



JOURNALISM AND INVISIBILITY OF ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICT IN THE CASE OF CMPC CELULOSE RIOGRANDENSE

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Abstract: The article presents a reflection on the (in) visibility of the environmental conflict resulting from the quadruplication of the CMPC Celulose Riograndense Company in Guaíba/RS. The search on the websites of the two largest newspapers in the state of Rio Grande do Sul indicated the publication of only one news about the agenda by the *Correio do Povo* and none by *Zero Hora*, although we identified news values according to Silva (2014). The period of analysis included the second year after the quadruplication (May 2016 to May 2017) when the pollution (strong bad odor and loud and uninterrupted noise, mainly) emitted by it exceeded the legal limits. From the thematic Content Analysis of the journalistic news reverberated in the social network Facebook, by the group of neighbors of CMPC Celulose Riograndense: “We are not all CMPC: We are all Guaíba”, we found that the coverage of the environmental conflict and the suffering of the neighborhood happened mainly in media linked to environmental entities.

Keywords: Journalism; Environmental conflict; Pulp and paper; Facebook; Content analysis.

1 Introduction

It is no exaggeration to say that all journalism of Rio Grande do Sul covered the inauguration of the quadruplication of CMPC Celulose Riograndense in Guaíba (RS), in May 2015. On its website *Zero Hora* (CALDAS, 2017) explained two days before that, because the logistics require 48 hours interval between the processes, the first “[...] cooking of chopped wood [...]” would start on Sunday (3) at 19h, and “[...] the assembly of burden of plates of pulp that will be [would be] sent abroad”, therefore, would happen on Tuesday, May 5th. However, the journalism of Rio Grande do Sul of reference did not dedicate the same coverage in the days, months and years following the other side of the high walls of the factory: that of the neighborhood. This finding stems from the result of the survey carried out on the websites of the two largest newspapers in the State, *Correio do Povo* (CP) and *Zero Hora* (ZH), the first of which published only one news with this agenda and the second, none. Information about the situation

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suffered by the factory's neighborhood was obtained by reading the posts made on the social network page of residents of Balneário Alegria entitled “We are not all CMPC: We are all Guaíba” (hereinafter “We are not”). In addition to becoming aware of the impacts faced, we selected, for our analysis, the posts from the second year after the quadruplication, between May 2016 and May 2017, which include the referred news published by CP, two news items by the newspaper Extra Classe; two news by the Gaúcha Association for the Protection of the Natural Environment (Agapan) and one news by the Friends of the Environment Association of Guaíba (AMA).

On the “We are not” page, we found 82 posts in total, with complaints exposed, both directly and by republishing other posts with personal profiles and other pages: bad odor, stench, absurd noise, noise, unacceptable decibels. In the sequence, we will deepen some aspects about the two posts that obtained the highest number of shares and the 15 posts that received the greatest number of comments in relation to the others. Complaints, criticisms and requests for action by the affected population (which includes residents of several neighborhoods in Guaíba and the South Zone of Porto Alegre) have progressed as well as the factory. From the historic Norwegian Borregaard, which started its activities on March 17, 1972, changing its name to Riocell through the Brazilian military government, under the control of the Southern Brazilian Group / Montepio da Família Militar since 1974 / 1975, to Aracruz with the Klabin, Ioschpe and Votorantim groups in March 1982, which ended up sold in September 2009 to Votorantim Celulose e Papel (VCP), thus constituting Fibria, which maintained the Aracruz name until December of the same year, when there was the acquisition by the Chilean Compañía Manufacturera de Papeles y Cartones (CMPC) that adopted the “regionalized name” Celulose Riograndense.

Our objective is to reflect on the theme of the environmental conflict in question, identifying the quality of visibility brought by the reference journalism, as well as by other means of communication. In particular, through the page on the social network Facebook “We are not”, which spread the impact caused by the mega enterprise. During the analysis period, between May 2016 and May 2017, the pollution (strong bad odor and loud and uninterrupted noise, mainly) emitted by the factory exceeded all limits, having been fined nine times by the State environmental agency responsible for licensing (NENÊ, 2017). The facts involved could have been an issue of reference journalism given the present news values (SILVA, 2014). To substantiate our reflection, we have the contributions of Acselrad (2005) on environmental conflict, as well as the authors in the area of communication, citizenship and environment, among the main Soares (2008; 2009) and Girardi *et al* (2012).

2 Environmental conflicts and journalism

Environmental conflicts are the most direct face of the dispute that exists in society, when dealing with the relationship between environment and citizenship. While for some it is the right that is lacking, for others, privileges remain. It is important to examine how journalism is - or is not - dealing with these disputes, as indeed it should be done. For this reason, we consider it important to bring Henri Acselrad's concept of environmental conflict (2005, p. 26) according to whom from the “[...] different modes of appropriation, use and meaning of the territory [...]” by the different social groups, it happens when one or more of them perceives themselves threatened and / or prevented from continuing their activities as a result of emergence of another form of appropriation, use and meaning practiced by another social group.

