

# MINING CONFLICTS IN BRAZIL 2021

NOVEMBER - 2022



COMITÊ NACIONAL EM  
DEFESA DOS TERRITÓRIOS  
FRENTE À MINERAÇÃO



Observatório dos  
Conflitos da Mineração  
no Brasil



ANNUAL REPORT

# MINING CONFLICTS IN BRAZIL 2021

NOVEMBER - 2022

## MASTHEAD

**Mining Conflicts in Brazil 2021:** Annual Report Published by the National Committee in Defense of Territories Against Mining, under the Brazilian Mining Conflicts Observatory.

Brazil, November 2022

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## Mining Conflicts - 2021 Highlights

- In 2021, 644 conflict locations and 840 occurrences were reported, involving at least 762,246 people, which means at least two occurrences per day.
- Compared to 2020, when 751 locations and 851 occurrences were recorded, there was a slight decrease in the numbers in 2021, corresponding to 14.2% fewer locations and 1.2% fewer occurrences.
- The categories that were most affected by mining were: "Indigenous people" (17.7%), "Small landowners" (16.9%), "State" (16.8%), "Urban population" (13.5%), and "Workers" (10.7%).
- At least 54,550 indigenous people were engaged in conflicts, 51.4% of which involved miners.



- The quilombolas were victims in 22 conflicts and 26 occurrences, involving at least 13,603 people.
- Out of the 24 states with recorded occurrences of conflicts, the ones with the highest concentration of locations involved were Minas Gerais (35.0%), Pará (12.6%), and Bahia (11.0%). As for the number of people affected in each state, Minas Gerais is responsible for 42.9% of the total number of people affected, followed by Roraima (16.2%), Pará (12.8%), and Alagoas (11.5%).
- The Biome with the highest number of recorded conflicts was the Atlantic Rain Forest, with 49.0%, followed by the Amazon (27.9%), Caatinga (13.9%), and Cerrado (7.0%).
- Out of the 853 municipalities in Minas Gerais, conflicts were identified in 87 (10.1%), with Brumadinho being the one with the most cases, with 24 conflict situations, totaling 43 occurrences, mostly due to the reparation process of the 2019 Vale tailing dam disaster.
- The conflicts over "Land" and "Water" were the most prominent, with 489 (58.2%) and 256 (30.5%) instances, respectively.
- There were 127 companies involved in conflicts in 466 locations. Vale S.A. is the company most involved in conflicts (29.4%) (131 instances of conflict) and its subsidiary, Samarco/Vale/BHP (34 instances of conflict).
- Among international mining companies, the ones that stood out the most were Bahia Mineração (BAMIN), of Luxembourg origin, with 38 episodes of conflicts; Australia's Tombador Iron Mining, with 26 episodes; and Anglo American, with 17. In terms of the companies' nationalities, Brazil appears in first place, with 356 events. Australia comes next, with 64 of the events, then Luxembourg (57), Canada (31), and the United Kingdom (25).
- Illegal mineral extraction, particularly artisanal and small-scale mining, led to 240 events in 168 locations in 19 states, mostly in the Legal Amazon, mainly in Pará (22.6%), Amazonas (18.5%), Mato Grosso (15.5%), and Rondônia (9.5%). In addition, indigenous peoples were the groups who suffered the most violations as a result of this activity, with 115 occurrences in 55 locations.
- There was a total of 67 cases of extreme violence: "Death" (27 cases, 17 of which refer to workers); "Harassment" (19 cases); "Slave labor" (14 cases); "Death threat" (4 cases); "Physical violence" (3 cases); and "Sexual violence" (3 cases).
- Ninety-six direct reactions to the violations were mapped, mostly in Minas Gerais (48), Roraima (18), and Alagoas (9). In Brumadinho there was more than one protest a month on average (13). Indigenous people (21 events), Small landowners (21 events), and Urban Population (11 events) were the categories that reacted the most with acts of resistance.



## About the National Committee in Defense of Territories against Mining

The Committee is a civil society articulation formed by more than 100 organizations, social movements, churches, and researchers, active since 2013. It is one of the main national initiatives politically organized in defense of those affected by mining, and of their territories. It fosters education, mobilization, political articulation, development of materials, and communication about the Brazilian mineral policy.

## About the Mining Conflict Map

Under the scope of the Observatory of Mining Conflicts in Brazil, the National Committee in Defense of Territories against Mining has developed the Mining Conflict Map as a means to denounce the Brazilian mineral model, especially in the context of the Bolsonaro administration, which has deregulated environmental policies, proposed the opening of new areas for mining, and encouraged artisan and small-scale mining.

The Covid-19 pandemic was still going on in 2021, with different waves and sporadic openings. In this context, conflicts and disasters have taken place, such as those of the Paraopeba River (Vale/Rio Paraopeba), of the Doce River (Samarco/Vale/BHP), of Maceió (Braskem), and of illegal small-scale mining sites, which have gained visibility in view of the damage produced and the resistance encountered.

As part of the monitoring, which began in 2020, the Observatory maintains a database, updated annually, based on the systematic collection of secondary data from sources such as national and regional newspapers, news portals, social networks, independent media, and materials from social movements, along with the occurrences recorded annually by the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) and the Indigenous Missionary Council (CIMI) for mining conflicts in the rural areas and those involving indigenous people, respectively.

The Observatory aims to be a tool to monitor and analyze, over the medium and long term, the temporal variation of conflicts and the behavior of the different companies in the sectors, articulating it with national and global political and economic factors that influence mineral policy. The mapping also allows us to identify the spatial distribution of conflicts and the different disputes over the appropriation of nature, as well as the impacts on the affected communities.

## Main Results of the 2021 Monitoring:

In the following pages we highlight the main results obtained from the monitoring of conflicts involving the mining sector in Brazil in 2021.

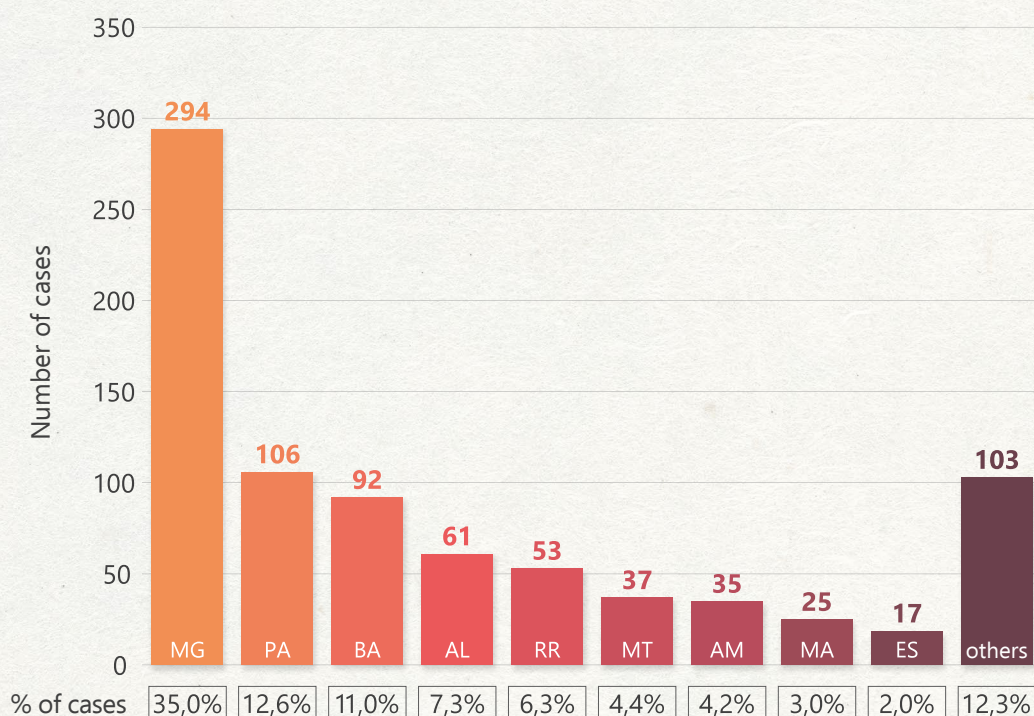


## General Data and Spatial Distribution of Conflicts

By mapping the conflicts in 2021, **644 cases** were identified, spread over almost all Brazilian states, accounting for **840 cases of conflict and the involvement of at least 762,246 people**. In other words, more than two occurrences per day were recorded in the year 2021. Among the 26 states plus the Federal District, which make up the 27 federative units of the country, conflicts were recorded in 24 of them, excluding the Federal District, Acre, and Sergipe. The absence of any state in the mapping does not mean that there are no mining-related conflicts in those states, but only indicates that if there are conflicts, it was not possible to map them with the public secondary data throughout the year 2021. For example, in 2020 the state of Piauí did not appear in the mapping, while Acre and Sergipe were on the list. This situation was the opposite in 2021.

