

Chapter 2

The Use of the Territory as a Resource by the Ruling Elite of Barcarena

Abstract In this chapter I reveal that, with the exception of the industrial complex area, the rest of the territory of Barcarena, including the Village of Cabanos, is controlled by a system of conservative actions, administrative centralization promoter, lack of transparency, and absence of participation of civil society in the preparation of administrative planning. In sum, old production practices of territorial inequalities. Also, before upgrading vectors, especially those who come to regulate the processes of decentralization and administrative democratization, the mayor, councilors, and secretaries decide how to implement them in a way that suits their particular interests. Ensue in Barcarena that which happens in all of Brazil.

Keywords System of conservative actions • Administrative centralization • Decentralization

The first chapter held that a stock system reproduces conservatively every modernization process, showing that the territorial reordering of Barcarena is closely associated with this system's actions. In this reorganization, the Albras/Alunorte is an agent that uses the territory as a resource to ensure the effectiveness of capital reproduction process. The modernizations introduced due to the installation of complex Albras/Alunorte does not set to deny the power of the local ruler elite, nor minimize the centralizing power of this elite. On the contrary, they are allied solidarity and organizationally to use more effectively the resources of the place. Faced with new vectors of administrative modernization, for example, standards of public administration, the whole territory is controlled by this system of actions that conserve traditionally actions centralizing policies, intransparent and suppressive of initiatives and standards that want to ensure popular participation in planning and administration of public affairs.

In addition, on vectors of administrative modernization, the mayor, councilors, and secretaries decide to implement them in order to meet their particular interests, restoring at Barcarena something recurrent in Brazil, especially with regard to the new standards of public administration, which seek to regulate public spending and traditional political action, that is, the old despotism practices, welfarism.

Such relations between the modern and the traditional have in Barcarena played what J.S. Martins called *the power of the delay*, stating that “the social and political transformations are slow, and are not based on sharp and sudden social, cultural, economic and institutional ruptures. *The new comes as an offshoot of the old*” (Martins 1999, p. 30, author’s translation), which allows us to adjectivize as fabulous this project of modernization, because it does not break with the old and traditional conservative political practices.

2.1 The Conservative Actions System

The Barcarena city is a place that has been planned and managed conservatively by the local elite in the interests of economy class and politically dominant. We understand as Miliband (1999) that

a ruling class in any class society is recognized due to its effective control over three main sources of domination: the means of production, where control may involve (and usually involved) the ownership of companies, but does not necessarily need to do it; the means of administration and enforcement of the State; and the main means to establish communication and consensus (Miliband 1999, p. 476, author’s translation).

The elite in the ruling class is recruited accordingly, all elite is ruling class, even though the reverse is not true. Although the ruling elite defend particular interests of the class, this does not eliminate conflicts of interest between them. Interests that are manifested mainly in electoral periods.

There is a conflict, a dispute, a dispute between the representatives of the political elite, it aimed to expand influence and prestige therefore commanding the municipal administrative structure. Individual motivations, even causing conflicts do not threaten the defense of common interests to the ruling class. Therefore, the third term of Laurival Cunha Campos ended with the appointment of Wandick Gutierrez as mayoral candidate, with the condition that he keeps the administrative organization to inherit.

A traditional political style, represented by two family names, which act in a hegemonic way in Barcarena territorial management, whether inside or outside the administrative structure. In this style governed: Laurival Campos Cunha and Laurival Magno Cunha (father and son) in the periods of 1963–1967; 1983–1989; 1993–1996; 2001–2004 and re-elected in 2004; and Wandick Gutierrez during the 1989–1993 administrations, from 1996 to 2000, being defeated in the election of 2004. Despite alternating names, but the conservative political actions of class power that are structured to withstand threatening modernizations to conservative way to manage public affairs remain.

These same conflicts within the class and the same associations that guarantee the conservation of political power class can be exemplified by the analysis of the electoral process in 2000. At that time, due to the death of former mayor Laurival Cunha Campos, the elite sought a replacement candidate who could no longer be

Wandick Gutierrez, given his unpopularity. Among the candidates: Father Adamor Lima (PT), João Evangelista Vaz (PSL), Adinaldo Souza de Oliveira (PV), Maurilo da Costa Gomes (PFL), João Carlos dos Santos Dias (PMN), and Laurival Magno Cunha (PMDB). The political elite supported the latter and their application by the Party of the Brazilian Democratic Movement (PMDB) with the support of state party leaders, as Jader Barbalho, Priante, Elcione Barbalho and local traditional families, such as Rodrigues, from where came the former mayor José Pinheiro Rodrigues. Laurival Magno Cunha, son of Laurival Campos Cunha, was little known, had no traditional political image, he was not a candidate, did not attend local cultural fairs, political rallies, and even corporate openings in Barcarena.

Mr. João Carlos dos Santos Dias, candidate for the Party of National Mobilization (PMN) is a local businessman in the grocery business and had until then a very expressive political history, he was deputy mayor of Wandick Gutierrez management from 1989 to 1993. The Santos family has supported for a long time the political group of Wandick Gutierrez, but withdrew this support when the mayor lost its popularity due to an expressionless administration.

The priest Adamor Lima, candidate of the Workers Party (PT), does not belong nor represents the traditional local families. Born in Abaetetuba, Adamor Lima works with social movements, especially of rural workers. Invited by PT in April 2000 to be candidate, he accepted the invitation even without the support of the Catholic Church, contrary to electoral involvement of its leaders. Without the support of the Church, without coalition with other parties and unassociated with traditional families, his political campaign was not significant. But his poll showed that a significant part of the population did not agree with the maintenance of the power of traditional families via relay positions in municipal governments.

The campaign polarized between João Carlos dos Santos Dias and Laurival Magno Cunha representatives of the two economically strong local groups, traditional family business in the city. This time of the campaign, there was a clash between the two groups, and this is intensified with the result of the calculation, assuming violently and real conflict between the supporters of Laurival Magno Cunha (which won the 2000 election with 38.84% of votes valid) and João Carlos dos Santos Dias (who got a strong vote of 35.98% of the votes¹).

