of temporary yet cogent regimes of truth.

Hoping that the clarifications above are helpful to comprehend the empirical analysis of Amazon coverage, we will now move to the assessment of opinion pieces from global "North" media, represented by North American and British selected newspapers.

7.2. Analysis of newspapers from the Global North

As shown in Chapter 6, American (The NYT) and British broadsheet online media share a consistent "global commons" perception towards the Amazon rainforest. A set of insightful, often dramatic, metaphors are used to summarize the Amazon crisis and to raise awareness about its planetary importance, in a rhetorical manoeuvre filled with emotions and morality. As principles and moral values do not float in the vacuum, being largely reliant upon social webs and power structures, the following pages shed light on the Global North's particular features regarding agents, power and broader rhetorical devices that confirm (or reset) the "global commons" bias.

The Wall Street Journal will be the first newspaper to be analyzed, followed by *The New York Times*, and British broadsheet papers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.

7.2.1. The Wall Street Journal

In this section, I start by briefly providing some contextual information about opinion pieces under study from *The Wall Street Journal*. Then, the empirical analysis is properly applied, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from these articles.

Contextualizing TWJ opinion articles

In The WSJ coverage about the Amazon (totaling 19 occurrences), opinion articles make up four units of analysis: one guest column, one editorial, and two op-eds. Table 18 below describes the main features of the media texts analyzed along the following paragraphs.

Table 18: Overview of *The Wall Street Journal*'s opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Tag	Signature	Headline	Subhead
A01	Aug. 26	251 to 500 words	Opinion / Commentary	Leandro Narloch[104]	How to Save the Amazon	Natives can't be expected to care about ecology when they're living in poverty
A02	Aug. 26	501 to 750 words	Opinion / Review & Outlook	The Editorial Board	Fire and Fury in the Amazon	The reality is that rich countries are better at protecting the planet
A03	Sept. 8	751 to 1,000 words	Opinion / The Americas	Mary Anastasia O'Grady	Burning Questions About the Amazon Fires	Many of the blazes are occurring on land without clear title or private ownership
A07	Aug. 25	751 to 1,000 words	Opinion / The Americas	Mary Anastasia O'Grady	What You Haven't Read About Brazil	The Amazon fires are mainly the result of drought, while Bolsonaro's reforms are paving the way for faster growth

***** Article identification numbers were originally set in order of data collection, by the time mixing all sorts of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex B for the whole list).

The articles above add authority voice to The WSJ's readers about the Amazon global outcry that reverberated in foreign media between August's last and September's first weeks. While slightly longer, these op-eds come out in significant landmark dates, with one article published during the peak of "the great burning weeks" and the another signing the fade out of media attention to the topic, by early September. In general terms, these opinion headlines express ordinary appealing language common in news press, albeit title A07 (*"What You Haven't Read About Brazil"*) calls particular attention for it's steady objectiveness (or lack of creativity) and boldness (or even presumption), implying that no other national broadsheet paper covered other important facts at stake towards Amazon's global backlash. In fact, further paragraphs along this section show that the media itself, rather than a merely technical one, counts as a truly social agent by The WSJ. Article A07 is also the

[104] Brazilian journalist and history author Leandro Narloch published a controversial debut book in 2009 *Guia politicamente incorreto da história do Brasil* (FT: *Politically Incorrect Guide to the History of Brazil*, not published in English), in which the author tries to unveil supposed misconceptions from official History narratives about important people and events, including Indigenous people.

only opinion article omitting the "Amazon" in headlines, while its subhead proposes an abstruse argument at reader's first sight (if otherwise not fully familiar to topic's main unfoldings). Nearly all opinion pieces from the The WSJ are published during Amazon's "great burning weeks", which denotes the important weight attributed to news actuality.

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

Along this subsection, I describe and discuss discourse trends related to specific agents and their main arguments to construct meaning about (in order to forge power over) the Amazon space, its multiple dwellers and national flags, even if in all coverages Brazil and Brazilian president tend to dominate the discursive scene. For a better didactic purpose, I try to examine as much separately as possible social actors (SA) at stake from the most relevant social fields (politics, economy, science and environment), albeit representation and argumentation, among other discourse strategies, impose a much cohesive sometimes tricky network.

In Chapter 5, I identified and briefly discussed a frame that was called conservation versus poverty paradigm, which turned out to be exclusive to The WSJ. Time has come to discuss more carefully how argumentation designs and reinforces this frame. Notwithstanding, this discussion cannot take place without taking into consideration actors representation, since they are the discourse subjects who personalize speeches and argumentation. Apart from more obvious liberal characters like Brazilian and US presidents, The WSJ gives voice to other developmentists social actors and their arguments along coverage. *"Development is necessary for conservation* [...] *Most* [Amazonians] *will care about the rainforest only after they've risen out of poverty"* (TWJ_A01), argues Mr. Leandro Narloch, signer of guest column. Such reasoning reverberates with *The WSJ* editorial, which declares in its subhead: *"The reality is that rich countries are better at protecting the planet*" (TWJ_A02) ("rich countries" here counting for SA impersonalisation). In both cases, Amazon social actors are homogeneously represented (SA assimilation), being respectively referred as "*Amazonians* [...] *are real people*" (TWJ_A01) and "*people in the country's jungle regions* [who] *struggle to survive*" (TWJ_A02).

Even if excerpts like these certainly do not allow to infer the Amazon dwellers are treated as an out-group, the co-presence of another "they" — in a subsequent paragraph along the editorial article — lead the readers to cognitively construct meanings for a second group: developed democracies. *"Democracies also protect the land and water better than dictatorships do, because they are more responsive to public opinion. Demand for protecting the environment increases in democracies as per*

capita income rises" (TWJ_A02), asserts The WSJ. Curiously, this last argument is widely repeated by "lukewarmer" writer Bjorn Lomborg, who, reversely, also suggests that the world should be investing far more in making populations, particularly from poor countries, more resilient to climate changes (Lomborg, 2020). But resuming nomination strategies, in fact, in respect to the much praised media principle of objectivity, broadsheet newspapers —specially in (North) America — tend not to assume any first person position (we) not even in editorials. Still, it seems clear that "they" here ("democracies") reflect capitalist democracies such as the United States itself (the previous paragraph makes reference to *"wildlife sanctuaries as Beverly Hills"*), where freedom and democracy are among nation's most fundamental values. In this sense, a sharp semantic demarcation is made between a "they A" (Amazonians, poor, environment destroyers by lack of choice) and a "they B" (a true "we": Americans, citizens of democracies and rich countries, conservationists because we can afford to be). Such worldview is shared by one of the op-eds, which states that *"First World practices like responsibly disposing waste, caring for soil, and reducing air and water pollution are products of cultural values that come with development"* (TWJ_A07). While confirming the "we" x "they" socioeconomic dichotomy, this excerpt not only carries its charge of prejudice (by argument's hasty generalization) towards developing nations but also employs outdated geopolitical typology of First, Second and Third World. It also reinforces group ideologies expressed by opposition models:

> "[...] many group ideologies involve the representation of Self and Others, Us and Them. Many therefore seem to be polarized — We are Good and They are Bad — especially when conflicting interests are involved. Such basic propositions of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation may influence the myriad of opinions and attitudes". (Van Dijk, 1995, p. 25)

In the described scenario, a degree of superiority is attributed to those agents who not only have the financial conditions but the proper know-how (through public engagement and cultural values) required to preserve the environment, namely the rich democratic countries. This reasoning not only treats Amazonians as an homogeneous destitute group but literally implies the non-existence of Indigenous groups, among other communities who traditionally manage to subsist adopting sustainable practices. At the same time, it omits inhabitants of developed countries actually can show environmental not very friendly behaviour related to over-consumption, improper disposal, inefficient recycling, or neglected traceability. But far more importantly, it omits structural, (macro)politics, economic and cultural aspects (mainly centered on consumerism) that remain "naturalized" and unchallenged in the "First World". This last factor acquires a crucial role in a world trade flux in which Amazon products like beef, soy, timber, steel and other commodities are avidly welcome in developed countries like the US and especially the EU.

Moreover, when it comes to powerful economic issues, there might be no coincidence in The WSJ inclination to defend Bolsonaro, sometimes indirectly diminishing the burden from his shoulders (*"Deforestation in Brazil has reportedly begun to rise again, but the figures in recent years are much lower than in the 1990s and 2000s"*) (TWJ_A02); sometimes more openly showing support, in the subsequent sentence: *"Mr. Bolsonaro has a point, too, when he says attacks from rich countries evince a 'colonialist mind-set'"*. Indeed, there seems to be a clever move behind all this empathy towards the Brazilian president, while great part of the world points him as (co)responsible for Amazon degradation. Beyond The WSJ openly neoliberal and pro-capitalism profile, it occurs that these lines are published in a scenario of tariffs war between the US and China, pushing Brazil to a front stage position as world's greatest US trade partner. Most importantly, argumentation in defence of Brazilian sovereignty also highlights sharp opposition to EU prosecuting speeches, notably from France, which has been proposing heavy taxation on American digital giants like Amazon (the global retailer) and Facebook, while the US in turn has been threatening to tariff French goods (specially wines). Regarding the Amazonian field, French president Macron allegedly offended Bolsonaro by accusing him of lying about Brazil's environmental commitments, a quarrel that quickly turned into a personal spat between the two leaders, leading Brazilian president to initially refuse a G7 billionaire fund offer to control Amazon fires.

On the one hand, if development in poorer countries means great business opportunities for American and other international investors, on the other hand, contemporary global common sense tend to constrain infrastructure projects in the planet's remaining natural areas. Hence, The WSJ ends its editorial elaborating a mainstream discourse on sustainable development, yet reinforcing its neoliberal precepts and the role of Brazilian president in this process. By contrast, the last sentence of the article is less flattering, implicitly advising Bolsonaro to be more focused (thus, more professional).

> *"The Amazon basin is a global resource that Brazil, Bolivia and everyone else should want to develop in a way that doesn't clear-cut the rain forest. That is more likely to happen with Mr. Bolsonaro's pro-growth policies to fix pensions and sell off state-owned enterprises. If only he would spend more time talking about that and less talking trash on the internet".* (TWJ_A02; final paragraph).

According to the argumentation forged above, the Amazon is seen not exactly as a global common but as a "global resource". Amazonian countries and "everyone else" (SA indetermination) "should want" to develop it; very likely those who are economically interested and can afford its exploitation, in other words, rich capitalist countries. Indetermination "anonymizes a social actor" (Van Leeuwen, 2008, p. 25), treating identity as an irrelevant data to the reader. But clues about it are found in the suggestion that "pro-growth policies", like shrinking state's social expenses and its interference on enterprises, are

a requirement for Amazon development — a discourse steadily tuned to the neoliberal agenda. Finally, one should also call attention to the fact that development *"in a way that doesn't clear-cut the rain forest"* cannot be necessarily understood as a pure synonym of sustainable development, a controversial concept *per se*. In fact, not only any concern on present or future generations of humans and the biodiversity is expressed, but also the very measure of "clear-cutting" seems imprecise, while a free-for-all in already degraded areas could entail or worsen environmental and social problems in the Amazon.

Following the track of argumentation and specially Bolsonaro's representation, a social actor widely referred and basically the epicentre of 2019's Amazon crisis along corpus, another op-ed article asserts that *"The reports surrounding the Amazon fires were cherry-picked to make Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro look like an environmental villain"* (TWJ_A03). Logical conclusion: Bolsonaro is not an environmental villain and the media are not informing correctly. Ms. Mary Anastasia O' Grady, who authors the text, argues there have been distortions in some media reports from United Press International and the BBC, while citing allegedly more precise data from NASA and *The New York Times*.

The core argumentation of Ms. O' Grady focuses on these two social actors (Bolsonaro and the media), while the article's main point is that *"No one knows exactly how much of the actual forest destruction has been on land that isn't private property. But it may be a lot"* (TWJ_A03). In this context, why such distinction should be important? Maybe for the very reason that, since *"only 22% of the fires occurred on registered property*[105] *[...] This suggests that much of the destruction took place where there was no economic incentive to protect the forest because there is no private ownership"*. Hence, the reasoning here somehow returns to the conservation versus poverty paradigm, by insisting that only private economic interests are capable to halt environmental degradation. The article concludes that *"For those who actually care about the Amazon and aren't simply trying to score points against Mr. Bolsonaro, this is a trail worth following*" (TWJ_A03). "This" here refers to the rate of fires in private and non private areas of the Amazon as an alternative perspective to understand the problem, according to article's writer.

Finally, an interesting power-related frame identified exclusively in The WSJ coverage, which was denominated pro-Bolsonaro, broadly dominates this text, as excerpts cited above can demonstrate.

[105] There is no contradiction between this data and the previous excerpt, since the article explains fire estimations for Indigenous lands and donated land to landless peasants (MST) are not very precise and come from states reports, then compiled by Brazil's Ministry of the Environment.

Although bias makes up a concept partially irrelevant for opinion articles, Ms. O' Grady's main goal seems to be the proposal of a new angle of perception towards Bolsonaro, steadily depicted as an environmental "villain".

> *"Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro is a polarizing figure, and many in the media don't like him. Fair enough. But Brazil is a democracy, and after some 13 years of Workers' Party socialism and corruption, last year Brazilians asked for a change. Bolsonaro derangement syndrome doesn't hold the president accountable. It only deepens Brazilian divide".* (WSJ_A03).

Taking a close look to the different social actors mentioned in this excerpt, they are all (role) activated [Bolsonaro; "many in the media"; Brazil(ians)]; however "Workers' Party" is not even (role) passivated. According to Van Leeuwen's classification, activation occurs "when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity", while passivation occurs "when they are represented as 'undergoing' the activity" (2008, pp. 43-44). Predication (Meyer & Wodak, 2008), accordingly, seems to be the discourse strategy operating for *"Workers' Party socialism and corruption"*, resuming its 13 years of government in two negative characteristics, "socialism" here put side by side to a morally and legally blamable practice like corruption. In addition, the premise-conclusion argumentation establishing such cause-consequence relationship between Workers' Party bad performance and Brazilians' votes for Bolsonaro sounds filled by hasty generalization (as a type of fallacy), hence minimal contextualization would be useful. Setting aside discussions about corruption, Brazil has never been a truly socialist country, albeit social-democracy, labor and development are among Workers' Party (PT, for *Partido dos Trabalhadores* initials, in Portuguese) most fundamental principles, and ex-presidents Lula da Silva and Rousseff affinity to controversial governments such like Cuba and Venezuela. The Bolsonaro versus PT polarization suggests a double hit move according to which Bolsonaro, by his alignment to Trump, is acquitted from all environment accusations and ideologically welcomed while Worker's Party is hit by severe criticism:

> *"Brazilian politicians are known mostly for nationalism, protectionism and populism. But something has changed. It may be because 13 years of Workers' Party rule, which ended in 2016, left the country in terrible shape".* (WSJ_A07).

In short, "Brazilian divide" (we / they: "bolsonarists" and PT followers at each subjective pole) is also poorly described in this article, while the assertion that *"Bolsonaro derangement syndrome does not hold the president accountable"* definitely takes a standpoint, especially when one consider the imbalances in SA representations. In this respect, we call attention to the fact that environmentalists and scientists, who traditionally are important social actors in the context of media discourse about the Amazon, are practically suppressed (SA exclusion) in The WSJ opinion articles, while the media

eventually appear as an impersonalised collective SA (activated and passivated). Overall, at least for op-eds texts, Amazon fires apparently stand more like a pretext for open political and especially party support than environmental awareness and public debate *per se*. Not surprisingly, Brazilian economy minister Paulo Guedes appears among the most recurrent nominated agent in The WSJ opinion corpus. Actually, Mr. Guedes is cited exclusively in TWJ_A07, but seven times, in an op-ed whose subhead misguides readers by referring to a text in which Amazon issues are directly treated in no more than two paragraphs. Besides, economy minister is also represented as an admirable right-hand man (or a neoliberal super-hero): *"The fiery of Mr. Guedes and his team haven't been afraid to take the fight into the public square and make the case for less government"* (TWJ_A07).

Since half of opinion pieces intensely focus on Brazilian President and his policies (both op-eds authored by the same editor), and The WSJ editorial also focuses on these topics along at least one-third of its paragraphs, one could say that solely guest columnist Leandro Narloch effectively approaches Amazon by its core environmental issues[106] along TWJ_A01. Maybe Mr. Narloch, with less than 500 words for his message, did not have enough espace granted for complex political discussion in a practical headline vowed on *"How to Save the Amazon"*. Maybe The WSJ editorials and op-eds inevitably stick to politics and economics regardless the topic, since these perspectives undeniably reverberate the newspaper's major values and principles.

As agents' discourse strategies appear intricately intertwined throughout texts, Figures 29 and 30 below, while not exhaustively, illustrate how social actors representation and argumentation respectively cooperate to construct meanings and to structure power in The WSJ's opinion articles. Subsequently, final broader contextual or extra-textual questions involving power behind discourse are then examined. Figure 29's top part distinguishes omission from filtered participation of social actors in The WSJ discourse, followed by an integrated visualization of the main examples of SA representation in opinion articles. The infographic at the bottom summarizes the dynamics involving representation to legitimation, enabling power to shape meanings and/or moral judgments. Such pre-stages of discourse engines subtly triggers argumentation functioning (see Figure 30). In other words, representation settings seem to prepare the ground for the reasoning schemes to come more explicit in arguments, notably justifications for Amazon plagues and solutions.

[106] By calling on reader's action towards the Amazon (*"Here's what you can do if you really want to help"*, very briefly — in average five lines for each item), Leandro Narloch proposes four lines of action: support the legalization of sustainable mining, favor new hydroelectric power plants, encourage good forest management and support intensive agriculture and livestock.



Figure 29: Exclusion/inclusion, representation and legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from The Wall Street Journal (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2007; 2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Black line separates social actors mentioned more than once (*above it*) from those with a single nomination *(below it*).

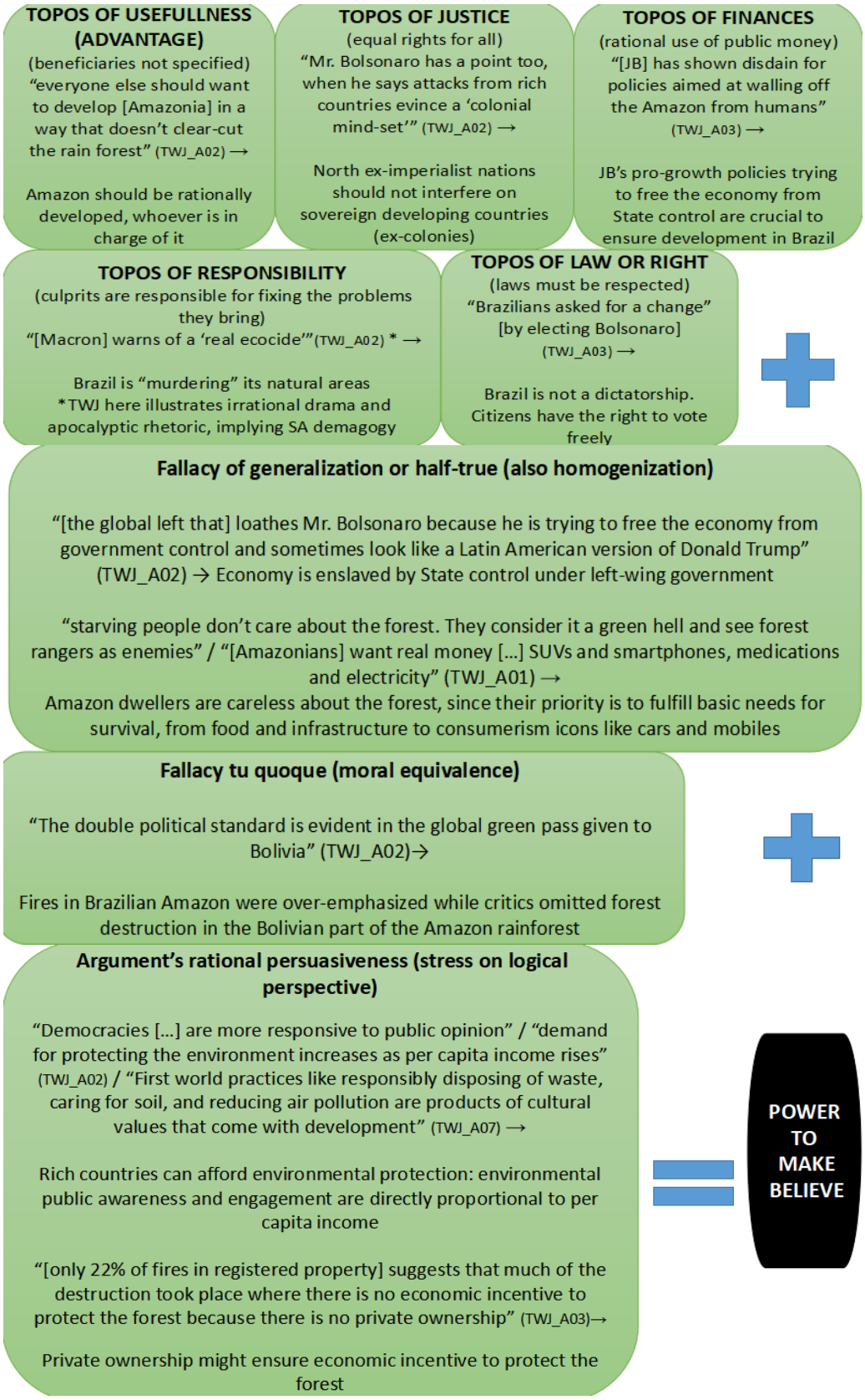


Figure 30: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from The Wall Street Journal (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); fallacies based on Roberts-Miller (2017); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (⟶) means "hence".

In order to better discuss the argumentation analysis graphically condensed above in Figure 30, the tighter yet opaque links between The WSJ opinion coverage and power behind / beyond media discourse require attention. Political pressure on national sovereignty, for instance, which probably stands among the most retrievable power-related frames, far beyond national territory, complete autonomy or self-determination, implies tricky moves, geopolitically speaking, in the global stage. Undoubtedly, in the scope of this news corpus, attacks from rich countries were orchestrated by French president Emmanuel Macron. Indeed, along with great part of European nations, France helped to shape the world's contemporary post-colonialist North-South divide. Besides, in the 21st century, France is the only European country that maintains control upon "overseas territories". It should not be ignored that, behind claims of Macron's over-reaction[107], the US and France in the last years have been fighting a relatively discrete tariff war. Considering that Trump and Bolsonaro administration achieved significant diplomatic proximity and tightness during the months that precede this coverage, one could raise the hypothesis that The WSJ sympathizes also with Trump, since the highly regarded Brazilian president stands as the "Trump of the Tropics". At any case, it must be considered that neoliberalism constitutes a shared horizon for both Brazil's and US president as well as for The WSJ. Also, EU severe criticism towards Brazil is not unified, coming from the block as whole, but from one or two specific nations, including France, that, in turn, has its own geopolitical issues with the US, specially under Trump's command. As basically France (and Ireland, less intensely) took the front stage to openly question Brazil's competence in handling Amazon degradation, The WSJ seems to support Brazilian president not exactly for (right-leaning) political reasons. By defending Bolsonaro's neoliberal, developmentist policies, The WSJ suggests Brazilian president is being disproportionately criticized, since the Amazon is burning beyond Brazil's borders. The accusatory tone denouncing "You did it, too, Bolivia" not only diverts readers from the main topic. It implicitly warns that EU, specially France, has a biased "environmental concern". A billionaire trade of commodities is at stake behind it, since France heavily exports a wide range of agricultural products for the rest of the EU.

In fact, opinion pieces about the Amazon appear perfectly aligned to the newspaper's fundamental position at any circumstance: open borders, globalism and free trade; anti-tax and anti-government regulation. That explains why The WSJ editorial suggests Bolsonaro should really focus on his neoliberal agenda akin to US national interests (geopolitical, comercial, financial), hence not on

[107] While agreeing illegal activities should be controlled and its perpetrators punished, The WSJ questiones Macron's rhetorical exaggeration by *"warning of an ecocide"* (TWJ_A02), also arguing French president, as well as DiCaprio, shared false photographs of the fires in his social-media profile. In the context of The WSJ editorials, this quotation is made to illustrate irrational drama and apocalyptic rhetoric, "for a casual news consumer" (TWJ_A02). Thus, it suggests a whiff of demagogy in Macron's speech.

talking trash on social networks nor losing time in spats with Macron. That also explains why *"socialists"*, who oppose free trade capitalism and conservative ideology from populist right-wing politicians like Bolsonaro or Trump, are negatively represented. In Brazil, since 2018's presidential elections, ideological polarization increased substantially, while legal institutions and law devices have been fighting on a duel between PT's ex-president Lula da Silva and the anti-corruption mega-operation called "Lava-Jato" (FT: "Car Wash"). Thus, variables involving political instability, corruption, right / left-leaning, diplomatic relationships, among others, have billionaire impact on domestic and global stock markets, interfering on the decisions of big investors.

In the light of the remarks above, democracy is referred more than once under distinct perspectives. Firstly, it signals to foreign investors that a country does not allow its governors to do as they please in national properties and institutions. In this sense, for op-ed O'Grady it seems never too much to remind that in Brazil democracy is ensured by the universal suffrage, and guaranteed in Brazilian Constitution, Bolsonaro's *"socialists"* opponents like it or not. Not only Brazil is as free as the US to change its leaders, but such an evidence highlights that Brazil is not China (another crucial global player in tariff war with the US by the time of the events reported along coverage). Secondly, democracy, along with development, is established as a direct requirement for environmental awareness and political engagement, following a premise-conclusion argument full of amnesia, prejudice and hegemonic (North) reasoning (summed by the duality conservation versus poverty, which could also be seen as a story-line).

Actually, The WSJ makes the point that, no matter exactly who could develop the Amazon, investors from rich countries like the US would undoubtedly benefit from it. Also, *"in a way that doesn't clear-cut"* the forest lacks precision, and in this case backgrounds humans. The alleged superiority of Northern nations in protecting the environment in fact reinforces the colonial mind-set just (hence falsely?) criticized in the same text (editorial), suggesting contradictory if not fallacious reasoning. Indigenous groups and other well-known forest guardians are roundly omitted, implying that it is impossible to conciliate poorness and nature's preservation. While culturally dependent, concepts like prosperity, poorness and richness may be very differently valued (for instance, between "Western" and Indigenous cultures), a nuance nearly impossible to be found in the mainstream media.

In this context, environmental activists are overall suppressed, while Amazonians are homogenized or silenced. Such imbalance or bias cannot be taken as manipulation, considering the texts' sub-genre (opinion articles). Seemingly, such agents simply do not match with the pro-growth

consensual message expressed along distinct opinion columns. On the other hand, Amazonians are firmly homogenized, specially by opinion writer Leandro Narloch, whose speech benefits from legitimation by personal authority, in some degree (for US readers, a Brazilian journalist might be seen in a better/closer position for observations). Mr. Narloch replaces an idyllic stereotype for a consumerist globalized one, rejecting any possible resemblance between fiction and reality. Indeed, *Avatar*'s movie-maker James Cameron is an Amazon activist, along with a list of celebrities worldwide who share a "global common" romantic and holistic view of the Amazon. More importantly, they raise billionaire funds (like DiCaprio's NGO) and enjoy a particular status in influencing international public opinion, including on topics like the demarcation of natural reserves and protecting Indigenous livelihoods, one of the commonest solutions proposed for Earth's conservation. Thereby, these celebrities propose an answer on the opposite direction of private property (a pathway long time offered under a specific story-line nearly unchanged from Hardin to O'Grady). In fact, the role of notable and famous agents in social struggles should never be overlook. Revising some previous studies about the theme, Lester states that "the news media has long been interested in celebrity; celebrity has long been a feature of politics; and celebrities have long advocated on behalf of the environment" (2015, p. 155). In the Amazon coverage under study, celebrities certainly play their role in helping to shape meanings and elicit attitudes towards the environment. Notwithstanding, in general terms they tend to be omitted or backgrounded in the opinion pieces, with the exception of DiCaprio's short appearance in The WSJ editorial (TWJ_A02).

Finally, the theme of bias deserves attention, since The WSJ suggests celebrities have a biased speech by blaming exclusively Bolsonaro for Amazon disaster. For instance, pro-agribusiness trends of *"socialist"* Bolivian president seem forgotten by DiCaprio's criticism. But curiously, along the rest of the coverage (informational / interpretative articles), The WSJ itself practically do not displace its attention to other burning areas beyond Brazil's borders (the near exclusivity of Brazil and Bolsonaro in headlines help to demonstrate such behaviour). By recurring to the common *tu quoque* fallacy, the newspaper fails to propose a plausible argument to protect Bolsonaro, by simply diverting attention to Bolivian fires, which obviously are as important as Brazilian ones, since Amazon territory ignores national frontiers. The WSJ inclusively denounces an allegedly "evident" *"double political standard in the green pass given to Bolivia",* suggesting this is a practice globally shared by multiple discourse agents, which virtually could include any critic of Bolsonaro, including the mass media. Indeed, The WSJ makes here a quite clever move to improve its credibility by denouncing manipulated information in other media outlets (one can truly suppose "journalists" and "headlines" cited in its editorial must refer to the competition). This article in its first paragraph proposes that dramatic and apocalyptic coverage about the Amazon is

"for a casual news consumer", hence not to attentive, and not comparable to well-informed The WSJ readers, who have access to a more rational and unbiased coverage about the Amazon.

Summarizing The WSJ opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse features of *The Wall Street Journal*'s opinion pieces, regarding how they represent Amazon's agents, what meanings they help to shape, and which are their implications for power issues. They are condensed below:

- ✓ Developmentism (pro-development) stands as the most important frame in The WSJ opinion articles, but its core argumentation is actually structured on the conservation versus poverty (sub)frame (functioning as a story-line), according to which the care about the nature and the environment only raises in societies after they fulfill basic needs, implying the poorer inevitably have to destroy the natural resources in order to survive. This derives from a hasty generalization that homogenizes dwellers both from developing countries and from the Amazon region.

- ✓ Despite the omnipresence of discourse in 3rd person (especially by the plural personal pronoun "they"), we can detect the opposition of one in-group (they A: "we", Americans, "North" / First World, rich inhabitants from developed nations and great caretakers of the environment) and one out-group (they B: poor people from "South" ("underdeveloped") nations, and careless about the environment because making a livelihood is a priority that comes above respect towards nature). In a second much narrower level of opposition, we can find traces of a (thumbs up) in-group formed by free and fair "democracies", faced to a (thumbs down) out-group referring to the "global left", "socialists" and "corruption".

- ✓ Under such perspective, one can notice both representation and reasoning modes vowed to defend Brazilian president making him closer to a "North" leader (US president Trump, for instance), focused on development with more private property and private investments, and less government interference. This political alignment helps to demarcate Bolsonaro from other power agents, like Bolivia's president (depicted as a "socialist") or French's president (depicted as a sensationalist). This explains why one of The WSJ op-ed is framed as pro-Bolsonaro. This move makes a double strike, by expressing criticism towards a biased and superficial media (other than The WSJ) while also inserting Bolsonaro into the neoliberal (The WSJ much praised) framework.

- ✓ Argumentation strategies in general (beyond topos and fallacies, yet taking them into consideration) reinforce The WSJ's editorial standpoints and reinforce the developmentist story-line

and the “North”superiority. The “global commons” sense is absent from The WSJ opinion pieces, very probably because sovereignty and private property are represented as core values.

Having in mind such meaningful and powerful messages of *The Wall Street Journal* about the Amazon, we may now move to another well-known American media outlet: *The New York Times*.

7.2.2 *The New York Times*

In this section, I start by briefly providing some contextual information about opinion pieces under study from *The New York Times*. Then, the empirical analysis is properly undertaken, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from *The NYT*'s articles.

Contextualizing The NYT opinion articles

In *The New York Times* coverage about the Amazon (totaling 33 occurrences), opinion articles make up five units of analysis: one editorial and four guest columns (articles from contributor opinion writers). Table 19 below describes the main features of the media texts analyzed along the following paragraphs. An initial difference from the previous analyzed newspaper (The WSJ) is that The NYT's online articles are not tagged.

Table 19: Overview of *The New York Time*'s opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Signature	Headline	Subhead	Writer activity
A07	Aug. 24	751 to 1,000 words	Vanessa Barbara	The Ravaging of the Amazonia	A global treasure lies at the mercy of the smallest, dullest and pettiest of men.	Editor of a literary website and columnist of the The NYT.
A08	Sept. 24	751 to 1,000 words	Manuela Lavinas Picq	Bolivia is Burning. Who Will Stop Its Fires?	President Evo Morales must issue a national disaster declaration to control the fires and avoid further loss of life	Specialist in Indigenous politics and Latin America; a Loewenstein Fellow and visiting associate professor at Amherst College.
A19	Aug. 1	251 to 500 words	The Editorial Board	In the Fight to Save the Planet, Its Defenders Are Being Killed	Those who resist powerful industries that savage ecosystems and drive people off their land face death and fear.	"The editorial board represents the opinion of the board, its editor and the publisher. It is separate from the newsroom and the Op-Ed section"**
A33	Aug. 27	751 to 1,000 words	Roberto Mangabeira Unger	How to Save the Amazon Without Condescending to Brazil	We need to figure out how to sustainably use the rain forest for the benefit of its inhabitants and the world. Give Brazil a hand without disrespecting its sovereignty.	Brazil's responsible for Amazonian policy from 2007 to 2009. Teaches at Harvard and served as minister of strategic affairs in the administrations of Lula da Silva and Dilma Rousseff.
A35	Dec. 24	1,001 to 1,500 words	Daniel Nepstad	How to Help Brazilian Farmers Save the Amazon	A new investment standard would reward efforts to protect tropical forests.	Forest ecologist who has worked in the Brazilian Amazon for more than 30 years. President and founder of the Earth Innovation

						Institute.

***** Article identification numbers were set in order of data collection, by the time mixing all sorts of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex B for the whole list).

****** Inscription right below article's signature. Data about the writers in all cases derive from articles' paratext.

These articles provide authority voice to The NYT's readers about Amazon issues. The NYT editorial dates from the very beginning of August and approaches the Amazon quite indirectly (and a couple of weeks before the global outcry), given that it actually resonates comments motivated by the release of the annual report from Global Witness. Only two opinion pieces are published during the peak of "the great burning weeks", which also correspond to the only articles signed by Brazilian writers (Vanessa Barbara and Roberto Unger). The column issued at the end of September is the only one focused on Bolivia's fires, in Chiquitanía, a zone of dry forest yet included in the Amazonian biome by the WWF. The last column, signed by an American scientist with a long-standing experience in the Brazilian Amazon, was published four months after "the great burning weeks", hence rebounding the issue after a considerable period of silence among The NYT's opinion pieces. In comparison to The WSJ headlines used for opinion pieces, in The NYT case there is a partial repetition of titles expressing environmental severe degradation and a set of propositions to save the Amazon — "*The Ravaging of Amazonia*", on the one hand, and on the other hand "*How to Help Brazilian Farmers Save the Amazon*" + "*How to Save the Amazon Without Condescending to Brazil*' + "*In the Fight to Save the Planet, Its Defenders Are Being Killed*" (as a reminder: in The WSJ we had found titles referring to "*Fire and Fury in the Amazon*" and broadly "*How to Save the Amazon*"). This sense of danger literally implying life risk helps to shape the frame of environmental degradation that is frequent in both informational and opinion The NYT pieces. Another similarity with The WSJ is that The NYT subheads also carefully use this important space to anticipate articles' main line of reasoning.

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

Along this subsection, I describe and discuss The NYT discourse trends related to specific agents and their main arguments to construct meaning about (in order to forge power over) the Amazon region. I basically follow the same itinerary adopted for the previous newspaper. Whenever relevant, features already discussed for The WSJ may be briefly cited again for a better comparison purpose and to ensure clarity of the subsequent section, commenting on American coverage.

In The NYT's opinion pieces, agents like Amazon / Amazonians and Brazil / Brazilians seem more frequently referred (SA inclusion) than president Bolsonaro himself, that overall enjoys far less space in The NYT's editorial and columns about the Amazon. Conversely, a cluster of relatively heterogeneous political and economic actors is included in discourse, while environmentalists and Indigenous groups are most of the time represented by group assimilation (homogenization), and scientists are visibly backgrounded if not excluded (even by scientist opinion author Daniel Nepstad). The following

paragraphs are vowed to describe and discuss such features, reminding that representation easily merges into argumentation devices (and vice-verse).

Brazil / Brazilians tend appear fully role activated, and positively represented, while somehow still homogenized. "*Brazilians feel a collective, perplexed grief for everything we stand to lose — not only as Brazilian citizens, but as humans*" (NYT_A07), observes contributor Vanessa Barbara (offering a more cohesive standpoint in relation to the *"Brazilian divide"* risen by The WSJ op-ed). Plural pronoun "we" here amplifies national belonging by privileging humankind, confirming the "global common" sense expressed in NYT_A07 subhead: *"A global treasure lies at the mercy of the smallest, dullest and pettiest of men"*. In fact, readers do not need much effort to figure out that the greatest character here referred is undoubtedly president Bolsonaro (cited five times along the text), albeit The NYT's authors tend to avoid incisive finger-pointing. Sparsely, the contributor reports unfounded (not elaborated) accusations by Brazilian president (regarding INPE's director that ended up fired after deforestation data release), as well as some already notorious embarrassing (if not roundly nonsense) statements attributing environmental concern *"only to vegans"*, or comparing Brazilian natural resources to "*a virgin that every pervert outsider wants"* (NYT_A07, directly reporting Bolsonaro's speech). Mrs. Vanessa Barbara most direct complaints, although, are grounded not exactly on reasoning but on emotions — *"It's heartbreaking to watch the country burn, both literally and figuratively, under Mr. Bolsonaro"* (NYT_A07) — in a vowed metaphor that may suggest generalized mishandling of Bolsonaro's administration. In fact, part of the emotional appealing, which abound specially at the beginning and the end of her column, were cited in Chaper 6, that looked more carefully to dramatic tone and metaphors. Still, it is important to note that the "global common" sense is perceived in *T*he NYT beyond emotions and figures of speech: *"The map of Bolivia's fires overlaps with that of that of cattle and coca production. It is destruction, not development — for Bolivians, for the planet, and for business too"* (NYT_A08), says the article of another contributor. Further in this section, we will see what perspectives for development are offered to readers in The NYT opinion pieces.

