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## Amazonian indigenous peoples are threatened by Brazil's Highway BR-319

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**Abstract:** The Amazon rainforest in Brazil is under the greatest human pressure in its history. This pressure is increasing under the current presidential administration, with proposed retraction of environmental and humanitarian protections. Among these pressures are new hydroelectric dams, railways and highways. An infrastructure project with especially far-reaching consequences is the reopening of Highway BR-319 right through the heart of the Amazon Forest. The highway connects Manaus in central Amazonia to Porto Velho in the “arc of deforestation” on the southern edge of the forest. The highway crosses one of the most conserved parts of the Amazon with a large concentration of Indigenous Lands (“*Terras Indígenas*”). Although Brazil is a signatory to ILO Convention 169, which establishes the need for consultation with indigenous peoples and traditional communities, consultations have so far not been held. Here we argue for the need for consultation of all indigenous peoples within 150 km of any part of the highway, comprising 63 Indigenous lands and five other areas containing indigenous communities that are directly threatened by the project.

**Keywords:** Amazon rainforest; ILO-169; EIA; Indigenous Lands; Indigenous peoples.

Brazil's Amazon rainforest and the indigenous people who live in it are under a variety of threats, ranging from highways and dams to mining, ranching and agriculture (Fearnside, 2017a). Approximately 80% of Brazil's Amazonian forest is still standing (MapBiomass, 2019), but new threats are looming. One of the major threats is the opening of roads, which cause deforestation, attract wildcat miners (*garimpeiros*) and settlers of all sorts, and consequently disrespect the region's traditional peoples and ecological diversity (Becker, 2001). In line with campaign promises in the 2018 presidential election, politicians are pressing to accelerate a proposed rebuilding of the long-abandoned Highway BR-319, which would connect Manaus in relatively undisturbed central Amazonia to the state of Rondônia in Brazil's notorious “arc of deforestation,” an area along the the southern and eastern edges of Brazil's Amazon region that, in addition to deforestation, has the highest numbers of land conflicts and murders of environmental activists (Ferrante & Fearnside, 2019). Rebuilding the highway would greatly increase deforestation rates in all areas already connected by road to Manaus, extending northwards to the border with Venezuela (Barni et al., 2015). BR-319 would also greatly increase deforestation because of its planned side roads giving deforesters access to the vast rainforest area in the western part of the state of Amazonas -- far beyond the highway route (Fearnside & Graça, 2006).

Road construction in the Amazon has a critical role in driving the region's demographic increase. For example, the first two major roads (Belém-Brasília and

51 Brasília-Acre) are estimated to have increased population of Brazilian Amazonia by  
52 five fold between 1950 and 1960, setting in motion the rapid growth that continued in  
53 the succeeding decades (Becker, 2001, p. 8). The processes of road opening and  
54 demographic increase through migration are responsible for deforestation, logging,  
55 forest fires, land grabs and malaria outbreaks, among other impacts (Sawyer, 1989,  
56 2001; Laurance et al., 2002; Fearnside, 2003).

57 An environmental impact study has been drafted for BR-319 but has not yet  
58 been approved. Approval under current Brazilian policies requires consultation with  
59 indigenous communities located within 40 km of either side of the highway (MMA,  
60 2011: Anexo II, 2015). However, as has occurred with other highways, impacts of roads  
61 usually extend far beyond 40 km. International Labour Organization (ILO) Convention  
62 169, which Brazil signed in 1991 and ratified in 2002, requires consulting indigenous  
63 peoples when these peoples would be directly or indirectly impacted by proposed  
64 development projects. The terms of ILO Convention 169 were converted into Brazilian  
65 law in 2004 (PR, 2004). Consultations are also required by the United Nations  
66 Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 2006), which Brazil  
67 has signed but not yet ratified. Here we identify indigenous communities in the area  
68 affected by the proposed reconstruction of Highway BR-319. All of the data used in this  
69 paper are public and are available in the cited sources.