There are four constitutive dimensions in environmental conflicts: material appropriation and symbolic appropriation, durability and spatial interactivity of social practices (ACSELRAD, 2005). The first consists in the appropriation of natural goods, the so-called resources, such as water, by the appropriation of rivers, etc. The second is evidenced by the use of speeches extolling the supposed “natural vocation” of the place, the “sustainability” of a specific business, etc. On these two dimensions, Acselrad (2005, p. 24) emphasizes the importance of paying attention to “the criteria of evaluation and legitimation” in the discussion of conflicts, which: “[...] can be configured both through a direct fight in the space of distribution of power on the material basis, as a symbolic struggle around the categories of legitimization of practices.” In this “symbolic struggle”, journalism has the essential role of distinguishing what are traditional practices, originating and / or ways of living in the different historical periods of the places that are the object of dispute for development projects, of what is propaganda and fallacy spread by their mentors, so as not to spread discourses that reproduce injustices.

Back to the constitutive dimensions, the third elaborated by Acselrad (2005, p. 26), durability is one by which one perceives the threat or impediment that a social group has to continue the same way of appropriating the territory as well as the maintenance of the social practices that depend on it, due to the actions and / or interventions of another group. The fourth dimension, interactivity, manifests itself through the “non-market and undesirable effects of one practice on another practice”. The author recalls that in economic language it is called “externality”. Often, this word expresses some harm caused to the environment, such as water and air pollution, which affects the community that depends on these natural and collective goods.

The flexibilization of environmental norms and the weakening of environmental agencies, which started in the 1990s, resulted in a depoliticization of environmental issues and, at the same time, there is the option of power for the imposition of a supposed consensus. This, in practice, consists more in suffocating or not recognizing that the conflict may be the result of a simple imaginary democracy, that the “[...] expression of real differences between actors and social projects to be worked on in the public space”. (ACSELRAD, 2005, p. 29). It is up to

journalism to confront the speeches of the public and private authorities with those of the affected populations to discuss the development project, thus encompassing the debate on the dimensions of the environmental conflict.

2.1 Pulp production and its consequences

Regarding the environmental conflicts resulting from the economic activity linked to pulp in Rio Grande do Sul, academic studies (BINKOWSKI, 2009; BARENHO, 2008) address the impacts on the affected populations in the municipalities where forestry industry was installed, that is, the plantations of tree monocultures. These impacts range from pollution by the use of agrottoxins, the compromise and threat to the conservation of natural ecosystems and their biodiversity, to the disruption of rural communities and villages and community and family ties. There are records of the appearance and / or serious increase in crimes in these places such as theft, robbery, rape, violence against women.

However, little is said about the environmental and social impacts on the urban environment caused by the factory installed on the shore of Lake Guaíba, a spring that supplies the population of five municipalities (Porto Alegre, Guaíba, Viamão, Eldorado do Sul and Barra do Ribeiro) estimated at 1,891.914 inhabitants according to the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics - IBGE (2019). Even less about the suffering of the neighborhood resident in Balneário Alegria, a historic place for tourism and recreation. This environmental conflict is ignored by the media in general. In a document of May 25, 2017 distributed to the press, the Association of Residents of Balneário Alegria (ABA), demarcates the month of August 2013, with the beginning of the Guaíba 2 Project (quadruplication), for the significant worsening in the quality of life from the neighborhood:

[...] one of the oldest streets in the city was not included to be incorporated into the company's yard, leaving the south area [of Guaíba] with a single access route. The enterprise advanced its physical area towards neighboring properties, belonging to families who were already native to the resort, long before the arrival of the first pulp company to settle there; today the properties belong to their descendants. (ASSOCIAÇÃO DOS MORADORES DO BALNEÁRIO ALEGRIA, 2017).

In the image below (Figure 1) we can see in yellow the area of the factory and the surrounding neighborhoods indicated by the red arrow, whose neighborhood is the one most mobilized to denounce the suffering and the impacts to which they are subjected: Alegria, Vila Elza and Alvorada.

Figure 1 - Location of the CMPC factory and surrounding neighborhoods



Source: Wikimapia, 2017.

The “We are not” se page aims to “[...] be a space for discussion and problem solving” related to the operation of the factory “[...] and which directly affect a large part of the residents of the Alegria neighborhoods, Flórida, Vila Elza and surroundings.” States that it seeks to “[...] counterpoint the unconditional defenses to CMPC - insensitive to the problems caused to [the] nearby residents - based on facts.”

