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THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RELATION BETWEEN THE PORT ACTIVITIES AND URBAN CONFLICTS IN THE MUNICIPALITY OF SÃO SEBASTIÃO / SP

CARACTERIZAÇÃO DA RELAÇÃO ENTRE AS ATIVIDADES PORTUÁRIAS E OS CONFLITOS URBANOS NO MUNICÍPIO DE SÃO SEBASTIÃO/SP

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Abstract

Port activities have the potential to define the conditions of development of the locations and regions where they are installed. This premise shaped the research presented in this article. The objective corresponds to the characterization of the relation between port activities and urban conflicts in the municipality of São Sebastião / SP. The method used was the case study with an analysis of the secondary data and public documents pertinent to the port activities carried out in the municipality. As a result, it was demonstrated that São Sebastião port is a local vector for economic growth and urban expansion. The history of anthropic actions established a policy of intervention in the space through landfills (increased marina), promoting a disorderly occupation in the surroundings of the port with dwellings characterized by precariousness and insalubrity due to the absence of public policies dedicated to the adequate absorption of the population growth. It is concluded that the articulation of productive port activities in the city established a process of imbalance in the economic and social relationships underlying the urban conflicts in the municipality.

Keywords: Local development. Port Activities. Urban Conflicts. São Sebastião.

Resumo

As atividades portuárias têm o potencial de definir as condições de desenvolvimento das localidades e regiões onde estão instaladas. Essa premissa delineou a realização da pesquisa apresentada neste artigo. O objetivo corresponde a caracterização da relação entre as atividades portuárias e os conflitos urbanos no município de São Sebastião/SP. O método utilizado foi o estudo de caso com a análise de dados secundários e documentos públicos pertinentes as atividades portuárias realizadas no município. Como resultado, demonstrou-se que o porto de São Sebastião é um vetor local do

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crescimento econômico e da expansão urbana. O histórico das ações antrópicas estabeleceu uma política de intervenção no espaço por meio de aterros, promoveu uma ocupação desordenada no entorno portuário com habitações caracterizadas por precariedade e insalubridade em razão da ausência de políticas públicas dedicadas a absorção adequada do crescimento demográfico. Conclui-se que a articulação das atividades produtivas portuárias na cidade estabeleceu um processo de desequilíbrio nas relações econômicas e sociais subjacentes aos conflitos urbanos no município.

Palavras-chave: Desenvolvimento local. Atividades Portuárias. Conflitos Urbanos. São Sebastião.

Introduction

São Sebastião, a municipality located on the north coast of São Paulo state, is focused on port activities. The port contributes to the economic activities and is decisive in defining the municipality's conditions for development. An understanding of São Sebastião's present stage of development has implications for how the centrality of the port produces the urban conflicts present in the municipality. From this perspective, the objective of this research corresponds to the characterization of the RELATION between port activities and urban conflicts in the municipality of São Sebastião / SP. It is understood that the port is not an isolated organization for the entry and exit of goods, but a group of companies that act and carry out activities related to and integrated with the local productive fabric with reflexes in the occupation of the urban territory.

We observed the urgency to investigate the port as a factor of articulation between economic activities and the urban conflicts related to the occupation of the territory. This centrality of the port implies the territorialization of São Sebastião's development permeated by pressures regarding the offer of employment, public education and health policies, and pressures on the occupation of space due to the expressive population growth. The dynamics related to the economic growth associated with the port causes the lack of space for urban expansion and also of the activities related directly to the port. The narrow strip of land, a geographical feature of the city of São Sebastião, and the dynamics of occupation reproduce the lack of public policy for the management of economic growth arising from the port activities in the territory. The process of occupation is vertiginous, rising from 46.71 inhabitants per km² in 1980 to 198.65 in 2014 (IBGE, 2013). These geographical restrictions are reflected in the unavailability of land to accommodate the port activities and the other sectors present in the municipality.

The port-city relationship defines the development of the municipality of São Sebastião, especially regarding the socioeconomic asymmetries present in the territory. Thus, the need to characterize the RELATION between port activities and urban conflicts in the municipality of São Sebastião / SP is justified. The work is organized into five sections. The first gives a brief introduction to the theme. The second section is a theoretical discussion about the economic spaces and the relationship established by anthropic interventions in the occupation of the territory. The theoretical discussion proceeds in section three, addressing the territorial scale and its implications for local development. In this section, the relationship between the Port and City development plans and their reflection on the port-city relationship is discussed. Section four presents the results of the research carried out on the RELATION between port activities and urban conflicts in the municipality of São Sebastião. Section five presents final considerations on the results of the investigation.