70 We built a map of the area affected by Highway BR-319, considering which  
71 indigenous communities should be consulted based on 40-km and 150-km buffers for  
72 establishing the area affected by the highway. The map was built in ArcGIS software  
73 using shape files of Indigenous Lands (“*Terras Indígenas*”) from the National  
74 Foundation for the Indian (FUNAI) and data from the Socio-Environmental Institute  
75 (ISA) and the Missionary Indigenous Council (CIMI) for the areas occupied by  
76 indigenous peoples and their respective the populations.

77 For the area affected by BR-319 within the 150-km impact limit, we identified  
78 63 Indigenous Lands, of which 54 are labeled as “regularized,” which means that they  
79 have gone through all of the steps to be considered fully legal Indigenous Lands (“under  
80 study,” “delimited,” “officially declared” and “homologated” by a presidential decree),  
81 two are “delimited” (Indigenous Lands that have had their anthropological, historical,  
82 land, cartographic and environmental studies approved by the head of FUNAI and that  
83 are pending analysis by the Ministry of Justice for a decision on issuance of a  
84 Declaratory Ordinance of Traditional Indigenous Possession), two are “homologated”  
85 (conclusively signed under a decree by the President of the Republic), four are  
86 “officially declared” (with demarcation of limits and the area’s description published in  
87 the official gazette) and one is “under study” (with anthropological, historical, land,  
88 cartographic and environmental studies that support the identification and delimitation  
89 of an Indigenous Land not yet completed). We also found five indigenous communities  
90 “under identification” outside any of the 63 Indigenous Lands, as well as  
91 anthropological evidence of the existence of an Indigenous band or village that is  
92 reported to be isolated from contact with other Indigenous groups (Figure 1).

93 Our results indicate a total population of over 18,000 indigenous people whose  
94 rights are in the process of being violated within the 150-km limit (Table 1). Within the  
95 40-km impact limit on either side of the planned highway there are thirteen regularized  
96 Indigenous Lands, one area indicated on the FUNAI map as an “indigenous reserve”  
97 [not an official category in Brazil], and two of the five above-mentioned indigenous  
98 communities outside of Indigenous Lands. The Brazilian federal government, through  
99 the National Department of Transport Infrastructure (DNIT) that is responsible for  
100 reconstructing the highway, has stated that it will only consult the communities in five

101 of the Indigenous Lands within 40 km of the road. This has been defended by the  
102 outsourced company that has been conducting the indigenous component of the  
103 Environmental Impact Study (EIA) (MPAM, 2019a,b).

104 The distance from a highway project in Amazonia to which the indigenous  
105 component of an EIA applies is specified as 40 km by Interministerial Order No. 419 of  
106 26 October 2011 (MMA, 2011: Anexo II). According to ILO Convention 169 (ILO,  
107 1989), all indigenous peoples affected by infrastructure projects must be consulted, and  
108 neither the Convention nor the corresponding Brazilian law (No. 5051 of 19 April 2004:  
109 PR, 2004) specify any distance limit, such as 40 km. If a 150-km perimeter were to be  
110 considered as the limit of impact, 63 Indigenous Lands and five indigenous  
111 communities outside of Indigenous Lands would be considered impacted, in addition to  
112 many non-indigenous traditional communities (Figure 1). In truth, the impact of the  
113 highway would affect indigenous peoples far beyond any distance limit extending  
114 laterally from Highway BR-319 because the migration of deforesters from the "arc of  
115 deforestation" can be expected to continue beyond the highway's endpoint in Manaus to  
116 affect all areas connected to that city by road, including the state of Roraima, where  
117 large areas of indigenous land would be exposed to potential invasion.

118 The historical process of opening roads in the Amazon is marked by intense  
119 social conflicts involving squatters, farmers, ranchers, rubber tappers and indigenous  
120 people. The privileged status given to large business, agricultural, and industrial actors  
121 and the violence associated with rapid expansion of major development projects have  
122 resulted in the region being treated as homogeneous, disrespecting social and ecological  
123 differences and destroying traditional knowledge and ways of life (Becker, 2001). The  
124 state of Rondônia, whose capital city (Porto Velho) is at the southern end of Highway  
125 BR-319, has received large migratory flows of small-scale farmers, cattle ranchers and  
126 illegal loggers who have deforested, most of the state, including clearing in  
127 "conservation units" (protected areas for biodiversity) (Pedlowski et al., 2005). These  
128 agents can be expected to migrate northward along Highway BR-319. These are the  
129 same actors who have repeatedly opened illegal roads (starting from legal roads) and  
130 have intensified deforestation on frontiers throughout the Amazon region (Perz et al.,  
131 2007).

