

THE JOURNALISTIC FRAMING OF INDIGENOUS ISSUES IN TWO REGIONAL NEWSPAPERS

OS ENQUADRAMENTOS JORNALÍSTICOS DAS QUESTÕES INDÍGENAS EM DOIS JORNAIS REGIONAIS

EL ENCUADRE PERIODÍSTICO DE LA PROBLEMÁTICA INDÍGENA EN DOS PERIÓDICOS REGIONALES

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ABSTRACT

This study analyzed the meanings in news on Indigenous issues in Espírito Santo in 2022. The Espírito Santo portals *Século Diário* and *Folha Vitória*, with different editorial lines, were chosen for the corpus. Based on news framing and readings of researchers such as Erving Goffman (1974; 1986) and Robert Entman (1993), this study aimed to decode the choices journalists made when producing news and reports on Indigenous issues. It also sought to explain their possible impacts and social consequences. This study found a disparity in coverage and frames that accentuate the further the silencing of Indigenous people.

KEYWORDS: Journalism; News Framing; Indigenous; *Século Diário*; *Folha Vitória*.

Introduction

Since the colonial period, Indigenous peoples have faced great challenges in ensuring their full existence. Espírito Santo experienced such hardships. In the 19th century, the demarcation and invasion of Indigenous lands already constituted major problems for these groups.

[...] Although the Indigenous could find grounds to guarantee their rights over the territories they occupied in the legislation, the general trend was the continuous advance on their territories and, finally, expulsion. A little more than fifty years after the departure of the Jesuit priests, the lands of the Indigenous sesmarias in Espírito Santo were the target of invasions and expropriations, even with the approval of local administrators (Moreira, p. 155, 2002).

According to the 2022 Demographic Census, 51% of the Indigenous population of Espírito Santo currently resides in a single municipality: Aracruz, in its northern

metropolitan region. About two-thirds (67.64%) of this group reside in Indigenous localities that are yet to be officially delimited.

Thus, the erasure of the plurality of the tribes in the Espírito Santo territory configures a problematic issue in its history. Historical documents and research on the Indigenous past of Espírito Santo often remember the Guarani, Tupiniquim, and Botocudo (or Krenak) peoples. However, this broad view ignores other Indigenous ethnic groups in the same territory, such as the Goitacá, the Puri, the Coroado, the Maxacali, the Tupiniquim, the Aimoré, and the Pataxó (Bentivoglio, 2017).

Thus, research that seeks to unveil and analyze aspects directly or indirectly related to the history of the original peoples of Espírito Santo is extremely relevant. In the last 30 years, scientific production about native peoples has grown in several fields of knowledge. Such production mainly aims to overcome old conceptions and narratives about these peoples (Moreira, 2022).

Considering that “the Indigenous, within the gallery of characters in the history of Espírito Santo, are inserted in the set of groups and individuals belonging to the category of enemies, identified, above all, with the image of backwardness” (Nascimento, p. 29, 2022), this research sought to analyze, highlight, and interpret the journalistic frames in articles related to Indigenous issues in the local press.

The studied information units were published in the editorials of two digital newspapers in Espírito Santo in 2022. This study chose this year based on the criterion of timeliness and amplitude, i.e., the 12 months prior to the year of collection of the corpus of the survey, which began in January 2023. The Folha Vitória¹ and Século Diário² portals provided the collected corpus due to the hypothesis of this investigation that they work under different editorial lines and constitute two newspapers with large circulation in the Metropolitan Region of Vitória, thus evincing inequalities within media coverage related to Indigenous peoples.

Thus, the role journalism plays in explaining current problems may remain unfulfilled as the possible existence of reductionist and derogatory interpretations about native peoples could directly affect readers’ opinions. Textual and imagery

¹ Founded in 2007, Folha Vitória has an editorial line based on “the concept of public interest, i.e., those that affect the collectivity or expressive portion of society” (Folha Vitória, 2007). Folha Vitória belongs to the Rede Vitória Portal, an affiliate of Rede Record in Espírito Santo, and its newsroom is in Vitória-ES.

² Founded in 2000, Século Diário has the phrase “No one is indifferent to the fact” as its slogan and has an editorial line that is “[...] Independent and focuses on the interpretation of the facts: Século Diário is mandatory reading for anyone who wants to ‘unveil’ the secrets of Espírito Santo” (Século Diário, 2000). Its portal comes from the extinct Revista Século and its newsroom is also in Vitória-ES.

choices considerably impact the construction of the public's opinions.

Understanding the way the media uses speeches and interdiscourses and how they can influence the audience is essential for a more aware and critical audience. Studying the news frame can also find which meanings and ideas circulate the most socially, indicating trends and unveiling problems.

