


**THE CAJUEIRO COMMUNITY RESISTS: MEMORY, CONFLICT, AND PORT
MODERNIZATION IN SÃO LUÍS****A COMUNIDADE DO CAJUEIRO RESISTE: MEMÓRIA, CONFLITO E MODERNIZAÇÃO
PORTUÁRIA DE SÃO LUÍS****LA COMUNIDAD DE CAJUEIRO RESISTE: MEMORIA, CONFLICTO Y
MODERNIZACIÓN PORTUARIA DE SÃO LUÍS** <https://doi.org/10.56238/sevened2025.021-036>

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ABSTRACT

This scientific research covers content about the Cajueiro Community, and the speeches of works and modernization of Port from São Luís. It is also discussed about, the conflicts caused by the ascendancy of large enterprises in the territory inhabited by popular people

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who have cultural, identity and traditional elements in this space. the research methodology is bibliographic based on theories of Foucault (1999, 2014a, 2014b, 2019), Marx e Engels (2010), Arcangeli (2018), Pedro (2017), Ferreti (2016), among other authors; the approach is qualitative, with descriptive and exploratory objectives. The results showed a latent conflict in which, the speeches of modernization and job offers, by business groups, are published through a peaceful speech that oppose the articulations, not always friendly or ethical, to reach the objectives, silent and that materialize in threats.

Keywords: Memory. Cajueiro Community. Port São Luís.

RESUMO

O presente trabalho abrange discussões acerca da comunidade do Cajueiro, em face aos discursos de modernização e empregos do Complexo Portuário de São Luís. Discute-se ainda, sobre os conflitos ocasionados pela ascendência de grandes empreendimentos, no território habitado por populares que possuem elementos culturais, identitários e tradicionais neste espaço. Quanto à metodologia, optou-se por pesquisa bibliográfica, com base nos pressupostos de Foucault (1999, 2014a, 2014b, 2019), Marx e Engels (2010), Arcangeli (2018), Pedro (2017), Ferreti (2016), entre outros; sua abordagem é qualitativa, com objetivos descritivos e exploratórios. Os resultados mostraram um latente conflito no qual, os discursos de modernização e oferta de empregos, por parte de grupos empresariais, são publicados por meio de um discurso pacífico que se contrapõem às articulações, nem sempre amistosas ou éticas, para alcance dos objetivos, silenciosos e que se materializam em tons ameaçadores.

Palavras-chave: Memória. Comunidade do Cajueiro. Porto São Luís.

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo abarca debates sobre la comunidad de Cajueiro, en vista de los discursos sobre modernización y empleo del Complejo Portuario de São Luís. También se discuten los conflictos ocasionados por el auge de grandes emprendimientos en el territorio habitado por poblaciones populares que poseen elementos culturales, identitarios y tradicionales en este espacio. En cuanto a la metodología, se optó por una investigación bibliográfica, basada en los supuestos de Foucault (1999, 2014a, 2014b, 2019), Marx y Engels (2010), Arcangeli (2018), Pedro (2017), Ferreti (2016), entre otros; su enfoque es cualitativo, con objetivos descriptivos y exploratorios. Los resultados mostraron un conflicto latente en el que los discursos de modernización y oferta de empleo por parte de los grupos empresariales se publican a través de un discurso pacífico que se contrapone a las articulaciones, no siempre amistosas o éticas, para alcanzar los objetivos, silenciosas y que se materializan en tonos amenazantes.

Palabras clave: Memoria. Comunidad del Cajueiro. Puerto São Luís.

INTRODUCTION

The predominance of economic investments in the State of Maranhão has been growing significantly in recent years, especially due to international business partnerships. With regard to the expansions of the Port Complex in the State, one of the notable and possible recent projects, the São Luís Port, led by the [China Communications Construction Company](#) (CCCC), has risen substantially, endowed, in addition to considerable capital power and essential local political relations, due to its notorious shareholding, with percentages of 51% in the project, alongside another large company, WPR, of the Wtorre construction group.

In this scenario of installation of the Private Use Terminal (TUP), the official justification for installation on the coast of Maranhão lies in the idea that it could expand the flow and production capacity in the State. However, in order for them to develop their commercial activities, many of these enterprises, together with political articulations, cause conflicts with communities, which in general, have lived in the vicinity of their facilities for a long time. Considering that for the expansion of their economic projects, there is a demand for territorial spaces, the communities that live in the areas are often affected, with regard to their identity and cultural aspects and their way of life.

In this sense, the relations of conflicts occur on the part of the Community that resists the attempts to remove its lands, as well as the erasure of its histories; As far as business groups are concerned, such conflict relations occur based on lawsuits or act with illusory promises and discourses of modernization, progress and job creation, as a tactic, to achieve their economic objectives.