132 The Amazon is currently experiencing increased illegal deforestation and  
133 activity by land grabbers (*grileiros*), squatters, loggers and wildcat gold miners  
134 (*garimpeiros*), including those in Indigenous Lands and conservation units, resulting in  
135 increased conflicts with indigenous peoples (Hanbury, 2019). This ominous scenario  
136 has been stimulated both by the anti-environmental discourse of Brazil's current  
137 president, who took office on 1 January 2019, and by his concrete actions in scrapping  
138 measures that had countered these ills in past presidential administrations (Ferrante &  
139 Fearnside, 2019; Valente, 2019a).

140 Brazil's Federal Public Ministry (a public prosecutor's office created by the  
141 country's 1988 Constitution to defend the interests of the people) established a forum to  
142 discuss territorial governance in order to assist the proposed reconstruction of Highway  
143 BR-319. While most participants in the forum are potential beneficiaries directly  
144 interested in promoting the highway project, a number of individuals from research  
145 institutions and non-governmental organizations have warned of the risks the project  
146 poses to indigenous peoples and to the environment (MPAM, 2019a,b,c). A public  
147 prosecutor in the forum (Rafael da Silva Rocha) has stressed that deforestation is  
148 already taking place, that lack of governance is a current problem, and that reopening  
149 the highway could make this scenario worse (MPAM, 2019c).

150 An economic study by the Conservation Strategy Fund showed that the highway  
151 is economically unviable (Fleck, 2009). The highway is not a priority for the Manaus  
152 industrial center because the costs of transporting products from Manaus to São Paulo  
153 either by ship (via cabotage) or by the current system combining barges and highway  
154 transport are much cheaper than transport via Highway BR-319 (Teixeira, 2007).  
155 Highway BR-319 is the only major infrastructure project in Brazilian Amazonia that  
156 does not have a viability study to demonstrate its economic rationality. The reason for  
157 the exception was because the road is supposedly needed for “national security,” as  
158 stated on 8 June 2009 by a military representative at a meeting on licensing the BR-319  
159 held by the Federal Public Ministry in Brasília (P.M. Fearnside, personal observation).  
160 However, on 23 February 2012 the military commander for Amazonia stated in a  
161 seminar at the National Institute for Research in Amazonia in Manaus that the highway  
162 is not a priority for national security because it is far from the country’s borders (see:  
163 Fearnside, 2012, 2015a). The highway also does not appear in the country’s list of  
164 national security priorities (PR, 2008).

165 On 5 December 2019 a representative of DNIT stated in a meeting at the Federal  
166 Public Ministry in Manaus that the reason for the exception was the highway’s role in  
167 bringing social services to residents along the highway route (P.M. Fearnside & L.  
168 Ferrante, personal observation). However, Highway BR-319 makes no sense as an  
169 investment to better the lives of residents of the Amazonian interior because the of the  
170 road’s high cost (roughly R\$4 billion or US\$1 billion for the road alone without  
171 addressing social and environmental impacts). The great expense means that much more  
172 social benefit could be achieved by using these funds for schools, health centers and  
173 other needed facilities throughout the region. In fact, the opportunity offered by the  
174 highway project for local politicians to gain visibility (e.g., *Diário do Amazonas*, 2015)  
175 means that project’s value as an attraction for electoral support in Manaus is the real  
176 reason for the highway (Fearnside, 2015a, 2018).