**As in 2020, in 2021 the states with the highest concentration of conflict locations were Minas Gerais, Pará, and Bahia.** In 2021, Minas Gerais accounted for 35% of the conflict episodes, followed by Pará (12.6%) and Bahia (11.0%). Compared to 2020, Minas Gerais suffered a 23.5% decrease in the number of episodes, followed by a 15.4% decrease in Pará, but a 12.2% growth in episodes in Bahia. Alagoas was another state that showed a significant increase in the number of episodes between 2020 and 2021, going from 22 to 61 episodes, an increase of 192%, especially because of the conflict with Brasken in Maceió. Graph 1 below highlights the states with the highest concentration of episodes in 2021. We can see that the tally of the "Others" category (103), which comprises 15 states, is lower than the tally of occurrences in Minas Gerais (294) and Pará (106):

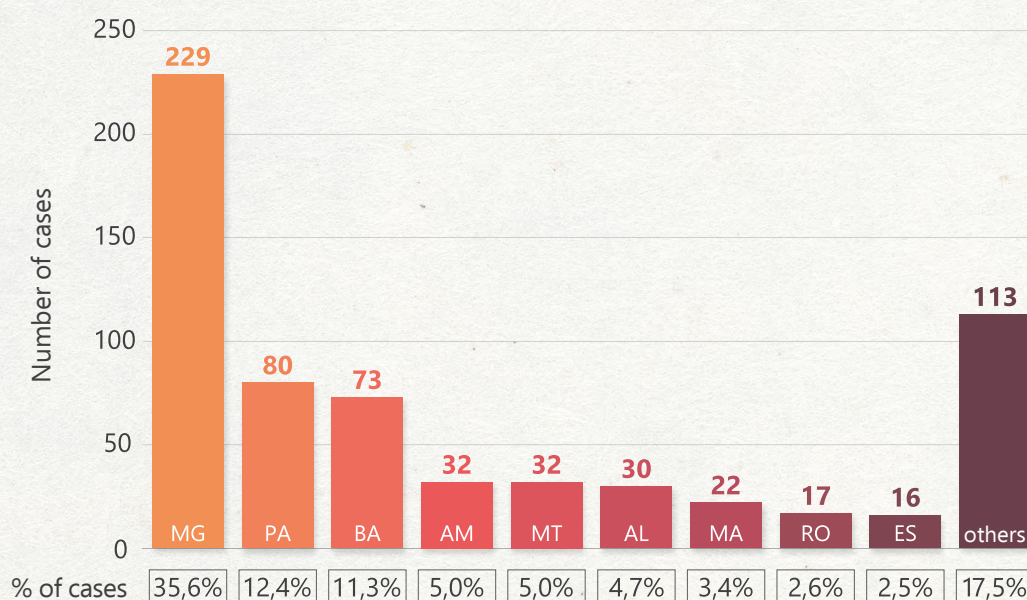
Graph 1:  
The States with the most cases in 2021





When only the number of locations is considered, regardless of the number of episodes, Minas Gerais, Pará and Bahia also appear in the top three positions with 35.6%, 12.4%, and 11.3%, respectively (as per Graph 2). However, the positions are considerably different among the other states. Roraima, which concentrates a considerable number of conflicts in the previous graph, does not appear among the top ones in terms of conflicts. This means that many events took place, but were concentrated in a few locations, such as the Yanomami and Raposa Terra do Sol Indigenous Lands. The opposite happens in the state of Rondônia, with a small number of events, but a considerable number of localities involved in conflicts, meaning a wider distribution of conflicts across the territory.

Graph 2:  
The States with the most locations involved in conflicts in 2021



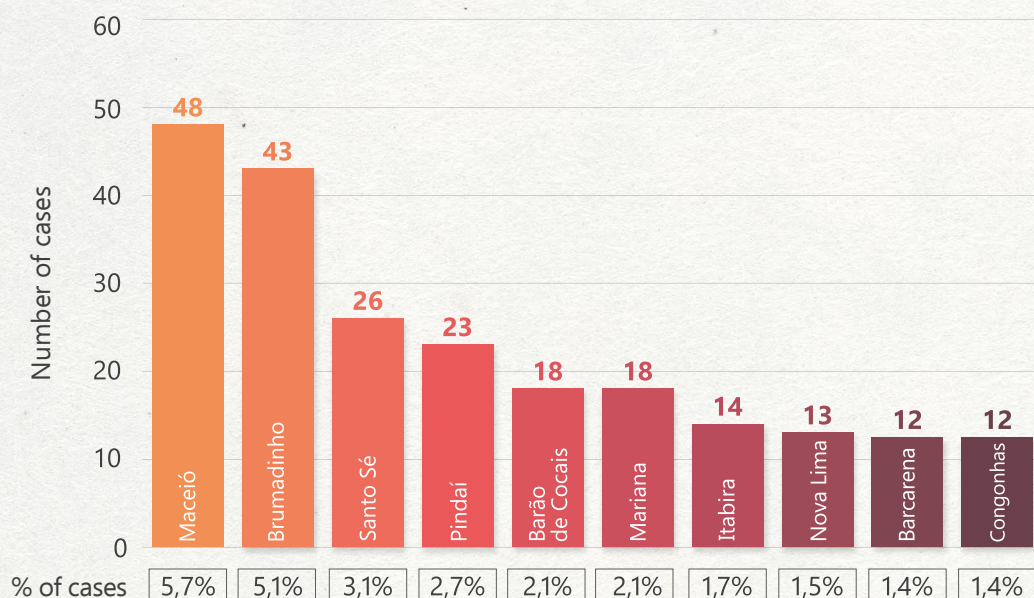
Out of the 853 municipalities in Minas Gerais, conflicts were mapped in 87 of them in 2021, corresponding to 10.1% of the municipalities in this unit of the federation, meaning a decrease of 28.3% in occurrences compared to 2020.

In terms of the proportion of people affected in each state, Minas Gerais ranks first, with at least 326,181 people affected (43.0% of the total number of people affected). In second place is Roraima with 123,544 people affected (16.3%), followed by Pará with 97,630 (12.9%) and Alagoas with 87,542 (11.5%).

Nationwide, **Brumadinho was again the municipality where most conflicts were concentrated in 2021**, the same score as in 2020, now with 24 conflict situations, totaling 43 occurrences, mostly around the company Vale S.A. and the reparation process after the company's B1 dam burst on January 25, 2019. As for the number of conflicts, Maceió comes out ahead of Brumadinho in 2021, in first place, with 48 occurrences (as per Graph 3), revealing the tense relationship between Braskem and the affected groups fighting for redress in the conflict in 2021.



Graph 3:  
The 10 municipalities with the most cases in 2021



The type of violence that stood out most in Brumadinho was “Omission”, and the most recurring type of conflict was “Water”. In Maceió, the type of violence that stood out the most was “Damages”, followed by “Omission”, with “Land” being the most recurrent type of conflict. Both cases seem to exhibit a pattern, as they are contexts of major disasters, where the struggle for redress and rights is central to the conflict.

