


INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF ABAETETUBA/PA

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ABSTRACT

The process of urbanization has become a global phenomenon due to the changes brought about by the structures of the capitalist system, stemming from the industrialization process. In the Amazon region, it was no different. Located 37 km from the municipality of Abaetetuba is one of the largest industrial complexes in the region – the Albras/Alunorte Complex. The migration in the 1980s, resulting from this fact, led to urban expansion in Abaetetuba, with the emergence of new neighborhoods. These were created without planning and with little or no infrastructure from the state. This article aims to discuss the current situation of housing and urban mobility, i.e., the right to the city, in the municipality of Abaetetuba. For this purpose, we conducted qualitative research involving semi-structured interviews with professionals and policymakers. We conclude that the social and economic impacts resulting from the location of the industrial hub have had consequences on housing and urban mobility. While the former has been addressed at the federal level, the latter has been seeking municipal solutions. However, it is the absence or difficulty in implementing urban mobility measures that has most affected the right to the city, particularly in the outskirts of the city.

Keywords: Amazon. Industrialization. City. Housing. Urban Mobility.

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INTRODUCTION

Abaetetuba is an inland city in northeastern Pará, located on the banks of the Maratauíra River. It has an estimated population of 158,188 inhabitants and a territorial area of 1,610,654 km² (IBGE, 2022). The municipality is divided into urban (17 neighborhoods), riverside rural areas (an archipelago of 22 islands, consisting of 72 communities), and rural areas along roads (49 colonies and one village). The primary source of income in the municipality is tertiary commerce, followed by fishing, extractive, and public service (municipal, state, and federal).

Understanding the current moment in Abaetetuba can only be done by considering its history in the context of the implementation of large projects in the Amazon. The municipality is under the direct influence of the Albras/Alunorte project, a Japanese achievement that established the largest Japanese aluminum factory outside Asia, 20,000 kilometers away. This factory supplies 15% of Japan's aluminum needs at prices lower than would be possible if the factories were located in Japan. Thus, the implementation of the Albras/Alunorte Project began in the 1980s in the city of Barcarena, 37 km from Abaetetuba.

In the initial phase, the project led to increased employment, attracting families from different parts of the country and contributing to the rural exodus in Abaetetuba. The city grew chaotically with the emergence of new neighborhoods, which had consequences for the environment, economy, culture, and social context.

It is, therefore, important to discuss the concepts of urbanization and industrialization. Urbanization can be understood as the space for understanding the dynamics and concentration of wealth, as well as social and economic inequality (CLENES; CARDOSO; DOURADO, 2010). This suggests that under the cover of social inequalities, concrete and complex cities emerge, with diverse populations, separated yet united by various daily situations.

On the other hand, urbanization is the spatial process that brings together a functional and socially interrelated agglomeration from an internal point of view (CASTELLS, 2001). Since the mid-20th century, this urban phenomenon has become global due to the profound structural and spatial changes of capitalism.

Thus, on one hand, we see the replacement of capitalist monopolies by transnational corporations, and on the other, the creation of production, trade, and service patterns that, instead of being restricted to Northern Atlantic countries, have become a

global phenomenon (CLARK, 2003). However, the process of urbanization cannot be discussed without first addressing the role that industrialization has played.

Lefebvre (2011) argues that industrialization was pivotal in the transformation of society, and thus, regarding urban issues, we must start with questions related to the city and urban development. According to this author, we can distinguish between the inductive and induced processes in industrialization.

In this context, the industrialization process stimulates and emphasizes rural exodus, leading to disorganized development that causes infrastructure problems, and the absence of effective public policies in areas such as education, culture, health, urban mobility, housing, and others. This led Lefebvre (2011) to characterize urban society from this social reality.

The city, as a process of industrialization, experienced disorganized growth across much of the country, particularly in Abaetetuba. Thus, the process of urban agglomeration, driven by employment and income-generating activities, also had financial impacts due to these urban changes.

Therefore, capitalism—through industrialization—directly influences urbanization when observing the main use of the city, i.e., its public spaces, buildings, and monuments, meaning that the work has both use value and exchange value. Capitalism, or capital accumulation, is at the core of creating and growing cities as diverse as São Paulo, Brasília, Belém, and Abaetetuba. It also explains the insatiable search for new product lines, new technologies, new lifestyles, or new places to colonize. In summary, capitalism has always thrived through the production of difference (HARVEY, 2007).