Around the country: VOTERS BURN FORUM

A protest against the outcome of the election for mayor of Barcarena, a city located 25 km north from Belém (PA), resulted in the invasion, depredation and fire in the Forum and the headquarters of the State Prosecutor in the early hours of yesterday. Computers and diskettes were totally destroyed and thrown to the ground. More than 200 men from the military police were sent from the capital to ensure order. Ten people were arrested and two shot during the riots. One of the victims, Armando Dias Pimentel, was taken in serious condition to the Municipal Emergency in Belém. The district judge, Carlos Flexa, asked for

¹The priest Adamor Lima got 22.27 of the votes; John the Evangelist Vaz got 2.15, and Adinaldo de Souza Oliveira got 0.83. Source: www.tse.gov.br. Accessed December 1, 2005.

police protection. His house is surrounded by military police. Two prosecutors had to leave the city, escorted. The fire in the electoral office of the facility was only put out in the early morning².

In the words of the president of a community center in the city of Barcarena,

Most people said they burned the forum because they believed many people would vote for João Carlos. Wherever you went the result as João Carlos, we did research in several places the result was always João Carlos, and when they arrived at the ballot box they do not know what happened, it was a very strange thing because in the vote count, Laurivalzinho pulled ahead. So in people's minds the election was rigged (Verbal information).³

However, such differences in the political elite are ephemeral. The reconciliation took place in the 2004 municipal elections, a time when many believed that Mr. João Carlos would run in opposition to Laurival Magno Cunha. The population showed to be rather disappointed. In an interview with our interlocutor they tell us,

I even feared that (it would happen) again, and even justice feared so much that they sent another judge, there was much policing because they feared the same thing. Because people were a little angry with João Carlos who was candidate for mayor and at the time was against Laurivalzinho and was now on his side. So people who were waiting for him to come to try again were disappointed because he went to the side of the mayor. So people were very divided. Laurivalzinho won because the other candidates allied to him. I voted in Laurivalzinho because I did not see another candidate who would replace him (Verbal information).⁴

The intransigent defense of private interests is what unifies these groups of traditional families and feed their relay in charge of the government. Despite the modern standards of public management, the growth of municipal tax revenue resulting from the installation of a modern industrial complex in the city and on the most urgent collective goods needs for the local population, *the traditional political elite keep their old political practices*.

2.1.1 The Dispatches Policy

The dispatches policy is the mayor and aldermen strategy to engage with the public. In election years the practice of orders turns the campaigns in a show whose outcome is determined by the power of political marketing to make the applicant an acceptable goods through the numerous visits to more distant locations, distribution of gifts, vows import of barcarenenses voters living in other municipalities, the rallies that turn into true parties with presentation of folk musicians, prize sweepstakes. All supports to win the vote of voters who pay little attention to the speeches of the candidates, who are interested in having their individual demands addressed.

²Source: <http://an.uol.com.br/2000/out/04/0pot.htm>. Accessed June 13, 2005.

³An interview given in March 2005.

⁴An interview given in March 2005.

In election campaigns of Barcarena—like all of Brazil—the election period, there are candidates with an air of humility, visiting everywhere, sympathizing with the demands of all, celebrating the various agreements. According to our interviewee, a director of the community center of the Laranjal Neighborhood:

In the campaign season they promised heaven and earth. At least that commitment made in the campaign would have to meet. For example, at the time of the campaign, the mayor came here with us, said that he would pave the streets, create basic sanitation, have water. And none of that is happening. So we see a lack of commitment, lack of interest even by the community. Also because our city today has a very large population, so it was not supposed for us to be living the way we are living today. I do not know if you noticed some streets there can not even move through because the garbage is closing them.

I ask: Why is that?

As I said to you just now, it is the lack of same commitment. The “man” comes here, offers, promises several things that will really benefit the community, then okay. Then everyone stays [...] in fact we were cheated again, because everyone trusted he would do, and it is not what is happening (Verbal information).⁵

Once sworn in, the so-called politicians do not keep their promises. This probably explains the level of mistrust and rejection that people have of politics. This is because in the popular imagination, politicians are the ones who transform public goods into private benefits and that management involves suiting individual requests. Why voters flock to the portal that gives access to the offices of councilors, demanding the promises made during the campaign, but predominantly making requests to solve individual problems. During the year, the political activity of the councilor is to dispatch things. In the words of a former alderman:

I often say that the alderman’s activity begins in January. People hit the councilor’s door for? They want the Councilman to intercede with the mayor to get a work contract. Also, around the end of January when “the guy” has no money, he resorts to the councilor to pay for his gas; then starts a pressure in the alderman for these things. People who will ride carnival group in February also have begun to look for you in January. When it comes to February when the school starts, the issue are school supplies. So the neediest parents and people who are most in need and others until they have no need, but has Councilman knowledge, already looking Councilman because they want school supplies, uniforms, shoes.

When comes the month of March is then one last time for the student to enter the school uniform. So when I see that parents run telling me, “Oh councilor, if my child is not with the uniform he could not enter the school because the teacher said he will not allow more because it has to be uniform”. Then the councilor has to give. Out the day the natural Alderman day that is one issue of the medicine, the examination, the passage to Belém, that is daily.

When it comes to Easter, all schools make the Easter party, all classes, classrooms promote party for students. And the teacher has to take the cake and it is here in the Alderman door he comes knocking to ask for help for these Easter events are held.

⁵An interview given in March 2005.

When comes the month of May, the second Sunday of May, Mother's Day party in all communities, all schools have Mother's Day party. Is that pressure on the councilor to cover and support all these parties.

There comes the month of June is the worst month for Alderman in Barcarena because it's folkloric group everywhere.

Then you think that July is recessed the chamber for Alderman will play. It is usually in the month of July that people go on vacation, want to travel, want to visit a relative in another city then starts to pressure because of passage. Requests always personally, nothing collective, nothing communitarian.

There begins the month of August, starts the second Sunday with Father's Day. It is the same greatness of Mother's Day, but still have programming throughout the city for Father's Day.

When comes the month of September begins with the September 7, then the father arrives so, "but councilman if my child does not parade it will not make a point that the teacher said he would give him [...] you have to give clothes to the person parade, help the school to assemble band".

