



**"HOW CAN WE BE SAD IF THIS YEAR...": the  
rewriting of a (new) history of indigenous resistances  
in republican Brazil from the digital**

**"COMO PODEMOS FICAR TRISTES SE ESSE ANO...": a reescrita de  
uma (nova) história de resistências indígenas no Brasil republicano a  
partir do digital**

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**ABSTRACT:** Although traditional history has been written under colonial lenses and effects, the numerous resistance movements of previously dominated peoples allow, through their agency, the establishment of significant processes of rewriting and reinterpretation of these histories. In this regard, this study aims to analyze the meaning effects produced by the trend "How can we be sad if this year...", present in the positioning of the Brazilian Indigenous social movement within its resistances woven in Republican Brazil. This trend offers a brief retrospective of important historical events that marked the trajectory of the Brazilian Indigenous social movement in 2024. From a methodological perspective, we engage in the materialist theory of discourse. The experiences and histories lived in Brazil by Indigenous peoples reflect the effects of colonization processes, sustained by a Eurocentric logic that, throughout history, was responsible for the expropriation of ancestral and original rights, knowledge, memories, cultures, and identities. The observed material enabled us to scrutinize the intrinsic elements of the constitution and functioning of the Indigenous social movement in contemporary times, identifying the discourses that, once written, operate and circulate in the digital sphere, making it possible to rethink and rewrite other narratives, conceived under ancestral and original resistances. These manifestations of the contemporary Indigenous movement through digital means, materialized in language beyond the mere aggregation of voices, counter colonial stereotypes often idealized by violence, and may, as one of their effects, allow these experiences and lived realities to be rewritten and disrupted, opening new horizons through the achievements of Indigenous peoples, strengthening themselves and orienting toward the rewriting and reinterpretation of other histories. These movements of rereading and rewriting history, once erased, silenced, and violated under colonial effects, allow us to dream of the possibility of another future, of a different Brazil, and of other

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narratives, written and conceived under resistances and by the hands of ancestral and original peoples.

**KEYWORDS:** Indigenous Movement. Brazilian History. Discourse Analysis. Digital Discourse Analysis.

**RESUMO:** Embora a história tradicional tenha sido escrita sob as lentes e os efeitos coloniais, os inúmeros movimentos de resistência dos povos anteriormente dominados permitem estabelecer, a partir de suas agências, importantes processos de reescrita e releituras dessas histórias. Nesse sentido, este trabalho tem como objetivo analisar os efeitos de sentido produzidos a partir da trend “Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...,” presente na tomada de posição do movimento social indígena brasileiro em suas resistências tecidas no Brasil republicano. Essa trend apresenta uma breve retrospectiva de acontecimentos históricos importantes que marcaram a trajetória do movimento social indígena brasileiro em 2024. Do ponto de vista metodológico, dialogamos com a teoria materialista do discurso. As experiências e as histórias vivenciadas no Brasil pelos povos indígenas refletem, essencialmente, os efeitos dos processos de colonização, sustentados por uma lógica eurocêntrica que, ao longo da história, foi responsável pela expropriação dos direitos, conhecimentos, memórias, culturas e identidades ancestrais e originárias. O material observado nos permitiu analisar os elementos intrínsecos à constituição e ao funcionamento do movimento social indígena na contemporaneidade, identificando os dizeres que, quando escritos, operam e circulam no digital, possibilitando repensar e reescrever outras narrativas, gestadas sob as resistências originárias e ancestrais. Essas manifestações do movimento indígena contemporâneo por meio do digital, e que se materializam na língua, para além da aglutinação de vozes, contrapõem aos estereótipos aos quais as violências coloniais costumam idealizar, podendo, como um dos seus efeitos, permitir que essas experiências e vivências sejam reescritas e rompidas, permitindo prospectar novos horizontes, mediante as conquistas dos povos originários, fortalecendo-se e colocando-se no direcionamento da reescrita e da releituras de histórias outras. Esses movimentos de releitura e reescrita da/na história, antes apagados, silenciados e violentados sob os efeitos coloniais, nos permitem sonhar com a possibilidade de um futuro outro, de um Brasil diferente, e de narrativas outras, escritas e gestadas sob resistências e pelas mãos de povos originários e ancestrais.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** Movimento Indígena. História do Brasil. Análise de Discurso. Análise do Discurso Digital.

