

The COVID-19 pandemic intensified resource conflicts and indigenous resistance in Brazil

Article (Accepted Version)

Menton, Mary, Milanez, Felipe, Souza, Jurema Machado de Andrade and Cruz, Felipe Sotto Maior (2021) The COVID-19 pandemic intensified resource conflicts and indigenous resistance in Brazil. *World Development*, 138. a105222 1-9. ISSN 0305-750X

This version is available from Sussex Research Online: <http://sro.sussex.ac.uk/id/eprint/94187/>

This document is made available in accordance with publisher policies and may differ from the published version or from the version of record. If you wish to cite this item you are advised to consult the publisher's version. Please see the URL above for details on accessing the published version.

Copyright and reuse:

Sussex Research Online is a digital repository of the research output of the University.

Copyright and all moral rights to the version of the paper presented here belong to the individual author(s) and/or other copyright owners. To the extent reasonable and practicable, the material made available in SRO has been checked for eligibility before being made available.

Copies of full text items generally can be reproduced, displayed or performed and given to third parties in any format or medium for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes without prior permission or charge, provided that the authors, title and full bibliographic details are credited, a hyperlink and/or URL is given for the original metadata page and the content is not changed in any way.

The COVID-19 pandemic intensified resource conflicts and indigenous resistance in Brazil

Mary Menton, Sussex Sustainability Research Programme, University of Sussex, UK. m.menton@sussex.ac.uk

Felipe Milanez, Institute for Humanities Arts and Sciences, Federal University of Bahia, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil fmilanez@gmail.com

Jurema Machado de Andrade Souza, Center for Arts Humanities and Literature, Federal University of the Recôncavo of Bahia, Cahoeira, Bahia, Brazil. Jurema.machado.souza@gmail.com

Felipe Sotto Maior Cruz, Opará, State University of Bahia, Paulo Afonso, Bahia, Brazil, tuxa.antropologia@hotmail.com

Introduction

The COVID-19 pandemic has intensified historical inequalities in many countries. As of 5 September 2020, Brazil reported 125,521 deaths and over 4 million confirmed cases, with the USA the only country reporting higher numbers of deaths (Roser, Ritchie, Ortiz-Ospina, & Hasell, 2020). One of the global epicentres of the pandemic, historical contradictions and socio-ecological inequalities in Brazil expose the cruelty with which access to public health and fundamental rights, like Mbembe's universal right to breathe (Mbembe, 2020), have been unequally distributed (Oliveira et al., 2020a; Ortega and Orsini 2020). Risk of COVID death for black Brazilians is 62% higher than for white Brazilians (Junior, 2020). In May, Fiocruz (2020) found that for white Brazilians, 28% of COVID-19 hospitalisations led to death while 48% of hospitalised indigenous Brazilians died and many more have died in their homes without being hospitalised.

Inequity is further exacerbated by unequal exposure of certain social groups to the risk of death resulting from active omission of mitigation and protective measures that reflects the political posture of an authoritarian government. The health crisis has been aggravated by unprecedented impacts from the dissemination of misinformation and 'fake-news', the so-called 'info-demic', and contempt for the press and for science. The indigenous population is exposed to greater risk through the degradation of their territories, combined with a history of racist structural neglect (Milanez et al., 2019), particularly in provision (or lack thereof) of health services, which were further weakened since President Jair Bolsonaro took office in 2019. The indigenous movement has decried this "politics of extermination" - or, genocide (APIB, 2020; Silva, 2020; Milanez, 2020a). It is essential to highlight that in addition to mass killings, the term genocide also applies to cases where we see 'a coordinated plan of different actions aiming at the destruction of essential foundations of the life of national groups' and thus both physical and cultural destruction, and attacks on indigenous territories, can be genocidal (Short, 2010). Indigenous peoples in Brazil also face "genocide by omission" or "genocide by attrition", when a group is stripped of its human rights and faces "deprivation of conditions essential for maintaining health, thereby producing mass death" (Fein, 1997, p10). In many cases in Brazil, inaction does not occur by accident but is a

political decision that leads to dire consequences for indigenous peoples and other marginalised groups (Milanez, 2020a). As indigenous leader and philosopher Ailton Krenak wrote, “In this moment, we are challenged by a form of erosion of life” (Krenak, 2020, p.95).

The arrival of COVID-19 in Brazil sparked, in addition to panic and fear, an intensification of conflicts together with an increase in direct action and political acts of resistance. These include an increase in land invasions (Marshall, 2020) but also the closing-off of territories through community-led blockades (Milanez, 2020b). In this article, through a political ecology perspective, we analyse the effects of COVID-19 on indigenous territories in two regions of Brazil: the Northeast and the Eastern Amazon - South/Southeast of Pará. As of 28 August 2020, indigenous peoples in the Northeast had suffered 47 deaths from COVID-19 and 2,547 confirmed cases (APOINME, 2020). For indigenous peoples in the South/Southeast of Pará, 29 deaths and over 1888 cases were confirmed by 12 August (Rede de Apoio Mútuo Indígena do Sudeste do Pará, 2020). Nationally, as of 5 Sept 2020, there were 646 indigenous COVID deaths and 22,489 confirmed cases in the Brazilian Amazon (COIAB, 2020) and 788 deaths and 30,301 confirmed cases nation-wide (APIB, 2020). The coordination of attacks and local resistance occur concomitant to national level struggles for protection of constitutional rights. This political confrontation involves two sides: i) the indigenous movement organised around APIB (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil, Brazilian Indigenous Peoples’ Network) and indigenous rights organisations and allies in Congress; and ii) the Bolsonaro government which has put forth anti-indigenous bills that seek to legalise illegal mining, land-grabbing, and other forms of expropriation of resources in indigenous territories.

This paper draws on political ecology research focused on identifying the impacts of neoliberal development, and Bolsonaro’s policies of expansion of large-scale agriculture and resource extraction. We seek to respond to two central questions: how has COVID-19 spread surrounding development projects that affect indigenous peoples, and how have they responded in the face of active environmental conflicts and the spread of the disease. We look at the diversity of conflicts that impact indigenous peoples’ way of life in Brazil today, that go beyond the fight against ranchers and miners to include a much wider range of confrontations against colonialism that have a direct impact not only on the spread of coronavirus but also on collective action and community-led resistance strategies. First, we present the context of violence in which the pandemic arrived and spread in Brazil. Second, we note the impacts of the virus through case studies that indicate intensification of environmental conflicts and responses to the crisis via resistance strategies developed by indigenous peoples.

Context of Violence

“We are in a situation of war: war for territory. We are at a crossroads: or go out and fight for territorial rights, and take to the streets to not be killed by these conflicts... it’s a crossroads, either you die by being shot... or you die from the virus... The recommendations of the health organisations, to stay in isolation, to wash your hands, is a privilege only accessible to a small elite. For most people, this is not an option.”