Here comes October, when it arrives in October there soon coming Children's Day, on the 12th is the same problem in relation to schools, all schools send letters, I've got to get more than 100 a month in relation to schools asking requests. Then has the issue of Cereus in Belém, our people are very religious, is very believer, leads to faith, it is very present in the life of our people. So people want to go to Círio's Nazareth and is passing, is the clothing of the child that "man" does not have to buy is the promise he made to you to win the election and he has to pay now there with Santa, he undertook around the candle to go there because he made a promise in your name but you wouldst not win the election, then you have to pay for that expense, no way.

When it comes November, starts November 2, All Souls. It candle to all the people, the family is there wanting candles, wanting to lighten their loved who have died, people who have to leave the city, people who come to the city and not go home again, and you have to give passage back. When comes the second Sunday of November is the candle of Barcarena. There is the councilman being charged to sponsor video of Cereus and programming of Cereus, and also the cost increase in the house of everybody because it is tradition that meeting of Cereus on Sunday. Also in October is the day of teachers. November is the month on the second Sunday cereus (Verbal information).⁶

In the logic of the rulers, legislate and administer are synonymous of dispatching, equating them to the dispatcher figure, as defined by Da Matta (2001),

The figure of the dispatcher, the specialist that contacts government offices to obtain documents generally involve the confusion I mentioned before lines, describing the 'way' they do it. The dispatcher, as a sociological figure, can only be seen in its huge importance when again we realize this huge brazilian difficulty of joining the law with everyday social reality. Thus, the dispatcher looks more like a godfather. Just as an employer must provide employment and good working conditions for its employees, the dispatcher must guide their clients through the narrow and dangerous intricacies of government offices, causing them to follow the right path (pp. 102–103, author's translation).

It is understood by dispatching the mayor's reception, be it in his home or in his office, of the members of the direct administration, and especially the people. In the

⁶An interview given in March 2005.

territory of Barcarena, things are dispatched as if the municipal public institution, its structures and resources were the private domain of the manager. The public management takes personal connotation, as if the manager was managing his home, uniting, as pointed by Da Matta (2001) the law with everyday social reality.

In this political practice as in patrimonialism examined by Faoro (1991), dissolves any boundary between the interests of the public institution and its interests. The corollary of this is that the common good becomes a fallacy, as well as the public space, the public sphere, public management, and citizenship in the territory become chimeras. Instead we are witnessing the decline of citizenship as

social pact simultaneously established as a relationship belonging to a group and belonging to a territory. This voluntary agreement is formal and aims to ensure the rights and duties of each individual. Cohabitation of these individuals is well over a space that is also the subject of a formal agreement, which establishes limits, indicates uses, sets parameters and signals the interdictions. This type of standardized space is the matrix of public space and the main locus of reproduction of collective life, and all social action seeking to subvert the existence of this space or change the statute is necessarily redefinidora the terms and corresponds to a decrease of the initial contract based citizenship, retreat that is both the institutionalization of social practices that make up a democratic framework of life and citizen as physical, arrangement material limits and eligible actions (Gomes 2001, pp. 173–174, author's translation).

When the municipal government does not recognize those limits, does not have a public space, where according to Arendt (2003), the prevailing political action that takes place in recognizing the other as a condition of existence of the self, and vice versa; place where the prevailing *plurality*, *the common interest*, which is neither individual nor social, is *public*. Thus, we have the action of public policy manager, what you have is the action of the ruling elite leading social assistance policies, using the territory as a resource to preserve their interests.

To Oliveira (2004, p. 41), “the so-called ‘social policy’ would be ‘focused and not necessarily public’, consisting of a poverty functionalization instrument”. Hegemonic agents of the political use that part of the municipality where lies the poor, as a spatial foundation for their welfare actions. We can even say that the maintenance of poverty in these places has the function to ensure the continuity of the ruling elite, i.e., those territories justify social policies and prevent the implementation of public policies. It's a vicious circle.

Control mechanisms and oversight of public management are safe, work according to the system of conservative actions, therefore managers behave as public property owners, using municipal resources according to their own convictions and interests. Political activity is reduced to the management of individual interests. This allows them, for example, not to prioritize the collection of municipal taxes, especially the Building urban land tax (IPTU) which also constitutes clientelist practice.

In 2000, IPTU revenue was projected at R\$ 876,370.00 and a total of R\$ 921,583.00 (Table 2.1). In 2001, there was a prediction of raising R\$ 1,000,000.00, projecting a default of 50 and 2% of exemptions, was raised R\$ 743,895.00. The estimated revenue for 2002 was 40% of what was predicted in the previous year.

Table 2.1 Statement of evolution in IPTU Levy in Barcarena, 2000–2003

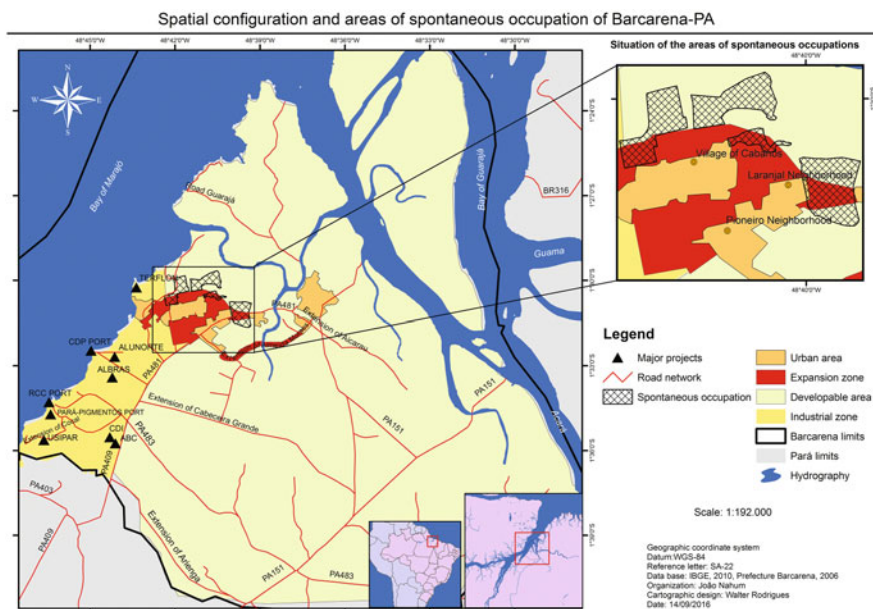
Exercise	Forecast	Levy	Exemption	Bad debt
2000	876,370.00	921,583.00	— ^a	— ^a
2001	1,000,000.00	743,895.00	2%	50%
2002	400,000.00	845,906.00	2%	30%

Source Budget Guidelines Law for 2001, 2002, and 2003. Organized by the author. No data available in the documents

Although it is known the preparation of the Budget Guidelines Law for 2002, the IPTU revenue had reached almost designed for the 2000 financial year.

