

**SOCIO-TERRITORIAL AND LAND CONFLICTS IN AMAPÁ:
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE CONSTRUCTION OF ECONOMIC
ECOLOGICAL ZONING IN THE STATE
CONFLITOS SOCIOTERRITORIAIS E FUNDIÁRIOS NO AMAPÁ : APORTES
PARA CONSTRUÇÃO DO ZONEAMENTO ECOLÓGICO ECONÔMICO NO
ESTADO**

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RESUMO

Esta pesquisa trata-se de uma colaboração junto a Comissão Executiva do Zoneamento Ecológico Econômico para analisar o contextualizar os conflitos socioterritoriais no Amapá e possíveis indicações de ações que o Estado deve priorizar. Foram utilizados dados secundários obtidos pelos Cadernos de Conflitos no Campo, publicação anual da Comissão Pastoral da Terra sobre conflitos fundiários e seus agentes envolvidos. De tais dados, foram construídos mapas, tabelas e gráficos com bases mais recentes de informações (2012 a 2022). Constatou-se que, há um conjunto de conflitos, analisados aqui por conflitos socioterritoriais no qual as grandes atividades econômicas no Amapá (mineração/garimo, hidrelétricas, agronegócio, negócios madeireiros) rivalizam diretamente o uso do território juntos aos camponeses posseiros e demais populações tradicionais. Esperamos que essa pesquisa ajude a potencializar os debates necessários para a construção das políticas públicas de desenvolvimento assim como municiar de informações os movimentos socioterritoriais atingidos pelos grandes projetos econômicos.

Palavras chaves: Amapá; Conflitos Socioterritoriais; Políticas Públicas

ABSTRACT

This research is a collaboration with the Executive Commission for Ecological and Economic Zoning to analyze the contextualization of socio-territorial conflicts in Amapá and possible indications of actions that the state should prioritize. Secondary data obtained from the *Cadernos de Conflitos no Campo*, an annual publication by the Pastoral Land Commission on land conflicts and the agents involved, was used. From this data, maps, tables and graphs were constructed with more recent information (2012 to 2022). It was found that there is a set of conflicts, analyzed here as socio-territorial conflicts, in which the major economic activities in Amapá (mining/garimo, hydroelectric dams, agribusiness, logging businesses) directly rival the use of territory with peasant squatters and other traditional populations. We hope that this research will help to strengthen the debates needed to build public development policies, as well as providing information to the socio-territorial movements affected by major economic projects.

Key words: Amapá; Socio-territorial conflicts; Public policies

INTRODUCTION

This study aims to contextualize the history of land conflicts in the state of Amapá, emphasizing events that occurred in the last decade (2012-2021), presenting data and indicators as a basis for reflection and recommendations in this stage of the Ecological Economic Zoning as it is an indispensable public policy for promoting economic development with social, environmental, and climate justice.

To embark on a new development paradigm, it is necessary to transition from a model based on land occupation and uncontrolled exploitation to a model based on governance and sustainable use of natural resources. Therefore, it is imperative to build consensus for resolving conflicts and disputes over territory and its resources. This entails considering the perspectives of the different social groups involved, the history of land use and occupation, and the regulatory frameworks guiding agrarian reform, land regularization of public lands, and the management of public forests, as will be discussed in the body of this work.

MATERIALS AND METHODS

As a starting point for this analysis, we present the concepts that underpin the proposed methodological framework. We begin with the premise of what we refer to as land conflicts. These are defined as "disputes over the possession and ownership of rural lands, that is, the situation of explicit or potential antagonism between individuals or legal entities holding rural properties under any title" (ETERPE, 2020). Therefore, our reflection on conflicts refers to disputes over land or territory, which in most cases are also disputes over ways of life and conceptions regarding the use of the territory, whether supported by legal ownership of the land or by its potential for the social reproduction of the individuals who live on it.

Due to the heterogeneity of the subjects existing in the territory, involving different nuances and uses, we choose to address them through the concept of socioterritorial. It

is important to highlight that territory is being understood as "a portion of space involved in disputes and power relations, therefore it is also 'multidimensional, constituting a totality'", both concrete and immaterial (FERNANDES, 2005).

By socioterritorial movement, we consider the "social classes (that) are constituted, thus, in and by the struggles that the protagonists engage in concrete situations and that shape the places they not only occupy but also constitute" and, however, "the social movement gains, thus, for our understanding of collective identities, a geographical sense" (GONÇALVES, 2017). Fernandes (2005) asserts that social groups, just as they transform spaces into territories, they territorialize, deterritorialize, and reterritorialize themselves, carrying their territorial identities with them. Conflictuality would be the genesis of this process.

In Amapá, like in the entire Amazon region, there is a diversity of social subjects linked to the condition of rural populations and involved in different types of conflicts. We categorize such groups as: extractivists, riverside dwellers, quilombolas, indigenous peoples, and settled family farmers and squatters. In many cases, this social categorization becomes blurred due to the similarities resulting from their productive activities.