Keeping the trail of agents' representation, the reference to the *"Bolsonaro derangement syndrome"* (an expression used by *The WSJ*'s op-ed) seems to reverberate and get voice in *The NYT*: *"The real Brazil wants to bet on the marriage of intelligence and nature*" (NYT_33) (here again: SA inclusion + activation), outlines another guest writer, Roberto Unger. Mr. Unger — who served as minister for strategic affairs during Worker's Party governments — sometimes uses, sometimes refuses the metonymy of Brazil for its president, in a relation of the whole for one part. *"In Brazil [...] wildcat*

land grabbers and ranchers, who set fires to clear land in implicit partnership with a lenient government, are the main culprits", points out the ex-minister in a text in which Brazilian president is rarely cited by its name and its actions, thus constantly being role passivated as a social actor, when not fully backgrounded. *"The Amazonian debacle is part of a national misdirection"* (NYT_A33), says Mr. Unger in another excerpt. But the most patent example that this author refuses to consider Bolsonaro as an active discourse agent relies in his article's headline marked by SA impersonalisation + genericization: *"How to Save the Amazon Without Condescending to Brazil"* (NYT_A33).

Hence, in general terms, Brazilian president is not only less cited in The NYT: when included and role activated in discourse, it is to be represented under a refined negative sometimes ironic tone: *"Mr. Bolsonaro simply dismisses his own government's data on deforestation as lies"*, says *The NYT* editorial (NYT_A19), "simply" here expressing a negative (ironic) judgement, since not elaborating nor showing evidence to such a serious accusation means a morally bad behaviour. While citing Brazilian President and the Amazon, The NYT editorial comments on the latest Global Witness report showing that in 2018 the *"Philippines of the brutal President Rodrigo Duterte* [was] *taking over from Brazil as the deadliest place to resist rapacious developers and governments"* (NYT_A19). Albeit the year of 2018 does not correspond to Bolsonaro's administration, Brazil is depicted as a very hard place for environmental activists defending minorities and natural resources. The editorial follows pessimistically regarding environmental preservation and activists safety:

> *"Things are not looking much better for 2019. Though Brazil is no longer No. 1 in the number of people killed, the populist president installed in January, Jair Bolsonaro, has vowed to open previously protected Indigenous lands to commercial development [...] Mr. Duterte and Mr. Bolsonaro were two of the new breed of populist leaders Global Witness identified as contributing to worsening the plight of those who defend the land, through their disdain for the environment and hostility to dissenters".* (NYT_A19).

Even if sharing the burden with the president of Philippines, Bolsonaro is represented as a populist, rapacious, social oppressor and environmentally disdainful leader — all these features associated to bad moral values — thereby an *"environmental villain"*, just like *The WSJ*'s op-ed referred he was depicted by "the media" (yet Mrs. O' Grady tried to convert into a development hero by offering an alternative set of standpoints). On the other hand, article NYT_A08, authored by Mrs. Manuela Picq, expresses a more vague picture but also a more balanced judgement regarding political agents from the "South": *"The fires raging across forests in Chiquitanía (and Amazonia) are intrinsic to a political economy of extraction that prevails in countries led by governments of both the right and the left across Latin America"* (NYT_A08). This article actually stands as the only opinion piece focused primarily on

Bolivia's fires. Maybe, as a result, it is the one that gives more attention to Indigenous peoples[108], albeit in this case their representation keep respectively marked by SA genericisation (in the following first example) and assimilation (in the two others): *"Indigenous territories have been decimated"*; *"the Indigenous Ayoreo live in symbiosis with their ecosystem"*; *"the Guaranís have led an admirable struggle for self-determination"* (NYT_A08). In these examples, agents' assimilation should not be taken negatively, since naming the tribe could count for "individualized" identification (SA nomination) for cultures in which group belonging might prevail over individualistic self-affirmation.

Differently from Mrs. Picq article, which refuses to take parties, the column signed by Brazilian ex-minister under Workers' Party expresses a clear standpoint, if not between right / left-wing ideologies, at least for South / North dichotomy:

> *"There is much talk of sustainable development in the world. But little of it exists. The dominant tone of environmentalism in the rich North Atlantic countries is plaintive and escapist: As history has disappointed us, let's console ourselves in the great garden of nature. Brazilians, along with the rest of the world, need alternatives — including institutional alternatives — more than we need consolation. To rescue the Amazon, we need them right now".* (NYT_A33)

Mr. Unger's final paragraph interestingly mixes plural first person pronoun "we" (attributing it one time to the "North", another time to the global "South") in a construct that, far from really implying the opposition of in / out-groups, still adds to the "North" its charge of irony. Not only acrimonious criticism impregnates the concept of "sustainable development", but it suggests hypocrisy in the environmental concern expressed by "rich North Atlantic countries". In fact, the sentence *"As history has disappointed us, let's console ourselves in the great garden of nature"* corresponds to the only occurrence of "we" projected to the North, in this article. It would be somehow risky to infer a single possibility to interprete it, but taking into consideration more immediate context (excerpt's previous paragraphs), a probable explanation could sign Europe's deception of having lost both its forests and / or its colonies. Somewhere else in his article, Mr. Unger — while not mentioning any other specific nation than Brazil in his entire text — adds a pinch of nationalism in his argumentation:

> *"Don't demand that Brazil turn 61 percent* [corresponding to Amazonia] *of its national territory into an international park. And don't expect Brazilians, who have managed to preserve about 80 percent of the trees in their section of the Amazon, to appreciate being lectured by European countries left largely treeless by centuries of deforestation [...] Give us a hand without disrespecting our sovereignty".* (NYT_A33)

[108] Bolivia is known to be Latin America's most Indigenous country (with more than 60% of its population). Its Constitution passed in 2009 under (latter controversial) Indigenous president Evo Morales recognizes 36 official languages (Quechua, Aymara, Guarani, among others), as well as Indigenous justice with its own processes and customs, on the same level as national courts, and also common and multicultural education.

Such position resonates with Bolsonaro's view, however it doesn't endorse his government, given that Brazilian president is harshly criticized in its single citation (SA both "nomination" and impersonalisation) in the text: *"if the Bolsonaro administration, sunk in its perverse cultural wars, refuses to participate, governments, research institutions, and business of the world should go to the governors and mayors of the Amazon"* (NYT_A33). The fact is that Mr. Unger's imperative calls (*"don't demand"*; *"don't expect"*; *"give us a hand"*), although published in an American newspaper, seem to target much more European than American readers[109].

If Brazilian president's label tend to be more or less unified, either as an "environmental villain" (in The NYT) or as a sort of pro-development super-hero (in The WSJ), Amazonian non Indigenous social actors are shown under different perspectives, at least farmers and ranchers (although this cluster keeps being represented by SA assimilation or part of a homogeneous group). While, on the one hand, Indigenous people are cited at a glance throughout The NYT opinion pieces, on the other hand, agrobusiness agents, even if they reportedly tend to be aligned with Bolsonaro's worldview, achieve deeper layers of meanings. The most recurrent picture certainly is the one centered on the deforestation narrative: *"First,* [cattle ranchers, farmers and loggers] *they cut the trees; then they wait for the dry season; then they wait until it's clear they have a president who will do nothing to stop them; then they set it all ablaze"* (NYT_A07). But guest writer Daniel Nepstad, a tropical ecologist whose decades-long research in the Amazon has focused on the response of Amazon forests to climate change, fire, and land use, proposes another point of view.

> *"When I moved to the Amazon 'Wild West' town of Paragominas in northern Brazil in 1984 as a young scientist studying forest recovery on abandoned pastures, I expected a town filled with bandits and land grabbers. Instead, what I mostly found were courageous, hard-working families from across Brazil who had come to the rugged town of sawmills, cattle ranches and smallholder settlements to improve their lot in life".* (NYT_A35)

If such a romantically idyllic scenario is possible, one could argue that it dates back to the early 1980s. Nevertheless, seemingly there has been a negative homogenization under the label of "Amazon's farmers and ranchers", according to Mr. Nepstad: *"the stigma surrounding Amazon farmers as accomplices in this destruction remains, making enemies of would-be allies"* (NYT_A35). Indeed, it may be challenging to express Amazon's (agents) complexity in the media. Even opinion pieces, which usually enjoy more freedom in picking up and combining words and ideas, sometimes struggle to make the case for less stereotypes (when this task is among the main goals of its writer). *"The Amazon is more than trees: about 30 million people live and work here"* (NYT_A33) is an example of an anti-

[109] Articles retrieved from *The NYT*'s website to integrate this corpus are not distinguished between *The NYT* domestic and *The NYT* international edition.

homogenization effort that still can't avoid further homogenization. Additionally, while scientists are among the social actors mostly excluded from The NYT's opinion articles — which in fact is not surprising, given that Amazon's most appealing fire issues after all seem to be covered by political and economic layers — the newspaper grants space for a scientist that breaks social stereotypes in a text vowed to explain a successful carbon trade mechanism. Not much attention is required for an observer of Amazon coverage worldwide about fires in August 2019 to figure out the leitmotif: "farmers and ranchers emboldened by President Bolsonaro's rhetoric are clearing land for cattle ranching and soy production"[110]. Even if allowing small variations — by citing exports goals or the type of rhetoric (anti-environment; pro-development) — this formula actually embodies a story-line, according to which nearly all agricultural producers in the Amazon are careless about the forest and only aim at profiting. But media writers who try to better separate the wheat from the chaff seem to have voice in The NYT:

> *"Indeed, outrage over the fires and President Jair Bolsonaro's rhetoric and actions obscures a central question: Can responsible, law-abiding landholders and businesspeople in the Amazon — like those I met in Paragominas — compete with people who break the law, grab land and forest resources and drive much of the deforestation?"* (NYT_A35)

Even if American, Mr. Nepstad not only has scientific credentials but vast empirical knowledge about the Amazon, in the latter case a background hardly comparable to the majority of Brazilian journalists / columnists based for example in São Paulo or Brasilia (both more than 1,200 miles from Manaus, the capital of Amazonas State) — whose experience in loco might be ephemeral and inconstant. Such "field" experience, even if not highlighted by the The NYT, appear as crucial in a scenario in which information about Amazon fires flow basically from international news agencies and news correspondents. Hence, the refusal to homogenize these Amazon agents purely as "farmers and ranchers" denotes an effort to offer a more colorful scene behind the gray, opaque smoke of one-size-fits-all formulas.

A fundamental aspect that emerges from a better distinction between responsible farmers and land grabbers refers, once again, to private property issues. In this respect, ex-minister Roberto Unger raises them, while also underlining that Amazon producers don't have all the same "professional" profile:

> "*The threshold problem is land tenure. Less than 10 percent of the land in private hands has clear title. Chaos reigns: No one knows who owns what and pillage is more rewarding than either preservation or production. To overcome the chaos we must distinguish long-term squatters committed to making a life in the Amazon from predatory ranchers and loggers, and award them full ownership".* (NYT_A33).

[110] Quotes are not sourced here because it makes reference to a largely employed formula to describe Amazon 2019 fires in the (domestic / national) media.

Here *The NYT* repeatedly offer a nuanced representation regarding a cluster of Amazon's agents. More surprisingly, the newspaper ends up agreeing with the perspective expressed by an op-ed from The WSJ, according to which private ownership is a key factor to explain deforestation in the Amazon. Nevertheless, ensuring private property doesn't necessarily means the only solution, at least for The NYT's columnists. For Mr. Nepstad, a serious, efficient mechanism of carbon credits, namely the Tropical Forest Standard, would reward successful forest conservation in the Amazon. *"This standard is designed to make sure that the carbon offsets that companies are buying are actually going to real, verifiable deforestation efforts [...] If tropical forests are to be protected, these kinds of incentives are imperative"* (NYT_A35). Such argumentation is based on the premise —widely confirmed — that in the Amazon an acre of deforested land is worth far more than a acre of primary forest, giving an unfair advantage to criminals while punishing farmers who respect Brazilian Forest Code. Therefore, Mr. Nepstad's argument simultaneously activates the topos of finances and the topos of justice, especially by citing other beneficiaries, like "South" nations and social minorities.

> *"The retailer Amazon, commercial airlines and dozens of other companies that are making similar pledges to climate neutrality could, through their purchase of carbon offsets, inject money to into the tropical regions that are building their economies while protecting forests and recognizing the rights of Indigenous peoples".* (NYT_A35)

In fact, solutions aligned to green economy and / or ecosystem service trading theoretically bring a package of advantages for all stakeholders, whereas such propositions maintain solid the economic and social *status quo* of capitalism and consumerism unchallenged. While reformist, they still put aside crucial aspects regarding alternative (to merely monetary) values, markets behaviour and consumption cultures, for instance, post-development perspectives like circular economy or Earth system governance (Kothari et al., 2019). Yet, though maintaining at full power the capitalist machine, they provide a more inclusive and less prejudiced standpoint in comparison to the conservation versus poverty paradigm, consistently expressed in The WSJ, for example. Furthermore, this type of market-oriented solution is equally shared by ex-minister Unger in his column:

> *"In the Amazon, the easy way out leads to destruction. The only system with a chance of saving both the people and the trees is a knowledge economy [...] To make this possible, technical environmental services must be provided over an area larger than Western Europe. [...] This approach can begin to give practical content to the otherwise empty slogan of sustainable development".* (NYT_A33)

Hence, according to this columnist, sustainable development still lays on a much more theoretical than practical basis, meaning there is too much talk and very few attitudes to implement real, viable, smart, inclusive actions to provide a future for Amazonians and their environment. This also means Amazon

solutions are compatible with development (a term overall avoided in all analyzed opinion pieces from The NYT), as long as it brings appropriate living standards and effective conservation for the region (topos of usefulness — with benefits for all, also called *pro buono publico*). Capitalizing knowledge for the feasible, sustainable use of Amazon resources integrates a knowledge-based economy, a pro-growth perspective which after all seem not so discrepant from The WSJ's neoliberal message.

Overall, argumentation schemes in opinion pieces from *The* NYT follow a much more descriptive and narrative pattern than a more "traditional" reasoning operation (e. g. premise A + premise B → conclusion). This means narratives and descriptions tend to place arguments on the edge of "neutral" representations, at least in a much more blurred mode in comparison to The WSJ, in which *topoi* and fallacies are more easily retrievable. More importantly, this also means that persuasion intents, by the proposition of reasons for believing, appear more subtly denied under the realm of journalistic "objectivity". This could also make stakes on power behind discourse even more tricky for The NYT's readers. Replicating the analysis made for The WSJ, Figures 31 and 32 below respectively illustrate representation and argumentation functioning in discourse from The NYT.

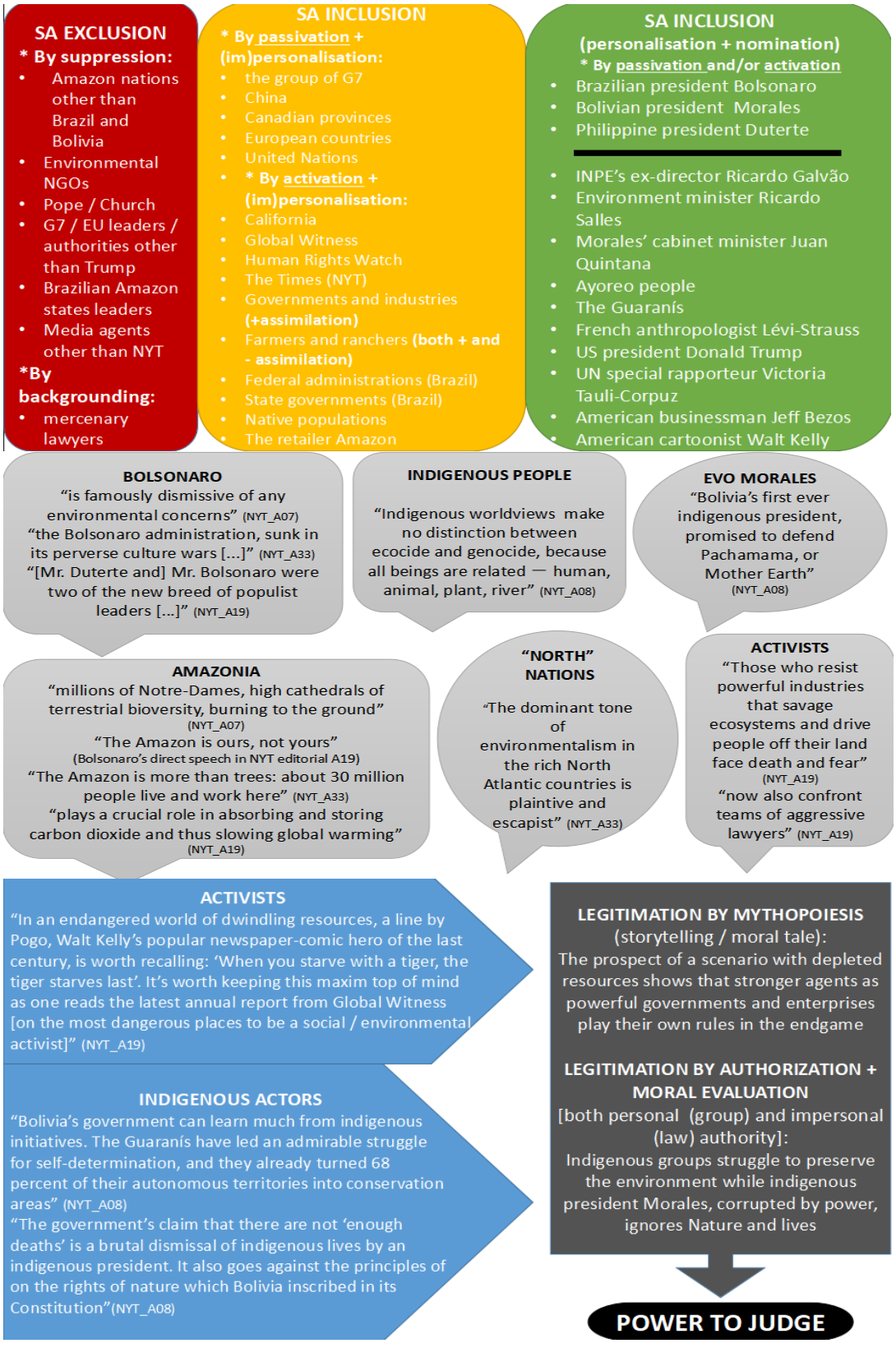


Figure 31: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from *The Wall Street Journal* (Aug. – Dec. 2019).Exclusion/inclusion, representation and legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from *The New York Times* (Aug. — Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2007; 2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Black line separates social actors mentioned more than once (*above it*) from those with a single nomination (*below it*).

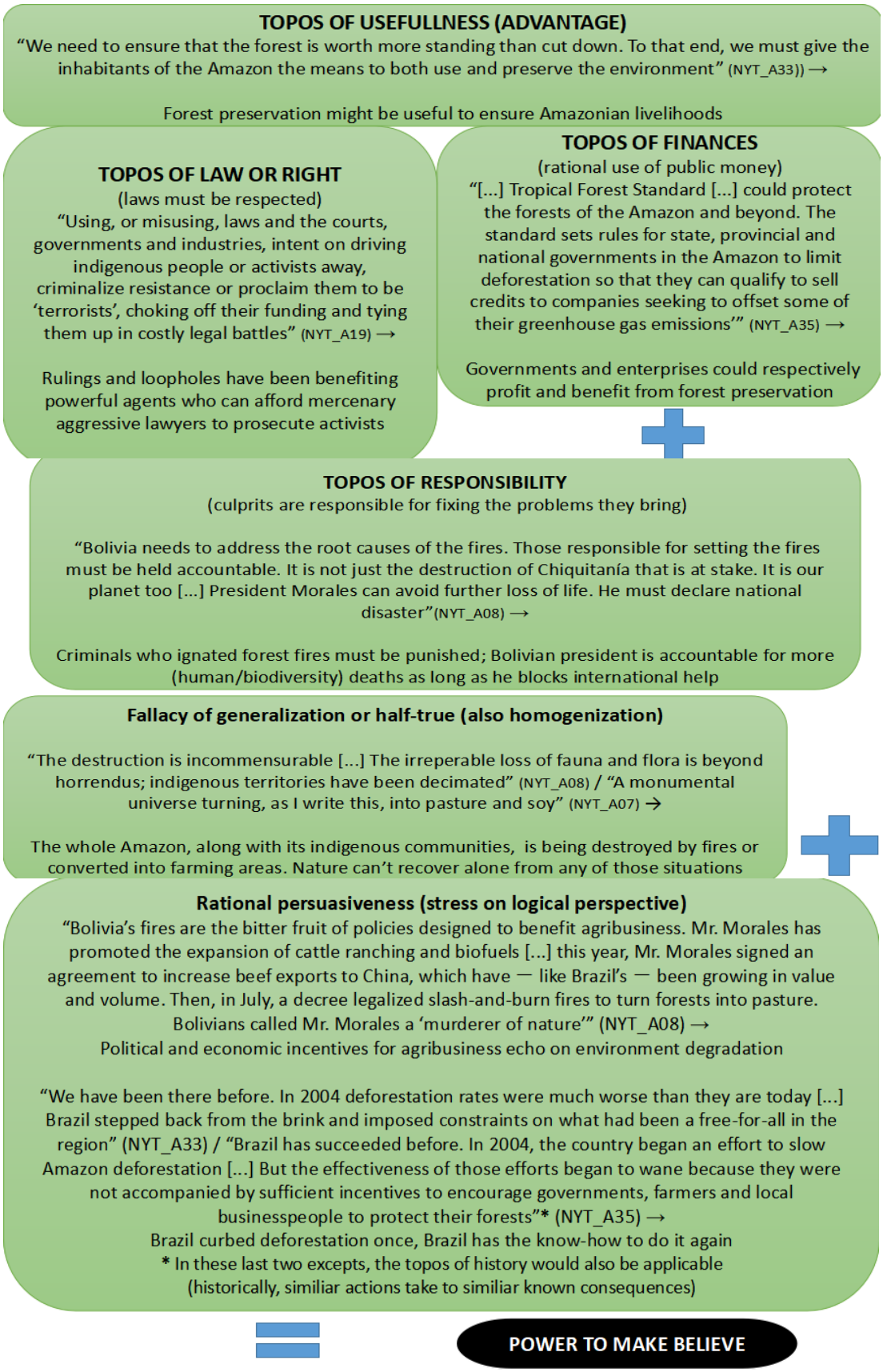


Figure 32: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from *The New York Times* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); fallacies based on Roberts-Miller (2017); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (→) means "hence".

Taking into consideration representation and argumentation schemes — heavily marked by "objective" narrative and descriptive patterns — on the one hand, and articles' broader contexts, on the other hand, stakes of power behind discourse maybe should be taken primarily as text-based insights (rather than formal analytical inferences). As a whole, The NYT's opinion pieces are aligned to a "global common" sense regarding the Amazon, as well as to a "sustainability-friendly" approach to fight deforestation — development being a term used rather moderately. The option for not publishing an editorial during the "great burning weeks" has its significance: both opinion pieces issued among the hottest speeches and the global outcry in final August choose different yet complementary frames: political pressure fueled by environmental degradation (politely attacking *"the smallest, dullest, pettiest of men"*; A07), and sustainable development (proposing clear land title and a knowledge-based economy as optimistic pathways for the Amazon; A33). As already mentioned, The NYT editorial (A19) focuses on violence and non lethal (specially legal) means to intimidate social and environment activists, notably in Brazil (ex-world leader of murderers of land / nature defenders) and the Philippines (the new leader in 2018). In this case, The NYT's finger-wagging points exclusively to presidents Bolsonaro and Duterte, the former, with his reportedly astonishing environmental neglect, promising to achieve or even surpass the latter's brutality to opponents, labeled as "terrorists". Yet only Bolsonaro is quoted in the whole editorial: *"'The Amazon is ours, not yours' he told a foreign journalist"* (NYT_A19). Such a short quotation is also graphically highlighted, counting for a single paragraph, in a move that — while likely questioning Bolsonaro's nationalism regarding the Amazon — could target The NYT's more inattentive readers, helping them to better notice the arrogant message Brazil's president has for foreigners. The article also denounces Bolsonaro's plans to open protected Indigenous lands to *"commercial development"*, as well as his *"deliberately lax enforcement of laws and regulations"* (NYT_A19). In the context of the editorial, these factors could be directly linked to both environmental criminality (including murderers of activists) and environmental destruction itself. But the most surprising power stake is that The NYT's editorial manages to pop up US president Donald Trump in its final utterance: *"Predictably, President Trump and his 'energy dominance' agenda came in for their share of opprobrium"* (NYT_A19). Carelessness about the environment is thus used as a "hook" or pretext to ground the editorial in a more domestic issue. However, the significance of having Bolsonaro and Trump, once again, put side by side in a broadsheet editorial can't be overlooked, specially because in this case they are both negatively depicted (differently from The WSJ's editorial). Obviously, inferences departing from a single opinion piece may be fragile, but in this specific case one can notice that The NYT clearly expresses concern for Trump's environment not friendly agenda. Besides, such a

sudden culturally grounded closure (US politics) could resonate the editorial's opening formula, which approaches readers by the famous maxim from American cartoonist Walt Kelly: *"When you starve with a tiger, the tiger starves last"* — very likely, warning that the tiger might be much closer than overseas *"rapacious developers"* (NYT_A19).

Apart from an editorial targeting the heads of two "South" nations (and a subtle comparison of equality with US president), there are two guest contributors steadily targeting two Amazon presidents: Vanessa Barbara's article describing Bolsonaro's smallness by his baseless, nonsense, inappropriate statements, from an unpatriotic view upon INPE's release of data deforestation to "vegans" and conveyed "virgins" to refer the Amazon (NYT_A07); and Manuela Picq's article describing how an first Indigenous president like Evo Morales has been leading Bolivia's Indigenous natural areas to destruction, not development nor preservation (NYT_A08). At the same time, we have two other contributors (Daniel Nepstad and Roberto Unger) focusing on both technical and political solutions for the Amazon, an enterprise that requires the recognition of at least two profiles of "farmers and ranchers": those who respect the Forest Code and the environment in general, and those who actually take advantage of lax enforcement and unclear land title to grab lands and make full profit after "cleaning" the areas through the use of fire. These solution-oriented articles invest on reformist, imaginative discourses (Dryzek, 2013) directly linked to both a knowledge-based a market-based ecological modernization (even if not properly naming this last concept). In fact, Mr. Unger's text, while criticizing the *"empty slogan of sustainable development"*, claims for a truly practical application of sustainability. After all, it might useful to stress that, in a world dominated by market liberalism, *"sustainable development's prospects are poor unless it can be demonstrated that environmental conservation is obviously good for business profitability and economic growth everywhere, not just that these competing values can be reconciled"* (Dryzek, 2013, p. 163).

Overall, The NYT's opinion pieces are all akin to the values of its editorial board, by visibly expressing a "global common" sense regarding the Amazon and its role in mitigating global warming, while denouncing agents and practices that endanger natural resources and social rights. It seems worth to remind that The NYT has long supported *"a liberal order of nations in which freedom and progress advance through democracy and capitalism"*. However, it has also allegedly sought to guard against *"the excesses of those systems by promoting honest governance, civil rights, equality of*

opportunity, a healthy planet and a good life for society's most vulnerable members" (NYT Editorial Board[111]).

Summarizing NYT opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse trends of *The New York Times'* opinion pieces, regarding how they represent Amazon's agents, what meanings they help to shape, and which are the possible implications for power issues. They are condensed below:

- ✓ The Amazon is represented as a resource of global importance due to its role in absorbing carbon dioxide, maintaining the planet's biodiversity and influencing rain fall in South America. Representation of Amazonian agents is overall neutral to positive, despite a persistent degree of homogenization. Indigenous social actors are pictured as victims of irresponsible governance, specially under Bolivian (also Indigenous) president Evo Morales. The Brazilian president is also harshly criticized by his disdain towards the environment, his vowed commercial projects to develop the Amazon, and his potential to worsen nature's degradation and the operation of activists (NGOs are implicit here) in Brazil. Farmers, loggers, ranchers and other Amazon squatters trying to make a living in the region are distinguished between the good, responsible and law-abiding workers, on the one hand, and the law-breakers who grab forest areas for land speculation, on the other hand. In this context, land title legally obtained appear as a crucial factor in separating sustainable land use (reserving 80 percent of the Amazon area for conservation) from a free-for-all slash-and-burn.

- ✓ Green (knowledge-based) economy and the market of carbon offsets are presented as viable, inclusive, pathways to both protect the Amazon and give economic alternatives to its dwellers. While not openly raising the flag of sustainable development, these initiatives integrate a pragmatic approach to solve deforestation, improve Amazonian livelihoods, mitigate corporations' emissions worldwide and mitigate climate change. Their proponents conceive development under a pro-growth perspective, with benefits for all stakeholders.

Having in mind these features of *The New York Times*' coverage about the Amazon, we may now compare the American newspapers analyzed: *The WSJ* and *The NYT*.

[111] Accessed from the URL: https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2018/opinion/editorialboard.html

7.2.3 American coverage about the Amazon

American and / or international (English language) readers who kept track of the media outlets about the Amazon along the second semester of 2019 might have perceived the issue under different standpoints whether they followed *The Wall Street Journal* or *The New York Times* — at least regarding their respective opinion pieces. Even if the topic of fires is a common denominator for both coverages, things work out with more differences than similarities on the level of framing, agents' representation and discourse argumentation. For a better comprehension and visual purpose, Table 20 below summarizes the most relevant findings enabled by the CDA tools applied to the corpus, while rearranging some research questions at stake in this chapter, and proposing answers to them. Data from frame analysis conducted along the previous chapter (Chapter 6) may be repeated here to better illustrate interconnections of the results.

Table 20: Comparison of CDA and other results from *The Wall Street Journal* and *The New York Times* coverages (opinion articles exclusively) about the Amazon (Aug. – Dec. 2019)

Dimension	Category	The Wall Street Journal	The New York Times
Data volume	Number of opinion articles	4 (1 editorial; 1 guest column; 2 op-eds)	5 (1 editorial; 3 guest columns; 1 opinion contributor)
Frames	Main foregrounded frame*	International financial implications	Political pressure and international financial implications
	Main backgrounded frames	Conservation versus poverty; pro-development, pro-Bolsonaro	Environmental criminality; environmental degradation
	Editorial's foregrounded frame	Pro-development	Environmental criminality
	Editorial's backgrounded frames	Pro-Bolsonaro; political pressure	Political pressure; climate change
Agents' representation	SA inclusion + nomination (*minimal occurrence: twice*)	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Brazil's economy minister Paulo Guedes; American actor and activist Leonardo DiCaprio; France's president Macron	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Bolivia's president Morales; Philippines president Duterte
	SA assimilation	Amazonians	Governments and industries
Nomination	In-groups x out-groups (*intensity*)	Rich nations x poor Amazonians (*moderately*); democracies x socialists (*traces*)	*Not found*
Predication	Positive / negative	Negative: *"global left"*	Negative: *"farmers and ranchers"*

	labels (homogenization)	Positive: rich countries	Positive: responsible, law-abiding Amazon farmers
Legitimation	Retrieved types	Moral evaluation, targeting Bolsonaro and the media (other than The WSJ)	Moral evaluation, targeting Evo Morales; mythopoiesis, targeting *"rapacious developers"*
Argumentation	Topoi activated (*number*)	(5) usefulness; finances; responsibility; law and right; justice	(4) usefulness; finances; responsibility; law and right
	Rational persuasiveness	Arguments: rich democracies enable higher environment concern; private ownership ensure incentives to protect the rainforest	Arguments: incentives exclusively turned to agribusiness impact the environment; Brazil could curb deforestation as it did in the past
Power implications	Whose Amazon? Whose rules?	Brazil's and the other Amazon nations. Bolsonaro's neoliberal rules.	Amazon as a "global common" or world heritage. Intelligence should rule it.
	Whose fault / benefits? Whose merit / prejudice?	Poor people that destroy the forest by lack of choice are the culprits. Bolsonaro as a capitalist developer can fix deforestation, but French president and the media depict him as an *"environmental villain"*.	Bad farmers, loggers and ranchers, or simply land grabbers who take possession of natural areas with unclear title to clear-cut the forest and profit. Responsible farmers are wrongly mixed with these criminals.
	What / whose values?	Neoliberal (Bolsonaro's, Trump's, The WSJ's) values: free market and private property	Rationality, intelligence, sustainability
	Is there a "North" / "South" divide?	"North" (rich democratic nations) are superior in environmental protection.	"North" (developed, nearly treeless nations) only offer consolation and empty sustainability. Brazil (and other "South" nations) need immediate and effective alternatives / solutions.
Research questions at stake	How is the "developmentist" agenda represented?	It is a necessary condition to overcome poverty, increase environmental awareness, and create mechanisms to effectively protect the Amazon	In Bolivia, there is no development: business under Morales administration has been bringing nothing but destruction. In Brazil, it must be integrated into a

		forest.	sustainable yet pragmatic agenda. State governments in Brazil are competent to organize distribution of federal lands.
	What are the possibilities for a real sustainability?	Brazil, Bolivia, and *"everyone else"* should develop the Amazon without clear-cutting the forest — sustainability is an absent noun in The WSJ coverage**.	Smart, fair, realistic and inclusive projects, involving all stakeholders, focused on a knowledge-based green market would be an alternative for the *"empty slogan"* of sustainability.
	What views on democracy: Who decides what for the best? For whom?	Democracy ensures the free expression of public opinion, hence the public demand for conservation, with benefits for all.	Democracy is an absent noun in The NYT coverage. Governance should guarantee joint solutions, the defense of the environment, Indigenous protected lands and activists' safety. Amazon governors and mayors are open for cooperation, if Bolsonaro is not.

***** Data from Chapter 6. ****** Albeit the adjective "sustainable" is used three times all in the same guest column NYT_A01.

Having in mind these findings that undoubtedly impact reader's perception about the Amazon, we now will proceed to the analysis of other two "North" news outlets, namely British newspapers *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*.

7.2.4 *The Daily Telegraph*

In this section, I assess opinion pieces from British newspaper *The Daily Telegraph*. Following the same itinerary made for American coverage, firstly I present some contextual information about the analyzed texts. Then, the empirical analysis is properly undertaken, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from *TDT* articles.

Contextualizing TDT opinion articles

In *The Daily Telegraph* coverage about the Amazon (totaling 24 occurrences), opinion articles are in total four units of analysis. Opinion pieces from TDT are practically all published during the "great burning weeks" at final August, with unfoldings along the first days of September, 2019. This suggests "actuality" is perhaps *The Telegraph*'s core news-value; indeed, among all types of TDT news articles, four in five are published between August and September.

Table 21 below describes the main features of the media texts analyzed along the following paragraphs. Even if relatively long, subheads are included because they better contextualize news framing, sometimes providing tips on texts' main backgrounded frames. In general, article's paratextual data in TDT is not enough to inform readers whether they are in front of an editorial, op-ed or guest column. According to Table 21, article A02 is under the tag Travel > Cruises > Articles, a type of media text a priori excluded from corpus. Notwithstanding, this item does not consist of a mere destination review. In fact, its head and subhead both indicate that much more than tourism issues are at stake, a sign confirmed by the 1,650-word travel report mixing field impressions and comments on environmental politics in South America. For this reason, this article was kept to integrate Amazon corpus 2019. *Telegraph*'s website inform that A02's author (Chris Moss) is writer and editor, covering a range of subjects including careers, education, STEM[112], technology and travel. Then, there is A12, a reproduction of a Chinese text originally published in *China Daily* in Aug. 28 (hence, a couple of days before TDT's publication). China Daily's website confirms that A12's author, OP Rana, is a senior editor with *China Daily*'s opinion department, who has a particular focus on international politics and

[112] Acronym for Science, Technology, Engineering, and Math.

environmental protection. According to a 2016 article from the website Hong Kong Free Press[113], *The Telegraph* was paid £750,000 (over US$1 million) by Chinese government per year to run the "China Watch" supplement, the content of which is also available online, within a commercial deal that seemingly ended in 2020. The third TDT article under analysis is A21: its author Johan Eliasch is very well identified at the end of the text, which leads to the assumption that this is the only guest column in corpus. Finally, the fourth text has no data about its author's position; TDT's website only lists the articles signed by Harry Hodges without formally presenting him. Only through LinkedIn it is possible to figure out that Mr. Hodges is deputy comment editor for the *Telegraph*. Taking into consideration this information partially retrieved beyond TDT's paratexts, one could infer that, among the four opinion pieces, we have basically one guest column (A21), two op-eds, and one "re-publication" (A12) from a foreign newspaper. Yet one could also consider that, in this case, its author is still an op-ed: even if "borrowed" from *China Daily* — despite the warning that it doesn't imply any responsibility from *The Telegraph*[114].

[113] "China spends big on propaganda in Britain... but returns are low". Accessed on June, 2021 from: https://hongkongfp.com/2016/04/03/china-spends-big-on-propaganda-in-britain-but-returns-are-low/

[114] *The Daily Telegraph* includes right below article's tag the following message (originally in capital letters): "This content is produced and published by China Daily, People's Republic of China, which takes sole responsibility for its contents".

Table 21: Overview of The Daily Telegraph's opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Section (tag)	Signature (as shown in news)**	Headline	Subhead
A02	Aug. 22	> 1,500 words	Travel > Cruises > Articles	Chris Moss (destination expert)	The Amazon is burning: Why South America's leaders are wrong about the 'lungs of the planet'	President Bolsonaro, Vizcarra and Moreno want to hack roads, railways, and mines through the Amazon, while concern grows over the damage forest fires are doing to the 'lungs of the planet. After visiting Peru's headquarters, Chris Moss worries about the impact.
A12	Sept. 03	751 to 1,000words	China Watch > Politics	OP Rana (senior editor with China Daily)	The planet's future burns along with the Amazon rainforest	The world is divided when it comes to fighting climate change, but putting economic gain above the environment serves no one in the long run
A21	Aug. 25	1,000 to 1,500words	News	Johan Eliasch (**)	We will never save the rainforest until a living tree is worth more to Brazil than an incinerated one	*Subhead not included*
A24	Aug. 23	251 to 500 words	News	Harry Hodges (*not mentioned*)	We must cut foreign aid until Brazil faces up to its duty to protect the Amazon	*Subhead not included*

***** Article identification numbers were set in order of data collection, by the time mixing the different types of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex B for the whole list).