Thus, this work aggregates discussions about the Cajueiro Community, located in the rural area of São Luís, in view of the discourse of modernization of the Port Complex of Itaqui (with the construction of the private terminal, financed by a large economic group of Chinese capital, known as Port of São Luís) and the offer of jobs, which has been demarcated by those responsible for the private enterprise; It also analyzes how these promises have been ratified over the years, understanding the time lapse from 2014 to the present day.

As for the methodology, it was organized based on bibliographic research, based on the literature of Foucault (1999, 2014a, 2014b, 2019), Marx and Engels (2010), Arcangeli (2018), Pedro (2017), Ferreti (2016), among others. The research has a qualitative approach, which according to Marconi and Lakatos (2017), is a way of understanding the subjects and their social relationships without seeking numerical data. It also has descriptive and exploratory objectives and a basic nature.

In view of the course of the work, analyzing the publications of the companies and the government of the state of Maranhão, in communication and information channels and the reports of subjects who inhabit the Cajueiro Community, it was inferred that the initial discourse was strongly marked by the promise of job creation, but in practice, this did not materialize. The aforementioned Community, in the face of discursive and political articulations, finds itself as a minority, with regard to having an active voice; and although they have resisted, to remain on the lands, which they have lived for several years, they have faced difficult moments, such as violent actions and pressures, to leave their homes, pressures, which have as agent one of the main companies, with the support of the Government of the state of Maranhão, which manages the implementation of the Port of São Luís, in the capital.

POLITICAL ARTICULATIONS AND POWER RELATIONS: THE EFFECT OF DISCOURSES ON SOCIAL MINORITIES

To begin the discussions on the social articulations of manifestations of power, it was pertinent to demarcate that the term *minority*, used throughout the text, is placed here, based on the conception of Paiva and Barbalho (2005) who define it as a group of subjects who, inserted in a context, often hegemonic, do not have an active voice, nor does it intervene in institutions, which predominantly act in social power relations. In the same direction, the literatures of the social sciences have also frequently dealt with the use of the term, referring to people who, in some way and in some social sector, find themselves in situations of dependence or disadvantages in relation to another group.

Considering, therefore, the power relations, we ratify that, since the most remote societies, feelings have been exerted on human minds that are interspersed between submission and domination, arousing disputes and incessant searches for this element that has built, for generations, hierarchical scales that transform, categorize and exclude individuals considered less strong and, in a segregating way, keep them in unequal social positions.

Tracing a timeline, Boyden (1981) discusses the discovery of fire, which even in the first societies, marked a new moment for humanity. The discovery of this element, which according to the author, was one of the first human technological artifacts, modified not only the daily habits in the community, but also gave rise to feelings of belonging and domination, since from its use, control over the animal began, the demarcation of territory, through the burning of fauna and divisions of groups that had knowledge, to maintain fire or produce it, which symbolically resembles other objects of current powers.

The historical path, with regard to power relations in relation to minorities, presents the Industrial Revolution as a movement, in which the magnitude of discursive power proved to be significantly active on the part of the population that was on the margins of society, according to Hobsbawm (2010), that is, with the growth of industries and, consequently, the demand for labor, Articulations of powers were established that implied highly influential discourses, for the conquest of the political and economic interests of the time.

It is worth mentioning that considering that the discussion proposed in this work reflects on the possible offer of jobs generated with the modernization of the port terminal of São Luís, this great economic movement, which was the Industrial Revolution, was highlighted in order to discuss some points related to the *corpus of* this research, arranged in the third axis of this study.

From this perspective, the Industrial Revolution, fostered by the capitalist spirit, substantially modified the world economic structure; subsequent to this phenomenon. The French Revolution also demarcated revolutionary ideals, with strong evidence of powerful discourses that controlled societies, according to Huberman (1984). Not so far from the scenario of economic enterprises today, these discourses of progress have extended over the years, being demarcated by the expressive promises of job offers.

Based on the developmentalist discourse and the market logic, implemented by the capitalist ideal, with the conception of a world without borders, liquid and post-modern, it was perceived that the desires of the large private groups and the State diverge from the thinking of the populations affected by these large projects, with a nature of industrial development. Regularly, those who have settled there have a primary interest in continuing in that territory and yearn for improvements to live in the region, maintaining the local culture, as well as the way of life of subsistence, through the available natural resources.

In this sense, Ugarte (2005) points out that the discourses of development and progress, at the time, manipulated a large part of the population, transforming their places of residence, sometimes rural, into large urban agglomerations, with precarious living conditions, which draws attention to some of Foucault's (2014a) statements about how the discourses postulate obedience to implicit rules, that guide power relations over people. The author also shows that discourse is a way of controlling, selecting and organizing the interests of those who hold them.

These great movements, such as the aforementioned revolution and enterprises, such as the Port of Itaqui, remain firm, above all, due to the strong discourses of modernization, transformation, social growth and the offer of jobs that, directed to the

economically less favored population, are consolidated in the face of the exploitation of individuals; these subjects, in turn, in the midst of progress, are inserted in a stratospheric scenario of misery, as Hobsbawm (2010) points out.