177 Although Brazil’s new president promised to reconstruct the highway, both  
178 during his campaign and on subsequent occasions, the highway is not included in the  
179 budget for 2020, once again raising the question of the project’s economic viability. The  
180 Brazilian government’s dramatic budgetary limitations mean that any proposed  
181 mitigating measures beyond building the road itself are merely empty promises. Given  
182 the lack of compliance with current socio-environmental requirements, it is clear that  
183 the damage the highway would inflict on indigenous peoples and traditional  
184 communities would not be mitigated. On 18 January 2020 indigenous leaders from the  
185 Apurinã and Mura ethnic groups formally asserted their right to consultation as  
186 established by ILO Convention 169 as part of a denunciation they submitted to the  
187 Federal Public Ministry listing impacts that the highway will have or is already having  
188 on their lands (Gomes et al., 2020).

189 Projections of deforestation provoked by reconstructing Highway BR-319 (dos  
190 Santos Júnior et al., 2018) indicate a real possibility of deforestation beyond the 40-km  
191 area, which justifies the need for consultation within a 150-km perimeter. No  
192 consultation has so far been done with any Indigenous group or village, including those  
193 in the five Indigenous Lands that the government says it plans to consult. The absence  
194 of consultation would endanger the well-being and survival of peoples affected by  
195 Highway BR-319 because highways stimulate land conflicts in Amazonia. This threat is  
196 made even more urgent by measures that Brazil’s new president has stated to be his  
197 priorities, including opening Indigenous Lands to mining (Phillips, 2018), suspending  
198 demarcation of any additional indigenous lands (Putti, 2019) and allowing Indigenous  
199 peoples to lease their lands to agribusiness (Gullino & Shinohara, 2019). On 5 February

200 2020, Brazil's president submitted a proposed law to the National Congress that would  
201 open up indigenous lands for non-Indians to implant mining, oil and gas extraction,  
202 cattle ranching and plantations of monoculture crops such as soybeans and sugarcane  
203 (Congresso Nacional, 2020), ignoring the need for prior consultation as established by  
204 ILO Convention 169. Invasions of Indigenous Lands have been reported to have surged  
205 since President Bolsonaro took office in January 2019 (Valente, 2019a). The “Civil  
206 House” in Brazil’s presidential office has reportedly established a working group to  
207 “study” how Brazil’s adherence to ILO-169 and its requirement for consultation could  
208 be rescinded altogether (Valente, 2019b).

209 FUNAI, which is the agency charged with protecting indigenous peoples, has  
210 been successively weakened by budget cuts and reductions of staff, especially skilled  
211 “indigenists,” and has been demoralized by being forced to allow developments desired  
212 by more powerful parts of the government (e.g., Fearnside, 2015b). The current  
213 presidential administration has worsened this situation dramatically. From January to  
214 July 2019 FUNAI was headed by a retired army coronel who, prior to his appointment,  
215 had been in charge of the indigenous affairs office of the Belo Sun mining company  
216 working to facilitate approval of a gold mine that would have devastating consequences  
217 for two Indigenous Lands downstream of the Belo Monte Dam (Ferrante & Fearnside,  
218 2019). Since July 2019 the agency has been headed by an official from the Federal  
219 Police (FUNAI, 2019), and FUNAI’s remaining indigenists have now been replaced by  
220 appointees from the military (Leitão, 2019). An Army coronel has been appointed as the  
221 regional superintendent of DNIT in Amazonas state (Fernando, 2019), and in July 2019  
222 the same colonel was also put in charge of the DNIT superintendency for the state of  
223 Rondônia, making him responsible for the BR-319 construction project at both ends of  
224 the highway (Boni, 2019). The “Council of Amazonia” announced in the aftermath of  
225 Brazil’s 2019 fires was decreed on 11 February 2020 with the purpose of “coordinating  
226 and integrating government actions related to Legal Amazonia,” including actions  
227 “related to regional infrastructure” (PR, 2020). The council is headed by General  
228 Hamilton Mourão, Brazil’s vice president, who is known for his promise to eat the beret  
229 from his military uniform if Highway BR-319 is not completed within the remaining  
230 three years of President Bolsonaro’s administration (*Amazonas em Tempo*, 2020). All of  
231 these developments decrease the chances that Highway BR-319’s impacts on  
232 indigenous peoples would be mitigated.