****** Described exactly how it appears in articles' paratext, except for A21 which includes the following information about Johan Eliasch: *"Special Representative of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom on deforestation and clean energy, author of the Eliasch Review 'Climate Change Financing Global Forests', co-founder of Cool Earth, founder of the Rainforest Trust which preserves 400,000 acres of rainforest he bought in the Amazonas, and he is Chairman of the HEAD sporting goods group"*.

Consonantly to American coverage, *The Telegraph*'s titles focus on saving and protecting the Amazon, but in the latter the "global common" sense may be soon perceived in headlines, through the expression (yet technically imprecise) referring to the "lungs of the planet" and the warning that *"The planet's future burns along with the Amazon rainforest"* (TDT_A12; tagged "China Watch"). Conversely, still on the level of semantic potential of headlines, an opposition between "we" and "they" can be detected. On the one hand, headline TDT_A02 says that *"*[...] *South America's leaders are wrong* [...]*"* about the Amazon ("they" hence implied by the allusion to the "South" presidents from Amazon countries). On the other hand, headlines A21 and A24 might, or might not, refer to the same "we". While the title *"We will never save the rainforest until a living tree is worth more to Brazil than an incinerated one"* (TDT_A21) may include British public, Europeans, "North" nations or even the whole planetary community, the headline *"We must cut foreign aid until Brazil faces up to its duty to protect the Amazon"* (TDT_A24) seems more directed to British readers. In both cases, subheads are absent, though they could provide crucial semantic elements to better frame the text before the reading. In the first "we" case (A21), the subtitle of article's front picture (showing burning trees)[115] denote a more globalized sense: *"Fires continue to rage in the Amazon, a catastrophe for our self-regulating"*, it says. In any case such "we" / "they" distinction obviously doesn't set in / out- groups, but helps to identify which discourse agents are being (under)valued, and whether their roles are active / passive in news' most appealing devices.

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

Along this subsection, I describe and discuss *The Daily Telegraph* (TDT) discourse trends related to specific agents and their main arguments to construct meaning about (in order to forge power over) the Amazon region. I basically follow the same itinerary adopted for American newspapers. The main exception is that in TDT case I start analyzing more exclusively the hybrid travel / politics commentaries from TDT_A02 (*"The Amazon is burning: Why South America's leaders are wrong about the 'lungs of the planet'"*), which partly has a different style (heavily narrative) in comparison to the others, more standard for the opinion genre, which are assessed thereupon under a more integrated fashion.

Starting by Amazon's representation, the idyllic, if not poetic, travel report mixed with political comments stands out in terms of description in details regarding Peruvian Amazon's luxuriant biodiversity. Besides, it also provides a colorful scenario regarding Amazon inhabitants.

[115] Article TDT_A24 (*"We must cut foreign aid until Brazil faces up to its duty to protect the Amazon"*) shows a similar picture, but without any subtitles.

> *"Artisanal fishermen sat patiently on their dugouts through the heat of the afternoon [...] Some repaired nets. A few took naps in the shade of a cecropia tree. Others hewed armour-plated catfish they'd caught earlier, scraping out what flesh they could for soup. As dusk fell, they set to work, casting off, shining torches, paddling upstream to find better waters —where they'd work through till the following morning [...] preparing for another day on the great tree of rivers that form the Amazon headwaters".* (TDT_A02).

One could argue that the excerpt above may still correspond to the homogenized label of "riverside people (with a simple life)", but the "destination expert" who authors these lines actually takes care of outlining Amazon's diversity, including both its landscapes and its social actors. Mr. Moss declares that, in the begging of his journey through the Amazon, he was prepared for *"Amazon lite"*. *"After all, we were only 60 miles south of Iquitos* [...] *perhaps the largest city in the world not connected to anywhere else by road, but home to half a million people"* (TDT_A02). But very soon in his report, Mr. Moss discovers that the Amazon *"is never that 'lite'"*:

> *From the wood-and-palm-frond villages to the women clearing spaces to grow maize and cassava to the gathering of dead woods for fires, human life on the banks —notwithstanding the football shirts and the flip flops made from tyres —was elemental* (TDT_A02).

Before advancing to a refined inventory of the flora and specially the fauna that popped up along his way during a three-day river cruise in the Amazon, Mr. Moss offers an overview on the great menaces endangering such wild and human life marvellous place:

> *"Thus I could only despair when, during my largely news-free voyage, I picked up reports that Brazil's president Jair Bolsonaro, the scourge of environmentalists, had given the green flag to accelerating development of the Amazon [...] In Peru, president Martín Vizcarra recently handed over 22,000 acres of ancestral land and granted gold and copper mining licenses to a Canadian company, while supposedly cracking down on illegal mining. In Ecuador, things are a little better; there, President Moreno has kept up the policy of letting Chinese firms plunder the forest for oil and precious metals".* (TDT_A02).

These pieces of more narrative information from "reports" seem to establish some "objectivity" or relative distance from facts. However, beyond the representation of "South" American leaders as capitalist developers without any social nor environmental concern, a clear irony inserts moral judgement on the situation in Ecuador, where *"things are a little better"*, yet it seems not evident to justify why Chinese firms exploring and deforesting could have a different status.

The importance of such places, and intrinsically of its people, is also expressed by Mr. Moss' final remarks, in this case acquiring a clear judgement status:

> *"All this wildlife, and that old human way of life, is what Bolsonaro, his cronies and presidential pals want to destroy. It seems unthinkable to us, based as we are in tidy, wealthy, temperate England,*

farmed to oblivion and bereft of any true wilderness, that a government or corporation should feel it has a right to take such wonders away from the world". (TDT_*A02)*

While reinforcing the representation of Bolsonaro and his *"presidential pals"* from Peru and Ecuador as destroyers of both nature and traditional livelihoods, article's author scrambles an argumentation sentimental scheme tainted with disdain to Britain's natural landscapes and a sense of (taken-for-granted) international possession of the Amazon. The argumentation that it seems *"unthinkable"* to English citizens that political / economic agents should feel they have the right to *"take such wonders away from the world"* partially echos a fallacy known by red herring. It assumes that raising an issue that is actually off the point, but inflammatory in some way, will distract people from the real issues (Roberts-Miller, 2017). At a certain degree, within the reasoning that development projects seem "unthinkable" in a wonderful, globally shared Amazon, the justification (premise) that the English's position in *"tidy, wealthy, temperate England"* actually might seem pointless. On the other hand, the (questionable) fact that the English are also "*farmed to oblivion and bereft of any true wilderness"* can add a sense of global scarcity of natural biodiverse forests, justifying the concern to protect them. In any case, the proposition that something seems "unthinkable" implies discourse legitimation by moral evaluation, more precisely by abstraction (Van Leeuwen, 2007). An abstract moral evaluation refers to the "practices and (re)actions in abstract (paraphrasal / euphemistic) ways that 'moralize' while keeping a distance from the discourse of moral value" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 99).

Following A02's final argumentation schemes, it is argued that tourism[116] is *"perhaps, one of the last witnesses to the biodiversity the Amazon hoards, and one of the few ways that outsiders interact with locals in a way that is not wholly exploitative or abusive*" (TDT_A02). Again, such utterance implies its own discourse legitimation, here by theoretical rationalization, in which "legitimation is grounded, not in whether the action is morally justified or not, nor in whether it is purposeful or effective, but in whether it is founded on some kind of truth, on 'the way things are'" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 103). One of the forms of theoretical rationalization regards definition, in which "one activity is defined in terms of another, moralized activity" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 104). Mr. Moss' definition asserts that tourism isn't such a bad activity in the Amazon, since the interaction with locals ends up not being *"wholly exploitative or abusive"* if compared to usual interaction with other types of outsiders. Hence, this is a typical example of a legitimized discourse by recurrence to a sort of naturalized truth, assuming

[116] Mr. Chris Moss also signs another article in *The Telegraph*'s coverage about the Amazon, published on Sep. 5, 2019. Title TDT_A22, *"The Amazon may be burning, but it needs tourists more than ever"*, was classified as a news story, a rather informational to interpretative journalistic text, hence not being included among opinion pieces.

that outsiders will always inevitably exploit and abuse of Amazon(ians), given that — most simply — "that's the way things are".

To sum up, throughout opinion piece A02, it is possible to retrieve discourse elements that are compatible to a (hegemonic) "North" sense of superiority. Beyond the fact that, throughout the observer's narrative in first person, Amazonians never have a voice but are constantly the passive object of writer's impressions, some aspects call attention, for instance: 1) the author refers to interaction with locals but practically doesn't report any (he prefers to talk about the magnificent fauna of the Amazon and to criticize South America's presidents); 2) the author depicts apparently idyllic scenes of Amazon traditional ways of living, limiting to narrate dwellers' routines, yet he doesn't describe local moods nor concerns, suggesting he isn't worried to check if these people are effectively satisfied with the sort of "light" survival mode they seem to face daily; 3) the author assumes that commercial exploitation of the Amazon is "unthinkable" for the English, who are *"bereft of any true wilderness"*, but also admits that tourism may be among the "best" (or less impacting) forms of somehow exploiting and abusing Amazonians; 4) the author also assumes that Amazon's wonders belong to the world, but — as tourism is perhaps one of the *"last witnesses to the biodiversity the Amazon hoards"* ~~w~~hat kind of people most likely could afford trips and cruises through the Amazon: "South" or "North" global citizens? More broadly, what kind of global citizens in average have higher living standards and more likely could afford international leisure trips: "South" or "North"? Surprisingly, author's propositions overall match with the perception from The NYT's already cited writer Roberto Unger, who accuses rich North Atlantic countries of being *"plaintive and escapist"*: *"As history has disappointed us, let's console ourselves in the great garden of nature"* (NYT_A33). In fact, *The Telegraph*'s editor Chris Moss seems to bet not only on consolation but also in maintenance of status quo. In his final remarks, Mr. Moss recognizes that the Amazon has filled his mind with its wonders, while he actually didn't have to give it nothing in exchange.

> *"What I saw from this ship was one percent of one percent of almost nothing of what really lies within the Amazon's labyrinthine interior. Yet my imagination was fully fired. Neither machete nor axe was required. No new road or channel needed to be cut. Less is more, as ever".* (TDT_A02)

Under a conservationist perspective, the argument that "less [development] is more [environment]" certainly is not only appealing but quite logical. Nevertheless, from a global "North" / "South" divide, one could question if, at least under a connotative manner, such a vowed "exploitative" and "abusive" use of Amazon's free wonder services provided through tourism is compatible to a socially naturalized,

thereby unnoticed, form of neocolonialism. The fact is that tourism scholars have been amassing "a range of evidence regarding the impacts of air transport in relation to climate change and tourism, with the consensus finding that the tourism industry represents a major contributor to anthropogenic climate change" (Hanna et. al, 2016, p. 1627).

Back to social actors representation schemes along TDT, Amazon's agents after all, even if not fully homogenized nor assimilated (thanks to Mr. Moss more colorful descriptions in A02), tend to be stratified in smaller groups (e.g. "forest dwellers", "Indigenous communities", respectively in A21 and A24). Other Amazon's agents, like ranchers, are not particularly addressed, having a single mention in solely one text. Thus, as partially expected, Brazilian president is also the most cited social actor in terms of both SA personalisation and nomination (see top of Figure 33). Overall, although *The Telegraph*'s opinion pieces apparently don't pay particular attention to agents representation, it is still possible to notice that, behind piece-meal narratives and descriptions about Brazil's administration, the final picture of Bolsonaro is rather negative. The same goes for other South American leaders like Peruvian and Ecuadorian presidents, yet these authorities are referred in only one text. US president is also mentioned once, also under explicit criticism: *"More worryingly, the world is divided when it comes to fighting climate change, as was evident with President Donald Trump's empty chair at the G7 meeting on climate change"* (TDT_A12; tagged "China Watch"). Indeed, as this article focuses more steadily on climate change, arguing that *"countries need to work together or face an even bigger crisis"*, any reference to the US, specially coming from a Chinese writer, should never be taken naively. Regarding European leaders, French president is depicted rather neutrally, while British trade minister Conor Burns is reported to have been...

> "[...] *shaking hands with his Brazilian counterpart in Brasilia, saying the UK is eager to deepen relations with Brazil. Worse, asked about the Amazon fires, Burns refused to comment but reportedly said the government of Jair Bolsonaro had 'legitimate ambitions to bring prosperity to its people'"* (TDT_A12; tagged "China Watch")

Undoubtedly, the word "worse" here clearly expresses a negative moral evaluation of Mr. Burns' attitudes, not only by omitting his opinion about the fires but in special by allegedly supporting Bolsonaro's development projects in the Amazon. In fact, just before this reference to British trade minister, TDT_A12's author OP Rana (which is a senior editor with *China Daily*) explained that in the run-up to the G7 summit, *"the developed world's response to the crisis was mixed"*. As Norway and Germany had halted donations to the Brazilian government's Amazon fund, *"the focus of the United Kingdom was post-Brexit business with Brazil"* (TDT_A12). Thinking on stakes behind discourse, one

could question why *The Daily Telegraph* would publish a Chinese commentary on Amazon fires filled with such an explicit criticism over Britain's acting one the issue. Albeit this could be a very suitable way of endorsing China's political standpoints without too much self-exposition, most simply *The Telegraph* definitely needs to comply with its commitments under the commercial partnership sponsored by China's government.

Besides political authorities, scientific ones are also sourced in Mr. Rana's article (TDT_A12). Indeed, these social actors appear here nominated as discourse agents for the first time throughout this "Northern" analysis, hence not being used in any US newspaper previously assessed. In order to substantiate his "global commons" / global risk propositions, *China Daily*'s editor cites in direct speeches (a condition along the article nearly exclusive to these agents) two scientific "celebrities" or widely notable in their milieu: Brazilian climate scientist Carlos Nobre, professor at University of São Paulo (USP), and American conservationist and tropical biologist Thomas Lovejoy, ex-director of WWF and a five decade-over Amazon researcher who is considered the "godfather" of biodiversity (by launching the concept of "biological diversity"). They are respectively the author and a co-author of an influential tipping point study which forecasts that after a determined level of deforestation the Amazon will convert swaths of usually humid forest into a dry savannah, *"with dire consequences for the climate, wildlife and forest dwellers"*, summarizes article's writer (TDT_A12). Mr. Rana explains that the USP professor told a British newspaper (not specified) that: *"A very large number of these fires are due to the cultural push that ministers are giving. They are pushing deforestation because it is good for the economy"* (scientist Carlos Nobre's direct speech; TDT_A12). Curiously, the article makes room for a scientific agent whose comments actually converge to political issues. *"Nobre said that one of the only remaining ways to prevent a dangerous loss of forests was through external protests and consumer actions: 'Politicians in Brazil pay more attention to international pressure than the voice of Brazilians', he said"* (TDT_A12; tagged "China Watch). This declaration, by coincidence or not, simply turns to be the opposite utterance of another TDT article, in which its writer explains that *"the G7's sudden concern is of far less interest to Bolsonaro than the street and social media protests that are sweeping Brazil and putting real pressure to his government"* (TDT_A21). Anyway, the point here is that maybe professor Nobre's statement would require minimal (social) scientific basis. Seemingly, scientific credentials happen to be linked to rather subjective political comments, an impression confirmed by the second scientist, Mr. Lovejoy's speech, asserting that this is one of the *"darkest moments for the Amazon"*.

> *"There have always been some ups and downs, but the overall trajectory has been towards improvement. Now, Brazil is headed in the other direction. Under normal circumstances, the outside world would endeavour to help, but this Brazilian government is not interested in help".* (scientist Thomas Lovejoy's direct speech; TDT_A12, tagged "China Daily")

Commenting on political impressions per se does not seem wholly problematic, given that both scientists at stake have long experience in / with Brazilian both public and private institutions and organizations, however the fact that they provide discourse legitimation by authorization (expertise authority) should demand readers' a more attentive filtering of their speeches. In this context, special attention should be directed to Mr. Lovejoy's dichotomy between the *"outside world"*, probably "North" nations, and *"this Brazilian government"*, evidently Bolsonaro's administration, given that source's selected speech usually can be a tactic to implicitly judge Brazilian president's attitudes and policies. This is based on articles' general message, reinforced once more in its final paragraph: *"It seems that those hell-bent on boosting economic growth at any cost are holding the future of the world's forests, rather the future of the planet, to ransom. But without forests there will be any development"* (TDT_A12; tagged "China Watch"). Undoubtedly, there would be a lot to say about China's economic boost and its environmental costs along the last decades, but this section focuses on *The Telegraph*'s coverage, hence this "China Watch" opinion article will surely be further examined within China's coverage on the Amazon. For now, it is important to keep in mind that selfish (national) development dissociated from global conservation is intensely criticized by TDT's opinion pieces — a position which could virtually target any "North" or "South" nation, from UK's post-Brexit business to Brazil's pro-growth neoliberal path under Jair Bolsonaro.

Indeed, *China Daily*'s editor who authored *"The planet's future burns along with the Amazon rainforest"* (TDT_A12) — originally issued in the government's newspaper on August, 28 — might have read Johan Eliasch's commentaries (A21) on *The Telegraph*, published three days earlier (Aug., 25). While the former conclusively asserts that "*without forests there will be any development",* the latter initially approaches readers by arguing that *"The G7 should not make room for the crisis in the Amazon, it should be clearing the agenda for nothing else. Without rainforest we wouldn't even have economies to launch trade wars"* (TDT_A21). This last assumption only acquires a deeper rational persuasiveness latter in the article, in which the author casts, among other reasons, that *"funding Brazil and other tropical forest nations to forgo that* [industrial revolution] *path is a tiny cost compared to the bill humanity will face without rainforest"*. But, more importantly, the inference that without rainforests "*we wouldn't even have economies to launch trade wars"* also means that —without such "South" territories —"North" economies wouldn't even exist, and very likely not even the North-South divide.

Maybe as a result, *"the lack of effective global funding schemes to halt deforestation is a source of great shame"* (TDT_A21), a statement legitimized by moral evaluation, implying a negative judgement on nations' willingness to halt environmental degradation. Yet this could apply to "North" countries, the fact is that both sides seem to have their share of shame. While, on the one hand, the lack of funding is *"astonishing"*, considering that *"the mitigation cost of carbon emissions from avoided deforestation is by far the lowest across the spectrum, and that without addressing deforestation we will never achieve global net zero carbon emissions"* (TDT_A21), on the other hand, Mr. Eliasch stresses that there has been a coordinated multiple-stage *"assault by President Bolsonaro on the most globally significant store of biodiversity and terrestrial carbon"* (TDT_A21). In this last case, culpability lies not only on a single political agent, for instance, Brazilian president, but also on general "North" recklessness:

> *"It is interesting that the president's first statements on the crisis were to accuse the likes of Macron of neo-colonialism in their demands for international sanctions. This is a familiar line that ignores just how late international pressure has come to this unfolding ecological disaster".* (TDT_A21)

Thereby, as the Amazon belongs to the planet, regarding its healthy self-regulating systems, questions of neo-colonialism or national sovereignty appear relatively irrelevant.

Regarding TDT's article *"We will never save the rainforest until a living tree is worth more to Brazil than an incinerated one"* — the only opinion piece that by all appearances corresponds to a guest column — its author's main argument is that *"the burning will only stop when the root causes are addressed"* (TDT_A21). This is basically summarized in the article's title but also in its final statement: *"Sanctioning populist presidents makes headlines but, as Cool Earth has demonstrated from the Amazon to the Congo Basin, local carrots are the key to putting out those fires"* (TDT_A21). In this context, Mr. Eliasch explains that the threat of delaying the EU-Mercosur trade deal may not be the best strategy to put pressure on Brazil's negligence towards the environment and its commitments under the Paris Agreement. Above all, Cool Earth's founder defends that sending money to Brazil, more specifically through local incentives, could make the difference for the environment precisely because it could make the difference in overcoming poverty —here meeting a story-line steadily expressed in American newspaper *The Wall Street Journal*. By insisting that safeguarding *"people who have been the best custodians of our planet makes it the smartest climate action we can take"* (TDT_A21), Mr. Eliasch invests on a reasoning fully aligned to rational persuasiveness in argumentation:

> *"This may sound like a piece-meal solution, but the simple truth is that although rainforest plays a global role in establishing our climate and harbouring our biodiversity, its destruction is driven by*

> *local decisions. Bolsonaro unleashed the chainsaws and fires but they are driven by poverty and the zero value that is so often placed or earnt from standing forest".* (TDT_A21)

It should be added that this excerpt, in special by means of the expression *"the simple truth is"*, may also constitute another case of legitimation by theoretical rationalization. But, decidedly, what really counts more is that such proposition hardly meets the one suggested by *The Telegraph*'s deputy comment editor, Harry Hodges, in article TDT_A24: *"We must cut foreign aid until Brazil faces up its duty to protect the Amazon"*. By highlighting the global importance of the Amazon and reminding readers that Brazil became in 2019 the first country to receive payments under the UN's REDD+ scheme to reduce emissions caused by deforestation, Mr. Hodges claims for the suspension of these international funding efforts, at least to Brazil.

> *"Suspending our funding for Brazil would not only hit Bolsonaro in the pocket; it would send the message that he will remain persona non grata on the world stage until he starts taking his global responsibilities seriously. That is the best thing we can do for the rainforest".* (TDT_A24)

Presumably, stems from this argument that the Brisith ("we" here could be also understood for Europeans or even "North" citizens) would be offering indifference as their best solution for the Amazon whereas Brazilian president keeps current (pro-development / anti-environment) policies, cementing his international image as a *persona non grata*. This kind of controversial premise-conclusion relationship in partly fits into the functioning of a type of fallacy called *post hoc ergo propter hoc,* marked by a confusing causation and/or correlation. Surely, suspending funds would not only hit Bolsonaro in the pocket[117], it would also send a message about Britain's reputation on environmental concern and ability to negotiate preservation agreements, specially in a scenario that signs diplomacy for deepening commercial post-Brexit relations with Brazil.

In order to better illustrate *The Daily Telegraph's* representation and legitimation schemes, Figures 33 and 34 respectively summarizes these discourse features in Amazon coverage.

[117] This is a slightly imprecise metonymy, due to Amazon Fund's institutional and bureaucratic constraints. These funds are actually managed by the Brazil's National Bank for Economic and Social Development (BNDES). It is responsible for raising and distributing the fund's resources, as well as selecting the projects that will receive the money. Besides, the president of BNDES is nominated by Brazil's Minister of the Economy (hence not directly by Brazil's president). National critics to Amazon Fund, notably aligned to agribusiness, in fact claim that the money is transferred directly to NGOs and other projects under with low transparency. Nevertheless, it is true that up to 20% of the money can fund other projects in other Brazilian biomes, in other conservation projects of other tropical countries, as well as governmental programs from municipal, state and federal spheres.



Figure 33: Exclusion/inclusion, representation and legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from *The Daily Telegraph* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2007; 2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Black line separates social actors mentioned more than once (*above it*) from those with a single nomination (*below it*).



Figure 34: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from *The Daily Telegraph* (Aug. – Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); fallacies based on Roberts-Miller (2017); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (⟶) means "hence".

An interesting aspect in TDT's argumentation schemes refers to the partially conflicting samples of rational persuasiveness: if well grounded, presenting at the same time logic and soundness, an argument may be cogent in more than one direction. Thereby, in the transcribed excerpts (at the bottom of Figure 34), persuasiveness can potentially turbocharge the conclusion that "North" nations should fund "South" conservation projects, as well as the conclusion that in some cases "North" nations definitely should not fund "South" conservation projects.

Before closing this section, a few more words could be said about the North—South divide in *The Daily Telegraph*. Its deputy comment editor Harry Hodges provides in his article an explanation for "colonialism" which in part resonates with "representations of the world as persuasive definitions" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 92). By referring to Bolsonaro, Mr. Hodges writes: *"What's more,* [Bolsonaro] *he says, foreign nations are interested only because of their 'colonialist mentality', the sort of blame-the-West rhetoric typically associated with 'woke' student unions"* (TDT_A24). This refers to "the use of value-laden terms and so-called 'persuasive' (biased) definitions in arguments" (Fairclough & Fairclough, 2012, p. 92). Yet there seems to be a degree of irony attached to Mr. Hodges message, his representation of "colonialism" as a persuasive definition such as "*the sort of blame-the-West rhetoric"* brings the concept closer to a synonym of "South victimhood".

Summarizing TDT opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse trends of *The Daily Telegraph*'s opinion pieces, regarding how they represent Amazon's agents, what meanings they help to shape, and which are the possible implications for power issues. They are condensed below:

- ✓ Amazonia is widely represented as a "global common", with great emphasis on the idea that the whole world, as a common beneficiary of its environmental services, has the duty to help Amazon nations with the financial burden of its conservation. Climate change cuts across opinion pieces as an unquestionable issue of concern. Along with the less frequent allusion to a tipping point risk, halting deforestation is argued to be a vital requirement for the future of the global, mainly "Northern", economies.

- ✓ Joint governance and funding from the rich developed nations within green market mechanisms are *sine qua non* conditions to halt deforestation, specially insofar the standing tree is worth much less than the cut one. However, the role of poverty in deforestation is also cited as a co-factor, hence implicitly meeting the conservation versus poverty story-line.

- ✓ *The Telegraph*'s headlines not only frame issues but somehow also sum up text's main argument, a feature that in part may be explained by the absence of subheads in some news. Besides specific disagreements over the behaviour of Brazilian politics or over the use of funding conservation under Bolsonaro's administration, TDT writers most of the time consonantly share the perception that the Amazon is so globally significant that North—South divide appear as a second-rate affair. On the other hand, the idea of tourism as expressed in destination expert's article makes unclear to what extent this might be a valid interpretation line.

Noticing that the *The Daily Telegraph* shows some differences in relation to American coverage, which might be both socially / culturally explained — thinking not only about media culture, but also about other contextual aspects — the next section will examine another British newspaper: *The Guardian*.

7.2.5 *The Guardian*

In this section, I start by briefly providing some contextual information about opinion pieces under study from *The Guardian* (TGD). Then, the empirical analysis is properly undertaken, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from analyzed articles.

Contextualizing TGD opinion articles

In *The Guardian*'s coverage about the Amazon (totaling 50 occurrences), opinion articles make up eight units of analysis, including readers' letters, which should be taken extremely carefully in the context of this section. Composed by readers' comments and opinions, these texts don't necessarily integrate *The Guardian*'s "official" coverage about the Amazon, and their authors' anonymity can't be considered for the mapping of discourse agents in the newspaper, since their social role can't be checked (among other contentious issues). But things might change if a newspaper publishes a letter from a notable reader, which is not the case for *The Guardian*. Though, on the other hand, newspapers somehow select letters to be published, and presumably those that are judged as unsuitable — for many possible reasons — very probably don't move forward. Hence, the posture adopted in the scope of this chapter regarding readers' letters is the following: they are not considered for the purposes of (social actors) representation and (discourse / power) argumentation, unless they are signed by an authority or other agent notable enough to make a certain impact in discourse / power struggles. Even if this is not the case for *The Guardian*, still they are presented among the other opinion pieces (Table 7.5).

Thinking on the Amazon's "great burning weeks" by the end of August / beginning of September (2019), similarly to *The Telegraph*, *The Guardian*'s also privileges actuality as a key news-value, given that only one out of nine opinion pieces dates from outside this period. Table 22 below describes the main features of the media texts under analysis along the following paragraphs.

Table 22: Overview of *The Guardian*'s opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Section (tag)	Signature (as shown in news)	Headline	Subhead
A04	Aug. 28	501 to 750 words	Letters	Five TGD's readers identified by name and location**	Many are responsible for Brazil's Amazon fires	*Subhead not included*
A06	Dec. 12	1,001 to 1,500words	Opinion	Johnathan Watts (Guardian's global environment editor)	The Amazon is a matter of life and death for all of us. We must fight for it	Those who care about the planet's survival must do more than express messages of support — it's the world's new great cause
A14	Aug. 25	251 to 500 words	Opinion	Two TGD's readers identified by name and location ***	Letters: sustainable uses for the Amazon	There are ways to profit from the rainforest, if only we could put greed to one side
A31	Sep. 2	501 to 750 words	Opinion > Comment is free	Raoni Metuktire (chief of the Indigenous Brazilian Kayapó people)	We, the people of the Amazon, are full of fear. Soon you will be too	You destroy our lands, poison the planet and sow death, because you are lost. And soon it will be too late to change
A35	Aug. 26	1,001 to 1,500words	Opinion	David Miranda (federal congressman in Brazil)	Fires are devouring the Amazon. And Jair Bolsonaro is to blame	The ongoing destruction of the Amazon is taking place because of policy choices made by those who now rule Brazil

A39	Aug. 25	751 to 1,000 words	Observer[118] editorial: Comment is free	*Not included*	The Observer view on Jair Bolsonaro and the Amazon fires	The ecological carnage that we are witnessing will reverberate far beyond the borders of Brazil
A49	Sep. 6	751 to 1,000 words	Opinion	Rowan Williams (former Archbishop of Carterbury and chair of Christian Aid)	Amazon fires are a shameful indictment of our lust for excess	The flames engulfing the world's biggest rainforest are a human tragedy as well as an environment one. We are all to blame
A50	Aug. 23	1,001 to 1,500words	Opinion	Eliane Brum (Brazilian journalist and novelist based on the Amazon)	In Bolsonaro's burning Amazon, all our futures are being consumed	The rainforest might seem a remote place, but it is the heart of the planet — and it is under attack as never before

***** Article identification numbers were set in order of data collection, by the time mixing all sorts of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex A for the whole list).

****** Except for the first letter, whose author (Bert Schouwenburg) is identified also by his occupation (Trade union adviser).

******* This article includes other letters about other topics totally different from the Amazon or the environment.

[118] "The Observer" newspaper is a publishing label that functions as a Sunday version of *The Guardian*. The Observer editorial under analysis can't be considered from a newspaper distinct from *The Guardian*, because it was retrieved in *The Guardian*'s website, also including its host ID. URL: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/aug/25/observer-view-on-the-amazon-fires.

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

The Guardian's coverage about the Amazon, and more specifically its opinion pieces, shows some particularities. The variety of different agents which are both included and nominated, as well as the diversity of expressions used to refer to them, is impressive, in comparison to the other newspapers from the research corpus. Additionally, apart from the Amazon region, representation is basically triangular, thereby focusing on the following agents: Indigenous peoples (overall very positively represented); non-Indigenous citizens ("North", "South" or both; rather negatively then positively represented); and Brazilian president Bolsonaro (overall very badly represented). Besides the personal styles of the distinct opinion authors, the articles in general tend to follow a steady descriptive to narrative discourse that somehow blurs the typical premise-conclusion argumentation, turning for example the identification of fallacies and cases of rational persuasiveness more challenging. As representation and argumentation discourse zones *per se* often overlap, one could suspect that in *The Guardian* the latter notably make space for the former. This tendency — while partly compromising the assessment of more usual argumentation schemes — does not imply a decrease in power struggles in / behind discourse. As a result, the visual presentation and discussion of results in this section conform to a slight different fashion (in comparison to the previous newspapers).

A feature that emerges from the outset in TGD coverage is the attribution of culprits and battle opponents. Headlines and subheads stress on culpability, but also on the use of the pronoun "we", here following a tendency already observed for *The Telegraph*'s headlines. In *The Guardian*'s case, one of the titles immediately specifies the agents that are effectively referred: *"We, the people of the Amazon, are full of fear. Soon you will be too"*. TGD_A31 is signed by environmentalist and Kayapó Indigenous chief Raoni Metuktire. Right at the beginning of his text, social actors labeled as "you" apparently make reference to environmental criminals:

> *"We have set aside our divided history to come together. Only a generation ago, many of our tribes were fighting each other, but now we are together, fighting together against our common enemy. And that common enemy is you, the non-Indigenous peoples who have invaded our lands and are now burning even those small parts of the forests where we live that you have left for us".* (TGD_A31)

An inattentive reading of this excerpt could lead to the interpretation that the enemies are actually only those locals (likely some farmers, ranchers, loggers, miners, land grabbers, etc.) which are currently disrespecting Indigenous frontiers and clear-cutting pristine forest. However, this cluster does not correspond to the known profile of the social actors who delimited *"the forests where we live that you have left for us"*. Notoriously, forest territories demarcated as Indigenous reserves are not the fruit of

early colonizers but from Brazil's governmental policies along the second half of the 20th century[119]. This means that along Chief Raoni's article "you" very probably makes reference to, if not all, a much larger portion of non-Indigenous peoples. Other excerpts could support this interpretation: *"Why do you do this? You say it is for development — but what kind of development takes away the richness of the forest and replaces it with just one kind of plant or one kind of animal?"* (TGD_A31). Such view of development criticizes the monoculture of soya and cattle, while also observing that only a few people live on the farm lands. But entering more in-depth into the question of "*Who is this development for?*" (A31), Chief Raoni notes nothing but the social inequalities resulting from capitalism:

> *"We can see that it is so that some of you can get a great deal of money* [...] *it is a dead and useless thing, and it brings only harm and sadness* [...] *When your money comes into our communities it often causes big problems, driving our people apart. And we can see that it does the same thing in your cities, where what you call rich people live isolated from everyone else* [...] *Meanwhile other people starve or live in misery because they don't have enough money to get food for themselves and their children".* (TGD_A31)

These words converge with those from other *alter mundi* or "alter-globalist" well-known perspectives, ranging from Pope's — "We know how unsustainable is the behaviour of those who constantly consume and destroy, while others are not yet able to live in a way worthy of their human dignity"; §193 of *Laudato Si'*) — to Vandana Shiva's observations:

> We need to move beyond the discourse of 'development' and Gross Domestic Product (GDP) as shaped by capitalist patriarchal thinking, and reclaim our true humanity as members of the Earth family [...] It is not an accident that social inequalities of the past have taken a new and brutal form with the rise of corporate globalization. It is often observed today that by current trends, 1 per cent of the global population will soon control as much wealth as the remaining 99 per cent. (Shiva, 2018, p. 50)

By expanding examples of how humans are all equally beneficiary members of the Earth family, Chief Raoni — even if not using the term — emphasizes that the Amazon is a "global common" by mostly reinforcing the topos of danger or threat throughout his article, concluding that: "*We all breathe the same air, we all drink the same water. We live on this one planet. We need to protect the Earth. If we don't, the big winds will come and destroy the forest. Then you will feel the fear that we feel"* (TGD_A31).

Chief Raoni's article casts a clear opposition between Indigenous and non-Indigenous practices and values: there seems to take place here much more a description of two sides of a battle than a polarization of in-groups and out-groups. Firstly, because the idea of in- /out- group doesn't fit into a

[119] The first Indigenous reserve in Brazil, Parque Indígena do Xingu (Xingu Indigenous Park), dates from the 1950's. Currently there are 488 regularized Indigenous lands which represent around 12.2% of the national territory, located in all biomes, with a concentration in the Legal Amazon.

discourse that claims that the "human being" status makes all of us equals towards nature and that we must live fraternally and harmonically. Secondly, the motif of the battle is spread all over TGD opinion articles, albeit the only headline that explicitly expresses this idea refers to the article from Johnathan Watts, *The Guardian*'s global environment editor: *"The Amazon is a matter of life and death for all of us. We must fight for it"* (TGD_A06). Albeit Chapter 6 had already assessed not only the sense of warfare but also moral-related motifs through emotions and metaphors in discourse, this chapter overlaps mere symbolic features of discourse by including the analysis of a more practical reasoning and its implications for power issues.

In the previous analyzed newspapers (The WSJ, The NYT and TDT), specific argumentation schemes comprised in news texts were retrieved and categorized in accordance with their appeal to socially constructed reasoning shortcuts (*topoi*), as well as with their improper (fallacies) or sound / cogent logical essence (rational persuasiveness). For *The Guardian*, it seems that, beyond specific excerpts with certain discourse characteristics, a whole article may function as huge argument, with its own dominant representation or argumentation ruling. For instance, the title *"The Amazon is a matter of life and death for all of us. We must fight for it"* (TGD_A06) not only casts a wide range of social actors — one could count at least 12 distinct yet sometimes more or less akin discourse agents (Figure 35) — but also essentially distribute them in two confrontation groups corresponding to the poles of the Amazon battle. Firstly, its headline clearly evoques the topos of danger or threat, which resonates throughout the whole article: *"threats and violence continue unabated against forest defenders"*; *"the world must wake up to the existential threat posed by the destruction of the Amazon"*; *"civil rights activists describe a climate of terror"*; *"it is time to treat the Amazon as a matter of life or death — and not just for those who live there"* (the last excerpt corresponding to article's closure; all excerpts from TGD_A06). The description of the warriors from each ideological and field army, sparsely listed in Mr. Watts article, appear summarized in the following excerpt:

> *"The Amazon increasingly resembles a battleground. On one side is an ethnically diverse, ecologically rich mix of Indigenous people, riverine communities and quilombolas, or hinterland settlements. On the other is a primarily white capitalist elite, eager to exploit the land. In one form or another, this struggle dates back five centuries to the first European colonialists, but it has taken on global significance as the climate consequences become clearer* [...] *With the government on their side, land grabbers feel emboldened to invade and burn more forest".* (TGD_A06)

Then, a pitch of discourse legitimation by moral evaluation is added to stress both the importance of such centuries-long social-environmental battle and the indecency of ignoring and / or retreating from it: *"This is a shame on our generation"*; *"defence of the Amazon [...] is today's 'last great cause'"*; *"this is*

not just a question of common decency" (TGD_A31). Finally, the author utilizes a powerfully matched analogy to reinforce how great is the significance of this war:

> *"The Amazon (along with the Congo and Papua New Guinea, the oceans and other capitals of nature) should be as central to global debate and international activism as the Spanish civil war was in the 1930s. Back then, working-class idealists joined public intellectuals in the fight against fascism.* [...] *Some saw it as a civilisation-defining moment. Others described it in apocalyptic terms as "the last great cause". For Orwell* [...] *it was simply a fight for "common decency".* (TGD_A06)

This means that from this paragraph Mr. Watts article starts to activate the topos of history, which could be described as follows:

> Because history teaches that specific actions have specific consequences, one should perform or omit a specific action in a specific situation (allegedly) comparable with the historical example referred to. A specific subtype of this argumentation scheme is the existing Ciceronian topos of *historia magistra vitae*, of "history teaching lessons". (Wodak, 2001, p. 76)

Having in mind this explanation, one could synthesize the title "*The Amazon is a matter of life and death for all of us. We must fight for it"* (TGD_A06) and power stakes behind it by combining its triangular discourse strategy [topos of danger + (legitimation by) moral evaluation + topos of history], hence posing an implicit question left to readers: "Which side will you take?". After all, Mr. Watts' last proposition is undoubtedly appealing and deserves to be repeated so that we can fully comprehend its provocation for global action: "*This is not just a question of common decency; it is time to treat the Amazon as a matter of life or death — and not just for those who live there"* (TGD_A06).