There were 13 public demonstrations mapped in Brumadinho during the year 2021, either through protests or by public letter. This figure represents more than one protest per month in the municipality, 9 involving the company Vale S.A., one involving TÜV Süd (German consulting company, responsible for certifying the stability of the Córrego do Feijão Dam<sup>1</sup>) and 3 concerning the company Mineração Geral do Brasil (MGB). TÜV Süd appeared in the 2021 mapping, because on January 24 of the same year, a lawsuit against the company was filed in Germany by 183 surviving workers and relatives of victims demanding a total of more than 12 million euros (about R\$ 63 million) in compensation<sup>2</sup>.

In Maceió, 9 public acts were recorded, including demonstrations and roadblocks, in addition to a class action lawsuit against Braskem in the Netherlands, where the company’s financial center is located. According to the lawyer with global law firm PGMBM<sup>3</sup>: “Braskem has shown little care or compassion for those affected by its activity. The company has recently released news of settlements with Brazilian authorities, but the level of compensation offered to victims remains insufficient” (NETTO, 2021).

<sup>1</sup>Four months before the tragedy, TÜV Süd had declared Vale’s dam to be stable. TÜV SÜD is accused of negligence for certifying the safety of a structure that collapsed.

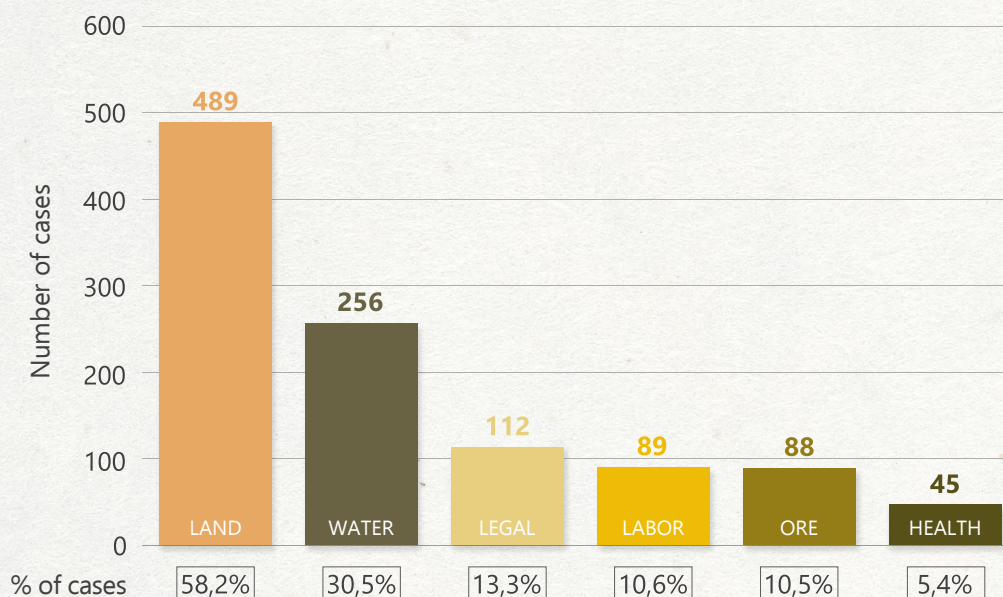
<sup>2</sup>There is a second lawsuit, filed in October 2019, initially brought by six family members of one of the victims. However, in a January 2022 decision, another 1,100 individuals affected by the disaster were included (DW, 2022).

<sup>3</sup>In 2022, the law firm changed its name Pogust Goodhead. It also represents those affected in the Doce River Basin against BHP, in England.



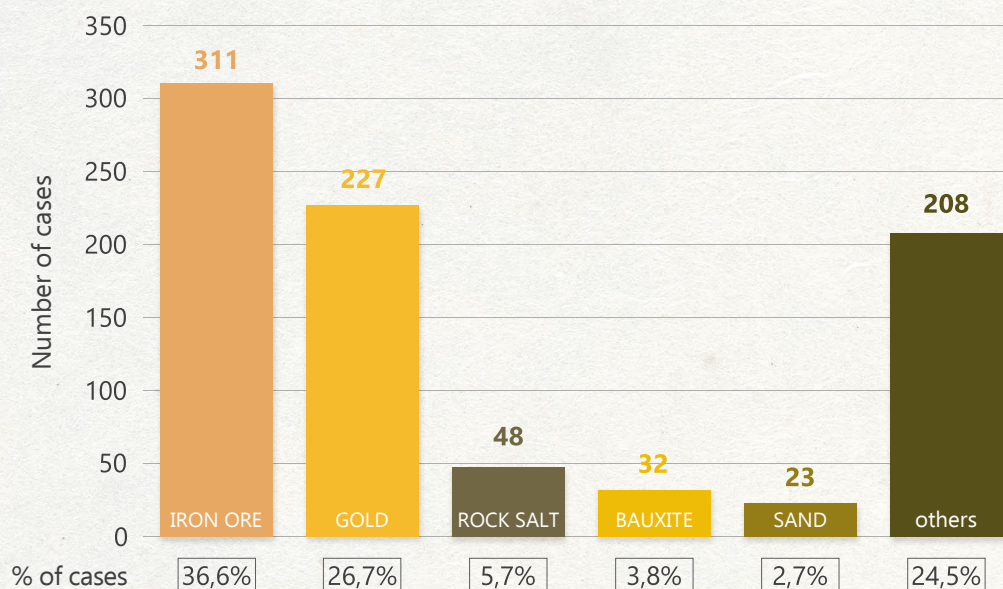
As in 2020, **conflicts over "Land" and "Water" were the most prominent overall**, with 489 and 256 conflict occurrences, respectively. Both types of conflicts were present in 58.2% and 30.5% of the events. "Legal" ranked third with 13.3%, followed by "Labor" (10.6%), "Ore" (10.5%), and "Health" (5.4%). In comparison to 2020, conflicts over "Land" had a growth of 27.3%, while those concerning "Water" had a retraction of 19.7% (as per Graph 4).

Graph 4:  
Types of conflicts in 2021



The ores most present in the conflicts were iron ore (36.6% of the cases) and gold (26.7% of the cases) (as per Graph 5). From 2020 to 2021, gold saw a 72.2% growth in conflicts, indicating increased pressure over indigenous territories, especially Indigenous Lands Yanomami (RR) and Munduruku (PA).

Graph 5:  
Minerals most involved in conflicts in 2021<sup>4</sup>

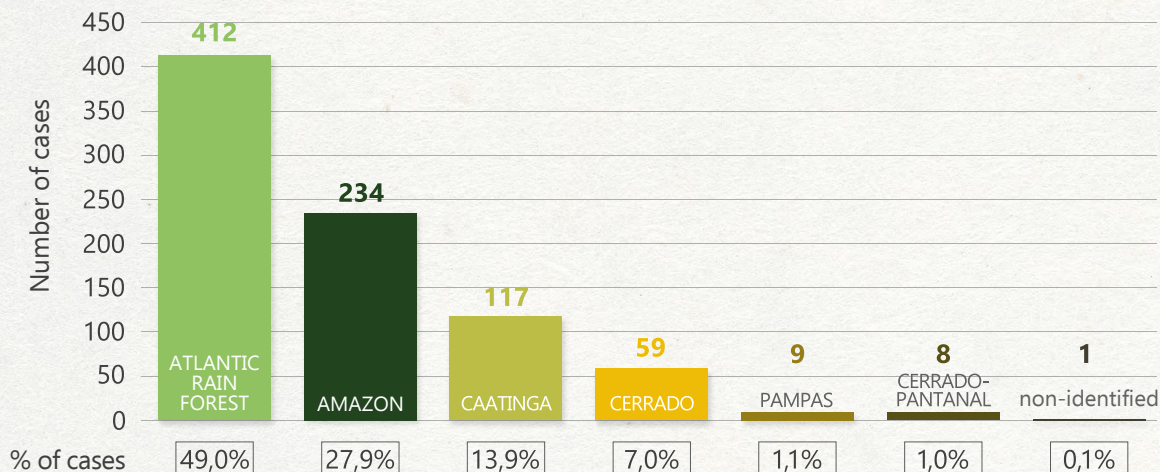


<sup>4</sup>The "others" category includes 42 ores and cases where no identification was possible.



