

**Urban social movements: courses and discourses of emancipatory trials
in icoaraci in Belém- PA**

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SUMMARY

The discussions permeate the municipal emancipation of Icoaraci, the current administrative district of Belém, capital of the state of Pará, and gain prominence due to its historical context, where there are several attempts that propel in this same direction, district emancipation. In this sense, the purpose of this work is to try to understand the discourses that promoted these movements, in order to examine the regionalist issue employed in them, together with the icoaraciense indemnity process. For this, a bibliographical and documentary research was carried out, also starting with digital media. There is a strong influence of the power groups present in the region, which end up shaping the regionalist and emancipationist discourse, selling them to the rest of the population.

KEYWORDS: Emancipation. Regionalism. Urban.

1 INTRODUCTION

Icoaraci is an administrative district of Belém, capital of the state of Pará, and its history begins parallel to its history. When the Lusitanians arrived in these lands, they were looking for a place where they could build a fort, they passed through the area where the icoaraci district is located today and soon saw a favorable land for their installation. However, according to Guimarães (1996), the discovery of a geological accident, the Furo do Maguari, demonstrated the military fragility of the place, given that they could be surprised by the coast, by rival explorers such as the Dutch, French and English, for example. They then went to another militarily approved area, where they established the construction of the Forte do Presépio, and the beginning of the city of Santa Maria de Belém.

Belém and Icoaraci formed separate housing units until 1900 (MUNIZ, 1904). In the area that was destined to the Order of the Carmelites, Vila Pinheiro was founded, in the republican period of Brazil, being elevated to town, receiving a subintendence and later a subprefecture, demonstrating a certain autonomy, even though it was under the domains of Belém. of migration that occurred in the Amazon in the second half of the 20th century caused population growth in Belém and Icoaraci, generating a suburban area that did not have the monitoring of infrastructure policies, which further deepened the social problems of inequality.

From 1985 to the present, 5 emancipatory projects from Icoaraci have been launched, which demonstrates a certain interest, at least part of the local population, in emancipating him from Belen territory. Discussions about the municipal emancipation of Icoaraci, the current administrative district of Belém, capital of the state of Pará, call attention to the historical context, from which there are several other attempts that have propelled in this direction.

2 OBJECTIVE

- Discuss emancipatory movements and their speeches, in order to promote a more in-depth debate on the topic, taking into account their relevance for Belém and the district of Icoaraci, both directly interested in the process.
- Provide the best understanding of the various speeches used in emancipationist projects, in order to examine the regionalist issue employed in them, together with the icoaraciense indemnity process.

- Investigate internal and external groups interested in building and deconstructing emancipatory discourses, that is, the importance they have for the maintenance, fall or rise of social groups in the sphere of power in a given area, in this case the Icoaraci district in Belém - Pará.

3 METHODOLOGY / METHOD OF ANALYSIS

For the elaboration of the work, a bibliographic research was initially carried out, prioritizing authors who work on the formation of regionalist / emancipationist discourses, as well as the socio-spatial formation process of Icoaraci. Were also researched, works that debate about these regionalist / emancipationist attempts in the city of Belém - Pará.

Then, a documentary research was carried out, from the visit to the public archive of the city of Belém, in order to collect historical data referring to the district of Icoaraci. Subsequently, the search for information, and the evidence related to emancipatory speeches, was also carried out in the media (radio, television, newspapers, etc.).

The understanding of the separatist movements that led to the emancipatory attempts, could be verified in several works, among them the one by Costa (2007), which brings data and interviews in which there was a deepening. In this sense, we seek to understand, from the data available in these materials, the discourses established by the separatist movements in question.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Municipalism in Brazil after 1980

The 1980s was a period of major changes in the Brazilian administrative structure, the departure of the military to the democratic state led to several changes with regard to public administration, one of which is the elevation of the municipality as a federative entity with the Constitution 1988, giving municipalities an autonomous character, having their own income and autonomous administration, undergoing an electoral process.

This condition allowed the creation of new municipalities to explode in the country, given that the law referring to municipal emancipation was intended for the states, each of which may have its own criteria. In 1995, a constitutional amendment was created to ensure that the federation established the rules for municipal emancipations. In Brazil, from 1990 to 1998, 1,405 municipalities were created, with the northern region responsible for 209 of these, as we can see in the table below.