In one of the 15 most commented posts in the period of our analysis (July 30, 2016), the debate is precisely about the right to continue living in the place, frequently questioned by the residents of the municipality. An example of the constitutive dimension of the environmental conflict “interactivity” according to Acselrad (2005). The report is about the difficulty to sleep after quadruplication. One comment says that the problem is the people who settle close to the companies. In response, one person says that the resort was created in 1948, Vila Elza in 1953, the first company (Borregaard) was installed in 1973, and says “I was born here and I am part of this history. [...]. The company expanded without respecting the population.” In response, there is a comment attributing to the arrival of the factory the intensification of housing construction, which would be a responsibility of the city hall. Another comment states that the company is located between the resorts Alvorada and Alegria and that they are close to the central area of the municipality, so that the factory was not installed in a distant place from the population.

ABA members reveal that since 2013 they have been trying to sell their homes in order to escape the uninterrupted noise of around 60 decibels, the fetid odor that causes nausea and headaches, the ash and particulate matter that invades the homes and covers the streets, but there are no buyers. Another aspect highlighted in the ABA document is the permanent fear of living

with the risk of accidents due to not knowing how to proceed, as there was no training for evacuation of the area.

[...] [February 2016] there was a crash that caused panic to the residents [...], as the boiler had to be depressurized in an emergency. People did not know what to do, as they did not know where the crash came from, it looked like a plane crashing over our houses, [...], the fact lasted more than an hour and the company released a note saying it was for a few minutes [...].

Our houses are separated from the company by just one street, with a boiler, chlorine plant, digester, chipper [...] less than 100 meters from our homes. [...]. We are being held hostage by the company, living with fear and its emissions, an evacuation plan has never been presented or training has been carried out with local residents in the event of a major accident, we do not know what to do or where to run.

[...].

We cannot fail to mention that there are three schools around the factory and a shelter for minors, which are exposed to all these emissions and have compromised their development [...]. (ABA, 2017).

Regarding the sound and noise classified by the neighborhood as absurd and unacceptable, the Operation License (LO) no. 5144/2016, issued by the Henrique Luis Roessler State Foundation (Fepam), determines in item 5.5: "The noise levels generated by the industrial activity should [...] considering a mixed area, predominantly residential, and must meet the maximum noise limit of 55 dB during the day and 50 dB at night, [...]". However, the neighborhood claims that this limit has never been respected, showing in posts that decibels usually range from 60 to 65, during the day and / or at night.

In fact, the quadruplication increased the factory's production more than three times in relation to the doubling (1990s), from 450,000 to 1,750,000 tons per year of bleached eucalyptus pulp. Below, we reproduce the LO information (Table 1) about the maximum annual production capacity and the respective products:

Table 1 - Mega-enterprise products and maximum productive capacity

Quantity	Unit of measure (tones)	Product description
1.800.000	tSA	Bleached eucalyptus pulp
33.600	t	Liquefied chlorine
1.116	t	Hydrogen
72.000	t	Printing and writing paper
116.400	t	33% Sodium Hydroxide Solution
24.000	t	12% Sodium Hypochlorite Solution
42.000	t	33% Hydrochloric Acid Solution

Source: Fepam, LO n°. 5144/2016.

Potential productive size has drastically changed the neighborhood routine. The June 23, 2016 post had the most comments (until July 1st). It is a post with text motivated by discussion that took place in the previous days, it brings two images that reproduce two comments, a request for reflection on the impacts on people's health and cancer cases as well as the lack of statistics

[in Guaíba], and two, questioning what they should think about the water and air reports released by the company itself on its website regarding the emissions it makes. The neighborhood does not believe that what comes out of the chimneys is just water vapor as discussed in the social network. In LO, we saw in “Regarding Environmental Preservation and Conservation”, which in item 3.3, confirms that something else is emitted: “the biomonitoring activities for **dioxins and furans** [our emphasis] in the waters of Lake Guaíba should be continued, next to the area of influence of the point of discharge of treated liquid effluents in the industry. [...]”. In addition, in the case of considerable numbers of liquid effluents discharged into a spring that supplies the population of five municipalities, we have a typical case of public interest to be reported by journalism. Therefore, 93.4% of the maximum flow for the discharge of authorized industrial and sanitary liquid effluents (of 165,356 m³/ day), belongs to CMPC Celulose Riograndense (154,400 m³ / day). (BELMONTE, 2017).

The two most shared posts feature pictures of the chimneys. The one dated June 19, 2016 had 153 shares and shows a night photo made of sand on the beach and in the background the smoke. It says: "The problem is environmental, but the scenario is a war zone." The debate in the comments continued until June 22. It received 16 comments criticizing polluting emissions. But there were demonstrations such as: that the city would run out of jobs, that if it were so bad they would have closed the factory, that everyone uses paper, that there are hypocrites who get intoxicated with drinks and cigarettes, that they complain but the cloacal sewage goes to Lake Guaíba from where water is collected to supply the municipality, that the goal is to increase the sale price of the houses close to the company, that the chimneys are monitored by Fepam and that it comes from water vapor and not toxic smoke.