Certainly, regarding power struggles, there are agents positively and negatively represented, corresponding to both sides of the battleground: the side of life (which point to Indigenous environmental justice), and the side of death [what pop culture could label as "the dark side of the (capital) force"]. Because the enemies are spread all over the globe, hence not being restricted to the Amazon:

> "[...] *the threat to civilisation and decency is not a new ideology, but the accumulated consequences of the old one. Bolsonaro, Donald Trump, Vladimir Putin, Rodrigo Duterte, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and other populists may often resemble fascists, but actually they are arch-capitalists. Their main appeal to voters comes not from a twisted vision of a future but from a promise to turn back the clock to a more stable age. This is impossible, because manmade climate chaos is increasingly disrupting more lives and economic activity. Until governments deal with that, all other battles will be futile".* (TGD_A06)

In this excerpt, *The Guardian*'s global environment editor does not hesitate in naming those political villains who must be defeated, for the well-being of humankind. Besides, the more stable age referred above very likely corresponds to the age of industrial and technical improvements whose impacts on the

environment were not yet fully perceivable. This implies that the very idea of development and capitalism should be reconsidered and readapted to the new "bio-geo-social-economic" scenario. This is why Mr. Watts argues that this current battle...

> "[...] *cannot be won on the ground with guns and bombs, but it can be shaped by opinions, money, consumer choices, street protests and international pressure. It is no longer enough for today's intellectuals, celebrities and other opinion formers to declare support for the rainforest on social networks. More people need to get out from behind their screens, to feel what nature provides and how it is being lost. That requires putting bodies, reputations and cash on the line, rather than leaving the battle to courageous but outmuscled and outmoneyed traditional communities".* (TGD_A06)

The author claims for a less virtual (merely on-line) and more real action for the Amazon and for the planet, noting that celebrities are not doing enough by posting cool pro-environment messages (that perhaps turn to be more helpful to their public image and careers), while anonymous unsupported forest dwellers are truly risking their lives. By avoiding at all costs buzz words such like development or sustainability, this article bets on challenging apparently both "North" and "South" conformist / comfortable (with status quo) mindset, in the hope to line up forces for a true global change. The prevalence of a new mentality comprising at the same time reasons for believing and reasons for acting would constitute itself a victory. Like in the Spanish Civil War, *"the antifascists lost the war but, as the great historian Eric Hobsbawm noted, they won the battle for ideas"* (TGD_A06). Here Mr. Watts recurs to a discourse legitimation by authorization (expert authority). More importantly, it must considered that such a proposition of winning *"the battle for ideas"* comes in a piece published on December, 2019, hence more than three months after the topic of forest fires had lost its more obvious news-values. This suggests that the article's author might be doing his part in keeping a subject as vital as the Amazon and *"other capitals of nature"* not only updated in the public agenda, but specially capable of recruiting more activists for the contemporaneous *"last great cause"*.

Back to the other opinion pieces published along the "great burning weeks", the topos of danger keeps being used to reinforce a meaningful message of urgency. *"What the world is witnessing is as deliberate as it is dangerous"*, declares opposition federal congressman David Miranda[120], in the longest opinion article of TGD coverage (TGD_A35). Its headline fully condenses the article's main claim that *"Fires are devouring the Amazon. And Jair Bolsonaro is to blame"* (TGD_A35). Mr. Miranda cites twice *The New York Times*, once in direct, and another occasion in indirect speech. This sole source

[120] Miranda led the campaign for Brazil's government (by the time under president Rousseff) to grant political asylum to Edward Snowden and worked with his husband, American journalist Glenn Greenwald to publish the revelations from Wikileaks — Greenwald was working for *The Guardian* by 2013 and this coverage won him a Pulitzer and another prize. Greenwald co-founded the site *The Intercept*, that published "Operation Car Wash" Telegram chat leaks — casting suspicion on Judge Sergio Moro, who, among other steps, convicted former President Lula da Silva for corruption-related crimes. Miranda and Greenwald, who are openly gay and legally married, are notorious opponents to president Bolsonaro.

mentioned in his entire article is actually used to stress the severity of fires in the Brazilian rainforest, in other words, to emphasize how the world has been watching *"in horror and terror as the Amazon burns"* (TGD_A35). At least three-quarters of the 1,337-word article focuses in reporting how the new government is working to destroy the Amazon: Bolsonaro is mentioned 15 times (see Figure 35); his environment minister Ricardo Salles is cited in six opportunities. In its last three (short) paragraphs, the Brazilian federal congressman, which represents the state of Rio de Janeiro with the Party of Socialism and Liberty (PSOL), also attacks "North's" response to the Amazon crisis:

> *"It is insufficient, and arguably offensive, for already developed and rich western powers which have done so much damage to the planet to simply dictate to Brazil that it must not exploit its resources the way the west has done with such great environmental damage* [...] *But the world also cannot stand by and let the Bolsonaro government destroy the Amazon. In lieu of unilateral decrees that smack of arrogant colonialism, rich industrialized countries who need the Amazon to survive should fund social programs for poor Brazilians who compose a large majority of our supremely unequal country, in exchange for preservation of this vital environmental asset".* (TGD_A35)

Mr. Miranda's position expressed above, for the first time, somehow meets Brazilian president's opinion about North's (more specifically Macron's) "colonialist mentality". But the core question remains around what could be described as the North—South "paradox", according to which "South" nations insist on the "blame-the-West" narrative (an expression employed by *The Telegraph*'s editor Harry Hodges, calling it a *"lazy rhetoric"*), while "North" countries complain about the need to pay out billionaire sums as ransom, so that they can be "free" to maintain their capitalist status quo after having largely deforested their territories. Such vital funding mechanisms visibly lack further operational details in Mr. Miranda's text. Besides, even if perhaps it can't be taken as a fallacy, the idea of "*unilateral decrees that smack of arrogant colonialism*" — which might be symbolically expressed — is somewhat inaccurate. Because halting trade negotiations doesn't really signify a decree, and colonialism in this case turns up being a possible antonym of globalization. Another somewhat paradoxal situation is that globalization is a fertile terrain for the "global common" sense, which is outlined by the Brazilian congressman: *"Identifying the culprit — Bolsonaro and Salles — is necessary but not sufficient to avert the environmental disaster. The Amazon belongs to Brazil, but the need to save the planet belongs to all of humanity, and all of us must bear this burden collectively"* (TGD_A35). The international funding solution in Mr. Miranda's text is insufficiently developed, in part because much of the space granted for his article is used to identify, describe, report and criticize the culprits, Brazilian president and his environment minister. Thinking on power implications, perhaps it would be hard to expect an inverse proportion of topics (qualifications of politicians more summarized; and

effective solutions for the Amazon displayed in more operational details), given that Mr. Miranda's party PSOL stands for today's strongest opposition[121] to government Bolsonaro in Brazil's congress.

Along *The Guardian*'s opinion pieces, the issue of climate change and a possible tipping point on planet's self-regulation is constantly raised, while the issue of poverty and social inequality is overall mentioned more *en passant.* Mr. Miranda's text makes a short reference to the international social funding for the "*poor Brazilians who compose a large majority of our supremely unequal country"* (TGD_A35). Dr. Rowan Williams, the former archbishop and chair of Christian Aid who authors another opinion piece, reminds readers that *"Latin America has the worst land concentration in the world. Just 1% of the land owners control half the arable land*" (TGD_A49). This data is included to substantiate the core argument — dispersed in small pieces throughout his text — that human (capitalist) greed is the real root of the environmental crisis in the Amazon. In fact, the article *"Amazon fires are a shameful indictment of our lust for excess"* (A49), whose title's appeal to morality is explicitly displayed, appear to be the only text that surpasses (by fully ignoring it) the "North"—"South" divide. It rather focuses on the defence of Indigenous peoples, by arguing that the survival and wellbeing of these communities *"should take precedence over the drive for 'development' that serves only a lust for consumption and convenience. The fact that this does not seem to be an obvious moral priority should make us all ashamed"* (TGD_A49). Such a (discourse legitimation by) moral evaluation suggests that the collective personal pronoun "our" most likely refer to global consumerist societies as a whole (see Figure 37). By consequence, it is also the only piece that refuses the "battleground" motif as well as explicit mentions to political agents. This does not mean that they are entirely absent, but actually backgrounded. Following Dr. Williams picture of the Amazon, there seems not to be any battle for the simple reason that Indigenous people and other forest communities are being practically massacred, in special those who haven't been able to acquire recognition of the land where they live. *"Those unable to do so face the full force of the present Brazilian government's economic development policies, which actively encourage logging and mining on Quilombola land"* (TGD_A49). *Quilombola* (or *quilombo*) refers to communities of descendants of escaped slaves and appears, among research corpus about the Amazon, for the first time in *The Guardian*, in at least two different opinion pieces (see Figure 35). This shows how representation of Amazon agents is deeply stratified. But, more importantly, between capitalist greed and land struggles, the issue of poverty appear as the one that can make the difference on whether the Amazon is to be protected or not:

[121] Brazil's Party for Socialism and Liberty (PSOL) was aligned to Workers' Party administrations that came before Mr. Bolsonaro.

> *"The* [British] *prime minister has lately called for 'more ambition' in tackling the climate crisis and biodiversity loss. We take him at his word: Christian Aid has launched a petition calling on him and other global leaders to tackle the poverty and inequality which has fuelled the environmental crisis".* (TGD_A49)

Therefore, implicitly, it seems that the conservation versus poverty paradigm (backgrounded) frame might be playing its role behind Dr. Williams argument to respond to Prime Minister's call. Additionally, it allegedly recruits more leaders worldwide to approach the Amazon by its human component, in order to obtain positive results for the climate, the environment and its biodiversity.

Certainly, the human (Indigenous) perspective as the key Amazon factor in tackling conservation broadly cuts across *The Guardian*'s coverage. Figures 35 to 38 below better summarize and illustrate representation and argumentation schemes under discussion for this British newspaper.



Figure 35: Exclusion / inclusion and polarization of social actors in opinion articles from *The Guardian* (Aug. – Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Social actors nominated more than once are listed in the left side, while those with a single nomination in the right, except for G.Orwell, who is cited twice (*upper greener box*). Quotations from the original text are maintained.



Figure 36: Representation of social actors in opinion articles from *The Guardian* (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

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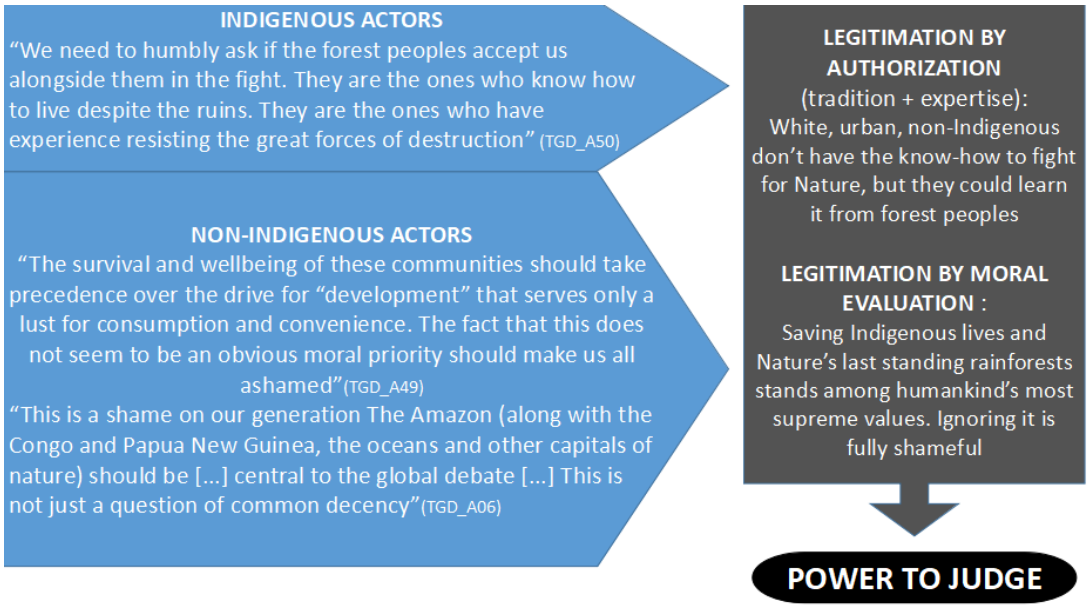


Figure 37: Legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from *The Guardian* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: legitimation based on Van Leuween (2007).

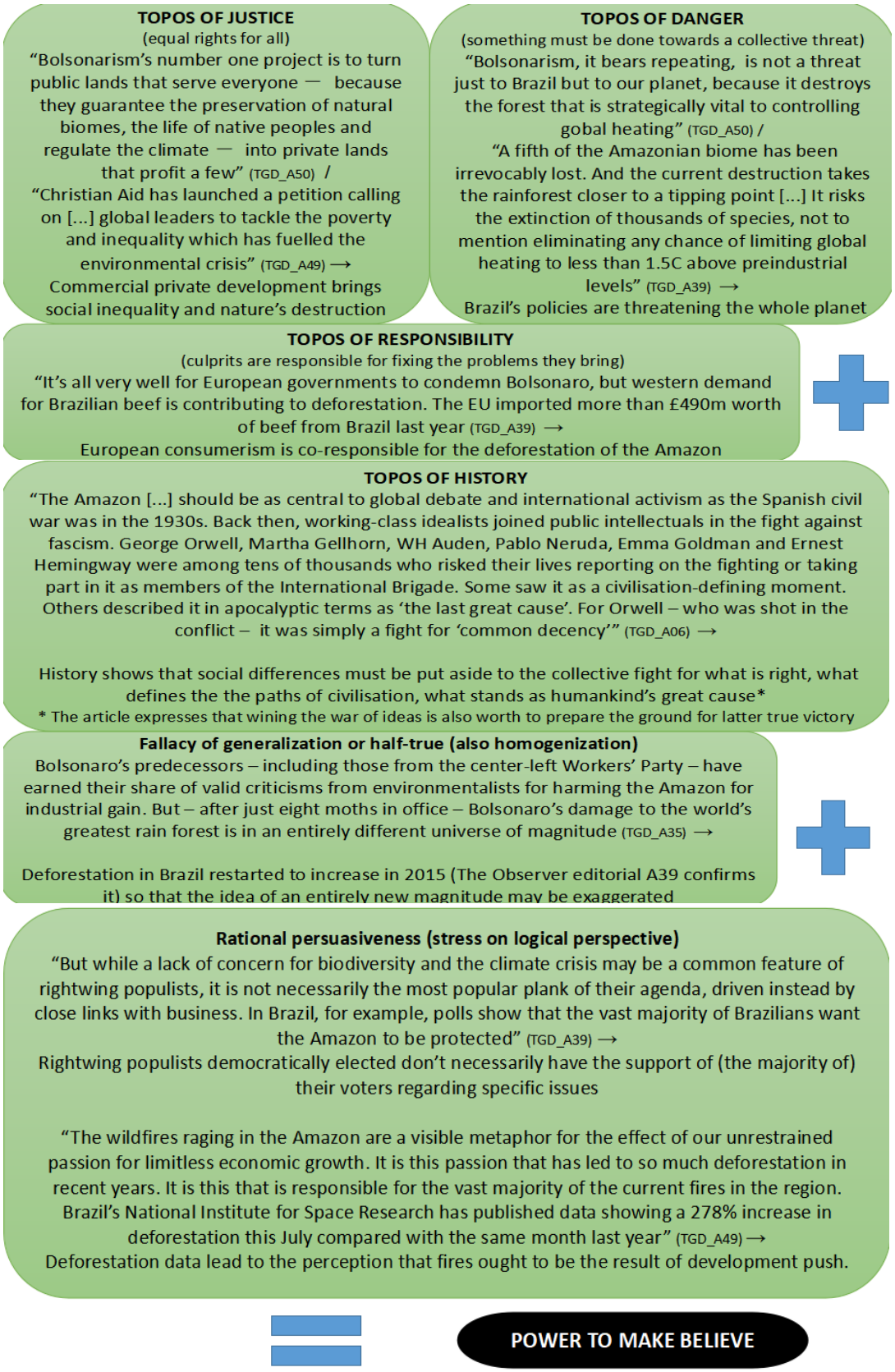


Figure 38: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from *The Guardian* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); fallacies based on Roberts-Miller (2017); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (⟶) means "hence".

Taking into consideration that representation and argumentation schemes deal with "North" — "South" issues often between the lines, the more explicit tensions still are to be better discussed. According to Figure 36 above, regarding Bolsonaro's representations (the one expressed by *The Observer*'s editorial A39), links Brazilian president to US president Donald Trump, affirming that they are both "*cut from the same cloth"* (TGD_A39). Differently from the more flattering comparison made by the American newspaper *The Wall Street Journal*, in which the *"Latin American version of Donald Trump"* (Bolsonaro) is praised for his courage to tackle domestic opposition to neoliberal projects, in *The Guardian*, these politicians are depicted as right-wing populists who go against the grain of a much needed global environment leadership. While Brazil and US leaders are criticized for their climate denial, in contrast, *The Observer* editorial avoids explicit political finger-wagging on other European nations. Commenting on the Amazon agenda inclusion in the G7 summit and on the "coloniality" dispute between Bolsonaro and Macron, the newspaper respectively notes that France and Ireland are *"in truth, likely motivated by their own trading interests as well as concern for the Amazon",* and that *"away from the high-octane rhetoric"* (TGD_A39)*,* Brazilian president finally put the army to deal with such an *"internal issue"* such as rainforest's fires.

Furthermore, Figure 38 above also shows that the topos of responsibility clearly makes reference to a collective *mea culpa*, according to which European consumption of imported beef from Brazil allegedly has its share in deforestation overseas. One should note, however, that *The Observer*'s editorial doesn't distinguish whether the presented rate of deforestation (not informed in area) really occurs in the Amazon or the Cerrado biome, the latter corresponding to Brazilian west savannah sharply converted into a commodity frontier in the last decades, corresponding to Brazil's main stage of its "Green Revolution". Indeed, it seems hard to refute the fact that beef production in the Cerrado hasn't been enough to meet world's — including China's — increasing demand, explaining the expansion of cattle ranching to the northern areas of Brazil, entering into the Amazon biome. This argument is not only present nearly in all coverages under analysis, but fully reiterated in Dr. Williams piece: *"The global patterns of economic growth, including the unprecedented levels of demand for meat in the developed world, account for much of the pressure on land use in the region"* (TGD_A49). The point is that, among opinion articles in different newspapers, *The Guardian* is the news outlet that more openly approaches the topic of consumption patterns. Still, the issue of the persistent pork supply deficit in China (USDA, 2021) remains overlooked, since the Chinese import of soya beans for animal feed also plays a crucial role in Amazon deforestation. These are among the more material components

behind human greed (widely criticized in *TGD*'s opinion pieces) that leads to both Indigenous and local / global environment collapse.

In fact, *The Observer*'s editorial delves into the little thought-out connection between two social actors: Indigenous peoples and European leaders — one's attention should be drawn to the very publication of an opinion article signed by an Indigenous leader, for instance, Kayapó Chief Raoni Metuktire. The referred editorial dismisses tensions on sovereignty or colonialism, since the cooperative spirit is prioritized, specially by the connection between the most distant parties:

> *"Strong-arming less affluent nations into action through trade deals is not, by itself, enough. Wealthier countries in Europe need to do far more when it comes to stumping up proper resources for overseas conservation, an area of spending that governments have found it too easy to skimp on. Environmental rhetoric comes cheap. Only the coming months will tell if European leaders are prepared to take the action that is needed to support those Brazilians who are battling to protect the Amazon and the unique role it plays in safeguarding a biodiverse, sustainable planet for future generations".* (TGD_A39)

In fact, questions regarding *mea culpa* in *The Guardian*'s opinion pieces bifurcate into two tendencies: on the one hand, the claim that *"wealthier countries in Europe need to do farm more* [...] *for overseas conservation"* implies a degree of moral obligation; on the other hand, a somewhat "reverse culpability" is proposed by the Brazilian journalist's Eliane Brum, in the sense that non-Indigenous Latin American citizens should radically change the way they perceive Western values and practices. In the first case, the more or less predictable formula is applied: *"It is insufficient, and arguably offensive, for already developed and rich western powers which have done so much damage to the planet to simply dictate to Brazil that it must not exploit its resources the way the west has done with such great environmental damage"* (TGD_A35; authored by Mr. Miranda, the Brazilian congressman). This formula, while often expressed throughout corpus newspapers (in and out opinion pieces), in part curiously bears possible traces of the fallacy *tu quoque,* by pointing that "you did it, too" (*"Western powers"*), thereby assuming a void moral authority from "North" discourse. Nevertheless, this type of argumentation, whether fully refuted as not fallacious at all, still ignores symbolic tipping points, crucial cultural changes in contemporaneous societies, specially in terms of (alter)globalization, environmental awareness / justice, climate change and the broad "global commons" increasingly shared story-line.

In the second North—standpoint, Brazilian journalist based in the Amazon Eliane Brum defends that *"We have to decolonise ourselves"*:

> *"For us to be capable of resisting, we must become the forest — and resist like the forest* [...] *We must lend shape to this political, affective feeling in order to lend meaning to our actions* [...] *The fact that the Amazon is still regarded as something far away, on the periphery of our vision, shows just how stupid white western culture is. It is a stupidity that moulds and shapes the political and economic elites of the world, and likewise of Brazil. The forest is at the very core of all we have. This is the real home of humanity. The fact that many of us feel far away from it only shows how much our eyes have been contaminated, formatted and distorted. Colonised.* (TGD_A50).

This idea echoes a broad criticism of "North's" hegemonic reasoning, according to which the part englobes, subjects and counts for the whole: "metonymyc reason is not able to accept that the understanding of the world is much more than the western understanding of the world" (FT)(Santos, 2020, p. 242). This concept is connected to the idea, shared among some lines of thought in the social sciences, of "power coloniality", that assumes that — despite its formal / historical end — colonialism continues / continued to dominate in post-colonial societies. Notwithstanding, Ms. Brum's argumentation seems to identify a sort of "blame-the-South" phenomenon, describing how the citizens of ex-colonies have been failing to "decolonise" themselves from "North's" hegemony, with its selfish values, shallow beliefs and exploitative practices, including unconscionable / unconscious consumerism. She defends that this is a necessary condition to seize the centrality of the forest in our lives, a vision that brings closer together non-Indigenous and Indigenous who, in the latter case, have never been truly (culturally) colonised, following Ms. Brum's somewhat utopian proposition. Additionally, utopia-fashioned is not exclusive to a single article, given that *The Guardian*'s global environment editor also expresses scenarios *"that may seem a distant prospect"*:

> *"Move this issue from the periphery to the centre and everything – global politics, economics and individual thinking – changes. Ecology will be seen as more fundamental than economy, long-term fertility will come ahead of destructive GDP growth, ecocide will be punishable in criminal courts, future generations and other species will be given democratic representation, and school curriculums will teach children how to maintain our home, planet Earth".* (TGD_A06)

Briefly speaking, opinion pieces from *The Guardian* not merely shape meanings and interpretations about the Amazon and a whole constellation of social actors involved in discourse and power struggles. Particularly, moving the Amazon from the periphery to the centre of the world (by questioning "Western" dominant values and story-lines) is an idea that runs throughout all *The Guardian*'s opinion texts in a very refined way that reverberate post-colonial issues. The circularity of this message — filled with moral input — calls for a radical, urgent, global environmental hence political engagement.

Summarizing TGD opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse trends of *The Guardian*'s opinion pieces, regarding how they represent Amazon's agents, what meanings they help to shape, and which are the possible implications for power issues. They are condensed below:

- ✓ *The Guardian*'s coverage about the Amazon is simultaneously the most diverse in terms of the inclusion of distinct social actors, and yet the most focused on the positive representation of a specific group: Indigenous agents. This happens because the Amazon is intensely depicted as a battleground, and Indigenous peoples (leading a cluster which I labeled the "green side") stand as the best, both experienced and skilled warriors, also morally speaking.

- ✓ As a result, culprits and villains (from the cluster which I labeled the "greed side") — both sides emerging from CDA on the coverage as a whole, but specially from the opinion piece from *The Guardian*'s global environmental editor Johnathan Watts; A06 — are also fully pointed and described: Brazilian president Bolsonaro Brazilian environment minister Ricardo Salles, more notably in articles signed by Brazilian guest writers. Moreover, indifferent, unconscious, greedy — in Latin America "colonised" — hence both "North" and "South" consumers have their daily share in Amazon deforestation, thus in global environment destruction. Because the Amazon stands not only as a vital part of the world: it is insisted that it is the centre of the world (along with planet's remaining natural assets). In this context, concerns about climate change and a global tipping point appear as great risks.

- ✓ Thereby, beyond a "global common", the Amazon is today's *"last great cause"*. This explains why the topos of danger is so present in discourse argumentation and the flag of moral evaluation is so steadily raised. Environmental unawareness, indifference or mere rhetoric constitute "indecent" attitudes if one takes into consideration that Indigenous people's — physically, financially and structurally weak — are those who are battling with their lives for the future of mankind.

7.2.6 British coverage about the Amazon

British and / or international readers who kept track of the media outlets about the Amazon along the second semester of 2019, very likely, might have perceived the issue under quite complementary standpoints whether they followed *The Daily Telegraph* (TDT) or *The Guardian* (TGD) — at least

regarding opinion pieces. Indeed, the topic of forest fires and their impact on the globe is a common denominator for both newspapers. On the framing aspect, TDT shows a financial-related climate change concern (inclusively admitting the role of poverty in deforestation), in comparison to the climate change via environmental justice consonantly framed by TGD's opinion articles. Agents' representation in TDT are slightly less stratified than in TGD, in which many different social actors are included to basically compose two battling sides. Conversely, Bolsonaro is widely referred in the former newspaper, while in the latter its profile prominence is partially overshadowed by Indigenous agents. In all cases, Brazilian president is criticized for his handling on a globally significant issue. Discourse argumentation in *The Telegraph* still follows some commonly seen premise-conclusion structures, while *The Guardian*'s arguments are more scrambled in the middle of narratives, descriptions, representations (warfare, history), metaphors and analogies. For a better comprehension and visual purpose, Table 23 below summarizes the most relevant findings enabled by the CDA tools applied to corpus, while rearranging some research questions at stake in this chapter, and proposing answers to them based on the results achieved along analysis. Data from frame analysis conducted along the Chapter 5 may be repeated here to better illustrate results interconnections.

Table 23: Comparison of CDA and other results from *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian* coverages (exclusively opinion articles) about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

Dimension	Category	The Daily Telegraph	The Guardian
Data volume	Number of opinion articles	4 (0 editorial; 1 guest column; 2 op-eds from TDT; 1 op-ed from *China Daily*)	8 (1 editorial; 1 op-ed; 2 compilations of letters; 4 guest columns)
Frames	Top foregrounded frame*	Environmental degradation	Political pressure
	Main backgrounded frames	Climate change; international financial implications; pro-environment	Climate change; environmental justice; tipping point
	Editorial's foregrounded frame	*Not applicable*	Political pressure
	Editorial's backgrounded frames	*Not applicable*	Climate change; tipping point; environmental justice; international financial implications
Agents' representation	SA inclusion + nomination (minimal occurrence: twice)	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Brazil's climate scientist Carlos Nobre; France's president Macron	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Brazilian environment minister Ricardo Salles; US President Donald Trump
	SA assimilation	*Not significant*	*Not significant*
Nomination	In-groups x out-groups (*intensity*)	"We": British, Europeans, "North" citizen, who have the duty to help to protect the Amazon (*traces*). No opposite group.	Yet polarized, the battle between the green side (Indigenous + allies) and the greed side (Bolsonaro + allies) does not set up in-/out- groups

Predication	Positive / negative labels	Negative: Brazilian president Bolsonaro (*"persona non grata"*) Positive: *not significant*	Negative: Amazon's *"ecological carnage"* (led by the greed side); *"patriots"* (Bolsonaro's supporters) Positive: brave, holistic, respectful non-materialistic Indigenous peoples
Legitimation	Retrieved types	Moral evaluation, targeting "North" citizens, which have the duty to help funding rainforests conservation; theoretical rationalization, implying destruction *per se* in fact takes place at the local level	Moral evaluation, targeting ("North" / "South") non-Indigenous, who not only do not have the know-how to fight for the Nature but who also show indecency, cowardice and / or a colonised mindset towards Nature and Indigenous lives
Argumentation	Topoi activated	(2) Topos of danger or threat; topos of finances	(3) Topos of responsibility; topos of danger or threat; topos of history
	Rational persuasiveness	Arguments: financial incentives would benefit developing countries (and forests preservation) with relatively little cost for rich nations; Britain's conservation funds should flow to responsible countries (thus not to Brazil)	Arguments: populist politicians are not popular all the time regarding some issues (e.g. development projects in the Amazon); data showing increased deforestation very likely means development projects are also increasing in the rainforest
Power implications	Whose Amazon? Whose rules?	Amazon as a "global common" or international asset. International cooperation led by the G7 and rich nations in general.	Amazon as a "global common" and world's "last great cause". Pro-environment (Indigenous-like) values and worldview should prevail. Environmental justice management model, benefiting the whole planet.
	Whose fault / benefits? Whose merit / prejudice?	Amazon's presidents (Brazil, Ecuador, Peru) favor destruction by pushing commercial projects. Specially, Bolsonaro's policies are to blame, albeit deforestation *per se* is driven by poverty and local decisions.	Brazilian president Bolsonaro and his environment minister Ricardo Salles are the main nominated culprits. But "Western" way of life (and thought), irresponsible capitalism and consumerism are ruining the Amazon, for the prejudice of mankind. Even if powerless, Indigenous and some allies try they best to

			resist rapacious materialist developers.
	What / whose values?	Rationality, solidarity, reasonableness.	Indigenous and/or "decolonised" values: decency, braveness, solidarity, awareness.
	Is there a "North" / "South" divide?	"North" nations have both the right to benefit from the "global commons", but also the duty to help tropical nations with the burden of forests conservation. Yet only responsible *bona fide* "South" nations should be funded. "Blame-the-west" story-line is a shallow rhetoric.	The real divide separates Indigenous versus Non-Indigenous; green versus greed; decency versus shame; cooperation versus veiled exploitation (for distant urban consumers); periphery versus centre; colonised versus decolonised worldviews, the latter two clearly reverberating while questioning the "North" / "South" divide.
Research questions at stake	How is the "developmentist" agenda represented?	Development of rich countries was trailed by deforestation. From now, funding schemes to halt deforestation in developing countries is a *"tiny cost"* in comparison to a whole planet without tropical forests. Without rainforests, there will not be any development nor national economies.	Development is rare term in TGD; when employed, it is sharply criticized, depicted as a source of nothing but social inequality and environment degradation. It is closely linked to over-consumption and greed.
	What are the possibilities for a real sustainability?	Perhaps tourism could play a role in outsiders' sustainable "use" of the Amazon. But paying forest custodians in the Amazon (Congo, and other tropical forests) is presented as the smartest climate action. Standing trees should worth more than cut ones: this is presented as a globally sustainable path.	Protecting and funding forest guardians who have been living sustainably for centuries is the key. Due to Amazon's crucial role in global water systems, biodiversity and climate, and to the risk of a tipping point, the world must halt deforestation by joining Indigenous cause and values, which implies the need to stop greedy developers but also greedy consumption.
	What views on democracy: Who decides what for the	Democracy is a rather absent term in TDT. Once "democratically" established, Brazil's politicians sometimes pay more attention to international pressure, sometimes to domestic public opinion	Bolsonarim is deeply entwined with Brazil's and world's democracy crisis. The raise of rightwing populists (Trump; Putin; Duterte; Erdogan) is explained by the accumulated consequences of the old fascist ideology

	best? For whom?	(seemingly keeping an eye on reelection). G7 should discuss the Amazon agenda, due to its global importance. Yet, this view is exclusively expressed by TDT's supplement "China Watch".	and / or by failures of the establishment class. They promise to turn world's clock back to a more stable age, but this is impossible due to manmade climate chaos.

***** Data from Chapter 5.

Significant features in media discourse were found in American and British newspapers, shaping slightly different meanings about Amazon and its social actors. Most importantly, CDA enabled a better comprehension on the functioning of argumentation engineering and power struggles implied by opinion pieces. Next section will analyse newspapers from the Global "South", a social, cultural, geopolitical change of perspective that hopefully should add more complexity to the Amazon coverage.

7.3 Analysis of newspapers from the global South

Newspapers representing the Global "South" are India's news outlet *The Hindu*, and China's government publication *China Daily*. These are the newspapers that contain opinion pieces in their coverages about the Amazon within the period August to December, 2019. Thereby, for the purpose of the qualitative analysis adopted in the scope of this chapter, India and China have each one solely one media "representative". This feature is not a big surprise, due to trends identified in quantitative / content analysis conducted in Chapter 5, which showed a prevalence of celebrities reactions as (informational) news in *The Times of India*, and a very low number of news articles about the Amazon in *People's Daily*. The subsections below employ the same CDA methodology undertaken for "North" newspapers.

7.3.1 *The Hindu*

In this section, I assess opinion pieces from Indian newspaper *The Hindu* (THD). Following the same itinerary made for "North" coverage, firstly I present some contextual information about the analyzed texts. Then, the empirical (CDA) analysis is properly undertaken, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from THD articles.

Contextualizing THD opinion articles

In *The Hindu* coverage about the Amazon (totaling 44 occurrences), opinion articles make up six units of analysis: one interview, two editorials and three single-authored letters. Nearly all opinion pieces from THD are published in August, two during in the first week, the other three during the main "great burning week" at the final of the month — only the interview is published in November. This suggests actuality is a core news-value for the newspaper, given that the first days of August 2019 correspond to the repercussions around the dismissal of INPE's director, Ricardo Galvão, after the official release of deforestation data.

Table 24 below describes the main features of the media texts belonging to *The Hindu*'s opinion pieces. Subheads appear exclusively below the newspaper's editorials, contextualizing news framing, sometimes providing tips on texts' main discourse topics. All information provided about letters' authors are included, in order to show that — in one single case — the author's social (power) position (ambassador of Brazil in India), rather than the location, is privileged, a situation that justifies the inclusion of the referred letter (THD_A03) as a valid opinion text in the current CDA approach.

Table 24: Overview of *The Hindu*'s opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. – Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Section (tag)	Signature (as shown in news)	Headline	Subhead
A02	Aug. 1	251 to 500 words	Editorial	Opinion: Logged out	On protecting Amazon rainforest	Brazil must recognize that the Amazon rainforest is a universal treasure
A03	Aug. 7	<250 words	Letters	André Corrêa do Lago, Ambassador of Brazil in India	Amazon policy	*Not included*
A17	Aug. 26	251 to 500 words	Letters	G. David Milton, Maruthancode, Tamil Nadu	Amazon wildfires	*Not included*
A21	Aug. 27	251 to 500 words	Editorial	*Not included*	Earth's burning lungs: On Amazon's rainforest fires	Brazil's attitude to the destruction of large areas of the Amazon rainforest is worrying
A26	Aug. 28	501 to 750 words	Letters	M. Jeyaram, Sholavandan, Tamil Nadu	Amazon fires	*Not included*
A42	Nov. 28	1,000 to 1,500 words	Environment**	Praveen Sudevan	Amazon is burning every year, reminds Nat Geo Society's Chief Scientist Jonathan Baillie	National Geographic Society's chief scientist Jonathan Baillie warns that we need to heed nature's wake-up call

* Article identification numbers were set in order of data collection, by the time mixing all sorts of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex B for the whole list).

** This article actually is an interview with Dr. Baillie, his direct speech corresponding to about 90% of the text (the other 10% corresponding to the presentation of the interviewee to the readers).

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

A characteristic repeatedly observed in different newspapers in terms of agents' representation is the prominence of Brazilian president. In *The Hindu*, things don't change significantly regarding authorities' mentions, albeit the relatively high number of "South" nations as impersonalised abstract social actors calls attention. While the European Union is cited only once (but Norway and Germany twice, in reference to the Amazon Fund they financed for roughly a decade), the BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) countries appear as a cluster for the first time. This is an important change in geopolitical perspective if one takes into consideration that the acronym finally appears, but only in a "South" newspaper. On the other hand, Amazonian agents' cited in discourse are basically Indigenous groups / communities (more often included), and loggers and ranchers (once). The first editorial (THD_A02; Aug. 1) also mentions *"armed gold-hunting groups"* who likely killed *"the leader of one tribe"* in Amapá state.

