**Abstract**

Faced with the imperative to raise awareness to tackle the climate crisis, this article delves into Instagram manifestations of two young Brazilian activists dedicated to climate justice: Txai Suruí, a member of the indigenous youth movement in Rondônia, and Amanda Costa, founder and executive director of the Instituto Perifa Sustentável, selected for their involvement of the United Nations Global Compact Youth Committee. Following the three stages of narrative analysis adopted (event, organisation and conflict), coupled with the theoretical-methodological framework of intersectionality, the findings show that the young women are breaking new ground and promoting discussions surrounding the environment, human rights, citizenship, social participation and climate justice. Using informal and empathetic language, the activists exert pressure on agents (governments, institutions, companies) while establishing a connection with their audiences. As women from the Global South, activists Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa challenge entrenched power dynamics. The findings of the analysis underscore the pivotal role played by these young women in articulating content on the issues. Through advocacy efforts and active engagement on digital social networks, they exhibit a critical and creative approach. Serving as representatives of historically invisible peoples, Txai and Amanda employ narratives of resistance, drawing upon their ancestral heritage in the pursuit of a future with climate justice.

**Keywords**

activism, climate justice, youth, Txai Suruí, Amanda Costa

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**Jovens Ativistas e Justiça Climática: Uma Análise das Articulações de Txai Suruí e Amanda Costa**

**Resumo**

Diante da necessidade de sensibilização para o enfrentamento da crise do clima, este artigo analisa as articulações no Instagram de duas jovens ativistas brasileiras sobre justiça climática: Txai Suruí, integrante do movimento da juventude indígena de Rondônia, e Amanda Costa, fundadora e diretora executiva do Instituto Perifa Sustentável, selecionadas por integarem o Comitê Jovem do Pacto Global da Organização das Nações Unidas. Após as três etapas de análise narrativa adotadas (acontecimento, organização e conflito), vinculadas ao arcabouço teórico-metodológico da interseccionalidade, os resultados apontam que as jovens mulheres...
Young Activists and Climate Justice...  
Criselli Maria Montipó & Myrian Del Vecchio-Lima

...fissuram novos espaços e promovem discussões sobre meio ambiente, direitos humanos, cidadania, participação social e justiça climática. Com linguagem informal e empática, as ativistas realizam pressão aos agentes (governantes, instituições, empresas) e estabelecem conexão com seus públicos. Como mulheres do Sul Global, as ativistas Txai Suruí e Amanda Costa desafiam polos de poder. Conforme os resultados da análise, foi possível verificar que as jovens exercem espaço de protagonismo na articulação de conteúdos sobre os temas ao promover advocacy e ocupar as redes sociais digitais com foco educativo, de modo crítico e criativo. Representantes de povos historicamente invisibilizados, Txai e Amanda praticam narrativas de resistência ao invocar a ancestralidade na luta por um futuro com justiça climática.

Palavras-chave
ativismo, justiça climática, juventude, Txai Suruí, Amanda Costa

1. Introduction

The second half of 2023 laid bare what the global scientific community has been warning about for years: the escalating severity of the climate emergency and the diminishing options available to address it. Rapid changes in the Earth’s climate — known as the climate emergency due to the imperative for immediate action — are widely acknowledged as the greatest risk to human survival, marked by a notable rise in temperatures, as highlighted by data from the Painel Intergovernamental sobre Mudanças Climáticas (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change; 2023).

The Relatório Síntese Sobre Mudança Climática 2023 (Synthesis Report on Climate Change 2023) by the Painel Intergovernamental sobre Mudanças Climáticas (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change) underscores the significant losses and damages inflicted by global climate change. A direct consequence of the combustion of fossil fuels and the disorderly and unsustainable use of land and energy, the average global temperature has already risen by 1.1°C above pre-industrial levels. This rise has catalysed the escalation in both frequency and intensity of extreme weather events that humanity has been facing more intensely, particularly exacerbated by the occurrence of the super El Niño phenomenon.

Since July 2023, the continuous string of record-breaking temperatures on Earth has confirmed earlier projections (Observatório do Clima [Climate Observatory], 2023). The successive heatwaves show that the anticipated timeframe may be shortened: floods, windstorms, hailstorms, landslides and other events are occurring at an increasingly rapid pace. Urgent action is imperative to address this situation. Simultaneously, the violation of human rights aggravated by the climate crisis presents its own set of challenges, particularly the unequal exposure of different social groups to its impacts, which demands an approach from the perspective of climate justice (Nusdeo & De Paula e Silva, 2023).

The increasing emphasis on individual responsibility for environmental issues — to the detriment of governments and companies’ responsibility — is proving to have perverse effects in terms of the climate emergency’s disproportionate impacts on people’s
lives, especially those of socio-environmentally vulnerable populations. In this context of uncertainty and heightened injustice, collaborative communication rooted in community concern can play a pivotal role in raising social awareness and holding public and business agents accountable.

Among young people, particularly those already facing vulnerable circumstances such as black communities and traditional peoples\(^1\), women, older people, and individuals with disabilities, the impact of the climate emergency is particularly acute. Faced with the climate emergency, young people all over the world are experiencing a sense of fear, hopelessness about the future and generalised sadness. This phenomenon is referred to as climate anxiety or eco-anxiety (Grandisoli et al., 2021).

Despite this scenario, young activists have been crucial agents of awareness-raising on digital platforms, whether through social media such as Instagram, Facebook, TikTok, and X\(^2\), video-sharing spaces such as Youtube, or audio consumption platforms such as Spotify and Deezer. Young people engaged in the fight against the effects of the climate crisis have filled gaps in media coverage of environmental issues.