In Barcarena territory, a period was lived in which the arrival of technical engineering systems and modern management administration has been accompanied by the strengthening of traditional policies, particularly patrimonialist which uses the public power for the benefit of private interests and to the detriment of the interest and population's needs. The strategy of orders takes an institutionalized function of a mode of action and the population is familiar with such an institution, for the welfare policy of the orders is more widespread, used and known that their own citizens' rights set out in the Letters Federal, State and Municipal Constitutions.

The welfare actions enlivened by politics thrive in Barcarena, in the territories of spontaneous occupation of the poor, which we have already referred to. Are

**Map 2.1** Spatial configuration and areas of spontaneous occupation of Barcarena-PA

referred to as places of spontaneous occupation Bairro Novo, Novo Horizonte, Bairro Laranjal (Map 2.1). Are extend to the rural and coastal areas of the islands, where a resident population faces unemployment, poor housing and even food. As emphasized by a secretary of a trade union we interviewed:

Because they have no jobs, some no longer have a home. Then you will see here in Barcarena the amount of invasions that occurred in the urban area is absurd, just here around Vila do Conde, around the urban center of the Village of Cabanos, which was a town planned for the middle class of employees of Albras, there you have the Cabano Garden, the Novo Horizonte, the Industrial district, Rio Paraíso, just around the urban core. You go to Vila do Conde, you have 9 de Abril, you have industrial Jucuraru, all are invasions, people who have no job, no home, have nothing. Sell the house because is unemployed, then invade the land in order to live, it's horrible here in Barcarena (Verbal information).⁷

Municipal management transforms the management bodies, particularly the social assistance office and the city council, in call centers and supply a range of requests. The "Duty Social Program," developed by the Secretariat of Social Action, held emergency consultations with various concessions, according to the need of the existing demand. Funeral assistance, birth certificate, routing duplicate ID card, allowance for immigrant families, basic food baskets, medicine deals with medical prescription among others, as well as several referrals of the poor to public and private entities.

The strategy orders, either by enabling welfare actions, whether by linking public interest with private reinforces the councilman's image as "a person who does or solves." And council members themselves take the "act of dispatch" as common share, as stated the former president of the Barcarena city council, Renato Ogawa:

Because I think it's quite natural, because the alderman in our political scale, is the only politician that people have access to, he is the only politician that citizens here in the city, the citizens here the city can come and knock on the door of the house of and be heard. You find aldermen walking down the street, you find aldermen playing soccer, you will find him in the square. You do not find state representatives, or federal, you do not find here senators to talk to, or the president of the republic at your reach, you do not find the governor. Access to the mayor is already a narrower thing (Verbal information).⁸

The population believing that the councilor is "the person who does and decides," "executive agent" welcomes him expectantly, especially during rare itinerant sessions of the municipal legislative chamber. What would be a discussion forum, built on dialogue and aimed at better management of the territory, metamorphoses in an ombudsman in which people, individually or collectively, request from the Alderman what is needed. The population—for not knowing their rights, the culture of force "of always been that way" and disbelief in political as implementers of public policy—is going to an Alderman in a meeting to seek what they need

⁷An interview given in March 2005.

⁸An interview given in February 2005.

immediately. Thus, it is propagated a fiction democratic forum at the expense of implementation of public policies democratically constituted from the demands of the whole society—only possibility of building a fairer country, formation of strong citizens.

The rare itinerant sessions of the Council, which should be a moment of exercise of legislative transparency and exchange of information, boils down to two acts: the first presents the provision of services of all, when the Councilman explains what you are doing where, how and to whom; in the second, there are records of new requests for goods and services to individuals or to the community. According to council members, his political activities meet the demands of society, this does not require information, transparency and participation in the planning, they act as if society had no right to participate, as if this law does not exist.

The population resorts to the strategy orders and does not believe in the government as a common good manager, so his lack of interest in knowing and using their rights to participation in planning and access to information. Disbelief in politics was reiterated by a leader of the community center of São Francisco, in an interview granted.

The community of disbelief is huge, the people they no longer believe in Councilman business, vote because you have to vote, vote because he is a citizen and has to vote, but not because he believes that so will bring some benefit, go claim, might bring to São Francisco because this here is years, years and years of either claim and ask, they say they will. This last week I've been with Paul Ronildo, who is the councilor, second term, who always said he would claim to make our place, to improve the water supply system, but I do not know why, but it does not come (Verbal information).⁹

The president of the city council, however, has (had) another version for disinterest. According to him, “it is created the culture that it's useless, you can only solves things if by their intermediation”—the councilors. The population is not interested in effective political participation, to know the role of the legislature, confusing it with the executive power. So the councilors do not direct actions to build a political understanding of their activity because they believe it is not the desire of the population.

2.1.2 The Political Coercion

At Barcarena, in general, the population is not involved in politics, even considering the political activity as a dishonest activity. They do not aspire to any office, position or function in the executive or legislative power. At most, they participate as members of the community centers, neighborhood associations, unions. The average citizen expects the ruling elite to continue dispatching and therefore criticized the former mayor, Laurival Magno Cunha, being president of the Consortium

⁹An interview given in March 2005.

for Social/Economic Intermunicipal Development (CODESEI), dispatched the seat of the body, in Belém, very away from the population that usually seeks.

The minority of the population participates in community centers, neighborhood associations, trade unions, and political parties and rarely appears a citizen willing to apply in municipal elections. The low participation of people in organizations representing their interests is a characteristic feature of Brazilian political culture, as made clear by Santos Junior et al. (2004). In an interview we asked a union director: democratic management is a demand of the organized population or popular organizations aimed at solving specific problems of the category?