Economic Spaces

The concept of development linked to economic spaces has its roots in classical economics. Economic spaces originate in the process of interaction and interference in nature. For Santos (2006), man produces economic space from his anthropic action to extract and produce. The debate on the characteristics and effects of economic spaces became more consistent with the contribution of Perroux (1967), which introduced the concept of abstract space for the analysis of economic interrelationships. Thus, there would be as many economic spaces as there are studied phenomena (LIMA, 2009). According to the concept of economic spaces introduced by Perroux (1967) in the 1950s, space can be understood by three strands: i) as the content of the plane; ii) as the force fields

or polarized space; and iii) as a homogeneous set. Space as the content of the plane is itself the space of economic decisions, the decision factor, or a set of established relationships that can be changeable (Perroux, 1967). Regional development plans are the typical example of the delimitation of the region planning of the public sector. The polarization of space arises through the convergence of production and population migration and determines its zone of economic influence by the capacity of attraction and repulsion, constituting the functional region. By polarizing its sectoral activities in a given area, the territorial concentration of the complex, it attracts the population through its employment opportunities including the entrepreneurial network, a characteristic condition of capitalist dynamics.

The development pole is a set that exerts the expansion effect. The homogeneous economic space and the territorial dimension are directly related. In this way companies are located in the same economic space or regions with territorial spaces in a set of sectoral specificities, which for Silva (2004) constitute formal regions. According to Silva (2004: 34), Boudeville "emphasizes the regional nature of space", and conceptualizes the region to the contiguity of the surface, in contrast to Perroux's thought, which emphasizes the analysis of economic relations in a non-geographic orientation.

Polarized regions can be understood as "market areas of public and private services that exist in a central place" (SILVA, 2004, p.35). Homogeneous regions bring similarity to Perroux's thinking and are defined as those that share characteristic features, making grouping common, such as culture, history, language, and other variables. Hence, the debate raised by Perroux connects to the discussion on the factors related to economic growth and development, especially its contradictions and limits. Among the variables investigated is the role of endogenous factors for development. In this context, the 1980s radiated a new conception of development for the debate on the process of economic growth linked to internal dynamics and endogenous regional development, which according to Amaral Filho (1995, p.2) can be defined as:

a continuous expansion of the capacity of the aggregation of value over production, as well as the absorption capacity of the region, whose unfolding is the retention of the economic surplus generated in the economy [...] This process results in the expansion of the employment, product and income of the location [...]

The expansion of decisions by local actors is the main characteristic of the new endogenous model, since it provides these actors with the destination of the local economy, with a bottom-up model of local socioeconomic potentialities (DINIZ, *Et al.*, 2006). However, the endogenous character cannot be understood as a model of isolation, but as a process of transformation of the internal structures of the region, privileging the factors intrinsic to the region in articulation with external factors. However, the debate about the relation between exogenous and endogenous dynamics for the development process remains open.

Critical geography is a reaction to the hegemony of theoretical geography, promoting the paradigm break of the flat and homogeneous world and incorporating social issues into a dynamic relationship of intervention and transformation of space (TONUCCI F^o, 2013). The positioning of critical geography refers to the discussion about the effects of the spatial displacements of capital and their effects on the territories of installation of the capitalist dynamic. Among the exponents of critical geography are David Harvey and Milton Santos. Both understand the displacement of capital as determinant for the configuration of space. Harvey (2006) seeks to understand the urban processes under the growth of capitalism with its particular organization of space, which in this sense is organized and used with social inequality as a vehicle and instrument of capital (SANTOS, 2009). For Santos (2006), geographical space is the product of a process of interaction and an active relationship established between society and nature. Man produces space which is, in this sense, an anthropic action of interference in nature.

Harvey's reflection raises the possibility of investigating how local and regional development results from the connection between the spatial displacement of capital and local variables. In this way, the relevant role of endogenous factors is conceived as a condition made possible by the expansion of capital and its specific insertion in each territory. The dynamics of international trade approached transnational companies and their productive structures (space) to new markets and provided ports with the means of validating the international market flow. According to Santos

(2009), this capitalist insertion reorganizes space in a reproduction of economic and social relationships, favoring local distortions.