The Biome with the highest number of recorded conflicts was the Atlantic Rain Forest, with 49.1%, followed by the Amazon (27.9%), Caatinga (13.9%), and Cerrado (7.0%) (as per Graph 6), the same ranking as in 2020. The 2021 figures represent a 12.1% retraction in records in the Atlantic Forest and 20.4% in the Cerrado, besides a 20.2% growth in the Amazon and 40.4% in the Caatinga.

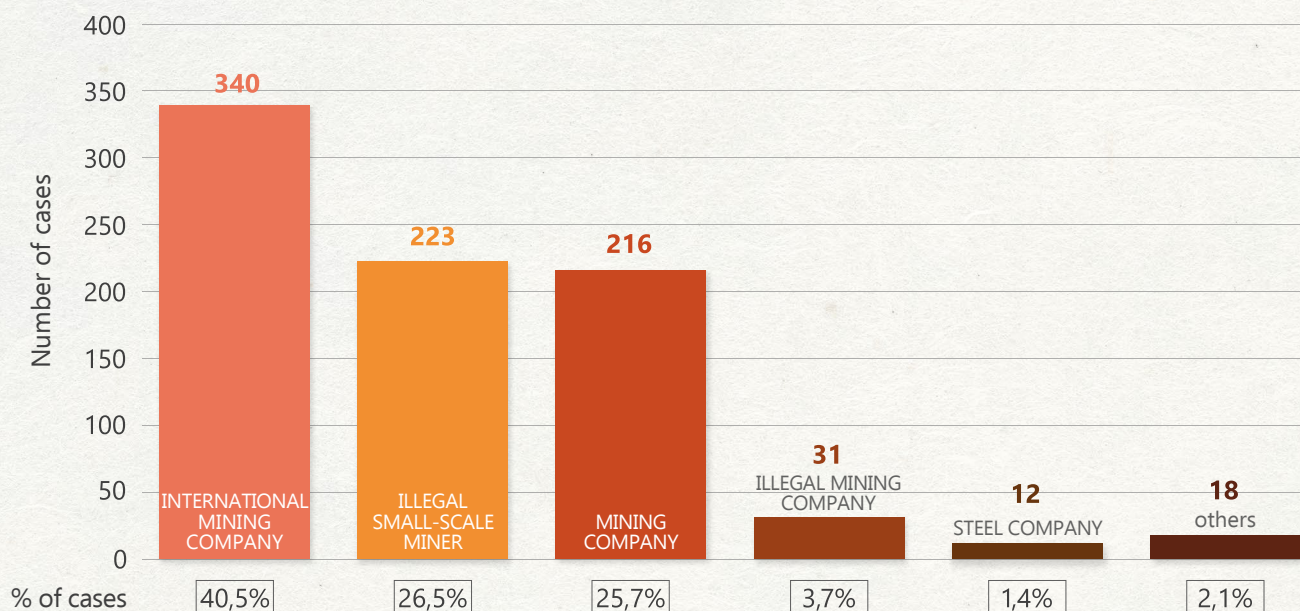
Graph 6:  
Biomes with the most cases in 2021



### *Violators, Conflict-Causing Companies and Illegal Extraction*

Regarding the category "Violators - who caused the event", out of the total 840 conflict occurrences, "International Mining Company" ranks first in this category, with 40.5%, followed by "Illegal small-scale miner" (26.5%) and "Mining Company" (25.7%). "Illegal extraction", comprising the sum of the categories "Illegal small-scale miner" and "Illegal Mining Company", accounted for 30.2% of the occurrences (as per Graph 7). The first place concerning the nationality of the international companies went to Australia (this is the home country of BHP Billiton, which, together with Vale, form the joint venture Samarco, a company that is fourth on the list of violating companies). Next in line are Luxembourg, Canada, and the United Kingdom.

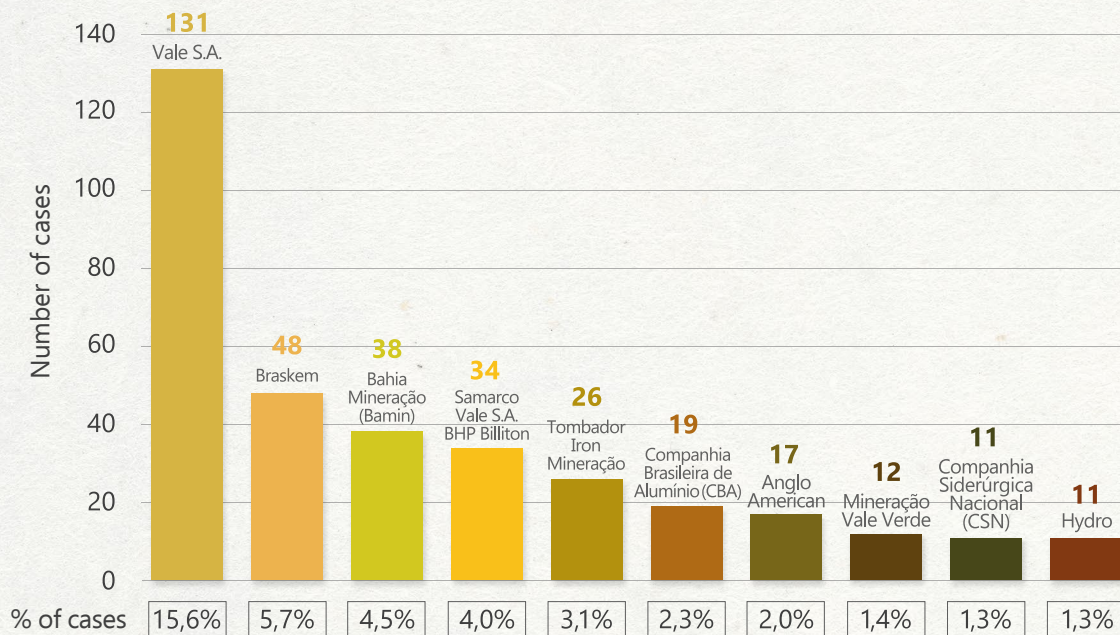
Graph 7:  
Violators in 2021





In 2021, there were 127 companies involved in conflicts in 466 locations. **The five companies that account for the highest number of conflict cases are: Vale S.A. (131 cases), Braskem (48 cases), Bahia Mineração - BAMIN (38 cases), Samarco/Vale/BHP Billiton (34 cases) and Tombador Iron Mineração (26 cases) (as per Graph 8).** If all occurrences resulting from conflicts are considered, Vale S.A. was present in 165 occurrences. In other words, we can conclude that **Vale S.A., also the owner of Samarco, was involved in 19.6% of the conflicts in Brazil in 2021.** In 2020, Vale S.A. was also the biggest violator, accounting for 146 occurrences (17.2% of the conflict cases), in addition to the violations by Samarco and MRN, reaching 278 occurrences (32.7% of the conflict cases).

Graph 8:  
Companies with the most cases in 2021



In 2020, Samarco/Vale/BHP came in second among the companies with the most conflicts, with 123 occurrences. The 72.3% decrease in occurrences between 2020 and 2021 might be explained by frustration and weariness in the face of a reparation process that has been dragging on for seven years. The very resumption of the company's operations in 2021 has brought indignation to the affected population. One of the affected people questions: "It's outrageous. How can a criminal company resume operations while those of us affected are still in the same situation, without any prospects?" (PONTES, 2021).