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## 1 Introduction

The contemporary history of Republican Brazil is marked by the effervescence of numerous political disputes, struggles, and resistances of minoritized social movements, which reshape our national history through the social rights conquered by these peoples (Schaden, 1977; Gohn, 2000; 2011). One example is the Indigenous

movement, which is articulated as an important instrument in the struggle for the defense of original rights, through processes of self-affirmation, the fight for their territories, and the pursuit of respect for their cultures, histories, memories, and identities (Matos, 2006; Machado, 2017). These efforts produce new perspectives from Brazilian society and the State regarding Indigenous peoples (Cunha, 2009, 2013; Luciano, 2006; Almeida, 2013; Munduruku, 2012).

The experiences and histories lived in Brazil by Indigenous peoples essentially reflect the effects of colonization processes, sustained by a Eurocentric logic that, throughout history, was responsible for the expropriation of ancestral and original rights, knowledge, memories, cultures, and identities (Luciano, 2006; Cunha; Barbosa, 2018; Nascimento; Santana, 2020).

In this context, Munduruku (2012) identifies three models of indigenist policies that constitute historicity and were employed until the effervescence of the current Brazilian Indigenous movement: The first model, under the aegis of arrival and colonization, established an exterminationist relationship, essentially marked by genocide, the enslavement of Indigenous peoples, and ethnocide, operated through religious education and catechesis. The second model, already in the Republican period, was defined as integrationist. This model was based on the premise that Indigenous cultures were inferior and uninteresting for national identity formation and policies, materialized in the practice of government tutelage and the subsequent integration of Indigenous peoples into Brazilian society. An example is the creation of the Indian Protection Service (SPI) in 1910, under the assumptions of positivism and the government of Marshal Rondon. This model extended until the 1980s, absorbing the effects of the military period, and was replaced by the National Indian Foundation (FUNAI) in 1967<sup>1</sup>. The integrationist character was reinforced by the Indian Statute in

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<sup>1</sup> The change in nomenclature from National Indian Foundation to National Foundation of Indigenous Peoples, introduced through Provisional Measure No. 1,154 of January 1, 2023, was one of the agendas advocated by the Articulation of Indigenous Peoples of Brazil (APIB). This change occurred due to the

1973, with the aim of tutelaging those whom the Civil Code of 1916 considered as “forest dwellers”.

The third model, arising from the 1988 Constitution, opened space for advances and achievements, such as the struggle for equality, respect for ethnic diversity, recognition of cultural plurality, and guarantees for Indigenous minorities. Thus, the idea of incapacity began to be destabilized, and the articulation of Indigenous leaderships in official politics began to gain strength.

Munduruku (2012) states that the Brazilian Indigenous movement was based on an educational proposal that followed two directions: the training of cadres for the continuity of the movement and the training of Brazilian society for the recognition of Indigenous diversity. In this way, the first Indigenous assemblies occurred between the 1960s and 1970s, evidencing Indigenous protagonism and a pan-Indigenous consciousness<sup>2</sup>. In the 1980s, entities such as the Union of Indigenous Nations (UNI) and the Center for Indigenous Rights (NDI) emerged. In the 1990s, there was an expansion of Indigenous participation in State policies, greater access to formal education, advances in the struggle for land demarcation, among others, tracing a difficult path to strengthen and consolidate the Brazilian Indigenous movement.

The idea of nation and civility, modeled on European cultures, was incapable of conceiving or dealing with Indigenous ethnic and cultural pluralities. The assimilation policy of the 18th century, articulated by the Marquis of Pombal and

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stereotypes implied by the generic nature of the term “Indian,” which does not encompass nor represent the diversity of the original peoples, thereby shifting toward valuing identities and diversity (Brazil, 2023a, b).

<sup>2</sup> The Pan-Indigenous articulation refers to the Indigenous social and political movement, responsible for mobilizing collaboration among peoples from different regions of the country with the aim of claiming their rights, recognition, and the preservation of their cultures. It gained strength specifically during the 1970s and 1980s, with the active participation of intellectuals, namely anthropologists, sociologists, non-governmental organizations, and the Indigenous peoples themselves (Oliveira, 2021; 2023; Bicalho, 2019). Furthermore, the creation of the Barbados Declaration 1, in 1971, essentially denounced the subjection of Indigenous peoples through a colonial relationship of subjugation, highlighting the need for the establishment of an increasingly plural state in terms of ethnicity, so that Indigenous peoples could secure the rights of self-management and the protection of their social and cultural freedoms (Bicalho, 2010).

resumed forcefully in the 19th century, was based on incorporating Indigenous peoples into the Empire as “civilized” citizens to serve the State as laborers<sup>3</sup>. The 19th-century debate remained marked by issues related to land, labor, and Indigenous wars (Almeida, 2013). These perspectives, driven by political, ideological, and socioeconomic interests, contributed to the construction of a stereotyped perception of Indigenous peoples, which is now being gradually contested and reinterpreted by Indigenous peoples as they retell their histories.