Research conducted in the field of communication indicates a lack of adequate attention from the media towards listening to leaders, non-governmental organisations and social movements that offer diverse perspectives on climate change and its repercussions in the public sphere. In government documents and the mainstream media, there is a prevailing apocalyptic approach. Although there is limited research investigating the effects of negative framing of news on the subject (Balbé & Loose, 2020), there is an understanding that such a perspective tends to foster immobilisation rather than proactivity (Shome & Marx, 2016). Furthermore, there is a perception of insufficient commitment from governments to formulate effective public policies to tackle the climate emergency, resistance or slowness from companies in adopting new socio-environmental practices, and little or general lack of interest from citizens in the issue (Grandisoli et al., 2021).

This article aims to address the problem of communication and raise awareness about the climate crisis from a human rights perspective. It endeavours to analyse the advocacy efforts of young activists on climate justice. It focuses on the use of Instagram and Internet activism by two Brazilian environmental leaders, selected for their involvement in the United Nations (UN)\(^3\) Global Compact Youth Committee: activist Txai Suruí from the indigenous youth movement in the state of Rondônia and a volunteer with Engajamundo\(^4\), an organisation dedicated to empowering young individuals; and climate

\(^1\) In Brazil, traditional peoples refer to culturally distinct groups that rely on knowledge, innovations, and practices generated and passed down through tradition. They maintain their unique forms of social organisation and depend on specific territories and natural resources to preserve their cultural, social, religious, ancestral, and economic heritage. For additional information, refer to the following link: https://www.gov.br/icmbio/pt-br/assuntos/populacoes-tradicionais.

\(^2\) A microblogging platform previously recognised as Twitter underwent a rebranding in 2023 and was subsequently renamed X. Despite the name change, the platform continues to be accessible through its original link: https://twitter.com.

\(^3\) Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa have been members of the United Nations (UN) Global Compact Youth Committee since 2022. Available at: https://www.pactoglobal.org.br/comite-jovem/.

\(^4\) The Engajamundo network was established in 2012, following the participation of a group of young individuals in the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development, Rio+20, held in 2012 in the city of Rio de Janeiro. It is dedicated to mobilising young people to address environmental and social challenges in Brazil and globally. For additional information, refer to the following link: https://engajamundo.org.
activist Amanda Costa, founder and executive director of the Instituto Perifa Sustentável, an organisation based in the Brasilândia neighbourhood of São Paulo, which seeks to mobilise youth from the urban peripheries to build a new development agenda for Brazil, integrating perspectives on race and climate.

This approach stems from the imperative to recognise the relevance of the phenomenon and the need for addressing social inequalities in the public debate through the lens of vulnerable and historically silenced populations, such as indigenous and black women, which are the focal points of this research. Furthermore, it aims to understand the cultural practices and creative strategies adopted by youth activists that highlight themes such as citizenship, human rights, communication and climate justice, among others.

The article is structured into five additional sections: it discusses the interplay between youth and the climate crisis; examines the concept of climate justice and the role of environmental Internet activism; outlines the theoretical-methodological framework of the analysis; provides relevant insights derived from the findings; and concludes with final remarks.

2. Youth and the Climate Crisis

Amidst the accelerating socio-environmental crisis, the upcoming years are crucial for crafting responses to the climate emergency. Innovative solutions are urgently required to ensure that current, new and forthcoming generations can live with dignity. The report published by the United Nations Children’s Fund (2021) underscores the heightened vulnerability of children and adolescents to the impacts of the climate crisis. The document indicates that approximately one billion children and adolescents, nearly half of the 2,200,000,000 young people and children worldwide, live in one of the 33 countries identified as facing extremely high risk from the effects of climate change.

Youth protagonism can influence decision-making at different levels, contributing to the collective construction of solutions to real problems (Grandisoli et al., 2021). In this respect, the Fridays for Future movement (https://fridaysforfuture.org), also known as Youth for Climate, emerges as a significant force for promoting global mobilisation on the climate issue. Launched by young people in 2018 — when Swedish student Greta Thunberg, then 15, started a school climate strike — the movement seeks to compel society to give the climate crisis the attention it deserves. The international movement is led by students who skip school on Fridays to take part in demonstrations demanding action from political leaders on climate change.

While Greta has emerged as a central figure in youth-led pressure for action to contain the climate crisis, beginning her protests in August 2018 outside the Swedish parliament with a sign reading “skolstrejk för klimatet” (“school strike for the climate”), countless young people worldwide have also embraced this role, including individuals
from the so-called Global South\(^6\), which concentrates the most vulnerable populations from a socio-environmental standpoint. Brazilian Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa are notable examples of actively engaging in national and international events and initiatives to raise awareness about the climate crisis.

Young people residing in climate-risk areas have been influential organisers within their communities, particularly in advocating for climate justice. This topic holds unique complexities, which will be further explored below.

3. **Climate Justice and the Role of Environmental Internet Activism**

Vulnerability to climate change is a multidimensional and dynamic phenomenon shaped by the historical intersection of political, economic and cultural regimes, which has led to contemporary processes of marginalisation (Nusdeo & De Paula e Silva, 2023). Understanding climate justice requires contextualising it within the concepts of environmental racism, environmental justice and intersectionality.

Environmental racism originated in the 1980s and was coined by US activist Benjamin Franklin Chavis Jr., who campaigned against racial discrimination in the United States. The concept emerged in response to protests by the predominantly Black community of Afton, opposing the construction of a toxic waste landfill in Warren County, North Carolina, USA, in 1982 (Acselrad, 2010)\(^6\). Therefore, environmental racism encompasses a nexus of public policies and industry practices — including necropolitics\(^7\) and real estate exploitation, among other colonialist practices — that benefit the white population while burdening the black and racialised people with the associated costs\(^8\). Thus, the subsequent environmental justice movement in the US emerged from a convergence of social, territorial, environmental and civil rights struggles. This intersection of themes marked a paradigm shift at the time. It challenged the environmental movement of the 1960s and 1970s, which was strictly focused on environmental conservation and disconnected from social issues (Louback & Lima, 2022).