The July 20, 2016 publication had 89 shares. I brought a daytime photo of the chimneys emitting huge clouds of smoke. The text says that the landscape does not lose anything to industrial England in the 18th century, mocking the pollution resulting from the Industrial Revolution started in that country. In one of the comments, the person reports that the cars are always with particles of something white and asks how his lungs will be.

Back to the LO reading, we saw in item 5.1.1, that “the monitoring of air quality, regarding the legislated parameters (TPS - total particles in suspension, IP - inhalable particles, SO² [Sulfur Dioxide], CO [Monoxide Carbon], NO² [Nitrogen Dioxide], TRS (total reduced sulfur) and ozone, [...]”. Which means the confirmation of the emission of toxic gases into the atmosphere even though there is monitoring and supposed acceptable limits. We call it “supposed acceptable limits” because the neighborhood testimonies about the symptoms caused by these gases are abundant (and we could consider the fauna here, whether domestic or not). We must emphasize that item 5.6., Which presents the “emission standard to be met” by boilers and ovens, specifies the limits of each one and brings in sub-item 5.6.6 that, “the sum of the Total Reduced Sulfur (TRS) emissions of all the company's emission sources cannot exceed the maximum

emission of 2.38 kg / h; [...]”.As a result, CMPC Riograndense is authorized to emit up to 2.38 kilos per hour of Total Reduced Sulfur through chimneys. Reading the Operation License for the mega-enterprise allows us to understand why the fetid odor of rotten egg, which, depending on the wind, the sun (and other variables described in the LO), advances on the neighborhoods close to the factory but can reach the most distant ones and reach to the south of Porto Alegre, as it happened in the 1970s with Borregaard.

The following are excerpts from comments that show the neighborhood's fear mainly in relation to gas emissions and doubts about the possibility of protecting the use of PPE's¹, to which the company employee who used to comment on the posts, expresses himself not believing in this need for consider that the neighborhood is not at risk.

Comment 1: [...]we are a few meters from this [risk] area and we have no protection whatsoever, and the public authorities, the company, Fepam will only run after the loss when an accident happens, as occurred in Mariana MG, [...],it's cheaper to work for years risking the lives of the residents and if the unexpected happens to chase the damage than to work within the standards, guide the residents in case of an accident, play the role of the good neighborhood, that's why I say, they just they do what is in their interest to bring profit to the company, they will never care about the quality of life of the surrounding residents.

Comment 2: Risk areas, exactly, as the name says, risk is restricted to the area, and those who work in it have science and training for this, as well as PPE. There is no need to distribute PPE's to neighbors, because as I said, because ClO₂ is more dense than air it tends to stay in the same location as the possible leak. As for noise, this is undeniable that you are right and we have to improve, we are working on it! (NÃO-SOMOS, 2016).

The LO no. 5144/2016 is a document rich in information that should be accessed by journalists and inhabitants of the municipality where the mega-enterprise is installed to facilitate the understanding of the complexity of the economic activity of pulp and paper production, which receives billions in investments from public resources. The practice of Environmental Journalism drives us to deepen the agendas, to investigate and to listen far beyond the good news, such as profits, revenue generation or jobs.

Since the first plant installed in the 1970s, Borregaard, the press has been following closely related events. So much so, that the two² lawsuits filed in court, contain several news

¹ Personal Protective Equipment.

²Case 595021817 from February 1992 by Agapan against Fepam and the State Government. The request was to guarantee the resumption of a public hearing in Porto Alegre (to discuss the project to duplicate the pulp mill in Guaíba) and to cancel the license issued by the environmental agency in 1989. There was a first-degree preliminary injunction authorizing the resumption of the hearing and suspending the duplication of the factory, but it ended up impounded by the Court of Justice of Rio Grande do Sul. Case 01192132320 is a Public Civil Action filed in April 1992 by the State Public Ministry (SPM) against Fepam and Riocell. It required the verification of responsibilities and the respective reparation related to the complaints contained in the civil investigation n. 033/90 opened on 11/22/90 (with newspaper news and complaints from residents of the South Zone of Porto Alegre due to bad odor from the factory). And a preliminary injunction with a measure suspending the operation of the chlorine-soda manufacturing unit and the expansion of the pulp plant unit. Lustosa and Benites (2008, p. 21) report that the process continued until 2001 when

clippings from the newspapers *Zero Hora*, *Correio do Povo* and *Jornal do Comércio*, among others. The news brought testimonies from the affected people as well as information about the emissions and effluents and the respective harm to human health. The mobilization of Agapan with the media and university professors and researchers who were affiliated with the entity substantiated the work of journalists at that time. At the same time, Lustosa and Benites (2008, p. 12) draw attention to the volume of pollution generated by the factory even before the quadruplication:

[...]. Who takes responsibility for the risks that this mega investment will cause? What is the impact on global warming of this “sustainable development”? What do the business and political circles say, always so close and supportive? And the community, the citizens, what do they think about that?! (LUSTOSA; BENITES, 2008, p. 21).