Our detailed analysis of the framing of the information units related to the Indigenous issues sought to review and critically interpret journalistic coverage. This increases the need and responsibility of research such as this one since it aims to expose the true meanings of the choices and particularities of informative texts.

This study aimed to analyze and investigate meanings and interpretations in journalistic coverage. The choices made to define, explain, or describe facts in a vehicle of great social circulation support our hypothesis: journalism constitutes a practice that, by framing, makes explicit several ideals of the collective imagination, emphasizing certain majority perspectives and placing others in secondary or inexpressive positions. Thus, frames show how the public think of events and what importance they enjoy in society. Thus, it was essential to understand this mechanism of flow of perspectives within the newspapers that often influences the opinions and understandings of the public on the reported topics.

Given the above, the specific objectives of this research included surveying and critically analyzing the bibliography on news framing; investigating the frames by which *Século Diário* reported Indigenous issues in 2022; investigating the frames by which *Folha Vitória* reported Indigenous issues in 2022; comparing these results for possible differences in frame determination; finding what the newspapers select and exclude; and which aspects they highlight and which they ignore in their interpretations of the reported events.

Theoretical-methodological foundation

News framing scarcely studies Indigenous issues. However, some authors, such as Quintana and Santos (2019), Sarmiento (2019), and Pelegrino and Oliveira (2021), have recently analyzed the representations of aspects that surround Indigenous populations by this methodology. Thus, we seek to understand the ways in which journalism has portrayed native peoples. There is the evident need for more research to understand media frames on Indigenous peoples.

Initially studied by social psychology, framing gradually entered the social sciences and media research, constituting the methodology of "news framing." In his

"Frame analysis," sociologist Erving Goffman (1974) understands framings as socially constructed interpretative frames that, by answering the question "What is happening here?" can attribute meanings to facts. Thus, the answer to a simple question can unveil the numerous meanings attributed to a given subject, making it possible to understand the way in which a frame is socially posited and its consequences.

The author sees frames as elements of "organization of human experience" (Goffman, 1986), rather than referring to "the structure of social life but the structure of experience individuals have at any moment of their social lives. [...]" (Goffman, 1986, p. 13).

Robert Entman (1993) states that:

[...] To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (Entman, 1993, p. 52).

The author consolidates the four functions of framing thusly: definition of the problem, causes, moral evaluation, and solutions.

The two main functions involve defining the problem (as it predetermines the rest of the frame) and suggesting solutions as they directly support or oppose government actions (Entman, 2004). This definition also involves two framing aspects, namely, selection and relevance (Baracho et al. 2023, p. 6).

In view of the modern panorama of communication, the four functions can elaborate and find frames that follow completely different definitions that compose patterns of cognition and circulate socially.

This evinces the plurality of the meaning of facts by human beings. However, despite this diversity, different frames show points of convergence, which can be evinced by the four functions (Entman, 1993) and organized by "interpretative packages." Rothberg states that:

Framing is like an interpretative package, a central idea that organizes reality within certain axes of appreciation and understanding and is constructed through procedures such as selection, exclusion, and emphasis of certain

aspects and information to compose general perspectives through which facts and circumstances are made known (Rothberg, 2014, p. 409).

Porto (2004), proposing directions during the study of frames, highlights the importance of social actors since they have can influence and manipulate media frames in several ways. For Rizotto et al. (2016), social actors can find meaning in the multiplicity of journalistic pieces in their incessant search to signify the social phenomena surrounding them.

Soares (2006), Silva and Jeronymo (2021), Rizotto *et al.* (2016), and Franciscato and Góes (2012) use Entman's (1993) concept of framing, consolidating them as productive works. Thus, the debate on the applications and operationalities of the methodological model in question remains significantly valid due to its constant renewal despite its 30 years of existence based on its use to analyze current issues, such as the impeachment of Dilma Rousseff (Silva and Jeronymo, 2021) and Petrolão (Rizotto et al., 2016).

Another component to understand framing involves frame building in newsrooms. Journalistic organization configures an extremely important factor in the construction of frames as it determines aspects such as the distribution of work, the editorial line, the journalistic production team, and the target audience.

The local journalism production aims

[...] to inform what is happening in a given locality based on specific characteristics that distinguish it from national journalism. In this way, local journalism is closer to the concept of regional journalism, which informs about what is happening in a given region [...]. We can consider that both — local and regional journalism — are part of a perspective of proximity journalism (Cardoso, 2020, p. 16).

As news agencies have greater rigidity in their production routines, they tend to be more regulated, producing more standardized content (Souza, 2001, p. 60 *apud* Marques, 2005, p. 47). By contributing to the homogenization of news, this fact may render undue importance to the specific characteristics of certain regions and populations, unlike local journalism. Local coverage must consider these diversities as they characterize groups and societies and their ways of life and customs.

Thus, news from local newspapers and news agencies can significantly differ,

influencing the process of selection and hierarchization of information.