In this context, of global economic ascension, especially in this phase of the birth of capitalism, Marx and Engels (2010) emerged in the scenario of popular movements, often opposing the ideologies of state oppression, seeking, among other things, the union of working classes, in favor of liberation; and they also stood out for their remarkable speeches, remembered to this day, about the recognition of slave and alienated actions by the state power. In their conceptions, they demarcated that "land must be a common good for all men" (Marx and Engels, p. 17).

The Marxist ideal argued that social subjects, in the midst of capitalism, would have an unbearable life, and that it was necessary to create a new system; He also defended the rupture of the political regime and the forms of social organization of the time, believing that only in this way could social inequality be reduced. It is inferred that, even with thinkers who disagreed with the conceptions proposed by Marx, indisputably, this is an ideal that he perpetuates, even today.

In this sense, some questions instigate understanding: how do individuals become dependent on oppressive discourses and how do they become aware of the enslavement of their bodies? For (Marx and Engels 2010, p. 221). "while the means of production are privately owned, the class that owns them uses state power as a coercive weapon for maintaining property." This assertion can be observed by large companies, possessing considerable purchasing power, which, using this condition, exercise a certain power relationship over governments, manifested from implementations in prohibited areas, taken from territorial spaces, belonging to small communities.

In this sense, Foucault (2019) argues that there are spaces of power, in which institutions¹³, such as government organizations, schools, companies, among others, exercise control, aiming to act on certain bodies. Such institutions materialize their objectives, without envisioning that socially underprivileged classes can have better living conditions or even survival conditions, as observed in the historical path of globalization to the present day.

In view of this, it is thought that one of the forms of power in these relations over minorities is manifested through discourses. Foucault (2014b) describes how discursive networks act on man and how they are transformed, even if in different ways, depending on

¹³ For Foucault, the term "institutions" applies to groups that have power relations over some people and that dictate rules, normalize. For example: family, school; and in the scenario of the present research, the term will be used referring to companies and government organization.

the social context, but which do not cease to exist. And the theorist adds that in the eighteenth century, certain institutions exercised power relations that despised human life and from the tortures and tortures that were publicly exposed, such practices became common.

Years later, these relationships were present, albeit in a different way, but acting on minorities, no longer normalizing the punishment of bodies, but exerting influence on souls, based on the use of science, religion and conservative customs, to the detriment of punishment, according to Foucault (2014b). In modernity, power relations are presented through new discourses, in order to achieve old practices, such as: "if I am elected, they will have jobs", "the enterprise will generate jobs for millions", or "it is necessary to work for the country not to stop".

Turning to the national political context, it is perceived that in the transition from the twentieth to the twenty-first centuries, the political articulations, directed to the people, gain new facets, but in practice, they do not correspond, in absolute abandonment, to the old behaviors, as stated by Piovezani (2008); and as a result, the population, made up of classes of lower *status* and social prestige, suffer in precarious conditions. It is worth mentioning, for example, that the scenario in Brazil, in the presidential elections, disputed by Tancredo Neves in 1984, for example, was of a society shaken, for years, by authoritarian and strongly anti-democratic powers. Therefore, his discourse, used to come to power, demarcated "the direct elections now" and the people in power, according to Kuczynski (2007).

With the elections won, Tancredo Neves did not take office as president, as he was hastily hospitalized, dying a few months later; his vice-president, José Sarney, who was the first civilian president, after more than twenty years of military rule in Brazil, in the last years of the Cold War, took office. However, the main focus of the fervent discourses, that is, the people, was set aside, to the detriment of nefarious policies, which brought out social problems, especially economic ones, social minorities suffered the consequences of the endemic corruption that plagued the country, according to Fraga (2017).

Soon after this term, Fernando Collor de Mello entered the presidential scene in Brazil, who according to Mengarda and Brandão (2015) was one of the candidates most evidenced by the media, being exalted as strong, young and active, owner of a strong and powerful discourse, which sought to moralize Brazil, with the "hunt for maharajas". And using the scenario of economic destruction, he vehemently demarcated promises of changes in his oratory, during the rallies. Thus, in view of the country's conditions, inflation and corruption scandals of the previous government, the discourse of new policies, aimed

at the people, as well as a better quality of life, including the generation of jobs, wins once again the Brazilian elections, as highlighted by Silva (2012). However, the then elected president developed strategies that were considerably failed, despite the strength of contemporary discourse.

The following presidents also opted for speeches in which they highlight the fight against corruption, improvements in education, in general, with a focus on minorities and, with regard to having an active voice, correspond to the majority of the population. The discourses are very similar, but what has been seen is that these discursive articulations have traits, whose objectives are to foist confidence, which legitimize them, in the face of an election. According to Piovezani (2008), politics receives new contours and reconstructs its technical resources, which articulate the manipulation of power.

