

Executive
Summary

Cartographies of Violence in the Amazon

November 2023



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Volume 2

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Data on Lethal violence



01 The rate of intentional violent deaths in Brazil in 2022 was 23.3 deaths per 100,000 inhabitants, while in the cities that make up the legal Amazon the rate was 33.8 per 100,000, i.e. **the average rate of lethal violence in the Amazon was 45% higher than the national average.**

Average rate of
lethal violence
in the Amazon is

45.0%



higher than the
national average

02 In cities classified as “urban” by the Brazilian Institute on Geography and Statistics (IBGE), the rate of intentional violent deaths in the legal Amazon was 52% higher than the national average, reaching 35.1 deaths per 100,000 people.

03 Despite the high rates of lethal violence, the municipalities in the Amazon classified by the IBGE as urban and intermediate (in-between urban and rural) showed a reduction in the rate of intentional violent deaths between 2021 and 2022. **Rural cities, on the other hand, grew by 7.3% in the same period.**

04 Extreme violence: **15 (fifteen) municipalities had an average lethal violence rate above 80 deaths per group of 100,000 inhabitants in the 2020-2022 triennium**, most of them in the states of Pará and Mato Grosso: Floresta do Araguaia-PA (126.6), Cumaru do Norte-PA (128.5), Aripuanã -MT (121.8), Alto Paraguai-MT (110.0), Mocajuba - PA (108.0), Anapu-PA (100.0), Novo Progresso-PA (99.9), São José do Rio Claro-MT (99.5), Abel Figueiredo-PA (95.2), Nova Maringá-MT (90.3), Ourilândia do Norte-PA (89.4), Iranduba-AM (89.2), Junco do Maranhão- MA (86.4), Colniza-MT (82.7) and Curionópolis-PA (80.7).


05 The rate of violent deaths of indigenous people in the Legal Amazon is 13.1 per 100,000 indigenous people, according to the Brazilian Universal Healthcare System’s Database (DATASUS) data, 11% higher than the national average of intentional violent deaths of indigenous people, which was 11.8 per 100,000 indigenous people. In the other Brazilian states outside the Legal Amazon, the rate is 10.8 victims per 100,000 indigenous people. In other words, **the rate of violent deaths of indigenous people in the Amazon is 26% higher than outside it.** In the Amazon, 1,831 quilombola (a group of


Rate of **violent deaths of indigenous people** in the Amazon is

26.0%



higher than
outside it

**Femicide rate in Amazon municipalities is 30.8%**
higher than the national average

**Rape rate in the region is 33.8%**
higher than the national average

traditional people formed by inhabitants of the quilombos (communities formed by runaway enslaved Black and afrobrasilian people and their descendants) territories have been identified, but only 179 have been definitively titled or officially homologated, which corresponds to just 9.77%.

06 The femicide rate in Amazonian municipalities was 1.8 per 100,000 women, 30.8% higher than the national average, which was 1.4 per 100,000. The rate of intentional violent deaths of women was 5.2 per 100,000 women, 34% higher than the national average of 3.9 per 100,000.

07 Sexual violence also has higher rates in the Amazon than in the rest of the country. Considering the sum of rapes and rapes of vulnerable people (those unable to consent. I.e, children under the age of 14, people with certain disabilities, intoxicated by alcohol and other drugs, etc), **the rape rate in the region was 49.4 victims per 100,000 people in 2022, 33.8% higher than the national average, which was 36.9 per 100,000 in the same period.**

Organized Crime



08 While there are intersections and strong interactions between armed groups from the various Pan Amazonian countries, there is apparently no group that can be considered hegemonic in terms of transnational presence and influence. The group that comes closest to this level is PCC (a criminal organization originated in São Paulo, which is in expansion process throughout the country), which in addition to territorially dominating areas in the interior of Brazil, has a significant presence in Bolivia, Guyana, French Guiana, Suriname and Venezuela.

09 The study mapped the existence of at least 22 criminal factions in the region, present in all the Amazonian states. The Amazonian border hosts most of the municipalities that are object of territorial disputes between factions. Such factions usually set up shop in order to establish control over flows and power relations that guarantee the distribution of drugs and other illicit goods into national territory. It's important to note that this region has also seen the presence of factions and gangs from neighbouring countries, with whom they might either cooperate or compete. The hinterlands of the Amazon are also disputed because they are strategic spaces for both establishing drug trafficking routes and consumption of trafficked drugs.

10 Out of all the 772 municipalities in the Legal Amazon, we identified at least 178 with criminal faction presence, corresponding to 23% of all municipalities in the region. We also identified at least 80 municipalities under territorial dispute between two or more factions, representing 10.4% of the region's total. What reveals the gravity of the problem, however, is that **approximately 57.9% of the region's inhabitants live in the 178 municipalities where a faction is present.** In the 80 municipalities under dispute by factions, the absolute population is around 8.3 million inhabitants, something close to 31.12% of the Amazon's total population. In other words, about 1/3 of the inhabitants of the Legal Amazon are in conflict-ridden, disputed areas, subject to the dynamics of extreme violence and overlapping illegalities and crime.