In any case, to facilitate the organization and analysis of conflicts, we will divide them between those who officially possess acquired rights in terms of land access, such as demarcated and ratified indigenous lands, extractive reserves and agroextractive settlements, agrarian reform settlements, and some titled quilombola territories. On the other hand, there are those who live with precarious land tenure situations. In this case, we include all residents of rural areas who do not have definitive demarcation of the lands they live on and are considered squatters by the state, including areas claimed by quilombolas. Thus, we use data published by the Pastoral Land Commission of Amapá in this time frame to construct maps, tables, and graphs.

DISCUSSION RESULTS

Amapá is delineated within a mosaic of areas with different preservation regimes or restrictions on use, comprising about 73% of its territory. These include National Parks, Biological Reserves, and Ecological Stations, which, according to the National System of Conservation Units - SNUC (2000), are more restrictive in terms of use and occupation, and sustainable use units that allow human life in the natural environment with occupancy restrictions. In such areas, there are records of conflicts, somewhat milder than in non-designated areas, particularly involving issues related to deforestation, mining (garimpos), and overlapping areas.

In non-designated areas, with legally precarious occupations, we observe more intense conflicts involving land grabbing, threats, and violence. The modernization of the territory, which originates in the second half of the 20th century, occurs through the beginning of private appropriation by large capitalist enterprises in the countryside, such as the production of planted forests and extensive livestock farming, which gradually transformed the Amapá territory into a space of conflicts. These conflicts have become more pronounced in the last 20 years with the expansion of the agricultural frontier and

new capitalist development projects such as the hydroelectric plants built in the channels of the Araguari and Jari rivers, as well as the proposal for oil exploration on the Atlantic coast.

In the still undesignated public areas, comprising approximately 30% of the territory, coexist those social groups that we highlight as more vulnerable, a universe of squatters who have historically been present in the territory. These are public lands under great pressure from real estate speculation and are therefore the target of government programs (Terra Legal, Lote Legal, etc.) and disputes over their allocation, whether for private use or conservation. This situation has persisted since the creation of the state of Amapá in 1988, with the demand for the transfer of federal lands to state management.

The process of land transfer and allocation is necessary and should be carried out with transparency, societal participation, and respect for legal frameworks to avoid an escalation of conflicts due to unfair forms of allocation, which favor the granting of areas to medium and large landowners without acquired rights and with production systems poorly suited to the nature of the region.

Therefore, the scale of development should not be solely and exclusively conceived as a means to promote economic expansion with high socio-environmental costs. It should prioritize advances of a social and territorial nature consistent with respect and planning alongside the peoples that comprise the territory. In this diagnosis of socioterritorial conflicts, we present a set of information, maps, and analyses as a basis for formulating forecasts that address society's demands for fair land tenure and planning of inclusive rural development, suitable for the ecological and economic zoning of the state of Amapá.

BRIEF HISTORY OF TERRITORIAL PLANNING AND OCCUPATION IN AMAPÁ

The year 1943 marks a pivotal moment for the territory. Due to political and economic interests, the Federal Territory of Amapá (TFA) is created by the division of Pará, and soon studies are conducted for the development of capitalist economic projects, while migration begins to be directed under state supervision. In 1956, the exploration for the export of manganese ore begins by the Industry and Trade of Ores (Icomi), a private association of national and foreign capital with the sole aim of mineral exportation (NUNES, 2014). Icomi mined manganese ore for 50 years in the Serra do Navio region, in the central-west of the state.

At this point, there is a full capitalization of activities, with the territory gradually being converted into a resource. Notably, during the dictatorship era, the Jari Project, established in 1967 initially with foreign capital, aimed at converting forests for agriculture and was located in the southern part of the state, in the former lands occupied by rubber and Brazil nut extraction activities. Other economic activities were encouraged from the 1970s through the Agropecuary and Agrominerals Polo Program of the Amazon (POLAMAZÔNIA) and various tax incentives from the Superintendence for the Development of the Amazon (SUDAM), such as the water buffalo husbandry project and the pine plantation project by Amapá Florestal and Celulose (AMCEL),

owned by the same entity as Icomi, which still occupies the central region of Amapá (PEREIRA, 2022).

Within this set of policies for the development of monocultures based on large extensive areas, there was an expansion of livestock farming, particularly water buffalo husbandry, in the coastal region of Amapá from 1975 due to the Water Buffalo Development Program linked to POLAMAZÔNIA (MEIRELLES AND MOCHIUTTI, 2000). This activity predominated in the flooded areas with natural grasslands known as the lakes region, an extensive, degrading culture that promoted conflicts over the use of territory between landowners and peasant communities.

In the 1980s and 1990s, amid intense international debate over nature conservation, culminating in the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development - Rio 92 held in Brazil, Amapá emerged as a favorable environment for the establishment of a large mosaic of protected areas. On one hand, there were vast areas of preserved forest with the status of vacant lands; added to this was the struggle of social movements for the recognition of extractive territories and sustainable use agrarian reform settlements, and already ratified indigenous territories. Finally, the institutional political environment, both at the federal and state levels, allowed, from the 1990s to 2006, about 73% of the territory to be designated for the creation of this mosaic of protected areas. However, these areas are not immune to conflicts. Lomba and Porto (2020) present a series of conflicts present in these territories, which manifest as the advancement of illegal deforestation, mining activities, and disputes between traditional peoples and the State, such as the displacement of the Cunani quilombolas as a consequence of the creation of Conservation Units.