Almeida (2013) identifies a slow process of overcoming the 19th-century-built invisibility of Indigenous peoples, culminating in the protagonism achieved in the 20th and 21st centuries because of political and intellectual movements that mobilized intense Indigenous participation. This protagonism was also propelled by the historiographical commitment of scholars from the 1990s onward, who began to value Indigenous historical processes, agencies, and political resistances. Moreover, in recent decades, social networks and the internet have likewise played a relevant role in this process by expanding spaces of visibility and circulation for Indigenous voices (Marques; Nogueira, 2012; Stasiak, 2015; Volpato; Luvizotto; Versuti, 2019), enhancing the production and dissemination of their own narratives and strengthening these peoples’ identity and political struggles.

With the use of the internet, and especially social media, Indigenous peoples have gained spaces to produce “discourses of,” that is, to speak about themselves, their history, and their experiences, as opposed to the “discourse about,” which erases their

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<sup>3</sup> This relationship is highlighted by Lima (2022) when analyzing the first Brazilian constitutions of the nineteenth century, in which the issue of labor initially emerged as an obligation imposed on marginalized individuals, such as persons with disabilities. Thus, the 1946 Constitution, by framing subjects as endowed with rights and duties, envisioned the possibility of their habilitation and, in a utilitarian manner, their insertion into society through labor, conceived as a social obligation and, consequently, a moral and civic duty. This perspective diverted these subjects from being seen as a social burden to the State, as ratified in Decree No. 42,728/1957, which attributed dignity to their productive utility as a force for the labor market. In this way, marginalized individuals came to be regarded by the State as capable of being educated and socialized, serving as an alternative to confinement in asylums, psychiatric hospitals, penitentiaries, etc., in a manner that responded to the social demand for labor (Lima, 2022).

position as subjects capable of speaking for themselves, rendering them objects to be spoken for by others and therefore denying them the right to decide the place they should occupy in society (Orlandi, 2008; 2019). From our perspective, the numerous forms of resistance established from the processes of colonization to the present day have marked Indigenous political and social movements, evidencing their political and social protagonism in reclaiming and reconquering their rights in the face of colonial impositions.

As Almeida (2013) highlights, the indigenist policy employed during the Empire, in relation to nationalism and ethnicity, was marked by controversies and imprecisions, especially regarding ethnic classifications, land conflicts, and the old colonial villages. The fallacy of discourses that preached the disappearance of Indigenous peoples because of processes of “civilization” and miscegenation was clearly perceptible, even with the active presence of Indigenous peoples in the villages and cities of nineteenth-century Brazil, as historiographical sources show. Thus, many struggles and claims for Indigenous rights were recorded, including the assertion of their identities as intellectuals.

The unfolding of this historical become reflects the need to rethink the writing of history, considering its effects and its importance in the constitution of perspectives on nation, nationality, and identities. This effort has the potential to act directly in the construction of a more plural and less unequal world (Santos, 2019; Nascimento and Santana, 2020).

From the 1960s onward, social movements were responsible for promoting significant changes in the cultural field. Whereas they previously used more artisanal means of communication to publicize their struggles, with the emergence of what would later be configured as the digital space, they began to adopt new strategies of demonstration and protest, focusing efforts specifically on criticizing the hegemonic effects of neoliberalism in the contemporary globalized world (Pena, 2023).

Santos (2022) states that until the 1970s, official narratives regarding our protagonism as Indigenous peoples were silenced<sup>4</sup>. This scenario has only been possible to reread and reframe thanks to multiple struggles and resistances and to the use of digital technologies, which open new possibilities for the inscription of the subject and the reconfiguration of memory in the contemporary discursive space, since new technological materialities transform the way subjects signify and signify themselves in relation to discourse (Dias, 2018).

Moreover, Crespo (2009) emphasizes that the early years of the 1980s circumscribed conditions of production so that discourses produced about different social minorities, among them Indigenous peoples, gained new contours of meaning. According to this author, it is in this period that the different minorities, inspired by the struggles for the country's re-democratization, begin to organize and (attempt to) resist the discourses that render their bodies, identities, and culture invisible.