Finally, editorials and sources constitute aspects that can identify frames, as per the results of this research. Editorials gather the covered subjects into broad categories (such as health, education, and environment), a process that can cause generalizations, making cultures and particularities of the facts invisible to the eyes of society.

Regarding sources, the choice of individuals to give their account of reported facts also implies bringing the entire social context and the impressions of interviewees to the articles. The sources

[...] refer to social positions and relations, to interests and points of view, to spatiotemporally situated frames. In short, [...] they are interested entities, that is, they are involved and develop their activity based on well-defined strategies and tactics (Pinto, 2000, p. 278).

Methodological procedures

The news framing methodology aims to understand the parameters that structure the news, highlighting their interpretative aspects. It can locate and evaluate the readings of reality circulating in the social sphere; how Folha Vitória and Século Diário convey facts and their causes and origins. Journalists, as members of society, show these concepts that form frames in the way they report events (which may ignore aspects of great importance outside the debates promoted by journalistic texts). Thus, the news configures one of the largest institutions to produce and disseminate meanings and senses, evincing the importance of the detailed study of frames in this medium.

Soares (2006) highlights the importance of using news framing as a method of analysis in research that, as this one, aims to find and decode the meanings behind journalists' textual elements:

[...] It is an appropriate approach to the study of journalistic articles, producing results that highlight the biases implicit in their production. It is an approach that highlights the constructed character of the message, revealing its implicit rhetoric ingrained in supposedly objective, impartial texts with a merely referential function. [...] When developing the analysis, the researcher identifies the textual strategies and representations contained in a *corpus*, being able to establish, for example, contrasts between different coverings, which, at a simple reading, may seem similar (Soares, 2006, p. 2, original emphasis).

The year 2022 was chosen to select the information units based on the criterion of timeliness and amplitude. The collection of the corpus started in January 2023, aiming to capture the most recent journalistic texts as possible, i.e., from the 12 months prior to the year of collection of the corpus for this research.

The corpus was collected from the online collections of the digital outlets Folha Vitória and Século Diário using the terms "indígenas," "povos originários," "Aracruz," "índios," "aldeia," "tribo," and "Cop-27" in the search fields of those websites to find articles that addressed the theme of the research. Despite its more editorialized bias, the selected news from Século Diário were published as informative content rather than as editorials.

Therefore, despite their clearly interpretative nature, news and reports were included in the corpus of this survey because they are classified as newsworthy by Século. As the texts were collected, they were organized into two tables, one for each portal, in which the titles, authors, links, editorials, publication dates, and classification categories of Entman's (1993) frames were recorded: definition of the problem, causes of the problem, moral evaluation of individuals, and solutions. These initial tables listed 61 texts from Século Diário and 41 from Folha Vitória, facilitating the organization and classification of the corpus.

After the elaboration of this material, two other tables were developed to highlight and group the classifications in Entman (1993) to better evince the used frames. Each offers all problem definitions and causes, moral evaluations, and the solutions in the news and reports by Folha Vitória and Século Diário.

Results and discussion

The collected corpus could explain several issues related to the way contemporary Brazilian periodicals see and portray Indigenous people. During the first semester of this survey, the results from analyzing the tables showed a significant difference between the coverage of the two media outlets. In addition to the gap of 20 fewer articles, the investigation and preparation of news and reports in Folha Vitória pointed to a more factual, visibly less interpretative bias. Without much depth in sociocultural and historical issues, important events for the regional context often received no attention, falling into a generalist complex of little prominence.

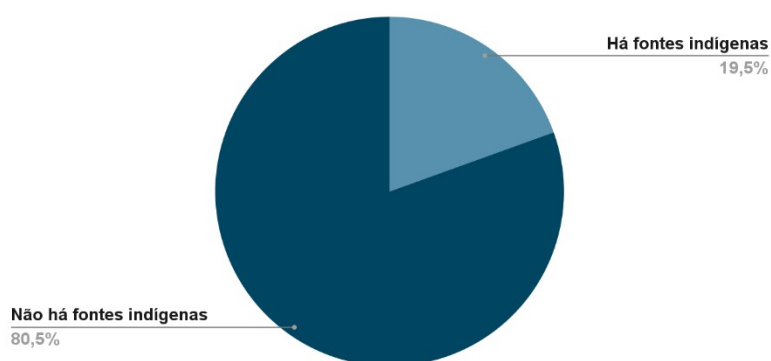
The corpus results show that of the 41 Folha Vitória news items, only eight showed statements from Indigenous people (Chart 1). This precisely shows the absence

of plural spaces that enable the expression of the various Indigenous ethnicities. Plurality can be approached from the perspective of sources who, as discussed, imprint their positions and social relations on their interests and points of view (Pinto, 2000), transmitting them in the journalistic material featuring them.