Sônia Guajajara (Guajajara, 2020)

The coronavirus pandemic has been so extreme in Brazil in part due to ongoing political crises and President Bolsonaro's attitude. He has denied the gravity of the virus, calling it 'a little cold' and responding to death statistics and record-breaking transmission rates with 'So what?' (Prado, 2020). He has fired one health minister, seen the resignation of another (Phillips, 2020a) and overseen the militarisation of the Health Ministry (Eisenhammer, & Stargardter, 2020). All have had a direct impact on the actions of SESAI (Special Secretariat on Indigenous Health) and coordination of efforts to combat the pandemic. The effects were worsened by the political crisis at the end of April. Bolsonaro supporters held massive demonstrations against democracy, calling for closure of the National Congress and the Federal Supreme Court (Phillips, 2020b). Bolsonaro networks politicised the actions aimed at combating coronavirus, turning it into an 'us vs them', characteristic of fascist politics (Stanley, 2020). They allowed evangelical churches to stay open because they were deemed 'essential services.' Evangelical churches ended up playing an important role in spreading the virus within indigenous communities (Ribeiro, 2020). Bolsonaro spoke out against quarantines and social distancing, influencing public opinion. In general, underestimating the gravity of COVID-19 served immediate economic interests and undermined efforts to combat the virus. The number of cases continues to grow, and due to limited testing it will never be possible to establish the true scale. According to one study on the number of additional cases of hospitalization for acute respiratory syndrome, the number of actual cases of infection is at least 7 times the official number (Ribeiro, & Bernardes, 2020).

The effects of COVID-19, which was brought to Brazil by members of the economic elite, have been distributed unequally amongst different races (Oliveira et al., 2020a, Ortega, & Orsini, 2020). Since the outbreak of the pandemic in the middle of March 2020, indigenous organisations and allies have highlighted the degree of vulnerability of indigenous peoples (Ferrante, & Fearnside, 2020). One of the first groups affected by the illness was the Yanomami, due to invasion of their territory by illegal gold miners who spread the virus. A 15 year old Yanomami boy was the first confirmed indigenous case. The Yanomami launched an international campaign to raise funds to deal with the pandemic, specifically to bring oxygen compressors into local outposts. By September, the pandemic had spread quickly and reached 28 villages. The Network Pro Yanomami and Yekuana, led by the indigenous association Hutukara, reported 704 confirmed cases with 8 confirmed deaths and 9 suspect deaths amongst a population of 28,000. Fighting against illegal gold miners, denouncing invasions to the Supreme Court and the International Court on Human Rights, the Yanomami also called the shamans to fight coronavirus. Dário Kopenawa Yanomami, the son of Davi Kopenawa, posted in his network that the shamans were researching cures and they planned to isolate themselves in the forest, especially to protect Yanomami elders like Davi Kopenawa.

Even though the Yanomami are vulnerable to the advance of the virus in their territories, they are removed from the urban context of 36% of Brazil's indigenous population. SESAI does not account for cases amongst indigenous peoples in cities nor does it provide them with health services, putting them at greater risk as they compete for attention from a failing, over-stretched public health system. The first

COVID-19 death of an indigenous person was an elderly Borari woman living in Alter do Chão in Pará State whose death was not counted in the official statistics. The Public Defenders Ministry demanded that SESAI include cases from Alter do Chão because “the circumstance of indigenous people living in an urban context does not exclude the need for them to be attended to by a specialised public health policy” and that negating this support constitutes institutional racism (MPF, 2020). As of 30 May 2020, SESAI recorded 51 deaths of indigenous people while civil society alliances registered 141 deaths in the Amazon (COIAB, 2020) and the National Committee on Indigenous Life and Memory of APIB reported 167 nationally (APIB, 2020). On 1 September 2020, COIAB reported 629 deaths of indigenous peoples in the Amazon, APIB reported 780 nationally while SESAI records listed only 388 deaths (COIAB, 2020b; APIB, 2020). The difference between these reports, and failure to close the gap over time, are worrying: SESAI records are considered the official statistics, the numbers based upon which government support strategies are determined. Beyond numbers, as APIB (2020) highlights, “For us, they are not just numbers, they are lives” and in many cases, due to the higher vulnerability of elderly, they represent the loss of chiefs and elders; the loss of cultural knowledge and leadership.

That so many deaths have occurred in such a short period of time is not by chance, but due instead to negligence. The federal government delayed in engaging in effective actions and establishing a contingency plan, despite studies showing the vulnerability of different indigenous territories that pointed to actions that could combat the spread of COVID-19 in indigenous territories (Azevedo et al., 2020; ISA, & UFMG, 2020). In fact, the government spent less on indigenous peoples’ health care month-per-month in April and May of 2020 than in 2019 and despite an increase in spending in June 2020, the April-June spending for 2020 was 11% lower than that of 2019 (Saraiva, & Cardoso, 2020). If government institutions were functioning as they would under normal conditions, these recommendations could have been implemented. Yet, faced with infected villages and the speed with which the virus spreads given the cultural norms of communal living, testing has been limited and is only carried out a week after presentation of symptoms. Within this period, high-risk populations begin to need ventilators, which are not available in the majority of regions in the Amazon and the Northeast. With the acceleration of COVID-19, necropolitics, defining those who can live (Mbembe, 2003), now determines who possesses the right to breathe (Mbembe, 2020), a right which is no longer experienced universally.

In June 2020, allies in the national Senate were able to approve a bill for an Emergency Plan to Combat Coronavirus in Indigenous Peoples, Quilombolas and traditional populations (PL 1142) but in early July, Bolsonaro vetoed 16 of the measures. In August, Congress overruled Bolsonaro’s vetoes. However, in the meantime, hundreds of indigenous people had died of COVID and thousands more were infected.

This lack of public policies for mitigation and prevention came at the same time as an intense wave of political actions aimed at revising the legal framework for territorial protection, with bills and ministerial ordinances regularizing the occupation of indigenous lands by land-grabbers and suspending State assistance to indigenous groups on lands to which title has not yet been legalised. Support for expansion into

the Amazon was further revealed by the Minister of the Environment, Ricardo Salles, in a ministerial meeting on 22 April 2020 where he was video-recorded saying “We need to make an effort while we are in this calm moment in terms of press coverage, because they are only talking about COVID, and push through and change all the rules and simplify norms” (Spring, 2020). The infamous video, in which Salles also called for “*passar a boiada*” or “letting the cattle run”, revealed the depth of the governmental intentions to promote expansion of extractive industries and infrastructure projects in the Amazon.