Since the beginning of the 21st century, new capitalist activities have been supported by the State and have gained prominence in society. These activities are geared towards the market, especially the international market, and have promoted intense conflicts. Within this framework, mining, logging, emerging grain agriculture (soybeans, corn), and large hydroelectric projects continue to be significant activities.

This rhetoric is repeated throughout the Amazon, as characterized by Almeida (2009):

The general explanations for this pressure on traditionally occupied lands mainly concern the expansion of agribusiness. The first observation is that the general increase in the prices of agricultural and mineral commodities, providing a strong pace of growth in agribusiness, has resulted in an increase in demand for land. This demand occurs both for the purpose of extracting iron ore, bauxite, kaolin and gold, and for the implementation of large homogeneous plantations for industrial purposes (eucalyptus, pine, sugar cane, soybeans, cotton, castor beans, oil palm) and for farming with the expansion of artificial pastures, which implies deforestation, or even for pig iron plants and coal plants.

These are projects that require a set of infrastructure improvements such as upgrades to ports, highways, energy systems, and others. According to Carmo (2020), the rhetoric of development necessitates a complex political and media apparatus to convince the public opinion, among others, that "the need for collective well-being, even if it requires disrupting communities and degrading the environment."

Controversial projects like the exclusion of the National Reserve of Copper and Associates (RENCA) to meet the demands of the mining sector in 2016 in public spheres demonstrate the capital's greed for the rare mineral resources present in these territories, especially indigenous territories, but with a strong resistance movement as evidenced by the position published by APINA (2018).

The land tenure situation in Amapá is an old imbroglio dating back to its process of transformation and territorial formation as a state in 1988. As part of the Pará territory (before 1943), land grants predominated through land grants, and after the definition of borders with French Guiana, Pará promulgated Law No. 748 and regulated by Decree No. 1021/1901 to regularize areas occupied by squatters (SEGÓVIA, 2011). With the creation of the Federal Territory of Amapá (TFA), through Decree No. 5,839, the lands became federal domain and were administered by the Land and Colonization Division (DTC), issuing occupation licenses until 1971, when this responsibility passed to the National Institute of Colonization and Agrarian Reform (INCRA) (BATISTA et al., 2006;).

INCRA, through Decree No. 1,164/71, became responsible for managing lands within 100 km strips along highways and roads. This was replaced by a new Decree-Law No. 2,375/87 in which all vacant lands outside the border strip were registered as federal assets, totaling 5,801,268.64 ha, forming federal areas: Rio Pedreira, Tartarugal Grande, Mazagão, Macacoari, Uruguinha, Tartarugalzinho, Tucunaré, Água Branca, Amapá Grande, Aporema, Bela Vista, Jupati (I and II), Água Fria, Arapari, Oiapoque, Santa Maria, Carnot, Uaçá, Maracá (INCRA, 2006). In the 1980s, with Constitutional Amendment No. 16/80, new lands were designated: the Terra Grande do Bailique, Jupari I and II, Bailique Islands, Croa da Pedreira, and Iratapuru areas (located in the Municipalities of Pedra Branca, Mazagão, Laranjal do Jarí, Vitória do Jarí, and the current District of Ilha de Santana) (FLEXA, 2013)

Of the 14 million hectares of land that make up Amapá, only 10% are under state management. The remaining lands are linked to the Union, and the first movements in this land transfer occurred with law no. 10,304, of November 5, 2001, where this law decreed that

Art. 1º The lands belonging to the Union, included in the State of Roraima and Amapá, become the domain of that State, maintaining their current limits and confrontations, under the terms of art. 14 of the Transitional Constitutional Provisions Act.

Art. 2 The areas listed in items II, III, IV, VIII, IX and X of art are excluded from the transfer covered by this Law. 20 of the Federal Constitution, indigenous lands belonging to the Union and those destined by the Union for other purposes of public necessity or utility. Art. 3º

The lands transferred to the domain of the State of Roraima must be used in settlement and colonization activities, and the use concession regime, provided for by Decree-Law n° 271, of February 28, 1967, may be adopted.

§ 1 The acquisition or leasing of lots by foreigners will comply with the limits, conditions, and restrictions established in federal legislation.

Decree No. 10,304 did not consolidate as expected, to the point that the lands continued under federal guardianship even with the creation of the state in 1988. In 2009, the Federal Government created the Amazon Land Legalization Program through Law No. 11,952, which aimed to regularize land possession in the Amazon. Shortly before, in 2007, the Lula Government signed Decree No. 6,291/07, which aimed to allocate 3.8 million hectares of land to the state, a fact that also did not materialize. New decrees were signed for the purpose of transferring federal lands to the state, which were Decrees No. 8,713/16 and 10,081/19, in which it was highlighted: prioritizing the state land agencies of Amapá the land regularization processes that are pending at INCRA, the transfer of copies of land books from INCRA to the state land agency, lands titled by INCRA or the Union and not registered in the registry office would be transferred to the state (LOMBA and SILVA, 2022).