\(^1\) Based on decolonial epistemology, the concepts of the Global North and South refer to geopolitical identities, not strictly geographical or territorial. They represent interchangeable positions shaped by colonialism and neoliberal capitalism. According to Ballestrin (2020), the term Global South inherits its connotations from the notion of the “third world,” which is now outdated due to its association with poorer and “developing” countries in contrast to wealthier and more developed ones. The knowledge, values and economic and socio-cultural practices emanating from the Global North are imposed on everyone. At the same time, groups and movements from the Global South, sometimes subordinated, represent the construction of a political project advocating for more inclusive pathways.

\(^6\) The protests in Warren County spanned six weeks and involved non-violent street protests and roadblocks to halt waste-carrying trucks from reaching the community. The Warren marches popularised the slogan “not in my back yard”. Despite the efforts, waste dumping in Afton persisted, and more than 500 people were arrested, marking the first environmental arrests in US history. In 1980, following nearly a decade of imprisonment and amid international attention, the charges against the prisoners known as the “Wilmington 10” were dropped (Acselrad, 2010; Louback & Lima, 2022).

\(^7\) Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe posits that necropolitics is the process by which the powerful assert control over who is permitted to live and who is condemned to die. Refer to Mbembe, A. (2018). *Necropolítica: Biopoder, soberania, estado de exceção, política da morte* (Necropolitics: Biopower, sovereignty, state of exception, politics of death). N1-Editções.

\(^8\) The ideology of whitening shapes the negotiation of racial classifications through symbolic, historical, sociological, anthropological, and psychosocial lenses. See also Schucman, L. V (2023). *Famílias inter-raciais: Tensões entre cor e amor* (Interracial families: Tensions between colour and love). Fósforo.
The concepts of environmental and climate justice are related to historical and geopolitical factors. Countries predominantly belonging to the Global North have been responsible for emitting higher levels of greenhouse gases, thereby significantly contributing to the climate crisis. Countries in the Global South have contributed less to this crisis but are likely to endure its impacts more swiftly and severely.

In Brazil, Acselrad et al. (2009) and Acselrad (2010) argue that the environmental justice movement endeavours to challenge the narrative that environmental impacts are felt by all people equally. For instance, it is estimated that populations in the Global South face a 99% likelihood of experiencing adverse effects due to climate change (Diffenbaugh & Burke, 2019). Environmental justice and the fight against environmental racism have denaturalised injustices linked to colour or ethnicity. Urgent attention must be given to addressing inequalities in confronting the contemporary crisis. While the repercussions of these changes affect individuals worldwide, certain groups, such as children, adolescents, black women, and indigenous peoples, find themselves in more vulnerable positions and have borne a disproportionate burden of the ongoing crisis.

According to the Women in Finance Climate Action Group report (2021), women and girls account for 80% of those displaced by climate change. Furthermore, national, regional and multilateral climate policy frameworks have yet to incorporate consideration of gender, racial, ethnic, class and generational issues into decision-making processes. Feminist epistemology plays a crucial role in developing the theoretical and methodological perspective of intersectionality, which emerges from the experiences of black, Latin, indigenous and Asian women, among others. Climate justice serves as a vital interface between human rights and climate change, particularly for women, children and adolescents in situations of inequality (Louback & Lima, 2022).

These vulnerabilities exacerbated by the climate emergency must be analysed from an intersectional perspective. Persistent colonial legacies and manifestations of institutional and environmental racism hinder access to funding, media exposure, and other resources, rendering the involvement of these groups in the climate movement unattainable. Thus, actions to tackle the climate emergency must adopt a multi-sectoral approach, fostering popular participation and debate, in order to encompass the structural issues of development from the combined perspective of safeguarding human rights and preserving nature (Isaguirre-Torres & Maso, 2023).

However, selective silencing is evident. Communities directly affected by climate change’s consequences have yet to be the focus of resilience efforts aimed at securing fundamental aspects of human survival, such as access to water. Instead, prominent business figures are often granted audiences at government meetings worldwide to privatise access to this essential commodity for life on Earth.

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9 Brazilian intellectual and activist Lélia Gonzalez, who has been involved in social movements since the 1960s, discussed in the 1980s how women’s movements discoloured and de-racialised African and Amerindian women. Her insights shed light on the invisibility of intersecting axes of oppression.

10 In Brazil, the implementation of public policies in this area has neglected to consider the water scarcity resulting from economic and productive activities, particularly the extensive irrigation of commodities such as rice and soy beans. Climate change further exacerbates the water supply challenges in urban and rural areas, “impacted by inadequate infrastructure, rationing, reliance on water delivery by tanker trucks, and the unregulated drilling of artesian wells without proper oversight of water quality” (Fante & Lima, 2023, para. 8).
The asymmetry in listening to social voices impacted by injustice can be traced back to Brazil’s own history. Shaped by colonialism, enslavement, genocide, ethnocide and black and indigenous epistemicide (Gonzalez, 2019; Nascimento, 1978), Brazilian society stands as one of the most unequal in the world. Its colonial, elitist, imperialist, patriarchal and neoliberal historical framework has proved to be less than inclusive and highly predatory.

From the standpoint of climate justice (Mira Bohórquez, 2023; Louback & Lima, 2022), tackling the climate crisis requires considerations such as: acknowledging the disparate capabilities of countries and individuals to shield themselves from the impacts of global warming; establishing new legal and institutional structures to ensure the efficacy of rights for vulnerable populations; and prioritising a comprehensive exploration of the factors that render certain groups more susceptible than others within this context.

Communication plays a crucial role in tackling the climate emergency, serving as a pivotal platform for social engagement, innovation and the construction of plural responses to the crisis. However, in journalistic production, specialist, governmental and market sources predominate, underscoring a dearth of diversity of voices in coverage and a lack of encouragement from the media to mobilise affected communities (Horn & Del Vecchio de Lima, 2019).