The Hindu is actually the only newspaper in corpus that published two editorials about the Amazon, one right after the release of sharp increased deforestation data in early August, and the other during the backlash on Amazon fires by the end of that month. The first editorial, entitled *"On protecting the Amazon"* (THD_A02) advances not only a substantial "global common" sense but points out that *"While most nations tend to view their land and forests through the narrow prism of short-term economic gain, climate science data show that they play a larger environmental role"* (THD_A02). This proposition clearly criticizes unsustainable projects whereas it sets up discourse legitimation by authorization (expert / scientific authority). In this context, this editorial attributes the merits for Amazon's roughly 4/5 of remaining area to Indigenous groups, *"whose presence has prevented commercial interests from overrunning the lands"*, despite the *"relentless pressure to convert forests into farmlands, pastures and gold mines, and to build roads"* (THD_A02). By noting that such a *"fragile legacy is now imperilled"*, it also calls attention to Bolsonaro's speeches *"in favour of 'reasonable' exploitation of these lands"* — the quotation for "reasonable" here seemingly questioning the subjectivity of the term. The newspaper points that Bolsonaro'scomments have emboldened the illegal expansion into the forest, including criminality. Indeed, this first editorial as a whole highlights the global role of the Amazon rainforest, whereas it expresses concerns about Brazilian president attitudes towards environmental issues. Additionally, on the level of discourse dynamics, some representation schemes appear subtly overlapped by legitimation marks, which seem to prevail as the main forms of argumentation. For example, deforestation and criminality are *"depressing developments, and the Brazilian leader's criticism of satellite data and denial of the violence are not convincing at all"*

(THD_A02): this kind of construction qualifies and judges (moral evaluation) both the mentioned developments and Brazilian president's described (represented) behaviour, while arguing that Bolsonaro's speech lacks elaboration (hence partly referring to the topos of responsibility). Another example is added to illustrate how THD steadily, yet politely, legitimates its "informational" (narrative / descriptive) discourse by moral evaluation (judgements about what is good / bad, useful / useless, etc.) on Brazil's president:

> *"Brazil has everything to gain by engaging with the international community on meeting the opportunity cost of leaving the Amazon undisturbed. Mr. Bolsonaro lost a valuable opportunity to seek higher funding for forest protection by refusing to host the annual convention of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change this year, but he has been wise not to exit the Paris Agreement. Abandoning that pact would jeopardise Brazil's access to the important European Union market. Globally, there is tremendous momentum to save the Amazon forests. Brazil must welcome initiatives such as the billion-dollar Amazon Fund backed by Norway and Germany, which has been operating for over a decade, instead of trying to shut them down".* (THD_A02)

While, on the one hand, Brazil *"has everything to gain"* (topos of usefulness; advantage) by demonstrating more openness and cordiality in its diplomatic relations, given that there is *"tremendous"* momentum to negotiate international funds for conservation, on the other hand, Bolsonaro loses *"valuable"* opportunities, from dismissing the visit of UNFCCC parts to shutting the Amazon fund. Yet, the only exception in which *The Hindu* expresses a positive evaluation about Bolsonaro's administration applies to his *"wise"* decision to maintain Brazil in the Paris Agreement. This implicitly suggests that imitating US president Donald Trump would certainly complicate Brazil's exports to the EU. Additionally, one should pay attention to the final recommendation at the end of the excerpt: *"Brazil must welcome initiatives* [...] *".* Whether this is really an advice or perhaps a warning (in any case, the usual modal verb is "should") does not make too much difference here, though symbolically there might be a particular significance whenever another "South" nation encourages Brazil to accept "North" money to preserve its tropical forests.

This interesting aspect of power behind discourse leads to the broader perception of a news discourse that somehow questions Brazil's autonomy — which is perhaps an unexpected move from another "South" nation. In its subhead, this first editorial says that *"Brazil must recognise that the Amazon is a universal treasure".* Nevertheless, by making rather light complements to the idea expressed in the subhead, the same editorial concludes in its final paragraph that:

> *"Brazil's president must recognise that the Amazon rainforests are universal treasures, and the rights of indigenous communities to their lands are inalienable. The international community must use diplomacy to convince Mr. Bolsonaro that no other formulation is acceptable".* (THD_A02)

One can notice that not only the modal verb "must" is employed twice, once for each side (Brazil's president and the *"international community"*), but also the expression *"no other formulation is acceptable"* may a firm, somewhat authoritarian tone. However, one should also take into consideration that English language used in India lies on a different cultural context, implying that the very use of "must" may be blunter than any sense of "obligation". Anyway, the idea that *"no other formula is acceptable"* may also refer more to reasonableness and "good sense" rather than a clear imposition.

However, not surprisingly, this first editorial automatically prompts *The Hindu*'s next article, THD_A03: the letter signed by Brazil's ambassador, Mr. Lago, who makes clear that his message *"is with reference to the Editorial, 'Logged out' (August 1, 2019)"*. His very first utterance (argument) points to a presumed unawareness of India (or at least of *The Hindu*'s editorial board) about the complexity of monitoring the Amazon rainforest: *"The size of the untouched Amazon forest inside Brazil is larger than the entire territory of India. I am certain there is understanding of what the challenges to protect and ensure the sustainable development of such vast lands entail"* (THD_A03). It is not really possible to infere if there is a bit of irony behind the expression *"I am certain there is understanding",* which in this case would cast a pinch of incompetence in Indians who easily judge Brazil about its handling on the huge Amazon basin. Brazil's ambassador in India then raises the flag of sustainability, in the hope to approximate the reality and goals of the two nations:

> *"Brazil, like India, has been working to balance the social, economic and environmental dimensions in its society, which includes the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals. Together with Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BASIC), Brazil has been proactive and constructive in negotiations under the United Nations Climate Change Convention, always defending its (their) sovereignty and interests".* (THD_A03)

Having in mind this speech constitutes a reaction to the first *The Hindu*'s editorial (THD_A02), the propositions above acquire a major significance in the context of geopolitical issues, specially regarding national and "South" sovereignty. Indeed, Mr. Lago recalls that India is a developing country as much as Brazil, arguing that — along with the other BASIC nations — Brazil plays a prominent role in diplomatic negotiations under the UNFCCC, *"always defending* [both Brazil's and BASIC's] *sovereignty and interests"*. This excerpt gives clues on the possibility of a complaint on the lack of reciprocity, or lack of "South" support, by assuming that the Indian newspaper did not defend nor respect Brazil's sovereignty in its editorial. By reporting on Bolsonaro's government *"willingness to engage in new institutional frameworks"*, the Brazilian ambassador explains that, in the process of becoming a member of the OECD, Brazil will *"abide by more than 35 environment-related instruments"* (THD_A03), in a reasoning that reverberates once again the idea of sustainable development (an expression used four times in four short paragraphs), but without further elaboration. Thus, the letter as a whole functions as a "right to

reply", whose final statement clearly counter-argues *The Hindu*'s first editorial: *"Brazil's national and international commitments show how engaged the country is in preserving the Amazon and in promoting sustainable development"* (THD_A03).

Overall, two aspects regarding such a discourse / power confrontation in the media majorly call attention. Firstly, the perception that different discourse agents from distinct "South" nations disagree on the representation of the Amazon reality and Brazil's management, clearly putting "global commons" and "sovereignty" in the poles of the climate / sustainability debate. Secondly, it is crucial to have in mind that these media discourse events still occurred before the "great burning weeks". Therefore, it could be assumed that the second editorial published by *The Hindu* should be partly interpreted in the light of the "repercussion" caused by the first one (which apparently sparked outrage of Brazil's ambassador in India). Additionally, it is also crucial to note that — as the first editorial comes out in the first day of date range of this research corpus (Aug., 1st) — the previous articles which were not included, mainly those from July 2019, could have provided clues on how these speeches previously evolved — if they ever did it meaningfully. Perhaps within the scope of opinion pieces this would not imply substantial changes, given that the number of informational / interpretative articles about the Amazon tend to be much higher. Finally, one should recall that *The Hindu*'s coverage about the Amazon strongly relies on international agencies (see Chapter 5), with some articles from corpus 2010—2016 credited to *The Guardian*, and one article in corpus 2019 (Aug.—Dec.) credited to The NYT. This shows how the newspaper widely uses other "North" sources to obtain and release information about the Amazon; this could also provide a glimpse — to a certain (limited) extent — on why *The Hindu* seems so harmonically aligned to the *"international community"* view (whether due to a pure "global common" awareness and climate change concern or whether due to other reasons which add up).

The Hindu's second editorial (*"Earth's burning lungs: On Amazon's rainforest fire"*; THD_A21; Aug. 27) issued four weeks after the first one. While the first editorial solely had to consider the suspension of the Amazon fund and the release of increasing deforestation data, the second one deals with a much larger chain of events: the sacking of INPE's director; the worldwide explosion of news and images showing a burning Amazonia in the (social) media, the reaction of celebrities and global leaders, and the inclusion of the topic in the G7 agenda. Although its subhead adopts an evaluative tone, *"Brazil's attitude to the destruction of large areas of the Amazon rainforest is worrying"* (THD_A21), this second editorial employs less adjectives and other forms of qualifications, whereas it goes for a more careful writing style, with more narrations describing facts *per se* and, specially, more attenuation formulas (e.g. euphemisms and impersonalisation). Curiously, here the modal verb "must" is not

employed at all (yet both editorials basically have the same size). In terms of representation (predication strategies), apart from the *"worrying"* Brazil's attitude referred in subhead, this second editorial notes that the images of the darkening skies above São Paulo *"went viral"*; and that the sacking of the head of INPE took place "*over absurd allegations that he was disclosing how rapidly Amazon deforestation was happening"* (THD_A21). In fact, *"absurd"* here is among a set of reports attributed to a source identified as *"Mr. Bolsonaro's critics say that* [...]*"*. This discourse construction under (im)personalisation + genericisation could simply denote "objectivity" or a safe distance from the narrated events. Notwithstanding, if we establish a quick comparison between the first THD editorial (THD_A02) — with its much more direct style, its firm modality through the uses of "must", and its abundant use of qualifications — and the second one (THD_A21) now under analysis, one could suppose that *The Hindu* deliberately might have opted for a more sober, distant discourse, in order to avoid letters from ambassadors or other inconveniences. Not only the sharpest accusations are reportedly made by *"Mr. Bolsonaro's critics"* but also this second editorial diverts the whole attention to Brazil by declaring that *"the flames are not confined to Brazil either"* (THD_A21). However, the reference to Bolivian fires lets a scent of moral evaluation (by analogy) slip through discourse:

> *"In neighbouring Bolivia, deadly blazes are devastating forests and farmlands, so much so, that its President, Evo Morales, has put his re-election campaign on hold over the weekend, and, unlike his Brazilian counterpart Jair Bolsonaro, was quick to welcome foreign aid to help fight the fires".* (THD_A21)

This type of hybrid formula merges representation into legitimation, since analogy is a common method of expressing moral evaluation: "comparisons in discourse almost always have a legitimatory or de-legitimatory function" (Van Leeuwen, 2007, p. 99). While Bolivian president puts aside selfish and personal projects to help coordinate anti-fire efforts, the Brazilian counterpart not only rejects foreign aid, but also weakens the environment ministry, chips away forest protections, drives away crucial donors like Norway and Germany, sacks INPE's head, and attacks both environmental charities and Indigenous dwellers — all these accusations made by the collective discourse agent labeled as *"Bolsonaro's critics"*. This unclear cluster is actually introduced by *The Hindu's* explanation that *"the distinctly political undertones of the crisis in Brazil sets it apart"*. Notably, the main point is that *The Hindu's* editorial does not concede a single line to report what the opposite side, virtually Bolsonaro's supporters, would have to say about such *"crisis"*, leading to the suspicion that the Indian newspaper fully endorses Bolsonaro's alleged criticism. The newspaper once again recognizes some wise decisions in Brazilian government: by finally authorizing military troops to help with the firefighting efforts, *"Mr Bolsonaro, a right-wing climate-change sceptic, appears to have relented to an extent"* (THD_A21).

Indeed, climate change concerns seemingly is a strong value for *The Hindu*, which justifies criticism on Brazilian president's handling over the Amazon. This second editorial's final statement visibly expresses the topos of danger.

> *Even if* [the military and firefighters] *they succeed* [to put up the fires]*, and the Bolsonaro administration ultimately bends to global outrage over the destruction of a critical global ecosystem, the discernible shift in Brazilian public institutions responsible for guarding the future of the Amazon rainforest is a worrying sign of worse things to come.* (THD_A31)

As a whole, *The Hindu*'s opinion pieces display the more or less expected political dimension which is usually implied by the very nature of media discourse of editorials, with their comments on economics, society, technology, health, environment and other relevant social issues. In the absence of a more varied range of opinion media texts, like guest columns and op-eds, the interview with Dr. Jonathan Baillie, chief scientist of the National Geographical Society, appears as a more technical and practical commentary about the environment. Even if the Amazon is the major topic of discussion in only one out of seven questions, the conversation with Praveen Sudevan — mainly about about climate change and sustainability — leads the journalist to choose the following title: *"Amazon is burning every year, reminds Nat Geo Society's Chief Jonathan Baillie"* (THD_A42). Above all, the text advances its legitimation by expert authority, since the National Geographic Society, funded in 1888 in the US, stands among the oldest, the more traditional and most respectful science / media institutions worldwide. It's homepage on the internet welcomes visitors with the following inscription: "The National Geographic Society uses the power of science, exploration, education, and storytelling to illuminate and protect the wonder of our world". Undoubtedly, the speech of a "Nat Geo" scientist certainly has its share in expressing the "power of science". Answering to the question *"How did you react to the Amazon rainforest wildfires this year?"*, Dr. Baillie declares that:

> *"Amazon has been burning every year. It was just that more attention was raised this year. That is because I think there is a greater understanding of the imperilled state of biodiversity and our major ecosystems. Amazon also works as a water pump. If you did not have a large forest coverage, you would not have the local climate to grow the food you want... they are all linked. It made me realise that we have these large life-support systems on the planet that we do not understand very well. So next year, we are planning a major expedition going into tropical rainforests to understand what they do for biodiversity and for humanity in terms of impacting local and global climate".* (THD_A42)

By stating that fires in the Amazon are a constant reality year after year, Dr. Baillie's, perhaps unintentionally, relieves great part of the burden both domestically and globally inputted on Brazilian president's shoulders — after all, the global outcry over Amazonia occurs during Bolsonaro's eighth month of mandate. The scientist does not enter into the merits of deforestation statistics, but prefers to attribute the backlash to an increased environmental awareness and to explain that, beyond biodiversity

and healthy ecosystems, the Amazon represents the most effective natural irrigation system that enables agriculture in the South American continent. The rainforest's more refined and complex mechanisms are yet to be elucidated, which reinforces the role of science investigation. But this standpoint does not mean that Dr. Baillies adopts an apolitical approach along the whole interview. When asked about *"the household level, what can a person do to help the planet?"*, his discourse comes out auto-legitimized by theoretical rationalization (the self-explanation by "that's the way things are"), whereas its arguments refer to the topos of responsibility:

> *"The reality is that each individual has an impact on the planet. If we live our lives slightly differently, we can have a much lower negative impact. It has to do with how you vote, what you eat, schools you send your children to, where you buy things from. For example, you could be a vegetarian; and reduce, reuse and recycle. These are things that are within our power".* (THD_A42)

In this excerpt, Dr. Baillie, even if not explicitly talking about politics, clearly raises political daily choices everyone can make in order to achieve a better ecological footprint. Indeed, not only voting, but eating and buying have become political acts among individuals / societies with enhanced environmental awareness. By replying on the *"grim warnings about the world"* reminded by the interviewer, the scientist affirms that *"we need some exceptional leadership globally to think of new ways of doing things so that we can provide for humanity and other forms of life"* (THD_A42) — pointing to the global gap in terms of a truly transformative ecological consciousness. Finally, regarding the "North" — "South" divide, the journalist asks to Dr. Baillie: *"Can a developing economy like India, with millions of impoverished people, afford to adopt sustainable measures — using renewable energy, for instance?"*. Which leads to the following answer:

> *"I find India, in particular, has a cultural appreciation for the natural world. It is stronger than many other parts of the world, which gives me hope that the people here will make the right decisions. When you go to international conventions, it is the developing countries that are leading the environmental movements. We are seeing plastic bans in many developing countries. So, I personally see leadership coming primarily from these countries".* (THD_A42)

In this excerpt, once again moral evaluation is at stake, precisely by the judgement on India's forthcoming *"right decisions"*, which arouse *"hope"*. Besides, the much-needed consumption-related changes are coming from "South" nations, according to the interviewee, suggesting that they could — and seemingly will — lead to real sustainability, thereby to a much more environmentally-friendly development in comparison to "North's" trail.

Taking into consideration the discourse ensemble formed by *The Hindu*'s opinion pieces about the Amazon, Figures 39 and 40 below illustrate and summarize representation and argumentation schemes from the Indian newspaper.



Figure 39: Exclusion / inclusion, representation and legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from *The Hindu* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2007; 2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Black line separates social actors mentioned more than once (*above it*) from those with a single nomination (*below it*).

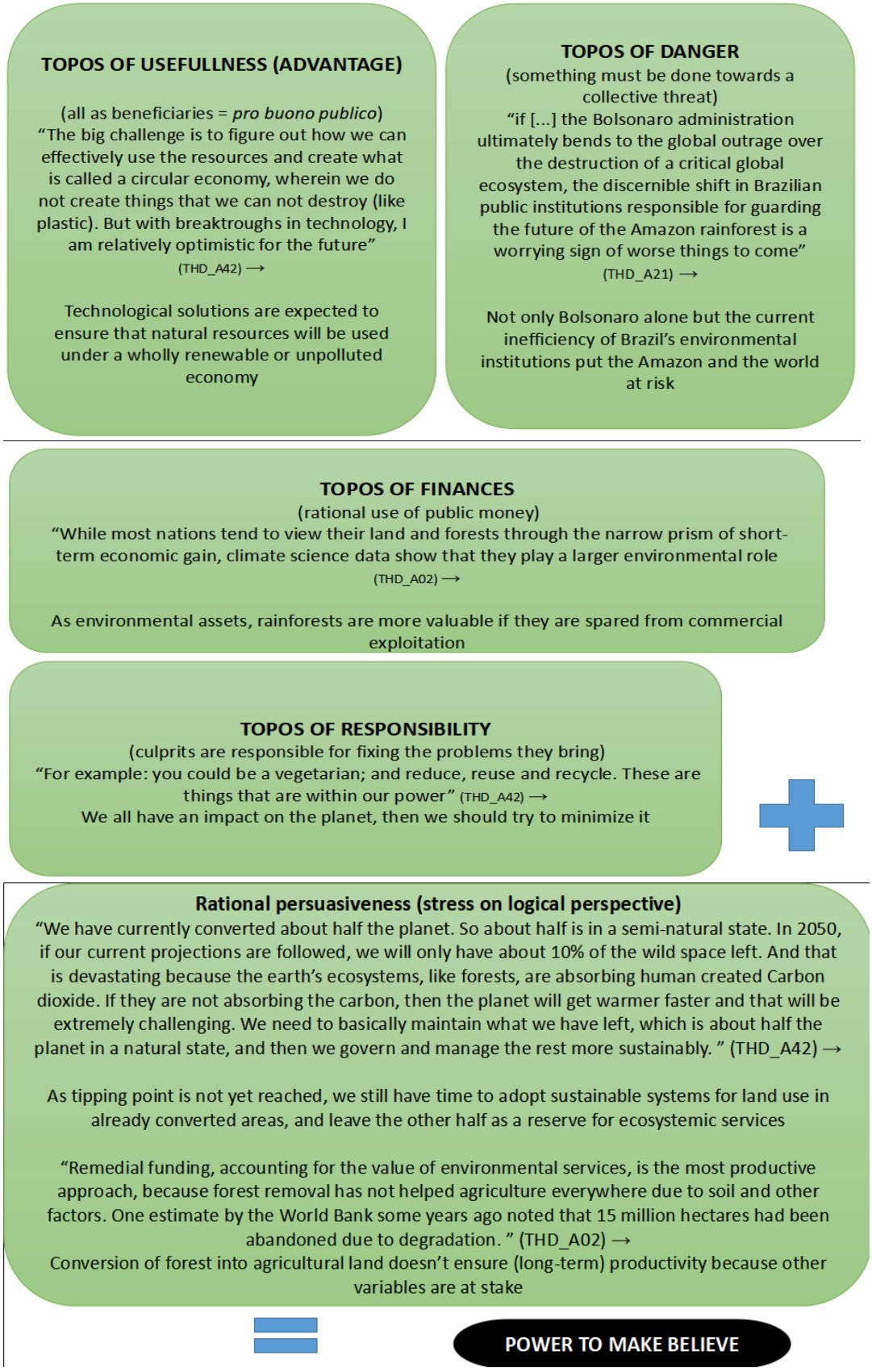


Figure 40: Argumentation scheme in opinion articles from *The Hindu* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (⟶) means "hence".

For the first time along this analysis, any fallacious argument was retrieved throughout opinion pieces of a national coverage, a feature that does not necessarily exclude a "generalized" language or the repetition of common sense utterances. In the "North" newspapers previously assessed, at least one excerpt of argumentation was compatible with the most common type of fallacy, regarding generalization (also homogenization or half-true). Because not all fallacies imply generalization as much as not all generalizations imply fallacies. For instance, in the following excerpt — cited above within discussion about power behind discourse — from the letter of Brazil's ambassador, generalization does not function as a (wrong / imprecise) premise, hence not necessarily contributing to any automatic conclusion: *"Together with Brazil, South Africa, India and China (BASIC), Brazil has been proactive and constructive in negotiations under the United Nations Climate Change Convention, always defending its (their) sovereignty and interests"* (THD_A03). In this context, one could argue that not all representations necessarily entail obvious argumentation schemes, at least in media discourse (albeit things operate differently, for example, in political speech). On the other hand, the cited construction could correspond to the "topos of reciprocity", a (new) topos here inducted by its discourse function, wherein the implicit reasoning could be translated by the idea that (social) agents sharing the same status (here, BASIC "South" nations) should help each other in the defence or pursuit of their similar values and goals.

Summarizing THD opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse trends of *The Hindu*'s opinion pieces, regarding how they represent Amazon's agents, what meanings they help to shape, and which are the possible implications for power issues. They are condensed below:

- ✓ Consonantly to a reiterated concern about climate change, *The Hindu* stresses the global significance of the Amazon, referring to it as an imperiled *"global treasure"*. The newspaper defends that the rainforest should be kept untouched and the Brazilian government (this meaning literally Brazilian president) should prioritize international funding for conservation projects.

- ✓ *The Hindu*'s position remains unchanged in between the release of its two editorials. Nevertheless, the adopted tone and style are very distinct: in the first editorial, moral evaluation of Bolsonaro's attitudes are quite explicit, while in the second one it is rather opaque, specially behind the "shield source" denominated *"Bolsonaro's critics"*. As sovereignty issues were apparently challenged in the first case, at least for the ambassador of Brazil in India, the very publication of his letter per se denotes respect and a level of "dialogism" (between the newspaper and this diplomat), confirming

Indians general profile as polite and pacific — even within political struggles. As often is the case between "North" countries, "South" nations also share contentious views on certain affairs.

- ✓ While providing scientific authority and more practical than theoretical standpoints, the interview with the "Nat Geo" scientist is the piece wherein sustainable development is better explored. Most importantly, it offers the alternative comprehension that the Amazon has been burning every year in the last decades: the difference is that the world's perception about it definitely changed in August 2019.

Taking into consideration these important shifts in *The Hindu*'s coverage about the Amazon, we will finally examine the last newspaper under a CDA perspective: the Chinese governmental news publication *China Daily*.

7.3.2 *China Daily*

In this section, I assess opinion pieces from Chinese government newspaper *China Daily* (CND). Following the same itinerary made for the rest of the coverage under analysis, firstly I present some contextual information about the newspaper's opinion pieces. Then, the empirical analysis is properly undertaken, establishing discursive links between meanings and power issues that emerge from *CND* articles.

Contextualizing CND opinion articles

In *China Daily* coverage about the Amazon (totaling 27 occurrences), opinion articles make up four units of analysis: one editorial, one op-ed and two guest columns. Half of the opinion pieces from CND are published in August 2019, at the final of the month (the editorial and the op-ed), while the other half, corresponding to guest (longer) columns, comes out in December. This suggests that "actuality" isn't the sole news-value for the newspaper, unless it had launched from that specific month on periodic articles about BRICS / BASIC groups, Brazil (or the Amazon itself), signed by "featured contributors". In fact, opinion contributors also have their articles published under the tag "World Watch" (at least in *China Daily* Global).

Table 25 below describes the main features of the media texts composing *China Daily*'s opinion pieces. Subheads aren't used in this newspaper, a feature that certainly could assist in the perception of article's related backgrounded frames. CND's article *"The planet's future is burning along with Amazon"* (CND_A11), signed by op-ed OP Rana, was already analyzed, partially, in the scope of *The Daily*

Telegraph's coverage. In this chapter it is approached in the context of Chinese coverage about the Amazon; indeed, it was originally published in *China Daily*.

Table 25: Overview of *China Daily*'s opinion articles about the Amazon (Aug. - Dec. 2019)

ID*	Date	Size	Section (tag)	Signature (identity as shown in news)	Headline
A01	Dec. 30	1,001 to 1,500 words	Opinion > Featured Contributors**	Marcos Fava Neves (professor at the University of São Paulo and Fundação Getulio Vargas Business Schools in Brazil	Damaging Brazilian food production's image: The 'food x forest'
A02	Dec. 10	751 to 1,000 words	World > World Watch**	Sergio Held (based in Bogota, Colombia, lawyer and director at editorial consultancy Bahati Ltd.	Protection of Amazon is indispensable
A11	Aug. 28	501 to 750 words	Op-Ed Contributors	OP Rana	The planet's future is burning along with Amazon***
A19	Aug. 26	251 to 500 words	Editorials	*Not included*	One voice needed over Amazon fires

***** Article identification numbers were set in order of data collection, by the time mixing all sorts of news integrating the corpus (informational, interpretative, opinion pieces, etc.). Thus, leftmost column refers exclusively to article's individual code (see Annex B for the whole list).

****** For these articles, *China Daily* informs that *"The opinions expressed here are those of the writer and do not necessarily represent the views of China Daily and China Daily website"*.

******* This article was partially analyzed within *The Daily Telegraph*'s coverage about the Amazon, yet it was originally published by *China Daily*.

Constructing meaning about / forging power over the Amazon

As *China Daily*'s opinion pieces show different styles, sizes and frames, firstly we will examine the guest columns, whose comments *"do not necessarily represent the views of China Daily"* — a warning that could constitute a mere formality for a governmental newspaper. Secondly, *China Daily*'s "official" proper articles are assessed: its editorial and its op-ed article.

Article CND_A01 (Dec., 30), signed by the agronomist and market analyst Marcos Neves[122], a Brazilian professor at two reputable institutions in São Paulo state, and entitled *"Damaging Brazilian food production's image: The 'food x forest'",* constitutes a criticism over a then recent news story from *The Wall Street Journal*, entitled *"Brazil's Shrinking Rainforest Prompts Nestlé, H&M, Others to Shake Up Supply Chains"* (Dec., 25), authored from The WSJ's journalist Jacob Bunge and the contributor Paulo Trevisani. This specific article from The WSJ was not kept for any in-depth in the scope of this thesis because it does not represent an opinion article but a rather interpretative news feature. For a better comprehension on the topics that seemingly outraged Dr. Neves, the subhead of The WSJ article at stake reads: *"Investors also push back and commodity firms urge farmers to maximize existing fields; 'we have the obligation to act'"* (WSJ_A19). The quotes expressing moral evaluation *("obligation to act")* refer to one of the sources used by The WSJ, namely, Cargill's supply chain and sustainability chief. Dr. Neves reaction to *The Wall Street Journal* specifically in *China Daily* at first would not make much sense, however this author is a frequent contributor who has published dozens of opinion pieces in the Chinese newspaper, notably between 2009-2016. Despite this fact, he starts his text with an irony-filled commentary whose cultural resonance in China may be debatable. Before really explaining his purpose, Dr. Neves declares that: *"On December 25th* [the publishing date of the The WSJ story] *we received a Christmas gift, but not as tasteful as the food and drinks we had in our celebrations"* (CND_A01), suggesting that *The WSJ* article on Christmas Day was an "unpleasant" gift (to Brazil's image). Then, the author explains that he takes *The WSJ* piece as a recent example that illustrates the *"food x forest movement"*, in other words, the *"orchestrated movement, led by individuals, activists, NGOs, competitors, politicians, among others, that tries to link Brazilian food production to deforestation of the Amazon"* (CND_A01). Taking into consideration that this explanation comes in the article's first paragraph — from the longest CND's opinion piece (1,488 words) — one can expect that discourse agents will be vastly referred (there are six types of social agents only in this excerpt). This is particularly true because Dr. Neves quotes four times (or five, counting the headline) The WSJ article

[122] Dr. Neves' website "Doutor Agro" discloses some analysis about agribusiness as well as exhaustive content about his career. URL: https://doutoragro.com/

under criticism, each quotation taking about four lines of his own article, a textual construct that turns social actors collection more challenging. As a result, discourse agents from (The WSJ) quotations are separated from those that "officially" compose *China Daily*'s coverage (see Figure 41).

The first observation made by *China Daily*'s opinion contributor makes reference to the headline adopted by The WSJ journalists:

> *"My beef starts with the* [WSJ] *title. It brings the linkage 'food x forest' with an alarming situation using the word 'shrinking'. The Amazon forest is not shrinking, although the rate of deforestation increased in 2019, it represents less than 0.4 percent of the forest area and it will decrease again with the public efforts being done (not covered in the article)".* (CND_A01).

The complaint on *The WSJ* title (*"Brazil's Shrinking Rainforest Prompts Nestlé, H&M, Others to Shake Up Supply Chains"*) likely would be more reasonable if Dr. Neves focused basically on the "food x forest" dichotomy. The verb "shrink" literally means "to become or to make something smaller in size or amount" (Oxford Dictionary). In this way, *"The Amazon forest is not shrinking, although the rate of deforestation increased in 2019"*, from a logical point of view, partly bears a fallacious reasoning. Less 0.4 percent of an area still corresponds to the idea expressed by "shrink". Most importantly, this reasoning puts quantity and quality in the same level, ignoring that 0.4 percent of less rainforest may have, for instance, a different climate impact in comparison to other biomes, not to mention other socioeconomic negative avalanche effects. Perhaps, for a Brazilian Portuguese speaker, the commonest translation for "shrink" (*encolher*) may sound more alarming in some contexts. The proposition that "shrink" cannot be currently applied because deforestation "*will decrease again with the public efforts being done (not covered in the article)"* equally lacks soundness and cogency, specially because it depends on future conjunctures. According to Dr. Neves, The WSJ title is...

> "[...] *repeating the August 2019 mistakes with the 'global fever' that the Amazon was being completely burned and destroyed. Images of kangaroos and giraffes burning (they don't live in the region), images of dead photographers as if they were from 2019, pictures of fires from another regions, declarations that ended up being not true".* (CND_A01)

Significantly, the author has a point when he exposes fake news surrounding the Amazon's "great burning weeks", in particular the fake pictures (in time or space) that even authorities and celebrities shared in the social media, as well as some "exaggerated" rhetoric used under metonymyc reasoning: specific parts of the Amazon equating to the rainforest's massive destruction. However, the suggestion that such a *"global fever"* systemically used fake images and inaccurate declarations points to the direction of a fallacious argumentation, by generalization or half-true. In addition to such an accusation

of a wholly homogenized coverage, the author also denounces the Amazon 2019 *"global fever"* as an emblematic case of the social effects of the media:

> *"The August 'Amazon is Burning' was one of the most fantastic cases of destroying the image of a country that I've seen, should be further studied as the effect of social media. Most of the ones responsible for this 'fever' (artists, sportsman, politicians and others) didn't apologize for what was done when they saw the real numbers (the rate of fires was exactly at the average of the last 10 years). We don't need alarming headlines on this very sensitive issue, let's learn from the August mistakes and not repeat them".* (CND_A01).

Firstly, attention should be paid to the direct activation of the topos of responsibility: *"most of the ones responsible"* for the Amazon *"global fever"* did not pay the symbolic or moral price of apologizing — thus, it is actually assumed that they had further access to *"the real numbers"*. Seemingly, the author here misses a precious opportunity of providing legitimation to his discourse, by means of the citation of a single case of public apology for damaging the reputation of Brazilians. Secondly, without entering into the merits of the "correct" or "true" rate of fires, one can notice that Dr. Neves states that, after all, this rate was *"exactly at the average of the last 10 years"*, but he does not mention any source to support his utterance. Regarding the comment *"We don't need alarming headlines on this very sensitive issue",* it partially reverberates the topos of uselessness (disadvantage), by implying that whenever existing models are not helpful to achieve a common goal, they should not be kept. Besides, one could question who would be behind this "we": Brazil as a nation? Or agribusinesspeople? Undoubtedly, on the one hand, alarmist and sensationalist tone usually do not help to achieve a rational in-depth debate. However, on the other hand, the fact that the Amazon at last received global attention might have its positive, or "pedagogic", effects in terms of environmental awareness. The problem is that the topic seems to have partly performed an "issue-attention cycle"; by consequence, the "solutions" to the Amazon still seem distant within the different public spheres (local, inter/national, global). Thereby, the invitation "*let's learn from the August mistakes and not repeat them",* by making reference not only to an unspecified degree of fake news, inaccuracy or excess of emotions in the debate, maybe should primarily focus on the major mistake of making the Amazon a news cycle merely linked to seasonal fires.

By denouncing the allegedly erroneous *"food x forest"* movement, the author of CND_A01 adopts a sort of reverse perspective until then normally linked to the topos of danger. In other words, the major threat is not linked to biodiversity loss, climate changes or Indigenous lives — a group of social actors completely omitted in Dr. Neves article, yet filled with a variety of other agents — but to the Brazilian agricultural sector:

> *"This is not an attempt to accuse the authors of supporting this movement, but just showing how this piece, among others, contributes to this effort that damages the image and brings new threats to this important activity for the local economy, jobs and millions of families incomes. There are many other similar articles, and I am using this one as the example valid for all the others".* (CND_A01)

The collective danger to be avoided here is the damage to Brazil's substantially stratified agricultural supply chains. Indeed, The WSJ article in question only a priori targets Amazon's suppliers: even if this seems clear from the title, its subhead mentions that commodity firms are urging farmers to *"maximize existing fields"* (WSJ_A19), which leave uncertain their location. In this way, The WSJ basically reports about multinational companies will to improve products traceability in order to avoid at all cost their names mixed with Amazon deforestation. But *China Daily*'s author expresses concern over this standpoint, given that "*less than 5 percent of what Brazil produzes comes from that region, but the idea seems to be... make it 100 percent. Most Brazilians producers are more than 3,000 km away from the region"* (CND_A01). This is why Dr. Neves judges that The WSJ story, along with others alike, contribute to *"this effort that damages the image and brings new threats to this* [food production] *important activity"* in Brazil.

Therefore, CND's opinion author trails his own discourse analysis whose thorough developments would take valuable time and space to be fully demonstrated in this section. Notwithstanding, while it is vital to attentively look not only at the two, but preferably at all sides of the (news) stories, for instance, the main poles of global supply chains, the tendency to criticize homogenization by counter-arguing with homogenized clustering is apparently overlooked in CND's "media analysis". Throughout its discourse, CND's author assumes somewhat stationary interpretation patterns that emerge from The WSJ's article under criticism, summarized as follows. Firstly, the conclusion that *"The readers with little comprehension of the complexity of what happens in the Amazon, by regarding the* [WSJ] *paragraph*[123]*, will immediately link the responsibility for land clearing directly to the* [Nestlé, H&M, Timberland, and others] *agribusiness agents quoted in the* [WSJ] *article"* (CND_A01). In this case, it is implied that the "*readers with little comprehension of the complexity"* related to Amazonia are not able to consider the commodity expansion in other areas of the country, notably the adjoining ones. In fact, The WSJ excerpt at stake refers to *"Brazil's accelerating deforestation"* (see footnote), whereas *T*he WSJ headline under analysis by CND's author effectively cites *"Brazil's shrinking rainforest"*. Secondly, Dr. Neves argues that other The WSJ paragraphs[124] that he quotes *"end up taking the reader to think that a solution for the*

[123] "Brazil's accelerating deforestation is pressuring food makers, retailers, investors and commodity traders to shake up supply chains in an effort to push back on land-clearing and achieve environmental goals" (*The Wall Street Journal*, cited in CND_A01).

[124] "Nestlé SA, which aims to eliminate deforestation from its supply chain over the next three years, has stopped buying Brazilian-produced soybeans from agricultural trading firm Cargill Inc. after a review couldn't trace the oilseeds back to specific plantations, raising concerns that they were produced on converted land"; "Benjamin Ware, Nestlé's global head of responsible sourcing, who often begins his mornings reviewing satellite images for signs of

soybean buyers is to stop sourcing from Brazil and move to the US and Europe" (CND_A01). As Mr. Neves seemingly may have a point here, he also criticizes both *The WSJ* and Nestlé for omitting the fact that Brazil has lots of internationally certified soybean suppliers in several regions of the country. *"Nestlé also knows about the strict environmental code that Brazilian farmers need to follow is not found in other regions of the world. This was forgotten in the article and the company's interview"* (CND_A01). Mr. Neves then recommends journalists and executives in the position of supply chain coordinators to seek further information about Brazilian agribusiness sector as well as the national Forestry Code. In the latter case, an indirect activation of the topos of law and justice takes place (this ruling limits up to 20 percent the area of conversion in Brazilian properties located in the Amazonia biome).

Finally, this article CND_A01 — which is quite long in comparison to the average size of *China Daily*'s ones as well as the whole set of Amazon 2019 articles — seeks to legitimize its discourse through moral evaluation expressed in these excerpts:

> *"We've seen this mistake with the 'food x fuel' debate 10 to 15 years ago that ended up showing to be less than a scientific-based discussion, since both grew at wonderful rates in the last decade creating opportunities and helping the environment, as the example of corn ethanol in the US, besides several others, shows* [...] *Just don't enter by inertia in this "food x forest" movement that may, at the end, be carrying other interests behind sustainability* [...] *Brazil is not a problem, it is a solution. The 'food x forest' movement is making the same mistakes as the obsolete 'food x fuel' movement".* (CND_A01)

By examining that the *"food x fuel"* debate was a *"mistake"* — hence, a wrong dichotomy (which nevertheless expressed concern on food production / food prices by the time it had its news cycles) — Dr. Neves argues that it *"ended up showing to be less than a scientific-based discussion"* because both expanded at *"wonderful"* rates, helping simultaneously the economy and the environment. By analogy, the *"food x forest"* dichotomy is presented as a similar "mistake". However, the main similarity would be related to discussions over land use (more precisely, over land "not to be used" in the case of forest conservation). In fact, not even on the level of land use these oppositions entail equal implications, given that the standing rainforest provides the maintenance of Indigenous groups and the biodiversity, beyond ecosystemic services and extractivist activities. More importantly, while the "food x fuel" debate implies basically agricultural choices, for instance, the option for the purpose of a crop (feed and / or energy), the "food x forest" debate implies the need to respect rulings and commitments, from the Brazilian forest code and Indigenous reserves to environment-related instruments which demand effective traceability, among other requirements.