In 2020, the President of the Republic sanctioned with vetoes Law 14,004, which facilitates the regularization of Union lands occupied by individuals in the states of Amapá and Roraima. The new law amends Law 10,304, of 2001, which regulates the transfer of Union lands to the two states. The previous legislation excluded from the transfer and, therefore, kept in the hands of individuals the properties with titles still in force issued by the federal government. The new law is more comprehensive: it allows individuals to retain ownership of the lands, even if the titles have been extinguished due to non-compliance with conditions imposed by the Union.

The Agência Senado portal provides a brief summary of Law 14,004 of 2020, as we will see below:

The text guarantees the right to land even to beneficiaries of titles who have not registered the documents with a property registry. However, priority will be given to plots whose titles have been registered and contain information such as a descriptive memorial and georeferencing coordinates.

Law 14,004, of 2020, reduces the environmental guarantees provided for in previous legislation. According to the text, the lands transferred to the states of Amapá and Roraima should be used preferably in agricultural and sustainable development activities or in colonization and land regularization projects. The first drafts of Law 10,304, of 2001, ensured the preferential use of land also “in environmental conservation activities” (Source: Agência Senado).

The bias with which the transfer of Union lands to the state of Amapá is being conducted places traditional populations who benefit from and occupy these territories in the background, as noted in a statement by the president of INCRA Amapá.

“In January, Amapá received the areas of Água Fria and Santa Maria, now it has received another 6. These areas are very important due to their size and because they already house investments in grains, buffaloes and even a mineral station. It is more area to produce and develop, generating jobs and income for Amapá”, said the manager. (SANTOS 2020, Amapá receives title to six areas of Union land)

74

In this sense, CONTAG filed Direct Unconstitutionality Action No. 7052 before the Federal Supreme Court questioning the real interest of land allocation in the states of Amapá, Roraima and Rondônia. With this, the objective of ADI n° 7052 as well as its main support is contained in the open letter on the transfer of land that was written and signed at the Seminar: “Land transfer: for what and to whom?”, which was held in the days September 19 and 20, 2022, coordinated by the Pastoral Land Commission and held at the Federal University of Amapá:

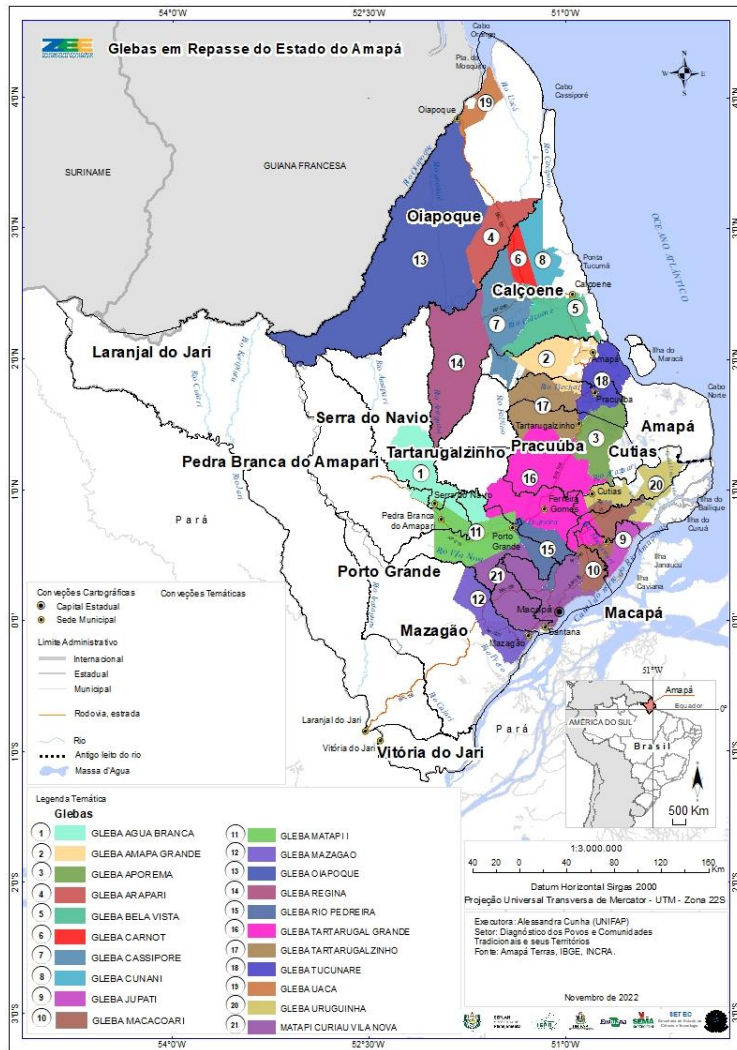
ADI 7052 questions the constitutionality of laws and decrees that regulate the transfer of Union lands to state ownership because such norms expressly privilege the use of lands by states in order to legitimize historical land grabbing in addition to making the territorial rights of populations invisible. traditions and annihilate expectations of access to land by rural workers since the manifest purpose of the set of rules that regulate the transfer is aimed at satisfying the interests of large estates, agribusiness and real estate speculation.