Folha Vitória fails to ensure the guarantees and rights inherent to human beings regarding giving space and voice to Indigenous people when producing articles about them³. The news portal places itself in a place of consent and perpetuation of the silencing of Indigenous peoples, including, mostly, non-Indigenous people as sources of news that address Indigenous issues.

Chart 1

News from Folha Vitória and the inclusion of Indigenous sources



Source: Prepared by the authors (2023).

This frequent absence of Indigenous sources to comment on cases that directly involve them may indicate, from a certain point of view, a veiled prejudice directed at native peoples. This fact can be related to what Mendes (2015), in his article, calls “sociedades da falta” (societies of lack):

[...] They form the societies of ‘lack’ (lack of health, lack of income, lack of education), always lacking what the ‘government’ owes them. [...] Indigenous cultures are not cultures of ‘lack,’ but those, in relation to the dominant culture,

³ Examples of news published by Folha Vitória about events that involve native peoples but fail to gather their voices: <https://www.folhavoria.com.br/geral/noticia/03/2022/em-ato-no-congresso-artistas-cobram-protecao-ao-meio-ambiente-e-povos-indigenas>, <https://www.folhavoria.com.br/politica/noticia/11/2022/indigenas-defendem-beto-marubo-para-novo-ministerio>, and <https://www.folhavoria.com.br/politica/noticia/10/2022/ameacas-de-violencia-impedem-grupo-de-500-indigenas-de-votar-no-para>.

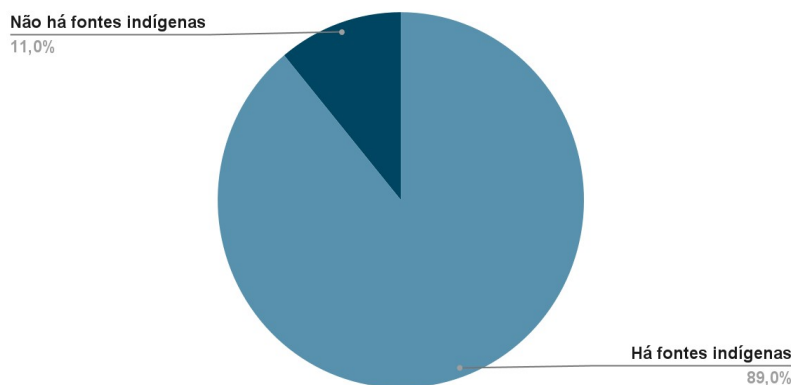
present other ways of thinking about the world and expressing these thoughts, ways that are fundamentally different from the dominant one, to the point of seeming incomprehensible and incomplete (or primitive) [...] (Mendes, 2015, pp. 34-35).

In this view, as they would lack education, the Indigenous people would also be incapable of developing intelligence or criticality. This view deems them as backward and primitive civilizations that neither produce knowledge nor train cognitively capable individuals, ignoring them in situations directly affecting them.

In contrast to this scenario, the breadth and plurality of the *Século Diário* coverage show the complexity of the theme and extremely important facts and information. On this portal, of the 61 texts in the corpus, only seven (about 11% of the total) ignored Indigenous sources (Chart 2).

Chart 2

*Informative units of *Século Diário* and the inclusion of Indigenous sources*



Source: Prepared by the authors (2023).

In the case of the editorials, by considering them as indicative of the used frames, the analysis of the *Folha Vitória* editorials found that many belong to the "General" section, significant evidence of the homogenization and marginalization affecting native peoples. Rather than Brazilian citizens whose life facts feature in the politics, environment, culture, or health sections of the newspapers, this view deems them as generic beings who demand a particular classification.

Soares (2012) analyzed the frames in *Zero Hora* reporting the resumption of the Indigenous land *Nonoai*, in which the *Kaingang* people lived. Regarding the editorials

and sources, she realized, as in this research, that:

The irregularity in terms of editorials can be of dubious importance, putting the reader in doubt. After all, what is the place of the *Kaingang*? Is it in the State section, is it in the Environment section, or in the General section? The sources used, the number of times they appear, or even the omission of them are forms of framing, as well as the editorial composition of the texts on the pages, that will also point out these operations (Soares, 2012, p. 16).