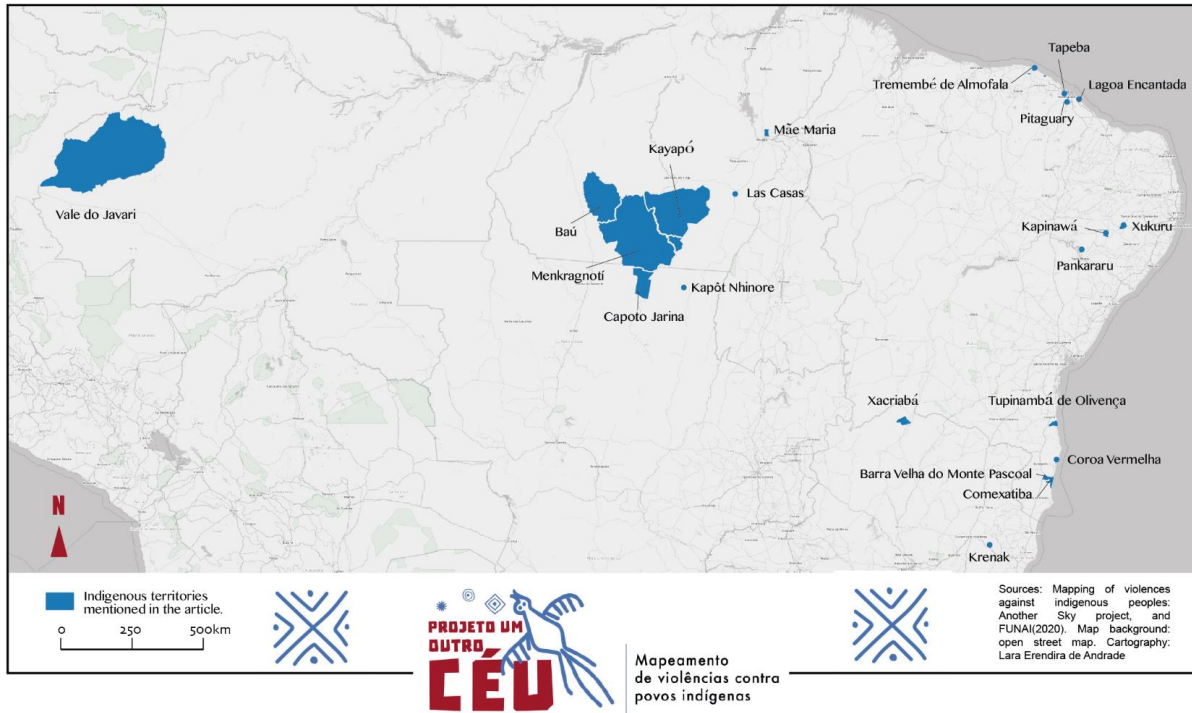
While Bolsonaro has systematically worked to undermine indigenous peoples’ rights, many government employees have continued their long history of working to protect these rights and of collaboration with indigenous peoples and indigenist organizations and allies such as the Indigenist Missionary Council (CIMI). This work continues despite cuts to funding (Saraiva, & Cardoso, 2020) and imposition of restrictions on FUNAI employees. For example, a regulation passed in late 2019, prohibiting them from visiting indigenous communities in undemarcated territories, thereby excluding a large portion of the indigenous population of Brazil from receiving their support. Working under increasingly precarious conditions, and with clear mandates from above to reduce support to activities that would further protect indigenous rights, the politics of extermination and intentional omissions of the state have created situations in which these employees face persecution and even death. Maxciel dos Santos, an ex-employee of FUNAI who was well known for his efforts to protect the isolated indigenous peoples in the Javari Valley of Amazonas State, was murdered in September 2019 in retaliation for his work (Milanez, 2019). More recently, two heads of enforcement for IBAMA (Brazilian Institute of Environment and Renewable Natural Resources) were fired shortly after undertaking actions to crack down on illegal gold miners active in Kayapó indigenous territories as preventative measures for further spread of COVID therein (Valente, 2020).

Within this context of irresponsibility and negligence by the State, we see the emergence of grassroots initiatives and local resistance. Kothari et al. (2020) ask ‘Can coronavirus save the planet?’ Confronted with the inability of neoliberalism to provide answers, they highlight initiatives that reveal the rebirth of radical democracy brought forth primarily by women and youth and based largely on Buen-Vivir (Gudynas, 2011). Our research has shown that some indigenous groups have been dealing with decades of conflicts arising principally from the fight for ancestral territories. For communities facing continuous conflicts, who organise themselves daily around these struggles, it was possible to react immediately through their own organisations and address the threat of the pandemic. Another aspect of the analysis, in respect to indigenous peoples in the northeast, is that their invisibility to the wider Brazilian society and the state also means that the urgency of the pandemic led to autonomous actions - they knew that any external support would arrive too late, if at all. As Dinamam Tuxá of APIB said “We had to compensate for the absence of the state, they didn’t have a platform of action. The blockades are one action within reach of indigenous peoples to help mitigate the impacts” (CIMI, 2020).

Methods

This paper draws on political ecology research focused on identifying the impacts of neoliberal development, and Bolsonaro’s policies of expansion of large-scale

agricultural and resource extraction. It centers around research in progress based on surveys of environmental conflicts carried out under the Another Sky Project which mapped violence against indigenous peoples in the Northeast of Brazil and Southern region of Pará State in the Amazon. Figure 1 shows the location of the indigenous territories referred to herein.



With the onset of the pandemic, the research was redesigned to include gathering of information on the effects of the spread of coronavirus among different indigenous groups. We include observations based on methods that arose in the face of the health crisis: the rapid sharing of information through social media and messaging apps, as well as informal phone conversations with indigenous leaders. In particular, we draw from information shared on WhatsApp groups (Kanamari Campaign, Indigenous Mutual Aid in Pará, Direitos Indígenas; Ronda Indígena Yande), Twitter and/or Instagram by individual indigenous leaders (e.g. @guajajarasonia, @dariokopenawa, @eloyterena, @thyarapataxo, @dinamam_tuxa, @celia.xakriaba, @joeniawapichana) and indigenous associations and groups (e.g. @apiboficial; @coiabamazonia; @apoinme_brasil; @somoshahahai; @povopankararu, @novos_guerreiros_oficial, @institutoraoni, @mupoiba, @anai_associacaoindigenista, @remdipe, @fepoince), NGOs and research initiatives that work with indigenous peoples (e.g. @cimi_conselhoindigenista, @socioambiental, @amazonwatch, @rainforest_foundation, @pineb, @projeto_um_outro_ceu) and accounts focused specifically on the impacts of COVID on indigenous peoples (@memorialvagalumes, @memorialindigena). We also carried out telephone interviews / WhatsApp chats with indigenous health workers and indigenous leaders: 6 Mebengokrê (Kayapó), 2 Gavião, 4 Kanamari, 3 Pataxó Hãhãhã, 4 Tupinambá, 4 Pataxó, 1 Tumbalala, 1 Munduruku, 1 Tukano, 1 Guajajara, 1 Tuxá, 1 Terena.

The interviews focused on the impacts of COVID-19 on their communities and what actions they had taken during the pandemic to protect themselves, including their territories and their health.

We also draw on information shared during online events during the pandemic. In total, the co-authors participated (as speakers, facilitators and/or audience members) in over 100 hours of webinars and online discussions, also known in Brazil as a 'live'. All four co-authors are 'activist academics' involved in supporting indigenous resistance movements and one is indigenous, of the Tuxá, Bahia. As a result, this article draws on decolonial academic research, on co-production of knowledge and analysis of the impacts of the pandemic undertaken together with indigenous peoples.

Survival strategies in the face of politics of extermination

"Indigenous peoples have been resisting for five hundred years... We resisted by expanding our subjectivity, not accepting the idea that we are all equal...The state machine acts to undo our society's forms of organisation, seeking an integration between them and Brazilian society as a whole"

Ailton Krenak (Krenak, 2020b, p. 31-39).

Indigenous peoples in Brazil have faced a long history of struggles for autonomy and territory, dating from the early 'wars of conquest' in the 1500s (Milanez, & Santos, 2021; Ribeiro, 2000). Those alive today are the survivors of those struggles, those who maintained or reclaimed their cultural identities despite concerted government efforts to promote policies of assimilation (Ribeiro, 1977; Rodrigues, 2002) and renewed interest in such policies under Bolsonaro (Menton, & Milanez, 2018). These histories of resistance have been important in shaping indigenous peoples responses to the current pandemic.

Isolation as a political act of resistance: Javari Valley

Given this long experience of violence, while the news of the coronavirus pandemic was spreading in Brazil, indigenous leaders began to build survival strategies. In mid-March, the Kayapo leader Megaron Txucarramãe, wrote: "this disease has the power of an anaconda, to kill by strangulation, the victim cannot breathe and dies. But you don't see it, because eyes cannot see it" (Txucarramãe, pers comm). Many communities, like the Kayapo and the Yanomami, who live in close proximity to forested areas, have moved further into the forest, fleeing the virus (Kopenawa, 2020).