Even after seven years, the victims of the disaster have still not been relocated. In Bento Rodrigues, a town in Mariana-MG, only seven of the 120 promised homes have been built so far. One of the property owners died two months before she could see her new home. Another 72 are still under construction. Over 60 months after the tragedy, not even the infrastructure works are done. In the Paracatu de Baixo resettlement, also in Mariana, no houses have been built yet (PIMENTEL, 2021).

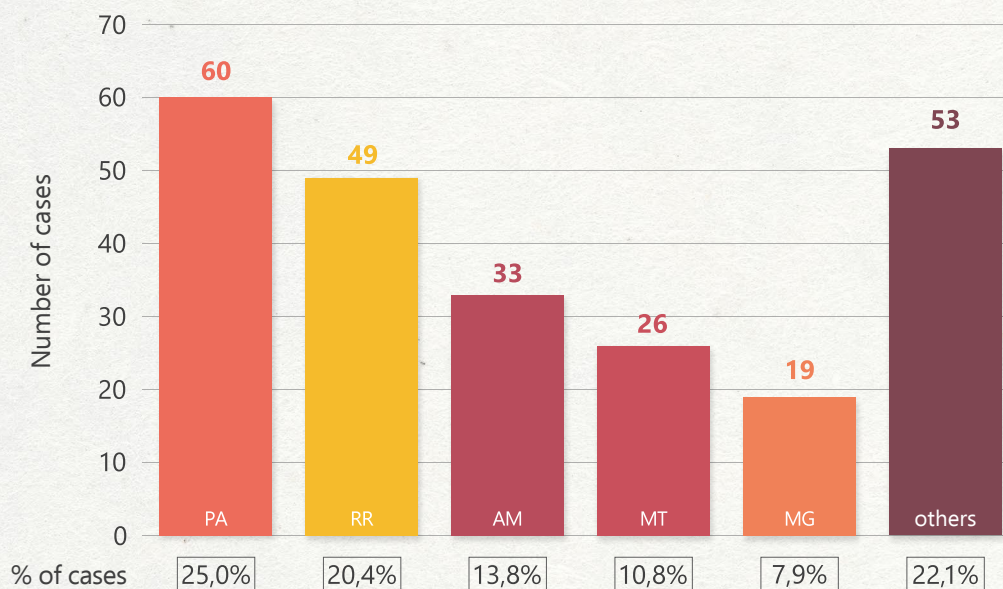
In 2018, an agreement was signed with the Public Ministry of Minas Gerais (MPMG), the affected people, and the companies (Samarco and its parent companies Vale and BHP), regarding the reparation process. However, not even 30% of the affected people have received any compensation. "As absurd as it seems, three years after the said agreement and almost six years after the crime, which devastated the lives of thousands of people, not even 30% of those affected have been compensated.



Despite the gravity of the facts and the vulnerability of the families, the companies and the disgraceful Renova Foundation - established, in theory, to repair the damage - have not complied with the agreement", says Public Prosecutor Guilherme Meneghin (RONAN, 2021).

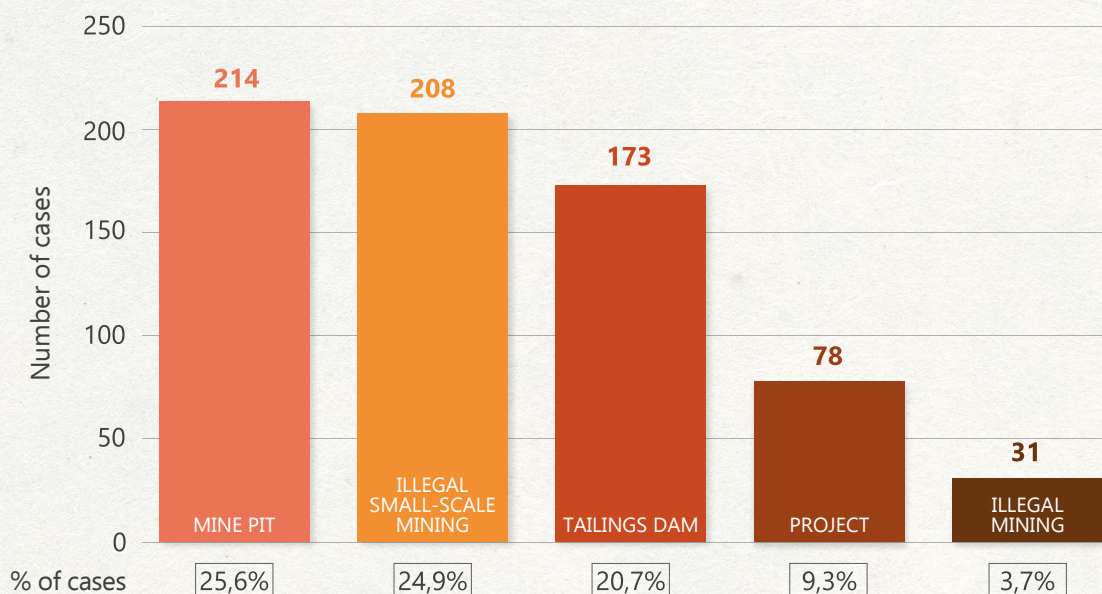
**Illegal mineral extractions caused 240 conflicts in 170 locations.** Illegal small-scale mining sites accounted for 210 cases, and illegal mining, for 30. This activity is present in 19 states, with 60 occurrences in Pará (25.0%), 49 in Roraima (20.4%), 33 in Amazonas (13.8%), and 26 in Mato Grosso (10.8%) (as per Graph 9). Indigenous peoples were the groups most victimized by this activity, accounting for 115 occurrences, that is, 47.9% of the cases linked to illegal extraction.

Graph 9:  
Illegal mineral extraction per state in 2021



In terms of the object of the conflicts, **"Mine pit"** came in first, with 25.6% of the cases, and **"Illegal small-scale mining"** came in second, with 24.9% (as per Graph 10: Unlike in 2020, when **"Tailings dam"** ranked first with 30.0% of the cases, in 2021, **"Tailings dam"** appears in third place, with 20.7% of the cases. This decrease can be explained by the parallel with the decrease in reported cases concerning Samarco/Vale/BHP.