233 We note that Brazil has a long history of having many laws and decrees that are,  
234 in practice, not enforced—a tradition dating back to the beginning of Brazil’s history as  
235 a Portuguese colony 500 years ago (Rosenn, 1971). In the case of the legally required  
236 consultation with indigenous peoples, the law has repeatedly been ignored and the  
237 Federal Public Ministry’s efforts to enforce compliance have failed. The Belo Monte  
238 and São Manoel Dams stand as concrete monuments to this failure (Fearnside,  
239 2017b,c,d). The BR-319 case is a current test of the country’s legal system with wide-  
240 ranging implications not only because of the extraordinarily severe impacts of this  
241 highway project but also because of the many impacts of future Amazonian highways,  
242 dams and other developments.

243 Consultation under ILO Convention 169 must provide “free, prior and informed  
244 consent.” The “prior” requirement refers to consultation and resulting consent occurring  
245 before the decision is made to build an infrastructure project, and the consent of the  
246 affected peoples must be part of the decision on the existence of the project itself, not  
247 merely an addition of requirements for mitigation measures. In other words, the affected  
248 peoples have the right to say “no” (e.g., Esteves et al., 2012). Plans by DNIT to have the  
249 consultation proceeding over the coming three years, only to be finalized before the

250 inauguration of the completed highway, do not represent prior consent. The “informed”  
 251 requirement means that each consultation must be done in the community’s own  
 252 language in accord with a protocol developed by the community. Although  
 253 consultations of this type have not yet been carried out, a protocol for consultation has  
 254 been developed in the case of a proposed potassium mine located within 150-km of  
 255 Highway BR-319 (Borges et al., 2019, 2020). The mine affects communities of the  
 256 Mura people, an ethnic group also affected by BR-319. Note that consultations are  
 257 required to be done for each community, not jointly for entire ethnic groups.

258 How a community’s options are presented is critical. In addition to making clear  
 259 the option of saying “no,” the option of saying “yes, but only if certain conditions are  
 260 met” must be realistically explained. A list of governance and assistance measures can  
 261 be expected to result in this case, and the most likely outcome is for these kinds of  
 262 demands to be converted into “preconditions” (*condicionantes*) attached to the  
 263 environmental licenses. Unfortunately, the value of these preconditions has deteriorated  
 264 greatly. Brazil’s environmental licensing process involves three licenses (preliminary,  
 265 installation and operation), each of which was traditionally granted only after all  
 266 requirements for the previous step had been met. Beginning in 2002 the practice of  
 267 granting licenses for the first two steps with attached “preconditions” allowed projects  
 268 to go forward before all requirements had been met. In 2015 the Belo Monte Dam set a  
 269 dangerous precedent, by allowing the final operation license to be granted without  
 270 fulfilling all requirements. The final license had 40 preconditions from the Brazilian  
 271 Institute for the Environment and Renewable Natural Resources (IBAMA) and 26 from  
 272 FUNAI, and subsequent history has shown that few of these requirements were ever met  
 273 (see Fearnside, 2017b,c; Magalhães & da Cunha, 2017; MPF, 2018). In the case of the  
 274 BR-319, even though obtaining environmental approval of this project is currently a top  
 275 political priority at all levels of government, after years of discussion the different  
 276 agencies have been unable to agree as to who would pay for a simple checkpoint at each  
 277 end of the highway’s central segment, as demanded by IBAMA. It is clear that once the  
 278 highway is completed the willingness to pay for an extensive program of governance  
 279 and protection of Indigenous Lands would evaporate altogether.

280 Although consultation does not guarantee that all problems will be solved, such  
 281 as halting unfavorable land-use change, if Highway BR-319 is reconstructed without  
 282 consulting all affected indigenous peoples it will serve as a dangerous precedent for  
 283 future projects. For example, the current presidential administration has announced the  
 284 high-priority Barão do Rio Branco project, which includes a highway that would snake  
 285 northward from the Amazon River to the border with Suriname through four  
 286 conservation units, two Indigenous Lands and four *Quilombola* Lands (areas of  
 287 traditional communities of the descendants of escaped African slaves, who have the  
 288 same rights as indigenous peoples) (Wenzel, 2020). Will these people be consulted, or  
 289 will a precedent created by Highway BR-319 allow them to be ignored? Consultation of  
 290 indigenous peoples is both a right of these peoples and a pathway for leading the  
 291 Amazon towards sustainability.