This position of yours is right. But there's something else to make it happen that way. It is the political pressure. Because our bodies all have public officials. Those who are not a civil servant, have a brother, a family member who is a public official. So as you begin to show the mistakes of an administration or 'hit on her', or put the population in a conscious way is that you have to work, the person connected to your family begins to suffer pressure: "look, or your nephew or son or whoever stops do it here or you're going to the street" (Verbal information).¹⁰

A director of another union reported that kind of repressive and authoritarian practice of local governments:

The government has a practice of trying to pursue, trying to frighten, intimidate. If they don't get it, they set out to co-opt. The management that tried to co-opt the most was the current – Laurivalzinho – offering individual or group advantages, like, if you support me or if you do not challenge the administration we can [...] provide that, usually for clear leaders (Verbal information).¹¹

Local governments, through the actions of conservative system, repress those who disagree with their interests or try to escape their command. On the other hand, still create the illusion that the democratic management is not a demand of society, "because no one spoke against the actions of the government." The population, organized community centers, residents' associations and trade unions, lives down and suppressed by conservative actions, it is paralyzed in the face of traditional political management and ultimately withstand the pressures of this. There are times the action of civil society is limited by this constraint, which is part of Barcarena political culture. In the words of another (former) union director:

Just now, I spoke of the issue of culture. It is cultural the issue of non-participation in political life. This is not occasioned in the population. This, in a way, is reflected in the unions, in the general organizations. We host this thing over the years, these ideas, the ideological question, and consequently the practice (Verbal information).¹²

The political coercion favors the system of conservative actions preventing and fighting behaviors that threaten the power of the rulers. The population therefore can barely organize, trade unions and community associations most often provide

¹⁰An interview given in February 2005.

¹¹An interview given in February 2005.

¹²An interview given in February 2005.

answers to everyday questions, ordinary, related to *their* category of work, *their* street, *their* neighborhood, *their* community and do not threaten to turn the base of the traditional political power. Reiterated one (former) union director: “here we operate more on what is put to us on a daily basis, or sometimes, the unexpected, unforeseen.” They act motivated by specific interests, often individual or corporate.

When the shares have purposes and corporate or individual interests, society loses the prospect of performing as civil society, such as,

a complex field of ideological struggles in which classes, interest groups and individuals, alone, seek to achieve hegemony, reform the state and influence its policies. This historical concept, rather than legal, civil society does not detract from the ethical content. It is in civil society and through the ethical and civilizing values are affirmed, in that groups that intend to carry these values (and possibly are) are part of it and on it seek to exert its influence (Pereira 1999, p. 100, author’s translation).

Not realizing civil society has a vicious circle because, according to the union, the fight against conservative political power can only be effective if the neighborhood associations, community centers, trade unions, in short, the organized people plan their actions with collective perspective. According to another interviewee, one (former) union secretary:

Trade unions and civil society are not in a condition to organize to discuss the public space, the improvement of public space as a whole, but specific actions. The problem appears, then you try to give an answer or say something about the problem. Civil society is organized more as a category, than as a citizen, and weighs the issue of corporatism. It is the category is not the citizen. Here we discussed a lot, our demands are many, but in the end what has been worth, which carries more weight, is the issue of wages. But we discuss the salary and not the budget, quality of life, public participation, administrative transparency (Verbal information).¹³

This, according to Santos (1993, p. 75), is a political action purely spacist, but not exactly spatial, for “acting on a fraction of the territory without the action to be designed in a comprehensive manner, can offer topical solutions and limited effectiveness in time, serving mainly the strengthening of structural data against which you imagined you were fighting.”

Politically repressed, the civil society mobilizes to claim individual interests, does not respond to the processes of territorial reorganization, such as transition management through which passes the village of Cabanos, the implementation of public administration management, the transformations imposed now by the Fiscal Law responsibility. Monitoring, understanding, and intervening in rearrangements resulting from the implementation of new production systems engineering, transport, energy, and communication in Barcarena, as well as changes in the management of the demanded territory by establishing a more stringent regulatory system, such as the standards system of public finances to ensure responsible fiscal management, is the challenge for civil society.

¹³An interview given in February 2005.

According to an interview by a (former) union director:

The speed in which large industrial projects come is very fast, they are installed and somehow run over the movement. The move would have to be planned. It has several aspects here, for example, one is the state of the infrastructure service for the region, the road handle. It seems not much, but it brings a reflection. From the road loop, we have a number of components here in the city that change from the point of view of violence, as in the aspect of economic issue. We have here situations, an example, companies that are, from the handle, feuding to get the best slice of the pie, road transport. So, what happens to the social movement? We get the trailer because it had not planned. And that, in a way, we already know why we did some discussions on the road handle ten years. At the time when it would be implemented here I had a first path, an initial project. On top of this project we discussed. But when we were discussing it, the ruling class was already discussing other projects. We could not keep up. In general, the movement is not following the changes (Verbal information).¹⁴

The population only watches the impact of territorial reordering processes because political inertia (of directors governing associations and unions) compromises the possibility of a broader and tougher mobilization. In fact, over the society suffers the strength of the political power of the rulers and below its own base and political organization follow at the same pace, driven by individualistic and self-interested view. Thus, the focus of fundamental concern of the unions are working conditions and salary. In trade unions, workers are treated as injured clients that have to be personally represented and defended by their class entity losing the dimension of social class.

2.1.3 *The Centralization and the Opacity*

The centralization of power is the strategy used by the ruling elite to structure the municipal administration of Barcarena. It appears in the composition of the leadership of the management staff completed according to the interests and directions of the elected and families that formed the basis of political and economic support in the elections. In 1997–2000, management of Wandick Gutierrez, deputy mayor appointed the secretary of health; Secretary of culture and sport was given by João Carlos, vice mayor of Wandick Gutierrez in the first term; Secretary of Agriculture was indicated by the Councilman Fernando Amaral; the secretariat of works and transport was the choice of Mr. Pedro Smith Amaral, uncle of the Alderman Fernando Amaral and friend of Wandick Gutierrez, who was later replaced by one of the sons of Gutierrez, Carlos Alberto dos Anjos Vieira.