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recently cleared forest areas, said the company has shifted more of its soybean purchasing to the U.S., where Cargill remains a supplier, and to Europe". (*The Wall Street Journal*, cited in CND_A01).

The author of CND_A01 recurs to the topos of danger by warning readers not to *"enter by inertia"* into "food x forest" story-line, because it may be "*carrying other interests behind sustainability".* Certainly, all discourses entail their respective agents' interests, and Dr. Neves' extensive elaboration on a rather questionable analogy is not an exception, specially in a discourse chain wherein statistics not sourced abound. Since checking the numbers provided throughout CND_A01's argumentation are not exactly among the main objectives of this section — unless they trigger the topos of numbers[125] — the interest in defending Brazilian agriculture, in special soya production, in a Chinese newspaper, can not be overlooked. Certainly, there seems to be a degree of exaggeration and/or inaccuracy in The WSJ intensely analyzed article that instigates Dr. Neves own argumentation schemes in *China Daily*. The link to the The WSJ so-much quoted would be welcome in the Chinese article, but this surely is an impossible facility due to China's censored access to international media. Briefly, thinking on power stakes beyond discourse, the main purpose of article CND_A01 is seemingly to ensure Chinese and other international investors that Brazil's agricultural landscape harmonically thrives in parallel to the Amazon standing forest, as well as that Brazilian commodities from other regions, like beef and specially soya from the Cerrado and Southern crops, are law-abiding, environmentally-friendly and internationally certified.

Moving our attention to the other contributor article, CND_A02 (*"Protection of Amazon is indispensable"*), offers a rather different perspective, by reporting on illegal logging and its consequences on deforestation, violence, and other aspects. Since "environmental criminality" appears as the main frame in this case, the topos of danger is perceivable in some author's arguments. By making reference to the Leticia Agreement, named after the Colombian city where leaders of seven Amazon countries signed it on Sept. 6 (2020), CND contributor Sergio Held, a lawyer and editorial consultant based in Bogota, notes that it *"has yielded limited effect"*, given that *"illegal loggers, illegal miners and drug traffickers are doing what they please across the rainforest"* (CND_A02). Such a proposition not only carries a sense of danger, but also entails the topos of law, in this case "lawlessness". These two topoi (danger and law) merge each other in many other excerpts. Keeping the focus on illegal loggers in the Brazilian rainforest, Mr. Held states that they are *"notoriously brazen. When faced with indigenous groups working to protect those forests, they usually shoot first and ask for permission forward"* (CND_A02). This article is the only one among CND opinion pieces reporting on the killing of a Guajajara leader (Paulino Guajajara) and his fellow forest guardian (in fact, it is the only one which includes any Indigenous social actor). Behind this specific crime, which according to

[125] "The topos of numbers may be subsumed under the conclusion rule: if the numbers prove a specific topos, a specific action should be performed or not be carried out. This topos can become fallacious if it is related to incorrectly presumed majorities which are not verified empirically" (Wodak, 2001, p. 76).

CND_A02's author, could be just one more among the hundreds of similar murderers that happen in Latin America, lies the Amazon plague: *"But this ambush was different. Behind the deaths of Paulino and several of his fellow indigenous sentinels before him lies the agony of the Amazon"* (CND_A02). This perception is based on the view that deforestation *"affects only a relatively small part of the Amazon each year, but the effects are cumulative and synergistic. Research from the National Institute of Amazonian Research bears this out"* (CND_A02). Albeit the notorious IPAM is cited here, any project, scientist or paper is further specified. Yet it is quite evident to establish the link between violence against forest defenders, on the one hand, and illegal activities in remote pristine tropical areas, on the other hand, since Amazon's conflicting agents appear interconnected: *"there are hundreds of environmental criminals in the Latin American jungles willing to kill indigenous people and activists in order to protect the lucrative timber business"* (CND_A02). A somewhat paradoxal expression derives from this utterance, since in the discourses about Amazonia the idea of protection is most of the time applied to nature, not to illegal business. The topos of law (lessness) hence is also present by denouncing corruption associated to the timber business: *"such a lucrative activity spreads money to many, even to those who are supposed to enforce the law and protect the environment. Interpol's figure on corruption related to forestry crimes is an estimated $29 billion per year"* (CND_A02). Despite the duality of actors pro-nature and pro-business, their conflicts in *China Daily* are not depicted under a warfare or battle motif, along the lines of what was observed for British newspaper *The Guardian*, for example. Mostly, the topos of law in CND_A02 claims for a global cooperation in order to ensure zero criminality, a measure that by consequence might ensure the safety of both the rainforest and its Indigenous dwellers, with benefits for all the planet. Mr. Held's final propositions summarize this as follows:

> *"Fighting illegal logging is not only a matter of prosecuting illegal loggers in the Amazon. There are vast networks of illegal loggers that span the globe. Dismantling them requires a global effort* [...] *The protection of the 'lung of the world' is indispensable, not only for the maintenance of all the biodiversity of South America, but also for the well-being of millions of people around the world. Success will depend on fighting illegal logging, but also on fighting the crimes and corruption that surround it".* (CND_A02).

Thus, in general terms, this second contributor article adopts an alternative perspective in relation to the "food x forest" movement, wherein the topos of danger is not linked to the risk of being cheated by a false dichotomy but to the risk that illegal logging "synergistically" poses to the Amazon and by consequence to the world. This does not mean that the "food x forest" opposition is omitted; actually it is partly mentioned : *"The dry season is almost over, but illegal logging, illegal mining, drug trafficking and the uncontrolled expansion of the agricultural frontier continue, leaving dead fauna, flora — and people — in their wake"* (CND_A02). Certainly, *"uncontrolled expansion"* of agriculture here listed

among other illegal activities makes reference to land conversion beyond the limits ruled by the Brazilian forest code, as well as illegal land grabbing.

Transferring our attention to *China Daily*'s more domestically-made articles, hence its op-ed and its editorial about Amazon fires, both issued during the "great burning weeks", we have the title *"The planet's future burns along with the Amazon"* (CND_A11, republished in TDT), signed by CND's senior editor OP Rana, which was partly discussed within *The Daily Telegraph*'s coverage. There are two details distinguishing the original Chinese version from *The Daily Telegraph*'s one. Basically, in the former, the newspaper *The Guardian* is cited twice, while in the latter this reference is once suppressed and another time replaced by *"a British newspaper"*. Yet the most relevant distinction regards a key political agent: in *The Telegraph*'s version the US president Donald Trump is dully named, whereas in *China Daily*'s original op-ed text that does not occur. Curiously, US president is also included but not nominated in *China Daily*'s editorial (*"One voice is needed over the amazon fires"*; CND_A19). More interestingly yet, in both cases (CND's op-ed and editorial), US president is subtly criticized for the same reason, for instance, his lack of concern about climate change. *China Daily*'s senior editor asserts that *"More worryingly, the world is divided when it comes to fighting climate change, as was evident in the empty chair of the US leader at the G7 meeting on climate change"* (CND_A11). Mr. Rana argues here that the absence of the US president is a clear sign of the global dissent on such a vital environmental issue like climate change. Additionally, UK's attitude is also criticized by *CND*'s op-ed, reporting that, while Norway and Germany halted donations to the Amazon fund, *"the United Kingdom spent last week focusing on post-Brexit business with Brazil"* (CND_A11). The British trade minister Conor Burns is patently judged by expressing UK's eagerness to expand business with Brazil: *"Worse, asked about the Amazon fires, Burns refused to comment but reportedly said the Bolsonaro government had 'legitime ambitions to bring prosperity to its people'"* (CND_A11). Back to the US leader, *CND*'s editorial expresses an even more perceivable moral evaluation, by the notable use of adjectives (*"sad"*; *"sadder"*; *"divided"*; *"unfortunate"*):

> *"It is sad it took the fires to lend an additional sense of urgency to the issue of climate change and the environment at the ongoing G7 summit in France. It would be sadder still if global leaders continue to remain divided over what the fires mean for the global environment. The US president for one has yet to come to terms with the climate change discourse. Or he would not have withdrawn from the Paris Agreement. It would be very unfortunate if the Amazon fires again fail to ring the alarm bell for him".* (CND_A19)

The attribute *"divided"* is employed in CND's op-ed and editorial, respectively referring to the world and to the global leaders. In both cases, a global leadership lacks consensus because of US president's attitude, in other words, his failure *"to come to terms with the climate change discourse".* This

conclusion is based on the premise that otherwise Donald Trump *"would not have withdrawn from the Paris Agreement".* A more radical interpretation of the final statement of this excerpt could insinuate that *China Daily* is depicting US president as a stubborn, careless leader, since it would be "*very unfortunate if the Amazon fires again fail to ring the alarm bell for him".* Above all, these messages not only picture Donald Trump in quite negative terms, but mainly help to consolidate the idea that China truly cares about the environment, marking the shift in China's discourse in the last decade or so, notably from Kyoto Protocol to Paris Agreement. Indeed, CND's headline is quite direct in its main proposition: *"One voice is needed over Amazon fires"* (CND_A19), claiming at the same time for a unified discourse and joint action from developed nations. Its first paragraph cites G7 leaders like French president Macron, who describes Amazon fires as an *"international crisis"*, as well as British prime minister Boris Johnson, calling for the need to *"protect habitat and biodiversity". "And even the leader of the United States, a famous disbeliever of climate change, has offered to help deal with* [fires] *them"* (CND_A19). Beyond the fact that Trump is represented as a climate skeptic, this first allusion to US president in the article so happens to be positive, implying that beyond expectations, an indirect environmental concern is expressed. However, a key feature to be observed in *China Daily*'s discourse is that its editorial's title, first and final paragraphs all resonate the argument that *"No matter how the G7 leaders define the Amazon fires, it is time they spoke in one voice on climate change and acted with a due sense of urgency"* (CND_A19; final paragraph). The idea of a *"due sense of urgency"* activates the topos of danger or threat. Nevertheless, in terms of "North" vs. "South" tensions, apparently, *China Daily* performs the relatively "traditional" passive role observed for developing nations, by calling for developed rich countries to lead the global governance (and global funding) on climate change. Notwithstanding, Chinese more active role should be noted in the international scenario, particularly the funding and even the execution of controversial developing projects in other "South" nations, from Latin America to Africa.

Moreover, regarding inclusion and legitimation of key social actors, there is the ever-mentioned figure of Brazilian president Bolsonaro. Although he keeps a relative low profile along *China Daily*'s other opinion pieces, things change when it comes the editorial CND_A19. In this piece the Brazilian president is referred at least five times, but nominated only twice (SA personalisation + nomination). Bolsonaro's representation takes place not so much through descriptions (qualifications / attributes) as through narratives reporting on his acts and speeches:

> *"Although he has finally decided to dispatch armed forces to fight the fires, Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro called Macron's comments "sensationalist", and responding to accusations that the fires are due to his alleged connivance in the aggressive exploitation of the Brazilian rainforest, he*

> *attributed the fires to dry, hot weather and the deliberate actions of nongovernmental organizations whose funding has been cut".* (CND_A19)

Seemingly, the intended distant tone right from the start derails into criticism if one pays attention to the evaluative connotation behind *"finally decided to dispatch armed forces"*. In this very first allusion to Bolsonaro, the adverb "finally" may refer to the mere sum of previous developments about the issue and / or express clear judgement on how late the Brazilian president moved from discourse to action. The decision to quote Bolsonaro's view on Macron as *"sensationalist"* stresses that such an appealing qualification derives from a source's speech, hence not necessarily corresponding to the newspaper's view. In this way, CND's discourse — at the level of issue contextualization — at first appears not to take sides, but this condition hardly advances to the next paragraph, in which Bolsonaro's and Macron's quoted terms (respectively, *"internal issue"* and *"international crisis"*) are one by one weighted by the newspaper:

> "[Bolsonaro] *He has reason to argue that the fires are an 'internal issue' of Brazil and the countries directly involved. But the consequences will be felt far beyond those countries. For that alone, it is no exaggeration to address it as an 'international crisis'. And there is nothing inappropriate in the calls for international assistance, especially considering the Amazon forests produce about 20 percent of the world's oxygen".* (CND_A19).

This excerpt illustrates *China Daily*'s somewhat ambivalent view, by conceding that sovereignty — the term is replaced by the euphemistic formula *"internal issue"* — is a limited right (in fact, presumably a limited right to other countries than China). The fires cease to be Amazon nations own business from the standpoint that the consequences are to *"be felt far beyond those countries".* Thereby, no matter the weight of other possible variables at stake, this editorial visibly supports Macron's speech by asserting that "*it is no exaggeration"* to address the fires as an *"international crisis"* — the appealing formula employed by the French president. Evidently, discourse legitimation by moral evaluation abounds in the whole article, but its lexical and tone choices avoid direct, more obvious open support or finger-pointing. The last proposition just quoted above proves to be an example of subtle, polite criticism: *"and there is nothing inappropriate in the calls for international assistance"* seemingly censures Bolsonaro's over-reaction on international offers to help, seen as foreign interference by the Brazilian president and his supporters.

Curiously, *China Daily*'s view on Brazil's president appears to be aligned to *The Hindu*'s editorials. Despite sharp differences in texts' styles, both "Southern" newspapers criticize Bolsonaro's handling on the situation, by defending that the Amazon has a global significance and thus should be protected with the help of rich countries. Finally, the idea that *China Daily*'s editorial unconditionally supports president

Macron and other EU leaders must be regarded with reservations. While the newspaper sees international concern as a *"sincere"* attitude, the threats of trade sanctions to Brazil (notably claimed by France and Ireland; not mentioned in the editorial) do not seem to be well regarded:

> *"While the legitimacy of the rhetoric about sanctioning Bolsonaro's government may be open to question, the latter should appreciate the international community's sincere wish to help preserve the critically important Amazon rainforest. It would be great if Brazil and other victims of the fires can handle the matter themselves. But given the scale of the problem they may want to accept outside assistance. After all, the single most imperative task now is prevent the fires from wreaking further havoc".* (CND_A19)

Therefore, the declaration that the world's wish to help is *"sincere"* is useful to dissipate hidden intentions of international agents, from agricultural protectionism (behind France and Ireland's more severe criticism) to Brazil's ever-latent fear of Amazon's internationalization — a well-known story-line much spread during Brazilian military governments. Another evaluation formula expressed in this excerpt makes reference to Brazil's and neighbouring nations ability to deal with the emergency situation: *"it would be great"* if affected countries could fight the fires autonomously. However, the Amazon plays such a crucial role for the entire globe — or *"given the scale of the problem"* — that *"the most imperative task now"* is to overcome discussions on matters of second order. Also, the set of propositions around the argument that the affected countries *"may want to accept outside assistance"* evoques the topos of burdening in CND's argumentation, which could be reduced to the following conditional: "if a person, an institution or a country is burdened by specific problems, one should act in order to diminish these burdens" (Wodak, 2001, p. 76).

Taking into consideration the outstanding level of qualification formulas regarding Amazonia in *China Daily*'s editorial, mostly responsible for discourse legitimation by moral evaluation — with great implications for meaning making and power tensions — they're enumerated as follows. Adjectives: *"disbeliever"*, *"sensationalist"*, *"aggressive"*, *"sincere"*, *"critically important"*, *"sad(der)"*, *"divided"*. Other evaluative formulas: *"he has reason"*, *"it is no exaggeration"*, *"there is nothing inappropriate"*, *"open to question"*, *"it would be great"*, *"the single most imperative"*, *"it would be very unfortunate"*, *"it is time"*. A key feature in these representation / argumentation dynamics is that they substantially focus on discourse political (power) agents and their inter-relation. This partly explains why the fires are approached as an unquestionable ready-to-use data: the newspaper does not show any interest in clarifying its possible causes and more direct consequences, therefore excluding "minor" social actors like Amazon local agents (from local developers to Indigenous communities). The Amazon itself appears rather mentioned than properly represented. In this way, *China Daily*'s editorial, by focusing almost exclusively on geopolitical relations, constitutes the most political-like discourse among the media texts

under analysis regarding Amazonia in 2019. Conversely, there seems to be no coincidence in the fact that US president is nearly as criticized as Brazil's Bolsonaro in an opinion piece dealing with a South America's environmental event. Perhaps the issue popped up as a great opportunity to send indirect messages to the US leader. Perhaps the editorial board simply grabbed the chance to "kill two birds with one stone", using a single article to judge both Trump and Bolsonaro, which are never compared each other in *China Daily* — another distinct feature in comparison to other coverages. It is crucial to have in mind that these lines are published during a period in which the US and China were still under a trade war, although a tacit competition between the two countries has become relatively evident since the rise of globalization.

Having in mind the unbalanced manner which social actors and discourse legitimation take form throughout CND's opinion pieces, as well other formal and content differences from length and style to framing and argumentation schemes, Figures 41 to 43 below illustrate *China Daily's* main discourse patterns.



Figure 41: Exclusion/inclusion of social actors in opinion articles from *China Daily* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2008). (Im)personalisation means some agents are impersonalised, while others are personalised, when not nominated. Black line separates social actors mentioned more than once (*above it*) from those with a single nomination (*below it*).



Figure 42: Representation and legitimation of social actors in opinion articles from *China Daily* (Aug. – Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: based on Van Leeuwen (2007).



Figure 43: Argumentation schemes in opinion articles from *China Daily* (Aug. - Dec. 2019). Theoretical background: *topoi* based on Wodak (2001); fallacies based on Roberts-Miller (2017); rational persuasiveness based on Fairclough & Fairclough (2012). Arrow (→) means "hence".

Summarizing CND opinion articles

In summary, this section analyzed the main discourse trends of *China Daily*'s opinion pieces, focusing on the representation of Amazon's agents, patters of meanings making, as well as some possible implications for power issues. The main findings are condensed below:

- ✓ Opinion articles from *China Daily* show perceivable differences in framing, agents inclusion / representation and argumentation engineering, particularly among foreign guests, which focus on totally different points each one, but also between their articles and the other types of pieces (op-ed and editorial), written by "domestic" authors. Inclusion and representation of social actors in the newspaper could have been partially distorted by the excessive citations from *The Wall Street Journal* in the guest column signed by a Brazilian professor, justifying the clear separation of these sources. The contributing article bears a steady relation of intertextuality with the American newspaper, and may not have been censored by the Chinese government — which generally forbids access to foreign media — precisely because of its critical and derogatory content, among other possible power-related advantages.

- ✓ While Indigenous agents are included and actually debated in solely one guest column, the rest of the coverage ignores these and other Amazon agents. CND's op-ed and especially its editorial in general terms frame geopolitics, yet the former concedes some space to scientific sources and views, whereas the latter draws up an argumentative line wherein the American president seems as culpable as his Brazilian counterpart. Still, these leaders are never explicitly compared in the Chinese newspaper. Notably, Bolsonaro bears a lower recurrence regarding social actor inclusion; additionally, he is criticized under a relatively mild tone — mainly in comparison to other newspapers, like *The Guardian* or *The Hindu*.

- ✓ Targeting world's leaders, with emphasis on the G7, *China Daily*'s editorial steadily ponders on the "right" or "wrong", "good or "bad", "appropriate" or not, "legitimate" or not, in a way that the most relevant geopolitical tensions emerge from a denunciation of the "North" internal divide, wherein Donald Trump as a climate denier is held accountable. Furthermore, the "North—South" question is not properly raised, the "international community" seemingly being reduced to the G7: these are the "voices" needed to act in unison for the Amazon and for the global climate. Indirectly, this could imply that "South" countries do not have any kind of responsibility in sharing Amazon's burden of conservation. Indeed, China itself seemingly pretends it does not exist in the global

scenario: the government newspaper goes as far as to criticize development [by negatively judging British trade minister's reportedly approval on Bolsonaro's *"legitime ambitions to bring prosperity"* (CND_A11) to Brazilians]'. This implies a sort of paradox, in which a developing country censors the very ideal of growth or the "right to develop". In the worst-case scenario, due contextualization could have come explicitly, for example, a manifest defense of development in a way that ensures tropical forests integral conservation.

The next section outlines the main findings obtained from Asian "Southern" representative newspapers, *The Hindu* and *China Daily*, analyzed in this chapter.

7.3.3 Asian "South" coverage about the Amazon

The coverage of Indian and Chinese newspapers about the Amazon yielded only half of the opinion pieces expected to the analysis of "South" countries, because this sort of articles were not retrieved in *The Times of India* and *People's Daily*. In the previous sections, for the US and the UK, a comparative table was included in order to illustrate the greatest differences or similarities between two newspapers from each of these nations. In the absence of a nation-based horizon, and far from assuming that a continent level could possibly be equivalent to a nation-based view, Table 26 below offers an outline of each single newspaper examined in Asian corpus, in consonance to the CDA tools and research questions regarding this investigation.

Table 26: CDA and other results from *The Hindu* and *China Daily* as representatives of Asian coverage (exclusively opinion articles) about the Amazon (Aug. – Dec. 2019)

Dimension	Category	The Hindu	China Daily
Data volume	Number of opinion articles	4 (1 letter; 1 interview; 2 editorials)	4 (1 editorial; 1 op-ed; 2 guest columns)
Frames	Main foregrounded frame*	Political pressure	Political pressure
	Main backgrounded frames	International financial implications; climate change; sustainable development	International financial implications; climate change
	Editorial's foregrounded frame	Political pressure (in both editorials)	Political pressure
	Editorial's backgrounded frames	Environmental degradation; international financial implications	Climate change; international financial implications
Agents' representation	SA inclusion + nomination (minimal occurrence: twice)	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Brazil's environment minister Ricardo Salles;	Brazil's president Bolsonaro; Brazilian climate scientist Carlos Nobre; Indigenous leader dead in an ambush Paulino Guajajara and his fellow Laercio Souza
	SA assimilation	Bolsonaro's critics (*moderately*).	The supporters of the "food x forest" movement, which gathers a wide range of social actors (*moderately*)
Nomination	In-groups x out-groups (intensity)	*Not found*	Not significant, albeit the G7 countries are depicted as a single global group as if China itself did not exist, thereby not having responsibilities.

Predication	Positive / negative labels (by homogenization or not)	Negative: Brazilian president (*only in editorials*) Positive: Brazil (government) (*only in the ambassador letter*)	Negative: US president (Donald Trump; never nominated in the newspaper) Positive: Brazilian international certified food suppliers
Legitimation	Retrieved types	Moral evaluation, targeting negatively Bolsonaro, and positively India's pro-nature culture.	Moral evaluation, by analogy, comparing negatively defenders of the "food x fuel" with the "food x forest" story-lines; by simple evaluation, targeting British trade minister and G7's respective attitudes.
Argumentation	Topoi activated	(4) Topos of usefullness; danger; finances; responsibility;	(3) Topos of law and right; lawlessness; danger
	Rational persuasiveness	Arguments: Earth half untouched half (land) converted means there is still hope for sustainability; funding preservation is much wiser than risking land conversion, which depends on multiple variables	Arguments: Brazilian innovative and highly technical agriculture ensures huge productivity and helps to provide food security worldwide; Brazilian agricultural expansion is a result of increased demand in Africa and Asia; environmental destruction generates nothing but further and wider degradation
Power implications	Whose Amazon? Whose rules?	The Amazon is a universal treasure; Brazilian president should facilitate dialogue and international help.	Amazon plays a much significant global role in climate change mitigation. Brazilian government should appreciate foreign offer to help, since it seemingly can not handle it regionally (within Amazon countries).
	Whose fault / benefits? Whose merit / prejudice?	Indigenous groups have been preventing commercial interests, focused on short-term economic gain, from overrunning the forest. The shift in Brazil's public institutions responsible for guarding the Amazon raises concern.	Illegal loggers clear-cut some areas and kill Indigenous forest guardians; economic push also has its share in degradation. People who spread the "food x forest" paradox damage Brazil's certified and responsible food suppliers.

	What / whose values?	Joint cooperation and sustainability	Joint cooperation; sustainability; media accuracy and impartiality
	Is there a "North" / "South" divide?	The international community is mostly associated with G7 / EU rich nations, which should use diplomacy to come to terms with Brazilian president. Developing nations are showing leadership in the environmental movement (*interviewee's standpoint)*.	The international community, basically restricted to G7 nations, is divided. It should seek internal consensus in order to effectively assist Amazon nations, which can not handle fires / deforestation by themselves.
Research questions at stake	How is the "developmentist" agenda represented?	The Amazon rainforest must be protected. Development should integrate nature conservation along with sustainability. However, the environmental role of forests should prevail.	Due to the global importance of the Amazon in climate change and the well-being of people around the world, its protection is indispensable. Without rainforests, there will not be any development as current known.
	What are the possibilities for a real sustainability?	Circular economy is the path for sustainability, which partly depends on technological advances. But also consumption-related and other changes in everyday life can lead to sustainability.	Sourcing from Brazilian internationally certified suppliers and replicating Brazilian sustainable programs to other producing countries, with the help of media attention, would help to achieve sustainability.
	What views on democracy: Who decides what for the best? For whom?	Democracy is an absent noun in THD coverage. The adjective "democratic" does not appear in opinion pieces (it is though cited twice in quotes from sources, in other types of articles). This issue is fully overlooked by the newspaper. Seemingly, the concept lies behind Brazil and the international community's ability to use diplomacy to succeed in protecting the Amazon, which is a global heritage.	As somehow expected from a government newspaper of a nation that censors the media, democracy is an entirely absent noun in CND coverage (all types of news articles).

***** Data from Chapter 6.

7.4 Final remarks

Discourse, agency, argumentation and power struggles about the Amazon, in the opinion pieces of the six studied newspapers from four different countries (but evidently much more "cultures"), show a wide range of both similarities and differences. Firstly, I call attention to the major similarities between the structures of editorials across the US, UK, India and China, which point to the perception that (English language) rhetoric is not significantly variable among different cultural contexts, and that the organization of texts written by "The editorial board" is rather far from culture-specific. This meets findings according to which English editorials follow a "generic" macro-rhetorical pattern, with four obligatory elements (headline, addressing an issue, argumentation, and articulating a position), and two optional elements (background information and closing remarks) (Ansary & Babaii, 2009). Indeed, the studied editorials seemingly perform a journalistic consolidated genre wherein the most crucial dissimilarities refer to language use or discourse construct, in more content-related aspects, like ideologies, values, beliefs, assumptions, as well as in formal aspects, like figures of speech, tone and style. In this way, editorials, each in its particular discursive pattern, consonantly criticize the most recurrent nominated social actor throughout analysis, Brazil's president Bolsonaro, for his handling with the Amazon fires and the international outcry — with the patent exception of The WSJ's editorial (and its opinion pieces in general), which adopts an explicit pro-Bolsonaro standpoint. Notably, *The Hindu's* first editorial call the Brazilian president for action, whereas the second one acquires a more reserved tone, expressing its complaints behind the social actor assimilation referred as Bolsonaro's *"critics"*. Regarding editorials' styles, a cross-cultural comparative study showed that *China Daily's* editorials on multiple topics appeared more informational, impersonal and showed more institutional voice than the The NYT's editorials, which were more involved, narrative, overtly argumentative and displayed more personal stance than CND editorials (Huang & Ren, 2019). As we only assessed a single editorial from each one of these newspapers, such a description still fits well *China Daily's* case, but maybe only partially The NYT, whose narrative feature actually turns argumentation slightly more difficult to be seized.

Still in relation to editorials, whose overall political tone make an easy way to discourse legitimation by constant evaluation (of actions, agents, attitudes, values, etc.), the refusal to nominate the much criticized US president in *China Daily* (also in its op-ed) shows an additional significance in "North" / "South" power tensions. In any case, it reminds Richard Smith's report on China, according to which,

as Chinese citizens are too terrified to explicitly question their government, some would be whispering that "Only Trump can save China" (Smith, 2020). This idea actually had already appeared in a 2019 story by The NYT entitled "Donald Trump, China Savior? Some Chinese Say Yes"[126], suggesting that the trade war with the US could bring opportunities for important changes in China. On the other hand, another 2020 headline, "Why China Wants Trump to Win"[127], from *The Atlantic*, suggests that a number of Chinese cadres could prefer, for the sake of Asia's internal business, another term of Trump instead of the return of the Democrats. Indeed, China does not make efforts to disguise its hyper-nationalist ambition to turn the nation rich and powerful, to restore its "greatness", to "catch up and overtake the United States" and become the world's leading superpower (Smith, 2020). Behind this broader complex geopolitical scenario, it is not surprising that the US leader's name appears as "unpronounceable" (in the sense of forbidden or avoided to be pronounced) in *China Daily*, and that criticism seems even sharper towards Trump than Bolsonaro — the major spokesperson responsible for answering to foreign criticism in the international scenario. In fact, in editorials, political sources dominate all other sources, a feature already observed for editorials about climate change, "perpetuating the notion that climate change is no longer a scientific concern but instead a political debate" (Garcia & Proffitt, 2021, p. 491). In general terms, editorials from all analyzed newspapers assume political positions by judging specific social actors and situations whilst arguing for specific claims, worldviews, norms, and so on. More importantly, despite dissimilarities in framing, in all cases president Bolsonaro stands among the most relevant discourse agents — albeit *The Daily Telegraph* did not publish any editorial about the Amazon during the analyzed period.

Secondly, op-eds tend to copy editorials in the position-taking pattern. Argumentation in these opinion pieces enable editors to necessarily take parts — overall aligned to newspapers values — while eventually allowing the expression of some subjective views. Op-eds are not present in all coverages, and in these articles Brazilian president is not an agent as central as in editorials. Additionally, they widely share the representation of the Amazon as a "global common", most of the time under a more emphatic manner.

Finally, we have the active, constructive, persuasive role of guest columns, including here the less recurrent genres like interviews (present exclusively in *The Hindu*) and perhaps also one specific case of

[126] Published on April, 16th, 2019. URL: https://www.nytimes.com/2019/04/16/business/trump-china.html

[127] The article explains that "The Democratic nominee, Joe Biden, has already vowed to forge a coalition of countries to isolate and confront China. 'When we join together with fellow democracies, our strength more than doubles,' Biden argued. 'China can't afford to ignore more than half the global economy.' That, and not Trump, is the stuff of Chinese nightmares". Published on July, 7th, 2020. URL:https://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2020/07/why-china-wants-donald-trump-win/613864/.

readers' letters. Beyond the traditional disclaimer notices, these articles offer alternative, complementary or even controversial views and meanings about the Amazon, with the inclusion and (often in length) representation of specific (clusters of) social actors, associated to a refined argumentation engineering. This englobes the simultaneous apology and depletion of a varied range of agents, actions, values and beliefs, including the defense of sustainable development, inclusively for the sake of Indigenous lives (The WSJ) or forests' conservation for the well-being of the global climate (in The NYT and *The Hindu*). This last frame acquires different shades in *China Daily*'s article about the synergistic effect of deforestation, illegal logging, criminality and violence against forest dwellers, as well as in *The Guardian*'s whole coverage, wherein Indigenous people are praised for their brave and resilience while non-Indigenous urban consumers are criticized by their individualistic greed. Analogously, this British newspaper labels the battle for the Amazon as today's *"last great cause"*, implying cowardice and shame in observers' indifference and inaction. In between these more extreme standpoints, we could place *The Daily Telegraph*'s debate on conservation funding, from local carrots in the Amazon to other effectively responsible projects outside Brazil. But also *China Daily*'s contributing article about the allegedly erroneous, limited dichotomy "food x forest" that ruins the image of Brazil's vast agricultural regions, far from the Amazon and mostly sustainable and certified. Throughout all these perspectives, meaning-making through agents / actions representation and argumentation schemes shape not only understanding but "power-full" (Leff, 2015) worldviews about Amazonia.

CONCLUSIONS

This thesis has concerned itself with analyzing in depth the journalistic representations and discursive constructions of a controversial social, environmental, political and economic reality of the global "South". Thus, Chapters 1, 2 and 3 were important steps in contextualizing key concepts and interrelations between discourse, Amazonia and the media — while considering their respective power stakes.

In Chapter 5, I mapped and discussed the main thematic trends of two distinct periods, outlining patterns in the representation about Amazonia in headlines (2010-2016) and in news articles in full (Aug.-Dec. 2019). The crisis of uncontrollable and highly destructive fires was more than a dominant theme, as it launched a critical moment of discourse. Frames about funding the conservation of the region, criticism or even support to President Bolsonaro, climate change, sustainable development, violence in the forest and environmental justice were identified in specific situations. Successful initiatives combining conservation and dignity for Amazonian groups were in general rarely reported, though. Environmental destruction and risks to the planet were incisively highlighted while Amazonia was intensely depicted as a global commons (a notion which crosses over frames like international financial implications, environmental degradation and climate change).

It is precisely the idea of the "global commons" as an outstanding leitmotif that partly oriented the discourse-rhetorical analysis carried out in Chapter 6, in which the trends in metaphorical discourse were dissected. After all, to say that Amazonian nation states are sovereign or a global common implies important power stakes. In this way, Chapter 7 intensively concentrated on such stakes, focusing on the representation and legitimation of social actors, but especially showing how argumentation schemes often converge on the perception that outsiders have rights and duties, be they moral, in relation to this specific tropical region, distant from governments and institutions from the global "North".

Turning back to the main question which oriented this thesis (How do international newspapers represent Amazonia and the power relations underlying this region as a physical and symbolic reality?), the simplest answer would be: in a homogenized, superficial and discontinuous way. The Amazon is often in the news when / whether referred to and / or debated by authorities and other agents of power. The coverage of fires tends to be alarmist and dramatic, playing a fundamental role in consolidating the Amazonian space as a "global common". Under such perspective, nature and the forest tend to have a greater preponderance in face of the region's inhabitants. The developmentist discourse, even under the viewpoint of sustainable development, seems to be dominant, although lacking depth as to its actual operationalization. Some newspapers describe the Amazon region in a very different way, presenting

social players and conflicting arguments, sometimes poorly grounded, so that rhetoric and metaphors have great reverberation, while the more rational debate on solutions to the Amazon region remains insufficient and peripheral. Social actors representing minorities, such as riverine communities, Indigenous peoples and small farmers, tend to be silenced or barely mentioned in most newspapers. Among the agents identified as having more power to talk about and provide solutions for the Amazon, political and economic authorities stand out as key social actors in nearly all newspapers.

In the described picture, the Amazon's complexity is overall insufficiently represented in the international media, specially in "Southern" newspapers from Asia, a feature that perhaps could be explained by both geographical as well as (media) cultural differences (notably, the considerably higher reliance on news agencies). Further studies including "South" nations from America, Africa or even Eastern Europe would be welcome in order to better clarify such distinctions. However, this condition does not mean that "North" countries do much better in constructing the intricate meanings inherent to the Amazon puzzle. Indeed, in this case, it is easier to observe North American and European correspondents stationed in Amazonian countries (eventually, in the region itself), and also greater access to sources with direct local experience. This includes opinion writers from Amazon countries, based or not in the region (there are a few exceptions, such as *China Daily*'s opinion piece signed by a Brazilian professor based at the University of São Paulo). Even so, these more evident advantages, partly of an operational and logistical order, do not necessarily correspond to great advances in terms of journalistic discourses exempt of biases, homogenizations and questionable argumentation schemes.

The fact that most of the articles on the Amazon are rarely attached to environment sections or editorial tags perhaps could be seen more positively than negatively. As the environmental issues emerging from Amazonia become progressively in the media a matter of (inter)national politics and policies, it might not be regrettable to observe such transition, as long as climate, ecology and nature's main implications seemingly do not lose their social relevance, while scientific uncertainty seems to be sufficiently surpassed. The highly frequent "international" tag attributed to the Amazon corroborates the "global commons" view (not exempt of drama and appealing metaphors), while also exposing part of its geopolitical stakes, whereas "the transnational undermines the nationalist ideal of sovereignty" (Forchtner & Kølvraa, 2015). Regarding these dynamics, Brazil (via Bolsonaro's speeches) remains isolated in a rather defensive position (towards sovereignty) not observed in other Amazon nations (leaders), wherein forest fires also occurred at a certain magnitude, but did not call such attention by the international media. At the same time, other "South" nations like India and China embrace the

"global commons" spirit by claiming that Brazil should accept "North" funding to protect the Amazon and the whole planet.

Furthermore, there is a degree of imbalance in the international coverage about Amazonia throughout time while the disproportional media attention during the "great burning weeks" stands out. In other words, if the Amazon is so much important for the planet, why such a "lukewarm" follow-up along the months that came after the "fire crisis"? After all, this task seemingly characterizes the well-known media's "watchdog" role. Such days of "global fever" consisted of debates on forest fires (its broad causes and its culprits), hot tempers among politicians, celebrities, environmentalists and other social actors (with or without overt political engagement), and also "burning" trend topic in social media worldwide (reported by the newspapers). Hence, readers around the world overall found a far from temperate discourse tone in newspapers' headlines. However, as the news media play an important (conditioning yet not definitive) role in shaping public perception of distant realities, one could wonder whether / how a Chinese or an Indian newspaper reader really got "informed", considering, for example, that *People's Daily* published only five short articles about Amazonia in August 2019 (and none in the rest of that year), while *The Hindu*, for the same month, published 35 news texts (even if a great part derived from news agencies' releases), and among them four opinion pieces combining information and manifest evaluation of the facts and geopolitical stakes. Conversely, while a reader of *The Times of India* largely found celebrities' reactions to the fires as the core news-value, a reader of *China Daily* had access to a more varied number of angles, and to three opinion articles offering alternative perspectives to the Amazon: sustainable development, the imminent risk of a tipping point, Amazon's role in mitigating climate change, and the need of a ("North") leading global voice to coordinate environmental conservation and climate commitments.