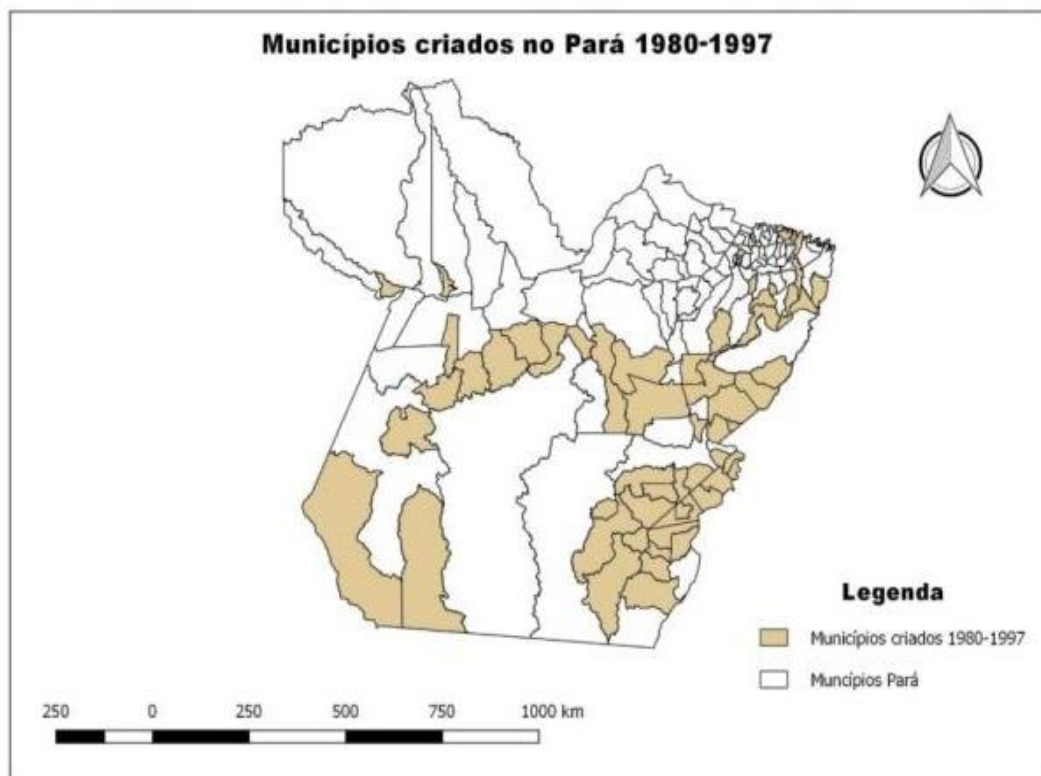
Table 1: Number of emancipated municipalities from 1980 to 1997, by region.

N° of municipalities (population)	Northeast	North	Center	N° of municipalities (population)	Northeast	North
Até 5,000 inhab.	146	97	80	116	296	735
5.000 a 10.000 inhab.	107	49	30	87	87	360
10.000 a 20.000 inhab.	125	42	19	29	19	234
20.000 a 50.000 inhab.	21	18	6	14	2	61
50.000 a 100.000 inhab.	2	2	3	2	1	11
100.000 a 500.000 inhab.	1	*	*	3	*	4
Total	402	209	138	251	405	1.405

Source: IBGE – Territory Organization and Population Count 1996 apud GOMES and MAC DOWELL, 2000, p. 9 – Elaboration of the authors.

This volume of creation of new municipalities, according to Tavares (1992), can only be compared with the Estado Novo period in the history of Brazil. In the State of Pará, 75 (seventy-five) municipalities were emancipated from 1980 to 1997. In order to better locate this flow of creation, an illustrative map was drawn up showing the proportion of this movement.

Figure 01: Municipalities created in Pará from 1980 to 1997.



Source: COSTA, 2019.

In this way, we can see the need to study this period. We will speak here, specifically of the case of Icoaraci, where its first project was taken to the Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará (ALEPA) in 1985, leading to the understanding of a national municipalist movement that influences, or at least gives conditions to the case of Icoaraci.

4.2 Emancipate/Regionalize

The region is one of the central issues in geography, Haesbaert (2010) discusses this theme, understanding the difficulties of regionalizing today, taking into account the complexity of the relations between part and whole / region and globalization. In this way, it is possible to understand the region as a social construction / constructor that, for Castro (2000), can be understood as indispensable in its multiple scales.

To regionalize is to show the difference by cutting out the space. Haesbaert (2010) compares the difficulties of geographers to regionalize with the difficulties of historians in periodizing the complexity and inseparability of the two categories space and time, and we can think of the region in this way, as a piece of space / time where the constraints are contained. material and symbolic relations of society.