In the territory of Barcarena, the centralization of power of the ruling elites exemplifies a trait of Brazilian political patronage, as analyzed and conceptualized by Faoro (1991, p. 84), power centralization with patrimonial traits:

¹⁴An interview given in March 2005.

Patrimonialism, basic political organization, closes on itself with the estate of markedly bureaucratic character. Bureaucracy is not in the modern sense, as rational rigging, but the charge of appropriation – the office charged with own power, combined with the prince, without the cancellation of the own sphere of competence.

Brito (2001, p. 33) reiterated that paternalism in Barcarena, where

the political elite has exercised and still exercises a political patronage that reveals the predominance of relations of cronyism and patronage as mediators of political relations established in the municipality, which is administered in the context of a delegation of power, in which the political body represents a care institution, based on the principles of a private company.

The boundaries between public interests and private interests are dissolved. The retrofits in territory management are used by the local elite for their own private purposes. Modern standards of democratization of public management, based on the participation of the population and unrestricted access to information, set out in the Federal Constitution of 1988 and the constitutional reforms of the 1990s, are deployed in accordance with the system of conservative actions.

In Brazil, during the 1990s, constitutional reforms have reshaped the relationship between the union, the states, and municipalities, which are now responsible for providing social and guarantee of rights such as education, health and social care. The claims relating to the management autonomy and decentralization of government actions in favor of states and municipalities already included in the Federal Constitution of 1988. This was ensured through the tax powers of transfers and the increased share of these federal entities in the distribution of the collection of federal taxes.

The transfer of tax powers implied the elimination of the EU's participation in the collection of the product of so-called flat tax, which was: (1) 40% in lubricants and liquid and gaseous fuels; (2) 40% in electricity and 100% in communications services; (3) 30% in transport; and (4) 10% in mineral; the triggering events such taxes were incorporated into the state tax calculation base called Tax Relating to Goods and Services – ICMS.

They remained in the competence of the Union six taxes: Tax on Income and Earnings of any Nature - IR; Excise Tax - IPI; Tax on Credit, Exchange and Insurance or Involving Bonds and Securities - IOF; Tax on Rural Territorial Property - ITR; Import Tax - II; Export Tax - IE. The wealth tax, provided for in the Constitution was never instituted (Silva and Oliveira 2000, p. 14, author's translation).

The increased participation of states and municipalities in the collection of federal taxes caused a significant reduction in available revenue of the National Treasury. According to Silva and Oliveira (2000), the states have received, from 1993: 21.5% Income Tax (IR) and the Tax on Industrialized Products (IPI); and municipalities 22.5%. Moreover, the North, Northeast, and Midwest have received 3% of the collection of these two taxes, for use in funding that would go to the private sector. Finally, the states have received 10% of the collection of the IPI, in proportion to exports of manufactured products. Belonging also 30 and 70% to the states and municipalities, respectively, of the collection of the product Tax on Financial Operations (IOF) levied on gold, as defined by law as a financial asset or exchange instrument. Finally, it is intended to municipalities 50% of the collection of the ITR.

The sharing of responsibilities between the Union, states, and municipalities also provides instruments of direct participation for the population, both in the planning of administrative activities such as the monitoring and control of resources. Thus, the following laws were enacted:

- (a) Federal Law 8.913 of July 12, 1994, which provides for the decentralization of school meals, ruling in its Articles 2 and 3:

Art. 2. The funds will only be transferred to the states, the Federal District and the municipalities that have, in operation, School Feeding Councils, made up of representatives of local public administration, responsible for the area of education; of teachers; parents of students; and rural workers.

Art. 3. It is for the School Feeding Council, among others, the supervision and control of application resources for school lunch, and the drafting of its bylaws.

- (b) Federal Law 9.394 of December 20, 1996, which establishes the guidelines and bases of national education, introducing between the principles of education, democratic management, Article 3, VIII;
- (c) Federal Law 9.424 of December 24, 1996, which provides for the operation of the Fund for Primary Education Development and Advancement of Teachers (FUNDEF), ruling in Articles 4 and 5:

Art. 4. The monitoring and social control over the distribution, transfer and application of the Fund's resources will be exercised to the respective governments within the Union, States, Federal District and Municipalities, for councils to be established in every sphere within one hundred and eighty days from the effective date of this Act.

Art. 5. The accounting records and management statements, monthly and updated for the funds transferred, or received to the account of the Fund referred to in art. 1, will be permanently available to the councils responsible for monitoring and supervision within the State, Federal District or Municipality, and federal, state and municipal internal and external control.

With regard to health services, with the introduction of the Unified Health System (SUS), the following laws were enacted:

- (a) Federal Law 8.080 of September 19, 1990, which establishes the conditions for the promotion, protection, and recovery of health, the organization and operation of the corresponding services, ruling in its Article 7, Paragraph VIII, community participation as principle guiding the development of actions and services;
- (b) Federal Law 8.142 of December 28, 1990, which provides for community participation in the management of the Unified Health System, by introducing the instance collegial Health Councils, giving them the following competence:

Art 1. [...]

§ 2. The Health Council in permanent and deliberative collegial body composed of government representatives, service providers, health professionals and users engaged in the formulation of strategies and control the implementation of health policy in the corresponding instance, including the economic and financial aspects, whose decisions will be approved by the chief power legally constituted in each sphere of government.

Article 4 also states that to receive the funds, municipalities, states and the Federal District will rely on the Health Councils. Finally, the organization of the social assistance system by Federal Law 8.742 of December 7, 1993, popular participation was introduced through representative organizations, in policy formulation and control of actions at all levels, by the composition of popular councils, which is one of the conditions for the receiving of funds.

As inferred by these standards, the social rights of municipalization are synonymous with transparent, participatory, efficient, and responsive to the demands of each place. Citizens, through sectoral policies management councils, have guaranteed the right to participate directly in the planning and control mechanisms and enforcement policies in education, health, social assistance.

The councils are composed of representatives of both the organized society and the government, resulting in a composition that ensures half of representation for civil society organizations and half to the representation of government agencies. Despite being linked to government agencies, boards have autonomy in its powers to define its rules and dynamics of operation, which should be established with the participation of all social segments represented within, including, therefore, the public power itself.

