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RESEARCH ARTICLE

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HOMICIDES IN THE MESOREGION OF THE LEGAL AMAZON 1964-2007

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ABSTRACT

This work presents the occurrence of homicides in the mesoregion of the Legal Amazon, precisely in the southeast of Pará in the period 1960-2007. It is a bibliographic search and a quantitative approach (statistical data). 644 (six hundred and forty-four) death records were found in the period: 04 (1964), 27 (1970), 383 (1980), 129 (1990) and 101 (2000-2007) and the numbers and rate of homicides for decades, Municipalities, inquiries, arrests for open inquiries, recurring for decades. It was concluded that the decade with the highest incidence of homicides was 1980, with a 56.74% rate of deaths. In relation to the municipalities, the cities of Marabá and Xinguará (17%) were those with the highest incidence. Of the 644 homicides that occurred, 574 did not obtain formalized inquiries (89%) and of the 70 completed inquiries, 75% were not arrested, only 24%. It should be noted that 76,2% of the crimes were committed by the same people (1980s-1990s). From the results obtained, a profile of the occurrence of homicides in the mesoregion in the period from 1964-2007 was generated, in addition to subsidies to compose a general diagnosis about the phenomenon in Pará's southeast of the Legal Amazon.

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INTRODUCTION

Studies about the occurrence of homicides in Brazil, precisely in the state of Pará, particularly in the mesoregion of the southeast, Legal Amazon have been over passing the academy institutions and reached foreign lands. The survey of deaths, in the country, started in the year of 1979, a factor that limited comparisons with another countries by the imprecision of the established results (SOARES, 2008). Nevertheless, in the state of Pará these data were only reached out and consolidated after the deaths registration (monthly reports) from the police station specialized in Pará agrarian conflicts in the year of 1995, founded at the same year (AROUCK, 2002). The data were related to possession and lands expropriation, although there was already various and sparse data about the subject, but "[...] every entity had their own list, number and criterion (...) anyone would account numbers – using criterion such as anonymous denunciations or paper snippets, without a deeper research." (AROUCK, 2002, p.11). Between the amount of government agencies responsible for data survey, the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA), together with the Federation of Agriculture Workers of Pará

(FETAGRI), created a data survey from journal news, file documents, documentary sources and even descriptions about the lands conflicts occurred in the region. The result (table 1) above showed the occurrence of 34 (thirty four) land conflicts, 21 (twenty one) arrested and 18 (eighteen) deaths (1985). In the year of 1986, 39 (thirty nine) conflicts, 127 (one hundred twenty seven) arrested and 03 (three) deaths registered. Yet, in 1987 the conflicts ascended to 41 (forty one) and the arrested quantity rose to 263 (two hundred sixty three) and 06 (six) deaths. The death relation per year decreased from 18 to 06, meanwhile, the prisons occurrence by conflicts ascended much more in relation to the years of 1985 (21) and 1987 (263). There are theoretical discussions that evidence deaths who weren't accounted, either by the body disappearance and/or by the lack of witness. It is worthy to remember that in the decade of 1990, after the "Eldorado dos Carajás' massacre" (April 17th, 1996), occurred on PA- 150 highway (S curve), the conflict between policy and homeless people left 19 dead and nearly 60 injured. Among these agencies, the Human Rights National Movement (MNDH) realized a research in the period of July/94 till July/96 having as a basic fount of information from the register discovered by the press in the database, from