One aspect in particular that we will deal with here is the region as action and control, which according to Corrêa (1987), is within the scope of the policy and control actions of a dominant class, in the case of a political-administrative region. . This will be better evidenced when we deal with Icoaraci as an administrative district of Belém, which will lead us to perceive the region as action and control, also as a mechanism for the perpetuation of a class society.

The concept of region has been widely used for purposes of action and control. More precisely, in the course of the economic political practice of a class society, which by its very nature implies the existence of different forms of control exercised by the ruling class. For Corrêa (1987), the concept of area differentiation and the subsequent regional divisions are used, aiming at action and control over militarily conquered territories or under the political-administrative and economic dependence of a dominant class.

One can think of regionalism as an ideological tool for the affirmation and identity construction of a given region by its local elite. Castro (1992) analyzes regionalism in the Northeast, contributing to the understanding of the region as a territorial and social base linked to the vivid. In the case of Icoaraci, we will analyze the speeches coming from a local elite dissatisfied with the peripheral conditions, and which, within municipal autonomy, maintains the most stable control of its interests.

4.3 Icoaraci socio-spatial formation in the second half of the 20th century

Before entering into the studies related to emancipatory discourses, it is necessary to understand the socio-spatial formation of Icoaraci, which, until the first half of the 20th century, according to Costa (2007), was related to the riverside dynamics in the commercial exchange with the nearby lines, being observed in the second half of the twentieth century a significant change in the socio-spatial dynamics, due to the strong migration that occurred in that period.

At the beginning of the 20th century, according to Dias (1996), Icoaraci was already differentiated, although it had an economy focused on fishing, collecting and backyard products. From the 50's that the migratory flow to the Amazon increased, along with the migration came the construction of the BR-316. In this scenario, a new territorial ordering emerged for Belém,

which, for Souza (2003), divided it into three: the center, the transition area and the expansion area.

From 1964 onwards, the military dictatorship was established in Brazil, centralizing power in Belém, removing the subprefecture that had been established in Icoaraci. These changes, combined with the construction of Avenida Augusto Montenegro, in place of the old branch of the Belém-Bragança Railway, favored the arrival and implantation of several spontaneous condominiums and occupations, raising the speculative value of this area.

Dias (1996) shows the changes that occurred in the icoaraciense space, and in 1995 there were a total of 227 commercial and industrial establishments, on a small and large scale that were destined for the transformation process. The service sector was highlighted by Guimarães (1996) with approximately 1,473 establishments, actively contributing to the region's ICMS. Another important number is that of the population, which jumped from 23,474 inhabitants in 1960 to 280,591 inhabitants in 1991, a very significant increase for the time.

According to Sousa (2003), the Avenida Augusto Montenegro axis is part of the expansion area of Belém. Trindade Jr. (1998) treats this movement as a process of suburbanization in the city of Belém.

4.4 Emancipatory projects in Icoaraci

In Icoaraci, the first emancipation project was sent to the Legislative Assembly of Pará-ALEPA in 1985, since then 5 projects sent in the period from 1985 to 2001 have been counted, and the last one is still under analysis, due to the Amendment to the 1996 Constitution that alters the rules of municipal emancipation, giving the federal government the responsibility to dictate the rules that are under discussion until the present day, then we elaborate a table with the emancipatory projects of Icoaraci.

Table 2: Emancipatory Projects of Icoaraci.

PROJECT IDENTIFICATION	START DATE	SYNTHESIS	CURRENT SITUATION
PROJECT n° 11/85	19/03/1985	Responsible: Deputy Mariuadir Santos. - Initial documents: justification based on legal requirements for the development of an emancipation process; petition of the residents of Icoaraci, including the signature of 135 voters from the 30th Electoral Zone and a sketch of the area to be dismembered. - Main referrals: analyzed and approved by the Constitution and Justice Committee, sent to the TRE for a referendum. - Referendum: held on 11/15/1985. ☑ Results of the referendum: approved. - Final Procedure: sent for approval by the governor on 09/02/1987. - Result: governor fully vetoed the Bill.	FILED
		- Responsible: Deputy Mariuadir Santos. ☑ Initial documents found: justification of the factors that motivated the resumption of Icoaraci's emancipation process; petition attributed to residents of Icoaraci, but without signatures.	Edited to the project