In the specific case of Indigenous peoples, Santos (2022) confirms that historical knowledge suffered the consequences of the colonial tradition, taking white and European knowledge as superior and ideal models to be followed, which directly reflected in the creation and imposition of subjectivities on the colonized, thereby legitimizing processes of domination. As Pêcheux (2014) points out, scientific knowledge is written from conditions of reproduction and transformation of the relations that produce it. Thus, every epistemological event is situated in a historical conjuncture determined by the state of relations of inequality and subordination, which mark the nonexistence of a state of nature or epistemological innocence, thereby reflecting events in history.

What could formerly be observed through forms of social organization and mobilization—that is, social movements as objects of investigation and analysis—has,

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<sup>4</sup> Silence, as we conceive it, can be foundational, that is, constitutive and necessary to the process of signification. Or it may result from the politics of silence, in which the act of saying something implies silencing something else, or from local silence, shaped by censorship, circumstances, etc., in such a way that subjects do not possess the right to say everything they want or think (Orlandi, 2007).

under the influence of the internet, seen technology and the digital realm become an even more fertile field for discussion and reflection through discourses, networks, influencers, trends, and others (Pena, 2023).

In this case, we propose to observe manifestations of Indigenous social movements from the digital perspective, more specifically through a trend—that is, a tendency. It is a topic, idea, challenge, or form of popular content characterized by its brief duration. It is a wave that spreads across the internet, being shared, gone viral, and reproduced, reaching and engaging a vast audience. Its effect stems precisely from dissemination (circulation), repetition, and its instantaneity and volatility. As Dias (2019, p. 64) notes, circulation is part of the constitution of the meaning of posting. “It is through circulation that its technological efficacy occurs, viral being the highest degree of that efficacy.”

The phenomenon of interest in this study refers to the trend that became popular in the final days of 2024, functioning as a kind of year-end retrospective in which subjects identified with a joyful stance, as opposed to sadness, based on the achievements realized over the year. The post analyzed, published on December 20, 2024, aimed to celebrate those achievements and to recall the struggles that were significant for the reaffirmation of Indigenous peoples in contemporary Brazil.

Thus, as Dias (2016) notes, in the process of understanding the materiality that constitutes discursive practices in the digital realm, these practices gain thickness and density as events circulate and operate massively and quantitatively in relation to networks of memory. It is precisely this proposition—shifting the focus from content to the materiality that sustains such discursive practices—that we seek to observe, including their affiliations, functioning, and the effects that emerge (Pêcheux, 2016), especially in their relations with ideology in the digital context.

Accordingly, this study aims to analyze the semantic effects produced by the trend “Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...”, as manifested in Indigenous positionality and resistance in republican Brazil in 2024. The discourse under analysis



was published on the page of APIB — Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil — on the social network Instagram and offers a brief retrospective of the main points that marked the trajectory of the Brazilian Indigenous social movement in 2024.

These resistance movements, established in the digital sphere, produce an important effect of resistance insofar as they enable and stimulate new readings of history capable of destabilizing colonial dominations and highlighting Indigenous protagonism and (re)conquests in the current context of republican Brazil, thereby inserting and instituting themselves in the historicity of new utterances grounded in the worldviews of Indigenous peoples.

The field of discursive studies concerning Indigenous peoples in the digital sphere has been marked by important works that analyze everything from representations of Indigenous identities in digital ethnomedia—characterized by notions of resistance and emphasis on the peoples' ethno-cultural aspects (Barboza; Almeida, 2019)—to media-literacy and digital-inclusion projects in Indigenous education, highlighting the use of digital media as a tool to mediatize the political relations of the social movement (Coelho, 2020).

In addition, scholars analyze the social imaginary constructed around Indigenous peoples based on the diversity of materials available in cyberspace and the representations derived from them. This includes the extension and confluence between their physical territories and cyberspace (Concha; Siqueira, 2020). Another relevant point is how Indigenous ethnomedia contribute to the construction of counternarratives through digital networks, produced by Indigenous people themselves, denouncing aspects that are not transmitted by traditional media (Gomes, 2022).

Moreover, researchers observe how the discourses and cyberactivist practices of Indigenous women are produced on networks. These discursive subjects use virtual spaces to deconstruct stereotypes about the image of Indigenous women and about Indigenous peoples in general, showing how these spaces are employed to promote

debate (Pantoja, 2022). Scholars also analyze how Indigenous peoples narrate their own history, culture, and identities, operating in the preservation of memory and identity under the spectrum of innovation and knowledge diffusion (Sylvestre; Escudero, 2024), among other studies.

Thus, reading these discursivities that operate from the digital allows us to perceive the redesigns assumed by the Indigenous social movement in contemporary times, as well as to anticipate its outlines and future projections for the construction and consolidation of the democratic rule of law, prompted through the digital.