Local Development

The territorial scale in the sense of place is implicit in the concept of local development. The economist logic conceives of local development as a process of dynamizing a local society with the optimization of the endogenous resources, and its purpose is the growth of the economy with the supply of employment and income to improve the quality of life (MARTINS, 2002). The approach based on a location as the space for social articulation, participation and solidarity provides the democratic appeal as a "model capable of guaranteeing participation and decentralization in the development process" (BRAGA, 2011, p. 26)

For Natal (2013, p.217), local development is one of the faces of the internationalization of capital, since the productive structure, with a new arrangement of the global productive chain, promotes the vertical disintegration of production and allows companies to become more competitive "from then on, with agile and inexpensive suppliers, many of them outsourced, thus increasing their earnings." However, the productive de-concentration does not decentralize the company's economic power, which maintains the central decision making in major cities or metropolitan areas. As articulators of international capital, globalization and neoliberalism overlay local development with social significance to "win hearts and minds around the world about the virtues of the updated liberal credo" (Natal, 2013, p. 219). There is a direct relation between productive de-concentration and the spatial shift of capital with the compression of time and space, according to Harvey (2006), which determines the characteristics of the debate on local development.

The phenomenon described by Natal and conceptualized by Harvey provokes the need to critically evaluate the expansion of capital. Furtado (2011, p.40) refers to the performance of the large company with its advanced technology and high capitalization in a peripheral economy as an inadequate instrument to face the problems of underdevelopment and proposes the following metaphor:

large corporations entering an underdeveloped economy, particularly supported by many privileges - have effects similar to those of certain large exotic trees introduced in certain areas: they drain all the water and dry out the land, causing disequilibrium in the flora and fauna [...]

Location is the main scale for the convergence of economic objectives. The vertical disintegration of production in companies as a competitive strategy in a globalized economy, as addressed by Natal (2013), brings the clash over development policies to the local level. Braga (2011, p.24) addresses the field of the present conflict between competitiveness and citizenship as a limiting factor in the implementation of local development policies and questions "the extent to which competitiveness and citizenship can be reconciled or if they are a mere discursive strategy". The local development approach has as its center the elevation of location as the preferential, which replaces the competition between companies for competition between cities or micro-regions. Local entrepreneurship, whose emphasis is on creating an environment to boost new businesses in the economy and attract foreign investments by stimulating competitiveness, is a strategy that supports the theory of endogenous development (BRAGA, 2011). However, without investigating the connections between the spatial displacement of capital and the territorial unfolding of this process, an understanding of local development becomes elusive. It is noteworthy that the emphasis on local entrepreneurship makes it impossible to understand the factors that drive, characterize and limit development.

From this perspective, by making possible the reproduction of the global business chain, the port of São Sebastião intensifies its activities in the locality with an impact on the port-city relationship and is open to social-environmental conflicts, which have themselves a causal and definitive relationship with the local development characteristics (KAPPEL, MARONE, *et al.*, 2005). The effects of the port activities in São Sebastião result from the association of the characteristics present in the locality and the dynamics of the capital that conditions the economic insertion of the port activities present in the municipality. An example of this relation between the location and the

capitalist dynamic are the port guidelines, defined by a national policy of development and modernization. There is, in this sense, an overlap between national policies and local issues, which corroborates the thought of Natal (2013), when he said that to cope with the nature of development it is necessary to get past the local analysis and explore the practice and political action on all scales.

On the local scale, in São Sebastião there is a separation between the Port's development and zoning plan - the PDZ and the municipal development plan - the PDM. The port and the municipality seldom seek cooperation, which is limited to a sporadic and occasional collaboration. The breakdown of the port's isolation and the rapprochement with the city occurred in the 1970s because of the increasing reliance on local roads for a connection to the port and the need for local services, including labor (UNCTAD, 1992). It is an inadequate context, since a good port-city relationship has become an essential condition for the expansion of port activities due to the need to expand the port's zone of influence (hinterland); the internal transport systems are a limitation of this expansion (MONIÉ; VIDAL, 2006). The provision of the municipality with the organization of support areas for industrial production, logistics services and port activities is on the agenda of the discussion of the Municipal Master Plan of São Sebastião (PMSS, 2011). The Municipal Master Plan (PDM) is an urban development policy instrument and is part of the municipal planning and management process, which, however, becomes ineffective without the proper incorporation of the port development guidelines.

The port has a very high social and environmental impact (PORTO; TEIXEIRA, 2001), hence the relevance of the approximation between the port and municipal authorities for the integration of municipal and port development plans for compensatory and mitigation measures of the impact of port activities. Large-scale interventions are necessary to accompany the transformation of the functional and spatial arrangement of ports, generating impact for their adequacy (CUNHA, 2003). These anthropic actions are portrayed by Santos (2006) as interference in the daily life of the city. These actions have "onus and bonuses distributed unevenly among men" (FRANCISCO, CARVALHO, 2003, p.107).