However, in the territory of Barcarena, boards in health, social care, and the rights area of children/adolescents were created and institutionalized, almost, to have secured the transfer of funds from other levels of government to the municipal level to implement social policies in the areas of health, social assistance, child, and adolescent.

The political coercion of the municipal government does not allow to form councils, for example, for agriculture and the environment. According to our interviewee,

The dialogue with the government today there was no change. Since 1988 I work with the labor movement here, we have difficulties with the municipal government here in Barcarena. We fight already for both the implementation of the municipal council of agriculture, which until now did not work. The former mayor signed a law, the father of Laurival Cunha, when he left and started Gutierrez, the successor mayor, made another law that also went nowhere, then the movement has always stood apart because the agriculture department continues making government jobs without contact with organized civil entities. They created a way for some associations have people connected to them, the political group's own municipal government, and they have some support from the municipality [...]

So it works like this, the municipal council of environment, if you are asking the Secretary of Environment they'll say that it exists. For us it does not exist, we do not participate, was not even called a municipal conference of environment for us to discuss the municipal council. But this was not done with the civil authorities, this was done only with the secretariat and the legal advice of city, which is the prosecutor of the city, with saying them with the public ministry, which today we known whether the prosecutor participates or not. But we know that we, civil organizations, not participate. And they say there is advice (Verbal information).¹⁵

¹⁵An interview given in March 2005.

The action of the ruling elite transforms the few councils in formal structures, subject to the administrative routines of the municipal departments in order to meet the contract approval procedures and providing due account of agreements with state and federal programs. The advice may not submit different proposals made official by those departments. According to the same counselor, “if it is to create proposals there’s no way, because the secretariat already has them.” So the council works to approve what comes from above. “The counselor must sign all that the secretary is asking and that the mayor is asking, but it is only to approve the project, program, providing that office accounts or to hold meetings” (Verbal information).¹⁶

The councils, which have been proposed as standards that guarantee the administrative modernization of public administration, end up being well-founded fiction, fable, allegory without autonomy and power to influence the direction of municipal policies. The strategy of the rulers is to not have information available, or disclose to society how policies are managed. Therefore, without information and transparency, the population is unable to monitor and decide on the management of social policies.

Therefore, in the territory of Barcarena, management boards exist to play the system kept actions of the ruling elite. Set up originally as population participation instruments are used to strengthen the political centralization of municipal governments, as it allows the city to receive the funds linked to the sector of advice policy, without compromising the traditional way of managing them, without the demands of the population being considered, without the public becoming aware of the amount of money, where and how it is allocated.

This mechanism of the conservative elite allows the municipal management to adapt documents, Plans, Programs, Budget Guidelines Law and Budget Laws, forwarded to the institutions and organs of control and inspection, looking to fulfill what is expected of modern management, in harmony with the national law and attentive to municipal problems.

The Multi-Year Plan of 2002–2005 of the first management Laurival Magno Cunha (2001–2004) was used to show where and how municipal revenues would be applied. This Multi-Year Plan consisted of competence of the secretariats programs, such as Health for All; Infrastructure; Generation of Employment and Income; Education; Basic sanitation; Public security; Agricultural development; Social Action; Sports and Leisure Culture; Urbanism; Management; Participatory budgeting; School bag; Transport; Tourism and Environment. The goals of the programs showed that the rulers knew/know the problems faced by citizens and interest in the improvement of the local population’s quality of life.

Among the goals of the program Health for All of the municipal health secretariat included the deployment of 04 ICU beds at the municipal hospital, the construction and equipping of health unit with 30 beds in the county seat. For the

¹⁶An interview given in March 2005.

period of 2002–2005 the first project included allocated R\$ 600,000.00 and the second R\$ 500,000.00. The city, however, until December 2004 had 81 hospital beds, the same number of beds in 1999, also it had 18 outpatient units registered in SIASUS, number lower than in 1999, when they were 21 units.¹⁷

Some goals of the Education Program looked like the targets of an infrastructure program secretariat:

- (a) construction of a Technical School and University for the period of 2002–2005 and this project was allocated R\$ 246,000.00;
- (b) construction, implementation, and maintenance of a Higher Education Institute. For the period of 2002–2005 this project was allocated R\$ 340,350.00;
- (c) construction and maintenance of the building to the City Board of Education. For the period of 2002–2005 this project was allocated R\$ 50,000.00;
- (d) construction and maintenance of own building of the Municipal Education. For the period of 2002–2005 had been allocated R\$ 395,820.00.

The Secretariat building goals of Education did not take place. According to IBGE¹⁸ data on education, enrollment, teachers, and schools at Barcarena, by the year 2004 the municipal public did not count nor with a school of higher learning, nor with teachers and students. Nor had municipal technical school and higher education institute, nor teacher and student. As fanciful as the technical school building goals, the university and the institute of higher education is the construction and maintenance of the building of the Municipal Council of Education. This does not even exist in the form of municipal law,¹⁹ moreover, not even the Department of City Education works in its own building, occupying the same building of the Legislative Chamber.

The Agricultural Development programs of the Municipal Agriculture is in the spatial ambiguity of the fishing pole deployment project in the Lake of the reservoir of Tucuruí Hydroelectric Plant, located in the municipality of Tucuruí, approximately 300 km from the city of Barcarena. Tucuruí and Barcarena are even municipalities belonging to the same macro-Para. However, we know that there is no fishing pole or on site support for Barcarena fishing colony, which allows us to interrogate finally: Where was spent the money provided for the project?

We could lengthen the description of the programs that make up the Multi-Year Plan of 2002–2005, but we think that the above illustrates the mode of action and objectives of the local ruling elites before the new federal standards of administrative management. They use the preparation of the Multi-Year Plan to present to the supervisory institutions where and how municipal revenues would be applied.

¹⁷Available in: http://www.sepof.pa.gov.br/estatistica/ESTADISTICAS_MUNICIPAIS/Mesorr_Metrop_Belem/Belem/Barcarena.pdf. Accessed on Dec. 01, 2005.

¹⁸Available in: <http://www.ibge.gov.br/cidadesat/xtras/temas.php?nomemun=Barcarenacondmun=1501>. Accessed on Dec. 01, 2005.