The similarity can be seen in the speeches of political representatives, especially those elected by direct vote, after the redemocratization of the country. Such discourses used charisma and populism as a form of popular domination. In this sense, we highlight Francisco Weffort's (2003) warning about the contradictory facets of populism, when he states that "It was a determined and concrete way of manipulating the popular classes, but it was also a way of expressing their dissatisfactions." (Weffort, 2003, p. 71). Perhaps more than that, politicians considered populists used the most diverse mechanisms to sustain the government, which has always had a clear objective: the popular repression of the masses, keeping them silenced and muzzled in fanciful and chimerical promises, such as job creation.

In light of these considerations, it is thought that the central point would not be to have power, because according to Foucault (2019), power is not a thing; it is a production resulting from articulations, for certain purposes that, in the case in question, would be to hierarchize, normalize the bodies, such as, for example, the legal procedures of the enterprise in Porto São Luís. In this sequence, the government institution exercises powers for implementation licenses, but the possession of financial elements of those responsible for the enterprise intervenes in obtaining privileges. From these perspectives, the discussion proposed here brings to light how much the power of the discourse has been observed in each dossier built, in each promise of employment, in the face of the allegation of modernization of the Maranhão port network, even if for that, popular people who have lived in the place for years are expropriated.

Marx and Engels (2010) defended the principle of liberation from these relations of domination that oppress and that in the case exposed here, the Rural Community of Cajueiro has fought arduous battles; it is the understanding that the ideas of the dominant

classes endure as long as they are accepted and reproduced and, therefore, not questioned. There are always movements in search of changes, access to rights, as has been happening in the Cajueiro Community since 2014, according to Pedro (2017).

As traced by the historical course, so far, the discourses that act on minorities are not so contemporary and their consequences have caused great social inequalities, as well as gigantic scenarios of precariousness to human life. Among the main promises discussed, especially in the political scenario and economic enterprises, job offers stand out as a hope for those who listen to them and this study seeks to analyze the situation of the Cajueiro Community, in the face of these promises and in the face of the interests of implementing the Port of São Luís.

CASHEW COMMUNITY: A TRAJECTORY OF STRUGGLE

The Cajueiro Community is located in the Rural Zone of São Luís, in the state of Maranhão, formed by the nuclei of settlements: Parnauaçu, Andirobal, Guarimanduba, Cajueiro and Terreiro do Egito, which together live on the basis of "economy of family farming, small businesses and fishing, are socially organized in relations of kinship and cronyism that favor solidary exchanges of work, food, rites, festivals and knowledge" (Mendonça and Marinho, 2016, p.65).

The natural resources of Maranhão have been arousing commercial interests since very remote times; with the territorial space of the Cajueiro Community it was no different. According to Otoni (2005), from 1970 onwards, companies such as Alumínios do Maranhão (ALUMAR, part of the transnational ALCOA group) and Companhia Vale do Rio Doce (CVRD), turned their gaze to these spaces and settled in, with the support of government institutions, without considering that the nearby rural and traditional communities could be exposed to precarious conditions of poverty. suffer environmental impacts and erasure of their crops.

In this scenario of the community, already mentioned here, the residents received in 1998, through the Land Institute of Maranhão (ITERMA) the land titles, which from a government decree said that Cajueiro had a Public Deed of Condominium, and in possession of this documentation, the community has claimed its right to remain on the land, given the the Decree discusses the area, as a rural settlement ITERMA, according to Martins and Alves (2017).

Another part of the population, which develops activities in the settlement centers, also requires the right to remain in the area, such as fishermen, because the area of Parnauaçu beach, in the middle of 2003, by means of a decree, obtained legal protection,

due to traditional ways of life and the need for environmental conservation. Then, even though it was legitimized as an extractive reserve, by studies by the Brazilian Institute of the Environment and the National Center for Sustainable Development of Traditional Populations (IBAMA/CNPT), it awaits the creation of the conservation unit and political recognition as a traditional territory, as Pedro (2017) points out.

In addition, the region also has, according to Arcangeli (2018), the existence of six archaeological sites, three of which are Cajueiro 1, Cajueiro 2 and Terreiro do Egito. The preliminary report that found the presence of pre-colonial remains, found in these spaces, was organized by the Research Center for Natural History and Archaeology of Maranhão, an agency linked to the State Department of Tourism.