Given these questions, could we assume that the reference journalism, in view of the relevance of the topic, would bring it to the public debate? Observing a “table of news values” designed by Silva (2014), to facilitate the operationalization of analyses of events reported in journalistic work, we can say that the environmental conflict can be considered as “news”. The table brings together attributes of notable facts, indicated by more than a dozen authors recognized from Tobias Peucer to Mauro Wolff to the contemporary Nilson Lage. Following, we list the following news values about the information we obtained from the agenda, from the posts described above, aiming to think about their validity for journalistic coverage of any and all means of communication: Impact on the number of people affected by extrapolating those involved in the accident according to complaints made by residents and residents around the factory; Prominence for involving one of the largest pulp mills in the world; Conflict as much by the dispute of meanings in relation to the benefits and the harms perceived by the inhabitants of the municipality of Guaíba evidenced in the posts of the social network, as by the claims of the portion of the Guaíba people who feel affected by the negative impacts of the mega factory; Tragedy / Drama for aspects of human interest, emotion and risks to life; Proximity (geographic and cultural) and Justice due to complaints made by the neighborhood, both to the state agency responsible for licensing and to the Public Ministry of Rio Grande do Sul.

Although the presence of these news values listed above in the environmental conflict is perceived (having, therefore, news potential), our search for the repercussion of these facts in the hegemonic media resulted in the almost invisibility of this debate. With this, our approach goes to a rethinking of the role of journalism in relation to citizenship issues.

an adjustment term was signed between the State government, the Public Ministry and the company “[...] that still prevails today. After all, the chlorine-soda plant was already in operation, the pulp plant doubled since 1995.”

2.2 Invisibility of citizenship in hegemonic mediatization

The invisibility of the social themes of citizenship is recurrent when the subject is the treatment given by the means of hegemonic journalism. To understand the theme of rights and conflicts, here especially the right to environmental citizenship, it is important to rethink how the (in) visibility of environmental conflicts is constituted in relation to what could be understood as an essential commitment of journalism - the expression of plurality, not restricted to sources heard, or sources of financing, but to plurality, understood here from the concept of “perspectives”. Thus, according to Miguel and Biroli (2010, p. 72), it is necessary that “[...] different social groups have the possibility to produce information from their own perspectives, which implies the decentralization of the journalistic and professional standard of the hierarchical patterns of expression [...].”

For Soares (2009), the limitation of the scheduling of the Brazilian social crisis and the situation of the subordinates (who generate social demands) is recurrent. In addition, in his evaluation, there is only the tangent of social issues, “[...] especially in acute punctual events (accidents, calamities, occupations, confrontations), so that social rights, linked to the third generation of citizenship³, do not form a privileged subject by the press.” (SOARES, 2008, p. 6).

On the other hand, the process of mediatization and visibility is ambivalent, as visibility itself can corroborate with the invisibility process. For example, when the appearance of certain social groups is brought as counter-models, that is, they “are seen” (shown) but in a negative, perverse way. Thus, it can be said that the mediatization of the public sphere “feeds the illusion of the possibility of existence through the eyes of the other”, so the author points out that it is important to think that the lack is not really of visibility, but of listening. (VAZ, 2011, p. 197).

The public sphere is, therefore, par excellence, the place of encounter with the other. In addition, it is about this sphere and its centripetal force, which generates sociability, that we are interested in talking; that sphere to which individuals look and feel urged to produce opinions, act, work, create, behave, always *par rapport* to others. (SALES, 2007, p. 97 *apud* VAZ, 2011, p. 195).

The lack of listening or empathy in relation to rights can be understood from the capture of the public sphere by hegemonic journalism, in which there is no visibility to certain populations or their problems / conflicts, as they run into the dominant ideology. Journalistic practices are ingrained in their business structure, rather than in their educational or public service function. However, journalism, when considered a public service to the population, must be attentive and contribute by supporting the debates with information about the inherent disputes of building

³According to Sachs (1998, p.156), the inclusion of the right to the environment emerges as one of the third generation rights. In: SACHS, Ignacy. Development, human rights and citizenship. **Human rights in the 21st century**, 1998.

citizenship in a democratic society. In relation to narratives, one can also add the idea of compassionate journalism, considered as an approach that seeks to favor “the cultivation of human flourishing, both individually and collectively.” (LAMAS; SCHWAAB, 2017, p. 35). By privileging social relations, the narrative can provide better conditions for contributions to the public debate.

On the other hand, with the proliferation of digital networks, it is also possible to visualize counter-hegemonic movements, which seek to establish a space for speech, visibility and perspectives. To discuss the topic outside the mainstream press, organized movements make use of direct communication, while exercising the potential of the internet for visibility, political representation, while also doing media criticism. Bucci (2000, p. 47) considers that “[...] the citizen is sufficiently prepared to take sides in relation to ethical and technical dilemmas in journalism.”