Bird (1962) states that port infrastructures built over decades or even centuries to meet these temporal demands have undergone a process of spatial adaptation and modernization resulting from new technologies incorporated in port terminals. According to Bird (1963), before the industrial revolution the place to settle a port was based on conditions of mooring and safe navigability, and on the proximity to the productive centers for the flow of production (RODRIGUE, *Et al.*, 2012). It was necessary that access to the sea in these places had an adequate depth and calm waters for an approach to land. The lack of space for expansion became a restriction in most ports, resulting from the disordered occupation in their surroundings. Consequently, there is a tendency to expand beyond the original sites (NOTTEBOOM; RODRIGUE, 2005). Rodrigue *et al.* (2012) states that this is a phase that consumes large investment capital to install adequate infrastructure. This was perceived comparatively in the decade of the 1930s, during the construction of the pier and the rock fill of the bay, according to figure 1. Figure 2 shows the original configuration of the port in the 1950s and in Figure 3 shows the expansion and specialization of the port activities.

Figure 1: Construction of the São Sebastião Port in the 1930s. Source: (DHPC, 2013).



Figure 2: Initial configuration Port of São Sebastião in the 1950s. Source: (DHPC, 2013).



Figure 3: View of the central area and harbor



Source: Google Earth, viewing point altitude 4.0 Km, 2014

We can see the reproduction of this scenario in São Sebastião, which requires actions to reconcile the expansion of port activities with the conditions present in the municipality. The Port Zoning and Development Plan (PDZ) is the instrument that aims to optimize the use of areas and facilities of the Organized Port and seeks to reconcile the port environment with local urban development policies, in line with the national policy of social, economic and environmental development (SEP / PR, 2009). Ordinance 414/2009 establishes the guidelines and procedures for the elaboration of the PDZ, and for Porto (2012, p.88) it is the "main variable of the port development equation" because it allows the planning and impact of endogenous activities, as well as around the port, in the activities and adjacent areas.

The general objective of the PDZ is to promote the modernization of the port and establish the planning of the investments destined to the expansion of the port activities (SEP / PR, 2009). As a development planning instrument, it should logically present the sequences of the activities to be implemented in the expansion, optimizing the investments within a cost appropriate to the productive activity (PORTO, 2012). The author criticizes the misunderstanding of the role of the PDZ and attributes the ability to plan to cultural issues because many Brazilian port authorities treat planning in an inadequate and inconsistent way. According to authors such as Kappel, Marone *et al.*

(2005), the disordered occupation around the port is attributed to the inconsistency of the PDZ and the lack of harmony with the municipal plan.

The port city

With the vertical disintegration of business production the city attracts migratory flows to meet the expansion of their businesses (SINGER, 1975). The social demands that are installed in cities come from spatial concentration, and this concentration is an essential condition for the development of private companies and characteristic of the capitalist economy. The spatial concentration of capital brings advantages to companies by the commercial scale of production. The disadvantages caused by the agglomeration are socialized and the social costs transferred to the public power (SINGER, 1975). According to the author, the city is the place where the ruling class expresses and maximizes its extraction.

In port cities there is a social-environmental degradation in the surroundings of the port, such as misery, prostitution, insecurity and environmental pollution (MONIÉ; VIDAL, 2006; PORTO; TEIXEIRA, 2001). In Brazil, the area around the port is a place that historically attracts a large concentration of low-income populations, with proletarianized neighborhoods and disordered occupation (KAPPEL, MARONE *et al.*, 2005). Singer (1975, p. 131) points out that this urban marginality, "is the product of capitalist development, with the objective of a reserve army for the expansion of capital." Porto, Teixeira (2001) and Kappel, Marone *et al.* (2005) attribute the degradation in the area surrounding the port to the removal of the municipal and port authorities. The concept of development applied to the characteristics of the port city must go beyond the mitigation and elimination of social-environmental demands and appropriately confront the historical issues that permeate the port environment, especially the aforementioned serious problems around the port site. There is, in this context, a reverberation of the Latin American criticism of the concept of development as capital accumulation of the productive system without considering social gains, echoed in the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC). The port city must be seen from the perspective of the social dimension of development, where social-environmental issues gain relevance in relation to the principles of growth in the concept of development (SANTOS, BRAGA; SOUZA, 2012).

Port cities attract the migrant masses, especially in the stages of large construction works to install and construct the port infrastructure, since after construction is completed workers remain in the city, occupying the territory around the port, creating, as already argued, proletarianized neighborhoods (RESSURREIÇÃO, 2002, CORRÊA DA SILVA, 1975). As for the migratory flow, Cano (2007) points out that urbanization, the installation and concentration of industry in large cities were the forces of attraction to receive a migratory mass which, driven by social crises, promoted a rural exodus in Brazil. For the author, the phenomenon of urbanization, even if peripheral, is "a generator of new demands for simple goods and services, germinating in turn, new occupations" (CANO, 2007, p 126).