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PROJECT n° 43/89	31/05/1989	- Main referrals: The Constitution and Justice Commission issued a prior opinion approving the request to carry out investigations to confirm, or not, the economic viability of the alleged municipality. ☐ Referendum: not held. - Final procedure: forwarded to file in compliance with art. 219 of ALEPA's Internal Regulation, since there was a change in the legislature and it did not have an opinion of approval and/or rejection by the Constitution and Justice Commission.	n° 11/85 END FILED.
PROJECT N 712/91	-----	- Responsible: Deputy Joércio Barbalho. - Documents found: file from the ALEPA Registration and Control Service informing its referral to the Administrative Division Commission ²⁶ on 10/21/1991. - Referendum: held on: 02/28/1993. - Results of the referendum: disapproved. - Final procedure: unknown.	Missing
PROJECT N 39/95	30/03/1995	- Responsible: Deputy José Nassar Neto. - Initial documents: justification including a summary of the history of Icoaraci and the reasons that support the "need" for the District's emancipation; petition, forwarded by the MPEI ²⁷ , with the signature of 169 voters from the 30th Zone and one from the 28th Electoral Zone. - Main referrals: approved by the Administrative Division Commission. Submitted to the plenary before the Constitution and Justice Committee completed its work. Requested the holding of a plebiscite. ☐ Plebiscite: not carried out – request suspended due to the presentation of amendments changing the proposed limits for the alleged municipality. ☐ Final procedure: Bill No. 2,680/01 was added to it, which constitutes the current emancipation project of Icoaraci.	in progress
PROJECT N 2,860/01	18/06/2001	- Responsible: Deputy Nadir Neves – PL - Initial documents: request to the President of ALEPA to start the emancipation process; petition, forwarded by the MPEI, with the signatures of 394 voters from the 30th Electoral Zone and the Emancipation Project of Icoaraci. - Emancipation Project Designer: Adib Leal da Conceição/MPEI. - Main steps: creation of a Parliamentary Commission that carried out social, economic, geographic and administrative feasibility studies for the alleged municipality and approved the project, which was directed to the Division Commission.	Edited to the project n° 39/95, being in the Administrative Division Commission awaiting legal deliberations.

Source: Existing Bills Legislative Assembly of the State of Pará and Jornal de Icoaraci, year IV, No. 3, Feb. /93 – extra edition. Author's elaboration.

We can see in Table 2 that among the emancipation attempts that occurred in 1985, 1991 and 2001 were the ones that stood out, as they had a greater impact on the lives of the residents, taking the discussions to the streets, where the speeches used were found. to convince the population.

In order to better understand the process, we divided the projects into: projects from the 80s, 90s and 2000s. In this way, the formation and evolution of the process that is still in progress are better used.