The field of research related to the digital is extremely broad and can be analyzed from different perspectives—social movements, consumption, trends, or even as a platform for action and rearticulation of social movements or subject manifestations. However, we are interested in another perspective: that of materialist discourse analysis, understanding the digital not merely as a medium or tool but as a discursive materiality traversed by relations of power, memory, and ideology. In this direction, we adopt Dias (2016; 2018; 2019) as the main reference regarding the problematization of how discourse functions in the digital space and reflections on how circulation and viralization (re)produce effects of meaning.

The analysis of the material will allow comprehension of two significant nuances: the thematic axis in which the current agenda of the Brazilian Indigenous social movement develops in its diversity (geographic and cultural) and the perspective of breaking with other interpretive gestures regarding history through recoveries, reconquests, and the securing of their social rights in the Brazilian public sphere. Accordingly, we believe that these resistance movements, established via the digital, produce as an effect the eruption of new interpretive gestures in/of history, capable of destabilizing colonial dominations and highlighting Indigenous protagonism and (re)conquests in the current context of republican Brazil. Such movements inscribe themselves in the historicity of new utterances, instituting other

possibilities of memory and meaning that mark the emergence of new histories grounded in the worldviews of Indigenous peoples.

## 2 Methodology

From a methodological standpoint, we anchor our analytical trajectory and process in materialist discourse analysis as formulated by Pêcheux and developed by Orlandi. This is a theoretical-analytical apparatus that seeks to interrogate the relationship among language, subject, history, politics, and society in the production of meaning through discourse (Pêcheux, 1993; Orlandi, 2011; 2012). In this context, discourse is understood as an effect of meaning among speakers (Pêcheux, 2014). Thus, we are interested in understanding the materiality that constitutes our object of analysis, which implies grasping what makes the material signify in one way rather than another (Pêcheux, 2014; Orlandi, 2008).

In the pendular analysis between theory and the investigated object (Petri, 2012), we selected a poster from the social network Instagram, published on December 20, 2024, of collective authorship. The main site of publication was the APIB profile (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil), created in 2005, which plays a key role in the struggle for Indigenous rights. The post was also published collectively on the profiles @apiboficial, @apoinme\_brasil, @coiabamazonia, @arpinsuloficial, @cons.terena, @atyguase, @yvyrupa.cgi and @arpinsudestesprj, representing an articulation and solidarity of the Indigenous movement in the present time<sup>5</sup>.

As this is a digital material, our archival work—that is, the set of objects that provides information on a given theme—is dispersed and organized according to the process and trajectory of reading (Orlandi, 2020). In this context, our corpus of analysis, understood as a set of formulations produced through the interpretive

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<sup>5</sup> So far the APIB profile had more than 331,000 followers, which reflects its reach and the dissemination of news.

process in confrontation with the archive (Orlandi, 2007; Dias, 2016), consists of the sequence of a poster divided into eight images, with verbal and nonverbal materiality.

Based on our theoretical affiliation, we understand that the corpus results from archival reading work, in which the relation between language and exteriority constitutes the inseparable production of linguistic and material effects in history (Pêcheux, 2010). It is thus elaborated from a question posed around a specific event, constituting the discursive units for analysis and guiding the analytical path presented below.

### 3 Results and discussions

The contemporary Indigenous social movement has found in the digital sphere a valuable tool for disseminating and coordinating its social agendas, configuring itself as a public space and platform for action and denunciation. In this context, the movement's objectives are strategically presented to reach the public and to mobilize internal rearticulations. Below, we analyze the poster in question:

Figure 1 – *Trend*- How can we be sad if this year..."





Source: Instagram @APIB, 2024.

As noted above, the trend “Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...” consists of recalling, in a kind of retrospective, important moments that occurred throughout 2024. In its publication, APIB and the collaborating profiles present eight “achievements” and “important struggles” that serve to publicize and call attention to key signifiers considered reasons for celebration:

1. The Tupinambá mantle returned to Brazil;
2. We achieved the removal of invaders from the Alto do Rio Guamá, Apyterewa, Trincheira do Bacajá, and Karipuna Indigenous Lands;
3. The removal and protection of the Yanomami Indigenous Land continues;
4. We increased the number of elected Indigenous representatives by 8% compared to 2020;
5. We secured the law reserving 30% of public-service positions for Indigenous peoples and quilombolas;
6. We obtained the declaration of 11 Indigenous Lands by the Ministry of Justice;

7. We achieved the demarcation of 5 Indigenous Lands, homologated by President Lula;
8. We had an incredible ATL and next year we will have it again.