Ressurreição (2002, p.213) describes the migratory movement during the installation period of the Petrobras Private Use Terminal (TUP) in São Sebastião, with the arrival of manual workers from Minas Gerais and North-eastern states to the Municipality: "trucks and more trucks of contractors arrived in the city loaded with men from the cities of Boa Esperança, Teófilo Otoni, Almenara in Minas Gerais to work as laborers, stonemasons, amateurs". These workers came to work in the construction of the Petrobras facilities, not in the terminals themselves. They promoted a movement of occupation and agglomeration in the surroundings of the Organized Port. With the termination of the contract of the contractors with Petrobras, many of these workers remained in São Sebastião and brought their relatives, occupying areas of precarious urbanization. Thus the proletarian neighborhoods emerged (RESSURREIÇÃO, 2002). The phenomenon of disordered occupation in the surroundings of the port by a high concentration of low income population is seen as historical and recurrent in Brazilian ports (MONIÉ, VIDAL, 2006; PORTO, TEIXEIRA, 2001; KAPPEL, MARONE, *Et al.*, 2005).

The presence of the port in São Sebastião causes significant impacts in the municipality. In fact, port activities favor the generation of jobs for a restricted region in terms of skilled labor opportunities (POLLIS, 2013). However, there are other aspects concerning the RELATION between

the port activities and the development of the town, such as the production of urban conflicts. For example, the presentation by the Docas de São Sebastião Company of the port expansion project with the intention of making it multipurpose, focusing on general cargo, intensifying its activities as a container terminal (CDSS, 2011). The commercial port and the Petrobras Private Use Terminal-TUP TEBAR occupy the central area of the city, where São Sebastião's historic centre is located and commercial and municipal administration activities are concentrated in a narrow strip of land between the Serra do Mar and the São Sebastião canal. The territory is the object of dispute of the productive sectors, given the geographic restrictions and the current availability of land to accommodate port activities and other sectors.

Since the settlement of Porto in 1936, large-scale interventions have been carried out with interference in the daily life of the city and a burden distributed to the local population, postulated by Harvey (2006) as the economic occupation of space, organized and used with social inequality. The construction of access to the *pier* was carried out by the rock fill that divided the bay and prevented the movement of the waters. The continuity of the landfill with the extension of access and the latter use of marine additions for cargo storage areas established a policy of intervention in the natural space that was effective in the alteration of the shoreline (FRANCISCO, CARVALHO, 2003).

The 1930s were a time of profound transformations in the Brazilian economy, with the displacement of the axis of accumulation from the agrarian-export sector to the industrial sector that became "hegemonic in the pattern of capitalist accumulation in the country" (RODRIGUES; SANTOS; OLIVEIRA, 1992, p. 57). This new standard transferred the articulating role of the capitalist economy to ports and the need to create a second port within the State of São Paulo, the port of São Sebastião, establishing a migratory framework and social transformation in the city with the arrival of workers. The port's construction was decisive in the social organization, changing the relationship of São Sebastião's citizens with the city and with the culture of the people of the northern shore. The migratory process had the same pattern of attraction as the big cities, which received a mass of people driven by the social crises and rural exodus in Brazil. In the big cities there was industrial concentration, while in São Sebastião the construction and subsequent operation of the port were the sources of attraction. The phenomenon of urbanization has generated new demands for goods and services with new occupations.

The population of the city, which in 1934 was 4,306, went up to 6,036 in the 1940s, a 40% increase and growth above that of the state of São Paulo, remaining stable until the end of the decade, as indicated by the census data in Table 1 for the period that comprised the construction of the port.

Table 1: Population of São Sebastião and São Paulo State

Locality	1934	1940	Δ %	1950	Δ %
São Paulo	7.305.407	7.180.316	-1,71%	9.179.231	27,80%
São Sebastião	4.306	6.036	40,17%	6.033	-0,04%

Source: IBGE (2013)

A consequence of the port activities that provokes urban conflicts in the municipality is the urban densification and the low availability of areas for urban expansion, which led to discussions on the Master Plan of the issue of the verticalization of buildings, altering the construction models of buildings to above the current nine meters as an alternative to the lack of suitable areas for the maintenance of demographic expansion. However, the use of verticalization meets resistance in the municipality. The horizontality of the urban landscape is considered a differential of São Sebastião among the municipalities of the North Coast of São Paulo state and a landscape virtue that differentiates it from the other municipalities of the region. The urban formation of São Sebastião has as a characteristic a group of agglomerations along the SP-55, Manoel Hypólito do Rego Highway, the main road axis that interconnects the urban settlements of the city (PÓLIS, 2013).