MNDH/PA and as a parameter from data used as National Health Foundation - FNS belongs to the State Department of Public Health – SESPA, official state font. About the survey accomplished by MNDH (1997), when using the data from FNS do not includes the cases of deaths by traffic accident. In SESPA' data were registered 1.265 deaths by homicides, while the data obtained by the press was: 803, a result of a difference of 462 homicides, in other words, 57% less. An Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) information (1991) about “[...] Pará total population corresponded to 4.950.060 inhabitant, spread around 2.353.672, or 47,55% in the rural area and 2.596.388, or 52,45% in the urban area (...)”, yet in the year of 1996 “[...] reached 5.448.598 inhabitant of which maintained at the same proportion, 2.590.808 situated in the rural area and 2.857.790 inhabitant in urban area (...)”. (MNDH, 1996). Despite of, in the southeast mesoregion of Pará, composed by 39 counties in an area of 297.344,257 miles and a population approximately from 1.647.514 thousand inhabitant (IBGE, 2010), the data only initiated to be rise up and aggregates since 2006 (by the capital agencies) becoming an “integrated system” over a network interconnected to the Department of Public Safety – SEGUP/PA. In spite of, there are some regions that are not registered in the system by techniques questions and logistics, one of the justified reasons to the data survey and the research achievement. Another question, the statistics data about homicides related to possession and land expropriation were time forgotten and/or build up in a various and disperse way according to the agencies who elaborated them (AROUCK, 2002), particularly in the periods of 1964 to 2007.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

The necessity of adding data and create a profile of deaths occurrence in the period of 1964 to 2007 with the objective of composing a much preciser diagnostic about the homicides occurred in the mesoregion made it possible to construct a bibliographic and descriptive study through a quantitative approach, having as a source: Murders in the field: crime and impunity 1964 – 1986 and the annual publication of the notebooks from “Conflicts in the field” (printed data) by the Land Pastoral Commission (CPT). We analyzed and elaborated tables with the following data about the homicides occurrence, in a total of 644 occurrences in a period of 1964 – 2007 through the Murders in the field: crime and impunity 1964 – 1986 and the deaths occurrences in the notebooks from “fields conflicts” (1998 to 2007) published CTP by CTP using a data survey collected from “[...] local, state and national journals, newsletters and publications from entities, syndicates and churches, declarations, signed letters, police reports (...)” (CPT, 1999, p. 04). We detach that the period choice happened, in part, because of the military dictatorship in which was elaborated and executed plans of development for the Amazon, considering an “empty space” (PETTI, 2003) with an intensive immigration flux, the implementations of nationals and international companies along with the creation of a municipality politic from the federal government in which from 09 (nine) counties (1986) the region began to have 39 (thirty nine). Emmi (1999, p. 123), made an analysis about the conflicts and the social subjects profile in the decade of 1980: “[...] groups of newcomers countrified workers to the area, or the old residents and indigenous groups to the chestnuts oligarchs agents and components from the capitalist company which expands in the area: south-centers ranchers and groups connected to the financial capital (such as Bamerindus)”; rural

syndicate – UDR and the Land Commission – CPT consider the most important in the regional context emphasized the fight for the land and reported the violence and the homicides occurred in the region. The state of Pará, owner of a territorial extensions of 1.247.950,003 miles spread around 06 (six) mesoregion: low Amazonas; Marajó, Metropolitan Region of Belém, paraense northeast and southeast; presented a larger immigration number compered with the Amazon state, which in terms of territorial extension owns 1.570.745,680 miles. Another important data (table 2) show us that the immigration in the state of Pará has passed 1.529.293 (1960) to 3.403.391 (1980) while in Amazonas it passed from 708.459 (1960) to 1.403.089 (1980). (MÊLO, 1999). Analyzing the taxes of Amazon immigration there was a lower of 7,49% (1960) to 6,88% (1970), although there as occurred a reasonable increase in the decade of 1980 (8,13%). However, in the state of Pará the taxes of immigration has suffer a progressive increase of 7,09% (1960) to 15,29% (1980), demonstrating the grand migratory flux to this region (MÊLO, 1999). In population terms of the mesoregion of paraense southeast:

In 09 counties (1980) resided 364.600 inhabitants passing to 889.455 (1991) with a rate of 1,4% and 39 (thirty nine) counties. In between 2000 to 2007, despite the population increase of 1.210.077, there was a growth of only 0,36%. This decrease had a direct relation with the space configuration already constituted and delimited by grand landowners and agriculture activities and agribusiness (IBGE/ 2010). Between the decades of 1980 and 1990 there was an intensify on the migratory flux through the settlement program by INCRA- National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform, leading colonials to villages called “Agrovillage” without an infrastructure, health care or conditions to drain their production. In this sense, the Settlement Projects- PA's was created – INCRA (1970 decade) emphasizing the “peasantry territoriality” in the region by three periods: “[...] between 1987 to 1995, only 64 PA's were created (...) 14,2% from the total of 450 PA's/2005 (...) between 1996 to 1999 (...) in a total of 202 (...) a growth of 315,6% related to 1987 - 1995 (44,8%) from a total of 450 PA's (...) from 2000 to 2005 (40,8%)”. (ALMEIDA, 2006, p.141). And the counties with a major number of PA's were: Marabá, Nova Repartimento, Itupiranga and Conceição do Araguaia. Meanwhile, São Félix do Xingu, although with a bigger territorial extension, 84.212 miles, above Canaã dos Carajás, presented a lower PA's rate result in the three periods, however counted with a larger concentration of grand rural properties (08) occupying an “[...] area of 125.273 in a (12.528 miles), that is, 14,8% of the county” (ALMEIDA, 2006, p.151). The data and the results obtained by the author, evidenced the counties with a higher number of PA's, the ones with more incidence of conflicts related to possession and land expropriation. The rate of medium growth in the 1980 decade at the paraense southeast was 12,5% conform the Agrarian Reform Plan (PRRA, 1985), three (03) times bigger than the state of Pará and six (06) time bigger than the Brazil one. The data survey realized by the Institute of Economy Research applied (IPEA) evidenced the causes of a migratory phenomenon to the mesoregion by “[...] the livestock extension in areas traditionally producers of food, the introduction of crops of exportation with a high elevated level of mechanization, the proliferation of areas near to the urban centers” (PRRA, 1985, p.47), what occasioned the expulsion of rural labor and the migration intensify. Yet, the fiscals incentives and the grands nationals and foreign projects, private and state generated a big land concentration and a

much more field conflicts. Therefore, the vegetable extractive concentration (wood, chestnut), the agriculture phase and gold miner and the big projects entered in conflict with the small producers dispossessed of land titles and exiled by the grand owners to the cities and highways, resulted in conflicts and deaths related to possession and land expropriation.

RESULTS

In the studies about homicides related to possessions and land expropriation we consider the variable dependent as a pattern of homicides over the decades and counties and the independents variables: inquirers variations levels, the prisons by open inquirers, in the recidivism over decades. In a first moment, we realized a bibliographic research about the subject matter, and posteriorly, a statistic survey descriptive of the information obtained from the bibliography Murders in the Field: crime and impunity 1964 – 1986 (LEME and PIETRAFESA, 1987) and the data impress from the Notebooks of Field Conflicts (CPT) between the periods of 1998 – 2007 (rate based on 100 thousand inhabitants – IBGE – 1960/2000-2007). The deaths rate (table 4) of homicides by the decade of 1960 corresponded to 0,93% (04), 27 (4,81%) by the decade of 1970. In the decade of 1980 there was a drastic growth to 383 (56,74%) falling to 129 (20,93%) in the decade of 1990 and reducing even more by the 2000-2007 decades (101) 16,59% murder victims. When we analyze the incidence of homicides in the counties from the mesoregion by the period of 1964 – 2007 (Table 5) below, the results show us: Marabá and Xinguara with 17%; Conceição do Araguaia with 8% and Jacundá with 7%. Eldorado dos Carajás (6%), Redenção e Santana do Araguaia (5%), the rest stayed between 4% to 1% of deaths by land conflicts. Such results are due to, particularly, by the highways constructions in big economics fluxes, the fiscal incentives by the government agencies to the agrarian projects and the transnationals and internationals companies and the workers coming from various regions of the country searching for work and income.