On the environmental issue and the criticism made by environmental journalism, it is believed that it is necessary to “[...] incorporate participation, a central element of our time, in which citizens have the possibility of being included more strongly in the discussion of social life, bringing lights to environmental concerns [...]” (GIRARDI *et al*, 2012, p. 149). Studies on environmental journalism also highlight the reality of coverage on the environment, in different situations, in which the conclusions about the predominance of official sources and the invisibility of the environmental dimension and movements in favor of quality of life are recurrent. Journalism needs a transformation towards listening to populations, the community, their rights and needs.

The appeal to citizenship is expressed today by this continuous entry on the scene by new actors who seek to establish themselves as authorities to speak about themselves. Citizenship, in addition to being a feeling of belonging to a nation, to a community, to a project of modern society, is also being related to the ability of these actors to articulate demands and present solution. (SOARES, 2009, p.135).

In fact, meeting citizenship concerns is a convergent action with the premises of journalism, which goes beyond choices concerning the editorial line of the communication companies.

3. Methodology

Initially, the search for news to be analyzed took place on the websites of the two main state newspapers, *Correio do Povo* and *Zero Hora*. The result was just one news from the CP and none from ZH relating the suffering of the factory neighborhood to the impact of the mega-enterprise, in the period between May 2016 and May 2017, that is, the second year after the

inauguration of the factory quadruplication. However, a news item⁴ was found in ZH in 2016 with an economic bias, as the title and the support line, respectively, define: “Pulp movement increases 1000% in the Porto de Rio Grande” and “Production is made by the company Celulose Riograndense and is destined for Europe and Asia”. Notwithstanding this was the result of the search on the ZH website, we highlight that other means of communication of the RBS Group⁵ have guided the situation of the neighborhood of the factory quadruplicated. For the years following the quadruplication (2017, 2018, 2019) the search on the two websites of the two largest newspapers in the State did not indicate any news with the agenda of the neighborhood situation. Not that the impacts have ceased at Balneário Alegria, in Guaíba.

To analyze the relationship between citizenship issues, which involve the case of coexistence between the CMPC Celulose Riograndense factory and the neighborhood, we used Content Analysis (CA). It is a method that can be applied in both quantitative and qualitative research, and in the first, what serves as information is the frequency with which certain characteristics of the content appear, while in the second it is the presence or absence of a given content characteristic or a set of characteristics in a given message fragment that is considered (BARDIN, 1994). The research reported here has a qualitative bias, focusing on the question about the characteristics of the message, that is, “its informational value, the words, arguments and ideas expressed in it. It is what constitutes a thematic analysis.” (MORAES, 1999, w / p). We follow Moraes (1999) propositions: preparation of information, unitarization of content, categorization and interpretation. After checking the diminished coverage in CP and ZH, in relation to the news about the environmental conflict in question, we identified the important diffusing role played by the social network page “We are not”.

In this way, monitoring the visibility that the social network page “We are not” gave to the suffering of the neighborhood of the CMPC Celulose Riograndense factory enabled us to find news published by other media on the topic despised by the two reference newspapers. In six posts, we saw the sharing in addition to the aforementioned CP news, two from the *Extra Classe*; newspaper; two on the Agapan website and one on the Guaíba AMA website.

Below, we describe the content of the referred news shared by the “We are not” page, which were analyzed for their informational value, considering the categories of plurality of perspectives and the dimensions of the environmental conflict.

⁴ Available from: <https://gauchazh.clicrbs.com.br/geral/noticia/2016/04/movimentacao-de-celulose-aumenta-1000-no-porto-de-rio-grande-cj5wan47n1iwxbj0rivs64dm.html> Access in: Jul. 2019.

⁵ RBS Group, founded in 1957 in Porto Alegre, has several communication businesses: 12 broadcast TV stations affiliated with *Rede Globo*, 16 radio stations and 3 newspapers, in addition to *Zero Hora*, *Diário Gaúcho* and *Pioneiro*. It also has a technology company through which it operates in the areas of digital media and technology, mobile and segmented e-commerce. It also has an events company, a publisher, a printing company, etc. Wikipedia, 2019.

4 Visibility of conflict perspectives and dimensions

The “We are not” group posts the article *Correio do Povo*⁶, “Celulose Riograndense will be assessed for a leakage in Guaíba”, published on December 17, 2016. The news has an eminently technical approach in relation to the environmental conflict. Thus, there is no way to identify the resistance of the residents; it only refers to aspects detected by Fepam technicians and a specific event (CELULOSE [...], 2016). The leakage of liquor (bleach) that reached the bed of Lake Guaíba in a volume estimated at one hundred cubic meters. This is a typical “environmental accident” news, which is treated as something infrequent and the reasons (causes) are left to be investigated.