Graph 10:  
Types of conflict-causing objects in 2021



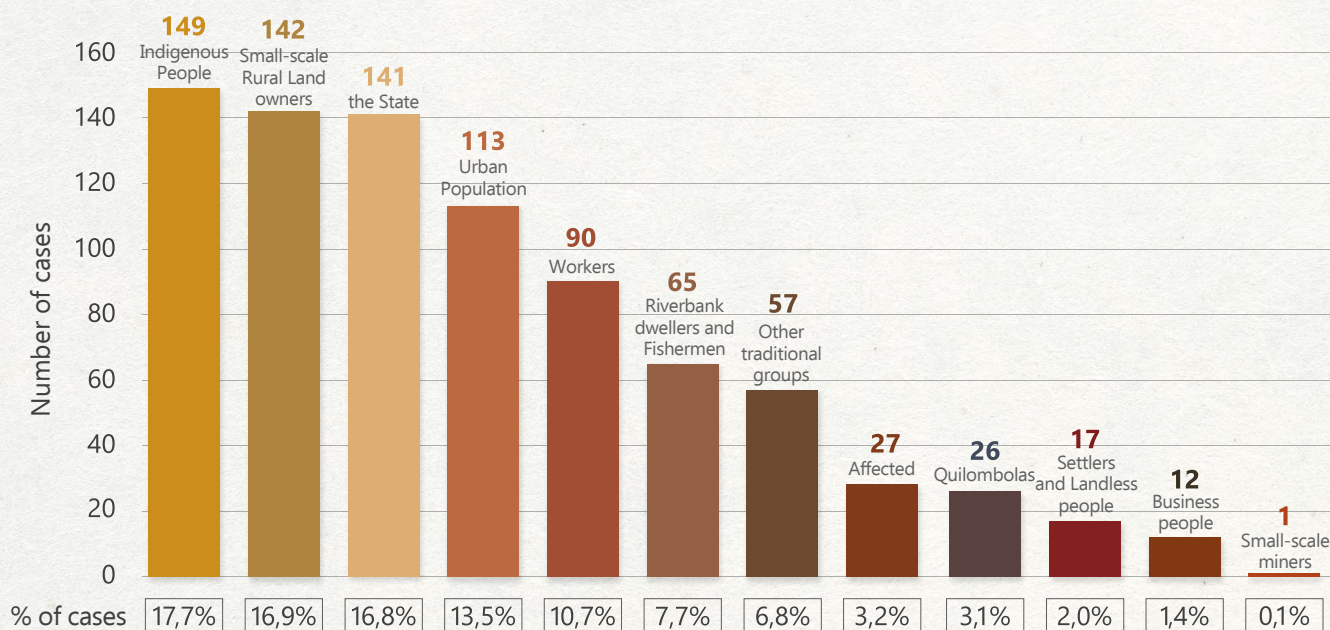


The conflicts around “Mine pits” involved 63 companies, with Braskem placing first with 22.0% of the occurrences of specific “Mine pit” conflicts, and Vale S.A., second, with 15.0%. The “Tailings dam” category, on the other hand, includes 20 companies, with Vale S.A. at the top, with 43.9% of the conflict occurrences regarding “Tailings dams”, followed by Samarco/Vale/BHP (19.7%) and Anglo American (7.5%). **Vale and Samarco/Vale/BHP together account for 63.6% of “Tailings dams” conflicts in the year 2021.**

### Affected Groups and Their Reactions

In 2021, among the 840 recorded conflicts, the five most relevant groups in the category of those “subjected to the violence” were “Indigenous people”, with 17.7%; “rural settlers”, with 16.9%; “the State” with 16.8%; “urban population” with 13.5%; and “workers”, with 10.7% (as per Graph 11). Overall, conflicts involving traditional populations<sup>5</sup> implied the involvement of at least 338,746 people. In 2020, the same group corresponded to 156,908 people, meaning an increase of at least 181,838 people, i.e., 86.2% more.

Graph 11:  
Category of those who were subjected to violence in 2021<sup>6</sup>



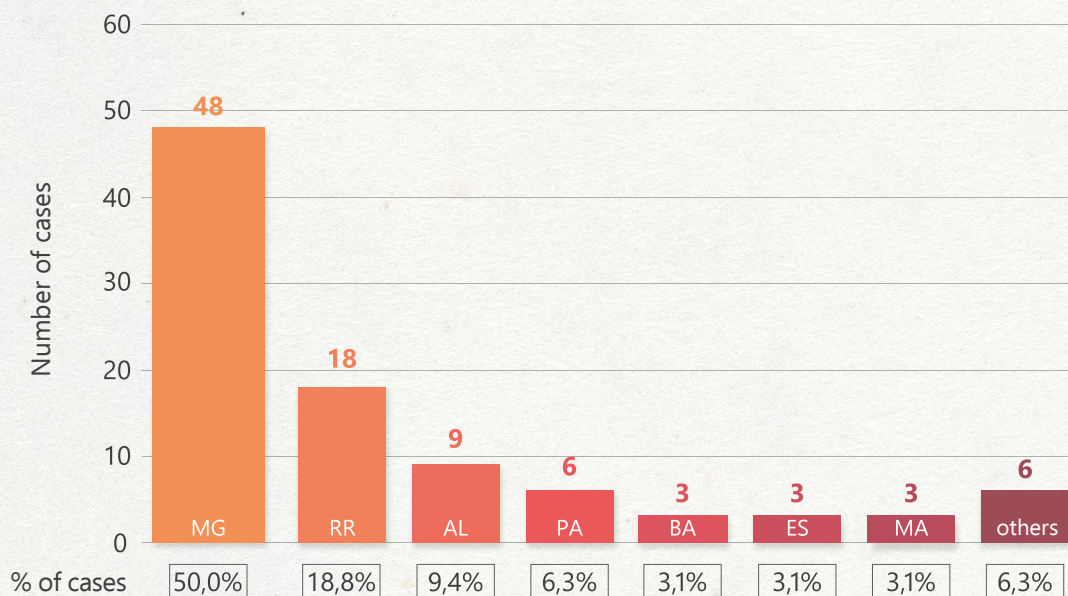
In 2021, 96 direct reactions to the violations were documented, which involved demonstrations, public letters, roadblocks, occupation, lawsuits, etc. The states that presented the highest number of conflicts and occupied the first positions in the ranking were Minas Gerais, Roraima, Alagoas, Pará, and Bahia. Minas Gerais was responsible for 48 reactions (half of the total), Roraima, 18, and Alagoas, 9 (as per Graph 12).

<sup>5</sup> Traditional populations that have been involved in conflicts include fundo de pasto farm workers farmers, extractivists, indigenous peoples, geraizeiros, family farmers, fishermen, quilombolas, and riverbank dwellers.

<sup>6</sup> The category “Other traditional groups” refers to: “fundo de pasto farm workers”, “extractivists”, “geraizeiros”, “family-run cattle ranchers” and “land occupiers”.



Graph 12:  
Reactions per Federative Unit in 2021



The reactions were aimed at challenging the violations of the companies (74 instances) and the illegal small-scale mining sites (22 instances). The companies subjected to the most reactions were Vale S.A. (25 instances), Braskem (10 instances), and Samarco/Vale/BHP (5 instances). In 2020, 100 reactions were documented, with 84 cases regarding companies and 16 regarding illegal small-scale mining sites. This shows an increase of 37.5% in cases of illegal small-scale mining in 2021. As for the companies, in 2020, Vale S.A. accounted for 34 events, Samarco/Vale/BHP for 8, and Braskem for 5. These same companies appear as the main contesting actors in the reactions, both in 2020 and 2021, with some variations in the number of instances: Vale and Samarco/Vale/BHP showed a slight decrease, while the number of cases doubled for Braskem.

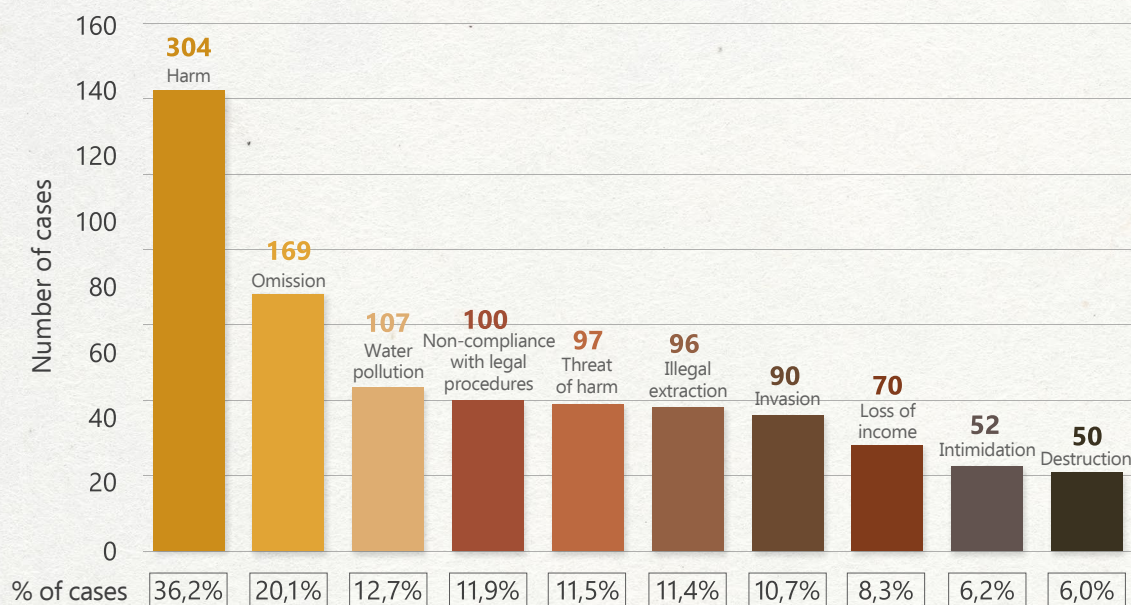
The categories that suffered most from the actions of the companies and the miners, and took reactive actions, were: **"Indigenous people" (20 cases)** and **"Small landowners" (20 cases)**. Indigenous peoples reacted mainly to illegal small-scale mining inside their territories.