Related to the inquiries, from the 644 homicides by landowners conflicts analyzed between 1964 to 2007, 574 didn't obtained inquiries (89%), from the 70 (seventy) inquiries left, 11% were initiated and 10 (ten) weren't conclude. However, related to the arrestment by open inquiries, from the 60 inquiries conclude with arrest request, 17 of the accused were released in less than two (2) months after the arrest decree resulting in a 76% percentage of inquiries with no arrestment and 24% of inquiries with arrestment. Nevertheless, there aren't any reports if those really remained in prison or if they were even condemned, what characterize a slowness and impunity that made possible "new" homicides. Inasmuch as, in various cases, the accused of killing, in the decade of 1960, appears as the indictée of another murder, descendant of filed conflict, in the decade of 1980.

When it comes about Recurrence of Homicides By Decades (table 6) above, the major occurrence was between 1980 – 1990 with 76,2% of deaths being idealized and executed (mastermind and executor) by the same person. In the case of the mastermind and the executors being different persons (23,8%). The minor rate being between 2000 – 2007 (3,1%) of executors and mastermind being the same, (96,9%) different. In the most cases, there aren't information that the authors of the murderers had been arrested or even indicted by any crime.

Table 1. Landowners Conflicts (1985 – 1987)

Year	1985	1986	1987
Deaths	18	03	06
Arrested	21	127	263
Land Conflict	34	39	41

Font: Culture House – landowners Conflicts Data (INCRA, FETAGRI/06/03/1988).

Table 2. Immigration and rates in Pará and Amazonas (1960-1980)

Areas	1960	1970	1980
Amazonas	708.459	955.394	1.430.089
Taxes	7,49%	6,88%	8,13%
Pará	1.529.293	2.161.316	3.403.391
Rates	7,09%	7,90%	15,29%

Font: IBGE – Demographic Censer – 1960- 1990 (MÉLO, 1990).

Table 3. The population growth on the paraense southeas

Year	Population	Growth	Counties
1980	364.600	-	09
1991	889.455	1,4%	39
2000/2007	1.210.077	0,36%	39

Font: IBGE – Demographics Censers - 1980-2007.

DISCUSSION

In the studies about homicides occurrences we see that in the decade of 1980 was the one with the most murder incidence (383) with a rate of 56,74% period of the "Brazil Nut" exploration cycle (*Bertholetia Excelsa*) and the fortification between the local power relation, denominated "Chestnut Oligarchy" who maintained 37,3% of the total the chestnuts trees localized in the counties of Marabá and São João of Araguaia: Mutran's family (21,4%); Almeida's family (7,7%); Azevedo's family (4,7%) and the Moraes's family (3,5%). (EMMI, 1999). Beyond the state government on political and economical control over the chestnuts sellers. This scenario has also been related to the Settlements Projects (PAs) numbers on the purpose of "integrate not to hand over", just as the big mining projects facilitated the migration of work-people, owners, prospectors, farmers and others, looking for land and work by the region. In this sense, by the occurrence of violence in the period overpass relations of semi-slave work and slave it self. Simultaneously, occurred the called prospectors "fever" because of the airport existent in the city of Marabá facilitating the production outflow of gold-digging that was also find near to the city surroundings.

Besides the construction of the Belém – Brasília highway that facilitated the land "grilagem" (a way of documents falsification for owning land). Some technicians of ITERPA (Pará Land Institute) calculated that in the period between 1963 and 1967, a thousand lands titles were falsified involving approximately 3 millions of hectare. The grands projects caused a disorderly increase of the demographic region that attracted a big wave of immigrants, also with the Serra Pelada gold-digger as a destiny. (PETIT, 2003). Between the decade of 1960 and 1990 there was various agricultural investments and the cattle breeding that exiled a big quantity of the owners converting into a cheap labor and/or slave in Amazon, besides of preserve the land concentration and guarantee the reproductions of the land property. In this scenarios, social subjects of the landowners conflicts due to the fight for land were: the farmer- (mastermind) owner of a big extension of

Table 4. Homicides by decades (1964-2007)

Decades	1960 (0,93%)	1970 (4,81%)	1980 (56,74%)	1990 (20,93%)	2000-2007 (16,59%)
Homicides	04	27	383	129	101