It falls upon youth activists to seize opportunities for debate, particularly in light of neoliberal capitalism’s co-optation of discussion forums. With digital social networks having sizable followings among younger demographics, serving as hubs for aggregating and disseminating spontaneous content, they afford access to news and play a significant role as distribution channels. The platforms play the role of distribution channels and determine the content visible to the public, shaping the allocation of resources for audience engagement and dictating which topics receive prominence, all without bearing responsibility for investigative journalism or content dissemination.

Although these features associated with “platformisation” may impose constraints on content distribution in some respects, activism disrupts the narrative monopoly and democratises communication possibilities. In this sense, activists have the opportunity to promote democratic communication despite the scarcity of resources, thus bringing the concept of radical media, initially formulated by John Downing (2001/2002) at the beginning of this century, to contemporary relevance.

Environmental Internet activism has identified loopholes in algorithmic exploitation to bring attention to the climate crisis. Di Felice et al. (2012) define Internet activism as “a new form of digital activism in a network and on the network” (p. 146), emphasizing the reciprocal relationship between the network and its participants, wherein the network is both shaped by and shapes its constituents. According to Del Vecchio-Lima et al. (2023), the effectiveness of Internet activism hinges on the individual success of each participant within the network, acting as an information ecosystem and catalyst for collective action and activism.

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11 Climate justice was only officially recognised in the preamble of the Paris Agreement in 2015 and formally acknowledged by the UN.

12 For a comprehensive examination of this topic, readers can delve into Srnicek’s (2016) book *Capitalismo de Plataforma* (Platform Capitalism), in which the author delves into the mechanisms of value extraction inherent in platform economies and proposes the collectivisation of such platforms.
Expanding on Di Felice et al.'s (2012) concept of Internet activism, it is recognised as a manifestation of activist citizenship. According to the Italian author, Internet activism entails “a productive interaction among individuals, groups and entities with the territory and information technologies, information networks and the various interfaces used” (Di Felice, 2012, p. 146). This collaborative network and interactive social action facilitate transformations across various dimensions of reality. Hence, as the brief discussion presented here illustrates, there is communicative appropriation by potentially vulnerable groups and individuals or by organisations and collectives dedicated to advocating for vulnerable groups.

These new forms of network activism hold particular appeal for young individuals keen on reshaping their realities and advocating for the territories they fight for. Youth activism on digital networks punctures the bubble and, echoing Peruzzo’s (1999) sentiments contributes to democratic education by fostering collective creation and disseminating content directly related to local contexts.

4. Analysing Climate Justice: Theoretical and Methodological Approach

Much discussion surrounds the construction or concealment of narratives in the contemporary context. As noted by Rincón (2006), narratives can help impact or surprise, satirise, show the impossible, the unforeseen or the paradoxical in human nature. Narrative analysis, meanwhile, seeks to interpret social relations and the complexities of their interactions. Our theoretical-methodological framework, rooted in the social research paradigm, revolves around understanding social actors within relationships and perspectives. Employing qualitative methods, it seeks to interpret human and social phenomena. One notable aspect of qualitative research valued in adopting this perspective is its inherently critical and potentially emancipatory approach, as emphasised by Bauer et al. (2015).

In this paper, the methodological procedures employ resources from critical narrative analysis (Motta, 2013), intersectionality and climate justice. Our premise is that narratives are argumentative relationships — acts of speech — established within the context of culture, of coexistence between living beings with interests, desires, and wills and under the constraints and social conditions of hierarchy and power, which makes the methodology suitable for analyses within the framework of climate justice.

As Motta (2013) explains, narrative analysis is effective in observing the configuration of plot development and its nuances. It is particularly useful for understanding the canonical values inherent to a culture in action and the symbolic construction of reality. Through critical analysis of narratives, we delve into how individuals understand and represent the world.

In the hybridisation adopted here, the narrative analysis sought to focus on the power of voice and the intersectionalities of two young activists. Following Motta’s framework for empirically analysing the power of voice, emphasis is placed on the plurality of interventions, recognising that the narrative generates a multivocal product wherein contradictory voices and interests manifest themselves and overlap. For this reason, narratives are polysemic (a plethora of voices and interests that engender multiple interpretations) and polyphonic (several stories intertwine).
We reconcile the analytical framework with the contribution of intersectionality, as this can serve as a theoretical and methodological tool for studying human experience within interconnected contexts (Collins & Bilge, 2020/2021). Intersectionality offers a lens through which to understand and analyse human experiences, particularly when dealing with unequal social structures linked to the organisation of centralised power (Collins & Bilge, 2020/2021), such as those prevalent in efforts to address climate injustice. Thus, our perspective adheres to feminist epistemology as a critical social theory, enabling us to contemplate how factors like race, gender, social status and generation intersect amidst profound social divisions. By exploring these issues from an intersectional standpoint, we also engage in the epistemological debate of decoloniality, which focuses on subordinated and excluded subjectivities.

The decolonial perspective aims to prompt postures and attitudes of transgression, intervention, emergence, protest and incidence, as outlined by Walsh (2009). It is important to underline decoloniality as a project of intervention in reality, not as an academic fad or label. After all, Bernardino-Costa et al. (2018) point out that decoloniality encompasses the long tradition of resistance by black and indigenous populations. Therefore, decolonial theory examines how colonised individuals experience colonisation while also providing conceptual tools to propel decolonisation, a movement that aligns closely with the praxis of the young activists analysed here.

Thus, the analysis centres on three interpretative movements proposed by Motta (2013): (a) reconstructing the plot or event depicted in the activists’ narratives; (b) structuring the narrative; and (c) unveiling conflicts as a foundational framework of the narrative regarding climate justice.

A preliminary stage of the analysis focuses on understanding the young activists’ places of speech. According to Motta (2013), a thorough and systematic examination of narrative communication within its context can unveil power dynamics, a crucial aspect of climate justice activism.