Furthermore, the Cajueiro Community is constituted not only by natural resources, essential to the survival of the local population, but also by an important sacred religious element, the Terreiro do Egito. According to Ferretti (2016) this is one of the oldest sacred places in Maranhão. It was occupied by the enslaved black population, being used as a shelter for runaway slaves, and for more than a century, it has been the site of religious rituals of Afro origin. About the customs and festivities, which took place mainly in the months of December, the author discusses:

The antiquity of Egypt is also witnessed by old cashew trees existing there, in whose shade many Afro-descendants camped; by the hill where the Pau da Paciência – a mast with a white flag – was located, where the enchanted ones were invoked and from where many participants in the rituals could see the enchanted ship of Dom João, which appeared at the beginning of the festival and disappeared into the depths of the sea, after its closing. Its antiquity is also witnessed by the crystal clear water of the well of the enchanted, always clean, respected by all who used it, and by the creek where the enchanted one called King Surrupira held the first Canjerê in defense of the black people and against their enemies (Ferretti, 2016, p.2-3)

From this phenomenon based on the discourse of ancestry, residents have been fighting for recognition of their memories, traditions and cultural identities. According to Martins and Alves (2017), several meetings were held with local community and religious authorities, which resulted in the elaboration of an open letter¹⁴, demarcating the relevance of its preservation. In 2015, some events were also organized, for readings of the letter that demanded the conservation of the sacred territory.

The religion, which marked the Terreiro do Egito as sacred, brought by enslaved blacks, became known, above all, in the Amazon and Maranhão, according to Ferreti (2006), as Tambor de Mina, in which they held *voodoo cults*. This religion is characterized

¹⁴ Letter of Support to the Terreiro do Egito entitled For the Terreiro do Egito and the Territory of Cajueiro, signed on Nov. 20. 2015 by Commission of representatives of Terreiro do Egito. Available at: <http://www.museuafro.ufma.br/site/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/AVANTE-TERREIRO-DO-EGITO.pdf>

by the beating of drums, dances and chants and by its participants who go into trance receiving spiritual entities: "called enchanted, caboclos or *voduns*." The tambor de mina is, therefore, a religious ritual performed in terreiros, sheds or mine houses". (Ferretti, 2006, p. 96).

Even with the struggles of the people, some companies, with the endorsement of the State Government, settled in the place, claiming that the land also belonged to them and, according to Alves (2016), causing many inconveniences for these traditional communities, because since the beginning of the construction of the Port companies there has been significant destruction in the fishing ecosystem, destruction of mangroves and, Under constant threats, residents suffered forced displacement.

It was only in 2019, four years after the drafting of the Charter that sought recognition of the Terreiro do Egito as a sacred area, that the State Government recognized it as Cultural and Intangible Heritage of the State¹⁵, and after completing the process of implementing the private port terminal, including after the destruction of the biome and archaeological sites. This has been an essential tool in the struggles against businessmen responsible for the construction of the São Luís Port who, authorized by the Ministry of Transport, with the support of the Government of Maranhão and the Municipality of São Luís, have been speaking about the generation of thousands of jobs, grandiose investments and modernization in the State, as highlighted by Pedro (2017).

THE IMPLEMENTATION, MODERNIZATION AND PROGRESS OF THE PORT OF SÃO LUÍS: A DISCUSSION IN THE FACE OF THE EMPLOYABILITY DISCOURSE

With regard to the construction of ports, such as the project discussed in this work, in general, they require the use of large territorial spaces, which results in the eviction of land from the small communities in the surroundings, which reside close to their facilities, often generating conflicts and violent actions, according to Hofmann (2017). Therefore, aiming at their interests, with pretexts of modernization and progress, business institutions develop discourses, materialized in promises of jobs, for minorities, who need better conditions for survival, end up accepting the proposals, often illusory.

In this sense, some documents have been narrating, over the years, about the relevance of the modernization of the Port Complex in the State of Maranhão, as well as providing for possible modifications that disregard the surroundings of the enterprise, treating as invisible or disposable, the popular ones, who reside in centennial rural

¹⁵ Available at: <<https://igualdaderacial.ma.gov.br/files/2019/09/WhatsApp-Image-2019-09-06-at-20.18.20.jpeg>>.

communities. In one of these documents that provides for the modernization of the port of Maranhão and its possible benefits, the "development and zoning plan of the Port of Itaqui", systematized by the Maranhão Port Administration Company (EMAP), even before the arrival of the consortia of the private port, the Port of São Luís, still in 2012, the concern with the Community of Cajueiro was already noticed.

In part of this document¹⁶, they speak of billions of investments, offers of more than five thousand jobs, but they emphasize that for the growth and development of business, the Community that lives there would need to be removed; and even citing the number of exactly "619 families, 2,500 people" (Emap, 2012, p.168), economic interests overlap, basic notions of humanity, respect and solidarity, given that the use of the terms: "family, people, removed", are in a single statement, designating a problem for companies.

In this sense, Acseirad (2010) states that the conflicts generated by land disputes, in conflicting scenarios, have different meanings for each group involved. In this sense, if for business institutions the soil means space for harvesting financial fruits and increasing their capital, for the Community, the soil is survival; it is preservation of their ways of life, which in another place, perhaps, would not be possible, because, according to Mendonça and Marinho (2016), the territory of the Community presents, in addition to sacred religious spatialities, marine ecosystems, agricultural activities and an extensive area of mangroves, which provide family sustenance to the people.