The decision to self-isolate has a long history among indigenous peoples. It can be both a pragmatic decision to protect themselves from disease and a political act of resistance to domination by outsiders. Much rhetoric surrounds the issue of self-isolation, voluntarily isolated, or 'uncontacted' peoples. Indigenous peoples who choose to remain outside of dominant society are framed as being isolated and 'uncontacted', as if they are unaware of its existence, of some perceived 'benefits' of contact. Alternatively, it is as if they are the last 'free' people and should be 'left alone' - ignoring the nuances of their situation and that this decision to remain isolated is a conscious choice which often stems from historical (or present day) violence and invasion of their territories (Shepard, 2016; Milanez, 2018). As a

people, they make the choice to remain outside of the dominant system, to keep a distance between themselves and an external society that threatens their health, their way of life, and their very survival. As such, the decision to self-isolate during the pandemic is a political act of resistance to the onslaught. It represents a political perspective of distancing themselves from domination as a form of resistance, for peoples who are considered 'contacted' (a legal classification in Brazil) as much as those who are classified as 'isolated' by law. They make the decision to protect themselves knowing that the government would fail to do so.

The Office of Isolated Peoples and Peoples in Recent Contact (CGIIRC) has suffered setbacks since the beginning of the year. Shortly before the pandemic, Bolsonaro named a missionary pastor linked to the New Tribes Mission, as the head of the CGIIRC, leading to international outcry. It represented steps backwards from decisions made as far back as 1910 for separation of church and state. The choice of missionary represented a threat of a policy change towards forcing contact and resulted in ramping up of pressure to protect the territories of isolated peoples. APIB and allied groups began to demand prohibition of entry by missionaries and establishment of health blockades in these territories. In July 2020, UNIVAJA (Union of Indigenous People of the Javari Valley) and Eliesio Marubo, a lawyer and indigenous of the Marubo people, brought and won a court case prohibiting evangelical missionaries from entering the Javari indigenous territory during the pandemic.

Yet, it is important to recognise that true isolation is not achievable. Illegal loggers and gold miners are active in territories home to indigenous peoples in voluntary isolation, like the Korubo in the Javari Valley Indigenous Territory. Neighbouring peoples, the Kanamari, have been infected by COVID. Leaders have denounced that the virus arrived when health-workers from SESAI did not quarantine before working with their community, thus spreading the illness. Kora leaders denounced the presence of illegal hunters and outsiders collecting turtle eggs within the territory in spite of Kora demands for assistance in preventing outsiders from entering the territory, APIB brought a case to the Supreme Court, demanding the government take effective action to protect isolated peoples from the spread of COVID. On 8 July 2020, the Supreme Court ruled that FUNAI had 10 days to implement a plan. To date, no effective measures are in place.

For communities living in forested regions of the Amazon, retreating further into the forest has been a common protective measure during the pandemic. Others, living in more densely populated regions, have had to pursue other options.

Mobilized to resist: the south of Bahia

The coronavirus arrived in Brazil brought by elites, and its spread to the northeast is linked to tourism. The tourist hubs of Ilhéus and Porto Seguro have the highest concentration of indigenous peoples in Bahia, including the Tupinambá, Pataxó Hãhãhã and Pataxó. This is also where some of the most extreme cases of pillage and land conflict in indigenous territories of the northeast have occurred. During the peak of colonisation, in the mid-15th century, colonists converted the Atlantic rainforests of indigenous territories to cocoa cultivation and, later, to cattle ranches

and eucalyptus plantations. The Tupinambá people are fighting for demarcation of the Tupinambá de Olivença Indigenous Territory in this region, but the demarcation process has been paralyzed since 2009, when FUNAI first published the demarcation report. Even while leftist governments of the PT (Workers Party) were in power, the report was not signed. The signing would have allowed for continuation of the demarcation process and cooling of conflicts that have now been worsened by the openly anti-indigenous policies of Bolsonaro. Even so, in the midst of conflicts with non-indigenous land-invaders, everyday racism experienced regionally, and constant attacks on indigenous rights, the Tupinambá were able to make progress on the reoccupation of their traditional lands through '*retomadas*' or land reclamations (Alarcon, 2019).

Land *retomadas* are a form of self-organised socio-political organisation that engender different ways of reclaiming and managing a territory (Souza, 2019). In the case of indigenous peoples of Southern Bahia, the planning and execution of *retomadas* are seen as anti-colonial actions (Fanon, 2002). *Retomadas* aim to reconquer lands that were invaded and enlarge indigenous territories. They are also a form of retaliation or vengeance against enemies responsible for stealing the land. Following a self-organised structure, the *retomada* includes: 1. Preparation - ritual, supplies (planting of fields, raising of animals), bureaucratic processes to verify land titles of the farms on land stolen from them); 2. Action/Maintenance - guarding of the reclaimed area, appropriation of materials and natural resources on that land. Preparation for a *retomada* can take about a year and the maintenance stage creates a way of life based around territorial struggles such that they remain organised and ready for confrontation as an everyday reality.

In 1999, people of the Pataxo and Pataxo Hãhãhãï reclaimed an area which had been designated as part of the Monte Pascoal National Park in Porto Seguro but was part of their traditional territory. They demanded the right to full access to the land and the park. The Pataxó has been organising a *retomada* since the year before, in response to government settlement projects installed on Pataxó lands. The *retomada* is not just a reclaiming of land but also taking back memories, animals, plants, songs and chants, *encantados* and the feelings of being a people. At the same time, the Tupinambá emerged on the national indigenous scene through the conformation of a unified indigenous territory in the south of Bahia. Mutual support and exchange, communication and coordination among the Tupinambá, Pataxó and Pataxó Hãhãhãï has allowed them to maintain a large territory (totalling 182,124ha and home to 21,390 people). Within this larger territory, only one is fully demarcated (Caramuru-Paraguassu, of the Pataxó Hãhãhãï) due to *retomadas* and a 2012 decision by the Supreme Court that annulled land titles of stolen properties inside their territory. The Tupinambá and Pataxó are still waiting for the completion of their demarcation processes which began in the early 2000s. In this sense, struggle and resistance are recurring themes amongst these indigenous groups and become criteria for belonging to the community. It is expected that each member of the community is committed to communal causes, in particular to being involved in the preservation of reclaimed territories through participation in *retomadas*. As such, we see that the constant resistance strengthens community ties and creates conditions such that even under duress of the pandemic, bonds are strong.

The indigenous peoples in Bahia who were the quickest to self-organise to avoid infection by COVID, the Pataxó (Coroa Vermelha; Barra Velha do Monte Pascoal and Comexatibá indigenous territories) and the Tupinambá (Tupinambá de Olivença indigenous territory), are also those who live in the most vulnerable areas and who have strong movements built around the *retomadas*. In the second week of March 2020, when social distancing and isolation were recommended in Brazil, the Tupinambá and the Pataxó Hãhãhã set up sanitation blockades along all roads and means of access to their territories as the most effective means of self-organised protection. They quickly set up 'sanitation blockades' to prevent outsiders from spreading the infection, share health information amongst their community, and monitor and restrict their own movements to and from the territory. The Tupinambá blockade withstood attempts by the local government of Buerarema and police to tear it down. Weeks later, when the pandemic worsened and fear was rising, the Buerarema mayor himself set up blockades within the city. The Pataxó Hãhãhã blockade did not face external pressures but experienced internal conflict, between those supporting the blockade and those who wanted to allow evangelical pastors to pass through the blockade. The Pataxó also set up blockades but were affected by mayoral and city council election campaigns that insisted on entering the territory to hold events. Shortly after one of those events, new cases were confirmed in the Pataxó territory.

The lack of regularisation of their territories, slowdowns in demarcation processes and consequently invasion of those territories, but also proximity to highways, tourist areas and urban areas, led to high indices of COVID cases and deaths. In all, there have been 8 deaths among these two groups and almost 500 cases (ANAI, & MUPOIBA, 2020). Even so, Bahia has shown lower rates of infection amongst indigenous groups than other areas of the Northeast. The sanitary blockades and closures of access points were effective in slowing the spread.