4.1. Introducing Txai Suruí

Walelasoetxeige Suruí, known as Txai Suruí, belongs to the Paiter Suruí indigenous people. She is a member of the indigenous youth movement in Rondônia, a state in the northern region of Brazil with 12 ethnic groups and more than 1,000 indigenous people aged between 15 and 35. At the age of 25, Txai garnered global attention by being the only Brazilian to speak at the opening of COP-26 (United Nations Conference on Climate Change) in October 2021.

A law student, Txai coordinates the Associação de Defesa Etnoambiental Kanindé (Kanindé Ethno-environmental Defence Association), a public-interest civil society
organisation founded in 1992 in Porto Velho, the capital of Rondônia state. The association seeks to defend human rights and the environment by proposing solutions that strengthen the identity, culture, economy, education and health of indigenous peoples across various regions of Brazil. Txai has been an advisor to WWF Brazil and the United Nations Global Compact. Since 2022, she has also been a weekly columnist for *Folha de S. Paulo*.

Txai states that the environmental pressures on Rondônia’s largest indigenous land, Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau, include land grabbing, invasions and, above all, illegal burning, which has increased by 600% during the COVID-19 pandemic. This context has exacerbated the situation of the indigenous population, who are more vulnerable to respiratory diseases due to the heavy smoke engulfing their villages and towns during the dry season (Louback & Lima, 2022).

In an interview with Ellen Acioli, the young Txai Suruí (2022) expressed her concerns emphatically:

> the world must acknowledge and value traditional wisdom. The solutions exist and are already applied within the community. The world needs to listen to what we say and implement it elsewhere (p. 69).

Honouring her people’s ancestral wisdom, Txai has used Instagram (@txaisurui) to amplify her and her kin’s voices.

![Figure 1. Screenshot of @txaisurui’s profile on Instagram (https://www.instagram.com/txaisurui)](https://www.instagram.com/txaisurui)

*Note: Indigenous fighter from the Paiter Suruí people.*
While initially created for personal purposes during her teenage years, Txai’s use of the platform has become increasingly professional. By November 2023, she had garnered approximately 128,000 followers.

4.2. Introducing Amanda Costa

Amanda Costa, a black woman, achieved recognition in 2021 by making Forbes magazine’s #Under30 list. Holding a degree in International Relations, Amanda contributes as a columnist for Agência Jovem de Noticias (Youth News Agency) and Um Só Planeta (One Single Planet). She hosts the television show #TemClimaParaIsso?, produced by Alma Preta Jornalismo in collaboration with Rede TVT, with the aim of amplifying the voices of black, indigenous and quilombola people. In her own words, she seeks to “bring an Afro-diasporic and decolonised perspective of the climate crisis”, as stated in an interview with Rafael Ciscati (2023) on the Brasil de Direitos (Brazil of Rights) website.

The activist is the founder and executive director of Instituto Perifa Sustentável (Sustainable Perif Institute), an organisation established in 2019 when Amanda Costa was selected for the UPG Sustainability Leadership programme, held in Hurricane Island, Maine, USA. The initiative selected young leaders from the Global South with ideas for “making the world a better place”. Amanda’s idea was to build bridges between the local and the global, finding ways to democratise the climate crisis in the peripheries, favelas and communities.

Currently, the Instituto Perifa Sustentável focuses on climate advocacy, climate adaptation, educommunication and social participation. Through the development of projects, the group calls for the democratisation and representation of young people in decision-making roles. Additionally, the institute actively engages in occupying leadership positions and participating in institutional processes to seek avenues for transforming the lives and territories of those most affected by the climate crisis.

Amanda is also actively involved as a volunteer with Engajamundo and identifies herself as a “child” from the “hood”, reflecting her roots in a peripheral area of São Paulo. Her activism is driven by the vision of creating a world that prioritises the lives of people and the planet, where justice, equality and freedom are non-negotiable principles.

As part of her engagement, Amanda launched an Instagram page (@souaman dacosta) dedicated to sharing content about the 2030 Agenda, specifically focusing on the reduction of inequalities (Sustainable Development Goal 10) and climate action (Sustainable Development Goal 13). This initiative was one of Amanda’s initial actions, stemming from her participation in the UPG Sustainability Leadership programme. The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) became part of the UN agenda in 2015 to be achieved by 2030.

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14 Rede TVT is an educational media programme. It is available via satellite in open HD digital signal or through subscription. It is also available on YouTube and the website https://www.tvt.org.br/web-tvt.
15 To learn more about the Sustainable Perif Institute refer to: https://institutoperifasustentavel.com.br.
16 In total, the UN has established 17 SDGs: https://brasil.un.org/pt-br/sdgs.
Based on the presentation of the places of speech of the activists selected for analysis in the first stage of this research, we tried to trace: (a) the reconstruction of the plot or event of the activists' narratives. According to Motta (2013), this stage involves identifying the structuring axes of the narratives, whether they are political, economic, psychological, familial, or legal, among others. These aspects are what trigger the narratives, their themes and purposes.

In this way, the activists' Instagram profiles underwent analysis, commencing in July 2023, coinciding with the successive record-breaking temperatures in the second half of 2023, serving as a milestone which reinforced the urgency of addressing the climate crisis and, by extension, the issue of climate justice. A total of 119 posts were analysed from July 1 to November 14 2023. For better visualisation, the data obtained from the first stage of analysis was grouped into tables, which provide general information, an overview of the posts’ content, as well as the main topics covered, and representativeness, among others.

After this preliminary analysis, detailed in the ensuing sections (Table 1 and Table 2), we also analysed the narratives pertaining to climate justice based on the three interpretative movements proposed by Motta (2013), as discussed above.
5. Reflections on the Findings

This study aims to investigate the methods employed by activists who, from a human rights perspective, address the challenge of communication and awareness-raising regarding the climate crisis. We set out to analyse the articulations of the young activists Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa on climate justice through their engagement on Instagram and Internet activism.