Additionally, there is a quite different semiotic input between a British reader who had access to 10 articles about Amazonia in December 2019 — when Amazon fires were nearly forgotten but fires in Australia and other non-environmental issues took over the global scene — and an Indian citizen, to whom only a single short news article was accessible in the same month, in that case by *The Hindu*. Overall, articles' shortness yet minimal constancy would seem to be preferable to their (almost) complete absence (in general in "South" coverage) outside Amazon fires news-cycle. However, there are exceptions which somewhat "pay honor" to a much-needed focus on "why" and "how" some multifaceted dynamics take place in the Amazon (gaps pointed by Tollefson, 2015). Despite the clear orientation to defend Bolsonaro's neoliberal policies, *The Wall Street Journal* occasionally acknowledged that Brazilian president makes silly statements. More importantly, The WSJ also denounced in some

articles violence and impunity mechanisms closely linked to the development push into the rainforest. The fact that one of its articles generated a sort of inter-textual "reply" published in *China Daily* denotes how cause / consequence modes are effectively present in some news stories (despite the merits and validity of their respective arguments). Also, The NYT was the only newspaper that directly tried to describe the side of IBAMA's rangers facing severe budget cuts and increasing criticism from a federal government that overly labels environmental fines as an "industry". The newspaper even compiled how *"The Amazon is Completely Lawless: The Rainforest After Bolsonaro's First Year"* in a news story. It is among the newspapers that mostly cited and depicted deforestation and criminality in Amazonia outside Brazil's borders, in Peru, Bolivia and Colombia, not mentioning an in-depth story on "cattle laundering" in the region (*"Why Amazon Fires Keep Raging 10 Years After a Deal to End Them"*). British newspapers also shed light into important angles to better comprehend Amazonia. *The Daily Telegraph* published rather enriched news stories on tourism (linking them to local / regional social, environmental, economic and even political stakes), and specially an interesting report — not seen in any other coverage — explaining how Colombia's cocaine barons were surprisingly responsible for a reasonable level of rainforest conservation (showing from an unexpected standpoint the ever difficult task to manage natural and social benefits). This British newspaper also approached other social realities from Amazonia, by depicting the work of midwives under halved budgets[128] and growing pressures on Indigenous communities. Finally, I recall *The Guardian*'s exclusive stories on the higher overlapping incidence of fires in beef farming zones and on the multiple risks associated to Belo Monte's dam operations. I also outline TGD's special interest in Bolivian Amazon fires, on the Forest COP as well as on Indigenous points of view in general. Overall, these "honorable" exceptions to simplicity and homogenization seem closely related to the availability of "North" newspapers in counting with regional correspondents and contributing journalists.

The concept of sustainable development, historically controversial and appropriated by different ideologies (Hopwood; Mellor; O'Brien, 2005; Beltrão, 1997; 1998) remains far from consensual or pivotal in the international coverage about Amazonia. Overall, differently from Beltrão (1997; 1998), who found four distinct regional profiles of sustainable development defenders in the Amazon, in the scope of this work this concept is more implied than overtly debated – the relatively low number of articles framing it is notable. However, it is partially explored in *The Wall Street Journal*, albeit in this newspaper the very idea of development may acquire more relevance than sustainability itself, mainly through the

[128] Despite their important role in offering varied perspectives on Amazonian realities, articles from The NYT and British newspapers reporting on cuts in federal budgets (2019) tend to overlook the worrying fiscal situation of Brazil behind these austere measures, partly inherited by the previous administrations, according to some political analysts.

assumption that Indigenous people and other poor Amazonians not only need – but specially wish for – better living standards and economic choices in order to spare the forest and stop destroying it. Accordingly, for *The Wall Street Journal*, development and democracy (through freedom for public opinion) would almost naturally grant environmental conservation — a highly debatable[129] standpoint discredited by other "Northern" newspapers, in special those from Britain, which overtly acknowledge that rich countries achieved their higher social and industrialized standards precisely from environmental degradation. In *The Guardian* this is also manifested through the moral charge behind the denunciation of "Western's greed".

But sustainable development is also sparsely approached in other newspapers, in special in *The Hindu*, wherein it is argued that the developing "South" countries (like India) are the ones leading the truly sustainability turn. However, the reports on environmental gains do not imply any in-depth discussion on the broader social advantages related to the concept. Still, overall, sustainability — when cited — makes reference to synergistic positive effects, differently, for instance, from the view that discourse on sustainable development both empowers and constrains the Indigenous peoples of the Brazilian Amazon (Bingham, 2010). Indigenous peoples have a very low profile in newspapers from India, lower than in Chinese ones. This finding ratifies a perception of imbalance reported by a study comparing the narratives about "Amazon's fire day" from *Folha de S. Paulo* (Brazil) and *Público* (Portugal) whose author concluded that these newspapers hardly presented the diversity of voices necessary to strengthen democracy (Braga, 2021). Nonetheless, the invisibility of the Indigenous peoples of the Amazon in the Brazilian media (Dutra, 2001) is perhaps only partial in the international scenario, if one takes into consideration newspapers that positively include and represent these groups (mainly *The Guardian*, but not exclusively).

With regard to these and other Amazonian groups, other imbalances stand out, from the nearly complete absence of Indigenous agents in some newspapers (*The Times of India* and *People's Daily*), to the rise of two contrasting poles. On the one pole, an Indigenous "stereotype rupture" — social individuals who need, use and appreciate technological devices and solutions for their daily live, linked to a capitalist "White" consumption society — in *The Wall Street Journal* and partly in *China Daily*. Particularly, this specific frame is closely related to the paradigm of conservation versus poverty, which functions as a story-line in The WSJ. On the other pole, an Indigenous "environmental justice" — social individuals who are historically put aside from political decisions, but who are intrinsically defenders of

[129] Still, some scholars argue that this link is worth to be studied, whereas "environmental protection is desired distinctly according to classes and historical periods, being above all an aspiration of the more affluent and better educated strata of society" (FT) (Castro, 2008, p. 166)

Nature risking their livelihoods to protect intangible values like their culture, ways of living, and abstract meanings of the forest — notably in *The Guardian*. In this newspaper they are the leading group — supported by other "White" counter-hegemonic minorities such as environmental defenders of all profiles — in the battle for the world's *"last great cause"*. In this way, taking into consideration the weight that drama acquires along coverage, mainly with regard to the destruction of a "global commons", this thesis partly ratifies data according to which dramatization is a major news-value in news construction about Amazonia (Pereira; 2014; studying television news stories about the Amazon in Brazil and Portugal). At the same time, stereotype, homogenization and power coloniality (hegemonic developmentist discourses, according to Pereira, 2014) have limits, as alternative perspectives (from both sources and journalists) occasionally find pathways in the journalistic discourse — a situation described as "counter-hegemonic rebellions" (FT) by Pereira (2014). Still, the national and international tensions over representation and meaning seem to persist, whereas the foreign metaphor of the "Amazon, lungs of the world" (prevalent in Portugal's TV news) largely meets other media outlets (newspapers from EU and Asia here assessed), while contrasting with Brazil's everlasting developmentally-friendly "The Amazon is Ours" (Pereira, 2014; Gagliardi et al., 2021). This catchphrase overtly raises the flags of nationalism and sovereignty also widely cited and most of the time criticized in the foreign media when referring to Brazil / Brazilian President Bolsonaro.

To the extent that power and its actors are an indispensable part of the construction of meanings and discourses about the Amazon, the figure of the Brazilian president stands out as an agent of power whose authority is deligitimated by his own "nonsense" comments, and whose character is negatively represented by most newspapers (except by *The Wall Street Journal*), for his systematic association with the destruction of the forest, whether by omission or through a pro-agribusiness developmentist rhetoric. Still, two distinct frames were identified with regard to President Bolsonaro: pro-Bolsonaro (exclusive to *The Wall Street Journal*) and Bolsonaro's nonsense (mainly in *The New York Times*, *The Daily Telegraph* and *The Guardian*; discretely in *The Hindu*). Nevertheless, rather than simply depicting Bolsonaro in a grotesque or ridiculous fashion (turbocharged by his own socially inappropriate and politically incorrect speeches), *The New York Times*' editorial and *The Guardian* in general better inserted Brazilian president among (far) right-wing nationalists. This cluster of political agents — apparently in a paradox — may engage in the discourse of nature's protection from the prism of nation's riches and beauty over which the country is sovereign, while casting doubt on environmental risks such as those related to climate change, at a transnational level (Folchter & Kolvraa, 2015). Indeed, Bolsonaro's speeches expressed rather conflicting views, from the claim that Amazonia

is an internal issue, and unfounded accusations about the "real" (allegedly much less noble) purpose of international NGOs, to proud and even "profound love" to the region. In this way, *The Wall Street Journal*, by opting for an alternative view of Brazil's president, seemingly ensured larger plurality about this controversial yet major political agent in Amazon coverage. By focusing on other important facts and stakes related to Amazonia, like poverty and the alleged preference of Amazon dwellers for "North's" living standards (in terms of technologies, infrastructures, etc.), The WSJ partly meets Brazilian president's speeches in favor of developing the region. But Bolsonaro's legitimation (along with *"leftist"* Workers Party delegitimation) by The WSJ also serves the newspaper's neoliberal principles well.

However, apart from Bolsonaro, the EU and other G7 leaders, as well as the media themselves, also appear as powerful agents, together with French president Macron, who acquires a major prominence in the defense of Amazonia by menacing the long debated EU–Mercosur trade deal. Although the negotiations were concluded in June 2019 (less than two months before Amazon's "great burning weeks"), this decades-long accord was not yet completely sealed by the time these lines are written, with France resisting to ratify it unless Brazil respects its commitments. Behind such diplomatic standpoint, the analysed newspapers in general overlooked any possible resistance from European (French) agricultural producers, likely fearful of South American competition. Still, some results of this thesis are compatible with those found by Silva (1999), to the extent that European media largely politicizes Amazonia, often "internationalizing" the issue (e.g. Macron's insistence and agility in inserting the Amazon agenda in the G7 meeting). Albeit Silva studied exclusively French newspapers in the late 1990s, by that time, it was already noted how the event-oriented and politically engaged discourse from *l'Humanité* outlined that Amazon's conservation is global rather than a Brazilian domestic affair (Silva, 1999).

The generalized emphasis on the Amazon as a global common is largely compatible with the more or less implicit idea that Amazon countries — notably Brazil, which is by far the most cited one — are not qualified for the endeavour to protect such a vital territory for the globe. This result ratifies other past findings, according to which discourse agents reporting on Amazon's international interest and internationalization itself were often retrieved in media reports (Silva, 2005; comparing weekly magazines *Veja*, *Time* and *The Economist* in articles from 1992, 1997 and 2002). Silva's (2005) finding that in the US, the UK as well as in the domestic media Brazil is overall depicted as careless towards the environment is also ratified in the scope of my research. Nevertheless, as the present investigation included a substantially larger number of media outlets, my findings on social actors show some

important differences. In special, I cite the absence of agents “deniers of the international interest (in the Amazon)” [in a sense of not respecting national sovereignty (Silva, 2005)], along with the presence of agents which hardly meet Silva’s typology of the subject positions labeled “environmentalists” (comprising all sorts of environmental activists, including Indigenous peoples). In the scope of this thesis, the frame of environmental justice goes far beyond the idea of Indigenous actors as mere “environmentalists”. Considering differences in the analyzed periods, one could hypothesize broad cultural and political changes along the 21st century facilitating the visibility of Indigenous actors (e.g. internet, social media, the legacy of Belo Monte’s international exposition) socially and by consequence in the news media.

In fact, as the turn to the 21st century has been marked by intense controversial debates on international funding, from the Kyoto Protocol to the Paris Agreement, the Amazon stands as a major bone of contention, specially in a political scenario wherein Brazil’s president sees international billionaire funding as a factor of loosening sovereignty. But the stakes are much larger, economically, and British newspapers make them clearer, for instance, through *The Daily Telegraph*’s deputy editor suggestion to use money from UK tax payers to help responsible nations which truly preserve rainforests (rather than Brazil). This view may be partly explained by the sense that Brazil and Bolsonaro are often represented rather synonymously in the international press, following a sort of metonymy that perhaps simplifies the comprehension of the matter by readers geographically and culturally distant, but that also lacks sufficient contextualization among the shorter news articles. In any case, agents and power legitimation and argumentation schemes tend to be more explicit and better developed in opinion pieces, wherein journalistic discourse may acquire resemblances to political discourse due to a rhetoric work on argumentation, sometimes leading readers through fallacies, reiterated *topoi* of reasoning (shortcuts), and to schemes filled with rational persuasiveness lacking further important contextual data to support them.

With regard to argumentative rhetoric, reading opinion articles from different newspapers can potentially become a richer and more active experience — depending of course on a panoply of factors related to the individual and his / her milieu — as the reader can virtually come to know different sources, data and perspectives in relation to the news coverage, which generally tends to be more standardized. Besides, since the opinion character of the text is a priori overt, there is also the possibility of doubting the facts presented therein (by trying to confront them with other sources of information). What remains unclear (while not targeted by this work), but potentially interesting to clarify in future research, is the degree of perception that a reader from the "South" or the "North" achieves,

for example, regarding the “opinionated load” present in the allegedly objective, "neutral" and factual texts themselves (news stories not tagged nor identified as opinion pieces). Therefore, investigating readers' comments could be of great value to better understand how they perceive, react and construct meanings in face of the Amazonian representations presented by the media.

Indeed, the socio-political effect of the different media discourses at the domestic level is undoubtedly a fundamental aspect to be considered. This is because they can, for example, act in the legitimization and support of governments (parties, presidents or other political actors), particularly in relation to their international policies, with national repercussions, and vice-versa. Newspapers can also challenge these figures and their positions and contribute to social and political changes, virtually leading to redesigns in public opinion and specially in power.

Assessing Amazonia in several European newspapers along two-decades (1977-1997), Castro (2008) found the macro-themes (32% environment / ecology; 26% economy / development; 22% violence / human rights; 15% society; and 5% travelling / tourism). These macro-themes hardly correspond to the pillars / frames classified in the scope of this thesis, specially because my intention was to reach beyond a survey on topic-related framing. Albeit the proportion and main metaphors of these themes might have changed in relation to different time and space ranges covered by the two studies, a major convergence refers to media attention-cycles (here found for the year 2014 and very specially 2019). The rather frequent sense of a “green hell” identified by Castro mainly between 1977-1987 appeared quickly and exclusively in a single opinion article here studied (published by *The Wall Street Journal*). As the Amazon as a (global / environmental) symbol overall raised an ascending interest in European newspapers, the murder of the local environmental activist Chico Mendes made international coverage skyrocket during almost two years (1989-1990), besides other relatively extended peaks in the mid 1990s covering dramatic violence and social clashes due to developmentist projects (Castro, 2008). Distinctly, the Amazon’s 2019 burning weeks provides clues that these cycles might be contemporaneously both more intense and more ephemeral.

Finally, even if perhaps risking to sound repetitive, below I summarize the main features, novelties and difficulties attached to my solitary Amazonian journey through some newspapers around the globe.

- ✓ This thesis is among the first academic attempts to comparatively understand the international (exclusively foreign) mediatization of Amazonia occurring simultaneously in three continents (North America, Europe and Asia), focusing on two newspapers from each studied nation. It provides a

"big picture" on the collective construction of knowledge about this important yet controversial territory.

- ✓ The option for two different newspapers showed to be very fruitful in terms of a more colorful picture of the Amazon in the studied countries, largely confirming the sense that nations are complex political, economic, social and cultural contexts. Very likely the inclusion of a third representative could have added interesting insights into the broad national coverages.
- ✓ The use of Critical Discourse Analysis as well as other qualitative analytical methods is considerably challenging for a single researcher in face of large amounts of media texts. Still, the fact that all articles were exclusively assessed by the same analyst may be an advantage in view of the inevitable role of subjectivity intrinsic to this kind of study.
- ✓ Taking into consideration the analyzed newspapers, the most sensitive domestic differences in representing Amazonia and its agents are seen in the coverages from The United States and from India. Among domestic newspapers from Britain and from China the construction of meanings about the Amazon forest is slightly more standardized.
- ✓ In all countries the Amazon is widely depicted as a global common of vital importance for the planet's self-regulation (mitigation of climate change globally). However, the role of "North" and "South" countries in protecting such an inestimable environmental asset is unequal, with roughly all nations agreeing that "North" countries should help funding the conservation of Amazonia. The idea that these countries have a "moral obligation" towards the planet's health emerges from US and UK (newspapers) themselves but, ultimately, it could be also ratifying their historical "leadership" or hegemony in defining agendas and solutions for the world.
- ✓ The shared sense of the Amazon as a "global common" entangles huge political and economic stakes behind media discourses, from tensions on national sovereignty —an issue also largely hit by the international funding of conservation projects — to the possible paths for the (sustainable) development in the region. Within these dynamics, nationalism and globalism raise the major duality of both power in and power behind Amazonian discourses, wherein there is no absolute villains nor heroes, but interested stakeholders in struggle.

In convergence to Amazon's complexity, this investigation hopefully helped to enlighten some dark zones regarding media discourses on Amazonia while perhaps contributing to the emergence of others, which should be the object of further studies. Quoting *The Daily Telegraph*'s destination expert

Chris Moss, I should now agree that, analogously to his cruise throughout the region, years ago when this project was planned: *"I was prepared for Amazon lite [...] and the Amazon is never 'lite'"*[130].

[130] Excerpt from the article TDT_A02, titled *"The Amazon is burning: Why South America's leaders are wrong about the 'lungs of the planet'"* (22 Aug. 2019).

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ANNEX A: List of articles about Amazonia from international newspapers (corpus 2010-2016)

The Wall Street Journal (corpus 2010— 2016)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	751-1000	Business	Simon Clark & Kathrine Dunn	news article	London-Listed Cocoa Company Operating Illegally, Peru Says
A02	2016	1001-1500	Not indicated	Ryan Dube	review	Psychedelic Cure or Curse? In Peru, ayahuasca eases distress — and raises concern
A04	2015	501-750	World News	Gautam Naik	news article	Study Finds Amazon Trees Dying Off
A03	2010	1001-1500	Page One	Paulo Prada	news story	A Banker Wades Into New Markets by Floating Loans From a Boat
A05	2014	> 251	World News	Jeffrey Lewis & Rogerio Jelmayer	news article	Brazil Sets Stage for Battle Over Rain Forest
A06	2014	501-750	World	Jeffrey Lewis & Rogerio Jelmayer	news article	Brazil's Rousseff Names Katia Abreu Agriculture Minister
A07	2014	751-1000	World News	Reed Johnson & Rogerio Jelmayer	news article	Brazil Debates Amazon Loss's Tie to Drought
A08	2014	1001-1500	Life and Style	Bret Stephens	opinion article	Anatomy of a Conspiracy
A09	2014	251-500	Business	Paul Kiernan	news article	Vale Produces Record Amount of Iron Ore Despite Falling Prices
A10	2014	1001-1500	Life and Style	John Hawks	book review	The Big Ratchet' by Ruth DeFries
A11	2014	251-500	Business	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ivanhoe Energy in Consortium for Ecuador's Oil Block 20
A12	2014	501-750	World	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuadorean Indigenous People March to Protest Water Law
A13	2014	501-750	News	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Says No National Referendum on New Amazon Oil Development
A14	2014	501-750	News	Robert Kozak	news article	Peru Takes Harder Line on Illegal Gold Mining
A15	2014	501-1000	Life and Style	James Huffmann	book review	A 'Climate of Crisis' by Patrick Allit
A16	2014	751-1000	News	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Environmentalists Have Signatures for Referendum on Ecuador Oil Development

A17	2014	1001-1500	Not indicated (print); Opinion (online)	Matt Ridley	opinion article	Climate Forecast: Muting the Alarm
A18	2014	751-1000	Life and Style	Jennie Erin Smith	book review	Mother of God' by Paul Rosolie
A19	2014	251-500	World	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Extends Deadline to Submit Offers for Oil-Recovery Projects
A20	2013	251-500	Business	Rogerio Jelmayer	news article	Brazil's Vale, Cemig Create Venture for Energy Assets
A21	2013	251-500	Markets	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Receives 3 Offers in 11th Oil-Licensing Round
A22	2013	501-750	Business	Jennifer Smith	news article	Donziger on Stand in Chevron Tria
A23	2013	501-750	Business	Jennifer Smith	news article	Attorney Takes Stand in Chevron-Ecuador Case
A24	2013	751-1000	World	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Sparks Outcry Over Plan to Drill in Rainforest
A25	2013	251-500	Business	Daniel Gilbert & Angel Gonzalez	news article	Court Deals Blow to Ecuador Plaintiffs in Chevron Case
A26	2012	1001-1500	Business	John Lyons & Paul Kiernan	news article	Mining Giants Head to Amazon Rain Forest; In next FiveYears
A27	2012	>1500	Not indicated	John Lyons	news story	Brazil Reaches Across Border to Battle Source of Cocaine
A28	2012	501-750	World	Jeffrey T. Lewis	news article	Pace of Deforestation in Brazil's Amazon Falls
A29	2012	501-750	Business	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Raises Amount Chevron to Pay in Amazon Lawsuit
A30	2012	501-750	World News	Paulo Winterstein	news article	Tribes Hold Engineers of Dam in Brazil
A31	2012	251-500	World News	Paulo Winterstein	news article	Tribes Hold Engineers of Dam in Brazil
A32	2012	>1500	World News	John Lyons	news story	Cocaine Expansion in Peru Raises Fears of Global Spread
A33	2012	501-750	Corporate News	Daniel Gilbert	news article	Chevron Plaintiffs File Suit in Canada
A34	2012	251-500	Business	Chad Bray	news article	Judge Narrows Claims in Chevron Lawsuit
A35	2012	<250	World News	Paulo Winterstein	news article	Brazil Launches Major Amazon Drug Patrol
A36	2012	751-1000	Markets	Leslie Josephs	news story	A Race to Satisfy World's Hunger for Chocolate

A37	2012	501-750	Business	Dan Molinski	news article	Colombia to Wage Battle Against Illegal Coltan Mining
A38	2012	501-750	Business	Isabel Ordóñez	news article	Tribunal Says Chevron's Ecuador Aribration May Proceed
A39	2012	251-500	Law Journal	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Chevron Appeals Ecuador Ruling in Amazon Case
A40	2012	501-750	Business	Chad Bray	news article	Chevron Stymied in Ecuador Case
A41	2011	501-772	World News	Paulo Prada	news story	New Pockets of Influence Emerge in Brazil's Hinterlands
A42	2011	1001-1500	World News	Paulo Prada	news story	New Pockets of Influence Emerge in Brazil
A43	2011	501-750	World News	John Lyons	news article	Brazilian Forestry Bill Splits Nation
A44	2011	501-750	World News	John Lyons	news article	Bolivian Chief Scraps Road
A45	2011	501-750	Business	Chad Bray	news article	Chevron's Injunction in Ecuador Case Vacated
A46	2011	251-500	Business	John Lyons	news article	Brazil Approves Hydroelectric Dam
A47	2011	251-500	Business	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Chevron Appeals to Proceed in Ecuador
A48	2011	251-500	Business	Chad Bray	news article	Judge Puts Off Chevron Decision
A49	2011	501-750	Business	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Chevron Asks Ecuadorean Court to Clarify Ruling
A50	2010	251-500	Law	Mercedes Alvaro	news article	Ecuador Plaintiffs in Chevron Case Raise Damage Claim
A51	2010	501-750	Business	Chad Bray	news article	Filmmaker Must Turn Over Chevron-Ecuador Footage
A52	2010	>1500	Commercial Real Estate	John Lyons	news story	In Amazon, Rain Forests Make Room for Mall Rats
A53	2010	251-500	World News	John Lyons & Alastair Stewart	news article	Brazil Awards Amazon Contract
A54	2010	251-500	Americas Business	John Lyons & Alastair Stewart	news article	Brazil Awards Amazon Contract
A55	2010	251-500	World News	John Lyons	news article	Rancher in Brazil Is Sentenced for Ordering Killing of Nun
A56	2010	251-500	Business	Ben Casselman	news article	Ecuador to Pay Chevron Damages

A57	2010	251-500	Not indicated	Chad Bray	news article	Judge Upholds Chevron-Ecuador Arbitration
The New York Times (corpus 2010— 2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	251-500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news story	Nazi Grave in Brazil Endures a Marker of Secret Plan to Colonize
A02	2016	1000-1500	National Desk	Clyde Haberman	news story	The Lasting Legacy of a Fighter for the Amazon
A03	2016	1000-1500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news story	Modern Pirate Terror: 'No Law on the Amazon'
A04	2016	251-500	The Arts / Cultural Desk	Glenn Kenny	film review	Drawing Amazonian Battle Lines
A05	2016	501-750	Science Desk	Nicholas St. Fleur	news article	Endless Arboretum: A Tree Census in the Amazon
A06	2016	751-1000	NYT Blogs	James Estrin	news story	Brazil's Dams Submerge Tribal Life
A07	2015	501-750	Foreign Desk	Nicholas St. Fleur	news article	Study Finds Broad Threats to Amazon Tree Species
A08	2015	>1500	Sunday Review Desk	Andrew Lawler	opinion article	Do the Amazon's Isolated Tribes Have a Future?
A09	2015	501-750	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news article	Suspiction Falls on the Police After Dozens of Execution-Style Killings in Brazil
A10	2015	751-1000	Foreign Desk	Jim Yardley	news article	Pope, in Ecuador, Calls for More Protection of Rain Forest and Its People
A11	2015	1001-1500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news story	To Soften Image, Offers Patrol in Horned Beasts
A12	2015	501-750	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news article	Chinese Plan Investments and Loans for Brazil
A13	2015	1000-1500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news story	A 'Hermit of the Jungle'' Stands Guard in the Amazon
A14	2015	1000-1500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news story	Brazilian Inmates Get Therapy With Hallucionogenic Tea
A15	2015	251-500	Foreign Desk	Justin Gillis	news article	A Climate Change Safaty Net Frays
A16	2014	>1500	Foreign Desk	Justin Gillis	news story	Restored Forests Are Making Inroads Against Climate Change
A17	2014	251-500	Science Desk	Sindya N. Bhanoo	news article	Birds: Mimicking a Caterpillar to Avoid Detection

A18	2014	1000-1500	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Can Peru Control the Murderous Resource Rush on its Forest Frontiers?
A19	2014	<250	Foreign Desk	Reuters	news article	Peru: Suspects Arrested in Killings of 4 Environmental Activists
A20	2014	250-500	Foreign Desk	Andrea Zarate & William Neuman	news article	Peru Investigates the Killing of an Environmental Advocate
A21	2014	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Peru: 4 Opponents of Illegal Logging Are Found Dead?
A22	2014	1000-1500	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	news story	Brazil Posts Double Win with Simultaneous Soy Boom and Deforestation Drop
A23	2014	<250	Foreign Desk	Michael Wines	news article	Brazil: Partners Join in Effort to Protect Amazon
A24	2014	251-500	OpEd	Michael Kleiman	chronicle	Wiring the Amazon'
A25	2014	<250	Arts and Leisure Desk	Kathryn Shattuck	film review	Humans Fighting for Earth's Health
A26	2014	251-500	Editorial Desk	The Editorial Board	opinion article	Backsliding in the Amazon
A27	2014	<250	NYT Blogs	Not indicated	news article	Rainforest Fund to Celebrate Its 25th Anniversary
A28	2014	251-500	Performing Arts/Weekend Desk	Daniel M. Gold	film review	Xingu
A29	2013	751-100	Opinion	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Reflections on the Killing of Chico Mendes 25 Years Ago
A30	2013	1000-1500	Business/Financial Desk	Clifford Krauss	news article	Lawyer Concedes Mistakes in Chevron Case
A31	2013	251-500	Business/Financial Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Judge Hears Arguments in Chevron's Case Against Ecuadorean Judgement
A32	2013	501-750	Business/Financial Desk	Clifford Krauss	news article	Plan to Ban Oil Drilling in Amazon is Dropped
A33	2012	1000-1500	Science Desk	Sandra Blakeslee	news story	As Forests Disappear, Examinig the Mechanisms of Their Death
A34	2012	501-750	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	A Certified Path to Environmental Progress
A35	2012	501-750	Metropolitan Desk	Danny Hakim	news article	Chevron Accuses State Comptroller of Ethics Violation

A36	2012	1000-1500	Science Desk	Jean Friedman-Rudovsky	news story	In Bolivian Amazon, a Yardstick for Modern Health
A37	2012	501-750	Foreign Desk	Willian neuman & María Eugenia Díaz	news article	Venezuela to Investigate Report that Brazilian Miners Massacred Indian Village
A38	2012	251-500	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Indians in Venezuela Amazon Report Attack by Gold Miners
A39	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Brazil: Court Allows Dam Construction to Resume
A40	2012	251-500	Science Desk	Donald G. McNeil Jr.	news article	Peru: Antibodies Seen in Amazon Dwellers Suggest That Rabies May Be Survivable
A41	2012	501-750	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Brazil's New Leader Mulls Country's Forest Protections
A42	2012	751-1000	Science Desk	Carl Zimmer	news story	It's Not So Lonely at the Top: Ecosystems Thrive High in the Sky
A43	2012	501-750	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero	news article	Brazil Increasing Military Presence Along Amazon Borders
A44	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Peru: Gunmen Abduct Workers at Gas Pipeline
A45	2012	>1500	The Arts / Cultural Desk	Jennifer Schuessler	news story	How Do You Say 'Disagreement' in Piraha?
A46	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Peru: More Police to Go to Mine Region
A47	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Brazil: Senator Is Accused of Keeping 35 Workers in Slavelike Conditions
A48	2012	1000-1500	Foreign Desk	Simon Romero & Andrea Zarate	news story	Influx of Haitians Into the Amazon Prompts Immigration Debates in Brazil
A49	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Ecuador: Chevron Will Not Apologize for Pollution, Even to Save $8.5 Billion
A50	2012	<250	Business/Financial Desk	Reuters	news article	Chevron Appeals $18 Billion Judgement in Ecuador
A51	2012	751-1000	Business Day / Small Business	Jessica Bruder	news story	A Brooklyn Tea Company Backed by a Socialist President
A52	2012	<250	Foreign Desk	Reuters	news article	Ecuador: $18 Billion Ruling Against Chevron is Upheld

A53	2011	<250	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	A Postcard on Amazon Forest Trends
A54	2011	1000-1500	Metropolitan Desk	John Schwartz	news story	Ex-Aide Said She Drew Cuomo, As Attorney General, Into Rain Forest Case
A55	2011	<250	Foreign Desk	The Associated Press	news article	Brazil: Again, Court Ruling Halts Giant Amazon Dam
A56	2011	501-750	Foreign Desk	Alexei Barrionuevo	news article	Brazil, After Long Battle, Aprroves an Amazon Dam
A57	2011	<250	NYT Blogs	The New York Times	news article	Cities Reach Climate Pact With World Bank
A58	2011	501-750	NYT Blogs	John Collins Rudolf	news article	After Killings, Brazil Vows to Confront Amazon Violence
A59	2011	251-500	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Another Forest Defender Falls in the Amazon
A60	2011	751-1000	NYT Blogs	John Collins Rudolf	news story	Murder of Activists Raise Questions of Justice in Amazon
A61	2011	<250	Foreign Desk	Alexei Barrionuevo	news article	Brazil: Amazon Bill Advances
A62	2011	501-750	Foreign Desk	Alexei Barrionuevo	news article	Brazil Debates Easing Curbs on Developing Amazon Forest
A63	2011	<250	Foreign Desk	Reuters	news article	Ecuador: Appeals Filed in Chevron Case
A64	2011	<250	NYT Blogs	John Collins Rudolf	news article	On Our Radar: Rare Aerial Footage of Isolated Amazon Tribe
A65	2011	251-500	NYT Blogs	John Collins Rudolf	news story	Isolated Amazon Tribes Threatened by Logging, Groups Say
A66	2011	251-500	NYT Blogs	John Collins Rudolf	news article	Brazilian Dam Clears Hurdle
A67	2010	751-1000	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	A Worried View of the Amazon From Within its Forest
A68	2010	251-500	The Arts / Cultural Desk	Colin Moynihan	news article	Appeals Court Hears Arguments Over Outtakes
A69	2010	251-500	NYT Blogs	Andrew C. Revkin	opinion article	Can the Amazon Thrive in the 21st Century?
A70	2010	501-750	NYT Blogs	James Kanter	news story	British Newspaper Apologizes to Climate Scientist
A71	2010	751-1000	Editorial Desk	Bob Herbert	opinion article	Disaster in The Amazon
A72	2010	251-500	Movies, Performing Arts / Weekend	John Schwartz	news article	Deadline Extended in 'Crude' Documentary Lawsuit

			Desk			
A73	2010	1000-1500	National Desk	John Schwartz	news story	A Filmmaker's Quest for Journalistic Protection
A74	2010	<250	The Arts / Cultural Desk	Dave Itzkoff (compiled by)	news article	Chevron Vs. Filmmaker
The Daily Telegraph (corpus 2010— 2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	501-750	News	Camilla Turner	fait divers	Steel boss tried to cure depression in Amazon as company failed
A02	2016	1000-1500	Features	Michael Kerr	book review	A very strange case of thought transference
A03	2015	501-750	Not indicated	Dominic Cavendish	theatral play review	Lost in an Amazonian polyphonic paradise
A04	2015	501-750	News	Victoria Ward	fait divers	Mother died in Amazon boats' 'game of dare'
A05	2015	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	Sands across water
A06	2014	501-750	News	Tom Rowley	news article	A gift of bananas, and the remarkable moment a lost tribe makes first contact
A07	2013	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	Amazon still surprises
A08	2013	<250	News	Not indicated	fait divers	Fish with taste for tackle found in Seine
A09	2013	<250	News	Not indicated	fait divers	Taste for turtle's tears
A10	2013	<250	Business	Harriet Dennys	news article	Amazonian oil clash looms
A11	2012	>1500	Features	Michael Palin	book excerpt	Michael Palin's Brazil
A12	2012	251-500	News	Fiona Govan & Victoria Ward	news article	Kidnapped canoeist is found safe in Amazon
A13	2012	251-500	Features	Geoffrey Lean	opinion article	Time to shout timber on the criminal sale of tropical wood
A14	2012	<250	Features	Geoffrey Lean	opinion article	Brazil turns its back on safeguarding the rainforest
A15	2011	<250	Business	Not indicated	news article	TNK-BP in Amazon Deal
A16	2011	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	Amazon dolphin at play
A17	2011	501-750	News	Not indicated	fait divers	Sorry to call, we're trapped in the jungle
A18	2011	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	BBC tribe series 'faked'

A19	2011	251-500	News	Not indicated	news article	Free from the tyranny of the clock, the tribe with no concept of time
A20	2011	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	Amazon indians ban backpackers
A21	2011	<250	Features	Geoffrey Lean	news article	Getting around gets easier for Tarzan
A22	2011	251-500	Business	Helia Ebrahimi	news article	Chevron fined $8bn after Ecuador lawsuit
A23	2010	<250	News	Not indicated	fait divers	Lost pictures of tribesmen turn up
A24	2010	<250	News	Not indicated	news article	Wood-eating catfish discovered
A25	2010	<250	News	Our Foreign Staff	news article	Vampire bats kill four
A26	2010	<250	News	Not indicated	fait divers	Weed turns out to be killer plant
The Guardian (corpus 2010— 2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	251-500	World News	Dominic Phillips	news article	Photographer captures images of uncontacted Amazon tribe
A02	2016	751-1000	Global development	Dan Collyns	news article	Amazonians call on leaders to heed link between land rights and climate change
A03	2016	>1500	World News	Jonathan Watts	news story	Venezuela's crisis brings economic boom but social tensions to Brazil border town
A04	2016	1000-1500	Environment	Emma Bryce	news story	Killed to catch a fish that nobody wants, the Amazon's pink river dolphins reveal the bizarre impacts of seafood fraud
A05	2016	751-1000	Environment	John Vidal	news article	Amazon chiefs visit British Museum as part of dam-building protest
A06	2016	251-500	Environment	John Vidal	news article	Paul McCartney and Ranulph Fiennes back Amazon tribe threatened by dams
A07	2016	>1500	Environment	David Hill	interview	Ayahuasca is changing global environmental consciousness'
A08	2016	>1500	Environment	David Hill	interview	Top Peruvian Amazon tourist destination invaded by gold-miners
A09	2016	251-500	Environment	John Vidal	news article	Huge coral reef discovered in Amazon river mouth
A10	2016	501-750	World News	Jonathan Watts	news article	Brazil: insider claims Rousseff coalition took funds from Belo Monte mega-dam
A11	2016	750-1000	Television & radio	Sam Wollaston	TV program	First Contact: Lost Trible of the Amazon review — have we found

					review	our new X Factor hosts?
A12	2016	>1500	Stage	Simon McBurney	interview	The Encounter: Simon McBurney on an Amazonian voyage that exploded time
A13	2016	251-500	Environment	Gary Fuller	news article	Dust from distant lands
A14	2015	1000-1500	World News	Dan Collyns	news story	Why has this Amazonian tribe suddenly started to make contact with outsiders?
A15	2015	1000-1500	Science	Mo Costandi	news article	Electric eels curl up to deliver double strength shocks
A16	2015	500-750	World News	Jonathan Watts	news article	Vast Amazon wildfire destroys forest in Brazil and threatens uncontacted tribes
A17	2015	500-750	Environment	Dan Collyns	news story	Aerial pictures reveal rampant illegal logging in Peru's Amazon forest
A18	2015	500-750	Science	Tim Radford	news article	Ribbiting news: frogs' poison speines revealed and new species discovered
A19	2015	751-1000	Environment	John Vidal	news story	Ecuador spied on Amazon oil plan opponents, leaked pages suggest
A20	2015	1000-1500	Comment is free	Tim Flannery	opinion article	Why do rainforests matter? You asked Google — and here's the answer
A21	2015	501-750	World News	Jonathan Watts	news article	Amazonian tribes unite to demand Brazil stop hydroelectric dams
A22	2015	751-1000	Environment	Dan Collyns	news article	Head of London-listed company linked to illegal clearing of Peru rainforest
A23	2015	751-1000	Environment	Oliver Milman	news article	Amazon rainforest and Great Barrier Reef need better care, say scientists
A24	2015	1000-1500	World News	Jonathan Watts	news story	Brazil's king of deforestation dethroned in drive to beat land clearers
A25	2014	>1500	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news story	On a blasted plain, tradition is swept aside as Brazil harnesses waters of Amazonia
A26	2014	1000-1500	Guardian International Pages	Suzanne Goldenberg	news story	Peru's hidden disaster: 'You could smell the oil and all the leaves on the bank were back'
A27	2014	<250	Guardian Weekly	Not indicated	news article	Amazon rainforest destruction falls
A28	2014	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news article	Satellites show clearance of Amazon forest picking up pace
A29	2014	500-750	Guardian International	Jonathan Watts	news article	Amazon tribe's plea to fend off drug smugglers and loggers