More recent data has revealed a substantial decrease in rates of the illness. However, new risks have arisen at the same time in the form of threats of eviction in the village of Novos Guerreiros in the Pataxó territory of Coroa Vermelha/Ponta Grande. A ruling filed by the federal courts to repossess land in the village called for removal of 24 indigenous families from the land that had traditionally been occupied by the Pataxó and was still undergoing the regularisation process. This situation allows supposed land owners to lay claim to the area. The judge's decision went against the decision of the Supreme Court, which supported a motion by APIB that would suspend any legal actions that would lead to forced evictions of indigenous peoples during the pandemic. The risks to the health of the community linked to these rulings are already being felt. It has become necessary to hold in-person meetings amongst the members of the Novos Guerreiros village with leaders and members of other Pataxó communities, leading inevitably to large gatherings, including one successful movement to block the road that crosses the indigenous territory in protest against the threats of eviction. Shortly after the ruling, under pressure from the Pataxó with support from national and international allies, the ruling was suspended and the community is now allowed to stay on their lands.

Development and violence: extractivism and COVID-19 in southern Pará

The first registered cases of COVID-19 in southern Pará were in Parauapebas, where Vale S.A., a Brazilian multi-national mining company, has active mining sites. News of infected workers began to circulate at the beginning of April, while the company decided to maintain its operations, classified as 'essential services'. On 11 April 2020 a Vale worker died of COVID-19, and a second died on 20 April. As the month went on, Parauapebas became the principal centre of the pandemic in the interior of Pará state, with almost 2000 cases and 64 deaths (Nogueira, 2020). In response to the precariousness of local hospitals in the region, Vale brought high-level staff to Belo Horizonte in Minas Gerais for treatment, actions which led to extensive backlash by the press. It took a month from the second worker's death for them to install a temporary hospital in Parauapebas, with support from Vale, to treat infected people but still without the capacity to deal with severe cases and with no intensive care unit.

Within a few weeks, COVID-19 arrived in full force in the villages of four different indigenous peoples of the region: Assurini, Mebengokrê-Xikrin, Gavião and Mebengokrê(Kayapó), the latter three having experienced direct impacts from Vale's mining activities (Xikrin et al., 2019; Ferraz, 1998). In the second half of May alone, over a hundred cases and 11 deaths of indigenous people had been confirmed and two more died in the following weeks. For the Assurini, who live close to the Tucuruí Hydroelectric Dam, four elders have died, representing the death of some of their key political leaders. Among the Mebengokrê-Xikrin, the indigenous group closest to Vale's installations, there have been 257 confirmed cases and 7 deaths. Two villages of the Gavião people, Akratikatejê and Parkatejê, have been severely affected, with 10 confirmed cases in Akratikatejê and two dozen cases in Parkatejê. They live in the indigenous territory of Mãe Maria, which is crossed by the electricity lines of Eletronorte and the highway and the Carajás railway owned by Vale. The other 14 villages went into social isolation and quarantine, and managed to control the spread. Indigenous leaders tried to get support from Vale to combat the pandemic but the company has asserted that it will only provide assistance if that assistance is discounted from the compensations owed to the communities due to the environmental impacts of Vale's activities. In its action plan, COVID-19 Challenge, Vale does not mention any support to regional hospitals nor indigenous peoples, only to the Albert Einstein hospital in São Paulo, one of the most well resourced hospitals in the country (Vale, 2020).

The Mebengokrê(Kayapó) territory has been affected in villages along the northeast of the territory, the region with the highest rates of deforestation, with the most land invasions, and illegal logging and gold mining. In May, two people of the Mebengokrê-Xikrin died in hospitals in the closest city, Marabá. In order to reclaim the bodies of the deceased and perform funeral rituals, they had to demand a court order against SESAI who was insisting on burying them in the city without the presence of their relatives due to the risk of contamination. Fear of being prohibited from carrying out funeral rituals provoked an unexpected response - the Mebengokrê(Kayapó) began to refuse treatment outside of their village because they no longer trusted State health officials. Subsequently three deaths occurred inside of two days in late May.

Leaders of the village of Turedjam set out to close down the illegal gold mines operating in their territory in an attempt to protect themselves from the arrival of COVID (Takatkyx pers com). They were successful for a few weeks in March and April, including coming to a mutual agreement with gold miners to temporarily halt operations. Although villagers tried to set up sanitation blockades like those of the Pataxó and Tumpinambá described above, they were unable to do so successfully due to escalating violence and threats against them. In nearby villages, including Gorotire and others, the mining continued unabated. In June, despite the pandemic, invitations circulated on social media for festivals in the mining area of Cumarú. The key indigenous leader who tried to close down the goldmines around Turedjam received death threats and was forced to back down. He then became infected with COVID-19 and needed oxygen to survive. The village has since been severely hit, with 16 confirmed cases occurring within one week at the end of May and 52 cases by mid-August. Leaders of the village suspect that the infections spread to the Gorotire village during festivals and rituals held by evangelical churches, which continued to happen daily at dusk despite the social isolation recommendations. The indigenous key informants we interviewed speculate it has spread largely through contact with the Mebengokrê-Xikrin, who may have brought the infection to the Gorotire village during a party and sporting event held there.

In Gorotire, and in some of the Xikrin villages that were affected by Vale's operations, the arrival and spread of COVID had devastating effects. For both the Gorotire and Turedjam villages, their location on the edges of the indigenous territory meant constant flux of people to and from the city, which increased their vulnerability and made it more difficult for them to achieve isolation. The areas of the Kayapo Territory that were worst hit, Badjonkore and Las Casas, suffered shocking racist attacks. The mayor of the town of Pau D'Arco decreed a lockdown exclusively directed at nearby indigenous villages, prohibiting them from entering the city (Phillips, 2020c).

In comparison, the villages in the Xingu region did not have substantial death rates. Mebengokrê villages that are part of the Baú and Kapot Territory had remarkably different experiences. They were able to avoid the spread of COVID until August. In part, they were successful in avoiding contamination due to the absence of illegal loggers and miners but also to their food sovereignty. The villages were able to remain distant from the cities and self-isolate until the month of June.

Beyond strategies of self-isolation and blockades, the Mebengokrê also held protests. On 22 July, the Mebengokrê blocked access to Vale's Onça Puma mining project in Ourilândia do Norte demanding receipt of compensation payments and emergency COVID-19 support. On 10 August, protesters gathered in Redenção, Pará, demanding that Vale hand over the compensation funds owed to them. These demands are part of a longer history of protests by the Mebengokrê, demanding compensation. In the face of COVID, the protests take on a multi-faceted character and an increased sense of urgency.

In the second half of August, the Mebengokrê-Mekranoti blocked the main highway used for transportation of soya and other goods. Calling for government support for their fight against COVID and against deforestation, they refused to leave the road until the demands were met. However, that support is still missing. In late August,

gunmen shot 30 bullets at the sanitation blockade set up by a Mebengokrê community in Mato Grosso. Despite the violence against them, they continue to stand firm.

Anti-Bolsonaro campaigns and growth of the movement: social media and crowdfunding for COVID-19 support

Since the announcement of Bolsonaro's candidacy for president, social movements in Brazil have focused on the fight against him and his authoritarian politics. Faced with constant attacks on their territorial rights, health services, and cultural survival since he was elected, the indigenous movements in Brazil have strengthened their online presence and campaigning strategies. APIB and other actors have pushed back against stereotypes and racist tropes that mis-represent indigenous peoples, using indigenous-led media presence to fight for social progress (Lopes. & Sjolander, 2020). One of the coordinators of APIB, Sonia Guajajara, ran as a Vice Presidential candidate against Bolsonaro's ticket during the 2018 elections.