5.1. Reconstructing the Plot or Event in the Narratives

Txai Suruí’s posts address socio-environmental, political, gender, ethnic-racial, and personal issues, as outlined in Table 1:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Txai Suruí</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender and ethnic identification</td>
<td>Indigenous woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of followers</td>
<td>128 thousand followers (as of November 2023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of posts during the period analysed (July-November 2023)</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posts about climate justice or environmental justice during the period analysed (July-November 2023)</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Post content**

- Photo: 8
- Video: 21
- Carousel*: 10
- Other: 13
- Captions: With emojis, hashtags, explanatory, humorous, emphatic, personal
- Most used hashtags: #MarcoTemporalNÃO (#MilestoneThesisNO) #Resistência (#Resistance)
- Mentions: Partners, media

**Post topics**

- Main themes: Indigenous rights; resistance against the milestone thesis; climate change; climate justice
- Language: Informal, empathetic, urging agents (government officials, institutions, companies)

**Visual style**

- Colours: Green, red, white, orange
- Photograph: Artistic, documentary, nature
- Graphics or infographics: None

**Representativeness**

- Use of representative images: Indigenous women, indigenous peoples, and other social minorities
- Diversity among the audience: Comments, tagging people in the same place of speech

Table 1. Analysis of Txai Suruí’s Instagram

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* The Instagram carousel is an image publishing format launched in 2017. It consists of a sequence that enables users to include between two and ten images per post, all grouped with descriptive text.
The most common topics on Txai Surui’s posts are indigenous rights, advocacy against the milestone thesis\(^9\), climate change and climate justice. Amanda Costa’s posts also address socio-environmental, political, gender, ethnic-racial and personal issues, as outlined in Table 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Amanda Costa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender and ethnic identification</td>
<td>Black woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of followers</td>
<td>26,5 thousand (as of November 14, 2023)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total number of posts during the period analysed (July-November 2023)</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posts about climate justice or environmental justice during the period analysed (July-November 2023)</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post content</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photo</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Video</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Carousel</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Captions</td>
<td>With emojis, hashtags, explanatory, humorous, emphatic, personal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Most used hashtags</td>
<td>#Racismoambiental (#Environmentalracism)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#Criseclimática (#Climatecrisis)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#jovensliderancas (#youguleaderships)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>#Justicaclimática (#Climatejustice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentions</td>
<td>Partners, media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post topics</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main themes</td>
<td>Racial equality, climate change, climate justice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Language</td>
<td>Informal, empathetic, urging agents (government officials, institutions, companies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Visual style</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colours</td>
<td>Blue, white, pink, green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Photograph</td>
<td>Artistic, documentary, nature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graphics or infographics</td>
<td>Absent</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Representativeness</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Use of representative images</td>
<td>Black women, and other social minorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity among the audience</td>
<td>Comments, tagging people in the same place of speech</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2. Analysis of Amanda Costa’s Instagram

Amanda Costa’s posts, like Txai Surui’s, are highly articulate on climate justice. They incorporate elements of orality and employ various narrative strategies in videos, texts and photos to foster dialogic and participatory processes. Using informal and empathetic language, the activists exert pressure on agents (governments, institutions, companies) and connect with their audiences using emojis and hashtags. Their narrative tactics are explanatory, humorous, emphatic and personal.

\(^9\) In Brazil, the legal theory of the milestone thesis deals with the delimitation of indigenous lands. The provision stated that indigenous people could only claim land they occupied before the 1988 Constitution, thus disregarding groups that had already been expelled. On September 21, 2023, the Federal Supreme Court overturned the application of the milestone thesis by nine votes to two.
We have emphasised narrative and qualitative analysis rather than a quantitative approach. Nevertheless, the data presented in the tables helps to illustrate how the plot or event of the activists’ narratives on the topic analysed here was reconstructed. It is noteworthy that out of the total number of posts by Txai Suruí during the period under analysis (52 posts) between July and November 2023 (when the research data was collected, outlined in Table 1), 23 posts in some way address climate change or climate justice. Most of Txai’s posts revolve around indigenous rights, as they date from the period leading up to the pressure campaigns against the milestone thesis for indigenous lands. The posts addressing the indigenous issue cannot be overlooked within the context of climate justice, given that indigenous peoples are outstanding guardians of the territory. According to UN statistics, demarcated indigenous lands are credited with safeguarding 80% of the planet’s biodiversity.\(^{20}\)

Out of the 67 posts by activist Amanda Costa in the period analysed (between July and November 2023 and outlined in Table 2), 46 address climate justice or environmental justice. Most of the posts analysed have an educational, explanatory or advocacy-oriented approach towards climate justice. These three characteristics are particularly evident in Amanda’s narratives, as she established the Instagram page aiming to advocate for the fulfilment of the SDGs, particularly the reduction of inequalities (SDG 10) and climate action (SDG 13).

Based on the first stage of the analysis, we identified recurring themes, which will be illustrated below.

### 5.2. Structuring the Narrative

According to Motta (2013), this stage enables the understanding of how the interaction between narrators and recipients of the narratives unfolds. During this process, one can observe the articulation of actions, surprises, tensions, climaxes, beginnings, developments, and endings aimed at engaging the audience.

Both activists strive to establish connections with their followers while emphasising the explanatory nature of environmental issues. Amanda Costa’s video *Racismo ambiental existe? (Does environmental racism exist?)* posted on her profile is an example of how she constructs these narrative resources. For one minute and eight seconds, Amanda explains the concept while also provocatively engaging her audience in a creative, critical, and assertive manner.