ADI 7052 maintains as its main argument that the sole allocation of federal lands that have already been or will be transferred to the states is compliance with the agrarian reform policy, an understanding resulting from the clarity of article 188 of the Federal Constitution - “The allocation of public lands and vacant areas will be made compatible with agricultural policy and the national agrarian reform plan.” - and must be preceded by the guarantee of recognition of the territorial claims of indigenous, quilombola and traditional populations.

In January 2020, two land tracts were transferred from the Union to the state of Amapá, namely Água Fria and Santa Maria tracts, located in the municipalities of Pedra Branca

do Amapari and Mazagão. By July 2022, another nine tracts had been transferred: Oiapoque, Tartarugalzinho, Tartarugal Grande, Macacoari, Água Branca, Mazagão, Arapari, Cunani, and Amapá Grande. Figure 1 shows the location of the tracts in Amapá.

Figure 1. Map of the Union Lands and their location in the different municipalities of the state of Amapá.



Socioterritorial Conflicts in Amapá

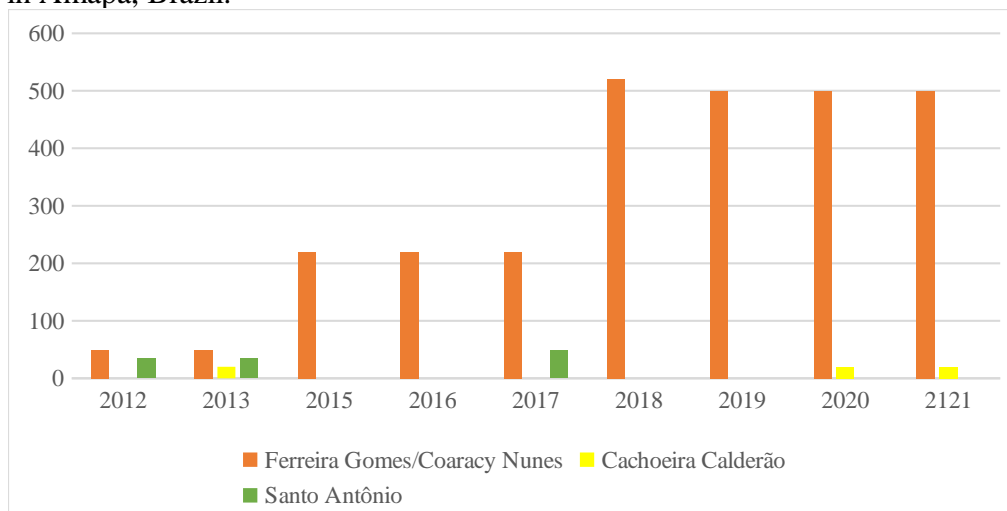
Water Conflicts

Until recent times, Amapá was not interconnected with the National Interconnected System (SIN) for electricity transmission. Essentially, the energy consumed in the state came from thermal power plants fueled by fossil fuels and a relatively small hydroelectric plant, Coaracy Nunes, with a capacity of 78 MW, which began operations in 1975 during the expansion of large agricultural and livestock projects.

In 2007, the Federal Government launched the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC), prioritizing the acceleration of infrastructure works to promote the country's economic development. In this case, Amapá was integrated into the SIN through the Tucuruí Transmission Line, whose main objective was to ensure full local supply while expanding energy generation with the construction of new and powerful hydroelectric plants.

The respective plants were built: Ferreira Gomes Energia in 2014 and Cachoeira Caldeirão in 2016, both on the Araguari River, and Santo Antônio in 2014, on the Jari River. These ventures generated a large social liability, with a total of 2,954 families directly affected (extractivists, riverside dwellers, farmers) according to publications from the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) from 2012 to 2021. The vast majority of those affected did not have land regularization, thus they are considered squatters and received compensation only for the improvements existing in the flooded areas. The expected social benefits, such as cheap energy and local employment, did not materialize. As a result, there was the displacement of several riverside and quilombola communities, environmental crimes with the mortality of a huge quantity of fish in the reservoirs (G1, 2019), increased local poverty, and ultimately, electricity that does not reach several rural communities through which the transmission line passes (Conflict Map...; MP-AP, 2020; Amazonia.org). Graph 1 shows the increase in the number of families involved in conflicts with hydroelectric plants in recent years. 10 anos.

Graph 1 - Number of families involved in conflicts with USHs in the period 2012-2021 in Amapá, Brazil.



Source: Pastoral Land Commission - CPT (2022)

The Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB) has repeatedly filed complaints with Public Ministries (Federal and State) demanding compensation for fishermen and riverside dwellers and the criminalization of environmental and human damage caused by projects. According to a report from an affected fisherman in the field:

The projects were created in the state by the governor, senator, state and federal deputy, president and they carry out the projects behind closed doors

and arrive here, they only hold a public hearing. And what does the population understand? Anything. They said they will build the dam inside the Araguari River, promising several jobs, claiming that there will be improvements for everyone, and the residents agree. And after it is ready and they put up a PAC (Growth Acceleration Plan) sign, who will they complain to, after the problems appear? They come with a “blank face”, saying that they have no answers to the problems caused by fish deaths. (Interview given to Lomba, Schweitzer, 2022, s.p)

Finally, communities directly affected by the Tucuruí Transmission Line, such as those in the Maracá Agroextractive Settlement Project (PAE Maracá) and the Rio Cajari Extractive Reserve (Resex Rio Cajari), continue to lack access to electricity, with their rights neglected despite being victims of environmental and social impacts on their ways of life due to the "public interest" in an evident situation of environmental racism (PAES AND SILVA, 2011) or environmental injustice as characterized in the Map of conflicts involving environmental injustice and health in Brazil (Conflict Map, 2022).