Fount: Leme and Pietrafesa (1987)/CTP (Pará region)

Table 5. Incidence of homicides by counties (1964 – 2007)

Mesoregion	Counties/homicides	Rate %
*Microregion of Tucuruí	1.Breu-Branco	1%
	2.Itupiranga	4%
	3.Nova Ipixuna	2%
	4.Jacundá	7%
	5.Novo Repartimento	1%
	6.Tucuruí	2%
*Microregion of Paragominas	7.Abel Figueredo	2%
	8.Dom Eliseu	1%
	9.Goianésia do Pará	1%
*Microregion of São Félix do Xingu	10.Bannach	1%
	11.Cumaru do Norte	1%
	12.Ourilândia do Norte	1%
	13.São Félix do Xingu	1%
	14.Alto Xingu	4%
	15. Tucumã	2%
*Microregion of Parauapebas	16. Curionópolis	2%
	17.Eldorado do Carajás	6%
	18.Parauapebas	3%
*Microregion of Marabá	19.Marabá	17%
	20.São domingos do Araguaia	1%
*Microregion of Redenção	21.Redenção	5%
	22. Rio Maria	4%
	23. Xinguara	17%
*Microregion of Conceição do Araguaia	24.Conceição do Araguaia	8%
	25.Santa Maria das Barreiras	1%
	26.Santana do Araguaia	5%

Fount: Leme and Pietrafesa (1987)/CTP (Pará region)

Elaboration by the author (2020) by 100 thousand inhabitants (IBGE – 1964-2007)

Table 6. Recurrence of homicides by decades

Crime/person profile	1960/1970	1980/1990	2000/2007
Same person/ Mastermind e executors	20,7%	76,2%	3,1%
Different/Mastermind e executors	79,3%	23,8%	96,9%

Font: Leme and Pietrafesa (1987)/CTP (Pará region)

Elaboration by the author (2020) by 100 thousand (IBGE – 1964-2007)

land (the most times provided from “grilagem”); the gunmen (the executor): invasions protector of lands of extension, sometimes idle and unproductive; the “cat” (manager) who hired cheap labor to work; the “victim” (murdered) suffering threats, tortures, death: owners, pastoral agent, priests, nuns, lawyers, syndicalist leaders, politicians and others. We also see civil and military policy, Colonel, commissar, judge, scrivener, police chief, manager, owner of the company, indigenous, homeless, loggers, cowboys, widows and others who also “killed” and “died” being part of the dead and/or “marked to die” list. (LOUREIRO,1997). The studies show us that till the end of the 80’s decade there weren’t arrested and/or condemned by homicides crimes upcoming from landowners conflicts, although is recurrent the recidivism in which the mastermind and executor are the same person during decades. Until 2007 just a few had been arrested or even condemned. Adding to the disorderly increase of the migration numbers at the region, the state planning, aiming the interests of political and/or economics groups collaborated to the area instability resulting in a violence explosion that became something “commonplace and unexceptional”, those originated from land “grilagem”, or by the fraudulent sale of them, and/or by the land sale with the legitimate owners inside of them.

Conclusion

Frontier zone, the federal government presented several projects of development to the legal Amazon mesoregion realized from “above” to “under” articulating mechanisms of intervention control regional and/or local. Provided an intense migration of cheap labor and dispossessed of property and rights. The scenario of exploration of Brazil nut, grand metallurgical projects, hydroelectric, gold- digging, extensive livestock with land expropriation from small farmers and the displacement of indigenous people to distant lands.

In this scenario, the socioeconomic and political issues cause landowners conflicts that originated high rates of deaths in decades, particularly, the 80’s decade (383), 56,74%. In this sense, originated a mass of unemployed people and the marginalization of the countryside population and workers, besides that, induced an urban swelling increasing the conflicts between the following subjects: the church, the farmer, policy, gunmen, the judiciary and the state, with a palliative and incipient action over the problematic that generated a great violence in the region.

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