¹⁹Available in: <http://www.ibge.gov.br/munic2001/index.htm>. Accessed on June 22, 2004.

2.1.4 *The City's Policy in the Works*

For Santos (2005), geographic objects contain information and its distribution in the territory tells how this can be used. The author states that it is the stock system that gives life to objects, so an analysis of geographical space cannot take such systems separately. The management of the territory must be understood in the light of a set of reordering actions of object systems that gives us the territorial configuration of a place. For good or for evil, government policies make up a system of reordering actions of the territory of the whole society of a place.

In Barcarena, the reordering actions of the territory are carried out through an endless project of works, like the rulers have political action that responds to the spatial demands of the population. However, the landscape and the spatial configuration of the municipality denounce the use of the territory as a resource for maintaining its political dominance. There is never enough budget to complete the work, and it remains there, as propaganda of government actions; when completed are presented as a donation from the rulers of society. It must be said that the budget of these works is public money, therefore belonging to society itself, and not a gift from this mayor or that councilor.

But the opening is a solemn act, at which the ruler appropriates the work, naming it and presenting the barcarenense society. It reads in Para Daily newspaper of April 23, 2002:

Residents of Barcarena received yesterday a present during the commemoration of the 46 years of the mayor Laurival Magno Cunha (PMDB). It was the beginning of construction of the retaining pier that will be part of a large tourist complex in the local edge. Former Senator Jader Barbalho, federal representatives Elcione Barbalho and Jose Priante, beyond councilman h lder barbalho, took part in the important event for that municipality.

According to the secretary of Barcarena Works, Neville Marlos, the pier will be the fundamental work within a large redevelopment project in the city, which has a R\$ 34 million budget, and will be completed in three years.

The retaining pier, which has had its funds released (R\$ 1.1 million), will be done in 391 days. The whole border will still have a panel overlooking the river, and a paved, food court, market (all informal trade will be relocated), and improvements on the beach of Prainha. The work will have 1300 m long. "There will be a waterway station with a mini-mall, to receive ships", detailed the secretary.

[...]

The mayor Laurivalzinho, as he is known by the people, said on his birthday who received the gifts was the municipality's population. The works should be a key milestone for the modernization and resumption of development of Barcarena [...] (JADER VISITA NOVAS OBRAS EM BARCARENA 2002, s/r, emphasis added).

The mayor uses the ceremony of inauguration to strengthen the fable of the need to modernize the city. His lacunar discourse "is based, precisely because it can not say until the end what you want to say" (Chau  1990, p. 22, author's translation). The minister admits the city's stagnant situation and proclaims his birthday the "resumption of development of Barcarena." Such promises, as noted by Santos

(1993), waves, usually to individual or collective improvements and achievements not undertaken by previous governments or by other politicians, such that sound in the ears of voters as opposed attitude to what was before, and to define themselves as a form of progressivism.

This fabulous modernization is meant to be a territorial reordering. In the words of the secretary of Works “a major redevelopment project of the city.” But what the secretary calls “city redevelopment” spatially covers a fraction of the place, the district headquarters of the municipality, and a location, the edge that matches the Cronge Avenida da Silveira. This, for approximately 1300 m, are distributed commercial houses, supermarkets, street vendors, pharmacies, gas station, bus station, city hall, legislative chamber, farm office, banks, municipal market, fair farmer, mother church square mother, dock, bars, cafeterias, sound system and advertising posts, taxi stand.

There, although the presence of financial and political institutions is remarkable, as well as traditional business houses, the primary task of the majority of those who work there is “to survive and ensure the daily family life and participate, as much as possible, in certain forms of consumption peculiar to modern lifestyle” (Santos 2005, p. 102). We have extracts from the center of the lower circuit of Barcarena economy, “essentially consists of forms of manufacturing that are ‘not capital intensive’, not modern services, usually supplied by the level of sales and retail and commerce on a small scale and not modern” (Ibid., p. 97).

In the avenue Cronge da Silveira is observed the recognition of the trade in the common spaces of the street, the sidewalk, the square and the pier, turning everything into a free show. To rearrange this dynamic, the city has “to start construction of the retaining pier, which will reinvent part of the city, setting it to large tourist complex. In the words of the then secretary of works, “the whole border will still have a panel overlooking the river, and a paved, food court, a market (all informal trade will be relocated), and improvements on the beach of Prainha.”

The works of the pier are propagated as blessings of the municipal government, next to each work stand signs or billboards trumpeting made with its own resources, as if the city were the only resource provider, hiding such works consists of funded plans and programs with federal and state resources. The modernization work, conducted by the management of Laurival Magno Cunha, hid the authoritarian planning, because the population knew the plan works in the mayor’s birthday, having information and possibilities to react. Thus, workers from the waterfront, merchants, bar owners, and street vendors are removed from their workplaces so that the retaining pier construction works are started.

The removals, according to urbanization secretariat, are justified by the need of “urbanization and sanitation of the free fair,” to which the Multi-Year Plan of 2002–2005 allocated R\$ 68,000.00 and for the design of “personification of the free fair stallholders” to which the same plan has allocated R\$ 340,400.00. These works, report Para’s Daily newspaper, would be delivered in 391 days after the anniversary of the mayor. The situation in which they were, in November 2005, made it look like other removals would cause a “cyclical” movement, because the site from where they are removed is reoccupied by a new worker.

In this conservative logic it is essential that urban works are in progress, although in many cases, they do not translate the demands of the communities, as its conclusion may well appear on the platforms of the candidates. *It is because devices such as that that Barcarena's territory organization is used as a political tool by the small circle of deciding agents of territorial management.* The corollary of this use has been maintaining a territory without citizens, unequal and divided. In it, the goods and services are distributed unequally in the territorial configuration and those that can travel to the district headquarters of the municipality and the village of Cabanos where such goods and services are available are able to enjoy. Social inequalities are, first, territorial inequalities “because they derive from the place where everyone is. Treatment can not be oblivious to the territorial realities. The citizen is an individual in a place” (Santos 1993, p. 123, author's translation).

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Modernization and Political Actions in the Brazilian
Amazon

The City of Barcarena, Pará

Nahum, J.S.

2017, IX, 78 p. 2 illus. in color., Softcover

ISBN: 978-3-319-58029-6