In recent years, a first generation of indigenous intellectuals concluded their academic studies as a direct result of affirmative action policies like the 2012 Quotas Law (Lei de Cotas de 2012) which guaranteed access to higher education for indigenous students. By 2016, ten thousand indigenous students were enrolled at Universities in Brazil and that number is estimated to have reached sixty thousand today (Cruz, 2017). In the span of a decade, the movement has been transformed by a cohort of indigenous professionals. Indigenous journalists and media specialists have improved the movement's visibility. Indigenous lawyers and indigenous anthropologists have brought cases to the Supreme Court. Indigenous doctors and nurses have been able to provide health care adapted to the needs and realities of indigenous peoples. This combination of capacity and consolidation of the movement around the fight against Bolsonaro has meant that APIB and other indigenous organisations are in a much stronger position to combat COVID than they would have been in earlier years.

The pandemic sparked a large number of media campaigns, both nationally and internationally, aimed at supporting efforts to mitigate the negative impacts of COVID on indigenous peoples in Brazil (and elsewhere). Webinars, online discussions, or 'lives' proliferated, creating new avenues of access to participation in the movement. Many campaigns were highly successful in garnering signatures of support for petitions. For example, the minersoutcovidout.org campaign to support the Yanomami's call to remove miners from their territory, received almost 400,000 signatories to the petition. The SOS Rainforest Live, gathered high profile performing artists for an online concert and fundraising campaign. At a pan-Amazon level, national and international NGOs created a 'solidarity circle' to raise funds for an Amazon Emergency Fund (amazonemergencyfund.org) and raised \$5 million between May and July. At the national and local levels, crowdfunding campaigns were numerous from May onwards, ranging from a national campaign by APIB (raised R\$700 thousand) to family-led fundraising for medical supplies to help family members suffering from COVID.

Although these efforts have raised funds, and raised awareness, they cannot, and should not, replace direct support from the Brazilian government. The national budget for indigenous health in Brazil fell 14% from R\$1.78 billion in 2018 to R\$1.48

billion in 2020 (Saraiva, & Cardoso, 2020), as part of the Bolsonaro government's strategy to direct funds away from support for indigenous peoples. The fundraising efforts has, in some cases, depoliticised the pressure on the government to fund an emergency plan, creating factions and separate initiatives to raise funds instead of a united front of pressure on the government to provide the necessary resources. Some groups, like the Tupinambá, made the political decision not to engage in crowdfunding as they considered it a threat to their autonomy.

The crowdfunding also showed trends towards disproportionately high rates of success for fundraising which highlighted the needs of certain indigenous groups, in particular those in the Amazon who are seen as 'real Indians' by many Brazilians and foreigners (Milanez et al., 2019; Arisi, & Milanez, 2017). Indigenous peoples of the Northeast and those in urban areas of the Amazon were (and are) marginalised (Oliveira, 1998; Almeida, & Santos, 2009). For example, the campaigns to support the peoples of the Vale do Javari territory were able to raise R\$6 million compared to only R\$6 thousand for the Terena people who live largely in urban areas.

The visibility and attention garnered by these campaigns have helped put pressure on government offices and some successes have been won regarding court rulings. Eloy Terena wrote "We are obliged to compel the state to not let us die" (Terena, 2020). APIB has brought petitions to the Supreme Court and representatives have spoken to the United Nations regarding their demand for government action. For example, a recent ruling by the Supreme Court ordered the government to come up with a contingency plan for combating COVID-19 in indigenous communities. However, highly visible campaigns have also come with some retaliation. In response to a campaign by APIB and others that called him out for his role in the fires in the Amazon, Bolsonaro said that he wants to 'kill the cancer called NGOs.' Days later, the Cabinet Minister for Institutional Security, General Heleno, posted a tweet accusing APIB and one of its coordinators, Sônia Guajajara, of treason. The strength of their responses further emphasises the success of the campaign: it was so widely visible as to have led the President and his ministers to take notice, and offense.

Conclusions

Structural and institutional racism against indigenous peoples accelerated the impacts of COVID-19. Extractive industries have contributed to the spread of COVID-19, but in another sense have also contributed to the building of ties among communities that face territorial conflicts that contribute to strengthening those ties. The Tupinambá and the Pataxó Hãhãhãe in Bahia are an example of communities that drew strength from this history of struggle and were able to react quickly and effectively to the threats brought by COVID-19 due, in part, to their long history of direct action. The Mebengokrê (Kayapó), who also have a long history of resistance, fought to expel gold miners from their territories and held protests that blocked roads and entry to mining projects, demanding payment of the funds owed to them for compensation. At the national level, APIB and other indigenous organisations and international allies mobilised national and international support through social media campaigns and crowdfunding initiatives. Strengthened in recent years by a new cohort of young indigenous professionals together with their experience fighting Bolsonaro before the pandemic, they have made impressive progress in raising the visibility of the urgency of the threat of COVID for indigenous peoples in Brazil.

In some cases, the fabric of community interrelations was broken by neoliberalism and individualism, and further exacerbated by harassment by the Bolsonaro government's attempts to incentivise the division and commercialisation of common goods. In many cases, these policies have offered COVID-19 a first port of entry into indigenous communities: through contact with illegal gold miners and land-grabbers, through contact with urban centres due to lack of food sovereignty linked to loss of territory, and through active negligence of health services and support. Faced with a hostile environment of colonialism and racism, community ties represent strength from a long-term fight against the pandemic of conquest. Many communities have been able to mobilise around that strength.

Acknowledgements

This study is part of the project "Another Sky: Mapping violence against indigenous peoples in Brazil" a collaboration between the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), Federal University of the Recôncavo of Bahia (UFRB), State University of Bahia (UNEB) and the University of Sussex and funded by the University of Sussex/Research England/Global Challenges Research Fund. It was also supported by the British Academy funded project (SDP2\100278) "'Sustainable' development and atmospheres of violence: experiences of environmental defenders" and by the M Stanley Charitable Trust. We would like to thank Lara Erendira and Cristiane Julião Pankararu for their assistance with the map, and two anonymous reviewers and Clare Ferguson for helpful feedback on an earlier draft. We would also like to thank APIB, APOINME, ANAÍ, MUPOIBA and the indigenous leaders who spoke to us and shared their stories and information with our team, including: Mekaron-ti Txucarramãe, Matavitsa Kena Waura Txucarramãe, Mayalú Kokometi Waurá Txucarramãe, Takaktyx Kayapó, Irekran Kayapó, Maial Kayapó, Katia Akrãtikatêjê, Ruivaldo Valdenilson Akrãtikatêjê, Analimar Koni Kanamari, Higson Warü Kanamari, Thoda Kanamari, Kora Kanamari, Alessandra Korap Munduruku, Sônia Guajajara, Dinamam Tuxá, Eloy Terena, Naine Terena, Fabio Vieira Titiah, Fabricio Titiah, Hemersson Dantas, Dr. Edvaldo Pataxó., Rosivaldo Ferreira da Silva (Cacique Babau), Glicelia Jesus da Silva, Agnaldo Francisco dos Santos, Elisangela Batista, Cacique Miguel Tumbalálá, Marclely Pataxó, Kãnhu Pataxó, Nádia Akauan, Nicinha Tupinambá, Samara Pataxó, Rutian Pataxó, Watatakalu Yawalapiti, Jurandir Siridiwe Xavante, Cipasse Xavante, Caimi Xavante, Jamiro Xavante, Fernanda Kaingang, and João Paulo Tukano.