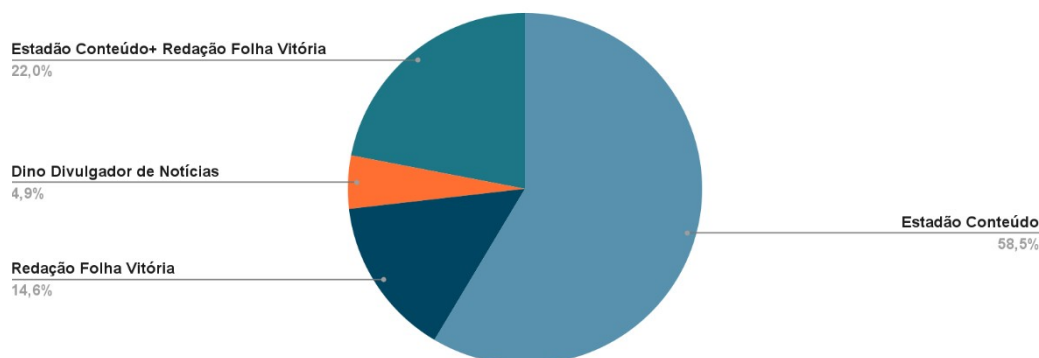
However, despite the recurrent use of this generalist frame, on August 11, 2022, Folha Vitória published a news article by the Estadão Conteúdo agency⁴ on the adaptations of the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics to collect information for the demographic census in Indigenous villages. The text shows an emphatic frame highlighting that the concepts of housing, religion, and family in the older censuses fail to fit the definitions of Indigenous cultures, requiring that surveys change to encompass all Brazilian citizens. This frame differs from most in the portal as it highlights the particularities and cultural differences of native peoples, going against the generalization frame above.

Furthermore, Folha Vitória rarely produces the entire published content. The numbers in the analysis of the 41 information units of this portal include 24 texts by the news agency Estadão Conteúdo, two by Dino Divulgador de Notícias, nine by Estadão Content and Redação Folha Vitória, and only six produced exclusively by the Folha newsroom. Chart 3 shows these marked differences.

Chart 3

Authors of the news published by Folha Vitória on issues related to Indigenous peoples

⁴ Available at: <https://www.folhavoria.com.br/geral/noticia/08/2022/no-pico-do-jaragua-censo-dialoga-com-a-historia-o-presente-e-o-futuro-indigenas>



Source: Prepared by the authors (2023).

In September 2022, the Tupiniquim Indigenous people in Aracruz closed the railroad of the mining company Vale, demanding compliance with the indemnity agreement signed with the Renova Foundation, which belongs to the company. The case had important developments until November 2022 and received no space in Folha Vitória. As a local newspaper, Folha Vitória makes the necessary efforts to inform citizens of the main events in Espírito Santo, including the issues of the Indigenous peoples who inhabit this region. However, as in the chart above, Indigenous people often appear in the outlet, only in news agencies, i.e., without any journalistic effort from the newspaper.

The newspaper also ignored visit of members of Espírito Santo villages to Cop-27, one of the largest international climate conferences, as representatives of Brazilian native peoples, classifying it as an event lacking public interest.

This evinces the restricted position of Folha Vitória's media agenda regarding information and news on Indigenous people, especially the local one. This illustrates how a journalistic organization mainly based on disseminating news by other agencies can influence the selection and hierarchy of information.

In addition to the editorials, the sources and the authors of the informative units, the analysis of the differences between frame categorizations is essential to understand this context of inequalities. As a result of the last improvement of the classifications in the initial frames, this research grouped the classifications in Entman (1993), gathering information units with similar frames into established categories, simplifying the tables, facilitating the visualization of the frames, and increasing clarity.

Table 1
Classification of the frames in Folha Vitória

Problem Definition	Causes of the problema	Moral evaluation of individuals	Solutions
Federal Government against the demarcation of Indigenous lands.	Federal government projects aimed at exploiting Indigenous territories.	Indigenous: they own too much land. Public authorities: asks for authorization to explore Indigenous lands; lost territory to Indigenous peoples. Rural landowners: Innocent; they only want to contribute to the economic progress of the country; Invaded.	Demarcate to correct gaps Indigenous peoples have with the government.
Indigenous cultural presentations.	Valuing cultural differences.	Indigenous: protagonists of their own culture.	Foster initiatives that promote knowledge related to Indigenous culture.
Arrival of Indigenous refugees.	They seek refuge in Brazil.	Indigenous: abandoned and vulnerable. Public authorities: avoid liability.	Give visibility to the group so that the government can help them.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Table 2
Classification of the frames in Século Diário

Problem Definition	Causes of the problema	Moral evaluation of individuals	Solutions
Indemnities/ agreement with the Renova Foundation.	Environmental crime Samarco/Vale/B HP; lack of agreement and dialogue with the Renova Foundation; resistance of mining companies.	Indigenous: wronged, victims of mining companies. Public authorities: Only the state government is on the side of the Indigenous people. Justice: on the side of the native peoples; mediates between the parties. Miners: Criminal; they do not want to make agreements; they are irreducible.	Indemnify the villages and review the agreement with the Renova Foundation, in addition to expanding the dialogue with the Indigenous peoples.
Indigenous social invisibility.	Elections; lack of representation in political powers; formation of the Indigenous caucus.	Indigenous: threatened by the government. Public authorities: it should open more spaces in decision-making for Indigenous citizens.	Election of Indigenous political representatives and Indigenous quotas in political parties.
Indigenous health.	Increase in COVID cases in the villages and the need for vaccination.	Indigenous: neglected by society. Public authorities: it does not support the original peoples, negligent.	More actions aimed at promoting health in the Indigenous population.
Achieve climate	Destruction of	Indigenous: Harmed.	Preservation of

goals and defense of biomes.	environmental preservation areas, including those that are home to Indigenous territories.	Public authorities: disrespects demarcated areas.	land demarcations and more resolute actions by the government.
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Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