The analyzed post was produced to celebrate achievements and to recall the struggles that were important for the reaffirmation of Indigenous peoples in the current Brazilian context. In its operation, the materiality of the object of analysis is constituted by verbal and nonverbal elements. As Coelho (2021, p. 48) points out, the image in the digital context operates according to the functioning of the application, constituting, from our perspective, an important condition of immediate production. Thus, through Instagram's mechanics, the images carry the injunction to create networks that can be replicated, liked, commented on, shared, etc., generating a wide-reach network capable of connecting multiple subjects.

Another relevant aspect to observe in this context concerns authorship. In many situations the author's name is present; however, at other times it is erased and replaced by the signature of an institution, agency, or group (Dias, 2016). In the case of the poster under analysis, collective authorship functions as the spokesperson for the Indigenous collective and its interests within the republican political context.

From the standpoint of the discursivity of the text that composes the utterance "Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...", inscribed in the first-person plural, it denounces and marks the collective affiliations that constitute the historicity of struggles and achievements of and within the Indigenous social movement, which corroborates what lies outside the text and allows us this perspective to confront possible meanings in the discursivity and to face the materiality that constitutes it.

We must note the emphasis arising from the repeated use of verbs in the first-person plural, summoned by the functioning of the "we": both in the trend's own call "Como podemos ser tristes se..." and in the listed achievements — "conquistamos," "aumentamos," "tivemos" — together with the various images of

Indigenous peoples (presented collectively), this produces the effect that the accomplishments achieved are not the result of individual actions but reaffirm the importance of the collectivity's historicity within the Brazilian Indigenous social movement. In other words, the contemporary articulation of the movement, sustained by the coordination of different Indigenous ethnicities in their heterogeneity, has enabled and strengthened these achievements emphasized in the present, reinscribing the "we" as a gesture of resistance and political affirmation both in public spaces and in the digital sphere.

In the utterance "Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...", one observes an attempt to produce an effect of fulfillment and achievement while simultaneously denouncing the violences and disrespect formerly suffered by Indigenous peoples. However, in its structure and functioning, the utterance also (dis)announces the possibility of change considering the struggles undertaken.

The elements that compose the poster operate as a meaningful unit capable of prompting subjects to interpret and conceive these events articulated with memories and histories of resistance against colonial dominations. In them we observe acts that textualize commemorations, celebrations, reconquests, and recoveries related to cultural elements, lands, new gains in public services and sectors, as well as the strength and engagement of the movement and its political articulations capable of rewriting history, as shown in the following lines.

As Dias (2016) emphasizes, in the process of understanding it is essential to observe the aspects that engender subjects from their affiliation to historical memory. This allows us to perceive the materiality of discourse in the digital, where the presence of elements of nature produces effects of integration, interconnection, and political, social, cultural, and ancestral commitment to nature as an identity constitution. This commitment reinforces the conservation and perpetuation of Indigenous identities and cultural manifestations.

APIB, the vehicle and collective authorship that signs the poster, seeks to define its identity as descendants of millennial generations who fought for the life of Mother Earth, thinking from their lives and territories and defending ancestral lands while confronting the global climate crisis. The organization advocates the struggle for the healing of the land, achieved through the demarcation of Indigenous territories. Its objectives include strengthening the unity of Indigenous peoples, articulating regions and Indigenous organizations across the country, unifying struggles, agendas, and demands, and strengthening their claims collectively. In addition, it promotes mobilization and organization against threats and aggressions to the rights of Indigenous peoples.

Politically, APIB is an organization created by the Indigenous movement to represent and defend the rights of Brazil's Indigenous peoples. It plays the role of articulating and disseminating information about the struggles, achievements, and challenges faced. It emerged in 2005 during the Acampamento Terra Livre (Free Land Camp), held in the capital, Brasília, which since 2004 has mobilized representatives of Indigenous peoples from all regions of the country. APIB's representation and presence across Brazilian states occur through regional organizations, namely:

- - Coordenação das Organizações Indígenas da Amazônia Brasileira (COIAB);
- - Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Nordeste, Minas Gerais e Espírito Santo (APOINME);
- - Conselho do Povo Terena;
- - Aty Guasu — Grande Assembleia do Povo Guarani (ATY GUASU);
- - Comissão Guarani Yvyrupa (CGY);
- - Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Sudeste (ARPINSUDESTE);
- - Articulação dos Povos Indígenas da Região Sul (ARPIN SUL).