References

- Alarcon, D. F. O. (2019). *O retorno da terra: as retomadas na aldeia Tupinambá da Serra do Padeiro, sul da Bahia*. São Paulo: Elefante.
- Almeida, A. W.B., & Santos, G. S. (2009). *Estigmatização e território: mapeamento situacional dos indígenas em Manaus*. Editora da Universidade Federal do Amazonas, Manaus.

ANAÍ (Associação Nacional de Ação Indigenista) and MUPOIBA (Movimento Unido dos Povos e Organizações Indígenas da Bahia). (2020). Boletín 16: Monitoramento da situação da Covid-19 entre Povos e Terras Indígenas na Bahia. Available online on 4 September 2020 at <https://www.instagram.com/tv/CEcuwEznS1B/?igshid=pg1v40fn9k7g>

Angelo, M. (2020). Brazil indigenous community banishes miners to cut coronavirus risk. Reuters, 6 April 2020. Available online 29 May 2020: <https://br.reuters.com/article/idUSL8N2BR41R>

APOINME (Associação de Povos e Organizações Indígenas do Nordeste, Minas Gerais e Espírito Santo). (2020). Informativo APOINME: Covid-19 entre povos indígenas do Nordeste, Minas Gerais e Espírito Santo. Available on 28 August 2020 at: http://www.instagram.com/apoinme_brasil

APIB (Articulação dos Povos Indígenas do Brasil). (2020). Quarentena indígena: Atualização de casos indígenas. <http://quarentenaindigena.info/casos-indigenas/>

Arisi, B., & Milanez, F. (2017). Isolados e ilhados: indigenismo e conflitos no Vale do Javari, Amazônia. *Estudos Ibero-Americanos*, 43(1): 49-66.

Azevedo, M., Damasco, F., Antunes, M., Martins, M. H., Reboulças, M. P. (2020). Análise de Vulnerabilidade Demográfica e Infraestrutural das Terras Indígenas à Covid 19. Caderno de insumos. Unicamp, São Paulo.

CIMI (Conselho Indigenista Missionário). (2020). Povos indígenas reforçam barreiras sanitárias e cobram poder público enquanto covid-19 avança para as aldeias. Available online on 29 May 2020 at <https://cimi.org.br/2020/05/povos-indigenas-reforcam-barreiras-sanitarias-cobram-poder-publico-covid-19-avanca/>

COIAB (Conselho Indígena da Amazônia Brasileira). (2020^a). Informativo COIAB: Covid-19 e povos indígenas na Amazônia Brasileira [Twitter post, 29 May 2020.](https://twitter.com/CoiabAmazonia/status/1266478732308615168) <https://twitter.com/CoiabAmazonia/status/1266478732308615168>

COIAB. (2020b). Informativo COIAB: Covid-19 e povos indígenas na Amazônia Brasileira. Available 2 September 2020 at <https://twitter.com/CoiabAmazonia/status/1300940823958298630>

Cruz, F. S. M. (2017). Indígenas antropólogos e o espetáculo da alteridade. *Revista de estudos e pesquisas sobre as Americas*. 11(2): 93-108

Eisenhammer, S., & Stargardter, J. (2020). Bolsonaro brought in his generals to fight coronavirus. Brazil is losing the battle. Reuters, 26 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/uk-health-coronavirus-brazil-response-sp/special-report-bolsonaro-brought-in-his-generals-to-fight-coronavirus-brazil-is-losing-the-battle-idUKKBN2321E8>

Fanon, F. (2002). *Les damnés de la terre*. Paris: La Découverte.

Fein, H. (1997). Genocide by Attrition 1939-1993: the Warsaw Ghetto, Cambodia and Sudan. *Health and Human Rights* 2(2): 10-45.

Ferrante, L., & Fearnside, P. (2020). Protect Indigenous peoples from COVID-19. *Science*, 368 (6488): 251.

Ferraz, I. (1998). *De 'Gaviões' à 'Comunidade Parkatejê': Uma Reflexão sobre Processos de Reorganização Social*. Doctoral Thesis. Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

Fiocruz. (2020). *MonitoraCovid-19*. Available on 30 May 2020 at <https://bigdata-covid19.icict.fiocruz.br/>

Guajajara, S. (2020). *Advocacy e Campanhas: medidas tomadas pelos povos indígenas para proteger seus direitos e a Amazônia*. Online Conference: Defendendo a Amazônia: pela natureza, para as pessoas, 3 June 2020. Available on 1 September 2020 at: <https://alleyesontheamazon.org/defending-the-amazon-for-nature-for-us-2/>

Gudynas, R. (2011). Buen Vivir: today's tomorrow. *Development*, 54(4), pp.441-447.

ISA (Instituto Socioambiental) and UFMG (Federal University of Minas Gerais). (2020). Indicador da vulnerabilidade das Terras Indígenas em relação ao COVID-19. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://covid19.socioambiental.org/>

Junior, G. (2020). Risco de morte de negros por covid-19 é 62% maior, diz Prefeitura de SP. Estadão, 5 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://noticias.uol.com.br/ultimas-noticias/agencia-estado/2020/05/05/risco-de-morte-de-negros-por-covid-19-e-62-maior-diz-prefeitura-de-sp.htm>

Kopenawa, D. (2020). Twitter post, 27 May 2020. Available at: https://twitter.com/Dario_Kopenawa/status/1265643485073457152

Kothari, A., Escobar, A., Salleh, A., Demaria, F., & Acosta, A. (2020). Can the coronavirus save the planet? *Open Democracy*. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/oureconomy/can-coronavirus-save-planet/>

Krenak, A. (2020). *A Vida Não É Util*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras.

Krenak, A. (2019). *Ideias para adiar o fim do mundo*. São Paulo: Cia das Letras.

Lopes, C. E., & Sjölander, A.E. (2020). Old Power Struggles and New Media Work: Indigenous Peoples' Striving for Justice in Contemporary Brazil. In *The Local and the Digital in Environmental Communication* (pp. 151-180). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.

Marshall, E. (2020). Deforestation and land-grabbing at full steam ahead during COVID-19. Brazilian Report, 12 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at <https://brazilian.report/environment/2020/05/12/amazon-deforestation-land-grabbing-full-steam-during-covid-19/>

Mbembe, A. (2020). The universal right to breathe. *Critical Inquiry* <https://critinq.wordpress.com/2020/04/13/the-universal-right-to-breathe/>

Mbembe, A. (2003). Necropolitics. *Public culture*, 15(1), pp.11-40.