### ***Types of Violence Suffered and Extreme Acts of Violence***

Out of the 57 categories of "Types of violence" used to classify the conflict episodes, the most representative were "Harm", with 36.2% of the cases, "Omission" (20.1%), "Water pollution" (12.7%), "Non-compliance with legal procedures" (11.9%), "Threat of harm" (11.5%), "Illegal extraction" (11.4%), and "Invasion" (10.7%) (as per Graph 13).



Graph 13:  
Main categories of violence in 2021



Some types of extreme violence deserve to be pointed out, such as **"Slave labor"**, with **14 episodes of conflict** and **201 enslaved people**; **"Death threat"**, with **4 episodes**; **"Harassment"** with **19 episodes**, **"Death"** with **24 episodes**, **"Threat"** (27 episodes), **"Intimidation"** (52 episodes) and **"Physical violence"** and **"Sexual violence"**, with **3 episodes each** (as per Chart 1). The types of extreme violence correspond to 149 cases and 17.7% of the total cases. In 2020, 67 incidents of extreme violence were documented. In that sense, a 122% increase in cases is observed from 2020 to 2021.

Chart 1:  
Extreme violence em 2021

EXTREME VIOLENCE	NUMBER OF CASES
Intimidation	52
Threat	27
Death	24
Harassment	19
Slavery	14
Death threats	4
Sexual violence	3
Physical violence	3
TOTAL	146

The cases of "Death" refer to 8 deaths in the Yanomami Indigenous Land, at least 17 deaths of workers, and at least one death from heavy metal contamination in the blood in Barra Longa (MG).

Among the dead are two children, a 1-year-old and a 5-year-old, who drowned during the illegal small-scale miners' attack on the indigenous land where they lived. About the case, the Hutukara Yanomami Association declared: "Two children died during the events of last Monday, 10th. After everyone ran from the gunshots, they were lost. On the 11th, the adults set out to look for them. On the 12th, two bodies were found in the water" (BIASETTO, 2021).



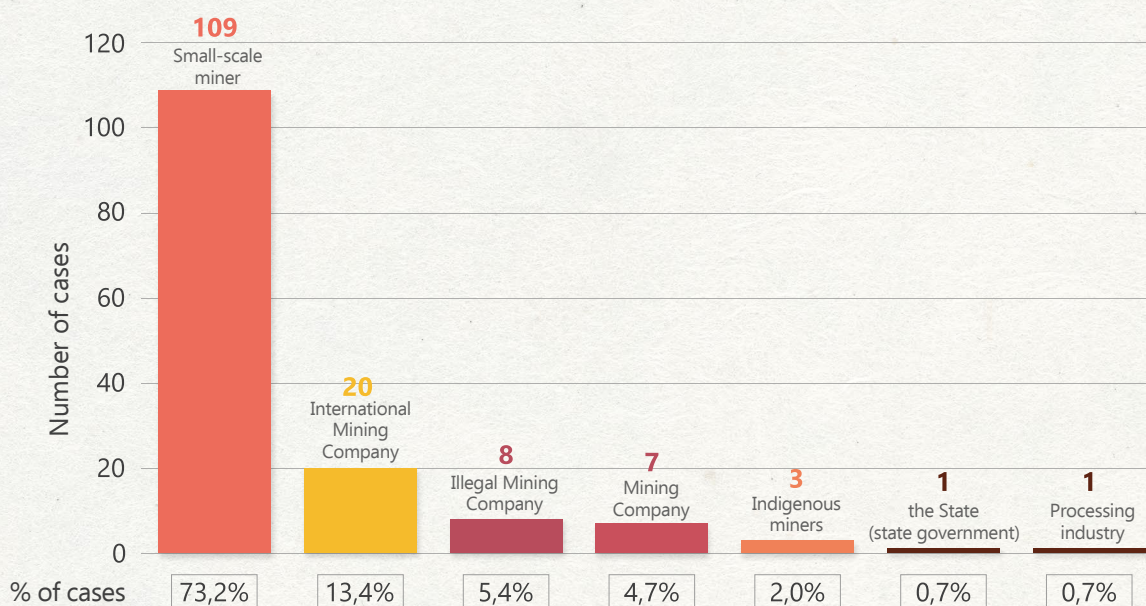
Regarding sexual violence, CIMI's 2022 report brings forward the complaint made by the Hutukara Association that "reports that a miner who worked in the Apiaú region offered drinks and drugs to the community and, when everyone was drunk and unresponsive, raped one of the village children". In addition, "three young girls around 13 years old are said to have died after being repeatedly raped by miners when forced to consume alcoholic beverages. All of this happened in 2020, but the facts only came to light the following year" (CIMI, 2022, p. 199).

In Barra Longa, Minas Gerais, 11 residents participated in a study by the Health and Sustainability Institute (ISS) in 2017. The research proved that all of them had a high level of nickel in their blood and an abnormal amount of arsenic. One of the participants in the study revealed that out of the 11 people who participated in the research, 6 have died. In the same sense, the report submitted by the company Ambios Engenharia classified the city of Barra Longa with imminent risk to human health due to the contamination of the soil, water, and air. "We have evidence. We have documents. Several studies. But who is going to bring us justice? Where should we look for justice?", concludes one of the residents of Barra Longa (STROPASOLAS, 2021).

## Conflicts with Indigenous People

In the 2021 mapping, indigenous people from Roraima, Pará, Amazonas, Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, Rondônia, Alagoas, Maranhão, Espírito Santo, Paraíba, Amapá, Ceará, Santa Catarina, and São Paulo were in conflict with illegal small-scale mining and/or mining companies, totaling at least 54,550 indigenous people. "Small-scale miner" conflicts account for 73.2% of the total, with a 24.7% increase in recorded episodes compared to 2020. Next comes "International mining Company" (13.4%), "Illegal mining company" (5.4%), "Mining company" (4.7%), "Indigenous miners" (2.0%) and "the State" (0.7%) (as per Graph 14). **(0,7%) (cf. Gráfico 14).**

Graph 14:  
Categories causing conflicts with indigenous people in 2021



Out of the 149 episodes of conflicts involving indigenous people, the state of Roraima alone accounted for 29.5%, followed by Pará (22.8%), Amazonas (19.5%), and Minas Gerais (8.7%). In 2020, Pará was the state that ranked first in the number of occurrences.



In 2021, Roraima takes the first position in light of the intense attacks suffered by the Yanomami throughout the year that led to the death of at least 8 indigenous people, including two children, in addition to reports of sexual and physical violence. Given this scenario, the indigenous association Hutukara Associação Yanomami has requested several times that the authorities act to contain the violence, providing a constant presence of public security forces. However, no effective measures were taken.

"The Yanomami suffer intimidation on a daily basis. It's a lot of harassment, like death threats, yelling, displaying of guns, firing of bombs. In short, the authorities have never sent a permanently dedicated security team. The (indigenous) warriors are protecting communities themselves. The competent bodies have not responded to our request, this is very worrying," said Dario Kopenawa, vice president of the Hutukara (PAIXÃO, 2021).