The occupation process presents population nuclei and economic activities distributed and interconnected by the SP-55 from the north coast, a long the boundary with the municipality of Caraguatatuba, crossing the central area of São Sebastião with a considerable advance into the coastal plains that extend to the south coast of the Municipality. Close to the Porto area, in Araçá

bay, Topolândia and Topovaradouro, there has been a disorderly occupation with precarious settlement on the slope of the Serra do Mar, which began in the 1940s with the construction of the port. The process of occupation and population increase was accentuated in the 1960s with the start of construction of the Petrobras Almirante Barroso Maritime Terminal (TEBAR) (CDSS, 2013). The population jumped from 7,476 inhabitants to 12,385 at the end of construction in the 1970s, a population increase of 65.55% in the State of São Paulo, according to Table 2.

Table 2: São Sebastião's Population in the decades of 1960 and 1970

Locality	1960	1970	Δ %
São Paulo	12.974.699	17.958.693	38,41%
São Sebastião	7.476	12.385	65,66%

Source: IBGE (2013)

The beginning of the 1960s affected the local economic and social life with the insertion of oil and shipping activities, reflecting the government of Juscelino Kubitschek from 1956 to 1960, and the new mechanisms of state action in the productive sector with investments in infrastructure (navigation) and basic industries (oil and steel) (RODRIGUES, SANTOS and OLIVEIRA, 1992). The installation of the Petrobras Maritime Terminal promoted a process of spatial intervention with the expropriation of areas for its facilities, impacting on the change of society's relationship with the earth and the profound alteration of the physiognomy of the city. The company occupied a considerable area downtown, Figure 4.

Figure 4: Aerial view of the port and surrounding area in the 1950s



Source: (DPHC, 2013)

The intervention continued in 1971, with Decree 69,143/71, which expropriated a total area of 678.200.81 m², "declares public utility for expropriation purposes in favor of Petrobras, land and improvements in the city of São Sebastião" to meet the needs of Almirante Barroso Maritime Terminal (TEBAR) (BRASIL, 1971). Patios, pipelines for hazardous products and large oil tanks were installed in the urban center, advancing on residential areas (RESSURREIÇÃO, 2002).

There was a predominance of Petrobras' policies with respect to the fate of the space, witnessed in 1968 with the repeal of municipal law 56/65, with guidelines for the preservation of the Natural Historical Heritage of São Sebastião for the use and occupation of the land for its activities. The law preserved seven city blocks of the historical centre. Due to its economic and institutional representation, the company is preeminent in local matters, leading to the municipality's dependence on this large company. The big company, Petrobras, arrives as the Savior of the place, offering employment and income, thus consolidating a new actor with interference in local affairs leading to an imbalance in social relations (HARVEY, 2005; SANTOS, 2006). It is noteworthy that São Sebastião's origins date back to the sixteenth century. Amendments of legislation on the grounds of

the installation of the company denote the subordination of the municipality to the expansion of economic activity brought about by the port activities, to the detriment of preserving the historic heritage and the defining elements of local features present in the urban structure of the city.

The works related to the growth of the north coast of São Paulo state such as the increase of the capacity of the TEBAR private terminal, the southern boundary of Tamoios, of the Caraguatubá gas treatment unit (UTGCA), and expansion of the port brings the fear that the contracted labor will come from outside the municipality, since this has been the practice of the great companies in the region: the employment of exogenous skilled labor and the attraction of a surplus of construction workers. Employment and income generation and the increased circulation of foreign currency in the municipality are direct contributions of the port activity. At the same time, however, they attract migratory flows to meet the expansion of business. Singer (1975) argues that this happened in São Sebastião in the two major construction projects: the construction of the commercial port and the construction of the Petrobras Maritime Terminal; the social costs were transferred to the municipal public authority.

The occupation of protected areas of hills and woodlands by precarious settlements are alternatives for low-income workers attracted to the municipality, "these are precariously built houses that lack basic types of services, equipment and infrastructure" (PÓLIS, 2012, p. 23). The State Housing Plan classifies São Sebastião as a city with severe housing insecurity, intense economic activity and population growth, with 8,623 permanent urban dwellings in precarious settlements (PÓLIS, 2012).