292

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294

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298

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516

**517 Figure Caption**

518

519 Figure 1. Indigenous lands and communities impacted by Brazil's Highway BR-319.  
520 Indigenous lands within the 40-km perimeter total 13, while those within 150 km  
521 total 63. None have been consulted, and the government's plan is to consult only  
522 five. Numbers in the figure correspond to Indigenous Lands and populations  
523 described in Table 1.

524 Table1. Status of Indigenous Lands and populations

525

| Reference number<br>in the map | Name of Indigenous Land | Ethnic group  | Municipality      | Brazilian state | Status of Indigenous Lands | Population |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------------|------------|
| 1                              | Vista Alegre            | Mura          | Manaquiri         | AM              | Delimited                  | 117        |
| 2                              | Fortaleza do Castanho   | Mura          | Manaquiri         | AM              | Regularized                | 83         |
| 3                              | Tabocal                 | Mura          | Careiro           | AM              | Homologated                | 16         |
| 4                              | Lago do Marinheiro      | Mura          | Careiro           | AM              | Regularized                | 75         |
| 5                              | Rio Jumas               | Mura          | Careiro           | AM              | Regularized                | 211        |
| 6                              | Gavião                  | Mura          | Careiro da Varzea | AM              | Regularized                | 115        |
| 7                              | Cunhã-Sapucaia          | Mura          | Borba, Autazes    | AM              | Regularized                | 587        |
| 8                              | Ariramba                | Mura          | Manicoré          | AM              | Regularized                | 73         |
| 9                              | Lago Capanã             | Mura          | Manicoré          | AM              | Regularized                | 197        |
| 10                             | Ariramba                | Mura          | Manicoré          | AM              | Regularized                | -          |
| 11                             | Ariramba                | Mura          | Manicoré          | AM              | Regularized                | -          |
| 12                             | Nove de Janeiro         | Diahui        | Humaitá           | AM              | Regularized                | 206        |
| 13                             | Jacareúba Katawixi      | -             | Canutama, Labrea  | AM              | Under study                | -          |
| 14                             | Juma                    | Juma          | Canutama          | AM              | Regularized                | 15         |
| 15                             | Caititu                 | Apurinã       | Labrea            | AM              | Regularized                | 1022       |
| 16                             | Paumari do Lago Marahã  | Apurinã       | Labrea            | AM              | Regularized                | 1076       |
| 17                             | Paumari do Rio Ituxi    | Paumari       | Labrea            | AM              | Regularized                | 235        |
| 18                             | Diahui                  | Diahui        | Humaitá           | AM              | Regularized                | 115        |
| 19                             | Tenharim Marmelos       | Tenharim      | Humaitá, Manicoré | AM              | Regularized                | 535        |
| 20                             | Pirahã                  | Mura-Pirahã   | Humaitá           | AM              | Regularized                | 592        |
| 21                             | Tenharim Marmelos       | Tenharim      | Humaitá, Manicoré | AM              | Regularized                | 393        |
| 22                             | Sepoti                  | Tenharim      | Humaitá, Manicoré | AM              | Regularized                | 110        |
| 23                             | Ipixuna                 | Diahui        | Humaitá           | AM              | Regularized                | 64         |
| 24                             | Torá                    | Torá, Apurinã | Humaitá, Manicoré | AM              | Regularized                | 326        |