In addition to those above, there are other frames. This research organized the articles in Folha Vitória and Século Diário in the tables below to highlight how the same frames have different aspects in each medium. Moreover, the tables offer links to the information units to give transparency to the sources for the classifications.

Table 3

Comparison of the approaches of the “Illegal exploitation in Indigenous lands” frame in the two outlets

Século Diário			
Problem Definition	Causes of the problema	Moral evaluation of individuals	Solutions
Illegal exploitation on Indigenous lands. Excerpt: “Project authorizes new developments in Aracruz without consulting Indigenous people”	Violations of demarcations and approval of political measures that do not preserve Indigenous cultures/territories. Excerpt: Another complaint [...] is the destruction package that is being processed in Congress, such as Bill 191/2020 [...]. [...] The matter represents a gateway to a series of violations on traditional lands, such as mining projects and hydroelectric dams.”	Indigenous: politically active. Excerpt: “The act, with more than 6 thousand members of traditional communities, including more than 100 Tupinikim and Guarani from Aracruz, claims the demarcation of lands and is part of the program of the 18th Free Land Camp (ATL).” Federal government: it disrespects demarcated areas and does not adequately assist Indigenous peoples. Excerpt: “The protesters also denounce the anti-Indigenous agenda of the federal government.”	Preservation and new demarcations of Indigenous lands, in addition to greater participation of native peoples in these types of decision-making. Excerpt: ““We start from the struggle in virtual territories and places of political and social action based on our ancestral wisdom, on care for the people and the Brazilian territory, to say: ‘politics will be Indigenous territory, yes!’ ”
Folha Vitória			
Illegal exploitation on	Connivance of the federal	Indigenous: victims of illegal exploitation of agribusiness, but	Analyze in detail and not approve

Indigenous lands. Excerpt: "Mining and deforestation on Indigenous lands have doubled in the last three years."	government with the exploitation of Indigenous lands. Excerpt: "President Jair Bolsonaro (PL) defended during a press conference this Sunday, 27, the exploration of fertilizers and energy production on Indigenous lands."	who must have their rights respected. Excerpt: "The same article, however, makes it clear that "the lands traditionally occupied by the Indians are intended for their permanent possession, and they have the exclusive usufruct of the riches of the soil, rivers and lakes existing therein." Federal government: proposes policies that legalized the exploitation of demarcated areas. Excerpt: "The Ministry of Mines and Energy (MME), author of the bill that intends to authorize the exploration of mining, agricultural and infrastructure projects within Indigenous lands, declared that the objective of the bill is to "correct a gap" in the Federal Constitution." Catholic Church: exploiter of native peoples. Stretch: "papal bills of the fifteenth century that authorized European metropolises to colonize non-Christian lands and peoples [...]"	policies that provide for the exploitation of Indigenous lands, such as Bill No. 191/2020. Excerpt: "In practice, therefore, it is not necessary to open the Indigenous land for mineral exploration, but rather to reach an agreement on the indirect impacts that mining will have."
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Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Table 4
 Comparison of the approaches of the box "Creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples" in the two media

Século Diário			
Problem Definition	Causes of the problema	Moral evaluation of individuals	Solutions
Creation of the ministry of Indigenous peoples. Excerpt: "Espírito Santo leaders mobilize on the creation of a portfolio for Indigenous peoples and warn of the	The priority agendas of the future Ministry of Indigenous Peoples. Excerpt: "The announcement of the creation of a ministry of Indigenous peoples by the elected	Indigenous: politically active, citizens inserted in the political environment. Excerpt: "The management of the first Indigenous minister can take the villages of the state out of invisibility, evaluates Cacique Toninho."	Support for movements that promote Indigenous protagonism. Excerpt: "It needs governments [...] help in this zoning of the territories, giving back to the communities their autonomy and

dismantling of public policies"	government of Lula (PT) has mobilized Indigenous communities from all over the country to reflect and propose the profile and attributions of the future ministry."		visibility, strengthening their economic, social, cultural, and spiritual values"
Folha Vitória			
Creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples. Excerpt: "Creation of the ministry was a promise of Lula during the campaign"	It has been decided who will occupy the vacancy for Minister of Indigenous Peoples. Excerpt: "The President of the Republic, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva (PT), confirmed on Thursday, 29, the elected deputy Sônia Guajajara (PSOL-SP) as Minister of Indigenous Peoples. "	Indigenous: active participants of the new government. Excerpt: "Indigenous people prepare triple list for the command of the Indigenous Peoples portfolio"	Consolidation of the activities and proposals of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples. Excerpt: "'If we want a strong ministry, we must bring a strong structure, with structure and budget. Funai will bring this structure.' "

Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Table 5

Comparison of the approaches of the "Indigenous political mobilization" box in the two media

Século Diário			
Problem Definition	Causes of the problema	Moral evaluation of individuals	Solutions
Indigenous political mobilization. Excerpt: "The Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB) has started a	Disaster in the agreements between the peoples and the Renova Foundation. Excerpt: "'Our agreement was the most	Indigenous: critical beings, they fight for their rights. Excerpt: "From the city center, the Indigenous people went to the Legislative Assembly, where they filled the gallery of the plenary and were able to speak to the deputies present [...]."	Greater attention on the part of the public authorities to Indigenous agendas and the continuation of the struggle of native peoples. Excerpt:

mobilization campaign for the 2022 elections. [...] The organization opened a call for Indigenous leaders from all over the country, with the aim of giving visibility and supporting possible candidacies."	disastrous,' say Indigenous people against Renova."	Public authorities: It is slow, it takes time to put into effect the demands of Indigenous peoples. Excerpt: "'We demand a public hearing in our territory, on this agreement that was harmful to us. A public hearing that has not yet happened.'"	"Welcoming the permanent participation of Congresswoman Iriny Lopes (PT) in the struggle of Indigenous communities, Paulo Tupinikim told parliamentarians that, 'with the political strength you have and, I believe, the interest in supporting Indigenous populations, intercede on our behalf [...]. And that the projects arising from the studies and the Basic Indigenous Environmental Plan can be executed in the totality and quality that we deserve.'"
Folha Vitória			
Indigenous political mobilization. Excerpt: "Indigenous people from ES protest for rights and environmental preservation in Vitória."	Lack of inspection in demarcated areas. Excerpt: "Among the demands, they protested against Bill 191/2020, [...] which opens Indigenous lands to large-scale exploitation of mining, hydroelectric dams and infrastructure projects, and Bill 490/2007, which amends the legislation on the demarcation of Indigenous	Indigenous: individuals who manifest themselves. Excerpt: "Representatives of native peoples of Espírito Santo held a demonstration that stopped traffic in the center of Vitória in the early afternoon of Monday (18)." Public authorities: pro-mining. Excerpt: "The Minister of Agriculture said that he is "happy" with the possible advancement of bill 191/2020 in the Chamber of Deputies, which deals with mining on Indigenous lands."	Preserve threatened lands. Excerpt: "[...] to put the country in the place where it should be, which is with the forest standing, healthy people, its Indigenous people with their lands demarcated and all rights respected."

	lands."		
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Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

Regarding this last frame, an event both analyzed media outlets reported can illustrate their differences. It regards a protest by the Indigenous peoples in the region of Aracruz following their troubles (according to the Renova Foundation). The publication in both portals made it possible to compare the differences in their use of a frame in a more practical and specific way⁵.

In Século Diário	In Folha Vitória
The title of the news is the speech of an Indigenous person who participated in the protest.	The title describes only the fact that occurred.
Use of the verb "MARCHAR" in the thin line.	Use of the verb "OCCUPY" in the thin line.
The verb "MARCH" appears in the passage that specifies the path taken by the protesters: "Who marched from Jucutuquara Square to the Anchieta Palace , headquarters of the state executive, in Cidade Alta [...]."	The verb "OCCUPY" appears in the excerpt: "Tupiniquin and Guarani peoples, from Aracruz, occupied the capital [...] ," as if the protest had taken place in the entire city of Vitória and not just in one region.
The first sentence of the news is the speech of one of the Indigenous people who participated in the protest: "My heart is broken by this conflict that Renova has established within our communities. Our agreement was the most disastrous in the entire Rio Doce basin."	The first sentence of the news brings as the first information that the protest stopped traffic in the center of Vitória (hierarchical information as more important than the demands of the protesters).
Throughout the news, the Renova Foundation is mentioned and the main reason for holding the demonstration is the review of the agreement with Renova. All the protesters who were sources of the article mention the Foundation in their speeches.	The reason for the demonstration is described in a paragraph, in four lines, and in a way that it seems that only some of them had this reason as an agenda to be on the streets: " Some members cited the Renova Foundation, an entity responsible for mobilizing companies to repair the damage caused by the collapse of the Fundão dam, in Mariana (MG), which polluted the Doce River in 2015."
It brings no response/manifestation material from the Renova Foundation.	It brings an extensive note from the Renova Foundation.