Moreover, according to Mongin (2006), one must not only focus on the economic phenomenon (or globalization) or the reduction of the state's role (liberal revolution). We must also observe other interconnected planes in a causal logic. These planes—cultural, political, migratory, legal, and territorial—depend on these flows, which range from social structure to social ascension. Therefore, territorial flows play a crucial role in understanding territorial reconfiguration.

The research aimed to discuss the current situation of housing and urban mobility, i.e., the right to the city, in the municipality of Abaetetuba. Methodologically, this research follows a qualitative approach, through which we sought to deepen the understanding of the defined scientific object. For this purpose, we conducted four semi-structured interviews with professionals and policymakers.

The article is organized into three sections, in addition to the Introduction and Conclusion. In the first section, we define the methodology and research techniques used. In the second section, we present the research results, where we discuss some of the social impacts in Abaetetuba, particularly the Albras/Alunorte project, as well as housing and urban mobility issues in the municipality. In the third and final section, we discuss the results obtained from the research.

METHODOLOGY

The methodological approach aims to guide the process through which the research was conducted. Thus, we will employ the dialectical method, as there are no fixed objects, and everything is in motion. Nothing is truly finished, and everything is always in the process of transformation.

To achieve a significant understanding of the socioeconomic situation in Abaetetuba, especially regarding housing and mobility issues, we opted for qualitative research.

The qualitative approach focuses on aspects of reality that cannot be quantified, concentrating on understanding and explaining the dynamics of social relations (GERHARDT; SILVEIRA, 2009).

According to Lakatos and Marconi (2017), the first step in conducting field research is a thorough analysis of documentary facts that support the planned investigation, which is why we conducted a literature and document review.

Regarding the research techniques, we chose to carry out four semi-structured interviews with professionals and policymakers in Abaetetuba, as these “allow for the comparison of answers obtained for each question or theme, helping to identify what is common and [distinguishing] what is different” (CRUZ, 2020, p.101).

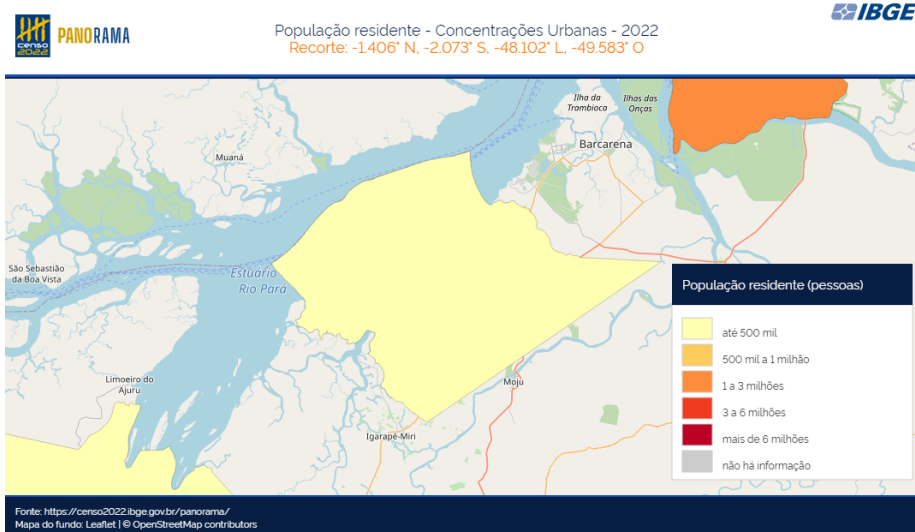
These interviews were conducted in November 2024. After data collection, we transcribed the interviews and proceeded with the appropriate content analysis (BARDIN, 2008).

RESULTS

The Municipality of Abaetetuba and the Albras/Alunorte Project

The municipality of Abaetetuba is part of the Cametá Microregion and borders the municipalities of Barcarena, Igarapé-Miri, Moju, Limoeiro do Ajuru, and Muanã (Figure 1).