23.0%

of the region's municipalities **have gangs**



57.9%

of the region's inhabitants live in the municipalities **under criminal factions' influence**



Drug Trafficking



11 Between 2019 and 2022 there was a **194.1% increase in cocaine seizures by state polices in the Amazon**, totaling just over 20 tons in 2022. The state with the most cocaine seizures was Mato Grosso, with 14 tons. Despite having high levels of seizures throughout the period and being an important trafficking route, the state of Amazonas had a significant drop in seizures in 2022, with a reduction of 85% compared to 2021. Two other states that stand out in terms of cocaine seizures are Rondônia and Pará.

Between 2019 and 2022 there was a

194.1%

increase in **cocaine seizures** by state polices in the Amazon



12 The Federal Police seized **32 tons of cocaine in 2022** in the states that make up the Legal Amazon, an **increase of 184.4%** compared to 2019.

13 The seizures made by the Army are noteworthy for their almost insignificant volume, especially when compared to the magnitude of the data from the state and federal police: the sum of marijuana and cocaine seized in the last year totals 4 tons. The low productivity of the Armed Forces is surprising given that they are responsible for border security, in addition to having more human resources than the police, as well as more adequate equipment to operate in the remote locations of the Legal Amazon, compared to other security forces.¹² The Federal Police seized 32 tons of cocaine in 2022 in the states that make up the Legal Amazon, an increase of 184.4% compared to 2019.

14 There are at least two hypotheses for the increase in cocaine seizures in the region: it could be argued that the local police are more efficient and focused in their efforts to seize drugs and other illicit items and, from this perspective, the increase in seizures would

be the result of greater police productivity. The second hypothesis is that drug circulation has in fact increased in the region.

15 The hypothesis of increased drug circulation seems more plausible in light of the the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime’s (UNODC) report, released in June 2023, which deals with the production, trafficking and consumption of cocaine in the world. Analyzing data from the three main cocaine growing countries (Colombia, Peru and Bolivia), the UN agency states that there was a 35% increase in coca plantations in 2021. This increase in production resulted in a 16% increase in the production of pure cocaine and a 42% increase in seizures globally.

In 10 years,
the rate of
**people deprived
of their liberty**
in the Legal
Amazon
grew by



↑ 67.3%

**Firearms
registrations**
in the Amazon
grew by



↑ 91.0%

between 2019 and
2022

Prison System



16 The process of expansion and consolidation of criminal factions in the Legal Amazon is directly linked to the dynamics of the prison system. In Brazil, the intrinsic relationship between prisons and organized crime has already been consolidated in the specialized literature. **In 10 years, the rate of people deprived of their liberty in the Legal Amazon has grown by 67.3%, while the national average has increased by 43.3%.** In 2022, 98,034 people were serving time in the prison system or were under police custody in the states that make up the Amazon.

Firearms



17 Firearms registrations in the Legal Amazon have grown considerably more than in the rest of the country. While in 2019 the total number of active registrations in SINARM (the Federal Police’s System for managing and tracking firearms and ammunition) in the states of the Legal Amazon was 115,092 weapons. In 2022 this figure rose to 219,802, almost twice as many. In other words, **the growth in firearm registrations in the Amazon was around 91%, while the national average was 47.5%.** Among the states of the Legal Amazon, Mato Grosso concentrated the highest number of registrations, with 63,337, followed by Pará, with more than 43,000 in 2022.

Environmental Crimes



18 Records of crimes linked to deforestation grew by **85.3%** between 2018 and 2022. In the last year, there were 619 records in the civil police of the states of the Legal Amazon.

19 Criminal records of hardwood trade (art. 46 of Law 9.605) in the Legal Amazon grew by **37.6%** between 2018 and 2022, from 149 to 205. The champion in 2022 was Amazonas, with 91 records. On the other hand, Amapá and Rondônia have no information on this type of crime.

20 Records of arson in the Legal Amazon grew by **51.3%** between 2018 and 2022. In 2022, 581 arson fires were recorded, and the highest number of records was in Mato Grosso (240). Another state that stands out in terms of fires is Rondônia, with a 143% increase in the period. Acre had no criminal records of fires and Roraima has no information.

21 When it comes to land grabbing, measured by the crime of invasion to occupy federal, state and municipal property/land (Art. 20 of Law 4,947/1966), records grew by **275.7%**, with a peak in 2022, which recorded 139 reports of this type of occurrence. In the whole period, Maranhão, Pará and Roraima are the states that stand out with the highest number of records.