The population of São Sebastião, estimated by the IBGE in 2014, is 79,395 inhabitants, with a population increase of 7.66% relative to the 2010 census data. Since the 1980s, it has a population growth rate higher than the growth in the region it belongs to, the north coast of São Paulo state, Table 3. The urban expansion was remarkable between the 1980s and 1990s as a result of the construction of the SP-55 highway, mainly on the south coast, attracting holiday homes or second residence. There was an increase in the migrant population that sought the region as an employment alternative in tourism activities (PÓLIS, 2013). The phenomenon can be perceived all along the north coast of São Paulo state, which grew 68.16% in the period from 1980 to 1990. The growth rate of the population of São Sebastião in the aforementioned decade was 77.45%, with the growth rate persisting in the following decade with an index of 72.73% (Table 3).

Table 3: Population

Locality	1980	1991	Δ %	2000	Δ %	2010	Δ %	2014
São Paulo	24.953.238	30.783.108	23,36%	36.974.378	20,11%	41.223.683	11,49%	42.673.386
North Coast	87.072	146.425	68,16%	223.326	52,53%	280.435	25,57%	299.920
S. Sebastião	18.839	33.430	77,45%	57.746	72,73%	73.744	27,70%	79.395

Source: IBGE (2013)

With regard to the issue of urban density, São Sebastião has a land area of 399.68 km² and a population density of 198.65 inhabitants per km² with a degree of urbanization of 98.87% (IBGE, 2013). The process of occupation is vertiginous, from 46.71 inhabitants per km² in 1980 to 198.65 in 2014 (IBGE, 2013).

There is an expressive concentration of population in the neighborhoods that surround the port environment. According to the census data, the Topolândia, Itatinga, Olaria and Varadouro neighborhoods concentrate 14,459 inhabitants, 48.75% of the total population of the central region (Table 4).

Table 4: Permanent Households 2010

Neighborhoods				
	Households	Residents	%	Average Residents
São Sebastião	23.603	73.686	100%	3,12
Costa Norte	3.641	11.894	16,14	3,27
São Francisco	1.199	3.548	4,82	2,96
Morro do Abrigo	438	1.403	1,90	3,20
Olaria	230	681	0,92	2,96
Arrastão	203	538	0,73	2,65
Pontal da Cruz	925	2.741	3,72	2,96
Praia Deserta	149	401	0,54	2,69
Porto Grande	493	1.314	1,78	2,67
Centro	1.193	3.293	4,47	2,76
Topolândia	3.028	9.767	13,25	3,23
Itatinga	870	2.992	4,06	3,44
Varadouro	334	1.019	1,38	3,05
Pitangueiras	24	60	0,08	2,50
Barequeçaba	622	1.902	2,58	3,06
Região Central	9.708	29.659	40,25	3,06
Costa Sul	9.496	29.682	40,28	3,13

Source: IBGE (2010)

The population is distributed in the city in three regions that have a natural geographical separation and distinct sectoral economic activities: i) North Coast with 11,814 residents, 16.14% of the population; ii) Central region with 29,659 residents, 40.25% of the population; iii) South coast with 29,682, 40.28% of the population, as demonstrated in table 4.

On the South coast, urban expansion is based on the repositioning of tourism as the main economic activity. The north coast and central region, the oldest regions, are where the commercial activities and municipal administration are concentrated. The neighborhoods mentioned above form a dense cluster concentrated around the harbour and are a consolidated occupation that extends up the slopes of the hills, as shown in Figure 3. These settlements make up the oldest slums in the city, with 2,145 families and 8,580 inhabitants. Of all the inhabitants living in neighborhoods around the port, 59.34% live in precarious, unhealthy and risky conditions (PLHIS, 2011). Table 5 presents the precarious settlements by region in São Sebastião and the inequality in occupation, in a model that segregates the population in areas devoid of infrastructure.

Table 5: Precarious settlements by region.

Region	Settlements	Total of households	% of Households	Total population
Costa Norte	15	1.062	12%	3.906
Região Central	5	2.550	30%	10.200
Costa Sul	51	5.011	58%	20.157
Total	71	8.623	100%	34.263

Source: Plhis (2011)

The State Housing Plan classifies municipalities using a typology based on housing needs, the degree of economic activity, and population growth. São Sebastião has a quantitative housing deficit of 4,867 dwellings, identified by PLHIS and the Municipality was classified in group A1, referring to severe housing precariousness, intense economic activity and population growth with a necessary attention to housing policy.

The City Hall maintains the program to: i) reduce the housing deficit of the Municipality; (ii) improve the urban infrastructure for the population in a state of social exclusion; and iii) to improve the quality of life in the Special Zones of Social Interest (ZEIS), earmarking a resource of R\$

2,764,000.00 in 2014. São Sebastião's urbanization and development policy establishes, through the Law of the Master Plan, goals and guidelines to support the diversification of the local economy, which will allow, in addition to tourism, the territorial insertion of port and oil related activities. The MP has established, in Article 146, the Special Port Area and Jaraguá Logistic Use Area that correspond to spaces for activities related to the port and Terminal.