The conditions that produce this discourse echo the problems of agrarian issues and the social and power relations that involve more than five hundred years of history and disputes in Brazil. These issues have been articulated with the recoveries and reconquests of rights driven by advances in the 1988 Constitution and the formation of the democratic rule of law, as well as by efforts to promote the well-being of the full ethnic diversity that constitutes the country. This process demands recognition of and respect for our sociocultural diversity. Thus, through the proposed reading, the reality of language is confronted with the reality of history.

In the materiality that constitutes our investigation—both through image and enunciations, that is, through discursive constructions—we enter dialogue with another discourse capable of marking the interior of utterance in its relation to historical memory (Pêcheux, 2008) and to communal relations. In this sense, the presence of elements of nature produces an effect of integration, interconnection, and political, social, cultural, and ancestral commitment to nature, which is constitutive of Indigenous identities. Moreover, through the discursivity that summons elements of nature, a constant commitment to conservation becomes evident, aimed at preserving and perpetuating nature, species, and cultural identities and manifestations. It is precisely in the presence of these demarcating elements that we can observe the relationship between discourse and historical memory, constituting the production of meaning (Pêcheux, 2010).

In the observed case, we identify what Dias (2016) calls corpography, that is, the process of textualizing the body in script and on screen, interweaving the effects of subjects marked by the digital. In this regard, the author argues that writing in the digital also writes the body (Dias, 2016). Accordingly, the poster emphasizes a positive, futurist perspective for Indigenous bodies with respect to new achievements that may be redrawn in relations among Indigenous peoples in contemporary Brazil and the securing of their rights.

We can observe how the subject formulates their utterance, affected by digital technology, highlighting how this discourse is digitized into a unit of meanings and how language adapts to the particularities of the digital. It is on this basis that Dias (2019) stresses that the functioning of digital technologies modifies the conditions of discourse production, since technological materiality becomes integrated into the very process of signification, affecting how subjects mean and are made to mean in digital space.

In this sense, we highlight the functioning of the trend, which inserts itself into the memory network of achievements and recoveries, affecting the collectivity and giving fluidity to the current Indigenous social movement. The dispersion of excerpts and events generates an effect of unity of meanings under the ethnic signifier, interweaving its reconquests, resistances, and recoveries of social rights.

The presence of subjects of different ages recalls a generationally developed struggle in which the practices of resistance established by political predecessors are transmitted to new generations. Moreover, it is the achievements and resistances of ancestors that enable younger generations to also forge their own paths. In this context, temporality does not operate strictly as chronology but, through the digital, according to the logic of access, circulation, and constant updating of information, such as shares and reposts of the images the poster summons. This introduces the possibility of instability in these archives, allowing rereadings and changes in utterances that add to the historicity of Indigenous peoples' new struggles in digital space.

Thus, the body written in script incorporates affects and their political potency into the utterances (Dias, 2016). Here we observe a direct relation to land struggles, the defense of an ecological perspective in the use of natural resources, ancestral aspects, and the worldviews of Indigenous peoples. These elements are foundational to their political, ideological, historical, and social commitments, which are intimately linked to these groups' memories of resistance.

By challenging dominant ideologies, these bodies enact political gestures of resistance, configuring themselves as bodies that resist, symbolize, and signify acts of resistance; moreover, they are bodies that speak, shout, and organize politically (Barbosa Filho, 2018). They resist by existing in the face of colonial projects of domination and decimation, confronting the denial of their rights and reaffirming their cultures and identities. The poster's discursive structure carries a claim of national scope. Produced by Indigenous people themselves, it interconnects regional organizations to strengthen the unity of the peoples and their demands in the face of the numerous violences and threats suffered, calling the Brazilian State to account.

In this way, an important shift toward the public political sphere is marked before the authorities, mobilizing recognition of Indigenous struggles and demanding the State's renewed responsibility for guaranteeing and reconquering their rights. If, in the history of movements, Indigenous passivity was once mistakenly attributed to their struggles (Baniwa, 2007), we now observe a public and direct confrontation that has already produced juridical, political, and social effects materialized in celebrations and achievements. The movement, however, does not propose in its discursivity a rupture with the nation-state, but rather a struggle for recoveries and reconquests that also belong to Brazil's history, which is Indigenous in origin.

When we consider the functioning that emerges from the utterances and the words employed in their constitution, inscribed in history, we observe how rereadings—such as the use of the term for clearing Indigenous territories named “desintrusão” (removal of invaders)—reverberate in the production and circulation of a new grammar against the colonial effects, summoning other meanings and relations embedded in the social and signaled in language. When mobilized by these subjects, this grammar can refer to the experience and perspective of minoritized peoples in their relations with the real and the symbolic, in opposition to colonial practices, inaugurating new ways of relating to society and to language.