|    |                              |           |                       |    |             |      |
|----|------------------------------|-----------|-----------------------|----|-------------|------|
| 25 | Sepoti                       | Tenharim  | Humaitá, Manicoré     | AM | Regularized | -    |
| 26 | Rio Manicoré                 | Mura      | Manicoré              | AM | Regularized | 221  |
| 27 | Lago Jauari                  | Mura      | Manicoré              | AM | Regularized | 187  |
| 28 | Lago Capanã                  | Mura      | Manicoré              | AM | Regularized | -    |
| 29 | Apurinã do Igarapé Tauamirim | Apurinã   | Tapaun                | AM | Regularized | 295  |
| 30 | Apurinã do Igarapé São João  | Apurinã   | Tapaun                | AM | Regularized | 142  |
| 31 | Itixi Mitari                 | Apurinã   | Tapaun, Anori, Beruri | AM | Regularized | 311  |
| 32 | Lago Aiapuá                  | Mura      | Anori, Beruri         | AM | Regularized | 623  |
| 33 | Lago do Beruri               | Tikuna    | Beruri                | AM | Regularized | 26   |
| 34 | Ilha do Camaleão             | Tikuna    | Anamã                 | AM | Regularized | 565  |
| 35 | Setemã                       | Mura      | Novo Aripuanã, Borba  | AM | Homologated | 198  |
| 36 | Arary                        | Mura      | Novo Aripuanã, Borba  | AM | Regularized | 200  |
| 37 | Coatá-Laranjal               | Munduruku | Borba                 | AM | Regularized | 2484 |
| 38 | Lago do Limão                | Mura      | Borba                 | AM | Declared    | 115  |
| 39 | Miguel/Josefa                | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 448  |
| 40 | Padre                        | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 22   |
| 41 | Trincheira                   | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 251  |
| 42 | São Pedro                    | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 93   |
| 43 | Itaitinga                    | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 25   |
| 44 | Paracuhuba                   | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 134  |
| 45 | Recreio/São Felix            | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 172  |
| 46 | Cuia                         | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Regularized | 77   |
| 47 | Jauary                       | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Delimited   | 337  |
| 48 | Paraná do Arauató            | Mura      | Itacotiara            | AM | Regularized | 103  |
| 49 | Rio Urubu                    | Mura      | Itacotiara            | AM | Regularized | 378  |
| 50 | Murutinga/Tracajá            | Mura      | Autazes               | AM | Declared    | 1534 |
| 51 | Boa Vista                    | Mura      | Careiro da Varzea     | AM | Regularized | 54   |
| 52 | Apipica                      | Mura      | Careiro da Varzea     | AM | Regularized | -    |

|    |                          |           |                          |    |                      |     |
|----|--------------------------|-----------|--------------------------|----|----------------------|-----|
| 53 | Apipica                  | Mura      | Careiro da Varzea        | AM | Regularized          | 488 |
| 54 | Ponciano                 | Mura      | Careiro da Varzea        | AM | Declared             | 225 |
| 55 | Patauá                   | Mura      | Autazes                  | AM | Regularized          | 47  |
| 56 | Fortaleza do Patauá      | Apurinã   | Manacapuru               | AM | Regularized          | 22  |
| 57 | Jatuarana                | Apurinã   | Manacapuru               | AM | Regularized          | 65  |
| 58 | Pinatuba                 | Mura      | Manicoré                 | AM | Regularized          | 608 |
| 59 | Natal/Felicidade         | Mura      | Autazes                  | AM | Regularized          | 118 |
| 60 | Sissaíma                 | Mura      | Careiro da Varzea        | AM | Declared             | 296 |
| 61 | Karitiana                | Karitiana | Porto Velho              | RO | Regularized          | 333 |
| 62 | Karipuna                 | Karipuna  | Porto Velho, Nova Mamoré | RO | Regularized          | 55  |
| 63 | Reserva Indigena Cassupá | -         | Porto Velho              | RO | Regularized          | 149 |
| 64 | Lago do Barrigudo        | -         | Manaquiri                | AM | Under identification | 25  |
| 65 | Igarapé do Paiol         | -         | Manaquiri                | AM | Under identification | 34  |
| 66 | Maratuba                 | -         | Careiro                  | AM | Under identification | 45  |
| 67 | Capivara                 | -         | Autazes                  | AM | Under identification | 247 |
| 68 | Guapenu                  | -         | Autazes                  | AM | Under identification | 527 |

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