Figure 1 - Municipality of Abaetetuba



Source: IBGE (2024)

From the late 19th century until the mid-20th century, this municipality was economically driven by cachaça distilleries. It had large, well-structured warehouses located in the riverside region, where a significant production of this alcoholic beverage took place. Its acceptance in the regional market explains its expansion into various areas of the Amazon. For several decades, Abaetetuba became known as the "Land of Cachaça." Cardoso and Cruz add:

The city of Abaetetuba carries in its history the existence of numerous cachaça distilleries. Examples from this historical period in the municipality include the monument "The Planter of Green Sugarcane" and the preservation of the Pacheco Distillery. As a result, the city was and continues to be nicknamed the "Land of Cachaça" (CARDOSO; CRUZ, 2023, p. 01).

The construction of the first phase of Albras began in 1983, and it was inaugurated in 1985. Alunorte, on the other hand, was inaugurated in 1995 (BARROS, 2014). Thus, we witnessed the implementation of large projects in the Amazon. These large economic projects established new features in the history of the Amazonian people and, especially, in the history of the people of Abaetetuba.

It is pertinent to note that the phenomenon of migration predates 1983. Following the oil price increases of 1973, a technical commission from Japan arrived in Pará in June of the same year with the mission of analyzing the possibility of establishing an aluminum factory in the state.

From this period onward, the migration process of various families and individuals began, mainly from the Northeast and the island regions of Abaetetuba, in search of employment and a better life. In the words of Machado:

[...] farms were abandoned, countless families bid farewell to their jiraus¹ and xerimbabos² and settled in the city in search of a better life, schools for their children, a new television, and a refrigerator; things that the factory's money promised. It seemed that progress and modernity were, after all, inevitable and would come to everyone (MACHADO, 2020, p. 36).

However, after the construction and inauguration of the factory's activities, a large portion of the workers, especially the "manual laborers," were dismissed by the company. Unable to return to their places of origin, they settled mainly in the municipality of Abaetetuba, where the cost of living was more affordable.

According to Machado (2020), as soon as the factory began operations, the "laborers" were let go. Many of them stayed in the city, swelling the ranks of residents without jobs or living on odd jobs. Few managed to establish themselves with dignity.

According to the Department of Informatics of the Unified Health System (DATASUS), in 1988, the municipality of Abaetetuba had a population of 93,089 inhabitants. By 1990, it had grown to 104,864 inhabitants, and by 2000, it reached 119,152 inhabitants. Finally, in 2012, it reached 144,415 inhabitants, allowing us to conclude that the municipality experienced a significant population increase in just over two decades.

The disorderly population growth and the lack of basic infrastructure caused the scarce public services in the municipality, such as water supply, to collapse. Similarly, the increase in urban violence and drug trafficking was due to the municipality's inability to provide employment or Social Public Policies that could meet the population's needs. Some people ended up engaging in undignified "practices."

At the same time, the internal migration accompanying these ventures [...] increases rural exodus and unemployment in the cities, where pockets of prostitution and misery emerge, along with rising violence and drug trafficking (MACHADO, 2020, p. 32).

In this sense, we can infer that industrialization cannot develop its activities without the city, as it is in the city that the means—such as labor—are found to carry out its activities. In the words of Lefebvre:

[...] the old cities are: markets, sources of available capital, places where this capital is generated (banks), residences of economic and political leaders, reserves of labor (that

is, places where the "reserve army of the proletariat," as Marx says, can be replaced, which weighs on wages and allows the growth of surplus value). Moreover, the City, like the factory, allows the concentration of the means of production in a small space: tools, raw materials, and labor (LEFEBVRE, 2011, p. 15).

Thus, Abaetetuba finds itself connected to the transnational capitalist web, where Machado (2020) emphasizes that the municipality quickly begins to enjoy technological goods but also receives the burden of rapid and violent "modernization." The author further conceptualizes that from a city essentially dedicated to riverside life, it suddenly finds itself as a suburb of an imaginary megalopolis, suffering from this radical change in its physical and social identity.

Although the Albras/Alunorte Project was conceived to be installed in the municipality of Barcarena, it was the municipality of Abaetetuba that suffered a strong concentration of this "industrial reserve army." Its proximity to the aforementioned Complex explains why it became the main driver of it. In the words of Quaresma et al:

The relative demographic surplus of Abaetetuba contributed to the operation of Albras and Alunorte, as the abundant and cheap labor served as a substrate for the constitution of a reserve army for low-skilled and unhealthy activities produced by the project. As the municipality showed a lack of formal employment relationships, it was up to the companies in question to play their role as "social redeemers." Thus, many people who came in search of employment managed to be hired. The jobs offered were as manual laborers in the construction of the factory (this was the sector that generated the most jobs) or as technicians in various areas (QUARESMA et al, 2015, p.163).