4.5 Emancipatory projects in the 1980s

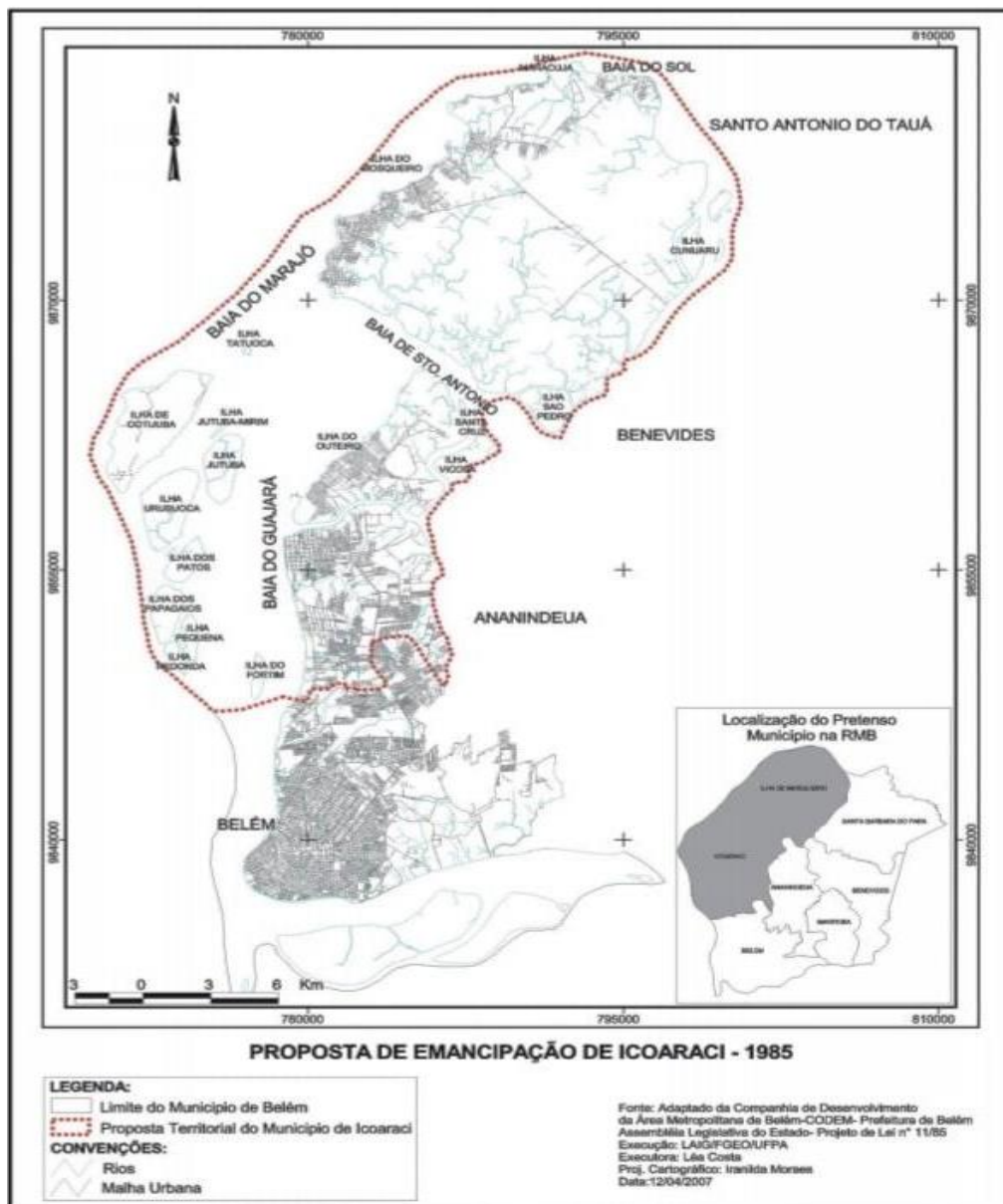
The first project to be sent to ALEPA was in 1985, which, according to Costa (2007), had the support of various civil society groups such as Rotary Club, Lions Club, Masonry and the Commercial Association of Icoaraci, in addition to people who worked in the district, within the public power, holding or having held positions at the District Agency of Icoaraci. This demonstrates the interest of this small local elite in the control of a future icoaraciense municipality. The speech used to legitimize emancipation was predominantly the abandonment of the district by the city of Belém, thus placing Icoaraci, as a district that, despite generating income, does not benefit from its collection.

Now even this, for example, at the time, even this facility that I had to work in the Operations Service and we arrived with the service to these communities. So, there was a very close approach. Pratinha came, asked for things at Icoaraci District Agency, from Pratinha here, I remember we took over, we went there, we gathered, Pratinha, São Clemente, everything. [...] then you see, for example, garbage collection, we had. at the time, it was ours, from the Operations Division. [...] At the time we hired 50 or 60 people, the contract was here, the money came, did we pay right? [...] At the time, I was the Director of Operations, my power was ten times more than a verador, I went out every day to action with three buckets, a mechanical shovel, 20 men. So, if I used it politically, right? (JOSÉ FEIO, Chairman of the 1st Icoaraci Emancipation Project committee, 11/04/07, present in COSTA, 2007, p.78).

The 1985 project took into account a good portion of Belen's territory, including a good part of the expansion axis of Belém, as well as several small islands in the archipelago. In the first moment, Mosqueiro Island (the largest island belonging to Belenense territory) was left aside, however, when it was realized that a transgression would occur, the Law that prohibits the discontinuity of the territory of the mother municipality was later introduced to the project.

A plebiscite was held, whose option "Yes" won on a large scale, but only the residents of Icoaraci were able to vote which opened up grounds for invalidation. Costa (2007) points out that the Constitution and Justice Commission approved the project together with the modification that included Mosqueiro as belonging to the municipality, but in promoting the plebiscite it ignored the islands.

Figure 02: 1985 Emancipatory Project Delimitation.