The port activities in São Sebastião attract other activities and through its characteristics relate productive spaces and spaces of consumption in a integration of geo-economic spaces. According to the replication logic of the results detected and under the focus of contemporary theories on urban processes (HARVEY, 2006; SANTOS, 2009), the organization of space in São Sebastião will continue to exert pressure with a social burden on the local population as it favors business demands, especially those related to port activities.

As a measure to mitigate social impact the Master Plan legislation provides for Urban Qualification Areas corresponding to the spaces of disordered occupation and Special Areas of Social Interest that correspond to the spaces covered by a disorderly and irregular land occupation by the low income population, such as the spaces around the Port, to receive social interest housing (PMSS, 2011). Another municipal measure established by the guidelines of the Master Plan was to locate the Jaraguá Logistic Use Area on the north coast, which will serve as a non-bonded container area for logistical support of port activities with the possibility of interconnection with the Port by a contour route.

There is local community participation linked directly to economic and territorial dynamics. The representative sociopolitical residents' organization is articulated in Residents Associations and Neighborhood Friends, who work to solve local urban problems. There is a difference in the claims of the representatives of the three regions of São Sebastião. On the South coast, "the focus of these entities is cleaning the beach and the squares, tourist care ..." linked to the tourism sector, since the composition of the associations is mostly of tourists who have holiday homes (POLIS, 2013, p. 35). In the center and north coast the Associations and Societies of Neighborhood Friends represent permanent residents of the city and their demands turn to the theme of social opportunities, such as health care, public education, basic infrastructure and issues related to precarious housing.

Final considerations

There is an intense socio-political movement and articulation of the population of São Sebastião due to the imminent actions to adapt the Port to the state and national strategies of port use. The various projects planned as a result of the expansion of the Port's activities generate concern regarding the impacts to which the population and city are subject. Instrumental freedoms are appropriated by the population as a democratic rule of law of the choice and expression of will. The crucial question to be faced by popular participation in the process of local development is the alienation introduced by the power of capital to maintain control of urban development, occupation of territory, and consequent conflicts.

Workers and local society perceive the Port's performance as an irreversible and strategic phenomenon for the national economy, and especially for making jobs in the city viable. São Sebastião is the local scale of the economic objectives of the development process of port activities. However, port activities have as a consequence the precarious urbanization of the municipality, manifest by the lack of housing and adequate areas to serve the population. There is a polarity between the needs of the population and the expansion of port activities, which simultaneously generate economic, demographic and urban conflicts.

It has been demonstrated that the port activities in the city of São Sebastião produce an organization of the local space with reflections on economic and social relationships, with distortions in the use of the territory. Geographical restrictions, a characteristic of São Sebastião, a city between the Atlantic Ocean and the Serra do Mar, make the territory an object of dispute between productive sectors, given the limited availability of land to accommodate activities on the scale of a port and other sectors present in the municipality.

The port's construction was decisive for the social organization, changing the relationship of São Sebastião's citizens with the city and with the culture of the people of the northern shore. With the arrival of external workers for the construction work, residential nuclei were formed in

proletarianized neighborhoods near the port complex. The migration process reproduced attraction situations analogous to the population of the big cities, which received a mass fuelled by social crises and the rural exodus in Brazil.

In this context, large companies articulate spatially productive structures and establish a process of economic relationships and social imbalance present in the territory. The housing issue in particular brings the municipality the challenge of reconciling the intense economic activity promoted by the port sector and the population growth attracted to great infrastructure works connected to the port. São Sebastião is considered a municipality with severe housing precariousness with 8,623 permanent urban dwellings in precarious settlements. These homes are lacking in many types of services and basic infrastructures.

The relevant social impacts that port activities have exercised since the original settlement in the construction of the port in 1936, with high intervention construction works, have as a characteristic the degradation of the port's surroundings. Thus, the policy of intervention in space by means of landfill sites (increased marina) was established, which underpins the current decisions of expansion of the port of São Sebastião. The discourse of participation and integration of municipal and port authorities is in conflict with the bias of conflicts and interests. The lack of harmony and articulation of the Port-City Development Plans transfer the onus to the population, such as urban mobility, the degradation of the surroundings of the port facilities, and conflicts in the use of the São Sebastião Canal, the main tourist asset of the cities of São Sebastião and Ilhabela.

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