Given these facts, it is worth noting that the growth of the commercial network is undeniable. However, the Albras/Alunorte Project also brings with it a new commercial network, in this case, technical training schools. Given the process of the Complex's operation, it began to need to hire skilled individuals in different areas of work. Thus, a portion of the population began a new trajectory in their lives, seeking technical professional education. As a result, large Technical Education Institutes were created or established in the municipality of Abaetetuba, bringing with them the professionalization of labor for work in industrial enterprises.

Finally, the issues of housing and urban mobility in the municipality of Abaetetuba have become subjects of debate in the context of access and the right to the city.

ACCESS AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN ABAETETUBA

The city of Abaetetuba has undergone various transformations over the years, particularly concerning urban space. During the developmental period of the 1970s and 1980s, we witnessed the arrival and implementation of "Large Projects" in the Amazon, among which the aforementioned Albras/Alunorte Complex. Subsequently, Abaetetuba reconfigured its urban space, which led to infrastructure problems, both in urban and rural areas, as well as socioeconomic issues. According to Moraes et al:

The population increase in Abaetetuba, promoted by the construction of road infrastructure, which in turn facilitated the entry of large enterprises, transformed the urban space of the Municipality, leading to issues such as urban dispersion, accelerated territorial expansion, disorderly growth of the city, saturation of its main transport routes; limitations and precariousness of mobility, housing problems, socio-spatial segregation, lack of urban planning, etc. (MORAES et al, 2023, p.5).

In this way, the issues of housing and urban mobility are key topics in the discussion about access and the right to the city. Although it is a fundamental and collective right, our cities reflect the logic of neoliberalism and its exclusive and private system, which materializes in the inequality of space: the poorest live in the periphery, in precarious housing, and have access to a precarious and insufficient public transportation system, or even none at all, as is the case in Abaetetuba.

In this movement, urban agglomerations result from the process of capitalist accumulation, as well as the social and territorial divisions historically carried out. In this way, we reflect with Santos (2001, p.180), "[...] it is not the urban space that constitutes a social structure, but the human space taken as a whole." One of our interviewees adds:

In the 1980s, the factory issue began. People left their small properties in search of jobs. In this process of factory construction, people from Minas Gerais, Goiás, and other states also came to work in the construction. It is then that Abaetetuba becomes a dormitory city (Interviewee nº 1, on 06/11/2024).

Interviewee nº 1 also emphasized in her interview that, after the completion of the factory construction, many people, despite losing their jobs, did not return to their cities of origin. On the contrary, they settled in the periphery, which quickly caused Abaetetuba to grow from 04 to 10 neighborhoods and later to 17 neighborhoods, with minimal planning and pockets of poverty.

This leads us to consider that Abaetetuba, like other cities in Brazil, was formed and became a symbol of disorderly development and social inequality. In the words of Moraes et al:

[...] Abaetetuba faces various urban phenomena, such as socio-spatial segregation. This type of manifestation arising from urban space is established mainly through the construction of increasingly distant residential areas from urban centers (MORAES et al, 2023, p.7).

The reflection leads us to analyze the issue of access to urban public policies, regarding socio-spatial segregation, as well as how housing policy has been conditioned in the municipality of Abaetetuba. On this topic, interviewee nº 2 expresses his opinion:

The housing issue is still somewhat disorganized because the city suffered a great impact with the creation of several neighborhoods. And these neighborhoods were created by what we call invasions. Others call it occupation, etc., by this type of occupation, by this type of formation (Interviewee nº 2, on 06/11/2024).

Thus, the same interviewee concluded that the population occupied the spaces they understood to be vacant. In this sense, he classified the housing issue in the municipality as precarious, not due to a lack of housing, but due to the disorganization in the creation of neighborhoods. He added:

[...] the urban organization of the city, we do not have that. As you have neighborhoods forming in a disorderly manner and then there are no policies to order them, so to speak, then it must be admitted that the housing policy is non-existent in the municipality (Interviewee nº 2, on 06/11/2024).

The National Housing Policy has as its main components not only the provision of housing but the integration of an entire urban development policy that regulates a minimum standard of habitability such as decent housing, infrastructure, environmental sanitation, mobility, collective transport, equipment, urban and social services.