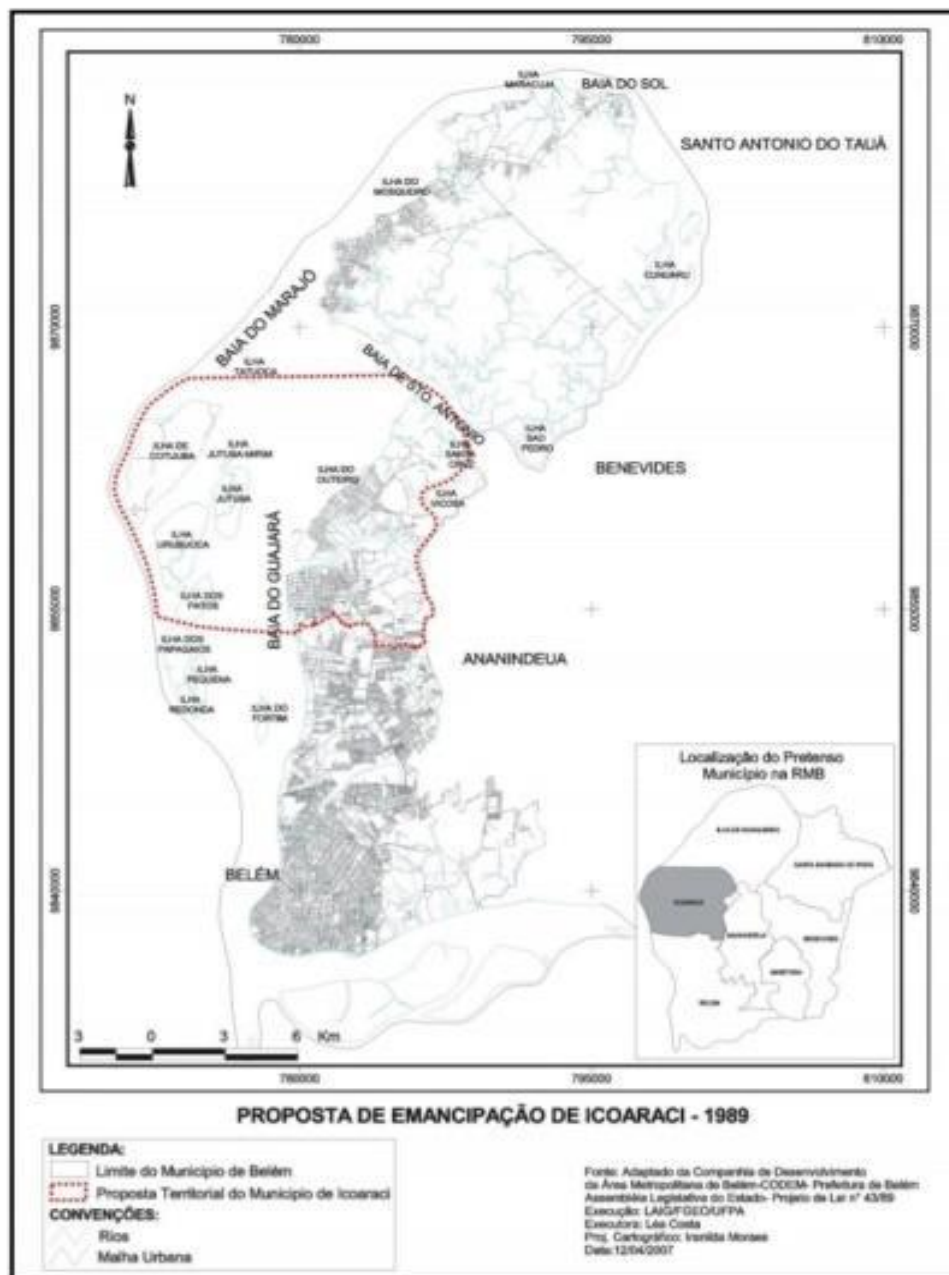
Source: COSTA, 2019.

When the governor received the project, a week before enacting emancipation, he went on the television network and condemned it harshly, claiming that it was of poor quality and that, because the islands had not been consulted, they could not be in favor of the project. There is a strong political pressure game that the Belenense elite established precisely because they did not want to lose the areas of expansion.

As evidenced by a certificate issued by the Director General of the Secretariat of the Regional Electoral Court, the plebiscitary consultation reached only the population of the District of Icoaraci, not that of the district of Mosqueiro; Law No. 11/85 Not only does the omission contradict Complementary Law No. 1, as the entire interested population has not been consulted, as proof of the plebiscite's own credibility, whether in terms of the minimum attendance limit (Article 5 of Complementary Law No. 1), or as to its own result. (OFFICE No. 300/87 - GG in PARÁ - Bill No. 11/85, p. 77)

The testimony of those who participated directly in the process allows us to observe the game of interests that appears when the elite of Belém refuses to leave an area of their expansionist interests. This denial can be considered the first defeat of the icoaraciense elite, however, two years later, a reformulation of the project was brought to ALEPA, which started to count on a significant reduction of the territory compared to the first proposal, this to meet the questioned requirements. the first and structure the fight.