When the document, the port's development and zoning plan, discusses the possibility of jobs that would be generated, but that for that, the communities, inhabiting the place, would need to be removed, it is perceived that the offer of work arises to the detriment of the existence of the local community, which draws attention to Foucault's (1999) criticisms about the mechanisms and techniques of power that intervene directly, on individuals, as well as such normalizing institutions affect the subjects, manifesting themselves through disciplinary actions, with power relations, to the point of deciding who dies and who lives and, in the case of the discussion proposed here, deciding who stays and who leaves the lands, without considering survival factors.

It is interesting to note that business institutions, even if it is in their judicial documents, dossiers and communication channels, endowed with discourses on job creation, disregard the existence of the Community, placing it in a place of almost invisibility, referring to the people as "invaders", demanding urgency in a "technical solution, accompanied by a decision to cancel the registration" (Emap, 2012, p.170). The aforementioned record is the deeds of the lands, which according to Pedro (2017) are

¹⁶ Available at: <<http://www.portodoitaqui.ma.gov.br/pdf/pdz-itaqui.pdf>>.

registered in the 2nd Notary Office of São Luís, as belonging to the residents of the Cajueiro Community.

From this perspective, forces of power, in this economic context, place minorities in a place of non-recognition, of subjective knowledge and non-legitimized existence. It is thought, therefore, that the inhabitants of the Community would be classified and "subjected to a type of truth, also in the sense that it is law and produces the true discourse, which decides, transmits and reproduces, at least in part, effects of power" (Foucault, 2019, p.279). In this conception, the search for legal proof that the people do not own the residences and territorial areas of Cajueiro, demonstrates how the lower layers need to fight the capitalist class, so that it does not compromise their existence (Marx and Engels, 2010, p.49) and does not keep them in a place of illegitimacy.

It is pertinent to demarcate that the use of the term *place*, in this study, arises from philosophical and epistemological conceptions that re-signify it as a place of understanding the world, as well as the involvement of the affective experiences that social relations develop and, according to Santos (2002), *place* It has a particular meaning, in which certain groups find themselves or are placed, either by their culture, identity, language, tradition or social relevance, in their own or others' categorizations.

Thus, considering the context of the discussion now held, in 2013 the company WPR São Luís Gestão de Portos LTDA was established to manage the port terminal project and, in 2014, in possession of the title deed of parts of the Cajueiro territory, according to Pedro (2017), it began some visits to the locality, which according to Arcangeli (2018), generated intimidation and pressure on the people to leave the area. However, there was resistance from the Community, according to Mendonça and Marinho (2016); Thus, the tactics for the implementation of the project focused on the discourses of job offer and modernization, as observed in the publication:

Maranhão took another step towards the development of its port potential on Thursday night (06). At an event held in São Paulo, the China Communications Construction Company (CCCC) – which has just landed in Brazil – signed an investment agreement for the construction of a Private Use Terminal (TUP), in São Luís, with WPR, an arm of the WTorre Group. [...] The State Government has participated and taken all the necessary steps for Chinese investments to reach Maranhão. [...] The estimate of WPR São Luís Gestão de Portos e Terminais is that five thousand direct and indirect jobs will be created thanks to the new terminal. The construction of the TUP will also expand the capacity to flow production in Maranhão. (excerpt from the publication State Secretariat of Industry, Commerce and Energy of Maranhão in April 2017)¹⁷element.

¹⁷ Available at: <<http://www.seinc.ma.gov.br/2017/04/empresa-chinesa-assina-acordo-de-investimento-para-construcao-de-porto-em-sao-luis/>>.

The report highlights favorable participation by the State Government, so that the installations of Chinese companies in Maranhão can be carried out, even if in such transactions there are explicit claims, on the part of the residents of the Cajueiro Community, that many problems could be aggravated in the face of this fact, especially by the issues involving their permanence of the lands. This aspect is close to the propositions of Bauman (2010), when he states that capitalism is a parasitic system that hosts itself, thrives for a while in organisms, but cannot do so without harming the host, destroying, sooner or later, the conditions of its survival.

In this sense, Mendonça and Marinho (2016) point out in their research that part of the Cajueiro Community, even ceding and selling the land, as the companies demanded, could not survive, far from the spaces they were used to. Many live in rented, improvised houses and unemployed, which leads to the question: for whom is the modernization and propagated employment intended?

Based on the discourse of modernization and employment, exposed in the publication, some excerpts were extracted from Arcangeli (2018), who in his research, interviewed residents of the Cajueiro Community, in the year following this publication by the State Secretariat of Industry and Commerce, in which it was possible to infer that the promises, in practice, were not consolidated. In one of these statements, a resident declared: "I am still waiting for the promise of a job." Another highlighted: "They said they were going to register me (employ), today I am unemployed." Another one, of these reports from residents, exposed: "They promised a job and nothing. They are good at talking."