			Pages			
A30	2014	>1500	Guardian Saturday Comment Pages	Jonathan Watts & Karina Vieira	news story	How to save an Amazon tribe
A31	2014	<250	Guardian International Pages	John Vidal	news article	Ecuador: Opponents of oilfield 'included Darth Vader'
A32	2014	501-750	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news article	Brazil starts to evict squatters from tribal lands:
A33	2013	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Jessica Aldred	news article	Found in the forest: 400 species discovered in the Amazon
A34	2013	<250	Guardian Film and Music Pages	Peter Bradshaw	documentary review	F*ck for Forest 3/5 Dr: Michal Marczak. 86 min. Cert 18
A35	2013	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Dan Collyns	news article	Peru declares environment emergency in Amazon
A36	2013	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Jonhathan Kaiman	news article	China oil giants bid for Ecuador rainforest
A37	2013	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news article	Brazil launches tree census to gauge health of the Amazon
A38	2013	<250	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news article	Ecuador: Tribe vows to resist oil firm backed by army
A39	2012	501-750	Guardian Home Pages	Jonathan Watts & agencies in Rio de Janeiro	news article	Amazon rainforest: Wildlife: Brazilian scientists plan to clone endangered species to supply zoos
A40	2012	>1500	Guardian Home Pages	Jonathan Watts	news story	Amazon rainforest: The ultimate ranger on frontline of Amazon deforestation
A41	2012	>1500	Guardian Home Pages	Jonathan Watts	news story	Welcome to Yasuni, the frontline in the battle between oil and conservation
A42	2012	751-1000	Guardian Home Pages	Fiona Harvey	news article	Tesco fends off accusation over Amazon beef
A43	2012	<250	Guardian International Pages	Jonathan Watts	news article	Peru: Gimme shelter: Jagger asked to save Peru's tribes
A44	2012	<250	Guardian International Pages	John Vidal	news article	The bigger they are New threats to world's tallest trees
A45	2011	501-750	Guardian International Pages	John Vidal	news article	World pays Ecuador not to drill for oil in rainforest

A46	2011	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Dan Collyns	news article	Peruvian mayor accused over murders of jungle shamans
A47	2011	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Alok Jha	news article	Underground river found below Amazon
A48	2011	751-1000	Guardian Money Pages	Tony Levene	news story	Watchdog issues warning about Amazon forest trading scams
A49	2011	<250	Guardian International Pages	Tom Phillips	news article	Brazil: Ancient tribe found deep in the Amazon rainforest
A50	2011	1000-1500	Guardian International Pages	Tom Phillips	news story	Amazon: Cheap, deadly and instantly addictive: the drug that threatens to engulf Brazi
A51	2011	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Tom Phillips	news article	Amazon rainforest activist reported killed with wife in ambush
A52	2011	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Toby Muse	news article	They see us as wildlife' - Amazon town bans tourists
A53	2011	501-750	Guardian Home Pages	Ian Sample	news article	Fungi found that turn ants into 'zombies'
A54	2011	251-500	Guardian Financial Pages	Dominic Rushe	news article	Chevron fined $8bn over river 'contamination'
A55	2011	1000-1500	Guardian International Pages	Damian Carrington	news story	Tipping points: Scientists warn record Amazon drought may mean it switches to emitting carbon
A56	2011	<250	Guardian International Pages	John Vidal	news article	First Contact: Images show endagered Amazon tribe
A57	2010	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Tom Phillips	news article	Amazon river tributary falls to record low level
A58	2010	1000-1500	Guardian International Pages	Damian Carrington	news story	Bridge opens Amazon for business
A59	2010	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Damian Carrington	news article	Satellites help Brazilians reduce illegal loggin in battle to save rainforest
A60	2010	501-750	Guardian International Pages	Rory Carroll	news article	Oil giant facing $27bn damages payout demands footage of 'the Amazon's Chernobyl'
A61	2010	251-500	Guardian International Pages	Tom Phillips	news article	Brazil to proceed with world's third largest hydroelectric dam
A62	2010	251-500	Guardian Film and Music Pages	Not indicated	film review	Crude 4/5: Director Joe Berlinger 105 mins, no cert
A63	2010	751-1000	Guardian International	Rory Carroll	news story	Archeology: Lost world regained: explorers' tales of great

			Pages			civilisation in Amazon prove true
The Hindu (corpus 2010—2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	501-750	Mumbai	Vikram Phukan	spectacle review	An Amazonian tale
A02	2015	251-500	Kerala	Staff Reporter'	spectacle review	Rare pet delights from across the world
A03	2014	251-500	International	Meena Menon	news article	Indigenous people in Peru fighting for land rights
A04	2013	251-500	International	Shobhan Saxena	news article	Brazil seeds red as Amazon loses green cover
A05	2013	501-750	International	Shobhan Saxena	news story	Rich world 'fails' U.N. scheme on Amazon park
A06	2012	501-750	Kerala	Krishnadas Rajagopal	news story	From tourist to having a river named after him
A07	2011	251-500	Karnataka	Staff Correspondent'	news article	Mysore zoo to create habitat for anacondas
A08	2011	251-500	Opinion	Editorial *(according to webpage)*	news article	The hidden river
A09	2011	<250	Opinion	Damian Carrington *(Env. Editor from TGD)*	news article	Climate tipping points
A10	2011	751-1000	Opinion	Damian Carrington *(Env. Editor from TGD)*	news story	CO_2 fear over mass tree deaths in Amazon
A11	2010	1000-1500	Opinion	The Hindu	interview	India, Brazil culd lead the way in the bioindustries model'
A12	2010	501-750	*Not indicated*	Tom Phillips *(env. reporter from TGD)*	news article	Drought brings Amazon tributary to lowest level
A13	2010	501-750	*Not indicated*	Damian Carrington *(env. editor from TGD)*	news article	Amazon deforestation in dramatic decline
A14	2010	750-1000	*Not indicated*	Rory Caroll *(TGD reporter)*	news article	Tales of great Amazon civilisation true
A15	2015	251-500	International	Clifford Krauss *(NYT reporter)*	news article	Chinese investments, with strings attached
The Times of India (corpus 2010— 2016)						

Article code	Year	Word count	Section	Author / News Agency	News type	Headline
A01	2016	251-500	Indore	Not indicated	news article	Zoo gets birds of Amazon descent
A02	2016	501-750	Flora & Fauna	Subodh Varma	news article	Drought stalled Amazon forest's carbon aborption
A03	2015	251-500	Bengaluru	Aditi Sequeira	news story	City youth chases monkeys in the Amazon
A04	2014	501-750	Hindi	Not indicated	news article	Paul Rosolie's Eaten Alive? stint to be telecasted on Discovery
A05	2014	501-750	Bangalore	Rohith B R	interview	Explorer tells tales of anacondas and wildlife under threat in Amazon
A06	2014	>250	Times City	Not indicated	news article	Delhi zoo gets male jaguar for breeding
A07	2013	501-750	Science	Kounteya Sinha	news article	441 new species discovered in Amazon rainforest
A08	2013	>250	Mangalore	Jaideep Shenoy	news article	Paul Rosolie's presentation on Amazon forests on Monday
A09	2013	251-500	Mangalore	Stanley Pinto	news article	Naturalist Paul Rosolie to deliver talk on Amazon forest on July 15
A10	2013	751-1000	Delhi	Subodh Varma	news story	Double droughts caused by changing climate damage one third of Amazon rainforest: NASA
A11	2012	251-500	Front Page	Jinka Nagaraju	news article	Amazon fish may upset AP's aquatic life
A12	2011	251-500	Times Business	Mini Joseph Tejaswi & Silpha Phadnis	news article	Coffe king on Amazon trail for furniture biz
China Daily (corpus 2010—2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2015	251-500	Not indicated	Reuters (in Madre de Dios, Peru)	news article	Police raze illegal gold mines
A02	2015	501-750	Not indicated	Bloomberg	news story	Chocolate shortage spurs revival of cocoa
A03	2014	251-500	Not indicated	Reuters (in Oslo)	news article	Study: Amazon rain forest grew after climate change
A04	2014	251-500	Not indicated	Agence France-Presse	news article	Ecuador: US scientists unethically sold blood
A05	2011	>250	Not indicated	China Daily	news article	Kayapo comeback
A06	2010	501-750	Not indicated	Agence France-Presse	news article	Unknown species found in Amazon

A07	2010	501-750	Not indicated	Associated Press	news story	Brit walks entire Amazon river in 2 years
A08	2010	251-500	Not indicated	Reuters	news article	Brazilian Indians take hostages at Amazon dam
People's Daily (corpus 2010— 2016)						
Article code	**Year**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	2016	251-500	China Politics	Not indicated	news article	Biggest Chinese-built overseas hydropower station put into use in Ecuador, can supply 1/3 of population
A02	2010	>250	Chinabiz	People's Daily Online	news article	Brazil looks forward to cooperation with China in energy sector

ANNEX B: List of articles about Amazonia from international newspapers (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)

The Wall Street Journal (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Aug. 26	251-500	Commentary	Leandro Narloch	opinion article	How to Save the Amazon
A02	Aug. 26	501-750	Editorial	The Editorial Board	opinion article	Fire and Fury in the Amazon
A03	Sep. 8	751-1000	The Americas	Mary Anastasia O'Grady	opinion article	Burning Questions About the Amazon
A04	Oct. 15	751-1000	World	Jon Emont	news story	'Fire Begets More Fires': Rainforests Slip Into Cycle of Destruction
A05	Aug. 21	1001-1500	World	Samantha Pearson & Luciana Magalhaes	news story	Fires Destroy Amazon Rainforest, Blanketing Brazilian Cities in Smog
A06	Aug. 23	751-1000	World	Samantha Pearson & Paulo Trevisani	news story	Brazilian President Jair Bolsonaro Faces Pressure Over Amazon Fires
A07	Aug. 25	751-1000	The Americas	Mary Anastasia O'Grady	opinion article	What You Haven't Read About Brazil
A08	Aug. 27	501-750	World	Paulo Trevisani & Noemie Bisserbe	news article	Brazil's Bolsonaro Spurns G-7 Amazon Fire Aid in Spat With Macron
A09	Aug. 30	251-500	Newsplus	Dieter Holger	news article	Coca-Cola Works to Prevent Future Amazon Fires
A10	Aug. 30	751-1000	Latin America	David Luhnow & Paulo Trevisani	news story	Five Things About Amazon Fires
A11	Aug. 31	>1500	World	Luciana Magalhaes and Samantha Pearson	news story	'I Thought the World Was Ending': What's Fueling the? Amazon Rainforest Fires
A12	Sep. 6	1001-1500	Latin America	Paulo Trevisani & Samantha Pearson	news story	Brazil Pushes Development in Amazon
A13	Sep. 17	501-750	Latin America	Jeffrey T. Lewis	news article	Brazil's Criminal Logging Gangs Kill With Relative Impunity, Human Rights Watch Says
A14	Sep. 24	251-500	Latin America	Samantha Pearson & Jeffrey T.	news article	Brazil's Bolsonaro Defends Right to Develop Amazon

				Lewis		
A15	Nov. 18	501-750	Latin America	Paulo Trevisani	news article	Deforestation in Brazil's Amazon Accelerates, Agency Says
A16	Nov. 20	501-750	Latin America	Paulo Trevisani	news article	Brazil to Ask Rich Countries to Help Pay for Amazon Protection
A17	Dec. 9	501-750	Latin America	Jeffrey T. Lewis	news article	Brazil Killings Spur Concerns Over Development Tensions in the Amazon
A18	Aug. 2	501-750	Latin America	Paulo Trevisani	news article	Brazil Official Is Ousted After He Reports Rising Amazon Deforestation
A19	Dec. 25	751-1000	Business	Jacob Bunge	news story	Brazil's Shrinking Rainforest Prompts Nestlé, H&M, Others to Shake Up Supply Chains
The New York Times (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Aug. 26	>1.500	Americas	Manuela Andreoni & Ernesto Londoño	news story	Amid Outrage Over Rainforest Fires, Many in the Amazon Remain Defiant
A02	Aug. 28	1000-1500	Americas	Ernesto Londoño & Letícia Casado	news story	With Amazon on Fire, Environmental Officials in Open Revolt Against Bolsonaro
A03	Aug. 21	750-1000	Americas	Manuela Andreoni& Christine Hauser	news story	Fires in Amazon Rain Forest Have Surged This Year
A04	Aug. 22	1000-1500	Americas	Manuela Andreoni, Letícia Casado & Ernesto Londoño	news story	With Amazon Rain Forest Ablaze, Brazil Faces Global Backlash
A05	Aug. 2	751-1000	Americas	Ernesto Londoño	news article	Bolsonaro Fires Head of Agency Tracking Amazon Deforestation in Brazil
A06	*Article excluded according to selection criteria*					
A07	Aug. 24	751-1000	Opinion	Vanessa Barbara	opinion article	The Ravaging of Amazonia. A global treasure lies at the mercy of the smallest, dullest, pettiest of men.
A08	Sep. 24	751-1000	Opinion	Manuela Lavinas Picq	opinion article	Bolivia Is Burning. Who Will Stop Its Fires? President Evo Morales must issue a national disaster declaration to control the fires and avoid further loss of life.

A09	*Article excluded according to selection criteria*					
A10	Dec. 5	>1500	Americas	Victor Moriyama & Matt Sandy	news story	The Amazon Is Completely Lawless: The Rainforest After Bolsonaro's First Year
A11	Aug. 28	>1500	Climate	Kendra Pierre-Louis	news story	The Amazon, Siberia, Indonesia: A World of Fire. The growing intensity of wildfires and their spread to new corners of the globe raises fears that climate change is exacerbating the dangers
A12	Aug. 30	1000-1500	Americas	Simon Romero	news story	Where is the Amazon Forest Vanishing? Not only in Brazil
A13	Aug. 24	501-750	Americas	Ernesto Londoño	news article	Brazil Marshals Forces to Fight Amazon Fires (and Restore 'Positive Perception')
A14	Aug. 23	751-1000	Americas	Alexandria Symons	news article	Amazon Rainforest Fires: Here's What's Really Happening
A15	Aug. 23	251-500	Americas	Niraj Chokshi	news article	As Amazon Fires Spread, So Do the Misleading Photos. The fires are real. But the photographs that celebrities and politicians are sharing? Well, it depends.
A16	Aug. 23	1000-1500	Americas	Ernesto Londoño & Manuela Andreoni & Letícia Casado	news story	As Amazon Fires Become Global Crisis, Brazil's President Reverses Course
A17	Aug. 23	1000-1500	Americas	Richard Pérez-Peña and Matina Stevis-Gridneff	news story	Brazil's Rainforest Fires Prompt Alarm and Anger in Europe
A18	Aug. 24	501-750	Americas	K.K. Rebecca Lai & Denise Lu & Blacki Migliozzi	news article	What Satellite Imagery Tells Us About the Amazon Rain Forest Fires
A19	Aug. 1	251-500	Opinion	The Editorial Board	opinion article	In the Fight to Save the Planet, Its Defenders Are Being Killed
A20	Aug. 26.	501-750	Europe	Aurelien Breeden & Megan Specia	news article	Dispute Over Amazon Gets Personal for Bolsonaro and Macron
A21	Aug. 27	1000-1500	Americas	Manuela Andreoni	news story	Brazil Angrily Rejects Millions in Amazon Aid Pledged at G7, Then Accepts British Aid

A22	Aug. 30	>1500	Americas / The Interpreter	Max Fischer	news story	It's Really Close': How the Amazon Rainforest Could Self-Destruct
A23	Sep. 5	501-750	Americas	Manuela Andreoni & Sapna Maheshwari	news article	Is Brazilian Leather Out of Fashion? H&M Stops Buying Over Amazon Fires
A24	Sep. 21	1000-1500	Sunday's Review / News Analysis	Ernesto Londoño	news story	Imagine Jair Bolsonaro Standing Trial for Ecocide at The Hague A group of activists already has.
A25	Nov. 2	1000-1500	Americas	Clifford Krauss	news story	In the Amazon, Fires Steals Breath, But Smoke Smells of Money
A26	Nov. 18	751-1000	Americas	Ernesto Londoño & Letícia Casado	news story	Amazon Deforestation in Brazil Rose Sharply on Bolsonaro's Watch
A27	Aug. 27	751-1000	Americas	Mariana Simoes	news article	Brazil's Bolsonaro on the Environment, in His Own Words
A28	Nov. 30	501-750	Americas	Aimee Ortiz	news article	Leonardo DiCaprio Responds to Brazil's President About Amazon Fires
A29	Dec. 8	501-750	Business	The Associated Press	news article	Minister: Brazil Can't Stop Deforestation Without Help
A30	Dec. 9	501-750	Business	Reuters	news article	Brazil's Weak Currency, Cheaper Credit Add to Amazon Threats
A31	Dec. 9	251-500	Business	Reuters	news article	France to Partner with Brazil States on Amazon, Bypassing Bolsonaro
A32	Oct. 10	>1500	Americas / Promises Made	Clifford Krauss & David Yaffe-Bellany & Mariana Simões	news story	Why Amazon Fires Keep Raging 10 Years After a Deal to End Them
A33	Aug. 26	751-1000	Opinion	Roberto Unger	opinion article	How to Save the Amazon Without Condescending to Brazil
A34	Dec. 11	251-500	Americas	The Associated Press	news article	Brazil's Amazon States Seek $500 Million From Norway
A35	Dec. 24	1001-1500	Opinion	Daniel Nepstad	opinion article	How to Help Brazilian Farmers Save the Amazon
The Daily Telegraph (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						

Article code	Date	Word count	Section	Author / News Agency	News type	Headline
A01	Aug. 21	501-750	News	Andrew Quinn	news article	Record 84 per cent yearly increase in Amazon fires blamed on deforestation in Brazil
A02	Aug. 21	>1500	Travel	Chris Moss	opinion article	The Amazon is burning: Why South America's leaders are wrong about the 'lungs of the planet'
A03	Aug. 7	<251	News	Our Foreing Staff	news article	Amazon deforestation increases by 278% in a year, institute warns climate skeptic president Bolsonaro
A04	Aug. 11	1001-1500	News	Joe Shute	news story	Amazon emergency: two-thirds of species are under threat from deforestation – dispatch
A05	Aug. 16	>1500	News	Joe Shute	news story	Race to save the forest
A06	Aug. 24	751-1000	News	Henry Samuel	news article	Amazon fires: Brazilian president sends army to tackle blaze after Emmanuel Macron moves to block EU-South America trade deal
A07	Aug. 24	751-1000	News	Sarah Newey	news article	Why is the Amazon burning and how bad are the fires?
A08	Aug. 24	1001-1500	News	Joe Shute	news story	Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro blamed for turning a blind eye to Amazon degradation in the name of 'progress'
A09	Aug. 27	501-750	News	Euan Marshall	news article	Bolsonaro says Macron must take back 'insults' for Brazil to accept G7 Amazon aid
A10	Aug. 28	251-500	News	Euan Marshall	news article	Brazil agrees to accept £10m from UK for Amazon fire aid
A11	Aug. 29	501-750	News	Euan Marshall & David Chazan	news article	Brigitte Macron speaks out against sexism amid G7 Amazon fire funding row with Brazilian president
A12	Sep. 3	751-1000	China Watch	OP Rana, China Daily	opinion article	The planet's future burns along with the Amazon rainforest
A13	Sep. 9	251-500	News	Bem Riley-Smith	news article	Brazilian official who protects Amazon indigenous tribes shot dead
A14	Oct. 6	501-750	News	Andrea Vogt & Reuters	news article	Pope urges bold action to protect the Amazon at start of divisive synod
A15	Dec. 26	1001-1500	News	Harriet Alexander	news story	Midwives of the Amazon fear for their future under Bolsonaro
A16	Aug. 24	501-750	News	David Chazan	news article	Pope Francis calls for international action on Amazon

						wildfires
A17	Aug. 3	251-500	News	Our Foreing Staff	news article	Brazil space research chief to leave job after Bolsonaro rejects data showing huge jump in Amazon deforestation
A18	Aug. 26	751-1000	News	David Chazan	news story	Environmental campaigners dismiss G7 pledge of £16 million for Amazon fires as 'inadequate'
A19	Nov. 18	251-500	News	Rozina Sabur	news article	Brazil's Amazon deforestation at highest rate since 2008, its space agency says
A20	Dec. 14	<251	News	Telegraph Reporters	news article	Amazon deforestation hits new high according to latest official figures
A21	Aug. 25	1000-1500	News	Johan Eliasch	opinion article	We will never save the rainforest until a living tree is worth more to Brazil than an incinerated one
A22	Sep.4	750-1000	Travel	Chris Moss	news story	The Amazon may be burning, but it needs tourists more than ever
A23	Dec. 2	>1500	News	Harriet Alexander	news story	Urged on by 'Captain Chainsaw', Brazilians pick up tools to chop down the Amazon
A24	Aug. 23	251-500	News	Harry Hodges	opinion article	We must cut foreign aid until Brazil faces up its duty to protect the Amazon
The Guardian (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Aug. 30	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news artcile	Corporations pile pressure on Brazil over Amazon fires
A02	Aug. 30	751-1000	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news artcile	Amazon fires 'extraordinarily concerning', warns UN biodiversity chief
A03	Aug. 28	501-750	World	Tom Phillips	news artcile	'Worst of wildfires still to come' despite Brazil claiming crisis is under control
A04	Aug. 28	501-750	Opinion	TGD Selected Readers	letters from readers	Many are responsible for Brazil's Amazon fires
A05	Dec. 10	1001-1500	World	Alexandra Heal, Andrew Wasley, Sam Cutler & André Campos	news story	Revealed: fires three times more common in Amazon beef farming zones
A06	Dec. 12	1001-1500	Opinion	Jonathan Watts	opinion article	The Amazon is a matter of life and death for all of us. We must fight for it

A07	Dec. 11	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Don't invest in Brazilian meat, warn deforestation campaigners
A08	Dec. 14	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Indigenous boy, 15, murdered on Brazil's Amazon border
A09	Nov. 2	501-750	World	Sam Cowie	news article	Brazilian 'forest guardian' killed by illegal loggers in ambush
A10	Nov. 17	>1500	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news story	The sixth extinction. The Amazon: on the frontline of a globe battle to tackle the climate crisis
A11	Nov. 18	501-750	World	Jonathan Watts	news article	Amazon deforestation 'at highest level in a decade'
A12	Nov. 6	>1500	Environment	Clare Longrigg	news story	Money and maps: is this how to save the Amazon's 400bn trees?
A13	Nov.8	1001-1500	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news story	Poorly planned Amazon dam project 'poses serious threat to life'
A14	Nov. 24	251-500	Opinion	TGD Selected Readers	letters from readers	Letters: sustainable uses for the Amazon
A15	Nov. 15	1001-1500	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news article	Activists hold climate conference deep in the Amazon rainforest
A16	Oct. 23	751-1000	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news article	Amazon rainforest 'close to irreversible tipping point'
A17	Oct. 6	1001-1500	Environment	Dan Collyns	news story	Death and ressurection of forest in the rainforest as bishops meet for Amazon summit
A18	Oct. 8	251-500	World	Reuters	news article	Bolivian Amazon fires: relief as rains douse two-month inferno
A19	Sep. 2	1001-1500	World	Dan Collyns	news story	'Murderer of nature': Evo Morales blamed as Bolivia battles devastating fires
A20	Aug. 27	501-750	World	Dan Collyns	news article	Bolivia: catastrophic wildfires devastate forest in echo of Brazil's Amazon crisis
A21	Nov. 26	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Police raid office of Brazil NGO linked to brigade that helped battle Amazon fires
A22	Nov. 25	1001-1500	World	Laurence Blair	news article	Archaeologists fear Bolsonaro agenda will kill Amazon civilisation research
A23	Nov. 29	501-750	World	Tom Phillips	news article	Brazil's president claims DiCaprio paid for Amazon fires
A24	Dec. 2	501-750	Environment	Jasper Jolly & Jillian Ambrose	news article	UK firms urge Brazil to stop Amazon deforestation for soy production
A25	Dec. 6	751-1000	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news story	Bees in Amazon 'are greatest ally to halt rainforest destruction'
A26	Dec. 7	251-500	World	Agencies	news article	Amazon indigenous leaders killed in Brazil drive-by shooting

A27	Dec. 5	1001-1500	World	Jonathan Watts	news story	'Someone has declared war': Brazil activists fear crackdown after arrests
A28	Sept. 23	1001-1500	World	Tom Phillips	news story	Bolsonaro targets the Catholic church over its 'leftist agenda' on the Amazon
A29	Sep. 9	1001-1500	Environment	Tom Phillips	news story	'Chaos, chaos, chaos': a journey through Bolsonaro's Amazon inferno
A30	Sep. 5	501-750	Environment	Jonathan Watts & Harriet Sherwood	news article	Amazon fires are 'true apocalypse', says Brazilian archbishop
A31	Sep. 2	501-750	Opinion	Raoni Metuktire	opinion article	We, the peoples of the Amazon, are full of fear. Soon you will be too
A32	Dec. 14	251-500	World	Reuters	news article	Brazil's Amazon deforestation this year nearly size of Puerto Rico, says agency
A33	Aug. 27	501-750	World	Jonathan Watts	news article	Brazilian Amazon deforestation surges to break August records
A34	Aug. 27	751-1000	World	Tom Phillips	news article	Jair Bolsonaro demands Macron withdraw 'insults' over Amazon fires
A35	Aug. 26	1001-1500	Opinion	David Miranda	opinion article	Fires are devouring the Amazon. And Jair Bolsonaro is to blame
A36	Aug. 7	501-750	World	Tom Phillips	news article	Bolsonaro rejects 'Captain Chainsaw' label as data shows deforestation 'exploded'
A37	Aug. 21	501-750	World	Jonathan Watts	news article	Jair Bolsonaro claims NGOs behind Amazon forest fire surge – but provides no evidence
A38	Aug. 24	251-500	World	Tom Phillips	news article	Jair Bolsonaro claims 'profound love' for Amazon rainforest as criticism intensifies
A39	Aug. 25	751-100	Opinion	Observer editorial	opinion article	The Observer view on Jair Bolsonaro and the Amazon wildfires
A40	Aug. 23	>1500	World	Jonathan Watts	news story	Amazon rainforest fires: global leaders urged to divert Brazil from 'suicide' path
A41	Sep. 13	251-500	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Brazil environment minister to meet US climate denier group before UN summit
A42	Aug. 24	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Brazilian protesters rail against Bolsonaro as Amazon fires rage on
A43	Sep. 6	501-750	World	Dom Phillips & Tom Phillips	news article	Bolsonaro launches 'Brazil week' in bid to 'revamp' image over Amazon fires
A44	Aug. 16	501-750	World	Daniel Boffey	news article	Norway halts Amazon fund donation in dispute with Brazil

A45	Aug. 22	501-750	World	Dom Phillips	news article	Brazilian minister booed at climate event as outcry grows over Amazon fires
A46	Aug. 26	1001-1500	World	Jonathan Watts, Julian Borger & Angelique Chrisafis	news story	G7 cash for Amazon fires is 'chump change', say campaigners
A47	Aug. 23	751-1000	World	Jonathan Watts	news article	Amazon fires: what is happening and is there anything we can do?
A48	Dec. 21	751-1000	Environment	Jonathan Watts	news story	The forest is shedding tears': the women defending their Amazon homeland
A49	Sep. 6	751-1000	Opinion	Rowan Williams	opinion article	Amazon fires are a shameful indictment of our lust for excess
A50	Aug.23	1000-1500	Opinion	Eliane Brum	opinion article	In Bolsonaro's burning Brazilian Amazon, all our futures are being consumed
The Hindu (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Aug. 3	251-500	International	PTI	news article	Head of Brazil's space research leaves job over deforestation report row
A02	Aug. 1	251-500	Editorial	Not mentioned	opinion article	On protecting Amazon rainforest
A03	Aug. 7	<250	Letters	André Corrêa do Lago	opinion article	Amazon policy
A04	Aug. 21	251-500	International	Reuters	news article	Amazon burning: Brazil reports 83% increase in forest fires
A05	Aug. 21	501-750	Environment	Reuters	news article	Brazil President Jair Bolsonaro says NGOs may be setting fires in Amazon rainforest
A06	Aug. 22	501-750	Environment	Reuters	news article	Amazon burning: The sky never goes dark while the rainforest blazes
A07	Aug. 23	501-750	International	Reuters	news article	Amazon burning: Brazil President tells rest of world not to interfere
A08	Aug. 23	251-500	International	Reuters	news article	EU piles pressure on Brazil over Amazon fires
A09	Aug. 24	251-500	International	Manuela Andreoni & Letícia Casado	news article	With Amazon forest on fire, Brazil faces global backlash
A10	Aug. 24	1001-1500	International	Reuters	news story	As EU threatens trade retaliation, Brazil sends army to fight Amazon fires
A11	Aug. 24	501-750	Environment	AFP	news article	Why is part of the Amazon burning?

A12	Aug. 24	251-500	International	AFP/Reuters	news article	Brazil records highest number of fires since 2013
A13	Aug. 25	251-500	International	Reuters	news article	Brazilian states ask for military help as Amazon fires rage
A14	Aug. 25	751-1000	International	AFP	news article	Amazon burning: Hundreds of new fires in Brazil as outrage grows
A15	Aug. 25	251-500	International	AFP	news article	Brazil's army fights Amazon fires after more flare-ups
A16	Aug. 26	251-500	International	Reuters	news article	Warplanes dump water on Amazon as Brazil military begins fighting fires
A17	Aug. 26	251-500	Letters	G.David Milton	opinion article	Amazon deforestation
A18	Aug. 26	751-1000	International	PTI	news article	Brazil's Jair Bolsonaro causes global outrage over Amazon fires
A19	Aug. 27	<251	Today's Paper	AFP	news article	G7 pledges millions to fight Amazon fires
A20	Aug. 27	<251	International	AFP	news article	Hundreds of new fires flare up in Amazon
A21	Aug. 27	251-500	Editorial	Not mentioned	opinion article	Earth's burning lungs: On Amazon's rainforest fire
A22	Aug. 27	501-750	International	Reuters	news article	G7 to release emergency aid for Amazon forest fire crisis
A23	Aug. 27	251-500	International	AFP	news article	Reforest Europe, Brazil tells G7, rejecting $20 mn aid to fight Amazon fires
A24	Aug. 27	251-500	International	AFP	news article	Brazil's Bolsonaro open to G7 aid if Macron 'withdraws insults'
A25	*Article excluded according to selection criteria*					
A26	Aug. 28	<251	Letters	M. Jeyaram	opinion article	Amazon fires
A27	Aug. 28	251-500	International	PTI	news article	Peru, Colombia propose emergency Amazon summit as fires blaze
A28	Aug. 28	501-750	International	AP	news article	Respiratory ailments rise in Brazil as Amazon fires rage
A29	Aug. 29	751-1000	International	AP	news article	Bolsonaro says Amazon nations should decide region's future
A30	Aug. 29	251-500	International	AP	news article	U.S. ready to fight Amazon fires only in cooperation with Brazil
A31	Aug. 29	751-1000	International	AP	news article	Brazilian indigenous speak out as Amazon fires rage
A32	Aug. 30	501-750	Young World	Not mentioned	educational article	In the heart of the JUNGLE
A33	Aug. 30	251-500	Kerala	Special Correspondant	opinion article	Steps to douse Amazon fire sought
A34	Aug. 31	501-750	International	AP	news article	Brazil says it is successfully controlling fires in Amazon

A35	Aug. 31	501-750	International	Shobhan Saxena	news story	How did the planet's lungs catch fire?
A36	Sep. 1	251-500	International	AFP	news article	Brazil's Amazon basin fires keep surging
A37	Sep. 1	501-750	International	AFP	news article	Fires are not the only threat facing the Amazon
A38	Sep. 12	251-500	International	Reuters	news article	Brazil foreign minister says 'there is no climate change catastrophe'
A39	Sep. 24	251-500	International	Not mentioned	news article	Brazil arrests 63 people, issues fines of $8.7 million for Amazon fires
A40	Oct. 7	251-500	International	AP	news article	Pope urges action to save Amazon
A41	Nov. 19	251-500	International	AP	news article	Brazil says Amazon deforestation is worst since 2008
A42	Nov. 28	1001-1500	Environment	Praveen Suvedan	interview	Amazon is burning every year, reminds Nat Geo Society's Chief Scientist Jonathan Baillie
A43	Nov. 30	251-500	International	AP	news article	Brazil's president accuses DiCaprio of paying to set the Amazon on fire
A44	Dec. 7	501-750	Science	R.Prasad	news article	In a first, Brazilian researchers remain anonymous on research paper
A45	Nov. 30	751-1000	International	Shobhan Saxena	news article	Firefighters under fire for fighting Amazon blaze
The Times of India (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Sep. 9	251-500	World	Not mentioned	news article	Deforestation of Amazon grew by 222% in August
A02	Dec. 2	<251	Entertainment	ANI	news article	Leonardo DiCaprio refutes Brazilian president's claim that he funded Amazon fires
A03	Sep. 10	501-750	News	Kartik Bajoria	educational article	What you need to tell your kids about the burning Amazon rainforest
A04	Nov. 30	<251	Entertainment	Not mentioned	news article	Brazil's president accuses Leonardo DiCaprio of paying to burn the Amazon rainforest
A05	Dec. 20	<251	World	Reuters	news article	China-Brazil satellite launched into space to monitor Amazon rainforest
A06	Aug. 23	<251	World	Not mentioned	news article	World's largest rainforest is burning
A07	Aug. 24	<251	Entertainment	Not mentioned	news article	Amazon fire: Prosenjit leads Tollwood in praying for Brazil
A08	Aug. 23	<251	Entertainment	TNN	news article	Amazon Fires: Mahesh Babu, Allu Arjun among celebs to

						express concern over the fires spell disaster
A09	Aug. 26	251-500	World	ANI	news article	Major industrialised nations close to agreement on tackling Amazon forest fires: French President Macron
A10	Aug. 22	251-500	Entertainment	TNN & Agencies	news article	Amazon fires: Alia Bhatt joins Arjun Kapoor, Ayushmann Khurrana and other Bollywood stars to raise awareness
A11	Aug. 11	<251	World	TNN	news article	Poop less for a cleaner planet, says Brazil's President
A12	Aug. 22	<251	Entertainment	TNN	news article	Arjun Kapoor and Ayushmann Khurrana make valid posts expressing their concern over the burning Amazon forest
A13	Aug. 27	251-500	Technology	Not mentioned	news article	Apple will donate to 'preserve and restore' Amazon rainforest: Tim Cook
A14	Aug. 27	>251	Entertainment	Not mentioned	news article	Amazon fire: Joju George is all praises for Leonardo DiCaprio's generous donation
China Daily (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)						
Article code	**Date**	**Word count**	**Section**	**Author / News Agency**	**News type**	**Headline**
A01	Dec. 30	1001-1500	Opinion	Marcos Fava Neves	opinion article	Damaging Brazilian food production's image: The 'food x forest' movement
A02	Dec. 10	751-1000	Opinion	Sergio Held	opinion article	Protection of Amazon is indispensable
A03	Oct. 10	501-750	World	Associated Press	news story	Bows, arrows and smartphones: daily life of Amazon's Tembe tribe
A04	Sep. 11	251-500	World	Sergio Held	news article	Latin American countries ink deal to save rainforest
A05	Sep. 7	<251	World	Xinhua	news article	Amazon countries sign pact to protect rainforest
A06	Sep. 4	<251	World	Xinhua	news article	Israel sends firefighters to aid Brazil battling Amazon fires
A07	Sep. 3	251-500	World	Agencies	news story	Indigenous people pray for protection
A08	Aug. 30	<251	Word	Xinhua	news article	Brazil bans outdoor fires for 60 days as Amazon burns
A09	Aug. 30	501-750	World	Sergio Held	news article	Amazon fires raise alarm on ecological impact
A10	Aug. 29	251-500	World	Xinhua	news article	South America to hold Amazon summit, says Brazil's president

A11	Aug. 28	501-750	Opinion	OP Rana	opinion article	The planet's future burns along with the Amazon
A12	Aug. 28	501-750	World	Chen Weihua	news article	Brazil rejects G7 aid on Amazon fires
A13	Aug. 28	<251	World	AP	news article	Vast fires sweep across Bolivia as well as Brazil
A14	Aug. 27	751-1000	Europe	AP	news article	G7 nations pledge $40 million to fight Amazon fires
A15	Aug. 27	501-750	World	Agencies	news article	Warplanes dump water on Amazon as Brazilian military begins fighting fires
A16	Aug. 26	>251	World	Xinhua	news article	Bolivia's president welcomes int'l aid to put out wildfires
A17	Aug. 26	501-750	World	Reuters	news article	Warplanes dump water on Amazon as Brazil military begins fighting fires
A18	Aug. 26	501-750	World	Sergio Held	news article	Troops deployed to battle Amazon fires
A19	Aug. 25	251-500	Editorials	Not mentioned	opinion article	One voice needed over Amazon fires
A20	Aug. 25	501-750	World	Xinhua	news article	Brazil military begins operations to fight Amazon fires
A21	Aug. 24	501-750	Word	Xinhua & Agencies	news article	Global concern over Amazon fires escalates
A22	Aug. 24	251-500	World	AP	news article	Bolsonaro prepares to send army to contain Amazon fires
A23	Aug. 23	251-500	World	Xinhua	news article	Brazil's Bolsonaro refutes French president's stance on Amazon fires
A24	Aug. 23	501-750	World	Reuters	news article	The sky never goes dark while the Amazon burns
A25	Aug. 12	>251	World	Xinhua	news article	Brazil has 'no need' for German aid: President
A26	Aug. 28	251-500	World	Xinhua	news article	Brazil's president demands Macron apology before mulling G7 aid
A27	*Article excluded according to selection criteria*					

People's Daily (corpus Aug.—Dec. 2019)

Article code	Date	Word count	Section	Author / News Agency	News type	Headline
A01	Aug. 27	<251	Not mentioned	Xinhua	news article	Brazil rejects G7 aid to fight Amazon wildfires
A02	Aug. 25	251-500	Not mentioned	Xinhua	news article	Amazon wildfires rampant due to dry season, human activities
A03	Aug. 24	<251	Not mentioned	Xinhua	news article	Climate change activists protest outside Brazilian consulate in Mumbai over Amazon fire

A04	Aug. 22	251-500	Not mentioned	Xinhua	news article	Amazon forest fires rage at record rate amid global concern
A05	Aug. 24	251-500	Not mentioned	Xinhua	news article	Macron accuses Brazil's president of having "lied" about climate at G20