\(^{20}\) Indigenous people safeguard 80% of the world’s biodiversity despite representing only 5% of the global population. Available at: https://agenciabrasil.ebc.com.br/radioagencia-nacional/acervo/direitos-humanos/audio/2017-08/onu-indigenas-preservam-80-da-biodiversidade-mundial-mas-ainda/
As previously discussed, the concept of environmental racism is related to climate justice and was coined by US activist Benjamin Franklin Chavis Jr., who collaborated with Martin Luther King Jr. in the struggle against racial discrimination in the United States. Amanda creatively elucidates the genesis of this term. Here are a few excerpts from her explanation:

you know, the deal is, black communities were being targeted with toxic waste. But seriously, we don’t even have to go all the way to the US to investigate this issue... Indigenous areas that have not been delimited, flooding and landslides, trash dumps, and urban zones without basic sanitation. These are examples of environmental racism. It’s time we understood this issue and gave space and visibility to those who are really doing something to confront this system that excludes us!!! Especially because environmental racism mainly affects black, peripheral, indigenous, riverine and quilombola women (Costa, 2022)²¹.

Amanda Costa translates an important concept for understanding climate justice into relaxed and accessible language. She speaks in a good-humoured way, using irony. At the end of the video, Amanda gives examples and articulates her narrative in an impactful way. She highlights the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto (Homeless Workers’ Movement), which fights for housing, as a great example of a group working together to fight against injustice. She concludes: “You got the picture, right? Before I forget, make a note: Brazil was invaded, and this was our first case of environmental racism!” (Costa, 2022).

²¹ This post is pinned at the top of Amanda Costa’s Instagram page. Although it was originally published in August 2022, the post was included in the analysis because the activist kept it visible when the data was collected.
As Motta (2013) points out, the stage of organising the narrative allows us to understand the power and persuasive intentions inherent to the construction of the plot by both narrators and recipients. The author emphasises that narrative language has a dramatic essence and a broad and rich rhetoric. “Intentionally or not, they generate countless poetic and symbolic effects of meaning in their recipients. These cathartic effects evoke diverse states of mind: surprise, awe, perplexity, fear, compassion, laughter, mockery, irony, etc.” (Motta, 2013, p. 203). Additionally, Amanda’s posts are notable for their use of slang and expressions drawn from the oral repertoire of young people. These resources foster audience identification, humanise the facts and promote understanding of human dramas.

Txai Suruí also uses resources that simulate dialogue with her posts’ readers, such as questioning, perplexity and disappointment:

![Figure 4](https://www.instagram.com/p/CxwbLn6tQLb/)

This post by Txai Suruí, featuring a video, evokes a feeling of sadness with the image of dead fish amidst the drought in the Northern Region of Brazil (in the second half of 2023). The accompanying text is transcribed below:

what are we doing to postpone our end, the end of nature and the ecosystems? We’re like fish suffocating without oxygen because it’s unbearable to breathe. This catastrophe is happening right now in several municipalities in the state of Amazonas due to the rivers receding, the waters warming up, and the oxygen in the waters diminishing. Climate change is real, and our people are already affected. And human beings are burning to settle cattle. Deforestation for monoculture. Illegal mining. Where will we end up? (Suruí, 2023).

Both examples illustrate that narratives are structured to resonate with their consumers, tapping into emotional elements. Next, we will delve deeper into how conflicts
are disclosed as axes that structure narratives about climate justice.

5.3. Disclosure of Conflicts as a Structuring Frame for Climate Justice Narratives

At this stage in the analysis, the indicators of activist action are made explicit, particularly the elements of social advocacy embedded in the posts by Amanda Costa and Txai Suruí. This examination discloses relationships between different world views in the struggle for cultural consensus and the construction of a hegemonic discursive reality. Motta (2013) asks: “Who has the power of voice? From what social relations does this power arise? How far do the interests of the various actors involved in a narrative collide or converge to shape the storylines?” (p. 213).

All of these concerns are reflected in the narrative construction of the environmental Internet activism of Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa, as demonstrated below:

Through her use of questions, Amanda delves into the heart of the conflict, as illustrated by the text: “Why are the peripheries most affected by climate change? What is Environmental Racism? Can we do something to change it? It’s time to discuss climate in the hood!” (Costa, 2023). The post is an invitation to the Instituto Perifa Sustentável new project. As already pointed out, the profile of Amanda Costa, an activist solely dedicated to addressing the climate emergency, features posts concerning climate justice more frequently. Her posts connect intersectional issues and question access to justice and human rights.

As a black woman, Amanda Costa seeks to constitute the space of legitimacy from her place of speech and does not bow to dominant power structures. Through her activist voice, Amanda stands up against the colonisation of bodies, knowledge and
subjectivities. Aware of intersectionalities, she weaves narratives that discuss gender, social class, ethnic-racial issues, and other divides such as age, physical condition and geographical position, which are always connected to socio-historical issues.

Figure 6. Card palavra do feminismo (Word of feminism card)

Source: Screenshot from Você já ouviu a palavra do feminismo hoje? (Have you heard the word of feminism today?) [Photograph], by Amanda Costa [@souamandacosta], 2023b, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/p/CzOaF7cr8ND/)

Note: THE WORD OF FEMINISM

The climate crisis will affect the whole world, but not in the same way. We, women from the periphery, are already feeling the impacts.

This Saturday, based on the analysis and trajectory of climate activist Amanda Costa, we reflect on the effects of the climate crisis.

Amanda has a degree in International Relations and aims to mobilise young people to build a sustainable world, promote climate justice, and tackle environmental racism.

In 2017, she represented Brazil at COP23, the UN Climate Conference. “I felt very uncomfortable there because I didn’t see people like me addressing this issue. What I saw were people appropriating my place, my narrative.”

As a result of this experience, she joined Engajamundo, an organisation

Amanda leverages partner posts, expanding her platform’s reach. Similarly, Txai also uses the resource of co-posting with partners, who even echo her speech at the COP-26. The post, in collaboration with the Superior Labour Court, on the occasion of the “Gente que Inspira – Jovens” (People Who Inspire – Young People) event, features Txai Suruí and includes the video of the activist’s speech, another example of her commitment to addressing the climate crisis by drawing on her heritage.
Young Activists and Climate Justice...