According to a report by the Hutukara Associação Yanomami (HAY) and the Associação Wanasseduume Ye'kwana, the destruction caused by mining in the Yanomami Indigenous Land increased by 46% in 2021 compared to 2020, reaching a cumulative total of 3,272 hectares. This is the highest number since the organizations began the monitoring in 2018, and "possibly the highest annual rate since the demarcation of Yanomami Indigenous Land in 1992" (HAY and AWY, 2022, p. 14). The same document indicates that from 2016 to 2020, mining on Yanomami Indigenous Land "grew by no less than 3,350%" (p.8).

The main types of violence suffered by "Indigenous People" were: **Invasion (77 cases), Harm (69 cases), Intimidation (30 cases), Water pollution (30 cases), and Threat (25 cases).**

### ***Conflicts with Quilombolas***

Another relevant group is the **Quilombolas, which totaled 26 episodes involving at least 13,603 people.** In 2021, conflicts between quilombolas and companies were documented in seven states: Minas Gerais, Bahia, Pará, Goiás, Espírito Santo, Maranhão and Piauí. Minas Gerais accounted for 34.6% of the conflicts, followed by Bahia (30.8%) and Pará (15.4%).

At least 11 companies were involved in conflicts with quilombolas. The top five are Vale S.A. (23.1%), Brazil Iron (15.4%), Hydro (15.4%), and Bahia Mineração (7.7%). "Illegal small-scale mining" accounts for 3.8% of cases of conflict. The minerals most significant in the conflicts are iron ore (60.0%) and aluminum (16.0%).

Five reactions from quilombola communities were reported in 2021, including public letters, repossession, and petitions. Two operations are connected to Brazil Iron, one to SRN Mineração, one to Herculano Mineração, and one to Italmagnésio Nordeste S.A. The repossession refers to the area occupied by the MST (Landless Rural Workers Movement) and by the Quilombola Community Vila São João on the Bela Vista farm, in the rural zone of Berizal, in the North of Minas Gerais. The quilombola population denounces that the area is abandoned, unproductive, and occupied by the Italmagnésio company (MOREIRA, 2021).

The predominant type of conflict among quilombolas in 2021 was around "Water", followed by "Land", with 47.5% and 25.0%, respectively. The predominant types of violence were: "Non-compliance with legal procedures", "Water pollution", "Lack of Prior Consultation", "Destruction" and "Omission".



## Other Rural Social Groups

**Fishermen and riverbank dwellers make up a group that accounted for 65 occurrences, involving 16,161 people.** Bahia accounted for 40.0% of the occurrences, followed by Pará with 15.4%. Eleven companies and illegal small-scale miners were involved in the conflicts. "Tombador Iron Mining" was responsible for 36.9% of the conflicts in this category, followed by "Illegal small-scale mining" (16.9%), Samarco/Vale/BHP (16.9%) and Hydro (9.2%). The Samarco/Vale/BHP and Hydro cases refer specifically to the disasters caused by the companies in the Doce River Basin, with the Fundão dam breach and the bauxite leak from Hydro Alunorte's operations in February 2018 in Barcarena (PA), and the struggle for rights to full reparation. In this category, the most affected municipality is Sento Sé, in Bahia, which is responsible for 36.9% of the cases involving riverbank dwellers and fishermen. All the conflicts were against the Tombador Iron Mining company and the implementation of the Tombador Project in the area, which could potentially destroy and contaminate the springs essential for the local population and agriculture. The main violations in this case were "Non-compliance with legal procedures" and "Lack of prior consultation". In 2020, the municipality was in second place with 12.5% of the cases, an increase of approximately 195%.

**Considering the categories "Rural Settlers", "Fundo de Pasto farm workers", "Extractivists", "Geraizeiros", "Family-run Cattle Ranchers", "Small-scale Rural Landowners", "Small-scale landowners", "Land occupiers", and "Landless people", there were 216 documented conflicts in 2021, including 40,497 people.** When the total number is broken into groups, the numbers are: "Small-scale rural landowners" (20,242 people), "Geraizeiros" (7,415 people), "Rural Settlers" (4,624 people), "Landless people" (3,369 people), "Land Occupiers" (1,623 people), "Extractivists" (1,190 people), "Fundo de pasto Farm Workers" (1,189 people), and "Family-run Cattle Ranchers" (165 people).

These cases happened mostly in Minas Gerais and Bahia, with 54.6% and 22.7%, respectively. Out of the 38 registered companies, the four most significant were Vale S.A. (24.1%), Bahia Mineração (14.4%), Companhia Brasileira de Alumínio (8.3%), Anglo American (6.0%) and Samarco/Vale/BHP (5.1%). The most significant type of conflict revolved around "Land" (84.6%), followed by "Water" (58.3%) and the predominant type of violence was "Omission" (15.7%), "Threat of harm" (11.6%), followed by "Water pollution" (11.1%) and "Harm" (10.9%). As for the "type of object causing" the conflict, "Dam" appears in first place with 39.6% of the cases, followed by "Mine pit" (26.3%) and "Project" (18.9%).

## Urban Conflicts

Regarding conflicts in the urban area, 68 cases were identified, totaling 95 events and accounting for 10.6% of all recorded conflicts. **At least 95,123 people were involved in urban mining conflicts in the country and suffered violations caused by the mining industry.** The conflicts concerned 30 companies, the first five being Braskem, with 42.1% of the urban conflicts, Vale S.A., with 9.5%, followed by Companhia Siderúrgica Nacional (CSN) (7.4%), Samarco/Vale S.A./BHP Billiton (CSN) (4.2%). Gerdau, Itaminas Comércio de Minérios S.A. and Zona da Mata Mineração (ZMM) accounted for 3.2% of conflicts in urban areas each.

In 2021, urban conflicts took place in 35 municipalities in 8 states. **The states with the most conflicts are Minas Gerais, with 45.3%** of the conflicts, followed by Alagoas (43.2%) and Pará (4.2%). **While the three municipalities with the most conflicts were Maceió,** with 42.1% of the cases, Congonhas (7.4%) and Barra Longa (4.2%).



As noted, Braskem accounted for almost half of the conflicts in urban areas in the country. Besides the aforementioned lawsuit filed in the Dutch courts, the Federal Public Ministry (MPF) opened a Follow-up Procedure in 2021, to identify and monitor the criteria used by Braskem in the Financial Compensation Program. The procedure was initiated due to the growing number of representations, revealing the dissatisfaction of those affected with the appraisals and proposals offered by the company (MPF, 2021).

The Braskem case represents one of the biggest urban environmental conflicts in the country, and the magnitude of the tragedy is still unclear. Ronnie Mota, coordinator of the Cabinet of Integrated Management for the Adoption of Measures to Confront the Impacts of the Sinking of the Neighborhoods in Maceió, says that the damage to the city may be greater than initially calculated. Cracks have already appeared in houses that are only 900 meters away from Maceió's main avenue, Fernandes Lima, which connects the airport to downtown. "If the problem reaches this avenue, urban mobility will be chaotic. It is a very worrying situation," says Mota. With the ongoing process of soil subsidence caused by Braskem, the company's liabilities with indemnities and socio-environmental and urbanistic compensation have also grown. "The first version of the agreement to compensate the families, signed in early 2020, included 17,000 people. A year and a half later, this number is already close to 75,000. At the moment, the financial compensation program includes about 65,000 people, or 17,000 families.

To this end, the Civil Defense has prepared a report suggesting the inclusion of another 10,000 people in the compensation program. "These 2,700 families are from the poor neighborhoods of Flexal de Cima, Flexal de Baixo, Bom Parto and Vila Saem, who were isolated after the neighborhoods of Pinheiros, Bom Parto, Mutange and Bebedouro were dislodged. After several updates, the map of the region affected by the sinking already represents 5.6% of the whole urban area of Maceió" (FALCÃO, 2021).

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