- Menton, M., & Milanez, F. (2018). Now the real fight begins: Brazil's next president threatens the people and forests of the Amazon. *New Scientist*.
- Milanez, F. (2020a). Fighting the invisible anaconda amidst a war of conquest: notes of a genocide. *Ambiente & Sociedade*, 23.
- Milanez F. 2020b. Bolsonaroistas tentam quebrar quarentena de indígenas com tiros. *Carta Capital* Available online 29 May 2020: <https://www.cartacapital.com.br/sociedade/bolsonaristas-tentam-quebrar-quarentena-de-indigenas-com-tiros/>
- Milanez, F. (2019). Assassinato de indigenista da Funai na Amazônia precisa de investigação federal. *Mídia Ninja* 8 September 2019. Available on 30 May 2020 at: <https://midianinja.org/felipemilanez/assassinato-de-indigenista-da-funai-na-amazonia-precisa-de-investigacao-federal/>
- Milanez, F. (2018). "Rexistência nas fronteiras do capitalismo/colonialismo: a ecologia política do isolamento e da soberania," *Tipití: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America*: Vol. 16: Iss. 1, Article 15, 164-175.
- Milanez, F., & Santos, F. L. (2021, In Press). *Guerras da Conquista*. São Paulo: Harper Collins.
- Milanez, F., Sá, L., Krenak, A., Cruz, F. S. M., Ramos, E. U., & Jesus, G. D. S. D. (2019). Existência e diferença: o racismo contra os povos indígenas. *Revista Direito e Práxis*, 10(3), pp.2161-2181.
- MPF (Federal Public Ministry). (2020). MPF recomenda que Secretaria de Saúde Indígena contabilize casos de covid-19 entre indígenas de Alter do Chão (PA). Available online on 30 May 2020 at: www.mpf.mp.br/pa/sala-de-imprensa/noticias-pa/mpf-recomenda-que-secretaria-de-saude-indigena-contabilize-casos-de-covid-19-entre-indigenas-de-alter-do-chao-pa
- Nogueira, M. (2020). In northern Brazil, iron ore keeps flowing as Vale miners battle coronavirus. Reuters, 29 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://uk.reuters.com/article/health-coronavirus-brazil-vale/in-northern-brazil-iron-ore-keeps-flowing-as-vale-miners-battle-coronavirus-idUKL1N2DA1TE>
- Oliveira, R. G., da Cunha, A. P., Gadelha, A. G. S., Carpio, C. G., Oliveira, R. B., & Corrêa, R. M. (2020). Desigualdades raciais e a morte como horizonte: considerações sobre a COVID-19 e o racismo estrutural. *Cadernos de Saúde Pública* 36(9).
- Oliveira, U., Soares Filho, B., Oviedo, A., Moreira, T., Carlos, S., Ricardo, J., & Piaç, A. (2020). Modelagem da vulnerabilidade dos povos indígenas no Brasil ao covid-19. São Paulo: Instituto Socioambiental.
- Oliveira, J.P.D. (1998). Uma etnologia dos "índios misturados"? Situação colonial, territorialização e fluxos culturais. *Mana*, 4(1), pp.47-77.

Ortega, F., & Orsini, M. (2020). Governing COVID-19 without government in Brazil: Ignorance, neoliberal authoritarianism, and the collapse of public health leadership. *Global public health*, 15(9), pp.1257-1277.

Phillips, D. (2020a). Brazil loses second health minister in less than a month as Covid-19 deaths rise. *The Guardian*, 15 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/may/15/brazil-health-minister-nelson-teich-resigns>

Phillips, D. (2020b). Brazilian mayor censured over 'racist' coronavirus ban. *The Guardian*, 19 June 2020. Available online on 1 September at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/jun/19/brazilian-mayor-censured-racist-coronavirus-ban-indigenous>

Phillips, T. (2020c). Brazilian president Jair Bolsonaro denounced for joining pro-dictatorship rally. *The Guardian*, 20 April 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2020/apr/20/jair-bolsonaro-dictatorship-rally-protest-brazil-president-denounced>

Prado, B. (2020). COVID-19 in Brazil: "So what?" *The Lancet*, 395, 10235, p.1461.

Rede de Apoio Mútuo Indígena do Sudeste do Pará. (2020). Relatório de casos Covid-19 entre indígenas do Sudeste do Pará. 12 August 2020. Unpublished report.

Ribeiro, M. F. (2020). Polícia Federal em Tabatinga (AM) investiga culto religioso com 400 pessoas dentro de Terra Indígena. *De Olho nos Ruralistas*, 15 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://deolhonosruralistas.com.br/2020/05/15/policia-federal-em-tabatinga-am-investiga-culto-religioso-com-400-pessoas-dentro-de-terra-indigena/>

Ribeiro, L.C., & Bernardes, A.T. (2020). Estimate of underreporting of COVID-19 in Brazil by Acute Respiratory Syndrome hospitalization reports. *UFMG, UFOP*. https://saci2.ufop.br/data/solicitacao/18528_nt_estimativa_subnotificacao.pdf

Ribeiro, D. (2000). *The Brazilian People: the Formation and meaning of Brazil*. University Press of Florida, USA.

Ribeiro, D. (1977). *Os índios e a civilização: A integração das populações indígenas no Brasil moderno*. 2. ed. Petrópolis, RJ, Vozes.

Rodrigues, M. G. M. (2002). Indigenous rights in democratic Brazil. *Human Rights Quarterly*. 24: 487-512.

Roser, M., Ritchie, H., Ortiz-Ospina, E., & Hasell, J. (2020). Country-by-country data on COVID cases. Available online 30 May 2020 at <https://ourworldindata.org/covid-cases?country=BRA>

Saraiva, L., & Cardoso, A. (2020). Nota técnica: Execução Orçamentária da Saúde Indígena diante da pandemia do novo coronavírus. INESC (Instituto de Estudos Socioeconomicos). Available on 5 September 2020 at <https://www.inesc.org.br/wp->

content/uploads/2020/08/Nota-Te%CC%81cnica-de-Sau%CC%81de-Indi%CC%81gena_V02.pdf

Shepard, G. H. (2016). Ceci n'est pas un contacte: the fetishization of isolated indigenous people along the Peru-Brazil border. *Tipiti: Journal of the Society for the Anthropology of Lowland South America* 14(1): 135-137.

Short, D. (2010). Cultural genocide and indigenous peoples: A sociological approach. *The International Journal of Human Rights*, 14(6), pp.833-848.

Silva, F. (2020). Um cenário que atualiza uma política estatal de extermínio dos indígenas. *Le Monde Diplomatique*. 3 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at: <https://diplomatique.org.br/um-cenario-que-atualiza-uma-politica-estatal-de-extermio-dos-indigenas/>

Souza, J. M. A. (2019). *Os Pataxó Hãhãhã e as Narrativas de Luta por Terra e Parentes, no sul da Bahia*. Brasília: Doctoral Thesis. PPGAS/UnB, 2019.

Spring, J. (2020). Brazil minister calls for environmental deregulation while public distracted by COVID. *Reuters*, 22 May 2020. Available online on 30 May 2020 at:

<https://uk.reuters.com/article/us-brazil-politics-environment/brazil-minister-calls-for-environmental-deregulation-while-public-distracted-by-covid-idUKKBN22Y30Y>

Stanley, J. (2020). *How fascism works: The politics of us and them*. Random House Trade Paperbacks.

Terena, E. (2020). Somos obrigados a obrigar o governo a não nos deixar morrer. *Folha de São Paulo*. June 2020. Available on 30 June 2020 at: <https://www1.folha.uol.com.br/amp/opinia0/2020/06/somos-obrigados-a-obrigar-o-governo-a-nao-nos-deixar-morrer.shtml>

Vale. (2020). *Desafio COVID-19*. Available on 30 May 2020 at <http://www.vale.com/brasil/PT/sustainability/Paginas/covid-19-desafio.aspx>

Valente, R. (2020). Governo exonera chefes da fiscalização do Ibama; servidores veem retaliação. UOL News 30 April 2020. Available online on 1 September 2020 at <https://noticias.uol.com.br/colunas/rubens-valente/2020/04/30/ibama-exoneracoes-amazonia.htm>

Xikrín, N. R., Freitas, P., Maracaípe, T., Gorender, P., & Costa, J. C. (2019). A morte do rio cateté: narrativas dos xikrín sobre os impactos das atividades da mineradora vale na saúde de seu território. In: Congresso Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais e Humanas em Saúde, 8., João Pessoa, Brazil.