The issue of control is brought up in the post that shares, on June 25, 2016, the link to the report in the *Extra Classe*⁷ newspaper “Who oversees the factory”. The newspaper is linked to the Teachers' Union and usually addresses the issues critically. In this text, the degree of security of the enterprise is questioned. It reports the licensing steps and authorizations made to the company in addition to the recent leaks and shutdowns because of security. An important point for the residents' cause is the legal requirement for a plan in relation to risks, which should provide for mapping, reducing and orienting the affected populations (SANDRI, 2016).

Also on June 25, 2016, another post brings a comment directed to the hegemonic press, classifying it as subsidized by the factory's marketing, which makes a possible debate difficult. The shared report was published in *Extra Classe* with the title “Until when to wait?” The text firstly presents the popular source, with the resident's speech questioning the lack of information in the face of the various cases of accidents and leaks and questions Fepam's stance in not taking a stand on the latest chlorine dioxide leak, dated May 5th. The accidents affected several workers and was the subject of legal actions against the company, which made an agreement with the Public Ministry.

On June 15, 2016, the report on the Agapan website “Residents create an association to defend themselves against the impacts of the pulp mill” was shared. This is the news of the creation of the Association of Residents of Balneário Alegria (ABA), which should act to defend the housing of the region's residents, helping in a sustainable project. The news is accompanied by an interview with ABA President Cristiane Montemezzo Simões. The highlight is the problems faced by the population, such as noise and ash emission (LACERDA, 2016a).

On June 19, 2016, the Agapan⁸ website published the article “Writer of The Fraud of the

⁶ Founded in 1895, it is currently run by the Record Group, linked to the Universal Church of the Kingdom of God. As reported, the circulation is 102,335 printed copies, which circulate in all the municipalities in the state of Rio Grande do Sul, and in part of the municipalities of Santa Catarina and Paraná.

⁷ Founded in 1996, it is a publication of the Teachers' Union of Rio Grande do Sul (Sinpro / RS). Informs that the periodicity is monthly and the circulation is 25 thousand copies.

⁸ Gaúcha Association for the Protection of the Natural Environment, an environmental organization founded in 1971

Pulp visits Guaíba”. The news about the visit of journalist Victor Bacchetta, author whose title of the book was mentioned in the article, highlighted the script of the journalist getting to know the surroundings of the project, and the dialogue with residents and environmentalists, bringing criticism to the development model and the lack of alternatives ((LACERDA, 2016b).

On June 23, 2016, the article “Uruguayan journalist visits Guaíba, criticizes the pulp industry and encourages popular mobilization” is shared, published on the AMA⁹ website. The emphasis of the report was the debate between members of the Guaíba movement and journalist Victor Bacchetta, especially in relation to the importance of organization and popular mobilization to seek solutions against environmental degradation and a quality life (AMIGOS DO MEIO AMBIENTE, 2016). When making this disclosure, the willingness of residents to fight and seek partnerships to face the environmental conflict is explicit. This communication can be understood as a way of articulating and strengthening the movement o.

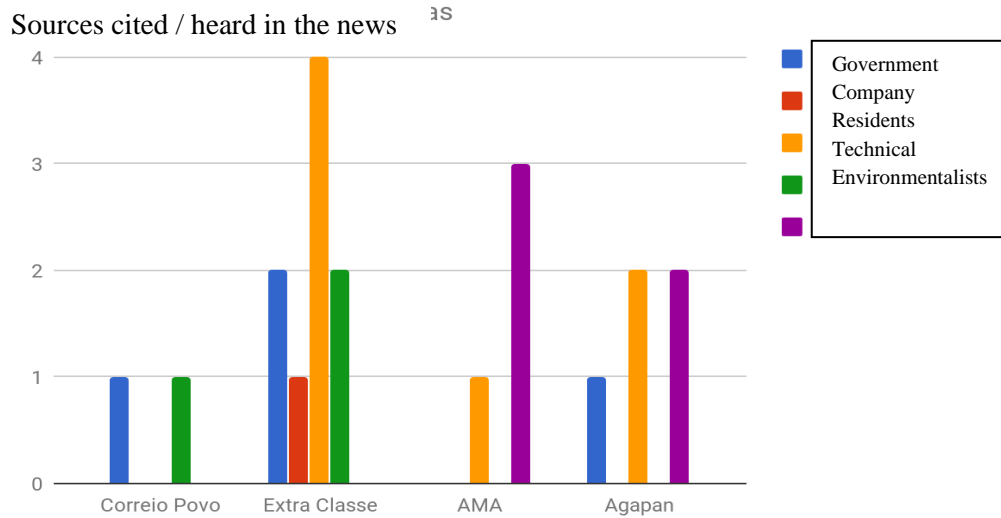
Based on the understanding of the relevance of journalism for the construction of citizenship, we developed two categories for analyzing the news: a) listening to citizenship: cited sources; b) themes related to the dimensions of the environmental conflict, due to demands from the residents (pollution, noise, smell); the company (investments, profits, licensing) and the government (inspection, licensing, jobs).