Interviewee nº 3, on the housing situation in the municipality of Abaetetuba, understands that currently land and property prices are very inflated. In her words,

[...] [in the] 70s, 80s, it wasn't so complicated. But at this current moment, we can observe that there is a lot of speculation, which causes a high housing deficit in the urban area. Many families are living in the same house, [who] cannot afford to buy a plot of land, a property on their own, due to the price. It is observed that it is very expensive and, very high value (Interviewee nº 3, on 12/11/2024).

The above statement portrays a situation that has been intensifying and becoming stronger in recent times, real estate speculation. Still, on the housing issue, she emphasizes:

So, even though Abaetetuba is a municipality, according to the 2022 census, with more than 158 thousand inhabitants, the housing policy is not effectively implemented in fact and law. What exists [is the] execution of federal government programs. The municipality, within the housing policy, cannot work on decentralization. What makes the employees execute only the federal programs and not the policy itself, which ends up fragmenting the work and we end up not experiencing the housing policy (Interviewee nº 3, on 12/11/2024).

Therefore, it is possible to infer that in Abaetetuba, the housing policy is executed through federal housing programs such as the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program-PMCMV. This program has already benefited 1,208 families in Abaetetuba and is in the process of delivering 800 more houses.

Regarding urban mobility in the municipality of Abaetetuba, interviewee nº 1 confirmed that in the 1980s, the municipality became known as the city of bicycles. Thus, in each residence, there were on average four bicycles.

Thus, for a long time, they were the main means of transportation for the residents. Consequently, until the mid-2010s, there were "bicycle workers" in Abaetetuba. Today, the few who still resist are known as taxo-cyclists. Continuing, interviewee nº 1 contextualizes the issue of urban mobility:

[...] the city grew, people arrived and settled in the periphery. There was a need for this Center-Periphery movement since urban policies are concentrated in the city center. The bicycle was no longer sufficient for those who needed to go to the center. So, that's when we moved from the bicycle to the motorcycle (Interviewee nº 1, on 06/11/2024).

In the meantime, we witnessed the emergence of a new means of transportation, which is the motorcycle taxis. According to interviewee nº 3:

[...] the only transportation [available is] motorcycle taxis. But there is a certain risk, [as] few are legalized. There are many clandestine ones... So, we are wary of using them. These are situations that need to be looked at very carefully (Interviewee nº 3, on 12/11/2024).

The interviewee also emphasizes the economic cost of this transportation, since motorcycle taxis are private and individual transports. They are not public, so the fare is

charged according to the distance traveled. This greatly burdens family planning, especially for low-income families, such as those benefited by the Minha Casa Minha Vida Program-PMCMV, since their homes are far from the city center and the commercial network of the municipality.

Municipal Law nº 2.285/2009, of November 20, 2009, in its article 8, regulates the setting of fares for motorcycle taxi services, however, it does not apply to the aforementioned situation. Moraes et al, emphasize:

Regarding the economic cost, the values of the rides are determined by the distance of the travel route, which is calculated by the service providers themselves who end up reaching a consensus, given that there is no tariff table by the public power with fair prices and available to the population. [...] The values of the rides vary from R\$5.00 to R\$10.00. (MORAES et al, 2023, p.11).

Interviewee nº 2, highlights the following about mobility in this municipality:

As the neighborhoods are organized, we will also think about how the city will move. Because if you take today at five o'clock in the afternoon Dom Pedro II, you can't make a turn anywhere. You can't make a turn by motorcycle, by bicycle, on foot... You have to run and risk being run over. The city has grown a lot in the volume of cars, motorcycles, passers-by, in people who come from other municipalities to do business here (Interviewee nº 2, on 06/11/2024).

Complementarily and according to the news portal of the State Department of Transit-DETRAN (2018), in the city of Abaetetuba, there are more than 28,800 vehicles, of which 16,124 are motorcycles.

Interviewees nº 1 and nº 2, emphasize, in their interviews, the issue of the streets of the municipality that have become small in the face of the magnitude and complexity that traffic in Abaetetuba has become.

From the creation and implementation of the Municipal Department of Transit, Transport, and Mobility of Abaetetuba- DMTTM, today DEMUTRAN, through Municipal Law nº 653/2022, interviewee nº 1 highlighted some significant changes in the city, such as one-way streets, better horizontal, vertical and traffic light signaling, in addition to the holding of a public tender for the hiring of traffic agents.