Figure 03: 1989 Icoaraci emancipatory project.



Source: COSTA, 2019.

In this map we can see the territorial decrease of the alleged municipality of Icoaraci, with the withdrawal of Mosqueiro and some islands, in addition to a good part of the expansion axes of Avenida Augusto Montenegro and Avenida Arthur Bernardes, and in the justification, the leaders explain that the tactic of placing these areas to be introduced into the icoaraciense territory should the tactic of placing these areas to be introduced in icoaraciense territory is due to the fact that they imagine the strengthening of the struggle, however, when the project was sent, the justification was that the new municipality intended to respect the continuation of the old one, so the retreat.

This was the official justification that is in the 1989 project according to (COSTA Léa, 2007):

The area to be dismembered in the Municipality of Belém has been reduced in relation to the one presented previously, thus avoiding the discontinuity of the territory of Belém, in relation to the mosqueiro district. And with that, the only legal obstacle that was found when the first proposal was made (PARÁ - Bill no. 43/89, p. 04).

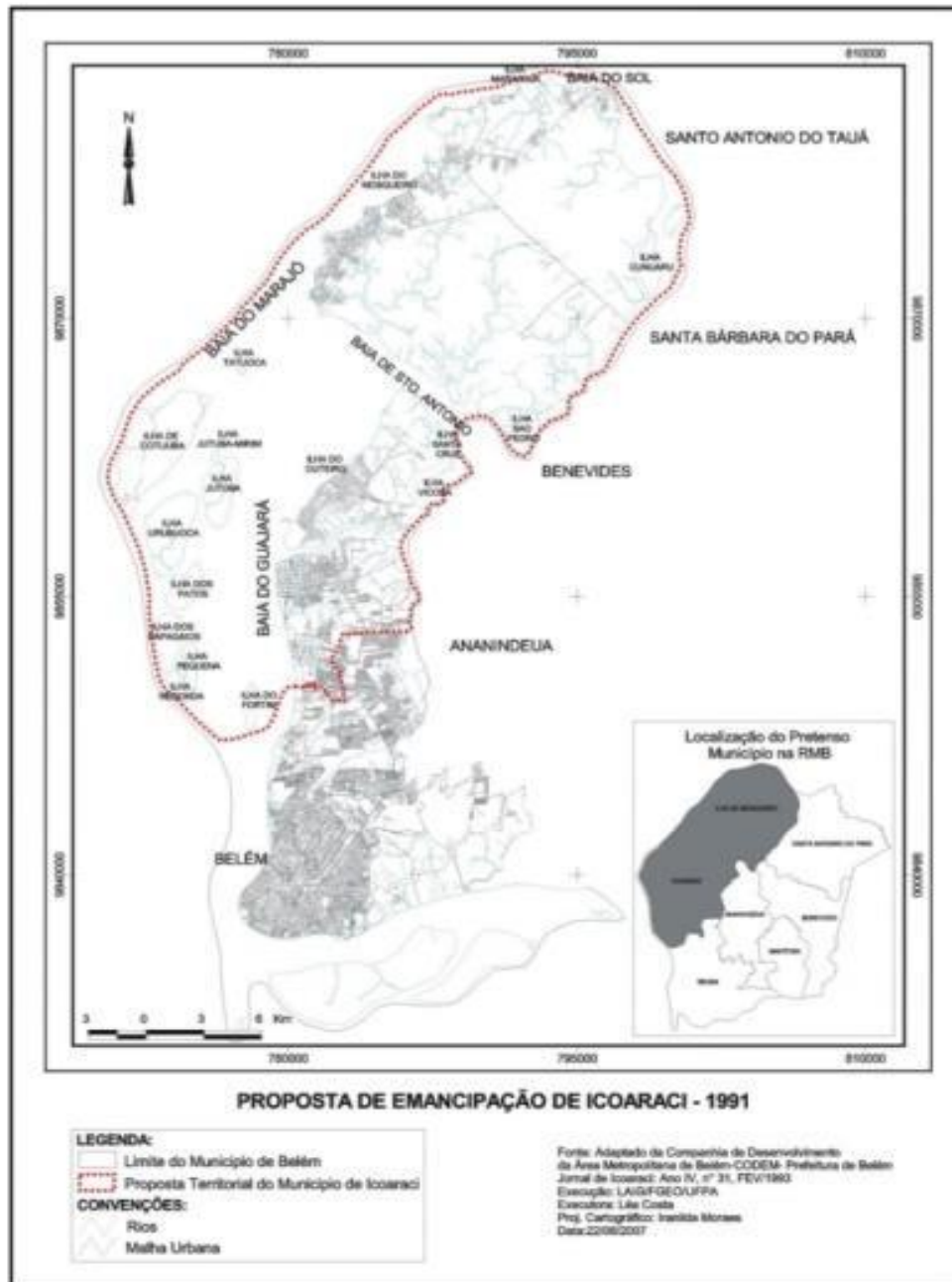
Despite the effort, the 1985 project was not stopped because it did not respect the continuity of the mother municipality, but because it did not guarantee the islands conditions to decide for emancipation. This, no matter how hard it tries to allow a continuation of Belém, mainly with its main island which is Mosqueiro, this allowed the archiving of the project in 1991. It is important to observe this project, as it allows us to have the notion of evolution and give difficulties that interested groups need to face in order to establish emancipation.