Conflicts on public lands occupied by squatters and quilombolas

The squatter category encompasses a variety of social subjects in rural areas, without a very clear definition regarding economic activities. From a land perspective, it consists of those who have possession and make use of the land, usually old with ancestry (more than 10 years of occupation), but do not have legal ownership (MARTINS, 1981). They are characterized by not being under the protection of public policies such as land reform settlers, experiencing weaknesses in accessing definitive titles, and now being more susceptible to eviction and land grabbing.

Conflicts with squatters have been recorded in Amapá since the beginning of manganese exploration and have become more intense with the allocation of lands by INCRA for large agricultural and livestock projects (such as AMCEL), extensive livestock farming, and the Jari Project, which incorporated lands from former rubber plantations. In the case of the Jari Project, the fight for territory generated the socioterritorial recognition movement, with part of the lands being allocated to extractive reserves, sustainable development, and agroextractive settlement projects, with squatters being recognized by the State as extractive populations. In the lands occupied by AMCEL, there were disputes that culminated in the eviction of squatters for deforestation and the planting of pine/eucalyptus in the 1970s and 1980s. In 2004, after a Parliamentary Inquiry Commission (CPI) of the Amapá State Legislative Assembly, the company had to return part of the lands it had improperly appropriated (land grabbing).

However, currently, squatters face new fronts of disputes over their lands, with increasing speculation for them to become grain-producing areas. Most of the desired lands in Amapá by this sector – about one million hectares of Amazonian savannas - are public lands partially occupied by traditional populations and family farmers under a squatter regime. Thus, the pressure for land regularization and allocation for private use mobilizes the State apparatus for such purposes, among others, excluding or minimizing

the presence of traditional communities and relegating such areas as "empty spaces" (HILARIO et al., 2017; MUSTIN et al., 2017). Therefore, it is inferred that the capitalization of the territory is a central piece to explain recent conflicts.

In this aspect, society has organized itself to demand its civil rights. There are older socioterritorial movements, such as the extractivists, led by the National Council of Extractivist Populations (CNS), and newer ones like the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAB), which works with riverside dwellers affected by hydroelectric projects, the Coordination of Quilombola Communities of Amapá (Conaq-AP) which fights for the titling of quilombola territories, and the National Struggle Front (FNL), a movement fighting for agrarian reform.

The Pastoral Land Commission (CPT) has been developing important work since 1975 in mapping and advising on socioterritorial conflicts involving family farmers and traditional communities in Brazil. Through the cataloging and annual publication of reports on land conflicts in Brazil, work started in 1986, the CPT and its network of partners have systematically demanded that the Brazilian State defend human rights and denounced situations that go against the public interest.

Throughout the years 2012 to 2021, the CPT in Amapá recorded a total of 540 occurrences of socioterritorial conflicts involving 18,356 families in these conflicts (Figure 2). Of these, 73 occurrences of socioterritorial conflicts in the territories of traditional peoples and communities delimited by this work involved 3,187 families. Extractive territories recorded 45 occurrences involving 2,424 families, and quilombola territories recorded 28 occurrences involving 763 families. (Table 1; Figure 3).

Table 1 – Number of occurrences of socio-territorial conflicts and number of families affected throughout the state, in extractive territories and quilombola territories in the period from 2011 to 2021, Amapá, Brazil.