22 Analyzing the infractions issued by Ibama in the nine states of the Legal Amazon between 2018 and 2022, we found a **40.1% increase in infraction notices** over the period, which reached 7,979 in 2022. On a municipal scale, the 10 municipalities in the region with the most environmental infractions in 2022 are concentrated in 3 states: Pará, Rondônia and Amazonas. The champion is Novo Progresso, in Pará, with 810 notices. The mining hub of Pará, Itaituba, is also on the list, in 6th place with 197 notices of infraction.

23 Incentives promoted by the federal government during Jair Bolsonaro's administration, paired with the increase in the price of a gram of gold during the Covid-19 pandemic, and the decrease in environmental inspections, have produced what could be called "the new gold rush" in the Legal Amazon. **The increase in the collection of the CFEM (a tax due in the case of mineral extraction) is proof of the increase in gold mining. Between 2018 and 2022, the CFEM collected for gold increased by 294.7% in the Legal Amazon, while the national increase was 153.4%.**

Between 2018 and 2022, crime records in the Legal Amazon grew

deforestation

85.3%



trade in hardwood

37.6%



fires

51.3%



24 In 2021, the revenue created by gold in the Amazon accounted for 47% of Brazil's total gold revenue, which meant almost R\$200 million. In Pará alone, the CFEM collection reached its historical peak, totaling more than R\$ 86 million, an increase of 485% compared to 2018. The explanation for this growth lies not only in the increase in gold production in the state, but also in the use of Pará's mining permits to legalize illegally extracted gold in fully protected territories, such as the Yanomami Indigenous Land in Roraima.

State structure



25 The Civil Polices are the link between the country's Public Safety and Criminal Justice Systems. Therefore, they are key players in solving crimes and reducing impunity. In the Legal Amazon, 1,249 police stations were mapped, of which 946 were non-specialized and 303 specialized. States such as Roraima, for example, have only 53 police stations, while in Acre there are only 39. With regard to specialized police stations, there are only 53 in the entire region that deal with the themes covered in this report, with Pará and Tocantins standing out, each with 14 units of this kind. In Maranhão, there is only one specialized police station and in Rondônia there are two.

26 When it comes to the number of civil police chiefs, there were only 50 active police officers in 2023, even fewer than in 2022, when there were 56. Considering the total number of civil police chiefs in the state, on average, there are 455km² of work for each officer, a situation that is only worse in Amazonas, where the figure reaches 835.

27 Regarding the Military Police's personnel, there are just over 60,000 active military police officers in the entire Legal Amazon. **Each officer is responsible, on average, for patrolling 83 km² in the Legal Amazon, while in Brazil this figure drops to 21 km² per officer.**

28 The presence of the Federal Police in the Legal Amazon is characterized by a very limited number of units, mainly in the the states' countryside. There are 58 units throughout the region, 33 in the capital and 25 in the countryside. The largest number of units is concentrated in Belém, the capital of the state of Pará, where there are 6 (six) units. In the state as a whole, Acre has the highest number of units, 10 in total. In Tocantins, there are only 2 (two) units in the entire territory. With regard to the Federal Highway Police, the phenomenon is reversed: there are more units in the interior of the state than in the capital, which is justified given their operations on federal highways. The largest presence of

Each officer is responsible, on average, for patrolling



83 km²



in the Legal Amazon, while in Brazil this figure drops to 21 km² per officer

the Federal Highway Police is in Mato Grosso, where there are 22 units, and in Pará and Rondônia, both with 16 units each.

29 The Armed Forces are also present in the region, with the Army being the biggest exponent, with 109 units located mainly in the state of Amazonas. The Navy and Air Force are also concentrated in this state, but with fewer units than the Army.

30 **The Public Security Departments of the nine states have a total of 19 aircrafts and 24 helicopters.** The only Civil Police to have an aircraft is Rondônia, but only one. The Military Police has no aircraft or helicopters to conduct operations. **Despite the Legal Amazon being 20 times larger than São Paulo, considering all the states in the region, their Military Polices have 4 helicopters less than São Paulo's Military Police.** The São Paulo Military Police alone has 29 helicopters and 4 aircrafts, according to data provided by the institution. The state's Civil Police has 2 aircrafts and 4 helicopters at its disposal.

31 The data shows that there are still major shortages, especially when it comes to vehicles at the Civil Police's disposal. There are only 760 police vehicles for the entire Legal Amazon, and they are not evenly distributed, the State of Amapá, for instance, only has 20.

32 There are 143 boats available to the Public Safety Departments in the Legal Amazon, as well as 30 for the Civil Police and 143 for the Military Police. In total, then, there are 316. Compared the Amazonian State's structure to São Paulo's, the latter's Military Police alone has 636 boats in 2023, according to the data provided by the agency. In other words, São Paulo's Military Police alone has twice as many boats as all the sum of those at the disposal of the nine states of the Legal Amazon's Public Safety Departments, Military Polices and Civil Polices combined.

The Legal Amazon is

20 times

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