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Figure 7. COP-26 speech

Source: Screenshot from Da etnia Paiter Suruí, Txai Suruí (@txaisurui) é coordenadora da Associação de Defesa Etnoambiental Kanindé, que defende a causa indígena (From the Paiter Suruí ethnic group, Txai Suruí (@txaisurui) is the coordinator of the Kanindé Ethno-Environmental Defence Association, which defends the indigenous cause), Txai Suruí (@txaisurui), 2023b, Instagram. (https://www.instagram.com/reel/CupGZ97grdK/)

Note: A member of the Paiter Suruí ethnic group, Txai Suruí (@txaisurui) is the coordinator of the Kanindé Ethno-Environmental Defence Association, which defends indigenous and environmental causes, proposing solutions to strengthen the identity of indigenous peoples in various regions of Brazil.

She was the only Brazilian to speak at COP26, the UN Climate Conference, which took place in 2021. She is an advisor to WWF Brazil and the United Nations Global Compact, as well as a columnist for Folha de São Paulo.

She is also the founder of the Indigenous Youth Movement of Rondônia, where she denounces the advance of farming on the Uru-Eu-Wau-Wau indigenous land.

Take part in People Who Inspire – Young People. The event will take place as part of the Decent Work Seminar. The registration link is at

During her participation at COP-26, she emphasised that there would be no climate justice without social justice for indigenous peoples. Here is an excerpt:

the Earth is speaking. She tells us that we have no more time ( ... ). We need a different path with bold and global changes. It’s not 2030 or 2050, it’s now ( ... ). Indigenous peoples are on the front line of the climate emergency, and we must be at the centre of the decisions happening here. (Suruí, 2021, 00:00:36)

In another post, Txai reminds us that climate change has contributed to unpredictable weather patterns, leading to a devastating drought in the heart of the Amazon rainforest. She points out that action must be taken now to combat climate change and protect the vital balance of rainfall.
Hello, Instagram community! Today, I want to talk about an urgent challenge the Amazon rainforest is facing: drought. This drought is a sad reminder of the climate changes that are impacting our planet.

Climate change has contributed to unpredictable weather patterns, leading to a devastating drought in the heart of our Amazon rainforest. This drought not only affects rivers and the life that depends on them but also directly influences our ability to produce vital rainfall for various regions.

It’s fascinating how tropical rainforests, including the Amazon, play a crucial role in rain production. They release water vapour into the atmosphere, forming “flying rivers” that travel to other areas and help create the rainfall essential for life.

As an indigenous woman, Txai Suruí underscores the pressing need to reconnect with environmental preservation and protect our shared home. Txai’s voice echoes the call for action against colonialism and racism, which have historically violated bodies and territories but continue to do so today. Her narrative seeks to awaken the understanding that we are a small part of what we call nature, disrupted by human actions.

In this third stage of analysis, the narratives of both activists confront power structures. Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa challenge the Capitalocene, showing that urgent...
transformations to tackle the climate emergency depend on political and economic actions to minimise inequalities in the context of global capitalism. The activists dedicate their knowledge, bodies and subjectivities to mitigating the immense destruction underway (Haraway, 2016).

The young activists, both women and non-white, resonate with Bruno Latour’s (2020) question about humanity’s direction “where to land?” as a means to navigate politically in an era where “nature has become territory” (p. 17), and communities have been deprived of their territoriality. Philosopher Alyne Costa, commenting on Latour’s essay, adapts a phrase from anthropologist Eduardo Viveiros de Castro (2016), stating that in Brazil, amidst the ecological and health catastrophes already unfolding, everyone is, in a sense, becoming indigenous, deterritorialised (Costa, 2020, p. 135).

On the other hand, the analysis of Txai and Amanda’s articulations reveals a narrative tapestry that intertwines ancestry with the future. An interesting symbolism links the two activists: both helm environmental organisations whose icons are birds (kanindé and sankofa). They soar freely toward new horizons and, despite the pessimistic debates and discussions surrounding the socio-environmental and climate crisis, they have the potential to spread words of hope rooted in action, experiences and tangible examples of articulation.

6. Final Considerations

Climate justice advocates for addressing climate change by holding accountable those who are primarily responsible for causing the imbalance and who have the resources and capacity to address it effectively. The intersectional matrix cannot be overlooked in this discussion. Patriarchy, pervasive across all cultures, reinforces climate injustice. Women, young people, and black and traditional communities, who are particularly vulnerable to dynamics of violence and inequality, become protagonists by disrupting the structures of domination. They weave new plots and dispute narratives, even in scenarios where the logics of the Capitalocene prevail, such as on digital social networks, especially in the fight for socio-environmental protection, a historically exploited territory.

Based on the stages of critical analysis of the narrative, it is evident that advocacy practices on climate justice are prominently featured in the narratives of the young activists highlighted here, especially as they are both affiliated with the Engajamundo youth leadership organisation. In Amanda Costa’s case, her narratives are entirely focused on addressing the climate crisis. Txai Suruí conducts her environmental activism advocating for indigenous peoples and, with much of her narratives, emphasises that this advocacy is taking place amidst humanity’s greatest challenge: acting against climate change. Although the section covers the months of July to November 2023, the analysis allowed us to understand that Txai Suruí and Amanda Costa’s articulations unfold within the field of environmental Internet activism in the pursuit of justice.

In this way, the cracks created by the young women, albeit still somewhat limited, broaden the possibilities for raising awareness in society about climate change and
thereby amplify the channels for social pressure to tackle the crisis. At a time when our shared social responsibility to safeguard our young people is increasingly evident, activists are sounding the urgent call for climate justice with their voices and bodies. Their women’s voices echo: the future is ancestral.

**Translation: Anabela Delgado**

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