If history was once written not with the red of urucum but with the blood of Indigenous peoples spilled under colonial violences, the conjunction “if” in the poster’s utterance signals a denunciation and an evident conditioning of the existence of other conditions operating in history. What might once have legitimized an original condition of sadness in the face of violences and disrespect suffered is, in 2024, rethought, reworked, and resisted politically, symbolically, and affectively through the new redesigns that the contemporary Brazilian Indigenous movement continues — like our ancestors — instating itself within social thought and Brazilian historiography. As Souza and Souza (2024) note, when reading the historical experience of a country constituted by an imaginary of cultural diversity, the joy of its people manifests even in hostile scenarios.

The recovery and reconquest of rights, when recognized and institutionally sanctioned by the State, gain new dimensions as they circulate digitally. This allows other subjects to be prompted and affected by the digital, exerting pressure on official bodies and recording the Indigenous movement’s actions. This action manifests with collective and ancestral potency in modes of resistance, enabling the reconquest of rights. Thus, meanings operate and are constituted in their relation to networks and in their affiliations with discourses that interweave and contest meanings around the historicity and history of the movement.

When we assert that meanings operate and are constituted through circulation, we indicate a shift from the past. Previously, Indigenous struggles and achievements occurred in isolation. Today, thanks to the digital, these actions reach national and international proportions, bringing together multiple subjects around the Indigenous cause. This new dynamic links a people’s struggle to the defense of universal human rights, respect for diversity, and compliance with the Constitution, broadening awareness and mobilization around the cause.

Although morphologically brief, the utterance destabilizes more than five hundred years of history. Historical reconquests, new redesigns, and the affirmation

of memories and manifestations of Indigenous territorialities are configured from their acts of positioning, which open new horizons. These horizons allow memories and histories to be rewritten considering political, social, and cultural conjunctures that, in the past, only permitted the expression of affects tied to negative elements.

To reinscribe itself and to produce other meanings that operate and circulate in history, discourse resorts to memory to generate new senses grounded in Indigenous struggle and in a recent memory that is constantly being constructed but has historical roots in the past. These new struggles and narratives manifest and materialize in the recovery of territories and cultural assets, in guarantees of rights such as security on Indigenous lands, in access to public services, and in increased Indigenous political representation—capable of denouncing, through these advances and (re)conquests that consolidate daily, the long processes of struggle and resistance throughout history.

Whereas these achievements once occurred in isolation, the digital enables their wide dissemination, strengthening other resistance movements and raising public awareness about the relevance of Indigenous struggles. One of the effects produced by the digital is online visibility, which makes it possible to denounce situations of violence, to articulate new nonhegemonic and nonofficial voices, and to mobilize society in defense of the rights of and respect for Indigenous peoples.

#### **4 Final considerations**

This study sought to analyze the semantic effects produced by the trend “Como podemos ficar tristes se esse ano...”, articulated by the Brazilian Indigenous social movement and published on APIB’s Instagram page. The trend offers a brief retrospective of significant historical events that marked the trajectory of the Brazilian Indigenous social movement in 2024, aiming to understand how it contributes to a new reading of history. Considering the historicity that shapes its formulation, we understand that by operating and producing alternative meanings it establishes itself

as a rupture in discourse, capable of inaugurating other gestures of reading and writing history, marked by Indigenous movements of resistance and reconquest around their political and social rights. This new perspective allows us to envision alternative paths for history, born from the countless ancestral struggles over time.

The positions taken and the embodied expressions of affect in the digital material observed enable analysis of distinct elements that underpin the main agendas of the contemporary Brazilian Indigenous movement. These agendas fundamentally oppose colonial dominations and impositions, inaugurating new forms of political, social, cultural, and territorial expression. Now, these manifestations circulate and operate within the memory constituted by the digital, subject to updates and renewed circulation, thereby strengthening the historicity that is written and rewritten within the movement.

These digital manifestations of the contemporary Indigenous movement, which materialize in language beyond the mere aggregation of voices, counter the stereotypes idealized by colonial violences and can, as one of their effects, allow those experiences and lifeways to be rewritten and ruptured. This enables the prospecting of new horizons through the achievements of Indigenous peoples, strengthening and directing the rewriting and rereading of alternative histories.

These movements of rereading and rewriting history—previously erased, silenced, and violated under colonial effects—allow us to imagine the possibility of a different future, a different Brazil, and other narratives written and nurtured through resistance and by the hands of Indigenous and ancestral peoples.

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