Source: Prepared by the authors (2024).

We highlight the nuances of the coverage by Folha Vitória of the event in question. The newspaper states that the Minister of Agriculture was happy with the progress of the mining bill in the Chamber of Deputies and mentions the demarcation

⁵ The news can be found at the following links: <https://www.folhavitória.com.br/geral/noticia/04/2022/indigenas-do-es-fazem-protesto-por-direitos-e-preservacao-ambiental-em-vitoria> and <https://www.seculodiario.com.br/meio-ambiente/o-nosso-acordo-foi-o-mais-desastoso-afirmam-indigenas-contra-a-renova>

of lands and respect for the rights of Indigenous peoples as solutions to the demands of the protest, thus establishing a tension between pro-mining and pro-demarcation aspects.

To complement the analysis, this study chose 10 frames. Folha Vitória showed the frequencies: 30% of the information units had the frame "political mobilization of Indigenous groups," 20%, an "illegal exploitation of Indigenous lands" one; 17.5%, a "federal government against the demarcation of Indigenous lands" one; 15%, an "Indigenous cultural presentation" one; 12.5%, a "factual" one⁶; and 5%, an "arrival of Indigenous refugees" one. Those in Século Diário showed the following distribution: 41% "indemnities/agreement with the Renova Foundation," 23% "political mobilization of Indigenous groups," 13% "Indigenous invisibility," 8.2% "Indigenous health," 8.2% "achieving climate goals and defense of biomes," 3.3% "creation of the Ministry of Indigenous Peoples," and 3.3% "factual."

Thus, as discussed, differences stemmed from the plurality of frames. For Carvalho (2009), frames can precisely unveil the differences between each communication medium that are inserted, relate, and behave in multiple ways in a social body. Thus, a much broader perspective than that of a mere objective and impartial informant of societies should serve to consider the press (a medium produced and elaborated by individuals who belong to collectivities).

Final considerations

Results show that the coverage of Indigenous facts by the analyzed portals addresses aspects and tensions of the theme. Still, Folha Vitória fails to greatly engage itself in local coverage. When it reports a fact about Indigenous peoples, it uses frames that tend to fail to prioritize the voices of this portion of the Brazilian population. The non-inclusion of sources from Indigenous peoples and the absence of adequate local coverage constitute factors that point to a lack of interest in covering Indigenous peoples.

On the other hand, Século Diário works to provide Espírito Santo readers with a different way of seeing native peoples and their issues. Carrying out local and national coverage in its importance to these groups, Século shows the public that this population has social importance and that their problems and victories deserve attention from the media. It also shows frames that contribute to building a collective

⁶ "Factual" is understood to be news boards that report isolated events from a larger social context.

imaginary that sees Indigenous persons as human beings with their own culture and opinion, independent from the non-Indigenous population and who, above all, must have their space for manifestation and their civil rights respected and preserved.

These issues require thorough analysis. Critical studies of the contents in various media have become increasingly important to understand the possible effects of frames in the media. Thus, it is essential that more studies on frames be carried out, enabling a more self-critical media regarding its content and an audience that is more aware of the products they consume.

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RESUMO

Este artigo analisou os significados encontrados em coberturas voltadas para as questões indígenas no Espírito Santo, realizadas em 2022. Os portais capixabas Século Diário e Folha Vitória, de linhas editoriais distintas, foram escolhidos para a coleta do corpus. A partir da metodologia do enquadramento noticioso e da leitura de pesquisadores como Erving Goffman (1974; 1986) e Robert Entman (1993), objetivou-se decodificar as escolhas realizadas por jornalistas ao produzirem notícias e reportagens sobre as questões indígenas. Também procurou-se esclarecer os possíveis impactos e consequências sociais. Concluiu-se que há uma disparidade nas coberturas, além do uso de quadros que acentuam o silenciamento dos indígenas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE:

Jornalismo;
Enquadramento noticioso; Indígenas; Século Diário; Folha Vitória.

RESUMEN

Este artículo analizó los significados encontrados en coberturas volcadas para las cuestiones indígenas en Espírito Santo realizadas en 2022. Los portales capixabas Século Diário y Folha Vitória, de líneas editoriales distintas, fueron elegidos para la recolección del corpus. A partir de la metodología del encuadramiento noticioso y de la lectura de investigadores como Erving Goffman (1974; 1986) y Robert Entman (1993), se objetivó decodificar las elecciones realizadas por periodistas al producir noticias y reportajes sobre las cuestiones indígenas. También intentó aclarar los posibles impactos y consecuencias sociales. Se concluyó que hay una disparidad en las coberturas, además del uso de cuadros que acentúan el silenciamiento de los indígenas.

PALABRAS CLAVE:

Periodismo; Encuadre noticioso; Indígenas; Século Diário; Folha Vitória.