4.6 Decade of 90, the disputes for the ideological level

It is in the 90s that we can perceive a tougher game, with regard to the maturing process of the emancipationist movement, but also realize that the elite of Belem, with strategies and ideologies, guaranteed the permanence of Icoaraci along the territory.

In 1991 the third emancipationist attempt is initiated, a new project is launched with different limits than the first projects.

Figure 04: 1991 Icoaraci emancipatory project.



Source: COSTA, 2019.

During this period, Mosqueiro Island is included, so that there are no gaps in the discontinuity of the mother municipality. According to Costa (2007), there is no material on ALEPA about the third attempt, except for the justification and the sending of interviews and material provided by the Icoaraci Pro-Emancipation Movement (MPEI), where it is verified that there was a plebiscite, and his campaign was undoubtedly important for the analysis of the disciples and the strategies used by the groups.

According to Costa (2007), the 1991 project was elaborated on the errors of the first ones, so it shows itself to be better technically worked. However, when the plebiscitary process

was carried out, his campaign was confused, mixing accusations of corruption with arguments of valorization of the local economy, and the speech was closed in economic arguments.

On the other hand, the Belenese elite drew up a more effective strategy, realizing the fragility of the population in identifying themselves as Icoaraciense, given that a good part of this resident in the area is from migrants from the interior and other places in Brazil, especially from the Northeast. In order to guarantee its strategy, the elite in Belem manage to convert the campaign into the following question: Should Icoaraci continue as a capital or be an independent municipality in the interior?

Figure 05: "NO" advertising campaign reports.



Source: Icoaraci Capital Defense Committee/
Advertising Campaign

It takes into account the prestige that the capital has in the local imagination, as a source of progress and wealth, thus placing an imaginary characteristic of the big city, while the interior is seen as a place of poverty and neglect. What the Belenese elite built was a speech of "Bad with him, worse without him", to legitimize his interests, still using false and distorted information to qualify him. There is also the use of fear and an even more precarious situation.

Costa (2007) shows that the "No" campaign won the vote, however, there is currently no defender of this flag. Even whoever was in charge of it denies participation. The author also points out that, in 1995, a new project was sent, but barred from the Constitution and Justice Commission, with the justification that the project did not respect the norm that provided for the area of emancipation under historical-cultural characteristics, and its economic arguments were regarded as doubtful. In 2001 the fifth project is sent, which is still pending to the present day.

5 CONCLUSION

A maturity and an effort in the last years is perceived in the construction of a regionalist identity in Icoaraci. Costa (2007) describes the dialogues between Icoaraci and Mosqueiro, showing the identity construction of these regions within the territory of Belém. These constant movements provoke several political reactions that, according to Trindade Jr. (2003) when analyzing the 1990 projects, affect even other municipalities in the state.

This strength acquired by emancipatory movements gains the support of local subjects as they are able to expose the main social problems faced by communities, placing common interests and basic needs as the main banner. However, it is possible to understand that other groups are depositing their own economic interests and ideals in the emancipation of the regions studied, with the intention of expanding their areas of commercial activity.

In this sense, he realizes that these movements of emancipation end up reinforcing the idea of a regionalist discourse that functions as a tool for the maintenance, fall or rise of political groups in the sphere of power, evidenced by the emancipatory attempts of Icoaraci, which show the maturing regionalist ideologies.

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