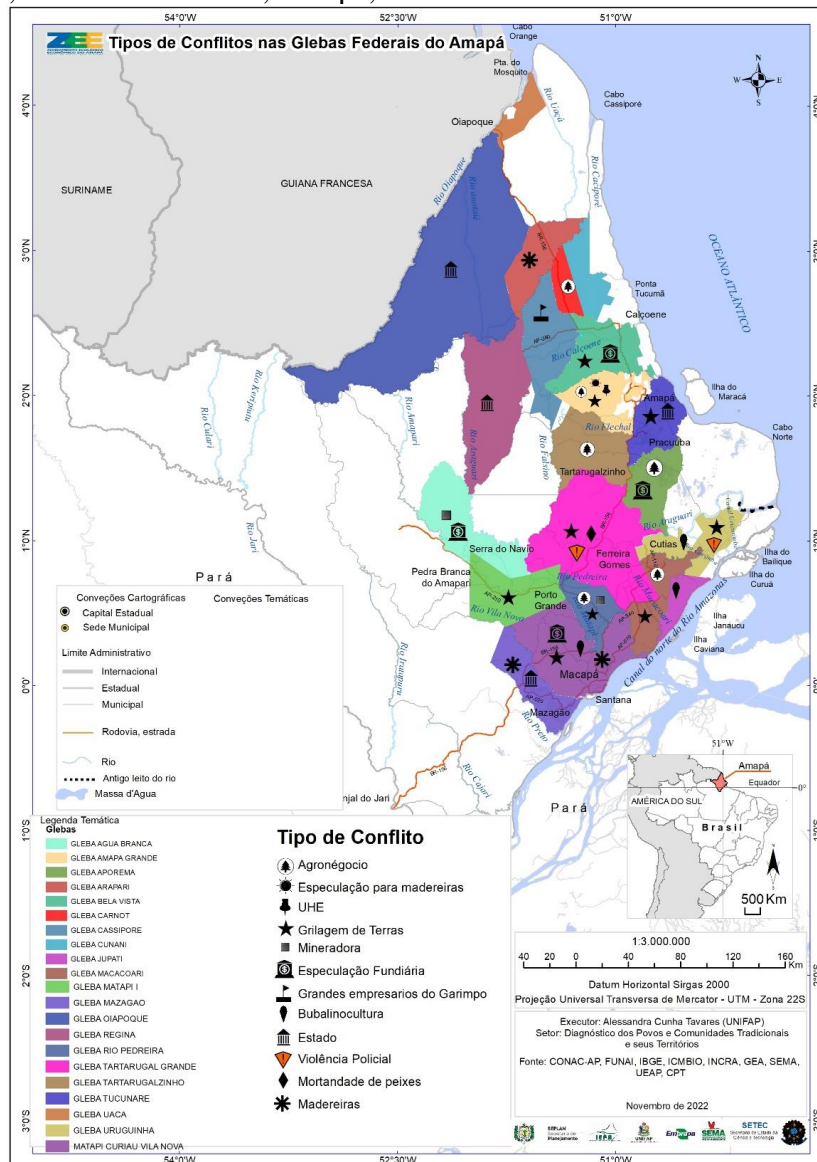
PCTs	Nº occurrences	Nº families
Amapá	540	18.356
Quilombolas (people)	45	2.424
Extractives (families)	28	763

Source: CPT (2022).

One aspect highlighted by Almeida (2011), when analyzing these statistical series that have been elaborated by the CPT, for the Brazilian territory as a whole, over the past twenty-five years, is that since 2007 they have incorporated ethnic and identity factors indicating that they do not simply refer to land conflicts or agrarian conflicts, but "take into account social agents with collective identities objectified in social movements and supported by the criterion of self-definition, as well as in specific territorialities, constructed according to the intrinsic characteristics of each people or community".

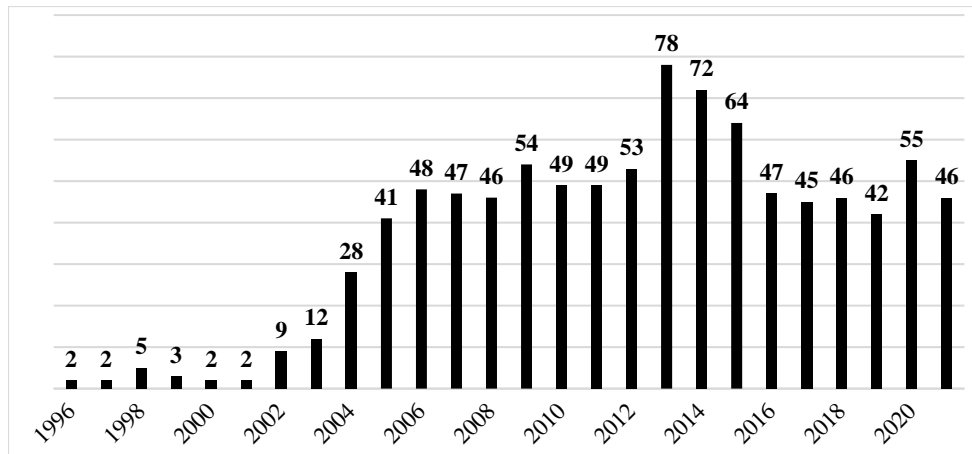
Given the considerable number of occurrences raised by this study, as well as the number of families involved in these conflicts, conducting a survey of the areas where these conflicts occur demonstrates the dilemma of land transfer, which proposes the allocation of these areas to agricultural and livestock enterprises. Graphs 2 and 3 show the gradual increase in the number of occurrences and families involved in conflicts in Amapá from 1996 to 2021. The period from 2013 to 2015 shows an exaggerated growth in the number of conflicts, reaching 3040 families involved in conflicts in 2020. This is close to 20% of the rural population of the state.

Figure 2. Map of socio-territorial conflicts occurring on federal land, non-designated public lands, from 2011 to 2021, Amapá, Brazil.



Source: CPT (2022) adapted by the authors.

Graph 2 - Occurrences of socio-territorial conflicts in the period from 1996 to 2021, Amapá, Brazil.



Pastoral Land Commission - CPT (2022)

From the data contained in the graphs, we can infer that conflicts in rural areas in Amapá are constant and accelerating. The increase in numbers from the second half of the 2000s can be explained, on one hand, by the purchase of Amcel by the Japanese group Nippon Paper, which started to litigate the conflicts, leading to the eviction of dozens of families. On the other hand, the arrival of soybean from actors linked to the agribusiness frontier, which competes for the same areas traditionally occupied by squatters and quilombola communities.