Considering that the supply of work, in the midst of the modernization of the Maranhão port network, with the implementation of the Chinese port, has dragged on since 2014 and, many researches, in the following years (Arcangeli 2018; Mendonça and Marinho 2016; Silva and Pereira 2018), have shown that, in practice, jobs do not materialize, it is therefore essential to demarcate that these discourses have been a strategy, developed in the field of these conflicts adopted by companies, to install their objectives, as discussed by Acselrad (2010). In this sense, in the face of the Community's resistance, the promises of better living conditions, modernization and progress negotiate, in an illusory way, with minorities.

It is notorious that the promises, as well as the entire discourse of job offers, have become a tool to convince residents to give up their land and accept the new ways of living. In one of the most persuasive articulations, among the publications of the communication channels, favorable to the enterprises, the State Secretariat of Labor and Solidarity Economy (SETRES), through the National Employment System (Sine), was evidenced in

an article¹⁸ the registration of jobs, specifically for the facilities in the Cajueiro region, demarcating that the possible job vacancies would be prioritized to the Popular of the Community, As can be seen in the highlighted excerpt:

Specifically, in relation to the work that is being installed in the Cajueiro region, we clarify that SINE will be responsible for the intermediation process between the worker and the companies. However, workers who live in the communities surrounding the work will have priority in this process, if the local workforce does not meet the demand, the surplus vacancies will be made available to other workers, a decision made by the consortium responsible for the work (Report from Jornal Pequeno, on March 12, 2019).

The historical course of manipulations, as a means of evidencing elements of basic human needs and even the demonstration that residents are being trained ¹⁹for work, stand out in this conflicting scenario: one, in a silent way, is more aggressive, generating pressures and violent actions, as Pedro (2017, p.25) points out: "they stipulated rules and prohibitions about the ways of life of families and the use of territories, generating fear; they punished the local residents, they tried to impose the company's domination over the territory", referring to the businessmen; and in another, more peaceful way, they act publicly, talking about modernization, as well as the possible generation of jobs in the State, which would reach the communities surrounding the projects.

The article refers to Fairclough's (2001) statements, when he states that discourses manifest themselves through texts, whether oral or written; these utterances, to be processed by a discursive practice of consumption, which fits into a social conduct that involves choices of relative freedom, based on masked coercions. From this angle, the question arises as to what is the option of these people, when faced with an important body, such as Sine, they are instructed to register for job vacancies? Based on the above, it is thought that "the legitimizing discourse of this type of economic policy is carried by the idea of fighting poverty" (Silva and Pereira, 2018, p. 53), inferring that such discourse, in a cunning way, forces these subjects to a system of subordination, resulting from the basic needs of survival.

Still with regard to the discursive articulations of the media, recent reports²⁰ continue to highlight expressive numbers of popular registrations in Sine, showing that of the 670

¹⁸ Available at: <<https://jornalpequeno.com.br/2019/03/12/sine-informa-sobre-cadastro-para-vagas-de-emprego/>>.

¹⁹ Available at: <<https://imirante.com/oestadoma/noticias/2019/12/05/moradores-do-cajueiro-participam-de-capacitacao-para-o-mercado/>>

²⁰ Available at: <<http://maranhaohoje.com/porto-sao-luis-cumpre-acordo-com-governo-e-prioriza-moradores-do-cajueiro-com-empregos/>>

vacancies, in the search for employment in the Port, 124 are residents of the repossession area of the Cajueiro Community and that more residents will be admitted.

In view of the statement, he compared himself to reports from the people who spoke to the contrary, as Arcangeli (2018) points out: "Here in Cajueiro, the possibility is that the port is implemented and gets worse". In conversation with another resident, the author obtained: "I think that the port, if it is installed [...] The community will disappear. Jobs that will not have, will not generate [...] The community is divided, when it should be united. Peace will end. It does not generate employment" (Arcangeli, 2018, p.49, 50).

In light of these considerations, two crucial points stand out: the first concerns the "system of exclusion" (Foucault, 2014a, 18), which places the popular in a place without an active voice, in the face of the grandiosity of power relations, business and political institutions. In relation to the second aspect, there is a similarity to what the aforementioned author called the *will to truth*, to the point that lawsuits, favorable to the companies, are considered as the only truths in this scenario, as well as the discourses are so strong that the residents disbelieve they are the owners of their own houses, in which they have lived for more than 100 years, believing that the job offer is an admirable solution, as observed in the speech of one of the residents, on the website of the *Admiral*²¹ who entered into an agreement with the businessmen:

I'm a resident of Guarimanduba, an unemployed worker, because of the people who *are there* in the area of Porto São Luís, right. I worked for two months and I really liked the job, the work. The company is a very responsible company, in its role as a company, but the door has closed. The work stopped because of the people *who are* living there in the area and *not* wanting to give in; *not wanting to* do any negotiation, right. So I *'m* recording this video to see if these people *are sensitized and see* the situation. We cannot stop progress, progress must continue. The parents of families are in need of this job, this work, this labor, so we hope that the people leave there peacefully so that it doesn't *happen that they come out by force* and then cry (Speech transcribed from a resident of one of the Cajueiro Centers, in February 2020).