Interviewee nº 2 refers to a significant action in the field of mobility, namely the change of access streets for entering and leaving the city. Thus, Dom Pedro II Avenue became the access route and Pedro Rodrigues Avenue became the exit route from the city.

In addition, São Paulo Avenue became a one-way street. With this change, mobility in traffic improved. The same interviewee continues:

When you organize the neighborhood, you create this awareness that this street here, can be two-way, that one there cannot. This street here has a name, this street here needs care and such. This street here has a health post, a hospital, a school, and, therefore, needs to have a speed bump and such (Interviewee nº 2, on 06/11/2024).

When talking about urban mobility in Abaetetuba which was a consensus among all interviewees, it was the lack of public transport. Although the municipality of Abaetetuba is the seventh most populous city in the state of Pará, with an estimated population of 158,188 inhabitants (IBGE, 2022), it still does not have public transport. Moraes et al (2023) highlight:

Like many Brazilian cities, Abaetetuba faces various urban phenomena, such as socio-spatial segregation. This type of manifestation arising from the expansion of urban space is established mainly through the construction of increasingly distant residential areas from urban centers (MORAES et al, 2023, p.7).

In December 2019, through Municipal Law nº 544/2019, the Urban Mobility Policy was instituted in the municipality of Abaetetuba. From this date, the municipality seeks to regulate public urban transport, pricing, and schedules of transport to rural areas. In his explanation, interviewee nº 4, notes that the habits and customs of those who rode bicycles and started riding motorcycles remain, such as riding without a helmet or with excess passengers. The same also highlights the process of traffic education:

[...] these issues have been worked on a lot, the excess of speed, the education campaigns are usually taken to schools to work with children, teenagers, so that in a way it reaches the family space. The campaigns also intensify during the national traffic week (Interviewee nº 4, on 21/11/2024).

Regarding public urban transport, interviewee nº 4 emphasizes:

[...] We have been working on the issue of public urban transport, precisely to give the population an option in the transport issue. Sometimes it comes to debate the more social part, leaving the technical a little. Once for example the houses are far away, you have to take a motorcycle taxi to come to the city center. He doesn't have many choices, he ends up exposing himself to risks like sometimes not using a helmet or using irregular transport (Interviewee nº 4, on 21/11/2024).

The municipality of Abaetetuba has Municipal Law nº 2.285/2009, of November 20, 2009, which regulates the operation of individual passenger transport services on

motorcycles, also recognizing the profession of motorcycle taxi driver. However, there are "professionals" who perform the function irregularly, that is, without a national driver's license, with irregular or unregistered vehicles such as motorcycle taxis.

Interviewee nº 4 also highlights how the neighborhoods are expanding,

[...] The issue of urban transport is precisely to integrate the Bosque neighborhood and the Castanhal neighborhood that are expanding. Jarumã as well, and it is the farthest of all. Even so, Jarumã is in that transition from a rural to an urban area. And so, the residents are served by rural transport, but we are working on this transition (Interviewee nº 4, on:21/11/2024).

Likewise, interviewee nº 2 brings up the issue of the difficulty in paying the Urban Property and Territorial Tax-IPTU, due to the neighborhood where his residence is located having transitioned from rural to urban classification.

Interviewee nº 4 also refers to other obstacles related to public transport such as the need for training bus drivers or bus conductors so that it is possible to hire professionals in the municipality. On the other hand, the existence of narrow and poorly structured streets conditions the circulation of buses. The solution, in these cases, is the circulation of minibusses.

Regarding the issue of accessibility, interviewee nº1 states:

Our city is not a city for everyone, it is not for those with reduced mobility, it is not for people with disabilities, you know? The city does not comply with what the City Statute says, it does not comply with the basic law of inclusion. The public sidewalks are not leveled. They also do not give access to wheelchair users or people with reduced mobility. They cannot walk on the sidewalk and they also cannot walk on the street (Interviewee nº1, on 06/11/2024).

Interviewee nº 4, also emphasizes that:

[...] "driving" here on the streets of the city, in a way, there are streets that are very narrow or very tight curves and even places with a lot of commerce, the concentration of lack of parking, the issue of regularization of sidewalks, place for bus stops [...] We are doing all this survey because it is not just putting the line. We have to work on the points, the stop, the access to the bus stop itself [...] then there is the issue of the pedestrian, the transition of the pedestrian with urban transport. We see a lot of this issue of urban transport integrating into the displacement of pedestrians, especially those who live far away (Interviewee nº 4, on 21/11/2024).