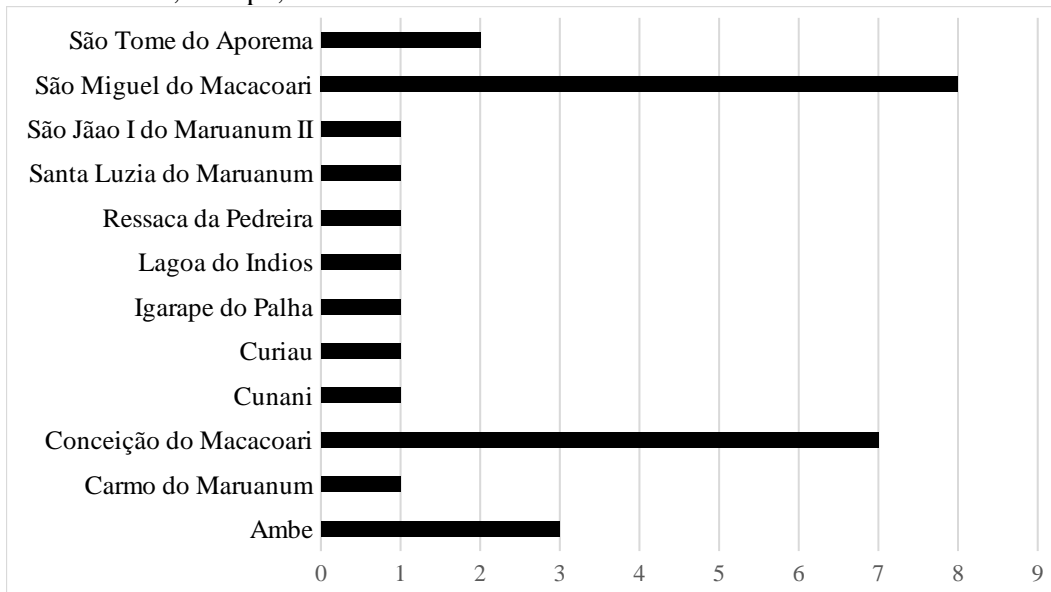
The transfer of lands from the Union to Amapá tends to further exacerbate these existing conflicts, which have been underestimated during this process. In 2020, a more detailed analysis of the conflicts incident in different land parcels was conducted by the CPT. The process of land transfer, with its intricacies and fluctuations, raises doubts about meeting the constitutional premises of guaranteeing possession and rights to those individuals who occupy it. Or does private interest prevail in land concentration to serve large capitalist economic projects?

Conflicts in Quilombola Territories

To characterize the conflicts occurring in quilombola territories, we initially considered the 31 quilombola territories that have recognition and titling processes listed in INCRA's records, of which four are titled and the rest are in the titling process. The already titled quilombos are: Curiaú, Mel da Pedreira, Conceição do Macacoari, and São Raimundo do Pirativa. There are also another 36 self-declared quilombola communities that have not yet had their recognition processes initiated by the Palmares Foundation.

Over the past 10 years, many of these quilombola territories have been involved in land conflicts, as shown in graphs 4 and 5. Most of these conflicts arise from the advancement of the agribusiness grain frontier in the Amapá savanna over territories historically occupied by many of these communities.

Graph 3 - Number of occurrences of socio-territorial conflicts in quilombola territory from 2012 to 2021, Amapá, Brazil.



Pastoral Land Commission - CPT (2022)

According to the graph, it is possible to see that the quilombos most impacted in terms of the number of conflicts and families involved are: São Miguel do Macacoari, in the municipality of Itaubal, Conceição do Macacoari, and Ambé, both in the municipality of Macapá. In these three territories, the conflicts are related to the increase in violence against land tenure and against individuals, associated with agribusiness, land grabbing, and the use of pesticides, according to information from the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT). In the Ambé territory, due to the state's slowness in recognizing and titling the quilombola community, there have been invasions and threats to its residents by grain business owners, with the planting of crops on illegally occupied public lands (griladas) or acquired through the purchase of land rights (SOARES, 2019; CPT, 2022), and with irregular environmental licensing according to a decision by Minister Luiz Fux of the Supreme Federal Court in response to Direct Action of Unconstitutionality (ADI) 5475 filed by the Institute Defend Yourself from Illegalities of the State.

Another agent causing conflicts in quilombola communities is the company Amcel (Amapá Florestal e Celulose S/A), as is the case with the Igarapé do Palha community, which has been involved in legal proceedings with the company over the past 10 years.

FINAL REMARKS

Considering the effective importance of ZEE in the scope of the construction of public policies for land use and planning, the state of Amapá is lagging behind as it has not yet concluded its zoning plan. A detailed understanding of the territory, its occupation, and disputes over land and natural resources is essential for a better construction of these public policies, promoting respect for the different modes of social reproduction of the groups living there. Therefore, the purpose of this work is to provide a preliminary

diagnosis based on statistical data on socioterritorial conflicts to contribute to good governance and to better respect the interests of the traditional peoples of this Brazilian territory.

The application of ZEE should benefit the peoples who historically occupy the territory and find themselves in situations of dispute and conflict with external agents, whose appropriation and use of land are contrary to principles such as environmental conservation, respect for territorial identities, and traditional ways of life.

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