It is noticeable that the employment discourses affect part of the population of Cajueiro, also causing a certain division among the community, which strengthens the business conglomerates. Although some residents consciously manage to understand that the promise of employment is illusory and that the seizure of land is unfair, another part of the Community accepts the discourse, above all, through the offer of jobs. This is one of the main elements that has contributed to the strengthening of the implementation of the Port of

²¹ Available at: < <https://imirante.com/maranhao/noticias/2020/02/15/porto-sao-luis-paralisa-obras-por-cao-de-cinco-posseiros-do-cajueiro.shtml> >

São Luís, in addition to the support of the State Government which, joining the modernization discourse, has supported the investments.²²

The resident's speech in the excerpt in which he says: "the company is a very responsible company, in its role as a company", reflects the influence of articulations on minorities, which Foucault (2019, p. 266), called subjects with "naïve and hierarchically inferior knowledge", because, according to the resident's own narration, in a video, he is without work, because, according to the report, the work stopped "because of the people who *are there* in the area of Porto São Luís". Attention is drawn to the moment in which in his speech, this now, a former resident, refers to the community that resists: "these people", no longer placing himself as belonging to the Community, since, in agreement with the business institutions, he gave in and ended up without sustenance, as he stated in his speech, recorded on video.

Another crucial element is when this same resident expresses that some people are still "in the lands of Porto São Luís", making visible how capitalism produces certain individual subjectivities and how certain subjects, in the midst of modes of manipulation, are incorporated into this subjectivity, according to Guattari and Rolnik (1999). In this sense, Marx and Engels (2010) highlighted the relevance of the revolutionary character of the struggle against classes possessing power relations, which guarantee their profits in the face of minorities and in a violent way, resembling primitive accumulation practices.

Seeking, based on Arcangeli (2018), to understand how the issue with the Community has actually been treated. According to the author, the residents' reports were obtained, opposing the promises of work. Some claim that there was a job registration, but this did not take place. The author also describes, based on the reports of the residents, that many fishermen, farmers and small merchants believed in a false promise of employment, in the face of the large enterprise, ceding their lands, for derisory prices, believing that they did not belong to them.

The values that some residents agreed with WPR, according to Pedro (2017), were insufficient to start a new life, far from the Cajueiro area, but for the company it is just another process that will soon be returned, because as Marx (1982) rightly discusses, in his theory of accumulation, money buys goods that are made up of production, which during the process is transformed into goods, to be sold, with the final result, profits. In this logic, everything goes back to commercial institutions; But history, memories and remembrances, for the residents, will be erased.

²² Available at: < <https://www.ma.gov.br/agenciadenoticias/?p=219272> >

Currently, in 2020, it can be seen that the consortiums to Porto São Luís continue to ratify their modernization²³ and progress of their facilities, while in the same year, the Cajueiro Community continues to resist; some families still do not accept any type of agreement with the business groups; others, already removed from the areas, live in fragile conditions.

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The present work dealt with the relations involved in the process of implementation of the Port of São Luís, in view of the discourses of job offers, to the Community of Cajueiro. The discussions proposed here related the discrepancy of the promises highlighted by the media and reports from the residents of the Cajueiro Community. Based on theories of power relations over minorities, especially Foucault (2019), Marx and Engels (2010), it was discussed how this territorial conflict has been articulated by powerful discursive tools.

Such tools managed to divide part of the population, which out of fear, or lack of knowledge, accepted the illusory discourse and woke up with the business part, even though they lost their way of supporting themselves and their own home, thus evidencing the "extortion of the truth" (Foucault, 2019, p.392).

The space under study has revealed that the presence of minorities and the demand of the port complex have been the scene of major conflicts. The struggle for territorial access, by the entrepreneurs, disregards that the people have elements intrinsic to the place, such as culture, identity, memories and specific ways of life, as they survive from agriculture, extractivism, fishing and other rural activities. Even so, they remain firm in the economic purpose of implementing Porto São Luís, on land, in which the community has lived for years.

The conflict is considered latent, because, despite the attempts at external manifestations, this conflict ends up being hidden, by the articulations of power and strategies that are embodied, many times, by the derisory amounts paid to the residents, by the judicial representations, as well as by the offers of jobs. Until this year, 2020, it has been found that minorities, in the face of the discourses highlighted here, are placed in a place of delegitimization, based on normalizing institutions, as Foucault (1999) proposes, but the place in which the investigated community places itself and has struggled to be is the place of resistance.

²³ Available at: <<http://www.emap.ma.gov.br/imprensa/noticia/porto-do-itaqui-se-prepara-para-2020>>



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