For Verás (2000, p.97), "urbanism becomes, therefore, increasingly less homogeneous, structures grow and change, as the occupation of space becomes increasingly differentiated." In this way, the urban structure plays an important role in the process of formation, social relations, and the way of life of a people.

Access and the right to the city in the municipality of Abaetetuba are heterogeneous, that is, there is "differentiation" in urban organization, especially in the center-periphery relationship.

The scarce actions of the State explain the socio-spatial differences in housing and mobility in contemporary cities, which have been historically built on the hegemonic segregating logic of capitalist production. The regional context of Abaetetuba is closely linked to this organizational historicity.

DISCUSSION

The urbanization process in Abaetetuba predates industrialization, but it was the latter that came to boost the growth of the former. Thus, the installation of the Albras/Alunorte Complex triggered the migratory phenomenon both within the municipality, within the state of Pará, and in other Brazilian states. However, the diversity of jobs performed from the preparation and construction of the Complex's infrastructure changed with the increasing need for specialized work, consequently altering the labor needs to be hired, so the former ended up ceasing their functions in the aforementioned Complex.

However, if for some, the belief or expectation of job offers persisted, for others, the possibility of returning to their place of origin disappeared, which led them to settle in the periphery of the municipality of Abaetetuba. Complementarily, the requirements for labor hiring changed, so opportunities arose in the city of Abaetetuba for people to train in professional institutes that were being installed or developed in the city.

During this industrialization process, the city of Abaetetuba changed radically. First, with the settlement in the periphery of Abaetetuba, these workers and unemployed, even through the occupation or invasion of vacant or abandoned lands, leading to the creation of new neighborhoods. The city grew exponentially, however without the necessary municipal, political, cultural, or social infrastructure.

This process - continuous - of urbanization continues to be deficient, as it did not generate housing opportunities for everyone - hence the recourse to the federal program "Minha Casa, Minha Vida". But as we mentioned earlier, it is also necessary to promote

urban development policies that regulate decent housing, infrastructure, environmental sanitation, mobility, collective transport, equipment, and urban and social services so that the Right to the City, a right enshrined constitutionally, in Brazil, can be fully achieved.

With this, we come to the issue of mobility. This is complementary both to urbanization and to industrialization itself. Access to neighborhoods continues to be conditioned on the availability of private individual transport or even the offer of individual transport which currently translates into the offer of individual transport service, by motorcycle taxi. If in the 80s bicycles abounded, today it is motorcycles that do this transport.

Thus, the majority of the population or, especially the most needy, has or uses this type of transport, which is partly due to the lack or deficient offer of public collective transport. Complementarily, the very layout of the city of Abaetetuba does not help with its narrow and winding streets in the offer of public collective transport. However, it is especially in the center-periphery relationship that the lack of collective transport is most felt.

Finally, we prove the complexity of the interdependence between industrialization, urbanization, and mobility. These cannot be thought of or planned separately. The city grew without planning, so public policies that think about the right to the city, from the aforementioned trinomial, continue to be urgently needed. In other words, the city is housing, mobility, and work, but during its development, public policies were lacking to solve or respond to collective problems. In a way, the lack of planning was obtaining individual responses, so we conclude that for collective issues, collective resolutions are equally necessary.

CONCLUSION

The urbanization process of Abaetetuba is the result, even if indirectly, of the capitalist mode of production configured in the industrialization process. This process, as in other regions of Brazil and the world, produced socio-spatial segregation, especially regarding housing and urban mobility.

Moraes et al (2023) emphasize that in the municipality of Abaetetuba, democratic access and the right to the city occur from the segregating logic since all PMCMV houses were built very far from the city center. The residents who live in these houses are workers with low purchasing power who do not have their transport. On the other hand, the

municipality does not have public collective transport that allows these people to move to the city center.

The Master Plan of the Municipality of Abaetetuba, in Section III, article 14, provides for the Housing Policy in the municipality. However, we cannot observe the effects of this policy, since the municipality only executes Federal Programs. It should be noted that the housing policy goes beyond the execution of these programs as highlighted by the items of the aforementioned article.

As for the Urban Mobility Plan, it is under development, so it has been seeking solutions so that the residents of Abaetetuba can enjoy an accessible, transit-friendly, and "appropriate" city.

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