The organization of the information resulting from our analysis, allows the presentation of two illustrations. First, we can see (Figure 2) that listening to sources, considered a way of humanizing journalism and working with a plurality of perspectives, as we discussed earlier, is here compromised in the *Correio do Povo* report (which only listens to technicians and the government); as well as the AMA website (which brings residents and environmentalists). However, from the point of view of the reach of the two publications, it is clear that the newspaper *Correio do Povo* has more readers and repercussions, therefore, it should also seek to give space to the perspectives of citizenship as a whole. The Agapan news heard residents, environmentalists and the government, thus giving greater meaning to the controversy, exposing the conflict with plurality. We also found that the newspaper *Extra Classe* brought four different perspectives, both from environmentalists, residents, as well as from the government and the company, being a very complete approach from the point of view of building citizenship.

and headquartered in Porto Alegre (RS).

⁹ Friends of the Environment Association, an environmental organization founded in 1990 in Guaíba (RS).

Figure 2 - Sources cited / heard in the new.



Source: Own elaboration.

Second, to understand how the news gave rise to the demands of the environmental conflict, we took the four dimensions defined by Acselrad (2005) around the quadruplication of the factory, and we have them below (Chart 2):

Chart 2 - Demands of environmental conflict

Means of communication	Factory	Residents	Government	Dimension
<i>Correio do Povo</i>	-	-	Evaluation of liquor leakage and water verification Preventive measures to be required	Material appropriation Symbolic appropriation
<i>Extra Classe</i>	Positive results; expansion and productivity; raw material guarantee; promise of authorization; consumption reduction.	Loosening of legislation; Lack of information and alerts; noise level and bad smell Pollutants and waste; leak and workers; column of smoke.	Inspection of irregularities; Emergency plan; no risk to the community; company have studies; low risk fires.	Material appropriation Symbolic appropriation Durability Interactivity
<i>Agapan</i>	-	Defense of the environment; Waste dumping in the lake; Fear of accidents; Ashes in the houses; closure of leisure places and	-	Material appropriation Durability Interactivity

		a climate of abandonment; Strong odor; noise beyond the limit; death of the spring.		
AMA	-	Particles and foam on the residences; furniture and window shake Permanent noise; strong and uncomfortable odor; dense smoke; positive the creation of the association.	-	Durability Interactivity

Source: Own elaboration.

Looking at Table 2, we can point out that the newspaper *Correio do Povo*, when presenting the dimensions of material appropriation and symbolic appropriation, only reinforces the discourse of progress at any price, because it does not include the other dimensions that can put the use of the Lake by the factory in check, as well as the idea of development. Hiding, by means of a more technical text and informative genre, dimensions constituting the environmental conflict. Regarding the *Extra Classe* news, we saw all the dimensions of the conflict, including the dimensions of durability and interactivity, because the cause of the residents arises from the consequences of the material and symbolic appropriations carried out by the factory. O site da The Agapan website did not deal with the symbolic appropriation that translates, in this case, the dominant discourse of “business sustainability” of the company. In other words, it chooses specifically not to value this theme, but rather the other dimensions, especially those of durability and interactivity, which constitute the threats to the social use of the territory and the pollution already evidenced by the residents. Finally, we saw that the AMA website was also limited to the demands of the residents, who directly suffer the result of the implantation of the factory close to their homes.

5 Final considerations

The course of this work allows us to conclude that the journalism of reference brought little visibility to the environmental conflict around the quadruplication of the pulp mill in Rio Grande do Sul. We realized that the idea of bringing plurality in the sense of the perspectives (MIGUEL; BIROLI, 2010) was not realized in the *Correio do Povo*, in addition to another reference newspaper in Rio Grande do Sul, *Zero Hora*, was silent on the topic. With the analysis of the sources cited, we concluded that listening to residents and their demands gained visibility on Facebook, on the “We are not” page, which shared a lot of information that could have been investigated and further investigated by journalism, in addition to this page having disseminated

news from a union environment and two environmental entities, respectively: *Extra Classe*, Agapan and AMA.

The engagement with the theme of rights and citizenship, therefore, is very fragile in journalism and we perceive this in the assessment of the demands of the dimensions of the environmental conflict (ACSELRAD, 2005). We found that calling into question material appropriation and symbolic appropriation of natural and collective goods was a work carried out outside the scope of reference journalism. With this analysis, we conclude that it is urgent to journalism to incorporate the dissonant perspectives in the coverage of environmental conflicts, invoking, as indicated by Girardi *et al.* (2012), participation as the focus of the news.

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